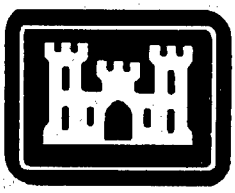

US Army Corps of Engineers
New Orleans District

COELMN/PD - 99/02

NATIONAL REGISTER EVALUATION OF THE BAYOU JEAN LOUIS CEMETERY (16SM89), ATCHAFALAYA BASIN PROJECT, ST. MARTIN PARISH, LOUISIANA

Final Report

February 1999

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13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)

Archeological and historical research was undertaken to document certain aspects of the former Bayou Chene community. The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (16SM89) was mapped, and the site was evaluated using NRHP criteria. The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is recommended as being eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D. It is further recommended that Bayou Jean Louis be closed northwest of the cemetery, and that the cemetery be re-covered with soil to protect it.

Seven other cemeteries were visited and mapped. Only two of these additional cemeteries, the Bayou Chene Methodist Church and Cemetery (16SM90) and the Bayou Macauley Cemetery (16SM88), exhibited some sort of physical manifestation. Preservation in place, avoidance, and periodic monitoring were recommended for all seven cemeteries. Finally, reconnaissance survey was performed within the project area. This survey encompassed approximately 214 acres. No additional cultural resources were identified as a result of this survey, but five erosional areas were identified. These should be monitored periodically to determine if cultural deposits

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
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REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF:

November 30, 1998

Planning, Programs and
Project Management Division
Environmental Planning and
Compliance Branch

To The Reader:

This cultural resources effort was designed, funded, and guided by this office as part of our cultural resources management program. The report documents historical and archeological investigations of the historic Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery in the former Bayou Chene community. This office and the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer concur in the report's conclusion that the cemetery is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

Upon completion of this report, we repaired a breach in the bankline of the West Access Channel (Bayou Chene) near the location of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery. The breach had allowed the passage of rapidly-flowing river water into Bayou Jean Louis during high water conditions in the Atchafalaya Basin, causing erosional damage to the cemetery over the past few years.

The work to repair the breach consisted of construction of an earthen core dam with placement of a 3-foot layer of stone to protect the closure from erosion. The closure tied into an existing sheetpile bulkhead on the east side of the breach and the existing high bank on the west side.

We implemented the protection work at the request of descendants of persons buried in the cemetery and in response to requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended. With completion of this construction work, the cemetery is now protected from further damage.

Michael E. Stout
Contracting Officer's
Representative

David F. Carney
Acting Chief, Environmental
Planning and Compliance Branch

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The memories of former Bayou Chene community residents were absolutely vital to the success of this project. Project Historian Ben Maygarden spoke with the following oral informants (in alphabetical order): David Allen Sr., Electa Guillot Allen, Michael Allen, Philip Allen, Walter Allen, Darl Ashley, Carl Carline, Joyce Kelly Carline, Ray Carline, Stella Larson Case, Amos Curry, Lila Larson Curry, Lynn Curry, Pearl Theriot Curry, Curtis Larson, Sarah Larson, Leota Buck Megas, Douglas Mendoza, Rene Seneca, Harold Snellgrove, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Charles Verret, and Horace Wisdom. He would like to express his sincere appreciation for having been invited into their homes to hear about Bayou Chene, and he asks their forbearance for his telling of the Bayou Chene story. We would also like to thank Anna Marks, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Lafayette, and Mr. Carroll Ashley, for assistance in his research; and Mr. Charles Roe, for his hospitality at the 26th and 27th annual Bayou Chene Reunion. Finally, Mr. Michael Stout of the New Orleans District, Army Corps of Engineers, served as Contracting Officer's Representative for this project, and we would like to thank him for his assistance and guidance.

Dr. Jill-Karen Yakubik served as Principal Investigator, and Mr. Aubra Lee was Project Manager. Melissa Braud was the surveyor and assisted with report writing. Field crew included Ruben Saenz, Chris Sliwinski, and Kenneth Jones. Dr. Roger Saucier served as Geomorphologist, and, as noted above, Ben Maygarden was Historian. Graphics were prepared by Amanda Perschall and Garrick Rose, and the latter prepared all CAD maps and other computer-generated graphics. Donna Stone served as Laboratory Supervisor for artifact processing.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Earth Search, Inc. (ESI), conducted archeological and historical research on the former Bayou Chene community located in St. Martin Parish, Louisiana (Figure 1). The primary focus of these efforts was documentation of the Bayou Jean Louis (John Lewis) Cemetery and the evaluation of this cemetery in terms of National Register criteria. The authors believe that the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery possesses the quality of integrity and the research potential necessary for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), and we recommend that the cemetery be preserved in place. In addition, eight other cemeteries which were identified during historical research and/or by former inhabitants of the Bayou Chene community were visited and mapped. Two of these have some form of physical expression, but the remainder exhibit no associated features. Finally, a general reconnaissance survey of the former Bayou Chene community was undertaken. No previously unrecorded cultural resources were identified during the general reconnaissance survey, but five areas of severe and/or potential erosion were identified.

Project Area Description

The project area conforms, in most instances, to the area of the former Bayou Chene community. This community was dispersed along Bayou Chene, Bayou Crook Chene, and the upper reaches of Alligator Bayou and the lower reach of Little Bayou de Plomb (Figure 1). The Bayou Chene community, as well as some parts of the Atchafalaya Basin, have been significantly impacted by U. S. Army Corps of Engineers flood control efforts. Construction of the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway during the 1930s increased both flood heights and sedimentation rates. In 1933, the Bayou Chene Cut moved the Atchafalaya River main channel east of and away from the community, which served to reduce stream flow and navigation traffic through the settlement. The increased flood levels and sedimentation are two of the primary reasons the community was abandoned.

Dredging of the West Access Channel in 1966 introduced major changes to Bayous Chene and Crook Chene. The channel was straightened in several areas with dredged soil placed inside retaining dikes. In 1991, the entrance channel to Bayous Chene and Crook Chene was realigned. This action actually reversed previous construction in the area completed in 1962 and 1966. The inflow channel was placed back in the channel which was closed in 1962, and the West Access Channel below the new channel was abandoned. The stream flow direction was reversed to its pre-1962 direction. This last action placed the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery area only one mile from the headwater flow of the Atchafalaya Main Channel instead of the three miles previous to 1991 (Castille et al. 1990:32; see also Scope-of-Work, Appendix 1 of this report).

Until recently, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery was buried under approximately 20 ft (6.09 m) of sediment and spoil bank deposits. As a result of the post-1991 flanking of a canal closure installed in 1983, a breakthrough channel along Bayou Chene's south bankline exposed increasing amounts of the cemetery area. The partially exposed cemetery was reported to the NODCOE in August 1996. A site inspection revealed the presence of several suspected burial pit depressions, an iron cross preserved in place, a wooden fence enclosure around a suspected burial plot, and a surface scatter of historic artifacts covering the entire exposed cemetery area. High flood water during the winter of 1996-1997 exposed a much larger portion of the cemetery as well as damaging some of the wooden fencing and grave markers observed earlier (Scope-of-Work, Appendix 1).

At the time of the NODCOE site visit, the then-known extent of the Bayou Jean Louis cemetery was totally enclosed by retaining dikes and had not been impacted by the eroding breakthrough channel. The newly-eroded and exposed area was a previously unidentified portion of

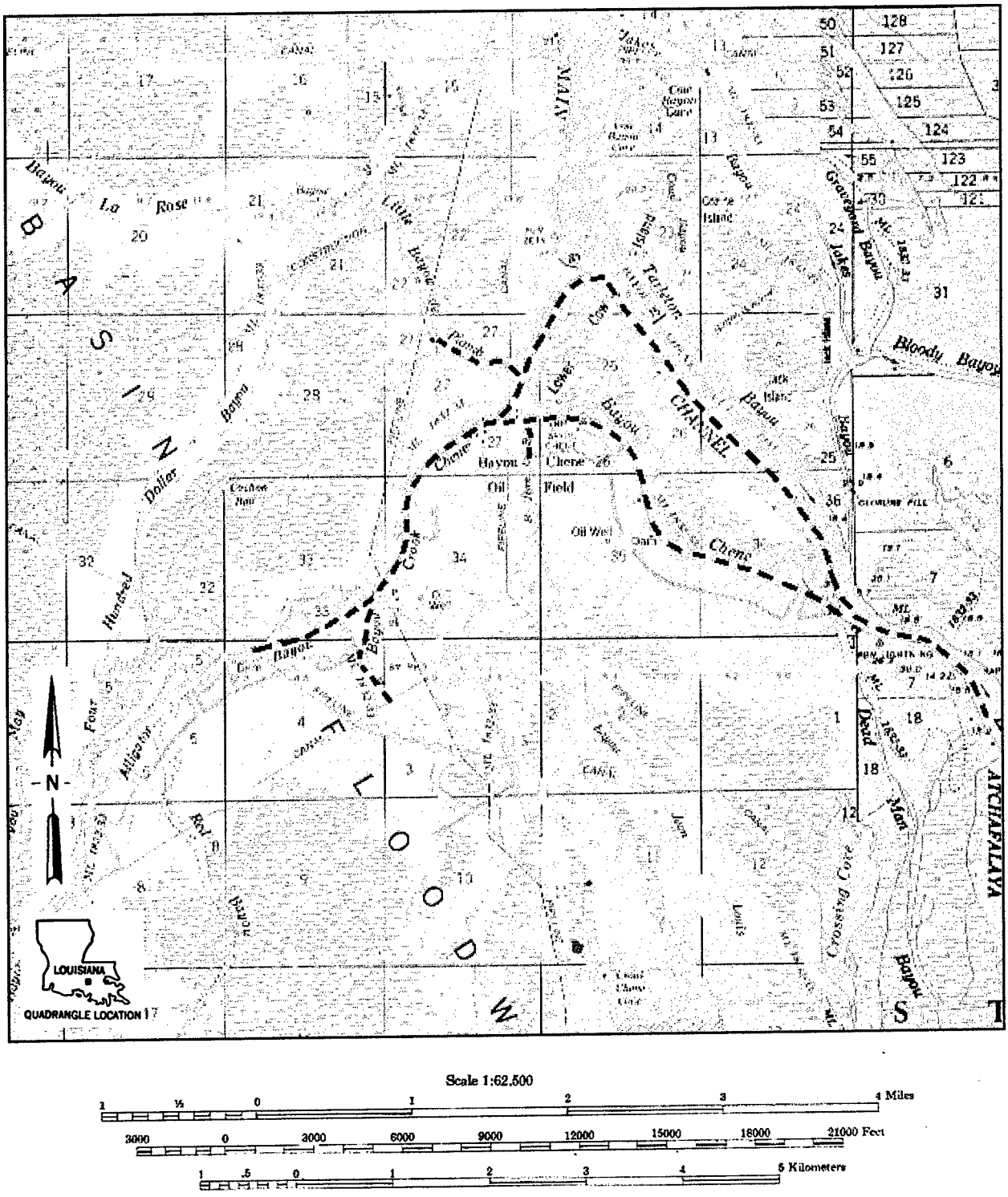


Figure 1. Excerpts from the 15' *Loreauville* and *Chicot Lake, LA* (both 1994) quads showing the project area (scale 1:62500). The dotted line indicates the area of bankline survey.

that cemetery. Therefore, field investigations were designed to document the exposed portion of the cemetery and determine if it was significant using NRHP criteria. In addition, pedestrian and boat survey were conducted within the boundaries of the historic Bayou Chene community in order to determine if any other cemeteries or structures associated with this community could be located and assessed.

Report Organization

The geologic and geomorphic history of the project area is presented in Chapter 2 and the natural setting is described in Chapter 3. These chapters provide a overview of natural and cultural changes to the landscape. Prehistoric and historic occupations of the area are presented in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively, and provide the contexts necessary for evaluating cultural resources located within the project area. Previous cultural resources investigations als are presented in Chapter 4. The results of the current field investigations are presented in Chapter 6. Recommendations are presented in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2
GEOMORPHIC SETTING AND HISTORY OF THE BAYOU CHENE COMMUNITY

Purpose and Scope

This portion of the report provides a characterization of the physical landscape, a description of the landforms, and a discussion of geomorphic processes that have affected the Bayou Chene community and vicinity. In such a dynamic environment as the community exists, the discussions are extremely relevant to understanding why the settlement was made, where it was, how it developed, and why it has been preserved. Even during the short 100-year time frame when the community was inhabited, river channel changes have been dramatic.

Information presented herein resulted from a review and analysis of the literature, including historic maps, aerial photos, and engineering surveys. No geomorphic field investigations were conducted for this study. However, the writer is personally familiar with the general area and has extensive knowledge of the fluvial processes and landforms of the region.

Geographic and Physiographic Setting

Bayou Chene is located in the Atchafalaya Basin of south-central Louisiana in the southeastern portion of St. Martin Parish. It is situated approximately mid-way between the cities of Plaquemine on the east and New Iberia on the west. The main channel of the Atchafalaya River lies about 1.5 km to the east. The community developed along the banks of three small bayous (bearing four names) at a point where they cross at right angles. The larger of the three is an east/west trending stream that is designated Bayou Chene east of the community and Bayou Crook Chene west of the community. Joining this stream from the north is Bayou de Plomb (also known as Little Bayou de Plomb or Four Hundred Dollar Bayou) and from the south is Bayou Jean Louis. Only Bayou Chene/Bayou Crook Chene is navigable at the present time. One of the first large-scale maps of the area, dating to ca. 1915 (Meyer and Hendrickson 1916), shows buildings in the community extending for about 1 km in the cardinal directions from the confluence, but especially along the south bank of Bayou Chene east of the confluence. It should be noted that Bayou Jean Louis has been artificially dredged for access to several well sites.

Physiographically, the Atchafalaya Basin lies within the Gulf segment of the Coastal Plain Province of North America. More specifically, it is a major subdivision of the Mississippi deltaic plain in the area that is transitional between the Mississippi alluvial valley to the north and the deltaic plain to the south. The basin is a broad, flat, largely uninhabited, forested tract about 9,850 sq km in extent. It consists of a complex mosaic of backswamp, highly turbid and sluggish streams bounded by alluvial ridges (natural levees), and shallow freshwater lakes. The basin is a topographic depression flanked by the Teche meander belt ridge of the Mississippi River to the west, the modern Mississippi meander belt ridge to the northeast, and the Lafourche meander belt ridge of the river to the southeast (Figure 2). The Atchafalaya River, currently a major distributary of the Mississippi River, is the principal stream within the basin and flows southward through the approximate center of the basin, eventually draining into the Gulf of Mexico.

At one time or another, virtually all of the many streams within the basin originated as or functioned as distributaries of the Mississippi River. Many are largely abandoned and filled while others have experienced multiple episodes of activity, sometimes with reversals in flow directions. Since near the beginning of this century, the basin has been subjected to extensive levee construction, dredging, channelization, and the formation of cutoffs in an attempt to reconcile the often conflicting goals of flood control, navigation, and environmental management.

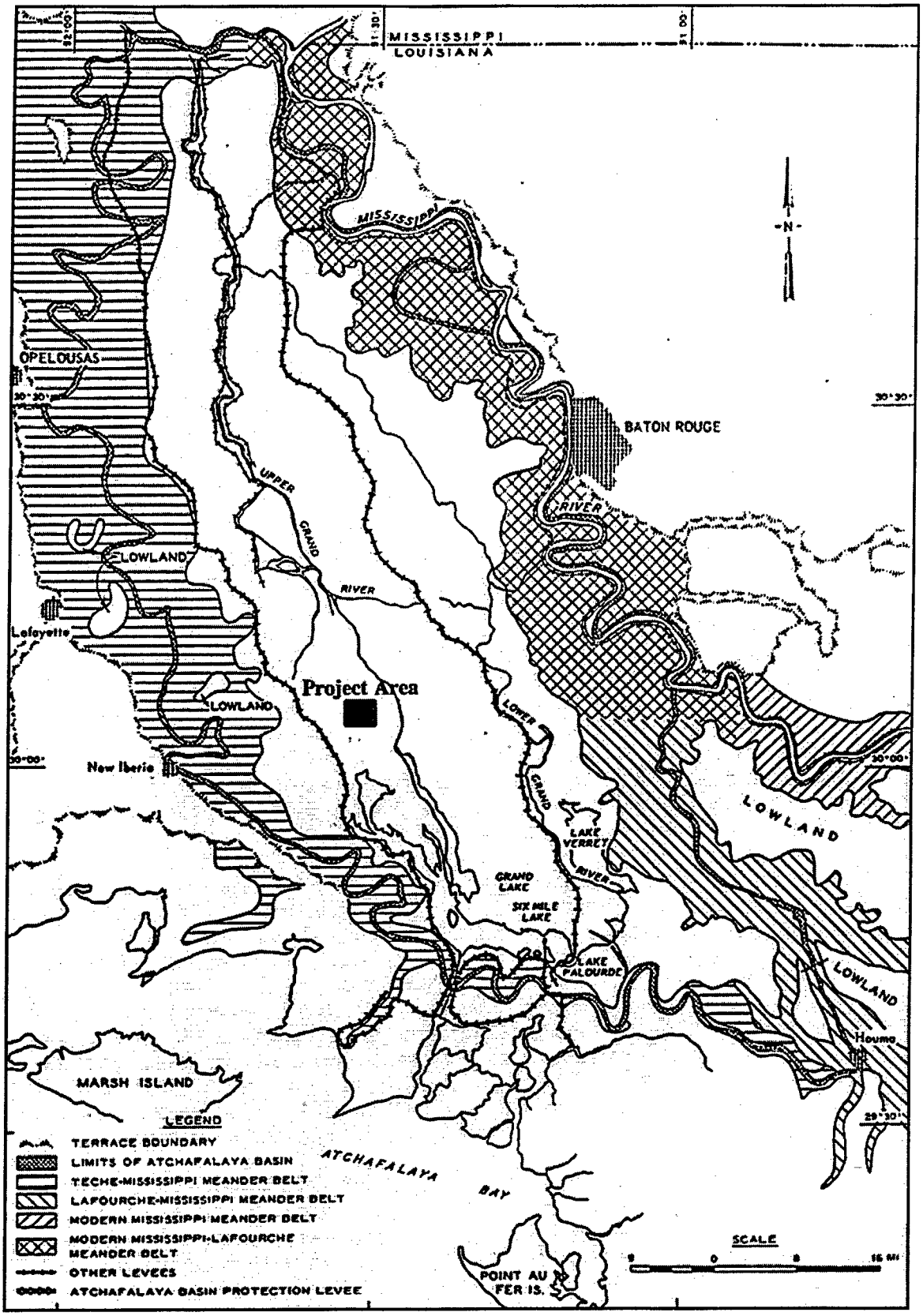


Figure 2. Physiographic setting of the Atchafalaya Basin. Modified from Krinitzsky and Smith (1969).

Excluding stream banks at low water stages, local relief in the Atchafalaya Basin seldom exceeds 2 m. Maximum elevations approximating 8 m above mean sea level occur along natural levee crests while elevations in the backswamp areas average only about 2.0 to 2.5 m above that datum. Elevations in excess of 8 m, and sometimes exceeding 10 m, do occur but are indicative of spoil banks along channels that have been artificially dredged.

Surface runoff from the Atchafalaya Basin has varied widely over the last several centuries and consists of local precipitation plus contributions from the Mississippi and Red rivers. Since the 1970s and the construction of the water-control structures at Old River, the runoff has involved the entire discharge of the Red River plus approximately 25 percent of the annual discharge of the Mississippi River. In earlier historic times, the Mississippi River contribution was smaller and Red River discharge fluctuated between the Atchafalaya and Mississippi rivers. Overbank flooding occurs mainly in the spring and early summer months and its magnitude has been influenced by confinement of flood waters within the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway. In the early part of the 20th century when levees were less extensive, seasonal stage variations in the basin near Bayou Chene were on the order of 4 to 4.5 m.

Background and Previous Investigations

As will be explained in the next sections, all surface and nearsurface deposits in the Atchafalaya Basin area are no more than a few thousand years old. The first attempt to unravel the intricacies of the stratigraphy of the deposits and to establish a chronology (both relative and numerical) of channel shifts was that of Fisk (1944). Although now known to be largely invalid because of certain erroneous assumptions and a lack of radiometric dating, this work still stands as a classic in the geological literature because of its comprehensiveness and its insight into fluvial processes.

The 1944 work of Fisk, and several engineering geologic studies he accomplished for the Corps' Mississippi River Commission (MRC) as a consultant, were directly instrumental in his retention to undertake a monumental investigation of the problem of a possible complete Mississippi River diversion into the Atchafalaya Basin (Fisk 1952; Latimer and Schweizer 1951). The 1952 investigation marks the most comprehensive geological study of the basin that has ever been conducted and was part of an extremely detailed evaluation of the basin's sedimentation and hydraulics. As a result of the investigations, it was determined that a complete diversion definitely had geological precedents and was inevitable. This led to the construction of several large water-control structures and appurtenant facilities in the upper end of the basin in the vicinity of Old River.

The next episode of geological studies in the basin area was triggered by a program of subsurface exploration that resulted in large numbers of soil cores obtained from borings along flood control levees flanking the basin floodway. These led to the recognition and differentiation of a series of depositional environments within the deposits underlying the basin (e.g. Krinitzsky and Smith 1969; Krinitzsky 1970). Using similar modes of investigation, Coleman (1966a; 1966b) further advanced our understanding of basin sedimentology and ecology and made a major contribution to basic geological knowledge.

The most recent episode of geologic investigations, also prompted by engineering considerations, has included the most detailed delineation of landforms and depositional environments to be accomplished to date. Systematic mapping at a scale of 1:62,500 has been completed for the entire basin area (May 1983) and has been elaborated on at an even larger scale (1:24,000) for specific application to cultural resources investigations (Smith et al. 1986). Both of these studies were relied upon heavily for this report.

The final episode of geological work in the basin has focused on the recent development of a delta in shallow Gulf waters at the mouth of the Atchafalaya River (e.g. Shlemon 1972; van Heerden and Roberts 1980; Wells and Roberts 1984). The newly emerging delta is a rare geological opportunity and has served as a laboratory for a variety of multidisciplinary studies. They are only peripherally related to the purposes of this report but help put major recent changes in basin sedimentation and hydrology into context.

Concurrent with these shifting emphases, there has been a slow but steady improvement in our understanding of basin geomorphology and landscape evolution via a number of small-scale cultural resources investigations for public works projects (e.g. Gibson 1982). These have offered valuable insight into landscape dynamics and human interactions and environmental adaptations. The present project is an excellent example.

As a consequence of all of the studies mentioned above, a detailed scenario of the processes and events associated with a major diversion of the Mississippi River and the growth of a new delta lobe has been documented. The diversion began possibly in the early-sixteenth century (Fisk 1952) with the formation of the Atchafalaya River as a major Mississippi River distributary. Over the next 200 to 300 years, the Atchafalaya River enlarged, but then began to decline in a geologically typical manner as conditions favorable to the diversion declined with shifting river channels. However, because of human modifications, such as log raft removal and dredging to maintain navigation, the process of decay was reversed, and the Atchafalaya River began to enlarge in the early-twentieth century. This marked the beginning of a trend to complete diversion that could only be controlled by major engineering works. As is typical of such a diversion, the receiving basin (the Atchafalaya Basin in this case) experienced rapid channel changes and enlargement but also copious quantities of overbank sedimentation. The history of many of the channel changes is well documented by detailed surveys since they have occurred in historic times. However, the chronology of many of the channels and distributaries that formed prior to the nineteenth century is essentially unknown and, as indicated later, presents a problem in reconstructing the geologic history of the Bayou Chene area. Despite the many geological studies since, there has been no attempt to develop a chronological model since the initial one of Fisk (1944). Other portions of the deltaic plain have been addressed more recently (Frazier 1967), but the Atchafalaya Basin has been ignored, possibly because of its extreme complexity.

Geologic Framework

The Mississippi alluvial valley and deltaic plain areas have been affected for millions of years by downwarping within the broad, north-south trending Mississippi Embayment and the east-west trending Gulf Coast Syncline (Saucier 1994). This has resulted in the deposition during the Tertiary and Quaternary periods of tens of thousands of feet of sediments in alternating fluvial, deltaic, estuarine, and shallow marine environments. Accompanying the downwarping and sedimentation have been the formation of zones of east-west trending growth faults and the intrusion of diapiric salt domes (Murray 1961). Both geologic processes have largely determined the nature and extent of oil and gas fields which are abundant in the Atchafalaya Basin area. While no major producing fields lie within about 5 km of Bayou Chene, the presence of the petroleum industry in the vicinity is manifest by several scattered wells, access canals, and pipelines.

Within this structural framework, events relevant to this report are those that occurred during the Pleistocene and Holocene epochs. Constituting the last 2.5 million years of geological time, these epochs were dominated by the cyclical advance and retreat of continental glaciers and the rise and fall of sea level. Glaciers did not directly affect the Lower Mississippi Valley area, but on several occasions the alluvial valley served as a giant sluiceway for the transport of vast volumes of meltwater and glacial outwash to the Gulf of Mexico. Glacial stages were episodes marked by a Mississippi River braided stream regime, the transport and deposition largely of sands and gravels, and relatively low sea level stands (Autin et al. 1991). In contrast, interglacial

stages were times of stream meandering and meander belt formation, predominantly fine-grained sediment loads (silts and clays), and relatively high sea level stands. Near the Gulf Coast, glacial stages were characterized by stream entrenchment and shorelines well south of their present location. Interglacial stages were times of entrenched valley filling, transgressing shorelines, and eventually deltaic plain formation by delta lobe growth and decay.

The Mississippi alluvial valley in the Atchafalaya Basin area is the cumulative product of multiple episodes of entrenchment and planation during the Pleistocene during which time Tertiary and early Pleistocene formations were scoured to depths of as much as 120 m. At the surface, the floodplain of the alluvial valley is flanked by Pleistocene terraces dating to the Sangamon and Mid-Wisconsin stages (Figure 2).

Alluvial deposits that fill the entrenchment beneath the floodplain consist of a coarse-grained substratum and a fine-grained topstratum (May 1983). Substratum deposits are predominantly sands and gravels (glacial outwash) of Wisconsin-stage age that extend from the base of entrenchment to within 30 to 36 m of the surface. While nowhere exposed at the surface, the deposits have been encountered in thousands of borings and found to be remarkably persistent in composition (e.g. Fisk 1952; May 1983; Krinitzsky and Smith 1969). The age of the basal portion of the substratum probably exceeds 20,000 years, while the uppermost deposits have been dated to about 10,000 to 12,000 years B.P. (Saucier 1994; Smith et al. 1986). During this interval, sea level was at least 30 m lower than at present.

The fine-grained topstratum, 30 to 36 m thick, represents overbank deposition by the Mississippi and Red rivers while they have flowed in meandering or anastomosing regimes during the last 10,000 to 12,000 years. Several discrete environments of deposition are represented. Along the flanks of the basin in the areas of the Teche, Mississippi, and Lafourche meander belts, the sediments were laid down primarily in natural levee, point bar, and abandoned channel environments. However, across the broad expanse of the central portion of the basin, some natural levee and abandoned course environments are represented, but the vast majority of the sediments were laid down in backswamp, lacustrine, and lacustrine delta environments (Figure 3). Because of shifts in the balance between the effects of rising sea level from the south and the input of fluvial sediments from the north, landscapes varied from shallow swamps through deep swamps to shallow lakes and the sedimentary sequence accumulated under the influence of rising base levels (Coleman 1966a, 1966b; Krinitzsky and Smith 1969).

Since sea level reached to within a few meters of its present level by about 5,000 years ago and has been rising relatively slowly since, base levels have been relatively stationary and the overall trend in the basin has been toward higher and drier swamps and low alluvial ridges. This trend dramatically increased in late prehistoric times, and during the historic period, increased rates of sediment input have transformed extensive lacustrine areas such as Chicot, Grand, and Six Mile lakes into subaerial environments (Fisk 1952; Gagliano and van Beek 1975). Almost everywhere in the basin, aggradation has prevailed over the effects of regional subsidence and sediment compaction. Within the last several decades, the sediment storage capacity of the basin has declined because of continued filling, and the locus of deposition has shifted from the basin into Atchafalaya Bay where true delta building has begun (Figures 2 and 3).

Landforms and Depositional Environments

Four depositional environments are present within a several kilometer radius of Bayou Chene, and their location and characteristics are important in understanding the history of the community (Figure 4). Each environment is represented by a distinctive sedimentary sequence and a characteristic landscape.

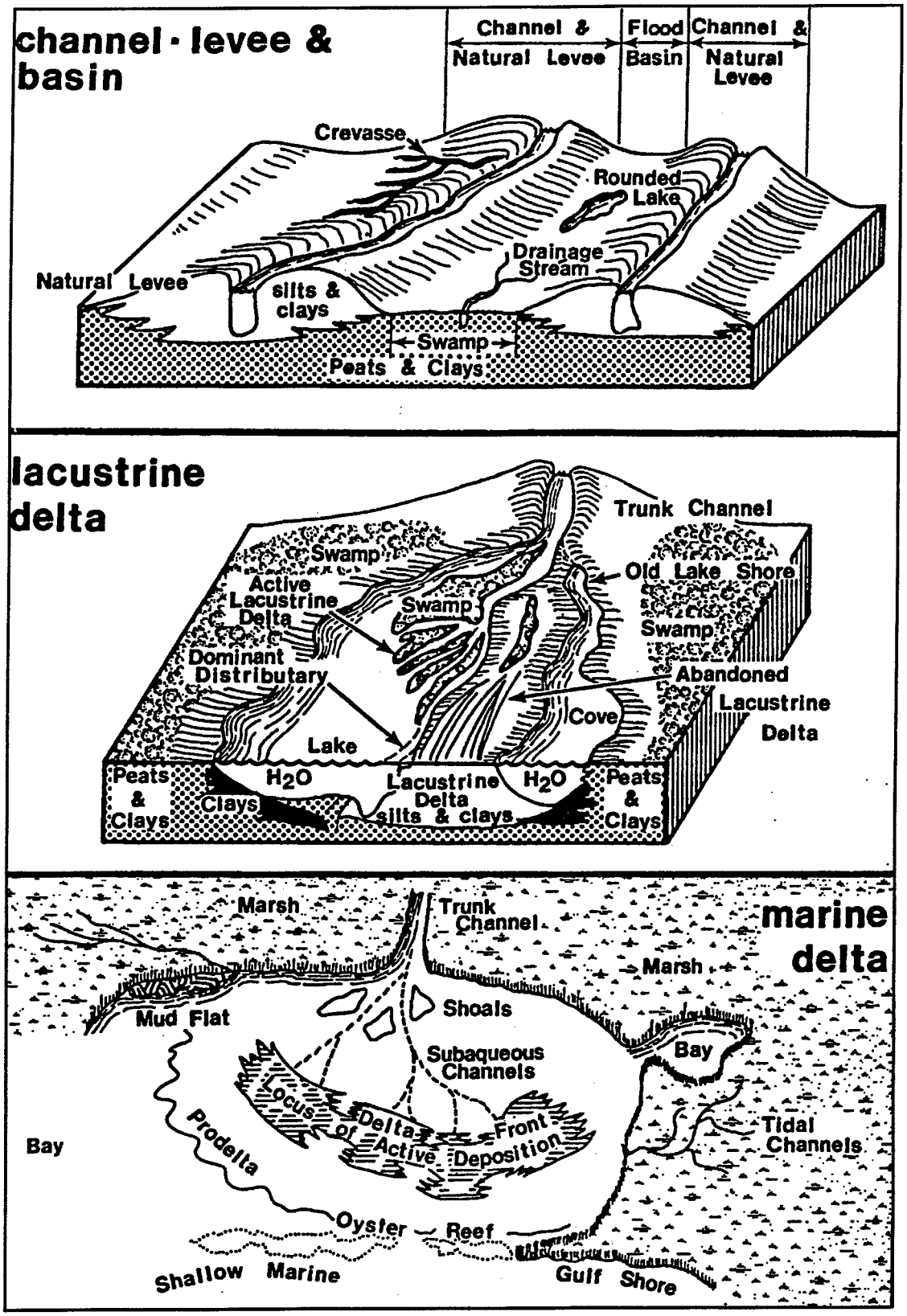


Figure 3. Typical landforms and depositional environments of different portions of the Atchafalaya Basin. From Gagliano & van Beek (1975).

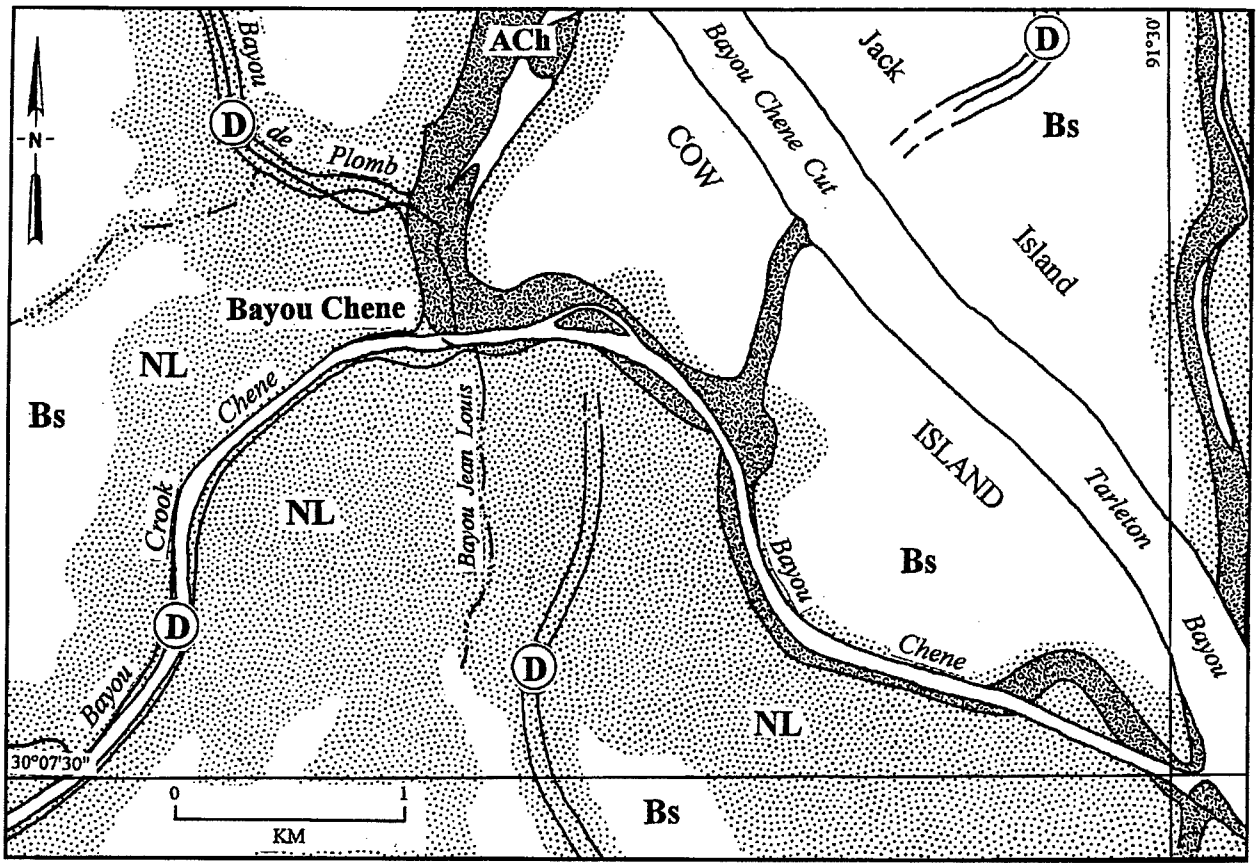


Figure 4. Geomorphic setting of the Bayou Chene community area, ca. 1990. Ach=abandoned channel; Bs=backswamp; D=abandoned distributary; NL=natural levees.

Natural levees are low, gently sloping alluvial ridges that flank streams that carry high suspended sediment loads and that periodically overtop their banks. The ridges are highest near the stream channels and slope outward (distally) toward the adjacent floodbasins (backswamps). In the Atchafalaya Basin, natural levee ridges occur along all Mississippi River distributaries. Typically, they are 500 to 1,000 m wide and their crests are 3 to 4 m higher than the backswamp areas.

Natural levee size generally varies in proportion to the size (discharge) of the parent channel and the length of its period of activity. Since channels can vary significantly in discharge within a few years, their present size may not be indicative of their former importance. However, once formed, natural levees change only very slowly and as a result of subsidence or burial by more recent deposits. In the Bayou Chene area, the largest levees are along the Bayou Chene/ Bayou Crook Chene channel, indicating this has been the predominant channel or the one with the longest duration of flow. As will be shown later, multiple episodes of flow have been involved.

From an engineering perspective, natural levee deposits consist of mottled gray and brown, oxidized silts and clays. Their history of seasonal wetting and drying has contributed to what is perhaps their most important characteristic, i.e., relatively high strengths. In the Atchafalaya Basin area where soft soils and high water tables predominate, natural levee deposits form the only terrain suitable for settlement, transportation, and agriculture. From an agricultural perspective, pedogenesis of the deposits has led to the development of young soils of the Convent series which are characterized as being somewhat poorly drained and moderately permeable and formed

on silt loam or very fine sandy loam (Murphy et al. 1977). Vegetation on the natural levees consists of a mixed, bottomland, deciduous hardwood association. Dominant species include overcup oak, bitter pecan, hackberry, elm, maple, and ash with an understory of switch cane, palmetto, and briars (St. Amant 1959).

When floodwaters overtop natural levees, sheet flow is the dominant process. However, occasionally the flow between the channel and the backswamp becomes concentrated and channelized in the form of a crevasse (Figure 3). A crevasse may function for a few decades and in essence becomes a mini distributary and is flanked by a very small natural levee. Once abandoned, a narrow relict channel or slough may remain but is rarely reoccupied at a later date. In the Bayou Chene area, Bayou Jean Louis is an example of a small crevasse channel.

As an aside and with regard to natural levee deposits and those of the other environments discussed below, both Mississippi and Red river sediments are involved. Those of the former stream are characteristically gray or bluish gray in color while those of the latter are reddish or reddish brown. Often they become mixed at the upper end of the basin and lose their identity. However, if one stream is in flood while the other is at a lower stage, a pulse of sediment of a distinctive color may course through the basin, be deposited in various environments, and be easily recognized as far as source is concerned.

Abandoned distributary channels vary in size from shallow sloughs a few meters wide up to streams as large as those that were once active. Their origins can usually be ascertained by their linear pattern, low sinuosity, and flanking natural levees that differentiate them from backswamp drainage.

When distributary channels are abandoned abruptly, they become filled with very soft deposits and support a swamp forest vegetation assemblage. The outer limits of the full-flow channels are usually marked by slight topographic rises. However, when abandonment is slow, natural levees may develop inward toward the progressively narrowing channel, leaving no discernible topographic break or discernible sediment type. In these cases, delineation of the former active distributary channels becomes difficult and subjective. In the Bayou Chene area, the limits of the former maximum-flow channel along Bayou Chene/Bayou Crook Chene are pronounced, being expressed by a "high bank" that separates the natural levee crest from channel filling deposits at a lower elevation adjacent to the stream. In the case of the other distributaries, however, a topographic break no longer exists.

Channel fill deposits are highly variable; however, the lower portions (extending to the depth of the relict channel) normally consist of loose silts and fine sands with only occasional clay lenses. These permeable deposits may extend to the ground surface, but typically are overlain by at least a meter or two of soft, gray, organic silty clays. These latter deposits that occur in narrow bands flanking the present stream are not nearly as suitable for human use as those of the natural levees.

Backswamp areas are the essentially flat, frequently flooded tracts that exist between natural levee ridges. Drainage is poor and by way of a tortuous network of winding channels and narrow lakes that mostly display an anastomosing pattern. Deposits consist of mucks, organic clays, and clays, the inorganic fractions being laid down in thin increments during times of overbank flooding. Seasonal drying and desiccation are so infrequent that strengths remain extremely low. Peat lenses, wood fragments, and evidences of bioturbation are common.

Soils of the backswamp areas in St. Martin Parish are those of the Fausse series (Murphy et al. 1977). Vegetation consists mainly of cypress/tupelo gum/red gum associations, and where disturbed or cut over, may contain stands of pumpkin ash, red maple, and buttonbush (St. Amant 1959). Permanently flooded areas may contain cattail, water hyacinth, and alligator weed among scattered cypress and gum trees.

Traditionally, backswamps have been the domain of recreational and commercial hunters, trappers, and fishermen who exploited the extremely large populations of deer, turkey, squirrels, waterfowl, birds, reptiles, freshwater fishes, and fur bearing animals. Most area settlers and visitors sought these resources, seeking access by way of natural channels. Within the last several decades, however, these have been augmented by a network of canals dug for oil fields, pipelines, and flood control and navigation improvements. Despite these developments, the backswamp areas remain essentially free of permanent habitation.

For the purposes of this report, abandoned channels are defined as relatively short segments of steams (which may include distributaries) that were created by natural avulsions or artificial cutoffs. Most are only a few kilometers long and highly variable in width and planform. Characteristically they represent areas that filled very rapidly after cutoff with mostly silts and fine sands and that do not contain a fine-grained topstratum. They may be completely filled or may contain a remnant channel or shallow lakes. Some may be reoccupied by a new stream in whole or in part.

Surficial deposits of abandoned channels are highly variable but mostly resemble thin and weak natural levee deposits more so than backswamp deposits. Most areas have been mapped as having soils of the Convent series. The majority of these channels date to the late historic period and, because of their young age, support vegetation associations composed of willow, cottonwood, locust, and buttonbush rather than hardwoods (St. Amant 1959).

An abandoned channel of appreciable size occurs in the Bayou Chene area (Figure 4), and part of the community developed over it. As explained more fully in the next section, the abandoned channel was created by the dredging of the Bayou Chene Cut during the early 1930s. The timing of this dredging and the filling of the channel are very important, since they occurred while Bayou Chene was an active community. Some of the older parts of the community (west of Bayou de Plomb) were adjacent to what was an active channel of the Atchafalaya River while younger parts (east of Bayou de Plomb) developed along the much smaller Bayou Chene. Is this difference reflected in the structure or function of the community?

Lacustrine deltas, major depositional environments in the lower Atchafalaya Basin area, are not present in the immediate vicinity of Bayou Chene, but are present sufficiently close to the area to warrant mention.

As shown in Figure 5A, open waters of Lake Chicot and Grand Lake occurred as close as about 3 km from Bayou Chene in the 1880s and probably lasted until the early 1930s (Howe and Moresi 1933; Meyer and Hendrickson 1916). However, within a period of about 100 years, the extent of the lakes was reduced from approximately 390 sq km to about 60 sq km (Smith et al. 1986). Filling of the lakes consists of two major subaqueous modes. The initial (and lower) deposits in the lakes, which originally were less than 4.6 m in depth, consist of laminated soft gray clays and silts. As the lakes filled and the sediment source became closer, the upper and coarser sediments were laid down by a maze of shifting and branching channels that are quite apparent at the surface today. These coarser sediments consist of rapidly deposited silts and fine sands. The typical channel pattern of a lacustrine delta is apparent in Lake Fausse Point in the ca. 1952 map which is displayed in Figure 5B.

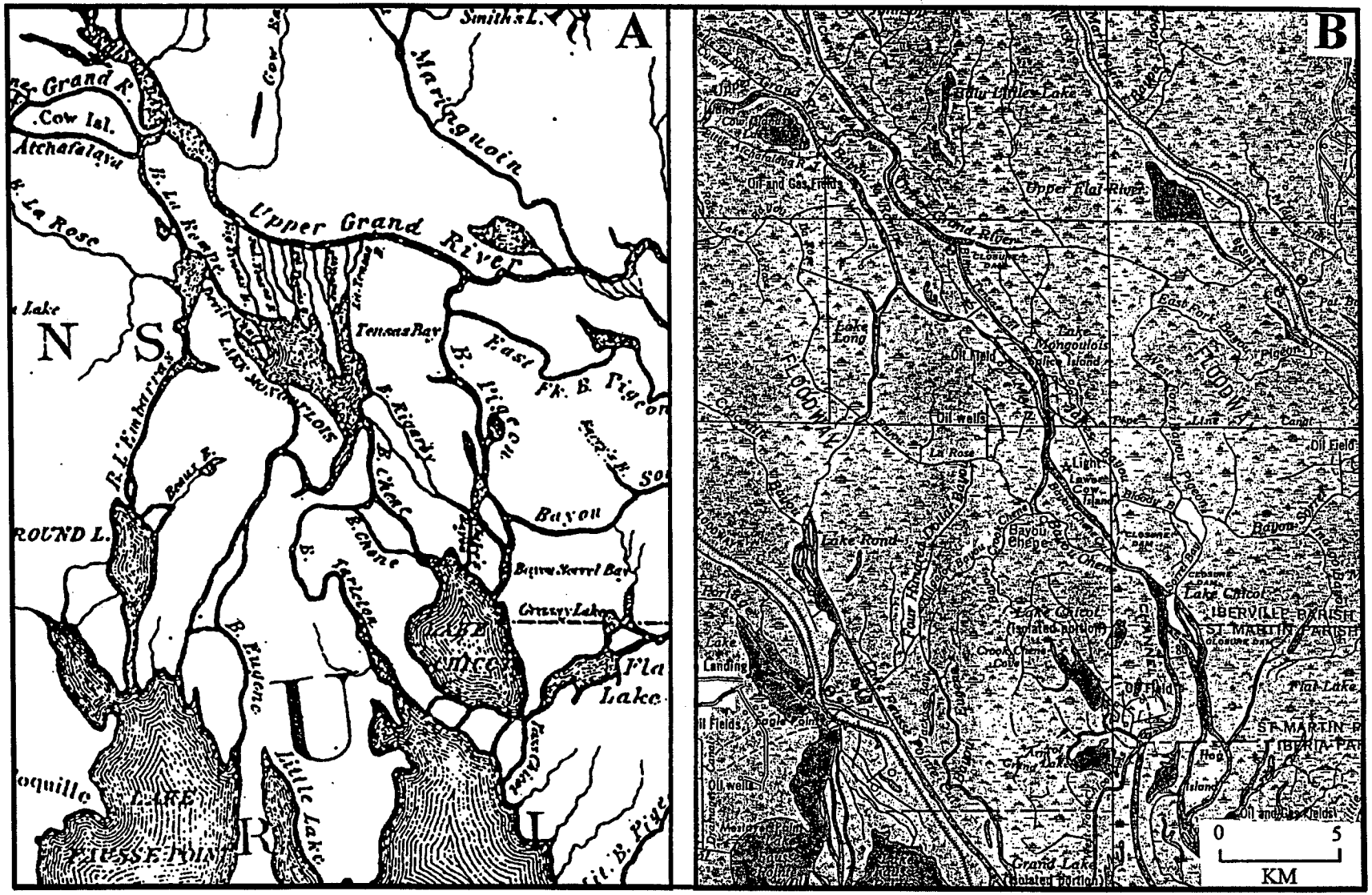


Figure 5. Hydrographic changes in the central Atchafalaya Basin area between (A) about 1885 (Mississippi River Commission 1900), and (B) 1952 (USGS 1:250,000-scale map).

Geomorphic Development and History of Channel Changes

Very little is known about the character and location of the Mississippi River in the Atchafalaya Basin area from about 10,000 to 7,000 years ago when the basal portion of the 30- to 36-m-thick fine-grained topstratum was deposited. Recent investigations suggest that the river was flowing in an anastomosing pattern and probably filling shallow lakes and backswamp areas as it has been doing in modern times (Aslan 1994). However, by about 7,000 years ago, the river had begun constructing a meander belt ridge along the western side of the alluvial valley in the vicinity of the present Teche meander belt ridge (Frazier 1967; Saucier 1994). Conditions in the Atchafalaya Basin area probably did not change significantly when this occurred.

By about 5,000 years ago, as a result of a major upstream diversion, the Mississippi River shifted to the eastern side of its valley and began constructing a meander belt close to its present location. Coinciding with a reduction in the rate of sea level rise and hence greater base level stability, this probably marked the beginning of increased crevassing along the Mississippi River and the extension of distributaries into the basin area. For many years, Bayous Fordoche, Maringouin, and Grosse Tete in the northeastern part of the basin have been regarded as being manifestations of this process (Fisk 1944, 1952).

From about 5,000 to about 3,500 years ago, the lower end of the Atchafalaya Basin merged with the upper part of the deltaic plain although no direct marine influences extended into the basin area. However, with the development of the early phase of the Lafourche delta lobe about 3,500 years ago (Frazier 1967; Saucier 1994), a meander belt ridge built southward and intersected the Teche ridge, forming an alluvial barrier across the basin's southern end (Figure 2). The Atchafalaya River breached the Teche Ridge in the vicinity of Morgan City, LA, and provided an outlet for basin drainage, but this constriction must have caused an increase in the extent and/or magnitude of swamp conditions in the basin.

Bayou La Rose is the oldest distributary with surface manifestation that is known to have affected the central part of the Atchafalaya Basin in the vicinity of Bayou Chene. Fisk (1944) recognized and named this distributary and assigned it to his Stage "C". He estimated its age as greater than 3,000 years, but he had no evidence to support this. Nevertheless, he may have been reasonably correct. No radiocarbon dates are available to provide a numerical age for the distributary, and because of ambiguities in the upper end of the basin, it is not known whether Bayou La Rose originated from the Teche or the modern meander belt.

In the Bayou Chene vicinity, the Bayou La Rose distributary branched several times, and Bayous Crook Chene, Eugene, and Jean Louis and Four Hundred Dollar Bayou mark the location of the principal branches (Figure 6A). At Bayou Chene, flow in the system was southward in Bayou de Plomb and thence southwestward in Bayou Crook Chene which was all one distributary (Figure 4). The Bayou Jean Louis crevasse channel originated in this area. Subsequently, the precise locations of the original natural levee breech and the stream course at the junction with Bayou La Rose has been destroyed by later channel shifts. Farther to the east, other branches of the Bayou La Rose distributary are believed to have been along the routes of present Upper Grand River and Jakes Bayou (Figure 6A).

At least a prehistoric age for the distributaries of the Bayou La Rose system is supported by the very meager archaeological record for this portion of the basin. Only two sites are on record in the state site files. Both are poorly documented and have not been relocated since their initial reporting in the 1950s. Site 16SM08, a mound of unknown cultural affiliation, was reported on Jakes Bayou about 3.5 km east of Bayou Chene. Site 16SM33 was reported as a shell midden of Coles Creek/Plaquemine affiliation located at the junction of Bayou Chene and Bayou Jean Louis. The latter may have been destroyed by dredging for the well site mentioned above, and it is

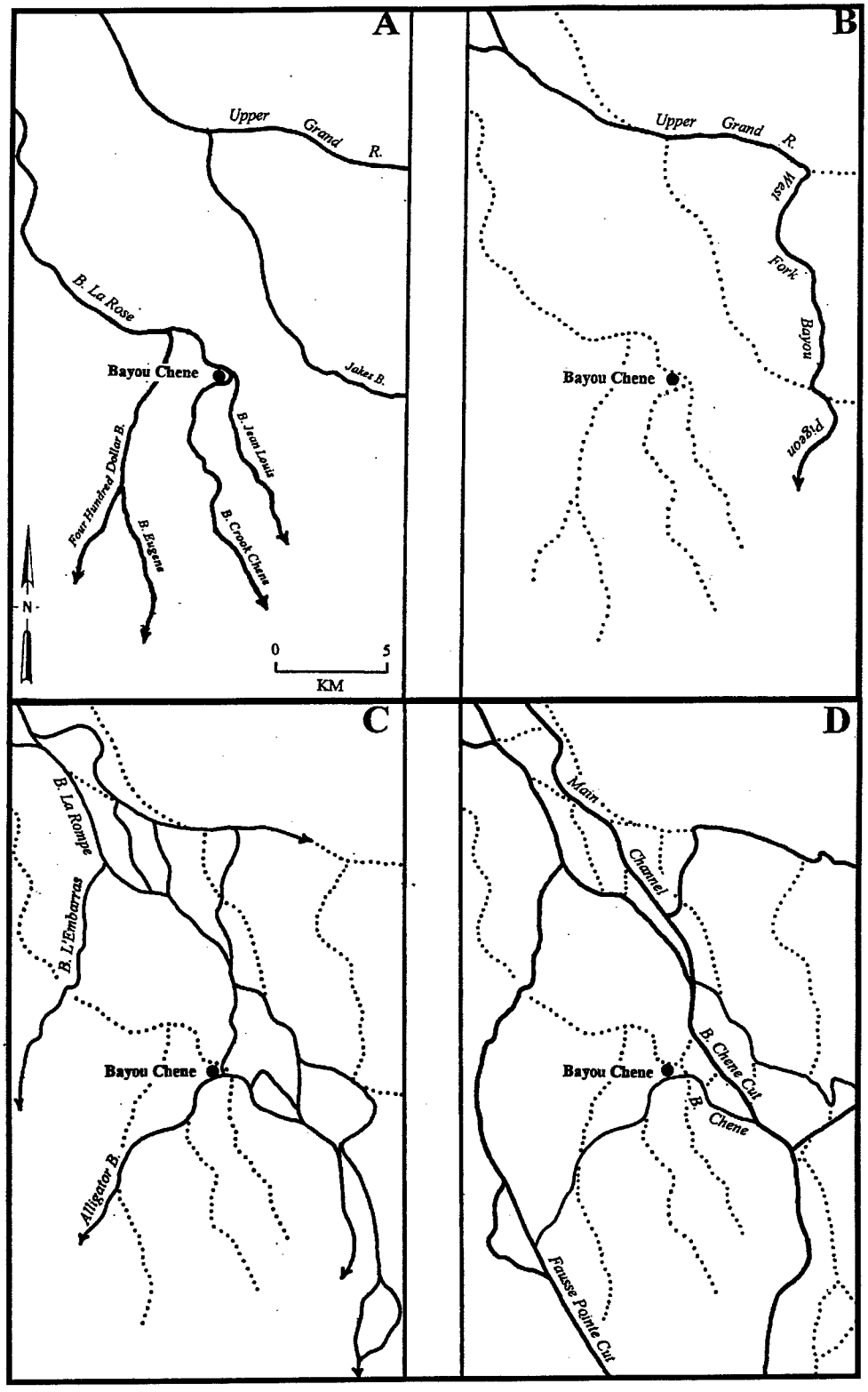


Figure 6. Paleogeographic reconstructions of channel patterns in the vicinity of Bayou Chene for selected major episodes. (A) development of the Bayou La Rose distributary perhaps about 3,000 years ago or earlier; (B) initial development of the Atchafalaya distributary possibly about 1500 A.D.; (C) changes in the Atchafalaya system in the late 18th or early 19th centuries; and (D) changes caused by the Bayou Chene Cut and other dredging, ca. 1990.

hypothesized that it may have been buried by a meter or so of natural levee deposits of the historic period.

The next major channel change in the basin area to influence Bayou Chene was the development of the Atchafalaya distributary because of events in the Old River vicinity at the upper end of the basin. This has never been accurately or precisely dated, but Fisk (1944, 1952) estimated it occurred about 1500 A.D. According to historical accounts, it was present as a distributary when DeSoto visited the area in 1542. As the flow became channelized through the basin, it adopted the courses of Upper Grand River and the West Fork of Bayou Pigeon (Figure 6B). About this same time or a few centuries earlier, the Bayou La Rose distributary was abandoned, meaning that the distributary channels began to deteriorate and the natural levees ceased to enlarge.

The next discernible episode of channel changes was marked by the diversion of some of the Atchafalaya distributary flow into the Bayou La Rompe channel (Figure 6C). In turn, this triggered the occupation of a series of other channels to the southeast past the Bayou Chene community locale. When this occurred, the Bayou Chene channel immediately to the east of the Bayou Chene community was occupied (Figure 4) and flow returned to Bayou Crook Chene as a minor distributary. This flow to the southwest led to formation of a small stream known as Alligator Bayou. Once again, it is not known with certainty when the Bayou La Rompe system began, but it could well have been in early historic times (e.g. the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth centuries). It may have even been as late as the mid-nineteenth century when flow into the Atchafalaya River began increasing due to raft removal in the river near Old River (Fisk 1952). In any event, the active channel pattern shown in Figure 6C was essentially established no later than the 1880s (Figure 5A). Very likely it was also the pattern that existed when the Bayou Chene community was first settled.

Major twentieth-century channel changes near the community were initiated as a result of dredging of the Bayou Chene Cut by the U.S. Corps of Engineers between 1933 and 1938 (Latimer and Schweizer 1951). Approximately 6.5 million cu m were removed to channelize flow into Tarleton Bayou (Figure 4 and 6D). The precise chronology of the filling of the abandoned Bayou Chene channel past the community has not been researched, but the segment north of the community and the short spur through Cow Island (Figure 4) were essentially filled by the 1950s. Since the time of dredging of the cut, however, flow through Bayou Chene into Bayou Crook Chene has continued and a channel has been maintained. Dredging has been involved in modifying this channel and keeping it open.

After dredging the Bayou Chene Cut in the 1930s, this stream grew to the point that it was receiving most of the Atchafalaya River's flow. A closure was placed at the head of Bayou Chene in 1962 to encourage further enlargement of the main channel. Placement of the closure change the water flow into Bayou Chene: the bayou received backwater flow from the opposite end of the stream's connection with the main channel, approximately three miles away (Scope of Services, Appendix 1).

The dredging of the West Access Channel in 1966 resulted in major changes to Bayous Chene and Crook Chene. The channel was straightened in many locations, diked dredged material disposal areas were constructed, and dredged spoil was placed within the diked areas. Spoil dredged in the area of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery was placed in a retaining area which corresponded with the then-known outline of the cemetery. Maintenance dredging of the West Access Channel was performed in 1974 resulting in the disposal of additional spoil on top of the known cemetery location (Scope of Services, Appendix 1).

A petroleum exploration canal was dredged in channel of Bayou Jean Louis between 1961 and 1966. This canal began at the Junction of Bayous Jean Louis and Chene and extended some 1,300 ft (396 m) from Bayou Chene. Spoil dredged from this canal was placed along the eastern

edge of the cemetery. The canal was cleaned out and extended in 1976 for the placement of another well site. Subsequently, an earthen plug was placed at the mouth of the canal (Bayou Jean Louis) in 1977. Again, the canal was dredged in 1983 and the earthen plug removed to allow for the placement of a third well. After the exploratory well was completed, an earthen dam reinforced by sheet piling was placed in the mouth of the bayou/canal (Scope of Services, Appendix 1).

Almost two decades later, the Bayou Chene-Crook Chene entrance channel was realigned in 1991. This realignment reversed the construction goals of the work performed in 1962 and 1966. The new inflow channel was placed back in the channel which had been closed off in 1962, and the West Access Channel below the new channel was abandoned. These actions resulted in the reversal of the water flow direction and placed the cemetery area within one mile from the headwater flows of the Atchafalaya Main Channel. Several years after the 1991 channel realignment, the closure placed at the junction of Bayous Chene and Jean Louis was flanked, creating a breech which allowed the flood waters of 1996-1997 to exposed a portion of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (Scope of Services, Appendix 1).

Discussion

In many respects, no part of the Atchafalaya Basin can be considered ideally suited to permanent European-style settlement because of limited arable land and frequent flooding. However, the Bayou Chene vicinity certainly possesses several attributes that rank it high on a list of reasonably suitable locations. Natural levees are among the highest in the basin and they are of unusually large areal extent because of the crossing of two distributaries. Movement by water, the only means of access and transportation in the basin, was facilitated by two navigable streams leading in several directions. Moreover, the community was certainly in a strategic location with regard to exploitation of biological resources of a variety of types. But was the physical setting really a significant factor in Bayou Chene's settlement, or were cultural considerations more important? Perhaps the more important question is—considering how long ago the community was settled and the meager documentation that exists, is there really any way of knowing?

A related question is to what extent was the Bayou Chene Cut and abandonment of the natural channel through the community area a factor in the decline and eventual abandonment of the community? The two occurred about the same time, but once again, were cultural or economic considerations more important? Was the decline related to changes in the immediate vicinity, or perhaps was it related to overall changing ecologic conditions in the basin due to increased discharges? These issues will be considered in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3
ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Soils

The only naturally deposited, general soil group found within the project area is the Fausse soil association. This association commonly occurs in large tracts of swamp and is subject to annual flooding from the Atchafalaya River. Formed in clayey alluvium, soils comprising this association range from 1 to 10 feet AMSL, and have a slope of less than 0.5 percent. Approximately 60 percent of the association is made up of deposits generally labeled Fausse soils. The remaining 40 percent of the map unit contains Sharkey soils, Convent soils, spoil deposits, and soils described as similar to Fausse soils. The difference between the Fausse soils and those which are similar is the presence of a loamy surface layer in the latter group. Fausse soils are high in natural fertility, but they are generally left unimproved. The hazard of flooding and permanent high water table prevent the production of cultivated crops and pasture. However, these soils do provide the primary habitat for deepwater crawfish. Fausse soils are identified as Entisols. They range from slightly acid at the surface, to neutral and moderately alkaline in subsurface levels (Murphy et al. 1977:10-11, 13-14, 19-20, Sheets 40-41, 47-48).

Inspection of detailed soil maps within the project area indicates that Convent soils comprise the low natural levees flanking both banklines of Bayous Crook Chene, Chene, Little Bayou de Plomb, and Jean Louis. These natural levees generally range between 900-2000 ft wide (274-609 m), although the coalesced levees of Bayou Chene and Tarleton Bayou are approximately 6,000 ft (1,828 m) across at their widest point (Murphy et al. 1977:Sheets 40-41, 47-48). Fausse soils are relegated to rim and/or backswamp areas located immediately behind the backslopes of the natural levees. Sharkey soils and soils described as similar to Fausse soils were not noted in the project area.

The natural landscape has been modified by repeated dredging episodes. The placement of dredged spoil along the banklines of the bayous within the project has resulted in the "drowning" of the Convent soils by deposits up to 20 ft (6 m) thick. Therefore, based on the landscape modifications completed since 1977, thick deposits of spoil should be encountered throughout most of the project area.

Climate

All of Louisiana is located within an area of humid meso-thermal climate of the humid subtropical type generally characterizing the Southeastern United States. From May through October, the temperature may exceed 90 degrees on an average of 100 days. Winter temperatures rarely drop much below 50 degrees, but they may get as low as 20 to 30 degrees in some years. Precipitation is generally adequate for crops, at 35 to 100 in per year.

St. Martin Parish occasionally experiences severe storms. Tornadoes occur on average once every eight years. Severe thundersqualls and damaging hailstorms are somewhat less frequent, occurring on average once every 14 and 20 years, respectively (Murphy et al. 1977:2).

Floral Communities

The highest elevations in the Atchafalaya Basin are on natural levees. Prior to clearing, these natural levees were occupied by upland forests. As elevation decreases, the upland forests give way to bottomland hardwood forests, then to intermediate backswamp forests. At still lower elevations are the cypress-tupelo swamp forests. Finally, the cypress-tupelo forests yield to the marshes along the coast.

The woody species in an elevated natural levee forest include oaks (*Quercus virginiana, Q. alba, Q. nigra, Q. lyrata*), shagbark hickory (*Carya ovata*) hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*), sweetgum and blackgum (*Liquidambar styaciflua and Nyssa sylvatica*), pecan (*Carya illinoiensis*), magnolia (*Magnolia* spp.), and various pines (Bahr et al. 1983:82). Other species include American elm

(*Ulmus americana*), tallowtree (*Sapium sebiferum*), cottonwood (*Populus deltoides*), sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), water elm (*Planera aquatica*), boxelder (*Acer negundo*), rough-leaf dogwood (*Cornus drummondii*), mayhaw (*Crataegus opaca*), and waxmyrtle (*Myrica cerifera*) (Gibson 1978:114-155).

The bottomland forests are dominated by the water oak (*Quercus nigra*). Subdominants include the sweet gum (*Liquidambar styaciflua*), hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*), and live oak (*Quercus virginiana*). Other forest species include the boxelder (*Acer negundo*), honey-locust (*Gledtsia triacanthos*), persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*), ashes (*Fraxinus* spp.), and yaupon (*Ilex vomitoria*) (Gibson 1978:96-97; White et al. 1983:103-104). The most common shrub species are palmetto (*Sabal minor*) and green haw (*Cartaegus viridis*). Vines are found throughout the bottomland hardwood forest, and few trees are observed without them. The most common of these include poison-ivy (*Rhus toxicodendron* var. vulgaris), Virginia creeper (*Parthenocissus quinquefolia*), supple-jack (*Berchemia scandens*), muscadine (*Vitis rotundifloia*), hemp-weed (*Mikania scandens*), touch-me-not (*Impatiens capensis*), water paspalum (*Paspalum* sp.), and pokeweed (*Phytolacca americana*) (Gibson 1978:97; White et al. 1983:104).

The backswamp occurring between the bottomland hardwood forests and swamps is found throughout the basin. Swamp red maple, American elms, and water oaks are common here. Palmettos create a dense understory (White et al. 1983:105). Other species found in backswamps include tupelo-gum (*Nyssa aquatica*), baldcypress (*Taxodium distichum*), black willow (*Salix* nigra), green ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica* var. *lanceolata*), pumpkin ash (*Fraxinus tomentosa)*, sugarberry (*Celtis laevigata)*, water hickory (*Carya aquatica)*, Virginia willow (*Itea virginica*), alligatorweed (*Alternanthera philoxeroides*), water hyssop (*Bacopa monnieri*), Frogbit (*Limnobium spongia*), swamp lily (*Crinum americanum*), whisk fern (*Psilotum nudom*), and lizard's tail (*Saururus cernuus*) (Gibson 1978:92; Brown 1965).

Animal Species

The Atchafalaya Basin is home to diverse mammal, bird, and aquatic species. The most notable of the herbivores include white tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), cotton tail rabbit (*Sylvilagus floridanus*), swamp rabbit (*Sylvilagus aquaticus*), gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), and fox squirrel (*Sciurus niger*). The non-native nutria (*Myocastor coypus)* was introduced in the early-twentieth century. Some of the carnivores include mink (*Mustela vison*), bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), and the gray fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*). The most common omnivores include skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), opossum (*Didelphis virginiana*), and black bear (*Euractos americanus*) (Gibson 1978:100).

The basin has a wide variety of birds. Some of the most common birds of prey include the great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*), barred owl (*Strix platypterus*), marsh hawk (*Circus cyaneus*), red tailed hawk (*Buteo jamaicensis*), and the bald eagle (*Maliaeetus leucocephalus*) (Gibson 1978:90). Non-predatory birds include six species of heron, two species of egret, ibis, various ducks, woodpeckers, quails, doves, and an assortment of smaller birds.

Most notable among the reptiles are the alligator (*Alligator mississippiensis*), cotton mouth/ water moccasin (*Agkistrodon piscivorus*), and at least seven species of lizard (Gibson 1978:85). There are at least thirteen species of turtle including the common snapping turtle (*Chrlydra serpentina*), common mud turtle (*Kinosternon subrubrum*), and the box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*) (Gibson 1978:85). Eleven species of salamander and thirteen species of frog are also present.

A diverse assemblage of fish and other aquatic species are found in the Atchafalaya Basin. Those which occur throughout the basin include three species of gar (*Lepisosteus oculatus, L. platostomus,* and *L. spatula*); paddlefish (*Polydon spathula*); six species of sunfish including bluegill (*Lepomis macrochirus*); bowfin (*Amia calva*); crappie (*Ictalurus furcatus, I. melas, I. punctatus*); and various other species. Also found are brackish-water clam (*Rangia cuneata*), river crawfish (*Procambrus blandingii*), red swamp crawfish (*P. clarkii*), freshwater snail (*Physa* sp.), and various other species of mussels, snails, and crustaceans (Gibson 1978:85-87).

CHAPTER 4
PREHISTORIC OVERVIEW

Introduction

The Atchafalaya Basin is a unique, circumscribed, alluvial floodplain, and as such, settlement patterns differed from those found within the Lower Mississippi River Valley. The optimal locations for occupation by prehistoric peoples in and around the basin were the natural levees. These areas were preferred because they provided optimum soil drainage, natural resource availability, proximity to transportation routes, and protection from natural hazards (Smith et al. 1986:73). Archeological research to date indicates that these natural levees contain at least 40 percent of the known sites. However, this may be the result of site visibility.

It seems likely that the distribution of known sites has been affected by sample bias. Unfortunately, the heavy siltation and increased subsidence that has occurred in the Atchafalaya Basin within the last 50 years has effectively buried sites. As a result, the remains of pre-Coles Creek cultures are virtually inaccessible unless they occur on the natural levees of older, larger distributaries, such as the Bayou Fordoche-Bayou Marinqouin-Bayou Grosse Tete distributary system. In addition, sites predating Marksville "should be generally absent on the Lafourche distributaries" (Smith et al. 1986:77). Manning et al. further suggest that, "Archeological sites on abandoned distributaries are probably less than 1500 years old, and probably never date before 3000 B.P." (1987:33).

The "peripheral model" for site patterning within the Atchafalaya Basin proposes that older sites are situated on the basin's periphery, primarily on the western side, and that younger sites are found on the eastern periphery as well as in the basin's interior (Gibson 1982). The older sites are associated with the Mississippi-Teche meander ridge, which was active between 5800 to 3500 years B.P. (Smith et al. 1986:44). This date would allow for the occupation of this area by Archaic populations.

In addition, populations grow and expand across the landscape over time, and more recent cultures, such as the Coles Creek, will venture into areas which were not formerly inhabited. This suggests that more recent cultures are not restricted solely to recent landscapes. Thus, the peripheral model by itself is inadequate for describing the relationship of younger cultures to their environments. Instead, a village fission-fusion model appears to be applicable to sites dating to the Coles Creek and later (Gibson 1982:85-94; Manning et al. 1987:29). In the northern and middle portions of the basin, Gibson (1982:85) proposed a settlement pattern whereby small, residential hamlets of a few families budded off from the larger main village. In the southern portion of the basin, the settlement pattern appears to be that of spring and summer fission, with dispersed marsh/bay settlements, and fall and winter fusion for the occupation of larger inland sites (Gibson 1982:93-94).

The following discussion focuses on the middle and southern parts of the basin, which includes the current project area. For the purposes herein, the "middle area" is defined as extending south of Hwy 190 and continuing to the northern boundary between St. Martin and Iberia Parishes. The "southern area" is defined as extending southward from the St. Martin/Iberia Parish line to Morgan City.

The Paleoindian Period

No Paleoindian sites or artifacts have been reported within the Atchafalaya Basin proper. However, projectile points exhibiting morphological characteristics believed to be indicative of the Paleoindian Period have been found at the Goudeau Hill and Evergreen Island sites (Gibson 1982:78) (no site numbers available at the LA Division of Archeology). Both sites are located on the western edge of the modern basin and appear to be associated with the Lafayette-Mississippi meander belt, which has been totally obliterated from the surface of the basin (Gibson 1982:78). The location of these sites is consistent with the peripheral model, which predicted that the very oldest sites would be located outside of the basin. While Paleoindian peoples were present in Louisiana, probably even in the area which became the basin, Jones and Shuman (1987) predicted that, "Yearly overflows and

channel course changes of the Mississippi River have doubtless buried or washed away artifacts or other indications of that time" (Jones and Shuman 1987:7). If a Paleoindian site were discovered, the associated artifacts would date between 10,000 B.C. and 6,000 B.C., which even predates the Mississippi-Teche meander belt, and the site, consisting of a small temporary camp or kill site, would probably be found beside a water source (Neuman and Servello 1976:14).

The Archaic Period

Like the preceding Paleoindian period, few sites have been reported for the Archaic period. However, there does appear to be a slight increase of sites along the basin's edge. This might be expected in terms of age-area relationships (Kniffen 1938:202): older landforms surround the basin. Gibson states that Archaic people lived on upland margins overlooking the interior but did not live in the lowlands of the basin proper (1982:79-80). Similarly, Smith et al. (1986:77) suggest that middle to late Archaic period sites have a high probability of occurring "along natural levee crests of the early Teche distributaries in the Area West, Delta, and Western Terrebonne Marsh," which represent some of the natural boundaries of the basin during prehistoric times.

It should be noted that while sites on the periphery may represent habitations, short-term, resource exploitation sites may be present within the basin. Nonetheless, no Archaic sites, either long-term or short-term, have been reported within the basin's interior. Furthermore, if Archaic sites do exist in the interior, such sites are deeply buried.

The Tchula Period

Tchula period occupations in the Lower Mississippi Valley are equated with the Tchefuncte culture. Manning et al. (1987:27) suggest that Tchefuncte sites within the basin can be classified as

> ...inland sites focusing on river terrace and flood plain habitats of the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley, and coastal plain sites focusing on utilization of coastal and deltaic ecosystems on the Mississippi River deltas and Gulf Coast.

Like Archaic sites, Tchefuncte sites are usually found on the natural levee crests of major meander belts. None have been reported in the pure swamp area, but they do exist near the upland margins of the basin (Gibson 1982:82). Site densities appear to be higher on the eastern and western edges of the basin. There is an increase in the number of Tchefuncte sites relative to Archaic sites, which suggests an expansion of population and movement of peoples up and down escarpment edges and along conjoined meander belt ridges (Gibson 1982:81). Sites with Tchefuncte components which illustrate this pattern include 16IV4 (Bayou Sorrel Mounds) and 16IV13 (Schwing Place).

Gibson (1982) notes that site density is lower and sites are more scattered in the middle and southern parts of the basin than is the case in the northern portion. Tchefuncte sites include Bayou Perronet (16SM50) in the eastern section of the middle area and Charenton Beach (16SMY2) in the middle section of the southern area (Gibson 1982:79). Bayou Perronet, or Bumblebee (16SM50), is small "black earth midden" situated on the right descending bank of Bayou Perronet near Henderson, west of the West Atchafalaya Basin Protection Levee (WABPL) (Gibson 1982:459-473). 16SM50 consists of a stained-earth midden with *in situ* materials stretching for 40 meters along the bayou bank (State of Louisiana Site Record Form). Gibson (1982:90) believes that "the site is a short term village/camp occupied totally within the Tchefuncte period."

Charenton Beach (16SMY2) contains at least two shell midden deposits and five, possibly more, shell mounds (LA Site Record Update Form). Some of the mounds are reported to contain burials (LA Site Record Form; Moore 1913). This site is located on the beach of the western shore of Grand Lake, along the eastern flank of the Teche Ridge (Gibson 1982:450-459). This site appears to represent one of the late Tchefuncte sites discussed by Gibson (1982:81) as being situated on "...landforms lying out in the swamp at some distance from the higher elevations provided by the meander belt ridges and the upland margins." This would suggest that as cultures expanded over time, they slowly moved off the older landforms and out into the bottom lands of the basin itself.

A site inspection completed during 1985 indicated that most of the site appears to have been destroyed or leveled during the past several decades (LA Site Record Update Form). However, more recent archeological investigations clearly present a different image of the site. Two remnant shell middens are located along the beach front of Grand Lake, north of Mounds D-F and east of a boat landing. A modern shell ridge is located along the beach front north of Mound A and west of the boat landing. Mounds A-D form an east/west line which parallels the beach front. Mound A has been partially impacted by shell removal while Mound B has been totally destroyed by the construction of an access road to the boat landing. Mound C has been impacted by shell removal but is still noticeable upon the landscape. Mound D has received minor impacts from a small ditch along its northern edge. Mounds E and F, and possibly an additional, undesignated mound, have been impacted by a new road which parallels the beach front east of the boat landing. Artifacts collected during this latest episode of field investigations suggests that extensive Coles Creek and Plaquemine deposits, in addition to the earlier Tchefuncte occupation, may exist at the site (LA Site Record Update Form).

According to Gibson (1982:426) another site that represents occupation of the lowland areas is the Moccasin site (16SMY104). This prehistoric shell midden is just northwest of present day Morgan City, on a natural levee of Riverside Pass (Gibson 1982:424-437; Neuman and Servello 1976:30, 67). It should be noted that Neuman and Servello (1976:67) make no mention of this site containing a Tchefuncte component. This site is associated with the lake systems in the southern part of the basin, which began forming with the closure of the Atchafalaya Basin by the Lafourche deltaic network (Smith et al. 1986:44). Smith et al. (1986:44) estimated that the lake system required at least several hundred years to form, and this would allow the landscape to be populated by the Tchefuncte cultures.

The Baker site (16SM19) is located on the banks of Bayou Fusilier of the Swamps, near the western edge of the Atchafalaya Basin in the middle area. Only one mound of this multi-mound site survives. Russo (1993:37-40) identified dark midden containing bone, charcoal, and shell to 1 m below surface at the site. A 50 x 100 cm unit excavated to a depth of 60 cm yielded over 2000 Tchefuncte sherds. Tchefuncte sherds also constitute the predominant ceramic material at the Magenta West site (16SM47) (Russo 1992). Tchefuncte components are present at the Talley Mounds (16SM70) and possibly at Indian Hill (16SM77) (Russo 1993).

The recovery of buried midden at sites in the basin indicates that deeply buried Tchefuncte sites may be found, but their discovery largely depends on accidental exposure during nonarcheological excavation. The probability of encountering completely buried Tchefuncte (or earlier) sites during archeological survey is slight.

The Marksville Period

Few sites representing the Marksville period have been reported within the basin. Gibson reported only one ceramic sherd exhibiting a Marksville crosshatched rim mode. It was recovered from the Bayou Perronet site (16SM50). After his 1982 survey of the basin, Gibson felt that the Marksville period in the Atchafalaya Basin could be

> ...viewed as nonparticipant or attenuated participation by local populations in activities that gave that particular Marksvillian flavor to the material cultural complexes of the day [Gibson 1982:82].

However, site 16SMY2 is reported to have yielded artifacts that are representative of Marksville culture (Gibson 1982:450-459). In addition, the Bone Point site (16SMY39), located on a natural levee on the right descending bank of Bayou Shaffer, and Oak Chenier (16SMY49), on the right descending bank of Bayou Chene on the south shore of Avoca Island Lake, both have yielded Marksville ceramics. Neither of the latter two sites, both of which are within the southern area, are listed as having Marksville components on their site forms (State of Louisiana Site Record Form).

Thus, researchers have reported conflicting data concerning the presence or absence of a Marksville occupation in the Atchafalaya Basin (Vigander and Maygarden 1994:81). Pending the

acquisition of absolute dates and/or more artifacts from excavated contexts, Gibson's (1982) discussion of the paucity of diagnostic Marksville artifacts is intriguing, especially considering the proximity of the basin to the Marksville type site (16AV1). Perhaps Gibson is correct that the basin was occupied during this period, but that the inhabitants used and produced few diagnostic artifacts. Alternatively, the basin may have been largely abandoned during this period.

The Baytown Period

The Baytown period has been defined as the interval between the end of the Hopewellian-inspired Marksville culture and its later Issaquena and related descendants, and the emergence of Coles Creek culture (Kidder 1995:42). Baytown period occupations are equated with Troyville culture. While the terms "Troyville" and "Baytown" can easily be applied within the basin, the forms connote material complexes or artifact assemblages associated with Troyville and Baytown which are not present there nor within conjoined coastal environments (Gibson 1982). As was the case for the Marksville period, the apparent paucity of diagnostic artifacts creates a problem that can be addressed only through additional excavation and by obtaining absolute dates.

There does seem to be a population increase during the period A.D. 400-700 (Gibson 1982:83). Evidence for this increase is the number of sites that were initially occupied during the Baytown period. Also, many of the multi-component sites in the area having occupations that predate Baytown contain Baytown components as well. Sites listed by Gibson (1982) as having Baytown components based on recovered ceramics include 16SMY104 and 16SMY49. Some of the sites which appear to have been first occupied during the Baytown period include Belle River Landing (16SM6) and Nutgrass (16SM45). These sites are located further away from the older ridges surrounding the basin.

The Belle River Landing site (16SM6) was discovered during the transport of *Rangia* shell for a public boat landing on the Port Allen-Morgan City Intracoastal Canal and the western berm of the East Atchafalaya Basin Protection Levee (EABPL). Gibson reported this site in his 1982 survey report. However, there were problems determining which of three sites in the area was the origin of the *Rangia*. Therefore, Gibson added a question mark to the site number. Baytown-associated artifacts were found within the *Rangia*, so perhaps one of the sites in the area included a Baytown component (Gibson 1982:379-390).

The Nutgrass site (16SM45) was located on the bank of the Port Allen-Morgan City Intracoastal Canal about 1.9 km south of the Belle River Landing site. This shell midden was first reported by Neuman and Servello in 1976 and then revisited by Gibson in 1982. Neuman and Servello suggested that the site contained Troyville and Coles Creek components (Neuman and Servello 1976:27, 54-55; State of Louisiana Site Record Form). Gibson, however, collected no artifacts and based his observations on the Neuman and Servello report (Gibson 1982:396-399).

The Coles Creek Period

Population density in the Atchafalaya Basin reached its peak during the Coles Creek period (Gibson 1982:93). This assertion is based on the large number of sites containing Coles Creek components. This population growth and areal expansion are believed by some (e.g., Manning et al. 1987) to be a possible result of increased reliance on maize agriculture, which in turn suggests an increase in cultural complexity. Manning et al. further propose that "seasonal exploitation of coastal environments supplemented the maize economy of large inland sites and small non-mound farmsteads were present" (1987:29).

As previously discussed, Gibson (1982) believes that occupants of the upper portion of the basin engaged in full-fledged horticulture within permanent villages. By contrast, horticulture was probably never practiced in the middle portion of the basin due to the threat of flooding. In the southern portion, the settlement pattern appears to be one of group fission, with marsh/bay residence in spring and summer. In the fall and winter, the pattern appears to be one of group fusion with occupation of inland sites (Gibson 1982:93-94).

Sites in the middle and southern areas that contain Coles Creek components and which have been previously discussed are 16SMY2, 16IV4, 16SMY39, 16SMY49, 16SMY104, and 16SM45 (Neuman and Servello 1976:22-23; Gibson 1982:379-391, 396-399). In addition, three sites with Coles Creek components are situated on the natural levee of Bayou Grosse Tete within the middle area (16IV1, 16IV2, and 16IV20). The Rosedale Plantation site (16IV1) is located two miles north of the city of Rosedale. This site includes a platform mound ten feet high atop a natural levee. The cultural deposits were first recorded by Kniffen in 1937, and the deposits have yielded artifacts representative of the Coles Creek through the antebellum period (State of Louisiana Site Record Form; Kniffen 1938:191, 199-201; Jones and Shuman 1987:50-55).

The Peter Hill site (16IV2) is located on a natural levee on the east bank of Bayou Grosse Tete, nine miles south of Slacks. The site was first recorded by Kniffen in 1938. It contains Coles Creek through Protohistoric assemblages, and it has two platform mounds (State of Louisiana Site Record Form; Kniffen 1938:191, 199-201; Jones and Shuman 1987:56-68).

Mt. Olive Cemetery (16IV20) is located on a natural levee on the west bank of Bayou Grosse Tete, about 1000 feet south of I-10. The site consists of a single low temple mound with a Coles Creek component as well as a historic/modern cemetery at the foot of the mound (State of Louisiana Site Record Form; Kniffen 1938:191; Jones and Shuman 1987:113-119). Because this site is composed of a single mound like 16PC2, it could represent a small hamlet.

The Mississippi Period

Plaquemine culture, which developed out of Coles Creek in the Lower Mississippi Valley, was influenced by Mississippian cultural intrusion from farther up the Valley after ca. A.D. 1200. Absence of European trade goods indicates that Plaquemine culture reached its zenith prior to European contact (Neuman 1984:258-259). Assemblages from the Atchafalaya Basin do not exhibit "Mississippian" traits, but they are representative of the Plaquemine culture in general. There are a wealth of sites from this period in the basin which have yielded Plaquemine artifacts. The majority of these sites also include earlier components which have been discussed above.

Those sites previously discussed include 16IV1, 16IV2, and 16IV4 (eastern edge of the middle area); 16SMY2 (western edge of the southern area); and 16SMY104 (northwest of Morgan City in the southern area). Also, there are two additional Plaquemine sites along the eastern edge of the basin in the middle area which have not been previously discussed. These sites are 16IV5 and 16IV7. The Reed Mounds site (16IV5) is located on a natural levee of Bayou Grosse Tete. The site is reported to consist of one large platform mound and two smaller mounds paralleling the bayou. The cultural components were recorded as Plaquemine and historic (State of Louisiana Site Record Form; Kniffen 1938:196, 202, 204).

The Mays Place Camp site (16IV7) is located on the west bank of Bayou Grosse Tete. The site is situated on the natural levee and consists of a three-foot-high platform mound. The cultural components were recorded as Plaquemine through antebellum (State of Louisiana Site Record Form; Kniffen 1938:191).

Historic Tribes

Our understanding of the migration of historical tribes through the Atchafalaya Basin is based primarily on ethnographic documents and reports of the early explorers in the region rather than on archeological research. There were three tribes that were documented as having migrated through and/or having lived within the Atchafalaya Basin. These tribes are the Chitimacha, the Houma (Gibson 1982:88-89), and the Bayougoula (Manning et al. 1987:30).

The Bayougoula, among others, were reported during contact times to be living along the peripheries of the basin, and "Due to the continuing pressure from the European Colonists, they were probably forced to occupy larger areas of the swamp" (Manning et al. 1987:30). In 1699, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville, and his brother, Jean Baptiste, Sieur De Bienville, made contact with the

Bayougoula in the swamps and bayous adjacent to the Mississippi River (Manning et al. 1987:30). On March 14, 1699, they worked out a treaty with the chiefs of the Bayougoula and the Mougoulasha, who were sharing the settlement. Iberville reported that most of the women had died as a result of small pox (Manning et al. 1987:30-31). Apparently, the Bayougoula were massacred after Iberville and his brother went back to France (Manning et al. 1987:31). No archeological evidence of the Bayougoula or the Mougoulasha has been reported within the Atchafalaya Basin.

According to Manning et al. (1987:31), the most prominent tribe in the eastern portion of the basin was the Chitimacha, but "due to their hostility, not much had been documented by European visitors to the region" (Manning et al. 1987:31). Before the 1700s, the Chitimachas moved north from the southern portion of the basin to Bayou Plaquemine (Manning et al. 1987:31). Then they moved across the basin to the western branch of the Chitimacha Lakes (now Grand Lake) and along Bayou Teche (Gibson 1982:86). According to Gibson (1982:86),

> ...There is an east-west water route in the middle of the basin, joining the Grand Lake village sites to villages along Bayou Plaquemine, Grosse Tete, and Jacques, with village sites along the way.

Swanton reported that

> ...The Chitimachas remained at Bayou Goula, in Iberville Parish, through 1721, and in a 1766 census, there were recorded only 22 people living below Plaquemine [Swanton in Manning et al. 1987:31].

Village sites have also been reported at Plaquemine, Indian Village (16IV158), Belle River, and Donaldsonville (Manning et al. 1987:31).

During much of the European contact period, the Houma were residing on the east bank of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Pointe Coupee (Gibson 1982:89). Due to European intrusions into the area, the Houma migrated south, picking up remnants of the Bayougoula, Acolapissa, Quinipissa, and Mugulasha. They settled in the vicinity of present day Houma. Unfortunately, few sites representing these various groups have been reported in the Atchafalaya Basin (Gibson 1982:89, 105).

Summary and Conclusions

The chronology contained within this report was primarily based on the archeological data available from the Louisiana Division of Archeology. The data consisted of site reports, survey reports, and artifact (primarily ceramic) typologies. These show that the highest probability areas for archeological sites are located on the natural levees of extinct and extant distributaries in and around the basin. This is due both to a preference for settlement of these areas as well as an artificial bias resulting from heavy sedimentation of the surrounding terrain. Similarly, the probability of discovering pre-Coles Creek sites is lessened due to the high sediment rate within the basin proper. Despite this, it was also noted that the natural levees of older distributaries may contain the gamut of prehistoric occupations, excepting Paleoindian sites.

Neither Archaic nor Tchefuncte sites are very prevalent in the eastern areas of the basin, but they are instead located along the older landforms flanking the west side of the basin proper. The east side seems to have the highest concentration of Coles Creek and Plaquemine sites. However, the population during these periods was thought to have been the largest ever residing in the basin. Thus, Coles Creek and Plaquemine sites are found dispersed throughout the basin.

Previous Archeological Investigations in the Vicinity of the Project Area

Although previous systematic surveys are lacking for the current project area, C.B. Moore visited and excavated numerous sites along the Atchafalaya River in 1913 (Moore 1913). Although he visited St. Martin Parish, he apparently did not work in the vicinity of the current project area.

Some 30 years later, the Atchafalaya Basin received further attention when Kniffen (1938) did an inventory of sites located in Iberville Parish. His work began the interest in correlating archeological sites with landforms to determine not only the cultural affiliation of the site, but also the age of the landform. McIntire (1958) expanded on the association of archeological sites and landforms in his survey of the sites in coastal Louisiana from the Sabine to Pearl Rivers. The only site (16SM33) within the current project area was, in fact, originally recorded by McIntire and Morgan in 1954 (State of Louisiana Site Record Form).

Site 16SM33 was described as a shell mound located at the intersection of Bayou Jean Louis and Bayou Chene. Pottery collected from the surface indicated the cultural affiliation of the site was Coles Creek and Plaquemine. Additional information concerning the site size and density of artifacts is lacking. In 1976, Neuman and Servello included the site in their inventory of the Atchafalaya Basin. However, the site could not be relocated (Neuman and Servello 1976:52).

The most recent survey conducted in the vicinity of the current project area was performed by Coastal Environments, Inc., in 1990. The archeological investigations were undertaken for the Cross Basin Channel Realignments (Castille et al. 1990). Three construction areas were surveyed: Old Atchafalaya Area, East Freshwater Channel Area, and West Access Channel Area (Castille et al. 1990:1-2). Fieldwork consisted of magnetometer, fathometer, and pedestrian surveys. Pedestrian survey included magnetometer work and systematic auger testing (Castille et al. 1990:61). No significant cultural resources were recorded, however, additional work was recommended to determine the nature of several magnetic anomalies (Castille et al. 1990:85, 87-88).

Because of the dynamic nature of the basin, public works by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and state and local levee boards have necessitated numerous archeological surveys. Additional investigations have also been performed for private companies, most of whom have gas and oil interests. Other investigations performed within the basin include those by Neuman (1973), Gibson (1978, 1979, 1982), McIntire (1979), (Weinstein 1987a, 1987b), Manning (1987), Weinstein and Kelley (1992), and Smith and Maygarden (1997).

CHAPTER 5
HISTORIC OVERVIEW

The Bayou Chene Region During the Colonial Period

At the beginning of the historic period, the Atchafalaya Basin region was inhabited by the Chitimacha tribe, who may have derived their appellation from their own name for Grand River. The Chitimacha were a powerful tribe in the region, numbering approximately 3,000 individuals in 1650. The territory of the Chitimacha at the end of the seventeenth century included the lower Teche, Grand Lake, Grand River, and the area between Grand River and the Mississippi. Swanton (1952) identified several Chitimacha village sites in the Atchafalaya Basin. In the vicinity of Bayou Chene, these included: *Ka'me naksh tcat na'mu*, a large town on Bayou de Plomb, near Bayou Chene; *Ku'shuh* (or *Ku'cux*) *na'mu* ("Cottonwood Village") on Lake Mongoulois, near Bayou Chene; *Na'mu ka'tsi* ("Village of Bones"), on Bayou Chene in St. Martin Parish. The precise locations of these sites have not been determined. Lake Mongoulois itself, to the north of Bayou Chene, seems to have been named for a chief named Mingo Luak ("Fire Chief" in the Mobilian language), who may have resided about ten miles from the mouth of Bayou Teche (Swanton 1952:202-203; Castille et al. 1990:21-22).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French found Chitimacha villages on Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Teche; the latter settlements were possibly recently established. Contact with the French brought about a decline in the Chitimacha population. After a party of Chitimacha slew a French missionary priest in August 1706, the French were at war with the Chitimacha until 1718. Many of the tribe were enslaved. In 1758, the Chitimacha residing near the Mississippi numbered only about 80 warriors, and by 1784, only 27 warriors remained. The descendants of the Chitimacha inhabitants of villages in the Bayou Chene area resided along Bayou de Plomb until the 1870s, at least. By 1900, they apparently had moved to Bayou Teche near Charenton (Castille et al. 1990:21-22).

The difficulty of access to the interior of the Atchafalaya Basin and the quantity of excellent agricultural lands elsewhere prevented significant settlement in the area during the French and Spanish colonial periods. The French were certainly aware of the more obvious resources of the Atchafalaya Basin, as Le Page Du Pratz in his *Histoire de la Louisiane* quoted F. Charlevoix as stating "large vessels can go to the lake of the Chetimachas [Grand Lake], and nothing hinders them to go and cut the finest oaks in the world, with which all that coast is covered" (F. Charlevoix quoted in Le Page du Pratz 1774:vi). Bayou Chene, correctly spelled Bayou Chêne (Oak Bayou), was likely named during the colonial period. Bayou Chene had two channels connecting Lake Mongoulois with Lake Chicot, and along with the several bayous radiating from it (Bayou Crook Chene, Bayou de Plomb, and Bayou Jean Louis), were ignored by eighteenth-century writers. This was probably because they were minor waterways that received little notice until people began to want to live in the Basin in the nineteenth century.

In general, the Atchafalaya Basin in the eighteenth century was more often seen as an obstacle to east/west traffic than as a region to be exploited. In 1770, the channel of Bayou Plaquemine was cleared and deepened to facilitate water passage from the Mississippi by way of Grand River and Grand Lake to Bayou Teche. Bayou Plaquemine remained a major route into the Atchafalaya Basin into modern times (Comeaux 1972:9). Grand River itself was often considered the main channel of the Atchafalaya by early writers and map-makers.

Thomas Hutchins described the Atchafalaya in 1784:

> The [head of the] Chafalaya is about 30 miles above the settlement of Pointe Coupee, and three miles below the mouth of the river Rouge. It is the uppermost mouth of the Mississippi, and after running many miles through one of the most fertile

countries in the world, falls into the bay of St. Bernard [Atchafalaya Bay], a considerable distance westward of the mouths of the Mississippi... In descending the Chafalaya it is three miles from the last mentioned island [Alabama Island?] to Isle au Vauche [Cow Island]; and to the Bay de Chafalaya [?], which is on the eastern side of the river, it is three miles more. This bay is of a triangular figure, about six miles in length, and something better than a mile in width at its entrance. When the Chafalaya is not raised with freshes, there is seldom more than five feet water in this bay. Fifteen miles from it on the eastern side, is the Bay of Plaquemines. About half the distance between these bays, is a rivulet [Bayou Maringouin] which communicates with the former bed of the Mississippi, back of Pointe Coupee, during the annual floods in that river. The country between them is very low, swampy, and full of ponds of water.

Near the source of the Chafalaya the current is very rapid, but gradually diminishes to the mouth, where it is very gentle.

We will now return to the Isle au Vauche [Upper Cow Island?], and proceed from thence to Lake de Portage [Lake Mongoulois and/or Lake Chicot?], which is three miles from the island. This lake is 13 miles long, and not more than one and an half broad. It communicates at the southern end, by a strait a quarter of a mile wide, with the grand lake of Chetimachas [Grand Lake], which is 24 miles in length and 9 in width. The country bordering these lakes is low and flat, and timbered principally in cypress, some live and other kinds of oak; and on the eastern side, the land between it and the Chafalaya River [i.e., Grand River], is divided and again subdivided by innumerable small streams, which occasion as many islands. Some of these streams are navigable.

At a little distance from the southeastern shore of the lake Chetimachas, is an island where persons passing that way generally halt as a resting place. Nearly opposite this island, along the western shore, there is an opening [Berwick Bay] which leads to the sea... [Hutchins 1784:45-46]

It is difficult to surmise exactly which waterways Hutchins is describing in this passage. Hutchins also noted that lands lying to the west of the Atchafalaya Basin were already extensively occupied by French, Acadians, Canary Islanders, and even some English settlers. "They raise large stocks of black cattle... when fat enough for sale, which they commonly are the year 'round, [they are] driven across the country to New Orleans, where there is always a good market" (Hutchins 1784:45-46). By the 1770s, the districts of Opelousas and Attakappas already had 10,000 cattle and 2,000 horses. Native Americans, slaves, and settlers of European descent on horseback and in pirogues drove the cattle, sometimes in herds of hundreds of animals, across the Atchafalaya Basin to eastern markets. The animals swam or were ferried across the bayous that laced the region. If destined for the Mississippi River settlements or New Orleans, the cattle were driven to Bayou Plaquemine; if going to the Natchez area, the herds were driven up the Atchafalaya (Usner 1993:180-181). A map of Louisiana by M. Ludlow (1817) (Figure 7) shows a drover's road crossing the Atchafalaya at (Upper) Cow Island and following the course of Grand River to Bayou Plaquemine, and then to the Mississippi River.

George Washington Cable (1889) translated the reminiscences of a young Creole woman who traversed the Atchafalaya Basin in 1795. Travel through the Basin in this period was extremely difficult; it was necessary to stop frequently and clear the route of tangles of vegetation and rafts of logs. The writer observed that an isolated family of English-speaking settlers had already established themselves on Lake Chicot by 1795 and lived a life of stark frontier poverty (Cable 1889:60, 75-79). These early settlers may have relied on extractive pursuits such as hunting.

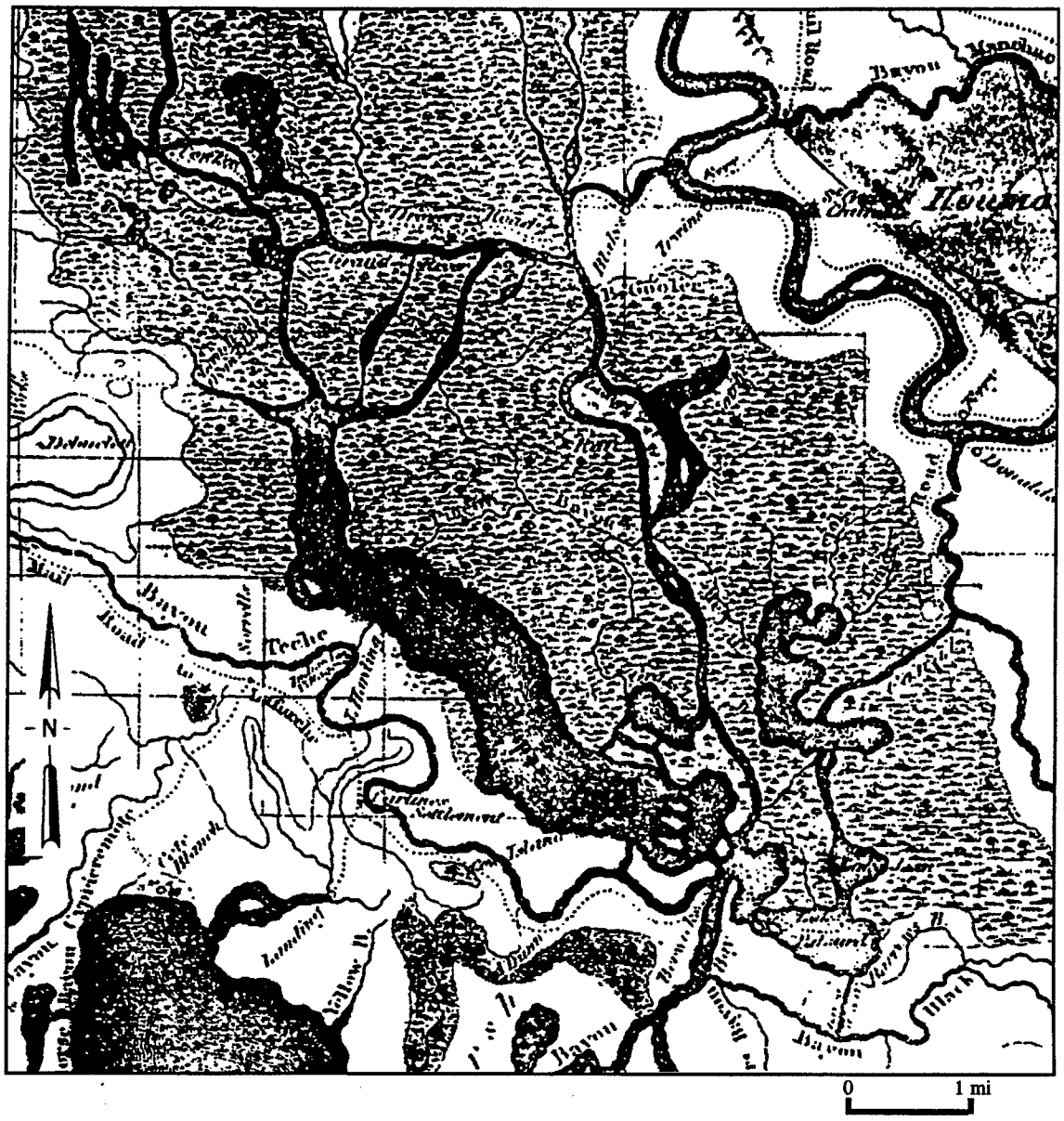


Figure 7. Portion of *A Map of the State of Louisiana with Part of the State of Mississippi and Alabama Territory* by Maxfield Ludlow (1817), showing the Atchafalaya Basin (Louisiana Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University).

C.C. Robin traveled in the Atchafalaya Basin at the end of the colonial period. He entered the Atchafalaya River from Bayou Plaquemine and provided this florid account:

> ...The bayou breaks up into innumerable channels, as it flows along, in which one is easily lost if he is not familiar with them. Sometimes, the channel enlarges into lakes, sometimes it narrows suddenly and one finds oneself in shadowy avenues, overhung with enormous trees, impenetrable by the rays of the sun, interlaced with dense vines, and loaded with grayish streamers of Spanish moss, barely leaving room for the passage of the boat. One imagines himself crossing the shadowy Styx with Acheron. Alligators in swarms, surround the travelers or are seen sleeping

everywhere on the shell beaches. Mixed with the deep throated bugling of giant frogs... [are] the sharp cries of black cormorants and the melancholy love note of the owls.

After long sinuosities which form innumerable islands, among which the inexperienced traveler would require the thread of Ariadne in order not to wander forever, the river opens suddenly into a magnificent lake of several leagues extent [Lake Chicot?]. The sudden light surprises the traveler and the beauty of the water, set about with tall trees, forms an enchanting sight.

These tall trees are cypresses. Stretching away from us as far as the eye can see, each cindery column, based upon a broad, deeply furrowed cone, crowned with branches which hardly bend down at all. These columns seem to form the portico, and one fancies that he is before the immense palace of the God of the Waters. The mysterious lair of Old Proteus [etc.]....

From this lake, called Lake Natchez, one enters still more winding and complex channels, which traverse the extremity of a much larger lake, called Grand Lake, and entering the shadowy and narrow channels once more, one comes finally to the [lower] Atchafalaya... [Robin 1966:184-185]

The Study Area During the Antebellum Period: 1804-1861

The Atchafalaya Basin was not a completely unknown territory at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. There was enough interest in a water route from Bayou Lafourche to Lake Verret for the Attakapas Canal to be constructed between 1806 to 1809. This canal offered an alternative route between the lower Atchafalaya and Lake Palourde to the Mississippi (Prichard et al. 1945:754). Much of the interior of the Basin, however, remained little known at the beginning of the American period. Major Amos Stoddard traveled on an expedition down the Atchafalaya River in 1812. Stoddard identified the Atchafalaya as the natural border between the "Delta" region of Louisiana and the "elevated country" of the Attakappas and Opelousas. After describing the series of rafts obstructing the Atchafalaya between its head and Cow Island, Stoddard continues:

...At [Upper] Cow island the stream is divided; one part spreads into a large lake [Lake Mongoulois]; the other part [i.e. Grand River] continues its course, and seems to maintain its usual breadth and depth. The current of the Chafalia [Grand River] is gentle till it is joined by the Plaquemines about one hundred and fifty miles from the outlet on the Mississippi, where its velocity is considerably increased. It communicates with Lake Natchez by means of several bayous, most of which are navigable in the season of high water. Grand lake is about forty miles long, and from three to ten miles wide, into which the Chafalia is emptied by a channel of about two hundred and fifty yards wide; and a depth of nearly forty feet. It then passes through Berwick bay....

...The most convenient navigation to New Orleans [from Attakapas] is by means of the lower part of the Chafalia, [Bayou] Plaquemines, La Fourche, and the Mississippi [Stoddard 1812:179, 181].

Stoddard's statement of the most convenient water route from the Attakappas and Bayou Teche reflects the preoccupation with crossing the Atchafalaya Basin rather than settling in it. However, Stoddard and others in this period were also well aware of the potential timber resources of the Atchafalaya Basin. In 1819, James Cathcart embarked on an expedition to survey the timber resources of southern Louisiana and the Gulf Coast for the U.S. Navy. Although he encountered no inhabitants between Bayou Plaquemine and upper Berwick Bay, his narrative includes a lengthy

description of some inhabitants of the lower Atchafalaya Basin in the early American period (Prichard et al. 1945:760). Cathcart saw no habitations on his journey from Bayou Plaquemine to Grand Lake, but this portion of the Basin was not devoid of human presence. Noting a very large gallows-shaped tree, Cathcart commented, "Did it depend upon me I would soon make it a gallows in reality, and hang a few of the rascally negro stealers, and smugglers, who infest this country" (Prichard et al. 1945:769). Unfortunately, Cathcart did not travel on Bayou Chene, and only mentioned it in passing. Cathcart passed through Lake Chicot (referred to as "Lake Chetimaches") en route from Grand Lake to Bayou Sorrel. Along the shores of Lake Chicot, he noticed land at an elevation of three feet, with cypress, persimmon, maple, branch willow, myrtle, and red hawthorn trees. Bayou Chene, he observed, received water from the Atchafalaya flowing through Bayou Sorrel (Prichard et. al. 1945:938).

Cathcart also noted that cotton was already being grown on the banks of Berwick Bay, that squatters were prevalent in the Attakapas region (including the Atchafalaya Basin), and that keelboat traffic was frequent on the route from Bayou Plaquemine to Bayou Teche (Prichard et al. 1945:760, 790, 795). Steamboats appeared in the Atchafalaya Basin by 1819, and traffic across the Basin was heavy enough by 1827 for efforts to have begun to clear Bayou Sorrel and Lake Chicot for navigation. The boats typically carried equipment and supplies into the Basin and agricultural products out of it, or livestock across it. From Bayou Plaquemine, there were two most commonly used routes to the Teche. One was to descend Grand River to Bayou Long, thence to the lower Atchafalaya and the mouth of the Teche; the other, to leave Grand River at Bayou Sorrel and by way of Lake Chicot and Grand Lake, enter the Teche near Patterson (Castille et al. 1990:37, 41-42). Both of these routes were traveled by steamboats from an early date. The rise of steam transportation created a brief window of opportunity for commercial agricultural development in the Atchafalaya Basin, but was counteracted by the increasing frequency and severity of flooding after the late antebellum period.

A major difficulty in attempting to travel on the waterways of the Atchafalaya Basin was the frequency with which rafts of driftwood and debris choked the channels. This common circumstance is probably the origin of the name of Bayou L'Embarras, meaning blocked bayou, which connects Bayou La Rompe with Round Lake. The William Darby map (1816) (Figure 8) and the Ludlow map (1817) (Figure 7) indicate a major raft on lower Grand River at Lake Natchez. Lower Grand River accumulated driftwood from the early decades of the nineteenth century, and by the 1850s, Grand River below Bayou Sorrel was no longer navigable. Upper Grand River also became obstructed by a raft above Bayou Sorrel during the 1850s. By 1859, a route through Upper Grand River, Bayou La Rompe, Lake Mongoulois, Bayou Chene, Lake Chicot, Whiskey Bay, and Bayou Sorrel was the foremost route between upper Bayou Teche and Bayou Plaquemine. Only the operation of government boats kept Bayou Sorrel and Bayou Plaquemine open (Sarony, Major, and Knapp 1859; Abbott 1863; Castille et al. 1990:37). Smaller rafts and driftwood occurred from time to time on nearly all Atchafalaya Basin watercourses.

The conventional view of settlement in the Atchafalaya Basin as propounded by Comeaux (1972) is that Acadians were pressured off of superior agricultural lands, particularly along the Mississippi, as the demand for those lands drove up prices. Some of these Acadians migrated to the Basin (Comeaux 1972:10-12). Many of the interior lands of the Atchafalaya Basin were surveyed in the late-1820s and early-1830s, probably because of the expectation that growing demand for agricultural land would lead to their settlement (Vigander et al. 1994:93). The presence of squatters, as noted by Cathcart, may have provided an additional impetus to the official surveying and patenting of lands in the Atchafalaya Basin. Parts of Grand River had been surveyed as early as 1829 and were probably settled by the early-1830s (McMakin et al. 1994:55); during the 1830s, concentrations of settlement also developed on Bayou Grosse Tete and Bayou Sorrel (Manning et al. 1987:41). Township 10 South, Range 9 East, encompassing the core of the Bayou Chene community, was surveyed in the winter of 1832-1833 by H.T. Williams and John C. Naylor (Abstract Books, St. Martin Parish).

Figure 8. Portion of *A Map of the State of Louisiana with Parts of the State of Mississippi and Territory of Alabama* by William Darby (1816), showing the Atchafalaya Basin (Louisiana Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, no scale available).

It is difficult to say what area has constituted the Bayou Chene community over the course of its existence. In the nineteenth century, Bayou Chene seems to have been a name used loosely for a large area, perhaps the original postal district, encompassing other bayous such as Bayou Crook Chene, Alligator Bayou, Bayou de Plomb, Four Hundred Dollar Bayou, Bayou La Rose, Bayou L'Embarras, Jake's Bayou, Bayou Tarleton, Bloody Bayou, and the upper part of Lake Chicot (Figure 9). In the twentieth century, Bayou Chene residents seem to have considered the Bayou Chene community as consisting of those families utilizing the Bayou Chene Post Office, school, and stores. This definition would include residents of lower Lake Mongoulois, Bayou Crook Chene, Bayou de Plomb, Bayou Chene, the upper end of Lake Chicot, and Bayou Tarleton, plus Bloody Bayou and Jake's Bayou (Douglas Mendoza, Phillip Allen, Darl Ashley, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Lynn Curry, Horace Wisdom, Leota Megas, Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; *cf.* Case 1973, Castille et al. 1990).

Some Acadians may have settled as squatters in the vicinity of Bayou Chene in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but it is difficult to document that settlement of any kind occurred in the Bayou Chene area prior to 1841. However, since the region was surveyed in the early 1830s, it is very possible that plantations were established there soon after. Nearby Bloody Bayou (also sometimes called Bayou Chene in the nineteenth century) and Bayou Pigeon were settled prior to 1838 (Castille et al. 1990:28). By 1841, at least 16 individuals were homesteading along Bayou Chene, Bayou Crook Chene, and Bayou de Plomb (Castille et al. 1990:28), and it is likely that these were not all newly arrived settlers. The first entries for Bayou Chene planters in P.A. Champomier's annual *Statement of the Sugar Crop Made in Louisiana* were in the 1844 edition. This indicates that planters were active in the area well before land claims were eligible for registration with the U.S. government (Abstract Books, St. Martin Parish).

In much of the Atchafalaya Basin, wealthy speculators had purchased vast acreages when the lands were originally sold by the State (Comeaux 1972:14; Vigander et al. 1994:112, 117; McMakin et al. 1995). Tracts for which claims were filed with the United States in the Bayou Chene area appear to have been more moderate in size. The St. Martin Parish Abstract Book indicates that the first claims of land in the Bayou Chene area were registered with the U.S. government on June 19, 1848 (Table 1). Nearly all the plots in Township 10 South, Range 9 East, Sections 13 through 36, were claimed by the end of September 1848. The smallest of the 1848 land claims were one-sixteenth section of approximately 40 acres in size, and the largest single tract was one-half of one section, or 317 acres. Unlike several other areas of higher land within the Basin, Township 10 South Range 9 East was surveyed in American rectangular tracts, instead of the French arpent or long-lot method. Some owners, such as James W. Woodland, Henry Schrock, and John Bersheim, acquired three or more tracts. Several others, including Mathild Falcon, Jacob Rupert, Cornelius S. Cozine, John Martin, Henry M. Rentrop, and Urbin Carline purchased two tracts (not always contiguous) (Abstract Books, St. Martin Parish; Castille et al. 1990:99).

Figure 10 shows the original U.S. land claimants within Township 10 South Range 9 East in the vicinity of Bayou Chene. It should be noted that tract boundaries were sometimes based on watercourses that have changed position, either naturally of artificially, in the past century and a half.

In the central portion of the future Bayou Chene community, Sections 26, 27, 34, and 35 of Township 10 South R 9 East, there were only a few original claimants. Starting at Alligator Bayou and proceeding from west to east along Bayou Crook Chene, claimants were Dolly Morrill and Patrick McCauley in Section 34, and Nathaniel Baen (Bean?) in Section 27. Theolin Carline owned two lots making up the southeastern quarter of Section 27, at the confluence of Bayou de

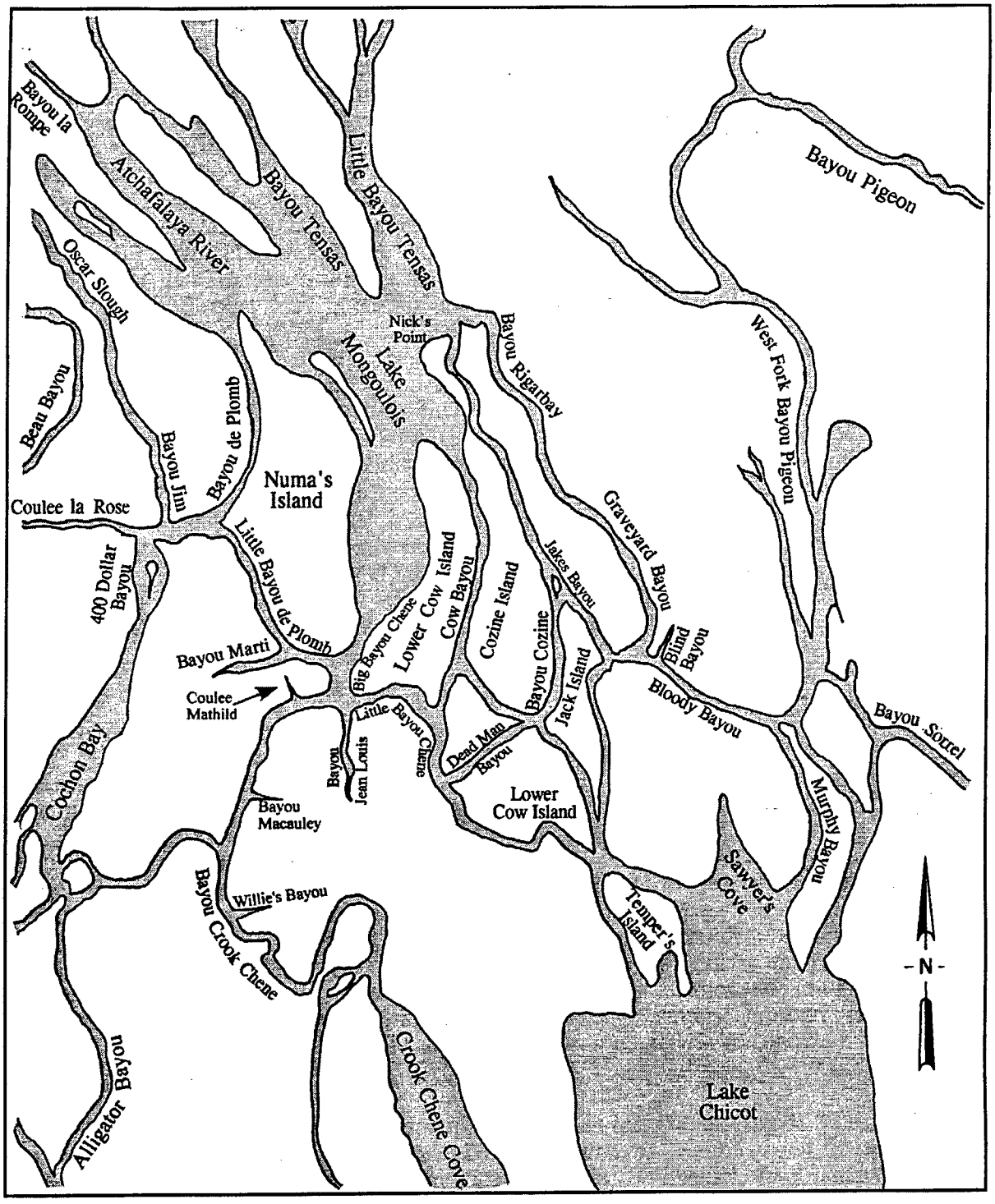


Figure 9. Map of waterways and landforms in the Bayou Chene vicinity prior to post-1932 channel modifications. The map is based on Abbott (1863) with additional data taken from U.S. surveys made in 1832-1833, 1842, and 1848 indicated on the Tobin Survey Map (1935) and the USGS *Loreauville* 7.5' quadrangle map (1941), the St. Martin Parish U.S. Land Claims Plat Book, and the following oral informants: David Allen Sr., Philip Allen, Walter Allen, Carl Carline, Ray Carline, Amos Curry, Lynn Curry, Douglas Mendoza, Rene Seneca, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Charles Verret, and Horace Wisdom. Not to scale.

Table 1. Abstract Book Entries for Original U.S. Land Claimants in Bayou Chene Vicinity, June 19, 1848 (from Castile et al. 1990:99; Abstract Books, St. Martin Parish).

Surname	Given name	Section	Acreage	Date of Sale	Present in 1841
Andrieu	Gerard	22	151.81	8/17/48	yes
Bean	Nathaniel	27	137.39	11/12/48	yes
Bersheim	John	24; 25	?; 166.58	1/20/51; 9/29/48	yes
Carlin	Theolin	27	102.68	9/22/48	yes
Carlin	Urbin	35	38.38; 157.0	9/22/48; 9/22/48	yes
Carlin	Godfrey	36	99.52	9/22/48	yes
Cozine	Cornelius S	25	160; 128.15	10/16/48; 9/15/48	yes
Cozine	Martin	36	94.88	10/10/48	yes
Crowson	Elijah	21	147.51	10/5/48	yes
De Faus	James	23; 26	24.05; 175.6	11/3/48; 6/12/48	yes
Falcon	Mathild	21; 27	208.05; 55.03	9/25/48; 9/12/49	yes
Hutchinson	James M.	36	50.69	9/9/48	no
Kobleur	Martin	25	156.98	10/2/48	yes
Lafontain	August I.	22	146.16	10/11/48	yes
Larrequin	Pierre	21, 28	86.8; 43.08	10/16/48; 11/7/48	yes
Luell	John McKe	21	82.54	6/19/48	yes
Martin	John	26	79.75; 114.41	10/16/48; 9/11/48	yes
McCauley	Patrick	34	139.09	10/9/48	yes
Morrill	Dolly A.	34	76.12	10/13/48	yes
Nichols	Jonathon	33	127.1	10/2/48	yes
Rentrop	Henry M.	26; 34	18.95; 159.5	6/12/1948; 11/10/48	yes
Ruppert	Jacob	24	120.66; 77.73	9/19/48; 10/17/48	yes
Verret	Francois	27	82.18	10/4/48	yes
Verret	Nicholas	27	114.35	9/22/48	yes

Plomb, Bayou Chene, and Bayou Jean Louis. Continuing eastward along Bayou Chene were the tracts of Henry M. Rentrop and John Martin in Section 26, Urbin Carline in Section 35, and Martin Cozine and Godfrey Carline in Section 36 (Figure 10).

The U.S. land patentees who purchased tracts in the Bayou Chene area between 1848 and 1851 were predominantly of non-French heritage. Some of these purchasers may have been absentee owners who did not intend to reside on their Bayou Chene properties. This is borne out by the 1850 census, the earliest in which residents are listed at Bayou Chene (Castille et al. 1990:30). Entries for 184 free persons in 41 households are listed as resident at Bayou Chene in the 1850 census; these entries are contained in Appendix 2. It should be noted that Castille et al. (1990), have different totals for this census; they state that the total for 1850 is 209 (free) persons in 49 households (Castille et al. 1990:30). In addition, Castille et al. (1990) identify 12 slave owners at

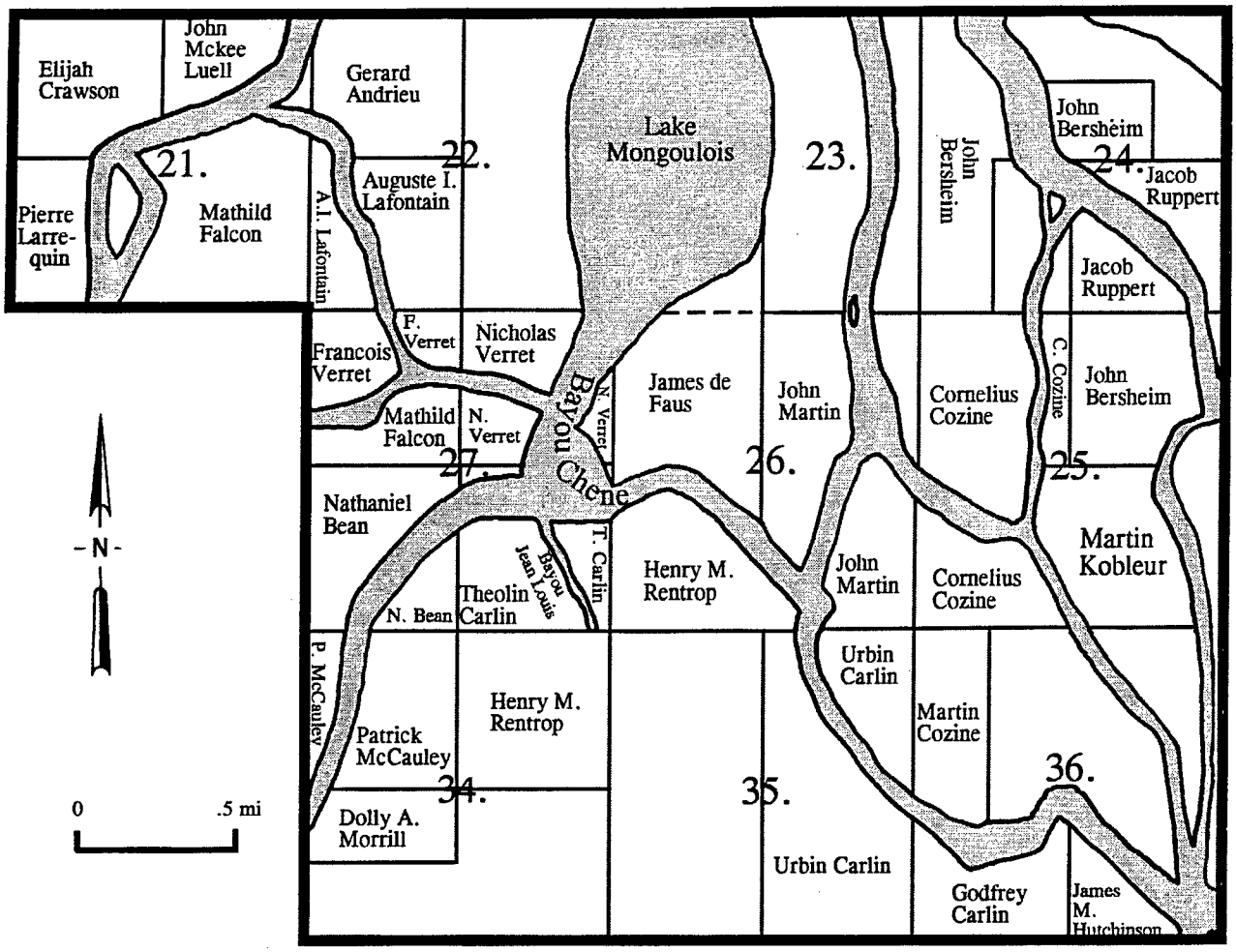


Figure 10. Original U.S. land claimants in the vicinity of Bayou Chene: June 19, 1848. The claimants' tracts have been drawn on a map based on the tract plat contained in the St. Martin Parish U.S. Claims Plat Book.

Bayou Chene who owned a total of 93 slaves among them (Table 2). These slaves would actually bring the total population of Bayou Chene in 1850 to either 302 persons, using Castille et al.'s (1990) totals, or 277 persons as identified in research for the present study.

Some of these slave owners did not in fact reside in immediate proximity to Bayou Chene. For example, N. Offitt owned a sawmill located on Grand River at Little Tensas Bayou, above Lake Mongoulois (Castille et al. 1990: 23, 25), while Jean (Ian) B. Anger's tract was located on Bayou (Coulee) La Rose. Of the original land claimants listed in the U.S. Land Claim Book for the Bayou Chene area, only Godfrey Carline, Theolin Carline, Urbin Carline, Cornelius Cozine (Cosine), Martin Cozine, Patrick McCauly (McAuly), Dolly (Diather) Morrill, Jonathon Nichols, Henry Rentrop, Henry Schrock (Schrack), and (possibly) John Martin are listed as resident at Bayou Chene in 1850. Some of the other original claimants, such as Anger, were probably listed as residing in other, nearby census or post office districts. Presumably some of the remainder of the original U.S. claimants had either sold their Bayou Chene tracts prior to 1850 or did not reside on them. The absentee owners included some of the larger landholders in the area, including James W. Woodland and John Bersheim.

Table 2. Slave Owners at Bayou Chene Listed in the 1850 Census (from Castille et al. 1990:31).

SLAVE OWNER	NUMBER OF SLAVES
N. Offitt	10
A.J. Lafontaine	5
Francois Twag	4
Ian B. Anger	7
Bert Morrels	1
John Keno	3
Henry M. Rentrope	7
God[f]rey Carline	30
Theodore Carline	7
Urbin Carline	4
E. Carline	2
H.C. Dwight	20
TOTAL	93

The 1850 census of Bayou Chene indicates that a substantial minority of the inhabitants were Free People of Color. Fifty-seven persons who were Free People of Color accounted for about 30 percent of the aggregate total of the Bayou Chene free population in 1850. Of the 41 households resident at Bayou Chene in 1850, 7 were composed of Free People of Color and 33 were composed of white persons. One household, that of Lawrence Lee, was of relatively unusual demographic composition; the Lee household was composed of two adult white males, two adult free black males, and three free black female children (one an infant), all with the surname Lee. Some of the households of Free People of Color were large, explaining why they made up such a large percentage of the total population. The households of Narcisse Rochon and Charlotte Benoit consisted of eleven persons each, while the household of Dorothée (no surname given) consisted of 13 persons. These three households alone made up 19 percent of the total free population of Bayou Chene. The history of the Free People of Color of Bayou Chene is unknown. Most of them evidently migrated out of the area during the 1850s, since none of the large families of Free People of Color present in 1850, namely the Rochons, Benoits, or family of Dorothée, are represented in the 1860 census for Bayou Chene (Appendix 2).

Determining the percentage of the Bayou Chene population that was enslaved in 1850 is somewhat problematic. If all the slaves in Table 2 are included as Bayou Chene residents, then enslaved persons made up 30 percent of the Bayou Chene population in 1850. However, some of these slaves, such as those of Nathaniel Offitt, were actually located at a distance from Bayou Chene. If they are not considered residents, then obviously the percentage of slaves in the total population is reduced. It is probable that about one-half of the aggregate total of Bayou Chene residents in 1850 were either enslaved African-Americans or Free People of Color.

Many who purchased Atchafalaya Basin lands in the antebellum period hoped to establish commercial agriculture on their tracts. Efforts to clear the Atchafalaya River of rafts had begun in 1840 as a stimulus to commercial agriculture development in the region. A sugar house may have been erected before 1840 on a tract in Township 11 South, Range 10 East, Section 6, fronting on Bloody Bayou (Case 1973:45). Godfrey and Ursin Carline are listed as sugar planters in the 1844 edition of Champomier's Statement (Table 3). During the 1840s, they were joined by numerous plantations along Bayou Chene, Bloody Bayou, Beau Bayou, and Bayou de Plomb. Unlike the plantations on nearby Bayou Pigeon, Bayou Sorrel, and Grand River, owned primarily by absentee landlords, the Bayou Chene planters seem to have generally resided on their Atchafalaya properties. The Franklin *Planter's Banner* stated on June 17, 1847, that "all the public land in that region [the Atchafalaya Basin] have [sic] been taken up. The price also of land under cultivation has improved. The cane crop of this year is remarkably fine" (quoted in Comeaux 1972:15). By 1850, eight sugar plantations were listed for Bayou Chene, Bloody Bayou, Big Bayou de Plomb, and Beau Bayou (Table 3). By way of contrast, along the Atchafalaya River, Alabama Bayou, and Bayou des Glaises in Pointe Coupee and St. Martin Parishes, cotton plantations developed in the 1850s (Vigander et al. 1994:95).

A post office was established at Bayou Chene in 1858, suggesting that the population had become large and stable enough to be granted official recognition. Nicholas Verret was the first

Table 3. Sugar Production in the Bayou Chene Vicinity, 1844-1862 (from Champomier 1844-1862).

Planter	antation Locati	1844	1846	1850	18512	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862
Godfrey Carlin	Bayou Chene	40	46	37	9	72	95									
Ursin Carlin	Bayou Chene	38	411													
Bell & Allen	Bayou Chene		43	26												
Urbin Carlin [& Co.]	Bayou Chene			46	14	24	42	54	61	24	8	30	50	23	19	61
P.C. Bethel	Bayou Chene			0*	0*	0*	0*									
Henry C. Dwight	Bloody Bayou			30	6	40	55	85	62	35						
A.G. LaFontaine	Beau Bayou			41	13	55	50	65	68	11	0	35	42	15	40	105
J.B. Angers, et al.	B. de Plomb			30	9	23	35	90	55	35	12	66	82	70	50	90
Henry Rentrop	Bayou Chene				17		38	103		8						
M. Dolohsee	Beau Bayou			5												
W.W & E.T. King	B. L'Embarras						98*	190*	140*	90*	37*	130*	315*	230*	126*	370*
Theodore Carlin & Luci	Bayou Chene							76	88	45						
Theodore Carlin	Bayou Chene										8	32	51	27	20	67
Olivier Bros.	Bayou Chene										0	96	114	127	84	204
P. & D. Delahoussaye	Bayou Chene										0	63				
J. Tarleton3	Bayou Chene												56	34	60	200
T.J. Jones	Bayou Chene													90*	105*	275*4
E.W. Fuller	Bayou Chene															120*

*Steam-powered mill; all other entries, horse powered mill
1Ursin and Urbin Carlin
2"Overflowered" noted with all 1851 entries
3Formerly Delahoussaye
4110 Burnt
Blank cell indicates no listing for the relevant year; listing with no crop yield indicated by "0"

postmaster (Germann 1990). By the 1860 census (Appendix 2), some 289 free persons were listed as resident on Bayou Chene or on nearby bayous. Free People of Color made up less than 10 percent of the total number of free persons and were represented by three families that had not been present in 1850. The 1860 census also indicates that Native Americans or persons of mixed Native American ancestry composed 5 percent of the total Bayou Chene population in 1860, whereas none had been listed in 1850. This circumstance may be a result of more comprehensive census-taking rather than indicative of Native American migration to the area in the 1850s (Castille et al. 1990). Determining the total number of slaves at Bayou Chene is difficult because of the illegibility of the original 1860 slave schedule returns. Furthermore, the entries are seemingly not organized geographically, so that it is impossible to tell which slaves resided at Bayou Chene or might have been resident on other plantations of absentee owners. Table 4 indicates Bayou Chene area slave owners that could be identified in the 1860 census. W.W. & E.P. King on Bayou L'Embarras had the largest slave force in the area, with 65 slaves. Dr. A. Duperier was next, with 59 slaves. Slaves probably totaled at least 386 persons, for an approximate total Bayou Chene population of 675 people. Thus, 57 percent of the population in the Bayou Chene area was African-American. In addition, the larger community had a greater diversity of occupation among its free inhabitants than was the case in 1850. Several names present as original U.S. claimants or in the 1850 census remained in the area, notably members of the Carline, Falcon, Lafontaine, and Verret families. Other family names that were associated with the Bayou Chene community into the twentieth century were also present by 1860, among them the Allen, Mendoza, and Seneca families.

Most of the sugar planters in the interior of the Atchafalaya Basin did not achieve production levels comparable to the large planters along the Mississippi or Bayous Teche and Lafourche. The planters at Bayou Chene generally produced small crops. Well-drained arable land was less extensive in the Bayou Chene area, and natural and artificial levees were even lower than in the more intensively farmed Mississippi delta. The Atchafalaya was clear of rafts by 1861 (Gibson 1982:137) but the consequences for agriculture were the opposite of any benefits gained from the improvement of transportation in the region. Even prior to 1860, some crop years were ruined by flooding, as greater quantities of water flowed into the Atchafalaya from the Mississippi (Manning et al. 1987:44), most notably at Bayou Chene in 1851 (Champomier 1851). Of the Bayou Chene planters, only a few rose to middling level relative to the great planters along the Mississippi and bayous Lafourche and Teche. The Olivier Brothers, J. Tarleton, and T.J. Jones produced 200 or more hogsheads of sugar in the statewide banner crop year of 1862; W.W. and E.T. King produced the nearest thing to a large crop, 370 hogsheads, on their Bayou L'Embarras plantation in 1862 (Table 3). It is debatable whether the King plantation should even be considered a Bayou Chene establishment because of its distance from Bayou Chene. The Olivier Plantation was located on the south side of Bayou Chene east of Bayou Crook Chene (Castille et al. 1990:33-35).

Some of the smaller plantations in the Bayou Chene area, namely those of A.G. LaFontaine, J.B. Angers, and Urbin Carline, produced smaller crops consistently between 1850 and 1862. The plantation of A.G. LaFontaine, located south of Bayou Chene and east of Bayou Jean Louis (Castille et al. 1990:33-35) produced cane between 1850 and 1862, with the exception of a year of non-production in 1857. The plantation of Urbin Carline was located lower on Bayou Chene, in Section 35 (Figure 10).

Most of the Atchafalaya planters, whether or not they were resident in the Basin, farmed their tracts with relatively small complements of slaves. As indicated in Table 2, the largest slaveholder in the immediate Bayou Chene vicinity was Godfrey Carline, who owned 30 slaves in 1850. This was a fraction of the slave forces held by the larger sugar plantations.

Late in the antebellum period, parts of the Atchafalaya Basin seem to have been promising enough areas for sugar cultivation for planters to invest heavily in steam-powered sugar house equipment. It may be that many of these planters had capital from previous commercial agricul-

Table 4. Slave Owners in the Bayou Chene Vicinity, 1860 (from 8th U.S Census, Louisiana Slave Schedule, 1860).

Surname	Given Name	Slaves
Allen	Laclair	1
Angers	John	14
Breaux	Amori	13
Carlin	Theodore	13
Carlin	Urbin	20
Duperier	Dr. A.	59
Gonsoulin	Louzin	12
King	W.W. & E.P	65
Lafontaine	A.J.	11
Martin	Ianti	3
Mendoza	Joseph	1
Millard	N.P.	3
Offit	Nathaniel	20
Olivier	Alexander	43
Roth	Jacob	4
Segura	Adolph	8
Senecir	George	3
Smith	Simon	5
Stuart	A.D.	3
Tarlton	John B.	26
Theriot	Camille	7
Thibodeaux	Alexander	2
Vital *fils*	Ulger	8
Wyche	John F.	42

tural activities to invest in new ventures in the Basin. Many of the Atchafalaya Basin planters, however, still had horse-powered mills at the beginning of the Civil War. The Kings at Bayou L'Embarras, T.J. Jones at Bayou Chene, and E.W. Fuller at Chicot Pass, utilized steam mills to grind their cane. The other planters in the area used horse-powered mills, and all used open kettles rather than the more technologically advanced vacuum pans (Table 3).

There were a number of inhabitants in the Bayou Chene area during the antebellum period who practiced subsistence agriculture and extractive pursuits such as hunting, fishing, moss collecting, and lumbering. Nor did the vast timber resources of the region go unexploited prior to the development of industrial lumbering techniques around 1890. At least four sawmills were established in the region by the Civil War. Nathaniel Offitt's sawmill, documented by Castille et al. (1990), was located on upper Grand River and figured in Civil War events in the area. Offitt's sawmill appears on the map of the Atchafalaya Basin prepared by Henry L. Abbott in 1863 for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Figure 11). Other mills included E.W. Fuller's sawmill, at Chicot Pass, and Landry's steam sawmill, on Bayou Sorrel at its mouth on Grand River. Landry's mill was adjacent to the "Myrtle Mill" on Grand River, which may represent yet another sawmill (Abbot 1863; Sarony et al. 1859). A Federal military report from 1865 indicates that there was a sawmill at the southern end of Lake Verret (Davis et al. 1896a:803). In 1881, an "old saw mill" and an old sugar mill were located at Bayou Chene, near the head of Bayou Crook Chene, on the property of Theodore Carline (Figure 12). It is likely that this mill was a relic of the antebellum period. These sawmills, supplied by pre-industrial float logging methods, are not likely to have been year-round operations sufficient to transform the landscape within their reach, as did industrial lumbering operations after 1890 (Mancil 1972:69-70).

The Civil War in the Atchafalaya Basin

The Civil War had a great impact upon commercial agriculture throughout Louisiana and heavily influenced land use in the Atchafalaya Basin. Comeaux (1972) characterized the effects of the war, concomitant with increasingly severe flooding, as disastrous for agriculture and residence in the Basin as a whole. More recent studies of portions of the Basin have supported his contention (e.g. Manning et al. 1987; Vigander et al. 1994; McMakin et al. 1994).

At least some men of military age from the Bayou Chene area served in the Confederate armed forces. Among them was E.W. Fuller, who owned a plantation at Chicot Pass below Bayou Chene, who bravely captained the ill-fated gunboat *A.J. Cotton* on Bayou Teche in January 1863

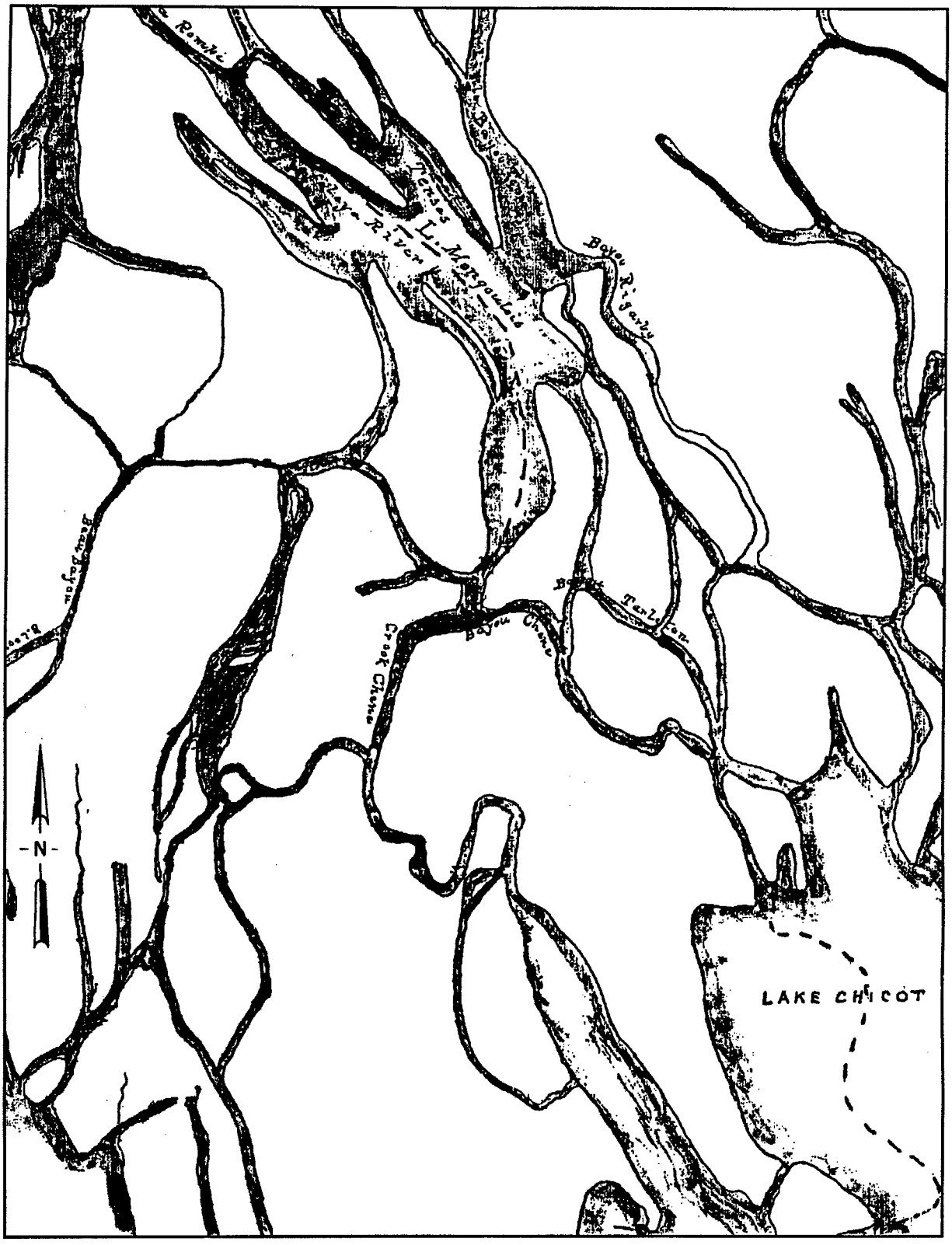


Figure 11. Portion of map of Grand Lake Region, by Henry L. Abbott (1863), showing the vicinity of Bayou Chene. The principal navigation route from Butte La Rose to Grand Lake is indicated by the dashed line (Cartographic Information Center, Louisiana State University, no scale available).

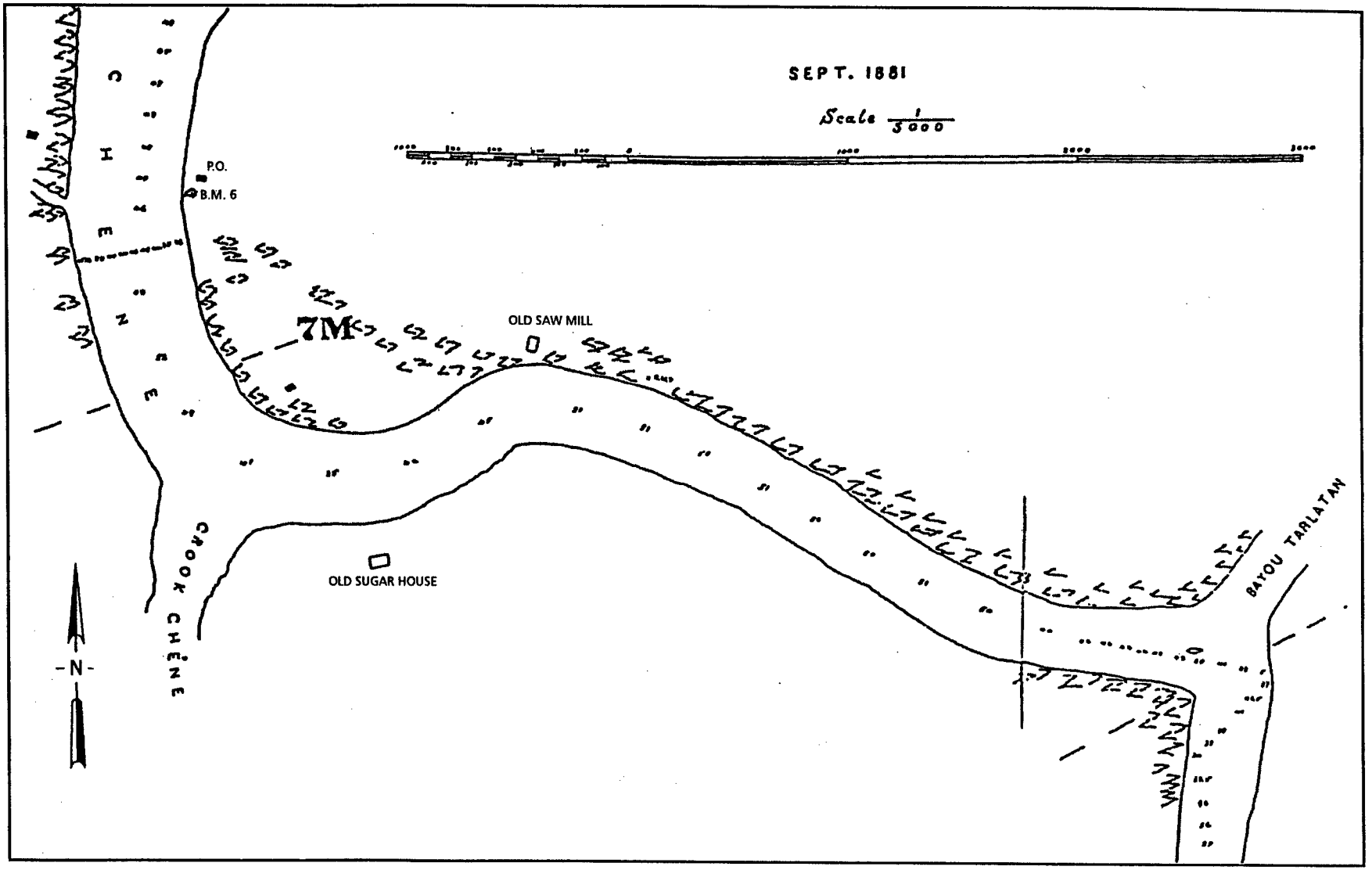


Figure 12. Portion of *Atchaflaya Survey, Louisiana*, by C.W. Howell (1881), indicating landmarks in the Bayou Chene vicinity. Computer enhanced (Cartographic Information Center, Louisiana State University).

and then the captured ram *Queen of the West* in the spring of 1863 (below). At least some of Fuller's crewmen were from the Bayou Chene area, such as Jean Baptiste Theriot, who served on the gunboat *A.J. Cotton* on Bayou Teche. English-born Bayou Chene resident John J. Snellgrove served in the Third Louisiana Regiment of Infantry (Case 1973:116).

The area from the head of Grand River to its outlet at Six Mile Lake, stretching from Grand Lake in the West to Bayou Lafourche in the east, saw a remarkable amount of military activity during the war. Further details of military activities in the Grand River region that did not directly involve Bayou Chene are included in McMakin et al. (1994). Because of its relevance to water travel, Bayou Chene and the community there suffered from the military activity in the region.

General Banks perceived Confederate Fort Burton at Butte-à-la-Rose, constructed in late 1862, as a strategic point in any effort to secure the approaches to Federal positions at Baton Rouge and Port Hudson. The Basin waterways were considered as a route between General Banks' forces on the Atchafalaya to the Union forces in the Baton Rouge area. Prior to planning a movement against Fort Burton, Banks ordered several reconnaissances of the Atchafalaya Basin during the late fall of 1862 and the early winter of 1863. In December 1862, two boats with men of the *U.S.S. Mississippi* and the *U.S.S. Calhoun* ascended the Atchafalaya from Berwick Bay to Grand River. The Federal troops captured a boat called the *Southern Merchant*, containing 56 hogsheads of sugar, four hogsheads of molasses, a few bales of cotton, and one dozen shotguns. Descending the Atchafalaya, the troops seized another craft, the *Naniope*, some distance above Grand Lake. This boat was "nearly as heavily laden" as the *Southern Merchant*. The confiscated sugar in either case may have been the product of one or more of the Bayou Chene area plantations (Stewart 1905a:394,611-612,618). Later in the month of December, the *U.S.S. Diana* and the *U.S.S. Kinsman* ascended the Atchafalaya to within one mile of Fort Burton. The Kinsman then ascended the Little Atchafalaya toward Fort Burton until Confederate sharpshooters forced it to turn around. Attempting to steam down Upper Grand River to Indian Village on Bayou Plaquemine, the *Diana* and the *Kinsman* had to turn back because of impenetrable rafts of driftwood (Scott 1886: 240-243, 248; Stewart 1905a:394,611-612,618).

Banks' reconnaissances in the Basin had discovered that Grand River was choked with driftwood and had been for nearly two years, making it impracticable for military operations. Bayou Sorrel was likewise blocked by several rafts; one of them, not nearly the largest, was a mile-long mass of tightly-jammed logs, roots, and trees over 30 feet in depth. Removal of the rafts was concluded to be an impossibility under wartime conditions. Meanwhile, most of the countryside between Lake Chicot, Butte-à-la-Rose, and Indian Village was flooded, and Butte-à-la-Rose itself was nearly submerged (Scott 1886:242-250). The search for alternative routes continued. Probably utilizing information from these reconnaissances, Captain of Engineers Henry L. Abbott prepared a thorough map of the region for Banks, completed on February 3, 1863 (Abbott 1863). Bayou Chene was identified on the Abbott map (Figure 11) as the principal route between Lake Mongoulois and Lake Chicot.

Banks began planning movement against Fort Burton by February 1863, but felt hampered by a shortage of boats that could negotiate the shallow waters within the Basin. He asked his superiors for gunboats and light-draft steamers that drew four to six feet of water, and that could move in either direction, since turning around in the narrow bayous of the Basin was difficult (Scott 1886:243). It would be almost a year before Banks was provided with the gunboats he requested for Atchafalaya operations (below), and in the meantime, he had to make do with deeper-draft vessels. After the occupation of Donaldsonville and Plaquemine, Grand River was established as the Federal military perimeter, and it fell upon the commander of the Lafourche district to prevent movement by Confederate forces from west of the Atchafalaya towards New Orleans.

Conventional military action by Confederate forces within the Atchafalaya Basin was stymied after the defeats at Bisland, Grand Lake, and Fort Burton at Butte-à-la-Rose in the spring of 1863. The Confederates had captured the United States ram *Queen of the West* on Red River, and in April 1863, General Richard Taylor ordered the captured vessel, under the command of Chicot Pass planter E.W. Fuller, to move down the Atchafalaya. Joining the *Queen of the West* was the gunboat *Diana*, also captured from the Federals, and the *Minna Simma* (or *Simms*), carrying a regiment of infantry. The small flotilla steamed into Grand Lake, where it was confronted by the Federal gunboats *Estrella*, *Arizona*, *Clifton*, and *Calhoun*. Captain Fuller directed the *Queen of the West* toward the *Arizona*, intending to ram her. Noticing the *Calhoun* bearing down on his vessel, Fuller was uncertain of what to do and stopped his engines. This gave the Federal gunboats the opportunity to pour shot into the immobile *Queen of the West*, which caught fire and was abandoned by her crew. The fire reached the *Queen of the West*'s magazine and a spectacular explosion destroyed the vessel (Winters 1962:229-230).

From their victory on Grand Lake, the *Estrella*, *Clifton*, *Calhoun*, and *Arizona* ascended the Atchafalaya to Butte-à-la-Rose with four companies of the 16th New Hampshire Infantry. These vessels probably ascended Lake Chicot and Bayou Chene to Lake Mongoulois, Bayou La Rompe, and either the little Atchafalaya or [Upper] Cow Island Bayou, since this was the major shipping route identified by Abbott (Figure 11). The gunboats evidently encountered no problems on shallow Lake Chicot, but had difficulty negotiating the narrow bayous because of overhanging tree branches. Boughs "shattered" the wheelhouse of the *Calhoun* and knocked all of her boats off their davits on the approach to Fort Burton (Stewart 1905b:154). On April 20, the Federal vessels arrived at Butte-à-la-Rose, and boldly steamed up to the bank before the fort, guns blazing. The Confederate gunboat *Grand Duke* was also at the fort to offer its support to the garrison, but instead fled the scene. After an exchange of fire, Fort Burton surrendered. The garrison of 60 men of the Crescent Regiment and two heavy guns were captured. The New Hampshire troops found the garrison to be polite, well-educated young men, but Fort Burton itself was described as a miserable, desolate post (Stewart 1905b:154; Winters 1963:233; Raphael 1975:149-151).

After the Grand Lake battle and capture of Fort Burton, Union forces had control of the waterways in the Basin wherever extensive rafts and drift piles allowed them to operate gunboats and other vessels. For the remainder of hostilities, the Federals were annoyed by a guerrilla war in the Atchafalaya Basin. This guerrilla war required almost constant efforts against irregular Confederate forces, jayhawkers, bushwhackers, and smugglers that utilized the difficult terrain of the Basin to their advantage. General Banks was still waiting for gunboats drawing less than six feet, required to navigate many of the bayous in the Atchafalaya Basin, and particularly to pass over Lake Chicot in seasons of low water. On August 16, 1863, Banks wrote Rear Admiral David D. Porter, requesting six light-draft gunboats or "tinclads" to be based in Brashear City for service in the Atchafalaya Basin. These tinclads were civilian river steamboats that had a casemate built on their decks, lightly armored with plates of iron, and mounting a few pieces of artillery. They were side- or sternwheelers of the general type shown in Figure 13. Porter disliked Banks, and a typical military wrangle ensued between them over the question of the tinclads for the Atchafalaya. Banks wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles simultaneously with writing Porter, and Welles urged Porter to send the boats. Delay followed from debate over where the boats should come from, either Porter's command at Cairo or from New Orleans, and other administrative difficulties, with the result that Banks had not received the gunboats by December. By this time, Porter said that the water in the Atchafalaya was too low to send the boats down from the Red River (Stewart 1912:371, 386, 440, 637, 655, 667). The gunboats finally arrived for service in the Atchafalaya after the winter rise, in early 1864. Documenting which individual U.S. gunboats were sent by Porter to Banks is difficult, since the Army records refer to the vessels by their number and the Navy records by name.

The tinclad gunboats provided the Federal forces with firepower that Confederate forces in the Basin could not match, and a mobility necessary for any conventional operations in the region.

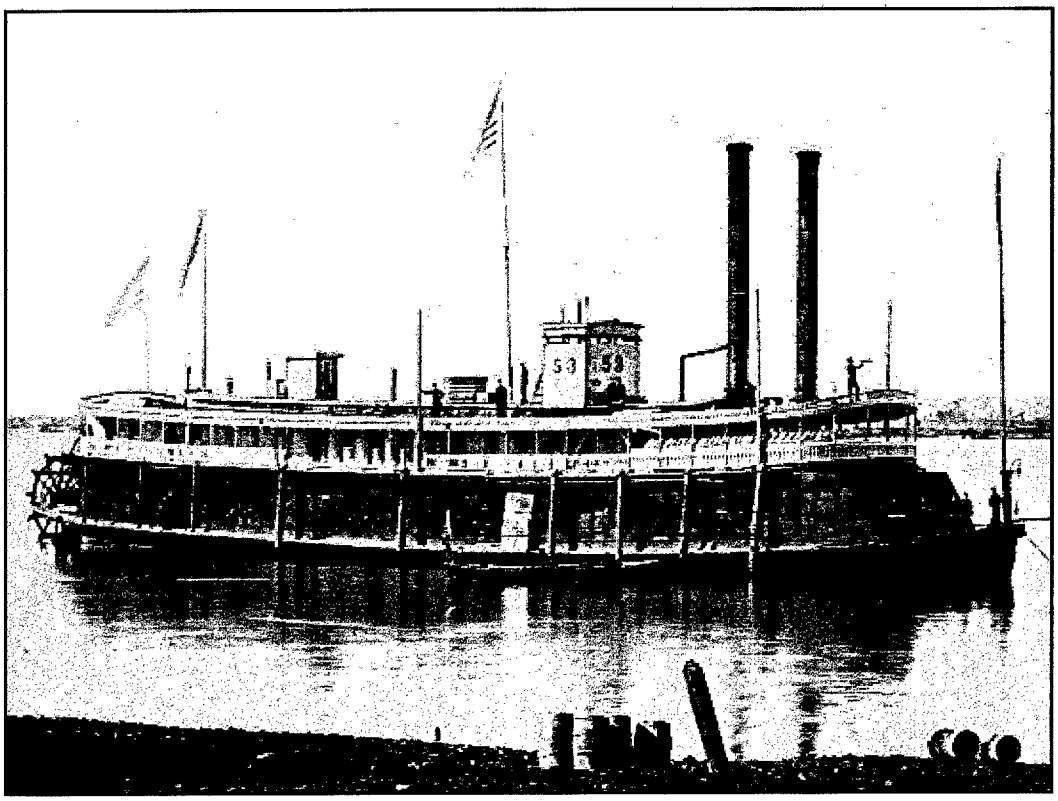


Figure 13. The Union gunboat shown here, #53, was typical of the shallow-draft river steamboats adapted as tinclads and sent to assist in General Banks' south Louisiana operations (from Miller 1911:205).

The Confederate forces in the Basin relied upon pirogues, skiffs, and horses to carry them into and out of their hit-and-run forays against Federal military outposts. The jayhawkers and bushwackers operated similarly in light boats and on horseback, but without regard to political or military considerations. They made life doubly difficult for all residents in the region with indiscriminate plundering.

The Atchafalaya Basin was largely spared military activity between the capture of Fort Burton in April 1863 and February 1864. This may have been because of low levels in the navigable waterways. From early February 1864, patrols were regularly sent on tinclads and other steamers from Bayou Lafourche and Berwick Bay into the interior of the Basin, as the Federal command sought to crack down on smuggling between Plaquemine and Butte-à-la-Rose. On February 3, a Federal scouting party of 75 men from the 131st New York Infantry and a section of artillery steamed from Brashear City to Grand Lake, and thence to Lake Fausse Pointe. Landing at Dauterive's plantation on the northern extremity of Lake Fausse Pointe, they found a recently abandoned Confederate camp. This camp purportedly had been occupied by 1,500 men, probably a wild overestimation. The Union force proceeded up Bayou L'Embarras, where they "obtained" three mules and three horses, one bearing a "U.S." brand. Returning to Lake Fausse Pointe, the Federals then steamed to Grand Lake, then up Lake Chicot to Bayou Chene, Lake Mongoulois, and Bayou Tensas to Grand River. They landed at Offit's Mill and took on lumber and 12 hogsheads of sugar. On upper Grand River, the patrol confiscated a flatboat loaded with dry goods, curry combs, coffee, rope, flour, potatoes, quinine and other medicines, sundries, and $30,000 in Confederate money. Quinine was a prophylactic and treatment for malaria, and a vital medicinal substance to both armies in Louisiana. This incident reinforced the growing conviction that an extensive smuggling trade was being carried on in the region (Davis et al. 1891:124-125).

The February 1864 patrol into the Basin also illustrates that virtually all items were considered contraband if traded across military lines, and therefore any materials crossing Grand River were subject to confiscation by Federal forces. The Federals seized Basin products such as sugar and lumber when they found them, and anything not produced in the Basin, including flour, salt, and other staples, became unavailable to residents (Case 1973:115). The Federal patrol returned from Grand River via Whiskey Bay, Bayou La Rompe, and Bayou Chene to Grand Lake, capturing various line runners and a Confederate deserter (Scott 1891:124-125).

In the summer of 1864, Confederate irregulars became more active in the Grand River area. Confederate guerrillas skirmished with Union pickets in July 1864 between Paincourtville and Lake Natchez, where the Confederates had crossed lower Grand River at Micheltre's plantation. Again in August 1864, Confederate guerrillas encamped at Little (East Fork) Bayou Pigeon, and moving about in canoes, skirmished with Union cavalry at Grand River (Davis et al. 1893a:180-182, 260).

Near-hysteria gripped the Union command at the beginning of September 1864, as reports circulated that the Confederates were

> ...quite active on the other [west] side of Grand River, such as hauling skiffs, etc., from Bayou Teche to Grand Lake, a large number of oars (1,000) being made by negroes for operations in that quarter. The enemy are occasionally crossing Grand River in considerable parties, some near the head of Lake Verret, others in the vicinity of Lake Natchez and above [Davis et al. 1893b:63].

Furthermore, torpedoes (marine mines) were rumored to have been placed by the Confederates in Grand River, Bayou Long, Belle River, and Bayou Pigeon. General R.A. Cameron, commanding Federal forces in the Lafourche district, was dubious of the torpedo rumors because of the unreliability of his sources and the difficulty of getting torpedoes to these locations in the first place. However, he did not care to second-guess the Navy's caution concerning the matter. To add to the Federals' anxiety, a Union patrol of 35 men was surprised by a force of Confederates at Gentilly's plantation, near Bay Natchez, and only six of the Federals avoided capture (Davis et al. 1893a:730-731).

Assistant Adjutant General Frederic Speed in New Orleans called for a strong response to the situation. Speed suggested to Cameron that the best way to cripple the Confederates in the eastern Atchafalaya Basin was to destroy all ferries, bridges, and boats between the La Fourche and Grand River (Davis et al. 1893b:64). This solution to military difficulties, while sensible, doubtless entailed much antagonism of the local inhabitants. Bayou Chene was technically out of this zone, but since Grand River itself was blocked by driftwood, and Bayou Chene was a major throughway in the Grand River area, it came in for its share of attention from Federal forces.

Cameron developed a three-pronged plan of attack on Confederate forces in the Grand River area, who proved to be a far smaller threat than expected. Three forces were to converge on Bayou Pigeon, where Confederates were reportedly camping. Cameron first sent out a pair of "spies," or scouts, in pirogues to investigate the Confederate camp. The camp was of either a detachment of the 18th Louisiana Infantry or the 4th Louisiana Cavalry; the records are contradictory on this point. The Confederates, unbeknownst to the Federals, vacated the camp on September 7 for a raid on Labadieville. Cameron's scouts were to rendezvous with a gunboat on Bayou Chene (Davis et al. 1893:746-747, 751)

On September 7, 150 men and six officers of the 12th Illinois Cavalry left Napoleonville for Plaquemine, where two days later they embarked on a gunboat (possibly #41, name unknown) for Bayou Pigeon. Proceeding up Bayou Pigeon, this force captured four prisoners, recovered five

horses, and destroyed 20 flatboats and 40 to 50 pirogues, skiffs, and small boats. A boat containing "smugglers goods," namely "one barrel of rasps, one keg of files, and a quantity of stationery," was destroyed (Davis et al. 1893:747-749). Simultaneously, Gunboat #49 (name also unknown) left Brashear City with troops of the 11th Wisconsin, to proceed up Grand Lake and Bayou Pigeon to Grand River. Gunboat #49 came upon troops of the 4th Louisiana Cavalry crossing their horses at Grand River. The crossing was near the Confederates' camp at Micheltre's plantation, located at the mouth of Bayou Pigeon on Grand River. Twenty horses and one man were captured, plus two hogsheads of sugar, three barrels of molasses, and eight firearms. The gunboat, perhaps impeded by a raft, had difficulty turning around in Bayou Pigeon and ran aground. Gunboat #41 appeared out of the Atchafalaya and towed #49 free. Gunboat #49 lost a portion of its upper works in the treetops during its maneuvering difficulties (Davis et al. 1893:749) .

The third prong of Cameron's plan involved the gunboat *Carrabasset*, under Acting Lieutenant Ezra Leonard. The *Carrabasset* steamed from Brashear City to Lake Fausse Pointe, where it destroyed a 60' flatboat and a number of skiffs. Spotting Confederate pickets on the shore of Lake Fausse Pointe, the gunboat fired into them and killed four horses. Leonard switched to another gunboat, which proceeded through Bayou Chene, where the scouts were not waiting as expected, and then to the planned junction of Union forces at Bayou Pigeon. A barge of cotton was found at Micheltre's plantation and was duly confiscated with a large quantity of cotton stored in Micheltre's sugar house. On Grand River, additional flat boats and skiffs were destroyed. However, in contrast to some earlier Federal operations in Louisiana, the discipline of Union troops during this expedition was relatively good, and private homes were not pillaged (Davis et al. 1893a:747-751, 821-824).

The Federals sent several other expeditions into the southern Atchafalaya Basin in September and October 1864, either searching for "smugglers" and their goods or in response to guerrilla activity in the Belle River area (viz. McMakin et al. 1994). Federal officers realized that standing policies such as the confiscation of all contraband goods, and particularly that of indiscriminately destroying all boats, would antagonize Union sympathizers in the Grand River area and hinder the collection of intelligence. Therefore, in November 1864, it was ordered that permits were to be issued to "small loyal planters" to keep boats provided they were hidden at night from "guerrilla thieves" (Davis et al. 1893c:581).

Military actions continued in the Grand River area during the last year of the war. In mid-January 1865, the Confederates had established a picket post at Grand Bayou and were recruiting in the neighborhood of Bayou Chene and Grand River. An expedition of 100 men of the 11th Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry, on gunboat #41 and the steamer *Cornie* transport, went from Brashear City to Grand River via Bayou L'Embarras. At the plantation of Captain King of the Confederate service, located at the juncture of Bayou L'Embarras and Round Lake, a hogshead of sugar was confiscated. At the residence of Mr. Hart on Grand River, the Federal forces seized 600 cigars and "11 pairs of misses' gaiters [sic]" that were presumably intended for the contraband trade. The patrol then proceeded down Grand River, again to Bayou L'Embarras. At [Lawrence] Lee's plantation on Bayou L'Embarras at Round Lake, Mr. Lee was taken prisoner and 1,300 pounds of sugar and some small arms were confiscated. Returning to "Offutts" (Nathaniel Offitt's) Mill at Grand River and Bayou Tensas, 10,000 feet of lumber were seized. Finally, before returning to Brashear City, 18 Union sympathizers were taken on board at [Alexander] Olivier's plantation at the mouth of Bayou Sorrel [Bayou Sorrel Bay] on Lake Chicot (Davis et al. 1896a:48-50).

During the Civil War, a number of Bayou Chene area residents appear to have actively sympathized with the Union cause and sought the protection afforded by a Federal escort out of the Bayou Chene area. In addition, flooding in the Basin attained severe proportions in late winter and spring 1865, and Federal vessels were a convenient means of escaping the high winter water levels. Meanwhile, guerrilla activity continued in the eastern and southern Atchafalaya Basin in

the winter of 1865. The Federal command was then prepared to undertake more extreme measures to counter the guerrilla situation east of Grand Lake. The policy of destroying all boats encountered in the Grand River area already must have caused great hardship to the inhabitants, who were dependent on water transportation for their livelihood. Likewise, the confiscation or destruction of sugar and cotton when found no doubt was a blow to planters. General T.W. Sherman in New Orleans suggested to Cameron in early February 1865 that "plantation supplies," probably seed corn and cotton and other agricultural necessities, be withheld from the inhabitants of the Grand River area if they did not provide better information on guerrilla activity. Cameron concurred and proposed the construction of a large number of small boats at Bayou Boeuf, utilizing lumber captured at Offitt's Mill. These boats would be used to pursue the guerrillas "down the smallest bayou," the only practical means of success against them (Davis et al. 1896a:730, 775).

Jayhawker activity continued in the Grand River area into February 1865. By this time, the Grand River area had suffered quite a bit from anarchic wartime conditions. In February 1865, the entire region below Bayou Plaquemine was impassable, "the levee on Grand River being broken in many places." Captured Confederates reported that all their companies that had been raiding in the Lafourche district had been ordered to withdraw to Alexandria (Davis et al. 1896a:112-115, 120).

The Grand River area was quiet until the beginning of April 1865, when a Confederate force was reported to have crossed Grand Lake. General Cameron resolved to rid his district of the guerrilla threat once and for all, having had prepared a large number of small boats with which to pursue the rebels into their bayou haunts. Again, a multi-part plan of attack was utilized, seeking to close off any avenue of escape and utilizing gunboats, cavalry, and infantry. The Confederates, under Whitaker, reached the Mississippi by way of Grand Lake, Lake Chicot, Bayou Pigeon, and Grand River. There they raided a plantation, but were intercepted on their way back to Bayou Pierre Pass. A few of the guerrillas were captured, and the rest dispersed. The Federal troops on Lake Verret destroyed all boats they encountered on both east and west shores and searched numerous plantations (Davis et al. 1896a:168-170, 173-174, 175-177).

Even though Whitaker and most of his guerrillas escaped, Confederate incursions across Grand River from west to east seem to have ceased with his retreat. However, Federal military operations continued in the Grand River area, as rumors of jayhawker activity surfaced continually through the month of April 1865. At the beginning of May, Cameron reported to his superiors that expeditions were sent into the Atchafalaya Basin from Brashear City, Napoleonville, Plaquemine, Terrebonne, Donaldsonville, Thibodeaux, Bayou Boeuf, and Chacahoula. The Federals found the countryside inundated by Spring flooding. Gunboat #43 and the steamer *Cornie*, with two companies of the 93rd U.S. Colored Infantry aboard, ascended the Atchafalaya to Butte-à-la-Rose. A recently-abandoned camp of about 10 men was discovered. At Offitt's sawmill, the *Cornie* was loaded with lumber and departed. On the basis of information provided by a Union sympathizer named Decker, a small boat of Gunboat #43 went down Bayou Chene to the plantation of Lawrence Lee. Lee, of the Confederate Army, was at home and was arrested along with Teodile Guedry. Gunboat #43 arrived at Bayou Chene and took on board 5,000 confiscated shingles. While the gunboat was loading, and also based on information provided by Lee, a small boat was sent to the nearby home of Captain "Crosser" (possibly Crowson) of the Confederate Army. Crosser or Crowson was absent, but two soldiers of Company A, Seventh Louisiana Cavalry were captured (Davis et al. 1896a:168-170, 173-174, 175-177).

The war in the Grand River area, after a surprising amount of activity, came to an end in early May 1865. Severe spring flooding had made much of the Atchafalaya Basin uninhabitable. By the second week of May 1865, Brashear City was "half overflowed" (Davis et al. 1896a:238). On May 11, General Cameron dispatched the gunboat *Glide* up Lake Chicot to Bayou Chene, and the *Cornie* to Bayou Long, to rescue "drowning families" in those places. On May 14, a detach-

ment of men from the 11th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery departed from Brashear City on the steamer *Cornie* to Bayou Chene. From three miles above Brashear City, Lieutenant Charles Potter reported about four feet of water covering the highest places. At the Ratliff plantation, five persons, 37 head of cattle, 10 sheep, and two hogs were taken on board. Potter noted that while at Ratliff's the water level rose nearly four inches in as many hours. The following day, the Federals found Bell's plantation on Bayou Chene inundated; 40 head of cattle could not be reached by the steamer and were left there. Livestock at several other Bayou Chene farms also could not be rescued, and "...must evidently suffer, if not perish," stated the reporting officer. The commander of a patrol by the 75th U.S. Colored Infantry from Lake Palourde to Grand River and back in early May reported the following: "I saw none of the enemy and heard of none... I saw no [unflooded] land from the time of leaving Lake Palourde until I returned. The people, without exception, have moved away or are preparing to move" (Davis et al. 1896a:238-251). A late communication from New Orleans to General Cameron was to increase vigilance along the Atchafalaya, Teche, and Grand River line with the view of intercepting "Jeff Davis and his cabinet and the treasures they are reported to be seeking to take out of the country, in case they should pass in your direction" (Davis et al. 1896b:301). Davis was apprehended in Georgia on May 10, 1865. The last Confederate forces in Louisiana surrendered on May 26, and on June 3, 1865, a Federal order abolished slavery in Louisiana (Winters 1963:427).

The severity and frequency of flooding in the Atchafalaya Basin was already increasing in the late antebellum period, and after the Atchafalaya River was cleared of rafts in 1861, the situation grew worse. Combined with anarchic wartime conditions, flooding led to the virtual abandonment of agricultural efforts in much of the Basin during the war. Consequently, fences, fields, and levees in the region were neglected, and mills, gins, barns, and houses were abandoned as inhabitants migrated out of the Basin (Comeaux 1972:17). Bayou Chene was "deluged" by overflow in 1865 (Case 1973:128) and the loss in livestock, fences, and buildings was severe.

Other damage in the Bayou Chene area resulted from direct military action during the war, including the destruction by Federal gunboats of E.W. Fuller's sugar mill and sawmill, Hinchley's store, coffee house, and residence, N.P. Millard's residence and "outhouse" (Case 1973:128), and probably several other Basin sugar houses. These incidents were not all documented by research in official military and naval records; much of the war in the Atchafalaya Basin, like other guerrilla conflicts, escaped thorough documentation. Federal gunboats were not the only destructive forces operating in the area during the war. Case (1973) relates Bayou Chene recollections of depredations by "jayhawkers" (Case 1973: 119-120) or bushwhackers, one of the many bands of deserters, draft dodgers, and criminals that infested much of Louisiana during the last three years of the war. As an anonymous correspondent from Bayou Chene noted in 1865, "it seems as though Mars and the overflow conspired to destroy all that was destructible" in the community (quoted in Case 1973:128). The U.S. post office at Bayou Chene was officially closed on June 22, 1866 (U.S.P.S. n.d.).

Bayou Chene from the Civil War to 1907

Bayou Chene was largely abandoned at the conclusion of the Civil War because of flooding. Some of the antebellum planter families returned to Bayou Chene after the 1865 high water, but the population base of the community was destined to change in the decades after the Civil War. The late-nineteenth century and beginning years of the twentieth century were a time of community growth at Bayou Chene. Within half a decade of the Civil War's conclusion, the population of Bayou Chene totaled 277 persons, roughly the same as the free population in 1850. By 1876, the population had grown to approximately 400-500 persons, despite a major flood in 1874. The Post Office at Bayou Chene was reestablished on March 7, 1876 (U.S. Census 1870; Germann 1990)

Perhaps the most dramatic demographic change in the area was that most of the African-Americans present in Bayou Chene in 1860 had departed. A comparison of names in the 1860 and 1870 censuses (Appendix 2) indicates that many of the Free People of Color resident in the Bayou Chene community prior to the war were still there five years after its conclusion, but the total African-American population of the Bayou Chene area was much lower in 1870 than it had been in 1860. Scores of slaves in the area in 1860, nameless in the census slave schedule for that year, were also absent from the Bayou Chene census of 1870 (U.S. Census 1850-1870), and this indicates that the vast majority of former slaves had left the community by this date.

Another development in the Bayou Chene population revealed by the 1900 census was the relative decline in French or Acadian surnames among the residents during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The process whereby Acadian families left the community or their names died out is not illuminated by oral history or other sources. However, throughout its existence, Bayou Chene continued to reflect some limited aspects of the pervasive Cajun culture of southern Louisiana. Among the family names of Acadian ancestry that continued to reside in the Bayou Chene area into the twentieth century were Theriot, Landry, Daigle, Verret, and Broussard.

Migration out of the Bayou Chene community was probably surpassed by migration into the area. As numerous oral informants have reported, family histories relate how "people from all over ended up in Bayou Chene."[1] A number of factors typically attracted the post-Civil War migrant into Bayou Chene. One was cheap land in the area, as cheap as $.25 per acre. Another attractive feature to settlers was the opportunity to make a living in extractive activities such as cutting timber, hunting, and fishing, as well as by truck farming and livestock raising. While some Acadian families left Bayou Chene, other new residents were of French heritage and came from the strongly Acadian areas east and west of the Basin. Even more new settlers were Anglo-Americans from southern states, and another minority were either from the northern United States or first-generation immigrants from northern Europe (Leota Megas, Harold Snellgrove, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Case 1973:49-63, 74-88).

Since Bayou Chene was isolated from many of the economic and social trends of late-nineteenth-century America, it retained a frontier character for a long time. Education levels were generally low, although Oswald Templet established a school in the community in the late-nineteenth century. Without a permanent building, Templet held class in whatever house or structure was available. Oral informants suggest that some persons who migrated into Bayou Chene were likely fleeing the law or unhappy personal or family situations. Some persons kept their past a total secret after arriving in Bayou Chene. One such person was Mr. Flint, a master carpenter who built Albert Stockstill's large house, about whose earlier life nothing was learned up to the time of his death (Lynn Curry, Harold Snellgrove, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Stella Larson Case, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Unquestionably, those who settled in Bayou Chene had to be self-reliant and vigorous. Community folklore has not forgotten that it was sometimes a rough place, not only in which to survive and make a living, but also in its early social standards. This is not surprising, since many men who moved to Bayou Chene in this period did so to work in logging, and lumberjacks have never earned a reputation for delicacy. At least one newcomer to Bayou Chene in this era (Robert Wisdom, who came from Mississippi) was reputedly challenged to prove that he was tough enough to stay. As related by Rene Seneca, a small crowd had gathered at Cyrus Case's Store, presumably to meet the steamboat on which Wisdom arrived. Some locals, perhaps having had a few drinks,

[1] For genealogical information on the following Bayou Chene families: Ashley, Broussard, Bruno, Carline, Case, Crowson, Curry, Daigle, DeBuse, DeLord, Diamond, Fowler, Freyou, Lafontain(e), Landry, Larson, Pierce, Seneca, Snellgrove, Stockstill, Texada, Theriot, Verret, and Wisdom, see Case 1973: 49-63, 74-88.

told Wisdom, "...you got to fight, son. Fight or you can't stay." So Wisdom "rolled his sleeves up" and met the challenge (Rene Seneca, personal communication to Maygarden 1997). This sort of welcome into the community was probably not common and was not extended to temporary visitors. Bayou Chene was a place where, in the tradition of the American frontier, a person's past was behind them and where a new start in life was possible. If they "behaved themselves" at Bayou Chene, they were accepted and respected as members of the community. On the other hand, "foolishness" was little tolerated, and residents were not above substituting personal action for a remote civil authority or police power. The St. Martin Parish Sheriff usually visited Bayou Chene at election time, and rarely otherwise (Harold Snellgrove, Darl Ashley, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Lynn Curry, Stanley Stockstill, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Despite the importance of extractive subsistence activities to Atchafalaya Basin residents, the economy was not static and commercial activities were not absent. Some of the antebellum sugar planters in the Basin tried again after the Civil War. For the most part, Basin planters did not share the post-War recovery with the Mississippi River sugar planters. A few Bayou Chene families, such as the Carlines, had held dozens of slaves in the antebellum period; emancipation liquidated much of their financial capital but discharged none of their debts. Many planters, great and small, were economically ruined. A few Atchafalaya Basin planters in the Reconstruction period managed to once again produce quantities of sugar approaching antebellum levels, despite losses of labor and capital equipment. However, these planters, all but one of them holdovers from the antebellum period, had no measurable commercial production until 1873. In addition, the sugar houses of Urbin and Theodore Carline, T.J. Jones, and E.W. Fuller had all been destroyed in the period since 1862. Only W.W. and E.T. King, one of the most successful sugar-growing Atchafalaya Basin partnerships prior to the war, produced any sugar between 1862 and 1873. In 1873, the Kings produced 45 hogsheads, and the following year, when the Atchafalaya Basin experienced particularly severe flooding, they only produced 27 hogsheads (Bouchereau 1868-1917). Evidence for the Bayou Chene area supports the contention of earlier investigators such as Manning et al. (1987) that the 1874 inundation was a death blow to commercial agriculture in the region. No sugar production is reported in Bouchereau's Statement for the Bayou Chene area after 1874, and Bayou Chene planters ceased to be listed in Bouchereau's *Statement* after 1876. Cane field features were still visible in the Bayou Chene area within living memory, particularly at the sites of the Olivier and Lafontaine plantations. These cane fields and plantation features have all been obscured by sedimentation and tree growth (Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, and Rene Seneca, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Among the important economic developments affecting the Atchafalaya Basin during the post-Civil War period was the construction of railroads across the region. Construction of a railroad line by the Chattanooga Railroad across the Atchafalaya Basin in St. Martin Parish had evidently been started at some point prior to 1870. The rail line, probably as projected, is shown on a map by Hardee (1870) as crossing the several branches of Tensas Bayou south of Grand River and north of Bayou Chene. The "Old Grading" of the track appears on an 1883 map of Iberville Parish (Dickinson 1883) running from west to east just to the south of upper Grand River and crossing the river below the mouth of Bayou Plaquemine. However, the line does not seem to have ever been completed, since later maps do not show it. Meanwhile, the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Rail Road line, which had connected Morgan City to rail and shipping connections at New Orleans in 1857, was extended to Vermilionville (Lafayette) by 1880. From Vermilionville, the Louisiana Western line ran to Texas. Also by 1880, the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete, and Opelousas Rail Road also crossed the Atchafalaya Basin at its northern extremity. By World War I, the Basin was served by a newer line of Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Railroad (part of the Southern Pacific system), and that of the Texas and Pacific Rail Road (part of the Missouri Pacific system), which intersected at Grosse Tete (Goins and Caldwell 1995:68-69).

The new rail lines would allow the Atchafalaya Basin's major products during this period, fish and timber, to reach distant markets. The most important of these Basin products in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was cypress, which the growth of railroads allowed to reach a burgeoning national market for building materials. Less significant was the market for freshwater fish, which was limited by various technological constraints to a smaller regional area.

In the immediate post-Civil War period, cutting cypress timber became an important activity for Basin residents, continuing a trend that seems to have started before the War. A letter written from Bayou Chene in December 1865 stated that floated cypress logs brought $40 per thousand feet (a very high price at that time), and firewood $2.50 to $3.00 per cord. This resuscitated demand for construction materials and firewood caused small wood yards to be "scattered over the bayous" (quoted in Case 1973:128). By the 1870s, lumbering had become the major occupation of the male residents of Bayou Chene, while the number of planters and farmers had declined precipitously since the antebellum period. The 1870 census indicated that only five years after the Civil War, almost three-quarters of the employed men in the Bayou Chene community were working as lumbermen (Castille et al. 1990:31).

The increase in lumbering activity probably accelerated through the 1870s and into the 1880s, contributing to the recovery of the Bayou Chene population. In 1880-1881, Major C.W. Howell of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers conducted a survey of the Atchafalaya River, including a portion of Bayou Chene (Figure 12). In many cases, Howell only indicated the location of structures on his map and did not identify them or indicate their use. Several structures, some identified, are indicated on the Howell chart on Bayou Chene from above Little Bayou de Plomb to Bayou Tarleton, a distance of approximately a mile. Howell noted an unidentified structure on the west bank of Bayou Chene north of its confluence with Little Bayou de Plomb. Nearly opposite this structure was the Bayou Chene Post Office, at this time run by Anatole Verret. Opposite the head of Bayou Crook Chene was another unidentified structure. Approximately one-quarter mile below the Bayou Chene Post Office, on the same bank, was an "Old Saw Mill" which may have operated in the antebellum period. Approximately one-eighth of a mile below the head of Bayou Crook Chene on the south bank of Bayou Chene was an "Old Sugar Mill," probably that of Theodore Carline. As suggested by Castille et al. (1990:23), it is unlikely that these were the only structures in this area at this date, but rather prominent buildings or landmarks visible from the waterway.

The Atchafalaya Basin was an unstable environment, even before the dramatic environmental changes brought about in the twentieth century. Flooding became a major problem in the post-Civil War period, and there were floods in 1882, 1884, 1890, 1897, and 1903 (Daniel 1977:7). The 1884 flood in the lower Mississippi Valley was particularly severe, and may have temporarily inhibited the growth of the Bayou Chene population. At the end of the 1880s, the rise of industrial cypress lumbering was poised to cause even more substantial growth of the community. The industrial exploitation of cypress was the next great chapter in the history of the Atchafalaya Basin, but this did not truly develop until technological innovations made the industrial exploitation of swamp cypress possible. This occurred with the invention of the pullboat in 1889 and the overhead railway skidder in 1892 (Mancil 1972:76-77).

George Coulon, a journalist, undertook a tour of the Atchafalaya Basin on the eve of the industrial logging period. Coulon (1888) generally described the Atchafalaya Basin as a scene of primeval beauty, quiet and largely unpeopled. However, prominent in his travelogue are depictions of the unique "swamper" way of life. The swampers engaged in fishing, hunting, and float logging for their livelihood. Some swampers resided at the edge of the Atchafalaya Basin and traveled in daily by boat, and others, such as those resident at Bayou Chene, lived in the Basin full-time. The swamper population was drawn from a variety of backgrounds. In some parts of the Basin, the swampers were heavily Acadian but included a significant percentage of persons of non-Acadian European heritage; fully 30 percent of swampers in Iberville Parish may have been

Native Americans, African-Americans, and persons of mixed descent, termed "redbones" (Grace 1946:232). However, at Bayou Chene, an examination of the 1870 census (in Castille 1990:117-130) indicates that the residents were, as mentioned above, almost entirely white in 1870, with small Native American and African-American minorities. By 1900, there was not a single African-American listed in the census for Bayou Chene. This situation did not change as long as Bayou Chene existed as a community. Oral informants state that there were only one or two African-Americans actually resident at Bayou Chene for any period of time in the twentieth century, and several recall their surprise and curiosity when encountering African-Americans for the first time.

Float logging had a minimal impact on the vast stands of cypress in the Atchafalaya region because of the difficulty of getting the logs out of the swamp environment. The cypress trees were deadened by girdling in the autumn, and then cut down and floated out of the swamps during high water. The logs were chained together with "dogs" and gathered in "booms" or large raft-like collections to be hauled or pushed to the lumber mills by steamboat. While working in the high-water season, the swampers lived in camps built on log rafts. A description of such a raft is provided by Coulon (1888):

> The foundation consists of logs, called in the swamper's vernacular "sticks," averaging fifty feet in length, floated parallel to each other and held together by transversal "splicers," through which holes are bored reaching into the "sticks;" then strong ashen pins are firmly driven in, the whole forming in point of fact a raft or "crib." Upon this a framework is built of size suited to the number of occupants. The apex of the roof is seldom over seven feet from the flooring, while at the eaves it is often as low as four. This framework is made of young trees, ranging from three to six inches in diameter. Holes are again bored into one end, whilst others are sharpened and driven into these. The ridge-pole is supported by end and centre-poles, upon whose forked end it rests. The roof is constructed of split pickets, and the opening between this log-flooring more or less closed by this same means. At the further right end of the crib about eight inches of clay or sand are piled upon boards laid crosswise; this forms the cook's hearth. Forked sticks, pickets, green moss, and one or two-dollar blankets are the component parts of bed and bedding. The bar has to be equal to the occasion and is made of cheese cloth, as in no part of the world are mosquitoes, gnats, and sandflies more plentiful (Coulon 1888:10).

After 1890, the Atchafalaya Basin would enter a period of rapid change. Simultaneously with the decline of timber resources in the northern United States, the pullboat and the overhead cableway railroad skidder allowed the exploitation of swamp stands of cypress that had previously been accessible only with traditional float logging methods. Between them, these two devices allowed exploitation of nearly all Atchafalaya Basin cypress. Louisiana sawmills produced 248 million board feet of cypress lumber in 1899 and one billion board feet in 1915; thereafter production declined as the supply of cypress stands was rapidly depleted. Large-scale, industrial cypress logging was virtually over by 1925, only little more than a single generation after it began (Mancil 1972:76-77, 82-85).

Industrial cypress logging was a brief but intense ecological and cultural phenomenon with great impact on the ecosystem and human denizens of the Atchafalaya Basin. The landscape was rapidly transformed by the removal of virgin stands of forest, and the drainage of the region altered by pullboat "roads," the piercing of natural levees to maintain water levels, and the construction of railroad logging spurs and lines, which served to retard drainage. A quarter of a century ago, many logging canals, pullboat roads, and tramways were still visible, with environmental effects that were not yet completely understood (Mancil 1972:88, 118, 162). In the Atchafalaya Basin, however, many of these landscape features associated with industrial cypress

logging have vanished due to sedimentation (Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997). The cultural effects of the cypress logging industry in the Atchafalaya Basin have been considered in detail by Mancil (1972).

The banks of Bayou Chene itself were noted for their live oaks, but in the backswamps and toward Lake Chicot were impressive stands of cypress. Bayou Chene became the central residential area for timber workers in the Basin interior, and it seems that Comeaux (1972) may have underestimated the importance of cypress logging to this community. Before the invention of the internal combustion inboard boat motor, the residential radius for workers in the Basin was limited. Timber workers for the large companies lived in mobile dormitories or quarterboats while working and returned to homes outside the Basin or at Bayou Chene. Major sawmills surrounded the Bayou Chene area; mills were located in Jeannerette, White Castle, Plaquemine, Napoleonville, Centerville, Plattenville, Crescent, and Indian Village (Mancil 1972:9). The importance of cypress logging in attracting settlers into the Bayou Chene area in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries would be hard to overestimate.

Extractive pursuits such as trapping, fishing, and moss picking remained important to year-round residents of the Atchafalaya Basin during the heyday of the cypress logging industry. Fishing was the most important of these other activities to the Bayou Chene community. As early as 1873, fish dealers at Morgan City began to buy fish from inhabitants in the Basin (Comeaux 1972:21). However, several factors mitigated against the rise of the fishing industry until the late-nineteenth century. There were no nearby large markets for fresh-water fish, and transportation systems were not yet developed that could deliver fresh fish to market before it spoiled. Ice-making machines were developed in the post-Civil War period, and by 1889, Louisiana had eighteen ice factories (Jones et al. 1991:40). This meant that if the fish were brought live to a point where they could be put on ice, the fish could be transported from rail terminals to markets quickly enough to be commercially marketed. By 1894, there were 756 "general fishermen" listed in the Atchafalaya Basin (Comeaux 1972:35).

Soon after ice-making machines were invented, the tow-car was developed, allowing live fish to be transported to the rail terminal at Morgan City, and after 1884, to Melville on the Atchafalaya River. Also called live-cars, fish-cars, or well-cars, tow-cars were similar to flat-bottomed, double-ended skiffs, but with slats replacing the planking of the bottoms and sides. On top were hatches made of slats that enclosed one or more wells or compartments for holding the live fish. The live fish were measured in a wooden box, usually measuring 1½ x 1½ x 3 feet, resting over the compartment of the tow-car. After measuring, the hinged bottom of the measuring-box released the fish into the submerged compartment of the tow-car. Tow-cars typically measured from 18 to 30 feet in length and 5 to 6 feet in width. Water-tight compartments at bow and stern could be filled with water (up to about 40 gallons) to adjust the depth of the tow-car in the water. The captain of the tug towing the car served as the agent of the fish-buying company, and paid the fishermen. The full tow-car, loaded with 5 to 10 tons of fish (usually yellow and blue catfish), would be attached to the side of a steam-tug and carried downriver to Morgan City at about 6 miles per hour or less. The tow-car could only travel with the current or the fish would be killed, so all fish caught in the Bayou Chene area at this time went to Morgan City. Tow-cars were also very difficult to handle, requiring a powerful tugboat (Comeaux 1972:31-34). These limitations of tow-cars made them obsolete in the era of the internal combustion inboard boat motor, which began in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Life at Bayou Chene ca. 1907-1927

The period from the introduction of the inboard internal combustion boat motor (before 1907) to the disastrous 1927 flood may have been the "golden age" of life at Bayou Chene. Cypress lumbering was still flourishing in the region, the "putt-putt" made fishing commercially viable, and only one major flood (in 1912) and two lesser high-water years (in 1913 and 1922)

damaged homes, livestock, and cultivated fields in the central Basin. The great flood of 1927 began a series of events that successively made life in the Basin more difficult, and serves as a convenient milestone marking the period of decline of the Bayou Chene community (Leota Megas, Harold Snellgrove, Douglas Mendoza, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

The population of Bayou Chene probably fluctuated in this period, but a substantial core of residents remained constant through the vagaries of floods and other events. The population at the time of the 1927 flood was about 500 persons (Case 1973:38). The influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 caused a number of deaths in the community. Birth and death records are difficult to utilize to assess Bayou Chene population. Since no doctors were resident in the community, house-boat dwellers often moved to the vicinity of a town when a birth was due. As a result, many Bayou Chene residents were actually born in communities at the edge of the Basin. If a death occurred during a period of high water at Bayou Chene, it was not uncommon for the deceased to be taken to the Bayou Sorrel mound for burial (Lynn Curry, Horace Wisdom, Rene Seneca, Darl Ashley, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Comeaux's classic study of Atchafalaya Basin swamp life (Comeaux 1972) may overestimate the importance of fishing and underestimate the importance of other activities, particularly logging and agriculture, to life in the Basin before 1927. From 1890 at the latest until the early 1930s, cypress logging was perhaps the predominant economic activity engaged in by the Bayou Chene community. Large-scale industrial cypress logging with pullboats impacted the Atchafalaya Basin early. The oldest informants interviewed for this project can recall the decade before World War I, but none of them can remember widespread pullboat logging going on in the vicinity of Bayou Chene. The stands of virgin cypress in the immediate area of Bayou Chene had already been cut by the World War I era, but logging of sweetgum, tupelo, and smaller stands and isolated pockets of virgin cypress timber continued to the beginning of the 1940s. The pullboat roads created by the logging companies remained important fishing locales until they were eventually filled in with sediment and vegetation after the 1930s. After the pullboat era, most timber extracted from the Bayou Chene vicinity was once again taken by float logging. Felling axes and two-man cross-cut saws were the only tools. Surprisingly enough, a good team of men with a sharp saw could cut down a cypress tree of 4- or 5-foot diameter in about 20 or 25 minutes. In this era, most of the cypress from the Bayou Chene area was milled by the Jeannerette Lumber Company in Jeannerette or the Schwing Lumber Company in Plaquemine, but there were also the Wilbert, Bueche, Anderson, Norman & Breaux, May Brothers, Kyle, and other mills. Several informants remember rafts of timber in Bayou Chene, and the Schwing steamboat *Carrie B. Schwing* "booming" timber to Bayou Plaquemine. As virgin cypress began to dwindle, it became more common for the timber companies to contract with independent timber suppliers such as Bayou Chene resident John Snellgrove. Snellgrove was paid $5 per 1000 feet by Schwing, and in turn paid timber cutters $3 per 1000 feet. A good worker in the timber business in the 1920s could make about $2.00 per day (Douglas Mendoza, Phillip Allen, Harold Snellgrove, Lynn Curry, Ray Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Guirard 1989:38).

Agriculture and livestock raising played a more important part in the life of Bayou Chene residents prior to the 1912 flood than afterward. Numerous diversified and prosperous farms had developed on the extensive tracts cleared in the nineteenth century for cane-growing. Bayou Chene residents grew corn, potatoes, beans, cabbage, and fruit trees, and raised milk cattle and oxen, hogs, chickens, turkeys, ducks, geese, and guinea hens. Hogs and cattle ranged freely, their ownership marked with ear-notches. In old frontier style, fences were built to keep livestock out of yards and gardens rather than penned in. By the early-twentieth century, no one was growing any quantity of cane at Bayou Chene, although sugar house ruins and cane fields were still prominent landscape features. Some of the homes, such as those of John Snellgrove, Albert Stockstill, John Crowson, Gertrude Tenpenny, and Cyrus Case, were large frame structures built in late-nineteenth or turn-of-the-century style. Most houses were more modest; numerous families lived in two room houses, some in one-room houses. Architecture varied, with Acadian-style houses

and shotguns raised on wood blocks predominating. There were always families residing on houseboats, and the proportion of these may have increased in later years as flooding increased. Some persons, particularly fishermen, simply preferred living on a houseboat to residing on land. Drinking water was collected in cypress cisterns. There were only a few brick fireplaces and chimneys in the whole community; most families cooked on iron stoves, and some houses had traditional stick-and-mud chimneys. The favored heating and cooking wood was ash, which had a relatively low market value and could be cut freely on anyone's' property (Harold Snellgrove, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Leota Megas, Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Among the most important factors contributing to the evolution of way of life in Bayou Chene and the Basin as a whole was the introduction by 1907 of the gasoline-fueled internal combustion engine for powering boats (Comeaux 1972:42). The oldest oral informants alive today, with clear memories dating to the era before World War I, cannot recall a time before the inboard gasoline boat engine. Prior to the introduction of these engines, the average resident of the Atchafalaya Basin owned only a pirogue or a push-skiff, and relied on human muscle power to propel their boats. Virtually all movement of timber and carriage of manufactured or consumer items was performed by steamboats. Steam-powered craft were beyond the ownership of the average Basin resident, although a very few Bayou Chene area residents had small steam craft. The range of the fisherman or independent logger was increased enormously by the advent of internal combustion engines, even the very small early single-cylinder two-horsepower models used in boats. Soon, four-horsepower models were introduced, and a little later two-cylinder six- and eight- horsepower engines. The most popular engine of this kind was the 4-horsepower Lockwood-Ash, although Nadler and Kelly (perhaps the first manufactured) were other brand names. Late in this period, a few Ford Model T automobile engines began to be converted for boat use. The inboard engines were installed in what was called a *bateau* by French speakers in the Basin (Comeaux 1972:42) and a "joe-boat" by many of the English speakers at Bayou Chene. The bateau was a long, heavy, flat-bottomed boat with blunt bow and stern, typically 24 or 26 feet long. Fitted with the small Lockwood-Ash or Kelly engines, these boats were also called "putt-putts" (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

The idiosyncrasies of the putt-putts are clearly recalled by surviving informants. The engine could drive the propeller shaft either forward or in reverse, but there was no clutch of any kind. To reverse the engine, the hand-controlled "timer" or throttle was slowed down almost to a stall (frequently producing a backfire or two along the way), and then thrown in the other direction. The engines were often installed so low in the boat that the flywheel at the front of the engine easily mashed one's fingers or toes against the decking if care was not taken. The spinning flywheel could also choke an uncareful man with his own necktie. When a putt-putt with a small engine pulled from a quiet, slow bayou into the Atchafalaya main channel, it could be poised in one spot for what seemed like minutes before making headway against the strong current. The larger, 8-horsepower models, lightly loaded and in a favoring current, could make 12 to 15 miles per hour (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

The introduction of putt-putts made commercial fishing much easier for Basin residents. Demand for fish was strong, with prices rising early in the twentieth century. After a decline in prices paid to Louisiana fishermen during 1914-1915, prices again rose for a decade. From a low of 4¢ per pound paid for catfish and 2¢ for buffalofish in 1915, by 1925, fishermen received 15¢ for catfish and 8¢ per pound for buffalofish. In 1922, there were 920 fishermen in the Atchafalaya Basin. Prices collapsed to 5¢ per pound for both catfish and buffalofish by 1927 (Comeaux 1972:35, 39). In general, individual fish were reputedly larger in the 1920s than in recent decades. A "good size" buffalofish would weigh about 20 pounds, a good sized gaspergou, 15 or 20 pounds (Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

All of the Atchafalaya Basin fishing techniques described by Comeaux (1972) were utilized by Bayou Chene fishermen and are familiar to oral informants. In the era of tarred cotton line (before the late 1950s), these included hook and line (especially for catfish), trotlines (including bush lines, string lines, float lines, buoy lines, and snag lines), hoopnets (including with leads or jugger poles), and seines. At Bayou Chene, seining does not seem to have been as popular as fishing with lines or hoop nets; perhaps this was because of the expense of seines, which were usually manufactured (instead of hand-woven) and required a license for use after 1914. Seines were often owned by fish markets and used by fishermen on a commission basis (Comeaux 1972:57-58). Gill nets and trammel nets were known, but evidently were rarely used by Bayou Chene fishermen. Hoopnets were popular in this period, principally associated with the boom in demand for buffalofish. There were two most common sizes. Large hoopnets, with nine oak hoops tapering from about 5' in diameter and three flues, were mainly used for buffalofish. Smaller nets with seven hoops tapering from a diameter of about 2½ to 3 feet, with two flues, were principally used for catfish. The nets were sometimes baited, particularly in the autumn when the water was clear, but were more often used unbaited. Cottonseed cake was a common net bait. Hooks were baited with cut-bait or live-bait; the latter was frequently shad (caught in cast nets), and sometimes perch or choupique. Small, immature crawfish and river shrimp were also a major bait during the boom years of commercial catfish fishing. Bait shrimp were caught by a variety of means: in baited burlap sacks; in dip nets swept through the branches of downed willow trees; with dips made of bundles of willow or wax myrtle branches; or in slat traps. Crawfish were caught in a dip net in shallow water, or with a dip made out of a bundle of branches with a baited line attached (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, Horace Wisdom, Walter Allen, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Comeaux 1972:42-64 *passim*).

The preparation of cotton fishing lines and nets by dipping them in hot tar was an onerous but necessary job that numerous informants remember from their youth. Untarred cotton line and netting very quickly rotted. Coal tar was heated in large sheet steel vats until it became liquid. The nets, after all sticks and other trash were carefully brushed out of them, were lowered by pulley into the tar for a brief immersion. It was easy for the careless fisherman to overheat his tar and burn his net, or burn himself when striking the raised net to remove the excess tar. Nets and lines had to be tarred, on average, about every two weeks (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Darl Ashley, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, Horace Wisdom, Walter Allen, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Comeaux 1972:50-51).

Once internal-combustion engines became available, fish-buying boats began to replace the system of tugs pulling tow-cars to Morgan City. The "fish boats" were often luggers in the 1920s and 1930s, and bateaux later on. The fish boat bateau was larger than the fisherman's bateau, perhaps about 8' wide and 30' long. They plied the waterways of the Basin, collecting fish directly from the homes or camp-boats of the inhabitants and returning them to a dealer's dock. From the dock, the fish were shipped in refrigerated railroad cars to market. The rail routes traversing the Basin were the Southern Pacific lines through Morgan City and the town of Atchafalaya and the Missouri Pacific through Krotz Springs. These were joined in the early twentieth century by a Texas and Pacific Rail Road branch line from Plaquemine to Indian Village on Bayou Plaquemine. Catfish were largely shipped by rail to Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, and New Mexico. Buffalofish were shipped to New York in large quantity in early days for the East European Jewish immigrant market, but later the majority was shipped to states nearer Louisiana (Comeaux 1972:31-39)

In early twentieth-century Bayou Chene, boats from the railheads came to the community several times a week, some boats coming once and some boats twice in a one-week period. The fish-buying boats collected mostly catfish (blue and yellow), gaspergoo, and buffalofish from the local fishermen. Crawfish and crabs were not purchased by the fish-boats in this era, although

turtles, alligator skins, honey, and furs (discussed in more detail in the following section) were purchased by the fish-boats. The fishermen had to keep their daily catch in live-boxes, boxes of cypress measuring about four feet square, which were kept submerged. The fish-boats only bought live fish 14" long or longer and paid for them by the pound according to current market rates. The fish-boats also sold grocery staples, coal oil and tar, kerosene, and gasoline to the Basin residents, alleviating the need for them to travel as frequently to town. Early fish-boat operators based in or that came to Bayou Chene included Myrtile Theriot and Broussard. Stores in this era also bought fish and other Basin products, and were run by Cyrus Case, John Stockstill, and John Snellgrove (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, Lynn Curry, Curtis Larson, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Gobeil n.d.:11; Comeaux 1972:31-39).

The fur industry grew in importance in the early decades of the twentieth century, spurred by the fad for fur coats. Shipments of mink, 'coon, otter, muskrat, and 'possum furs from the Atchafalaya Basin to the New Orleans and St. Louis markets were valued at $100,000 in 1909; $150,000 in 1917; and $500,000 by 1920. Muskrat trapping was a common winter activity for lower Basin residents prior to the late 1920s (Abbey 1979:16), but muskrat were not in the swamp and natural levee setting of the Bayou Chene area, occurring no nearer than Lake Chicot. Prices of skins rose with demand. By 1919, 'possum skins brought $1.00 to the trapper, 'coonskins $4.50, minks $5.50, and otters from $10 to $15 (Vertical files, Morgan City Archive; Southern Pacific Rail Road 1910:13; Peltier and Lehmann 1960:84-85). Many Atchafalaya Basin residents added significantly to their annual incomes with the proceeds of trapping during this period of fur coat popularity .

Spanish moss-picking developed as a small industry in the first decades of the twentieth century, reaching its peak during the 1920s when moss was highly in demand for upholstery stuffing. Moss could be collected in limited amounts as "black moss" that had fallen to the ground and dried out, but it was more often picked green. The moss near ground level was depleted earliest and it became necessary to pick the moss with a long hooked pole from a moss derrick (or moss barge), a raised wooden platform built on a flatboat. The serious moss picker could tow several flatboats behind his moss derrick to hold the picked moss. If a wasp's nest got disturbed by the moss picker, he might have to leap from his derrick! The collected moss was placed in piles on the ground, and a single moss pile might be a dozen yards wide and over 30 yards long. These piles had to be kept watered and turned with a pitchfork so that the moss would not combust. After a time, the moss was spread out on a fence, wire or tree branches to finish drying. The outer covering of the moss decomposed, leaving the horsehair-like core. It took about six weeks in the summer to cure the moss fully. The cured moss weighed 2/3 less than it did when picked. Moss was labor-intensive and bulky for its value, bringing the picker 1¢ per pound (dried) for a long period. Sometimes, a brick was hidden in a bale to boost its weight, and moss buyers did not hesitate to cut a bale open looking for bricks, sticks, or other unwanted material. The fish-buying boats would purchase the cured and baled moss from Basin residents and take it to a processing center to be ginned. The nearest moss gin to Bayou Chene was at Jack Miller's Landing on Grand River. Moss gins were also located in Plaquemine, Pierre Part, Charenton, and other locations. Moss was still harvested at Bayou Chene in sizable amounts until the second half of the 1920s and in smaller quantities for a much longer period (Douglas Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, Charles Verret, Carl Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Several informants indicate that Bayou Chene in the early twentieth century was a somewhat rowdier place than in later decades. For one thing, there were several saloons at various times located in the community, most of them simple barrooms attached to grocery stores. During Prohibition, some home-brewing of beer went on, while Patin's store in Butte La Rose was a well-known supplier of illicit liquor in the Basin. Dances were held on Bayou Chene until the beginning of the 1930s, with music provided by fiddlers and accordion players from St. Martinville,

Catahoula, Butte La Rose, and elsewhere. Even though a minority of the Bayou Chene population was of Acadian ancestry and French was not widely spoken there, the community did not completely escape Acadian cultural influence. The most popular dances at Bayou Chene were "round dances" or roundelays, mazurkas, and waltzes, all favored in Cajun tradition. The presence of the saloons may have contributed to the rough-and-tumble atmosphere of Bayou Chene in this period, but drunkenness and fighting were probably not any more common here than anywhere else in rural south Louisiana at the time. It is notable that two well-remembered shooting deaths in the community, of Joe Carpenter and Tom Brown (in separate incidents), both occurred around World War I. These deaths were considered justifiable homicide by the community and St. Martin Parish civil authorities; surviving informants consider these unusual examples of violence and not at all characteristic of Bayou Chene in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s (Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Douglas Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, Wesley Stockstill, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Case 1973:39, 152-157).

The shooting of Joe Carpenter by Nick Burns at Bayou Chene about 1918 or 1920 has entered community folklore. Carpenter had come to Bayou Chene as an older man and was considered a social misfit. However, Bayou Chene had been a refuge for more than one person ill at ease in the "outside world," and if Carpenter had not been actively antagonistic, his fate might have been different. Instead, Carpenter was a cantankerous individual at best, and perhaps mentally unstable at worst. He was deemed "half crazy" and was known for his bad temper. Once, when a visitor spat chewing tobacco juice onto the floor of Carpenter's house, Carpenter shot a hole in the floor with a pistol next to the visitor's chair and ordered him to spit through the hole next time. "Old Man Carpenter" was living as a cook and caretaker for John Snellgrove on Bayou Chene. Carpenter developed an antipathy to the family of Nick Burns, who lived across Bayou Chene. Carpenter thought someone was stealing from his house, and one day dusted the floor of his house with flour before leaving. Upon returning home, Carpenter found several footprints on the floor, and these he interpreted as the footprints of Burns' sons. Carpenter openly stated that he intended to kill Nick Burns and his family from the little baby on up to the father, from "blond to bald". He asked two fish-boat operators to bring him rifle cartridges from town, but each gave Carpenter excuses why they could not obtain the shells. Finally, Carpenter entered John Snellgrove's pirogue with a shotgun and began paddling toward Burns' residence. Mrs. Burns, a much larger person than her diminutive husband, saw Carpenter and said she would kill Carpenter if her husband would not. Nick Burns grabbed his deer rifle and warned Carpenter to turn back. Carpenter answered with further threats and obscenities. Burns, known as a crack shot, fired, hitting Carpenter in the chest. Carpenter, despite his wound, continued to paddle toward Burns, who fired a second shot, hitting Carpenter in the head and killing him instantly. Carpenter was buried in the Bayou Chene Methodist Church Cemetery. John Snellgrove interceded with the St. Martin Parish sheriff on Burn's behalf, and no civil action was taken in the case. One of Harold Snellgrove's early memories is his father's green pirogue stained with Carpenter's blood (Leota Megas, Douglas Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Before the great flood of 1927, Bayou Chene displayed a rough-and-ready character that was somewhat tamed during the last few decades of its existence as a community. This occurred as the population became more settled, more extensively connected with the outside world, and better educated. The St. Martin Parish Public school at Bayou Chene was built in the early years of the twentieth century, replacing the old peripatetic one-teacher school. Originally, the school went only through the sixth grade, the uppermost grade of a primary education at the time. The advent of the inboard boat engine made it possible to transport the children from a wider area to the Bayou Chene school, and no later than 1912, motorized school boats or "boat transfers" were in use. A series of boat drivers contracted with St. Martin Parish to transport the children, who rode in a large bateau with a tarpaulin top. Riding every school-day morning and afternoon in the school boats is a vivid part of oral informants' memories of growing up in the Bayou Chene community. The boats were a pleasant ride in fine weather, but could be bitterly cold in the winter. In later years, a traditional prank was for a line of children in the boat to hold hands while

one on the end touched the engine's spark plug. The children along the line got shocked (Harold Snellgrove, Lynn Curry, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Guirard 1989:37).

The severe 1912 storm and flood in the Atchafalaya Basin was a precursor of things to come and severely damaged the fortunes of several Bayou Chene families. Livestock drowned, buildings were destroyed, and boats and houseboats were sunk. In the case of the Buck family at Chicot Pass, their houseboat was swept miles from its moorings (Leota Megas, Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997) Nevertheless, while some families left the Basin for good, others returned to Bayou Chene and resumed life much as it was before the 1912 flood.

The Decline of Bayou Chene, 1927 to 1953

Most Bayou Chene residents evacuated the area during the 1927 flood. Myrtle Burns Bigler recalled water 7 feet over the bank of the Atchafalaya River above Lake Chicot (Guirard 1989:31). Bayou Chene folklore contains the story of Warren Stockstill's goat stranded in the Methodist Church during the 1927 flood. The goat survived the weeks of high water by eating the hymnals and wallpaper in the church. Some Bayou Chene residents remained in the area during the flood, living on houseboats, although most residents' homes were on the flooded banks. Some residents even put their livestock on hastily assembled log rafts during the 1927 high water and kept them there as long as they could or until the water subsided. Other residents returned to find four feet of water in their homes, and built scaffolds or plank walks inside their houses to allow use of them until the water receded. Perhaps most residents returned to Bayou Chene, but many left the area to settle outside of the Atchafalaya Basin. The construction of the east and west protection levees of the Atchafalaya floodway reinforced the impetus to leave the Basin (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Between 1927 and 1937, Bayou Chene seems to have maintained or even increased its population, despite the effects of the 1927 flood. Bayou Chene was definitely in decline in absolute population numbers by the late 1930s and 1940s. Floods in 1937, 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1950 contributed to accelerating migration out of the Basin. Evidence of flooding in the Bayou Chene vicinity, noticeable in the 1935 aerial photographs (Figure 14), is greater in the 1940 series aerials (Figure 15), revealing the effects of the particularly severe 1937 flood. This inundation also caused many residents to build plank walks in their houses. Charles Verret stated that in 1937, he could catch crawfish inside his house with a dip, without leaving his bed (Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997). The 1947 aerials, taken the same year as another major inundation, show that by this date, most fences and many houses and outbuildings along Bayou Chene and Bayou Crook Chene were gone (Figure 16).

Also of major impact to the residential patterns in the vicinity of the survey areas was the construction of major Atchafalaya waterway features after 1932. These included the Bayou Chene Cut (constructed 1933-1938) and Tarleton Bayou enlargement (1937), which together are more usually called the Tarleton Cut by former Bayou Chene residents. The Bayou Chene Cut bisected the upper portion of Lower Cow Island, running approximately northwest-southeast as far as Cow Bayou, and then generally following the course of Tarleton Bayou. Tarleton Bayou was straightened, and approximately doubled in width and depth. Other channel work was undertaken during the 1930s at Splice Island Chute (1932-1934), Bloody Bayou (1933), Bayou La Rompe (1933), Lake Mongoulois (1933-1936), and Chicot Pass (1936-1937). Dredging of Lake Mongoulois and Lake Chicot to create navigation channels drastically reduced their width and increased their depth (Mississippi River Commission 1951: Plate B-83). A comparison of the meander lines indicated on the 1935 Tobin survey map (Figure 17), based on earlier U.S. surveys, with the USGS 1941 *Loreauville* 15' quadrangle map (Figure 18) indicates how waterways were affected by channel work in the 1930s.

Figure 14. Excerpt from the 1935 aerial of the project area (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Figure 15. Excerpt from the 1940 aerial of the project area (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Figure 16. Excerpt from the 1947 aerial of the project area (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

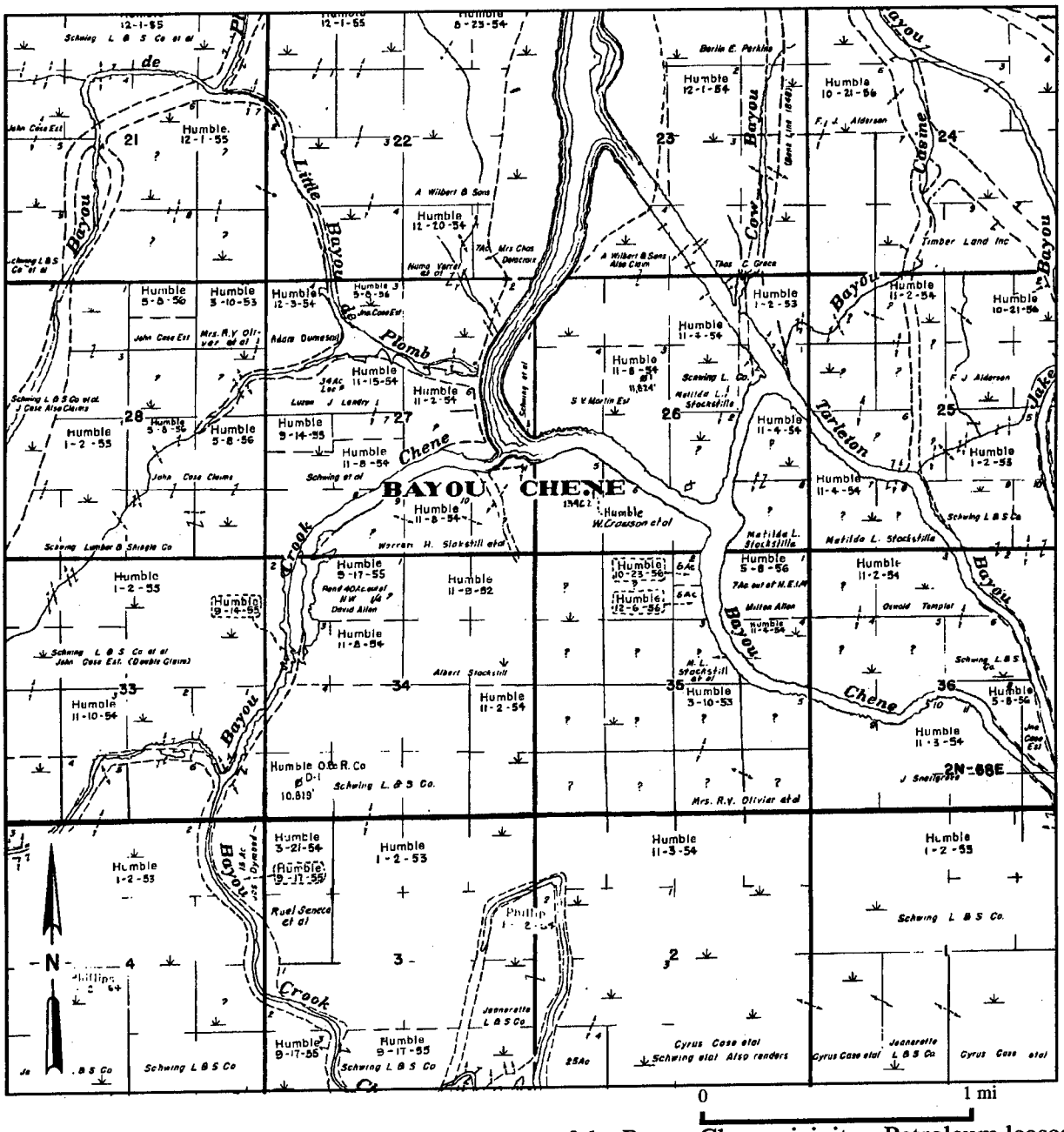


Figure 17. Portion of the 1935 Tobin survey map of the Bayou Chene vicinity. Petroleum leases up to 1955 are indicated.

Several Bayou Chene residents who remained in the area after the 1937 flood built homes on the spoil bank created on the west bank of Bayou Chene by the dredging of the Bayou Chene (Bayou Tarleton) Cut from 1933 to 1938. This bank was higher than any nearby land, and about a dozen Bayou Chene families moved there. The first of these residents on the spoil bank was Ernest Verret, nicknamed "Canoe," and the area took the name of "Canoeville." The Bayou Chene Methodist Church was moved from next to the Methodist Cemetery to Canoeville in ca. 1946-1947. A small cemetery was established next to the church in its new location (Lynn Curry, Douglas Mendoza, personal communication to Maygarden 1997). Some community residents who moved out of the Basin after the 1937 or 1947 floods retained their Bayou Chene properties

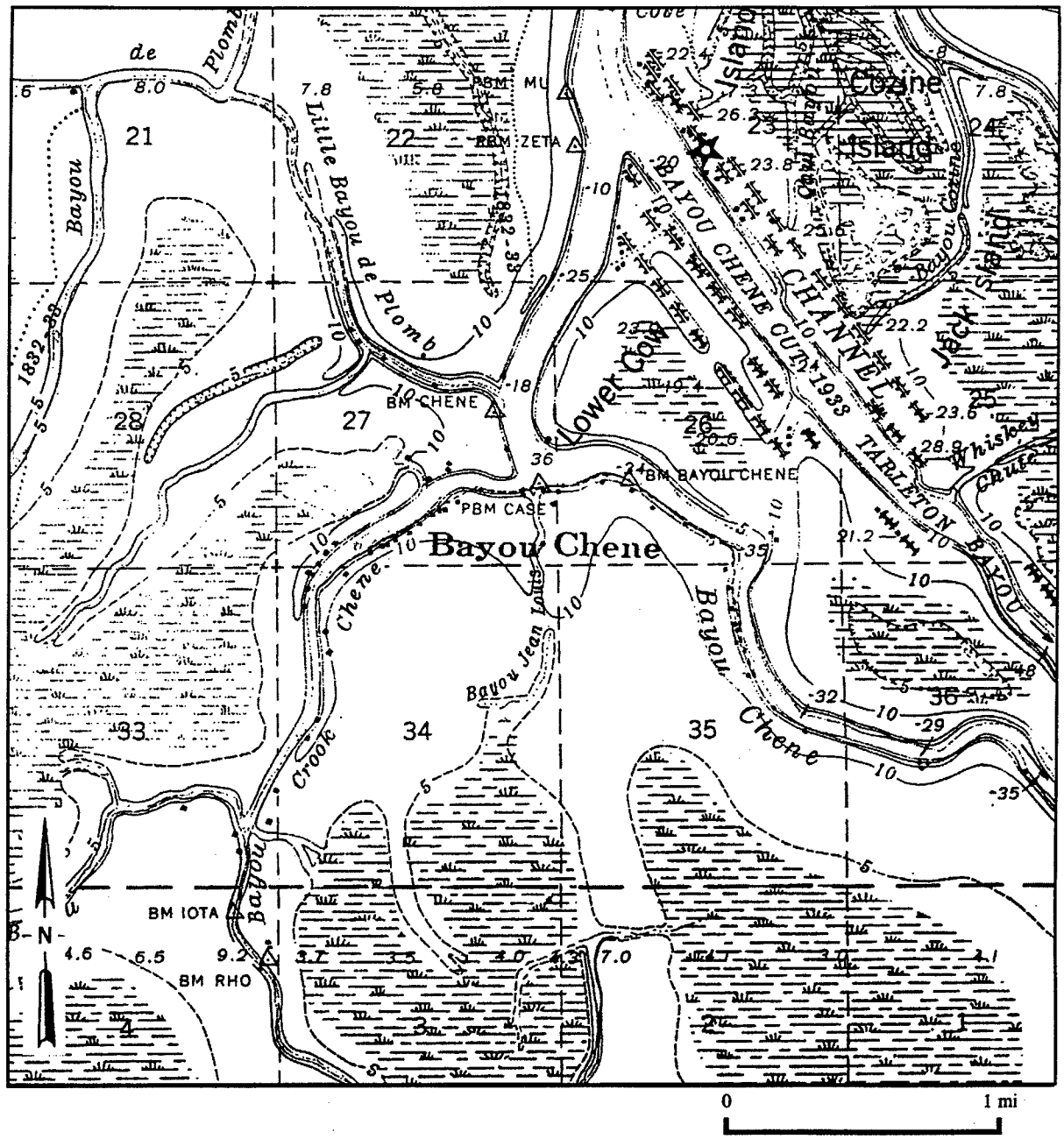


Figure 18. Portion of the USGS *Loreauville* 15' quadrangle map (1941) showing the bayou Chene vicinity.

as hunting and fishing camps. The U.S. Post Office at Bayou Chene moved to the spoil bank adjacent to the Tarleton Cut after 1937, and then to Canoeville in about 1945. On December 24, 1952, the Bayou Chene community symbolically came to an end with the closing of the U.S. Post Office (U.S. Postal Service n.d.). Virtually all remaining residents left Bayou Chene soon after. Former Bayou Chene residents clustered in New Iberia and St. Martinville to the west of the Basin and Bayou Sorrel and Plaquemine to the east, as well as several other communities.

In the Great Depression years of the 1930s, Bayou Cheners did whatever they could to obtain the necessities of life. The increasing frequency of severe flooding in the Atchafalaya Basin, particularly after construction of the floodway, made it more and more difficult to pursue any

regular agriculture or raise livestock. Extractive activities may have assumed a new importance, and for most of the life of the Bayou Chene community, no restrictions had been recognized on hunting season, location, or game limit. There continued to be a minority element at Bayou Chene who concentrated on fishing more or less full time, and virtually all Bayou Chene family heads or young men engaged in some form of fishing seasonally or when other remunerative work was not available in the area. Fishing was also one aspect of human activity in the Basin that had a strong folklife element in it, but most breadwinners at Bayou Chene sought jobs that paid cash and fished only when another paying job was not available (Darl Ashley, Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Fishing continued in much the same patterns that had developed since the introduction of inboard boat engines before World War I. Commercial fish prices were high in the late-1920s and early-1930s; by 1933, there were 1,073 "regular" fishermen in the Basin who received more than 50 percent of their income from fishing, frogging, and crabbing, and another 1,947 "casual" or part-time fishermen who earned more than 50 percent of their income from other occupational activities. The ability of Basin residents to rely on fishing received a blow when fish prices plummeted in 1933-1934, and prices remained low until the World War II years. Prices paid to Louisiana fishermen for catfish and buffalofish dropped from about 15¢ per pound in 1932 to 6¢ per pound for catfish and 4¢ per pound for buffalofish in 1934. These prices had risen only to 8¢ and 5¢ respectively by 1941. Prices climbed during the war years, to a high in 1944 of 27¢ per pound for catfish and 25¢ per pound for buffalofish. Prices fluctuated for the remainder of the 1940s, and by 1950, the price for buffalofish had dropped far below that for catfish (15¢ and 27¢ per pound, respectively) (Comeaux 1972:39).

Amounts of commercially fished species taken in the Basin appear to have declined significantly after 1927, but then remained relatively consistent until the early-1960s, but at levels lower than the period 1913-1927 (Comeaux 1972:36). The size of individual fish also seems to have declined. In the 1940s, most fish caught would be in the 1-2 pound range, but several 10-20 pound fish would be caught in a day during the spring runs, and occasionally fish up to 60 pounds. Myrtle Burns Bigler caught a 107-pound catfish on a line in 1933 at Lake Chicot, a legendary feat among Bayou Chene fishermen. The fish boat paid Burns the going price for this monster, about 15¢ a pound. Informants state that the quantity and size of fish caught in recent decades are substantially lower than in the past. The small groceries in the community bought live fish in the 1930s, and the fish-buying-boats continued to come to Bayou Chene into the 1940s. Store owners in this period included Cyrus Case, John Seneca, and Herman Larson. Fish-boat operators in this period included Myrtile Theriot (who began in the age of tow-cars) and Robert Philemon, who took their fish to Morgan City; Lavelle Wisdom, who took his fish to Bayou Sorrel; John Kelly and Herman Larson, who took their fish to New Iberia; Carline and Leblanc from Jeannerette; and Percy Wisdom. Other fish docks were at St. Martinville, Charenton, Bayou Benoit, Butte La Rose, Catahoula, and Henderson. The increased number of fish docks was made possible by the rise of truck transportation of fish, which occurred prior to 1940. Typically, the fish boats left the dock with about ten blocks of ice in their central compartments, which would last half a week (Curtis Larson, Carl Carline, Charles Verret, Horace Wisdom, Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

A new development for fishermen in this period was the rise of commercial crawfishing in the Atchafalaya Basin. Commercial crawfishing actually began in the 1920s but only accelerated after the introduction of crawfish traps in the Basin in the early 1930s. However, the residents of Bayou Chene seem to have participated little in commercial crawfishing until the 1950s, when the industry greatly expanded (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Darl Ashley, Charles Verret, Horace Wisdom, Lynn Curry, Walter Allen, Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Comeaux 1972:64-70).

Fishermen were affected by technological change in this period to a limited degree. In the 1930s, Ford Model A automobile engines were adapted for boats, as were V-8 motors soon after their introduction. These engines were far more powerful than the older two-cycle engines. The most dramatic development in boat technology was the introduction of the airboat in the early 1930s; these craft were not used for fishing, but made transportation for various other activities much faster than ever before. In 1933-1934, Harold Snellgrove was reading gauges in the Atchafalaya Basin for the Corps of Engineers and could make two circuits of the Basin in one day by airboat. However, the average fisherman in 1945 was utilizing the same basic equipment he had been in 1925: bateaux powered by inboard two-cycle engines and cotton lines and nets. Outboard boat motors were introduced before World War II, but evidently had little impact in the Basin until the 1950s (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

In some respects, the residents of Bayou Chene may have been better off than many Americans during the Great Depression, surrounded as they were by a teeming wildlife habitat. Game was eaten often, particularly squirrel, rabbit, and waterfowl. Ducks were plentiful before sedimentation and channelizing drastically altered Lake Mongoulois and Lake Chicot. Perhaps surprisingly, Bayou Chene informants agree that fish and shellfish were never a major part of the typical diet in the community within living memory, despite the number of residents active in commercial fishing. Fish were eaten as few as three or four times a year. The only two species eaten with any regularity were catfish (typically fried) and gaspergou. Crawfish and crabs were eaten very occasionally; they were typically eaten once a year (on Good Friday) by Catholic residents. Crawfish were caught for these annual feasts, and more often for bait, by simple traditional methods. One method, called "bearding," was to attach a length of twine to a float made out of a few sticks, tie a piece of meat to the line, and lower the bait to the bottom in a likely location. The line was pulled up periodically and the attached crawfish brushed off into a bucket. Crabs, although not eaten often, were evidently much more numerous before sedimentation affected the Floodway. In addition, alligator, frog, and turtle were rarely or never consumed at Bayou Chene, although they continued to be hunted commercially. More important than fish or shellfish as a source of protein in the diet were beef, pork, poultry, game, and beans. In traditional fashion, hogs were typically killed in the cool weather months and the meat ground and salted for preservation. Neighbors shared the meat produced by butchering a hog (Horace Wisdom, Lynn Curry, Charles Verret, Walter Allen, Harold Snellgrove, Darl Ashley, Rene Seneca, Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Lila Larson Curry, Joyce Kelly Carline, Carl Carline, Ray Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Many traditional extractive pursuits became more difficult after the early 1930s, when higher water levels began to reduce population levels of many game species. However, game continued to be extensively hunted in this period, particularly ducks, squirrels, and rabbits, and to a lesser extent, coons, possums, and otters. Before rising water and sedimentation levels eventually killed the live oaks of the Bayou Chene vicinity, squirrels were particularly plentiful in the area. Mink were uncommon. Raccoon, otter, and mink were trapped and their furs purchased by fish-buying boats and store-keepers. A large raccoon skin might bring $13 to $14, an otter $45, and a mink $55 in the early 1940s. Muskrat trapping was a common winter activity for lower Basin residents prior to the late 1920s (Abbey 1979:16), but muskrat were not in the swamp and natural levee setting of the Bayou Chene area, occurring no nearer than Lake Chicot. The market for Basin furs stood at $15 million in 1946, but dwindled to less than $1 million annually by the late 1950s. Alligators were hunted or caught on a line for their skins, since the food was rarely or never eaten by Bayou Cheners. Alligator skins were valued by the foot, and went up from $.50 to $1.00 per foot in the 1940s. The alligator skins had to be skinned to the right thickness, and blemishes or holes lowered the value. Frogs were caught for sale to the fish-boats. Sometimes the frogs were caught with frog grabs, but more often they were simply snatched up by hand (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997)

Contemporaneously with the onset of the Great Depression, the cypress logging industry precipitously declined. Logging of other hardwood species followed the depletion of cypress. In the Bayou Chene area, John Case logged his properties in the 1920s. Perhaps the last stand of first-growth cypress in the central Basin to be exploited was at Buffalo Cove in the early 1930s. John Snellgrove contracted with the Schwing Lumber to log Buffalo Cove, and Harold Snellgrove, Douglas Mendoza, Alcide Verret, and others from Bayou Chene worked logging this last major cypress stand. Some of the timber workers in this period lived in camp-boats they owned themselves while working away from their Bayou Chene homes (D. Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Guirard 1989:37). Another traditional Basin industry was moss picking, which had seen its heyday in the 1920s. The moss industry went into decline in the 1930s (Abbey 1979:14-15), but did not die out until foam rubber replaced moss for upholstery use, and moss picking remained a sideline for many Bayou Chene residents in the 1930s and 1940s.

Numerous residents of the community worked on U.S. Army Corps of Engineers levee and dredging projects during the 1930s. Oral informants can recall the impact on Basin residents of Federal works projects in the 1930s, a time when Basin residents were hard-pressed to find cash-paying employment. Some of the Federal works projects paid $3.20 per day — over a dollar a day more than a worker could make cutting timber — and the job announcements caused men to whoop and holler out loud. Among other efforts in the area, the Works Progress Administration enlarged the Bayou Chene schoolhouse and constructed a levee around the school yard (Philip Allen, Douglas Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Despite flooding and the economic difficulties of the Great Depression, living standards improved somewhat for many Bayou Chene residents. Wooden shingle roofing was replaced by tin, and by the late-1940s, stores at Bayou Chene and some private homes had gasoline-powered electric generators running lights or fans, and coal oil- or kerosene-powered refrigerators manufactured by the Servel Co. Radios were introduced, lessening the isolation of the community. Service in World War II also widened horizons for several Bayou Chene residents (Philip Allen, Lynn Curry, Horace Wisdom, Lila Larson Curry, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Former residents of Bayou Chene bristle at statements that have appeared in print suggesting that the community had a population of godless outlaws, with frequent common-law marriages. To the contrary, informants insist on the relative reliability, honesty, and civic-mindedness of the Bayou Cheners. They contrast Bayou Chene with some other parts of the Basin in the past, and particularly with current society. Even the occasional property crime of livestock or timber theft remembered from earlier decades of the twentieth century seems to have been rare in the 1930s and 1940s. Houses and sheds were never locked, and explicit permission was unnecessary to borrow tools or equipment; the owner could be confident of its return. The informal proprietorship of fishing grounds was usually respected, and nets or lines were rarely disturbed or stolen. These conditions have vanished in recent decades, and property crime is considered a plague in the Basin today (Douglas Mendoza, Philip Allen, Lynn Curry, Horace Wisdom, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; *cf.* Comeaux 1972, Guirard 1989).

Oral informants speak highly of the education they received at the Bayou Chene school in this period. By the early-1930s, the school had grown to three classrooms, and a seventh grade was added before the late-1930s. During the late-1930s, approximately 100 students attended through the seventh grade; an eighth grade was added after 1942. The total number of children attending the Bayou Chene school had decreased to 72 children by 1944, mirroring the declining population of the community. The school was moved to a new building on the north side of Bayou Tarleton about 1945, and evidently closed by 1952.

At St. Martin Parish school rallies, the Bayou Chene team often won academic honors. Part of the reason the Bayou Chene school taught at a relatively high level may have been that the first year of schooling in St. Martin Parish was usually "primer," in which Acadian French-speaking children were taught English. This was not the case at Bayou Chene, where most families spoke English or were at least bilingual. A well-remembered school boat driver in this period was Edwin Curry, who installed a rear-view mirror on his boat to keep an eye on the children's' hijinks. Other school boat drivers in this era were Leon Curry and Earl Stockstill, who gave many Bayou Chene youngsters the nicknames they carried for life. Nicknames were so universally used at Bayou Chene that the real names of people were sometimes not known by others in the community (Horace Wisdom, Joyce Kelly Carline, Lynn Curry, Curtis Larson, Rene Seneca, Sarah Larson, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Case 1973:39).

The Bayou Chene community also seemingly experienced a renewal and growing diversity of religious faith in the 1930s and 1940s. After the closure of the first Catholic Chapel at Bayou Chene, perhaps coinciding with the 1912 flood, only the Methodist Church had remained organized and active at Bayou Chene under the leadership of pastors Delos Cassels, "Brother" Newton, and "Brother" Pines. As a result, some Bayou Chene Catholics converted to Methodism during the late-1910s and 1920s. Methodist revivals were sometimes held at Bayou Chene, typically at Cyrus Case's store, with large attendance. The Methodist Church building was moved to Canoeville by Leon Curry, Lynn Curry, and others about 1946-1947, and again moved after the Bayou Chene Post Office was closed in 1952. The building was taken to Grand River Church to be used as a parsonage. The original church bell from the Bayou Chene Methodist Church is now located in the Methodist Church of Bayou Sorrel (Darl Ashley, Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Philip Allen, Lynn Curry, and Horace Wisdom, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

About 1926 or 1927, Leo Landry organized a fair at Cyrus Case's Store (the Post Office location at the time) to raise money for a new Catholic chapel. This fair featured a ferris wheel and other attractions. The Landry family donated a tract located on a peninsula formed by Bayou de Plomb and Bayou Chene to the parish of St. Joseph's Catholic Church for construction of the chapel. The Reverend Monseignor R.J. Gobeil served as pastor of the mission church at Bayou Chene from 1938 to 1948, and in his memoirs of this period Gobeil describes the chapel as a fairly standardized type constructed by "French priests serving in this part of the state" (Gobeil n.d. 17). The stuccoed building had an oak floor and pews, a choir loft containing a pedal organ, and a tiny sacristy/bedroom for the priest. The building was surrounded by a split cypress fence, and measured about 30' by 50'. In 1937, the chapel site was flooded, and a layer of silt had accumulated to within a foot of the top of the fence and higher than the floor of the chapel (Gobeil n.d.:17). Gobeil discusses burial practices in Bayou Chene, but all sources agree that no cemetery was established at this second Catholic Chapel site (Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Philip Allen, Lynn Curry, and Horace Wisdom, Anna Marks, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Case 1973:68, 150-151).

Two other Protestant sects were newly established in Bayou Chene in this period, the Baptists and the Seventh Day Adventists. The Baptists visited Bayou Chene with a chapel boat for several years and then, before 1940, constructed a small church at Canoeville on the point of Bayou Chene and the Bayou Chene Cut. During this period, the Seventh Day Adventists also constructed a church on Bayou Crook Chene, below Bayou de Plomb. Neither the Baptist nor Seventh-Day Adventist churches at Bayou Chene had cemeteries connected with them (Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Philip Allen, Lynn Curry, and Horace Wisdom, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

The social evolution of the Bayou Chene community was reflected in the decline of the saloons and dances of an earlier era. There were still a couple of bars, including one on a boat, at Bayou Chene in the early-1930s. Two bar operators in this period were Pat Seneca and Lavelle

Wisdom. By the late-1930s, a few Bayou Chene residents made homebrew for their own consumption, but the bootleg liquor trade seems to have declined. House parties largely replaced the saloons and dances that had been held with Acadian musicians. Late in Bayou Chene's existence as a community, young people would sometimes even go to Bayou Sorrel or Charenton Beach for socializing. Other entertainments also developed. Baseball was long a popular pastime in the community, and Bayou Chene teams would travel to play Plaquemine, Loreauville, and other regional teams or host games with them at Bayou Chene. Bayou Chene produced several gifted athletes, and the baseball team was highly competitive. George and Andrew Crowson and the Fergusons were among the leading athletes of the community. One informant suggests half-seriously that baseball games were so popular because there was so little else to do for entertainment. Nevertheless, other pastimes were occasionally available. Curtis Larson remembers watching a silent movie in a tent at Bayou Chene, including a newsreel of the second Jack Dempsey-Gene Tunney boxing match of 1927 (the famous "Battle of the Long Count").

By the 1930s, Bayou Chene's isolation was succumbing to the twentieth century. An air navigation beacon was built on the north side of Tarleton Cut during the 1930s, and another event remembered from that decade was a Bayou Chene appearance of the Harry Williams air show out of Patterson. A memorable juxtaposition of past and present occurred at Bayou Chene in the early 1930s. Informants remember being surprised and a little frightened as children by the sudden appearance of a large U.S. Navy airship looming over the oak trees, followed by the eerie blast of the *Carrie B. Schwing's* steam whistle (Curtis Larson, Lynn Curry, Rene Seneca, Ray Carline, Harold Snellgrove, Lila Larson Curry, Joyce Kelly Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Petroleum was discovered in the Atchafalaya Basin at a relatively early date. Exploratory wells were drilled in the Bayou Chene area in the mid-1920s, including a dry well drilled by the Rycade Oil Co. at the mouth of Bayou Jean Louis about 1926-1927. Rycade also drilled in the La Rompe dome area with no success, but by 1928, two producing wells had been drilled on Bayou La Rompe by the Standard Oil Company. Bayou La Rompe quickly became lined with quarterboats and houseboats. The Texas Company (later Texaco) began operations on Lake Mongoulois in the mid-1930s, and oil pipelines began to cross the Basin by 1937. That same year, Amerada (later Amerada Hess) established their operation on Lake Chicot with two wells. Oil production throughout Louisiana was greatly increased as a result of the demands of World War II, and oil pipelines throughout the Basin were extended and enlarged. Petroleum extraction had become the major industry in the Atchafalaya Basin by the 1940s. The impact of the petroleum industry on Atchafalaya Basin residents would be difficult to overestimate. Coming as it did after the demise of large-scale cypress lumbering, the petroleum industry more than anything else provided Basin residents with economic opportunities outside of traditional folk occupations (Douglas Mendoza, Harold Snellgrove, Rene Seneca, Lynn Curry, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, personal communication to Maygarden 1997; Vigander et al. 1994:109).

Conclusions: The Rise and Fall of an Atchafalaya Basin Community

Why did a community develop at Bayou Chene? Not until the antebellum period did any significant settlement occur within the Atchafalaya Basin. None of the Basin was ideal for permanent settlement because of the limited amounts of arable land available and the frequency of flooding. However, the severity of flooding must be kept in historical and relative perspective. Alluvial lands of excellent quality in south Louisiana also flooded with far greater frequency in the antebellum period than they do today, because of inadequate levee systems. Meanwhile, the opposite is true of Atchafalaya Basin lands; until the Atchafalaya Basin rafts were finally cleared in 1861, the Basin flooded less often and severely than it did after this date.

Arable lands were in relatively short supply in the Basin, but the natural levees along Bayou Chene were relatively high and large for the region. The great potential profits from sugar

cultivation and processing persuaded planters in the antebellum period to establish plantations along Basin waterways. The Bayou Chene area had the advantage of lower land prices than along the Mississippi or Bayou Teche, but was still accessible by steamboat, making the area attractive to planters. Furthermore, theBayou Chene area was well-served by water transportation routes; the community sprang up at the confluence of the Atchafalaya River Main Channel and Bayou Chene, which was part of an east-west route from Bayou Plaquemine and Bayou Sorrel to Lake Dauterive, the Loreauville Canal, and Bayou Teche. Water access was vital to commercial agriculture in the antebellum period because of the absence of rail and highway development. Thus, although the Basin interior was remote from population centers, the level of boat traffic on the Atchafalaya River and connecting bayous mitigated the degree of isolation at Bayou Chene. Furthermore, planters ventured to establish sugar plantations not only in the Bayou Chene vicinity, but also on lower lands along Bayous Maringouin, Grosse Tete, Pigeon, and Sorrel, and along the Atchafalaya and Grand rivers. Cotton plantations were also established along Alabama Bayou and neighboring waterways (Comeaux 1972:14-15; McMakin et al. 1994).

Of secondary importance to plantation agriculture in the area during the antebellum period was the wealth of biological resources (i.e., timber, fish, and game) in the Atchafalaya Basin. Sawmills were active in the Basin before the Civil War, providing Basin residents with seasonal opportunities for float logging. The extent of this industry was limited by the environment favored by bald cypress; the timber boom would have to wait until technology made large-scale exploitation of swamp cypress possible in the early-1890s. Fishing was a subsistence activity in the Basin during the antebellum period and did not begin to develop as a commercial activity until after the Civil War. Until rail lines were developed connecting the Basin with urban markets, it was impossible to develop commercial fresh water fishing in the region. Exploitation of the rich game resources of the Basin was likewise a subsistence activity, although since furs were a non-perishable commodity, they may have been a minor commercial product of the region.

Bayou Chene grew in population quickly and dramatically in the antebellum period. Unlike other parts of the Atchafalaya Basin, Bayou Chene drew a large proportion of Anglo-American settlers rather than persons of Acadian or Creole descent. A sizable number of the residents of the area were slaves, brought into the area to work on sugar plantations, and Free Persons of Color. Severe flooding caused the community to be virtually abandoned in 1865. A substantial percentage of the population did not return to the Bayou Chene area after the War, including most of the former slaves and Free Persons of Color. The remainder of the African-American population of Bayou Chene migrated out of the Atchafalaya Basin in the post-Civil War period. Nevertheless, the population of the community grew during the period 1870 to 1890. The timber boom, beginning in the early-1890s, was the second period of sustained population growth for Bayou Chene. The great 1912 flood, the first of the major twentieth-century floods to affect Bayou Chene, produced a certain amount of permanent migration from the Basin. However, logging opportunities in the region probably did not begin to decline seriously until the 1920s, and the 1927 flood was an extreme punctuation to the period of community growth that proceeded it.

From the early years of the twentieth century to the effective demise of the community, fishing was one of the principal occupations of Bayou Chene residents. The use of ice manufacturing machines after about 1875 was the first major boost to the industry after rail lines were constructed, but the necessity of manual propulsion of fishing boats was a limitation on the development of commercial fishing in the Basin. Commercial fishing was most dramatically affected by the introduction of internal-combustion small-boat motors in the early twentieth century, which were in widespread use before World War I. These motors greatly increased the area that could be fished by an individual fisherman, yet were slow enough that the professional fisherman had to reside near his fishing-grounds. Fishing probably became the major commercial occupation in the Bayou Chene area only with the decline of cypress logging. The environmental impacts of floodway and petroleum canal construction during the 1930s and 1940 probably affected commercial fishing in the Basin, but not sufficiently to dramatically modify the fishing

practices and lifestyle of the Basin residents. The widespread adoption of out-board boat motors in the 1950s was the most serious challenge to the Basin fisherman's occupation, allowing persons from outside the Basin or sports fishermen to effectively compete for fish in Basin waterways. However, this development occurred after the Bayou Chene community had been almost entirely abandoned by permanent residents. The development of the petroleum extraction industry in the 1930s and 1940s did not immediately disturb the rationale for residence within the Basin, since it was convenient for Basin residents to travel to work in the oil fields with the inboard boat motors of this era.

Fishing has received the greatest amount of attention by scholars interested in documenting Atchafalaya Basin folk life (e.g. Comeaux 1972; Guirard 1989). In the balance, oral informant information suggests that commercial fishing as an economic activity was subordinate to other occupations for the majority of Bayou Chene residents, except in those periods when other remunerative employment was unavailable. Full-time commercial fishermen may have always represented a minority of gainfully-employed residents of Bayou Chene, except possibly in the years between the decline of cypress lumbering and the rise of petroleum extraction in the Basin. On the other hand, the vast majority of male Bayou Chene residents spent at least a portion of their adult life as seasonal or full-time fishermen.

Why did the Bayou Chene community decline, and eventually die? Former residents of Bayou Chene principally ascribe the decline of the community to two related factors: increased severity and frequency of flooding and sediment buildup. Despite the relative high elevation of the Bayou Chene natural levees, flooding and sedimentation made maintaining a house on land and any sort of agriculture practically impossible. In addition, smaller bayous and sloughs became choked with sediment, closing once navigable waterways; live oak trees died because their roots became buried; these and other changes displaced or diminished fish and wildlife populations. These circumstances were accelerated by the construction of the Atchafalaya floodway levees after 1927, and compounded by subsequent manipulation of Basin waterways. Economic opportunities within the Basin were always more limited than outside it; this fact and the effects of environmental degradation in the Bayou Chene locale and in the Basin as a whole convinced many residents to depart.

If generalizations are possible, oral informants reflect a nostalgia for the former beauty of Bayou Chene and an appreciation of the self-reliance of the members of its tightly-knit community. Life at Bayou Chene had its challenges and its drawbacks. But the hard work and honesty of its population are not forgotten, and contrast with the pervasive social problems of today. Former Bayou Chene residents delight in memories of the strong personalities and shared folklore of a small, face-to-face community. Some former residents suggest that the passing of Bayou Chene was the loss of a tradition, even a privilege, of personal autonomy and freedom in a demanding but bountiful environment; an American heritage that Bayou Chene was among the last communities to enjoy. Among those who remember the Atchafalaya Basin before sedimentation transformed it, there is often a questioning of the past six decades of efforts that have radically altered the Basin. There is some feeling that the perspective of those with a family heritage and lifelong experience in the Basin has been unwisely, perhaps even unfairly, ignored in the past. However, the passage of time and an acceptance of providence has generally tempered any bitterness over the Basin's environmental deterioration and the disappearance of the Bayou Chene community. Recent efforts by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to document the history and physical remains of the Bayou Chene community (i.e. Castille et al. 1990), and the current project, have been met with strong interest, enthusiasm, and cooperation among former Bayou Chene residents and their families.

The profound family and community feeling of former Bayou Chene residents is evident most dramatically at the annual Bayou Chene reunions that have been held since 1971. Bayou

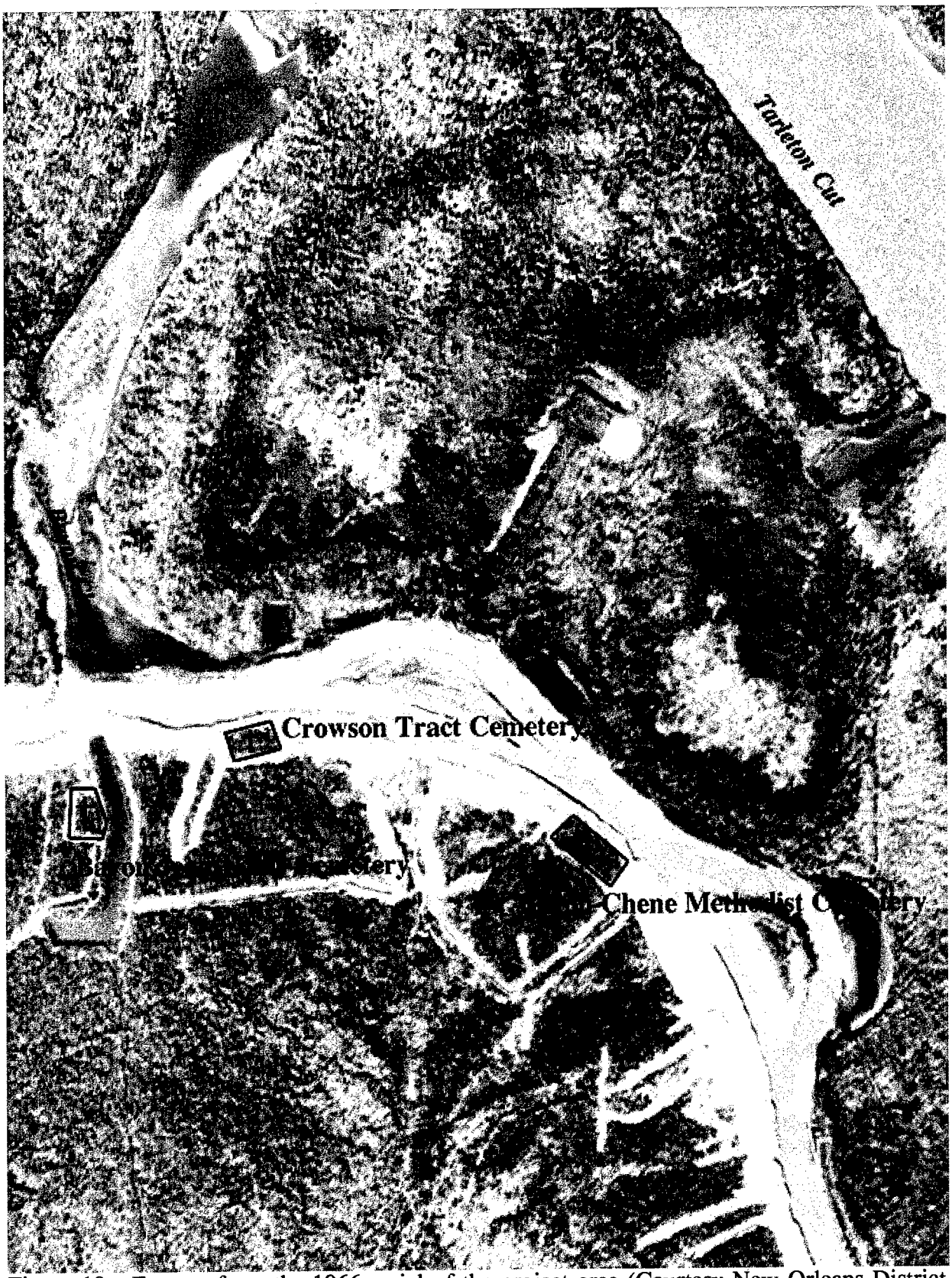


Figure 19. Excerpt from the 1966 aerial of the project area (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Table 5. Persons Buried in the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Maiden Name	Born	Died
Flint	Benjamin			
Larson	Agatha	Mendoza		
Mendoza	[child]			
Mendoza	[child]			
Verret	A.J.			
Verret	Aristide			
Verret	Baker			
Verret	Bertha	Billiot		
Verret	Catherine		1926	1929
Verret	Ellen	Larson		
Verret	Francis Sullivan			
Verret	Hushville			
Verret	Iola			
Verret	J.			
Verret	P.J.			
Verret	Sidney			
Verret	Viola			
Verret	Vivian			

Table 6. Persons Buried in the Bayou Macauley Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Maiden Name	Born	Died
Allen	Charles Joseph			
Allen	Joseph			
Allen	Mary	Freyou		
Allen	Oscar			
Crowson	Mary	Seneca		
Diamond	Emily	Freyou	Feb. 7, 1880	Mar. 23, 1927
Diamond	John			
Diamond	L.J.			
Diamond	Vories	Mar. 15, 1914	Oct. 4, 1933	
Freyou	Clement			
Seneca	[twin children]			
Seneca	Addie	Diamond	Mar. 25, 1910	Dec. 16, 1935
Seneca	Felix Jr.			
Seneca	Felix Sr.			
Seneca	Gertrude			
Seneca	Mildred			
Seneca	Paul			
Seneca	Sary Ann			
Smith	Cora	Allen		

Chene has been gone for over half a century, but in a sense the community still lives; proud of its past, and grateful for the legacy it can give its descendants.

Historic Cemeteries of Bayou Chene

Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (16SM89). The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is marked on current USGS 7.5' quadrangle maps. The 1935 (Figure 14) and 1940 aerial photographs indicate that the cemetery was formerly shaded by live oaks, and it is clearly visible in the 1966 aerial photographs (Figure 19). This cemetery is also marked on the 1952 and 1966 Corps of Engineers project maps. Informants state that Bayou Jean Louis was not navigable by 1930. It was diked with an earthen dike and a wooden plankwalk crossed the width of the Bayou, allowing foot traffic along the Bayou bank. Currently 18 persons are documented in this cemetery (Table 5) (Stella Larson Case, Stanley Stockstill, Wesley Stockstill, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Bayou Macauley Cemetery (16SM88). The Bayou Macauley Cemetery is located in Section 34 in the David Allen Sr. tract (Figure 10). It appears on 1952 and 1966 COE maps as well as current USGS 7.5' quadrangle maps. It is not distinguishable on the 1935 and 1940 aerial photographs. This cemetery was used by the Allens and other Catholic families after they stopped using the Willie's Bayou Cemetery. Currently, 19 persons are documented as buried in this cemetery (Table 6) (David Allen Sr., Electa Guillot Allen, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, Carl Carline, Joyce Kelly Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Bayou Marti Burials. The graves of two Native Americans, dating to the early twentieth century or end of the nineteenth century, were located along Bayou Marti. Bayou Marti (or Martial), pronounced Bayou Mah-tee, was named after antebellum resident Martial "Marti" Falcon. The exact location of these burials is not known. They were behind the John Mendoza property, probably on a strip of elevated land within Section 27 shown in the 1940 quadrangle map (Figure 15) (Douglas Mendoza, Lynn Curry, Carl Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Bloody Bayou Graveyard (Bersheim Graveyard). The graveyard on Bloody Bayou was an early and large graveyard, and while not in the immediate Bayou Chene area, the residents of Bloody Bayou were closely tied into life at Bayou Chene. The Bloody Bayou Cemetery was located on the south side of Bloody Bayou, near the intersection of Bloody Bayou and the Township 10 South/Township 11 South line, on the property of Edith McReynolds. Currently, 6 persons are documented as being buried in this graveyard (Table 7), but it is likely that there are several more. This graveyard was probably no longer in use by the early-twentieth century (Darl Ashley, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Table 7. Persons Buried in the Bloody Bayou Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Maiden Name
Bersheim	John	
Carline	[Child or infant]	
Daigle	[Infant]	
Daigle	[Adult]	
Head	[?]	Daigle
Snellgrove	Henry	

Canoeville Cemetery (Methodist Church No. 2). The Canoeville Cemetery is located on the spoil bank raised by excavation of the Bayou Chene Cut in 1933; the burials are on the western side of the Bayou Chene (Big Bayou Chene) channel on what was formerly part of Cow Island, near the Section 23/Section 26 line. Ca. 1946-1947, the Methodist Church was relocated

from "Little Bayou Chene" to "Big Bayou Chene;" the graveyard was located approximately 400-500 feet behind the church, toward the backswamp of Lower Cow Island; and behind and slightly to south of the house of Clyde Burns. The Canoeville Cemetery is not marked on any of the COE or USGS maps, nor can it be distinguished on the 1940 and 1950 aerial photographs. Currently, seven persons are documented as being buried at the Canoeville Cemetery (Table 8). This may be the only Bayou Chene area cemetery where almost all of the persons buried in it are documented (Lynn Curry, Horace Wisdom, Charles Verret, Darl Ashley, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Table 8. Persons Buried in the Canoeville Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Died
Allen	[Infant]	
Curry	John	4/17/47
Perry	Thomas	
Servel	Edith	
Simoneaux	Yvette [Infant]	
Verret	Ernest	
Verret	Leslie	

Crowson Tract Cemetery (Catholic Church No. 1). During the existence of the Bayou Chene community, there were evidently two Roman Catholic chapels located there. The first Catholic chapel at Bayou Chene (prior to ca. 1915) had a cemetery adjacent to it. The chapel was located in Section 26 below the Cyrus Case tract on the south side of Bayou Chene, within the William H. Crowson tract. The cemetery is indicated on 1952 and 1966 COE maps as well as the current USGS 7.5' quadrangle map. The mapped location may be visible as a small tree-shaded area on the 1936 and 1940 aerial photographs. Informants state that only a small number of graves are in this location, perhaps five or so. However, the maps suggest that this graveyard was big enough to contain a larger number of graves. By the 1930s, the bank of Bayou Chene had encroached closely on this cemetery, leaving a narrow area to walk between the graves and the Bayou. Some members of the Landry family and perhaps some infants are probably buried here, but documentation has not been obtained for any names at this graveyard. This cemetery is clearly visible in the 1966 aerial photographs (Figure 19).

The second Catholic church, the mission church of St. Joseph, was established ca. 1927. It was located on the northern bank of Bayou Crook Chene, at the lower edge of the Don A. Grieg tract and the upper edge of the Alice Landry tract in Section 27 (Figure 10). All informants agree with the Archdiocese of Lafayette records that no cemetery was associated with this second Catholic church.

Graveyard Bayou Burials. One member of the Case family, and probably several other persons, are buried at the confluence of Graveyard Bayou and Bloody Bayou, on the point of land between Blind Bayou and Graveyard Bayou (Ray Carline, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Bayou Chene Methodist Church and Cemetery (Methodist Church No. 1) (16SM90). This is the largest and best-known of the Bayou Chene community cemeteries. It is located in Section 26, on the southern Bank of Bayou Chene encompassed by the former Cyrus Case tract (Figure 10). The Methodist Chapel was to the west of the Cemetery, and the Cemetery was later surrounded by a picket fence. The Methodist Cemetery is indicated on COE maps from 1952 and 1966, and appears clearly in the 1966 aerial photographs (Figure 19). It does not appear on the current USGS 7.5' quadrangle map. Estimates by informants of the number of persons buried in the Methodist Cemetery range from an extreme low of 75 persons to an extreme high of 700 persons. Most estimates fall in a range of 100 to 300 persons. Forty-four people are currently documented as buried in this cemetery (Table 9). Some informants state that there were perhaps 100 grave markers visible in the cemetery in the 1940s. Grave markers were mostly wood and metal, but a few were of stone. The earliest documented burial was in 1882, and the cemetery was

Table 9. Persons Buried in the Methodist Church Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Maiden Name	Born	Died
Allen	Arthur			
Allen	Elvina[Child]			
Ashley	L.C.			
Ashley	Mary			
Carlin	Joseph Lilton		Jul. 30, 1887	Dec. 11, 1910
Carlin	Willie May		Sep. 11, 1911	Aug. 19, 1912
Carline	Dora			
Carpenter	Joseph			
Case	Bertha	Larson	Feb. 29, 1892	Feb. 20, 1925
Case	Edward			
Case	Edwin		Jul. 12, 1878	Mar. 6, 1906
Case	Elizabeth Amand	Crowson	Oct. 4, 1867	1893
Case	Emma Althea		Sep. 6, 1882	Sep. 6, 1882
Case	Jerome Jr.			
Case	Jerome Richard		Jun. 2, 1882	
Case	John			
Case	John Sr.		Apr. 1855	Sep. 10, 1928
Case	Mary Catherine	Crowson	Mar. 8, 1870	
Case	Ricky			
Case	Sarah	Crowson	Mar. 11, 1862	Sep. 24, 1923
Case	Stella			
Case	William Joseph Jr.		Mar. 6, 1886	
Crowson	Elijah Garrison		Oct. 15, 1864	
Crowson	John Elijah		Aug. 29, 1859	
Crowson	John Washington		Oct. 1, 1829	Mar. 15, 1907
Crowson	Sarah Abigail	Quinn	Sep. 18, 1844	
Crowson	Sophia Anna		Mar. 11, 1862	
Crowson	Willie			
Curry	Evia Carlin			
Curry	Frances	Mendoza	May 23, 1906	Jan. 7, 1940
Daigle	John			
Daigle	Mandy			
Ferguson	Jenny			
Ferguson	John			
Kelly	Edward			1922
Kelly	Herbert			1923
Mires	Eugenie	Seneca	1890	Feb. 1934
Mires	Rachel			ca. 1933
Newton	"Brother"			
Seneca	Noimie			
Smith	[Infant girl]			
Theriot	Augusta	Case		1931
Theriot	Dallas			
Verret	Preston			

in use until ca. 1947, when the church building was moved to Canoeville. Virtually all oral informants know some of the persons buried in the Methodist Cemetery (Philip Allen, Douglas Mendoza, Lynn Curry, Darl Ashley, Ray Carline, Charles Verret, David Allen Sr., Electa Guillot Allen, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, Carl Carline, Joyce Kelly Carline, Lila Larson Curry, Leota Megas, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

This cemetery is the location of the "adjacent" graves of one of the Methodist pastors of the church and Joe Carpenter. This situation gave rise to the remark by Methodist minister Delos Cassels that Bayou Chene is "the only place in the world where a preacher and a criminal could be buried side by side" (Case 1973:130-131). The graves were actually separated by the trunk of an oak tree, but this does not detract from the interest of the story. The proximity of the minister and the reprobate prompted Bayou Chene resident Louis Snellgrove to comment "Boy, when they wake up, what a fight there'll be" (Douglas Mendoza, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Table 10. Persons Buried in the Willie's Bayou Cemetery.

Family Name	Given Name	Maiden Name
Allen	[Several]	
Allen	Willie	
Freyou	Clara	Allen
Freyou	Clement	

Snellgrove Tract Burials. A couple of graves, evidently graves of historic Native Americans, were located off of lower Bayou Chene behind the house of John Snellgrove in Section 36. These graves cannot be distinguished in aerial photographs (Harold Snellgrove, Stanley Stockstill, Charles Verret, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

Willie's Bayou Graveyard (Allen Graveyard). The first Allen Family graveyard was located on the bank of Bayou Crook Chene at its confluence with a small bayou named Willie's Bayou (named after Willie Allen). This graveyard is not marked on COE or USGS maps and cannot be distinguished on aerial photographs. Currently, five people are documented to have been buried in the Willie's Bayou graveyard; it is likely that more are interred at this locale. Willie's Bayou has been filled with sediment since at least 1980 and has not been located by informants since that time (David Allen, Philip Allen, Rene Seneca, personal communication to Maygarden 1997).

CHAPTER 6
FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Introduction

Field investigations within the former Bayou Chene community consisted of three tasks. These included the mapping of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery, the documentation of eight other cemeteries identified during historical research, and general reconnaissance survey. The methodology utilized for each of these tasks and the results of investigations are presented below.

Methodology

Initially, a survey traverse was completed in order to tie the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery to the ARMC V-25 benchmark located along the NODCOE baseline on the east bank of the Atchafalaya Basin Main Channel, approximately 1.5 miles east of the study area. Subsequently, a primary, permanent site datum was established in the northwest quadrant of the cemetery. A secondary site datum was later placed on top of the spoil bank within the enclosed area first identified as the cemetery (see below). Both data consist of a round brass cap set in concrete.

Site mapping was accomplished with a Leica Wild TC-500 Total Station with a Hewlett Packard FC-48GX data collector. A 2 m grid was laid across the site to provide horizontal and vertical control. All known and suspected graves were mapped with the total station, photographed, and sketched. All wooden posts, either surrounding individual graves or the cemetery, were mapped, as were the waterline, natural vegetation, the eroded bluffline, and various cultural features. Selected diagnostic artifacts which were clearly not related to the burials or to burial plot adornment were mapped and collected for laboratory analysis; these will be curated with the Division of Archeology. Four Dutch auger tests were excavated outside the cemetery in order to gather data on stratigraphy and identify any buried cultural resources. Finally, the eroding bluffline was profiled using the total station

Documentation of the other cemeteries in the study area consisted of recording their reported locations using GPS. A Magellan GPS 3000 XL hand-held unit with a DBR-2 differential antenna was used. The cemetery areas were then examined in order to determine if any graves or markers could be located. Compass and traverse maps depicting the GPS locations, any natural or cultural features, vegetation, and distance to a known stream course, were drafted. Black and white photographs and color slides were taken at each location. When possible, the site location was tied to a previously established benchmark or GPS station. Site numbers were assigned only to those cemeteries which exhibited some physical manifestation which confirmed their presence. This approach was utilized because several possible cemetery locations were based solely on informants recollections of the landscape before major modifications which occurred during the past three decades (see Chapter 2). As seen below, erroneous locations were obtained from some informants.

The general reconnaissance of the former Bayou Chene community was accomplished by visual inspection of both banklines using a 16 foot Cajun Special aluminum boat. Areas exhibiting block slumping or bank erosion were closely inspected, and the areas surrounding them were surveyed in order to determine if any buried cultural resources could be located. GPS data were collected at these locations, and any salient information was recorded.

Results of the Cemetery Survey

Ten cemeteries and/or suspected cemeteries were identified by either documentary or informant sources. Of these, only eight, including the Jean Louis Cemetery, were investigated. The

Table 11. Locational Data for Bayou Chene Cemeteries.

	Latitude	Longitude	UTM	EPE*
Crowson Tract Cemetery	30° 08' 34" N	91° 31' 40" W	N 33 35 534 E 06 41 811	24 m
Willie's Bayou Graveyard	30° 06' 57" N	91° 32' 54" W	N 33 32 522 E 06 39 855	9 m
Canoeville Graveyard	30° 09' 05" N	91° 31' 29" W	N 33 36 559 E 06 42 053	17 m
Bayou Marti Burials	30° 08' 47" N	91° 32' 38" W	N 33 35 894 E 06 40 242	8 m
Snellgrove Tract Burials	30° 07' 35" N	91° 30' 15" W	N 33 33 739 E 06 44 103	11 m

*Estimated Position Error.

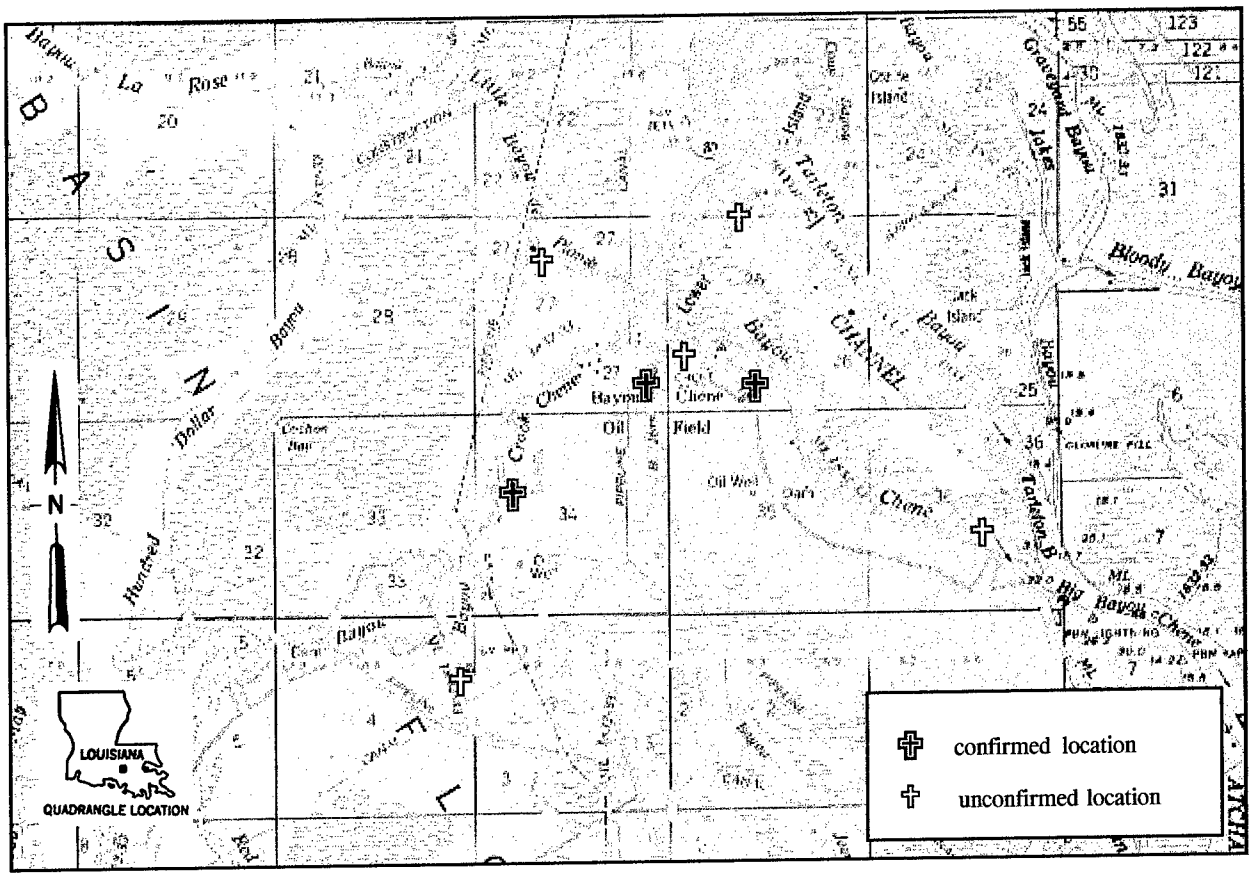


Figure 20. Map showing the location of the Bayou Chene cemeteries (scale 1:62500).

cemetery at Bloody Bayou, although close to the former Bayou Chene community, was located outside the project area. Also, a suspected cemetery located directly across Bayou Crook Chene from the Macauley cemetery was found to be erroneously identified, and there was actually no cemetery at this location (Figure 20). Of the eight cemeteries that were examined during this effort, only three, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (16SM89), the Methodist Church and Cemetery (16SM90), and the Bayou Macauley Cemetery (16SM88), exhibited some sort of physical remains indicative of a cemetery. These are described below. Locational data for cemeteries which were not confirmed during field investigations are presented in Table 11.

Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (16SM89). The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery was reported to NODCOE personnel in August 1996. An initial site visit later that month confirmed the existence of a cemetery on easement land adjacent to Bayou Chene, also known as the West Access Channel. The site is located on the south bank of the realignment channel, approximately 1,200 feet east of where the 1991 realigned channel enters Bayou Chene/Crook Chene and is situated at Station 150+28 of the West Access Channel baseline. The cemetery is located upon what appears to be a late-nineteenth- and/or early-twentieth-century land surface which has been partially exposed due to erosion of the spoil bank (Plates 1 and 2). This land surface is approximately 20 feet below the top of the spoil bank. The remains associated with the exposed cemetery included a wooden fence enclosure around a suspected grave, several depressions which may indicate additional grave locations, an iron cross preserved in place, and a light scatter of historic artifacts across the surface of the cemetery. The wooden enclosure was embedded in the eroding bank, suggesting that the cemetery may extend for some distance under the spoil bank. It was not clear whether the newly exposed cemetery was part of a cemetery location identified by previous residents of the community or an additional, previously unrecorded or unreported cemetery (Figure 21).

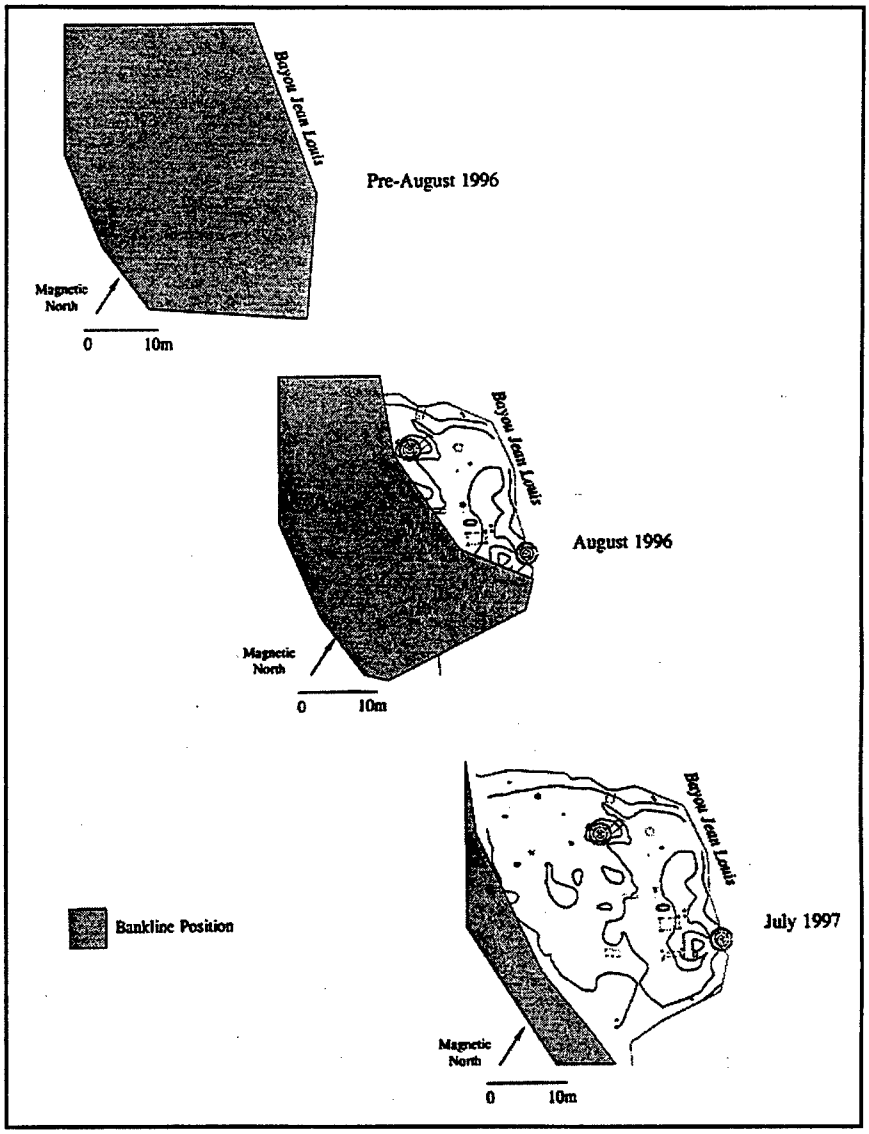


Figure 21. Erosional sequence of the west bank of Bayou Jean Louis.

Subsequent to the NODCOE site inspection, unusually high fall flooding occurred. After the flood waters subsided, ESI and

NODCOE personnel conducted another site inspection on July 23, 1997. The rapidly flowing flood water had removed approximately 14 m of the spoil bank and natural deposits, in addition to breaking and washing away the intact portions of the wooden enclosure (Figure 21). Moreover, the flood waters scoured out one grave.

A very light, oblong, surface scatter of artifacts was noted. It extended from the northeast corner of the cemetery, crossed the central portion of the site, and ended in the southwest corner. Between the western periphery of the cemetery and Bayou Chene, a wooden walkway, portions of a fenceline, and several posts were exposed. Additionally, a second light to moderate scatter of artifacts was uncovered in this area. The artifacts extended north from the north edge of the eroded spoil bank to the sheet pile closure. Elevations of the cemetery surface and the cultural debris to the west ranged between .02 m and 2.82 m NGVD (Figures 22 and 23).

Visual inspection of the cemetery, in addition to information given by Mr. Charles Verret and his cousin Mr. Murray Verret (personal communication to Lee and Maygarden 1997), identified ten known and/or suspected grave locations. Most of the graves were generally oriented north/south and were placed in an east/west alignment which paralleled the old course of Bayou Jean Louis. The one exception to this is Grave 1, which is oriented east/west. According to the Verrets, at least two of the persons interred in the cemetery were young children or subadults (Charles and Murray Verret, personal communication to Lee et al. 1997).

The Jean Louis Cemetery was encircled by a wooden fence. A line (east/west) of broken, square posts are located just north of Graves 3 through 8 and are parallel to them. Similarly, another line (north/south) begins just west of the primary site datum and runs south along the western periphery of the cemetery, cutting across Grave 1. No discernible post alignments were noted for the southern and eastern limits of the cemetery (Figure 22).

Graves 1 and 2 were suspected interments which are located on the western cemetery periphery. Both these suspected graves had net tarring pits excavated into them (Darl Ashley, personal communication to Lee et al. 1997). As noted above, the orientation of Grave 1 does not follow the normal north/south alignment, and it was crossed by the fenceline surrounding the cemetery. Also, the mapped outline of Grave 1 is contiguous, in most instances, with the outline of the net tarring pit. Therefore, it is suspected that the depression designated Grave 1 is not an interment, but the remains of a net tarring pit which has been modified/scoured by the flood waters of 1996-1997. Grave 2 is located adjacent to a large live oak stump with several fire blackened, partial bricks in an around the interment. A tarring pit was also excavated in this area. It is tempting to suggest that this was not an interment, but both of the Verrets were adamant that at least one individual had been interred under the live oak. The Verrets contention is supported by other former residents of the Bayou Chene community (Ruel Seneca and Horace Wisdom, personal communication to Lee et al. 1997). Therefore, we conclude that Grave 2 is an actual interment. It should be noted that the outline depicted in Figure 22 is not the actual grave outline, but is instead a depression related to the excavation and use of the net tarring pit. Based on the depth of the exposed coffin located at Grave 8 (below), the bottom of the tarring pit (.46 m NGVD or .01 m bgs) would not have breached the interment.

Graves 3 through 8 are oriented north/south and are found in a linear alignment along the northern edge of the site, paralleling the old bankline of Bayou Jean Louis. A shallow, oblong depression, with no other indications, denotes Grave 3. Conversely, there was not a depression associated with Grave 4, but remnants of an upright board is believed to represent the "head" of this interment. Likewise, Grave 5 did not have an associated depression, but a narrow, flat piece of iron was located at the "head" of this interment. This is believed to be the base of an iron cross grave marker, of which, the upper portion had been broken off and redeposited north of Grave 5, nearer Bayou Jean Louis (Mike Stout, NODCOE COR, personal communication to Lee and Maygarden

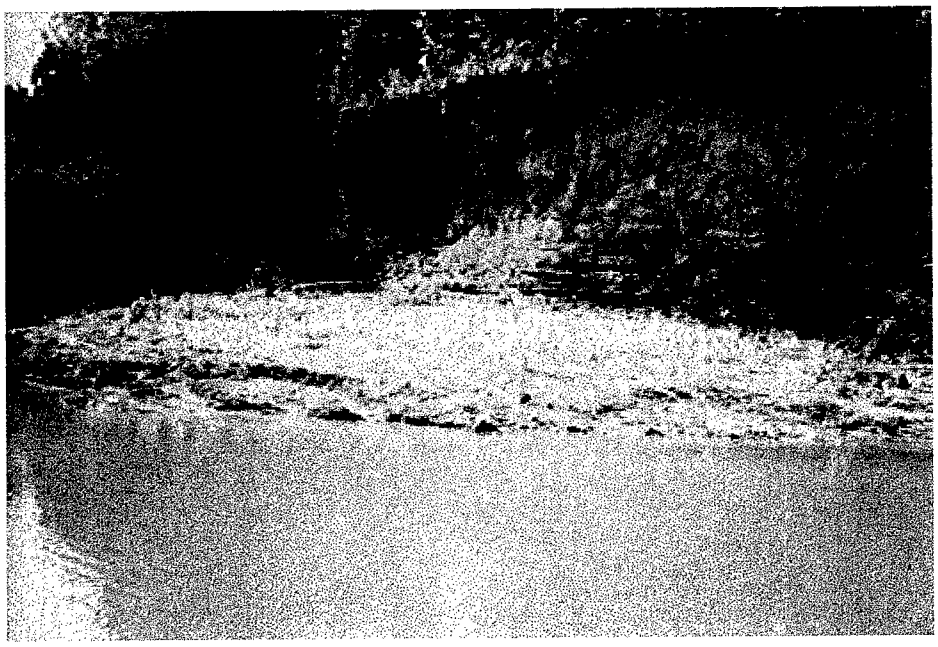
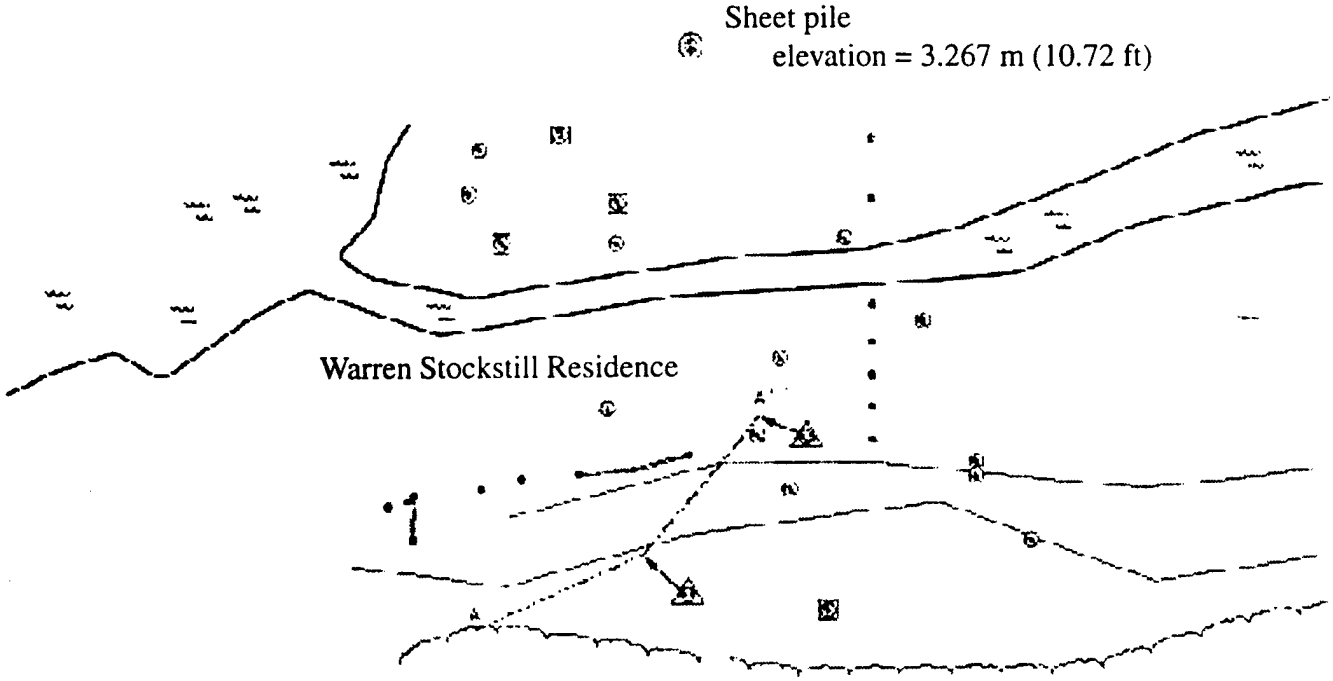


Plate 1. View facing southeast of Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery, August 1996 (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Plate 2. View facing west of Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery, August 1996 (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Map Legend:

- Prehistoric Artifact
- Historic Artifact
- Auger Test
- Point on Sheet Piling
- Primary Datum
- Secondary Datum
- Post
- Boundary of Tar Pit
- Woody Vegetation
- Gound Line
- Water
- Cross-section
- Scatter of Human Skeletal Remains



(1)

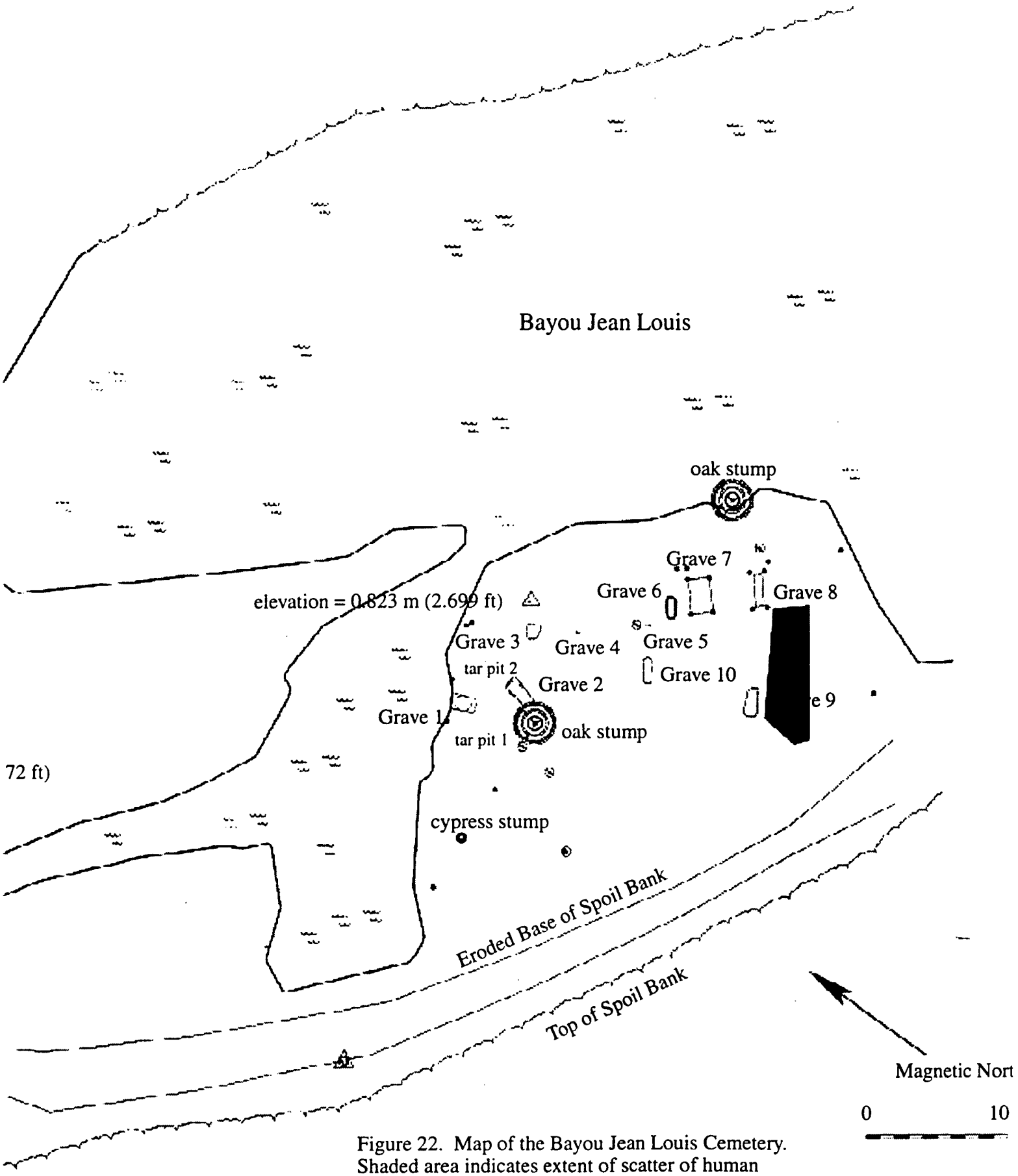
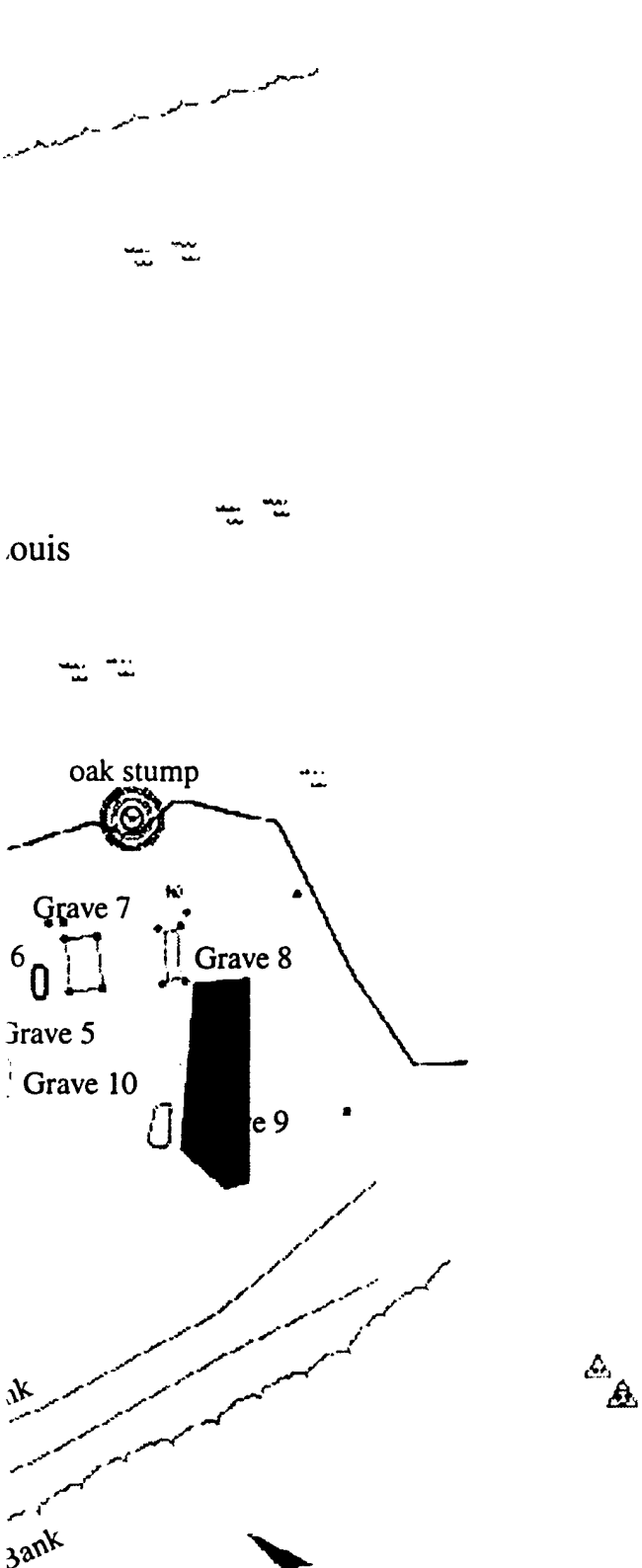


Figure 22. Map of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery. Shaded area indicates extent of scatter of human skeletal remains.

(2)



Louis Cemetery.
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(3)

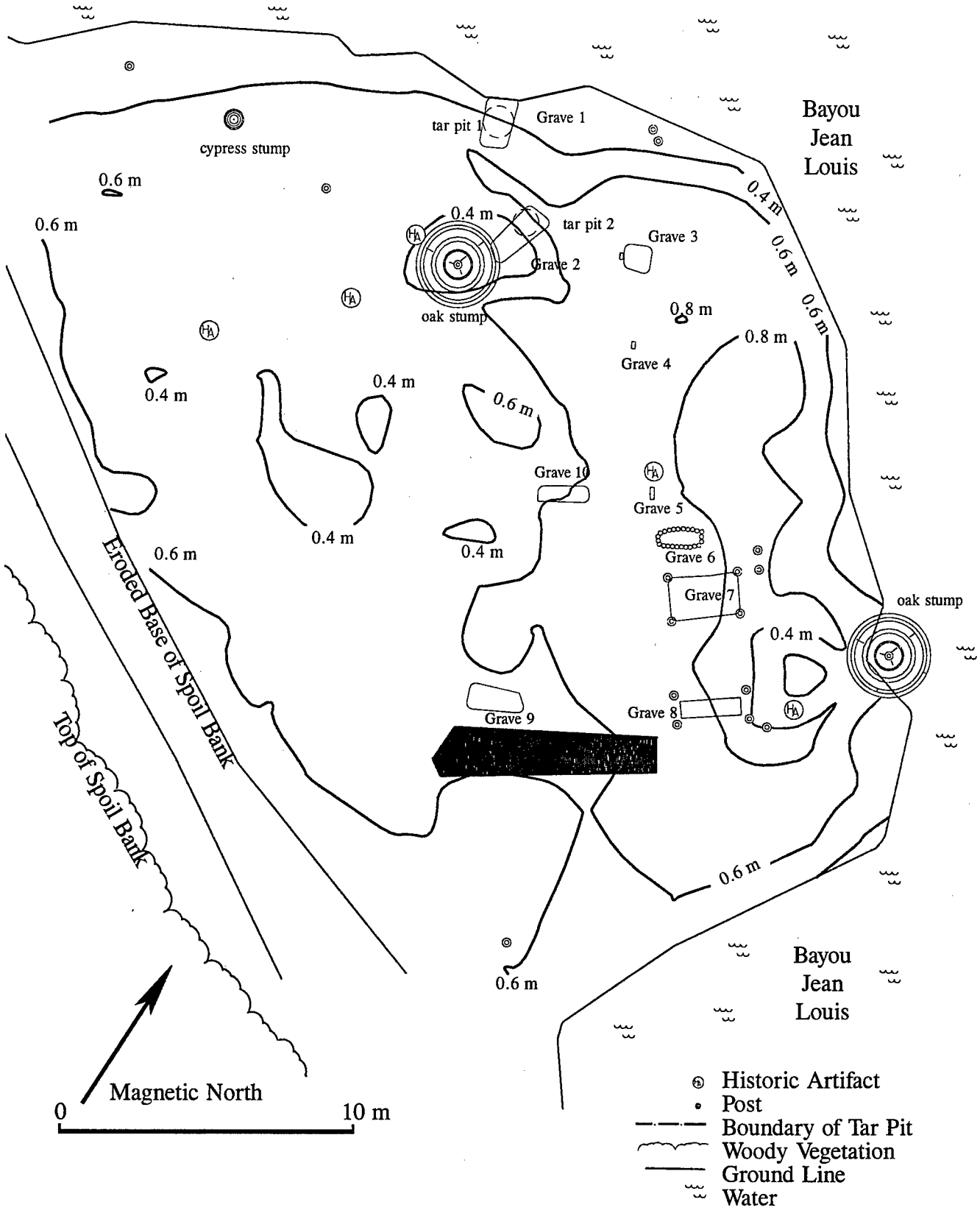


Figure 23. Contour map of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery. Shaded area indicates extent of scatter of human skeletal remains.

1997). During site mapping, the upper portion of the iron cross was placed on the iron located at Grave 5, making a perfect match. Subsequent to the fitting, the iron cross was stolen by vandals (Plate 3).

An oval ring of bottles, bases up, surrounded Grave 6. This interment probably represents a child's grave, based on informant data (Charles and Murray Verret, Ruel Seneca, Horace Wisdom, Darl Ashley, personal communication to Lee et al. 1997). The former Bayou Chene community members assert a badly burned young girl was buried at this location. The bottles surrounding the grave range in color from amber (brown) to dark green (Plate 4). Several bottles had maker's marks on their bottoms, but only four manufacturers are represented (Toulouse 1971:26-27, 117-118, 202, 438-439). The bottle manufacturers include Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company, Frederick Hampson Glass Works, Carl Conrad and Company, and either Roth and Company or an unknown maker with the same mark (Table 12).

Table 12. Bottle Marks and Their Manufacturers.

Bottle Base Mark	Manufacturer	Location	Date Range	Reference
C C CO	Carl Conrad and Co	St. Louis	1876-1883	Toulouse 1971:117-118
A. B. G. Co (linear)	Adolphus Bush Glass Manufacturing Co	St. Louis	1886-1928	Toulouse 1971:26-27
A B G M Co (semi)	Adolphus Bush Glass Manufacturing Co	St. Louis	1886-1928	Toulouse 1971:26-27
F H G W	Frederick Hampson Glass Works	England	1880-1900	Toulouse 1971:202
R & Co	Roth and Company	San Francisco	1879-1888	Toulouse 1971:438-439
R & Co	Unknown maker of export shape bottles	unknown	1880-1900	Toulouse 1971:438-439

Grave 7 is delineated by the remnants of four wooden posts and a slight, oval depression (Plates 5 and 6). The base of a marble headstone was located on its south side. This is the base of the headstone which was removed to another cemetery over a year ago (Mike Stout, personal communication to Lee and Maygarden 1997).

Flood waters have scoured most of the soil from Grave 8, exposing the coffin. The coffin is homemade (Charles and Murray Verret, personal communication to Lee et al. 1997) and is virtually intact except for the missing lid. The average depth of the coffin is .51 m NGVD or .21 m bgs. Four wooden post remnants are located at the four corners of the grave. No burial hardware was noted on the coffin or in the immediate vicinity of the grave. The coffin was made from cypress boards placed on edge. The boards were nailed to 1" x 1" strips located on the interior of the coffin, with the nails driven from the outside. Since the coffin was filled with water throughout the duration of this project, the bottom of the coffin was not examined.

Graves 9 and 10 lie south of Graves 3 through 8. Both are shallow, oval depressions with no markers, burial furniture, or associated artifacts. It was not certain that these depression were actual interments, but they are oriented in the same direction as Graves 3 through 8 and appear to be spaced at the same intervals as the other six. These two interments probably represent another east/west line of graves based on map and ethnographic data.

A dispersed surface scatter of human skeletal elements is located in the southeast quadrant of the site. These elements cover an area 19 by 5 m. Moreover, the types and number of elements present indicate they probably came from one individual. Based on the fact that only Grave 8 was totally exposed, the human remains present at the site probably came from this interment.

A thin scatter of historic artifacts was noted on the surface of the cemetery. They form an rough, oblong pattern oriented northeast to southwest. Historic ceramics recovered from this area include a sherd of undecorated ironstone, a brownware jug or crock base, a gray salt-glazed stoneware crock rim with and Albany-slipped interior. All of these date to the late-nineteenth/

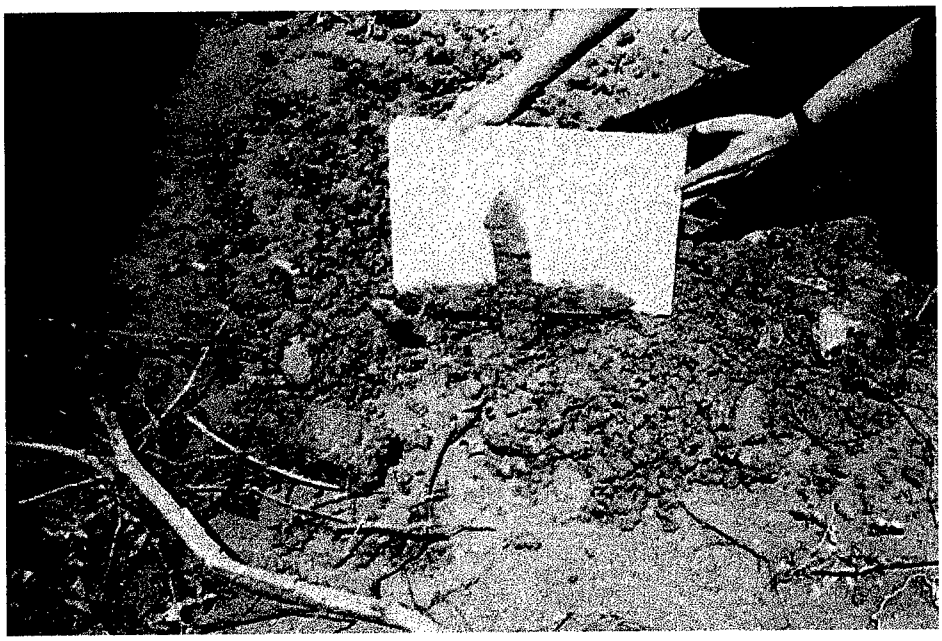


Plate 3. View of iron cross marker on Grave 5 (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

Plate 4. View of bottles surrounding Grave 6.

Plate 5. View facing southeast of the fence surrounding Grave 7. Note that the photo has been computer enhanced to show detail (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

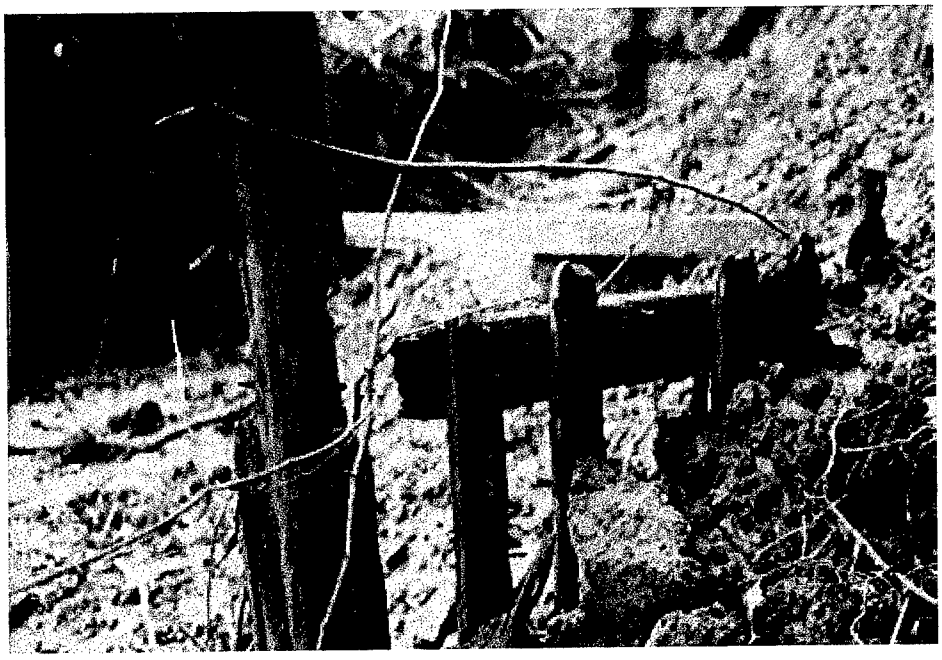


Plate 6. View facing east of the fence surrounding Grave 7 (Courtesy New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers).

early-twentieth century. In addition, the locks and breech block of a double barrel, breech loading, exposed hammer shotgun was collected. No evidence of the stock or barrels was found. The shotgun appears to date to the early-twentieth century.

The remnants of a wooden walkway, a post and plank fenceline, and several broken off square posts are located approximately 39 m west of the Jean Louis Cemetery (Figure 22). A light to moderate surface scatter of prehistoric and historic artifacts is associated with these cultural features. Apparently, the wooden walkway which parallels the present course of Bayou Chene, was located outside the post and plank fenceline. The remains of the post and plank fenceline ran parallel and immediately adjacent to the walkway before turning east and continuing toward the cemetery. Approximately 20.5 m from this east turn, the fenceline turned again, this time to the north to form the east side of the fenceline. A series of 7 broken square posts represents the east side of the fenceline. No posts were located which would form the north side of the fenceline.

Dutch Auger Test 1, placed on the eroded slope, indicates that approximately 1 m of spoil covers at least one and possibly two midden deposits (Table 13). Ash and charcoal, along with mussel shell flecking was encountered between .83-.80 m NGVD (97-100 cm bgs) in a gleyed sand. Below this thin deposit, the gleyed sand continued to a depth of .4 m NGVD (140 cm bgs), where a gleyed clay loam containing artifacts was encountered. The artifacts recovered between .4-.03 m NGVD (140-177 cm bgs) included small brick fragments, charcoal, multi-strand copper wire, a small plain ironstone sherd, and part of a nut hull.

Dutch Auger Test 2 was placed in the mud flat north of the eroded bluffline in order to determine if the midden deposit(s) was present. The profile obtained from this test indicates that an organically stained, gleyed clay loam was present between .48-.33 m NGVD (6-21 cm bgs) but no artifacts were recovered. A third Dutch auger test was placed 39 m east of the first two tests. The profile revealed in this test contained only gleyed spoil to a depth of .5 m NGVD (120 cm bgs), where the test was terminated due to water saturation.

A projected cross section (Figure 24) utilizing data from the spoil bluff and the auger tests indicate that the thin, upper deposit revealed in Auger Test 1 represents redeposited material associated with one or more dredging episodes of either Bayou Crook Chene/Bayou Chene or Bayou Jean Louis. This cross section also indicates that the lower midden deposit in Test 1, the surface of the mud flat north of the bluffline, and the exposed surface of Jean Louis Cemetery are all contemporaneous.

Historic artifacts collected from this area are all consistent with an early-twentieth-century domestic occupation. Ceramics include a porcelain saucer fragment, three fragments of a late spatter mixing bowl, and two rim sherds of a lead-glazed redware bowl or flower pot. The redware bowl/flower pot had a white interior engobe, was hard fired, and was totally unlike the redwares typical of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Glass from the area included a cobalt bottle fragment, an olive bottle fragment, a clear pharmaceutical bottle fragment, a Milk of Magnesia bottle neck, and three sherds of a green depression glass bowl and two sherds of a green depression glass tumbler, all in the Strawberry pattern (1928-1931, Florence n.d.:154). In addition, five aboriginal sherds were found. Four of these were Baytown Plain, *var. Unspecified*, and the fifth was an unidentified incised sherd. The prehistoric ceramics are not *in situ*, and they were recovered from the northern edge of the eroded bluffline and the mud flat north of the bluff. Thus, they appear to have been brought in with the spoil in this area.

A series of black and white aerial photographs taken between 1935 and 1947, and a real estate map dating to 1951 may be useful in interpreting the cultural features present west of the cemetery. The real estate map indicates that this area was owned by Warren Stockstill. The 1935 aerial photograph indicates that a structure, probably a residence, stood in the area and was surrounded by an L-shaped fence. The outline of this fence is bifurcated just south and to the rear of the structure by a small, interior fence. This bifurcation effectively created a "house com-

Table 13. Results of Dutch Auger Tests, Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery.

Auger Test	Depth	Soil	Comments
1	0-46 cm	10YR 4/3 (brown) spoil sand	
	47-96 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed spoil sand	
	97-100 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed spoil sand	ash/charcoal, shell flecking
	125-139 cm b.g.s	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed spoil sand	water saturated
	140-177 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed clay loam	contains brick, charcoal, copper wire, ironstone, nut hull, carbon staining
	178-206 cm b.g.s	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed clay	plastic matrix, FeMn staining
2	0-5 cm	10YR 4/3 (brown) spoil sand	
	6-21 cm	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed clay	organic staining
	22-36 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed clay	stiff matrix with organic staining
	37-100 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed clay	stiff matrix with FeMn staining
3	0-50cm	10YR 4/3 (brown) spoil sand	clay lumps in sand matrix
	51-72 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed sandy loam	no clay lumps
	73-81 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed sandy loam	charcoal flecking
	82-120 cm b.g.s.	5G 5/1 (greenish gray) gleyed sandy loam	terminated due to water saturation
4	0-3 cm b.g.s	10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) sandy loam	incipient A horizon
	4-42 cm	10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown) silt loam	
	43-87 cm b.g.s.	10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown) fine sandy loam	
	88-95 cm b.g.s.	10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown) silt loam	water increasing with depth
	96-145 cm b.g.s.	10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown) silt loam	plastic matrix, some organics
	146-177 cm b.g.s	10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown) silt loam	plastic matrix, water saturated
	178 cm b.g.s	10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown) silt loam	terminated due to water saturation

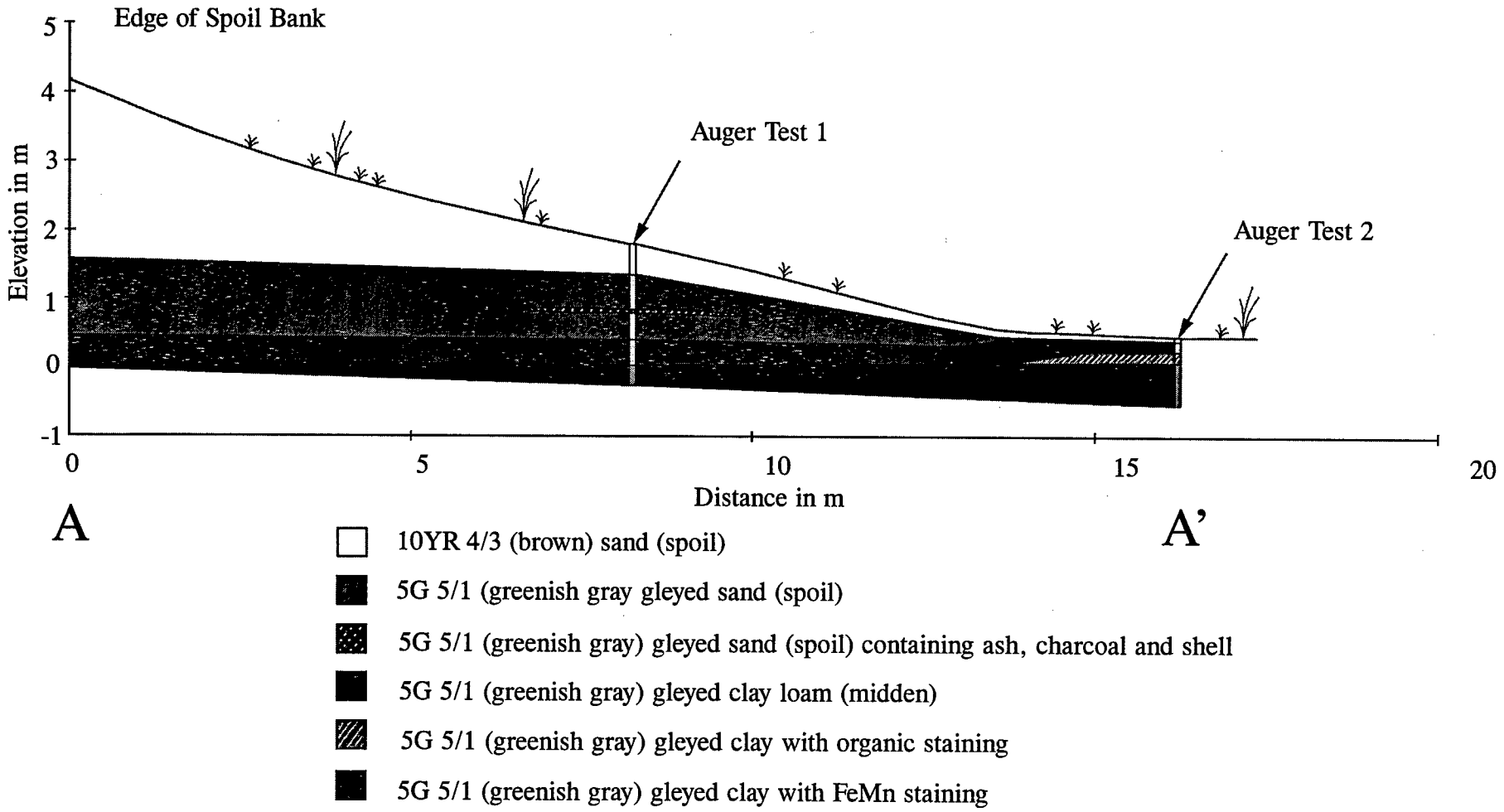


Figure 24. Projected cross-section of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery and the Warren Stockstill residence.

pound" and a fenced area without structural improvements. What seems to be a wooden walkway runs adjacent to the west side of the fence and continues southward for a distance, paralleling Bayou Crook Chene. The photograph also indicates that a much larger fenceline encircled the structure and the relatively smaller L-shaped fence (Figure 14). A second black and white aerial photograph taken in 1940 indicates that the structure was still present, but that the fencelines had disappeared, not only at the Warren Stockstill residence, but at all other residences shown on the photograph (Figure 15). By the time another aerial photograph was taken in 1947, the Warren Stockstill residence and others along the bayou were gone (Figure 16). Based on this series of photographs, it seems plausible that the fencelines and wooden walkway were either totally or partially destroyed by two flood episodes during the late-1930s and early-1940s (see Chapter 5). The Stockstill residence, among others, was more than likely swept away by either two small flood episodes in 1943 and 1945 or by the devastating flood of 1947. If any remnants of either the fencelines or wooden walkway existed during the 1940s, they probably sustained more damage or were totally destroyed.

Based on all data, it seems that the wooden walkway and the remnants of the fenceline are associated with the Warren Stocktstill occupation. Moreover, the lower midden deposit revealed by Dutch Auger Test 1 is located outside the fenced "house compound," whereas the deposit in Test 2 would be inside the "house compound" area and behind the house. Since the same types of artifacts found in Test 1 were collected from the surface in this area, it is suggested that these deposits are contemporaneous and formed in the clay loam horizon revealed by the tests. Comparison of the relative position of the former residence as shown on aerial photographs and the current location of the sheet pile and closure indicates that the residence was destroyed by the combined effects of natural causes, channelization efforts associated with both Bayou Jean Louis and Bayou Chene, and the construction of the closure. This interpretation would also account for the absence of a north fenceline surrounding the residence.

The authors of this report believe that the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is significant under Criterion D because it has the potential to yield information important to our history. The cemetery is one of a number of small cemeteries located in the former Bayou Chene community, which was established in the first half of the nineteenth century and which was abandoned during the second quarter of the twentieth century. While oral history has provided a picture of life in this community during the early twentieth century, documentary data is limited, and the cemetery has the potential to yield independent, objective data concerning demography, morbidity, mortality, and nutrition in this frontier setting. In addition, the decoration of one grave with bottles indicates the preservation of evidence of traditional mortuary behavior at this site. Thus, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery has the potential to yield data not only concerning the health and mortality of this isolated community, but also concerning traditional cultural practices. Furthermore, because the cemetery has been buried by sediment until recently, it is relatively undisturbed and possesses the quality of integrity. The cemetery qualifies under Criteria Consideration D because "burial places nominated under Criterion D need not meet the special requirements of Criteria Considerations" (Potter and Boland 1992:14).

The Louisiana *Comprehensive Archeological Plan* (Smith et al. 1983) has identified cultural units for the state and one, Industrialization and Modernization (1890-1940) is relevant to the cemetery. Three of the themes identified in the Louisiana *CAP* for this unit can be addressed by multi-disciplinary investigations of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery. These themes include Life in the Atchafalaya Swamp, Ethnic Enclaves, and Euro-American Influence on the Landscape (Smith et al. 1983:279). The Bayou Chene community, and thereby the cemetery, was abandoned because of Euro-American modification to the existing waterways and landforms. This abandonment resulted in the burial of the cemetery under sediment and spoil, thereby preserving its integrity. Human remains within the cemetery have the potential to yield data on lifeways within this Atchafalaya Basin frontier community, as do artifactual remains associated with the mortuary practices of the settlement. Similarly, research indicates that the populations of Bayou Chene was

not restricted to a single ethnic group, and local traditions were influenced by both French- and Anglo-American culture. The Bayou Jean Louis cemetery provides a venue for examining the effects of cultural blending had on mortuary behavior.

In addition, one specific research goal pertinent to the site is the "collect[ion of] oral histories for comparison with archeological investigations of all site types of this period. How do our memories correlate to the archeological record? What can be learned through this combine approach to historical reconstruction?" (Smith et al. 1983:287). The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery offers a unique venue for the examination of this goal. Oral historical data on early-twentieth-century life in the Bayou Chene community area readily available, but these are clearly colored with nostalgia. Multi-disciplinary investigations within the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery have the potential to provide objective data on morbidity, mortality, nutrition, and the quality of live within this Euro-American settlement. These data, in turn, could be compared to similar data from other ethnic groups in both rural and urban contexts, which would further our understanding of lifeways in the Atchafalaya Basin.

While the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is small, it is typical of the several small graveyards located within the former Bayou Chene community. These small graveyards are consistent with the independent spirit that typified the settlement—individuals families and/or groups of families caring for their own dead. Despite its small size, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery may be uniquely representative of the community. It is associated with an extended family, the Verrets. Historic and ethnographic research indicates that this family has resided in the Atchafalaya Basin since at least 1860, making them one of the first families to inhabit Bayou Chene. Thus, while oral historical data and limited archeological investigations indicate that burials in the cemetery date to the period 1900-1940, older burials may in fact be present. Then too, the Verrets were one of the last families to leave after the community was abandoned. Their commitment to life in Bayou Chene typifies that of other former inhabitants of the community.

As noted above, the burial of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery resulted in preservation of its integrity. No nonhistoric development has impinged on the site. While individual gravemarkers are largely absent, it has been noted that "A burial place which meets National Register standards for integrity should retain enough of its significant features from its period of significance to make clear... its historic association" (Potter and Boland 1992:18). The preservation of portions of the cemetery fencing, of individual gravesite decoration, and of burial depressional are all features dating to the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery's period of significance. Finally, and most importantly, the property's "potential to yield significant information in American culture" has not been compromised in any way. Thus, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is significant under Criterion D.

Bayou Chene Methodist Church and Cemetery (16SM90). Investigations at the Bayou Chene Methodist Church and Cemetery did find some physical remains which are clearly associated with the cemetery (Figure 25). The former church and cemetery are located approximately 50 m west of the present course of Bayou Chene. Between Bayou Chene and the church/cemetery is a narrow north/south oriented spoil bank which parallels Bayou Chene. Just west of the spoil bank is a shallow overflow channel. The overflow channel is relatively clear of vegetation, while the spoil bank is covered with willow trees. Ten to 12 m west of the overflow channel is a sharp scarf, which is probably the old bankline of Bayou Chene. The vegetation changes on the scarf to mixed hardwoods with some pine and an understory composed of briars, honeysuckle vine, and trumpet vine.

Pedestrian survey did not find any indication of the church which stood east of the cemetery. This is not surprising, since the church had been moved in 1946-1947 to the Canoeville area. Immediately west of the former church location is the remains of an old north/south road which ran between the church and cemetery. The road is overgrown, but still noticeable on the landscape. Three signs, placed approximately 30 m apart on the west side of the road, clearly

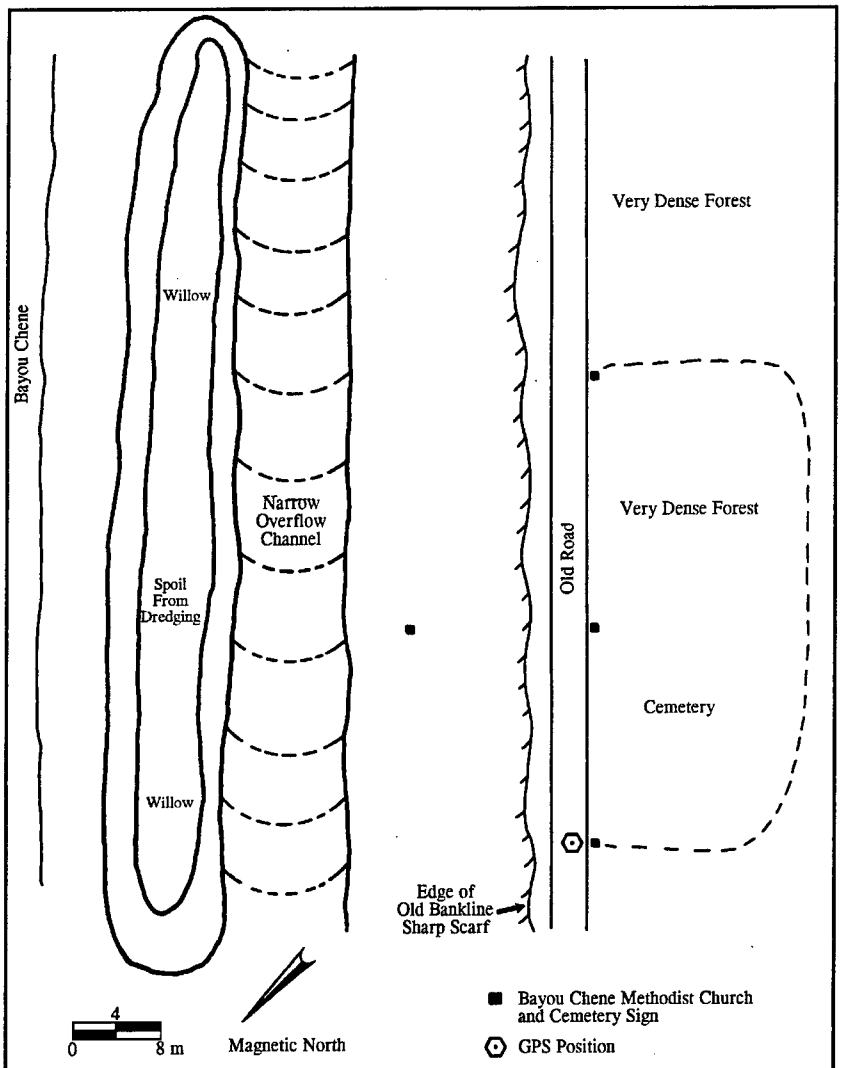


Figure 25. Site map of the Methodist Church and Cemetery.

marked front of the old cemetery area. A GPS location was established in the old road, just east of the northernmost sign marking the cemetery area. Currently, the old cemetery is totally overgrown. The upperstory consists primarily of sycamore, oak, pine, and willow trees. The understory is extremely thick and contains briars, honeysuckle vine, and trumpet vines.

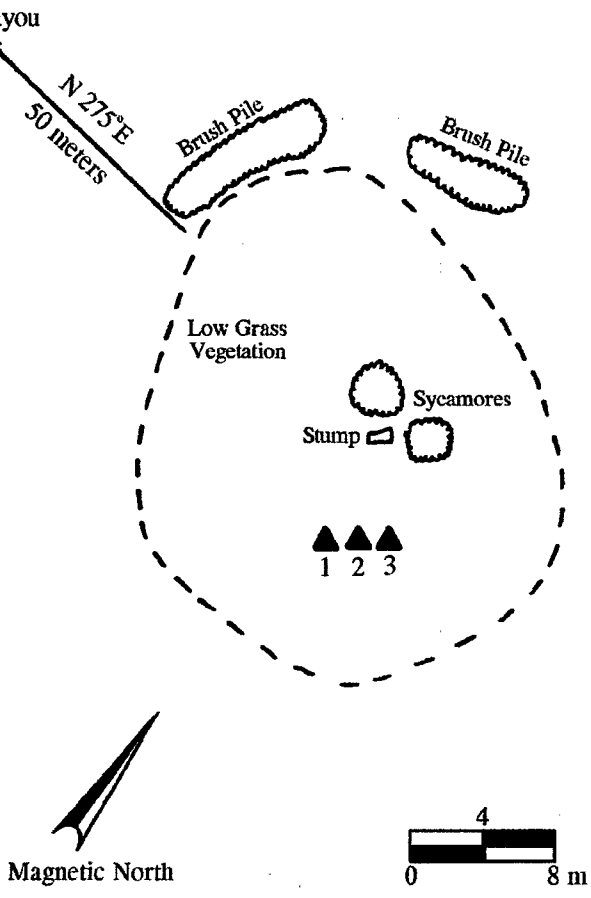
No grave depressions or headstones could be located in the dense understory blanketing the cemetery area despite repeated attempts. The site dimensions, based on the signs and pedestrian survey, are 70 m north/south and at least 40 m east/west. The western boundary was defined by a cleared area along the western edge of the site. These limits conform to the area of the cemetery as depicted in a 1966 aerial photograph (Figure 19).

Bayou Macauley Cemetery (16SM88). Like the Bayou Chene Cemetery, the Bayou Macauley Cemetery is located approximately 50 m west from the present channel of Bayou Crook Chene/Bayou Chene (Figure 26). The area between the bayou and cemetery is covered with sycamore, various oak species, pine, and willow trees. The understory is fairly open and is composed of briars and vines.

The area of the cemetery has been cleared of most vegetation and is currently covered with different grasses. Two brush piles are located at the northwest edge of the cemetery in the tree line. Two sycamore trees are located about 5 m north of the graves, and a small tree stump is between the two trees. The site limits established for this cemetery conform to the outline of the cleared area. This area measures 20 m north/south and 30 m east/west. Three grave markers are located in the south central portion of the site.

Although numerous persons have been interred in this cemetery, only three grave markers are present. The grave of Mrs. Joe Diamond is marked with a white marble cross inscribed with the name of the deceased and the birth and death dates. A GPS location was established on top of this cross. Approximately 2 m east of Mrs. Diamond's marker are two additional markers consisting of a brass plaque mounted on a marble base. Vories Diamond's brass plaque is immediately

east of Mrs. Diamond's marker, and to the east of the latter is the marker denoting Annie D. Seneca's grave. Both plaques are inscribed with the same information as was Mrs. Diamond's.



1 = Mrs. Joe Diamond Grave and Cross

2 = Vories Diamond Grave and Marker

3 = Annie D. Seneca Grave and Marker

Figure 26. Site map of the Bayou Macauley Cemetery.

Results of the Reconnaissance Survey

The bankline reconnaissance survey did not locate any additional cultural resources, nor did it relocate any previously recorded resources in the project area. This survey did locate five areas of severe and/or potential erosion (Figure 27 and Table 14). These areas were numbered sequentially from 1 through 5. The numerical sequence begins at the junction of Bayou Crook Chene/Bayou Chene and the Atchafalaya Main Navigation Channel and progresses down the old stream courses past Bayou Jean Louis and Macauley Cemetery.

Area 1 is located on the left descending bankline near the junction of Bayou Crook Chene/Bayou Chene and the main navigation channel (Tarleton Cut). A GPS reading was taken in the central portion of Area 1 at survey stake 30=R-386+20. This ties this area to the new range lines being established in and around the basin. Block slumping and subsequent erosion of the bankline was noted beginning at the junction of the stream courses and progressing to a point 100 m downstream of the survey stake and GPS position. The block slumps and bankline were inspected, but no artifacts or cultural deposits were located.

Area 2 comprises the area at the junction of Bayou Chene and Bayou Jean Louis and immediately downstream of this junction. As seen in the discussion above, flood waters have removed approximately 14 m of the spoil bank at the cemetery. Also, water borne sediments have been deposited downstream from the junction of the two streams, effectively closing off Bayou Chene from boat traffic. The GPS location for Area 2 utilizes the primary site datum for Jean Louis Cemetery.

Area 3 is directly across Bayou Crook Chene from the Macauley Cemetery on the right descending bank. The steep bluffline upstream from Area 3 is eroding, and the soil is subsequently deposited around a capped well head. The GPS datum for Area 3 is located near two large, round creosote pilings near the capped wellhead.

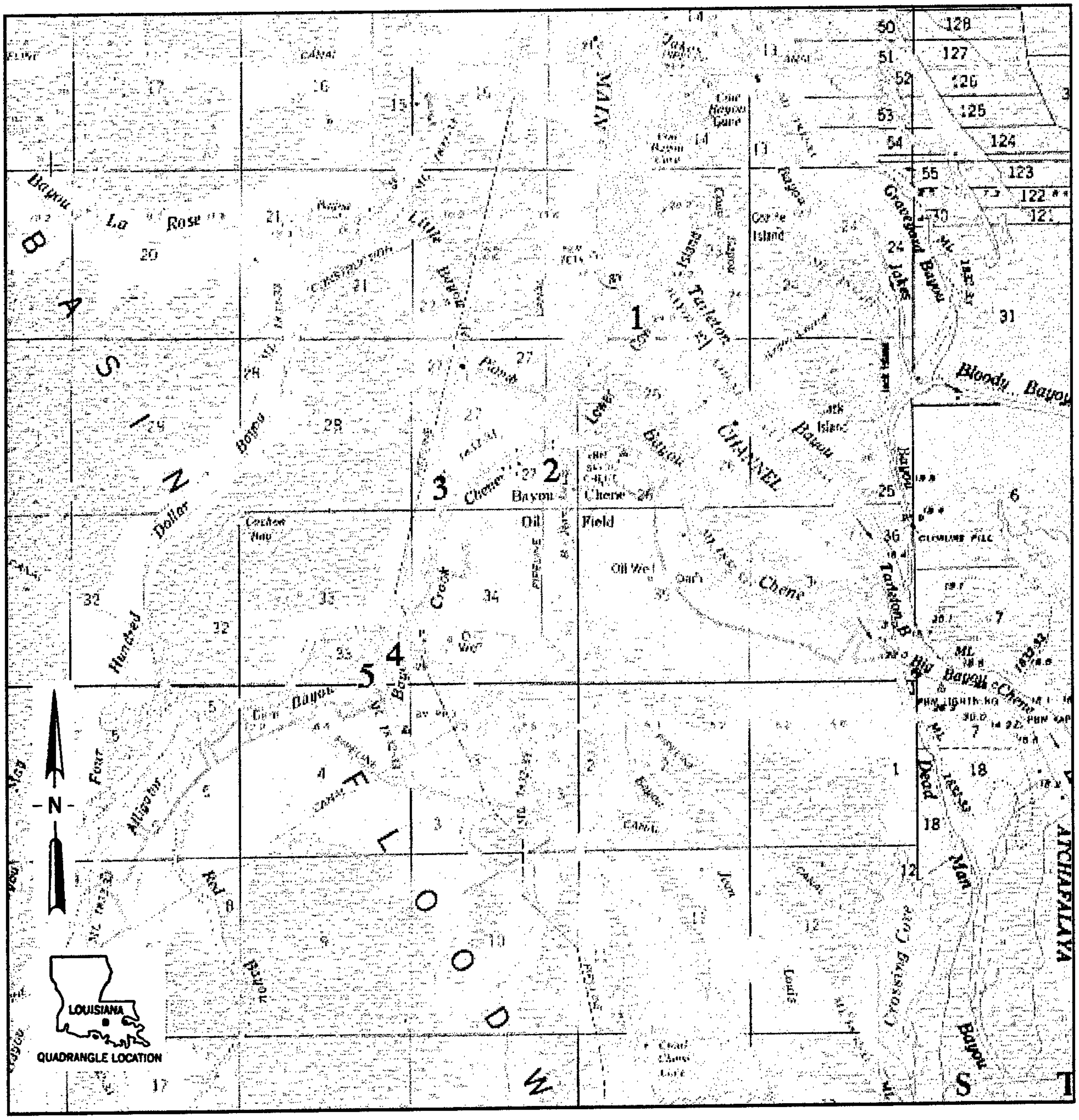


Figure 27. Areas of erosion noted during reconnaissance survey (scale 1:62500).

Table 14. Locational Data, Areas of Erosion.

	Latitude	Longitude	UTM	EPE*
Reconnaissance Area 1	30° 09' 17" N	91° 31' 34" W	N 33 36 797 E 06 41 944	13 m
Reconnaissance Area 2 (Bayou Jean Louis)	30° 08' 27" N	91° 31' 56" W	N 33 35 314 E 06 41 386	15 m
Reconnaissance Area 3	30° 08' 19" N	91° 32' 39" W	N 33 35 017 E 06 40 241	44 m
Reconnaissance Area 4	30° 07' 28" N	91° 32' 59" W	N 33 33 492 E 06 39 713	27 m
Reconnaissance Area 5	30° 07' 25" N	91° 33' 07" W	N 33 33 355 E 06 39 487	11 m

*Estimated Position Error.

Area 4 is located at the junction of the present course of Bayou Crook Chene, the old, cut off course of Bayou Crook Chene, and a pipeline canal on the right descending bank. Flood suspended sediment is being deposited at the junction of present-day Bayou Crook Chene and the pipeline canal. The bankline above and below this junction are being eroded, probably because the stream course flow dynamics are changing due to the flood deposited soil. The GPS datum for Area 4 is located on the "plug" which is forming at the junction of the bayou and canal.

Area 5 is downstream from Area 4 on the right descending bank Small scale block slumping was observed upstream and downstream from the GPS datum. This datum is located on a sandy spoil pile which has almost sealed off the mouth of a small pipeline canal.

CHAPTER 7
RECOMMENDATIONS

Archeological and historical research were undertaken to document certain aspects of the former Bayou Chene community. The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery was mapped, and the site was evaluated using NRHP criteria. In addition, seven other cemeteries were visited and mapped. Only two of these additional cemeteries exhibited some sort of physical manifestation. Finally, reconnaissance survey was performed within the project area. No additional cultural resources were identified as a result of this survey.

The Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery (16SM89) is one of a number of small cemeteries located in the former Bayou Chene community. These small graveyards are consistent with the independent spirit that typified the settlement — individual families and/or groups of families caring for their own dead. Field investigations at the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery confirmed the presence of at least nine graves. These graves are associated primarily with one extended family, the Verrets, which formerly resided at Bayou Chene. The decoration of one grave with bottles indicates the preservation of evidence of traditional mortuary behavior at this site. Thus, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery has the potential to yield data not only concerning the health and mortality of this isolated community, but also concerning its traditional cultural practices. Furthermore, because the cemetery has been buried by sediment until recently, it is relatively undisturbed and possesses the quality of integrity. Therefore, the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery is eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D.

It is recommended that the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery be preserved in place. To help prevent further erosion in this area, Bayou Jean Louis should be closed to the northwest of the cemetery. In addition, it is recommended that the cemetery be re-covered with soil to prevent further disturbance by natural and/or cultural agents.

Documentation of the Warren Stockstill residence just west of the Bayou Jean Louis Cemetery demonstrated that the physical remains associated with this occupation were destroyed between 1935 and 1947. While a midden associated with this occupation is preserved at the site, data contained therein are likely also preserved in more accessible locations. Therefore, it is recommended that no further investigations are necessary at the Warren Stockstill residence.

The Bayou Chene Methodist Church and Cemetery (16SM90) does exhibit some physical remains indicative of a cemetery even though the church was removed to another location ca. 1946-1947. Similarly, three grave markers are present at the Macauley Cemetery (16SM88). Seven other cemetery locations were documented during historical research, although the existence of these could not be confirmed by physical remains. It is recommended that these cemeteries be preserved in place, and that disturbance to all of these cemetery areas be avoided. Periodic monitoring of these locations is also recommended to determine if any are subject to erosion.

Finally, five areas of severe and/or potential erosion were identified during reconnaissance survey. These areas should be examined periodically to determine if cultural deposits are eroding.

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APPENDIX 1
SCOPE OF SERVICES

SCOPE OF SERVICES
National Register Evaluation of the
Bayou Chene Cemetery,
Atchafalaya Basin Project
St. Martin Parish, Louisiana

1. Introduction. The main purpose of this purchase order effort is to document and evaluate an historic cemetery which has recently been exposed in the former Bayou Chene community within the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway. This effort will assess the present condition of the cemetery and evaluate its eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. A secondary purpose of this purchase order is to perform additional historical research on the Bayou Chene community and provide updated information on the archeological potential and sensitivity of historic resources in the project area.

2. Background Information. The former Bayou Chene community was located along Bayous Chene and Crook Chene, Little Bayou de Plomb, and the upper reach of Alligator Bayou (Castille et al, 1990). Significant settlement in the Bayou Chene community occurred by 1841 and it soon became the largest concentration of people living within the Atchafalaya Basin. Population reached its peak in 1860 with 345 residents; by 1900 the population was at least 287 persons.

The U.S. Census data reveals dramatic shifts in economic activities during the community's history (Castille et al, 1990:32). Until the 1860's, the predominant economic activity was farming of sugar on the broad natural levees of the settlement. The Civil War dealt this activity a severe blow due to the loss of slave labor and increased flooding resulting from the clearing of the Atchafalaya River log rafts. By 1870, the community's residents had shifted to lumbering-related activities. By 1900, the lumbering industry was on the wane and fishing became the predominant occupation. This economic focus continued until the community was slowly abandoned during the mid-twentieth century.

In advance of the 1991 construction of the West Access Channel Realignment, a cultural resources survey of the project vicinity was conducted (Castille et al, 1990:32). This survey documented the history of the Bayou Chene community and included intensive field investigations of the channel realignment project

Enclosure 1

right-of-way. Due to heavy sedimentation in this century (in excess of six feet over much of the project area), no historic remains of the Bayou Chene community were located during the survey.

The subject cemetery is an historic component of the Bayou Chene community. Until recently, the cemetery was buried under many feet of sediment and spoil banks. An erosional breakthrough along Bayou Chene's southern bankline has exposed the cemetery area over the past several years. The cemetery is accessible only during low-water conditions in the Atchafalaya Basin.

The cemetery was reported to New Orleans District personnel in August 1996. An initial site visit was performed on 22 August 1996 which confirmed the existence of an historic cemetery on Corps easement land adjacent to Bayou Chene, also identified as the West Access Channel. The site is situated on the south bank of Bayou Chene approximately 1,200 feet east of where the 1991 realigned channel enters Bayou Chene/Crook Chene (attachments 1 and 2). The site is situated at Sta. 150+28 of the West Access Channel baseline.

The cemetery is located on what appears to be a late 19th/early 20th century land surface which is partially exposed due to erosion of the overlying spoil and flood deposits (attachment 3). This historic surface is approximately 20 feet below the top of the adjoining spoil bank. Remains located on this exposed surface which strongly support the identification of an historic cemetery include several suspected burial pit depressions oriented in the cardinal directions, an iron cross preserved in place, a wooden fence enclosure around a suspected burial plot, and miscellaneous historic artifacts scattered over the site area. The wooden fence enclosure is partially embedded in the eroding bank indicating that the cemetery extends for some distance into the bankline.

The cemetery site abuts, and is probably a previously unidentified portion of, a cemetery known to exist in the adjoining disposal area. This cemetery, along with several others along Bayous Chene and Crook Chene, is shown on Corps real estate and project maps as well as USGS quadrangles. The adjoining cemetery is totally enclosed by retaining dikes and has not yet been impacted by the eroding breakthrough channel.

The breakthrough channel which has exposed the site area occurred due to the flanking of a canal closure installed in Nov 1983. This flanking occurred sometime after 1991 and has progressively enlarged, thereby eroding into the adjoining Corps disposal area.

a. Canal History. The canal segment which immediately adjoins the cemetery site on its eastern edge was excavated sometime between 1961 and 1966. This petroleum exploration canal was placed in the channel of Bayou Jean Louis and extended approximately 1,300 feet from Bayou Chene. The 1973 Mongoulois 1:24,000 scale quadrangle shows the original canal segment and its relationship to the known cemetery area. The excavation of this channel resulted in the placement of a spoil ridge along the eastern edge of the cemetery.

This exploration canal was cleaned out and extended in 1976 by Terra Resources, Inc. under Corps permit LMNOD-SP (Bayou Chene) 13 to reach another unproductive well location. In March 1977, an earthen plug was installed at the mouth of the canal. The canal was extended again in 1983 under Corps Permit LMNOD-SE (Atchafalaya Floodway) 395 by Campbell Energy Corporation. This extension involved cleanout of the canal and removal of the 1977 earthen plug. Upon completion of this exploratory well (another dry hole), an earthen dam reinforced by steel sheet piling was placed at Bayou Chene in March 1983.

b. Corps Real Estate Interests. The New Orleans District owns two easements over the subject cemetery. The first of these was acquired between 1942 and 1952 and consists of flowage easements over the entire settled areas of the Bayou Chene community. This easement was purchased under the project entitled Lower Atchafalaya Floodway, Bayou Chene Area (Item 63 in LMNRE M&D files).

The second easement which covers the site area was acquired in November 1966 for the project entitled Atchafalaya Basin Floodway, West Access Channel (Item 76 in LMNRE M&D files). The interest over the site area consists of a perpetual disposal easement. The audit map for this real estate action reveals that four cemetery locations were excluded from the easement purchase, including the cemetery which adjoins the subject site (see attachments 3 and 5).

c. Corps Projects. The New Orleans District has a long history of involvement in the Bayou Chene area. In fact, the current landscape of Bayou Chene is largely the result of Corps activities. Construction of the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway during the 1930s, of course, had a major impact on the Bayou Chene community as flood heights and sedimentation steadily increased. In 1933, the Bayou Chene Cut moved the Atchafalaya River main channel to the east away from Bayou Chene. This served to reduce flows and navigation traffic through the Bayou Chene community.

Over time, the Bayou Chene Cut had grown to where it was receiving the major portion of the Atchafalaya River's flow. In 1962, a closure was placed at the head of Bayou Chene to encourage further enlargement of the main channel. With this action, the flow of water into Bayou Chene changed direction. Now the bayou received backwater flow from the other end of the bayou's connection with the main channel, some three miles distant.

After acquiring the channel and disposal easements described above, the initial dredging of the West Access Channel was performed in 1966. This navigation project resulted in major changes to Bayous Chene and Crook Chene. The channel was straightened at numerous locales, dredged material retaining dikes were constructed, and dredged material was placed within these diked areas. In the vicinity of the cemetery, the retaining dikes were constructed around the known outline of the cemetery; dredged material was placed within the enclosed disposal area. These actions significantly raised the ground elevation over the site area. In 1975, maintenance dredging was performed on the West Access Channel. This resulted in additional dredged material placement in the disposal area adjacent to the cemetery site.

Finally in 1991, the entrance channel to Bayou Chene/Crook Chene was realigned. This project essentially reversed the project features which had been constructed in 1962 and 1966. The "new" inflow channel was placed back in the channel which had been closed off in 1962 and the West Access Channel (a.k.a. Bayou Chene) below this new channel was abandoned. This action significantly modified the flow regimes in the vicinity of the site area. The direction of flow was reversed again and the site area is now only one mile from headwater flows from the Atchafalaya Main Channel, whereas it previously was three miles

from backwater flows off the main channel. Within a few years of this channel realignment, the canal closure was flanked and the current problem developed.

3. Study Area. The primary study area consists of the exposed portion of the historic cemetery along Bayou Chene and it's immediate proximity (attachments 1-3). The secondary study area is the Bayou Chene community in general, with special emphasis on other cemetery locales (attachments 4 and 5).

4. General Study Requirements. All data collected under the auspices of this purchase order will be recorded, analyzed, and reported using currently acceptable scientific methods. The contractor shall integrate all observations and the results of data collection and analyses into a written, comprehensive, and graphically illustrated report of investigation.

The study will be conducted utilizing current professional standards and guidelines including, but not limited to:

- National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation;
- National Register Bulletin 16: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms;
- National Register Bulletin 41: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places;
- Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation as published in the Federal Register on September 29, 1983;
- Louisiana's Comprehensive Archeological Plan dated October 1, 1983; and
- The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's regulation 36 CFR Part 800: Protection of Historic Properties.

5. Study Phases. The study will be conducted in three phases: Historical Research, Field Investigations, and Data Analysis and Report Preparation.

a. Phase 1: Historical Research. The study will begin with a thorough review of archeological, historical and geological literature, maps and records necessary to establish the natural and historic setting of the study areas. Historical research will include the compilation and analyses of written records, cartographic and aerial photography records, and oral history resources sufficient to reconstruct the historic context(s) of the study areas. Oral histories were a valuable source of historical information during a previous cultural resources study of the Bayou Chene area (Castille et al, 1990) and it is expected to be of significant value in the present study. The geological research will include review of available published and unpublished data to assess landscape geomorphology.

The historical documentation will provide background information on the Bayou Chene community with particular emphasis on the cemetery sitse and their development over time. Such information includes the dates the cemeteries were established, the period in which they were active, the circumstances under which they were established and maintained, and the groups and individuals responsible for their development. The historical landscape and developed features of the burial places should be described in narrative form and represented graphically by means of site plans and sketches.

The historical research shall also establish the historic context(s) and cultural themes for documenting the cemeteries' significance. The immediate historic context of the cemeteries is the historic Bayou Chene community; however, additional contexts and cultural themes must be developed during the historical research.

b. Phase 2: Field Investigations. Contemporaneous with the conduct of phase 1, the contractor shall initiate the fieldwork in the study areas. Three different levels of field investigations are required in this purchase order effort:

(1) Exposed Cemetery. The first priority of the fieldwork is the careful recordation of the exposed cemetery location (i.e. the primary study area). This recordation effort will include tightly-spaced topographic survey of the cemetery area as well as limited, controlled surface collection. The topographic survey will meet the following requirements:

(a) at least one permanent datum will be established at or near the cemetery location. This will be followed by establishment of a 2-meter site grid over the cemetery locale;

(b) all survey data will be tied to the Corps baseline in the study area vicinity. This baseline is located along the east bank of the Atchafalaya Basin Main Channel approximately 1.5 miles east of the study area. The COR will provide all available data regarding P.I.'s along this baseline (x, y, elevations and descriptions);

(c) elevations in meters (and feet) relative to N.G.V.D. will be obtained for all site data, all corners of the 2-meter grid, and enough locations within the grid to define the surface of the cemetery, burial depressions and other topographic features. Wooden survey stakes will be placed at selected corners of the 2-meter grid and will be marked in indelible ink. The number of elevation data points will be sufficient to allow contouring of the site in 0.2 meter intervals;

(d) Louisiana State Plane coordinates in feet (x, y's) will be obtained for all the site datum, and selected corners of the 2-meter grid; and

(e) the locations and elevations (where appropriate) of natural and cultural features within the cemetery area will be recorded. Included will be several suspected burial pit depressions, an iron cross preserved in place, a wooden fence enclosure around a suspected burial plot, and miscellaneous historic artifacts scattered over the site area. The survey will also record water/land boundaries, the extent of woody vegetation, and water surface elevations.

Cultural features of the cemetery site will be documented through measurement and sketches, as well as black and white and color photography. During recordation of the cemetery, limited shovel and/or auger tests will be excavated to ascertain horizontal extent and site stratigraphy. Subsurface tests will not be placed within the cemetery boundaries in order to reduce the potential for damage to burials. The erosional profile on the western edge of the cemetery site will be recorded and interpreted.

Limited controlled surface collection of artifacts will supplement the recordation effort. Miscellaneous surface artifacts at the cemetery locale which are not obviously related to individual burials (e.g. ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts) will be collected for analyses after the recordation of their location within the 2-meter grid. Those artifacts or features obviously related to individual burials (e.g. burial markers, coffin hardware, the wooden fence enclosure) will be recorded in situ and left in place.

(2) Other Bayou Chene Cemeteries. The contractor will also visit other known cemetery locales in the historic Bayou Chene community. This will include those cemeteries identified on Attachment 5 as well as additional locales identified during phase 1 research. The purpose of these visits is to assess site conditions and prepare sketch maps. Site maps will be prepared for each locale utilizing tape and compass to map important natural and cultural features, with particular emphasis on any disturbance factors identified during the site visits. Although x, y coordinates or tie-ins to benchmarks are not required, all site maps will contain adequate information to tie site features to permanent landmarks in the disposal areas. Such landmarks include property corners, modern cultural features, junctions of road/levees, etc. No subsurface tests will be performed as part of these field visits.

(3) General Reconnaisance of Bayou Chene. The contractor will also perform a general reconnaisance survey of the historic Bayou Chene community. The study area for this effort is defined by the Corps easements shown on the real estate maps provided as attachments 4 and 5. The purpose of this effort is to assess general site conditions along Bayou Chene/Crook Chene with emphasis on identifying any areas where erosion or other site disturbance factors should be investigated further. The field methods will include boat-based bankline inspections supplemented by random and judgemental pedestrian inspections. No subsurface tests will be performed.

For all cemeteries/historic sites visited during the field phase of these investigations, the contractor will file state site forms with the Louisiana State Archeologist and cite the resulting state-assigned site numbers in all draft and final reports. In addition, the contractor will submit site update forms to the State Archeologist for any new information on

previously recorded sites. These forms will correct previously filed information where appropriate and summarize the results of the present investigation. All sites located within the study areas will be recorded to scale on project maps and the appropriate 7.5 minute quadrangle maps. The quadrangle maps will be utilized to illustrate the site forms. One copy of each site and site update form will be submitted to the COR with the draft report.

c. Phase 3: Data Analyses and Report Preparation. All data will be analyzed using currently acceptable scientific methodology. The contractor shall catalog all artifacts, samples, specimens, photographs, drawings, etc., utilizing the format currently employed by the Louisiana State Archeologist.

The topographic survey will result in the production of one or more large-scale (1 inch equals 50 feet, or other scale approved in advance by the COR) plan maps of the cemetery area. These maps will show the site grid, the site datum, elevation data obtained during the survey, 0.2 meter interval contour lines, water/land boundaries, extent of woody vegetation, the locations of features, site boundaries, and other natural and cultural features as appropriate. Perspective drawings and/or cross-sections should be used to illustrate site stratigraphy and sedimentation. These maps and drawings should be prepared using an Intergraph CAD system to ensure compatibility with existing New Orleans District drafting and cartographic systems.

A major objective of this phase of investigation is to analyze the property's present physical character in comparison with the property's appearance during the period of significance. The field investigations will help establish or confirm the cemetery's period of significance. The analyses will focus on the characteristic features remaining from the period of significance and changes through time. The present extent and integrity of the property will be comprehensively evaluated.

The information gathered during the study will be used to evaluate the significance of the exposed cemetery in terms of the National Register criteria. The contractor will make detailed recommendations supported by the written report concerning the National Register eligibility of the cemetery. Significance will be analyzed and presented within the structure of the historic context and identified significant themes. If the contractor recommends the cemetery as eligible for inclusion in the National

Register, all appropriate management and mitigation alternatives will be assessed in the draft report.

The analyses will be fully documented. Methodologies and assumptions employed will be explained and justified. Inferential statements and conclusions will be supported by statistics where possible. Additional requirements for the draft report are contained in Section 6. of this Scope of Services.

6. Reports. Several written reports will be required under this purchase order. These include monthly progress reports, a management summary at the conclusion of Phase 2, a comprehensive draft report at the conclusion of Phase 3, a non-technical popular history summary, and a final report of investigations.

a. Monthly Progress Reports. Throughout the duration of this purchase order, the contractor shall submit to the COR one copy of a brief but concise monthly statement of progress. These reports, which may be in letter form, should summarize all work performed, information gained or problems encountered during the preceding month. A concise statement and graphic presentation of the contractor's assessment of the monthly and cumulative percentage of total work completed by phase shall be included each month.

Each month, the contractor is expected to review work in progress to determine the probability of meeting scheduled completion dates. The contractor shall notify the COR of any inability to meet scheduled completion dates in a timely manner, at or before the point at which fifty percent (50%) of the original time and cost estimate has been depleted.

b. Management Summary (Phases 1 and 2). Two copies of a brief report summarizing the results of the fieldwork shall be submitted to the COR within 8 weeks after purchase order award. This report, which may be in letter format, shall accurately describe the field methods and results. The contractor shall supply sketch maps and Louisiana state site forms for each locale visited by the field team as well as an initial description of the sites and an assessment of resource significance.

c. Draft Reports (Phases 1-3). Six copies of the draft report integrating all phases of this investigation will be submitted to the COR for review and comment within 16 weeks after

purchase order award. Along with the draft reports, the contractor shall submit:

(1) one copy of project maps and 7.5 minute quadrangle maps marked with the locations of all cemeteries and historic sites in the study areas;

(2) one copy of each site and site update form;

(3) two draft copies of the National Register Registration Forms for any cultural resource recommended as eligible for inclusion in the National Register. This documentation will contain all of the data required by NPS National Register Bulletin 16: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms.

The written report shall follow the format set forth in MIL-STD-847A with the following exceptions: (1) separate, soft, durable, wrap-around covers will be used instead of self covers; (2) page size shall be 8-1/2 x 11 inches with 1-inch margins; (3) the reference format of American Antiquity will be used. Spelling shall be in accordance with the U.S. Government Printing Office Style Manual dated January 1973.

d. Non-technical Popular History Summary. Six copies of a draft non-technical summary report will be submitted with the draft reports. This summary report will consist of abbreviated portions of the draft technical report written in language suitable for lay persons. The focus of the report will be the history of Bayou Chene, the families and important persons of the community, the gradual abandonment of the community, and its relevance and in the current physical and cultural setting of the area. The text will be complemented with a selection of photographs (historic and current), engineering drawings and other graphic elements.

This summary report is intended to serve as the basis of a informative booklet for a popular audience. The final product, i.e. a popular history booklet, will not be produced under this purchase order.

e. Final Reports. The COR will provide all review comments to the contractor within 8 weeks after receipt of the draft reports (22 weeks after award). Upon receipt of the review comments on the draft report, popular history summary report, and

National Register forms, the contractor shall incorporate or resolve all comments and submit one preliminary final copy of these three documents to the COR within 4 weeks (26 weeks after award). Upon approval of the preliminary final reports and forms by the COR (within 1 week after submittal), the contractor will submit 30 copies and one reproducible master copy of the final report, four copies of the popular history summary report, and three copies of the National Register forms to the COR within 28 weeks after award.

The contractor will also provide computer diskette(s) of the text of the final report, popular history summary report, and National Register forms, in Microsoft Word or other approved format. Copies of disks containing database files will be provided in dbf format. Spreadsheet files will be provided in Excel .xls format. Computer map files will be provided in Intergraph compatible format. Graphics files will be submitted in tif or other COR-approved format.

Each diskette will be clearly labeled with the following information at a minimum: report title, report number, contractor's name, file names and format. The contractor shall also supply a printed listing of all computer files submitted. This listing will include file names, file types, disk number, and file description (e.g. Chapter 1, Figure 5, 1862 design file overlay, etc.). The contractor will complete and submit to the COR the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC) Form 530.

Included as an appendix to the Final Report will be a complete and accurate listing of cultural material and associated documentation recovered and/or generated. In order to preclude vandalism, the final report shall not contain specific locations of archeological sites. Site specific information, including one set of project maps accurately delineating site locations, site forms, black and white photographs and maps, shall be included in an appendix separate from the main report.

6. Schedule of Deliverables. The contractor will be required to commence work within 10 calendar days of the award of this purchase order. The contractor shall perform the necessary work on each assignment continuously as working conditions permit. If it becomes necessary for the Government to stop work on any assignment because of unforeseeable circumstances which are beyond the control of the contractor, the Contracting Officer or the COR will give the contractor a minimum advance notice of five

(5) calendar days. If high river stages in the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway delays conduct of the field work phase of these investigations, the schedule will be adjusted 1 week for each week of delay.

The schedule of deliverables for this purchase order is summarized below:

Deliverable	Schedule (weeks after award)
a. Monthly Progress Reports	monthly
b. Management Summary	8 weeks
c. Draft Report	16 weeks
d. Popular History Summary	16 weeks
e. Preliminary Final Reports	26 weeks
f. Final Reports	28 weeks

8. Government Obligations to the Contractor. The COR will provide the contractor with the necessary project maps on which study areas are accurately delineated. The New Orleans District will secure right of entry for each study area that the contractor is required to enter while conducting work specified in the purchase order.

9. Responsibility of the Contractor. The contractor will provide a safe working environment for all persons in his employ as prescribed by EM 385-1-1, "General Safety Requirements." The contractor shall be responsible for all damages to persons and property which occur in connection with the work and service under this purchase order, without recourse against the Government. The contractor shall provide maximum protections, take every reasonable means, and exercise care to prevent unnecessary damage to existing historic structures, contemporary structures, landscape plantings, natural features, roads, utilities, and other public or private facilities. Special attention shall be given to historic structures, natural and landscape features of the areas. Special care shall be given to protect these elements and their surroundings. The contractor shall not cut, injure, or destroy vegetation or damage property without written authority from the owner. Procedures outlined in DR 27-2-2, Real Estate Damage Claims, will be adhered to.

In the event that the field survey or site testing procedures performed during this study encounter unmarked burial sites or human skeletal remains, the provisions of the Louisiana Unmarked Human Burial Sites Preservation Act (Louisiana R.S.

8:671 and R.S. 36:209(I) and 802.13) shall apply. Upon discovery of such remains, the contractor shall immediately cease activities which could further disturb the unmarked burial, human skeletal remains or associated burial artifacts. The contractor will notify the COR of the discovery as soon as possible to determine the appropriate plan of action regarding the discovery. The contractor will also be responsible for notification of the law enforcement agency with jurisdiction over the remains within 24 hours of its discovery. The COR will notify the Louisiana Division of Archeology of the discovery. In no event will human skeletal material be excavated and/or collected from the field without approval of the COR.

To perform the required work, the contractor shall provide all professional staff, support staff, and specialists necessary to plan, supervise, perform and report the required work. The contractor will furnish all labor, plant, transportation, fuel, equipment, and material necessary to perform the services required by the purchase order. The contractor shall also provide adequate professional supervision to assure the accuracy, quality, and completeness of all work required under this purchase order.

The Principal Investigator (PI) shall serve as the principle point of contact and liaison with the COR . If it becomes necessary to designate a new PI for the overall responsibility of this purchase order, written approval of the COR is required. The contractor shall provide to the COR a resume of the proposed replacement PI along with a written request for the proposed change. The PI, key staff members, and key consultants, shall meet the minimum qualification standards promulgated by the Department of the Interior in 36 CFR Part 61. It shall be the responsibility of the PI to maintain the delivery schedule as specified in the purchase order. The PI will be responsible for maintaining standards of conduct, integrity, and competency for contractor employees and key consultants.

The contractor is a representative of the U.S. Government and of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, and as such will refrain from bringing discredit upon the U.S. Government or the New Orleans District by deportment, apparel or verbal expression.

10. Disposal of Records and Artifacts. All records, photographs, artifacts and other material data recovered under the terms of

this purchase order shall be recorded, processed, and catalogued in a manner compatible with those systems utilized by the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office and Federal agencies which store archeological data. Archeological collections and associated records to be permanently curated shall be prepared to meet the standards of 36 CFR Part 79, Curation of Federally Owned and Administered Archeological Collections. They shall be held and maintained by the contractor until completion of the purchase order in a manner compatible so far as possible with these standards. Collections may be inspected by representatives of this office.

Final disposition of the artifacts and records will be in accord with applicable Federal and State laws. Unless otherwise specified, artifacts will be returned to the landowner or permanently housed with the Louisiana Division of Archaeology and Historic Preservation or in a repository selected by the COR. Presently existing private archeological collections from the project area which are used in data analyses will remain in private ownership. The contractor shall be responsible for delivery of the analyzed archeological materials to the individual landowners, the Louisiana SHPO's office, or any other repository designated by the Government following acceptance of the final report. The Principal Investigator shall inform the COR in writing when the transfer of data has been completed and shall forward to the COR a catalog of items entered into curation. The location of any notes, photographs or artifacts which are separated from the main collections will be documented in the catalog. Final payment will not be made until the artifacts and associated documentation are accepted by the designated repository.

11. Publicity. Except with prior approval from the COR, the contractor, including any of his employees or consultants, shall not release for publication or any other use (including student theses or professional journals) any sketch, photograph, report, or other material of any nature pertaining to any matters for which services are performed under the terms of this purchase order. The provisions of this article shall extend also to the release of any such material to any person, including the public media and the professional community, not so authorized by the COR.

12. Partial Payments. Partial payment requests will be submitted by the contractor in accordance with the deliverable schedule provided below:

Deliverable	% of total	cumulative %
a. Management summary	35 %	35%
b. Draft Report and Popular History	40%	75%
c. Final Reports	25%	100%

Payment requests will be approved upon submission of proper invoices and acceptance of the deliverable product. The management summary (item a. above), and draft report and popular history report (item b. above) will be accepted when the COR determines that they substantially meet the requirements of the scope of services. The final payment (item c. above) will be made upon receipt of proper invoices and the Government's acceptance of all final products and requirements. Invoices for partial payment shall be delivered to the address provided in section 13. below.

13. Delivery Address. All deliverable items including, but not limited to, monthly progress reports, the management summary, draft and final reports, and partial payment requests shall be delivered to the following address:

Contracting Officer's Representative (COR)
Planning Division ATTN: CELMN-PD-RN
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District
P.O. Box 60267
New Orleans, Louisiana 70160-0267

14. Attachments.

1. Portion of Lake Mongoulois, LA 7.5 minute quadrangle showing site area

2. Dec 1995 Infrared of Bayou Chene Area showing site area

3. 11 Sep 1996 Sketch Map of Exposed Cemetery

4. Nov 1951 Real Estate Map entitled "Lower Atchafalaya Floodway, Bayou Chene Area"

5. Jan 1966 Real Estate Map entitled "West Access Channel: Atchafalaya Basin Main Channel to West Atchafalaya Basin Protection Levee"

15. References.

Case, Gladys Calhoun
1973 The Bayou Chene Story: A History of the Atchafalaya Basin and is People. The Harlo Press, Detroit, MI

Castille, George C.
1990 Cultural Resources Investigations, Cross Basin Channel Realignments, Atchafalaya Basin, Louisiana. unpublished report on file with the US Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District

APPENDIX 2
CENSUS RECORDS

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1850 Census (from 7th Census of the United States, Schedule of Free Inhabitants, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana).

Census Entry No.	Given Name	Surname	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Value of Property	Birth Place
	Constance	(not listed)	28	f	b			Louisiana
755/771	Dorothee	(not listed)	35	f	b			Louisiana
	Fanny	(not listed)	3	f	b			Louisiana
	Gabriel	(not listed)	28	m	b			Louisiana
	Louisia	(not listed)	4	f	b			Louisiana
	Mary Jane	(not listed)	9	f	b			Louisiana
	Pauline	(not listed)	2	f	b			Louisiana
	Pelagie	(not listed)	11	f	b			Louisiana
	Frozine	Angelina	15	f	b			Louisiana
	Alexie	Josephine	3	m	b			Louisiana
	Elodie	Josephine	1	f	b			Louisiana
	Francois	Lee	18	m	b			Louisiana
	Victorin	Lee	21	m	b			Louisiana
764/780	Josephine	Pierron	25	f	b			Louisiana
	Delphine	Rochon	50	f	b			Louisiana
	Angelique	(not listed)	30	f	m			Louisiana
	Celestine	(not listed)	1	f	m			Louisiana
	Felicite	(not listed)	20	f	m			Louisiana
	Jean Baptist	(not listed)	10	f	m			Louisiana
	Lufroy	(not listed)	3	f	m			Louisiana
	Armand	Benoit	1	m	m			Louisiana
	Charles	Benoit	16	m	m			Louisiana
775/791	Charlotte	Benoit	60	f	m			Louisiana
	Edouard	Benoit	24	m	m			Louisiana
	Fedeline	Benoit	18	f	m			Louisiana
	Felicie	Benoit	7	f	m			Louisiana
	Louis	Benoit	14	m	m			Louisiana
	Olimpe	Benoit	3	f	m			Louisiana
	Palmire	Benoit	40	f	m			Louisiana
	Philomene	Benoit	9	f	m			Louisiana
	Charlotte	Declouet	80	f	m			Louisiana
774/790	Estelle	Gaitianne	25	f	m			Louisiana
	Gustave	Gaitianne	1	f	m			Louisiana
	Louisa	Gaitianne	3	f	m			Louisiana
	Sallie	Josephine	5	f	m			Louisiana
	Losade	Lee	4	f	m			Louisiana
	Mary Ozei	Lee	6	f	m			Louisiana

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1850 Census (from 7th Census of the United States, Schedule of Free Inhabitants, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana).

Census Entry No.	Given Name	Surname	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Value of Property	Birth Place
	Serene	Lee	8 mos	f	m			Louisiana
	Divine	Louisan	1	f	m			Louisiana
	Rasie	Louisan	4	m	m			Louisiana
738/754	Rouse	Louisan	30	f	m			Louisiana
	Alphonse	Rochon	5	m	m			Louisiana
	Charlotte	Rochon	63	f	m			Louisiana
	Clement	Rochon	22	m	m			Louisiana
	Eliza	Rochon	27	f	m			Louisiana
	Francois	Rochon	3	m	m			Louisiana
	Hilaire	Rochon	20	m	m			Louisiana
	Honore	Rochon	10	m	m			Louisiana
	Hypolite	Rochon	5	f	m			Louisiana
	Josephine	Rochon	2	f	m			Louisiana
773/789	Josephine	Rochon	40	f	m			Louisiana
	Josephine	Rochon	7	f	m			Louisiana
	Leon	Rochon	17	m	m			Louisiana
	Marie	Rochon	46	f	m			Louisiana
772/788	Narcisse	Rochon	71	m	m			Louisiana
	Sterille	Rochon	35	f	m			Louisiana
	Victor	Rochon	7	m	m			Louisiana
	Thomas	Alyway	47	m	w	laborer		Illinois
	Nancy	Anderson	25	f	w			New York
	Samuel	Anderson	23	m	w			New York
	P. H.	Andrews	30	m	w	laborer		Ireland
	J.H.	Annis	40	m	w			Louisiana
	William	Annis	10	m	w			Louisiana
	Mary	Askall	29	f	w			Ohio
	Louis	Bergeron	13	m	w			Louisiana
	Marie	Bergeron	24	f	w			Louisiana
	Francois	Bevel	32	m	w			Louisiana
	Julie	Bissel	31	f	w			Louisiana
	Mary	Bonsin	28	f	w			Ohio
	Emily	Bradley	21	f	w			Louisiana
	Arthur	Carlin	3	m	w			Louisiana
	Aruse	Carlin	32	f	w			Louisiana
	Carmelite	Carlin	38	f	w			Louisiana
	Denise	Carlin	14	f	w			Louisiana

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1850 Census (from 7th Census of the United States, Schedule of Free Inhabitants, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana).

Census Entry No.	Given Name	Surname	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Value of Property	Birth Place
	Edouard	Carlin	7	m	w			Louisiana
	Edouard	Carlin	16	m	w			Louisiana
	Eugenie	Carlin	4	m	w			Louisiana
742/758	Godefroy	Carlin	47	m	w	planter	4000	Louisiana
	Louisianne	Carlin	2	f	w			Louisiana
	Marie	Carlin	33	f	w			Louisiana
	Marie	Carlin	11	f	w			Louisiana
	Melanis	Carlin	6	f	w			Louisiana
	Ophelia	Carlin	2	f	w			Louisiana
743/759	Theodore	Carlin	40	m	w	planter	700	Louisiana
	Theodule	Carlin	7	f	w			Louisiana
	Theogene	Carlin	3	m	w			Louisiana
740/756	Theolin	Carlin	39	m	w	laborer	450	Louisiana
744/760	Urbin	Carlin	49	m	w	planter	3000	Louisiana
	Virginie	Carlin	12	f	w			Louisiana
	Marius	Chesappa	30	m	w	laborer		Louisiana
	John	Cocklan	40	m	w			Ireland
	Joseph	Cocklan		m	w			Texas
	John	Cocklan	38	m	w			Louisiana
	Joseph	Cocklan	18	m	w			Texas
748/764	C.S.	Cosine	42	m	w		800	Louisiana
	Marietta	Cosine	4	f	w			Louisiana
761/777	Martin	Cosine	37	m	w	laborer		Ohio
	Mary	Cosine	38	f	w			Louisiana
	Nancy	Cosine	25	f	w			Indiana
	Wm. H.	Cosine	2		w			Louisiana
	Cornelia	Cozine	5	f	w			Louisiana
	H.	Cozine	5	m	w			Louisiana
	I.	Cozine	17	m	w			Louisiana
	Lewis	Cozine	2	m	w			Louisiana
	Y.	Cozine	8	f	w			Louisiana
	Elena	Curry	14	f	w			Louisiana
	Athenaise	Daniel	43	f	w			Louisiana
	E.	Daniel	24	m	w			Ireland
	Amanda	Dordin	7	f	w			Louisiana
	Mary	Dordin	2	f	w			Louisiana
	Odile	Dordin	10	f	w			Louisiana

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1850 Census (from 7th Census of the United States, Schedule of Free Inhabitants, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana).

Census Entry No.	Given Name	Surname	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Value of Property	Birth Place
745/761	H.E.	Dwight	36	m	w	planter	4500	New York
751/767	Fuller	E.W.	31	m	w		1300	Ohio
	Emily	Edwards	21	f	w			Georgia
747/763	Theofos	Edwards	35	m	w			Georgia
763/779	Theophus	Edwards	35	m	w	laborer		Louisiana
	James	Fuller	3	m	w			Louisiana
	Elizabeth	Gardiner	4	f	w			Louisiana
767/783	Henry	Gardiner	35	m	w	laborer		Kentucky
	Martha	Gardiner	2	f	w			Louisiana
769/785	A.	Gordy	30	m	w			Louisiana
	Coralie	Gordy	33	f	w			Louisiana
	Daniel	Gordy	10	m	w			Louisiana
768/784	Elizabeth	Gordy	64	f	w			Louisiana
770/786	Harris	Gordy	40	m	w			Louisiana
	Mathilda	Gordy	15	f	w			Louisiana
	Thomas	Gordy	8	m	w			Louisiana
754/770	Baptiste	Guidry	49	m	w	laborer		Louisiana
	Louise	Hill	8	f	w			Louisiana
	Michel	Hill	3	m	w			Louisiana
	C.H.	Hinckly	23	m	w			New York
766/782	Henry	Hinson	25	m	w			Delaware
	Cornelia	Kavana	28	f	w			Ohio
	Henry	Kavana	5	m	w			Louisiana
757/773	John	Kavana	28	m	w	laborer		Ohio
	John	Kavana	5	m	w			Louisiana
	Patrick	Kavana	19	m	w			Louisiana
	Caroline	Lakey	19	f	w			Louisiana
	Francis	Lakey	2	m	w			Louisiana
759/775	I.M.	Lakey	30	m	w	laborer		Alabama
	Narcisse	Lapointe	40	m	w	laborer		Canada
739/755	Lawrence	Lee	30	m	w	laborer		Georgia
	Ozime	Lee	28	m	w			Louisiana
765/781	Baudy	Mahaick	48	m	w	laborer		Kentucky
	Marguerite	Mahaick	44	f	w			Pennsylvania
753/769	Jeaute	Martin	30	m	w	laborer	400	Louisiana
760/776	Ellen	Matthews	45	f	w			North Carolina

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1850 Census (from 7th Census of the United States, Schedule of Free Inhabitants, St. Martin Parish, Louisiana).

Census Entry No.	Given Name	Surname	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Value of Property	Birth Place
	John	Matthews	14	m	w			Louisiana
	Catherine	McAuly	5	f	w			Louisiana
	Francis	McAuly	9	m	w			Louisiana
	John	McAuly	1	m	w			Louisiana
735/751	Patric	McAuly	34	m	w	carpenter		Ireland
	Sarah	McAuly	30	f	w			Ireland
	William	Mead	24	m	w			New York
	Alexander	Milburn	7	m	w			Louisiana
	Joseph	Milburn	14	m	w			Louisiana
	Mary	Milburn	23	f	w			Kentucky
750/766	M.el.	Millard	30	m	w			Ohio
	William	Millard	5	m	w			Ohio
736/752	Diather	Morrel	40	f	w			New York
	William	Musgrave	10	m	w			Louisiana
737/753	Jonathon	Nichols	37	m	w	laborer		New York
	Louise	Palanton	38	f	w			Kentucky
	Sarah	Preston	33	f	w			Louisiana
	Caroline	Rentrop	26	f	w			Louisiana
741/757	Henry A.	Rentrop	27	m	w	planter	2500	Louisiana
	Mary	Rentrop	1	f	w			Louisiana
746/762	Jacob	Roth	33	m	w	merchant		New York
752/768	Joseph	Roustain	45	m	w	laborer		Louisiana
	H.	Schrack	35	m	w			Pennsylvania
749/765	W.	Simson	35	m	w	laborer		New York
	W.L.	Simson	8	m	w			New York
	Henry	Sprake	38	m	w			Louisiana
	Azalie	Uisier	25	f	w			Louisiana
	Celina	Uisier	10	f	w			Louisiana
	Clelis	Uisier	2	f	w			Louisiana
758/774	Silas	Uisier	33	m	w			Louisiana
	Silas	Uisier	7	m	w			Louisiana
756/772	Alexandre	Vilmot	38	m	w	laborer	300	France
	Louise	Vilmot	7	f	w			Louisiana
	Ursanie	Vilmot	28	f	w			Louisiana
771/787	Garret	Voorhies	23	m	w			Louisiana
762/778	I. M.	Woodson	38	m	w	laborer		Virginia
	J. H.	Woodson	14	m	w			Missouri

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1860 Census (from Castille et al. 1990:109-115). The spelling of names is frequently incorrect.

POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
New Iberia	69	536	Ferdinand	Romero	22	m	wh	
New Iberia	69	536	Urani	Garry	18	f	wh	
New Iberia	69	536	Alfred	Armentor	5	m	wh	
New Iberia	69	537	John F.	Wyche	25	m	wh	planter
New Iberia	69	537	Mary P.	Wyche	21	f	wh	
New Iberia	69	537	James Wright	Wyche	1.5	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	538	Nicholas	Verret	40	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	538	Josephine	Verret	43	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	538	Numa	Verret	17	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	538	Gustave	Verret	15	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	538	Octave	Verret	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	538	Nicholas	Verret	0.5	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	539	Felix	Smither	38	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	539	Josephine	Rendigues	25	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	539	Augustine	Smither	3	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	540	Joseph	Roderigues	22	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	540	Mani	Mundoges	57	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	540	Victinne	Roderigues	10	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	541	Godfrey	Mundoges	30	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	541	Carmelite	Rodrigues	26	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	541	Szloan	Mundozes	9	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	541	Pierre	Mundozes	6	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	541	Felicia	Mundozes	4	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	541	Caroline	Mundozes	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Ralthgao	Pelherin	44	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	542	Celestina	Judice	38	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Alicia	Pellerin	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Elmide	Pellerin	16	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Nicholas	Pellerin	11	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Ed	Pellerin	9	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Felicia	Pellerin	7	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Niclilde	Pellerin	5	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	542	Olap	Pellerin	2	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Theodore	Carlin	52	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	543	Carmelet	Verret	43	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Mari C.	Carlin	20	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Thomas	Thirsie	21	m	wh	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	70	543	Theodile	Carlin	1	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Mathilde	Carlin	13	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Theogene	Carlin	10	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Louisana	Carlin	9	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	543	Edmund	Carlin	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	544	Widow Eugene	Thobodoux	40	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	70	544	olphida	Thobodoux	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	70	544	Celestine	Thobodoux	9	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	544	Josephine	Thobodoux	7	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	545	Alexaander	Thobodoux	23	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	545	W.T.	Thobodoux	17	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	546	Marrant	Boudreaux	24	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	546	Roxine	Boudreaux	17	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	547	Joseph	Pondum	33	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	547	Loniya	Connet?	33	f	M	
Bayou Chene	71	547	Marcilote	Lacata?	8	f	M	
Bayou Chene	71	547	Josephine	Pondum	1	f	M	
Bayou Chene	71	548	Joseph	Allen	27	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	548	Agliate	Mundoz	25	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	548	Omette	Allen	5	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	549	Dennis	Carlin	24	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	549	Madan	Carlin	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	550	John	Mathews	25	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	550	Ellen	Mathews	56	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	550	Henry	Schach	45	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	John B.	Tarlton	25	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	551	Delia	Delahousay	20	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Lawrence	Tarlton	1	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Charles	Tamply	35	m	wh	overseer
Bayou Chene	71	551	Maria E	Tamply	14	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Anise	Tamply	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Cher I.	Tamply	9	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Philman	Tamply	7	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Aureanne	Tamply	5	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Elizabeth	Tamply	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	551	Louis H.	Alemann	20	m	wh	cooper
Bayou Chene	71	551	Catherine	Flaugerty?	17	f	wh	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	71	552	Dr. F	Duperier?	32	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	71	552	Emma M.	Duperier?	22	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	552	Cecile	Duperier?	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	552	R	Duperier?	1	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	553	F D	Duperier?	26	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	553	M D	Berrd	20	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	553	M D	Duperior	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	554	Leo	Decouse?	55	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	554	C.	Boutt	wh			
Bayou Chene	71	554	Z. D.	Decouse	21	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	71	554	A D	Decouse	19	f	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	Laclair?	Allen	34	m	wh	miklager? planter
New Iberia	73	567	Eliza C	Bothewa	28	f	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	William	Allen	9	m	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	Oscar	Allen	7	m	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	Clara	Allen	5	m	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	Ellen	Allen	2	f	wh	
New Iberia	73	567	Thomas	Allen	1	m	wh	
New Iberia	73	568	Marie	Carlin	21	f	M Ind	
Bayou Chene	74	568	Albert	Carlin	2	m	M Ind	
Bayou Chene	74	569	Thomas	Carlin	21	m	M Ind	makes lumber
Bayou Chene	74	570	Eliza	Carlin	52	f	B	
Bayou Chene	74	571	Philip	Verret	42	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	571	Missi?	Verret	32	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	571	Marie	Verret	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	571	Honine?	Verret	14	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	571	Edward	Verret	11	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	571	Theise	Verret	4	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	572	Gamille	Theriot	25	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	572	Lisinia?	Rampard?	20	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	572	Cleopha	Rampon?	3	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	573	A D	Stuart	53	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	573	Catherine	Nestro?	40	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	573	George A	Stuart	19	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	573	Archibald D	Stuart	13	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	573	William B	Stuart	11	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	573	Lehu?	Stuart	9	m	wh	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	74	574	Ianti?	Martin	40	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	574	Rose	Cahe	15	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	574	Mary	Cahe	17	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	574	Mike	Landrum	40	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	574	Madam	Landrum	30	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	574	Thomas	Landrum	2	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Adolph	Seniquere	23	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	575	Hirma?	Verret	40	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	F R	Seniquere	47	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Amely	Seniquere	14	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Eupheme	Seniquere	10	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Joseph	Seniquere	15	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Theodore	Seniquere	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Felix	Seniquere	6	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	575	Paul	Seniquere	5	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	576	Urbin	Carlin	54	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	74	576	Arcipe?	Verret	44	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	576	Edward	Carlin	25	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	576	Emily	P	22	f	wh	servant
Bayou Chene	74	576	Lewis	Carlin	2	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	74	576	Edgar	Carlin	1	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	577	Eugene	Carlin	15	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	577	Eugene	Carlin	13	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	577	Ophelia	Carlin	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	577	Arthur	Carlin	12	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	577	Denis	Carlin	3	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	578	Theolin?	Ca	wh			
Bayou Chene	75	579	Adolph	Segura?	29	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	579	Odile M	Dugas	26	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	579	Angile	Segura	5	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	579	Connie	Segura	3	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	579	Rane	Segura	1	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Ulger	vital fils	23	m	Planter	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Ulger	Vital	45	m	m	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Theodore	Vital	15	m	m	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Louisia	Vital	43	f	m	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Matilda	Vital	19	f	m	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	75	580	Eloli	vital	12	f	ni	
Bayou Chene	75	580	omlhia?	Vital	10	f	m	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Nioni	Vital	8	f	m	
Bayou Chene	75	580	Arupasia?	Vital	6	f	m	
Bayou Chene	75	581	Simon	Smith	61	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	581	Ami	Smith	27	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	581	James	Bannigan?	28	m	wh	overseer
Bayou Chene	75	582	Jacob	Roth	42	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	583	I H?	Fletcher	21	m	wh	turner?
Bayou Chene	75	583	I	Nichotes?	45	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	584	John M	Twill?	40	m	Ind	
Bayou Chene	75	584	Z	MacKinnisk	30	m	Ind	
Bayou Chene	75	585	adam merrill?	Doulant	74	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	75	585	Alexander	Broupard	40	m	wh	overseer
Bayou Chene	75	585	Clalie?	Broussard	25	f	wh	
Bayou Chens	75	585	Alexander	Broupard	13	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	585	Louis	Broupard	9	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	585	Oscar	Broupard	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	585	Oscia	Broupard	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	586	Marie	Mundoz?	57	f	wh	overseer
Bayou Chene	75	586	Joseph	Roderick	23	m	wh	laborer
Bayou Chene	75	586	Victorine	Roderick	19	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	75	586	Godfrey	Mundoz	30	m	wh	laborer
St Martinville?	75	587	William	Millon?	21	m	wh	tanner
St Martinville	76	587	Henry J	Theriot?	18	m	wh	
St Martinville	76	587	William	Theriot?	11	m	wh	
St Martinville	76	588	John	McCaulley	11	m	wh	carpenter
St Martinville	76	589	Benjamin	?	21	m	wh	planter
St Martinville	76	589	Pauline	Mandoza	15	f	wh	
St Martinville	76	590	Simon	Verret	26	m	wh	planter
St Martinville	76	591	Augustin	harpentier	21	m	wh	laborer
St Martinville	76	591	Adam	Verret	2	m	wh	
St Martinville	76	592	Denis	Verret	30	m	wh	
St Martinville	76	592	Mari	harpentier	24	f	wh	
St Martinville	76	592	Louise D	Verret	4	f	wh	
St Martinville	77						wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Philipe	Verret	50	m	wh	planter

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Marie	Verret	46	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Marie	Verret	17	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Honorine?	Verret	15	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Edward	Verret	12	m	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	612	Therese	Verret	4	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	W W& E P	King	38	m	wh	planter
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Margaret	Marsh	26	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Felix	Marsh	33	m	wh	cooper
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	B	Williams	45	m	wh	overseer
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Anges	Williams	27	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Illsly?	Williams	7	m	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Jane	Williams	5	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Elizabeth	Williams	3	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	613	Mary Jane	Williams	1	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	614	N P	Millard	38	m	wh	planter
St Mar. & Chicot	79	614	M R	Millard	20	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	614	N H	Millard	15	m	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	614	Emilena?	Millard	2	m	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Alexander	Olivier	34	m	wh	planter
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Amanda	Olivier	23	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Pamelie	Olivier	5	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Alice	Olivier	3	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Annette	Olivier	2	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Louis	Leon	35	m	wh	carpenter
St Mar. & Chicot	79	615	Andrew	Ryland?	30	m	wh	cooper
St Mar. & Chicot	79	616	Leopold	Smith	25	m	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	616	Asperie?	Smith	20	f	wh	
St Mar. & Chicot	79	617	Thomas	Kleinpeter	27	m	wh	civil engineer
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	John	Anger	53	m	wh	planter
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	Janet	Anger	28	f	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	Ulger?	Anger	21	m	wh	
St Mart & B chene	80	622	Virginia	Anger	18	f	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	Usury?	Anger	wh			
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	John	Anger	2	m	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	Susan	Anger	1	f	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	622	Thomas	Anger	14	m	wh	
St mart & B Chene	80	623	A J	Lafontaine	30	f	wh	planter

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St Mart & B-Chene	80	623	Celeatine	Lafontaine	22	f	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	623	Gabrielle	Lafontaine	18	f	wh	
St mart & B Chene	80	623	Jules	Lafontaine	19	m	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	80	623	August	Lafontaine	13	m	wh	
St Mart & B Chene	50	623	Albert	Lafontaine	3	m	wh	
St mart & B Chene	80	624	Ozione	Bazette	36	m	m	planter
Bayou Chene	81	624	Victorine	Bazette	31	f	m	
Bayou Chene	81	624	Man	Bazette	9	m	m	
Bayou Chene	81	624	Lucadie	Bazette	11	f	m	
Bayou Chene	81	624	Simeon?	Bazette	5	m	m	
Bayou Chene	81	625	A J	Lafontaine	50	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	81	625	Celestine	Lafontaine	22	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	625	Gabrielle	Lafontaine	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	625	Jules	Lafontaine	17	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	625	August	Lafontaine	13	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	625	Albert	Lafontaine	3	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	626	Ursin	Sinnet	45	m	Ind	hunting & fishing
Bayou Chene	81	626	Roselia	Sinnet	7	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	626	Joseph	Sinnet	5	m	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	626	Rosali	Sinnet	2	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	626	Susan	Alexander	30	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	627	Mary	Si			Ind	spinning cotton
Bayou Chene	81	627	Etien	Paul	26	m	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	627	Catherine	Paul	24	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	627	Gabriella	Paul	21	m	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	627	Mary	Falcon	7	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	51	627	Zelma	Falcon	3	f	Ind	
Bayou Chene	81	628	Marti	Falcon	36	m	wh	split pins
Bayou Chene	81	628	Rosetta	Sinnett	36	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	628	Betthazand?	Boutte	15	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	629	John	Falcon	27	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	629	widow	Falcon	48	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	629	Fannely?	Siniquere	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	629	Emanuel	Alleman	12	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	629	Juli	Alleman	4	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	630	E H	Walet	25	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	81	630	Clara	Decuir	24	f	wh	

Free Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1860 Census (from Castille et al. 1990:109-115). The spelling of names is frequently incorrect.

POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	81	630	Cecile	Walet	4	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	630	Lawrence	Walet	2	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	631	Zephorine?	Broupard	60	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	81	631	Eliza	Dugas	54	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	632	Alfred	Goudreau?	37	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	81	632	Mari	Broupard	33	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	51	632	Horace	Goudreau	15	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	632	Emilie	Goudreau	13	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	81	632	Clemence	Goudreau	11	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	Ferdinand	Hilbeth?	50	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	82	633	Hannah	Hilbeth?	50	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	Franklin	Hilbeth?	22	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	John A	Hilbeth?	19	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	Hannah M	Hilbeth?	14	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	William	Kelly	50	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	633	George F	Smith	24	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	82	634	Amori	Breaux			wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Celeste	Breaux	51	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Joseph	Breaux	24	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Justhine	Breaux	20	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Alphonse	Breaux	16	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Alexander	Breaux	14	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Prosper	Breaux	12	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	634	Donat	Breaux	9	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	AuguStave	Verret	21	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	82	635	Sarah	Verret	15	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Lucinda	Verret	17	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Clara	Verret	9	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Jaco	Maillave	14	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Jurre	Maillave	14	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Jerry	Maillave	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Edward	Maillave	8	m	wh	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	82	635	Orville	Verret	24	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Fanelby?	Judice	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Alexander	Judice	25	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	635	Val sin	Judice	23	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Lozine	Julia?	60	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	82	636	Therance	Piezo	36	m	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Servant	Piezo	38	m	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Eliza	Piezo	12	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Donc	Piezo	10	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Celestin	Piezo	8	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Josephine		4	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	636	Cecelia	Piezo	m			
Bayou chene-	82	637	Rose	Nicholas	30	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	637	Denise	Nicholas	11	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	637	Amante	Nicholas	12	f	m	
Bayou Chene	82	638	A B	Bruno	32	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	82	638	Adelinde	Bruno	24	f	wh	
Fausse Pt & Grand P	83	638	Bruno				wh	
Bayou Chene	84	646	A	Keniper	25	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	646	Ames	Keniper	26	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	647	James	Naugrap?	46	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	647	M	Mathews	27	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	647	William	Naugrap	10	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	647	Joseph	Naugrap	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	647	Sarah	Naugrap	4	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	648	widow	Cole	44	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	648	Joseph	Naugrap	7	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	649	John	Cooper?	29	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	649	Abigail	Turner?	16	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	649	Geo W	Crapen?	1	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	George	Sevington?	28	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	650	Caroline	Simpton?	24	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	653	Elizabeth	Donigan	25	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	64	653	James	Voorhies	6	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	653	Sedona	Lee	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	653	Margaret	Lee	2	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	653	Mary	Lee	1	f	wh	

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	GIVEN NAME	SURNAME	AGE	SEX	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	84	653	Ephoem?	North?	48	m	wh	laborer
Bayou Chene	84	654	Nathaniel	Offit	55	m	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	654	Offitt		50	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	654	Ophelia	Offit	22	f.	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	654	nna	Offit	18	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	654	Nathaniel?	Offit	19	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	William	Simpton?	6	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	Jane	Simpton?	5	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	Mathew	Simpton?	2	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	Lidia	Simpton?	1	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	650	J J	Rich	25	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	651	James	Greensly?	26	m	wh	lumber trader
Bayou Chene	84	651	Maria	Greenly	16	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	651	Lawrence	Lee	27	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	652	G W	Luin?	42	m	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	652	Elizabeth	Luin?	30	f	wh	
Bayou Chene	84	652	Josephine	Luin?	10	f	wh	planter
Bayou Chene	84	653	Lawrence	Lee	39	m	wh	

Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1870 Census (from Castille et al. 1990:117-123). The spelling of names is frequently incorrect.

POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	439	1544	Coal	Sarah A	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1544	Kelso	Robert	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1545	Bacon	Marguerite	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1545	Marterne	John A	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1545	Marterne	Martha	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1545	Marterne	Augustine	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1545	Northgrass	Joseph	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	439	1546	Allen	William	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1546	Allen	Mary	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1546	Bunch	John	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1546	Bunch	Wade A	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1546	Bunch	Nancy	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Ricks	Issac	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Ricks	Caroline	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Livingston	William	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Livingston	Jane	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Livingston	Anna	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1547	Ricks	Isaac	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1548	Mayer	Joseph	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1548	Mayer	Mary	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1548	Merth	John	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1548	Merth	Mary	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1548	Merth	Elisa	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Davis	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Amelia	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Eugene	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Amanda	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Louis?	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1549	Carlin	Eva	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1550	Royer	Aurelien	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1550	Royer	Oliva	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1550	Royer	Olina?	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1551	Mandos	Antoine	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	439	1551	Mandos	Sylvame	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	439	1551	Mandos	Euythemie?	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1551	Mandos	Erythemon?	w	at home
Bayou Chene	439	1551	Mandos	Euranie	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1551	Mandos	Lucien	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1551	Mandos	Martha	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1551	Mandos	Euphemon	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1551	Swayer	Thomas	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Ray	Gustus	b	laborer
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Ashley	Lewis	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Ashley	Mary	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Bushien	Mary	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Breshien?	Frederick	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1552	Breshien?	?	w	at home

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Snelgrove	John J.	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Snelgrove	Samuel	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Case	John	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Case	Sarah	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Case	William	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Case	Jerome	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Case	Virginia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Snelgrove	Mary 0.	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1553	Snelgrove	Henry	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Jean B.	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Amelie	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Gabriel	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Anette	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Octave	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1554	Theriot	Aime	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1555	Carlin	Arthur	m	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1555	Carlin	Eugene	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1555	Carlin	Euphemi	m	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1555	Carlin	Armide	m	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1556	Allen	Joe	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1556	Aleman	Janette	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1557	Findrey	James	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1557	Findrey	Evelina	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1557	Findrey	Cyrus	w	at home
Bayou Chene	446	1557	Findrey	James	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Seniquere	Rosemond	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Seniquere	Irma	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Seniquere	Felix	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Seniquere	Paul	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Snelgrove	Virginia	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1558	Seniquere	Joseph	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1559	Veret	Jean B.	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1559	Frank	Victoire	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1559	?	Louisa	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Medaire	Josephine	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Michel	Josephine	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Broussard	Despaliere	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Broussard	Despaliere	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Veret	Achille	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Veret	Simon	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1560	Veret	Emma	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1561	Broussard	Francois	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1561	Queen	Elizabeth	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1561	Queen	Josephine	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1562	Queen	Gerome	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	440	1562	Tessero	Thomas	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1562	Tessero	Rose	w	keeping house

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POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	440	1562	Tessero	Mary	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Carline	Edgard	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Seniquere	Melanie	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Seniquere	Adolph	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Seniquere	Eva	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Seniquere	Theodule	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Carlin	Louisa	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1563	Theriot	Arstide	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Carlin	Cicilia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1564	McAreley	Frank	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1564	McAreley	Irva	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Robichot	Amelia	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Robichot	Rilley	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Noel	John	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Veret	Alzine	w	at home
Bayou Chene	440	1564	Therence	Clementine	m	dom servant
Bayou Chene	440	1565	Friar	Clement	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	440	1565	Serpentier	Aureliess	m	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1565	Veret	Celima	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1566	Tessero	Laura	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	440	1566	Tessero	Mary	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1566	Carlin	Theodore	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	440	1566	Noel	Augustine	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1566	Veret	Joseph	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1567	Friou	Azimor	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1567	Friou	Emilia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Gerville	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Elise	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Gustave	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Celina	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Evelia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1568	Theriot	Clementine	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1569	Anger	Evarise	w	store clerk
Bayou Chene	441	1569	Anger	Liza	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1569	White	Aride	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1570	Broussard	Desire	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1570	Broussard	Emma	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1570	Taylor	John D.	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1570	Diamond	Henry	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1571	Veret	Aristide	w	dry good merchant
Bayou Chene	441	1571	Veret	Francoise	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1571	Seniquere	Augustine	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1572	Meynier	Arthur	w	dry good merchant
Bayou Chene	441	1572	Meynier	Covalie	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1572	Meynier	Lea	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1572	Meynier	Lydia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1573	Paul	Catherine	i	keeping house

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Bayou Chene	441	1574	Faulcon	Mathilde	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1574	Faulcon	Josette	i	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1574	Faulcon	Reline	i	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1574	Senette	Rosalie	i	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Senette	Ursin	i	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Senette	Selima	i	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Paul	Marie	i	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Paul	Gilbert	i	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Paul	Gabriel	i	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Senette	Joe	i	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Senette	Roselia	i	dom servant
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Faulcon	Marie	i	dom servant
Bayou Chene	441	1575	Beslin	Marie	i	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1576	Broussard	Joseph	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1576	Boussard	Celestine	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1576	Broussard	Adrienne	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1576	Broussard	Albert	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1576	Broussard	Arnold	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1577	Veret	Gustave	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1577	Veret	Victoire	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1577	Veret	Virginia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1577	Tarwell	John	w	magistrate
Bayou Chene	441	1577	Dick	Edward	b	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1578	Seniquere	William	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1578	Seniquere	Celestine	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1578	Seniquere	Celestin	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1578	Sneider	Henry S.	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1579	Angel	Virginia	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1579	Rodriguez	Joseph	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Rodriguez	LiSoma?	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Rodriguez	Urrule?	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Rodriguez	Virginia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Rodriguez	Marie	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Mandosa	Silveste	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1580	Veret	Nicholas	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1581	Anger	John B.	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1581	Lede	Landry	b	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1581	Lede	Frank	b	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1581	Veret	Francois	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1582	Allen	Marie	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1582	Alleman	Jeanne	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1582	Veret	Gustave	w	at home
Bayou Chene	441	1582	Veret	Thomas	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	441	1583	Moody	Thomas	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1583	Theriot	Alcide	i	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1583	Sandre	Victor	i	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1583	Rizer	William	w	swamper

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Bayou Chene	441	1583	Winter	Nicholas	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1584	Melancon	Alexander	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1584	Melancon	Henrietta	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1584	Bruneaux	Michel	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1584	Bruneaux	Charles	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1585	Bruneaux	Lewis	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1585	Bruneaux	Eliza	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	441	1586	Bruneaux	Uzelve	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	441	1586	Bruneaux	Lelicia	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1585	Cormier	Omer	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1585	Veret	Ozenine	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1585	Veret	Victoria	m	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1585	Veret	Eugene	m	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1585	Veret	Clementine	m	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1586	Hebert	Cornelia?	m	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1586	Hebert	Victoria	m	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1586	Hebert	Julie	m	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Jean G.	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Ozema	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Edward	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Theodore	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Henry	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Mary	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Boudreaux	Laura	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1587	Lapeyrouze	Severin	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Leo	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Toussaint	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Armentine	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Julie	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Ozeo	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Victoire	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Herville	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Acomilia	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1588	Hebert	Rosina	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1589	Greig	Thomas	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1589	Greig	Louisa	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1589	Greig	George	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1589	Greig	Pelician?	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1589	Greig	Heilaire	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Pauline	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	?	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Odelina	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Pierre	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Louis	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Adela	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Marie	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Heilarie	w	laborer

Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1870 Census (from Castille et al. 1990:117-123). The spelling of names is frequently incorrect.

POST OFFICE	PG	DW NO	SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	COLOR	OCCUPATION
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Theodule	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Oscar	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Numa	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Homer	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Hebert	Gustave	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1590	Greig	Henry S.	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Leopold	w	farmer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Felicie	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Ernest	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Henry	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Leopold	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Felicie	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Peptieme	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Beslin	Lucile	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Belanger	Baty	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Bodin	Edward	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Broussard?	Charles	w	laborer
Bayou Chene	442	1591	Richard	Jules	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1592	Ray	Liza	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1592	Ray	George	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1593	Hill	James E.	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1593	Hill	Liza	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1593	Jennings	Mary	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1594	Bl:inchard	Adde	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1594	Tally	Albert	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1594	Savoie	Joseph	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1594	Jennings	Howard	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Marterne	?	w	keeping house
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Theriot	Dokee?	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Theriot	Adams	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Jennings	Joseph	w	at home
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Norgress	Sarah J.	w	w/o occup
Bayou Chene	442	1595	Fuller	Geremion	w	manager
Bayou Chene	442	1596	Vincent	Francois	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1596	Jean	Terry	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1596	Millot	Louis	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1596	Rousse	Charles	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1597	Ray	John	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1597	Brown	Francis	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1597	Aveiger	Cassius	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1597	Karr	Joseph	w	swamper
Bayou Chene	442	1597	Soill?	John	w	swamper

Inhabitants of Bayou Chene, 1900 Census(from Castille et al. 1990:125-130). The spelling of names is frequently incorrect.

HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
34 Waterhous	Charles	head	w	51	La	apiarian	f
	Cl?	wife	w	45	III		
	Arthur	son	w	12	La	fisherman	
	Loyd	son	w	10	La		
	Friou	Charles	g son	w	4	La	
	Lilly	g dau	w	3	La		
?	?	boader	w	55	Conn	fisherman	
35 Williams	O?	head	w	25	La	fisherman	h
	Edith	wife	w	26	Ark		
	Ferce	son	w	5	La		
	Richard	son	w	4	La		
	Benard	son	w	3	La		
	Edith	dau	w	1	La		
36 Bowen	?	head	w	40	Wis	sawyer, sawmill	h boat
	Silvia	wife	w	33	Iowa		
	Charles	son	w	16	III	fisherman	
37 Caesin	?	head	w	31	Iowa	fisherman	h boat
	Lysia	wife	w	21	MO		
	Day	Walter	son	w	17	Ark	fisherman
	Willies	son	w	9	Ark		
38 Johnson	Richard	head	w	42	Ill	fisherman	h boat
39 Secusin	F?	head	w	28	La	fisherman	h boat
40 Waterhous	Charles	head	w	28	La	steamboat pilot	h
	E. Mary	wife	w	34	Iowa		
	Harry	son	w	1	La		
	Ajck	Catherine	m in law	w	68	Penn	
41 Castinia	C. B.	head	w	23	La	day laborer	h
	Olalia	wife	w	23	La		
	Robert				La	day laborer	
42 Finn	Alo?	head	w	20	MO	day laborer	h
	Louisia	wife	w	17	La		
43 Fleming	0. Charles	head	w	25	Miss	fisherman	h
	Victoria	wife	w	27	La		
	Carra	dau	w	2	La		
	Nora	dau	w	1	La		
44 Kelly	S. W.	head	w	45	La	day laborer	h
	Virginia	wife	w	25	La		
	Mattie	dau	w	8	La		
	B. Robert	son	w	6	La		
	Augusta	dau	w	3	La		
	Charles	son	w	20	La	day laborer	
45 Stampley	T?	head	w	34	La	day laborer	h
	Julia	wife	w	23	La		
	W. George	son	w	2	La		
46 ?	Ed ?	head	w	19	La	day laborer	h
	Lulu	wife	w	19	Texas		

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
47 Perkins	M. John	head	w	35	La	day laborer	h
	Sophia	wife	w	34	La		
	Luther	son	w	3	La		
	Beula	dau	w	2	La		
48 Deloya	Joseph	head	w	56	La	fisherman	h
	Mary	wife	w	50	La		
	Aagus	son	w	17	La	none	
49 Hanson	Sam	head	w	40	Miss	fisherman	h
	Annie	wife	w	27	Miss		
	B. Annie	dau	w	1	La		
Perkins	Ella	boader	w	9	La		
50 Carlin	J?	head	w	25	La	fisherman	h
	Edith?	wife	w	La			
	B. Joseph	son	w	3	La		
	?	dau	w	1	La		
51 Diamond	Joseph	head	w	25	La	fisherman	h
	Emily	wife	w	20	La		
	?	dau	w	2	La		
	Joseph	son	w	1	La		
52 Mott	Si?	head	w	54	Iowa	fisherman	h boat
	Alice	wife	w	28	La		
	S. Mary	dau	w	13	La		
	Willis	son	w	6	La		
	Joseph	son	w	1	La		
53 Syogant?	F. John	head	w	66	La	fisnerman	h
	Martha	wife	w	64	Ga		
Parker	?	g dau	w	4	La		
54 Keller	Joseph	head	w	45	La	fisherman	h
55 Gary	B?	head	w	52	La	fisherman	h
56 Parent	B?	head	w	33	La	fisherman	h
	Alice	wife	w	26	La		
Cooper	Suzzanne	dau	w	8	La		
	Henry	son	w	4	La		
57 Martin?	W. Joseph?	head	w	45	Va	carpenter	h
	Louisa?	wife	w	37	La		
	Leander	son	w	17	La	fisherman	
	M. James	son	w	13	La	fisherman	
	Grant	son	w	7	La		
	P. Sidney	son	w	4	La		
	Ellie	dau	w	3	La		
	Louisa Alice	dau	w	1	La		
	Lu Bertha	dau	w	20	Miss		
58 Martin	B?	head	w	38	Con	fisherman	h
	Celestine?	wife	w	35	La		
Meche	Willie	nephew?	w	9	La		
59 H?	Charles	head	w	30	Iowa	day laborer	h boat

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
60 Bakers	?	head	w	30	La	day laborer	h boat
61 Jennings	Th?	head	w	39	La	day laborer	h
	O?	wife	w	La			
	Elizabeth	dau	w	15	La		
	John	son	w	12	La		
	?	dau	w	9	La		
	Charles	son	w	7	La		
	Jane Sarah	dau	w	5	La		
	Ar?	dau	w	1	La		
62 Davies	A. ?	head	w	31	La	timber foreman	h
	0. Mary	wife	w	26	La		
	S. Mary	dau	w	6	La		
	P. Edward	son	w	5	La		
	R. Louise	dau	w	4	La		
	Julia	dau	w	2	La		
	A ' Laura	dau	w	1	La		
63 Belliot	Mrs. ?	head	w	46	La	h	
	Joseph	son	w	21	La	day laborer	
	Elvine	dau	w	16	La		
	Louise	dau	w	14	La		
	Bertha	dau	w	11	La		
	Maurice	son	w	8	La		
64 Moses	William	head	w	28	La	fisherman	h
	Be?	wife	w	19	La		
	Lena	dau	w	1	La		
65 Thomson	John	head	w	43	SC	timberman	h
	Laura	wife	w	29	La		
	L. Lucy	dau	w	9	La		
	David	son	w	7	La		
	Lawrence	son	w	5	La		
	Henry	son	w	3	La		
66 M?	A?	head	w	67	SC	farmer	f
	Mikry	wife	w	38	La		
	Maxima	dau	w	7	La		
	Cyrus	son	w	21	La	day laborer	
Taylor	Ch?	?	w	16	La	laborer on farm	
67 ?	M. E?	head	w	37	La	fisherman	h boat
68 Theriot	?	head	w	40	La	orking in swamp	
	?	wife	w	38	La		
	Effie	dau	w	13	La		
	Sarah?	dau	w	11	La		
	Lillian	dau	w	10	La		
	Annita	dau	w	6	La		
	Everet	son	w	4	La		
	Ellen	dau	w	2	La		
69 Johnson	?	head	w	41	MO	fisherman	h

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
	Alice	wife	w	25	La		
	B. William	son	w	4	La		
	E. Martha	dau	w	1	La		
70 Lambert	?	head	w	38	France	fisherman	h
71 Margot?	Joseph	head	w	33	France	fisherman	h
La?	?	boader	w	36	France	cook	
72 Baudouin	Leo	head	w	46	La	fisherman	h
73 Jackson	D. ?	head	w	62	NY	photographer	h boat
74 B?	?	head	w	35	La	day laborer	h boat
?	?	mother	w	64	La	midwife	
75 Wisdom	J. ?	head	w	37	Miss	laborer in woods	h boat
	Emma	wife	w	26	Ark		
	J. Tolly	son	w	7	La		
	A. Sebina?	dau	w	6	La		
	James	son	w	2	La		
76 Wandel	P. ?	head	w	47	La	day laborer	h
	Josephine	wife	w	27	Ark		
	Jeff	son	w	4	Ark		
	W. Jacques	son	w	1	Ark		
77 Delord	O?	head	w	28	La	fisherman	h
	Mary	wife	w	28	La		
	William	son	w	6	La		
	Birdie	dau	w	4	La		
	Richard	son	w	1	La		
78 Boudreau	Wa?	head	w	29	La	fisherman	h
	Margaret	wife	w	20	La		
79 Verette	?	head	w	57	La	fisherman	h
	Selina	wife	w	45	La		
	Anatole	son	w	28	La	day laborer	
	Alphonse	son	w	22	La	day laborer	
	Earnst	son	w	21	La	day laborer	
	Marie	dau	w	14	La		
	Alice	dau	w	10	La		
	John	son	w	7	La		
80 Forion	Cle?	head	w	53	La	fisherman	h
	Clara	wife	w	44	La		
	Cledi	dau	w	14	La		
	Chisa	dau	w	12	La		
	Aine	dau	w	10	La		
	Robert	son	w	1	La		
81 Diamond	?	head	w	19	La	day laborer	h
82 Sinacir	Mrs. Ada?	head	w	55	La	wash woman	h
	P. Lydia	dau	w	16	La	house servant.	
83 Allen	Oscar	head	w	47	La	farmer	f
	Mary	wife	w	41	La		
	Ellen	dau	w	20	La		

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
	Joseph	son	w	14	La	field laborer	
	Milton	son	w	12	La	field laborer	
	Cornelia	dau	w	11	La		
	Dora	dau	w	7	La		
	Cora	dau	w	5	La		
	Eana	dau	w	2	La		
Allen	W. Joseph	brother	w	49	La	day laborer	
	Julia Mary	dau	w	6	La		
84 Allen	?	head	w	22	La	day laborer	h
	Flora?	wife	w	20	La		
85 Ferguson	John	head	w	30	La	day laborer	h
	Mary	wife	w	21	La		
Carlin	Cla?ton	s in law	w	17	La	day laborer	
Carlin	Michael	s in law	w	5	La		
86 Theriot	Octavia	head	w	42	La	wash woman	h
	J. C?	son	w	22	La	day laborer	
Verette?	Preston	son	w	16	La	cook	
	Louisia	dau	w	14	La	servant	
	Rose	dau	w	12	La		
	Emily	dau	w	6	La		
87 Carlin	De?	head	w	19	La	day laborer	h
	Emelia	mother	w	59	La		
88 Sinaca	F?	head	w	43	La	day laborer	h
	Aman?	wife	w	38	La		
	Alexander	son	w	18	La	day laborer	
	Vanderbilt	son	w	14	La	fisherman	
	Eugenie	dau	w	10	La		
	John	son	w	8	La		
	Mitchell	son	w	6	La		
	Cambell?	son	w	3	La		
	Felix	son	w	1	La		
89 Theriot	Ch?	head	w	41	La	day laborer	h
	Clodi	wife	w	23	La		
	Emile	son	w	2	La		
	Elizabeth	dau	w	1	La		
Theriot	Dolliska	?	w	11	La	fisherman	h
90 Sinacir?	P?	head	w	43	La		
	An?	wife	w	27	La		
	octave	son	w	12	La		
	Jefferson	son	w	7	La		
	Jessie	son	w	5	La		
91 Theriot	A?	head	w	24	La	day laborer	h
	Sandra	wife	w	16	La		
92 Carlin	J Walter	head	w	26	La	day laborer	h boat
93 Verette	J. Anatole	head	w	57	La	post master	h
	?	wife	w	46	La		

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
	Joseph Sidney	son	w	23	La	day laborer	
	Josephine Antoniadau	w	La				
	L. Lesslie	son	w	18	La	day laborer	
	Nellies?	dau	w	14	La		
	Bettie	dau	w	12	La		
	Joseph Anatole	son	w	11	La		
	J. Peroy?	son	w	6	La		
	N. Milton	son	w	3	La		
94 Landry	Leo	head	w	32	La	farmer	f
	Alice	wife	w	27	La		
	Lorenzo?	son	w	11	La	farm laborer	
	Annette	dau	w	8	La	at school	
	Anzelie	dau	w	6	La		
	Abida	dau	w	4	La		
	Luzine	son	w	2	La		
95 Munroe?	E?	head	w	65	La	h	
Curry	John	son	w	32	La	timberman	
	Lillie	dau	w	12	La		
96 Curry	S?	head	w	25	La	timberman	h
	Blanche?	wife	w	19	La		
	Englisse	dau	w	2	La		
	Olivia	neice	w	16	La		
97 Mendoza	Lucein?	head	w	35	La	day laborer	h
	Marsha	wife	w	35	La		
	Edman	son	w	28	La	day laborer	
	John	ad son	w	15	La	day laborer	
	Richard	to son	w	12	La	day laborer	
	Lizia	ad dau	w	17	La		
98 Verette	?	head	w	27	La	swamper	h
	Eliza	wife	w	24	La		
	Mabel?	dau	w	3	La		
	Maud	dau	w	1	La		
99 Larson	Carl?	head	w	48	Sweden	farmer	f
	Agat?	wife	w	34	La		
	Henry	son	w	20	La	farm laborer	
	Carl	son	w	18	La	clerk in store	
	Mathilda	dau	w	13	La		
	Mary	dau	w	11	La	at school	
	Otto	son	w	9	La	at school	
	Bertha	dau	w	8	La	at school	
	Amelia	dau	w	5	La		
	Lydia	dau	w	1	La		
100 Carlin	E. R?	head	w	35	La	swamper	h
	J. ?	wife	w	28	La		
	M. Joseph	son	w	12	La	day laborer	
	E. William	son	w	10	La	at school	

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HOUSEHOL NAME/NO	GIVEN NAME	RELATION	COLOR	AGE	BIRTH PLACE	OCCUPATION	TYPE HOME
	E? Frank	son	w	8	La	at school	
	S. John	son	w	6	La	at school	
	Cal Moses	son	w	5	La		
	Carl James	son	w	3	La		
	R. George	son	w	1	La		
101 Case	John	head	w	45	La	fisherman	h
	S?	wife	w	38	La		
	.Edison?	son	w	21	La	day laborer	
	John	son	w	19	La	day laborer	
	William	son	w	15	La	at school	
	Jessee	son	w	13	La	at school	
	Ethel?	dau	w	11	La	at school	
	Ernest	son	w	8	La	at school	
	Frank	son	w	6	La	at school	
	eorge	son	w	4	La		
Case	S?	nephew	w	18	La	day laborer	
Jackson	John	da son	w	19	La	day laborer	
102 ?	James	head	w	70	La	farmer	f
	?	wife	w	55	La		
Case	James	g child	w	12	La	at school	
Case	Mandy?	g child	w	10	La	at school	