

CHAPTER XXI

Expedition to New Orleans, British at Pensacola and Barataria—Trick played by the Barataria commandant—Secret act of the American aggress to take possession of West Florida—Possession taken of Mobile—Erection of Fort-Bour—Attack upon it by four British sloops of war—Loss of the Hermes—Brief description of Louisiana and New Orleans—Arrival of the British fleet off Chandeleur island—Capture of five American gun-boats near Lake Borgne—Proclamation of martial law by general Jackson—Scheming flag of truce, its object defeated—Disembarkation of the first division of British troops—Description of the ground of operations—Arrival of British advance at Villere's—General Wilkinson's strictures upon the route chosen by the British—Deception as to the strength of Petite Coquille fort—Accidental low estimate of the British force at Villere's—Prompt advance of major-general Jackson—U. S. schooner Carolina—Battle of the 23d of December—Destruction of the Carolina by hot shot—Escape of the U. S. ship Louisiana—Arrival of sir Edward Pakenham—Strength of the British forces—Proposed attack in the rear of New Orleans—Its non-adoption—Description of general Jackson's lines of defence—Demonstration of the 28th of December—Destructive fire of the Louisiana—American batteries on the opposite side of the river—Arrival of ship-guns, and erection of battery by the British—Continued cannonade—Mutual rein-

forcements—General Morgan's lines on the opposite bank—British and American forces—Battle of the 8th of January—Fatal neglect to bring up the fascines and ladders—Death of major-generals Pakenham and Gibbs—Misbehaviour of two regiments—Gallant behaviour of a division of the left brigade—Repulse of the British—Strictures upon the attack, by American officers—Launching of the boats into the Mississippi—Successful attack upon the American intrenchments on the right bank—Fatal difference of opinion respecting the possibility of holding that position—Its immediate evacuation—Short suspension of hostilities—Bombardment of Fort St. Philip—Retreat of the British from before New Orleans—The total loss on both sides—American bombast—French general Humbert—Some particulars relative to general Jackson—His honorable conduct—Departure of the British fleet—Surrender of Fort-Bowyer without a shot's being fired at it—Treaty of peace—Canadian preparations for the ensuing campaign—Brief remarks on the treaty, and on the advantages which the Americans have gained by the war.

FROM the paragraphs that appeared in several of the London prints of May and June, 1814, there is no doubt that the conquest of Louisiana had been submitted to the British government, as a measure of no difficult attainment. it was thought, perhaps, that the Louisianians, consisting chiefly of French and Spaniards, were disaffected towards the government of the

United States, and would rather aid, than oppose the landing of a British army. This hazardous, and, as it proved, fallacious conjecture, was suffered to over-balance all apprehension of danger from the thousands of armed inhabitants of the west and north-western territories, that could descend the Mississippi, and prevent any thing like a permanent Occupation of the capital of Louisiana. There were not, it is true, any American 74s, or 60 gun frigates, building or lying blockaded at New Orleans ; but those who suggested the expedition well knew that, as the cotton crops of Louisiana, and of the Mississippi territory, had been for some years in accumulation, the city-warehouses contained merchandize to an immense amount. Indeed, considering that New Orleans was the emporium of the annually increasing productions of a great portion of the western states, the enormous sum of **30000001**. was, perhaps, not an over-estimate of what, in the event of even a temporary possession of that city, would have been shared by the captors.

Scarcely had the people of New Orleans read, in the pages of their newspapers, admiral Cochrane's threatening letter and its reply, and been assured by their governor, that the British had expressed a determination " of wresting Louisiana from the hands of the United States, and restoring it to Spain," than accounts arrived,

that the British were exciting the Indians, and, by proclamations dated from Pensacola, in West Florida, endeavouring to persuade the inhabitants of Louisiana and Kentucky, to shake off their allegiance, and join the British standard. Almost at the same instant they received accounts that some British officers had been trying to gain over the Baratarian freebooters, upwards of 200 in number ; not only as pilots for that intricate coast, but as active allies in the contemplated invasion.

Laffite, the commandant, played a deep game with the British officers. He received, with seeming acquiescence, all their communications on the subject, and then forwarded them to the governor of Louisiana. He had, at that time, in the gaol of New Orleans, loaded with irons, a brother ; whose liberation he, no doubt, hoped to effect. In short, Mr, Laffite not only betrayed the British, but offered the services of himself and his hardy band, in defending the important point of the state of which they had taken possession. These men fulfilled the pledge given by their commandant to governor Claiborne ; and, along with Mr. Laffite's brother, received, in the end, a full pardon from the president of the United States.

It is necessary now to mention, that a *secret* law passed the congress of the United States, as early as the **12th** of February, **1813**, authorizing the president " \$o. occupy and hold all that

the Act country, tailed West Florida, which *lieg* vFeSt of the Peedido, not now in the possession of the United States."* On the 14th of Mara, the 'order to take possession reached major-general Wilkinson, then the commanding officer of the United States' troops within the territories of New Orleans and the Mississippi; and, on the 15th of April, taking with him a strong naval and military force, the general possessed himself, without opposition, but not without remonstrance, of Fort Charlotte, near the town of Mobile. General Wilkinsoon, soon afterwards, constructed a fort upon Mobile-point, forming the extremity of a peninsula, which is joined to the continent by an isthmus, four miles wide, dividing the river and bay of AMSeconrs from the bay of Perdido.

This fort, named Fort-Bowyer, mounted, in Septeiriber; 1814, says at American editor, twb **24; gi*** 1-2, eight 9, and four 4-pounders; and contained a gartisou of only 130 men; yet, When we took possession of Fort-Bowyer, in February, 1815, up to which date no reinforcement of guns appears to have been sent to it, the fort mounted, eXclusive of one long 24, and two 9-pounders outside, three 32, eight six 12, five 9, and one 4-pounder; also one 8-inch mortar, and one 52-inch howitzer; total

* Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. III. p. 340.

4 Latour's 'War In Louisiana, p.

28 guns. Its garrison, under the same commander too, consisted, at this time, of 375 officers and soldiers.*

On the morning of the 12th, M. M. S. Hermes; Of 22, Carron, of 20, and Sophie and Childertii of 18 guns each, under the orders of captain W. II. Percy, of the first-named ship, anchored on the coast, about six miles to the eastward of Fort-Bowyer; which this officer had unadvisedly determined to attack. The ships, with great difficulty, owing to the narrowness of the channel, and the numerous shoals, arrived, on the afternoon of the 15th, in the neighbourhood of the fort. The Hermes, at last, gained a station within musket-shot distance; the Sophie, Carron, and Childers, anchoring in a line a-stern of her. Previously to this, a detachment of, not "120" but 60 marines, and not "600" but 120 Indians, with a 52-inch howitzer, but no "12-pounder," under the orders of major Nicolls, of the marines, had disembarked on the peninsula. Sixty of the Indians, under lieutenant Castle, had been detached to secure the pass of Bonse-tours, 27 miles to the eastward of the fort; so that major Nicolls had, under his command, not 730, but 120 marines and Indians.

The great distance at which the Carron and Childers had unavoidably anchored, confined the effective cannonade, on the part of the British, to

* Appendix, No. 112.

Latouetliiir in Louisinns; 40:

the *Hermes* and *Sophie* ; nor was the latter's fire of much use, as, owing to the rottenness of her timbers, and her defective equipment, her carronades drew or turned over at every fire. The *Hermes*, before she had fired many broadsides, having her cable cut, was carried away by the current, and presented her head to the fort. In that position she remained from 15. to 16 minutes, whilst the raking fire from the fort swept, fore and aft, almost every thing on deck."! Soon afterwards the *Hermes* grounded, directly in front of the fort. Every means to get her off having failed, captain Percy; taking out of her the whole of his wounded, set her on fire. He had but one boat left, and that with only three oars. As a proof of; the •American captain Lawrence's " characteristic • humanity," the fort, on this " 'memorable day for the garrison," fired round and grape. at the boat, till she got out of gun-shot. The *Hermes* and *Sophie* were the, only vessels, that sustained any injury. The loss of the one was 25 men killed, and 24 wounded ; of • 'the other, six killed,. and 16 wounded ; • total, with one marine killed on shore, 32 killed, and 40 wounded: while the American, editors, major Latour inclusive, have made ::the British loss before Fort-Bowyer, 162 killed, and 70 wounded.t The Americans acknowledge a loss of four killed, and four wounded. t . No event of the war has been

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 38 zlhid. p. 40.

made more of than **the** indiscreet attack upon Fort-Bowyer. Major Latour, misnaming one vessel, and converting into frigate-built ships *Ole:* corvettes *Hermes* and • *Carron*, gives each of the latter " twenty eight 32-pound carronades," !, and crews in proportion. •; He, then, states the whole " effective British force at 92 guns, and 1330 men ;"* which he modestly opposes to eight guns, (all that he says would bear,) and 130 men. Where did this writer learn, that both broadsides ,of a ship can act together, upon a single object: Major Latour, palpably ridiculous as his statements are,,hos,,however, no criticism to dread in the United States of America.

•The attack upon Fort-139wyer unmasking, at once, the designs of the British upon Louisiana, major-general Jackson, of, the United. - States army, who, having superseded general #ilkin, son, was at this time at Mobile, began : making defensive arrangements ; and, among., them, adopted the extraordinary resolution of taking possession, " without waiting for the authority of his government," t of the Spanish. post- of Pensacola, and the contiguous forts. . Having assembled 4000 :troops, he was enabled, through the treachery of the Spanish governor, to effect his object, on the 7th and 8th of November, without bloodshed. . Leaving garrisons in the captured forts, • the major-general, with the

* Latour's War in Louis. p.40: .r + Sketches of the War, p. 346.

remainder of his troops, departed for New Orleans ; where he arrived on the 2d of December. Since the 10th of the preceding month, the governor of Louisiana had informed the legislature that the British were about to attack the state, with from 12 to 15000 men ; and that he was in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements from Kentucky and Tennessee.

Without a brief description of Louisiana, and particularly of the line of maritime invasion to which New Orleans is exposed, the important operations about to be detailed, will not be so readily understood. The boundaries of Louisiana may be seen upon any map of the North American continent : it is only necessary here to state, that this great expanse of territory has a frontier, with the Spanish internal provinces of 1900 miles ; a line of sea coast, on the Pacific Ocean, of 500 miles ; a frontier with the British dominions of 1700 miles ; thence, following the Mississippi, by comparative course, 1400 miles ; and along the gulf of Mexico 700 miles : from the mouth of the Perdido to the 31° N. latitude, 40 miles ; along the latter parallel, 240 miles ; having an outline of 6480 miles, and 1352560 Square miles of surface.* The parish of New Orleans is bounded north by Lake Pontchartrain and the Rigolets, east by lake Borgne and the parish of Plaquemines, south-east by the gulf

* Darby's Louisiana, p. 12.

of Metiesti, and west by the parish of f. hetJ-
 ►iard and the interior of Lefortrehe ; possessing an area of 1300 square miles. The city of NOVO"
 leans, the capital of the parish, and of the state Of Louisiana, stands upon the left bank of the Mississippi, 105 Miles, following the stream, and 90 miles, in a direct line, from its mouth. The present population of the city is estimated at 23242 persons. * The line Of Maritime invasion extends from Lake Pontchartrain, on the east, to the river Tesche, on the west, intersected by several bays, inlets, and rivers, which furnish avenues of approach to the metropolis. But the flatness of the coast is every where unfavorable for the debarkation of troops ; and the bays and inlets being all obstructed by shoals or bars, no landing can be effected, but by boats ; except up the Mississippi ; and that has a bar at its mouth, which shoals to 13 or 14 feet water..

On the 7th of December, commodore Patterson, the naval commander at New Orleans ; received a letter from Pensacola, dated on the 5th, stating that a British fleet of 60. sail, having on board a large body of troops, had arrived off the bar, and were destined for New Orleans. The commodore immediately ordered the gun-boats At the station to proceed to the passes Mariana and Christiana, leading into lake Borgne ; by which, and lake Pontchartrain, it was thought'

Darby's Louisiana, p. 185.

the British would make their approaches. As an additional protection, the Rigolets, forming the communication between lakes Borgne and tontchartrain, were defended by a small work, named Petite Coquille fort. Detachments - of troops had also been sent out, to fell timber across every small bayou or creek, leading from the lakes ; and through which a passage for boats could be afforded. The precaution was even taken, in some of the bayous, to sink large frames, and then fill them with earth. To prevent any approach, by the Mississippi, general Jackson. went himself to superintend the direction of the defences at Fort St. Philip, situated on the left bank of the river, about 40 miles from the Balize. Besides increasing the strength of this fort, the general ordered the immediate construction of two batteries on the opposite side of the river. It is now time to attend to the progress of the expedition.

. On the 8th of December, vice-admiral Cochran, in the Tonnant, along with several other ships, arrived and, anchored off the Chandeleur islands. On the same day, two of the American gun-boats fired at the Artide as she, along with the Seahorse and Sophie, was passing down, within the chain of small islands that runs parallel to the shore, from Mobile towards Lake Borgne. :Three other .gun-boats were presently discovered crui*ing in the lake. On the 10th,

11th, and 12th, the remainder of the men-of-war and troop-ships arrived ; the 74s anchoring off Chandeleur island; the frigates and •smaller vessels between Cat island and the main, not far from the entrance to Lake Borgne': -The commander of the American gun-boats, fearing an attack, had, since the 11th, put his boats in the best possible condition.* The bayou Catalan, or Bienvenu, at the head of Lake Borgne being the contemplated point of disembarkation, the distance from the anchorage at Cat island to the bayou 62 miles, and the principal means of transport open boats, it became impossible that any movement of the troops could take place, until these gun-boats were destroyed. It was also an object to get possession of them in a serviceable state, that they might assist, as well in transporting the troops, as in the attack of any of the enemy's forts in the route ; therefore, 42 launches, armed with 24, 18, and 12-pound carronades, and three unarmed gigs, carrying', altogether, about 980 seamen and marines, placed under the orders of captain Lockyer, of the Sophie, left the ships on the night of the 12th. For the details of the short battle, ending in_ the capture of five gun-boats, and an armed sloop, the reader is referred to the British and American official accounts ;1- upon the latter of which we shall proceed to make a few observations.

* Latour's Wai in louisiana, p 59;

t App. Nos. 78. 79. 80. 81. and 82•

It does not appear, by captain Lockyer's Letter, than any attack was made upon the Son, in any manner, could only have been from a dread that she would be attacked; or, if she was attacked, no difficulty, and no casualties beyond her destruction, occurred on either side. This is confirmed, well by the American return of loss, as by the proceedings of the court of inquiry, held upon captain Jones and the Seahorse; in which neither the Seahorse nor Mr. Johnson, her commander, is at all named. Captain Janes seems to have mistaken the hour at which captain Roberts was detached to take the Alligator, for the time of her capture: from which service the division of boats did not return, till the capture of gun-boat No. 156 had been effected. The "deliberate fire" from one long 32, and four long 24s, did, owing to the tardy approach of the boats against "the force of the current," produce "much effect;" and, till the latter came within range of their carronades, could not be returned. It is singular that a writer, who gives captain Jones's letter in his Appendix, should describe the latter's objects of so small a size, as "barges almost as large as the gun-boats themselves."* Captain Jones says, "two boats sank." We can assure him, that no other boat sank than the Tonnant's launch; and

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 61.

Why man in her was saved. The court of inquiry has preferred "several barges" to "two hoats." Major Latour himself thinks "a great number of barges and launches" better than either. Captain Jones's account of the duration of the action must include the time during which, for the reasons already given, he had the firing all to himself. In less than 20 minutes after the British got alongside of the flag gun-boat, the whole five vessels were in their possession. The defence of the commodore's gun-boat did credit to all on board; nor could the others, when she was captured, have possibly withstood the force operating against them. It is captain Jones's commentators with whom we have more particularly to do. This officer must excuse us for remarking, that his "correct statement" would better have deserved the name, had he perceived the nature and caliber, as well as the number, of his own, with the number and caliber of his guns. Why permit the Commodore to give us "Rive's, or half-pounders, or the two 4 inch 40lb fuzes, which were captured among his gyps?" We will not dispute the numbers of his "effective" Arms; yet, according to Major Latour, the effective crew of gun-boat No. 65, which had been left to assist in guarding the Mississippi, amounted to 40 men. This gentleman's zeal

* Latour's War in Louisiana, P. TWO at p.

has carried him rather too far. Oa-t of the state. went in captain Jones's letter, that his vessels, at 2 P.M. on the 13th, " were in 12 or 18 inches less water than their draught," the major has made out that, in the action on the 14th, " it was impossible for the gun-boats to manoeuvre," because " several of them were sunk 18 inches in the 't nud ;" " 4" and this, in spite of captain Jones's statement : " At 3,30, (on the 13th,) the flood-tide had commenced ; got under weigh, making the best of my way towards the Petite Coquille." § Captain Jones, in his estimate of our loss, rather over-rated the prowess of his men, as will be seen by the British returns l Major Latour, as a proof how much he is influenced by " the duty of impartiality" and a "due regard to truth," scruples not to account for nearly two-thirds of this loss, by, what he calls, the "plain fact,"—that " 180 men went down in one of the barges which were sunk." f After having already stated that no barge was sunk, nor men drowned, we have only to add, that the largest number of men in any one of the barges was 31. If we seem to pass over our old friends Messieurs Thomson, O'Connor, and Smith, it is not because their statements are less extravagant than those of our two new acquaintances, but because the latter enter more largely into the events of

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 61. t Hid p. 235.

App. No. 79. § App. No. 80.

the Louisiana war. Mr. John Henry Eaton, the • biographer of general Jackson, taking the hint • from major Latour, about the American gun-boats and _British barges being nearly :of the same size, presents his readers with the follow-• ing statement :—

	Boats,	Men.	Guns.
" The British had	43	1200	43
The Americans,	5	182	23
	38	1018	20". *.

Nothing could happen better ; because it gives as an opportunity of exhibiting a statement also.' Supposing Mr. Eaton not to have known, that' the smallest of his " boats" was 75 tons bin-then,;` the History of the Tripolitan War -Would have' informed him, that two Or three of them had crossed the Atlantic and back in safety. 'Now fur our statement :-- .do

United States' "c boat" No. 23.	"His Britannic Majesty's brig Hunter." +
Broadside-metal 5 long guns, in pounds, carronades,	50 9
	16 12
	59 — 28
Complement,	41 39
Size in tons,	112 74

And did not the American commodore Macdonough, in an official letter, designate two British vessels, the largest of which was two tons smaller than: Mr. Eaton's " boat," as " two sloops of war" t **We** need only add to what has already appeared respecting the state of

* Eaton's Life of Jackson, p. 261.

+ Nay. Hist. of the United States, Vol. I. p. 249

I. James's Nay. Occur. p. 420.

equipment of American gun-boats,* that those taken by captain Lockyer had polished mahogany traversing gun-carriages, and were lavishly supplied with ordnance-stores of every description.

The capture of the gun-boats having thus left open the entrance by the lakes, great consternation prevailed at New Orleans. General Jackson, with a promptitude highly to his credit, redoubled his exertions ; and, with what, in our *despotic* country, would be considered a stretch of power, proclaimed martial law. By way of sounding the British as to the route they meant to take, commodore Patterson, on the 15th of December, sent a purser and doctor of the navy, with a flag, under pretence " of obtaining correct information as to the situation of the officers and crews made prisoners on board the gun-boats, and of endeavouring to obtain their being suffered to return to town on parole." Admiral Cochrane -very properly told them, that their visit was unseasonable, and that he could not permit them to return, until the intended attack was made, and the fate of New Orleans decided."-t This was construed into a " wanton outrage on propriety," and all sorts of abuse lavished upon the British character.

On the 16th the first division of troops, consisting of the 85th regiment, landed at Isle aux Poix, a small swampy spot, at the mouth of

* See p. 200. + Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 75.

the Pearl river ; about 30 miles from the anchorage, and nearly the same distance from the bayou Catalan, or Bienvenu, intended as the point of disembarkation. Various causes, as detailed in admiral Cochrane's letter,* delayed the arrival of the boats at the fishermen's village, near the entrance of the bayou, till midnight on the 22d ; when, immediately, the advance, consisting of 760 rank and file of the 4th, 402 rank and file of the 85th, and 396 rank and file of the 95th regiments, also 100 sappers, miners, and artillery men, with two 3-pounders, and 30 raketees, in all 1688 men, under the command of colonel Thornton of the 85th, commenced ascending the bayou Mazant, or principal branch of the Bienvenu ; and, at four o'clock on the following morning, landed at the extremity of Villere's canal, running from the bayou Mazant, towards the Mississippi.

As the country around New Orleans possesses very peculiar features, a slight digression may be necessary. The bayou Bienvenu is the creek through which all the waters of a large basin, or swamp, about 80 miles in extent, bounded on the north by the Mississippi, on the west by New Orleans, on the north-west, by bayou Sauvage, or Chef-menteur, and on the east by Lake Borgne, into which it empties. It receives the streams of several other bayous, formed by the

* App. No. 99.

waters of the surrounding cypress swamps and prairies, as well as of innumerable little streams from the low grounds along the river. It is navigable for vessels of 100 tons, 2 miles from its mouth. Its breadth is from 110 to 150 yards, and it has six feet water on the bar, at common tides, and nine feet at spring tides. Its principal branch is that which is called bayou Mazant, which runs towards the south-west, and receives the waters of the canals of the plantations of Villere, Lacoste, and Laronde, upon which the British afterwards established their principal encampment. The level of the great basin, on the bank of the principal bayou, is usually 12 feet below the banks of the Mississippi. The overflowing of the waters of all those bayous and canals, occasioned by the tide of the sea, or by the winds raising the waters in the lake, forms, on all their banks, deposits of slime, which are continually raising them above the rest of the soil ; so that the interval between two bayous is below the level of their banks, and the soil is generally covered with water and mud, in which aquatic plants, or large reeds, of the height of from six to eight feet, grow in abundance. It sometimes happens that the rains, or the filtrated waters, collected in these intervals, or basins, not finding a vent, form what are called *trembling prairies*; which are at all times impassable to men and domestic animals. The land in Lower Louisiana slopes in the inverse direction of the soil of other

countries, being most elevated on the sides of the rivers, and sinking as it recedes from them. The Mississippi, at New Orleans, periodically swells 14 or 15 feet ; and is then from three to four feet above the level of its banks. To confine its waters within its bed, dikes or ramparts, called in Louisiana *levees*, have been raised on its banks, from the highlands towards its mouth, a little above the level of the highest swells without which precaution, the lands would be entirely overflowed, from four-to-five months in the year. The reader will now be better able to appreciate the difficulties our troops and seamen had to encounter, in transporting themselves, their baggage, provisions, and artillery, to the scene of operations on the left bank of the Mississippi.

The spot at which the British advance had landed, was about a mile from a cypress wood, or swamp, of nearly a mile and a half in depth, running parallel to the Mississippi; between which and the border of the wood is a slip of land, from 13 to 1700 yards wide, intersected by strong horizontal railings, and several wet ditches, or canals, and principally planted with sugar canes. Several large houses, with their out-offices and negro-huts, are scattered, at irregular distances, over this tract ; along which passes, near to the levee, or bank of the river, the high road to New Orleans.

At about noon on the 23d, the piquets of the British advanced division arrived at M. Villeres house, standing upon the road-side, at the distance of about six miles from the city. Here a company of the 3d regiment of militia was surprised and captured. Soon afterwards, colonel Thornton, with the remainder of his division, arrived, and bivouacked upon the higher ground of the plantation, or that nearest to the river. This point had been reconnoitered, since the night of the 18th, by the honorable captain Spencer, of the Carron, and lieutenant Peddie, of the quarter-master-general's department. These officers, with a smuggler as their guide, had pulled up the bayou in a canoe, and advanced to the high road, without seeing any persons, or preparations.

After general Wilkinson, whose local knowledge in this quarter no one will dispute, has stated, that lieutenant Jones, of the late American flotilla, in answer to the particular enquiries put to him respecting the strength of Fort-
• Coquille, defending the entrance to Lake Pontchartraine, reported it to mount, instead of eight,—" 40 pieces of artilley," and to be garrisoned by, not 50,—but " 500 men," and that, in consequence of the supposed strength of that position, the British determined to advance by the bayou Bienvenu, he says :—" To this direction of the invaders, and their halt after they had

9 and 6-pounders, the heaviest artillery which had then been got up, was, by day-light on the morning of the 27th, in readiness to act. The second hot shot lodged in the schooner's main-hold, under her cables, and presently set her on fire. Soon afterwards, her crew, with the loss of one killed and six wounded, took to their boats, and reached the shore. By some gross mismanagement on our part, the artillery, instead of being, immediately that the Carolina was seen to be on fire, directed against the powerful ship Louisiana, whose " powder-magazine was above water," continued to play upon the flaming wreck. When the latter exploded, which was not till an hour after the commencement of the firing, the British guns were directed against the ship ; but her commander, aware of the danger to which the situation of his magazine exposed him, had wisely employed " 100 men of his crew," in towing the Louisiana out of gun-shot.

Since the evening of the 25th, major-general sir Edward Pakenham, and major-general Gibbs, had arrived at head-quarters ; the former to take command of the army, now augmented, by fresh arrivals from the anchorage, to about,—not, as major Latour says, " 9 or 10000,"f but--5040, rank and file. The prevailing frosts had greatly improved the road from the landing place ; anct

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 118. + Ibid. p. 125.

rendered a passage across the swamps, in most directions, less difficult than usual. At this time the real strength of Fort-Coquille was generally known in camp ; and some one proposed for the army to be moved back, by a route pointed out, to Lake Pontchartrain ; and thence, after taking the forts Coquille and St. John, (in which there would be no difficulty,) to proceed down bayou St. John, to the rear of New Orleans. The attack in front, with such an army, was, however, thought to be the readiest, as it certainly was the boldest mode.

There is no means of judging of the strength of the American position, but by a full description. Fortunately, we are enabled to give that in the very words of the engineer who superintended the construction of the lines. By way of still further elucidation, we have made use of major Latour's plan or sketch ;* which, although it has reference to the operations of a subsequent day, represents, except as to some of the guns, the same lines which were now about to be attacked. —" Jackson's lines, within five miles of the city of New Orleans, and running along the limits of Rodriguez's and Chalmette's plantations, were but one of those antient mill-races so common in Louisiana, extending from the bank of the river to the cypress swamp. It has already been seen, from my description of the form of the soil

■ See Plate VII.

in Lower Louisiana, and from its shelving from the river towards the swamps, that, when the Mississippi is swelled to its greatest height, the level of the surface of its waters is some feet above that of the contiguous soil, and from 12 to 15 feet above that of the praries and bayous, which, at those periods, receive the waters flowing from the Mississippi. To add to the mass and the force of the water, the planters dig canals a few feet deep, throwing the earth on both sides, so as to afford a mass of water from eight to eleven feet deep ; and, at the head of these canals, which are commonly 25 feet wide, are constructed saw-mills. The canal on which Jackson's lines were formed, had long been abandoned, having no longer any mill to turn ; so that its banks had fallen in, and raised its bottom, which was covered with grass, presenting, rather, the appearance of an old draining ditch, than of a canal. On the 21th of December, general Jackson had taken this position ; and, that it was well chosen, will sufficiently appear, on an inspection of the map. I will only observe, that those lines leave the least possible space between the river and the wood, and that from the lines to Villere's canal, the depth of the high land continually increases, and is at Laronde's plantation nearly three times as great as at the lines. As soon as this position was chosen, the troops began to raise a parapet,

leaving the ditch as it was, except that, by cutting the road, it was laid under water, as there was then a temporary rise of the river.. Earth was fetched from the rear of the line, and thrown carelessly on the left (or inner) bank ; where the earth had been thrown when the bank was originally dug. The bank on the right (or outer) side, being but little elevated above the soil, formed a kind of glacis. All the pales of the fences in the vicinity were taken to line the parapet, and prevent the earth from falling into the canal. All this was done at various intervals, and by different corps, owing to the frequent mutations in the disposition of the troops. This circumstance, added to the cold, and to incessant rain, rendered it impossible to observe any regularity as to the thickness and height of the parapet ; which, in some places, was as much as 20 feet thick at the top, though hardly five feet high ; whilst, in other places, the enemy's balls went through, it at the base. On the 1st of January, there was but a very small proportion of the line able to withstand the balls ; but, on the 5th of January, the whole extent, as far as the wood, was proof against the enemy's cannon. The length of the line was about a mile, somewhat more than half of which ran from the river to the wood, the remainder extending into the wood, where the line took a direction towards the left, which rested on a cypress swamp

almost impassable. Enormous holes in the soil, made impassable by their being full of water from the canal, rendered a bend in the line* unavoidable."1

The manner in which the artillery was afterwards distributed, and the number and caliber of the pieces, appear on the plan. It is only necessary to state here, that they consisted of one 32, three 24, one 18, three 12, and two 6-pounder long-guns, and one 92 and one 6-inch howitzer ; total 12 guns : but not above half of them were mounted on the 28th of December. In case of being driven from this strong line, general Jackson had caused to be constructed two other lines in his rear ; the nearest, or Dupre's line, at the distance of a mile and a half, and the third, or Montreuil line, at the distance of two miles and a quarter, from his outer, or main line. **or had the** opposite, or right bank of the river, which even exceeded the left in capability of defence, been neglected. Boisgervais' canal, at the distance of three miles from the city, had been selected ; and the labour of 150 negroes, for six days, completed the parapet along the whole length of the canal, and levelled the earth to form a glacis on the opposite side. There was, also, opposite to the city, on the bank of the river, **a** strong redoubt, formed by a brick-kiln ; surrounded by a ditch, 25 feet wide, with a glacis and parapet. A palisade extended along its whole length on the

* See Plate VII. 1- Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 149.

inside. The redoubt was furnished with a powder-magazine; and mounted with two 24-pounders ; which commanded both the road and the river. *

- The British commander determined to make a demonstration upon the enemy's fortified line on the left bank. Accordingly, at day-light on the morning of the 28th, the troops moved forward in two columns; driving in the whole of the enemy's line of out-posts. During the advance of the British, the ship which had been so unfortunately spared, opened a heavy enfilading fire upon them ; and continued it during the whole of the forenoon.- Her fire, and that from the enemy's heavy pieces at his works, did considerable execution. On the 30th commodore Patterson planted behind the levee on the right bank a 24-pounder, and on the next day, two 12-pounders ; with which he threw shot quite into the British camp. Our loss between the 25th and 31st, as detailed in the return, amounted to 16 killed, 38 wounded, and two missing ; total 56. † The Americans acknowledge a loss of nine killed ; and eight wounded, § on shore, and of one wounded on board the ship ; total 18.

By the evening of the 31st, after considerable difficulty, ten ship 18-pounders, and four 24-pound carronades were brought up the canal, in boats, and four of the former were placed in

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 125.

+ App. Nos. 89 and 90. App. No. 94. § App. No. 91.

a battery, formed with hogsheads of sugar, on the main road, to fire upon the ship, if she dropped down the river. Some other batteries were, in the mean time,- constructed. The first of January was ushered in with a very thick fog, which did not begin to disperse till towards eight o'clock. As soon as the horizon cleared up, the British opened their batteries upon the American line. " Our batteries," says major Latour, " were the principal objects against which the enemy's fire was directed ; but we were not less intent in demolishing his ; for, in about an hour's time, our balls dismounted several of his guns ; and, when the firing ceased, the greater part of his artillery was unfit for service. Justice obliges us to acknowledge, that the fire of the British was, for along time, vigorously kept up, and well-directed." All this while, commodore Patterson's guns, on the opposite bank, shared in the engagement. A sudden change now took place in the weather ; and, so deep was the soil, that it required the greatest exertions of the whole army, aided by the seamen, at this time serving With it, to retire the remaining guns a short distance, before daylight the next morning.

• Failing to make any impression • upon the enemy's parapet, and unable to approach his flanks ; on his right, owing to the river, and on

• Latour's War *Louisiana, p. 133. . 1- App. No. 92.

his left, owing to the impassable swamp by which it was so well secured, the British commander-in-chief determined to wait for the expected reinforcements, under major-general Lambert. We may observe, in this place, what great advantage would have been derived from the 2 or 3000 Choctaw Indians and Negroes, Who were ready, and *might* have been brought from West Florida. During the 2d and 3d of January commodore Patterson, having landed four more 12-pounders, and erected a furnace for heating shot, caused, till the evening of the 5th, considerable destruction in the British camp. Our loss, as detailed in the returns, amounted to 32 killed, 44 wounded, and two missing ; total 78 : that of the Americans, on the 1st of January, 11 killed, and 23 wounded; total 34.' On the four succeeding days, the cannonade, owing to the ruinous state of the British batteries, was wholly on the side of the Americans. " Our artillery," says major Latour, " continued to fire on the enemy ; and, whenever a group of four or five men spewed themselves, they were instantly dispersed by our balls or shells. The advantage we derived from that almost incessant cannonading, on both banks of the Mississippi, was, that we exercised our gunners, annoyed the enemy to such a degree, that he could not work at any fortifica-

* App. No. 95.

+ App. No. 93.

Lion ; nor, indeed, come within the reach of our cannon by day, and was deprived of all repose during the night."*

On the 4th of January general Jackson received the long-expected reinforcement of 2250 Kentuckians ; and, on the 6th, the British received their expected reinforcement of the 7th and 43d regiments. On that very day a deserter informed general Jackson of the intended attack ; as well as that the British were digging out Villere's canal, and extending it, in order to get their boats into the river, ready for a simultaneous attack on the opposite side. In the meanwhile major-general Morgan had thrown up two fresh lines, in advance of his works at Boisgervais' canal. Upon these, and commodore Patterson's battery on the river-side, I were mounted **16** guns. The last-named officer actually saw, and reported, contrary to the belief of sir Alexander Cochrane, § the operations on, Villere's canal in short, the Americans were fully apprized, that their works on both sides of the river would be attacked on the morning of the 8th. "..In our camp," says major Latour, " all was composure ; the officers were ordered to direct their subalterns to be ready on the first signal. Half the troops passed the

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 143.

I. Eaton's Life of Jackson, p. 332..

See Plate VII.

App. No. 99.

|| App. No. 102.

night behind the breastwork; relieving each other occasionally. Every one waited for day with anxiety and impatience, but with calm intrepidity; expecting to be vigorously attacked, and knowing that the enemy had then from 12 to 15,000 bayonets to bring into action, besides 2000 sailors, and some marines."* This preliminary puff might pass, but for the statement about the strength of the British forces. We will first point out where the major contradicts himself. His "list of the several corps composing the British army, at the time of its landing on the shores of the Mississippi, with an estimate of their respective force,"—wherein we find the "40th regiment," and a "detachment of the 62d regiment," that did not land till the 11th of January, stated, together, at "1360 men," the "rocket-brigade, artillery, drivers, engineers, sappers and miners," at "1500," and the "royal marines, and sailors taken from the fleet," as high as "3500,"—makes a total of *only* "14450;" t less, by 2000 and upwards, than the amount which he had previously told us was "ready for action." Again; the numbers upon the major's diagram, or plan of the battle of the 8th, run thus: "Main attack of the British, supposed to be between 8 and 9000 strong;"—"Left column of the British,

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 1b4.

+ Ibid. his Appendix, No. 44.

supposed 1200 strong." Add to this number the 800 stated as the British force upon the right bank; and we have, as the total upon both sides of the river, 12500, instead of "from 12 to 15000, besides 2000 sailors, and some marines."

This is the enemy's, now for the British, account of our force. Previously to the attack on the morning of the 8th, we had, including fatigue-parties and piquets, and every description of force on shore, the following rank and file: 14th light dragoons, 295; royal, artillery, 570; sappers and miners, 98; staff corps, 57; 4th foot, 747; 7th, 750; 21st, 800; 43d, 820; 44th, 427; 85th, 298; 93d, 775; 95th, 276; and 1st and 5th West India regiments, (blacks,) 1040; total, 6953 men; just 2643 less than major Latour's estimated strength of those 14 corps. **By adding** 1200, for the seamen and marines from the fleet, we have 8153 for the total amount of the British on shore. **Deducting** 853 men for the fatigue-parties, piquets, guards at the hospitals, &c. leaves 7300 men for the British force, "ready for action," on both sides of the river, at or before day-light, on the morning of the 8th of January. To this force was added a battery, hastily thrown up, of six 18-pounders; besides a brigade of 9, 6, and 3-pounders, and one howitzer. **With the details of the force at general Jackson's lines, we have nothing to do.** The following extract from Mr. O'Connor's

book will suffice. " From an official account," says he, " it appeared, that the number of men under command of general Jackson, and actually engaged against the enemy, on the 8th of January, amounted to 4698." This was on the left bank : on the right bank, we have 400 men,' sent across, on' the morning of the 8th, under the celebrated French general, Humbert, and 1500; t already on that side, under major-general Morgan ' and commodore Patterson; making a total force, on both sides of the river, of 6198 men. The American artillery, including the batteries on the opposite bank, and only half the guns of the • Louisiana,' consisted of upwards of 30 pieces.

For the order of attack, and the disposition of the different corps, we must refer the reader to major-general Lambert's letter. An unavoidable delay had occurred in getting the boats into the Mississippi; where they were required to carry across troops, in order to attack general Morgan's lines : and then a circumstance, which happened at the very onset, gave a fatal turn to the first misfortune. The 44th regiment, owing chiefly to the negligence of its commander, failed to be in readiness with the fascines and ladders. These had been placed in a redoubt, 1200 yards from the enemy's lines ; by which

* Hist. of the War, p. 291.

+ Eaton's Life of Jackson, p. 336; vide Erratum. 47 App. No. 96.

redoubt the 44th, in its way from camp to its station, passed, till it arrived at the advanced battery, about 500 yards nearer to the enemy's line. The misunderstanding, for such it was, being now, for the first time, cleared up, the commanding officer of the 44th, lieutenant-colonel Mullins, (only a captain in the regiment,) sent hack 300 men, under lieutenant-colonel Debbeig, to bring up the fascines and ladders. Before the 44th returned, the firing had commenced ; and many of the men threw down their " heavy" loads, and took to their muskets. *There was not one ladder placed ;*⁴ although some were thrown in the ditch. What followed we cannot describe better, than in the sworn depositions of two distinguished officers, examined at colonel Mullins's court-martial. Major sir John Tylden, of the 43d regiment, says :—" On the morning of the 8th of January, I was in the field, as senior officer on the adjutant-general's department. I accompanied sir E. Pakenham, slionly after four o'clock, to the house of major-general Gibbs. immediately on his arrival, general Gibbs reported to sir E. Pakenham, in my presence, that colonel Mullins had neglected to obey the order given him the evening before, in not having his regiment at the head of the column, with the fascines and ladders, but that he had immediately, on finding it out, sent an officer to the regiment to hurry them on ; that the mistake

* Court-martial on lieutenant-colonel Mullins, p. 26.

might be rectified, and that he was in motnew tary expectation of a report from that regiment, Sir E. Pakenham then ordered me to find out the 44th regiment, and to know if they had got the fascines and ladders, and to ascertain (the probability) of their getting ,up in their situation in column. I did,. so, and found the 44th regiment moving off at the redoubt, just before day, in a most irregular•and unsoldierlike manner, with the fascines and ladders. I then re+ turned, after • some time, to sir E. Pakenham, and reported the circumstance to him ; stating that, by the time which had elapsed since I left them, they must have arrived in their situation in column. Shortly after the signal of attack was given, I rode with sir E. Pakenham toward the column. In passing . towards the head of the column, we saw several parties of the 44th regiment straggling about the ground with their fascines and ladders ; and sonic of them had, even then, commenced firing. On arriving at the column, a check and confusion had taken place, and the firing was becoming general throughout the whole of the column. General. Gibbs came up to sir Edward Pakenham, and said, in my hearing, am sorry to have to report to you, the troops will not obey me ; they will not follow me.' At this moment there certainly was great 'confusion prevailing in the column. Sir E. Pakenham pulled off his hat, and rode to the head of the column, and cheered the men on,

and in that act fell. At this time, I had just returned from the other flank of the column, and having been at both flanks, and, at the head of the column, I can positively assert, there was not a single man of the 44th regiment in front. I then rode to the rear, to report the death of sir Edward Pakenham. In going to the rear, I saw several parties of the 21st and 44th mgi-meats running to the rear, and firing in all directions, in the most disorderly manner I ever witnessed. I also saw, scattered in several parts of the field, several of the fascines and ladders. I reported the substance •of my testimony to major-general sir John Lambert." *— Major M'Dougal, of the 85th regiment, says thus :- " I was aide de camp to major-general Pakenham, and, on the signal of attack being given on the morning of the 8th January, I accompanied him to the front. Ile expressed himself in the strongest terms, relative to the 44th regiment. The column of attack appeared to be moving in a regular manner ; and he expressed his confidence on the event of the attack : however, a firing commenced ; and, presently afterwards, I saw many individuals of the 44th regi-meat, as well as a group of three or four, scattered over the field, some of them running to the rear with the fascines on their shoulders. Sir Edward Pakenham said,—` For shame, recollect you are

♦ Court-martial on lieutenant-colonel Mullins, p.

British soldiers ; this is the road you ought to take ;' but with little avail. On getting up to the columns the firing had extended to the rear, and the whole column was a mass of firing and confusion, and the head of the column had checked. Sir Edward Pakenham placed himself **in** front ; and, by his exertions, got ..tite. firing very nearly to cease, although not altogether; and the column which he led in person began to move forward. When he had conducted them about 30 or 40 yards, he received a wound, and his horse at the same moment was shot under him ; and, almost immediately afterwards, when he had mounted the second horse, he received another shot, which deprived him of life, and, by the fall of their leader, deprived the column of its best chance of recovering success. On his fall, the firing recommenced with all its *fury* ; and, beyond the spot where the general led them, the head of the column did not advance. The ground presented no obstacle to the advance of the column, or any thing that should have occasioned straggling in a corps regularly formed and duly attended to, had the regiment originally been properly forthed. At no period in the field did I see any part of the 44th regiment in a body; there were some at the head of the coluitn, many at the flanks and rear of the column : **I** particularly remarked several of the soldiers of that regiment

throwing down the fascines and ladders to commence firing. It is my opinion, that the whole confusion of the column proceeded from the original defective formation of the 44th ; the fall of sir Edward Pakenham deprived the column of its best chance of success ; and, had the column moved forward according to order, the enemy's lines would have been carried with little loss. When the fire from our column commenced, the fire from the enemy's was but mere spit of fire, nothing to check a moving column." We may here notice a slight error in major-general Lambert's despatch. **It** was brigade-major Wilkinson, and not major-general sir Edward Pakenham, who fell on the glacis of the enemy's line. The latter fell near the spot marked on the diagram. t

Had it not been for the misbehaviour **of the** 44th regiment, sir Edward Pakenham's life might have been spared ; and, with such an officer to command in chief, the day must have been ours. The two officers, the best able to succeed him, fell also ; one mortally, the other severely wounded. It is idle to accuse the 44th and 21st, (part of which regiment equally misbehaved,) of cowardice. To refute such a charge, it is sufficient to state, that the men of those regiments were chiefly **Irishmen**. The 21st

* Court-martial on lieutenant-colonel Mullins, p. 8.

See Plate VII.

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and 44th were not, however, as major Latour jeeringly calls them, "Wellington's heroes : " they came from the Mediterranean,—from Tarragona ; and were, certainly, the two worst disciplined corps upon the field at New Orleans. The second battalion of the 44th had gained repute under the duke of Wellington, and been always in a high state of discipline: it was at this time in Europe. Where was the proper commanding officer of the first battalion of the 44th. ^{li} We are sorry to be compelled to say, that colonel Brooke was present, but not at the head of his regiment ; owing, it would seem, to some pique or misunderstanding. Comparing his competency with the notorious incompetency of lieutenant-colonel Mullins, colonel Brooke has much to answer for. Major Latour having heard, • as he could not fail to do, that the check in the advance of the right British column arose from the want of the fascines and ladders, describes the men as " shouldering their muskets, and all carrying fascines, and some with ladders."* Here he is outdone by Mr. O'Connor ; who, in his representation of the action, has actually placed a ladder, and a long one too, directly against the parapet.

Colonel Rennie, of the engineers, at the head of a division of the British left brigade, under major-general Keane, was directed, as we gather

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 154.

from the American accounts, (for the British official letter contains no details,) to storm an unfinished redoubt upon the enemy's right. "The detachment ordered against this place," says general Jackson's biographer, "formed the left of general Keane's command. Rennie executed his orders with great bravery ; and, urging forward, arrived at the ditch. His advance was greatly annoyed by commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt ; but, reaching our works, and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and, calling to his troops, bade them to follow : he had scarcely spoken, when he fell, by the fatal aim of our riflemen. Pressed by the impetuosity of superior numbers who were mounting the wall, and entering at the embrasures, our troops had retired to the line, in rear of the redoubt. A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city riflemen, cool and self possessed, perceiving the enemy in his front, opened. upon them, and, at every discharge, brought the object to the ground. To advance, or maintain the point gained, was equally impracticable for the enemy : to retreat or surrender was the only alternative; for they already perceived the division on the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving the field." The situation of

these brave fellows, thus abandoned, may be easily conceived : they were, nearly all, killed or taken prisoners. The fire from the musketry ceased at about half-past eight ; that from the artillery, not till half-past two in the afternoon. The British loss, on both banks, amounted to 290 killed; 1262 wounded ; and 484 missing ; total, not, as the American accounts say, " about 2600," but 2036. As a proof what little opportunity there was, on the part of general Jackson's troops, for displaying any other qualities than skill in the use of the rifle and great guns, the American loss, on the left bank, amounted to no more than seven killed and six wounded ; and, on both banks, to only - 13 killed, 39 wounded, and 19 missing : total 71. I

We shall conclude our account of the battle on the left bank of the Mississippi, with the opinions of two American, or rather of one French and one American military officer, upon the quality and behaviour of the British troops ; as well as upon the merits of the plan of attack, in which they so unfortunately failed. " It is well known," says major Latour, " that agility is not the distinctive quality of British troops. Their movement is, in general, sluggish and difficult ; steady, but too precise ; or, at least, more suitable for a pitched battle, or behind intrenchments, than

for an assault. The British soldiers showed, on this occasion, that it is not without reason that they are said to be deficient in agility. The enormous load they had to carry contributed, indeed, not a little to the difficulty of their movement : besides their knapsacks, usually weighing nearly 30 pounds, and their muskets, too heavy by, at least, one-third, almost all of them had to carry a fascine, from nine to 10 inches in diameter, and four feet long, made of sugar-canes, perfectly ripe, and consequently very heavy, or a ladder from 10 to 12 feet long.' " Instead. of " almost all," only 300 of the British troops had to carry fascines and ladders ; and these were, in truth, so heavy, especially when to be carried, in haste, nearly three quarters of a mile, that most of the men threw down their loads long before they reached the ditch, As there was an abundance of *dry* cane on the spot, it is rather surprising that the ripe or green should have been selected ; particularly for the fascines. Owing to the rain that had been falling, as well as to general Jackson's having, by cutting down the levees, flooded the country, the ground over which the troops had to march, was not the best calculated for displaying their " agility." Major Latour proceeds :—" The duty of impartiality, incumbent on him who relates military events, obliges me to observe,

* Eaton's Life of Jackson, p. 342. 1- App. No.100.

App. No. 1-Ct3.

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 161.

that the attack made on Jackson's lines, by the British, on the 8th of January, must have been determined on by their generals, without any consideration of the ground, the weather, or the difficulties to be surmounted, before they could storm lines, defended by militia indeed, but by militia whose valor they had already witnessed, with soldiers bending under the weight of their loads ; when a man, unincumbered, would, that day, have found it difficult to mount our breast-works, at leizure, and with circumspection, so extremely slippery was the soil. Yet those Officers had had time, and abundant opportunity, to observe the ground, on which the troops were to act. Since their arrival on the banks of the Mississippi, they had sufficiently seen the effects of rainy weather, to form a just idea of the difficulty their troops must have experienced, in Climbing up our intrenchments, even had the column been allowed to advance, without opposition, as far as the ditch. But they were blinded by their pride."* Major-general Wilkinson, on the same subject, says :—" On this memorable day, sir Edward Pakenham, disdainig to avail himself of local circumstances, or to profit by professional skill, determined to carry New Orleans at the point of the bayonet, in the face of day, exposing himself to showers of canister, and triple ranks of infantry and riflemen. He

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 161.

was slaughtered, and repulsed ; and, as the whole operations were confined to the perpendicular march of columns against a straight line, defended by stationary batteries and battalions, the subject requires no further elucidation, than that the passive resolution of the American citizen vanquished the active courage of the British veteran. " In justice to sir Edward Pakenham's memory, it is right to state, that the attack was intended to be made before daylight, could the difficult and arduous service of tracking the boats to the Mississippi have been executed in time. t

At last, 50 barges, launches, and pinnaces were launched ; and 298 of the 85th regiment, along with about 200 seamen and marines, under the command of colonel Thornton, were crossed over. Three of the boats, armed with carronades, called by that officer " gun-boats" t co, operated in the attack. The American force on this side was, as already stated, 1500 men. The progress and successful result of the expedition will be found, fully detailed, in the British and American official accounts. § By the returns of loss on the 8th, only two of the 85th were killed ; 41 wounded ; and one missing. The seamen and marines (supposing none to have fallen on the left bank) lost four killed and 35 wounded ;

* Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. I. p. 541. t App. No. 96.

App. No. 97. § App. Nos. 97, 98, 101, and 102.

total six killed, 76 wounded, (an unusual proportion,) and one missing ; grand total 83. Commodore Patterson's guns, and not the rifles of the flying Kentuckians, " the meritorious conquerors of Tecumseh," occasioned the chief of colonel Thornton's loss. The American loss is not distinctly specified in the returns, but was very trifling. The behaviour of the American troops on the right, shews what we should have had to fear from the " valor" of those on the left bank, had only half of sir Edward's army got behind their works. Colonel Thornton, at the end of his letter, is very positive, that lieutenant - colonel Gubbins, whom, on crossing over to have his wound dressed, he had left, with a force that, including the reinforcement of seamen and marines, did not exceed 700 men, would retain possession of the captured lines. But colonel Dickson, of the artillery, " did not think it could be held with security by a smaller corps than 2000 men."* The consequence of this unfortunate report was, that major-general Lambert, now the commanding officer, ordered the right bank of the river to be instantly evacuated. " I need not tell you," says general Jackson, " with how much eagerness, I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus happily quitted."† Major-general Lambert had, previously applied to

* App. No: 90. • 1- ?App. No. 101,

general Jackson for a suspension of hostilities ; in granting which the latter considers, and, apparently, with reason, that he completely outwitted the British general.

Of the six vessels ordered up the Mississippi to bombard Fort-St. Philip, the Herald, two bombs, and Thistle and Pigmy only, could ascend the river. The fort mounted twenty-nine pounders, one 6-pounder, a 13-inch mortar, an 8-inch and a 52-inch howitzer ; and, in the covert-way, two long 32-pounders, mounted on a level with the water ; and was garrisoned by 366 men.* The particulars of the bombardment are given in the American official account : † we have no British account to compare it with, or from which to state our loss on the occasion. It appears that the garrison lost only two men killed, and seven wounded. On the 11th the 40th regiment arrived ; but no movement took place in consequence. On the morning of the 15th, a British deserter informed general Jackson that major-general Lambert would retreat in a few days. † On the night of the 18th the retreat took place ; and the army remained in bivouac, near its first point of disembarkation, unmolested, till the 27th; when the whole re-embarked. Our loss between the 9th and 26th of January, owing to the enemy's cannonade,

* Latour's War in Louis. p. 191. -I- App; Nos, 107 and 108.

Ibid. p. 170.

amounted to one killed, and five wounded, including lieutenant D'Arcy, of the 43d ;* who, according to the American accounts, had both his legs carried off by a shell, at the moment when, after having been on guard for several days in succession, he was taking some repose, stretched on the ground, at the entrance of his bivouac. This makes the loss sustained by the British, from first to last, in this ill-fitted expedition, 385 killed ; 1616 wounded ; and, including the two officers and 37 dragoons taken on the night of the 25th, 591 missing ; total, not as general Jackson supposed " 4000," † but 2492: while the American loss, in the same expedition, amounted to 55 killed; 185 wounded ; and 93 missing; total 333.4: Major Latour says :— " The number of *sick* and wounded in the fleet is estimated at 2000." § Where could he have obtained this fact ? Both the army and navy employed on the expedition were, from first to last, healthy beyond example.— Supposing all the British wounded to have been disabled, there would still be 5400 troops remaining ; enough, surely, if properly employed, to have taken New Orleans : an object of ten-fold more importance now, than when the expedition was first thought of. As at Baltimore, so at New Orleans, the **premature** fall of a British general saved an American city.

* App. No. 106. † App. No. 104. App. No. 103.
§ Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 226.

Instead of attributing their good fortune, in this their " Waterloo " battle, to a succession of blunders and accidents on our part, the Americans boasted, that it was their " superior valor" that had driven away the invaders. • If valor did any thing, it was the valor of Frenchmen, Spaniards, natives of New Orleans, " people of colour from St. Domingo," and Irish emigrants, but not,—as the affair on the right bank proved,—of " brave but indiscreet Kentuckians." Among the several names of French generals, we find " Humbert," the " hero of Castlebar," the general to whom the French government had formerly confided the command of that expedition to Ireland, which will ever be recorded in the glorious pages of history ;" † and the same who was authorized by general Jackson, after the battle at New Orleans, to " form a legion, and to enrol in it all the English deserters who were willing to enter the service." ‡ The Mexican field-marshal, Don Juan De Anaya," also fought against us at New Orleans. Generals Coffee and Carroll were both Irishmen, or of Irish extraction. As to general Jackson; he was not quite an Irishman. Both his parents, it appears, emigrated in 1765 ; and he was born on the 15th of March, 1767, at a place called the Waxsaw settlement, near Camden, in South-Carolina.

* Marengo, Austerlitz, Leipsiz, *New Orleans*, and Waterloo. Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. I. p. 654.

† Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 176. ‡ Ibid. 227.

His mother was " **an** exemplary woman ;" and, says Mr. Eaton, " to the lessons she inculcated on the youthful minds of her sons, was, no doubt, owing, in a great measure, that fixed opposition to British tyranny and oppression, which afterwards so much distinguished them.* We can now account for general Jackson's calling England " the common enemy of mankind, the highway robber of the world." t However, he proved himself at New Orleans, not only an able general, for the description of country in which he had to operate, but, in all his transactions with the British officers, both an honorable, and a courteous enemy. In his official despatches, too, he has left an example of modesty, worthy of imitation by the generality of American commanders, naval as well as military.

Every American history that we have seen, and, probably, every one that has been published since the war, charges the British commander at New Orleans, with having given out, on the morning of the 8th of January, for the parole and countersign, the words—' Booty and Beauty.' The excellent moral character of the late sir Edward Pakenham renders this improbable; and we aver, without fear of contradiction, that, agree, ably to the custom of our armies on the peninsula, no parole and countersign was given out at New Orleans. The same sentiment, but expressed in

t Eaton's Life of Jackson, p. 9. :l- Ibid. p. 282,

less refined language, may, however, have been uttered by, or in the hearing of, some soldier or sailor, who afterwards deserted to the enemy.

The bad state of the weather delayed the departure of the fleet and troops till the 5th of February ; on which day they sailed, and, on the 7th, arrived off Dauphine island. The troops here disembarked, and encamped ; except the skeletons of the 9th, 21st, and 44th regiments, which, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Debbeig, of the 44th, were despatched in boats, to attack Fort Bowyer. These 600, or, as major Latour will have it, " 5000," troops landed, early on the morning of the 8th about three miles in the rear of the fort. The full details of the surrender of Fort-Bowyer, on the " memorable " 12th of February, without a shot having been fired at it, are given in the British and American official accounts. -I- By the fire opened upon the working parties at the intrenchments, the British lost 13 killed and 18 wounded. Mr. O'Connor cunningly says :— " There were but few lives lost on *either* side." I Major Latour has given a plan of the attack ; upon which we count 60 ships and other vessels; and between Dauphine island and the Mobile peninsula, no fewer than 8050 British troops.

* Latour's War in Louisiana, p. 209.

1 App. Nos. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. and 115.

History of the War, p. 296.

For the major's puffing remarks we have no room. They will be read with interest by those to whom they are more immediately addressed. But it, **is doctor Smith, that is entitled to the** thanks of his brother-citizens. "The array of 60 sail," says he, "and the parade of 16000 Britons before Fort-Bowyer was a most extraordinary military spectacle." * Extraordinary, indeed ! He finds fault with the British, too, for particularizing, among the articles surrendered, "one triangle gin complete," and ".500 flints." t How happened doctor Smith not to know, that general Wilkinson, when he obtained possession of this same forte from the Spaniards, inserted in his inventory of ordnance and munitions of war, "—"one wooden spetula," "two tarpaulins," and "one pair of washer-hooks" ? Had the American generals that took the forts George and Erie been so precise, particularly as to the "women and children," doctor Smith and his brother historians would have been content with shorter paragraphs in announcing those "brilliant achievements" to the world. About the middle of March, along with major-general Power, § and one or two reinforcements of troops, arrived the official notification of the treaty of peace ; and, agreeably to the first article in it II Fort-Bowyer was restored.

* Hist. of the United States, Vol. III. p. 35.5.

+ App. No. 110. Wilkinson's Mem. Vol. I. p. 515.

§ See p. 336.

II App. No. 116.

Leaving **the British troops at Mobile and Cumberland island to find their way home, we shall pass at once to the Canadas. Here additional reinforcements had been arriving, and, along with them, what had been so long vainly hoped for, a competent commander-in-chief. Sir George Murray, however, had scarcely arrived, ere the peace sent him home again. The captured American schooners on Lake Huron had conveyed reinforcements to Michilimacinac; and a British fleet, for the service of that lake, was in rapid progress. A 74 and a new frigate had been launched at Kingston ; and two or three frigates and sloops were building for Lake Champlain. The Americans still retained Sackett's Harbor ; and we, the forts Niagara and Michilimacinac. The peace deprived us of the two latter ; and, considering how the campaign of 1815, as soon as it could be opened, was likely to be conducted on our part, we may say, of the former also.**

A full discussion upon the merits of the treaty would, of itself, fill a volume. We cannot, however, read over the ninth article, without pointing to the recent proceedings of the American general Gaines with the Seminole Indians. It is the interest of the United States to destroy, and they will in time .destroy, either by the sword or debauchery, every Indian upon the **American continent. The United States declared**