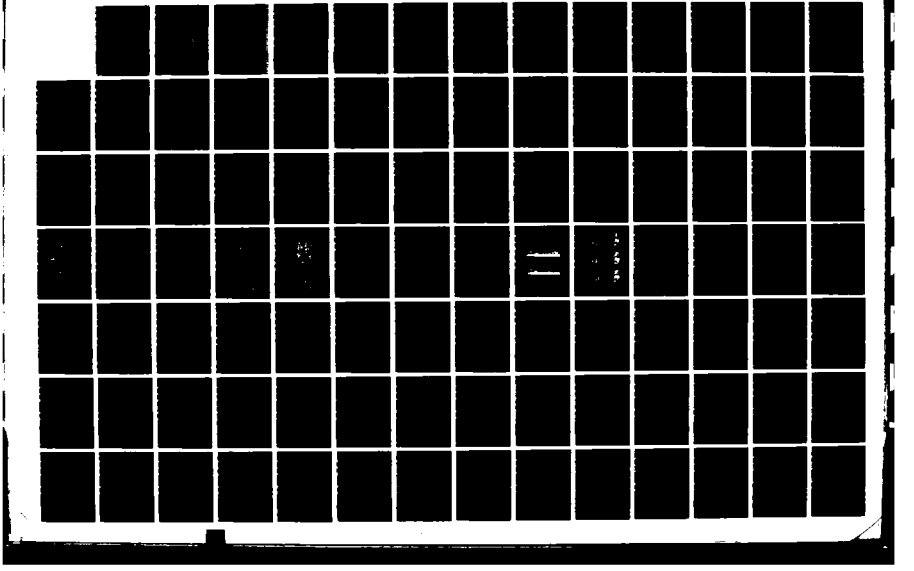
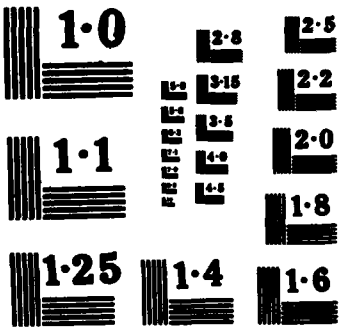
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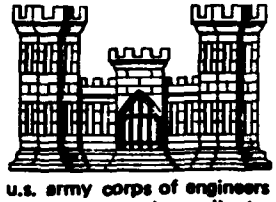



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a comprehensive study
phase I
component A
thematic historical overview

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The study is an anthropological overview summarizing historic records and archeological literature for use by historic preservationists and cultural resource managers in Southeastern Louisiana. Settlement data relevant to human use of and adaptation to the Mississippi River (mile 300, south to Head of Passes) are presented under broad themes discussing prehistoric Indian life, European colonial settlement, military history, agricultural production, trade and industry, transportation,

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efforts to control the river channel, 19th C. immigration, cultural enclaves and cultural blending. The volume contains an extensive annotated bibliography.

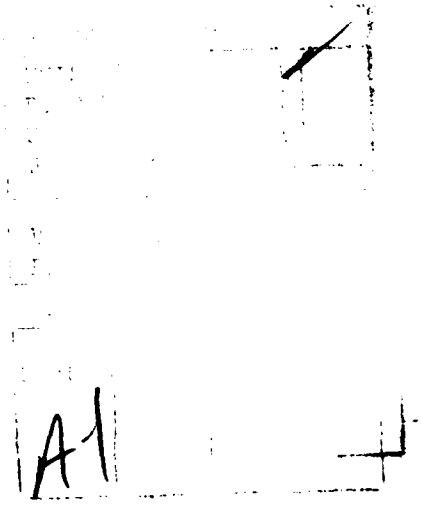
MISSISSIPPI RIVER CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY:
A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY
PHASE I

Prepared for the
U.S. Army Corps of Enginers

by

Southeast/Southwest Team
National Park Service
Denver Service Center

May 1984



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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Mississippi River Cultural Resources Study has been prepared by the Branch of Planning, Southeast/Southwest Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, in accordance with a work agreement with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District Office, dated August, 1982. As outlined in that document, the purpose of this study is essentially threefold: (1) to provide a research design that will facilitate future cultural resources investigations within designated Corps of Engineers project areas; (2) to provide the basis for identification, description, and evaluation of known cultural resources along the lower Mississippi River; and (3) to provide management with direction in undertaking future Corps-related projects affecting cultural resources. Geographical parameters of this study, as specified in the work agreement, consisted of all lands associated with and contiguous to the present channel of the Mississippi River between ca. River Mile 330 Above Head of Passes and the Gulf of Mexico. Designated lateral confines were established at 500 meters landward of existing or projected levees and low water lines on either side of the river.

The present study is composed of three parts. Component A consists of a Thematic Historical Overview providing a documented narrative of the various themes relating to past human activities along the lower river. The Thematic Historical Overview offers a broad synthetic framework for the identification of existing and potential cultural resources sites and activities in the study area. Component B encompasses a Cultural Resources Site Inventory providing the identification and evaluation of cultural resources located in the study area. Site specific data relating to cultural resources have been registered on State of Louisiana Archeological Site Record Forms and Historic Standing Structure Survey Forms as appropriate. (Information regarding all Historic Districts has been entered on National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Forms.) Moreover, all identified sites have been recorded on the U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle maps, 15-minute series, accompanying Component B. Cultural resources

determined in the future to be significant might easily be incorporated in the inventory by completing the requisite site forms and entering locational data on the suitable quad. To ensure maintenance of a viable cultural resources document, site data might usefully be updated on a regular basis. Component C comprises a Cultural Resources Management Summary and Guidelines containing a synopsis of material in the Thematic Historical Overview to aid management in determining potential cultural resources and their locations. Component C includes a listing of cultural resources newly identified during the course of this study, as well as recommendations and a rationale to aid management in evaluating the significance of resources against National Register criteria and in determining its subsequent responsibilities pursuant to Federal historic preservation mandates. Appendices in this section include an annotated listing of previous archeological surveys conducted in the study area and keyed to the aforementioned quadrangle maps (Component B). Also included is a set of composite maps overlaying the most recent USGS series onto early Mississippi River Commission charts to aid in the location of potential cultural resource features and in the determination of historic river channel movement.

Numerous people have contributed to the production of this study. We especially wish to acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals: Kathleen M. Byrd, Jessica Kemm, Philip G. Rivet, Steven Smith, Jonathan Fricker, Nicholas R. Spitzer, and James Morgan, Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, Office of Cultural Development; Jay Edwards, Frederick Kniffen, Milton Newton, William Haag, and John Dutton, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge; Jane Stevens and Catherine Marchese, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans; Francis Peltier, Glenna Lusk, Deborah Bass, and Mary Agnes Noel, Iberville Parish Library, Plaquemine; James L. Isenogle and Barbara E. Holmes, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, New Orleans; Rose Lambert and Joseph Castle, Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans; Thomas M. Ryan and R.A. Flayharty, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District Office; Joan Manson, John Marsh, Harold Lafleur, Robert H. Todd, Michael Bureman, Ruth Larison, and William Howell, National Park Service, Denver; Mary Ellen Young,

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MISSISSIPPI RIVER CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY
A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY
PHASE I

COMPONENT A

THEMATIC HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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CHAPTER I: PREHISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN LOUISIANA

A. Introduction

If the total span of human occupation in southeastern Louisiana is conceptualized as being compressed into a twenty-four-hour day, the arrival of Europeans and the start of recorded history took place at about 11:00 P.M. During the previous twenty-three hours the area was occupied solely by prehistoric American Indian peoples. It does not follow, however, that over nine-tenths of this overview should be devoted to summarizing this 13,000(+) years of prehistory. Lacking written accounts of the prehistoric Louisianans, archeologists must rely upon physical remnants--stone flakes and tools, pottery, and other preserved refuse--in reconstructing Indian lifeways and the changes that occurred throughout these thousands of years. Obviously, certain aspects are more easily interpreted from such data than others. And the present state of our knowledge is so far from complete that our portrait of southeastern Louisiana prehistory must be painted in broad strokes rather than in the detail possible for historic times.

Perhaps the themes most essential to understanding the prehistory of southeastern Louisiana are: cultural change and cultural continuity. As used by archeologists, culture is a uniquely human system of behaviors (habits, customs, etc.) which are learned (as opposed to inherited genetically), are carried through generations by human societies, and which ultimately serve as the primary means by which humans adapt to the environment. When a discrete population holds in common such learned adaptive systems, that group is often called a culture, as in "Cajun culture," "Navajo culture," or prehistoric "Marksville culture."[1]

---

1. The concept of culture is a central element of the academic discipline of anthropology, of which archeology is a subdivision. Archeologists study not only prehistoric cultures, but historic cultures as well. In fact, a good deal of archeology has been done on historic sites along the lower Mississippi River. (See Component C, Appendix C, and Stephen Williams, "Historic Archeology in the Lower Mississippi Valley," Southeastern Archeological Newsletter, IX [1962], pp. 53-63.)

The earliest prehistoric cultures to utilize southeastern Louisiana can be said to have been characterized by cultural continuity. The nomads who first discovered the region did not change their basic way of life for thousands of years. Then environmental changes accompanying the retreat of the glaciers forced changes, and highly efficient systems of natural resource utilization evolved tapping a broad range of plants and animals. Again, these local cultures "settled in" and underwent little dramatic change for thousands of years. Later influences from Mexico spurred the construction of elaborate earthworks, the manufacture of new types of artifacts, and the marshalling of human efforts through ceremonialism and more complex social organization. Most prehistoric folk had reverted back to earlier, simpler lifeways when the effects of a widespread Midwestern group (or religious cult) were felt. Population centers formed around ceremonial sites featuring burial mounds, and by the time of the Crusades in Europe, the Indians of the southeastern United States had developed their own unique culture, replete with very large towns with huge temple mounds grouped around plazas. This site lay-out, plus maize agriculture and elaborate ceremonies, echoed the civilizations of Mexico and Central America. Local variants of this southeast regional culture were encountered and diminished by the first European explorers, thus ushering in the historic era.[2]

B. History of Archeological Research

Interest in the prehistoric cultural remains of southeastern Louisiana, as well as in the related geomorphology of the lower alluvial valley and deltaic plain, comprises a considerable history. Since the late

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2. It is interesting to note that this pattern of early cultural stability followed by increasing change and diversity is virtually universal in prehistoric North America. This is no doubt due at least in part to the fact that archeologists have revealed a far more complete picture of more recent prehistoric cultures. Nevertheless, the trend toward increasingly rapid cultural change seems real. Perhaps increasing population was among the critical variables stimulating cultural innovation and change. Most of the present chapter will concern southeastern Louisiana in general, since that area shares common prehistoric periods, settlement patterns, etc. The concluding remarks will focus on the designated study area immediately adjacent to the present Mississippi River.

1880s the focus of this archeological interest has gone through some distinct changes. Late 19th and early 20th century archeological efforts consisted primarily of the description and excavation of large mound or midden sites. William Darby referred to archeological sites in coastal Louisiana in 1816, and in the 1850s De Bow's Review reported upon Indian mounds. About a decade later, stone tools and matting were retrieved from Avery Island, beginning that locale's continuing contribution to regional archeology. In John W. Foster's Prehistoric Races of the United States (1873) numerous Louisiana archeological sites are described, including artifacts, mounds, and shell middens near Pointe a la Hache (Plaquemines Parish) and New Orleans. A series of articles by George Beyer in the 1890s further described Indian mounds in Louisiana.[3]

The first surveys and excavations by a professional archeologist were conducted by Clarence B. Moore in 1910 and 1911. Moore investigated areas along the Mississippi River from New Orleans up into Tennessee, attributing the sparcity of sites between New Orleans and Baton Rouge to modern agricultural development. He was later more successful in locating sites in the Atchafalaya Basin, where he made extensive collections. And although Moore was most interested in the spectacular temple mounds, he was among the first to identify the Poverty Point culture.[4]

---

3. John W. Foster, Prehistoric Races of the United States (Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1873). For complete references of these and other early works, see Robert W. Neuman and Lanier A. Simmons, "A Bibliography Relative to Indians of the State of Louisiana," Louisiana Geological Survey Anthropological Study, IV (1969). For a discussion of early archeological efforts see, Edwin H. Jackson, "A Cultural Resources Survey of the Delta-Breton National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1979, Heartfield, Price and Green, Inc., Monroe, Louisiana), p. 28; and Iroquois Research Institute "Cultural Resources Survey of Fourteen Mississippi River Levee and Revetment Items" (unpublished report dated 1982, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), p. 31.

4. James B. Stoltman, "The Southeastern United States," in The Development of North American Archeology. Ed. by James E. Fitting (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1973), pp. 128-33.

Yet those efforts made little headway in defining the prehistoric cultural sequence of southeastern Louisiana. Henry B. Collins and James A. Ford were the first to attempt a systematic cultural sequence. In the 1920s and 1930s Collins visited a number of archeological sites in coastal Louisiana, excavating several, including the Morgan (16VM9), Veazey (16VM7&8), and Coppell (16VM102) sites. Archeological sites "were found in unexpected numbers along the lakes and bayous, ranging from comparatively small accumulations of shell mixed with charcoal, pot-sherds, bones and other refuse to huge deposits of the same material or, 'islands' as they are locally called, sometimes a hundred yards or more wide, about 10 feet above marsh level, and extending in some cases for a distance of almost a quarter of a mile." Collins's collection from Pecan Island was utilized by Ford in his study of Tchefuncte culture. Ford developed a cultural sequence for the lower Mississippi valley and in 1933 received a National Research Council grant to conduct further archeological investigations in the area. In 1936 Ford published "Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi."[5]

The mid-thirties ushered in a new era as archeological projects were sponsored by the Works Projects Administration. Archeologists collected and exchanged data across state boundaries, resulting in the first syntheses of the prehistory of the Southeast. Louisiana sites could thus be compared to sites in adjacent regions; Ford, for example, related Marksville materials from the Greenhouse site (16AV2) to Ohio Hopewell sites. Ford also utilized WPA labor crews to investigate the Crooks (16LA3) and Tchefuncte (16ST1) sites. Data from these and other

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5. Henry B. Collins, Jr., "Archeological Work in Louisiana and Mississippi," Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1926, Miscellaneous Collections, LXXVIII (1927), p. 20; James A. Ford, "Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi," Louisiana Geological Survey, Anthropological Study, II (1936). For further information see Jackson, "A Cultural Resources Survey of the Delta-Breton National Wildlife Refuge," p. 29; William G. McIntire, Prehistoric Indian Settlements of the Changing Mississippi Delta, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), p. 4; and Stoltman, "Southeastern United States," pp. 139-40.

WPA-investigated sites formed the basis of the prehistoric cultural sequence still largely used by regional archeologists.[6]

In 1936 W.D. Chawner noted the possibility that the ages of prehistoric Indian remains in Catahoula and Concordia parishes might be correlated with relic levees. This marked a trend of increasing interest in an environmental deterministic or cultural ecological approach, utilizing the expertise of geomorphologists and cultural geographers in analyzing prehistoric settlement patterns. Fred B. Kniffen was first to attempt a correlation between pottery types recovered from prehistoric sites and associated physiographic features in Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes. He also conducted similar investigations of 52 archeological sites in Iberville and Ascension parishes.[7]

In the 1950s William G. McIntire carried out an extensive archeological survey in the Mississippi Delta area. McIntire visited numerous sites and recorded data on ceramic types, physiographic bases, soils, shellfish remains, and vegetation. This work provided much useful data on both prehistoric chronology and recent geological history.[8] As an example of more recent work of this type, from 1970 to 1973 James Springer carried out a study of the prehistoric cultural geography of southern Louisiana. Concerned with the distribution of prehistoric sites,

---

6. Edwin Lyon, "The Louisiana WPA Archeological Project," Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, XIX (1976), passim; James A. Ford, "Greenhouse: A Troyville-Coles Creek Period Site in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, XLIV (1951), passim.

7. Fred B. Kniffen, "A Preliminary Report on the Indian Mounds and Middens of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes," Lower Mississippi River Delta: Reports on the Geology of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes, Louisiana Geological Survey Geological Bulletin, VIII (1936), pp. 407-422; Fred B. Kniffen, "The Indian Mounds of Iberville Parish," Louisiana Geological Survey, Geological Bulletin, XIII (1938), pp. 189-207; for further discussion see McIntire, Prehistoric Indian Settlements, p. 7.

8. McIntire, Prehistoric Indian Settlements, passim.

the similarities and differences among sites of a single culture, and changes in material culture through time, Springer focused on subsistence and technology to explain prehistoric adaptations to the delta environments. His work included excavations at two archeological sites, Bruly St. Martin or Grand Bayou (161V6) and Pierre Clement (16CM47).[9]

Since about 1970 the source of most archeological funding has been federal agencies such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, acting in response to federal legislation that reflects increasing public support for environmental conservation and historic preservation. Unusual for its extensive scope, but exemplary of the quality of work that can be accomplished in such a Federal "cultural resources management" context, is Coastal Environments' synthetic study of the continental shelf of the northern Gulf of Mexico. The goal of the project, funded by the Department of Interior, National Park Service, was to define the nature and extent of prehistoric and historic archeological resources in the northern Gulf of Mexico from south Texas to the Florida peninsula, and to develop outlines for their management. The critical relationships between archeological site distribution and regional geological history and geomorphology were stressed. The proposed methodology for further refinement of site prediction was illustrated using the Mississippi Delta area as an example.[10]

C. Sequence of Prehistoric Cultures

The prehistory of the southeastern United States has been divided by archeologists into four developmental stages: (1) Lithic, (2)

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9. James W. Springer, "The Prehistory and Cultural Geography of Coastal Louisiana" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1973, Yale University). For an earlier treatment of the subject, see Stephen Williams, "Settlement Patterns in the Lower Mississippi Valley," in "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World," ed. Gordon R. Willey, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, XXIII (1956), pp. 52-62.

10. Coastal Environments, Inc., Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf (3 vols.; Washington: Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service, 1977). Numerous other Federally funded archeological investigations are listed in Component C, Appendix A.

Archaic or MesoIndian, (3) Woodland or Sedentary, and (4) Mississippian or Late Prehistoric. The latter two stages are often combined under the title Formative, and are less widely known as NeoIndian. Local cultural periods further break down the Formative stage (see Figure 1). These stages and periods are useful heuristic devices but their limitations must be understood.[11] Obviously, these designations had no meaning to the prehistoric peoples so designated; rather, this cultural sequence is an artificial construct imposed upon a complex cultural continuum. While providing a convenient framework for the relative chronological assignment of artifactual materials commonly recovered during archeological investigations (especially pottery), these periods do no necessarily reflect other aspects of culture. Moreover, the local periods of the regional chronology outlined in figure 1 were built largely upon the sequence developed for the mouth of the Red River by James Ford, based upon his work in that area in the 1930s and 1940s. Ford's Red River sequence was gradually applied to adjacent areas, and eventually to the entire Lower Mississippi Valley. As might be anticipated when such a local sequence is generalized over a much more extensive area, discrepancies in "fit" occur, since prehistoric cultures are rarely homogenous over such a large area.[12]

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11. Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, Jr., and Donald Collier, Indians Before Columbus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 399-420; Jesse D. Jennings, "Prehistory of the Lower Mississippi Valley," in Archeology of the Eastern United States. Ed. by James B. Griffin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 256-71; Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, Method and Theory in American Archeology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), passim; William H. Sears, "The Southeastern United States," in Prehistoric Man in the New World, eds. Jesse D. Jennings and Edward Norbeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 259-87; Gordon R. Willey, An Introduction to American Archeology, vol. 1: North and Middle America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 246-341; Jon D. Muller, "The Southeast," in Ancient Native Americans. Ed. by Jessie D. Jennings (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1978), pp. 281-326; Robert W. Neuman and Nancy W. Hawkins, "Louisiana Prehistory," Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism Anthropological Study, VIII (1982), passim.

12. David D. Davis, John D. Hartley, and Ruth W. Henderson, "An Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River: Cultural Resources Survey, New Orleans to Venice Hurricane Protection Levee: East Bank Barrier Levee Plan" (unpublished report dated 1979, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), pp. 46-48.

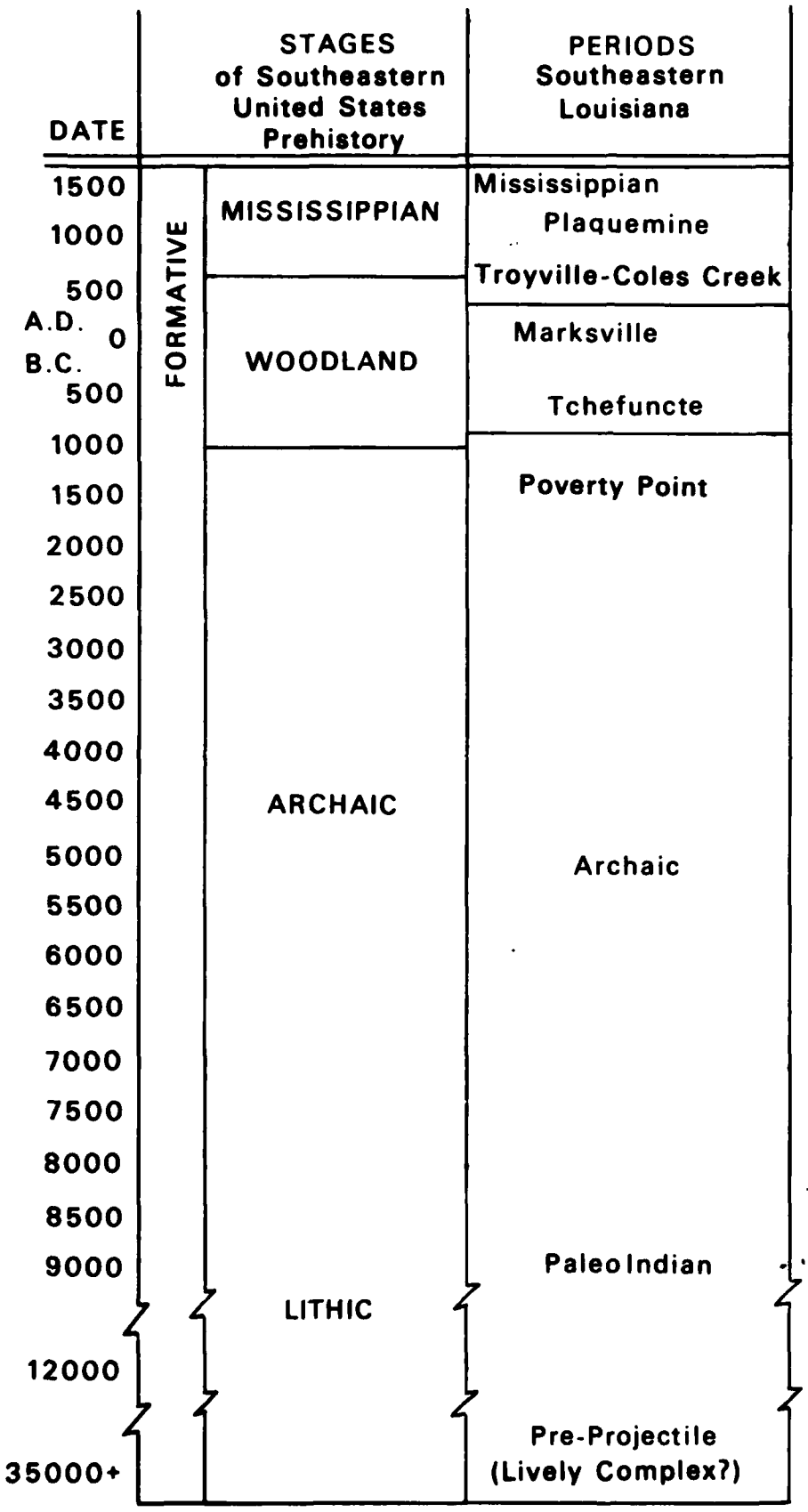


Figure 1: Prehistoric Chronological Stages and Periods of Southeastern Louisiana.

1. Lithic Stage: Ancient Nomads

The very early presence of humans in the New World is not universally accepted, but the growing evidence has been accommodated by Krieger's postulated Pre-Projectile Point, or Chopper-Scraper, period.[13] This early (perhaps 35,000 B.C.) period is characterized by "unspecialized and largely unformulated core and flake industries, with percussion the dominant, and perhaps only, technique employed."[14] This period may be represented in problematic surface finds which have been collectively called the Lively Complex in the Southeast. Although not yet certainly dated, Lively Complex artifacts have been consistently associated with geologically old landforms and are interpreted by many to be of great antiquity. An alternative explanation is that these crude tools are merely rough-outs or blanks intended for further processing.[15] Other problematic evidence of the pre-projectile period in the lower Mississippi valley include the so-called Natchez pelvis, which apparently came from soil horizons dating to about 20,000 years ago, and a component from the Salt Mine Valley Site (16IB23), on Avery Island in Iberia Parish, which dates to approximately 12,000 years ago.[16]

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13. Alex D. Krieger, "Early Man in the New World," in Prehistoric Man in the New World. Ed. by Jesse D. Jennings and Edward Norbeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 42-51.

14. Willey and Phillips, Method and Theory in American Archeology, p. 79.

15. Sherwood M. Gagliano, "An Archeological Survey of Avery Island" (unpublished report dated 1964, Avery Island, Inc.); Don W. Dragoo, "Some Aspects of Eastern North American Prehistory: A Review 1975," American Antiquity, LVI (January, 1976), pp. 5-8; Matthew Lively, "The Lively Complex: Announcing a Pebble Tool Industry from Alabama," Journal of Alabama Anthropology, XI (1965), pp. 1-122. For further discussion see, Vaughn M. Bryant et al., "Archeological and Historical Studies in the White Castle Gap Revetment, Iberville Parish, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1982, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), pp. 1819.

16. Coastal Environments, Inc., Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf, Vol. 1: Prehistoric Cultural Resources Potential, pp. 213-32.

The PaleoIndian period (12,000 to 8000 B.C.) is, in contrast, well represented in the archeological record of the Southeast. Characterized by lanceolate projectile points, often fluted, made on bifacially worked blades, the PaleoIndian period was first recognized in the western United States, where a number of kill-sites are known. Nevertheless, the characteristic projectile point styles may have developed in the eastern United States, for "fluted points of every description except Folsom are more numerous in the East, particularly in the southeastern United States, than they are in the Southwest of High Plains; and the area has produced the greatest diversification in fluted styles. . . ."[17]

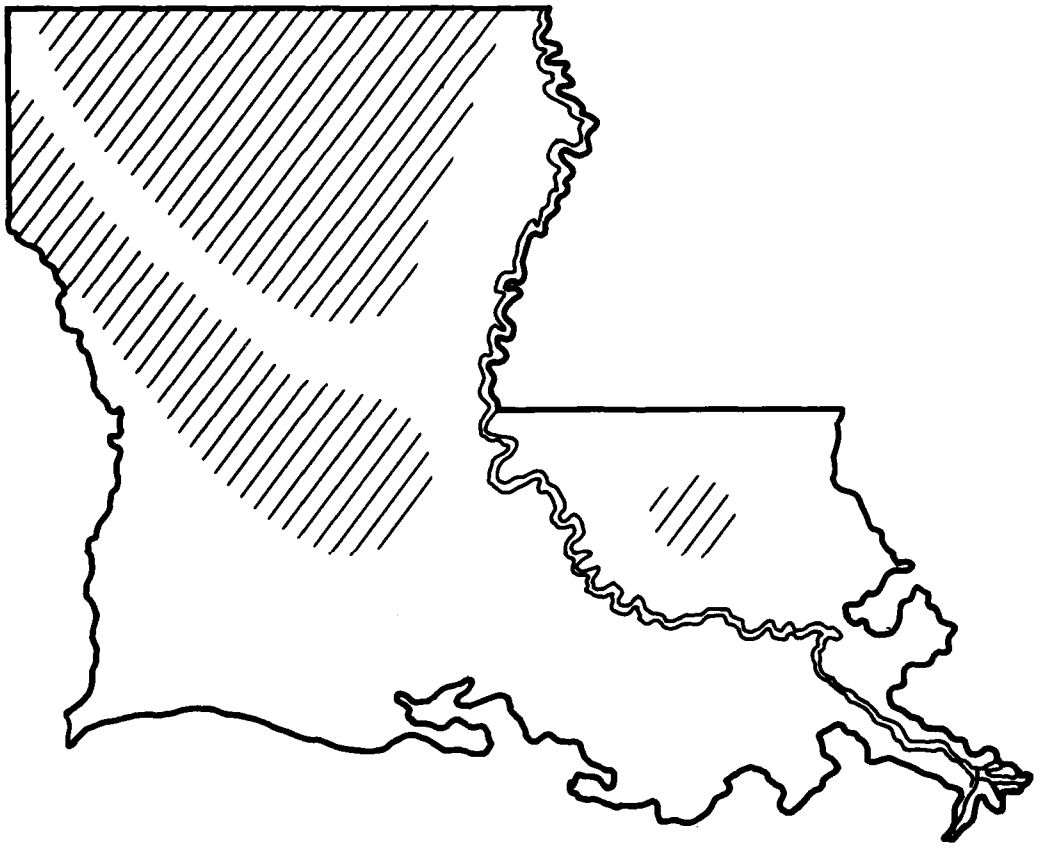
On the Plains, where the most complete knowledge has been unearthed, PaleoIndian economy was oriented toward big-game hunting and the social organization was based upon small migratory bands. Louisiana PaleoIndian settlement appears to have been oriented towards river valleys and the economy was more diversified.[18] Most PaleoIndian finds in the southeastern United States have been either isolated surface artifacts or mixed, multi-component sites. A major exception is the Salt Mine Valley site (16IB23) at which Gagliano tenuously demonstrated the presence of man contemporary with Rancholabrean fauna. Known Louisiana PaleoIndian remains have been found almost exclusively on

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17. Ronald J. Mason, "The Paleo-Indian Tradition in Eastern North America," Current Anthropology, III (April, 1962), p. 234. The oldest widely accepted date for a fluted projectile point is from New York state. See Robert E. Funk, George R. Walters, and William F. Ehlers, Jr., "The Archeology of Dutchess Quarry Cave, Orange County, New York, Pennsylvania Archeologist, XXXIX (1969), pp. 7-22.

18. Kathleen M. Byrd and Robert W. Neuman, "Archeological Data Relative to Prehistoric Subsistence in the Lower Mississippi River Alluvial Valley," Geoscience and Man, XIX (1978); John D. Muller, "The Southeast," pp. 281-326.

Figure 2: Major areas of occurrence of PaleoIndian projectile points in Louisiana.



Modified from: Gagliano and Gregory, *A Preliminary Survey of PaleoIndian Points from Louisiana*. Figs.1,5.

higher, older land surfaces such as Tertiary or Quaternary uplands or terraces (Figure 2) and, in the case of Avery Island, on ancient salt domes.[19]

2. Archaic Stage: Environmental Change and Local Adaptations

Significant environmental change accompanied the final melting of the ice sheets at the end of the Pleistocene after about 8000 B.C. Fluctuations in rainfall and temperature are thought to have occurred. The modern geographical positions of the major lifezones were approximated, and the modern meander pattern of the Mississippi River developed as sea level rose. Perhaps most significant, much of the Pleistocene megafauna (such as the elephant, horse, camel, and certain species of bison) became extinct, without replacement.[20]

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19. Sherwood M. Gagliano, "Occupation Sequence at Avery Island," Louisiana State University Coastal Studies Series, XX (1967); Sherwood M. Gagliano and Hiram F. Gregory, Jr., "A Preliminary Survey of Paleo-Indian Points from Louisiana," Louisiana Studies, IV (Spring, 1965), pp. 62-77; Sherwood M. Gagliano, "Post-Pleistocene Occupations of Southeastern Louisiana Terrace Lands," Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, I (1964), pp. 18-26; Coastal Environments, Inc., Cultural Resources Evaluaton of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf, I, 232-37.

20. For further details of post-Pleistocene climatic change, see Ernst Antevs, "Climatic Changes and Pre-white Man," University of Utah, Bulletin, XXXVII (1948), pp. 168-91; and D.H. Denton and W. Karlen, "Holocene Climatic Variations: Their Pattern and Possible Cause," Quaternary Research, III (August, 1973), pp. 155-205; for further details regarding lifezone shifts, see H.E. Wright, Jr., "The Dynamic Nature of Holocene Vegetation," Quaternary Research VI, (December, 1976), pp. 581-96; and, James B. Stoltman, "Temporal Models in Prehistory: An Example from Eastern North America," Current Anthropology, XIX (December, 1978), pp. 703-29. See the section below for more details regarding Mississippi River geologic history; for a discussion of Pleistocene extinctions: The Search for a Cause (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); and A. Dreimanis, "Extinction of Mastodons in Eastern North America: Testing New Climatic-environmental Hypothesis," The Ohio Journal of Science, LXVIII (1968), pp. 257-72.

The Archaic stage (8000 to 700 B.C.) is characterized by the adaptations that humans made to these changed environmental conditions. A broad-based economy based on gathering, fishing, and small-game hunting developed, thus marking the end of the previous PaleoIndian tradition. The traditional view of PaleoIndian subsistence, emphasizing the big-game hunting of the West and Southwest, may not, however, be directly applicable to the Southeast, and especially to Louisiana. The Archaic shift to more efficient exploitation of local resources may represent a "settling in" rather than a dramatic departure from previous subsistence practices.[21] At any rate, it can be said that the Archaic stage included a proliferation of local or regional tool traditions which seem to indicate adaptations to various local environments. Typical artifacts include chipped- and groundstone tools, atlatls, grinding stones, fishhooks, and various styles of projectile points. Other traits include the utilization of habitation areas for primary and secondary burials of humans and dogs, use of shellfish, and stone boiling. Late in the stage fully grooved axes, bannerstones or boatstones, and tubular pipes were added to the material culture.[22] Gagliano has identified a number of local phases of the Archaic stage in southern Louisiana and Mississippi, but, as Haag has pointed out, few Archaic sites are known from the lower alluvial valley or the active delta.[23]

A significant late Archaic (2000 to 700 B.C.) development is the appearance of the Poverty Point cultural complex. New traits included baked clay cooking balls, some fiber-tempered pottery, flint microliths,

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21. See Joseph R. Caldwell, "Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States," American Anthropological Association, Memoirs, LXXXVIII (1958).

22. William G. Haag, "The Archaic of the Lower Mississippi Valley," American Antiquity, XXVI (January, 1961), pp. 318-19.

23. Sherwood M. Gagliano, "A Survey of Preceramic Occupations in Portions of South Louisiana and South Mississippi," Florida Anthropologist, XVI (1963), pp. 105-32; Haag, "The Archaic of the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 319-21. For further discussion of the effects of recent geological history and fluvial processes upon archeological sites, see the following section.

new projectile point styles, and massive earthworks. Burial mound and earthwork construction at the type site in northeastern Louisiana (16WC5) and at other Poverty Point culture sites is unique in North American prehistory, both in terms of its scale and its early date. Such moundbuilding activity likely represented a large degree of both sedentism and organization. Some authorities suggest that the Poverty Point culture constitutes North America's earliest chiefdom.[24]

This sudden cultural florescence has prompted many archeologists to seek an outside source for the sedentism, social organization, and unique artifacts which set Poverty Point peoples apart from more typical Archaic-stage folk. Because the Olmec civilization of Mexico's Tabasco-Veracruz coast was contemporary with the Poverty Point complex, and the Gulf Coast-Mississippi River route seems to be a natural link, diffusionists usually point to this source. Indeed, some theorists suggest that Poverty Point culture resulted from an actual immigration of Olmec peoples into the southeast. While a long-distance trade network seems to have developed in Poverty Point times--as evidenced by quartz crystals, galena, steatite, copper, and other exotic materials--many regional archeologists hold that Poverty Point developed in place, building upon local Archaic cultural traditions.[25]

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24. James A. Ford and Clarence H. Webb, "Poverty Point, A Late Archaic Site in Louisiana," American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, XLVI (1956); Sherwood M. Gagliano and Clarence H. Webb, "Archaic-Poverty Point Transition at the Pearl River Mouth," in The Poverty Point Culture. Ed. by Bettye J. Broyles and Clarence H. Webb, Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, XII (1970), pp. 47-74; Clarence H. Webb, "The Extent and Content of Poverty Point Culture," American Antiquity, XXXIII (January, 1968), pp. 297-321; Sherwood M. Gagliano and Roger T. Saucier, "Poverty Point Sites in Southeastern Louisiana," American Antiquity, XXVIII (January, 1963), pp. 320-27; Muller, "The Southeast," p. 392; John L. Gibson, "Poverty Point: The First American Chiefdom," Archeology, XXVII (April, 1974), pp. 97-105.

25. Gordon R. Wicke, "Pyramids and Temple Mounds: Mesoamerican Ceremonial Architecture in Eastern North America," American Antiquity, XXX (April, 1965) p. 417; Webb, "Extent and Content of Poverty Point Culture," pp. 316-319; Muriel P. Weaver, The Aztecs, Maya and Their Predecessors, (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 281.

The level of cultural complexity attained by Poverty Point peoples has prompted many archeologists to conclude that Poverty Point economy must have had an agricultural base. Even if the Mesoamerican triumvirate of maize, beans, and squash was not utilized, a large sedentary population may have been supported by natural resources and domesticated native weedy plants such as Chenopodium which grow well in floodplain soils. Careful study of botanical remains from Poverty Point sites along Bayou Macon suggests a significant late summer/fall harvest of native nuts. It can be argued that the abundant natural resources of the lower Mississippi Valley, coupled with the broad-spectrum exploitive strategies of the Archaic, were adequate to support this relatively complex society.[26]

Significant southeastern Louisiana Poverty Point period sites include the Bayou Jasmine site (16SJB2) between Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, the Garcia site (16OR34) due east across Lake Pontchartrain, and the Linsley site (16OR40) east of New Orleans. These sites refuted the earlier belief that there were no Poverty Point manifestations, other than scarce artifacts mixed into multicomponent sites, in the deltaic plain. All three sites were, however, deeply buried by more recent sediments.[27]

3. Woodland Stage: Pottery, Burial Mounds, and Incipient Agriculture

Perhaps the Poverty Point culture is best considered a transition from the Archaic stage to that of the Woodland. Although the

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26. James A. Ford, "A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas," Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Anthropology, XI (1969); Webb, "Extent and Content of Poverty Point Culture," pp. 318-19; Prentice M. Thomas and L. Janice Campbell, "The Peripheries of Poverty Point," New World Research Report of Investigations, XII (1979); Davis, "Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," p. 50; Gibson, "Poverty Point: America's First Chiefdom," pp. 97-105.

27. Sherwood M. Gagliano and Roger T. Saucier, "Poverty Point Sites in Southern Louisiana," American Antiquity, XXVIII (January, 1963), pp. 320-27. Compare with James A. Ford, Philip Phillips, and William G. Haag, "The Jaketown Site in West-Central Mississippi," American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers XLV (1955), p. 46.

most obvious trait setting Woodland stage (1000 B.C. to A.D. 700) archeological sites apart from earlier ones is grit-tempered, Woodland-style pottery, the stage is best minimally defined "not only by its characteristic cord-marked and fabric-marked ceramics, but also by the construction of burial mounds and other earthworks, and by at least the beginnings of agriculture."[28] Looking at the Southeast in general, it can be said that the end of the Archaic and beginning of the Woodland stages are marked by accelerated technological changes in a number of local cultures. The time has been characterized by James B. Griffin as one of "extraordinary cultural growth, population increase, and evidence of exchange goods in both the Southeast and the Northeast." Perhaps the domestication of local plant species increased food production, stimulating population and social complexity. Perhaps Mesoamerican domesticates were introduced during this time. Or perhaps the utilization of natural resources which had been developing in the Archaic reached its culmination in what Joseph R. Caldwell has termed "primary forest efficiency." Probably all these factors were involved to different degrees in various regions.[29]

Around 1000 B.C. the Adena culture began to emerge in the Ohio Valley. It featured elaborate burial practices including large burial mounds, crude flat-bottomed pots, ceramic female figurines, petal-shaped celts, and earspools, and exhibited traits that appear to have had a Mesoamerican origin. The Adena culture was superceded by the Hopewell culture around the time of Christ, beginning in southern Illinois, spreading into the Ohio Valley, then influencing the entire eastern United States. The Hopewell Interaction Sphere maintained a far flung trade network that obtained such exotic materials as obsidian and grizzly bear claws from the Rocky Mountains and copper from the Great Lakes. Such exotics were favored grave goods interred in conical burial mounds. Also

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28. Willey, An Introduction to American Archeology, I, 267.

29. James B. Griffin, "The Northeast Woodlands Area," in Jennings and Norbeck, Prehistoric Man in the New World, p. 237; Joseph R. Caldwell, "Eastern North America," in Prehistoric Agriculture. Ed. by Stuart Struever (Garden City: Natural History Press, 1971), pp. 361-82.

constructed were elaborate earthen mounds, many with zoomorphic shapes. Other features included a specialized core and blade chipped-stone industry, ground-stone artifacts, copper and stone earspools, mirrors, panpipes, female figurines, and pottery decorated with zoomorphic motifs, often birds and snakes.[30]

In southeastern Louisiana the development of typical Woodland patterns was apparently inhibited by environmental circumstances. The local Tchefuncte period (700 B.C. to A.D. 200) continued to refine the Archaic economic pattern of gathering, fishing, and hunting, with the addition of a rather complete ceramic inventory.[31] Tchefuncte pottery featured small vessels, often with four legs and a variety of decorative elements such as nested chevrons, nested triangles, herringbone, rocker stamping, zoned punctation, brushing, and pinching. Although similar to the ceramics of the Adena culture centered in the Midwest, Tchefuncte pottery appears earlier. Other typical artifacts from Tchefuncte sites include decorated tubular clay pipes, bone and antler tools, and shell gouges.[32]

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30. Jesse D. Jennings, Prehistory of North America, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), pp. 211-45; Willey, Introduction to American Archeology, I, 268-80.

31. Davis, Hartley, and Henderson, "Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," p. 50. Evidence from the Tchefuncte period at Morton Shell Mound, Iberia parish, revealed that the Tchefuncte people there were "primarily hunters and gatherers although they *did grow squash and possibly bottle gourd*. They selectively exploited deer, blue goose, box turtle, and fishes relying on the deer for their major animal food source. Shellfish were also collected. In addition these Tchefuncte people gathered a number of different plants including wild plum, persimmon, and hickory nuts." Kathleen M. Byrd, "Tchefuncte Subsistence: Information Obtained from the Excavation of the Morton Shell Mound, Iberia Parish, Louisiana," Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, XIX (1976) p. 75.

32. James A Ford and George I. Quimby, Jr., "The Tchefuncte Culture, An Early Occupation of the Lower Mississippi Valley," Society for American Archeology Memoir, II (1945), passim; Sears, "Southeastern United States," pp. 261-62. For a discussion of Tchefuncte pottery, see Philip G. Rivet, "Tchefuncte Ceramic Typology: A Reappraisal" (unpublished master thesis dated 1973, Louisiana State University).

Tchefuncte sites are numerous, occurring as shell middens in the marsh areas of southern Louisiana and as low earthen mounds and middens farther inland. Many sites are located on old lakeshore beaches of Lake Pontchartrain and on the chenier plain around Grand Lake, but sites are known throughout the region. In fact, a number of local Tchefuncte cultures, or "phases" have been delineated.[33] Considered by some archeologists to be a withered cultural remnant of the earlier Poverty Point culture, the Tchefuncte may instead represent a continuation of earlier Archaic lifeways, the burial mounds reflecting later influences from the Midwest, influence that typified the following Marksville period.[34]

The Tchefuncte evolved into the Marksville period (100 B.C. to A.D. 400). It is in the Marksville period that influence from the Hopewell culture of the Midwest is most clearly indicated. Marksville period ceramics show certain parallels with those of the Hopewell tradition. Marksville pottery is characterized by new forms such as bowls,

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33. Philip Phillips, "Archeological Survey in the Lower Yazoo Basin, Mississippi, 1949-1955," Peabody Museum Papers LX, (1970), passim; Richard A. Weinstein and Philip G. Rivet, "Beau Mire: A Late Tchula Period Site of the Tchefuncte Culture, Ascension Parish, Louisiana," Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism Anthropological Report, I (1978), pp. 7-8.

34. Springer, "Prehistory and Cultural Geography of Coastal Louisiana," p. 32. For an interesting case study of Tchefuncte archeology at Big Oak (160R06) and Little Oak (160R07) Islands, see Sherwood M. Gagliano, "Big Oak and Little Oak Islands: Prehistoric Indian Sites in Orleans Parish, Louisiana" (unpublished manuscript dated 1969, Coastal Studies Institute, Baton Rouge); J. Richard Shenkel, "Big Oak and Little Oak Islands: Excavations and Interpretations," Louisiana Archeology, I (1974), pp. 37-65; J. Richard Shenkel and Jon L. Gibson, "Big Oak Island: An Historical Perspective of Changing Site Function," Louisiana Studies, VIII (Summer, 1974), pp. 173-86; J. Richard Shenkel and George Holley, "A Tchefuncte House," Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, XVIII (1975), pp. 226-42; Hays Cummins, "Environmental Factors Affecting Subsistence Patterns of Two Tchefuncte Indian Sites: Big Oak and Little Oak Islands" (unpublished master thesis dated 1977, University of New Orleans); and J. Richard Shenkel, "Oak Island Archeology: Prehistoric Estuarine Adaptations in the Mississippi River Delta" (unpublished manuscript dated 1980, University of New Orleans).

globular-, and jar-shaped vessels, by cross-hatched rims, and by elaborate decoration, often curvilinear motifs punctated, incised, or stamped into vessel exteriors. Some vessels were painted red or with stylized zoomorphic patterns. Also diagnostic are stone and clay platform pipes and effigy figurines, as well as artifacts made from exotic materials which were apparently traded throughout the Hopewell network.[35]

The Marksville people evidently continued to subsist primarily through gathering, fishing, and hunting, as had the preceding Tchefuncte cultures. The type site (16AV1) in Avoyelles parish did, however, reportedly contain evidence of maize. But the Marksville site is not typical of other southeastern Louisiana Marksville period sites. At the Marksville site are a group of conical earthen mounds containing hundreds of primary and secondary burials. One other major Marksville period site is found in east-central Louisiana, the Crooks site (16LA3) in LaSalle Parish. But farther southeast major mound sites are replaced by isolated burial mounds and middens such as the Coquilles site (16JE37) in central Jefferson Parish.[36]

4. Mississippian Stage: An Amalgamated Southeastern Regional Culture

Following a transitional period often designated the Baytown or Issaquena period, which featured a continuation of Marksville

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35. Jon L. Gibson, "Hopewellian Phenomena in the Lower Mississippi Valley," Louisiana Studies IX, (Fall, 1970), pp. 176-92; Alan Toth, "Archeology and Ceramics at the Marksville Site," University of Michigan Anthropological Papers, LVI (1974); Frank M. Setzler, "A Phase of Hopewell Mound Builders in Louisiana," Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1933 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1934), pp. 38-40; Alan Toth, "Early Marksville Phases in the Lower Mississippi Valley: A Study of Culture Contact Dynamics" (unpublished dissertation dated 1977, Harvard University).

36. Davis, Hartley, and Henderson, "Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," p. 51; James A. Ford and Gordon R. Willey, William T. Mulloy, and Arden King, "Crooks Site: A Marksville Period Burial Mound in LaSalle Parish, Louisiana," Louisiana Geological Survey Anthropological Study, III (1940); Richard C. Beavers, personal communication.

central place settlement patterns and mound building, came a stage in which the Southeast stopped drawing upon the Midwest for cultural innovations.[37] The earlier Hopewell patterns became fully integrated and transformed into distinctively southeastern forms which would continue with little substantial change until early historic times. This cultural manifestation, centered in the middle Mississippi valley, featured major ceremonial centers with rectangular, flat-topped temple mounds, plazas, palisades, increased maize agriculture, and a complex social organization which some investigators have judged as reaching the state level.[38] The presence of Mesoamerican maize, such cultural elements as the plaza-temple complex, and artistic motifs such as feathered serpents, speech scrolls, and skull-and-bones can be interpreted as evidence of diffusion from Mexico. There is, however, almost no archeological evidence of direct trade with Mesoamerica or of Mexican immigration. Yet some scholars postulate a renewal of Mesoamerican influence as a significant causal factor in the development of Mississippian stage culture.[39]

The Troyville- Coles Creek period (A.D. 400-1000) in the lower Mississippi valley witnessed continued elaboration of earlier Hopewellian patterns, including new pottery styles, and the introduction of the temple

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37. Both Issaquena and Baytown were designated based upon archeological data from the central Mississippi River Valley, and are used by some archeologists in the southern valley to break down the cultural continuum between Marksville and Troyville. Baytown was originally a ceramic designation contemporary with the more southern Marksville, Troyville, and Coles Creek cultural periods. For further details see Robert E. Greengo, "Issaquena: An Archeological Phase in the Yazoo Basin of the Lower Mississippi Valley," Society for American Archeology Memoir, XXX (1964).

38. Sears, "Southeastern United States," pp. 270-83; Willey, Introduction to American Archeology, 292-93; Jennings, Prehistory of North America, pp. 246-65.

39. Robert F. Spencer and Jesse D. Jennings, The Native Americans, (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 410; Bryant et al., "Archeological and Historical Studies in the White Castle Gap Revetment," pp. 28-30.

mound. The abundant pottery was clay-tempered, flat-based, and decorated with simplified zoned rocker-stamping and various incised designs. Also common were elbow-shaped clay pipes, earspools, and mealing stones. Small, finely chipped stone projectile points were introduced, indicating the adoption of the bow and arrow in addition to the earlier atlatl-thrown dart.[40] Of great significance was the increased reliance upon maize and squash agriculture during Troyville-Coles Creek times. Occupation spread beyond the area inhabited by earlier Tchefuncte or Marksville peoples. Most investigators have surmised a population increase, but the increase in site density may also be explained by the unequal lengths of the periods involved and by the fact that more of the earlier sites have undoubtedly been buried by deltaic subsidence and alluviation.[41]

The Troyville-Coles Creek period site plan often consisted of three or more pyramidal mounds, situated around a central plaza. Although these mounds commonly held burials, usually with few or no grave goods, they were constructed primarily to support temples or other civic buildings. There is no archeological evidence to support the supposition

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40. Once again the continuum of prehistoric cultures has been more finely broken into periods by some archeologists. The Troyville period has never been precisely defined, and even the pottery types that characterize the period are not exclusively confined to it. Coles Creek period diagnostic traits are much better defined, but modern archeologists have increasingly viewed the two periods as one, Troyville constituting the transition from Marksville and Coles Creek the culmination. For further discussion of Troyville-Coles Creek period traits, see Sears, "Southeastern United States," pp. 265-66; William G. Haag, "Louisiana in North American Prehistory," Melanges, I (1971), pp. 21-26; and Neuman and Hawkins, "Louisiana Prehistory," pp. 22-26. For examples of Troyville-Coles Creek Period site excavation reports, see Winslow W. Walker, "The Troyville Mounds, Catahoula Parish, Louisiana," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, CXIII (1936); and James A. Ford, "Greenhouse: A Troyville-Coles Creek period Site in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana," American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, XLIV (1951), pp. 1-132.

41. Haag, "Louisiana in North American Prehistory," p. 26; Davis, Hartley, and Henderson, "Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," p. 52.

that these temple mounds were directly inspired by the similar stone-faced pyramids of Mexico. Rather, the idea may have come from the east, where very early temple mounds are found on the Gulf Coast of Florida and Georgia.[42] Based upon ethnographic analogies with historic southeastern chiefdoms, it has been hypothesized that the mound sites, typically located on natural levee crests, were ceremonial sites for surrounding agricultural communities. Intensive exploitation of the rich natural resources of the delta may have also supported such ceremonial centers.[43]

It can be concluded that the Troyville-Coles Creek peoples' movement into the central delta, while they continued to utilize previously occupied areas of southern Louisiana, bespeaks an increase in population, perhaps stimulated by increased subsistence efficiency as a result of agriculture and the bow and arrow. Apparently certain villages reached a critical population density, followed by the "budding off" of families or kin groups to pioneer new settlements. This trend continued into the following Plaquemine period, with evidence of increased settlement in the lower Atchafalaya and delta areas.

Whereas the descendants of the Troyville-Coles Creek people in northwestern Louisiana developed close ties to cultures to their north and west and became the Caddoans, in southeastern Louisiana the Plaquemine period (A.D. 1000 to 1300 or 1700) evolved. Contemporaries at sites such as Moundville, Alabama, and Etowah, Georgia, typified local cultures participating in what appears to be a widespread religious movement, often called the "southern cult," "southern death cult," or "buzzard cult." This cult seems to have been preoccupied almost exclusively with death. Motifs not only include a number of death symbols such as vultures and skulls, but also representations of human sacrifice.[44]

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42. Sears, "Southeastern United States," p. 271.

43. Sherwood M. Gagliano, Richard A. Weinstein, and Eileen K. Burden, "Archeological Investigations Along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway: Coastal Louisiana Area" (unpublished report dated 1975, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), passim.

44. Jennings, Prehistory of North America, pp. 257-58.

The Plaquemine peoples of the lower valley continued to elaborate upon Troyville-Coles Creek period patterns, as Quimby pointed out in his report on the Plaquemine type site at Medora (16WBR1). The temple mound tradition was carried to its culmination with large plazas ringed with huge pyramidal mounds, often built in a number of successive stages until they measured more than 100 feet on a side. Sometimes these flat-topped mounds were capped with one or two smaller mounds. Scattered small town sites surrounded these ceremonial centers.[45]

Altschul has developed a model for Plaquemine period sites in Terrebonne parish in which early period small groups exploited riverine resources in the spring and summer, then congregated at large villages in the fall. By the end of the period, however, large villages on broad natural levees are typical, perhaps reflecting increased dependence upon maize agriculture. Archeological evidence of maize has been uncovered at the Bayou Goula (161V11) and Fleming (16JE36) sites.[46] Diagnostic Plaquemine artifacts include new ceramic types such as brushed, incised, and shell-tempered pots (some with strap handles), effigy pipes, and effigy vessels.

Sometime around A.D. 1300 small groups of Mississippian peoples from the east apparently moved into southern Louisiana. In extreme northeastern Louisiana this distinct, but parallel, cultural manifestation seems to have been contemporary with that of Plaquemine. Still, no major Mississippian centers are known to have developed in Louisiana.[47] A

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45. George I. Quimby, Jr., "The Medora Site, West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana," Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series, XXIV, (1951), pp. 81-135. For summaries of the Plaquemine period see Haag, "Louisiana in North American Prehistory," pp. 26-29; and Neuman and Hawkins, "Louisiana Prehistory," pp. 30-33.

46. J.H. Altschul, "Houma-Terrebonne Archeological Project," New World Research Report of Investigations, XX (1978), passim.

47. Evidence from the Sims site (16SC2) in St. Charles Parish does not support the Mississippian immigration hypothesis, but that from Avery Island does; see Davis, Hartley, and Henderson, "Archeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," p. 55.

fascinating hypothesis is that Mississippian immigration into southern Louisiana was prompted by the collection, refinement, and trade of salt. As Ian W. Brown has pointed out, the Avery Island salt dome was utilized by Mississippians. An alternate hypothesis is that these immigrants were seeking arable land or had been forced out of areas to the northeast as a result of warfare. Larson has hypothesized that the ubiquitous Mississippian palisades and other defensive works were a result of widespread warfare resulting from competition over agricultural lands. Of course, these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive; both factors--or, indeed, others--may have been involved.[48] The cultural differences among historic Louisiana Indians can be explained, in part, by their late prehistoric heritage. The Taensa and Natchez appear to have descended from the Plaquemine peoples, whereas the speakers of Tunican, Chitimachan, and Muskogean languages seem to have carried forth Mississippian traits.[49]

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48. Ian W. Brown, "Salt and the Eastern North American Indian: An Archeological Study," Lower Mississippi Survey Bulletin, VI (Peabody Museum, 1980), passim; Lewis H. Larson, Jr., "Functional Considerations of Warfare In the Southeast During the Mississippian Period," American Antiquity, XXXVII (July, 1972), pp. 383-92.

49. For an archeological perspective on Natchez (post-Plaquemine) culture, see Robert S. Neitzel, "Archeology of the Fatherland Site: The Grand Village of the Natchez," American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, LI (1965); George I. Quimby, Jr., "The Natchezan Culture Type," American Antiquity, VII (January, 1942), pp. 255-75; and George I. Quimby, Jr., "The Bayou Goula Site, Iberville Parish, Louisiana," Fieldiana, XLVII (Chicago Natural History Museum, 1957). For other historic Indian archeological site studies, see David J. Hally, "The Archeology of European-Indian Contact in the Southeast," in Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South. Ed. by Charles M. Hudson (Proceedings of the Southern Anthropological Society, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), pp. 55-56; Jeffrey P. Brain, "The Tunica Treasure," Lower Mississippi Survey Bulletin, II (Peabody Museum, 1970); and Jeffrey P. Brain, "Trudeau: An 18th Century Tunica Village," Lower Mississippi Survey Bulletin, III (Peabody Museum, 1973).

D. Geologic History, Geomorphology, and Fluvial Processes

Among the primary variables affecting both past human settlement patterns and the survival of archeological remains in the study area are the geologic history, geomorphology, and fluvial processes which characterize the Mississippi River, its lower alluvial valley, and its deltaic plain (Figure 3). The alluvial valley extends north from about Lutcher (150 river miles AHP) or Donaldsonville (175 river miles AHP)--that is, above where the valley noticeably widens toward the Gulf of Mexico. The alluvial valley began its evolution during the Wisconsin stage of Pleistocene glaciation, when successions of glaciers locked up such vast amounts of water that the seas declined.[50] In making its way to the lowered Gulf the Mississippi cut deeply into older terrace and coastal deposits, behaving like a youthful river entrenching itself in a deep valley.[51] Later, as glaciers melted and seas rose, the deep valley was partially filled with sediments which dropped out as the river slowed over its less-precipitous run to the gulf. It is in the partially filled alluvial valley that the Mississippi River meanders today.[52]

As the river and its distributaries deposited sediments faster than the waves, tides, and currents of the gulf could sweep them away, faster than they would subside as their great weight compressed underlying deposits, new land was formed. Deltas extended into the gulf, only to have their sediment supply reduced or eliminated by events analogous to crevasses and meander cut-offs. As sediments were usurped by new

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50. The Wisconsin stage is generally dated from about 70,000 B.C. to shortly after 9000 B.C.

51. For further details, see E.L. Krinitzsky and F.L. Smith, "Geology of Backswamp Deposits in the Atchafalaya Basin, Louisiana," U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Waterways Experiment Station, Technical Report, S-69-8 (1969); Roger T. Saucier, "Quaternary Geology of the Lower Mississippi Valley," Arkansas Archeological Survey, Publications on Archeology Research, VI (1974); and H.N. Fisk, Geological Investigation of the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River, (Vicksburg: Mississippi River Commission, 1944).

52. The Mississippi River occupies the eastern edge of the alluvial valley, with its principal distributary, the Atchafalaya River, paralleling to the west.

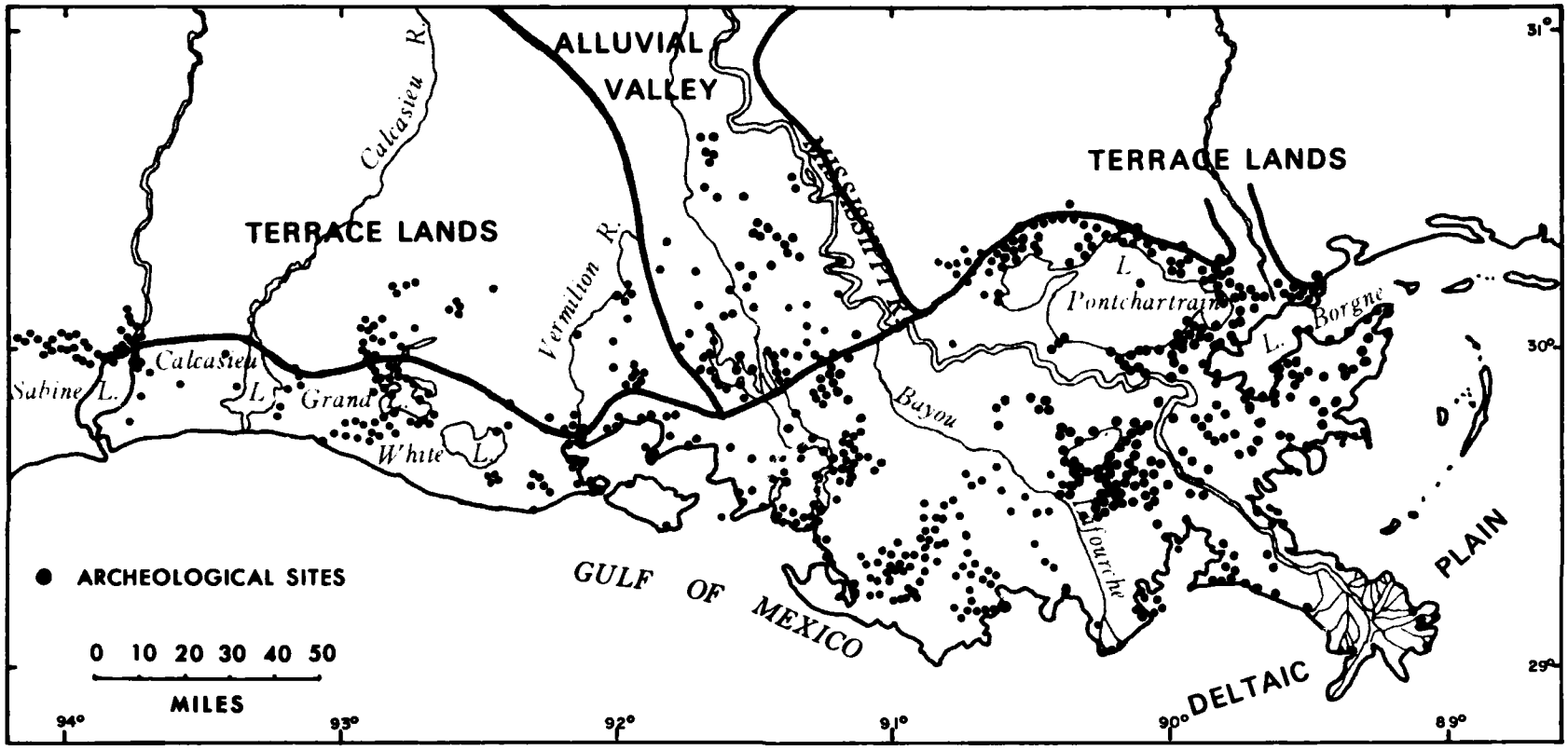


Fig. 3: Major geomorphological subdivisions and distribution of known archeological sites in coastal Louisiana.

Adapted from: Coastal Environments,Inc., *Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf,vol. 1: Prehistoric Cultural Resource Potential* (Washington,D.C.: Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service,1977). Fig. 7-4.

distributaries and directed to a new, growing delta lobe, the inactive lobe would lose its battle with the sea. Thus a number of deltaic lobes have come and gone since the Pleistocene.[53]

Studies of sediment cores have enabled a reconstruction of these overlapping deltaic lobes. Although there continues to be much debate over the dating and exact configuration of the various lobes, Coastal Environments, Inc., has elegantly synthesized these data and their implications for south Louisiana archeology. They suggest that a sequence of nine deltaic lobes or complexes have critically affected not only man's use of the region for the last 12,000 years, but also the numbers and locations of those physical remains which have survived for current archeological study.[54]

During PaleoIndian and early Archaic times the Mississippi River trended through present-day Avoyelles parish near Marksville, then on through the vicinities of Opelousas and Lafayette, Louisiana. This complex of delta lobes was active from about 12,000 to about 8,500 years ago, but is now drowned on the continental shelf (Figure 4). East of this delta and meander belt was the Vermilion embayment, along which was a series of uplifted salt dome islands, including the important Avery Island. Farther north, PaleoIndian sites along the former meander belt

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53. For further details, see J.M. Coleman and Sherwood M. Gagliano, "Cyclic Sedimentation in the Mississippi River Deltaic Plain," Transactions of the Gulf Coast Association of Geological Societies, XIV (1964), pp. 67-80; D.E. Frazier, "Recent Deltaic Deposits of the Mississippi River: Their Development and Chronology," Transactions of the Gulf Coast Association of Geological Societies, XVII (1967), pp. 287-315; Sherwood M. Gagliano and J.L. Van Beek, "Geologic and Geomorphic Aspects of Deltaic Processes, Mississippi Delta System," Hydrologic and Geologic Studies of Coastal Louisiana, I (1970); and Dave D. Davis, John D. Hartley, and Ruth W. Henderson, "Archeological and Historical Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River," pp. 16-45.

54. Coastal Environments, Inc., Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf, I, 312-28. For other interpretations, see Fisk, Geological Investigation of the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River; Frazier, "Recent Deltaic Deposits of the Mississippi River;" and Coleman and Gagliano, "Cyclic Sedimentation in the Mississippi River Deltaic Plain."

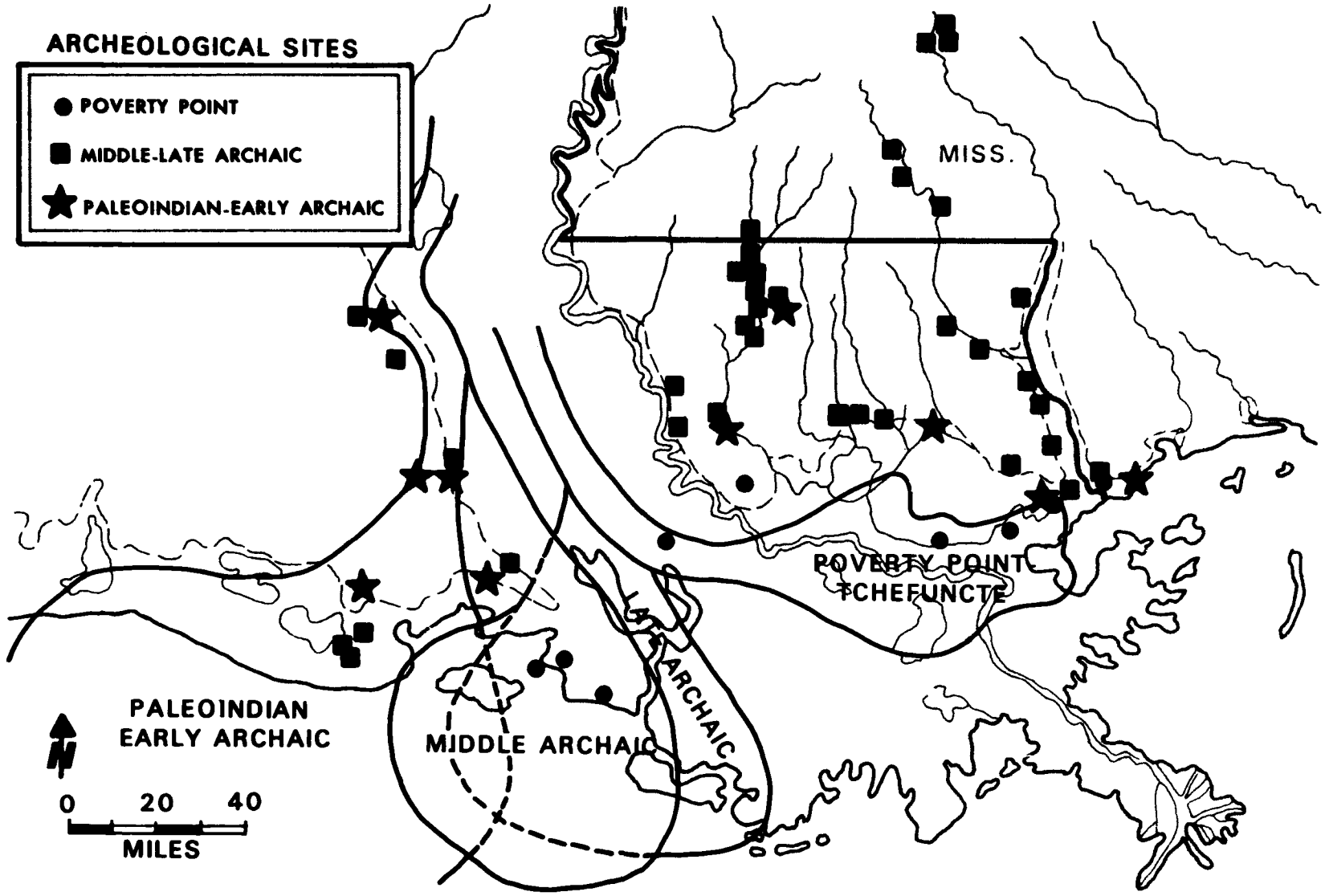


Fig. 4. Major delta complexes and lobes of the Mississippi River and prehistoric archeological sites for the interval 12,000 to 2,100 years before present.

Adapted from: Coastal Environments, Inc., *Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf*. Fig. 7-6.

include the Bayou Grand Louis site (16EV4). Separated from the Vermilion embayment by the remnants of an earlier deltaic lobe was the Pontchartrain embayment, into which the Amite, Tangipahoa, and Pearl rivers apparently formed their own small deltas.[55] PaleoIndian artifacts have been found on ancient beach ridges in this part of southeastern Louisiana, as well as associated with the former river deltas.[56]

About 8,500 years ago another deltaic lobe developed in the vicinity of current Marsh Island, Vermilion, and Atchafalaya bays (Figure 4). Shoals in the gulf are remnants of this now-submerged lobe which has a number of associated early-to-middle Archaic period archeological sites. The most recent sea level rise, beginning about 6,000 years ago, drowned that delta and led to a succession of modern deltaic lobes. Until about 4,000 years ago the deltaic lobe had merely shifted a bit to the east (Figure 4). Archaic archeological sites and artifacts from Pecan Island, the Mound Point site (16IB14), and the Rabbit Island site (16SMY8) may be associated with this lobe.

When sea level approached its present stillstand about 4,000 years ago another deltaic lobe began developing and by Poverty Point times had created a marginal deltaic basin in the areas now occupied by Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain (Figure 4). A number of special-purpose camps and villages of Povery Point peoples have been recorded on this growing lobe and on the adjacent abandoned lobes. What appears to be a major Poverty Point ceremonial center was on the Pearl River estuary at the Claiborne site (22HC35).

The active delta shifted back to the east perhaps 3,000 years ago during Tchefuncte times (Figure 4). Known Tchefuncte

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55. The older Ship Shoal lobe dates from about 17,000 to 12,000 years ago.

56. E.g., PaleoIndian sites such as the Palmer site (16EBR13) near Baton Rouge are on the margins of the Amite delta.

archeological sites are, however, primarily associated with the rich biotic zones around Lake Pontchartrain and along the gulf coast. Shortly thereafter and until over 1,000 years ago a deltaic lobe formed southeast of Lake Pontchartrain (Figure 5). It is with this lobe that Marksville period archeological sites are associated.

The complex of lobes that created much of the present deltaic plain between the Atchafalaya River and the present Mississippi River was active from perhaps 3,500 to a few hundred years ago (Figure 6). It was occupied by Troyville-Coles Creek, Plaquemine, and Mississippian peoples. Overlapping with that complex was a lobe to the north (Figure 6) which was active from about 1,500 to a few hundred years ago and has associated Troyville-Coles Creek through Mississippian archeological sites. Lastly, the historic "birdfoot" deltaic lobe (Figure 6) has been active for less than 500 years.

It must be emphasized that this sequence of deltaic lobes can only be utilized in predicting the maximum ages of prehistoric sites in the most conceptual fashion. *The various dates of deltaic activity do not have a* one-to-one correlation with the dates of human occupation. Rather, there was always a lag between the initiation of a deltaic lobe and its suitability for habitation--natural levees had to form to provide dry land and ecological succession had to proceed to the stage when favorable natural resources were available. Indeed, recently abandoned deltaic lobes may have afforded the richest natural habitats. Moreover, all but the most recent lobe have been covered by subsequent sedimentation since their initial formation. These later sedimentary strata have not been dated to the degree of certainty with which the major lobes have been dated--and the latter dates are far from universally accepted. And even though for a given locale the oldest archeological horizon can be roughly estimated, such estimates apply to what might exist in the deep substratum and not to what might be expected to be identified via conventional archeological investigation.

Overbank deposition of sediment and subsidence continue to obscure archeological sites along the river, especially on the deltaic plain. The

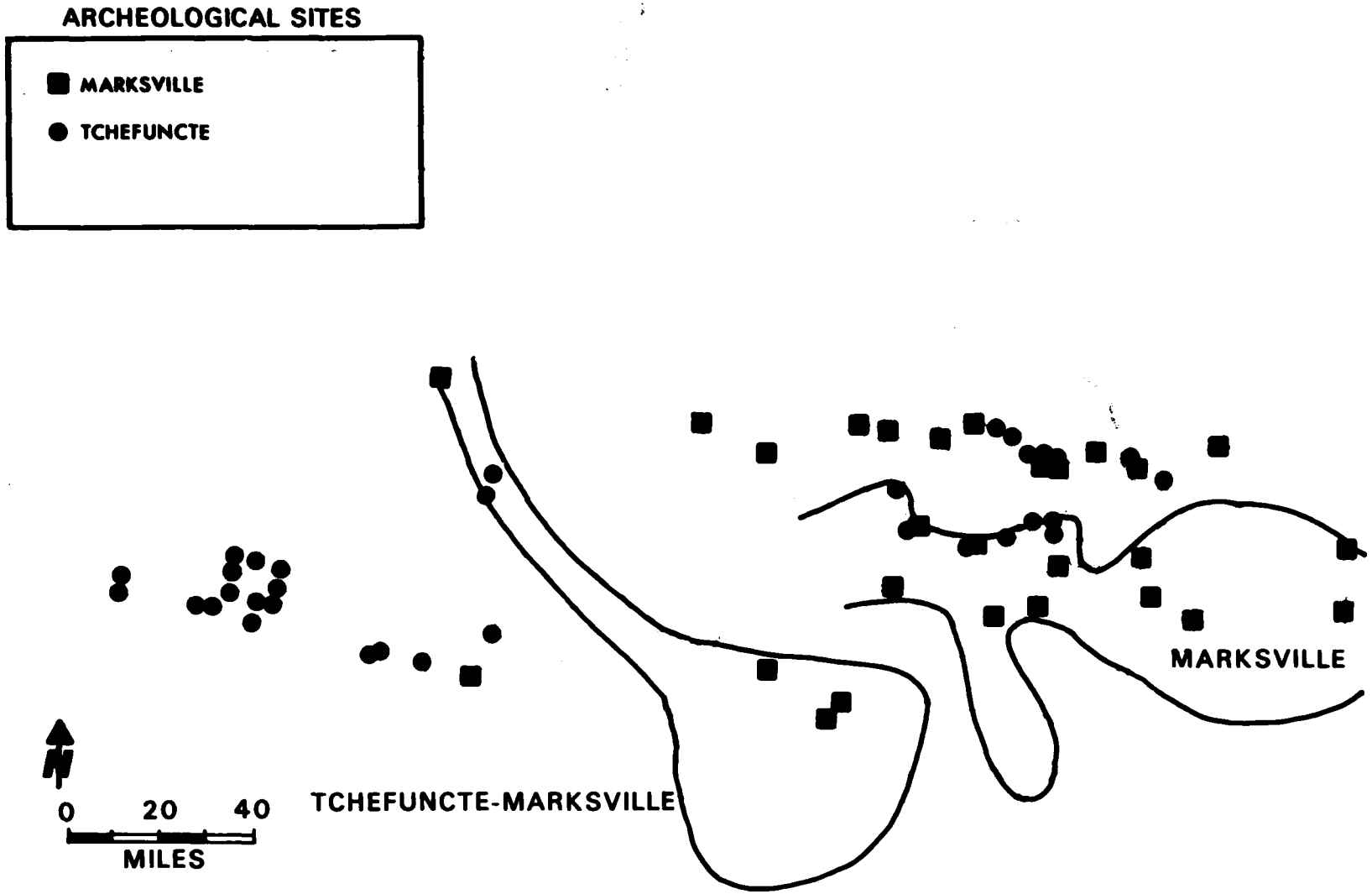


Fig. 5: Major delta lobes of the Mississippi River and prehistoric archeological sites, for the interval from 2,500 to 1,700 years ago.

Adapted from: Coastal Environments, Inc., *Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf.* Fig. 7-7.

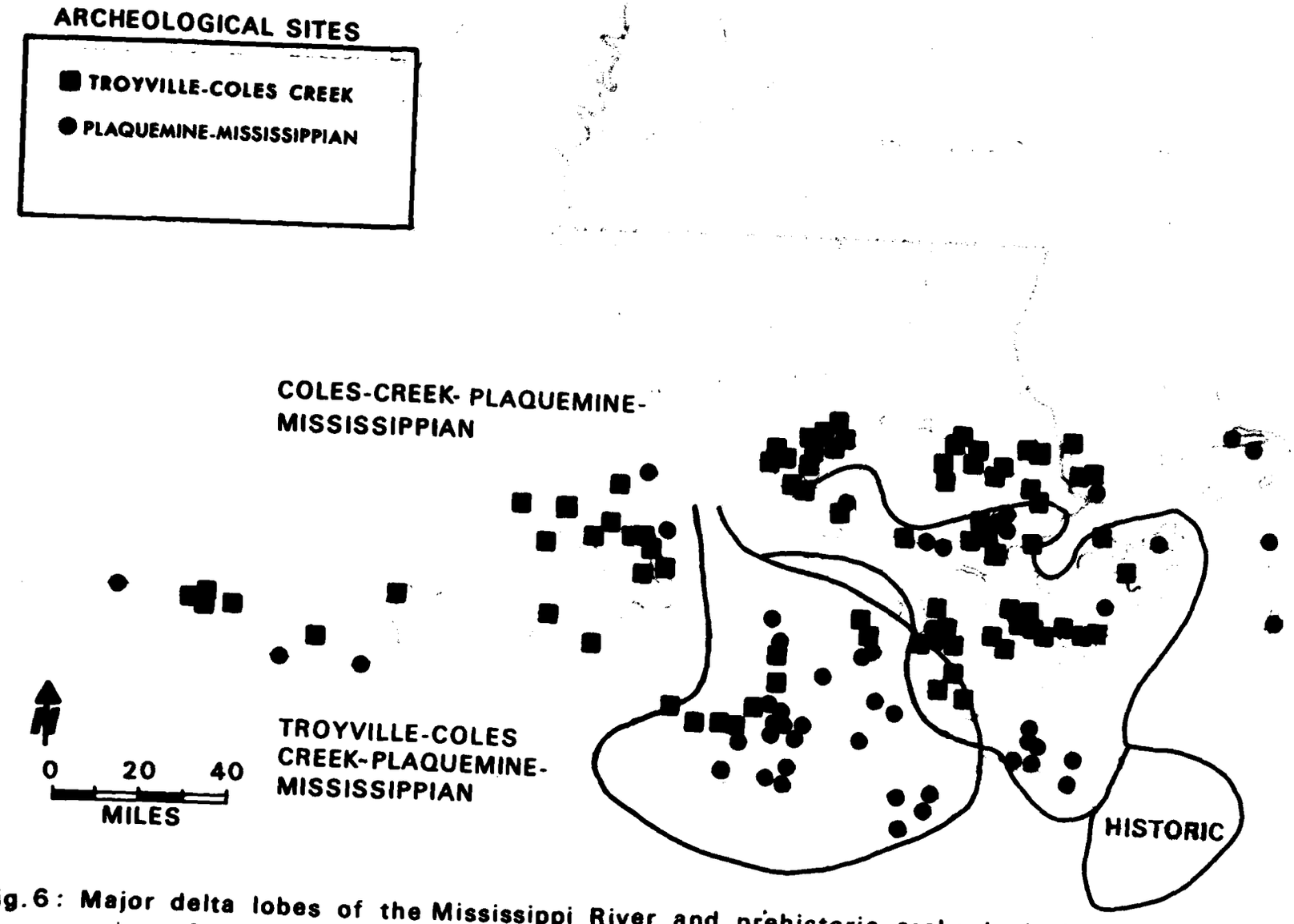


Fig. 6: Major delta lobes of the Mississippi River and prehistoric archeological sites, for interval from 1,700 years ago to present.

Adapted from: Coastal Environments, Inc., *Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico Continental Shelf*. Fig. 7-8.

delta of the Mississippi has been subsiding throughout its history. As William G. McIntire has pointed out, prehistoric archeological sites have long been used to measure subsidence. For example, the base of the Linsley site (160R40) midden in Orleans Parish was found to rest 6.5 feet below mean sea level, its highest part about 5 feet below the present ground surface. Based upon the radiocarbon dating of ancient peat deposits, the long-term average subsidence rate for the delta has been estimated at a half foot per century. Not only may local rates vary, but historical records indicate that coastal Louisiana is now subsiding as much as 4 feet per century.[57]

Concomitant with subsidence has been coastal retreat.

> Construction of dikes or levees along the Mississippi to prevent annual flooding, along with channel training and deepening programs, has created an abnormal condition in the Mississippi deltaic plain. Most of the sediment transported by the river is being dumped into the deep waters of the Gulf of Mexico at the edge of the continental shelf, and as a consequence, the delta is being deprived of the sediment needed to offset subsidence and to continue the normal land-building processes of deltaic sedimentation. This abnormal condition has caused an acceleration of land loss and coastal retreat in recent years.58

Other on-going fluvial processes also affect the survival or discoverability of archeological resources. Like other mature rivers with a gentle gradient, the Mississippi is characterized by lateral migration, meandering, cut-offs, and crevasses (episodal break-throughs of the levee). A study of 1849 to 1927 crevasses by Roger T. Saucier revealed

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57. Sherwood M. Gagliano, Richard A. Weinstein, and Eileen K. Burden, "Archeological Investigations Along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway: Coastal Louisiana Area" (a unpublished report dated 1982, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), pp. 44-47. William G. McIntire, Prehistoric Indian Settlements of the Changing Mississippi River Delta (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), pp. 24-28.

58. Gagliano, Weinstein, and Burden, "Archeological Investigations Along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway," p. 47. Although coastal retreat has increased recently, it should be mentioned that it was much more severe when, beginning some 3,500 years ago, sea levels began rising to approach present stillstand.

that the average crevasse breached the artificial levee for a distance of 500 to 1,000 feet, to a depth of 12 feet, and ran at about 65,000 cubic feet per second.[59] Thus in many cases the soils containing archeological resources have been washed away as a result of crevasses as well as river migration and lateral bank erosion.

As has been pointed out in a number of archeological reports, "the net result of the geomorphological evolution . . . in southeastern Louisiana is to diminish the total number of cultural sites which may still be intact [and] which may be discoverable by any reasonable survey methodology." And while older prehistoric sites may have survived in locales where natural levees remain unaltered, in most areas on the batture the likelihood of intact prehistoric archeological sites is low. Not only are the battures subject to intense fluvial activity, they are also typically heavily impacted by levee construction.[60]

As a result of earlier work at the Romeville Revetment site (16SJ5), the Woodstock Landing site (16EBR35), and the Welcome Plantation site (16SJ17), a model has been developed to clarify the nature of bankline exposures of archeological resources along the Mississippi River.[61]

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59. For a detailed discussion, see Roger T. Saucier, "Recent Geomorphic History of the Pontchartrain Basin," Louisiana State University, Coastal Studies Series, IX (1963). For a discussion of prehistoric adaptations to the changing environments created by crevasses, see Brian Duhe, "A Study of Prehistoric Coles Creek-Plaquemine Cultural and Technological Adaptations in the Upper Barataria Basin," Southeastern Archeological Conference Bulletin, XXIV (1981), pp. 34-37.

60. Iroquois Research Institute, "Cultural Resources Survey of Fourteen Mississippi River Levee and Revetment Items," p. 10.

61. George J. Castille, "Survey and Evaluation of the St. Alice Revetment, St. James Parish, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1979, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), pp. 7-3 to 7-8; Sherwood M. Gagliano, et al., "Cultural Resource Testing Along the Proposed Mississippi River Revetment Site Near Romeville, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1977, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), passim; Sherwood M. Gagliano, et al., "Cultural Resource Testing Along the Mississippi Riverbank of Woodstock Plantation, East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1977, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), passim.

Figure 7-a depicts an idealized cross-section of the cutbank, natural levee, and backswamp. The crest of the natural levee is above river level except during overflow episodes, hence it has been favored for human habitation, both prehistorically and historically. The results of lateral channel migration under natural conditions is shown in Figure 7-b. Although bank erosion causes a shift in the natural levee crest, sediment aggradation through overbank flooding compensates and the relative height and width of the levee is maintained. With the historic construction of artificial levees, natural fluvial processes were altered (Figure 8-c). Except in cases of crevasses or levee breaks, overbank deposition of sediment ceased and the natural levees in cutbank areas were slowly reduced in both width and height as the result of subsidence and lateral channel migration--artificial levees do not halt such bank erosion.[62]

As cutbanks approached or undermined existing artificial levees, new levees or setback levees were constructed (Figure 8-d). Borrow pits and the clearing of vegetation and structures have had obvious potential impacts upon archeological resources. In addition, cultural deposits formerly protected by the artificial levees have been exposed to riverbank erosion. Subsequent setbacks (Figure 8-e) repeated the same impacts. Not only are archeological deposits reworked or destroyed by each levee construction, but, according to one authority,

> some of the artifacts suffer further reworking as a direct result of bank erosion and may be winnowed from the midden matrix and redeposited along the bankline at different levels, according to river stage. As the batture area is subject to overbank flooding, some overbank deposition does take place and may cap the exposed midden deposits. Lastly, intrusive features such as privy pits and well shafts may eventually be exposed along the bank."[63]

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62. Lateral bank erosion is, however, reduced or halted by other devices, such as revetments.

63. Castille, "Survey and Evaluation of the St. Alice Revetment," pp. 7-8. These impacts are largely predicted and avoided or mitigated by the current cultural resources management practices of the Corps of Engineers.

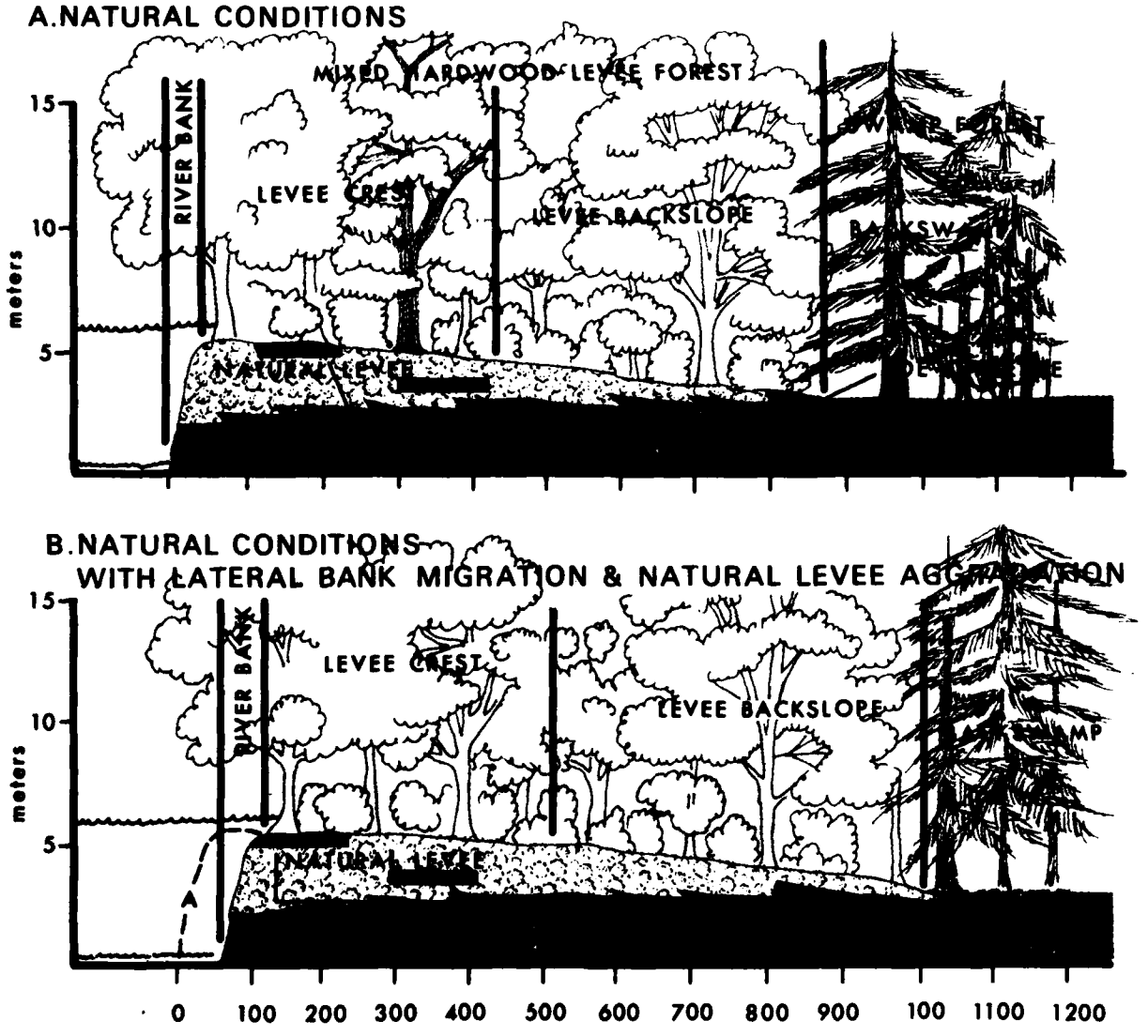


Fig.7: Idealized cross-sections of the cutbank and associated natural levees and backswamp areas showing potential prehistoric site areas.

Adapted from: Castille, *Survey and Evaluation of the St. Alice Revetment.* Fig. 7-1.

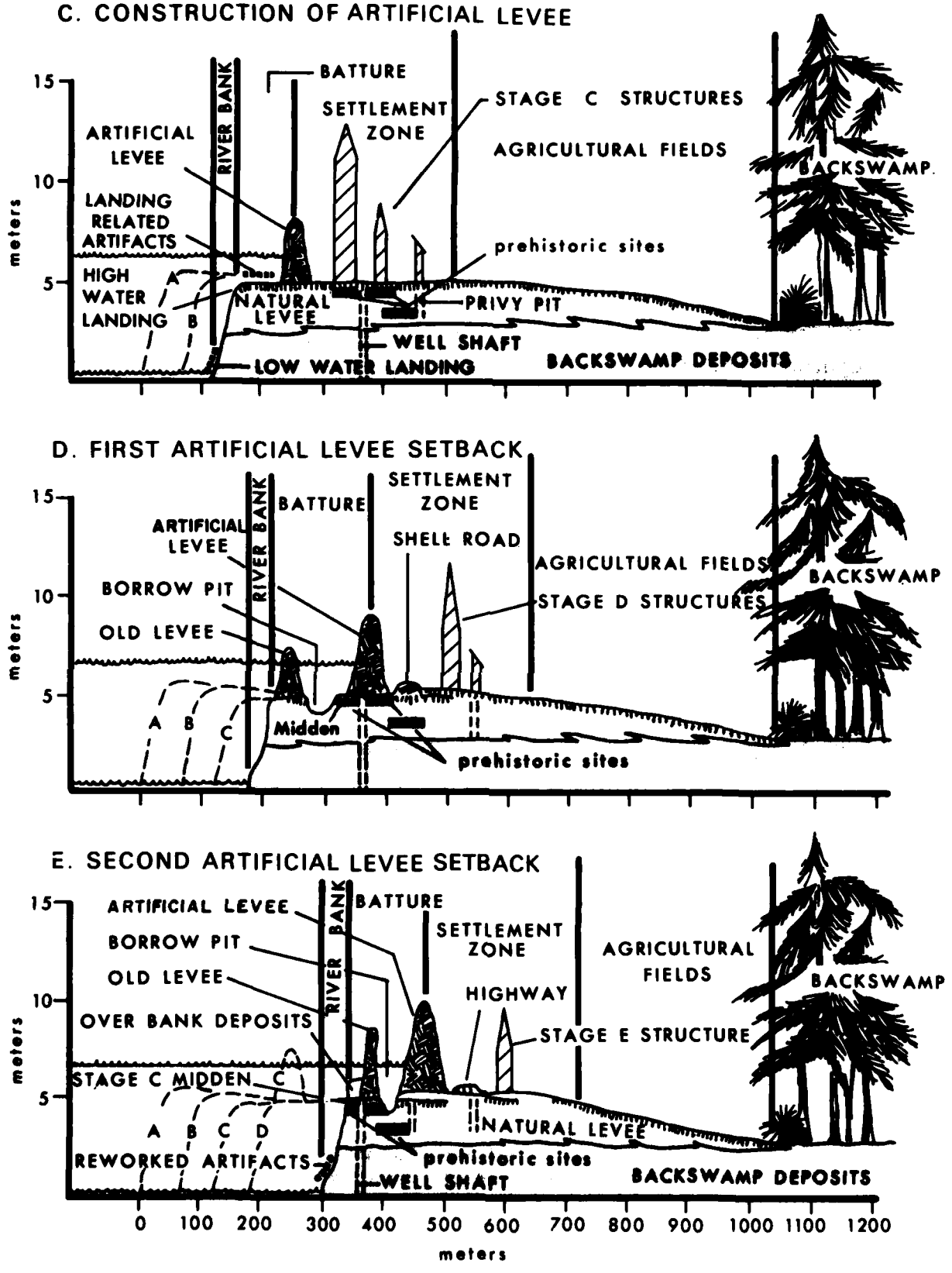


Fig.8: Idealized cross-sections of the cutbank, natural levee, and artificial levee showing potential prehistoric site areas.

E. Summary

After a hundred years of archeological research, the 13,000(+) years of southeastern Louisiana prehistory have been broken down into faily well-accepted chronological periods. The cogent facts associated with these periods are summarized below.[64]

Pre-Projectile Point Period (pre-12,000 B.C.)

diagnostic traits: crude core choppers, scrapers, planes, denticulates, large unifacial flake tools, all manufactured by direct percussion.

subsistence economy: unknown. Assume hunting and gathering.

settlement pattern: unknown.

comments: Lively Complex, weakly dated based on simple workmanship of artifacts and consistent association with geologically old landforms, may fit in this period. Early component at Avery Island. Otherwise unrepresented in area.

PaleoIndian Period (12,000 to 8000 B.C.)

diagnostic traits: lanceolate chipped-stone projectile points.

subsistence economy: hunting and gathering. Although excavations have suggested association with Pleistocene fauna, economy was probably more diversified than on Plains or in Southwest.

settlement pattern: small, temporary campsites possibly oriented toward river valleys. Known sites on terrace lands or salt dome islands.

Archaic Period (8000 to 2000 B.C.)

diagnostic traits: proliferation of local stone tool traditions, including medium to large triangular projectile points of various styles. Grinding stones, atlatls, fishhooks, burials in habitation areas.

subsistence economy: diversified local adaptations through gathering, fishing, and hunting. Considerable reliance upon shellfish.

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64. Adapted from Robert Neuman, "Archeological Assessment of Water Resource Planning Areas 9 and 10, Louisiana" (unpublished report dated 1973, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge), pp. 18-21.

settlement pattern: varied from near-sedentary to restricted migration, depending on the nature of local resources.

comments: period represents adaptations to changing post-glacial environment and "settling in" to broad-spectrum exploitation of local natural resources. Tendency toward increasing cultural complexity.

Poverty Point Period (2000 to 700 B.C.)

diagnostic traits: baked clay cooking balls, microliths, large earthworks, exotic materials, clay figurines, stone beads and pendants, steatite bowls, some fiber-tempered pottery.

subsistence economy: probably gathering, fishing, and hunting adaptation of Archaic continued, but conjectured to include domesticated native plants or even Mesoamerican cultigens. No direct archeological evidence of agriculture.

settlement pattern: sites in or near study area are dissimilar to large ceremonial mound sites which may have indicated a central-focused population. Probably same as Archaic Period.

comments: cultural florescence with Mesoamerican traits and apparent complex social organization.

Tchefuncte Period (700 B.C. to A.D. 200)

diagnostic traits: first major introduction of pottery. Conical vessels with tetrapod bases, and incised, brushed, punctated, and stamped designs on exterior. Decorated tubular clay pipes. Other artifacts similar to Archaic period.

subsistence economy: gathering, fishing, and hunting, with some evidence of incipient horticulture.

settlement pattern: coastal sites typically shell middens, inland sites often low earthen mounds. Concentration of sites on relict marine beaches near Lake Pontchartrain.

Marksville Period (100 B.C. to A.D. 400)

diagnostic traits: New ceramic forms, elaborately decorated and including stylized zoomorphic motifs. Stone and pottery platform pipes and figurines. Exotic materials. Burial mounds.

subsistence economy: gathering, fishing, and hunting, but evidence of maize horticulture at type site.

settlement pattern: Isolated burial mounds and middens may indicate beginnings of centralized social/political/religious sites serving surrounding populace.

comments: influences from the dominant Midwestern cultures are clearly indicated.

Troyville-Coles Creek Period (A.D. 400 to 1000)

diagnostic traits: clay-tempered ceramics of new styles, elbow-shaped clay pipes, earspools, mealing stones, and small projectile points signaling adoption of bow and arrow. Pyramidal mounds around plazas.

subsistence economy: increased reliance upon maize and squash agriculture, supplemented by hunting and gathering.

settlement pattern: central socio-ceremonial centers surrounded by villages, many along waterway.

Plaquemine Period (A.D. 1000 to 1700)

diagnostic traits: huge pyramidal mounds grouped around plazas. New pottery types such as brushed, incised, and clay-tempered styles, some with strap handles. Effigy pipes and vessels.

subsistence economy: heavy dependence upon maize, beans, and squash.

settlement pattern: earlier, seasonal villages and camps coming together in fall at semi-permanent towns. Later, large centralized towns on broad natural levees in prime agricultural areas.

comments: local culmination of widespread Southeast regional culture, including a cult religion with distinctive art motifs. Predecessors of some historic tribes.

Mississippian Period (A.D. 1300 to 1700)

diagnostic traits: very similar to Plaquemine Period.

subsistence economy: maize, beans, and squash agriculture.

settlement pattern: no major ceremonial centers known in study area. Salt trade and refinement of salt at Avery Island may have been important.

comments: apparently an immigration of peoples from the northeast, who had a culture contemporary with that of the Plaquemine peoples. Variants continued into historic period.

CHAPTER II: INDIAN TRIBES AND CULTURES OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER

A. Introduction

The region of the lower Mississippi River hosted numerous aboriginal groups preceding and following the early years of European contact. These groups historically represented a segment of the Southeastern Culture Area and enjoyed excellent conditions for practicing riverine agriculture, a characteristic vocation of Southeastern Indians throughout their habitat. Of particular interest are the Natchez, Tunicas, Taensas, Houmas, Bayogoulas, Mugulashas, and Chitimachas. All of these groups at one time or another figured in the historical development of the lower river region. While some were linguistically alien to one another, all shared various material and non-material cultural elements. For example, all had a chiefdom level of political organization with varying degrees of hierarchical versus egalitarian statuses. The sections that follow deal with subsistence modes, housing types, and the social organization and belief system of the Southeastern Indians.

B. Subsistence

The Southeastern Indians possessed a remarkably detailed knowledge of their environment. They hunted, farmed, gathered, and fished, although none of these subsistence modes was relied upon exclusively. Agriculture was employed alongside gathering, fishing, and hunting. Riverine agriculture, as practiced by the Southeastern Indians, was intensive in that a relatively large amount of food was produced on rather small amounts of land--the fertile, loamy, alluvial soils that occurred in varying widths along rivers throughout the Southeast. The term "riverine agriculture," is especially appropriate for the lower Mississippi River area with its rich, natural levees. Extensive swidden or slash-and-burn, forest-fallow, or shifting cultivation does not seem to have been a Southeastern method. That is, fields were not alternately planted and then fallowed for a much longer period than the time the field was cropped. Some fallowing apparently took place, but the situation was such that the land recovered quickly when fallowed, despite the rapid

soil-exhaustion properties of corn, because of regular flooding and alluvial deposition.[1]

The main agricultural strategies were multiple cropping and intercropping. The first is "the planting of two successive crops on the same field in one season," such as early and late corn. Intercropping is "the planting of several kinds of vegetables mixed together in the same field."[2] In the latter instance, the Southeastern Indians were well known for planting beans and corn together so that the beans grew up intertwined with the corn stalks. In between the hills of beans and corn and around the edges of the fields, squash, pumpkins, and sunflowers were planted. Intercropping was especially effective as an adaptive strategy because it conserved space in utilizing the relatively scarce soil suitable for riverine agriculture. And, in the case of beans and corn growing together, it helped preserve the richness of the soil as the root nodules of the beans actually returned nitrogen to the soil.[3]

C. Housing Types

Tribal variation existed in house types within the typical Southeastern Indian settlement pattern of a cluster of public buildings and houses around a central plaza or temple mound. The Chickasaws and Choctaws had a pattern of multiple houses, presumably extending back to Mississippian times, in which each family possessed a winter and summer house and perhaps a third and even a fourth building for storage. Winter homes were heavily insulated with a circular floor plan, sometimes dug two or three feet into the earth, with a cylindrical wall and conical

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1. Charles M. Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), pp. 258-89.

2. Ibid., p. 297.

3. Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Indians as Ecologists," in Christopher Vecsey and Robert Venables (eds.), American Indian Environments (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980), p. 49.

roof. The walls and roofs were plastered with six or seven inches of clay mixed with dried grass or Spanish moss. Before the mud-and-moss plaster dried on the roof, it was covered with pine-bark shingles laid in circular courses starting at the bottom and ending at the top. A curved passageway, or L-shaped door, was provided, the only opening to keep out cold winds. Early European observers are known to have referred to these winter houses as "hot houses" and "Dutch stoves" because they were so snug. Creek winter houses were similar in construction but on a rectangular floor plan. The summer houses of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks had rectangular floor plans, clapboard sides of split pine or cypress, and gable roofs of cypress or pine bark. A whitewash of powdered oyster shells or white clay was used on the walls inside and out. Sometimes the gable ends were left open for air flow; at other times only a small opening was provided--a tiny doorway to help keep out insects. The Natchez used only a single house all year, one with a square floor plan, mud-and-moss walls, and a domed or hemispherical roof of thatch. A distinctive open, cypress-framed house with a raised platform for working and sleeping and a gable roof thatched with palmetto leaves was that of the Seminoles and Miccosukees in Florida.[4]

Along the lower Mississippi, the Bayogoulas, the Houmas, and the Mugulashas are identified as Muskogean-speaking tribes related to the Choctaws. The village on the west bank shared by the Bayogoulas and Mugulashas in 1700 apparently possessed two temples and 107 cabins, and the Houmas at the same time had 140 cabins on the east bank. Such structures of these area groups were likely similar in appearance to the Choctaw houses described above.[5] It is assumed that like other Southeastern type houses, those along the lower Mississippi were:

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4. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, pp. 213-17; George P. Murdock, Ethnographic Atlas (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967), pp. 60-61.

5. Frederick W. Hodge (comp., ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (2 vols.; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, 1907), I, 137, 577, 954.

> two-pitched and gabled . . . rectangular, with four vertical walls of poles plastered over with mud to form mud wattle or of a pole frame covered with thatch. The fire was built in the middle of the earthen floor, and bed platforms were placed around the walls. Such dwellings were normally occupied by a single family, but those of a number of related families were built close together in extended family clusters. The eaves were a little higher than a man's head, the length fifteen or twenty feet, and the width somewhat less.[6]

D. Social Organization

Social organization begins with kinship, which among the Southeastern Indians was exclusively matrilineal, except for the Yuchis who had patrilineal as well as matrilineal descent. In matrilineal descent, an individual is related to men and women as blood relatives through women only as links between generations. Kinship is, of course, the key to family, lineage, and clan membership, all of which are important for social, moral, religious, economic, and political obligations on the part of the individual to the tribe and vice-versa. Kinship obligations are the basis for the expectations of reciprocity in all other areas of Southeastern *Indian life between* the individual and his society and natural/supernatural environment. Matrilineal kinship meant that a youth looked to his mother's brother for guidance, support, and education rather than to his father, as in Anglo-American society. The mother's brother had authority over him and his siblings as the closest senior male blood relative. The mother's brother was not only important as a role model but also as a sponsor to the basic kin group among the Southeastern Indians, the matrilineage. The matrilineal lineage, or matrilineage, traced descent from a known ancestress and formed a localized residential group that had usufruct rights, that cooperated economically, and often shared certain ceremonial right duties.[7]

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6. Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 124.

7. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, p. 185; Robert F. Spencer, Jesse D. Jennings, et al, The Native Americans (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1977), p. 418; James Adair, History of the American Indians (London: E.C. Dilley, 1775. Reprint, Johnson City, Tenn.: Watauga Press, 1930), p. 5; Christopher Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," in Vecsey and Venables, American Indian Environments, pp. 11, 13, 17, 21.

Several lineages comprised a clan, all of whom claimed descent from the same ancestor, either a person or a character from mythology such as an animal and known as the founder of the clan. The Matriclan regulated marriage in that clan elders often arranged but did not force marriages between one of its own members and a member of another clan. Southeastern clans were exogamous. One had to marry outside the clan because a sexual relationship with a clan member was considered incestuous. The clan was the source of religious obligations towards its founding spirits. Clan-origin stories almost always fit in with the larger myths of the tribe and its place in the cosmos. Clan members in other towns were the source of hospitality when traveling. One definition of a clan is "a series of lineages scattered about in various towns," which meant that one had relatives all over the tribal territory who could be counted upon for aid, implied reciprocity being understood.[8]

One authority views the clan as "the most important social entity to which a person belonged." One's civil rights stemmed from clan membership, a phenomenon particularly evident if an enemy were captured. The captive was subject to death by torture unless adopted into a clan, in which case he could not be touched for fear of the adopting clan's vengeance. Clan obligations figured into the motivation for forming war parties, to honor the dead by seeking revenge. Indeed, one of the most solemn of religious ceremonies consisted of placing a slain enemy's scalp on top of the house of a fallen clansman. In a sense, this ritual meant social and cosmic order restored, according to the ideology of reciprocity in all spheres--social, natural, and supernatural. The souls of clansmen who had been killed by an enemy were thought to be accepted by the achievement of blood revenge, and the honor of the clan was thereby restored. The clan was also important in politics. With some Southeastern Indian peoples, a particular clan had the right of naming the ruler, either through strict matrilineal inheritance as among the Natchez, or by consensus of the clan council as among the Creeks. In the latter case a micco or chief executive officer was chosen whose power was that of influence and persuasion. The only tribe whose ruler

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8. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, p. 192.

had a semblance of absolute authority and truly coercive power was the Natchez, and even the Great Sun's power was geographically limited because some tribal splinter groups arose who refused to follow him. Even the Great Sun, despite the veneration and deference shown to him, had a council of elders and warriors "to whom he listened and whose advice he greatly respected."[9]

Southeastern Indian societies consisted of chiefdoms, possessing a level of political organization somewhere between that of a band and a state. That is, individual bands or towns were organized into larger units, such as confederations, but lacked the centralized government characteristic of states. Each of the Southeastern peoples, with the possible exception of the Natchez, maintained a council of the chiefdom that was a thoroughly democratic body. Decisions were made by consensus. Anyone who so desired could speak, and all members listened politely. Eventually a consensus was reached when differences were resolved. Harmony and the avoidance of conflict were values so that open disagreement was not pursued and sometimes not even expressed.[10]

The functional symbol of a Southeastern chiefdom was its annual Green Corn Dance. If a group broke off from a larger one to be independent, the mark of the new chiefdom was a new Green Corn Ceremony. This was a time of renewal and rededication to tribal values as well as a time for tribal and clan administrative business, such as the announcement and performance of marriages in the name of the two clans involved. A typical Southeastern marriage ceremony went as follows:

> The boy went out in the woods and killed a deer or bear, showing that he could provide meat, and therefore was a man. In the company of his lineage [or clan], the boy then presented the meat of butchered animal to the girl, and she in turn presented him with an ear of corn or some food she had cooked, showing that she could provide vegetable food and therefore was a woman. In some cases, they exchanged bean

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9. Ibid., pp. 193, 210, 239, 257.

10. Ibid., p. 224.

> poles--pieces of wood or cane around which bean vines twined . . . symbolizing sexual union. After this, they were considered married, and the house [which the boy had built earlier] became the girl's property.[11]

Polygyny was permitted, a man having more than one wife at the same time, and sororal polygyny was preferred. A man might marry several sisters on the grounds that sisters usually got along well with one another or at least better than unrelated women. Sisters might live with their husband in the same house, but unrelated women always maintained separate dwellings. One wife, the first, became the principal wife with authority over the others. Sisters were also preferred because they were of the same lineage and clan, and, given matrilocal residence, the children would be reared in the lineage of which they were members. If a second wife were not of the same lineage as the first, she would have to move away from her own lineage to live with her husband in the lineage of his first wife. Her children had to grow up in a lineage not their own. Many women were reluctant to become second wives under these circumstances.[12]

The Southeastern tribes had what is known as dual organization in which the clans were grouped into two larger units called moieties, or halves of the tribe. Rights and duties accrued, mostly ceremonial, to each moiety in relation to the other. Among the Choctaws, for example, funerals were conducted and condolences expressed in a variety of ways by one moiety for its opposite when a death occurred. This complementary function was probably related to notions of pollution, with death and the shedding of human blood being considered pollution. Social dual organization paralleled that of the cosmos--the focus of purity versus those of pollution--in the recognition that nature is destructive and dangerous but also nurturing, attractive, and giving.[13]

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11. Ibid., p. 198.

12. Ibid., p. 199.

13. Ibid., pp. 234-39, 252; Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," p. 36.

War also comprised a part of Southeastern social organization. Once begun, the cycle of attacking and counterattacking between tribes is understandable because of the ethic of clan retribution. What should be noted is that the rite of passage of becoming a man was tied to warfare. Young men acquired war names and social honor by exploits in warfare. So, too, did older men rise in status by their exploits, which were based more upon egalitarian skill rather than upon ascribed status. This was true even among the very hierarchical Natchez. Thus, the waging of seasonal war--late spring, summer, and early fall--was tied to personal honor as well as to clan honor. Personal honor may have been behind the statement of a Southeastern Indian that, "we cannot live without war." Once tied to the rite of passage of becoming a man, each generation sought war because individuals "fought more or less as individuals," and not as groups according to a strategic plan. Yet a successful war party often meant social and cosmic order restored, at least temporarily, in the overall strategy of Southeastern Indian life.[14]

E. Belief Systems

If one word could epitomize the Southeastern Indian belief system, it is "order"--order in the supernatural and natural worlds comprised of opposing forces of good and evil. Most rituals and ceremonies were concerned with purity and pollution, i.e., maintaining purity and exorcising pollution after it occurred, hence the presence of many behavioral taboos.[15]

The Southeastern Indian cosmos consisted of three worlds: the "Under World" beneath the earth and the waters, the "Upper World" above the sky vault, and "This World" between the other two. A common Southeastern motif, that of circle and cross on a shell gorget, symbolized "This World," which was thought to be a great flat island resting on the surface of the waters, suspended from the vault of the sky by four cords

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14. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, pp. 239-57; Ruth M. Underhill, Red Man's America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 47.

15. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, p. 121.

at each of the cardinal directions. "The Upper World epitomized order and expectableness, while the Under World epitomized disorder and change, and This World stood somewhere between perfect order and complete chaos."[16]

The numbers four and seven were traditionally sacred among the Southeastern Indians; four represented the cardinal directions and seven stood for the sum of the four cardinal directions and the three worlds of spiritual and natural life. Many activities had a time duration of four days, months, or years, such as the rule that a widow or widower had to mourn through four years or four Green Corn Ceremonies before remarrying. Or when an herbal medicine was to be drunk, four (sometimes seven) live coals would be put in the potion to strengthen it through the power of fire, the Sun's earthly representative. The Sun of the Upper World was the source of purity and of the lifeforce, symbolized by each tribe's sacred communal fire that was renewed each year during the Green Corn Ceremony. Among the Natchez, the Great Sun was perceived as a direct descendant of the sun itself.[17]

Basic to the Southeastern belief system was the concept of a natural balance or, rather, a natural/supernatural balance. The hunter in killing must take proper ritual precautions to respect the spirit of the animal, to exploit nature in order to live, but to do so carefully, not wantonly. Nature is not infinitely forgiving, but may strike back if abused. This belief is vividly illustrated concerning the place of snakes in the cosmos. Snakes as a category were associated with the Under World, yet in This World one could encounter a snake in all realms--"swimming in the water, crawling on the land, and hanging from a tree limb"[18] --symbolically transcending all three worlds and thus representing the natural/supernatural balance of the three worlds of the universe. One must never kill a snake wantonly, but only for medicine or some other

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16. Ibid., p. 125.

17. Ibid., pp. 126, 172, 201.

18. Ibid., pp. 145, 159, 172.

important purpose, or one will be in danger. This was a widely held Southeastern belief and one still current among the Seminoles and Miccosukees in Florida. In a way, the snake embodied the balance between good and evil; although dangerous, its teeth, rattles (in the case of a rattlesnake), flesh, and oil were integral parts of the Southeastern materia medica both ritually and physically. The snake represented nature in that, by and large, it only struck back when greatly disturbed.[19]

It must be understood that in living in This World the Southeastern Indians lived between two worlds that opposed one another, the Upper and Under Worlds. The role of religious practitioners--sacred rulers among the Natchez and shamans among other Southeastern tribes--was to balance these opposing forces through diagnosis of moral rules broken and of spirts offended, like that of the secretive, nocturnal cougar or panther, which had both Upper and Under World traits. The Natchez had an admirable trait, if somewhat drastic, regarding their medical shamans' accountability: "Recovery of the patient spelled a large fee; his death brought the death of the shaman at the hands of relatives." Treatment often involved the prescription of herbs. Southeastern Indian herbalism was extensive, a pharmacopoeia unfortunately largely unstudied by modern medicine.[20]

Witchcraft was another belief found among the Southeastern Indians, i.e., the belief that evil and misfortune can be directed at one by others, "even by kinsmen and close neighbors, working through mystical means."[21] Although jealousy and ambiguity, especially prevalent in small-scale societies, may lie at the heart of witchcraft, its accusations were very serious and were assiduously avoided. Stories about witches

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19. Ibid., pp. 145, 165-66.

20. Ibid., pp. 142-46, 160; Spencer and Jennings, The Native Americans, pp. 421-22. See, for example, William C. Sturtevant, "The Mikasuki Seminole: Medical Beliefs and Practices" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1954).

21. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, p. 174.

fit in with other Southeastern folk tales in pointing to the basic Southeastern ideological themes of good versus evil, purity versus pollution. In the case of witches, those who were subject to be regarded as witches were often old, yet aged persons among the Southeastern Indians commanded great respect, admiration, and influence. Were they sometimes distrusted, just because they were knowledgeable and powerful? At least one authority suggests that this was so.[22]

There is an element of sympathetic magic in guarding against witchcraft, in which an object or practice can influence similar objects or practices. For example, there was a Southeastern belief that a person could rear a child to be a witch "by isolating him from visitors and by feeding him not milk from his mother's breast but the liquid from fermented hominy." The antidote was for community members to slip the baby some food prepared by a menstruating woman, thereby nullifying the alleged attempt of a mother to bring up a witch. Normally, menstruating women would avoid handling food for fear of polluting it, but not in this case in which like counteracts like.[23]

In treating a patient it was important to diagnose the cause of the ailment because symptoms disappeared when the cause was dealt with properly. Causes might include the breaking of a behavioral taboo, a dream purporting some evil intent, the anger of an offended spirit, or the malevolence of a human witch. Healing shamans or doctors were sometimes thought to go wrong and become witches. As mentioned above for the Natchez, a curer or doctor whose ministrations failed too often might be killed on suspicion of witchcraft. "Southeasterners felt that spirit power, properly used, must always bring success." Properly used spiritual power meant restoring the balance of nature by the adjustment of opposing supernatural forces.[24]

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22. Ibid., pp. 175, 179.

23. Ibid., p. 182; Charles Winick, Dictionary of Anthropology (Patterson, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1961), pp. 334-35.

24. Underhill, Red Man's America, p. 41.

Formal worship or religious ceremonies centered around a temple found in each community and often raised upon an earthen mound. The so-called temple cult seems to be directly linked with prehistoric Mississippian cultures of the area, and through them to the classic cultures of Mesoamerica. Ceremonies focused upon the annual Green Corn Ceremony. The ceremony represented a time of renewal, the rekindling of the sacred fire, the forgiveness of all sins or violations of the moral code, the formalization of marriages, and the inspection of the sacred medicine bundle. The several clans of a tribe played key roles in the sequence of events.[25]

F. Southeastern Language Families

For purposes of further classification, the Indian languages in what is now the state of Louisiana at the time of European contact and shortly thereafter may be divided into two language phyla, two or three language families, and four language isolates. The Macro-Algonkin phylum and Macro-Siouan phylum are represented, the latter by the Caddoan language family and the Kadohadacho language in northwestern Louisiana. The former comprises the Muskogean language family within which are such languages as Chickasaw, Choctaw, Coushatta, and Houma.[26]

The Louisiana language isolates of the Macro-Algonkin phylum are Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Tunica. These languages may be regarded as related, however remotely, to the Muskogean language family, that is, related to a common parent language, Proto-Muskogean. Nevertheless, these languages have diverged more, with fewer cognates and morphemic resemblances than the languages that today are regarded

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25. Spencer and Jennings, The Native Americans, pp. 404, 415.

26. Charles F. and Florence M. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages (New York: Rand, McNally Company for the American Ethnological Society, 1966); Clarence H. Webb and Hiram F. Gregory, The Caddo Indians of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Archeological Survey, Anthropological Study Number 2), p. 31.

as Muskogean.[27] The amount of divergence or distance in time for a so-called genetic or common-descent relationship to have obtained between the Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Tunica languages as sister languages of those labeled Muskogean and as daughter languages of Proto-Muskogean is "at a time depth in excess of two millennia."[28] One suggestion is that a separate taxon exists for Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Tunica within the Macro-Algonkin phylum--the Gulf language family.[29] This term is comparable to another categorization--that of the Tunican language family--as one of the three aboriginal language families found in Louisiana: Caddoan, Gulf or Tunican, and Muskogean with Siouan added later when the Biloxis migrated from Alabama.[30]

Speakers of Caddoan languages clustered aboriginally in the northwestern section of what is now Louisiana. Gulf or Tunican speakers bordered the Mississippi River in the upper reaches of the state where the river is shared by the present-day state of Mississippi. Tunican speakers also occupied the central and southwestern portions of Louisiana as well as much of the southeastern section along the coast as far east as the delta but not including the actual mouth of the Mississippi. The rest of Louisiana was occupied by Muskogean speakers, that is, the west and east banks of the Mississippi River from its confluence with the Red River to the Gulf of Mexico and the southeastern area of Louisiana south of the border with the state of Mississippi between the Mississippi and Pearl rivers. Muskogeans such as the Bayogoulas and Houmas inhabited the

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27. Voegelin and Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages; Hudson, Southeastern Indians, p. 23; Driver, Indians of North America, pp. 35-47; Mary R. Haas, "Southeastern Indian Linguistics," in Charles M. Hudson (ed.), Red, White, and Black (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), pp. 44-54.

28. Haas, "Southeastern Indian Linguistics," p. 50.

29. Ibid., pp. 48-50.

30. John R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952), pp. 193-94; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana: A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1971), p. 14.

lower Mississippi along with three Tunican groups, the Natchez, the Tunicas, and the Chitimachas.[31]

G. Individual Tribes, Cultures, and Migratory Movements

Many of the Indian groups who came to live along the lower river had long histories of physical displacement owing to a variety of circumstances. Some had been subjected to the vicissitudes of war and disease, which prompted their removal from one place to another. Others changed their abode more voluntarily because of encroachment. As of 1700 the Taensas, Natchez, Houmas, Tunicas, Bayogoulas, Mugulashas, Quinipissas, Tangipahoas, Acolapissas, Chitimachas, Chawashas, and Washas were situated from north to south along the river in what is today Louisiana.

At the time of contact the Taensas occupied an area on the west bank of the Mississippi in present-day Tensas Parish around Lake St. Joseph. Despite a language difference--the Taensas being Muskogean and the Natchez Tunican--the Taensas were similar in culture to their Natchez neighbors, who occupied the opposite bank just south of them in what is now the state of Mississippi around the city of Natchez. Both possessed hierarchical, socially stratified societies that were prehistorically Mississippian in origin. The Taensas moved downriver in 1706 on account of threats from the Chickasaws and Yazoos, respectively, from northern Mississippi and from the Yazoo River where it flows into the Mississippi. The Bayogoulas, on the west bank, took them in to their regret. The Taensas soon turned on their hosts, severely harming them. The Taensas moved on to what is now the town of Edgard, St. John the Baptist Parish, farther south along the west bank. In 1715, they crossed the Mississippi and went north to Manchac, just south of present-day Baton Rouge. Later that year, they arrived on the coast at Mobile, present-day Alabama, where they stayed until 1763. At that time they moved back to the Red River in present-day Rapides Parish, Louisiana. The Taensas remained there until around 1806 when they migrated south to Grand Lake. Here they inter-married when they migrated south to

31. Davis, Louisiana: A Narrative History, pp. 14-15.

Grand Lake. Here they inter-married with and were absorbed by the Chitimachas.[32]

Culturally similar to the Taensas were their neighbors the Natchez, the third most important tribe, politically, in the Indian affairs of French Louisiana. In 1729 the Natchez successfully attacked the French post in their midst, Fort Rosalie, and thereafter never returned to their main village. In 1731, they attacked the Natchitoches Indians on the Red River in the vicinity of the present town of that name, and were temporarily victorious. But the Natchitoches and the French soon counterattacked, repulsing the Natchez, who withdrew to the Chickasaws in Mississippi. Eventually, the Natchez dispersed, some remaining with the Chickasaws, while some resided with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The host groups eventually ended up in the Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma where many Natchez descendents remain.[33]

The Houmas at contact apparently controlled an area along the Mississippi from West Feliciana Parish south to Orleans Parish. In 1683 their principal village stood on the east bank of the Mississippi at present-day Angola, West Feliciana Parish. They left in 1706 as the result of a surprise attack upon them by the Tunicas, whom they had earlier accepted as refugees from Alabama and Chickasaw disturbances farther north. The Houmas fled south to Bayou St. John near present-day New Orleans. However, they soon established a village upriver where Bayou Lafourche enters the Mississippi on the west bank at present-day Donaldsonville. By 1714 a home base or grand village had been established on the east bank near the contemporary village of Burnside. Houmas House, the restored 1840s plantation home named for the Houmas, is at or very near this site. The Houmas stayed in the Burnside-Donaldsonville area, Ascension Parish, for nearly a century,

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32. Emanuel J. Drechsel and T. Haunani Makuakane-Drechsel, An Ethnohistory of Nineteenth Century Louisiana Indians (New Orleans: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1982), p. 15.

33. Patricia D. Woods, French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762 (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1980), p. 1.

occupying both sides of the river during that period. Nevertheless, a southward migration gradually occurred to what is now Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes. Some Houmas apparently acquired rights to lands on Bayou Terrebonne in Lafourche Parish prior to 1803. The Houmas today inhabit settlements in and around the towns of Dulac, Houma, and Golden Meadow.[34]

The Tunicas, similar in culture to the Natchez and one-time adversaries of the Houmas, resided on the Yazoo River in present-day Mississippi not far from that stream's confluence with the Mississippi River. During the sixteenth century the Tunicas lived farther up the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Arkansas River. Between 1706 and 1731 the tribesmen lived in the former Houma village near modern Angola, Louisiana, although between 1731 and 1763 they were farther south along the Mississippi at present Trudeau, Louisiana. They soon crossed the Mississippi, went up the Red River, and settled some time between 1784 and 1790 on the flatlands near present Marksville, Avoyelles Parish, on land obtained from the Avoyel Indians and confirmed by a Spanish land grant of October 7, 1786. The Tunicas gained Federal recognition as an American Indian tribal entity in 1794 as the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana. The Biloxis had moved to the Marksville area from Pearl River some time after 1763.[35]

Another group occupying the lower river region were the Bayagoulas, who at the time of contact with Europeans lived near the present-day west bank village of Bayou Goula in Iberville Parish. (This is the location of the archeologically noted Bayou Goula Site with

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34. Melisa M. Green, Louisiana Indian Maps: Historic and Contemporary Community Locations (New Orleans: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1982), p. 5; Greg Bowman and Janel Curry-Roper, The Houma People of Louisiana: A Story of Indian Survival (Harvey, La.: United Houma Nation, 1982), p. 6.

35. Jeffrey P. Brain, On the Tunica Trail (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Archaeological Survey, Study Number 1, 1977), p. 3.

prehistoric and historic Indian horizons.)[36] After the 1706 surprise attack by the Taensas, the Bayogoulas "huddled" somewhere near present New Orleans, moving upriver around 1739 to locate in Ascension Parish south of the Houmas, into which tribe they were eventually absorbed. A related tribe, the Mugulashas, who were sharing a village with the Bayogoulas at what is now the Bayou Goula Site in the spring of 1700, were destroyed in a surprise attack by the host tribe. Individual survivors were probably adopted by the Bayogoulas.

The Quinipissas occupied a site on the west bank of the Mississippi River above New Orleans somewhere in St. Charles Parish. They were contacted by LaSalle in 1682 and by Henri de Tonti in 1686, but were not known to Iberville in 1699. Merger with the Mugulashas possibly occurred, as the Mugulasha chief who headed the Mugulashas of the Bayogoula village in 1700 was the same person who headed the Quinipissas at the time of the LaSalle and Tonti visits. Similarly, another tribe, the Tangipahoas, were absorbed early in the French period by the Acolapissas, but were located in what is now St. Charles Parish. Another group of Tangipahoas inhabited a site on the Tangipahoa River in present-day Tangipahoa Parish. At contact the Acolapissas were located on the Pearl River, a short distance from its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico. In 1702 they moved to the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain, but by 1718 they were situated on the east bank of the Mississippi. They had merged with the Houmas by 1739.

One group, the Chitimachas, have remained where they were located when the French arrived, with the exception of a move upriver to the head of Bayou Lafourche. This was in the area around present Charenton, Louisiana, and on Bayou Teche, Grand Lake, and Bayou Lafourche. The Chitimacha today have a Federally recognized reservation at Charenton, St. Mary Parish. European contact with the Chitimachas occurred in 1699. Within twenty years they were settling at the behest

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36. George I. Quimby, The Bayou Goula Site, Iberville Parish, Louisiana (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, Fieldiana, Anthropology Publication 47, February, 1957), pp. 87-170.

of the French on the west bank of the Mississippi near Plaquemine, Iberville Parish. By 1739, however, the tribesmen had settled among the Houmas near Donaldsonville at the mouth of Bayou Lafourche. By 1784 they had been settling along Bayous Lafourche and Teche, and within a century the Chitimachas were back in the Charenton area. In 1911, the tribe achieved Federal recognition, a status reaffirmed under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Two peoples related to the Chitimachas were the Washa and Chawashas, both tribes who suffered early at the hands of the French. Contact occurred in 1699 when the Washa were living along Bayou Lafourche. In 1715 the tribe moved about five miles upriver to a place on the west bank above New Orleans. By 1739, they were located farther upriver along the same bank. The Washa were displaced by the French, but the Chawasha were purposely gunned down. At contact the Chawasha, too, were situated on Bayou Lafourche. In 1712 they moved to the west bank of the Mississippi below English Turn, but within ten years they had crossed to the east bank about a mile downriver. There they were subjected to an attack by the French following the Natchez assault on Fort Rosalie in 1729. The survivors fled upriver to the Washa and were last known to be among them as of 1739 and 1758.[37]

Further north, the Coushattas or Koasatis entered Louisiana about 1795 and settled along Red River. More members of this tribe, earlier part of the Creek Confederacy in Alabama, arrived after the Creek War 1812-1814 until by 1861 a Coushatta community had been established on the Calcasieu River near Kinder, Louisiana. In 1884, the Coushattas bought land near Elton, Louisiana, in Allen Parish, where the Federally recognized tribe is now located.

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37. Hiram F. Gregory, "The Chitimaca: Men Altogether Red," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview." Ed. by Nicholas R. Spitzer (unpublished report dated 1979, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), p. 227.

One of the largest tribes residing in the area of the lower Mississippi were the Choctaws, a group who profoundly influenced the course of history along the river. They occupied at least eight contemporary locations in Louisiana.[38] Choctaws first began moving into Louisiana after 1718 when New Orleans was founded. Another movement occurred in 1763 at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War when the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain and the Red River became Choctaw abodes. More tribesmen came in 1830 following the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek which called for the Indians' removal from their traditional lands further east. The Choctaws are presently scattered throughout Louisiana with prominent settlements located on Lake Pontchartrain and in LaSalle, Grant, and Rapides Parishes. The Choctaws in Louisiana do not have Federal recognition and apparently have never sought it.

H. Sharing Betrayed

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, enough examples exist to suggest a pattern of sharing and cooperation between Indian peoples with one group then suddenly turning on another, a phenomenon some authorities call "quickly broken alliances," which was alluded to earlier.[39] Refugees turning on their hosts is part of this pattern of which several examples exist. During the winter of 1699-1700, the Houmas crossed the Mississippi River and for unknown reasons attacked the Bayogoulas, who were quite similar to them in language and culture. It is possible that the Bayogoulas were the aggressors, a role they unquestionably assumed later in the spring of 1700 when they rose against the Mugulashas, who shared their village, probably because of a dispute between tribal leaders. Ironically, as noted earlier, in 1706 the Bayogoulas suffered a similar fate at the hands of the Taensas who had taken refuge with them. Also in 1706 the Tunicas surprised their Houma hosts and attacked them.[40]

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38. Green, Louisiana Indian Maps, p. 3.

39. Bowman and Curry-Roper, Houma People, p. 5.

40. Nicholas R. Spitzer, "The Houma Indians," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 205; Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, p. 200; Albert S. Gatschet and Cyrus Thomas, "Bayogoula," in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, I, 137.

Despite political pressures fostered by French and English competition for Indian allies, it cannot be assumed that the French presence along the lower Mississippi River was always necessarily disruptive. The French in the spring of 1700 in the person of Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville helped mediate a long-standing boundary dispute between the Bayogoulas and the Houmas over hunting territories. The peaceful agreement and the "baton rouge" or red marker "formed the base of an alliance, which was to continue for many years."[41] Presumably, however, anger towards Europeans was a motivating and complicating factor in some of the attacks. As earlier mentioned, in 1729 the Natchez attacked the French, and in 1731, they attacked two allies of the French, the Tunicas and the Natchitoches. Such anger towards Europeans and their Indian allies often resulted from newly created competition for land and resources.[42] One authority, Patricia D. Woods, stated that "the French no longer intended to share the land, but rather, to take it all, and . . . the Natchez [therefore] struck back violently."[43]

The Indian expectation of sharing is especially relevant in the Tunicas' hosting of the Natchez in the summer of 1731, when the latter turned on their benefactors in a surprise attack. Some of the details of these events help illustrate a cultural process. Woods describes how in mid-April, 1731, several Natchez hunters requested permission of the Tunica chief for the Natchez people to settle among them. Permission was granted, and the Natchez began arriving in Tunica territory over the next two months. Some 200 or so had arrived by June 13, 1731, the night that the Natchez attacked their hosts, following a feigned celebration in honor of their newfound home. At this time, the Tunicas, with only about 100 people, were outnumbered. In the fighting that ensued, the Tunica political chief was killed along with about one-fifth of the tribe. The Tunica war chief with forty or fifty warriors was able to

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41. Bowman and Curry-Roper, Houma People, p. 5.

42. Driver, Indians of North America, p. 311.

43. Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 108.

regroup and recapture the village from the Natchez after five days of fighting.[44]

An intriguing question is why the Tunicas accepted the Natchez in the first place? They must surely have remembered their own treachery twenty-five years earlier when they tricked the Houmas who had honored them with a place to settle. The Tunicas allowed a superior force to come into their midst and graciously fed them. Why, therefore, were they not more suspicious, given that they were still allies of the French? One answer is that the cultural values of sharing and extending hospitality were operative and took precedence over any suspicions. The Natchez, too, had such values, traditionally strong in many North American Indian peoples.[45] The turncoats were seemingly following situational ethics with the traditional motive and method of group revenge and the surprise attack. European contact was the situation that changed the ethics, thereby repudiating the ethic of sharing. The French, with the Natchez, would not share the land.

I. A Cultural Comparison of the Choctaw and the Natchez

As noted, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Natchez Indians have been described as the three most important tribes of French Louisiana, i.e., politically important in terms of the external affairs of the colony. Two of these groups, the Choctaws and the Natchez, provide means for cultural comparison because the former represented an egalitarian society and the latter a hierarchical or authoritarian one. Representatives of both societies frequented the lower Mississippi River, although hierarchical ones predominated, as seen in the hereditary classes of the Natchez, the endogamous castes (required marriage within) of the Chitimacha, and the absolutely authoritarian priests or shamans of the Taensas.[46] The Caddos, by contrast, presented a more egalitarian

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44. Ibid., p. 106.

45. George B. Grinnell, "Tenure of Land Among the Indians," American Anthropologist, IX (January-March, 1907), pp. 1-11.

46. Walter B. Miller, "Two Concepts of Authority," American Anthropologist, LVII (April, 1955), pp. 271-89; Spencer and Jennings, The Native Americans, p. 418.

lifestyle with much emphasis on discussion to reach consensus and much emphasis on individual dignity and the avoidance of conflict. In an egalitarian society, leadership and achievement occur through social recognition of individual skills. Egalitarianism and autocracy also carried over into tribal government, as seen in the respective systems of the Choctaws and the Natchez. As one authority put it, "a Choctaw . . . could never accept the government that the Natchez revered and implicity obeyed."[47]

In comparing the Choctaw and Natchez it is noted that in the area of subsistence both had the same proportion devoted to fishing, 16 to 25 percent, and that neither practiced animal husbandry. The Choctaw depended somewhat more on gathering, 16 to 25 percent versus 0 to 5 percent dependence for the Natchez. The Natchez had a 10 percent greater dependence on hunting and trapping than the Choctaws, and a 10 percent greater dependence on agriculture, even though the Choctaws were outstanding farmers.[48] Extensive or shifting cultivation, as opposed to intensive agriculture with permanent fields, was practiced by both peoples. *Extensive cultivation* requires that new fields be cleared annually, worked for a year or two, then allowed to revert to forest or brush for a relatively long fallow period. In both tribes the two sexes participated in horticultural pursuits, with women doing appreciably more than men. Cultivation of town fields, however, especially the initial clearing, comprised men's work.

Descent was matrilineal among the Choctaw and Natchez, and matrilineal descent among the latter determined membership in the classes of Suns, Nobles, Honoreds, and Stinkards. A deity was present in both societies, but was ritually connected to the four ranked social classes among the Natchez. Although the Choctaws had political chiefs and war

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47. Paul A. Kunkel, "The Indians of Louisiana, About 1700: Their Customs and Manner of Living," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (July, 1951), p. 182.

48. Murdock, Ethnographic Atlas, pp. 114-17.

leaders, and matrilineal clans and moieties (kinship-based halves of a group or society), they did not possess the class stratification that was so typical of the Natchez. Thus, the Choctaws could permit variations, indeed, in individual repute achieved through skill, valor, piety, or wisdom characteristic of an egalitarian society. The Natchez practiced elite stratification in which an upper class derives and maintains superior status through control over resources, whether they be ritual or material resources. There were some opportunities for advancement among the Natchez independent of individually ascribed class. Through exploits in war, deeds of prowess, or the human sacrifice of a relative at the appropriate ritual occasion, an Honored man might become a Noble, or a Stinkard an Honored.[49] A significant difference between the Choctaws and the Natchez lay in their respective settlement patterns. Whereas the Choctaws had neighbors on dispersed family homesteads, the Natchez were characterized by compact, relatively permanent, nucleated towns and villages. Thus, the Choctaws were more dispersed, and the Natchez more urbanized.[50]

J. Louisiana Indians and Sociocultural Change

The five Indian peoples living in Louisiana today are the Chitimachas, the Choctaws, the Houmas, and the Tunicas/Biloxis. The Chitimachas, Coushattas , and the Tunica/Biloxis are Federally recognized as American Indian Tribal entities eligible to receive services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Choctaws and the Houmas in Louisiana are not so recognized, but the Houmas are still petitioning the Federal Acknowledgement Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in their quest for recognition. (Choctaws are Federally recognized in Oklahoma and Mississippi.)[51] The subject of change affecting the Indians of

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49. Hudson, Southeastern Indians, pp. 205-208.

50. Murdock, Ethnographic Atlas, pp. 114-17.

51. Ewell P. Roy and Donald Leary, "Socioeconomic Survey of American Indians in Louisiana," Louisiana Agriculture, XXI (Fall, 1977), pp. 14-15; Ronald E. Becker, "Louisiana Indians Today," Aquanotes, VII (May, 1978), pp. 5-6; Janel Currey, "A History of the Houma Indians and Their Story of Federal Non-recognition," American Indian Journal, V (February, 1979), pp. 8-28; George E. Roth to Lawrence F. Van Horn, December 3, 1982.

Louisiana over the years includes their removal from the land, migration, and their extinction as peoples, along with the process of acculturation or cultural borrowing from the dominant society. In terms of continuity, some cultural traits have survived, such as the use of native languages, Indian ethnicity and values (e.g., that people are more important than material things), and the matrilineal emphasis on kinship and kinship relationships.[52]

Many Southeastern Indian peoples, including those in Louisiana, have been characterized as aboriginally possessing five key traits: horticultural maize, nucleated or centralized villages, matrilineal descent and clan organization, moieties, and annual first-fruit rites or "Green Corn" ceremonies marking the agricultural cycle of planting and harvesting. Today, farming is still practiced, but not as the dominant subsistence mode it once was. Nucleated villages still obtain in the sense that many Louisiana Indian groups have tribal headquarters or communiy centers that function as the seats of local government. By and large, the matrilineal clans and moieties are no longer remembered, but in some instances matrilineal kinship, relationships, and obligations survive. Bilateral kinship with a patrilineal surnaming emphasis has been added by necessity from the larger society. Some first-fruit ceremonies survive, but only in remnant form. Added culturally have been new ways of earning a living, such as working on off-shore oil rigs, sometimes side by side in community with the old ways of hunting, trapping, and fishing. Problems of unemployment, lack of educational opportunities, alcohol dependence, and racial and social prejudice nevertheless remain.[53]

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52. Gregory, "The Chitimacha," p. 239.

53. Roy and Leary, "Socioeconomic Survey," pp. 14-15.

CHAPTER III: EARLY EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

A. Spanish Exploration

1. Columbus and Ponce de Leon

Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World in 1492 began a four century struggle between contending European powers for mastery of this colonial empire. Periods of armed conflict were interrupted only briefly by periods of peace as the forces of Great Britain, France, Spain, and later the United States vied for control of the New World and Louisiana. Columbus's voyage ushered in a long period of European exploration, conquest and settlement of the new land. On his fourth voyage, Columbus may have entered the Gulf of Mexico, sighted the mouth of the Mississippi River, and christened it "The River of Palms." However, the evidence for this claim is speculative and of questionable veracity.[1]

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1. Columbus's discovery of the New World does not go unchallenged in these days of ethnic pride. Various scholars claim that the honor for making the initial European contact with the Americas belongs to the Irish, Phoenicians, Scandinavians, or Welsh. Suffice it to say, European exploration began in earnest only after the Columbian discovery. Prior to this time, Europeans did not possess the technical knowledge to sustain transatlantic colonies over an extended period of time. The technological advances made during the Renaissance enabled the Europeans to reach, to explore, and to exploit the New World. For background information on the explorations of Spain and France in Louisiana, see Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana, Vol. 1: Early Explorations and the Domination of the French, 1512-1768 (New York: Manzi, Joyant and Co., 1904) which discusses the French exploration in Louisiana. Also see John Anthony, The Mississippi Valley Frontier: The Age of Exploration and Settlement (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966) and Jean Delangley, The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763 (New Orleans: Loyola University, 1935). For specific information on Spanish exploration see John Francis Bannon, The Spanish Borderlands Frontier: 1513-1821 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); and Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis (eds.), Spanish Explorers in the United States, 1528-1553 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907). Other general works of interest include Frederic Austin Ogg, The Opening of the Mississippi: A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968); Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920); and Edwin Adams Davis Louisiana: The Pelican State, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Daniel Aaron, Richard Hofstadter and William Miller, The United States: A History of a

The verifiable discovery and recognition of the Mississippi's significance in regard to the importance of this river in gaining access and hegemony over the North American interior progressed through a series of explorations and discoveries. Ponce de Leon in 1513 is credited with leading the first European exploration of the northern Gulf of Mexico. On this voyage he claimed Florida for the King of Spain and traveled up the west coast of Florida possibly to a point where the peninsula turns westward to form the gulf coast. His voyage lay the groundwork for the discovery of the Mississippi.[2]

2. Alvarez, Narvaez, and DeVaca

In 1519 the Spanish explorer Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, on returning from a failed attempt to discover a sea opening from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean in the Gulf of Mexico, was surprised to find his fleet sailing on fresh water far out in gulf waters. He concluded that the four caravels were passing by the mouth of a large river which he gave the appellation Rio del Espiritu Santo. The source of this fresh water, most likely, was one of the mouths of the Mississippi. A map drawn a year after the expedition in 1520 depicted the Rio del

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1. (cont'd) Republic (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 3-5; Albert E. Cowdrey, Land's End: A History of the New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and Its Lifelong Battle with The Lower Mississippi and Other Rivers Wending Their Way to the Sea (New Orleans: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1977), p. 1.

2. Spanish explorers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries referred to the Mississippi River as the Rio del Espiritu Santo or the River of the Holy Ghost. The river was also variously referred to as Rio Grande de la Florida, the Rio Grande del Espiritu Santo, or just Rio Grande. The name Mississippi comes from the Indian name for the upper portion of river which some tribes called Meact-Chassipi meaning "Father of Rivers." Other tribes referred to the river as Mish-sha-sippukm. The name of the lower portion of the stream most often used by resident tribes was Malabouchia. Coastal Environments, Inc., Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico, Continental Shelf. Vol. II. Historical Cultural Resources (Baton Rouge: Coastal Environments, Inc., 1977), p. 21; H. Edwin Jackson Jr., A Cultural Resource Survey of the Delta-Breton National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana (Monroe, La.: Heartfield, Price and Greene, Inc., 1979), p. 22.

Espiritu Santo at the approximate location where the Mississippi enters the sea; however, the river was given only one mouth instead of the actual three.[3]

The next clue to the existence of the Mississippi came as a result of the ill-fated 1528 Panfilo de Narvaez expedition. His expeditionary force of four hundred men sailed from the Caribbean around the tip of Florida and into the Gulf of Mexico. The fleet anchored in Tampa Bay where the troops disembarked. Shortly after the landing, the ships were lost. Narvaez then considered several courses of action and finally decided to march his army inland. After months enduring starvation, disease, and Indian attacks, the army returned to the coast and the surviving 240 men began constructing five small boats in which they sailed west towards Mexico. In late October, 1528, the small Spanish fleet found itself surrounded by fresh water in the midst of the salty sea. The men concluded that the fresh water issued from the mouth of a mighty river, but they were unable to precisely locate the river source before a storm scattered the five boats and wrecked three of them. All on board were lost. After additional hardships, the surviving conquistadors reached land near present-day Galveston, Texas. After another eight years of wandering throughout the Southwest, four members of the expedition arrived at the Spanish settlement of Culiacan on the Gulf of California. One of the survivors was the Spanish nobleman, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. He was taken to Mexico City and related to authorities his adventures including the finding of fresh water far out in the Gulf which indicated the existence of a large river in the interior of North America.[4]

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3. Frederic Austin Ogg, The Opening of the Mississippi: A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 43; Benjamin Franklin French (ed., trans.), Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing the Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of that State Compiled with Historical and Biographical Notes (5 vols.; New York: Redfield, 1852), IV, viii.

4. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 43.

On his arrival back in Spain, Cabeza de Vaca was invited to the home of Hernando de Soto. De Soto had served under Francisco Pizarro in Peru and had returned from that expedition a wealthy man. Just three months prior to de Vaca's return to Spain, he had obtained from the King of Spain, Charles V, permission to conquer Florida and received the title of Governor and Captain-General of Cuba and Florida. The King granted these concessions willingly as de Soto offered to bear all costs for the conquest. After questioning de Vaca about his travels in North America, de Soto came to believe that great riches comparable to those of the Aztecs and Incas were his for the taking in the continent's interior. Confident in this belief, de Soto left Spain on April 6, 1538, with a fleet of nine vessels and an expeditionary force of 600 men.[5]

3. The De Soto Expedition

De Soto's army arrived in Cuba where a year was spent in preparation for an assault on the American wilderness. On May 18, 1539, his armada sailed toward Florida from Cuba and a landing took place in the vicinity of Tampa Bay. The conquistadors marched inland in search of treasures. After twenty-three months and hundreds of miles of travel, de Soto's expedition arrived before the Mississippi River in April, 1541. They described the river as being over a mile wide, muddy, and full of debris being carried downstream. De Soto apparently recognized the river as being Rio del Espiritu Santo, yet he renamed it El Rio Grande de la Florida. The Spaniards crossed the river at a point above thirty-five degrees latitude not far from the mouth of the Arkansas River.[6]

The army of de Soto wandered through the Southwest suffering disease and death until April, 1542, when they again emerged on the banks of the Mississippi from the west. Here de Soto gathered his

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5. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, pp. 4-5.

6. Ibid., pp. 5, 9; Alcee Fortier, Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons. Arranged in Cyclopedic Form (3 vols.; Century Historical Association, 1914), II, 161; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 34.

depleted forces and dispatched nine men downstream to evaluate the possibility of land travel in that direction. After eight days of traversing bayous, marshes and dense forests, they returned to report that land travel was impossible as they had only penetrated thirty miles down river before turning back. Shortly after their return, de Soto fell ill and died on May 21, 1542. The Spaniards buried de Soto, but feared that discovery by the local Indians of his death would lead to an attack on the weakened army. To prevent this from happening, they exhumed his corpse and placed it in a weighted blanket. At night a boat with a few members of the expedition took the body to the middle of the river. There de Soto's body was committed to the waters of the Mississippi.[7]

Alvarado de Moscoso took command of the ill-fated expedition after de Soto's death. He led the beleaguered force back into the wilderness hoping to locate a land route to Mexico. Unable to accomplish this goal, the army again arrived at the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas River in December, 1542, and established winter camp. They acquired needed supplies from the local Indians and set about constructing seven brigantines with which to descend the river. Their work was delayed because of severe flooding, but on July 2, 1543, the Spaniards launched their makeshift craft along with some canoes. Their voyage to the Gulf of Mexico was punctuated by shoreline Indian attacks and hazards arising from navigating down an unknown river. Eighteen days later, three hundred and eleven survivors of the original 600 men arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi River. After a dangerous coastal voyage, the remnant of de Soto's army reached Mexico on September 10, 1543. While the expedition failed to find any material wealth, it left a legacy of discoveries including the knowledge that an immense river flowed from the North American interior south to the sea.[8]

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7. The re-emergence of de Soto's army has been variously placed near the mouth of the Arkansas River, near the mouth of the Red River, and near present-day Natchez. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi; pp. 37-40; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, 46; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 10.

8. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 10; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 40-41; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, xv, 46. A number of works describe in detail the movements of de Soto's expedition

4. A Later Attempt and Early English Claims in Louisiana

The failure of de Soto's expedition delayed for fourteen years further Spanish attempts to penetrate the American wilderness. Then in 1553, the King of Spain, angered over attacks by Indians on Spanish sailors wrecked along the Florida coast, directed the organization of a military campaign to chastise the tribesmen. An expedition of 1500 men for that purpose was equipped and assembled under the command of Don Tristan de Luna. It sailed from Vera Cruz, Mexico, and landed near Pensacola then advanced in a northwesterly direction toward the Mississippi. Before reaching the river, the army began to disintegrate under pressure of Indian attacks and internal dissension. De Luna turned his army back to the coast where they embarked for Mexico. This was the last significant attempt by the Spanish to explore and exploit the area of the Mississippi River. The next sustained effort at exploration in this region was undertaken by the French.[9]

Prior to the French explorations of the Mississippi, the English laid claim to the Louisiana lands through a 1630 grant from King Charles I to Sir Robert Heath. The King granted all lands in North America between

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8. (cont.) from its landing in Florida through its descent of the Mississippi River. The best of these are Buckingham Smith (trans.), Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto by a Gentleman of Elvas (New York: Bradford Club, 1866); Verdadeira Relacam, Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida. Ed. and trans. by Richard Hakluyt (New York: B. Franklin Press, 1966); Theodore Maynard, De Soto and the Conquistadores (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930); Theodore Irving, Conquest of Florida Under Hernando de Soto (2 vols.; Fort Myers, Florida: Island Press, 1973); and Peter Lily, The Great Riding: The Story of De Soto in America (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983). A useful compilation of material concerning the de Soto expedition can be found in U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Library, Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission. 76 Cong., 1 Sess., 1939. See chapter IX for a description of the flood of 1543.

9. Joseph Wallace, The History of Illinois Under the French Rule Embracing a General View of the Dominion in North America with some Account of the English Occupation of Illinois (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1899), p. 33.

31° and 36° north latitude under the name of Carolina to Heath and this grant was reaffirmed in the Carolina charter of 1663. The English revived this claim in the late 1690s in an effort to justify their settlement attempt at the mouth of the Mississippi. The first evidence of English penetration into the Mississippi Valley came in 1682 when Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, on his journey down the Mississippi found evidence that English traders had established contact with tribes along the river. These claims and counterclaims produced years of discord between the contending European powers of Spanish, France and England. However, English efforts at colonizing Louisiana remained minimal compared to those of the French.[10]

B. French Exploration and Settlement

1. Jesuit Attempts to Discover the Mississippi

As early as the 1630s, French Jesuits in the Great Lakes country had heard Indian tales of a mighty river that flowed toward the south. They speculated that this river possibly emptied into the Pacific Ocean. In the 1660s, one of them, Father Claude Allouez sought to find the river that would take him to the sea, but was deterred by hostile Indians from achieving this goal. By the 1670s the Jesuits in their explorations of the upper tributaries of the Mississippi became convinced of the existence of a river which bisected the continent and would provide egress to the ocean. Yet a source of heated debate was over whether this water route led to the Pacific Ocean or to the Gulf of Mexico.[11]

In April, 1672, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, was appointed Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France. That autumn he contacted Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette with a request for

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10. State of the British and French Colonies in North America (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967; orig. pub. London: A. Millar, 1755), pp. 117-18.

11. French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, xx-xxiv, 118; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 67.

them to form an expedition to find the great river that flowed south and determine its outlet to the sea. They agreed to undertake the task and spent the winter in preparation for the expedition. On May 17, 1673, they launched their journey in two canoes from Mackinaw on Lake Michigan. Marquette and Joliet canoed and portaged on the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and on June 17, at 42½° north latitude, they found themselves on the Mississippi River. They continued travelling down that stream until reaching 33° 40' north latitude where they concluded that the river must flow into the Gulf of Mexico rather than the Pacific Ocean. After communicating with Indians in villages along the river, they became concerned that if they continued downriver they would fall into the hands of unfriendly tribesmen or hostile Spanish. Reluctantly, the expedition turned back north. In September Marquette and Joliet reached Green Bay with news of their discovery.[12]

2. La Salle Claims Louisiana for France

Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, hoped to go beyond the discovery of Marquette and Joliet and establish France as a power on the Gulf Coast. He proposed to the king's ministers in 1678 that trade with the interior of America could be carried on more expeditiously through the Mississippi River than the Great Lakes because the St. Lawrence River froze during the winter halting all water transportation. To implement his plan, LaSalle, under instruction of Minister Jean Baptiste Colbert, travelled to the New World to claim the drainage of the Mississippi for France. In January, 1682, accompanied by twenty-three Frenchmen and approximately the same number of Indians, he began a journey from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi following the route taken by Marquette and Joliet. On reaching the Mississippi River,

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12. The French like the Spanish before them called the Mississippi by a variety of names. Father Marquette wrote that the Indian name for the river was Mitchisipi, but he chose to designate it Conception, in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. La Salle, having a more pragmatic nature, named the river Colbert, after the minister to King Louis XIV--Jean Baptiste Colbert. Iberville in 1699 named the river St. Louis in honor of the French king. French chroniclers on occasion referred to the river as La Palisade due to the numerous snags and bars found in it. Yet these appellations never fully supplanted the name Mississippi. French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, I, 17.

the expedition travelled downstream until arriving at Head of Passes on April 6, 1682. There the group halted and explored the three river mouths before moving up to 27° north latitude, near present-day Venice, where the members erected a column and cross on April 9. La Salle then claimed the lands drained by the Mississippi for France and named it Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV. The ceremony ended with the burial of a leaden plaque inscribed with the date and land claim for France on one side and the coat-of-arms of France on the other side. French possession of the Mississippi Valley was thus established.[13]

La Salle returned to France with a plan to colonize Louisiana in order to solidify French claims, and to prevent England and Spain from acting on their counterclaims to the land. The French court and king listened attentively to La Salle's scheme of establishing a colony some sixty leagues up from the mouth of the Mississippi. He outlined a plan under which a number of French settlements would be constructed along the Mississippi from which expeditions could be launched to seize the rich mines of Mexico and to trade with the Indians. In addition, the rich natural resources of the lower Mississippi would be utilized as a source of support for the fledgling colony, and these raw materials would be used to supply a ship refitting and building center planned for near the mouth of the Mississippi. This center would serve the French fleet in the New World.[14]

To accomplish these goals, La Salle asked to be supplied with one ship, some arms and munitions, and pay for 200 men for one year. La Salle believed that the colony could become self-supporting after that time. The crown generously responded to La Salle's request by granting

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13. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 92, 110, 118-19; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 23; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, 48-49, 174-75; Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana. Trans. by Joseph C. Lambert (4 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), I, 11.

14. French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, 39-40; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 65, 92.

him the use of four vessels, along with sufficient quantities of supplies and munitions to maintain whatever number of colonists could be induced to go for a period of one year. La Salle was named as the supreme commander of the expedition with orders to establish a French colony in Louisiana. There he would rule over an area from Lake Michigan down to the Gulf of Mexico and west to the Spanish borders. The eastern boundary of Louisiana was ill-defined as both eastern Spanish and English colonies claimed land as far west as the Mississippi.[15] The enterprise of Louisiana commenced on July 24, 1684, when the four ships under La Salle's command left the French coast and set sail for the New World. These vessels carried 200 colonists, a full ship's complement, and a company of marines. By design or accident, the expedition passed the mouth of the Mississippi and proceeded on to Matagorda Bay in present-day Texas, where La Salle's colonists disembarked and set about the task of establishing a colony. The tiny settlement was soon beset with problems. Two of the original vessels were lost and the crew on another deserted and sailed the ship back to France. Hardships, starvation, desertion, and disease reduced the colony to forty-one men by January, 1687. Their plight was so desperate that La Salle chose sixteen men and struck out toward the distant French-controlled Illinois country to obtain help. On March 19, 1687, La Salle was shot and killed from ambush by one of his own men after a quarrel over the meat supply. Later, Spanish soldiers searching for La Salle's colony found it abandoned. Thus ended the first French endeavor to colonize Louisiana.[16]

Henri de Tonti, unaware of the debacle that occurred to La Salle's expedition, meantime sailed down the Mississippi in 1685 to meet its leader. Unable to find La Salle, Tonti left a letter for him with Indians and returned to Illinois. Tonti was later to give assistance and advice to

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15. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 119; Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (New York: AMS Press, 1973; orig. pub. Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812), p. 23

16. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 28.

Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, who undertook a more successful attempt to colonize Louisiana. The letter for La Salle was delivered fourteen years later to Iberville and helped him verify that the Mississippi had indeed been rediscovered.[17]

3. Iberville and Louisiana

Between 1692 and 1694 Tonti petitioned the French court for permission to complete the exploration begun by La Salle. Tonti was joined by others in bombarding the French court with petitions and proposals calling for the King's financing of an aggressive French colonization policy in Louisiana. These petitions minimized the financial costs and perils inherent in such a policy and glowingly portrayed the ease of obtaining the bountiful natural wealth of the land. The petitioners piqued royal interest even further by demonstrating the geographically strategic location of Louisiana in North America. Louisiana, they argued, would be the wedge to split Spanish Florida from Mexico. Also, in conjunction with French Canada, the Mississippi lands would help halt English expansion from the Atlantic Coast to the west.[18]

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17. Ibid., pp. 15, 28.

18. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 172-73; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 540; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 10, 14-15; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, I, 41; Josephine G. Keller, "Early Roads in the Parishes of East and West Feliciana and East Baton Rouge" (unpublished master thesis dated 1936, Louisiana State University), p. 3. The period of settlement composed many varied aspects. The present section will concentrate on matters of land laws, politics, and the economics of settlement. Other topics related to this subject, such as trade, Indian-White relations, and military activities will be more fully discussed in other sections of this report. Literature on the French settlement of Louisiana is extensive. The spectrum ranges from well done monographs on individual topics to general overviews of the period. Basic works for the French period include Marcel Giraud's four volume A History of French Louisiana, which uses French source material. So far only volume one, The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974) has been translated and revised by Joseph C. Lambert. Also of interest is historian Alcee Fortier's A History of Louisiana. Vol. I: Early Explorers and the Domination of the French, 1512-1768. A good source for translated documents from the French period is Benjamin Franklin French's five volume work Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing the Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating

After La Salle, the French government showed little inclination toward further settlement projects in Louisiana as the nation was confronted by England, Holland, Austria, Spain, and a number of German states in the War of the League of Augsburg. The Peace of Ryswick in 1697 gave King Louis XIV time to consider another venture in the New World. He was persuaded that a French presence on the Gulf of Mexico would check the expansion of Spain and England. The King also believed that the royal treasury could be replenished through taxes on, or shares in, seized Spanish silver and gold mines, and the discovery of rich ore-bearing mines in Louisiana. If mineral wealth could not be realized, the crown hoped to find solace in profits expected from the fur trade and from Gulf water pearl fisheries. These felicitous prospects were too seductive for an impoverished monarch to ignore, and in 1698 he commissioned Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville II, to implement La Salle's original colonization plan for Louisiana.[19]

Iberville fitted out an expeditionary force of approximately 200 men and departed from Brest, France on October 24, 1698 in two ships escorted by a frigate for protection against English or Spanish attack on the high seas. The expedition reached the vicinity of Dauphin Island on the Gulf of Mexico on January 31, 1699. The Spanish Governor of West Florida forced the French settlers to relocate their colony to a site near present-day Biloxi, Mississippi. Iberville originally intended to locate the settlement on the Mississippi River, but on reaching the shores of North

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18. (cont.) to the Natural, Civil, and Political History of that State Compiled with Historical and Biographical Notes (Vol. I, New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846; Vol. II, Philadelphia, Daniels and Smith, 1850; Vol. II, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1851; Vol. IV, New York: Redfield, 1852; Vol. V, New York, Lampart, Blakeman and Law, 1853). An early work written shortly after the close of the French colonial period is an English translation of Le Page Du Pratz, The History of Louisiana (New Orleans: J.S.W. Harmanson, 1947; orig. pub. London: T. Becket and T.A. Font, 1774).

19. Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 212; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 74-75; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 33-34.

America he failed to determine the precise outlet of the river to the sea. At Biloxi, he consulted with local Indians and, with their information, prepared to rediscover La Salle's river.

For the task, Iberville chose forty-eight men to assist him in a reconnaissance of the western shoreline of the Gulf. The expedition set out on February 27, 1699, in two rowboats and two canoes from Biloxi. On March 2, 1699, the small party passed from the open sea through a barrier of mud and logs and into the Mississippi River, becoming the first Frenchmen to enter the Mississippi from the sea.[20]

As the voyagers ascended the river they encountered Indian villages on the river banks where they stopped to exchange gifts and ask questions concerning the regional geography and the proximity of other Europeans. The Indians occasionally indicated that they had been contacted by English traders or that the Spanish had approached them concerning matters of trade or alliances. This information convinced Iberville of the necessity for establishing forts and settlements along the *Mississippi to secure the loyalty of the Indians and to hold the land for* France.[21]

The location of Iberville's settlements and forts was determined by the geology of the Mississippi delta. The delta-forming processes resulted in the deposition of sediment along the banks of the Mississippi closest to the main river channel. The reason was that as the river widened and the current slowed in the lowland plains, sediment particles could no longer be suspended by the current and instead settled out along the river bank. Additional soil deposition occurred as trees and other obstacles left near the edge of the channel acted as silt traps. Thus, natural levees were formed in areas of active delta-building and

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20. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 37; John Preston Moore, Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 22-23; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, xxxix.

21. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 32; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 38.

provided protected sites during periods of annual flooding. These natural high spots became focal points of Indian and European settlement. When Iberville traveled up the Mississippi he took notice of these natural levees and designated some as potential sites for forts and settlements. One such site was a crescent-shaped ridge with secondary ridges extending out to meet the river. These protective characteristics, as well as the site's strategic location, attracted the French and they later chose this place for a port and city--New Orleans.[22]

Iberville continued upriver passing by "Baton Rouge," or the Red Stick, which marked the boundary between the Houma and Bayogoula Indian tribes. Native guides may also have shown him the portage site later named "Pointe Coupee". Near the confluence of the Red River Iberville met and conferred with the chief of the Tunica Indians. Throughout his journey Iberville sought to convince the tribes he encountered of the benefits that would accrue to them if they would ally themselves with the French. He hoped to use such alliances as bulwarks to protect the embryonic French colony from threats by the Spanish and English. After completing talks with the Tunicas, Iberville's expedition traveled back to Biloxi.[23]

4. Settlement Begins

In the wake of Iberville's journey came traders and missionaries to work among the Indian tribes along the banks of the Mississippi. In order to facilitate their work, Iberville had earlier taken several young boys with him on his river journey, and at friendly Indian

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22. Tom Ireland, "Vieux Carre Ethnographic Overview: A Study Submitted to the National Park Service" (unpublished manuscript dated 1980, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, New Orleans), pp. 2-4; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 180; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 38.

23. William O. Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Baton Rouge: Ortieb's Printing House, 1911), pp. 6-7; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 39, 43, 625; Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), p. 23; Bernard Curet, Our Pride: Pointe Coupee (Baton Rouge: Morgan Publishing Corporation, 1981), p. 4; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 12.

villages he left them in the Indians' charge. His plan was for the youngsters to learn the language and culture of the Indians and to serve as translators for French traders and settlers. They would also be useful in reporting on English and Spanish incursions into Louisiana while advancing French interests in tribal discussions. Missionaries established themselves among the friendly tribes and began Christianizing them and securing the Indians' allegiance to France. The missionaries were accompanied by traders whose purpose was to open trade with the Indians, wherein European finished products would be exchanged for animal pelts. This trade might be used to economically support the fledgling colony while at the same time serve to wean the Indians away from dependence on English traders.[24]

5. Confrontation at English Turn

The fears of the French over English designs on the Mississippi Valley seemed justified when Bienville on September 16, 1699, encountered an English frigate twenty-five leagues up the Mississippi. The ship, filled with French Huguenot colonists, was one of two vessels recruited by Dr. Daniel Coxe and sent to Louisiana in 1698. Coxe had acquired Sir Robert Heath's patent to Carolina and used this as justification to claim Louisiana for England. His intention was to establish the Huguenots in a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi and claim all the lands between the Mississippi and the Carolina shores. The mission of the vessel that Bienville confronted was to carry out this plan. After discussions with Captain Barr, the ship's commander, Bienville convinced him to turn the vessel around and head back to the open sea. Two versions can be found of the encounter between Bienville and Barr, which supposedly occurred at a place known thereafter as English Turn. In one version, Bienville boldly announced the French claim to Louisiana and stated that a French colony existed further up the river, a fabrication in that the main French settlement was still at Biloxi. In the second version, Bienville told the English Captain that he was on the wrong

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24. Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 2-5; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 55.

river and persuaded him to return to the ocean. Whatever the true circumstances, the event helped secure French hegemony in Louisiana.[25]

The episode at English Turn confirmed Iberville's suspicion that the English planned to aggressively dislodge the French. To parry any further English thrusts into the region, Iberville determined to erect a number of forts and trading posts between the mouth of the Mississippi and St. Louis. Opposite the site of the Natchez village he directed that a fort be constructed. Actual construction of this post, however, did not occur immediately. Another fort was constructed about fifty-four miles above the Gulf waters and was designated Fort de La Boulaye, or Mississippi Fort. Work on this post began in 1700 and it was garrisoned until 1707. In 1702 Iberville returned to France to obtain more settlers, supplies and military equipment for the colony. Shortly after his departure the Biloxi settlement was visited by the Spanish governor of East Florida, Don Francisco Martin, who protested the French colonization effort on what he considered to be Spanish soil. Martin threatened to take military action to remove the settlement. The French colony therefore found itself juxtaposed between hostile Spanish and English forces.[26]

6. Colonial Growth

After the Spanish visit French officials decided that a site on Mobile Bay would be easier to defend than the one at Biloxi and the colony was relocated. By March of 1702 work on the new city and fort was underway. That year saw the beginning of yet another European conflict which would cast a shadow over the colony. The War of Spanish

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25. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 43-44; Carl Brasseux (ed., trans.), A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean Jacques-Blaise d'Abbadie (Lafayette, La.: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1979), pp. 6-7; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 184-185; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 220.

26. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 45; Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley, p. 8; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 39-40, 87; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 185-89.

Succession pitted England against Spain and France and lasted until 1713, preventing France from fully supporting the young colony. Iberville never returned to Louisiana, dying in 1706 during the war.[27] Meantime, the colony grew slowly. A warehouse was constructed near the mouth of the Mississippi in 1703 to aid in the river trade, and seventeen Canadian colonists arrived that summer. Additional soldiers and colonists arrived the next year, including twenty poor young women who soon married bachelor colonists. However, the colony did not become self-sufficient as the King had hoped, but continued to be a drain on the royal treasury. During the next few years crop failures brought the colony to the verge of starvation. The missionaries abandoned one outpost after another until by 1710 they operated only in the Mobile area. In 1711, the colony contained a non-Indian population of slightly over 400 people, substantially below royal expectations. The disappointing progress of the colony convinced the King to extricate himself from an unprofitable venture, an action accompanied by transferring Louisiana to the rich merchant Antoine Crozat, Marquis de Chatel.[28]

7. Louisiana under Crozat

On September 14, 1712, King Louis XIV officially granted exclusive trading and governing rights in Louisiana to Crozat for a period of fifteen years. Under terms of the royal charter the French government accepted part of the colonial expenditures for nine years while Crozat would yearly recruit and send two shiploads of colonists to Louisiana. In addition, the King would receive a percentage of the profits from any gold and silver mined in the colony and control of the beaver plew trade. The King insisted that the colonial laws were to remain the same as those of France and Crozat agreed to this stipulation. Crozat hoped to profit from the Indian fur trade and from discoveries of silver and gold deposits rumored to be in the region. He further planned

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27. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 45; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 48; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 226.

28. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 336; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French, pp. 225, 234; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 56.

to more fully exploit the agricultural and commercial potential of the colony.[29]

To accomplish these goals Crozat sent out agents in 1713 to revitalize trade with the Indians and to more efficiently administer colonial affairs. Among the agents dispatched was the new Governor, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, who sought to have the colonists take up agriculture rather than hunting and trapping for their livelihoods. He encouraged those already involved in agriculture to grow maize instead of tobacco and indigo and to raise cattle in hopes that these measures would make the settlement self-sufficient. Since the colony suffered from a chronic labor shortage, Cadillac oversaw the importation of thousands of black slaves to improve the agricultural productivity of the colony.[30]

At first the administration succeeded in attracting new settlers to the colony. In 1712, some settlement occurred near the Tunica village. This immigration supplemented the 1708 settlement of trappers in the Pointe Coupee area. The influx of new settlers made it necessary to develop a well defined land grant system. The King in 1716 adopted a set of colonial land regulations which stipulated that a land grant had to be cleared within two years or else revert back to the crown. In addition, the land was to be two-thirds cleared before the original grantee could sell it.[31]

These restrictions created discontent among the Louisiana settlers. The colonists had originally been granted allodial rights to the land, i.e., they received full and free rights to it without any form of feudal tenure. These land concessions were categorized as being either general or special. A general concession designated any portion of the vacant lands

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29. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 57; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, pp. 234-39; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 201.

30. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 26.

31. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 210; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, pp. 245-46.

for development while a special concession provided fixed boundaries for land grants. Early grantees were given between fifty and one hundred arpents (approximately 190 feet to the arpent) facing the river. The decree of 1716 ordered unimproved land divided into sections of from two to four arpents each in front and extending back from the river a distance of forty arpents.[32]

The river provided the focal point for settlement as it served as a transportation route upon which commerce and communication reached all parts of the colony. The presence of natural levees along the river led to the adoption of a linear settlement pattern, possibly based on European models, wherein the main structures of the plantations were found nearest the river while the back portions of the grants contained fields followed by swamps or woods. At river bends this type of settlement pattern led to the formation of pie-shaped land holdings rather than the usual rectangular sections. The first settlers often chose the sites of abandoned Indian villages or fields to homestead as these were already cleared and suitable for farming. The French and later the Spanish recognized the Indians' right to the lands they occupied and provisions were made to protect these lands from European settlement.[33]

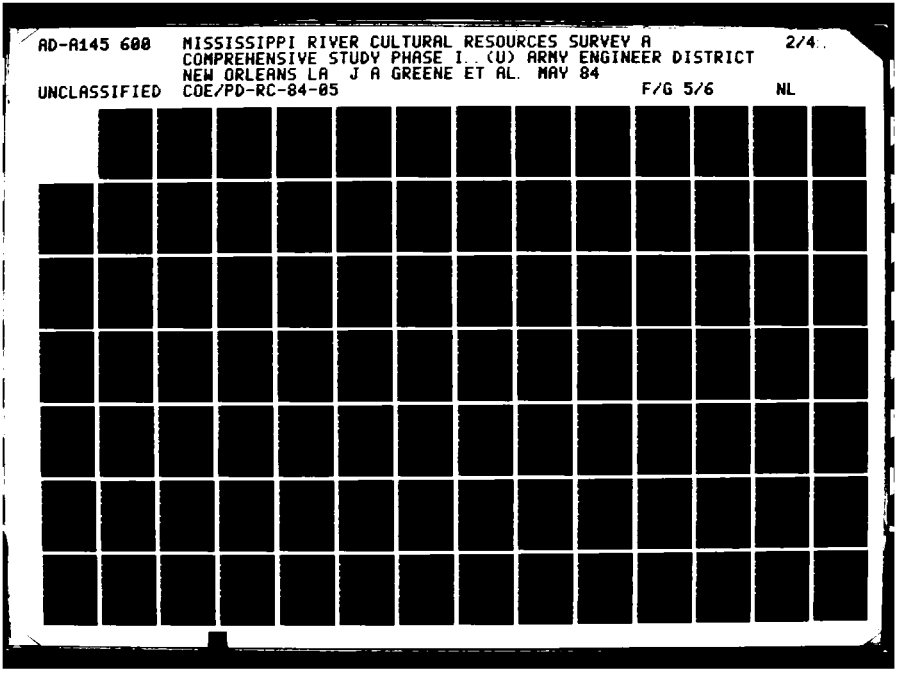
Much to Crozat's regret, the colony did not produce the desired financial profit. Each year was instead a source of fiscal deficits. By 1717, Crozat had spent 425,000 livres on his colonial venture and had realized only 300,000 livres in return. Dismayed by the course of his venture, Crozat renounced his monopoly in August, 1717, with ten years left to run on the original charter.[34]

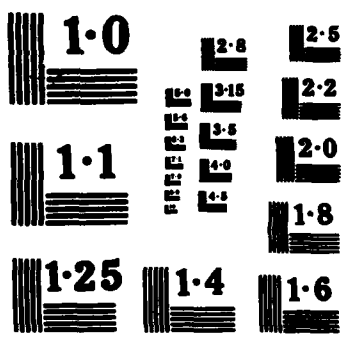
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32. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 38-39; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, pp. 243-47, 259.

33. Daniel Henry Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley, Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University), pp. 171-73; Henry P. Dart, "Louisiana Land Titles Derived from Indian Tribes," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IV (January, 1921), p. 134.

34. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 450; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 8-9; Edwin Adams Davis, Plantation Life in the


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8. John Law and the Western Company Govern Louisiana

No sooner had the King taken over the unprofitable colony when John Law requested that the Western Company be granted a charter for Louisiana. A Scottish financier, Law formed the Western Company (also known as the Mississippi Company) to manage the colony. Louis XV, through his councillors, granted the Western Company a charter on September 6, 1717. The company would enjoy the same privileges granted Crozat for a period of twenty-five years. In return, the company would honor the land grants made under Crozat's administration and settle 6,000 whites and 3,000 black slaves in the colony during the twenty-five-year tenure. The charter granted the company the additional right of selling shares in the enterprise. The company's capital stock consisted of 100,000,000 livres divided into shares of 500 livres each which could be bought and sold on the open market.[35]

The Western Company quickly moved to encourage immigration by granting individuals settlement rights. Settlement grants were awarded at Baton Rouge, English Turn, below the Tunica village in present-day West Feliciana Parish, Bayou Sara, Bayou Manchac, and on the bank of the Mississippi opposite of Bayou Manchac. The wealthy owners of these tracts were expected to send colonists along with sufficient materials to develop their grants. The grantees began preparation for the undertaking and late in 1717 the new immigrants began to arrive in Louisiana. But it was not until 1718 that sizable numbers of settlers reached the colony.[36]

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34. (cont.) Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846 as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), p. 5; Arthur Stanley Clisby, The Story of the West Florida Rebellion (St. Francisville: The St. Francisville Democrat, 1935), p. 10.

35. Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, pp. 240-41; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 628-29; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 204-05; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 35.

36. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 33-34; Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, pp. 26-27; Rene Le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," Louisiana History, VIII (Winter, 1967), p. 72; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, pp. 245-46; Elizabeth Kellough and Leona Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge: Kennedy Print Shop, 1979), pp. 2-3.

The Western Company opened Louisiana to Swiss and German immigration. These immigrants suffered numerous hardships with some dying during the transatlantic journey and others succumbing to illnesses contracted in Louisiana. The German and Swiss immigrants recruited by Law were originally destined for his concession in Arkansas. Before this scheme could be carried out, however, Law was forced to flee France after speculation in the stock of the Western Company and other projects had resulted in widespread financial ruin. The collapse of Law's financial empire came in 1720 and word of the debacle reached Louisiana in 1721, leaving several thousand German and Swiss immigrants stranded there. They demanded that the French authorities provide transportation for them back to Europe. Some obtained passage home while others were convinced to settle on the river bank by English Turn and in an area from 25 to 45 miles above New Orleans in present-day St. Charles and St. John the Baptist parishes. This area of German and Swiss settlement became known as "La Cote des Allemands." Approximately 250 of these immigrants settled on plots of land measuring 7,280 feet in depth and 546 to 1,456 feet in width, with the smaller dimension adjoining the river. These settlers developed small garden plots to sustain themselves and to sell produce to other colonists.[37]

On October 25, 1717, the Board of Directors of the Western Company ordained that the colonial capital be moved to a site between Lake Ponchartrain and the Mississippi River. The supreme council in the colony resisted the final transfer of the capital until 1722. Bienville chose the new capital site, originally selected for development by Iberville, and named it New Orleans in February, 1718, to honor Philip of

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37. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 211-12; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 70; Le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana," pp. 77-78, 81-82; Henry E. Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings: An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), p. 66; Du Pratz, History of Louisiana, p. 29; Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 27; William Bernard Knipmeyer, "Settlement, Succession in Eastern French Louisiana" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1956, Louisiana State University), pp. 18-20.

Orleans, the Regent of France. By 1720, the configuration of New Orleans approximated a parallelogram with some 4,000 feet of the tract adjoining the river and with a depth of 1,800 feet. Future streets had been marked off and the townsite had been ditched, palisaded and leveed. A census of New Orleans in 1722 revealed that the town was populated by 177 Europeans, a like number of black slaves, and 21 Indians.[38]

While New Orleans developed, other settlements and plantations were established along the banks of the Mississippi. The D'Artaguette family in 1720 received a grant to develop an area which became the present-day city of Baton Rouge. However, by 1727, a traveler observed that the settlement of Baton Rouge appeared to be abandoned. As for the fate of other enclaves, a 1722 hurricane inflicted considerable damage to the German Coast settlements, leading to the resettlement of some Germans on the left bank of the Mississippi while others returned to Europe.[39]

9. The Royal Indian Company in Louisiana

In 1723 the government of the colony was officially transferred from the Western Company to the Royal Indian Company, an event followed a year later by publication of land stipulations which held the holders of riparian lands responsible for the maintenance of the levees on their property. Another land problem which the Royal Indian Company officials faced was the confusion concerning landownership and title. Early land grants were surveyed carelessly, with boundaries arbitrarily determined and many grants never perfected, resulting in numerous lawsuits and countersuits. On August 10, 1728, the King intervened and ordered settlers to present all grants dated prior to 1723

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38. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 68, 451-52; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 263; Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings, pp. 65-66.

39. Le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana," pp. 79-80; Rose Meyers, A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 10, 16.

to the Royal Indian Company, along with proof of title and evidence that the land was currently under cultivation. Settlers were given from six months to one year to comply with the order, and failure to obey this proclamation would result in a 1,000 livres fine and reversion of the land to the company. In addition, all concessions below Manchac were to be reduced in size, so as to have a river frontage no greater than twenty acres across and a depth of between 100 and 120 acres, the only exceptions being those areas where a larger acreage was already under cultivation.[40]

The Royal Indian Company, like the Western Company, found the colony to be an unprofitable business venture. It relinquished the charter for Louisiana to the crown in 1731. Under the administration of the Royal Indian Company the colony had grown slowly, but remained poor and dependent on constant infusion of capital from France. The last years under private enterprise were further marred by a war with the Natchez Indians, 1729-1731, which resulted in the destruction of the tribesmen and the deaths of numerous French settlers.[41]

10. The King Again Governs Louisiana

In 1732 the King of France replaced the Royal Indian Company colonial government of Louisiana with French government officials. The new government conducted a census of Louisiana which revealed that the colony's population had increased to 5,000 whites and 2,000 blacks. The next census in 1745 showed a settlement of 200 whites and over 400 blacks at Pointe Coupee, an area that contained forty-six farms, the largest containing 120 square arpents of cultivated land. The

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40. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 451; Cowdrey, Land's End, p. 1; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, p. 6; French Manuscripts of the Mississippi Valley, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, La., pp. 136-41.

41. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 172; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 110-14; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 226-28; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 453.

census further showed settlement occurring along the German Coast both above and below New Orleans and at Bayou Manchac. No mention was made regarding settlement at Baton Rouge.[42]

The War of Austrian Succession which began in 1740 spread into America where it was known as King George's War. This conflict slowed French settlement efforts in Louisiana. The war ended in 1748 with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle serving as a temporary truce that lasted until 1755. The truce ended with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, known in America as the French and Indian War and which concluded in 1763 with the expulsion of France from North America. Numerous European powers fought in these wars; however, the two constant foes in these conflicts were Great Britain and France.[43]

In 1762, during the course of the French and Indian War, Spain was induced to enter the fighting on the side of France. The price for Spanish participation was the cession to Spain of Louisiana lands on the west bank of the Mississippi and those lands on the east bank below Bayou Manchac including New Orleans. This agreement was formalized by the Treaty of Fontainbleau of 1762. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 further clarified the military and diplomatic results of the war. Great Britain was to receive the provinces of East and West Florida from Spain in exchange for Havana, Cuba, which had been captured by the British during the conflict. England was also to obtain from France that portion of Louisiana lying north of Bayou Manchac all the way up the east bank of the Mississippi to a point beyond Natchez. Spain was to receive from France that section of Louisiana designated in the Treaty of Fontainbleau.

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42. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 118; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 228; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 17; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 135-36.

43. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 540-42; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 153.

Navigation rights to the Mississippi River were to be shared by France and Spain.[44]

C. British Louisiana

Great Britain was the first of the two countries to occupy the newly acquired territory. The formal transfer to Great Britain from France occurred at Mobile on October 20, 1763. That day a proclamation was issued by Major Robert Farmer, commander of His Britannic Majesty's troops in Louisiana, in the name of George III to all inhabitants of West Florida and portions of French Louisiana. It promised that the King would protect the settlers' right of property and freedom of religion provided that they pledge allegiance to Great Britain. Additionally, British law would supersede French law in all lands under British control. Those settlers not willing to live under British rule were given eighteen months to dispose of their property to British subjects and leave the country.[45]

1. British Land Grants and Settlement

The British planned to colonize the newly acquired lands by making land grants to officers and soldiers that fought in the French and Indian War. The size of these grants varied from 100 acres to 25,000 acres depending on the military rank of the grantee. In 1765 the British required that settlers erect a structure measuring at least twenty by sixteen feet on their land. Another stipulation stated that for every fifty acres of agricultural land, three were to be cultivated. If the land

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44. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 455-56; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 363, 365; Ogg, Opening of Mississippi, pp. 287-288; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, pp. 143-44.

45. James Wilbert Miller, "The Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge, 1779-1795" (unpublished master thesis dated 1964, Louisiana State University), pp. 2; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 21-22, 26; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 543-44; Asbury Dickins and John W. Forney (eds.), American State Papers: Documents of the Congress of the United States in Relation to the Public Lands from the First Session of the Twentieth Congress, March 3, 1829 (8 vols.; Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1860), V, 755.

consisted of swamp, three out of every fifty acres were to be properly drained. Three cattle were to be ranged on every fifty acres of pasture land. Settlers were exempted from taxation during the first two years of settlement, but the British required the grantee to develop the land or forfeit it to the government.[46]

In 1764 Major Arthur Loftus with a force of 400 soldiers moved north from Mobile to establish a British presence on the left bank of the Mississippi River above Bayou Manchac. But Loftus's force was driven back by hostile Indians. British authorities suspected French traders of inciting the Indians against them. During the following year, after conducting further negotiations with the Indians and augmenting their military strength, the British were able to take possession of the left bank of the Mississippi at Bayou Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez. Then they began to prepare defenses in the area and select sites for settlement.[47]

The generous British land grant policy succeeded in attracting settlers to their new possession. Settlement slowed in 1768 when British military forces temporarily withdrew to West Florida, but increased after the British military reoccupied Louisiana in 1770. These new settlers arrived from the English colonies on the Atlantic Coast to establish homesteads in Louisiana. Some of the new immigrants were dissatisfied with the lands designated by British authorities for homesteading, however, and they threatened to relocate on the Spanish side of the Mississippi. Only through the persuasion of government spokesmen did these settlers remain in British territory. The influx of immigrants increased dramatically with the beginning of the American Revolution in 1775 as colonists loyal to Great Britain fled to East and West Florida and Louisiana to escape the war. The war spread to the banks of the

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46. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 36-37; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 27-28; Dickins and Forney, American State Papers, V, 756-57.

47. Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 146-47; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 309; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 22-23.

Mississippi in 1778 when the Continental Congress commissioned James Willing to lead a raid on the British from Bayou Manchac to Baton Rouge. Willing's expedition burned plantations and forced the inhabitants to flee into the interior or to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. This raid served as a prelude to the Spanish declaration of war on Great Britain on June 16, 1779.[48]

2. Spain Declares War on Great Britain

Spanish officials saw the American Revolution as an opportunity not only to regain their lost provinces of East and West Florida, but to capture other colonial holdings from the British. After Spain's declaration of war the Governor of Spanish Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez, moved quickly to attack the British strongholds in Louisiana. He raised an army, marched up the Mississippi and on September 7, 1779, assaulted and captured Fort Bute at Manchac. This victory was followed on September 21 with the capture of Baton Rouge and in October with the capture of Fort Panmure near present-day Natchez. The quick action vanquished the British from the lower Mississippi Valley and was followed by the issuing of a civil decree giving British subjects six days to take an oath of loyalty to the Spanish crown. If the settlers pledged their loyalty to Spain, authorities granted them and their property full protection under Spanish law. British residents either accepted these terms or were required to leave Louisiana within six months.[49]

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48. Robert R. Rea, "Redcoats and Redskins on the Lower Mississippi, 1763-1776: The Career of Lt. John Thomas," Louisiana History, XI (Winter, 1970), pp. 9, 15; Clarence Walworth Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution. (2 vols.; Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1917), II, 167; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 33.

49. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 64; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, pp. 7-8; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 36, 39, 42-43; Ernest C. Downs, "The Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition," in Southeastern Indians: Since the Removal Era. Ed. by Walter L. Williams (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1979), pp. 74-75; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 369-70.

D. Spanish Louisiana Again

1. Transfer and Colonial Revolt

Unlike the British who moved in 1763 to take possession of their portion of Louisiana, Spain did not have an official representative in Louisiana until the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre Guiral on March 5, 1766, to accept transfer of the colony from France. The inhabitants of Louisiana did not know of their transfer to Spain until French colonial officials issued a proclamation announcing this fact on April 21, 1764. This revelation was greeted by protests, mass meetings, and resolutions urging Louis XV to reconsider and revoke the transfer. Such efforts were to no avail.[50]

De Ulloa arrived in March, 1766, accompanied by a force of ninety soldiers to take control of the province. His instructions from the Spanish government were to make no changes regarding existing laws and provincial government in Louisiana. The formal transfer of the colony from France to Spain did not occur until January 20, 1767, and during this period resentment grew among the French settlers concerning Spanish administration of Louisiana. This displeasure resulted in a revolt against Spanish rule and the expulsion of De Ulloa on November 1, 1768. For the next ten months, the colony pursued an independent course free from any European control.[51]

During the tumult resulting from the transfer of French Louisiana to Spain, another important event took place that transformed the ethnic

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50. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, pp. 2, 40; Miller, "Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge," p. 2; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 148-49.

51. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 1; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 324; Henry E. Chambers, West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historic and Political Science, Series XVI, No. 5 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), p. 19; John Francis McDermott. (ed.), The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. vii.

composition of the Louisiana population. On February 8, 1765, 230 Acadians arrived in Louisiana to start a new life after being expelled from Canada by the British. This vanguard was followed by several hundred more Acadians over the next two years. The northern exiles settled on the banks of the Mississippi River in what became Plaquemine, St. James, Iberville, and Pointe Coupee parishes. The Spanish government welcomed the new immigrants and distributed land tracts with river frontages of between two and eight arpents each and with a depth of forty arpents each to individual Acadian settlers. Spanish officials gave the immigrants farming implements, guns, seeds for the first planting, and enough provisions to last them until the first harvest. Around St. Gabriel, the Spanish guided the Acadians in the erection of several large shelters to serve as communal housing while individual cabins were under construction. The Acadians were further encouraged by government representatives to construct levees and plant crops so as to protect their lands from flooding and to become self-sustaining.[52]

2. Restoration of Spanish Control

During the midst of the Acadian immigration Louisiana became semi-independent from Spain. This period of rebellious self-rule abruptly ended on the morning of July 24, 1769, with the arrival at the mouth of the Mississippi of a Spanish fleet carrying General Alejandro O'Reilly and an army of over 2,000 soldiers. The rebellion quickly collapsed before this show of Spanish strength. O'Reilly arrested, tried, and sentenced leaders of the rebellion; this time Spanish authorities imposed Spanish law and government on the former French colony.[53]

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52. R.L.E. Chandler (trans., ed.), "End of an Odyssey: Acadians Arrive in St. Gabriel, Louisiana." Louisiana History XIV (Winter, 1973), pp. 70-71, 74-75, 79; Gilbert C. Din, "Spanish Immigration to a French Land," Louisiana Review, V (Summer, 1976), p. 65; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 179; Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings, pp. 134, 137; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, p. 7; Jacqueline K. Voorhies, "The Attakapas Post: The First Acadian Settlement," Louisiana History, XVIII (Winter, 1976), p. 91; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 153; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 368.

53. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 142; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 1; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 334.

Following his establishment in authority, O'Reilly toured the province and heard from settlers numerous complaints and queries concerning the homesteading procedures. He later authorized a surveyor to measure the planters' lands in order to verify claims and resolve boundary disputes, following this action by promulgating a series of regulations concerning settlement on February 18, 1770. These laws stipulated that every newly arrived family wishing to settle on the Mississippi would receive a river frontage between six and eight arpents wide and forty arpents deep. But government allocation of land depended on the individual settler's ability to cultivate the land, and within three years of receiving the grant, the recipient had to construct levees, drain the land, build roads, and clear the tract to a depth of two arpents. If the grantee defaulted on any of these requirements, the land would be withdrawn and granted to another. The grantee could not sell the land for a period of three years, and then only after the above stipulations had been met as determined by the Spanish commandant. To begin this process, the grantee must apply to the district commandant for a parcel of land. The commandant would certify as to the availability of the land and direct that it be surveyed. Upon completion of the survey, the grant would be turned over to the settler, who was expected to comply with the above stipulations. Succeeding Spanish governors were not bound by the laws of O'Reilly, but they often used his land grant regulations in formulating their own laws concerning homesteading.[54]

The next Spanish governor to issue land regulations was Don Bernardo de Galvez, who retained the laws promulgated by O'Reilly with slight modifications. His decree of February 19, 1778, promised each new settler a hoe, an ax, a scythe, a spade, two hens, a cock, a piglet, and an allotment of maize based on family size to help him begin homesteading. Government authorities reserved the right to charge the settler for these

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54. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 9; Miller, "Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge," pp. 43-44; Dickins and Forney, American State Papers, V, 729, 794.

items at a future date or repossess them if the grantee did not perform his tasks with zeal.[55]

3. Louisiana Settlement Opened

Prior to this action, the Spanish government opened Louisiana homesteading to Germans, Acadians, French and Irish Catholics by virtue of royal decree on May 26, 1774. The event led to the influx of Acadians. Governor Galvez became concerned about the loyalty of these groups to Spain and so actively encouraged hispanic settlement of Louisiana. In this effort, he recruited settlers from the Canary Islands, Malaga, and Granada, a policy continued after Galvez departed Louisiana. Hispanic immigration began in 1776 and continued into the 1780s with the government providing economic aid to these settlers for many years. In some cases the crown transported the immigrants to Louisiana and built homes and churches for them, but high expenditures eventually forced Spain to cease this practice.[56]

Spain further opened Louisiana to immigrants in 1787, when by royal order United States citizens were allowed to settle there provided they swear loyalty to the King of Spain and educate their children in the Roman Catholic faith. The reason for the liberalization of immigration laws was because Spanish authorities found it difficult to induce people to settle in Louisiana, and the size of Spanish-controlled territory had

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55. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 250; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 105-06; Carmelo Richard Arena "Land Settlement Policies and Practices in Spanish Louisiana," in McDermott, Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, p. 59; Miller, "Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge," pp. 44-45.

56. Gilbert C. Din, "Spanish Immigration to a French Land," Louisiana Review, V (Summer, 1976), pp. 63, 65, 67, 70-73; Ireland, Vieux Carre Ethnographic Overview, p. 13: Bruce Tyler, "The Mississippi River Trade, 1784-1788," Louisiana History, XII (Winter, 1971), pp. 256-57; Gilbert C. Din, "Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Bouligny and the Malagueno Settlement at New Iberia, 1779," Louisiana History, XVII (Spring, 1976), pp. 188, 190; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 142-43; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 60; Gilbert C. Din, "Proposals and Plans for Colonization in Spanish Louisiana, 1787-1790," Louisiana History, XI (Summer, 1970), p. 198; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, p. 160.

increased dramatically with the conquest of West Florida and the acquisition of East Florida by the Treaty of Peace in 1783. Spanish officials believed the newly independent United States of America would eventually attempt to seize parts of Louisiana and the Floridas unless these sparsely settled lands could be populated.[57]

To this end, Bryan Bruin, an Irish Catholic living in Virginia, received several land grants from the Spanish Government to settled families in Louisiana. He and his recruits were to be granted tracts measuring twenty arpents wide along the river by forty arpents deep. The government further exempted them from the normal six percent duty on imported goods for items brought to Louisiana. Further liberalization of immigration laws came with the government proclamation of September 2, 1789, which offered land grants of between 240 and 800 acres, exempt from taxation, to persons settling in Louisiana. The size of these land grants later were increased to between 500 and 1,000 acres depending on the ability of the grantee to bring the area under cultivation.[58]

4. Gayoso's and Morales's Land Laws

In January of 1798, Spanish Louisiana Governor Gayoso issued new regulations for settlement. These regulations continued in force previous land granting practices with a few notable changes. Each settler would now be allowed but one land grant, and no grants would be given to traders. Bachelor men would receive a grant only after four years' continued residence in Louisiana as farmers. For married men with slaves a grant of between 200 and 800 arpents could be awarded. Such grants were to be settled within one year of conveyance and one-tenth of

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57. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 352, 546; Bruce Tyler, "The Mississippi River Trade, 1784-1788," Louisiana History, XII (Winter, 1971), p. 255; Din, "Proposals and Plans for Colonization in Spanish Louisiana," pp. 212-13.

58. Din, "Proposals and Plans for Colonization in Spanish Louisiana," p. 203; Miller, "Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge," p. 47; Arthur Preston Whitaker, The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), p. 156.

the land had to be brought under cultivation within two years. The new grants were to be contiguous to existing ones so that settlers could provide mutual defense in case of Indian or foreign attack. Such an arrangement would, moreover, facilitate government administration of the province. All settlers were required to swear allegiance to the King of Spain before they could be eligible for a grant.[59]

On July 17, 1799, Intendant Juan Ventura Morales issued new land regulations that limited grants on the Mississippi River to a river frontage of no more than eight arpents wide and forty deep, with cultivation of at least two arpents to be done by the third year of occupation. A second land grant could not be given to a settler until after three years had passed and the grantee had fulfilled all stipulations pertaining to his first grant. Six months after publication of these regulations, all landholders were to have their land titles recorded or their holdings would revert to the public domain. Any settler wishing to abandon a claim along the Mississippi damaged by river course changes would have to prove to authorities that the initial grant was unfit for habitation before being compensated with a new one. These regulations remained in effect until Louisiana became part of the United States in 1803.[60]

E. Louisiana Under the United States

1. The Louisiana Purchase

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 that formally ended hostilities of the American Revolution left several important matters unresolved. Included were the right of the United States to freely navigate the Mississippi and the precise demarcation between the Spanish provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas on the one hand, and the United States on the

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59. Dickins and Forney, American State Papers, V, 730-31; Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of Louisiana: The Earliest Period (New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1882; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 276-77; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 39.

60. Martin, History of Louisiana, pp. 278-82; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, pp. 6-7; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 40; Dickins and Forney, America State Papers, V, 732-33.

other. Before the American Revolution, Great Britain and Spain had conflicting boundary claims. The Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795 between the United States and Spain established a new boundary between these two countries at the thirty-first parallel, besides granting the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi and to have a place of deposit in New Orleans. This agreement did not satisfy American desires for greater control of the lower Mississippi and negotiations continued between the two countries. The King of Spain in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso on October 1, 1800, ceded Louisiana back to France, an action reconfirmed on March 21, 1801, in the Treaty of Madrid. Actual transfer of Louisiana from France to Spain was delayed until November 30, 1803.[61]

In light of these developments, President Thomas Jefferson instructed his minister to Paris, Robert R. Livingston, to negotiate with French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte for the purchase of Louisiana. Livingston set out for France in March, 1803, with permission to offer up to ten million dollars for the purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas. Jefferson erroneously believed that Spain had ceded the Floridas as well as Louisiana to Napoleon. The French Emperor met the American envoy and offered to sell all the Louisiana Territory to the United States for fifteen million dollars with the proviso that France maintain trading privileges with Louisiana for ten years following the transfer. On April 30, 1803, Livingston accepted the proposal and Napoleon ratified the treaty. The United States Congress ratified the agreement on May 22, 1803. On December 20, 1803, the French, represented by Pierre de Laussat, formally turned over the Louisiana Territory to United States Territorial Governor William C.C. Claiborne. Only that portion of Louisiana north of Bayou Manchac remained beyond control of the United States as it remained part of Spanish West Florida.[62]

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61. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 73-74; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 132; Whitaker, The Mississippi Question, p. 51; Hofstader, Miller, and Aaron, The United States, pp. 206-08.

62. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 591; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 226, 237, 247, 269; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 537-38, 539; McDermott, Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, p. viii; Dickins and Forney, American State Papers, V, 708.

2. Louisiana as an American Territory

Prior to American acquisition, land in Louisiana sold for twenty-five cents an acre; afterwards the price climbed to $2.00 an acre. The Louisiana Purchase also resulted in the petition of some Spaniards, Frenchmen, Islenos, and Acadians to the King of Spain requesting permission to resettle in Spanish territory. Delays by the crown in acting on these petitions resulted in many of the supplicants remaining in Louisiana. To calm the fears of these settlers, the United States Congress passed laws recognizing the legitimacy of Spanish, British, and French land grants in Louisiana. If disputes arose over the validity of specific claims, Congress authorized the judiciary system to resolve the matter. The only exception to this rule was that any land purchased by an individual from an Indian was decreed null and void.[63]

A traveler visiting Louisiana just before the transfer of the territory to the United States found settlements at New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Pointe Coupee, Bayou Sara and Thompson Creek. The area between English Turn and Bayou Manchac presented plantations on either side of the Mississippi each occupying river frontage of between five and twenty-five acres with a depth of some forty acres. These plantations grew crops of sugar cane and cotton. One such enterprise was located at Baton Rouge and owned by Captain Elias Beauregard, who subdivided it in 1806 to create Beauregard Town. Two years later the town of St. Michel was founded near the site of present-day Port Allen; this community was later lost to the erosive force of the Mississippi River current.[64]

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63. Din, "Spanish Immigration to a French Land," pp. 74-75; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 253; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 41; Joyce Purser, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana, 1803-1820," Louisiana History, V (Fall, 1964), p. 407.

64. Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the Year 1802. Trans. by John Davis (New York: J. Riley and Co., 1806), pp. 167-69, 171-73; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 59; Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, p. 164.

3. Annexation of Portions of West Florida to Louisiana

A host of former American citizens had settled in the West Florida portion of Louisiana. After the Louisiana Purchase they began working toward American annexation of their lands adjoining the Mississippi. The matter came to a head when the settlers held a convention on September 23, 1810, and proclaimed establishment of the "Free and Independent State of West Florida". This declaration was followed by the capture of the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge. On October 27, 1810, President James Madison proclaimed this portion of West Florida to be part of the Louisiana Purchase. Formal annexation by the United States occurred on December 6, 1810. This action gave the United States full control of the lands along the Mississippi River.[65]

4. The State of Louisiana

The census of 1810 showed the Territory of Orleans, that portion of the Louisiana Purchase encompassing the present-day state of Louisiana, with a population of more than 75,000. Because the territory had sufficient populace to apply for statehood, a territorial convention was convened in November, 1811. The forty-three delegates to the convention drew up a state constitution and adopted it on January 22, 1812. Next day a memorial was prepared calling for the annexation of the Mississippi portion of West Florida to become part of the state of Louisiana. The United States Congress passed the Louisiana statehood bill on April 8, 1812, with the provision that formal admission to the union occur on April 30, 1812. Congress next passed a bill enlarging the new state to include that portion of West Florida along the Mississippi River.[66]

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65. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 114, 122; Chambers, West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States, pp. 28, 30-31, 33; Miriam G. Reeves, The Felicianas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1967), p. viii.

66. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 130-32; Chambers, West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States, pp. 34-35.

Once Louisiana became part of the United States all its remaining public lands were sold by the new government which reduced the price of the acreage every few years. In 1820 the cost of public land fell from $2.00 to $1.25 per acre. Land within six miles of a navigable stream like the Mississippi sold at a double minimum price of $2.50 an acre. As the more desirable land was sold, the price of that remaining declined until by the opening of the Civil War land could be purchased for .25 cents an acre. Purchasers of this land had to pay a two dollar registration fee to receive title.[67]

5. The Civil War and Black Homesteading

The Civil War disrupted commerce, brought agricultural production to a standstill, caused loss of lives and property, and inflicted countless hardships on the people of Louisiana. The end of the war found many plantations abandoned, destroyed, or confiscated when their owners served as officers in the Confederate Army. In addition, the newly freed slaves were without resources and unable to sustain themselves. To alleviate this situation, the United States Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, or simply, the Freedmen's Bureau. In order to make freed blacks self-sustaining, the Freedmen's Bureau first attempted to distribute lands to the former slaves through means of the 1862 Homestead Act. The destitution of the blacks, the hostility of the white populace, the lack of suitable land, and severe flooding over the next few years contributed to the failure of this program. The end result was that few blacks gained land under the Homestead Act.[68]

Another plan implemented in Louisiana proposed to give blacks land from confiscated and abandoned plantations. In June, 1865, eighty

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67. Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings, p. 332; Claude L. Oubre, "Forty Acres and a Mule: Louisiana and the Southern Homestead Act," Louisiana History, XVII (Spring, 1976), p. 149.

68. Howard A. White, The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), pp. 58-61; Oubre, "Forty Acres and a Mule," p. 148.

plantations were seized, subdivided, and rented to freed slaves. The blacks, desperate for cash, cut and sold timber from these properties to support themselves. Brigadier General Joseph S. Fullerton, acting on behalf of the local Freedmen's Bureau, halted this practice. Denied of means for self-support, many blacks left the lands and by the fall of 1866 most plantation lands were back in the hands of former owners or northern businessmen.[69]

The Southern Homestead Act was passed by the United States Congress in June, 1866, as another way of making land available to freedmen and loyal whites. These two groups alone were allowed to file on homestead land until January 1, 1867. Another restriction in the law held that until June, 1868, no entry could be made for more than forty acres within six miles of a navigable stream. A person could receive title to the land after homesteading for five years and paying a registration fee. The amount of land available for homesteading in Louisiana was about three million acres. Most was unsuitable for free blacks to file on because considerable draining and levee building was required to make the land fit for habitation and cultivation. Of the nearly 2,000 homestead entries filed in Louisiana between 1867 and 1876 only 34 percent of the applicants ever received title for the land.[70]

Another attempt to distribute land to blacks occurred during the Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1868. Delegates supportive of blacks hoped to force the break up of the large plantations by writing into the state constitution a provision limiting purchases at distress sales to 150 acres for any one individual. Another proposal stipulated that uncultivated land would be subject to double taxation. This also would result in the break up of the larger plantations. But the white majority on the steering committee for the convention opposed these measures and

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69. William Edward Highsmith, "Louisiana During Reconstruction" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1953, Louisiana State University), p. 163.

70. White, Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, p. 58; Oubre, "Forty Acres and a Mule," pp. 143, 148, 156.

prevented them from being adopted by the delegates. This kept intact the large plantations.[71]

Attempts to redistribute land after the Civil War ended the long history of plans for homesteading and settling Louisiana which had started with Iberville in 1699. Today the property maps of Louisiana offer graphic testimony to the settlement practices of the French, Spanish, British, and Americans. Each group perceived the importance of the Mississippi River to any successful colonization attempt. River frontage provided the homesteader and entrepreneur access to transportation, commerce and communication in the early settlement. The river was also a natural force to be harnessed so that settlers might survive the yearly cycles of flooding and erosion. To the present day the Mississippi remains a source of potential benefit and disaster to settlers along its banks.

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71. White, Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, p. 58; Oubre, "Forty Acres and a Mule," p. 153.

CHAPTER IV: INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS, 1520-1803

A. Spanish Contact

The earliest European explorers found a bewildering variety of Indian tribes living along the Mississippi River. Some groups lived harmoniously with one another, while others remained in a state of perpetual warfare. Among these diverse aboriginal populations the impact of the Europeans was catastrophic. Their diseases decimated tribes while Old World weaponry acquired by the Indians dramatically increased the lethal effectiveness of their warfare. Some Indian tribes became extinct while others lost internal coherency, identity, and culture under the European onslaught.[1]

In the beginning, the small parties of European explorers did not appear to be a serious threat to the Indians or their way of life. It is difficult to define the precise moment in time when European explorers first made contact with Louisiana Indians. Perhaps Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca in his wanderings in the southwest met some Indians of the Caddo confederacy around 1535. Possibly the first contact came during the expedition of Hernando de Soto in 1541 when his army may have approached members of the Tunica tribe. After de Soto's death his army descended the Mississippi in boats and in July, 1543, was attacked by Indians living on the river banks. This event represents the first documented contact between Europeans and Louisiana Indians.[2]

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1. A classic though dated overview of American Indians can be found in Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (2 vols.; Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907). For a provocative overview concerning the impact of the Europeans on the inhabitants of the New World and vice versa, see Alfred W. Crosby Jr., The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972).

2. "Anthropological Report on the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe," Federal Register, XLV (December 23, 1980), p. 4; Frederic Austin Ogg, The Opening of the Mississippi, A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968), pp. 37-39,

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B. Indian Relations in French Louisiana

1. La Salle and the Indians

The next European contact came during the 1682 exploration of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, when he claimed Louisiana for France. On the journey down the Mississippi, La Salle stopped at Indian villages along the river and distributed gifts to tribal members as a means of assuring the natives of the desire of the French to establish an amicable relationship with them. On other occasions La Salle was required to fend off attacks by Indians who resented his intrusion into their lands. One encounter occurred on April 2, 1682, as La Salle passed the village of the Quinipissas on the west bank sixty-four miles above Head of Passes. The tribesmen fired arrows at the French canoes and La Salle responded by directing several rounds of gunfire against the villagers. The Quinipissas later united with the Mugalasha tribe and were exterminated in battle with the Bayogoulas in 1700.[3]

Upon La Salle's return to France he outlined a plan before the French court on a procedure by which the Indian population of Louisiana could be made to serve French interests. His plan was to make the tribes dependent on French trade goods and then persuade them to act as French surrogates and auxiliaries in military campaigns against the Spanish. In this manner France might seize portions of Spain's New World empire without undue depletion of French resources. To further ensure the obedience and loyalty of the Indians, French missionaries

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2. (cont.) 41; Benjamin Franklin French (ed., trans.), Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing the Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of that State Compiled with Historical and Biographical Notes (5 vols.; New York: Redfield, 1852), IV, xiv, xv, 46; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant and Co., 1904), I, 10; Alcee Fortier, Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons. Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. (3 vols.; Century Historical Association, 1914), I, 543.

3. Frederic Austin Ogg, The Opening of the Mississippi: A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968); p. 110; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, IV, xxvii-xxxviii, 176-177; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 540.

would be sent up the Mississippi to evangelize among them. Once installed among the "heathen," the missionaries could extoll the virtues of Christ and France. They also could act as France's advocates in the American wilderness where they might mold the Indian tribes into bulwarks against Spanish or English incursions. La Salle's plan provided the basis for the fundamental French policy toward Indians in the New World. His return to North America, however, led to his death and the temporary failure of French efforts to colonize Louisiana.[4]

2. Early Settlement and the Mississippi River Tribes

After La Salle's death the mantel of French leadership in North America fell to Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, and Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, II. In 1698 they were commissioned by King Louis XIV to colonize Louisiana. Their expedition reached the Gulf Coast east of the Mississippi River in 1699. Iberville and Bienville met with local Indian tribes in an effort to ascertain the precise location of the Mississippi. The Indians provided information that led to French rediscovery of the Gulf Coast entrance to the Mississippi. Once on the great river, the French came into contact with the Bayogoula and Mugalasha tribes which jointly occupied an area near present-day Donaldsonville and White Castle. Iberville and his party were greeted in a friendly manner by the two tribal chieftains and the colonists and Indians commenced negotiations as to their future relationship. The French pledged peace and promised to annually supply the tribes with gifts; the Indians in turn promised to trade animal pelts only with the French. Iberville repeated the same ceremonies at the village sites of the Tamarons, Tunicas, Chitimachas, and Houmas. During the voyage upriver the French arranged to leave six young men with friendly tribes

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4. Carl A. Brasseux, (ed., trans.), A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean Jacques Blase d'Albadre (Lafayette, La: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1979), p. 2; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 92; French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, I, 39-40; Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana. Vol. 1: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715. Trans. by Joseph C. Lambert (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), p. 11.

to learn the native languages and customs, to represent French interests in tribal discussions, and to serve as translators when settlers and traders came to the villages. In that same year, French missionaries began traveling up and down the river in an effort to convert the tribes to Christianity.[5]

The French explorers on their ascent of the Mississippi discovered that they were not the only Europeans vying for trade and influence among the Indians. English traders in the meantime had penetrated into the region of the Arkansas River. The Chickasaw, Creek, and Natchez tribes were being furnished military advice and firearms by English traders from the Carolina colony for use in their wars against neighboring tribes. On learning of these events, Iberville concluded that the English would try to use their Indian allies to oust the French from the Mississippi Valley. He initiated a dual policy to confront the English challenge. On the one hand he agreed to provide arms and friendship to any tribe at war with tribes under English influence, while on the other he sought to reconcile warring tribes and bring them under French influence. The policy of encouraging intertribal warfare by the French and English caused great loss of life among regional Indian tribes for many years after 1699.[6]

3. Benefits and Detriments for the Tribes

The English and French traders brought another unwelcome gift to their hosts: disease. Many Indian tribes had no

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5. Brasseux, Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762, pp. 41, 43, 46; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 32, 55; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 38-39, 43; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 175; Rose Meyers, A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Unviersity Press, 1976), pp. 6, 14-15; Elizabeth Kellough and Leona Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge: Kennedy Print Shop, 1979), p. 2; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 541.

6. William Oscar Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Baton Rouge: Ortieb's Printing House, 1911) pp. 6-7; Daniel Henry Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley; Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University) p. 2; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 12; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 186.

natural immunity to the most common diseases of Europe and in the process of achieving that immunity thousands of Indians lost their lives. Smallpox and dysentery ravaged the tribes along the Mississippi leaving the Houma population reduced by one-half and inflicting great suffering on the Biloxis, Pascagoulas, Bayogoulas, and Quinipissas. An estimated Indian population of 20,000 in 1700 was reduced to fewer than 3,000 by 1750. The difficulty in precisely tabulating the full impact of European-induced wars and diseases among the Indians stems from the fact that tribes became highly mobile after the arrival of white men. La Salle in 1682 found some tribes along the Mississippi following a sedentary lifestyle. Other tribes followed seasonal migration patterns in which they occupied settlement sites along the river for only a few months each year. After 1699 the French, and later the English and Spanish, encouraged tribal mobility by offering incentives to tribes to move closer to trading posts on the Mississippi where commerce with them could be more easily conducted. Also, as disease and warfare reduced the tribes, smaller bands merged with larger groups for security. Population figures for Indian tribes during this period therefore represent only rough estimates.[7]

European contact with the Indians did not always result in detrimental and debilitating actions toward them. Iberville's policy of promoting intertribal peace occasionally succeeded in bringing about temporary or permanent reconciliation among some tribes. At one time or another Iberville promoted peace among the Houmas, Bayogoulas, Tunicas, Natchez, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Colapissas, Pascagoulas, Mobiles, and Thomes. He brought peace through the distribution of gifts, mediation of disputes, and persuasion. A treaty between the Choctaws and Chickasaws on March 26, 1702, not only established a temporary peace

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7. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 2, 67, 84; Brasseux, Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762, p. 50; Max E. Stanton, "Southern Louisiana Survivors: The Houma Indians", in Walter L. Williams (ed.), Southwestern Indians: Since the Removal Era (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), p. 94; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 78-79.

between these adversaries, but established trade between the French and the Chickasaws.[8]

The Indians proved to be benefactors of the French colonists in numerous ways. They pointed out land areas not subjected to seasonal flooding on which forts and settlements could be constructed, and they traded and sometimes freely gave the settlers fresh meat and vegetables to sustain them through difficult times. Also, the diminution of the Indian population benefited the Europeans. As Indian tribes were reduced by warfare, disease, and mergers, white immigrants appropriated the sites of tribal fields and villages, providing them with cleared lands located in areas offering natural protection from seasonal flooding. Only rarely, such as in 1729 when a greedy French commander at Fort Rosalie ordered the Natchez to vacate their village so he might construct a plantation, did French authorities openly attempt to seize occupied Indian land. Officially, the French government recognized the Indians' right to their land and passed laws protecting such occupied holdings from the rapacity of European immigrants. Once abandoned, however, tribal lands were consigned to the crown for final disposition which usually resulted in the land being granted to settlers.[9]

4. The French and the Chitimachas

A series of incidents shattered the fragile peace so laboriously established by Iberville between the French and Indians. In 1706 the Chickasaws attacked the Tunicas, forcing the latter to retreat

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8. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, pp. 77-78, 82-86; Joseph Wallace, The History of Illinois Under the French Rule Embracing a General View of the Dominion in North America with Some Account of the English Occupation of Illinois. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1899), p. 226; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi," p. 3; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 546-47, 625.

9. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 39-40, 100; John Preston Moore, Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), p. 31; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 171-72; Henry P. Dart, "Louisiana Land Titles Derived from Indian Tribes", Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IV (January, 1921), pp. 134, 141; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 303.

down the river into territory occupied by the Houmas and Bayogoulas. The Tunicas then launched an assault against the Bayogoulas and the Chitimachas. As the French supported the Tunicas, the Chitimachas blamed them for the attack and in retaliation killed the missionary, Father Jean-Francois Buisson de Saint-Comte. The French struck back against one of the main Chitimacha villages, driving the inhabitants from their homes. The original Chickasaw belligerence had been encouraged by British traders trying to reestablish their influence over the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws. Only in 1718 did the French succeed in restoring peace among the tribes. In that year a treaty between the French and the Chitimachas allowed the tribe to return to their lands near the modern settlement of Plaquemine.[10]

5. Crozat Governs Louisiana

By 1712, when Louis XIV granted Antoine Crozat a patent to Louisiana, the French were pursuing a less ambitious policy than Iberville's in regard to gaining the friendship and loyalty of the Indian tribes along the Mississippi River. The missionaries had withdrawn from the tribes to the Mobile colony. Annual presentations of gifts to the Indians had declined due to a lack of funds approved for colonial expenditures by the King's ministers. The British and Spanish were taking full advantage of the situation by aggressively soliciting trade from the tribes and distributing presents freely in order to gain favor with the Louisiana Indians.[11]

Crozat hoped to revitalize the flagging Indian trade and to counter the growing danger to the colony posed by the activity of the British and Spanish traders. However, the French made little progress against them because of a signal lack of ability on the part of Crozat's agents in

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10. Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), p. 101; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 544; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi," pp. 5, 10-11; Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 9-10; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 75.

11. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 336.

Louisiana. The very success of the British traders made them arrogant and greedy, and they began cheating the tribesmen, seizing Indian property on the pretext of debt collection, and charging exorbitant prices for their trade goods. The Creeks, Choctaws, Alabamas, and Cherokees suffered these abuses until 1715 when they rose against the traders and forced them back to the Atlantic Coast. Any European traders caught by the Indians were tortured and killed, and traders' warehouses located on tribal lands were looted and burned.[12]

The French were hampered from taking full advantage of this opportunity to regain their former position of prominence among the tribes as they were engaged in a protracted struggle with the Natchez tribe. This trouble began when the Governor of Louisiana, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, refused to smoke the calumet on his visit to the Natchez village. The Indians regarded this as an insult tantamount to a declaration of war on their tribe by the French. They retaliated in 1715 by killing four French traders and pillaging the French warehouse in their village. Governor Cadillac immediately ordered a halt to the annual presentation of gifts to the Natchez and dispatched a military expedition upriver to punish those Natchez responsible for the outrage. As leader of the expedition, Bienville was able to secure the execution of three of the Indians responsible for the atrocity and for good measure he killed two hostages that his soldiers had captured. The French then established Fort Rosalie near the Natchez village to hold the Indians in check, to secure the Mississippi between New Orleans and Canada, and to promote trading forays into the regions under British dominance.[13]

6. The Western Company and the Louisiana Indians

In 1717 Crozat gave Louisiana back to the crown. The King in turn regranted Louisiana to the Western Company under John

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12. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 26. Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 10-11; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 327-29.

13. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 8-9, 215; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 241; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 351.

Law. Like his predecessor, Law optimistically overestimated the profits to be made from the Indian fur trade and underestimated the competition from English traders. The Western Company, attempting to make the Indian trade both profitable and exclusive, promoted a plan to relocate the Indians on the banks of the Mississippi in places of greatest accessibility to traders. This policy proved moderately successful and by 1719 a number of tribes had been induced to establish villages in newly designated areas along the river. The Chawashas relocated their village three leagues below New Orleans on the left bank, while the Washas moved eleven leagues above the town to a site on the right bank. The Colapissas selected a site on the right bank thirteen leagues above New Orleans. This proximity of tribes to white traders was not necessarily beneficial to the Indians, as was indicated in 1721 when the last Bayogoula village on the Mississippi was abandoned because of the destructive impact of a smallpox epidemic upon tribal members.[14]

7. French Relations with the Natchez

French authorities were concerned about the formidable combined strength of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in any future confrontation they might have with these tribes. To forestall such a direful eventuality, the French proceeded to incite the Choctaws to attack the Chickasaws, an act that had the additional benefit of disrupting British trading activities between these two peoples. Such activity on the part of the French succeeded in creating sustained hostilities between the tribes, but a formidable alliance between the Natchez and the Chickasaws, aided and abetted by the British, soon remained to confront them. In 1722 the long-smoldering hatred between the French and Natchez again surfaced. This time the French allied with the Tunicas in a brief war against Natchez tribesmen which ended inconclusively in 1724. Over the next few years the deterioration of relations between the Natchez and

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14. Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, pp. 240, 252; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 12, 158-59; McWilliams, Fleur de Lys and Calumet, pp. 219-20; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 539.

the French continued, and in 1729 the Natchez organized several other disaffected tribes into a conspiracy to drive the French from Louisiana.[15] The action resulted from an ultimatum delivered to the Indians by the French commander of Fort Rosalie demanding that the Natchez abandon their village site. The provocation led the Natchez to openly rebel against the French and on November 28, 1729, Fort Rosalie and the adjacent French settlement were destroyed. More than 200 Frenchmen and women were killed and 50 women and children, along with nearly 300 black slaves were taken captive. Fortunately for the French, the other tribes involved in the conspiracy did not fulfill their commitments to attack all the French settlements along the Mississippi. The French decided to move quickly against the Natchez and thus demonstrate to all tribes the consequences of native opposition. Meanwhile, the Choctaws demanded that the Natchez turn over to them a portion of the loot taken in the sack of Fort Rosalie. The Natchez refused this request and the Choctaws joined the French and Tunicas in an attack on them in March, 1730. This combined force defeated the Natchez, many of whom were sold into slavery by the French. Though the power of the Natchez was broken, remnant bands of the tribe harassed French traders and settlers for a number of years afterwards.[16]

One remnant of the Natchez found refuge among the Chickasaws. Bienville believed that the commerce and settlement along the Mississippi could not safely occur until the Chickasaws had been chastised for their actions during the uprising and the remaining Natchez were turned over to the French for punishment. The French approached the Chickasaws in 1734 demanding that the Natchez be delivered to them, but the Indians

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15. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 224-26; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 100-01, 110-14; Le Page Du Pratz, The History of Louisiana or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing a Description of the Countries that Lie on both Sides of the River Mississippi: With an Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate and Products (London: T. Beckett, and T.A. Font, 1774; reprint, New Orleans: J.S.W. Harmonson, 1947), pp. 73, 81, 83, 87.

16. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 16-17, 22; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 545, 555-57.

refused this demand on grounds that the Natchez survivors were part of the Chickasaw tribe. Bienville raised an army to attack the Chickasaws in May, 1736, but the tribesmen, aided by British traders, successfully repelled the French and their Indian allies. Soon the French incited the Choctaws to wage guerilla style warfare against the Chickasaws while they organized another full-scale campaign against that tribe. In 1740 that offensive brought only an inclusive peace and during the next few years the Chickasaws continued their harassment of the French.[17]

C. Indian Relations in British Louisiana

In the aftermath of their troubles with the Indians the French attempted to reduce gift giving among the tribes, a policy that resulted in the Indians turning more often to British traders to obtain needed goods. In 1747 the Choctaw tribe was split by a civil war over whether to support the French or British and rebellious Choctaw warriors were raiding settlements along the German Coast of the Mississippi. The Governor of Louisiana answered this provocation by tripling an existing bounty on enemy Indian scalps, an action that accelerated the intertribal warfare among the Choctaws but did not diminish their numbers enough to prevent further raids against the French during the following decade.[18]

In 1755 several European nations including Great Britain, France, and Spain became embroiled in the Seven Years' War, known in America as the French and Indian War. The French in the lower Mississippi Valley strove to exert all efforts to deprive the British of Indian commerce and to isolate those tribes that supported the British. In this the French failed and the war concluded in 1763 with their expulsion from North America. The Treaty of Paris granted the British land on the east

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17. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 228, 230-31; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 119, 120, 126; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 23-25, 32; Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), p. 63; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, pp. 290-91.

18. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 33-34, 36; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 236.

side of the Mississippi from Bayou Manchac north past the village of the Tunicas. All land below Bayou Manchac on the east bank, as well as that west of the river, went to Spain.[19]

The imminent transfer of authority in Louisiana from France to Great Britain and Spain created consternation among the Indian tribes residing there. When the transfer occurred on October 20, 1763, it coincided with the British proclamation of 1763 which temporarily reserved the land west of the Appalachians for the Indians and barred land speculators, fur traders, and settlers from entering the area.[20] Fur traders presented a most vexing problem for British authorities, for they hoped that profits from animal pelts would sustain the economy of their newest colonial possession. The difficulty concerned the matter of regulation of the trade, for despite the proclamation of 1763, British traders entered the Indian lands exchanging firearms and liquor for pelts. These traders sold shoddy merchandise and adulterated liquor that caused resentment and unrest among the tribes. The French traders, hoping to advantage themselves of the situation, fomented Indian discontent against the British while encouraging the tribes to relocate in Spanish territory. The Tunicas, Taensas, and Alabamas, among others, found the French arguments persuasive. Some moved below Bayou Manchac and to the west bank of the Mississippi which belonged to Spain. The Tunicas attempted to maintain their land rights on both sides of the Mississippi, an effort

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19. State of the British and French Colonies in North America (London: A. Millar, 1755; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), pp. 5, 7, 11; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 455-56.

20. Clarence Walworth Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution. (2 vols.; Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Company, 1917), I, 185-86; Richard Hofstader, William Miller and Daniel Aaron, The United States: The History of a Republic. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 128.

that promoted dissension among tribal members as loyalties became divided between the British and Spanish.[21]

The British hoped to alleviate these problems by enacting a series of fur trade regulations and establishing a governmental department responsible for their enforcement. From 1762 until 1779, John Stuart of Charleston, South Carolina, was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District which included lower Louisiana. He and his subordinates were responsible for negotiating treaties with the Indians and establishing amicable relationships between the British and all tribes within the newly acquired territory. Stuart's agents had authority to grant licenses to persons seeking trade with the Indians. Such permits designated the Indian tribe or military post where trade would take place and the trader at that place conducted his business under the watchful eyes of British officials. Licensed traders were not permitted to operate anywhere other than at the designated sites. Upon arriving at a British post, authorized traders presented their licenses to Stuart's agent, known as a commissary. The commissary placed a tariff on the trade goods and ascertained that neither rum nor rifled guns were sold to the Indians. This regulation proved difficult to enforce because of the lack of qualified commissaries and the immensity of their task. Traders easily circumvented government officials in order to trade in contraband items with the tribes.[22]

During the transition from French to British rule in 1763 the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Upper Creeks sent representatives to visit the British at Pensacola, Mobile, and Fort Tombecbe. There the Indians

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21. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 47; Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, I, 185, 292-93, 298-302; John Preston Moore, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Louisiana, 1763-68," in John Francis McDermott (ed.), The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 83; Ernest C. Downs, "The Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition," in Williams, Southeastern Indians, p. 74.

22. Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, I, 222-23, 291; Moore, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Louisiana Frontier," p. 81.

were disappointed by the paucity of gifts distributed among them compared to those offered by the French. Further difficulties for the British were encountered when they sought to extend territorial control beyond Mobile to their lands along the Mississippi. A British military expedition sent to accomplish that objective in 1764 was driven back down the Mississippi by hostile Indians inflamed by the rhetoric of French traders' and British niggardliness. It was not until 1765 that the Indians allowed the British to gain full possession of their lands.[23]

During that year the Alabama and Houma Indians raided British settlements around Bayou Manchac. Afterwards the Indians and the British settled down to a period of semi-peaceful co-existence. The British never succeeded in establishing the same close relationship with the tribesman that the French enjoyed, nor were they able to suppress trade between the Indians and the French, the Spanish, the Canadians, and their own citizens. Also, the British failed to adequately protect the tribes living in their territory. In 1771, for example, raiding Choctaws drove the Biloxis from the British to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. Yet when the American Revolution opened in 1775 British authorities believed that if Spain declared war on Great Britain they could capture New Orleans with the assistance of Chickasaw and Choctaw auxilliaries. Spain eventually entered the war on the American side and in 1779 the Governor of Spanish Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez, assisted by Tunica Indians, captured the east bank of the Mississippi from Great Britain, effectively ending British rule on the Mississippi.[24]

D. Indian Relations in Spanish Louisiana

After a short-lived revolt by European settlers in 1768 against Spanish authority, Spain the following year was able to exert full control

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23. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 45-46; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, pp. 146-47; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 309; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 549-50.

24. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 64; Robert R. Rea, "Redcoats and Redskins on the Lower Mississippi, 1763-1776: The Career of Lt. John Thomas," Louisiana History, XI (Winter, 1970), pp. 7, 11, 13-14; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 49; Downs, "Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition," pp. 74-75.

over its portion of the newly acquired Louisiana colony. For one thing, the French traders had prepared the Indians to accept Spanish rule, and Spanish officials generously distributed gifts to the tribes. Consequently, the Spanish faced fewer difficulties than the British in dealing with the native population because of these actions. Prior to the colonial revolt Spanish authorities had forbidden the sale of brandy and muskets to the tribesmen and required all traders to be licensed by the government. But authorities had little success enforcing these regulations.[25]

After 1769 Spanish officials forbade Louisiana colonists from holding Indian slaves. They further ordered that the tribes cease hostilities against each other as well as against the British. Despite the good intentions of Spanish officials, however, French and Spanish operatives on both sides of the Mississippi continued to foment trouble among the tribes. Some tribal leaders cleverly played the Spanish off against the British to obtain better gifts and privileges. But the Indians lost this ploy after the Spanish conquest of British Louisiana.[26]

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 confirmed Spain's territorial conquests of Louisiana and West Florida during the American Revolution. Spanish officials sought to solidify these gains by effecting peace treaties with the Indian tribes of the conquered provinces. Another purpose of these treaties was to create an Indian buffer state between Spanish Louisiana and the newly independent United States of America. In June, 1784, Spanish officials invited the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Alabamas, and several smaller tribes to join in negotiations over land rights and trade. Spanish representatives received from the Indians assurances of their loyalty and peaceful intentions towards Spanish citizens, along with agreements to

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25. Moore, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Louisiana Frontier," pp. 15, 80, 82, 87-88, 93-94, 97-98.

26. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 51-53; Rea, "Redcoats and Redskins on the Lower Mississippi," p. 15; Alcee Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 42.

refrain from intertribal warfare. The Indians further promised to trade only with white men bearing Spanish passports. They agreed to treat prisoners humanely and to surrender all white captives to Spanish authorities. For their part, the Spanish promised to protect Indian lands and to provide new homes for the Indians if they should be dispossessed by the enemies of Spain. Spanish officials took this opportunity to negotiate with the tribesmen regarding prices, tariffs, and trade regulations.[27]

The Spanish continued their efforts to make treaties with the Indians and on May 14, 1790, reached an agreement with Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes at Natchez. This treaty delineated the territorial boundaries of the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes, while both groups agreed to recognize and respect the land holdings of Spain along the Mississippi River up to its confluence with the Yazoo.[28] In 1793 the Spanish negotiated another treaty with the Chickasaw, Creek, Tallapoosa, Alabama, Cherokee, and Choctaw tribes. This document ratified all agreements made since 1784 between the Spanish and the Indians. In addition, the signatory tribes formed offensive and defensive alliances under the auspices of Spain. Spain in return agreed to distribute presents to the tribes annually. These treaties were designed to buttress Spanish Louisiana and Florida against territorial encroachment by the United States.[29]

Late in the eighteenth century events began to unfold across the Atlantic Ocean that would forever end the European occupation of Louisiana. United States diplomats had begun negotiating with Spain in regard to American boundaries and the right of American vessels to

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27. Thomas D. Watson, "A Scheme Gone Awry: Bernardo de Galvez, Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, and the Southern Indian Trade", Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1976), pp. 5-6; Bruce Tyler, "The Mississippi River Trade, 1784-1788," Louisiana History, XII (Winter, 1971), p. 256; James Wilbert Miller, "The Spanish Commandant of Baton Rouge, 1779-1795" (unpublished master thesis dated 1964, Louisiana State University), pp. 26-27; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 550-51.

28. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 552-53.

29. Ibid. p. 553; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 152.

navigate the Mississippi. The Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795 gave the United States navigation rights together with a right of deposit in New Orleans. Also, the boundary of the United States was determined to be at the thirty-first parallel, thereby effectively obliterating the Spanish-Indian buffer zone earlier established between Louisiana and the United States.[30] This setback for Spain's colonial officials was followed by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (October 1, 1980) which delivered Louisiana back to France, a cession reconfirmed by the Treaty of Madrid on March 21, 1801. Actual conveyance of title occurred November 30, 1803. By that time the United States had purchased Louisiana from France. The transfer to United States control took place on December 20, 1803.[31]

From the earliest European contact until the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, regional Indian tribes were dramatically impacted by European colonists. European diseases and weapons created devastating effects among several tribes along the Mississippi River while dependence on European trade goods radically altered their traditional lifestyles. The constant warfare among tribes only accelerated with the addition of European technology, and Indian lands abandoned because of disease and war were confiscated by European settlers. White encroachment on tribal lands continually limited the territorial extent of the Indians. Yet when the United States took possession of Louisiana the new administrators retained many of the European policies in their dealings with the Indians. All traders continued to require licensing, and liquor was not to be sold to the Indians without official permission. Regardless, the United States Government ultimately failed to adequately protect the tribesmen and gradually embraced a policy calling for the removal of most of the

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30. Arthur Preston Whitaker, The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics and Diplomacy (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), p. 51.

31. Hofstader, Miller and Aaron, The United States: A History of a Republic, pp. 206-08.

Louisiana Indians from their traditional homes in the region of the lower Mississippi River.[32]

32. Mary Joyce Purser, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana, 1803-1820" (unpublished master thesis dated 1958, Louisiana State University), pp. 10-11; Downs, "Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition," p. 72.

CHAPTER V: MILITARY HISTORY OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, 1700-1900

A. Introduction

For nearly two hundred years, from the time of earliest exploration and settlement in the area until the dawning of the twentieth century, the economic and social development of the lower Mississippi River was accompanied by a pronounced and purposeful military continuum. Indeed, martial presence constituted the cornerstone for early colonial ventures by France and Spain, as well as for the final solidification of control over the region by the United States. For an area undergoing vast and rapid commercial expansion, maintenance of a military force offered important advantages. Besides helping promote and preserve trade in an atmosphere of internal stability, colonial troops often paved the way for settlement by aiding in the acquisition of new territory. They further facilitated commercial progress by protecting the populace, not only from Indians but from outside aggression, particularly on the lower Mississippi approaches through construction and maintenance of elaborate fortifications. When the early French and Spanish defense works were relinquished to the United States in 1803 they were renovated to guard against foreign and domestic enemies gaining access into the interior of the continent through the river. Finally, throughout the respective periods of French, Spanish, and early United States suzerainty in Louisiana, a military presence was essential in establishing tranquility through the quelling of slave revolts and preventing threatened insurrections.

B. French Military Presence

The beginning of a sustained military presence in the area of the lower Mississippi River occurred in 1682 with the arrival there of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, and his entourage of Indians and twenty-three French soldiers. Claiming the region for his king, La Salle thereby initiated his government's eighty-one-year possession of

Louisiana.[1] Occupation of the royal colony was not immediate, however, and in fact proceeded only late in the century as a result of the expeditions of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. Accompanied by troops, Iberville reconnoitered the region above the mouth of the Mississippi while seeking a suitable location along the Gulf Coast to establish the colony. In their explorations, Iberville and his men penetrated the interior to the mouth of Red River, encountering enroute the villages of the Houma, Biloxi, Bayogoula, and Mugalasha Indians.[2]

1. The First Fortifications

Much early French interest in the lower Mississippi lay in establishing a population and commercial base as a strategic device against English expansion from the east. Indeed, as a military focal point the lower river was viewed as a staging area for potential French assaults on the English colonial possessions.[3] In 1699, to the end of gaining regional supremacy in the international expansion throughout eastern North America, Iberville and his followers secured French sovereignty in Louisiana by building Fort Maurepas (Fort Iberville) on the Gulf Coast (near present Biloxi, Mississippi). The post was meant to secure the mouth of the Mississippi from English incursions. Shortly after its completion, and fearing English contention for the lower river, Iberville ascended the stream to a point below present English Turn fifty-four miles above the mouth and there established another post, Fort du Mississippi (Fort de la Boulaye), the first such defensive work built on

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1. Rene Robert Cavelier de la Salle, "Taking Possession of America." Extract from Historical Review of the Antilles, No. 1 (October, 1928), in "Louisiana Indian Miscellany" (Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, Works Progress Administration, 1940), pp. 3-5.

2. Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana. Volume I: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), pp. 31-32.

3. Ibid., p. 46; Patricia D. Woods, "The French and the Natchez Indians in Louisiana: 1700-1731," Louisiana History, XIX (Fall, 1978), p. 416.

the lower river. Constructed in 1700, Fort du Mississippi, eventually commanded by Iberville's brother, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, was no more than a primitive two-story wooden blockhouse and magazine surrounded by a ditch with but fifteen to twenty-five soldiers and a few cannon to guard it. The post served notice of French intentions to hold the region, but, subjected to flooding and unhealthy conditions, it was abandoned about seven years after its completion.[4]

From the beginning, military strength in Louisiana was limited to just a few companies of men; the outbreak of hostilities in Europe between England and France restricted French efforts to increase its military posture in both Louisiana and Canada. Skilled engineering officers likewise were unavailable for building adequate fortifications, and most troops in Louisiana were consequently withdrawn from the vicinity of the river to Mobile. For a time the defenses of France's southern colony became almost non-existent.[5] Yet Anglo-French rivalry on the North American continent never waned, and early in the eighteenth century France cultivated important military coalitions with the Indians to stem English encroachment in the region. Notably, alliances were sought by the French among the powerful Choctaw and Natchez tribes to offset similar compacts arranged by the English with the Chickasaws.[6] Louisiana became a charter colony in 1712, after which several companies sequentially administered the government, including all military activities. To consolidate their control in the Natchez country, the French erected Fort Rosalie on the site of present Natchez, Mississippi. The post, finished in 1716, two years before the establishment of New Orleans,

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4. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, pp. 39-40; Alcee Fortier, Louisiana. Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form (3 vols.; Century Historical Association, 1914), I, 415-16; Willard B. Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering: The Defense of New Orleans," Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1977), p. 8. Fort du Mississippi, like other early French fortifications, reflected in the most rudimentary form the theories of bastioned defenses then prevalent in Europe, especially in France. Ibid., p. 10.

5. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, pp. 213, 217-18.

6. Woods, "French and the Natchez," pp. 416-17.

further signified the determination of France to check England's advances on its Mississippi colony.[7]

The founding of New Orleans necessarily occurred with the help of French soldiers and military engineers. Situated at a radical bend in the Mississippi, the community evolved with defense considerations assuming importance equal to its anticipated commercial advantages. An elaborate fortification designed for New Orleans went unfulfilled, however, with the death of Sieur Etienne Boucher Perrier de Salvert, the engineer who had been directed to complete it. The outbreak of European war between France and Spain in 1719 increased apprehensions about possible conflict between those powers in the New World, a situation realized when French naval forces seized the Spanish post at Pensacola. While the post was shortly recaptured, the antagonism engendered by the event only compounded the need for preparing sufficient defenses in French Louisiana. Within a year of the reconquest of Pensacola another military engineer, Leblond de la Tour, was sent by the Parisian government to improve New Orleans with streets as well as with fortifications. The importance of LaTour's appointment for the latter purpose increased when the capital of the colony was shifted to New Orleans from Mobile Bay.[8] Besides laying out a place d' arms and excavating ditches around the city, LaTour and his assistants paid attention to the approaches to New Orleans and in 1721 began building works on an island at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Known as The Balize ("Beacon"), this outpost originally contained an enclosure of wooden piles to harbor a small body of troops. Eventually it held limited ordnance with which to check enemy advances up navigable Southeast Pass, but The Balize remained in an incomplete stage for many years and ultimately the island on which the French post was located was lost to the river.[9] Other fortifications

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7. Ibid., p. 422.

8. Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," p. 14; Patricia W. Woods, French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), pp. 42-43.

9. Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," pp. 8, 9-10; Henry Lewis, The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated (orig. pub. ca. 1850s; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), p. 412.

erected on the lower river during the French occupation consisted of Forts St. Leon and St. Mary, stockaded batteries finished around 1749 arranged on either side of the stream at English Turn to provide artillery cross-fire against ascending vessels. Below English Turn toward the mouth Forts Plaquemine and Bourbon were erected, in reality small earthen batteries also capable of directing cannon fire from the east and west sides of the stream, respectively. Additional defenses guarded the other water approaches to New Orleans, particularly a small battery situated at Bayou St. John on Lake Pontchartrain immediately north of the city.[10]

While the works below and adjacent to New Orleans were designed to retard hostile advances from the river's mouth, those raised farther upstream had in their purpose the containment of the British over land, the maintenance of good relations with the Indians, and the promotion of settlement and commerce along the river. Thus, Fort Rosalie stood among the Natchez; downriver from that post settlement began in the area of present Baton Rouge about 1719, although it is doubtful that any *substantial fortifications* were erected there for several decades.[11] Another burgeoning center of French population in Louisiana was at Pointe Coupee, upstream from Baton Rouge along the west bank. Settled early in the eighteenth century by trappers from Canada, Pointe Coupee was fortified by the French and manned by a small garrison both to protect whites from the Indians and to assert France's claim to the region. In time Pointe Coupee, by its situation, became significant in the river commerce between Illinois and New Orleans.[12]

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10. Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," p. 13; Jerome A. Greene, The Defense of New Orleans, 1718-1900 (Denver: National Park Service, 1982), pp. 28-31, 36.

11. Kenneth Drude, "Fort Baton Roge," Louisiana Studies, VII (Fall, 1968), pp. 259-60. See also J. St. Clair Favrot, "Baton Rouge, The Historic Capitol of Louisiana," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XII (October, 1929), p. 612; and Andrew C. Albrecht, "The Origin and Early Settlement of Baton Rouge, Louisiana," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (January, 1945), pp. 58, 62, 67.

12. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 318.

2. Military-Indian Relations

Commerce and the maintenance of good relations with area Indian tribes went hand in hand during the French colonization of lower Louisiana. Some native groups played important roles in the evolution of trade along the Mississippi; others, like the Mugulashas, Quinipissas, and Bayogoulas, initially encountered by French explorers, were quickly exterminated by intertribal war and disease and figured negligibly in French expansion designs.[13] One larger group, the Houmas, who had been encountered by Iberville during his ascent of the Mississippi, was attacked by a neighboring tribe, the Tunicas, who then drove the survivors downriver to Bayou St. John near New Orleans where they lived for a number of years. Eventually the Houmas removed themselves north to Bayou Lafourche.[14] Most of those remaining groups experienced prolonged contact with French soldiers stationed in the province. In particular, French military relations among the Chitimacha, Tunica, and Natchez on the lower Mississippi continued in various respects throughout the early decades of French Louisiana. The Chitimachas killed a missionary at their village near present Donaldsonville (Bayou Lafourche) early in the eighteenth century, provoking a brief conflict with the French that was resolved only after the head of the murderer was

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13. John R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952), p. 208; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 539-40. The Quinipissas and the Mugulashas were, by some accounts, the same tribe. La Salle was met with hostility from these people in 1682; they were wiped out by the Bayogoulas in 1700. The Bayogoulas were themselves destroyed by an attack of the Taensa Indians. Bayogoula survivors settled near New Orleans, although some moved upstream to Ascension Parish by the late 1730s. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, pp. 200, 208; John R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 43 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1911), pp. 279-80, 281. See also J. Ashley Sibley, Jr., Louisiana's Ancients of Man: A Study of Changing Characteristics of Louisiana Indian Culture (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1967), pp. 184, 187.

14. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, p. 186; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 540. See also Greg Bowman and Jonel Curry-Roper, The Houma People of Louisiana: A Story of Indian Survival (1982), passim.

delivered to Bienville.[15] The Tunicas had villages on Yazoo River, although at least one of their settlements stood along the Mississippi a short distance below the mouth of Red River. A mutual enmity with the pro-British Chickasaws led them to align themselves with the French, an association that proved beneficial to the latter in their relations with the ever-volatile Natchez. Tunica support for the French eventually resulted in their being attacked by Natchez tribesmen in 1731 and their leading chief being killed.[16]

3. War with the Natchez

It was the Natchez with whom Frenchmen on the lower Mississippi became most involved. This autocratic tribe of Mississippian ancestry numbered around 3,000 persons in 1700 and resided some distance above the Houma villages. Initially their relations with the French were hostile, but late in the seventeenth century an accord was reached when Iberville succeeded in establishing a missionary among them. This attempt at converting the tribesmen to Christianity largely failed, although it was accompanied by the erection of a trading post in the Natchez country. In 1715 a brief war resulted from the Indians' killing of some Canadians, but when Bienville established peace he began building Fort Rosalie on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi at the present site of the city of Natchez.[17] This development was designed for political as well as economic purposes, for the French thus hoped to offset growing British trade influence among the Chickasaw Indians whose domain adjoined that of the Natchez in French territory.[18] But Bienville

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15. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 541-42; Sibley, Louisiana's Ancients of Man, p. 184; Jean-Bernard Bossu, Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762. Trans., ed. by Seymour Feiler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 25, 28.

16. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, pp. 193-94; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 544.

17. Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, pp. 189-90; Woods, "The French and the Natchez Indians," pp. 413-14, 415.

18. Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 21, 22, 56; Woods, "French and the Natchez Indians," p. 419.

very nearly instigated trouble with the Natchez as he went about his task with his tiny force. Stationing himself along the river at a friendly Tunica village, he asked the Natchez leaders to come to him and explain their violence against the Canadians. Ultimately Bienville executed a number of Natchez tribesmen who opposed the French, thereby giving more power to a pro-French faction that included most of the tribal hierarchy. He sent his troops forward to the Natchez country and there finished erecting Fort Rosalie in just a few weeks.[19]

French patronization of the Choctaws coincided with improved relations with the Natchez, and Bienville actually made inroads on the British-Chickasaw alliance for a short time. But Louisiana lacked troops as well as trade inducements to sustain the colony's hope of placating the interior tribes. Consequently, while the British were enabled to direct attacks against France's Indian allies, particularly the Tunicas, Natchez, and Choctaws, they never were able to seize a position on the Mississippi River from which to disrupt communications between the Illinois country on the north, and Mobile and New Orleans on the south.[20] In 1719, when war broke out between France and Spain, a contingent of 400 Choctaws was recruited to help attack the Spanish post at Pensacola. The post fell to a naval assault, however, and the Indian auxiliaries were not employed. Throughout France's tenure in Louisiana, continued good relations with the Choctaws and Natchez depended as much on the availability of trade items as on anything else.[21]

Relations with the Natchez, particularly, remained volatile, and the slightest provocation on the part of the French at Fort Rosalie threatened to destroy efforts at building an alliance with this tribe in the face of the British. During the autumn of 1722 a soldier at the post engaged in a dispute with some of the tribesmen that led to several Indians being killed. A number of minor clashes resulted that caused the deaths of six more Indians as well as three Frenchmen and a Negro. While wide-scale

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19. Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 57-60.

20. Giraud, History of French Louisiana, pp. 204, 210-12.

21. Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 42-43, 44.

violence was averted and a tenuous peace established, the incident did little to allay fears among the Natchez that the French soldiers wanted retribution. To insure against that danger the Natchez leader Tattooed Serpent accompanied a group of warriors downriver to New Orleans where they met with Bienville. The commandant wanted no further trouble with the Natchez; an ongoing dispute between the Chickasaws and Choctaws convinced him of the necessity of keeping Natchez friendship intact. He therefore presented the Indians with new arms and ammunition and sent sixty more soldiers with them back to Fort Rosalie. Settlers around the post were dismayed on learning that the tribesmen would go unpunished for their misdeeds. Conversely, the Indians felt that little had been done to rectify past wrongs by the soldiers.[22] The incident of 1722 pointed up the consequences of the growing dependency of the Natchez upon white trade, for it had resulted from a case of Indian indebtedness for trade goods. It also indicated French military weakness along the river; troops were so few at Fort Rosalie that they offered little protection either to area settlers or the Indians themselves.[23]

After 1722 relations between the French and Natchez deteriorated. The Indian trade fell off following Bienville's ineffective mediation. Disruption of the commerce coincided with other developments over ensuing years. For one thing, the commanding officer of Fort Rosalie reportedly was incompetent and mismanaged relations with the tribesmen. For another, the British likely succeeded in extending their influence among the Indians to thwart the French. Probably intratribal factioning among the Natchez contributed to declining French influence, especially following the death in 1725 of Tattooed Serpent and the ascendancy of the anti-French element in the tribe. Then, too, there was growing realization that the very cultural fiber of Natchez life had been strained by the Indians' dependency on white trade goods and the loss of their

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22. Ibid., pp. 74-75; Woods, "French and the Natchez Indians," p. 426.

23. Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 77.

land. These principal factors ultimately combined to motivate the Natchez to action.[24]

On November 28, 1729, the Indians rebelled, attacking and destroying Fort Rosalie and the surrounding white settlements. More than 200 men, women, and children were killed in the coordinated assaults. Many underwent torture; most were beheaded and their heads placed on stakes. News of the Natchez massacre reached New Orleans by a refugee four days later. The inhabitants felt shock and outrage, but began preparations for the town's defense in case of attack by the tribesmen. To make matters worse, rumors circulated that black slaves were joining the Indians in their rampage. Fortifications were hastily thrown up around the perimeter of the town and guards established at the corners. Military emissaries took the news to outlying settlements along the river all the way to Pointe Coupee advising citizens to hurriedly erect defenses.[25]

Governor Etienne Perier responded to the crisis irrationally. Believing that the Natchez assault was but a single episode in a general Indian uprising, he determined to strike back in all directions.

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24. Ibid., p. 95; Woods, "French and the Natchez," pp. 428-29. For a more contemporary view of the Natchez problems with the French, albeit by an Englishman, see Philip Pittman, The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi (Orig. pub. 1770; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973), p. 37. The possibility of a conspiracy by the Natchez and other tribes to wipe out the French in Louisiana, though advanced at the time by French officials to marshal public opinion, has been shown to be a myth. See John Delanglez, "The Natchez Massacre and Governor Perier," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XVII (October, 1934), pp. 634-35.

25. Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 96; Delanglez, "Natchez Massacre," pp. 631-32, 634. Details of the massacre are in Albert Phelps, Louisiana: A Record of Expansion (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905), pp. 83-85. Figures for the number of victims of the Indians vary between 200 and 2,000, with most approaching the former range. See Delanglez, "Natchez Massacre," pp. 631-32. Patricia D. Woods has established the population of the Fort Rosalie vicinity in the fall of 1729 as 663, to include 25 soldiers, 200 male settlers, 80 females, 150 children, and 208 slaves. "French and the Natchez," p. 432.

Unfortunately, at the time a tiny village of Chawasha Indians was peacefully camped near the river below New Orleans. On Perier's orders a group of Negroes struck the Chawashas, who numbered but thirty people, and destroyed them. While the incident perhaps reflects the Governor's momentary paranoia, it had immense symbolic value to other regional tribes who quickly proclaimed their loyalty to the French.[26] The incident typified Perier's management of Indian affairs in Louisiana that has drawn criticism from modern scholars of the period.[27]

With the hope of rescuing the large numbers of settlers held captive by the Natchez, Perier sent an expeditionary force of what few soldiers he could spare, several free blacks, and 200 Choctaws against the Indians. Commanded by Le Seur, the expedition travelled up the Mississippi, arriving in the area of the Natchez in late January, 1730. There Le Seur attacked the Indians, forcing them to deliver nearly 170 prisoners while killing about eighty Natchez braves. The Natchez withdrew to nearby strongholds where the Choctaws besieged them for the next few weeks. On February 8, Sieur de Loubois arrived with more French soldiers and artillery. Negotiations were begun with the Natchez, but during the night of February 26 the tribesmen managed an escape and fled upriver where they remained.[28] Later that year 500 regular troops arrived from France. With a force numbering approximately 1,500

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26. Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 97.

27. See, for example, ibid., and also Delanglez, "Natchez Massacre," pp. 636, 640, who assesses Perier blame for appointing and then sustaining the inept commandant at Fort Rosalie. For a view written several decades after the massacre but supportive of this criticism, see Bossu, Travels in the Interior, p. 37. See also criticism of Perier in Liliane Crete, Daily Life in Louisiana, 1815-1830. Trans. by Patrick Gregory (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), p. 10.

28. Phelps, Louisiana: A Record of Expansion, pp. 84-85; Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 98; Woods, "French and the Natchez," pp. 433-34.

men Governor Perier personally went after the Natchez now located west of Fort Rosalie and north of Red River, near Black River. Armed with mortars, on January 21, 1731, the command invested the Indians' stronghold. They fought off an attack by the tribesmen, then unleashed the ordnance rounds into their midst. The artillery fire caused great shock and commotion, particularly among the women and children, and soon most of the Natchez capitulated. They were accompanied downriver to New Orleans where some were executed; others went as slaves to the West Indies. Some tribesmen escaped the French assault and eventually joined the Chickasaws. Subsequent encounters between the French and the Natchez occurred sporadically into 1732. More Indians, including most of the prominent chiefs, were killed while others surrendered and were taken to New Orleans and sold into slavery.[29] Those Natchez who reached the Chickasaws joined with them in guerrilla-style strikes against settlers around New Orleans and Mobile, thereby posing constant danger to the colony and its inhabitants. These antagonisms, coupled with rumored inroads of the British trade among the Choctaws gave Louisiana officials reason for concern.[30]

Meantime, the unsettled conditions resulting from the Natchez war caused instability for the Company of the Indies and in late November, 1731, after the company ceased to function, Louisiana reverted to a royal

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29. Ibid., p. 434; Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 104-05, 106; Delanglez, "Natchez Massacre," p. 639; Bossu, Travels in the Interior, p. 47. John R. Swanton explained the demise of the Natchez Indians only partially to their defeat by the French. "What actually did destroy, or very largely decimate, the Natchez nation was the attrition of numberless encounters with other Indians, losses in the swamps from sickness and exposure, and epidemics which would have reduced them in any event, with or without warfare." Indian Tribes of North America, p. 248. For further details of Perier's campaign, see John A. Green, "Governor Perier's Expedition Against the Natchez Indians, December, 1730-January, 1731," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIX (July, 1936), pp. 547-77.

30. Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 106, 107.

colony. Former Governor Bienville was appointed first royal governor and returned to North America determined to reestablish French authority among the Indians. Fears of British inroads among the Choctaws abated somewhat in 1732 when that tribe launched a war against the Chickasaws. Before his replacement, Perier encouraged French participation in the conflict, but succeeded only in antagonizing his military subordinates, especially the commandant at Mobile. On one occasion Perier invited several Choctaw chiefs to visit New Orleans, an action for which he was sharply criticized since it allowed the tribesmen to view the unfortified state of the town as well as numerous "unprotected plantations scattered along the River."[31] Although the Choctaws were supposed to be French allies, their loyalty was often suspect during this volatile period. Bienville sought to turn French fortunes around and clearly recognized the need for maintaining the colony's friendship with the Choctaws. Thus, on his arrival he resolved to complete the destruction of the enemy Natchez by attacking the Chickasaws with whom they had taken refuge.[32]

Bienville's campaigns against the Indians proved a disastrous failure. In 1735 he undertook an offensive against the Chickasaws, the success of which rested with the cooperation of the Choctaws and another French column from the Illinois country. Things went wrong from the beginning and the coordinated movements between the commands collapsed because of bad weather, supply problems, and poor communications. Moreover, the Choctaws were unready when the combat began. When Bienville struck the Chickasaw villages without the anticipated support from the northern column, his soldiers met such resistance that they were compelled to retreat. The other command had been overwhelmingly defeated two months previously, with more than half the French troops killed in the engagement by Chickasaws encouraged by British traders. Over the ensuing years Bienville planned another expedition against the tribesmen,

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31. Delanglez, "Natchez Massacre," pp. 638-39.

32. Phelps, Louisiana, p. 88.

this one including sufficient artillery and troop support from Canada, as well as detailed recommendations concerning the military procedures to be employed against the Chickasaw villages. In 1739, three years after his first encounter, Bienville again sent several columns of troops into the field, including units of French regulars, marines, colonial militia, free blacks, and Indians. Recently arrived Swiss soldiers accompanied the expedition, which ascended the Mississippi in supply-laden boats. The columns from New Orleans rendezvoused in November along the St. Francis River with several hundred Canadians and Indian auxiliaries who had arrived earlier. There a bastioned, stockaded fort had been erected by Bienville's engineers to store the artillery and other provisions. Another post had been built farther inland. Despite such elaborate preparations, however, the Chickasaws once more proved elusive, owing largely to the decision of the Choctaw allies to abandon the campaign in the belief that the French plan of attack would not succeed. Instead, the French finally negotiated a treaty with the Chickasaws and Bienville returned to New Orleans, his unsuccessful punitive campaign behind him.[33]

French and Indian relations along the lower Mississippi assumed a military character throughout the 1740s and into the 1750s, although after the removal of the Natchez they became less intensive. During the 1740s incursions by hostile tribesmen occurred along the river above New Orleans in the area of the German Coast. But most of the small tribes residing in the region, such as the Houmas and Tunicas, remained on friendly terms with the settlers.[34] In 1752 Chickasaw depredations increased to the point where a French army of 700 regulars under the Marquis de Vaudreuil attempted once more to chastise the Indians. But the Chickasaws, protected by forts partly built by the British,

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33. Ibid., pp. 88-89; Woods, French-Indian Relations, pp. 139, 140-41; Joseph L. Peyser, "The Chickasaw Wars of 1736 and 1740: French Military Drawings and Plans Document the Struggle for the Lower Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History, XLIV (February, 1982), pp. 3-4, 5-6, 10, 25.

34. Gayarre, Louisiana, p. 44; Bossu, Travels in the Interior, p. 30.

went unpunished. Vaudreuil succeeded only in burning some deserted villages and ruining the Indians' crops before returning to New Orleans. Meantime, relations with the Choctaws, seemingly always more or less unsettled, were improved during the even-handed administration of Governor Louis Billhouart, Chevalier de Kerlerec, in 1753. Kerlerec pacified the Choctaws by showing fairness toward them as military allies of the French. He also urged them to resist the temptation to ally themselves too closely with British traders who offered more attractive merchandise to them than did the French.[35]

4. Last Years of the French

By the early 1750s the colonial rivalry intensified, with the English gaining footholds in the Ohio Valley and even in the lands comprising present Alabama and Mississippi. In French Louisiana apprehensions increased with the withdrawal of most of the military force from the colony when Vaudreuil departed, and there existed fears of foreign invasion. Governor Kerlerec expressed little confidence in the remaining soldiers; so weak became his defenders that he was constrained to adopt a policy of paying ransom to the Chickasaws for the release of French prisoners.[36] In fact, the calibre of French soldiers sent to the colony beginning with Bienville's first administration had declined considerably. The Governor termed them "stunted creatures four and a half feet tall, as corrupt as they are cowardly." Governor Kerlerec asked his government to send no more French soldiers because the citizens thought they exercised too much brutality. He instead wanted Swiss mercenaries, which he eventually received. As a reward for meritorious duty in the colony, however, certain soldiers were released from service and permitted to marry women sent over from France expressly for that purpose. Honored couples received gratuitous livestock and tools, land parcels, and other benefits. Thus the military role was somewhat expanded from one of purely defense to one promoting

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35. Gayarre, Louisiana, pp. 64-65, 69, 70.

36. Ibid., p. 71; Phelps, Louisiana: A Record of Expansion, pp. 94-95.

settlement of the colony.[37] During the 1750s the number of troops posted to the colony was increased to 2,000. Nine hundred French soldiers and seventy-five Swiss occupied the District of New Orleans. The balance was scattered through the province from Mobile to Illinois.[38]

As Kerlerec attempted to improve the soldiery of his command, he also tried to upgrade the fortifications on the lower river. He built a palisade around New Orleans, following the weak line of defenses initated by Perier more than two decades earlier. He also strengthened the batteries at English Turn, already improved at Vaudreuil's insistence with the addition of more heavy ordnance. Previously, too, some improvements had been made at The Balize, although primarily for commercial rather than defensive purposes. The batteries at Plaquemine Turn also received attention. Near Head of Passes Kerlerec ordered a vessel moored to be sunk in such a manner so as to obstruct the channel in case of enemy attack up the Mississippi.[39] These improvements constituted the principal means of defense for lower Louisiana until after the Seven Years (French and Indian) War. Lower Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley experienced little of the physical upheaval that happened in the Ohio country during the North American aspects of the Anglo-French conflict owing in part to the steadfast support shown the Frenchmen by the Choctaws and other Indian allies. But the political repercussions were great. In 1763, when peace arrived, the French, now saddled with a colony of questionable economic viability and resigned to British demands of the Mississippi as a boundary, ceded all of Louisiana to Spain. This was done to reconcile France's European ally to the reality of British control of the eastern Gulf Coast, to reward Spain for its wartime assistance, and to insure some impediment to British encroachment on the trans-Appalachian frontier.[40]

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37. Crete, Daily Life in Louisiana, pp. 11-12; Bossu, Travels in the Interior, pp. 21-22.

38. Gayarre, Louisiana, pp. 56-57.

39. Ibid., pp. 30-35; Phelps, Louisiana: A Record of Expansion, p. 96.

40. Woods, French-Indian Relations, p. 165; John Walton Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), p. 5.

In New Orleans the retiring French administration encouraged friendly relations with the Indians for they were viewed as potential French allies in any future return of the colony to France. Kerlerec therefore continued his policy of giving presents to the tribesmen, and he provided tracts of land on the west bank of the Mississippi near Bayou Lafourche to several small tribes, notably the Tunicas and Alibamons, who proclaimed continued loyalty to the French and who moved downriver to New Orleans at news of the cession.[41] French troops remained in Louisiana for some time despite the change in administration and relations between officials in New Orleans and Englishmen now free to ascend the river grew strained. In March, 1764, a group of British citizens accompanied by more than 300 soldiers started up the river to the Illinois country. At Pointe Coupee, where the convoy stopped enroute, a dispute broke out between the British and the French settlers over ownership of an Indian slave who had accompanied the former from New Orleans. After some verbal conflict the British pushed on upriver. Near Davion's Bluff they were attacked by Indians and forced to abandon their journey, withdrawing to New Orleans where the British commander leveled charges of French complicity with the Indians in preventing the trip from succeeding.[42] This incident signified the continuing hostile character of Anglo-French relations along the lower Mississippi until the Spanish actually took charge in 1766. Despite the hostility, however, an illicit commerce developed during the interim between the British, who were refused permission to use the shorter approach to the river via the lakes, and certain French settlers residing up the Mississippi. Evolving British commercial centers included Natchez and Baton Rouge, which under the cession agreement now constituted part of British West Florida. Also, at Manchac above New Orleans, where the Iberville River joined the

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41. Gayarre, Louisiana, pp. 95, 96, 104-05.

42. Ibid., pp. 102-04.

Mississippi, the British erected Fort Bute which served to augment the contraband trade. Though aware of these transgressions, French officials were in no position to effectively stem them. As of 1766 only 300 French soldiers remained dispersed throughout Louisiana, including those at the principal lower river posts of The Balize, New Orleans, the German Coast, and Pointe Coupee. The Natchez country on the east side of the river was ceded to Great Britain and became part of British West Florida. In addition to the troops, many of whom were old, unhealthy, and unreliable, the colony's militia defense rested with some 1,900 maie inhabitants out of a total European population of 5,552 spread throughout Louisiana.[43]

C. Military Administration of Spanish Louisiana

When the first Spanish governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, arrived in March, 1766, with ninety Spanish soldiers, he found the French inhabitants of New Orleans and environs in a hostile attitude. Spain viewed the newly acquired land as a buffer, or barrier, between the British colonies to the east and her own settlements to the west and southwest, and, at least initially, generally neglected Louisiana. The population responded to Ulloa negatively, and a conspiracy of persons with real or imagined grievances against the administration promoted a short-lived insurrection. Fearing for his personal safety, Ulloa took refuge on a Spanish frigate anchored on the Mississippi while the Superior Council of the colony, at the urging of the insurgents, voted to expel the Spanish governor. So rebellious did the New Orleans citizenry become over the cession that Ulloa's replacement, General Alejandro O'Reilly announced his arrival in 1769 with an elaborate display of Spanish martial power in the Place d'Arms in New Orleans. Accompanied by nearly 3,000 troops arrayed in full uniform and equipment, as well as by volleys from twenty-four Spanish craft on the river, the transfer ceremony drove home to the inhabitants the reality and permanent

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43. Ibid., pp. 125-28; Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, p. 35; Gilbert C. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera': Spain's Defenses in Louisiana, 1763-1779," Louisiana History, XIX (Spring, 1978), pp. 185-86.

character of the Spanish presence. O'Reilly promptly arrested the leaders of the rebellion and required of the colony's inhabitants an oath of allegiance.[44]

1. Upgrading the Defenses

Within a few years of the cession, and as British intrigues in West Florida increased, authorities began recognizing the need to protect the colony against foreign invasion. Late in 1766 Ulloa went down to The Balize and drew up a plan for defending Louisiana. He envisioned building four posts--one at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, one opposite Natchez, one opposite Manchac, and one at the mouth of the Mississippi. To protect Louisiana he needed more men and ordnance; at the time he had but eighty-five cannon and he requested nearly 100 more besides mortars and howitzers. He requested artillery personnel to man the pieces. Despite severe shortages of money and equipment, the Spanish government acceded to many of Ulloa's requests. Some of the needed ordnance was provided, and the Governor proceeded to construct the upriver posts. That opposite the British post at Natchez was called the settlement of San Luis de Natchez, while that opposite Fort Bute at Bayou Manchac became San Gabriel de Iberville. Ulloa also sent a small army unit to watch British movements on the Arkansas River.[45] At the mouth of the Mississippi, along Northeast Pass, he caused to be erected on a mud island Fort Real Catolica as a replacement for The Balize. Construction occurred in 1767 and 1768, but met constant delay because of wind and sea damage to the buildings.[46] Upstream at

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44. Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 17-20; Henry Lewis, The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated (Orig. pub. ca. 1850s; reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), pp. 403-04; Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 183, 184; Gayarre, Louisiana, pp. 293-95; Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez, pp. 14-15. To offset the initial dearth of Spanish troops to garrison Louisiana, French officials agreed to permit French soldiers in the colony to enlist in the Spanish service. Most, however, declined. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" p. 184; Caughey, Bernardo de Galvez, pp. 9-10, 21, 22. Bossu gives a description of the execution of the insurgent leaders. New Travels in North America, p. 10.

45. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 187-88, 190.

46. Ibid., p. 190.

Plaquemine and English turns the Spanish made but minor improvements on the French fortifications raised years earlier.[47]

After Ulloa departed Louisiana General O'Reilly instituted some changes in the colony's defenses. By this time the strength of the British garrisons in West Florida had been reduced, the soldiers withdrawn to St. Augustine. O'Reilly therefore abandoned Fort Real Catolica as useless and unfeasible to maintain. Instead, he directed his engineers to raise barracks up Southeast Pass from the Old Balize. There a battery of three or four cannon was built and placed under a small command. The New Balize, however, served more as a guidepost for friendly vessels entering the Mississippi than as a means of defense. O'Reilly also abandoned the posts at San Luis de Natchez and San Gabriel de Iberville, although a settlement remained at the latter place. With Fort Plaquemine and the other French works left untended, only The Balize and the post at New Orleans were left to guard the lower river. O'Reilly also felt a need to proportionately reduce the number of regular troops in Louisiana and leave that defensive role more for the accomplishment of militia. He withdrew most of the regulars, leaving few more than 500 in the colony. He divided the colony into ten command posts, the lower river ones basically consisting of the following: St. Charles Parish (German Coast), St. John the Baptist Parish (German Coast), Pointe Coupee, Iberville Coast, Ascension Parish, and St. James Parish.[48]

By the late 1760s the defenses of the lower Mississippi all reflected O'Reilly's innovations. At the mouth of the river stood the New Balize, consisting of the battery, as well as residences for troops and a river pilot. The former French Balize a short distance below now lay in ruin.

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47. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 33-34.

48. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 194-95; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant and Company, 1904), II, 9.

In 1773, however, a British spy reported that the new installation was unoccupied and that Spanish troops were present only at the Old Balize. From The Balize up to English Turn there were no occupied Spanish works. At English Turn, however, the stockaded posts on either side of the river had by 1770 been renovated; an observer described their adjacent batteries as each containing "ten twelve pounders . . . more than sufficient to stop the progress of any vessel. . . ." But by 1773 these cannon had been removed and the batteries lay in ruins.[49] The officer pronounced the works about New Orleans as "only an enceinte of stockades, with a banquette within and a very trifling ditch without," sufficient only to withstand an assault by Indians or rebellious slaves.[50] Yet another Briton depicted the New Orleans defenses as consisting of a stockade surrounding all sides but the river with six gates, "all of which may be easily forced." A large number of cannon covered these entrances, but they were set on carriages of rotting wood and consequently could not be moved. One Spanish battery had been erected close to the river at the upper edge of the city to intercept British gunboats coming downstream, but by 1773 this had largely been washed away and the guns removed.[51] The city was guarded by 400 soldiers with militia backing. The old French post at Bayou St. John held a battery of four to six cannon and a sergeant's guard. Another small stockaded post known as Tigayu was located on the east side of the German Coast above New Orleans and was garrisoned by twelve soldiers.[52] Finally, the Spanish maintained the old French post at Pointe Coupee. After the cession most French dwellers on the east side of the Mississippi moved to the west, and the presence of the small outpost gave them security. In

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49. Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 8-9; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "British Spy Along the Mississippi: Thomas Hutchins and the Defenses of New Orleans, 1773," Louisiana History, VIII (Fall, 1967), p. 322.

50. Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, p. 12.

51. Tregle, "British Spy Along the Mississippi," pp. 322-24.

52. Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 10, 22-23; Tregle, "British Spy Along the Mississippi," p. 325.

1769 the fort was described as "a quadrangle with four bastions . . . built with stockades" that seldom held more than a dozen soldiers. Three companies of militia were available in the Pointe Coupee community. Another small outpost was located some distance up Pelousas River, where a company of militia was raised to defend the settlement in Spain's interest.[53]

In 1772 most of the troops that had come with O'Reilly were withdrawn to Cuba. Administrative changes in Spanish Louisiana came rapidly; Colonel Francisco Estecheria succeeded to command of the colony's military structure under Governor Don Luis de Unzaga. Estecheria was himself succeeded by Don Bernardo de Galvez, who in 1776 was directed to assume from Unzaga the duties of Governor. At this time Great Britain was experiencing difficulty with her American colonies and their fight for independence was in progress. With the potential for instability on Louisiana's eastern border, the colonial administrators found urgent necessity for improving the defenses. Governor Unzaga in departing had pointed out the poor and useless condition of the fortifications around New Orleans. Gradually the defenses were improved as new armament and munitions arrived in Louisiana. When a large contingent of British soldiers occupied Pensacola in the summer of 1776 work on repairing the fortifications around New Orleans went forward in earnest.[54]

Spanish officials anticipated a British attempt on Louisiana either through the lakes or down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and in 1776 proposed measures to counter such an offensive. Lieutenant Governor Francisco Bouligny recommended a long term program to cultivate the good will of the Indians along the Mississippi through the bestowal of arms and gifts. He urged that strong fortifications be erected at key

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53. Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 26, 34, 36. See also Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," p. 19.

54. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 11-12, 19; Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 199, 201, 204-05.

points along the river, that troop dispositions at those places be increased, and that an armed frigate be stationed in the river as a floating battery. Bouligny proposed that the downriver defenses built by the French at English Turn be refurbished along with those at Bayou St. John. Upstream from the city he recommended rebuilding the Spanish posts at Manchac and Pointe Coupee and constructing another along the German Coast. At New Orleans proper Bouligny urged that new masonry fortifications be raised with a strong bastion on the river. By the 1780s, however, Governor Galvez came to the conclusion that maintaining the old French works around the city was a needless expense; he instead urged the construction of three or four artillery-bearing launches to ply the river in front of New Orleans.[55]

2. British Inroads in West Florida

Thus, Spain in Louisiana had yet to spend much in money or effort to rehabilitate the old French river works or even to devise new defenses. In the meantime British troops in West Florida rapidly consolidated their position following the cession of 1763 that placed them on the east bank of the Mississippi north of the Iberville River. All French residents of the cession proclaiming loyalty to King George would be allowed to remain; all others would be allowed eighteen months to leave. Although under terms of the Treaty of Paris the British were free to navigate the Mississippi, they desired to use the route via Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain and the Iberville River, which connected between the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi and substantially cut the time between Pensacola and the West Florida possessions. In 1764 the British tried unsuccessfully to remove the huge log jam on the Iberville that impeded passage by that route. Early the next year British troops began construction of Fort Bute at the junction of the Iberville with the Mississippi at Bayou Manchac. When the majority of the thirty soldiers stationed there were withdrawn to the Illinois country the following summer, Indians struck the post and community, forcing the settlers to take refuge in New Orleans. Late in 1766 a detachment of troops

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55. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 40, 42, 47-49, 51-52; Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 204-05; Greene, Defense of New Orleans, p. 38.

regained the post and constructed a blockhouse and stockade there. The post at the mouth of the Iberville soon became a commercial center for West Florida, with upriver settlers bringing their produce for barter and sale.[56]

West Florida came under military rule at the outset. Major Robert Farmer took possession on October 20, 1763, and administered the acquisition from the territorial capital at Baton Rouge. The military government sought to reassure old residents and to reestablish relations with the Indians, many of whom had joined to drive these same Britishers out of the upper Mississippi Valley in 1763. The unsuccessful British expedition to ascend the Mississippi in 1764 had been an attempt to solidify the territorial gains and develop rapport with the southern tribes.[57] Late that year a civil administration was installed at Pensacola headed by Governor George Johnstone.

British fortunes in West Florida never prospered, despite an improvement in relations with the Indians during the late 1760s. The British commander in North America, Major General Thomas Gage, regarded the British posts on the lower Mississippi as worthless from a defensive standpoint. Moreover, the proposed route through Iberville River to the Mississippi was never adequately developed and anticipated fur trade with the inland tribes never materialized. In 1768 the British precipitately closed their garrisons at Natchez and Manchac and, in an economy move, reassigned the troops to St. Augustine. The next year a British officer viewed the former post, Fort Panmure (Fort Rosalie), and described it as being situated on a high bluff and consisting of an irregularly shaped plank timber pentagon without bastions but containing several buildings. A ditch surrounded most of the structure and it was

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56. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 414; Rose Meyers, A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 22, 23; Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 31-32.

57. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 26; C.N. Howard, "The Interval of Military Government in West Florida," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXII (January, 1939), pp. 18-30; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 412-13.

partially fenced with sharpened stakes.[58] Through Fort Panmure and the posts farther down, the British gradually dominated the Indian trade. They also established a trade with French settlers on the west side of the river, though such intercourse was illegal. At Baton Rouge the British built a storehouse and refitted two ships for the commercial trade with which they plied the west bank unhindered by Spanish authorities, who secretly welcomed the economic benefits of the exchange. Above Bayou Manchac plans were afoot for a new settlement to further promote regional commerce.[59] But difficulties with the eastern seaboard colonies distracted British attention from the Mississippi region in the early 1770s. British military strategists did not, however, ignore that region in planning a contingency assault on New Orleans in 1773.[60]

When the American Revolution broke out in 1775 the British in West Florida expected an attack by either Spain or the soon-to-be-proclaimed United States. Nearly three years later there occurred an abortive attempt on the British territory by an American, James Willing, and a group of followers. In January, 1778, Willing floated a barge down the Mississippi and raided the settlements at Natchez and Baton Rouge, burning crops and buildings. Spanish Governor Galvez, while permitting British refugees to cross the river for protection, also gave Willing's party sanctuary in New Orleans. Yet Spanish support for the Willing party probably came reluctantly, for it complicated their relations with Britain over use of the river. As a result of Willing's expedition, the British strengthened their Mississippi fortifications, particularly the old post at Manchac above New Orleans. That action in turn prompted Galvez to request more troops to stem a possible British assault on the city; at

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58. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 41-42; Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 190-191; Pittman, Present State of the European Settlements, pp. 38-39.

59. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 23-24, 25-26.

60. Tregle, "British Spy Along the Mississippi," pp. 325-26.

the time he had but 200 Spanish regulars present. Although several British warships temporarily blockaded the city, they soon withdrew. Shortly thereafter Willing led another raid on West Florida that also failed.[61]

3. Galvez Seizes West Florida

The British had more to fear from the Spanish than from the Americans. To strengthen Britain's position in West Florida, in 1779 construction began on Fort New Richmond at Baton Rouge. This post, overlooking the Mississippi from a high bluff, consisted of an earthwork complete with ditch and cheveaux-de-frise garrisoned by up to 400 British regulars and 100 militia and equipped with substantial heavy artillery. After Spain declared war on Great Britain in May, 1779, Governor Galvez initiated the conquest of East and West Florida with the hope of obtaining them before peace was restored between Britain and the Amercan colonies. To this end, the Spanish Governor in August led an expedition against Fort Bute at Manchac. His army originally consisted of a motley assortment of regulars (some from Mexico and the Canary Islands), militia, creole settlers, free blacks, and a few American volunteers, totaling 667 men. Reinforcements later arrived from Cuba, and when Galvez got under way his command was nearly 1,500 strong. Four vessels laden with ordnance and supplies accompanied the expedition up the Mississippi. Fort Bute, defended by only twenty-three men, fell quickly and Galvez pushed on north to Fort New Richmond at Baton Rouge. There he mounted an offensive supported by artillery and on September 21, 1779, invested the place and opened a bombardment that soon brought the capitulation of the garrison. Galvez sent units upriver

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61. John Caughey, "Willing's Expedition Down the Mississippi, 1778," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XV (January, 1932), pp. 5, 11, 13, 25, 29-30, 35-36. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 206-07. Willing had earlier been a merchant at Natchez. In 1777 he had visited West Florida in an unsuccessful bid to enlist the colony to the patriot cause. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 32-33.

to take other British positions, particularly Fort Panmure at Natchez, then returned to New Orleans leaving a subordinate to administer West Florida from Baton Rouge.[62]

During the ensuing two years Galvez consolidated Spain's position in West Florida. In 1780 and 1781 he laid siege to Mobile and Pensacola and captured those British strongholds. The post at Baton Rouge, renamed Fort San Carlos, was repaired and occupied by Spanish troops. At Manchac the Spanish built a wooden bridge across the Iberville to connect their old fort with the former British post.[63] With Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola in Spanish control, Galvez's fears of a British assault on New Orleans dissipated. Supplies could now reach the city unthwarted by British vessels along the Gulf Coast. Moreover, Britain's influence among the interior Indian tribes waned altogether.[64] Spanish control of West Florida at the outset was relatively lax, and British settlers soon found benefits in trade with New Orleans and other downriver communities. British attempts to incite the settlers and Indians against the Spanish proved largely ineffective, although they had some slight success in the Natchez District. There in 1781 the residents and local

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62. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 412-13, 414 II, 63-65; Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera,'" pp. 209-11. Kenneth Drude, "Fort Baton Rouge," Louisiana Studies, VII (Fall, 1968), pp. 259-60; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 36-37, 38. The engagement at Baton Rouge was the only battle of the American Revolution fought in what is today the State of Louisiana. Details of the assault appear in Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 38-40.

63. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 70-71; Drude, "Fort Baton Rouge," p. 263; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 40, 46; William Bartram, Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida (Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791), p. 426. Following the loss of Pensacola British hopes for regaining control of the Floridas diminished. Occasionally, before the final peace with the United States was reached, there arose grandiose schemes and military designs bent on retrieving West Florida through an assault on New Orleans. One of the most precise plans was that proposed in 1782 by Robert Ross, a British merchant in Natchez and New Orleans. See Jack D.L. Holmes, "Robert Ross' Plan for an English Invasion of Louisiana in 1782," Louisiana History, V (Spring, 1964), pp. 161-77.

64. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 41.

Indians rebelled against the Spanish and attacked For Panmure, forcing its garrison to surrender. But the insurrection did not last long. Spanish militia from Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee soon restored order; the British residents, learning of the fall of Pensacola, realized that their prospects for success were meager. Many feared retribution from the Spanish government and moved into the wilderness to avoid repercussions. But Galvez counseled moderation in treating with the dissidents and within two years he released the leaders of the Natchez rebellion.[65]

4. Intrigue and Slave Revolts

During the late 1780s and early 1790s the Spanish administration was beset with problems of foreign intrigue and threatened slave revolts in lower Louisiana. The population of New Orleans in 1785 stood at approximately 5,000. Relations with the United States remained cool but peaceful. Despite a ravaging fire that destroyed almost 1,000 buildings, including a barracks erected by Galvez, New Orleans was rapidly becoming the primary commercial center in the West. In 1787, capitalizing on these conditions, James Wilkinson, a former U.S. Army brevet brigadier general, entered into negotiations with Louisiana Governor Estaban Miro for the purpose of promoting disunion among Americans in Kentucky and elsewhere along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers on the pretext of joining with Spain, thereby gaining free use of the latter stream for shipping produce to New Orleans. But Wilkinson's scheme was mercenary and was destined to failure; westerners did not rally to his banner, and moreover, in a reversal of policy the King of Spain permitted Americans to ship their products from New Orleans.[66] Of more immediate interest to Louisiana officials than Wilkinson's conspiracy were potentially dangerous slave revolts that occurred at Pointe Coupee. In the summer of 1791 troops from Baton Rouge helped arrest slave

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65. John Caughey, "The Natchez Rebellion of 1781 and Its Aftermath," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XVI (January, 1933), pp. 57, 60-61, 65, 83; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge," pp. 44, 46.

66. Lewis, Valley of the Mississippi, p. 404; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 129-30, 131; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 65.

leaders intent on starting a rebellion. At Pointe Coupee the plantations were isolated while the slave population greatly exceeded that of the whites, factors that promoted the likelihood of slave conspiracies arising. Four years later word reached the military command at Pointe Coupee that another revolt was being planned by slaves of the Julien Poydras plantation, though likely encouraged by anti-Spanish white inhabitants. To thwart the enterprise, Governor Baron de Carondelet dispatched gunboats and troops from Natchez to Pointe Coupee and ordered reinforcements from Havana, Cuba. Most of the soldiers consisted of Mexican infantrymen supported by some Indian allies. Instructions were given to alert 500 Natchez militiamen for action should the rebellion spread through the country. But the uprising was aborted. Nearly forty persons, most of them black, were arrested and imprisoned for their roles in inciting revolt. Fifteen more slaves were executed by hanging, their severed heads distributed on posts along the river road to serve as a warning against future disturbances. Yet in 1796 another revolt was rumored to be underway along the German coast. Planters sent their families into New Orleans while Carondelet directed gunboats and troops to patrol the shoreline. Although this scare ended quietly, the fear of servile insurrections in the region continued.[67]

5. Carondelet Builds New Defenses

Under Carondelet's administration many changes were made in the defensive character of lower Louisiana. The Governor saw a strong New Orleans as vital for the defense of the colony as well as for the perpetuation of its commercial advantages. When he assumed control in 1792 the city was vulnerable to enemy assault from virtually every direction and offered but minimal protection to its residents with almost worthless defenses along the lower Mississippi approaches. To guard against incursions by Americans upstream from the city, and to control access to the river near its mouth, Carondelet used a number of armed

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67. Jack D. L. Holmes, "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Point Coupee, Louisiana, 1795," Louisiana History, XL (Fall, 1970), pp. 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 349-50, 352-53, 354, 355.

galleys to patrol the Mississippi and repell any military attack. These vessels ranged as far north as the Ohio River and almost as far south as The Balize.[68] The craft were meant to augment Spanish outposts along the Mississippi, most of which were in such deplorable condition by the 1790s to be of little value at all. Fort San Carlos at Baton Rouge lay in ruins, with only the buildings kept in repair since its conquest from the British. The post at Manchac was so worthless, stated Carondelet, that it could be abandoned altogether. And the Spanish posts at the German Coast and Bayou St. John had been badly damaged in hurricanes during past years.[69] At New Orleans Carondelet directed the start of elaborate fortifications to encircle the city on three sides along the line of the earlier French works. The project began in 1791 under the charge of Gilberto Guillemard, the Governor's engineer. When completed the fortifications consisted of a ditch, a palisade, and five pentagonally shaped earthen redoubts. Two of these, Forts San Carlos (St. Charles) and San Luis (St. Louis) were the strongest. Interspersed between these five works, erected at the corners of the palisade, were five redans for artillery. At the river's edge stood a water battery, while across the stream two more batteries were constructed. Built by local slaves and by prisoners imported from Cuba, the works were designed to secure New Orleans both from Spain's potential European rivals as well as from the expansionist designs of the United States. Completed in 1794, the New Orleans fortifications survived the great fire of that year, but drew criticism from travelers who still perceived weaknesses in their

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68. Abraham P. Nasatir, Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792-1796 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 143-44.

69. "Military Report on Louisiana and West Florida. By Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana. New Orleans, November 24, 1794," in James Alexander Robertson, Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807 (2 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1910-11), pp. 306-07. (Hereafter cited as Carondelet, "Military Report."); Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 61.

construction. Furthermore, maintenance on the new defenses was inexplicably neglected and they rapidly fell into decay.[70]

Downstream from the city, Carondelet began improvements at Plaquemine Turn and The Balize. The redoubts at English Turn were abandoned about 1792, although two years later the Governor recommended that they be reoccupied. His principal effort was directed at Plaquemine Turn, where in 1792 his engineers started erecting Fort San Felipe (St. Philip) at the site of the earlier French work of Fort Plaquemine. The Spanish had made some efforts to fortify the site previously, but the new masonry post, regarded as the "key to the Mississippi," when finished in 1794 mounted twelve eighteen-pounder cannon. Unlike the defenses around New Orleans, maintenance at Fort St. Philip was ongoing and effective in keeping the post ready for any contingency. This was mainly because of the marshy, unstable nature of the terrain, for subsidence remained a problem throughout the fort's history. Nevertheless, by 1802 the post was described as "in a degree ruinous." Across from Fort St. Philip, on the west bank of the Mississippi, Carondelet ordered the construction of a small battery of several guns. Fort Bourbon was designed to cross its fire with that of Fort St. Philip to prevent enemy passage on the Mississippi. Destroyed by a hurricane in 1795, Fort Bourbon was rebuilt near its earlier site.[71] At the mouth of the Mississippi Carondelet bolstered The Balize defenses by building a blockhouse for two cannon. The structure doubled as a barracks for twenty-four soldiers posted there.[72]

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70. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 40-45; Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," p. 17; Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year, 1802, giving a Correct Picture of Those Countries. Trans. by John Davis (New York: L. Riley and Company, 1806), p. 157. For details of Carondelet's plan for the defense of New Orleans, see "Military Report," pp. 310-12, 323-24, 327-28.

71. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 46-52; Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," pp. 20-21; Carondelet, "Military Report," pp. 315-16, 318-19; Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, p. 159.

72. Carondelet, "Military Report," p. 332.

D. Early American Jurisdiction

1. Military Conditions

Spain never had occasion to use these Mississippi posts to actively thwart foreign aggression. In October, 1800, the Treaty of San Ildefonso returned Louisiana to France. To keep Great Britain from forcefully attempting its acquisition, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte sold the entire Louisiana Territory to the United States by treaty of April 30, 1803. The transfer from Spain to France occurred in New Orleans on November 30, 1803, and that from France to the United States followed on December 20. Spain retained control of the Baton Rouge District (New Feliciana) of West Florida, however; in 1795 a district governor had been appointed to Baton Rouge, and in 1803 that community became the capital of the Province of West Florida.[73] At the time of the transfer there existed 10,340 Spanish militia troops in all of Louisiana. Between The Balize and New Orleans were 400, and in the city proper there were 500. Some 1,000 grenadiers and fusiliers constituted a regiment of Germans and Acadians along the German Coast, while 800 more militia occupied the area along the Mississippi between Manchac and Red River, including Pointe Coupee.[74]

Soon after the cession Congress divided Louisiana, administratively attaching the upper part of the territory to Indiana. Within eighteen months of the transfer Governor William C.C. Claiborne of the United States Territory of Orleans had instituted a new militia law providing for the enrollment of citizens for military service. Supplementary legislation affecting the militia was approved in 1811 and in September, 1812, five months after Louisiana became a state, Claiborne approved formation of a corps of militia composed of persons who paid state tax, including free men of color. A request was then made of the Federal Government for the loan of several thousand muskets and swords, along with ammunition.[75] At the outset of his administration Claiborne sought to

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73. Lewis, Valley of the Mississippi, p. 404; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 66; Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 39-40.

74. Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, pp. 157-59.

75. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 150; Lewis, Valley of the Mississippi, p. 405.

make material improvements in the defenses above and below New Orleans. In 1799 Americans under General James Wilkinson had erected an earthwork complete with magazine and barracks on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi from the east bank. Fort Adams had stood just seven miles above the demarcation line agreed upon by Spain and the United States. After the Louisiana cession the post continued to be garrisoned, while American troops occupied the old post at Pointe Coupee beginning in 1805.[76]

2. The Spanish Conspiracy

Most changes in the defensive posture of the new territory happened around New Orleans. In 1805 Claiborne allowed the decrepit Spanish works about the city to be levelled, retaining only Fort St. Charles and Fort St. Louis. While this was underway, however, word of a conspiracy by former Vice President Aaron Burr against the Spanish Southwest brought a halt to the demolition. General Wilkinson, an early supporter of Burr's plan who had ultimately lost his enthusiasm for it, directed that new works be raised to protect the city and that cannons be mounted in the two remaining redoubts as well as elsewhere along the city's perimeter. These works, ill-planned, were raised hurriedly and when Burr's adventure failed, work on them stopped altogether. In 1807, Fort St. Louis was demolished.[77]

Burr's scheme, similar in scope to one of Wilkinson's twenty years earlier, was to descend the Mississippi with an army of supporters and take control of Baton Rouge from the Spanish. According to plan, Wilkinson, at this time Governor of Louisiana Territory, would meet him at Natchez and assist in the capture of Spanish West Florida. The post at Baton Rouge was reportedly in poor shape and would be overrun easily by the Americans. The population of the province, mostly of Anglo-Saxon heritage, was expected to rise in Burr's favor against the Spanish authorities. In the end, Wilkinson, instead of collaborating with

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76. Ibid., I, 412; Francis Paul Prucha, A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1780-1895 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 98.

77. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 56-58.

Burr, informed President Thomas Jefferson of the intrigue and chose to defend New Orleans. With his support waning, Burr was arrested on charges of treason early in 1807, his plot foiled.[78]

3. Renovating the Works

Such episodes as the Burr conspiracy and the continued presence of Spain in West Florida encouraged efforts toward improving the river defenses around New Orleans. Fort St. John above the city on Lake Ponchartrain remained important as a barrier against enemy assault via the lakes, and by 1809 the post had been strengthened and a battery added. Below the city a masonry battery was begun in 1807 on the site of old Fort Leon at English Turn. Nearby, at the mouth of Bayou Terre au Boeuf, a small military outpost was established. Further downstream, Fort St. Philip became used as an adjunct to a quarantine station built below the post. Beginning in 1808 efforts turned to renovating the fort with the addition of a large bastion facing the river and a smaller one along the northeast side. New buildings were erected inside Fort St. Philip. Across the Mississippi from the post, Claiborne's engineers planned to raise a battery near the site of old Fort Bourbon. Other changes were made at The Balize, in 1803 regarded as but "a sorry watch tower." Claiborne sent a cannon and a small military detachment there to stop all northbound slave ships to check their cargoes. In ensuing years a new wooden frame lighthouse and several buildings were erected at The Balize.[79]

4. Indians and Slaves

In addition to making preparations against external aggression, Governor Claiborne took steps to ensure internal stability with the Indian tribes of the region. By 1803 the area encompassing

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78. Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 44-48; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 67, 79, 80. See also Thomas Marshall Green, The Spanish Conspiracy. A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the South-West (Orig. pub. 1891; Reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967).

79. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 61-72; Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," p. 24. In 1809 Wilkinson encamped with 2,000 men at Terre aux Boeuf. Many of his troops became sick and, while moving them by boat to higher ground near Fort Adams, several hundred died. Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 61-62.

present Louisiana was occupied by approximately 2,000 Indians, the largest group of which, the Caddos, lived west of the Mississippi up Red River. Some Choctaw tribesmen also ranged the Red and Ouachita rivers and hunted in the environs of Lake Pontchartrain. Other smaller tribes occupied villages along the lower bayous west of New Orleans. These latter groups remained peacefully disposed toward the whites, and only the Choctaws threatened trouble. Under United States administration a friendly policy was adopted toward the tribesmen. Good relations were especially cultivated in the west, where Spanish authorities attempted to incite Indian attacks on American settlers, and to this end a trading post and Indian agency were set up at Natchitoches. Along the Mississippi the Indian situation was much less critical, and Claiborne's efforts were geared toward preventing whites from intruding on Indian lands and stemming intertribal conflicts. In 1808, 1809, and 1810 a number of reservations were established for the tribesmen, notably in the Opelousas District where the Alibamons and Apalachee Indians resided. After the War of 1812 and the transfer of Indian administration to the Federal Government, the agency at Natchitoches was closed. Thereafter the Indians ceased to be a significant military factor in Louisiana. By then, of course, tribesmen had long since stopped being an obstacle to white settlement along the lower Mississippi River.[80]

A more serious problem than Indians to white riverine inhabitants were the real or rumored threats of slave uprisings that had so often plagued the region under Spanish control. That dire prospect was one reason United States troops were garrisoned around New Orleans, though more to instill psychological intimidation among blacks and to augment the local militia only if necessary. Claiborne's fear of a general rebellion by slaves mostly explained his request for large numbers of weapons and munitions at the time of the transfer. A rebellion did not develop, but in 1804 the Governor placed his various commands on alert in New Orleans when word of another projected slave revolt circulated. Additional troops

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80. Joyce Purser, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana, 1803-1820," Louisiana History, V (Fall, 1964), pp. 402-412, 415, 417.

were sent to Pointe Coupee to protect that region in case violence occurred, but this threatened uprising passed, too. In January, 1811, a revolt took place, beginning some thirty-six miles above the city at the plantation of a Colonel Andre on the German Coast. Soon some 500 slaves killed, looted, and burned as they marched toward New Orleans. The insurgents were stopped enroute by regulars and militia under Brigadier General Wade Hampton who killed sixty-six of the blacks and took sixteen more to the city to be executed. Their heads, placed on poles along the Mississippi, served as a grim warning against future revolts. In this disturbance, as in most similar instances in Louisiana, the regular soldiers acted to support the militia.[81]

5. Conquest of West Florida

By 1810, seven years after the United States had purchased Louisiana, American officials were growing uneasy over the continued presence of Spain in Texas and West Florida. The latter province had practically become an enclave whose residents were mostly of British descent or emigrants from the United States. In 1798 Spanish soldiers had evacuated the Natchez District and a demarcation line was drawn along the thirty-first parallel to separate the claims of Spain and the United States. Yet Americans coveted West Florida and wanted Spain out. In 1804 an armed group of thirty men headed by Nathan, Reuben, and Sam Kemper, left Bayou Sara and invaded the province, intending to seize Fort San Carlos at Baton Rouge and take the Spanish governor prisoner. But the Spanish militia was waiting and the assault failed. The Kempers withdrew to Bayou Sara, then fled into the wilderness; eventually they took refuge in the United States.[82] The incident signified the strong feelings Americans in the province harbored toward

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81. Tommy R. Young, II, "The United States Army and the Institution of Slavery in Louisiana, 1803-1815," Louisiana Studies, XIII (Fall, 1974), pp. 201-03, 205-09, 212; Holmes, "Abortive Slave Revolt," p. 359; Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 78.

82. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 76-79; Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 39, 40; Powell A. Casey, "Military Roads in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana," Louisiana History, XV (Summer, 1974), p. 229.

the Spanish, and in 1810 the residents of West Florida launched a full-scale insurrection. In August inhabitants of several of the West Florida districts met and proposed reforms. These were approved, but the Spanish Governor, sensing rebellion, called for troops from Pensacola. On September 24 the commander of the militia of the Baton Rouge District met in secret council with other province leaders and all agreed to declare independence from Spain. The Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, poorly defended and in deteriorating condition, again was attacked, this time successfully, and on September 26, 1810, the insurgents proclaimed an independent West Florida Republic. Within weeks the leaders of the revolt proposed terms of annexation to the United States, and on October 10 President James Madison ordered Claiborne to take possession of the territory. Two months later the Governor presided over the transfer ceremony at Baton Rouge when the West Florida militia evacuated the earthen fort and were replaced by United States regulars. The Spanish did not contend the seizure of the province and withdrew entirely to East Florida. Beginning in 1811 a military overland wagon road was opened connecting Mobile and Baton Rouge.[83]

E. The War of 1812

1. Defenses for New Orleans

The possession of West Florida by the United States in 1810 happened opportunely, for despite Spain's protests that country was too caught up in war with France to actively interfere. Great Britain, too, protested the annexation, but could do little more than express disapproval of the event. Meantime, steadily worsening relations with Britain culminated two years later in the outbreak of the War of 1812. Initially, the conflict between the mother country and the United States was confined to the Great Lakes region and the eastern seaboard, although by 1814 it was evident that Louisiana and the South would also be a battleground. Around New Orleans activity increased as Claiborne's militia helped by regulars worked to perfect the fortifications about the

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83. Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 65-69; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 41, 81, 90, 91-93, 96, 110-12, 114-16; Drude, "Fort Baton Rouge," pp. 264-265; Casey, "Military Roads," pp. 229-30, 231-33.

city. In addition to readying the lower river defenses, Claiborne directed the erection of a small post and battery at Petite Coquilles, east of the city and designed to guard the approaches across Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain. As these improvements proceeded, in September, 1814, Major General Andrew Jackson, Commander of the Seventh Military District, which included Louisiana, visited New Orleans. Acting on the recommendations of the New Orleans Committee of Safety, Jackson directed the placement of militia along the various approaches to the city, including the lower Mississippi, Bayou Lafourche, and the Barataria region southwest of New Orleans. Redoubts and batteries were constructed on the east side of the Mississippi at English Turn and the post of The Balize was reoccupied for observation purposes. Fort St. Philip, however, was regarded as "the key as well as the King's Port of all . . . positions on the Mississippi," and its garrison worked vigorously to prepare it to face British gunboats. General Jackson personally inspected Fort St. Philip and several other works in early December, 1814.[84]

2. Americans versus British

To accelerate work on the defenses, Jackson asked planters to loan their slaves and this was done. Soldiers of the United States Seventh Infantry occupied New Orleans while units of the state militia encamped around the city. More militia from Tennessee and Kentucky were enroute from the north. American naval vessels patroled Lake Borgne, ready to notify Jackson if British warships were sighted. But these craft encountered enemy troop carriers on December 14 and were captured after a brief resistance. This event allowed British troops to quietly disembark and march overland toward New Orleans. When apprised of the British advance on December 23, Jackson led his troops east of the city toward the enemy position. Attacking at night, the American infantrymen, accompanied by artillery bombardment, managed to repulse the British before withdrawing the next morning with casualties of

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84. Details of these works as of late 1814 appear in Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 74-80.

24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 missing. British casualties numbered 46 killed, 167 wounded, and 64 missing.[85]

Following this action, Jackson took up position between the Chalmette and McCarthy Plantations and readied his command, building earthen defenses for a distance of some 1,500 yards along Rodriquez Canal between the Mississippi and an impenetrable Cypress swamp. The rampart was bolstered with fence posts and cotton bales. Another line was constructed immediately across the river to repel assaults there by the British, while yet another was built a mile and a half farther upstream. Behind Jackson's main position other fortifications were raised at DuPre's Canal, one and one-half miles away, and along the roadway a mile further back. Along Rodriquez Canal Jackson drew up his artillery into eight batteries, some manned by Baratarian pirates under Jean Laffite. On the river the American schooner Caroline harrassed the British position until December 27, when howitzer rounds from the enemy caused her to burn and explode. The next morning, on orders from the commander, Major General Edward M. Pakenham, the British army of 7,500 advanced straight into Jackson's artillery fire. But the British were soon forced to retreat across the fallow sugar cane field, losing 9 killed and 8 wounded. American losses in the encounter stood at 7 killed and 10 wounded. Jackson proceeded to strengthen his line and was shortly reinforced with more troops and cannon. On January 1, 1815, the British began a long range artillery battle; Jackson's artillerists responded with precise deliveries that caused much damage behind the enemy lines. Another British infantry attack followed, but was again repulsed by Tennesseans under Brigadier General John Coffee. Eleven Americans died and 23 were wounded, while British casualties stood at 32 killed and 44 wounded.

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85. Ibid. pp. 83-84; Phelps, Louisiana, pp. 254-56, 266. British designs on Louisiana through previous years had produced a number of plans concerning the most feasible routes for a military assault. See, for example, Tregle, "British Spy Along the Mississippi," pp. 326-27; Holmes, "Robert Ross' Plan," pp. 161-77; and Richard K. Murdoch, "A British Report on West Florida and Louisiana, November, 1812," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIII (July, 1964), pp. 36-51. For a question on overall British strategy, see Hugh F. Rankin, "The British at New Orleans: Strategy or Blunder?" Louisiana Studies, IV (Fall, 1965), pp. 179-86.

3. Battle of January 8, 1815

The principal British assault came on January 8 after both sides had been reinforced. Under Jackson's command were 4,000 men--regulars, militia, sailors, veterans, the Baratarians of Laffite, freed blacks, and even a unit composed of Choctaw Indians. These troops were supported in the rear by American cavalrymen. Facing them were Pakenham's royal infantry regiments numbering some 5,400 men. Shortly before dawn the British General ordered his troops forward in columns across the open field against barrages of American cannon and musket fire that finally drove the British soldiers into retreat. Futilely, Pakenham again led them forward only to be mortally wounded along with two of his principal subordinates. Two hours after the British attack began, Pakenham's successor, Major General John Lambert, ordered the troops to withdraw. Meantime, across the river the British under Colonel William Thornton drove the Americans from their works only to be recalled at a crucial juncture, thus assuring the American success. Pakenham's force suffered losses exceeding 2,000 killed, wounded, and missing, as opposed to American losses of only 7 killed and 6 wounded. Over succeeding days Jackson's artillery delivered steady barrages until the British, on January 18, abandoned their position and headed back to their ships.[86]

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86. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 85-90. Arsene LaCarriere Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 (Philadelphia: John Conrad and Company, 1816; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 130-78; Wilbert S. Brown, The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969), passim; and Charles B. Brooks, The Siege of New Orleans (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), passim. For the role of Jean Lafitte and his followers, see Jane Lucas de Grummond, The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), pp. 82, 86ff; and John Sugden, "Jean Lafitte and the British Offer of 1814," Louisiana History, XX (Spring, 1979), pp. 166-67. Detailed information on the subordinate lines behind Jackson's position at Rodriguez Canal is reproduced in Powell A. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812 (Baton Rouge: Privately published, 1963), p. 72ff. For the role of black soldiers, see Roland C. McConnell, Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968).

4. The British Attack Fort St. Philip

Further action took place at Fort St. Philip where British warships under command of Admiral Thomas Cochrane tried to press upstream to support Pakenham's army. By then Fort St. Philip was garrisoned by more than 400 regulars, militia, and free men of color under command of Major Walter H. Overton. Artillery in the fort consisted of thirty-two pieces of ordnance. On the morning of January 9 the British warships approached, but were driven off by several rounds from the fort's water battery. That afternoon they again drew near, sending forth mortar shells to begin a naval bombardment that would last for more than a week. At night British boats discharged grapeshot at the fort. But the Americans held, despite widespread destruction in the garrison and worsening weather conditions. On January 18 the British vessels finally withdrew downstream, their assault over. Only two Americans were killed and seven wounded in the battle, although Fort St. Philip endured structural damage from the more than 1,000 British shells hurled into the post. The engagement at Fort St. Philip ended the British attempts to capture New Orleans. Although they succeeded in taking Mobile the following month, the gesture was meaningless; during the previous December a treaty of peace had been signed and awaited only ratification by the United States Congress to formally end the war. Yet the actions taken by Jackson's various commands in 1814 and 1815 went beyond the martial meaning of the events, for through them the populace achieved a unity of purpose transcending ethnic, cultural, and social boundaries. The common interests displayed at New Orleans helped solidify the population, fostering state unity and national pride.[87]

F. An Era of Permanent Works

1. The Third American System

If nothing else, the experience of the United States Army and the Louisiana militia units at New Orleans in 1814-15 pointed up the vulnerability of the lower Mississippi region to enemy invasion.

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87. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 187-88, 191, 192-95, 196-97; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 114, 129, 175, 218, 219, 254-57, 259-60; Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 91-95.

In the aftermath of the War of 1812 national defense became a prime concern of the Government, for not only New Orleans but the national capital had been subjected to British attack. To secure the nation's coast against future enemies Congress passed legislation looking to improve the coastal defenses of the country. For the lower Mississippi, this resulted in lengthy inspections of the fortification system and pertinent recommendations regarding their improvement. Specific changes made to the defenses during the postwar period were as follows: Fort St. Charles, the sole remaining structure from the Spanish regime, was demolished in 1821; Fort St. John, situated in the rear of the city, took on added significance while substantial works were being constructed at the Rigolets between Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain; the earthworks used by Jackson's men at Chalmette were retained; and a recommendation made in 1817 by Brigadier General Simon Bernard, a military engineer sent to evaluate Fort St. Philip, called for extensive modifications to the post as well as construction of a new fort on the west bank of the Mississippi so that concerted artillery fire might effectively retard enemy vessels. The Balize was now considered worthless and by 1819 was described as a "wretched village." New fortifications were, however, proposed for the entrance to Barataria Bay, west of the Mississippi's mouth.[88] All of the improvements were to reflect adherence to the so-called Third American System of defenses, wherein firepower would be delivered from large, multi-tiered and casemated masonry works augmented by flanking batteries. The system represented innovation in its concept of massive delivery and reflected technological advances made in the standardization of heavy weaponry after the war. The principal works below New Orleans remained Fort St. Philip, which slowly underwent modernization between 1820 and the early 1850s, and Fort Jackson, a large pentagonal bastioned post, constructed opposite Fort St. Philip between 1822 and the mid-1850s. Complementing the river works at the Rigolets were Fort Pike, built between 1818 and 1824 to replace the earlier post of Petite Coquilles, and Fort Wood (Macomb), erected between 1823 and 1828.[89]

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88. Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," pp. 24, 29-31; Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 97-103.

89. Ibid., pp. 103-06, 113-14, 120-22, 127-34, 224-25, 242.

2. Works at New Orleans and Baton Rouge

At New Orleans American troops occupied the old Spanish barracks, but in 1833 the Government acquired land and began construction of New Orleans Barracks, designed principally as a supply depot for the lower river forts. Finished in 1835, the new post stood just below the city on the east bank; it acted as a rendezvous for army recruits and during the Seminole Indian wars of the 1830s and 1840s numerous tribesmen were imprisoned there. During the Mexican War the barracks served transient soldiers enroute to the front and provided a convalescent hospital for returnees. After the Civil War the post was renamed Jackson Barracks.[90]

Above New Orleans the Federal Government began construction of Baton Rouge Barracks, designed to replace the derelict structures built years before by the British and later garrisoned by Spain. The new post, comprising barracks arranged in a pentagon formation, was started in 1819 and was finished six years later. Throughout this period it served a valuable function as an office of the Government located on at the edge of the frontier. As of the early 1820s a force numbering between 400 and 500 soldiers garrisoned the post, and in 1835 a new magazine was erected for storing munitions.[91] With an increase in military traffic in the area of the lower river, work during the postwar years involved road building, both along the Mississippi and across country into the states of Mississippi and Tennessee. One route used shortly after the Battle of New Orleans became known as the "General Carroll Road" because Kentucky infantrymen of General William Carroll trekked home over it in 1815. This military route followed the east bank of the river north to Natchez before turning in a northeasterly direction.[92]

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90. Ibid., pp. 305-08.

91. Evelyn M. Thom, Baton Rouge Story: An Historical Sketch of Louisiana's Capital City (Baton Rouge: Privately printed, 1967), p. 19; Drude, "Fort Baton Rouge," p. 266; Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wurttemberg, Travels in North America, 1822-1824. Trans. by W. Robert Nitske. Ed. by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), p. 97.

92. Casey, "Military Roads," pp. 235, 237, 240.

3. Military Roles and Composition, 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s

During the early years of the nineteenth century regular troops stationed along the Mississippi continued the established practice of providing security during threatened slave uprisings. In 1826 a revolt was reported imminent along the German Coast. Soldiers from New Orleans were sent to reassure the citizens as well as to intimidate any blacks harboring rebellious notions. Commanders of all the fortifications above and below the city had orders to cooperate with state officials should a slave uprising occur. In 1831 another revolt was rumored to be underway on the German Coast and United States troops were alerted, but nothing happened. And in 1835 reports of armed blacks roaming the East Feliciana District alarmed authorities and sent some planters and their families to seek refuge in New Orleans. Again, an organized rebellion by slaves never occurred, although fears of one always remained in the minds of the white populace.[93]

Thus, by 1820 it was clear that the principal military role in lower Louisiana was to garrison and maintain the river fortifications and provide security and protection to citizens. Following the War of 1812 the army had been reorganized with the old Seventh Military District phased out and Louisiana designated as part of the Division of the South. Wartime strength of the army was reduced by one-third, so that the total number of United States regulars stood at about 10,000 men. In addition to those regulars stationed in Louisiana were the militia, whose participation in the military preparedness of the state declined after the War of 1812, but whose presence nonetheless complemented that of the regulars. Artillery militia from Baton Rouge and New Orleans played important roles in the occupation of Texas in 1845, and Louisiana troops took part in the relief of Major General Zachary Taylor's command at Corpus Christi. In particular, two militia artillery batteries from New Orleans were sent to

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93. Tommy R. Young, II, "The United States Army and the Institution of Slavery in Louisiana, 1815-1835," Louisiana Studies, XIII (Fall, 1974), pp. 214-15, 216, 219, 221.

Taylor's assistance. Later, Taylor called for volunteers from his native state and several thousand Louisianans responded to serve in Mexico in 1846 and 1847. Yet the overall quality of the Louisiana militia continued to decline until 1853 when the state government decreed its reorganization. In New Orleans those men enlisted from above Canal Street constituted the First Brigade, while those from below Canal Street formed the Second Brigade. The brigades were divided into regiments, subdivided into battalions, and further subdivided ito companies of sixty-four or more men. Besides the regular militia, provision was made for the organization of volunteer militia companies to serve at the pleasure of the governor. As of 1853 there were three brigades of regular militia to which volunteer units were variously attached. Total strength stood at around 1,500 soldiers. Included in this figure were blacks, the free men of color whose tradition dated back before the War of 1812 and who had served Jackson at New Orleans. They represented the only government-sanctioned black military force in the country. During the 1850s the New Orleans militia turned out on several occasions to quell political riots and to police city neighborhoods. When the Civil War erupted, Louisiana militia troops were well prepared.[94]

G. The Civil War

1. Louisiana Takes Over

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s much labor and time was spent on upkeep of the lower river forts, especially Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The latter post was practically abandoned during the 1850s. When rumors of war with the North circulated in January, 1861, Governor

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94. Maurice Matloff, et al, American Military History (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1969), p. 149; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 152; III, 244-48; Robert C. Reinders "Militia in New Orleans, 1853-1861," Louisiana History III (Winter, 1962), pp. 33-35, 39; Mary F. Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray: The Louisiana Native Guards, 1861-1863," Louisiana History, VIII (Spring, 1967), p. 166. The New Orleans volunteer units wore colorfully distinctive uniforms reflecting the ethnic and cultural diversity of the city, e.g., the Spanish Cazadores, the German Jaegers, the Irish Emeralds, and the French Chasseurs, to name a few. Some units reflected class-conciousness, as did the Washington Artillery, composed mainly of persons of status and wealth, particularly in leadership positions. Reinders, "Militia in New Orleans," p. 36. See also Gerald M. Capers, Occupied City: New Orleans under the Federals, 1862-1865 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 77-78.

Thomas O. Moore ordered the seizure of all Federal property in Louisiana, an action carried out by the militia. Forts Jackson and St. Philip, along with the Rigolets posts of Fort Macomb and Fort Pike and some lesser fortifications, were eventually all placed under the Confederate command. Soon after this, Confederate naval vessels succeeded in occupying Ship Island in Mississippi Sound. Upstream, Baton Rouge Barracks and the arsenal likewise surrendered to state units, and a Confederate infantry training school for recruits soon operated there. Another recruiting depot opened at New Orleans Barracks. On January 26, 1861, Louisiana withdrew from the Union and at the recommendation of Captain (later General) Pierre G.T. Beauregard, superintendent of the fortifications around the city, the heavy guns of Forts Jackson and St. Philip were trained on the Mississippi to repell an expected Union invasion by that approach. The permanent forts were specified as an outer line of defense, while temporary earthworks raised at Chalmette and across the river composed the inner line. Enlistments in the state militia units grew as the certainty of conflict increased, although Governor Moore authorized organization of a Confederate Louisiana regiment, which was quickly raised and its members sent to relieve the militia in the river and lake forts. Moore also authorized formation of a black regiment, the First Native Guards, to contain nearly 500 men. Many of these latter troops were sent to Pensacola, requiring the Governor to call for even more volunteers. Various camps were established in the vicinity of New Orleans for receiving recruits, among them Camp Lewis at Carrollton, Camp Walker near Metairie, and Camp Moore north of Lake Pontchartrain.[95]

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95. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 134, 135-36, 139, 140-41; Edwin C. Bearss, "The Seizure of the Forts and Public Property in Louisiana," Louisiana History, II (Fall, 1961), pp. 401-02, 404-06; Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America (2 vols.; Philadelphia: George W. Childs, Publisher, 1866), I, 181-82; Richard P. Weinert, "The Confederate Regulars in Louisiana," Louisiana Studies, VI (Spring, 1967), pp. 53-54, 55-57; Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray," p. 167; Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 5-6, 8-9. For details and records of Louisiana troops in the Civil War, see Andrew B. Booth (comp.), Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands (3 vols.; New Orleans, 1920); Napier Bartlett, Military Record of Louisiana; including Biographical and Historical Papers relating to the Military Organizations of the State (New

2. Union Strategy and the Capture of New Orleans

The capture of the Mississippi Valley was of prime importance to Federal military strategists. Effecting that objective would sever the Confederacy's West from its East as well as isolate its largest commercial center, New Orleans. To this end a naval blockade of the Gulf Coast was implemented while Union gunboats worked to open the Mississippi above Memphis, Tennessee. Only major defenses at Columbus, Kentucky, Island No. 10, Memphis, and at the forts below New Orleans kept Federal vessels from running unrestricted to the sea. The capture of New Orleans would permit the Gulf Coast squadron to cooperate with Union craft up the Mississippi against Vicksburg and the lesser Confederate posts at Baton Rouge and Natchez.

The first armed engagement of note to occur in Louisiana during the Civil War took place at the head of Southwest Pass on the Mississippi, October 12, 1861, when Confederate steamers and a ram under Commodore George H. Hollins managed to drive the Union blockade squadron from the river. The incident temporarily allayed fears of New Orleans residents of a concerted Federal naval drive up the river. Early in 1862 an obstruction built of schooners and logs was positioned across the Mississippi near the Plaquemine Turn forts to thwart future enemy drives.[96] But the Union naval blockade meantime succeeded in closing the lower river to navigation; Union forces shortly regained Ship Island and plans proceeded for an assault on the city. Anticipating action, the Confederate garrisons at Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip were strengthened with additional troops and guns. In March, Major General

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95. (cont'd) Orleans: L. Graham and Company, 1875); Napier Bartlett, A Soldier's Story of the Washington Artillery, and of other Louisiana Troops. . . . (New Orleans: Clark and Hofeline, 1874); and Powell A. Casey, "Early History of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIII (April, 1940), pp. 471-84.

96. Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 7-8. For a detailed account of this episode, see Edwin C. Bearss, "The Fiasco at Head of Passes," Louisiana History, IV (Fall, 1963), pp. 301-11.

Benjamin F. Butler assembled an army command at Ship Island while Flag-Officer David G. Farragut readied his warships at Head of Passes. On April 18 a Union mortar fleet under Commander David D. Porter initiated a destructive bombardment against Fort Jackson that lasted six days. At 3:30 A.M., April 24, Farragut began driving his fleet by the forts amidst a terrific hail of shell and shot that, said one officer, was like "all the earthquakes in the world, and all the thunder and lightning storms together . . . all going off at once. . . ."[97] Most of the Federal vessels passed the forts unharmed. Above the posts they encountered several Confederate naval craft, including a ram, Manassas, that caught fire, drifted downstream, and sank. A Union vessel, Varuna, also foundered before the Confederate ships were finally dispersed. Casualties among Farragut's command numbered 37 killed and 147 wounded, while the garrisons of Forts Jackson and St. Philip lost 11 men killed and 39 wounded. As the Union fleet proceeded upstream the Confederates attempted to stop it, but all efforts failed. Rebel troops at English Turn fled into the forest at blasts from the Union warships. On the morning of April 25 Batteries McGehee and Chalmette fruitlessly tried to halt the advance with artillery fire from their positions below New Orleans, but Farragut's broadsides silenced them. By evening the Union flotilla lay before the city and the Confederate forces defending it were withdrawn. Forts Jackson and St. Philip formally capitulated to General Butler's command on April 28 following a mutiny by members of the Fort Jackson garrison. During the surrender negotiations the Confederate ironclad, Louisiana, was blown up and sank nearby.[98]

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97. Quoted in Benjamin F. Butler, Butler's Book (Boston: A.M. Thayer and Company, 1892), p. 366.

98. For elaboration on these events, see Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 148-71; Phelps, Louisiana, 312-13; J. Thomas Scharf, History of the Confederate States Navy (Albany: Joseph McDonough, 1894), pp. 264-65, 270; Charles Dufour, The Night the War Was Lost (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1960), pp. 266, 267, 269, 283; David D. Porter, "The Opening of the Lower Mississippi," in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (4 vols., New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), II, 22-55. See also Report of Brigadier General Johnson K. Duncan to Major J.G. Pickett, April 30, 1862, in The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (73 vols., 128 parts; Washington: Government Printing Office,

3. Military Occupation Begins

Soon Union soldiers occupied all the defenses around New Orleans while Major General Mansfield Lovell, Commander of the Confederate Department of Louisiana, withdrew his army north toward Vicksburg. The capture of the city was a devastating blow to the South both physically and psychologically, for its resources were irretrievably lost. Throughout the rest of the war the city was occupied by Federal troops. Above New Orleans soldiers garrisoned Fort Banks and Camp Parapet, the former on the west side of the Mississippi, the latter across the stream at Carrollton. Camp Parapet consisted of an extensive earthwork, originally raised by Confederate troops in 1861, that ran from a redoubt on the river's edge some two miles east to Fort Star, a star-shaped earthen structure adjoining a swamp. Union troops who occupied Camp Parapet over the next three years remembered it mostly for its unhealthy conditions that prompted widespread sickness. It was at Camp Parapet that refugee blacks were first recruited as soldiers, a policy supported by General Butler.[99]

The posts of Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip remained garrisoned by Union soldiers for the duration of the war. Fort Jackson was used to incarcerate political and military prisoners. Both posts were soon occupied by black troops, the various Corps d'Afrique units raised after the fall of New Orleans. In December, 1863, the soldiers at Fort Jackson mutinied against their officers in a brief revolt stemming from incidents of

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98. (cont'd) 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. VI, 525-29; Report of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Higgins, April 27, 1862, in ibid., p. 547; and Report of Captain M.T. Squires, April 27, 1862, in ibid., p. 551. Casualties in the river posts are given in "Return of casualties in the Confederate garrisons of Forts Jackson and Saint Philip, April 18-25, 1862," in ibid., Series I, Vol. VI, 550; and "List of killed and wounded in Fort St. Philip," in Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (30 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, Vol. 18, 283.

99. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 289-304; Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray," pp. 170-71. Also see Capers, Occupied City, pp. 95-96.

cruel and degrading punishment. The commander of Fort Jackson, Lieutenant Colonel Augustus W. Benedict, was dismissed from the service over the episode. Black units served at Forts Jackson and St. Philip throughout much of the 1860s.[100]

4. The Battle of Baton Rouge, 1862

As Union troops consolidated their gains around New Orleans following the capture of that city, military events accelerated farther up the Mississippi. At Baton Rouge and Natchez, abandoned in the wake of the fall of New Orleans, Union forces easily took control in May, 1862. Failing to seize Vicksburg with their warships, the Federals withdrew to Baton Rouge in July. That movement inspired Confederate Major General Earl Van Dorn to attack Baton Rouge with 2,600 men from Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, for with that city reclaimed, the recapture of New Orleans would be feasible. Van Dorn's subordinate, Brigadier General John C. Breckinridge, anticipated that a Confederate ram on the Mississippi would engage Union gunboats positioned there. With that knowledge, Breckinridge on August 5 opened his assault against 2,500 Union troops posted in the town under command of Brigadier General Thomas Williams. During the attack Union soldiers from Maine, Michigan, Indiana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin, were successively driven back by the Confederates until fire from Federal gunboats forced the Southerners to withdraw. Union losses in killed, wounded, and missing stood at 383, including General Williams, who was mortally wounded; Confederate losses numbered approximately 450. About two weeks later the Union force moved down to Camp Parapet prepared to meet future Confederate offensives.[101]

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100. Ibid., pp. 180, 184-86, 188, 207-08. For organization of the first all-black regiments in 1862, the Louisiana Native Guards, see Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray," pp. 173-74.

101. John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 113-14, 121-23; Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 25, 26-29. Contemporary accounts of the engagements at Baton Rouge appear in Report of Major General Earl Van Dorn, September 9, 1862, in War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 15-19; and in Report of Major General John C. Breckinridge; September 30, 1862, in ibid., pp. 76-82.

5. The Seige of Port Hudson, 1863

Following the battle at Baton Rouge, General Breckinridge's command occupied Port Hudson, some twenty-five miles above the capital on a high bluff overlooking the Mississippi. There batteries were emplaced to cover the entire riverfront and prevent passage of Federal warships. Without disruption, the Confederates steadily improved their position. In mid-March, 1863, Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, Butler's successor in command of the Department of the Gulf, made a feint toward Port Hudson with 25,000 men that enabled two ships of Farragut's fleet to bombard and then pass by the batteries enroute to Vicksburg. Banks turned his attention to the Teche country of southwestern Louisiana, ultimately capturing Alexandria as well as other key Confederate positions. He then returned to Baton Rouge and on May 27 attacked Port Hudson after that place had been bombarded by Farragut's fleet for more than two weeks. The assault failed; so did another June 14 which produced heavy casualties in the Union ranks. This repulse determined Banks to continue siege operations against the position, but on July 4 Vicksburg fell, and the Confederate garrison of some 6,000 men at Port Hudson under Major General Franklin Gardner, had no recourse but to surrender five days later. Union losses numbered 3,000, while the Confederates lost 7,200, including more than 5,000 prisoners, at Port Hudson. Meantime, beyond the river a Confederate force directed by Major General Richard Taylor succeeded in capturing the Federal command at Berwick Bayou June 23. Four days later part of this army under Brigadier General Tom Green attempted to take an irregular earthwork named Fort Butler at the mouth of Bayou Lafourche at Donaldsonville, fifty river miles below Baton Rouge. This assault failed. Taylor did manage to place guns along the river below Donaldsonville, however, closing river traffic for several days, and he was contemplating an attack upon Kenner, just above New Orleans, when he learned of the fall of Port Hudson. Within a few days 6,000 Federal troops were in Donaldsonville ready to pursue Taylor's army. In a sharp encounter near the town General Green with inferior numbers caused the Northern soldiers to withdraw with substantial losses. But Taylor, bowing to the inevitable, shortly withdrew his command into the Teche country.[102]

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102. Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 32-37; Winters, Civil War in Louisiana, pp. 123-24, 243-45, 247-48, 260-61; Phelps, Louisiana,

With the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson fighting on the lower Mississippi River subsided. There occurred much bloody combat in the region to the west during the early months of 1864, but with the river firmly in Federal control, the trans-Mississippi ceased to be of major importance in overall Union strategy. Reinforced by fresh troops, Banks led an expedition to Red River that was a failure and ended in 1864 with his removal from command of the military force and his relegation to a civil role as commander of the Department of the Gulf.[103]

H. Reconstruction

1. New Orleans under Butler and Banks

After the Union army and navy opened the lower Mississippi, Louisiana became an occupied region subjected to military and political reconstruction. The process had started early in the war after New Orleans was captured and General Butler was headquartered there in 1862. With 2,500 Northern troops sent to garrison the city, Butler's administration quickly became controversial. He dismissed all municipal authorities and confiscated property for his own use. He declared martial law and applied strict rules governing the citizens' treatment of the army. His famous "woman order" equating those females insulting his men with prostitutes liable for their actions, along with the execution of a citizen for publicly desecrating the American flag, brought emotional outbursts from the populace and the sobriquet "Beast Butler" for the Union

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102. (cont'd) pp. 320, 323-25; Benson J. Lossing, II, 634-38; Berry, "Negro Troops in Blue and Gray," pp. 189-90. See also the definitive work on Port Hudson, in Edward Cunningham, The Port Hudson Campaign, 1862-1863 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963). A first person account from the perspective of a Northern soldier is in L. Carroll Root (ed.), "The Experiences of a Federal Soldier in Louisiana in 1863," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIX (July, 1936), pp. 633-67. For contemporary communications relating to the Siege of Port Hudson, May-July, 1863, see War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Parts I and III, passim; and Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part II, passim. Discussion of river movement in the area of Port Hudson after the Civil War is presented in Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., Man and Nature at Port Hudson, 1863, 1917 (Reprint, Baton Rouge: Commission for Preservation of the Port Hudson Battlefield, 1965).

103. Phelps, Louisiana, p. 329; Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 45-46; Capers, Occupied City, pp. 112-17.

commander. In June, 1862, Brigadier General George F. Shepley, who had been commandant of the city, was appointed military governor of Louisiana, leaving Butler in charge of the military department. Butler nonetheless continued his policies, seizing Confederate property and funds as congressionally mandated in the confiscation acts passed in June and July, 1862. He required oaths of allegiance from all residents, inflicting severe penalties on those who refused. His highhanded treatment of foreigners in the European consulates of the city soon led to his transfer, however, and in November, 1862, soon after Butler had engineered Louisiana's congressional election, President Lincoln replaced him with Nathaniel Banks. Yet Banks's military and political ambition led him into conflict with Shepley, many of whose responsibilities Banks gradually assumed. As a result, the military governor's office lost both power and prestige.[104] Banks proved more conciliatory than Butler in dealing with the populace, especially with plantation owners whom he regarded as vital to reconstruction, and consequently he dealt with them too liberally to satisfy the radical wing of the Republicans in Congress. Although his administration became more severe in 1863, Louisianans perceived a Union occupation without direction. Following Banks's unsuccessful Red River Campaign in 1864 he returned to New Orleans but was eventually replaced as department commander.[105] Despite his inadequacies, Banks presided over the ratification of a state constitution by voters, the rancorous election of a civilian governor, and the selection of state legislators and congressional representatives. Yet native Louisianans resisted reconstruction as long as there remained hope for a

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104. Joseph G. Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 6, 8-10, 12, 14; Phelps, Louisiana, pp. 314-15, 219-21; Fortier, History of Louisiana, IV, 19-20. See also Richard P. Weinert, "The Confederate Regulars in Louisiana," Louisiana Studies, VI (Spring, 1967), p. 60; Thomas Ewing Dabney, "The Butler Regime in Louisiana," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (April, 1944), pp. 487-526; and Howard Palmer Johnson, "New Orleans under General Butler," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIV (April, 1941), pp. 434-536. For a recent revisionist assessment of Butler in New Orleans, see Capers, Occupied City, pp. 86-89, 91-94, 98, 104, 113-114.

105. Phelps, Louisiana, pp. 321, 329-30; Capers, Occupied City, pp. 105-06, 110-11, 129; Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, pp. 14, 19.

Confederate victory, and probably if Federal troops had taken over the entire state rather than selected river parishes Union objectives would have been accomplished more quickly. Only after the fall of Vicksburg did realization grow that the military occupation was permanent.[106]

2. Postwar Military Reconstruction

Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut succeeded Banks as commander of the Department of the Gulf. The department formed an administrative component of the Military Division of West Mississippi, commanded by Major General Edward R.S. Canby, who had earlier experienced difficulty dealing with Banks. Together, Canby and Hurlbut continued their military administration of Louisiana; the state constitution approved in 1864 remained unimplemented and the civilian Governor, Michael Hahn, was politically impotent. Furthermore, Congress refused to seat Louisiana's elected representatives, thereby intensifying and prolonging reconstruction in the state. Nevertheless, the results of the recent elections complied with the Federal Government's requirements for readmitting former Confederate states to the Union, and Louisiana was readmitted on May 29, 1865. Only three days before this date all Confederate forces in the Trans-Mississippi Department were formally surrendered in New Orleans by Lieutenant General Simon B. Buckner acting for General Edmund Kirby Smith. Only weeks before General Robert E. Lee had surrendered the Confederate armies at Appomattox, Virginia.[107]

Following the Confederate surrender, military reconstruction, already underway in Louisiana, was instituted elsewhere in the South. In New Orleans a number of incidents occurred that reflected varying attitudes toward the policies of Lincoln, his successor as president, Andrew Johnson, and the Congress. In 1865 most Louisianans supported Johnson against congressional Radical Republicans who wanted the South punished for its rebellion. When Radicals sought to force black suffrage upon the

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106. Capers, Occupied City, pp. 117, 119; Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, pp. 1718, 19.

107. Ibid., pp. 19, 21; Phelps, Louisiana, p. 335.

state by means deemed illegal, many whites opposed it. On July 30, 1866, the issue provoked bloodshed at Mechanics' Institute in New Orleans as local police engaged members of a Radical convention. Some 200 blacks wielding clubs and firearms got involved, and by the time Federal troops finally quelled the riot nearly 50 people were dead and more than 160 wounded on the streets of the city. News of the riot contributed to widespread Radical victories in congressional elections throughout the North, producing a decided shift away from Johnson's policies toward those embracing Radical Reconstruction in ensuing years.[108]

Under several Reconstruction Acts, the first enacted in March, 1867, over Johnson's veto, Louisiana became part of the Fifth Military District wherein absolute rule and justice were dispensed by Major General Philip H. Sheridan. After the 1866 riot Sheridan had removed several New Orleans officials for complicity, including Mayor John T. Monroe. Now the entire state civilian government was declared illegal and subordinated to army control; moreover, the State's natural leaders were henceforth banned from holding office. Sheridan eventually dismissed the civilian governor and named Benjamin F. Flanders to the post. Louisiana Democrats soon managed to have President Johnson remove Sheridan and late in 1867 Major General Winfield S. Hancock assumed command of the Fifth District. Before he left, Sheridan organized an election to determine whether a constitutional convention should be held. The vote overwhelmingly favored such an assembly. The constitution that emerged from the convention of 1867-1868 was a radical document providing for desegregated education and an end to racial discrimination.[109]

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108. Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 118-19; Phelps, Louisiana pp. 255-57; Analysis of the reasons for the riot appears in Donald E. Reynolds, "The New Orleans Riot of 1866, Reconsidered," Louisiana History, V (Winter, 1964), pp. 5, 26-27.

109. Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 129-32, 139, 140-47, 151.

3. The Army and Partisan Politics

By the late 1860s and early 1870s military reconstruction under the Radicals was providing political power to certain groups, particularly native white Southerners and blacks, although leadership roles fell mostly to opportunistic individuals with army backgrounds from outside the South. The military occupation of Louisiana involved no great numbers of Federal soldiers. Those available were posted in proximity to the large black populations, as much to protect the freedmen from the antipathy of area whites as to protect whites from the blacks. In 1872 Louisiana Democrats joined with liberal Republicans to elect a governor, John McEnery, while the Radical Republicans selected one of their own, William B. Kellogg. Although McEnery was the legitimate choice, the Radical Congress and the President supported Kellogg to the extent of providing Federal troops to establish him in office. On January 6, 1873, when the dual state legislatures independently convened, the military contingent present in New Orleans supporting Kellogg consisted of several companies of the Nineteenth Infantry, one troop of the Seventh Cavalry, and two batteries of artillery, a total of more than 400 men. One week later the two governors were inaugurated, although the Federal Government continued recognition of only the Kellogg regime. Shortly thereafter a dispute arose between the factions over control of the metropolitan police and the state militia. When on March 5, 1873, the Democratic militia marched on the police station in Jackson Square and commenced an attack, the regular troops at Jackson Barracks were rushed into the city on orders of Brigadier General William H. Emory to suppress the fighting. After prolonged negotiations the demonstrators withdrew rather than confront the armed regulars. Troops patroled the streets of New Orleans for several weeks, managing to stem further trouble.[110]

But disturbances persisted between the two government factions, climaxing on September 14, 1874, in the so-called Battle of Liberty Place,

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110. Ibid., pp. 138-39; Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, pp. 141-44, 150-51.

near the river end of Canal Street. The episode began as a demonstration by citizens known as White Leaguers against the Kellogg administration, but quickly developed into an armed confrontation between the demonstrators and various militia units. Conflict started when militia artillery fire was discharged against the White Leaguers from several directions. They responded by firing musket volleys up Canal Street and they were attacked by militia troops on the levee. Near the old Custom House the melee escalated into a hot contest in which many of the demonstrators were killed and wounded before withdrawing. A few days later Federal troops again interceded and directed the White Leaguers to disband.[111]

4. Federal Troops Leave Louisiana

Throughout the years of military occupation Federal policy was to intercede with regular troops only after the disputing factions failed to amicably resolve their differences. In 1875 Major General Christopher C. Augur took command of the military department. During the summer most of the soldiers were removed to more salubrious climates in Mississippi to prevent their contracting yellow fever, but the contending factions remained inactive in New Orleans. By 1876 the presence of the army around the city had become increasingly accepted by the populace, and the troops even involved themselves in the Mardi Gras festivities without incident. So peaceful became the occupation that Sheridan withdrew all cavalry units from the department. Yet isolated incidents still demanded attention from military authorities; at Bayou Sara, for example, Democrats threatened Republican officials, prompting the presence of an infantry company there early in 1876. And in June a riot broke out at Mount Pleasant Plantation below Port Hudson that pitted freed blacks against more than 200 white vigilantes. Five blacks were killed as a warning to area Republicans before Federal soldiers interceded. This episode caused Augur to create a new military jurisdiction, the District of Baton Rouge, encompassing several parishes

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111. Frank L. Richardson, "My Recollections of the Battle of the Fourteenth of September, 1874, in New Orleans, La.," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, III (October, 1920), pp. 499, 500, 501. See also Stuart Omer Landry, The Battle of Liberty Place: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule in New Orleans, September 14, 1874 (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1955).

and Mississippi counties. When the general election of 1876 approached, Augur stationed troops at carefully selected points along the river to prevent trouble.[112]

The Election of 1876 marked the beginning of the end of the military occupation of Louisiana. As expected, two sets of returns were forthcoming, one supporting the Republican candidate, the other--and legitimate set--supporting the Democrat. Similar disputed returns in two other southern states forced the election into the House of Representatives, where Republicans influenced the decision in their favor. As part of the agreement, however, the military troops would be removed from the South. In January, 1877, the Democrats were restored to power in Louisiana. Soon the military occupation ended altogether. By year's end only thirty-five soldiers remained in New Orleans, and in 1878 the Louisiana legislature passed a measure providing for the reconstitution of the state militia units.[113]

I. Military Activity during the Late Nineteenth Century

1. Clearing the River

Active military interest in the region of the lower Mississippi River diminished in the years following Reconstruction. After 1879, when United States troops departed Pentagon Barracks at Baton Rouge, the post went ungarrisoned. Between 1886 and 1927 the Barracks housed students from Louisiana State University, and after that the buildings were remodeled into offices and apartments. While the Louisiana militia was restored in the postwar years, the role of the regular army became limited primarily to the maintenance of the river garrisons below New Orleans. During this period, too, army engineers labored to improve

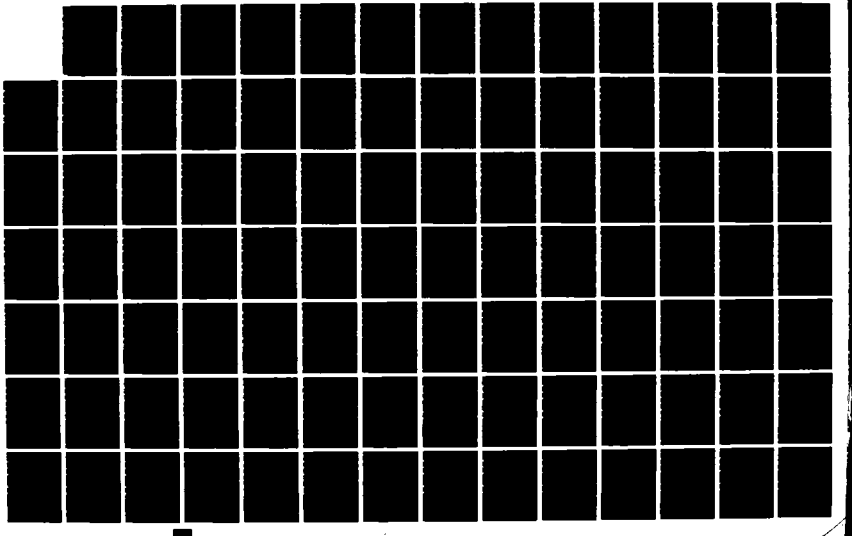
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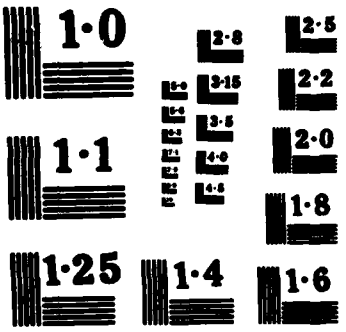
112. Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, pp. 216, 218, 222-24, 225-26, 234. For more on Army participation in Mardi Gras activities, see Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 313-14.

113. Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, pp. 236, 261; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 152-53. For the changing totals of troops in Louisiana during Reconstruction, 1865-1877, see Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction, Appendix III. See ibid., Appendices I and II, respectively, for lists of military departmental and divisional changes pertaining to Louisiana during Reconstruction, 1862-1877, and for the various department commanders during that period.

AD-A145 600 MISSISSIPPI RIVER CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY PHASE I..(U) ARMY ENGINEER DISTRICT NEW ORLEANS LA J A GREENE ET AL. MAY 84 3/4

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the river channel as they had in earlier decades. In 1836 and 1837 the engineers had received substantial appropriations from Congress to undertake the frustrating and largely unsuccessful task of clearing mud blockades from the mouths of the Mississippi. In 1866 army engineers, having failed in attempts to build jetties, employed newly designed dredges with moderate success. Encounters with a particularly difficult blockade in 1873 led to advocacy for construction of a canal to run from the river at a point below Fort St. Philip back into Breton Island Sound. But the canal project succumbed to controversy and professional disagreements among the principal engineer officers. Ultimately the mouths of the Mississippi were improved for navigation by means of a jetty system devised by James B. Eads and implemented in 1879.[114]

2. Modernizing the River Forts

So far as maintenance of Forts Jackson and St. Philip was concerned, both posts were evacuated during the early 1870s and their upkeep became marginal. Yet both forts were still viewed as essential components in the nation's coastal defense and it was important that they be kept in repair, despite the infrequency of appropriations for such work in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1884 Fort Jackson was pronounced officially inactive; during the years preceding the Spanish-American War, however, modern artillery emplacements were built at the post and by late 1898 Fort Jackson emplaced technologically advanced breech-loading rifles mounted on disappearing carriages, among other innovative ordnance. Likewise, modern, dispersed batteries for new weapons serviced by electrical power were built at Fort St. Philip where maintenance of the ordnance required the presence of a garrison of nearly 200 officers and men. During the period of the War with Spain the river below Forts Jackson and St. Philip was mined for enemy craft. Following the war Fort Jackson was placed in charge of a caretaker. In World War I it served as a training facility, but in 1920 was abandoned altogether by the Government and six years later was sold as surplus property. Fort St. Philip enjoyed more permanent occupation with further improvements made

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114. Walter M. Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," Louisiana History, V (Summer, 1964), pp. 238-40, 242, 246-47, 254.

to its armaments and living facilities after 1900. Most personnel assigned to Fort St. Philip came on temporary duty from Jackson Barracks. During World War I training exercises were conducted at the fort and some new buildings were erected. But in 1922 the post was deemed surplus; eight years later it was sold to private interests. During the civil rights controversy of the early 1960s, Judge Leander H. Perez of Plaquemines Parish threatened to incarcerate demonstrators at the old fort.[115]

3. Into the Twentieth Century

Of all the military stations around New Orleans, only Jackson Barracks was constantly occupied during the post-Civil War years. It served as a rotation point for units assigned to the New Orleans area, and troops stationed at the lower river forts were often permanently posted to Jackson Barracks. With structures handsomely built of brick and granite, its proximity to the city enhanced its attraction to officer personnel, many of whom requested transfer there. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s regular units of infantry and artillery garrisoned Jackson Barracks and several hundred soldiers were stationed there during and immediately following the Spanish-American War. Coast artillery units occupied the post in the early years of the twentieth century. During World War I Jackson Barracks became headquarters of the Coast Defenses of New Orleans, South Atlantic Artillery District. Units of the Louisiana National Guard shared the facility in the 1920s, and in World War II the Barracks served as a station of the New Orleans Post of Embarkment. Following the war Jackson Barracks was turned over to the State of Louisiana which administered the post as headquarters of the Louisiana Military Department, the state Selective Service System, and Civil Defense Agency. Local units of the Louisiana National Guard continue to utilize training facilities available at the post.[116] Jackson Barracks thus represents the twentieth century

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115. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 195-202, 211-220; Robinson, "Maritime Frontier Engineering," pp. 61-62.

116. Greene, Defense of New Orleans, pp. 309-20.

continuum of the lengthy military history associated with the lower Mississippi River since 1700.[117]

117. It should be noted that, although not strictly a military facility, the Algiers Navy Yard opened downstream from Algiers Point in 1901 and has operated intermittently during the twentieth century. A training school in World War I, the station later served as a veteran hospital and in World War II as a naval repair base employing 6,000 civilian workers. In 1945 it became an Armed Guard Center with more than 20,000 navy personnel, and experienced a revival of activity during the Korean War. Since 1970 the station has operated on a peacetime basis.

CHAPTER VI: AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER

A. Introduction

From its earliest colonization until well into the twentieth century, Louisiana was predominantly rural and agricultural. Through the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth centuries most individuals who engaged in agriculture operated small subsistence farms or had few products to sell. Subsistence farming was not the intent of the French government or its proprietors when the colony was proclaimed. That type of livelihood did not provide the desired products for the mother country or allow for an economic return on the investment. The development of plantation agriculture had been the main objective for establishing French settlement in Louisiana. A plantation system is one in which the individual units produced sufficient food and fiber for its own clothing manufacture while concentrating most of its acreage on the production of one or two crops to be sold outside that unit. This system failed to catch on at first because those individuals sent to the colony, whom it was presumed would provide the work force to operate the plantations, had no desire to labor in the fields. Instead, most early immigrants sought their livelihood in the Indian trade while a few settled on small parcels of land and pursued subsistence agriculture. It was not until the decline of the local Indian trade by the middle of the eighteenth century and an increase in the slave trade that many individuals began to consider operating a plantation. After 1750 plantations increased in number, especially along the banks of the Mississippi River and other waterways, but they cannot be said to have dominated agriculture. Small farms occupied a greater portion of the land than plantations. The Civil War, in effect, ended the plantation system although some units managed to survive into the early twentieth century. Diversification and mechanization since 1900 did more to change Louisiana agriculture and make it into a more viable and productive livelihood than at any time in its past.

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B. The French Period

1. Early Agricultural Development

The early French arrivals, with Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville at the forefront, hoped to establish a commercial plantation system in the lower Mississippi River Valley. Crops such as indigo, tobacco, and rice, Bienville felt, would relieve France from the economic drain of purchasing them outside its mercantile system. The outbreak of war in Europe, however, focused French attentions elsewhere to the colony's detriment.[1] Lacking the wherewithal to develop the colony, the French government granted it as a proprietorship to Antoine Crozat in 1712. Crozat, who hoped to build a commercial empire there, was soon disappointed. Few individuals proved willing to settle there and many of those that did sought their own enrichment outside agriculture. A poorer Crozat returned the land to the French King in 1717. He did, however, succeed in establishing the first permanent Louisiana settlement, Natchitoches, in 1714.

In the succeeding year, 1718, the French government, in its desire to secure the Mississippi Valley from British encroachment, turned to John Law, an enterprising Scotsman, and his Company of the West to develop Louisiana. Law, who soon reorganized his venture into the Company of the Indies, made a concerted effort to attract settlers in an attempt to establish a plantation system. Individuals began to arrive about 1720. Some Germans abandoned a proposed colony in Arkansas to move south. They, with other Germans from the Rhineland, established small farms along the Mississippi River on what became known as the German Coast. The immigrants from France, some of whom took up residence in the newly established settlement of New Orleans, found that Louisiana did not meet their expectations. Letters sent back home by these people effectively discouraged further voluntary colonization. Law's

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1. Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 171.

company turned to the jails and streets of France for settlers, but these people proved of no value in the agricultural development of Louisiana.[2]

Although hard working people, the Germans contributed little to the agricultural development. Mainly subsistence farmers, they raised vegetables, fowl, livestock, and made butter. The excess products that they did produce were not exported, but went to feed the New Orleans inhabitants. Since few of the other immigrants desired to become involved in agriculture the colony had a precarious existence in the first half of the 1720s. Older French settlements in the Illinois district contributed flour and meat to the Louisianans while a considerable Indian trade provided corn, meat, and vegetables.

2. Tobacco, Rice, Indigo, and Sugar Cane

To promote prosperity and bring a financial return to investors, the Company of the Indies attempted to induce tobacco production. Tobacco was a desirable product in that, if grown in sufficient quantity, it would relieve France of the need to import it from other nations. The Company sent experienced tobacco workers to Louisiana for instructional purposes and offered to pay high prices to those landowners who raised it for export. During the French period most tobacco was raised in the Pointe Coupee area, but all the incentives offered to prospective growers failed to produce large quantities for export.[3] Tobacco, in fact, never became an extensive crop. Ultimately, only farmers in the Grande Pointe area of St. James parish continued to plant tobacco. They raised a distinctive variety called perique.

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2. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, p. 124; Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812) pp. 294-95.

3. Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University), pp. 123, 135; Antoine Du Pratz, The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing a Description of the Countries that Lie on Both Sides of the River Mississippi: With an Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, and Products (London: T. Becket, 1774) pp. 54, 171-172.

The French made an initial attempt to produce wheat, but when that grain failed to grow well it was abandoned in favor of rice. As a result, rice became a staple crop. Rice cultivation began soon after the French introduced slaves from Senegal to the colony in 1719. These people were brought to Louisiana particularly for that purpose since they were familiar with rice farming in their homeland. The seeds were apparently brought from the West Indies and adapted well to the Louisiana climate. Providence rice, as it was termed, denoted the manner in which it was grown. The rice seeds were broadcast onto land adjacent to the river in the spring. No effort was made to provide the necessary water for regulated irrigation. Instead, nature was allowed to take its course and provide water during the spring floods. It then became only a matter of harvesting the crop in the fall after the land had sufficiently dried. Providence rice came to be grown in an area stretching from English Turn, below New Orleans, north to Pointe Coupee during the French period. Sufficient excess crops ultimately provided a small amount of the grain for export.[4]

Indigo proved to be the greatest export product. Natural indigo was obtained up the river and was also cultivated. It was raised on those few plantations above New Orleans established by wealthier French emigrants, for only these men, who owned the majority of slaves, had the financial capability to cultivate indigo. Small at first, production began on those tracts of land by the mid-1720s. Indigo planters also provided naval stores during the off season.[5]

Sugar cane was purportedly introduced into Louisiana by the Jesuits in 1751 and planted on their land located within what is now the city

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4. Chan Lee, "A Culture History of Rice with Special Reference to Louisiana" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1960, Louisiana State University), pp. 95, 109, 113, 115; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," 160.

5. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 107, 137, 179; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant and Company, 1904), II, 159; Du Pratz, History of Louisiana, p. 168; Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana (3 vols.; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Comapny, 1965), II, 356. Some sources, including Gayarre, indicated that the Louisiana indigo was inferior to that of the West Indies.

limits of New Orleans. Its cultivation spread to several nearby plantations, but it did not prove a successful crop. Although it was a very sweet variety, the growers failed to develop a granulation process and at best only obtained syrup from the cane. In addition, the cane was susceptible to early frost. The Jesuits abandoned their cane experiments in 1766. Several other planters continued to grow the cane, but used it only for syrup and taffia, a rum type beverage.[6]

Several other agricultural products were grown in small quantities during the French period. Figs were introduced in the early years and produced well. Some citrus trees were brought from the West Indies, but, although they bore quality fruit, they were periodically killed during periods of unusual cold. Cotton was a common crop, but individual farmers raised only small amounts for their own use to make clothing. The expense of removing seeds from the lint by hand labor prohibited its extensive cultivation.[7]

Stagnation seemed to pervade French Louisiana. The Company of the Indies, unable to profit from its venture, returned the colony to the French government in 1731. Under royal administration the colony did no better than under private control. In the main it survived with subsistence agriculture and only a few large plantations which cultivated indigo dominated the scene.

C. The Spanish Period

1. Agriculture and Immigration

As compensation for its losses during the Seven Years' War, France ceded to its ally Spain all of its territory west of the

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6. Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 158, 228; Mark Schmitz, "Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1974, University of North Carolina), pp. 12-13.

7. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, p. 125; Du Pratz, History of Louisiana, p. 174; Gayarre, History of Louisiana, I, 469; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 168.

Mississippi River and the Isle of Orleans (New Orleans) in the Treaty of Fontainebleau dated November 3, 1762. The main object of the new Spanish administrators was to produce revenue at least equal to that of government expenditures. Accomplishing that end required expanded agricultural production. At first agriculture fared no better than it had during the French period. The Spanish, however, took a different approach to the problem from that of the French. Instead of mainly restricting settlement to only those farmers of their own nationality, they welcomed immigrants from other countries. By the late 1760s Acadians, having been cast out of Nova Scotia by the British, began to arrive and settle in the area just above the German settlements. Over the succeeding thirty years they came by the hundreds and thousands. Although mostly subsistence farmers, their presence caused an increase in agricultural production. The "Cajuns," as the Acadians were called, raised rice, vegetables, and cattle.[8]

Other peoples came to Louisiana as well. A group of Islenos from the Canary Islands arrived in the mid-1780s, located just below New Orleans at Terre aux Boeufs, and began raising vegetables for the New Orleans markets. By 1787 the Spanish even encouraged American settlers who came in small numbers. British loyalists from Virginia and the Carolinas relocated on the highlands of the Felicianas along the east bank of the Mississippi then controlled by the English. They brought tobacco with them and raised it as their major crop. As a result, they contributed some intercourse to boost the area economy, especially after Spain recovered the Floridas in 1783.[9]

2. Plantations

The Spanish also granted plantation lands to arriving French and Spanish planters. These tracts of ground were the same size

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8. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 179; Kniffen, Louisiana Its Land and People, p. 127; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 295.

9. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 295; Kniffen, Louisiana Its Land and People, p. 126; Marietta Marie Le Breton, "A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1969, Louisiana State University), p. 16.

as those given by the French--four arpents wide fronting on the river and forty arpents deep. (One arpent was equal to eighty-five percent of an acre.) Plantations began to appear south of English Turn below New Orleans and spread above that city to the German settlements. Most of the plantations below English Turn tended to be moderate in size and owned by men of moderate means. The increasing number of slaves brought to Louisiana also accounted for the incremental rise in the quantity of plantations after 1760. Although a few slaves had been brought to Louisiana by 1720, most of the early settlers either were not interested in a slave supported agricultural system or did not have the means to purchase them. In addition, the French government tended to discourage the introduction of slavery into the colony until the later years of its administration. Indigo remained the chief crop on plantations until the 1790s, although some rice was raised as well.[10]

D. The Rise of Sugar Cane and Cotton, 1795-1861

1. Experimentation with Sugar Cane

The reliance on indigo as the main cash crop in the agricultural economy almost prostrated Louisiana towards the end of the eighteenth century. By 1790 several seasons of poor weather had caused production to drop. Then in 1793 and 1794, insects, which had begun to attack the indigo crops, increased in such numbers that nearly every plant was killed. The insects attacked the indigo leaves and left field after field of plants with nothing but naked stems.[11]

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10. James Pitot, Observations on the Colony of Louisiana from 1796 to 1802. Trans. by Henry Pitot (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979) p. 100; Le Breton, "History of the Territory of Orleans," pp. 15-16; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 179; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, pp. 294-95; David D. Davis, et al, "An Archaeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River: Cultural Resources Survey, New Orleans to Venice Hurricane Protection Levee: East Bank Levee Plan," (Tulane University, 1979), pp. 78-79.

11. Gayarre, History of Louisiana, II, 346; Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of Louisiana from the Earliest Period. (James A. Gresham, Publisher, 1882), p. 263.

Fortunately, however, technological advances by the mid-1790s made it possible to profitably plant sugar cane and cotton; thus a shift was made in agricultural production.

Etienne de Bore, convinced that he could granulate sugar, imported a Tahitian variety of sugar cane in 1794 and planted it on his estate, located about six miles above New Orleans in the area presently covered by Audubon Park. When he successfully granulated sugar from the cane the following year and received $12,000 for his crop, a number of other plantation owners emulated him. By 1800 at least seventy-five other planters were growing sugar cane. Because of the capital and labor required to produce sugar, the small farmers were almost entirely excluded from raising sugar cane. As the number of sugar estates increased, more slaves were brought in to meet labor demands. While production spread south of New Orleans, the wealthiest class of planters was found north of that city. The cane's susceptibility to frost limited its growth to about 100 miles above New Orleans. A number of Americans who emigrated into the area after 1803 settled on sugar plantations. As a result, production steadily increased.[12]

After 1820 several other factors influenced a further increase in sugar cane planting and sugar production. In 1817 Jean Coiron imported a ribbon cane from Java as an experiment. When it proved successful both in greater yield and resistance to cold, nearly every sugar planter adapted the new cane and it also spread further north. Steam-powered mills were introduced in 1822 and quickly caught on because the higher power level, as opposed to horse- or mule-driven mills, allowed the mill rollers to be set closer together for greater squeezing of the cane. Increased yields were therefore realized from the same amount of cane. Finally, sugar cane was planted as far north as the Red River area

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12. Schmitz, "Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana," pp. 12-13; Martin, History of Louisiana From the Earliest Period, pp. 263-64; Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 228; Gayarre, History of Louisiana, III, 347-350.

starting in the 1840s. It supplanted cotton on a number of plantations in that region because cotton prices were low at the time, and it was felt that sugar would bring greater profit. The Red River region was the northernmost extent of sugar cane, for cold affected even the more hardy ribbon cane planted above that area. Moreover, soil salinity precluded its being raised below the Pointe a la Hache area south of New Orleans.[13]

2. Increase in Sugar and Cotton Production

As stated above, a great amount of capital and labor was needed to successfully cultivate sugar cane. An extensive system of dykes and drainage ditches was employed to prevent the soil from becoming too saturated with water. In addition, a portion of the land had to be set aside each year on which to bury cane seedlings. The sugar house was probably the most elaborate and expensive part of a sugar plantation's operation. Some were very large structures and could cost as much as $50,000. Small planters, however, used crude sheds for their sugar houses. Three functions were performed in them. The first operation involved crushing and squeezing the cane in a rolling mill to obtain the juice. The second step entailed the purification and treatment of the juice to prepare it for crystallization. Finally, the juice was boiled to cause its granulation and produce its byproduct, molasses. Boiling was initially accomplished in a series of kettles, but by the 1830s a new system of vacuum pans gradually replaced the old method. This process produced a raw brown sugar. Plantation sugar houses did not have the capability to reprocess brown sugar into pure white sugar. There was no need, however, for further refining since most of the antebellum population found brown sugar sufficient for its needs.[14]

Cotton and sugar cane formed the twin pillars of Louisiana agriculture during the first half of the nineteenth century. Eli Whitney,

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13. Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 228; Schmitz, "Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana," pp. 14, 25.

14. Schmitz, "Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana," pp. 24-25, 37; Fortier, History of Louisiana, III, 229; Eugene V. Smalley, "Sugar-making in Louisiana," Century Magazine, XXXV (November, 1887), pp. 110-11.

by his perfection in 1794 of a cotton gin that allowed one slave to remove the seeds from fifty pounds of cotton in a single day, made possible the large-scale production of cotton beyond solely subsistence needs. Cotton production caught on in Louisiana about 1800. Since it required less capital and labor to raise cotton than sugar cane, cotton was not restricted to the plantations. Small farmers who owned no slaves also engaged in cotton production, usually on land back from the river. The large cotton plantation system developed on lands adjacent to the Mississippi River with the premier growing area located above Baton Rouge. Cotton replaced tobacco as the predominant crop of that region. The influx of American settlers after the cession of Louisiana to the United States gave the greatest boost to cotton production, for those individuals tended to move to the area from the other southern states. Except for the 1840s, few years passed during the antebellum period that did not bring a corresponding increase in acreage devoted to cotton cultivation. By the 1850s Louisiana had become the third largest producer of cotton in the United States. Cotton had truly become King.[15]

E. Agricultural Development, 1860-1900

1. Effects of the Civil War

Louisiana agriculture suffered greatly during the Civil War, especially in those areas where fighting took place. Sugar cane production almost ceased to exist. Many of the sugar plantation owners joined the Confederate army and liberally bought war bonds, thus reducing their capital required to grow sugar cane. When the Union navy approached New Orleans early in 1862, banks sent their gold and other assets to Confederate-controlled areas. Consequently, money became almost unavailable to everyone. Lack of adequate labor also presented a problem when the slaves were freed in Union-held areas of Louisiana in 1863.

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15. John G. Clark, "The Role of the City Government in the Economic Development of New Orleans: Cabildo and City Council, 1783-1812," in John Francis McDermott (ed.), The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley 1762-1804 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 137; Le Breton, "History of the Territory of Orleans," p. 19.

Cotton production did not diminish as drastically as sugar. Much of that region of Louisiana remained in Confederate hands into early 1864, and cotton farmers sent their crops overland through Confederate areas of Texas to Mexico. With the fall of Vicksburg in mid-1863 and the Red River campaign of early 1864, all of Louisiana came under Union control. Those actions, especially the latter, further disrupted the cotton economy and caused a reduction in crop yield. By the harvest of 1864, a cotton farmer wishing to sell his crop had to deliver most of it to Union merchants. Most regional merchants had so depleted their money in support of the Confederacy that they lacked the funds to compete in the trade. Furthermore, the Federals restrained what efforts they made. As a result, most cotton farmers faced with the choice of selling to Union merchants or not selling their crop, chose to ignore their Confederate sympathies and accepted the Union dollars.[16]

2. Rebuilding Agriculture in the Post-War Years

Cotton farmers did not suffer as badly as sugarcane planters from the Civil War. Not requiring as much capital and labor, the cotton producers rapidly brought their acreage back into production and by 1870 had reached the yield level obtained in the late 1850s. Production continued to increase through the remainder of the century. Sugar cane planters, on the other hand, were devastated by the war. About seventy-five percent of the pre-war sugar plantation owners sold their holdings or lost them to banks for non-payment of debts. Twenty-five percent of the estates were purchased by northerners. Unable to return to sugar production after the war, many of the plantation owners turned to growing rice. Consequently, the state's rice crop increased dramatically. Rice production along the Mississippi River remained high until the mid-1880s. After 1885 rice cultivation gradually shifted from the river to the prairie of southwest Louisiana and by 1900 only twenty-five percent of the rice was grown along the river as compared to ninety-three percent two decades earlier.

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16. Gerald M. Capers, Occupied City: New Orleans Under the Federals, 1862-1865 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 152-55, 168-70.

Citrus production also increased after the war and groves of orange trees began to appear along the river below New Orleans. A grove of 125,000 trees was planted about fifty miles south of the city in 1867. Thus, as rice production shifted away from the river in Plaquemines Parish, it was not wholly replaced by sugar cane, but by citrus groves. Several large sugar plantations, however, did exist in the Plaquemines area. They came about after the war as amalgamations of smaller pre-war plantations. Among them was Magnolia Plantation, which was known throughout Louisiana for having the best machinery and the latest sugar making process. Magnolia Plantation was located on the west bank about a mile and a half below the present town of West Pointe a la Hache. Above New Orleans sugar cane came back as a general crop during the years 1885-90 and remained through the end of the century.[17]

F. Agricultural Diversification in the Twentieth Century

Whereas in previous centuries Louisiana planters restricted their agricultural efforts to two or three major crops (indigo and rice at first, followed by sugar cane, cotton, and rice), the twentieth century brought considerable diversification in farming practices. Diversification had been advocated as early as the 1840s by such agricultural magazines as DeBow's which warned that reliance upon one or two crops could spell economic disaster for the state if a general crop failure occurred. Little

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17. Edward King, The Great South: A Record of Journeys in Louisiana, Texas, the Indian Territory, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1875), p. 51; Smalley, "Sugar-Making in Louisiana," pp. 113, 119; Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIII (April, 1940), pp. 579-80; Chan, "Culture History of Rice with Special Reference to Louisiana," pp. 128, 151, 155; Emma C. Richey and Evelina P. Kean, The New Orleans Book (New Orleans: L. Graham Company, 1915), p. 93; Willard Glazier, Down the Great River; Embracing an Account of the Discovery of the True Source of the Mississippi, Together with Views, Descriptive and Pictorial, of the Cities, Towns, Villages and Scenery on the Banks of the River, as seen During a Canoe Voyage of over Three Thousand Miles from its Head Waters to the Gulf of Mexico (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros. 1892), pp. 428-29.

notice was given to such advice, however, until the present century. After 1900 some old crops became less important and many new crops were introduced.[18]

In the immediate area north of New Orleans from 1900 to 1915 many of the old sugar cane plantations were sold and the new owners began to operate dairy farms in their place. These as well as many other farms along the river between New Orleans and Baton Rouge have since given way to industrial plants. Below New Orleans, however, citrus groves continued to flourish until oranges became the prime crop there. By the 1920s truck farming had come into its own with such produce as beans, cabbages, watermelons, beets, cucumbers, strawberries, tomatoes, onions, sweet potatoes, and garlic raised for shipment to northern markets. As for the older crops, acreage for sugar cane and cotton has decreased somewhat, especially since World War II, and land for rice has remained stable. Sugar cane is no longer grown below the St. Charles/Jefferson parish boundary.[19]

Other new crops have been introduced and some of the ones previously raised for subsistence purposes have become popular cash staples. More livestock such as cattle and hogs is produced. Federal acreage controls on sugar cane, rice, and cotton led many farmers into cattle raising. In some areas, such as Plaquemines Parish, the cattle graze on the levees and dairy products have become a valuable commodity. Chicken farms produce considerable quantities of broilers and eggs. Land left over from timber company operations of the early part of the century, previously considered unfit for general farming, have been developed into tree farms. Pecan and peach orchards have also proven

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18. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, pp. 171-72.

19. Leo Polopolus, "Louisiana Agriculture: Economic Trends and Current Status," (Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Bulletin No. 550, January, 1962), pp. 22, 25, 27; Richey and Kean, New Orleans Book, p. 91; J.P. Montgomery, "Agricultural Statistics for Louisiana, 1909-1957," (Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Bulletin No. 519, December, 1958), pp. 18-19; Henry J. Thoede, History of Jefferson Parish and Its People, (Gretna, La.: Distinctive Printing, 1976), p. 70.

their value, while new crops such as as tung nuts and soybeans have been introduced since the 1920s. Soybean production made such tremendous gains that soybeans became the leading crop in acreage in the 1960s.[20]

Technology in the twentieth century has probably done more to change the appearance of Louisiana agriculture than any other stimulus. Individual farms have become larger in size and require less labor as mechanization has progressed. Mechanization has also affected tenant farms since World War II as these small tracts of land have been steadily incorporated into the landowners' single larger unit. Bottom lands have been more extensively farmed as better drainage methods have been introduced. Although industrial growth has received much attention in the past thirty years, agriculture still remains economically important. In fact, diversification in agriculture has helped promote industrial growth.[21]

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20. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, pp. 171-72.

21. Ibid., pp. 172-74.

CHAPTER VII: TRADE AND INDUSTRY ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI

During the prehistoric period aboriginal man quarried flint from the upper regions of the Mississippi. The obtained stone, either unrefined or worked into arrowheads, hatchet blades, needles, and fishhooks, was transported downstream to be exchanged for such items as salt and trade goods from Mexico and Central America. Such trading expeditions took advantage of natural oxbows in the river to create portages across sections like at "Pointe Coupee." At various times, these prehistoric trade routes extended from near the Great Lakes down to Meso-America.[1]

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1. A large volume of work about the river trade has been written over the years. All general histories of Louisiana mentioned in earlier chapters contain sections on trade and the same is true of published parish histories. For more extensive information on New Orleans and its commerce, see John G. Clark, New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969); Merl Elwyn Reed, New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966); Claude Hunter Babin, "The Economic Expansion of New Orleans Before the Civil War" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1953, Tulane University); and H.S. Herring, History of the New Orleans Board of Trade Limited, 1880-1930 (New Orleans: Privately published, 1930). For specific information concerning trade during the colonial period, see Daniel Henry Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University); Nancy Miller Surrey, The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1699-1763, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, LXXI, No. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916); Jacob M. Price, France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades (2 vols.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973); Richard Carmelo Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade: 1789-1803" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1959, University of Pennsylvania); Ruth Ameda King, "Social and Economic Life in Spanish Louisiana, 1763-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1931, University of Illinois); Clarence Walworth Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution (2 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917); and Arthur Preston Whitakers, The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics and Diplomacy (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962). For information on the lumber industry see John A. Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley and New Orleans, 1800-1860," Louisiana History,

A. The French Trade

The earliest European explorers were unaware of the extensive Indian trading system which utilized the Mississippi River. Yet they envisioned a vast commercial empire in Louisiana based on the rich natural resources of the land and water. Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, portrayed the land as possessing silver mines along the Mississippi besides an unexploited wilderness containing enough natural resources that ships could be completely built in Louisiana with only the requisite iron being imported from France. La Salle further believed that a colony established near the mouth of the Mississippi would serve as a port for the transfer of furs brought from the Great Lakes and destined for European markets.[2]

The importance of the Mississippi as a trade route between the Great Lakes and the ocean gained so much favor in France that one imaginative mapmaker in 1687 even depicted a trail running from Lake Superior down various tributaries to the Mississippi and following the east bank of the river down to the vicinity of modern New Orleans. After the death of La Salle, French authorities continued to favor the development of the Mississippi as the primary trade route to the Great Lakes. Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, ascending the river in 1699 sought out area Indian tribes to make treaties for trade and friendship. On this first

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1. (cont'd) XIII (Winter, 1972), pp. 71-91; John Hebron Moore, Andrew Brown and Cypress Lumbering in the Old Southwest (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); and Walter C. Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," University of Missouri Business and Economic Review, I (July-August, 1960), p. 21.

2. Carl A. Brasseux (ed., trans.), A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean Jacques Blaise d'Abbadie (Lafayette, La.: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1979), p. 2; Frederic Austin Ogg, The Opening of the Mississippi: A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 92; Benjamin Franklin French (ed., trans.), Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing the Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of that State Compiled with Historical and Biographical Notes (5 vols.; New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846), I, 39-40.

journey upriver the French dispursed presents of knives, beads, and hatchets to the Indians and in exchange received animal pelts and food.[3]

The French soon discovered that other Europeans were trading with the Indians, too. English traders from Carolina had reached the Mississippi offering the Chickasaws, Creeks, and Natchez the prospect of obtaining guns and ammunition in return for Indian slaves and deerskins. In difficult trading situations the English were not averse to using liquor to promote commerce with the tribes. All European traders occasionally resorted to dispensing firearms and liquor to the Indians as trade for pelts. Colonial governments officially deplored such activities, but were ineffective in stopping it.[4]

The Indian-European trade consisted of much more than hides, liquor and firearms. The fledgling colony depended on the Indians for meat and vegetables and the tribesmen taught the colonists how to cultivate maize which became an early export item from the colony. Settlers exchanged blankets, knives, awls, ammunition, axes, kettles, glass beads and other manufactured goods to the Indians and received deerskins, beaver plews, tallow, bear oil, fish, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. Deerskins and animal furs were exported by the thousands to Europe. These

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3. Josephine G. Keller, "Early Roads in the Parishes of East and West Feliciana and East Baton Rouge" (unpublished master thesis dated 1936, Louisiana State University), p. 6; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 172; Brasseux, Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762, pp. 40-43.

4. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 186, 197; Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana. Trans. by Joseph C. Lambert (4 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), pp. 12, 77-78, 82-83, 85-86; Daniel Henry Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University), p. 2; Clarence Alvard Walworth, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution (2 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917), I, 184; William Oscar Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Baton Rouge: Ortieb's Printing House, 1911), pp. 6-9.

commodities came both from traders who traveled among the Indians in the lower Mississippi Valley purchasing furs and those who brought canoes and flatboats loaded with Great Lakes furs down the Mississippi. Henry de Tonti was the first of the Canadian and Illinois traders to make the journey downstream, arriving in February, 1700, with several canoes of furs before Fort de la Boulaye which was still under construction. The furs were gathered in the fall and winter. Taking advantage of spring flood tides, the traders would assemble convoys of between two and twenty boats to journey down the Mississippi. The trip took from twelve to twenty days and the return journey lasted up to four months. By then it was time to commence the winter trapping season. The early voyageurs would leave the Mississippi at Bayou Manchac following a water route to Mobile where the furs were marketed. New Orleans later replaced Mobile as the center of colonial trade.[5]

With the coming of settlers, the variety of exports from the colony increased. French colonial officials found cotton, nuts, mulberry trees, salt, slate, coal, and apple trees in the new colony. They believed a market could be created for all these items with the mulberry trees used for making silk and the nuts for producing oil. They further hoped to encourage settlers to plant vines for wine and cider, and olive trees for olives and oil. The settlers first planted maize, rice, and vegetables, and after an adequate food supply was obtained silk, cotton, indigo, and tobacco were produced. In the New Orleans area indigo became the principle crop for export while tobacco became the main export crop in the Pointe Coupee area. Indigo may have been grown as early as 1709, although the Jesuits are credited with introducing the plant in 1729. As

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5. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783," pp. 3-4, 81, 90, 156, 190, 215, 237; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 100, 201; Alcee Fortier, Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons. Arranged in Cyclopedic Form (3 vols.; Century Historical Association, 1914), I, 451; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, 185-86; Henry E. Chambers, "Early Commercial Prestige of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V (October, 1922), pp. 452-53; Thomas D. Watson, "A Scheme Gone Awry: Bernardo de Galvez, Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, and the Southern Indian Trade," Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1976), p. 7; Lyle Saxon, Father Mississippi (New York: Century Company, 1927), p. 236.

the land was cleared and cultivated, lumber became an exportable item along with tar, pitch, beans, peas and sassafras.[6]

Nonetheless, exports from the colony were not producing the profits the crown had anticipated. Therefore, Louis XIV, in order to cut his financial losses, granted the administration of the colony to the wealthy merchant Antoine Crozat in 1712. As part of the agreement, Crozat received exclusive trading rights in Louisiana, except for the beaver trade, for a period of fifteen years. All those who wished to trade with colonists or Indians could do so only after obtaining permission from Crozat or his representatives. Among other privileges granted Crozat was exclusive control over the slave trade which he used to bring blacks to Louisiana. The bestowal of trade privileges to one person only encouraged smuggling in the distant colony as enterprising individuals sought to circumvent trade restrictions. Crozat's agents found it nearly impossible to stop this illegal commerce.[7]

Crozat appointed Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac to serve as Governor of Louisiana. Upon his arrival in the province, Cadillac forbade the practice of trading with the Spanish in Pensacola and tripled the cost of certain merchandise for colonists and Indians. In addition, the maximum price for deerskins was set at one livre. In France the deerskins could be sold for twice that price. Cadillac also took measures designed to replace the colony's dependence on hunting and trapping with agricultural

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6. French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, I, 40; John Preston Moore, Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), p. 31; Tom Ireland, "Vieux Carre Ethnographic Overview: A Study Submitted to the National Park Service" (unpublished manuscript dated 1980, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), pp. 12-13; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 136; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 235; Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of Louisiana: The Earliest Period (New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1882; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), p. 205.

7. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 304; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 201; New Orleans, Louisiana State Museum, French Manuscripts of the Mississippi Valley, 1679-1769, pp. 12-13.

endeavors. In this regard, the Governor sought to make Louisiana self-sufficient by urging the colonists to plant maize instead of tobacco and indigo. He also encouraged the raising of livestock to the same end.[8]

Eventually Governor Cadillac turned his attention to increasing commercial activity with the Indians. In so doing he had to counter inroads made by the British traders. The French traders' influence among the Indian tribes slowly began to improve despite the parsimony of French officials in gift giving and the abrasive personality of Cadillac. But the British helped bring about their own downfall when they began to cheat the Indians and purchase Indian slaves, thereby fomenting intertribal warfare. Their day of reckoning came with the outbreak of the Yamasee War in April, 1715, which resulted in the pillaging of British warehouses and the murder of British traders. A year before the uprising the French had established a warehouse near the Natchez to store deerskins and gifts and to keep a check on British slave raiders. Then in 1715 the French decided to liberalize the permit system for traders and thereby stop the clandestine activities of Canadian trappers on the lower Mississippi. Yet these efforts did not produce enough improvement in trade to make the colony a profitable venture and in August, 1717, Crozat relinquished all rights and privileges back to the French government.[9] The crown quickly regranted Louisiana to John Law and the Western Company for a term of twenty-five years beginning January 1, 1718. As before, the company received exclusive trading rights with the colony. By 1720 Law's financial empire in France had also collapsed and he fled the country. Louisiana remained under company

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8. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 7; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 305.

9. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 26; Giraud, History of French Louisiana, I, 325, 351; Scroggs, Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 10-11; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 8; Joseph Wallace, The History of Illinois Under the French Rule Embracing a General View of the Dominion in North America with some Account of the English Occupation of Illinois (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1899), pp. 240-41.

control until 1731, when the colony was returned to the crown's administration.[10]

During the years of company rule of Louisiana imports and exports began to grow and diversify. After 1720 Louisiana merchants were shipping lumber, beef, tar, and pitch in return for sugar, coffee, rum, drugs, and spices. The Louisiana traders were required by government officials to trade only with France after gaining company approval. As European wars sporadically disrupted trade between France and the colony, the Governor at such times allowed trading to be carried on with Spanish and British colonies on a temporary basis. The importance of this trade was such that the colonists resorted to smuggling in order to maintain these trading opportunities even after the Governor revoked the privilege. To prevent this illegal trade the King of France ordered his subjects to pursue and capture all foreign or French vessels which persisted in such commerce. But the order had little impact on Louisiana smuggling. In the area of legal trade, indigo production remained important with about fifteen planters in the New Orleans area being the principal producers of the commodity through the 1730s. Tobacco also remained important, and to a lesser extent cotton, tar, lumber, rice, citrus products, vegetables, and wax comprised lucrative trade items.[11]

The other significant aspect of colonial commerce was the Indian trade. In the 1720s Louisiana was exporting 8,000 pounds of deerskins annually, a figure that steadily increased to 20,000 pounds by the 1760s. The Choctaws and French established an exchange rate for deerskins in 1721. The rate for one gun was twenty dressed deerskins, while a

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10. Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 252; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 114-15; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana, (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant and Company, 1904), p. 118; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 306.

11. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 32; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 84, 109, 118; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 114-15, 137-38.

tomahawk or blanket could be obtained for two dressed skins. These rates were renegotiated from time to time by the colonists or concerned tribal leaders. The traders also procured horses, tallow, bear skins and buffalo hides from the Indians. When the company surrendered its charter the value of the fur trade alone was established at $62,000. Up to sixty-five percent of this total consisted of furs brought downstream from Canada.[12]

At this time the province also contained an embryonic road system benefiting commerce with a principal artery existing between Baton Rouge and Natchez. By the end of the French occupation in 1763 a coach road had been established along the river for fifty miles below New Orleans. The river, however, provided the main transportation route for commerce and travel in the province.[13]

To further encourage trade, the King in 1737 issued an ordinance permitting direct commerce between Louisiana and the French West Indies. These Caribbean isles became valuable trading centers and by 1763 were importing over $60,000 worth of Louisiana lumber, tar, and pitch, a figure representing twenty-five percent of the colony's total exports. The most prosperous years for French Louisiana occurred between 1749 and 1755 when the fur trade annually averaged 616 million livres income for the colony. During these years between thirty and forty percent of this trade was with the French West Indies. From these Caribbean isles

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12. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 217-18, 227; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 236-37; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 343; Le Page Du Pratz, The History of Louisiana or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing a Description of the Countries that lie on both sides of the River Mississippi: With an Account of the Settlement, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate and Products (London: T. Beckett and T.A. Font, 1774; reprint, New Orleans: J.S.W. Harmanson, 1947), pp. 178-79.

13. John G. Clark, "New Orleans: Its First Century of Economic Development," Louisiana History, X (Winter, 1969), p. 39; Josephine G. Keller, "Early Roads in the Parishes of East and West Feliciana and East Baton Rouge" (unpublished master thesis dated 1936, Louisiana State University), pp. 7, 9, 10.

colony traders purchased rum, sugar, and other tropical items for sale in Louisiana.[14]

As early as 1744 the Jesuits had brought small amounts of sugar cane from Santo Domingo to raise in their garden plots in Louisiana, but it was not until the 1750s that sugar cane was grown on plantations. In 1758 Joseph Dubreuil established a sugar plantation and mill and in 1765 the first shipload of crude sugar was sent to France. Thirty years later the first successful commercial granulation of sugar by Etienne Bore occurred.[15] Yet the major staple of the French colony continued to be the fur trade which remained dominant despite strong competition from British traders and the disrupting impact of the Natchez war. For a number of years after the Natchez were defeated river transportation remained risky because of sporadic raids by remnant Natchez and their allies. To alleviate hazards on the journey, traders formed convoys of boats when descending the Mississippi late in the year. By 1763, furs being brought down river to New Orleans were valued at $80,000.[16]

As a result of the French and Indian War, Louisiana was divided between the British and Spanish with the latter receiving New Orleans and both banks of the Mississippi up to Bayou Manchac. From this point north, Spain obtained only the west bank while the British took over the

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14. Clark, "New Orleans: Its First Century of Economic Development," pp. 39-40, 42; John A. Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley and New Orleans, 1800-1860," Louisiana History, XIII (Winter, 1972), p. 71; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 107; Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 104.

15. Frank H. Tompkins, Riparian Lands of the Mississippi River Past, Present, Prospective (New Orleans: Frank Tompkins, 1901), p. 552; Wallace, History of Illinois Under the French Rule, p. 297; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 133.

16. Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 25, 127-28, 225; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 451-52, 560-61; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 236-37.

east bank of the river. Both Britain and Spain held navigation rights to the Mississippi, as was confirmed in the Treaty of Paris in 1763.[17]

B. The British Trade

The British were first to establish themselves in the new territory. Not only were the Spanish slow to send a representative to their possession, but once there a revolt by French inhabitants kept Spain at bay until 1769, when Count Alexander O'Reilly arrived with soldiers to firmly establish Spanish rule in Louisiana. Much to his disgust, O'Reilly found New Orleans filled with British traders openly selling goods in the city. He quickly drove these merchants away and closed the port of New Orleans to the British.[18] The action had little effect on the trade since the British had warehouses at Bayou Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez besides the right to ply the Mississippi without Spanish interference. British captains moored their vessels at a spot above New Orleans near present Lafitte where they proceeded to sell merchandise to all. The British also fixed up two vessels as floating stores to move up and down the river selling goods and slaves. The British policy of permitting such activities proved economically beneficial to British West Florida but detrimental to Spanish Louisiana. Spanish government officials either overlooked the illegal trade or were unable to suppress it. Even French vessels sailed under the British flag in order to continue commerce with the province. Finally, in 1777 Bernardo de Galvez took charge of Spanish Louisiana and exerted more effort than his predecessors in halting such commerce. His efforts began with the

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17. Clarence Walworth Alvard, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution (2 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1917), I, 71-73; E. Wilson Lyon, Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 24; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 162; Rose Meyers, A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 22, 71.

18. Alvard, Mississippi Valley in British Politics, I, 306; Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 64; Arthur Preston Whitaker, The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), p. 82.

seizure of eleven British vessels in 1777 and culminated with the Spanish conquest of the east bank of the Mississippi three years later.[19]

British merchants proved more successful than Spanish traders in supplying goods to the colonists, but this was not true for those British who traded with the Indian tribes. French traders learning of the territorial transfer encouraged the Indians to trade with the Spanish, to resist the imposition of British rule, and to resettle in Spanish Territory. Following this advice, the Indians drove the British away from Bayou Manchac in 1764 and it was not until the next year that they successfully established themselves on the east bank of the Mississippi River. The British soon issued regulations governing the Indian trade, including provisions forbidding the sale of liquor and rifled guns to the tribesmen. Fines were established to be imposed on trespassing Spanish and French traders found in British territory. But these measures did little to deter French and Spanish traders from dealing with tribes in British territory. At New Orleans traders obtained ten to fifteen percent more for their furs than at British ports, and so Spanish, French, and even British traders opted to sell their furs in the Spanish capital. The British attempted to counter the attraction of New Orleans by offering a bounty on skins shipped directly to the east, but this did not stem the steady stream of canoes, rafts and barges going down to New Orleans.[20]

C. The Spanish Trade

Upon the transfer of Louisiana in 1763 Spanish authorities began to plan implementation of a mercantile system which would separate

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19. Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, pp. 24-25, 46-47; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 344-45; Henry E. Chambers, West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historic and Political Science, Series XVI, No. 8 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), pp. 20-21; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 17, 37-39, 43, 57.

20. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, pp. 82, 90-91, 110; Alvard, Mississippi Valley in British Politics, I, 222-23, 303, 307; Robert R. Rea, "Redcoats and Redskins on the Lower Mississippi, 1763-1776: The Career of Lt. John Thomas," Louisiana History, XI (Winter, 1970), p. 5; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 352; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 148-49.

the colony from any economic ties with France. Colonists were forbidden to trade with France or the French West Indies without a passport issued by the new government. In 1766 trade was opened between Louisiana and six Spanish ports and in 1768 trade to the French West Indies was prohibited. Prior to Spanish acquisition, New Orleans had provided a port for those engaged in illegal trade with Spanish possessions in Central and South America. Spanish authorities believed that once they controlled New Orleans they could halt this illicit commerce, but their efforts resulted in limited success. Further, Spanish mercantile policy prove economically disastrous for the colony and only promoted smuggling activity. The merchants of Spain showed little interest in purchasing lumber, furs, and indigo from Louisiana, leaving the colony without a viable market for its products. Commercial decline of the colony led Spanish government officials to relent and annually permit two vessels to be admitted to the port of New Orleans from France to engage in trade.[21]

The abrasive personality of the Spanish Governor and the restrictive trade policy led to a rebellion against Spanish rule in Louisiana in 1768. The revolt was suppressed by O'Reilly and Spanish rule was shortly reimposed on the colony. In an effort to improve Louisiana's economy O'Reilly recommended that the colony be allowed free trade with Havana and Spain. Despite these concessions, however, trade in Louisiana continued to decline. The lumber industry was hit particularly hard by the Spanish regulations until a relaxation of trade restrictions occurred in 1778. A number of sawmills were thereafter built along the lower Mississippi for the production of lumber and timber byproducts.[22]

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21. Clark, "New Orleans: Its First Century of Economic Development," pp. 43-44; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 237-238; Wilson, Louisiana in French Diplomacy, pp. 33, 46-47; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 160; II, pp. 10-11; Martin, History of Louisiana, pp. 216-17.

22. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, p. 133; Wilson, Louisiana in French Diplomacy, p. 47; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, pp. 7-8; John A. Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 71-72.

During O'Reilly's tenure Oliver Pollock of Baltimore arrived in New Orleans. After selling his cargo of flour, he received lifetime permission to trade with the city, an event that opened Louisiana to legal commerce with the British colonies. The relationship between the British colonies and the Spanish province only deepened with the beginning of the American Revolution when the Spanish Governor allowed New Orleans to be used for the shipment of arms and ammunition to the colonists. In return, the Spanish received flour, tobacco, and other produce from the disaffected Americans.[23]

Aided by French traders, the Spanish also carried on a lively commerce with Mississippi River Indian tribes. They retained the gift-giving ritual among the tribes, and provided the Indians with cloth, blankets, brass kettles, hatchets, guns, knives, colored ribbons, plumes, tobacco, razors, beads, clothes, and liquor. In return, the Indians furnished the traders with deerskins, buffalo hides, and horses.[24] Meantime, the Spanish government sought to expand the economic base of Louisiana by introducing the growing of hemp and flax. Granada farmers were brought over to Louisiana in 1778 to begin the experiment, which after two years was given up as a failure. The continuing decline of Louisiana trade forced Spanish officials to institute further changes in policy, and in 1778 the Governor allowed exportation of granted Louisiana products to the United States and France and granted passports to trade in Louisiana. This relaxation of restrictions resulted in an increase in numbers of Americans from Ohio and Kentucky seeking exchange in New Orleans. The liberalization of trade in Louisiana was confirmed by the Royal Cedula of January 22, 1782, which opened for ten years trade

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23. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 544; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 239.

24. Moore, Revolt in Louisiana, pp. 15, 88; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 52-53, 55; Thomas D. Watson, "A Scheme Gone Awry: Bernardo de Galvez, Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, and the Southern Indian Tribes," Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1976), pp. 8, 11, 14-15.

between Louisiana and British West Florida and imposed a six percent duty charge on imports from France.[25]

The new trade regulations also increased the issuing of trading permits to merchants desiring business with Philadelphia and soon a flourishing trade evolved between the two cities. Despite the trade between New Orleans and Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, the Spanish refused to recognize the principle that the Mississippi should be permanently opened to the United States even though American flatboats continued to travel to New Orleans. The flatboatmen were required to stop at Spanish posts along the river and allow Spanish authorities to inspect their cargos for contraband items and pay a duty of between six and twenty-five percent on the merchandise. Boatmen found to have evaded one of the Spanish checkpoints, would have their cargos seized and the crew would either be imprisoned or sent back up the river on foot. Flatboats were allowed to make two trips a year downriver to trade with the Spanish. Merchandise brought to New Orleans by sea was moved upriver by Spanish barges and sold to plantation owners. The number of barges plying the river between 1782 and 1803 has been estimated at up to forty a year. Cargo taken upstream included sugar, molasses, coffee, dry goods, and hardware, while downstream barges carried pelts, flour, lead, tobacco, hemp, bacon, pork, beef, apples, whiskey, brandy, cider, beer, iron, lard, cotton, butter, and millstones.[26]

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25. Gilbert C. Din, "Spanish Immigration to a French Land," Louisiana Review, V (Summer, 1976), pp. 70-71; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 57, 59, 97; Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), p. 84; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, p. 81; Watson, "A Scheme Gone Awry," pp. 10-11.

26. Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, p. 373; Martin, History of Louisiana, pp. 260-61; Camelo Richard Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade: 1789-1803" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1957, University of Pennsylvania), pp. 42, 51; Bruce Tyler, "The Mississippi River Trade," Louisiana History, XII (Winter, 1971), pp. 262-63; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 348.

D. The United States and the Mississippi Trade

1. United States-Spanish Trade Relations

The free use of the Mississippi by Americans ended in 1784 when Spain closed the river to all foreign trade. The United States took the position that the river was opened to all nations and continued to press for international guarantees of this principle through diplomatic channels. The closing of the Mississippi meant that all non-Spanish ships entering the river were not allowed to trade or receive supplies or repairs at the port of New Orleans and were placed in quarantine until they were undersail again. To prevent ingress from American rivers, the Spanish halted and placed in isolation at Natchez all American flatboats and rafts. The Spanish believed that the closure of the river would impede the westward expansion of the United States while helping to halt smuggling in Louisiana. But the ban on foreign shipping to Louisiana proved difficult to enforce and Spanish officials occasionally allowed Americans and British ships to trade in New Orleans when their own merchants were unable to fully supply needs of the colony.[27]

Spanish colonial efforts to maintain the closure of the Mississippi continued to falter and by 1786 a thriving business in foodstuffs between America and Spanish Louisiana had developed even though such trade was considered illegal. Trade was conducted by merchants who either came down the Mississippi to New Orleans or sailed around the coast and then upriver to the city. In 1787 James Wilkinson sailed down the Mississippi with a load of tobacco, sold this cargo, and returned unhindered upriver with a load of dry goods. By this event the Spanish colonial government quietly recognized the legitimacy of the United States trade with Louisiana; shortly thereafter a duty of twenty-five percent was levied on goods coming from the United States, a figure reduced to 15 percent in 1788. The Americans purchased flax, indigo, and tobacco, while selling

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27. Tyler, "Mississippi River Trade," pp. 257-61; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," p. 42; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 376-77, 412; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, pp. 98-99; Martin, History of Louisiana, p. 277; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, pp. 79-80; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 240-41.

wheat, whisky, bacon, beef, corn, flour, and dry goods not available in Louisiana.[28] Trade between the western region of the United States and Louisiana gradually increased, leading to the establishment by John Mills and Christopher Strong Stewart of a trading post at the mouth of Bayou Sara Creek. A developing community there soon became a favorite stopping point for American flatboaters. Later, the village of St. Francisville was established on the bluff above the Bayou Sara community and eventually superseded it.[29]

The question over the right of Americans to navigate the Mississippi River became a topic of debate in the United States Congress as well as in the realm of international diplomacy. John Jay, American Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Don Diego de Gardoqui, Spanish minister at Philadelphia, negotiated between 1785 and 1786 to reach agreement on a commercial treaty between Spain and the United States conceding Spain's monopoly over Mississippi River commerce. When this information reached the American people, public sentiment against the treaty ensured its defeat. During this period trade continued between Louisiana and Philadelphia; in 1792, however, only a dozen flatboats travelled down the Mississippi and only one ship sailed from New Orleans to an American port.[30]

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28. Isaac Joslin Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 1789-1813: A Study of American Diplomacy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1918), p. 19; Tyler, "Mississippi River Trade," pp. 261-62, 264-67; Gilbert C. Din, "Proposals and Plans for Colonization in Spanish Louisiana, 1787-1790," Louisiana History, XI (Summer, 1970), pp. 197, 212; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 346; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, p. 84; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 130-31; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," p. 23.

29. Arthur Stanley Clisby, The Story of the West Florida Rebellion (St. Francisville, La.: The St. Francisville Democrat, 1935), p. 18; Miriam G. Reeves, The Felicianas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1967), p. vii.

30. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 163; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," pp. 54, 60; Carmelo Richard Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade in the 1790's," Louisiana History, II (Fall, 1961), pp. 438, 444; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, p. 150.

Spain and France were at war in 1793. The conflict interrupted discussions over renewal of the Royal Cedula of 1782 and the impact of the war was reflected in the new trade orders issued by the Spanish government on June 9, 1793. Citizens of Spanish Louisiana were forbidden to trade with France and the United States. Colonial authorities generally preferred to ignore these regulations and continued commerce with the Americans. The next year the United States negotiated a treaty with Great Britain which was ratified by Congress in 1795 recognizing the right of both countries to navigable rights to the Mississippi. The document was merely a statement of principle since Spain was not a party to the negotiations. But in 1795 the United States and Spain concluded the Treaty of San Lorenzo, also known as the Treaty of Madrid, in which the boundary between the United States and Spanish Louisiana was set at the thirty-first parallel with the western boundary of the United States located in the middle of the Mississippi River. Americans were given free navigation of the river along with the right of deposit at New Orleans, the latter guaranteed for a period of three years.[31]

In 1795, as previously mentioned, Etienne Bore successfully granulated sugar and within five years Louisiana was exporting sugar valued at a quarter of million dollars. Yet in 1795 the main exports of Louisiana remained tobacco, fur, and indigo, although the latter was fast being replaced as a paying crop by sugar. Other exports included rice, timber, and cotton, while the Louisiana merchants imported liquor, spices, and manufactured goods.[32]

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31. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 164, 547-48; Ogg, Opening of the Mississippi, pp. 456-59; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, pp. 84-85, 89; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, pp. 151-52, 162-63, 168; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," pp. 30, 77; Meyers, History of Baton Rouge, p. 65.

32. Whitaker, Mississippi Question, p. 131; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade in the 1790's," p. 437; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 241.

The right of free navigation of the Mississippi granted by the Treaty of Madrid was first exercised by the United States in 1796 when Prudent, commanded by Captain Penfield, arrived at Spanish Balize. The right of deposit was not established until April, 1798. This privilege allowed Americans to leave their goods duty free in New Orleans only if they were not sold in that port. During the first year American merchants deposited cotton, flour, tobacco, furs, lead, iron, pork, beef, and manufactured goods. The right of deposit was temporily withdrawn in 1799 and in 1802.[33]

By 1801 Louisiana's major exports were sugar and cotton, along with moderate amounts of indigo, tobacco, lumber, molasses, rum, rice, and furs. The colony imported goods from Spain and France, with ninety percent of these items being sold from barges, pirogues, or plantation boats below the confluence of the Red River. Wherever tributaries or bayous emptied into the Mississippi, such as at Bayou Sara, water-powered mills were established and pine and cypress lumber was milled. Beginning in 1802 steam sawmills were being built in Louisiana, an innovation that further stimulated the lumber industry. Records in 1801 showed that 450 flatboats, 26 keelboats, 2 schooners, 1 brig and 7 pirogues arrived in the port of New Orleans from the United States. The peak period for moving goods down the Mississippi was between March and June. The period from July to November was a time of sluggish commercial activity with slight acceleration occuring between December and March. By 1802 American ocean-going vessels were sailing up the Mississippi as far as Natchez to obtain cargo. The next year the United States purchased Louisiana from France after the colony had been turned over to that country by treaty with Spain.[34]

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33. Whitaker, Mississippi Question, pp. 52, 86, 89-91, 118, 146; Fortier, Louisiana, I, 346-47; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, p. 172; Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," p. 115.

34. Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the Year 1802. Trans. by John Davis (New York: J. Riley and Co., 1806), p. 145; Fortier, Louisiana , I, 347-48; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, p. 209; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, pp. 91, 146; Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley," pp. 72, 76, 90.

2. Ante-Bellum Trade

Trade increased once the United States took possession of Louisiana. Flatboats descended the Mississippi stopping at plantations and selling potatoes, lard, apples, corn, pork, bacon, wheat, and whiskey. The empty flatboats were then sold for lumber in New Orleans. Boatmen eagerly sought to beat one another downstream each spring because the first boats on the lower Mississippi commanded high prices for the flour and other produce they carried. Prices declined as more vessels arrived to trade.[35] Seasonal cycles thus regulated the river trade, although efforts were made to open the Mississippi to year round commerce. In 1807 an attempt was made to improve the feasibility of upriver travel through use of a horse-driven boat, a venture that failed when the horses became exhausted during the maiden voyage to Natchez. At the same time keelboats started to overtake flatboats as the preferred means of downstream transportation, and in 1812 steamboats were introduced and revolutionized water transportation. Steamboat development occurred slowly because the first engines were incapable of sustained operation against the strong Mississippi current. Moreover, Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston had been granted exclusive rights to manufacture steamboats for the Mississippi by the territorial government of Louisiana, a move that additionally hindered free competition in steamboat development.[36]

Over time other persons built steamboats in defiance of the monopoly and by 1822 eighty-three steamers were plying the waters of the Mississippi. The first steamboat on the Mississippi was the New Orleans in 1812; it sank two years later after hitting a snag in the river.

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35. Henry E. Chambers, "Early Commercial Prestige of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V (October, 1922), p. 456; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, pp. 142-43; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 242-43; Herbert Quick and Edward Quick, Mississippi Steamboating: A History of Steamboating on the Mississippi and Its Tributaries (New York: Holt and Company, 1926), p. 330.

36. Quick and Quick, Mississippi Steamboating, pp. 24, 46; Whitaker, Mississippi Question, p. 244; Henry E. Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings: An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), pp. 309-10.

Meantime, in an attempt to maintain their monopoly, Fulton and Livingston had filed suit against a group of steamboat builders headed by Daniel French and Henry M. Shreve. After prolonged litigation the case against French and Shreve was dismissed in 1817, opening the way to large-scale steamboat development.[37]

During the early years, cotton constituted but a small part of the commerce taken down the Mississippi. Breadstuff, lumber and its byproducts, and tobacco remained the major items brought downriver. Despite the invention of the steamboat, the vast majority of downriver traffic continued to use barges and boats. In the 1820s keelboats operated from Louisville to New Orleans making two round trips a year. Regularly scheduled trips to Baton Rouge began in 1820 and within a decade steamships began dominating river traffic with some making up to eight round trips annually. During the 1830s regular steamboat runs were established between St. Louis and New Orleans. When the Civil War erupted steamboats were capable of making twelve round trips a year on the river and cotton dominated the export market.[38]

With the coming of the 1830s railroads began to be constructed as auxiliaries to river transportation. Designed to carry agricultural and forest products to the river, their benefits were readily apparent. The Pontchartrain Railroad began operation on April 23, 1831, running between New Orleans and Milneburg. Port Jackson on the river was becoming too congested and the Louisiana legislature in 1832 responded, creating Port Hudson; shortly afterwards a railway was constructed from Clinton to Port Hudson and in 1834 three steamboats regularly served the

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37. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 73, 351; Chambers, "Early Commercial Prestige of New Orleans," pp. 460-61; Walter C. Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," University of Missouri Business and Economic Review, I (July-August, 1960), pp. 21-22; Haiter Eric Frisco, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1969, Purdue University), pp. 34-35.

38. Frisco, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation," pp. 36, 45, 68; Quick and Quick, Mississippi Steamboating, p. 168.

commercial needs of the port. The Port Hudson railway operated until 1858 when liquidation proceedings were initiated. Other regional railroads included one chartered in 1834 between Bayou Terre aux Boeuf and the Mississippi, and one in 1835, the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad, chartered for the purpose of connecting the cities into a commercial network. In 1837 a railroad was built from Alexandria to Bayou Hauffpauer for the purpose of transporting sugar and cotton to steamboats on Red River. All the railroad activity helped to make New Orleans rival New York City as the premier American port by 1839. The opening of the Erie and other canals to barge traffic diverted commercial activity away from the Mississippi River, as the canals provided cheaper means of transporting goods to the east and midwest. And railroads, such as one built from Woodville, Mississippi, to Bayou Sara in the 1840s, additionally turned trade away from river transportation.[39]

Before the Civil War the large planters in Louisiana constructed docks enabling steamboats to stop near their plantations; smaller plantation owners relied on towns like Baton Rouge and Donaldsonville, with rail terminals and docks, to serve their needs. Railroads gave planters the option of transporting the crops directly to the Atlantic Coast. (In the decade prior to the Civil War numerous area railroads were authorized by the various state legislatures, including the Mississippi and Pacific; the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western; the Baton Rouge and Clinton; the New Orleans, Shreveport and Kansas; and the New Orleans and Mobile.) Northern railways also siphoned off trade that formerly would have gone downriver by boat or barge to New Orleans. The railroads of the lower Mississippi diverted cotton crops from northern Alabama and eastern Tennessee away from the New Orleans market. In spite of the encroachment of the railways on regional economy, New Orleans was still a bustling city with cotton, sugar,

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39. Henry Skipwith, East Feliciana, Past and Present Sketches of the Pioneers (New Orleans: Hopkins Printing Office, 1892; reprint, Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1957), p. 10; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 340, 342; Quick and Quick, Mississippi Steamboating, p. 100; Saxon, Father Mississippi, pp. 246-47; Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," p. 22; Frisco, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation," pp. 18, 21.

lumber, and slaves the major trade items. The year 1859 saw the largest commercial receipts ever in New Orleans.[40]

The bombardment of Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, opened the Civil War. Louisiana had seceded from the Union almost three months earlier, on January 26, 1861. As part of the northern strategy to win the war, President Abraham Lincoln ordered the blockade of all Southern ports to stop all overseas commerce with the Confederacy and thereby restrict the Southern economy. New Orleans residents learned of the Union blockade on April 15 and the Federal ship Brooklyn anchored off Pass a Loutre on May 26, 1861. That summer, a traditionally slow period for commerce, the merchants of New Orleans did not feel the full effect of the Union blockade, but by December many were forced to suspend business due to their inability to transport or receive goods. Then on April 24, 1862, the Union fleet sailed past Forts Jackson and St. Philip and New Orleans fell to the Federal command five days later. Union forces captured Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, securing the Mississippi from the Confederacy. By the end of the war in April, 1865, the Mississippi trade was devastated. Plantations had been destroyed, commerce had declined seventy to ninety percent from pre-war standards, levees had been neglected, and navigation hazards posed extreme dangers to river shipping. In short, Louisiana was economically prostrated.[41]

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40. Mark Schmitz, "Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1974, University of North Carolina), p. 97; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 343-44; Richard Tansey, "Southern Expansionism: Urban Interests in the Cuban Filibuster," Plantation Society, I (June, 1979), pp. 229-30; Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in the Lower Mississippi Valley," p. 86; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 249; Frisco, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation," p. 137; Charles P. Roland, "Louisiana Sugar Plantations During the Civil War" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1951, Louisiana State University), p. 112.

41. Dale A. Somers (ed.), "New Orleans at War: A Merchant's View," Louisiana History, XIV (Winter, 1973), pp. 49-50; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 250; Roland, "Louisiana Sugar Plantations During the Civil War," p. iv.

3. Post-Civil War Commerce

The next decade comprised a period of depression for the South. New Orleans merchants suffered greatly during Reconstruction and vied for what trade remained with railroads offering direct access to eastern markets. Low water and silting in the river kept larger ocean vessels from reaching New Orleans and further hindered commerce on the Mississippi. In an effort at self-help, two organizations were formed for the promotion of the river trade in 1880, the New Orleans Maritime Association and the New Orleans Produce Exchange. The former eventually merged with the Maritime and Merchants Exchange while the latter became the New Orleans Board of Trade in 1889.[42]

In 1880 the New Orleans riverfront contained only open wharves measuring between 1,000 and 1,500 feet in length. There was but one receiving shed and cotton was stacked in the open. The New Orleans Maritime Association, composed of some thirty-three businessmen, sought to improve the dock and river facilities. Their efforts resulted in a series of regulations being published in December, 1884, governing business transactions between merchants and shippers.[43] Total tonnage of commerce on the river between St. Louis and New Orleans in 1890 was slightly more than six million tons. Principal commodities shipped consisted of cotton bales, cottonseed, sugar, molasses, lumber, and logs. The New Orleans Board of Trade believed that a substantial increase in shipping might be obtained if levees along the river were improved, the port facilities upgraded and increased, and the freight rates made more equitable. In an effort to upgrade river facilities, the organization sought to have New Orleans selected in 1889 for a navy yard. Meanwhile

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42. Burton I. Kaufman, "New Orleans and the Panama Canal, 1900-1914," Louisiana History, XIV (Fall, 1973), pp. 333-34; Saxon, Father Mississippi, p. 248; Frank H. Tompkins, Riparian Lands of the Mississippi Past-Present-Prospective (New Orleans: Frank Tompkins, 1901), pp. 204-05; H.S. Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade Limited, 1880-1930 (New Orleans, n.d.), p. 31.

43. Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade, pp. 31-33, 37-38.

river commerce continued to decline. By the 1890s Bayou Sara had fallen off in importance as St. Francisville became the railroad shipping center for cattle and agricultural produce in the area.[44]

4. Lower River Trade in the Twentieth Century

One problem that New Orleans merchants faced in having wharf facilities upgraded was that the wharves were leased from the city by private corporations with little interest in long-range improvements. The Board of Trade began working toward obtaining public control of these wharves, and though an ordinance for that purpose was passed by the New Orleans City Council, it was repealed by an incoming administration before it could take effect. The Louisiana state legislature then passed a bill placing the wharves of New Orleans under the control of a Board of Port Commissioners; the legislation was implemented in 1901. The new board immediately set about to repair the wharves and encouraged trade by lowering wharfage charges by twenty-five percent. The Board of Trade then sought to have the South Pass channel of the Mississippi deepened and widened for commercial traffic and persuaded the United States Congress to authorize that project.[45]

At the beginning of the twentieth century New Orleans was a major exporter of cotton, lumber and timber products, tobacco, all types of grain, and pig iron. Major import items were coffee and sugar. River transportation was used in conjunction with railroads, as in the case of steel rails brought downstream from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and then transferred to railroad cars for distribution throughout the South. Lumber remained a major product of the lower Mississippi and one important sawmill opened west of Brusly to serve the Morley Cypress Company. Commercial cypress operations continued there until 1927. Yet even with this kind of expansion it was clear that the New Orleans share

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44. Tompkins, Riparian Lands of the Mississippi River, p. 275; Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade, pp. 31-32, 39-40, 75.

45. Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade, pp. 43, 57; Kaufman, "New Orleans and the Panama Canal," pp. 336-37.

of the United States import-export trade had dwindled. In 1870 the Crescent City was responsible for twenty-three percent of all exports and three percent of all imports, but by 1901 New Orleans was responsible for ten percent of all exports and ten percent of all imports.[46]

In 1908 New Orleans began planning a belt railroad to serve the expanding dock areas around the city. Work on the railway was completed in 1910. Plans were next laid by the state legislature for building public cotton warehouses. These facilities began construction in 1915 and were opened in the same year. During the period 1912-1914 cotton was the major export commodity of New Orleans followed by oil, tobacco, and lumber. Also exported were lard and lard compounds, flour, cottonseed, linseed, flaxseed, and meat products. Major imports were coffee, sugar, sisal grass, and burlap.[47]

New Orleans merchants hoped that with the opening of the Panama Canal in August, 1914, a new era of prosperity for New Orleans would begin. They believed the canal would open new Pacific and South American markets to them, and to that end a steamship line was established to serve ports in South America and the Orient. Unfortunately, the expected flood of imports did not materialize and the steamship line failed.[48] In 1916 the port of Baton Rouge was officially opened. But the municipal dock there had ceased functioning by 1949 when shallow water prevented many river craft from using the port. The state legislature in 1950 created the Baton Rouge Port Commission which succeeded in having the river deepened and developed a general cargo wharf, a terminal warehouse, a molasses terminal, a grain elevator, and a

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46. Kaufman, "New Orleans and the Panama Canal," 334-35; Tomkins, Riparian Lands of the Mississippi River p. 279; Elizabeth Kellough and Leona Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge: Kennedy Print Shop, 1979), p. 254.

47. Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade, p. 31; F. Prevost, Public Cotton Warehouses, Grain and Terminal of the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans (Breckinridge, 1916), pp. 4-5; Kaufman, "New Orleans and the Panama Canal," pp. 343-44.

48. Kaufman, "New Orleans and the Panama Canal," p. 333.

new barge terminal, besides a two-and-one-half mile industrial canal located on the west side of the river. The port presently lies adjacent to the Port Allen Lock and Barge Canal which connects the facilities with the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway System. Today the port primarily specializes in importing aluminum ore and exporting soybeans, wheat, flour, corn, animal feeds, and finished petroleum products while providing strong commercial competition with New Orleans.[49]

In 1916, however, such developments lay in the future. The main concern of the New Orleans Board of Trade was not competition from the Baton Rouge port, but the revival of the Mississippi river trade. New Orleans exports of cotton, sugar, rice, grain, and molasses and imports of nitrates, cigars, cigarettes, and bananas were still declining. The Board's solution was to increase the grain storage capacity of the port of New Orleans and to develop a barge service to transport grain between St. Louis and New Orleans. This effort resulted in 1918 in creation by the United States Congress of the Federal Barge Line which began operations with borrowed and rented equipment. The Federal Barge Line was expanded in 1928 with the passage of the Denison Barge Line Bill to include service to St. Paul and Minneapolis. Barge service was given further importance in April, 1929, when the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that all carriers should articulate with the Federal Barge system. On July 1, 1953, the Secretary of Commerce, with congressional approval, contracted with private interests to turn the Federal Barge Line over to private enterprise.[50]

During the first few decades of the twentieth century new industries evolved to change traditional trade patterns. In the 1920s trade tripled as a result of oil production along the Gulf Coast. Louisiana ports in

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49. Evelyn Martindale Thom, Baton Rouge Story (Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge Foundation for Historical Louisiana, 1967), p. 35; Thomas R. Beard, The Louisiana Economy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 142.

50. Prevost, Public Cotton Warehouses, pp. 8, 12, 15; Herring, Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade, pp. 62, 63, 65, 67; Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," pp. 23, 25.

1948 were responsible for nearly ten percent of total waterborne imports and exports in the United States. The major items of internal commerce in the 1940s consisted of petroleum and related products, iron and steel, forest products, sand and gravel, and non-metallic minerals.[51]

During 1950s Louisiana's share of national imports and exports fell to 8.8 percent. Main items of internal commerce were petroleum and petroleum-based products, coal and coke, grain, sulphur, sand and gravel, non-metallic minerals, and chemical products. Throughout the decade industries processing chemicals and low-cost basic bulk material were established along the banks of the Mississippi. Most of these operations were concentrated between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. By 1960 the Louisiana ports' share of the national import and export market declined slightly to below 8.4 percent. Principal exports during the period were soybeans, corn, wheat, animal feeds, rice, and cotton. The Louisiana ports of Baton Rouge and New Orleans continued to increase their grain exporting capacity. As of 1963 the top imports of Louisiana were coffee, sugar, bananas, automobiles, and aluminum ore. The port of New Orleans has expanded to over fifty miles along the Mississippi and its adjacent deep-water canals. Currently, petro-chemical and energy-related complexes continue to be built along the lower river. Water transport moves grain, agricultural products, and minerals down to the industrial center and the river continues to provide both access to interior markets of North America and a gateway to world markets.[52]

E. Industrialization

Industrialization is a twentieth century phenomenon in Louisiana where it has developed for the most part in a corridor along the Mississippi River between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Before 1900 agrarian and mercantile interests predominated. Nevertheless, small,

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51. Beard, The Louisiana Economy, p. 138; Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," p. 33.

52. Beard, The Louisiana Economy, pp. 135, 138-39, 141; Carey, "Trade Development on the Mississippi River," pp. 32-33.

scattered pockets of industry developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries based upon the acquisition of local raw materials.

1. Industry in the French and Spanish Periods

During the years France held Louisiana industry could be described as nonexistent. Most goods manufactured during that period were the product of what could be termed cottage industries and they were consumed by the producers. The inhabitants of plantations and small farms alike made their own clothing and cut trees for construction of buildings and fences. Some excess cypress lumber from plantations was sold in New Orleans and other settlements for construction purposes there. Plantation owners also produced small amounts of naval stores such as tar and turpentine.[53]

The Spanish period saw little industrial growth over that which existed during the preceding French administration. One innovation did occur with the discovery that cypress lumber made excellent sugar boxes. Plantation sawmills began to appear along the Mississippi, with the majority in the New Orleans area, devoted to the manufacture of sugar boxes from yellow and white cypress. By 1795 thirty-six of these mills existed with a considerable output. Since sugar was not a viable agricultural product at that time, the boxes were used as trade items. Cuba, another Spanish colony, purchased an average of 200,000 boxes per year in the 1790s. Cypress staves were also produced for use in cisterns.[54]

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53. N. M. Miller Surrey, "The Development of Industries in Louisiana During the French Regime 1673-1763," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IX (December, 1922), p. 232; Jedidiah Morse (ed.), The American Gazetteer Exhibiting a Full Account of the Civil Divisions, Rivers, Harbours, Indian Tribes, &c, of the American Continent, also of the West India and Other Appendant Islands; with a Particular Description of Louisiana (Boston: Samuel Etheridge, 1804), no pagination.

54. Alice P. White, "The Plantation Experience of Joseph and Lavinia Erwin, 1807-1836," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (April, 1944), p. 350; Fortier, History of Louisiana, II, 211; Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 161.

2. The American Period

At the beginning of the American period in 1803 industrialization was still in its infancy. Two agricultural products, cotton and sugar, which had been profitably raised for almost a decade, had a slight effect upon manufacturing. Two cotton spinning machines made their appearance in New Orleans and Iberville. One firm produced cordage and twelve distilleries made taffia from sugar cane syrup. One sugar refinery had been established while several small concerns manufactured lead shot and hair powder.[55]

It was seemingly not until the 1830s that additional industries made their appearance. In 1831-32 the Louisiana Sugar Refinery was built just south of New Orleans. Another industry, the Levee Steam Cotton Press, was completed in 1832, and three years later the Orleans Cotton Press began operation. Processing cottonseed for oil began in 1835, but remained relatively unimportant until after the Civil War. Two cotton factories opened in 1840, but they had only 706 spindles between them and employed just twenty-three men. Minor industries by the latter date included the manufacture of bricks, boots and shoes, moss, cigars, mattresses, and jute bags. It was claimed that New Orleans produced enough shoes for its populace by the 1850s, but they were said to be inferior to those manufactured elsewhere in the nation.[56]

After the Civil War the part of Louisiana along the lower Mississippi River slowly started to become industrialized. Because of the tremendous increase in rice production, rice mills began to make an appearance. By 1876 there were eight such mills in New Orleans and five near that city. In that same year an Insecticides and Sanitary Supplies firm began operation in Gretna. The principal product, an insecticide called "Magic

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55. Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, p. 304; Morse, The American Gazetteer, no pagination.

56. James E. Winston, "Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IX (September, 1924), p. 218; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969) 175.

Hoodo," was sold in the Middle East, Japan, and South America. Processing cottonseed for oil came into its own by the 1880s; one of the first large plants for such production, the Southern Cotton Oil Company, was built near New Orleans in 1887.[57]

Industrial lumbering, which began about 1890 with the cutting of cypress and pine, became commercially important several years later. The impetus for developing the lumber industry in Louisiana came from several sources. In 1876 the Timber Act allowed sale of the still virtually untouched cypress lands. By the 1880s, exhaustion of the northern woods as a source of lumber led timber interests to focus on Louisiana where large stands of pine were still to be found. The introduction of the bandsaw in 1889 made possible a greatly increased mill capacity and as a result lumbering became big business in Louisiana during the 1890s. Production increased to the point that Louisiana led the nation by 1914. Lumbering declined after that year so that by 1925 the state contained millions of denuded acres. Ground which did not lend itself to agricultural production has since been covered with tree farms and the lumber industry, especially since World War II, has again become an important source of revenue.[58]

As the twentieth century began, Louisiana's industry was almost solely dependent on the manufacture of area agricultural produce into finished products. As stated, lumbering figured prominently in the economy. Louisiana also led the nation in the manufacture of cottonseed oil and rice milling. Sugar refining, partly dependent upon foreign sugar by 1900, held a high position in the New Orleans area while molasses, a product of the sugar industry, remained a time-honored manufacture. The canning industry also had risen to a place of note with the

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57. Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXIII (April, 1940), p. 556; Henry J. Thoede, History of Jefferson Parish and Its People, (Gretna, La.: Distinctive Printing, 1976), p. 10-11.

58. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, pp. 162-65.

processing of fish, vegetables, and fruit. Several factories produced burlap and cotton bags. Of lesser note was the manufacture of cottonseed cake and meal for cattle feed, and the production of soap and fertilizer.[59]

For Louisiana the modern industrial era really began with the discovery of oil at Jennings in 1901. Additional discoveries brought construction of a refinery at Baton Rouge in 1909 and ten years later the state had nineteen refineries. During the same period the construction of facilities for handling agricultural products increased. Stockyards came into being along with slaughter houses as Louisiana farmers increased their cattle production. More cottonseed oil, corn oil, sugar refineries, and molasses plants were built. The large public grain elevator and terminal at New Orleans was completed in 1917.[60]

The 1920s and 1930s brought continued and diversified growth. Salt was commercially obtained from the Five Islands, salt domes located in the vicinity of New Orleans. Sulphur became an easily obtained mineral with the development of the Frasch process by which method hot water was pumped into the sulphur-bearing caprock in salt domes and liquified sulphur was pumped out. The Avondale shipyard opened in 1938. Prior to that time New Orleans had only dry docks for repair. In 1939 more refineries made their appearance. A structural insulation plant opened and wood products companies were built as timber farms began to supply wood for lumber, paper, and pulp.[61]

After World War II Louisiana experienced phenomenal industrial growth, particularly in oil, gas, chemicals, and light metals.

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59. Emma C. Richey and Eveline P. Kean, The New Orleans Book, (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1915) pp. 88-89.

60. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, pp. 166-67; St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana: Its Natural Resorces and Advantages (St. Bernard, La.: Published by Authority of the Parish Immigration League, ca. 1912), pp. 18, 21, 23; Thoede, History of Jefferson Parish, p. 10.

61. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, p. 167; Thoede, History of Jefferson Parish, pp. 10-11.

Manufacturing concerns were attracted to the corridor known as the "gateway" between New Orleans and Baton Rouge for several reasons: flood control projects had virtually eliminated the former threat of periodic inundations, the diseases of former times had been controlled, water transport was readily available for both river and ocean-going vessels, an abundant supply of fresh water was easily obtained, fuel and raw materials could be secured without difficulty, the mild winter climate proved attractive, and labor costs and taxes were lower.[62] The expansion of onshore gas and oil fields and the development of offshore wells promoted much of the post-World War II industrialization. Not only did it provide cheap fuel for manufacturing concerns, but it also brought the development of almost every conceivable kind of marine-oriented business attendant on the petroleum industry. Favorable conditions and the economic stimulus of the times led to increased investments in other industries as well. Numerous additional concerns such as slaughterhouses, cotton and corn oil mills, sugar and syrup mills, cotton gins, canning plants, rice mills, milk processing plants, poultry processing plants, and lumber mills came into existence. A chain of grain elevators was built between Baton Rouge and the citrus area below New Orleans. These elevators currently handle more than half of all grain exports from the United States. Bauxite, manganese, and iron ores are imported and processed into aluminum, ferro-alloys, and iron and steel products within the gateway.[63]

Petroleum processing plants and refineries, producing fuel oils, gasoline, kerosene, jet fuel, and petrochemicals, have increased in such

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62. Stephen L. McDonald, "Postwar Economic Growth and Fluctuations in Louisiana," in Thomas R. Beard (ed.), The Louisiana Economy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 83; Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, p. 176.

63. Fred H. Wiegmann, "Agriculture in the Louisiana Economy," in Beard, The Louisiana Economy, pp. 77-78; Roland Chardon and Klaus Meyer-Arendt, "Lower Mississippi River Gateway Field Excursion," in Richard H. Kesel and Robert A. Saunder (eds.), A Field Guidebook for Louisiana (Washington: Association of American Geographers, 1978), p. 85; "Citrus: 16,200 Acres for Industry, Living and Recreation," (Louisiana Citrus Lands, Inc., ca. 1969), no pagination.

numbers that area oil sources cannot supply the demand. Over sixty percent of the oil treated in those plants is imported from foreign sources. Barges serve as the major means by which petroleum products are distributed to the nation.[64] Aside from the expansion of the port facilities at New Orleans, a major determinant of the industrial growth of the area was the creation of a deep-water port at Baton Rouge during the mid-1950s. Major grain handling facilities, refineries, and petrochemical plants comprise the largest activities of the area. The economic vitality around Baton Rouge resulted in its port becoming the fourth largest in the nation by the mid-1970s.[65]

The Mississippi River has proven to be a vital trade artery for man throughout its history. Before the arrival of Europeans, Indians plied its waters and those of its tributaries establishing trade routes and centers of commerce in the vastness of North America. This natural thoroughfare was the key to successfully exploiting the rich interior resources of the continent. Consequently, control of the Mississippi and its trade became the keystone of European colonial policy. Colonial administrators hoped that trade would be a tangible means of extending their influence in the Mississippi Valley and making the colony a profitable venture. This philosophy brought numerous changes in trade regulations by succeeding governments while placing control of Louisiana at issue in various diplomatic negotiations and military operations conducted by Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States. After the United States gained control of Louisiana in 1803, the river trade gradually moved into a period of prosperity and expansion. But the Civil War devastated river trade. After the war, rail transportation successfully rivaled water transportation causing a decline in the Mississippi commerce for many

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64. Chardon and Meyer-Arendt, "Lower Mississippi River Gateway Field Excursion," p. 85.

65. Kellough and Mayeux, Chronicles of West Baton Rouge, pp. 192-93.

years. Industrial development meantime grew hand in hand with trade, experiencing the same fluctuations over time. But during the twentieth century industrialization on the lower Mississippi has come into its own. Thus, gradually New Orleans has regained its prominence as a trade and industrial center until today river commerce faces a myriad of challenges and opportunities.

CHAPTER VIII: RIVER TRANSPORTATION AND FOOD RESOURCES

From the earliest appearance of man on the North American continent, the waterways served as highways, and the Mississippi River with its tributaries acted as the greatest of these water systems. The arrival of Europeans brought increased emphasis on the use of rivers, for these arteries served as channels for exploration, territorial expansion, communication, settlement, trade, and even warfare. The types of boats used on the Mississippi evolved with changing needs and technological innovations. After the United States acquired Louisiana, except for brief periods during the War of 1812 and the Civil War, the major use of the Mississippi River was transportation. River traffic increased dramatically between 1825 and 1850, then declined until the 1920s when it again began to expand to its present-day position of importance.

A. An Intra-Regional Transportation System

When the French established New Orleans they envisioned it as becoming a great center for trade and agriculture. Although they were disappointed in the results, the very founding of New Orleans resulted in the rudimentary development of an intra-regional transportation system. Settlement patterns and trade within that earliest district dictated the development of specialized vessels. Fur trading was one of the earliest activities in which the French engaged. The men who followed that vocation, however, found the birch-bark canoe used by the explorers to be inadequate. Although those vessels proved their value in the early reconnaissance of the region because their light weight made them easy to maneuver and portage, they were too small for the fur traders' needs. As a result, they developed an adaptation of the Indian dugout which they called pirogue, a boat constructed from two hollowed logs which were placed side by side and connected with planks between them. In the Louisiana area they were built from cyprus logs. Pirogues varied in size, but the common dimensions were three feet in width by thirty to forty feet in length. While the Indians left their dugouts blunt in front, the

French tended to construct their vessels with pointed bows and square sterns. These boats were very maneuverable, but easily tipped.[1]

Settlement patterns influenced the development of another type of French river vessel. Since the majority of the early inhabitants in the New Orleans area spurned agriculture but needed food, a small river trade in farm products evolved. Trade developed from as near as the German settlements above New Orleans to as far away as the older French-occupied Illinois area. The pirogues, which were designed to meet the specific needs of fur traders, were too small for hauling agricultural produce. In the 1720s the French introduced the bateau to carry the agriculture trade. Bateaux were ships' boats that came in two sizes--the chaloupe of whale boat size and the smaller canot. Only the canot was used on the river and was commonly referred to as a bateau. It had a pointed bow and stern, a round bottom, and was built on a keel with a rib frame. Modifications were evidently made to the bateaux, for some later accounts described them as having flat bottoms. Bateaux continued to be used throughout the French period and into the Spanish period when flatboats and keelboats appeared. Sometimes during the early French period pirogues and bateaux were used together in convoys to traverse the Mississippi in both directions. Little upstream traffic occurred, however. That which did take place usually went no farther than the Pointe Coupee area. In the main, inter-regional trade during the French period was one-way from the Illinois area south.[2]

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1. John A. Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1963, Louisiana State University), pp. 32-33, 47, 49, 52; Erik F. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1969, Purdue University), p. 25.

2. Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River," pp. 55, 57, 90, 105, 108-09.

B. The Louisville-New Orleans Connection, 1780s-1803

1. Flatboats

During the Spanish period of Louisiana (1763-1803) settlement patterns again intruded to broaden inter-regional transportation. Yet it remained mostly a one-way proposition with agricultural products coming down river from the Kentucky/Tennessee area to New Orleans. Two new types of boats were developed to handle this trade. Flatboats came into existence by the 1770s as vehicles by which the burgeoning number of American settlers could travel from Pittsburg down the Ohio River to such areas as Kentucky. But only after agriculture developed beyond the subsistence stage in that region were flatboats used to carry produce to New Orleans. Because the early flatboats mainly carried settlers to Kentucky, they came to be called "Kentucky boats." These craft were inexpensive and crudely constructed. On reaching the site of settlement, they were broken up and the lumber used for cabins.[3]

Lacking adequate roads or other means of direct transportation to the east coast, settlers west of the Appalachian Mountains made use of their river systems to dispose of excess goods. By 1781 a budding commercial intercourse had begun between the Ohio River area and New Orleans. At first the Ohio River region's agricultural products were probably absorbed by the growing population in the New Orleans area. Within an extremely short time, however, more produce was brought down river than could be used. Consequently, excess produce began to be transshipped to the east coast via ocean-going ships which called at New Orleans from time to time. By 1785 sufficient goods were being shipped downstream from Kentucky and Tennessee to New Orleans to prompt some Philadelphia merchants to open offices in that city to handle the transshipment of products. While under Spanish administration New

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3. John W. Monette, "The Progress of Navigation and Commerce on the Waters of the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, A.D. 1700 to 1846," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, VII (1903), p. 485; Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River," pp. 113-14; Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 5, 25.

Orleans proved unreliable as a place of deposit for transshipment, for officials of that nation closed the port to Americans on several occasions. After the Mississippi River came under the control of the United States in 1803, water-borne traffic began to increase. In the period from the 1780s to 1810 the Mississippi was used basically as a trade route from the Ohio River region to the Gulf, since large-scale settlement above Natchez did not occur until after the latter date. The Spanish administration handled its own trade separately from that of the Americans. It amounted to ocean vessels coming to New Orleans and small river craft visiting the settlements as far north as Red River.[4]

Most flatboats used in the trade between the Ohio River area and New Orleans originated in Louisville, Kentucky. These vessels were better constructed than those used by settlers around Pittsburgh since sturdier boats were required for the longer, more hazardous trip. Flatboats used in the New Orleans traffic cost on the average about twenty dollars each during the 1780s-1800 period. Flatboats, as the name implied, had flat bottoms and were rectangular in shape. Lengths varied between twenty and sixty feet, with the average boat ranging from forty to fifty feet. Widths ran between nine and twenty-five feet, with fourteen to eighteen feet the most common size. Flatboats intended for the New Orleans trip tended to be covered with a roof, a craft style that came to be called the "New Orleans boat." Large oars termed "sweeps" protruded from each side of the boats, while long steering oars were extended from the stern.[5]

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4. W. Wallace Carson, "Transportation and Traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi Before the Steamboat," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VII (June, 1920), p. 33; Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River," pp. 114-15.

5. E.W. Gould, Fifty Years on the Mississippi; or, Gould's History of River Navigation (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1889), pp. 184, 189; Carson, "Transportation and Traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi Before the Steamboat," p. 33; Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River," pp. 113-18, 128, 130.

Farmers in the Ohio area at first constructed their own flatboats and floated them to New Orleans themselves. The journey usually took sixty days and was made either in the fall after harvest or in the early spring when the river was highest. Soon professional flatboatmen appeared who made an average of three trips to New Orleans per year. After they disposed of their produce they either sold the flatboats for lumber or simply allowed the craft to float down the river, for their use for them had ended. Then they walked home.[6]

2. Keelboats and Barges

Although downstream traffic composed the preponderance of river vessels in the late 1780s-1800 period, it by no means represented the only movement in the intra-regional trade between the Ohio Valley and New Orleans. The demand for goods by the growing population in the Ohio Valley brought an upstream trade as well. As a result, the keelboat was developed to meet that need. Keelboats, the largest of which plied the lower Ohio and Mississippi rivers, were called barges. These were much more sophisticated vessels than flatboats and were built on keels with bowed ribs and were pointed at bows and sterns. One or two masts for square sails were fixed to the deck and used as a navigational aid. Because these boats required greater skill to construct and were designed for years of use, they cost considerably more than flatboats, with the larger ones averaging about $4,000. Some were the equal of many ocean-going ships of the time. The large keelboats, known as barges, averaged seventy-five to one hundred feet long and fifteen to twenty feet wide. Each carried a cargo of sixty to one hundred tons.[7]

Keelboats travelled downstream as well as upstream. Their operating costs were much higher than flatboats, for unlike flatboats which drifted with the current keelboats had to be sailed, poled, and rowed downstream

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6. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," p. 5; Gould, Fifty Years on the Mississippi, p. 189.

7. Johnson, "Pre-steamboat Navigation on the Lower Mississippi River," pp. 153-61; Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 5, 29-31, 61; Carson, "Transportation and Traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi Before the Steamboat," p. 36.

and thus required twice the manpower to arrive at New Orleans. Moving a keelboat against the current was even more expensive for it required a crew of between thirty and fifty men. There was probably no more exhausting and monotonous occupation than serving as a crewman on an upstream-moving keelboat. On occasion the vessel could be sailed, but most often other means were needed to move the craft against the current. In areas where the river bottom was shallow the craft was poled. Each man in turn would start at the bow, stick one end of his pole in the river bottom, place his shoulder against the other end, and walk to the stern from where the process would be repeated. In areas where the river bottom was unsuited for this operation the crew went ashore with a towline and pulled the keelboat. If neither of the above methods could be used, then a towline was tied to a tree upstream and the crew on the boat pulled in the rope to advance it. If all else failed, the craft was rowed. On the average it took four months to move a keelboat upstream from New Orleans to Louisville. Although these craft grew popular, there were not nearly as many keelboats in use as there were flatboats on the Louisville to New Orleans route.[8]

C. Transportation in the Ante-bellum Period

1. The Coming of Steamboats

The first great boom in Mississippi River transportation occurred in the period 1803-1860. Larger vessels in greater numbers plied the waters as intra-regional trade blossomed. The era produced a technological innovation with the introduction of the steamboat. Yet at the same time there appeared the beginning of a decline of New Orleans as a trade port and an overall decline in the use of the Mississippi River. Flatboats continued to be employed until the Civil War virtually ended their use as a river craft. As settlement grew in the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys it produced an even greater demand for river transportation. Flatboat builders met the challenge by constructing more

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8. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 31-32, 56.

and larger craft. Since efficiency came with larger vessels, the ten-ton flatboat of the 1800-1810 period gave way to the thirty-ton craft in the next decade. Fifty-ton flatboats appeared in the 1820s only to be superseded by those with seventy-five-ton capacities in the 1830s. The average flatboat berth in the next decade reached 100 tons and succeeded to 150 tons in the decade before the Civil War.[9]

As indicated by their increasing size and numbers during the antebellum period, flatboats held their own in competition with steamboats after the latter appeared on the Mississippi River in 1812. It was not until the 1830s that the total cargo tonnage hauled by steamboats matched that of flatboats. In the 1840s, when steamboats finally began to win the cargo competition, flatboat owners turned their attention toward more specialized trade. Fewer agricultural products made up the flatboat manifests; instead, the vessels began to carry coal from the Ohio Valley to New Orleans and during the 1850s coal was their major cargo. For a brief period around 1829 an experiment was made to pull flatboats up and down river behind a small steamboat. Although it proved successful, the combining of steamboats and flatboats into tugboat-and-barge operations was not received favorably and nothing came of it.[10]

Keelboats were least able to survive steamboat competition after those vessels were introduced. Several factors influenced the demise of the keelboat. Steamboats operated first on the Louisville to New Orleans trade route, the very inter-regional artery on which keelboats had been the sole carriers of upstream freight. Since the upriver commerce was much smaller than that transported downstream, steamboats could easily handle all of that cargo more cheaply and deliver it more rapidly than the slow-moving keelboats. After 1821 the keelboat disappeared from the river.[11]

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9. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 69-70.

10. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," p. 92; Gould, Fifty Years on the Mississippi, p. 215.

11. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," p. 46.

2. The Steamboat Era

Although crude steamboats had operated in eastern waters by 1800, the first successful journey on the Mississippi River by such a vessel did not occur until the 1811-12 period. In 1811 Robert Livingston and Robert Fulton launched a steamboat named New Orleans at Pittsburgh. In September of that year they started down the Ohio River toward the city after which the vessel was named. Following a delay in Louisville the craft arrived in New Orleans on January 13, 1812. Before building their steamboat, Livingston and Fulton had applied to each state bordering the Ohio and Mississippi rivers for charters granting them the exclusive privilege of using that type of vessel on those waters. Only Louisiana granted their request. Because of that restriction few steamboats appeared on that state's portion of the river. Steamboats, however, proliferated on the Mississippi north of the Louisiana border. A group of Louisiana investors defied the monopoly in 1813 and launched their own steamboat. They succeeded for several years in evading the authorities, but in 1815 the craft was seized. The ensuing legal battle led to a state court pronouncement that the monopoly granted to *Livingston and Fulton was invalid.* Because both men had died by the time the court found against them, no appeals were made. Thus, in 1817, steamboats had clear sailing on the entire Mississippi.[12]

The first steamboats on the Mississippi were crudely built vessels that looked like large keelboats. Both boilers and engines were placed in the hold. They were designed to carry freight and not passengers, although a few passenger compartments could be provided either in the hold or on the main deck. Because of the heavy machinery and ship-like design, they carried a cargo weighing less than the weight of the boat so that a 300-ton craft hauled a 200-ton load. After 1818, however, steamboats were redesigned, evolving into the type vessel most often associated with the river steamboat days. Using the light, compact, high-pressure engine developed by Daniel French along with a horizontal

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12. Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant and Company, 1904), III, 186; Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 33-35.

drive cylinder innovation designed by Henry Shreve, a shallow, flat-bottomed boat was built which was more suited to the river. The engine and boiler were located on the main deck. Thereafter steamboats were constructed with the capability of a cargo weight greater than the vessel weight. A 400-ton craft could carry 600 tons of freight and in some cases a steamboat hauled twice its weight in cargo.[13]

The same provision that applied to flatboats and keelboats--the larger the vessel, the more efficient it became--applied also to steamboats. Before 1820 the average steamboat weighed 220 tons. In the 1820s the vessels reached an average of 290 tons apiece. During the next two decades the weight increased to 310 tons and, in the final ten years before the Civil War, the craft reached a 360-ton average. Construction costs per ton declined somewhat during the ante-bellum period. Average costs per vessel, based upon the tonnage given above, ranged from $27,500 in the years preceding 1820 to $36,000 between 1850 and 1860. Steamboats constructed of wood were made much flimsier than ocean-going vessels since the Mississippi and other rivers did not experience the same intensity of storms and rough water. Lighter construction, however, caused steamboats to pay a price if they hit snags or sandbars. The high-pressure steam engines used on western water vessels also contributed to the sinking or damage of steamboats. Because of the high accident rate the average lifespan of a steamboat was five years.[14]

Accidents, especially those involving boiler explosions, led the national government to try to regulate steamboats in 1838. The legislation called for periodic inspection of hulls, boilers, and machinery, but lacked a provision to determine the strength of a boiler. Consequently, the law

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13. John S. Kendall, History of New Orleans (3 vols.; New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), I, 201; Louis C. Hunter, "The Invention of the Western Steamboat," The Journal of Economic History, III (November, 1943), pp. 213-18.

14. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," pp. 93, 95-96, 133.

failed to reduce boiler explosions. Congress finally produced an effective act in 1852 that not only provided for a hydrostatic test to determine boiler strength, but fixed the maximum allowable steam pressure as well. Another part of the act stipulated that even the manufacture of boiler plates would be inspected. The Board of Supervising Inspectors created by the legislation pursued their work so zealously that the average of 231 deaths annually from boiler explosions during the five years preceding the act was reduced to 26 per year through the succeeding five-year period.[15]

After 1810 settlers poured into the Mississippi Valley at an ever-increasing rate. The population grew rapidly and villages became cities. River traffic increased as agricultural goods moved downstream in ever larger amounts. The gap in settlement between Natchez and Louisville was soon filled. By the 1820s steamboats had many towns and plantations at which to stop as they plied the waters between Louisville and New Orleans. These vessels also began to collect freight in the northern region of the Mississippi River. Upstream cargo, however, remained small with most destined for the Louisiana and Mississippi planters who drew their supplies from New Orleans.[16]

3. Decline in River Transportation

Freight from upstream sources poured into New Orleans in larger amounts as each year passed. Not only did river craft arrive in New Orleans, but in 1820 a regular packet service was established with the east coast. New Orleans merchants and those who daily arrived to settle in that city became caught up with the wealth being generated by that trade. They deluded themselves with thoughts that they were the center of an unlimited commercial empire. New Orleans merchants, however, failed to recognize or accept the fact that inter-regional trade

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15. Louis C. Hunter, Steamboats on the Western Rivers, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 532-38.

16. Kendall, History of New Orleans, I, 201-02; Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation, 1810-1860," p. 48.

patterns had begun to shift, starting in the mid-1820s. While the amount of goods coming to the city continued to increase throughout the antebellum period, the New Orleans merchants' percentage of the entire inter-regional trade slowly decreased. City merchants were helpless to prevent part of the loss of overall trade, but they also chose to ignore factors which were in their power to change.[17]

Nearly all products sent downstream on flatboats and steamboats to New Orleans were transhipped to east coast cities. From there the goods were either used for domestic consumption or shipped to foreign ports. Upstream inhabitants at first had no choice but to use the Mississippi to send their products to market. That situation, which originated in the Spanish period, attracted east coast merchants to New Orleans. As traffic increased on the Mississippi in the early American period, more and more New Orleans merchants found it easier to become affiliated with east coast traders than to develop their own independent empire. As a result, by 1836 seven-eighths of the commercial houses in New Orleans were branches of New York businesses. Also, products which came to New Orleans via ocean-going vessels were first funneled through east coast ports. New Orleans merchants, in effect, allowed themselves to become hostages of the east coast. In the summer of 1836 the New Orleans Bee mounted a campaign to get local traders to act as independent merchants and establish direct routes to such foreign cities as Liverpool and Harve. But the newspaper failed in its effort to arouse interest in such ventures; it found local merchants too apathetic to break with established trade patterns.[18]

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17. George E. Waring, Jr., and George W. Cable, Social Statistics of Cities: History and Present Condition of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Report on the City of Austin, Texas (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), pp. 43-44.

18. James E. Winston, "Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IX (September, 1924), p. 210; John B. Appleton, "The Declining Significance of the Mississippi as a Commercial Highway in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, XXVIII (January-October 1930), p. 278.

The circuitous route through New Orleans to the east coast added to the expense of shipping and to the time in transit. Thus, upstream farmers and merchants readily availed themselves of more direct routes to ship their products east when such routes began to be established by 1825. In that year the Erie Canal opened. With it came the beginning of a change in the inter-regional transportation system. Seven years later, in 1832, the Ohio Canal was completed connecting the Ohio River with Lake Erie. Chicago merchants sought their share of the trade. They promoted canals in Illinois to bring additional trade from the upper Mississippi Valley through their city to the east coast by way of the Great Lakes. As each new, more direct transportation route opened to east coast ports, New Orleans lost an incrementally increasing percentage of trade. After 1847 the volume of freight brought to New Orleans from the upper Mississippi Valley rapidly began to decline. New Orleans, in the main, was left to concentrate more and more on a single trade item obtained from a more localized area. Although cotton became the major trade commodity, an increasing percentage of that product also found its way to other ports.[19]

River hazards added to the problem of using the Mississippi as a major transportation route. Fragile wooden steamboats were too susceptible to destruction from snags, sandbars, low water, and fire. High shipping insurance rates therefore added to freight expenses. The cost of operating a steamboat on the Mississippi River was six times what it was on canals and the Great Lakes. In addition, shoals at the entrances to the river proved burdensome to ocean-going vessels using the river to reach New Orleans. As those ships increased in size, especially after the advent of steam power in the 1840s, fewer began to call at New Orleans. By 1851 vessels of 1,000 tons reached that city only with difficulty. Thirty-six percent fewer of those ships docked at New Orleans in that year than arrived there in the three previous years.

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19. Appleton, "Declining Significance of the Mississippi," pp. 278, 281; Waring and Cable, Social Statistics of Cities, p. 44; Kendall, History of New Orleans, I, 202.

Losses and delays caused by grounding on bars resulted in only the older, slower, and smaller sea vessels plying the New Orleans route as the 1850s progressed.[20]

An unfavorable climate in New Orleans affected trade as well. Perishable goods decayed more rapidly in the summer heat than if they were freighted along a more northerly route. Sickness, too, gave shippers problems. In the twenty-seven years between 1810 and 1837, fifteen yellow fever epidemics occurred. Smallpox and cholera frequently recurred with deadly effect.[21]

A number of causes for the decline of New Orleans as a trade center could have been remedied by its merchants and bankers. Vessels arriving at New Orleans were charged high docking fees although docks were almost non-existent. Steamboat and flatboat cargos were unloaded onto the often muddy levees. Under such conditions freight lost up to twenty percent of its value. Once stacked on the levee, produce often remained there exposed to the elements for weeks because of inadequate and expensive warehouse facilities. The few warehouses tended to be located inland from the river and dray services were necessary. Unsurfaced roads in poor condition between the levees and warehouses promoted high drayage costs. Moreover, merchants neither encouraged industrial development, which might have attracted raw materials from upstream to the city, nor did they establish direct importation of foreign products needed in the upper Mississippi Valley. Railroads, too, became a factor by the 1850s in the decreased shipment of goods to New Orleans. By the early 1850s planters in northern Alabama had abandoned the old steamboat routes for shipping their cotton to New Orleans in favor of faster rail transport to Charleston and Savannah. The planters of

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20. Waring and Cable, Social Statistics of Cities, pp. 45, 55-56; Richard Tansey, "Southern Expansionism: Urban Interests in the Cuban Filibusters," Plantation Society, II (June, 1979) pp. 230-31; Appleton, "Declining Significance of the Mississippi," 276-77; Kendall, History of New Orleans, I, 204.

21. Waring and Cable, Social Statistics of Cities, pp. 45, 56; Appleton, "Declining Significance of the Mississippi," p. 276.

Tennessee also began to make use of newly created railroads. Even if New Orleans merchants had made an effort to improve port facilities and attract industry, they could not have prevented trade goods from being shipped on other routes, but they would have at least retained a greater share of the trade.[22]

D. Civil War and After, 1861-1900

During the period 1861-1900 river transportation came to play an ever-decreasing role in the communication links of the nation. The use of the Mississippi for inter-regional trade dwindled in the years just prior to the Civil War and declined further during that conflict. Although the employment of steamboats witnessed a resurgence after 1865, it was limited, in the main, to local trade in the New Orleans region. As the increasing use of railroads changed transportation patterns, steamboat owners were left with smaller operations until by 1900 the use of the Mississippi as a transportation artery had virtually ended.

The Civil War had a devastating effect upon Mississippi River transportation. The Union blockade by late 1861 cut the movement of ocean-going vessels servicing New Orleans to a trickle. Freight brought from Confederate-held areas upriver was stockpiled in the city. The situation, however, reversed in the spring of 1862 when Union forces captured New Orleans. With its surrender the blockade from the Gulf was lifted, but that condition proved of little benefit to trade. Confederate forces still held the valley above the city and disrupted traffic downstream. Some steamboat owners engaged in contraband trade, but with limited goods available few ocean-going ships called at the New Orleans port. In addition, most merchants had lavished such economic support on the Confederacy that they lacked the means to engage in trade.[23]

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22. Winston, "Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," pp. 213-14; Appleton, "Declining Significance of the Mississippi," pp. 276, 281; Tansey, "Southern Expansionism: Urban Interests in the Cuban Filibusters," pp. 230-32.

23. Gerald M. Capers, Occupied City: New Orleans Under the Federals, 1862-1865 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 146, 148-49, 154-55, 171.

After the surrender of Vicksburg in July, 1863, the Mississippi was opened to downstream traffic. Because most of the remainder of New Orleans' share of pre-war trade from the upper Mississippi Valley had been assumed by eastern ports during the early part of the war, river vessels were mostly restricted to servicing the towns and cotton growing areas of Louisiana and Mississippi. After the war the same situation prevailed with the exception that steamboats began to tow barges of coal in ever-increasing numbers from the Ohio River Valley. New Orleans, however, recovered slowly from the effects of the war. Damage to the previously poor port facility further discouraged river transport to that city.[24]

A short-lived resurgence of river traffic occurred after the Civil War that was almost wholly dominated by steamboats. As of 1880, however, those vessels began to lose the freighting competition to railroads. Few steamboats and hardly any river traffic whatever existed by the turn of the century. Steamboats disappeared from the river for several reasons. There were still enough accidents to raise cargo costs above railroad costs. Rates were lowest during high water periods and highest during harvest when the river was low. Thus, potential patrons were encouraged to use railroads when they became available. Steamboats tended to operate on a more irregular basis than railroads and vessel owners often left regular customers without notice to seek more profitable waterways. Railroad owners understood the economics of operation, whereas steamboat proprietors were wasteful. Lack of proper terminal facilities also discouraged merchants from using steamboats.[25]

Collapsing river traffic did not mean that New Orleans became a wasteland for shipping after 1880. Railroads, which by that date connected the city with neighboring southern states and the Midwest,

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24. Ibid., pp. 146, 155; Gould, Fifty Years on the Mississippi, p. 499.

25. Paul W. Brown, "The Collapse of the Steamboat Traffic Upon the Mississippi: An Inquiry Into Causes," Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings, IX (1917/1918), p. 424.

brought freight to the port where it was placed on ocean-going vessels. Jetty construction, completed in 1879, solved the shoal problem at the river's mouth thereby allowing the return of large ships. Merchants made use of those vessels to begin developing a Latin American trade.[26]

E. Twentieth Century River Transportation

Although almost extinct during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Mississippi River traffic has enjoyed a tremendous resurgence until today it operates in combination with railroads and trucks as an integral part of the nation's inter-regional transportation system. With the entrance of the United States into World War I in 1917, the Federal Government found the nation's railway system unequal to the challenge of efficiently handling the country's war production. Later that year it nationalized the lines under the United States Railroad Administration. When government operation failed to totally relieve railroad transportation problems, a scheme was conceived to make use of the inland waterways in combination with rail service to alleviate traffic congestion.[27] In April 1918 the congressional committee on inland waterways proposed construction of a Government barge fleet. The Mississippi Barge Line resulted from this recommendation. Placed under control of the United States Railroad Administration, it began to assemble a barge fleet and obtained from the United States Army Corps of Engineers twenty steel flatdeck barges on which cargo houses were constructed. The war ended before the line could be placed in operation. It began service, however, in the next year, but hauled only a small amount of freight.[28]

The Mississippi Barge Line ended when the United States Railroad Administration was dissolved and the railroads returned to private ownership in 1920. The Federal Government, from its experience of World

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26. Kendall, History of New Orleans, II, 630.

27. William J. Petersen, Towboating on the Mississippi (South Brunswick, N.J.: A.S. Barnes, 1979), p. 9.

28. Kendall, History of New Orleans, II, 630-31.

War I, recognized that reliance on railroads as the sole hauler of the nation's freight was not enough. In a part of the Transportation Act of 1920 Congress created the Mississippi-Warrior Service and placed it under the administration of the Secretary of War. This publicly owned transport system demonstrated that the Mississippi River still could serve as a viable communication route and with each passing year ever-increasing amounts of freight were transported. In 1926 the service was placed under the control of the Inland Waterways Corporation. During the following year the body reorganized the Mississippi-Warrior Service under the name Federal Barge Line. At the same time private barge lines began to appear, as well. Since then more barge companies with larger and larger barges and towboats have made their appearance on the river and today the inter-regional river transportation system flourishes as never before. The old coal burning, sternwheel towboats have given way to large diesel-powered tugs since 1945. In that year the Government ended its direct involvement in transportation when it closed the Federal Barge Line and sold the towboats and barges to private firms.[29]

F. Food from the Mississippi River

Transportation, of course, was but one economic use of the Mississippi River. Beginning with the appearance of aboriginal populations along the river, food in the form of fish was obtained from it. European settlers, too, obtained fish from the river. By 1800 it was reported that eels, shrimp, sturgeon, catfish, and hickory shad added to the diet of the lower Mississippi inhabitants. Alligators, too, were taken from the river from early times for both food and hides. At the beginning of the twentieth century river shrimp, considered a delicacy,

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29. Kendall, History of New Orleans, pp. 630-31; Petersen, Towboating on the Mississippi, pp. 9-10, 40.

were being canned in large numbers for distribution throughout the nation.[30]

Oysters, which occurred naturally in the bays and bayous on both sides of the Mississippi, have also provided sustenance from the first appearance of man in southern Louisiana. It was not until the 1850s, however, that commercial oystering developed as an important economic activity along the Mississippi in southern Plaquemines Parish when Slavonian immigrants from the Austrian Empire began to cultivate the mollusks. For marketing convenience those individuals lived in camps on the Mississippi banks. Oysters gathered from the bays and bayous were brought to the camps and sold to luggermen who transported them to New Orleans. As time passed, the camps became villages. Two of the most important of these settlements were Ostrica and Olga.[31]

Technological advances in the form of dredges and motor boats promoted increased oyster production in the first decades of the twentieth century. By that time oystermen had established two canning factories at Ostrica and also began to operate their own transshipping and resale firms in such towns as Ostrica, Olga, Buras, Empire, and Daisy.[32] The use of the Mississippi to transport oysters to New Orleans ended in the late 1950s when trucks replaced boats as the primary mode of conveyance. Lack of road access to such east bank communities as Ostrica and Olga halted oystering activities and led to their eventual abandonment.[33]

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30. Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana, (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812), p. 163; Emma C. Richey and Evelina P. Kean, The New Orleans Book (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1915), p. 93; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1783," (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1981, Duke University), p. 189.

31. Dave D. Davis, John D. Hartley, and Ruth Wiens Henderson, "An Archaeological and Historic Survey of the Lowermost Mississippi River: Cultural Resources Survey, New Orleans to Venice Hurricane Protection Levee: East Bank Barring Levee Plan" (unpublished report dated 1979, Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District), pp. 93-99.

32. Ibid., p. 97.

33. Ibid., p. 99.

CHAPTER IX: THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER IMPROVEMENT

A. Introduction

When recounting the history of Mississippi River improvements, it is necessary to distinguish between efforts to provide flood control and efforts to improve navigation. Until the third decade of the nineteenth century, flood control, under local initiative and supervision, was the dominant motivating factor for river improvement. By the 1820s, however, with the beginning of federal appropriations, aid to navigation began to take on a serious dimension in the approach to river problems. Flood control remained a local matter until 1928 because the United States Congress made a distinction in its constitutional ability to act in such affairs. From the time the constitution was implemented and throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most politicians on the national scene chose to interpret that charter as a limiting document--one that limited their actions to those of national interest. The development of inter-regional transportation, with the Mississippi as its center, was seen as a national benefit; hence, the aid to navigation starting in the 1820s. At the same time floods were viewed as only affecting local areas; therefore, Congress held flood control as falling beyond its jurisdiction. After 1928, however, the concept of federal activities changed toward the Mississippi and Congress adopted a position which placed the national government at the forefront of flood control. The Corps of Engineers served as the agent to effect both navigational aid and flood control.

B. Flood Control

Before the arrival of Europeans in the lower Mississippi River valley, annual floods occurred which often extended beyond the river channel to a width of thirty miles. In 1543 the remnant of de Soto's army became the first Europeans to witness and record a Mississippi River spring flood. The conquistadores were in winter quarters in an Indian village above present-day Natchez when on March 10, 1543, the river began to rise, eventually inundating nine leagues of land on both sides of the Mississippi. On April 20 the waters crested, but the river remained at flood level for another month. The flooding forced the Spanish to suspend work on their river vessels and to construct wooden platforms to

keep themselves and their provisions dry. In June the conquistadores were able to complete work on the boats with which they descended the Mississippi to Mexico.[1]

The French found that flooding still commonly prevailed when they were laying out the town of New Orleans in 1718, for the water that inundated the site caused them to start constructing a crude levee. Work on that levee continued until 1727 when it reached a length of 5,400 feet and, although only three feet high and eighteen feet wide at the top, proved ample to protect the village. As settlements developed along the river, the levee system was extended on both sides. Construction and maintenance of that system was assigned to each individual whose property fronted the river. The levee system continued in that manner throughout the French, Spanish, and early American periods though it often proved unsatisfactory. The size of the early levees was not great. Usually they were constructed no more than three feet high. As more people settled along the river and built levees, more water was contained within the banks, therefore causing floods during seasons of unusually high water. Landowners, in turn, would add several feet to their levees as a measure to prevent an overflow during the next high water season. Local officials viewed enlarging the levees as the sole solution to flood control. This "levees only" policy developed from the theory of an Italian engineer named Guglielmini and remained the belief from the eighteenth century into the late nineteenth century. Guglielmini held that if the volume of water were increased in a stream, the velocity would consequently intensify and scour the bed, thereby causing it to deepen.[2]

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1. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Library, Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission. 76 Cong., 1 Sess., 1939, pp. 94-95, 263-264, 272, 334.

2. Alcee Fortier, Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form (4 vols.; New Orleans: Century Historical Assn., 1914), II, 58-59, 61; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 150-51; J.P. Kemper, Floods in the Valley of the Mississippi: A National Calamity (New Orleans: National Flood Commission, 1928), pp. 22-25; Robert W. Harrison, Alluvial Empire I: A Study of State and Local Efforts Toward Land Development in the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River, Including Flood Control, Land Drainage, Land Clearing, Land Forming (Little Rock: Pioneer Press, 1961), pp. 67-69.

Because proper levee maintenance was not always given equal attention by riverfront owners, first parishes and then the state gradually assumed control of construction and inspection. About 1820 parish police juries, equivalent to county commissioners in other states, were empowered to inspect levees and direct repairs at the owners' expense. In 1829 those same governing bodies received the right to define levee size and location. After the severe 1849 flood the Federal Government gave Louisiana the cultivable swamp and overflow land along the Mississippi. Profits from the sale of that land were to be used for levee reclamation as well as for repair, construction, and strengthening. Another flood the following year prompted Congress to donate swamp and overflow land to the other states along the Mississippi for the same purpose. With the passage of these two Swamp Acts the Louisiana state government created levee districts presided over by boards of levee commissioners who were charged with levee construction and maintenance. In addition to money derived from the sale of swamp and overflow land, the commissioners could levy and collect taxes and issue bonds to fund their activities. Consequently, a flurry of levee building and repairs occurred between 1851 and 1858. Despite these measures, floods in 1858 and 1859 badly damaged the levees.[3] Before the damage could be fully repaired, the Civil War intruded and brought a total neglect of the levees. In addition, both sides in the conflict cut the levees in many places. The situation became almost hopeless shortly after the war when severe flooding in 1867 produced even more damage.[4]

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3. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 61-63; Flood Control in the Lower Mississippi River Valley (Vicksburg: Mississippi River Commission and U.S. Army Engineer Division, Lower Mississippi Valley, 1967), p. 4; A.A. Humphreys and H.L. Abbot, Report upon the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 82; The Mississippi River: A Short Historic Description of the Development of Flood Control and Navigation on the Mississippi River (Vicksburg: Mississippi River Commission, 1940), pp. 14-15.

4. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 163; The Mississippi River, p. 16.

During the period 1865 to 1877 Louisiana instituted an elaborate flood control program. Levee construction fell partly under the state board of levee commissioners and a public works board, and partly under a private contract firm called the Louisiana Levee Company. Despite large expenditures, the chief state engineer concluded that in 1877 the levees were no better than they had been twenty years previously. In many cases the levees were restored to inadequate heights which could not contain the record floods of 1867 and 1874. The depression of 1873 reduced available revenue to the point that levee repair became almost impossible. In despair the inhabitants of the riverbanks turned to their national government to remedy the problem. During this period a large number of conventions were held which produced petitions calling upon Congress to make river improvement appropriations. These efforts to enjoin the Federal Government to aid in levee construction, however, bore little result until 1879.[5]

In 1879 the United States Congress created the Mississippi River Commission (MRC). That board of seven men was charged with deepening the channel, protecting the banks, improving navigation, preventing floods, and promoting river commerce, trade, and postal service. Although the commission's charter assigned it the duty of preventing floods, congressional appropriations specifically forbade using the money for flood control. Instead, levee construction was to be directed toward navigation improvement, but at first the MRC had no clear mandate to develop levees. Almost immediately a disagreement arose among the board members as to the means of deepening the river channel. Some still maintained that an improved levee system, which confined the water within the banks, would scour a deeper channel. While the levee controversy continued, the MRC began a program to narrow the Mississippi to a constant 3,000 foot width. The plan called for using longitudinal dikes connected to the banks by transverse dams which silted to narrow the channel and eventually deepen it. In the midst of the

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5. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 63; Isaac Lippincott, "A History of River Improvement," The Journal of Political Economy, XXII (July, 1914), pp. 652-55.

work another record flood occurred in 1882 and changed the direction of the commission's activity. The program to reduce the river's width was dropped in favor of an improved levee system which would aid navigation. With the MRC as policy maker, Congress created four districts below Cairo, Illinois, each to be administered by the Corps of Engineers, for the purpose of levee improvement. The Fourth Mississippi River Commission District, headquartered in New Orleans, began to increase the levee size and adopted a willow mattress for bank and levee protection.[6]

Increasing the levee size did not eliminate the threat of flooding. Careful study showed that the river had not scoured a greater depth, so that that policy was finally laid to rest. As a result, in the early 1890s the commission established the practice of dredging to aid year-round transport protection. At the same time financial limitation caused the commission and the Corps of Engineers to focus levee improvement work only in areas most susceptible to flooding.[7]

Destructive floods in 1912 and 1913 at last drew Federal attention to the need for flood control. President Woodrow Wilson asked the Mississippi River Commission to develop a flood prevention plan, but Congress chose to ignore it. A severe flood in 1916, however, finally led to passage of the first Flood Control Act in 1917. It was a tentative beginning by the Federal Government, for few funds or little direct involvement were provided. Local and state entities were to obtain the rights-of-way for levees, pay most of the construction costs, and maintain the completed works. Levees were again enlarged and lengthened to the point that by 1926 the MRC thought it had solved the flood problem and only maintenance would be required in the future.[8]

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6. Lippincott, "History of River Improvement," p. 655; The Mississippi River, pp. 16-17; Fortier, Louisiana, II, 64; Albert E. Cowdrey, Land's End: A History of the New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and Its Lifelong Battle with the Lower Mississippi and Other Rivers Wending Their Way to the Sea (New Orleans: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1977), pp. 29-31.

7. Ibid., p. 33.

8. Martin Reuss, "The Army Corps of Engineers and Flood-Control Politics on the Lower Mississippi," Louisiana History, XXIII (Spring, 1982), p. 131; Harrison, Alluvial Empire, p. 159.

Federal flood control policy changed after a devastating Mississippi River flood in 1927 and the Government became totally committed to flood prevention. Based upon a plan developed by Major General Edgar Jadwin of the Corps of Engineers, the Flood Control Act of 1928 dropped the levee policy of the past and adopted one embracing a combination of levees, floodways, and spillways to deal with the threat of future floods. Jadwin's plan, augmented by the Flood Control Act of 1936, formed the basis for the present system used in controlling Mississippi River floods. In Louisiana work on the Bonnet Carre spillway began in late 1928 just above New Orleans. The entire project consisted of a huge gateway, similar to an irrigation dam, which controlled the flow of water into the spillway. The width of the floodway, bounded by levees, was one and one-half miles at the river. It expanded to almost two and one-half miles in width at Lake Pontchartrain, into which the flood waters drained. The project was completed in December, 1936, in time for use during the record 1937 flood. Two floodways, the Atchafalaya, authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1928, and the Morganza, authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1936, were created north of Baton Rouge at Old River to direct high water down the Atchafalaya River to the Gulf. These two projects transformed the area into a giant floodway and spillway system which was completed in 1956.[9]

C. Navigational Improvements

Navigational impediments on the Mississippi occurred in two areas. Low water periods in the river channel presented the hazard of running aground on sandbars or becoming entangled in snags which often caused boats to sink. While the dangers of river navigation were not as readily apparent when small vessels were used, problems arose when larger craft such as steamboats were introduced early in the nineteeth century. One section of the river, however, inhibited ships from the

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9. Albert E. Cowdrey, The Delta Engineers: A History of the United States Army Corps of Engineers In the New Orleans District, (n.p., 1971), pp. 33-35; Flood Control in the Lower Mississippi River Valley, pp. 5-6; Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People, pp. 152-55; Cowdrey, Land's End, pp. 47-52.

time the first Europeans arrived until the 1870s: the river's mouth collected mud bars that often prevented ocean-going ships from entering the Mississippi. The French as early as 1726 attempted to deepen the river at its mouth. They dragged harrows over the mud bars in an effort to break them up and allow the river to carry the deposits out to sea. The areas, however, filled almost as rapidly as they were cleared. Adrien de Pauger, an engineer of the period, designed and tried to build a jetty system, but insufficient manpower and equipment caused his failure.[10]

Neither Spain nor the United States in the early period of its control attempted to improve the condition of the river mouths. In 1836 Congress made its first appropriation to clear the mouths of the river and assigned the task to the United States Army Engineer Department. That money besides an additional sum the following year was used to survey the river entrances and develop a plan to clear them. The army engineers recommended dredging with buckets, but unfortunately appropriations were exhausted before dredging could commence.[11]

Congress provided no additional money to the engineers for river mouth improvement until 1852. A dredging attempt, again using harrowing as the French had done, then proved futile because silt was deposited as fast as it was removed. Finally, the engineers sought other methods of bar removal. In 1856, when the Louisville, Kentucky, firm of Craig and Rightor proposed to use jetties to clear either Southwest Pass

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10. Walter M. Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," Louisiana History, V (Summer, 1964), pp. 235, 237-38; E.L. Corthell, A History of the Jetties at the Mouth of the Mississippi River (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1881), p. 17; Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana (4 vols.; orig. pub. New Orleans, 1854; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1965), p. 501.

11. Corthell, History of the Jetties, p. 17; Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," pp. 338-39.

or Pass a Loutre, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis ordered the army engineers to have that company place jetties in both passes. Jetty construction occurred over the next several years, but the flimsy wooden jetty walls were destroyed by the river almost as fast as they were built. Sea worms attacked and ate the wood as well. Craig and Rightor abandoned the project in 1859. Their faulty efforts led the army engineers to believe that jetties were not a feasible means for navigational improvement. A final antebellum attempt was made between January and August, 1860, to open Southwest Pass by stirring up the mud so the current would carry it into the Gulf. Success proved but temporary.[12]

The engineers returned to dredging attempts in the years immediately following the Civil War. Major Miles D. McAlester devised a scheme to build an unusual dredge which had two twenty-three-foot propellers that could cut into the mud and thereby dredge a channel through the shoals. Essayons, as the craft was named, was completed in the late summer of 1868 and moved into place at Pass a Loutre but after twenty minutes its churning propellers fell silent with cracked blades and damaged engines. Convinced of the vessel's utility, the undaunted engineers towed it to New Orleans for repairs. Despite repeated attempts and similar breakdowns, the engineers continued the effort with Essayons and a sister dredge built in 1872. The futility of the dredging effort was especially pronounced in the spring of 1873 when Southwest Pass, the major channel in use at the time, began to shoal. Numerous ships grounded on the bar and sealed the river from traffic. As before, the engineers' two double-propeller barges proved unable to clear the channel and New Orleans became inaccessible to ocean-going vessels.[13]

The threat to commerce caused by the blocked river mouth in 1873 led worried New Orleans merchants to revive a project first advocated in

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12. Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," pp. 240-41; Cowdrey, Land's End, p. 17.

13. Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," pp. 242-46.

the 1830s. They proposed the construction of a canal from the river below Fort St. Philip to Breton Island Sound. By this means they believed the problems at the river mouth could be circumvented. In this view Chief of Engineers Andrew A. Humphreys supported the merchants.[14] At the same time the city of New Orleans was advocating the Fort St. Philip canal, an alternative solution to navigational problems was introduced by a St. Louis engineer, James B. Eads. He proposed to construct jetties at the river's mouth, a plan that brought Eads into conflict with the majority of the army engineers and the New Orleans merchants. Based upon their experience in the 1850s, the Corps of Engineers scoffed at the jetty proposal. Eads won the day in 1874 when he announced that if the Government so allowed, he would construct jetties in one river pass at no charge to the Government if the project failed. Eads chose Southwest Pass for his experiment and successfully completed jetties there in 1879. Since that year navigational problems have not occurred at the river's mouth.[15]

Upstream areas of the Mississippi also inhibited navigation. Soon after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, Congress turned its attention to the problems encountered by larger river craft, especially steamboats, engaged in inter-regional navigation above New Orleans. During low water periods sandbars and snags presented hazards to river traffic. As its first step toward improving interior rivers, Congress passed an act in 1819 calling for a survey of Mississippi River tributaries. The following year another act extended the survey to the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers with the specific "purpose of facilitating and ascertaining the most practicable mode of improving the navigation on those rivers."[16] The results of the surveys brought about the first Federal appropriation for river improvement in 1824. Congress chose to

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14. Ibid., 246-47.

15. Ibid., 248-54.

16. Lippincott, "History of River Improvement," p. 634.

ignore levee construction since it deemed that activity a part of flood control and therefore subject to local responsibility. Instead, the Congress focused on the removal of snags from the river because they accounted for up to sixty percent of all boating accidents. Snags were trees, one end of which had become stuck in the river bottom while the other end pointed up, like a spear, towards the surface. Some of the trees, called sawyers, were particularly hazardous because they moved up and down with the current in a saw-like motion.[17]

Snag removal came under the authority of the War Department where it was supervised by the Chief of Engineers. The Engineer Department advertised a snag removal contract which was won by a Kentuckian named John Bruce. Bruce devised a craft called a "machine boat," consisting of two flatboats placed side by side but separated about ten feet apart by timbers. When the craft was positioned over a sunken tree, a crane with an iron claw was brought into play to remove the snag. Bruce's invention worked successfully for several years, but after Henry Shreve became superintendent of western river improvements in 1826 he designed and placed in service a more efficient snag removal vessel. It consisted of two steamboats with iron-plated hulls supporting a steam-driven crane. The work of Bruce and Shreve proved so successful that in 1832 no boat was lost to snags.[18]

By the late 1820s congressional appropriations allocated funds for the removal of sandbars as well as snags. Dredging and the use of wing dams were the most frequently utilized methods of stopping sandbar formations. After 1838, however, Congress no longer funded river improvement above New Orleans. Wing dams deteriorated, dredged

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17. Ibid., pp. 634-35.

18. Lippincott, "History of River Improvement," pp. 634-35; Louis C. Hunter, Steamboats on the Western Waters (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 193-94.

channels filled, and sandbars and snags reappeared. Boat accidents occurred in ever-increasing numbers until the Civil War reduced traffic.[19]

Shreve also attacked the problem of shoals in Turnbull's Bend just below where Red River enters the Mississippi. In 1831 he caused a cutoff to be dug across the bend, thereby reducing the distance steamboats must travel by some thirty miles and thus avoiding the shoals. Shreve's Cutoff, as it came to be called, proved to be a mistake because the resulting silting in the old bend channel inhibited navigation on the Red and held the potential for the Red to join the Atchafalaya and form a river paralleling the Mississippi. Against the advice of its own engineers, the state compounded the problem in the area when, in 1848, it ordered another cutoff at Raccourci Bend, several miles below the Red.[20]

Following the Civil War the Federal Government provided little aid for river improvements until 1879. Local and state commissions concentrated on restoring shattered levees caused by that conflict as the need for flood control received immediate attention. Finally, in 1879 Congress created the Mississippi River Commission and charged it with developing a program for improving the entire river system. Although flood control was one of its stated functions, congressional appropriations mandated that attention also be focused on aid to navigation. Since Eads's jetty system had begun to prove its worth by that time, the commission was free to concentrate on the river above New Orleans. It chose to extend and improve the levees as a means of keeping more water within the river channel so that vessels might encounter fewer navigational problems during the low-water season. At first the commission contracted for levee construction, but in 1882 the Corps of

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19. Hunter, Steamboats on the Western Rivers, pp. 200-01; Erik F. Haites, "Ohio and Mississippi River Transportation 1810-1860" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1969, Purdue University), p. 147.

20. The Mississippi River, p. 13; Cowdrey, Land's End, pp. 8, 51.

Engineers received the assignment of carrying out that work. At the commission's direction, the corps provided improved navigation for a dying transportation system. The river, however, was in good condition to meet the resurgence of traffic beginning in the 1920s. In the present day the ease of navigation and the freedom from periodic flooding has prompted the development of large industrial sections along the Mississippi, particularly in the corridor between New Orleans and Baton Rouge.[21]

21. Lippincott, "History of River Improvement," p. 655.

CHAPTER X: CULTURAL ECOLOGY, IMMIGRATION, AND CULTURAL GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

A. Introduction

Former Louisiana Governor David Treen recognized an amalgam of peoples in the composition of Louisiana--"Indian, French, Spanish, Acadian, African, Anglo, American, Italian, Irish, German, Yugoslav, and Oriental" ethnic origins--"all an integral thread in the tapestry of the state."[1] As one academic described that amalgam,

> A great cultural variety is a natural result of Louisiana's mixed history. Indians were succeeded by French from Europe, from Acadia in Canada, and from the West Indies. Spaniards came from Spain, from the Canary Islands, and from other sections of the New World. Scotch-Irish from the upland South settled in familiar-appearing parts of Louisiana. Planters from tidewater Virginia established new plantations in the bottomlands. Commercial lumbering brought northerners to the piney woods and swamp forests, while the opening of the prairies of southwestern Louisiana brought solid groups of farmers from the Midwest. Petroleum attracted Texans; and other economic developments, peoples from many places.[2]

This chapter focuses on the peoples from many places who settled along the lower Mississippi River. Cultural ecology, immigration, and cultural group characteristics are presented in the context of cultures in contact with the river and its attendant water and land forms, and cultures in contact with each other.

B. Cultural Ecology

The sequential pattern of land utilization for the study area is subsistence agriculture, plantation agriculture, and industrialization. Because agriculture and industrialization are covered elsewhere in this study, the relationships between cultural practices and land use under

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1. David C. Treen, "Foreword," River Trails, Bayous and Back Roads. Louisiana: A Dream State (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Office of Tourism, 1982), p. 2.

2. Fred B. Kniffen, "The Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana," Louisiana History IV (Fall, 1963), p. 293.

the rubric of cultural ecology are stressed here.[3] Cultural ecology considers the natural environment as a setting with certain possibilities and limits, a setting upon which "choices are made by culturally conditioned humans."[4] Cultural ecological analysis often focuses on technology, subsistence, and other categories of culture that relate to the environment and are affected by what become historical factors of continuity and change.[5] Such factors are functional linkages between the ways in which humans engage the reality of nature and how people relate to one another through patterns of conduct and other cultural forms.[6] Here follow some functional linkages or man/land relationships that show cultural adaptation and variation.

The Mississippi River is the single most important geographical feature in the study area; "the Mississippi River has been both a blessing and a curse to the people who live along it"[7]--a mighty

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3. Allen E. Begnand, "Louisiana," Encyclopedia of Southern History. Ed. by D.C. Roller and R.W. Twyman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), p. 737.

4. Fred B. Kniffen to Nicholas R. Spitzer, July 3, 1979, in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview." Ed. by Nicholas R. Spitzer (unpublished report dated 1979, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), p. 442.

5. Julian H. Steward, Theory of Culture Change (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 37; Morris Freilich, "The Natural Experiment: Ecology and Culture," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XIX (1963), p. 35; Robert Anderson, The Cultural Context: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1976), p. 347; Ino Rossi, "Cultural Ecology," in Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Ed. by David Hunter and Phillip Whitten (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), pp. 98-99; Robert McNetting, Cultural Ecology (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings Publishing Company, 1977), p. 17; Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Cultural Ecology, From Riverine to the Prairies: An Introduction to Man/Land Relationships in South Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 3.

6. Eric R. Wolf, "Culture: Panacea or Problem?" Distinguished Lecture, Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Princeton, New Jersey, March 10, 1982, Northeastern Anthropological Association Newsletter (Fall, 1982), pp. 2, 5-6.

7. Mary Marcia Gendron Gaudet, "The Folklore and Customs of the West Bank of St. John the Baptist Parish" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1980, University of Southwestern Louisiana), p. 40.

nurturant as a transportation and trading way and source of food and drinking water, but an everlasting obstacle to cross-river interaction and communication, not to mention the disaster potential at flood stage in modern times.

> There is only one river. All others in the world seem to pall by comparison. None other is so celebrated in song and story. None other has been so intensively studied by scientists. While the history of other rivers may extend centuries and millennia further back than our knowledge of the Mississippi, no other river has the enduring grandeur that makes the Mississippi great. . . . The land area over which all rainfall is directed toward the Mississippi River is more than one and one quarter million square miles, equal to more than one third of the whole United States. Water is collected from as far away as Maryland in the east and Montana and Wyoming in the west. No other river in the world carries such a tremendous volume of water except the Amazon. Over this vast rainshed about thirty inches of precipitation collect each year, most of which soaks into the ground or runs off through the Mississippi channel into the Gulf of Mexico. The amount of water discharged by this massive stream is unbelievably large; as much as two million cubic feet of water per second makes its way down the river, and in flood times this amount may be greatly increased. . . . It is almost certain that the aboriginal population looked upon their annual flooding as a blessing in disguise because it was by this means that their lands were renewed and made ready for the spring plantings.[8]

Natural level land is what the Indians sought, and they established fairly lineal settlements along old natural levees which were used for agriculture. The Europeans after them also selected natural levee land to cultivate. The French had a distinctive manner of dividing land along the Mississippi and neighboring bayous, a longlot system whereby each lot fronted the river or bayou and extended in depth to the back swamp. All ecological zones were thus included from river edge to back swamp, with the natural levee as the choice piece, and all landholders had transportation access to the water artery. The longlots were measured in French arpents, with one arpent equalling approximately one and one-half

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8. William G. Haag, "The Geography and Cultural Anthropology of the Mississippi River," Mississippi Quarterly, XVI (1963), pp. 171-72, 177.

acres, and each lot touched the Mississippi on its width.[9] Later Anglo-American settlers used a block settlement pattern, which, incidentally, was more like the Indian method of establishing linear settlements along natural levees than the French longlot system of settling at right angles to the river. The Anglo-Americans in some instances were able to consolidate lands fronting bayous by buying out Acadian petits habitants, or small farmers, creating a block of land and a nodal grouping of buildings that one authority has termed the Anglo block settlement pattern.[10]

Cultural Geographer Fred B. Kniffen cites the "addiction of the European inhabitants to agriculture" as a major theme in the cultural ecology of the lower Mississippi, despite the loss, by constructing artifical levees, of the rich silt brought down the river through the ages as land renewal for the natural levees. Kniffen highlights the differences in technological capacity between Indians and Europeans in the Lower Mississippi Valley to till the ground, hunt, and ascend the waterways. Europeans were able to harness more energy per work unit than the tribesmen.[11]

Increased technological capacity, however, does not necessarily mean better adaptation. Depleting a resource by overkilling or poisoning it through chemical pollution obviously becomes non-adaptive. Yet the concern is great today that the spread of technological capacity is

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9. Ibid., p. 179; Willard Price, "The Lower Mississippi," National Geographic, CXVIII (November, 1960), p. 682; Rene Le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," Louisiana History, VIII (Winter, 1967), p. 82; Fred B. Kniffen, The Lower Mississippi Valley: European Settlement, Utilization, and Modification (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeastern Regional Office, and Little Rock: Arkansas Archeological Survey, 1971), passim; John B. Rehder, "Sugar Plantation Settlements of Southern Louisiana: A Cultural Geography" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1971, Louisiana State University); Spitzer, "Cultural Ecology," p. 3.

10. Rehder, "Sugar Plantation Settlements," p. 115.

11. Kniffen, Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 1, 2; Ralph A. Graves, "Louisiana, Land of Perpetual Romance," National Geographic, LVII (April, 1930), p. 395; Price, "The Lower Mississippi," 682.

becoming increasingly associated with a lower capacity of the environment to support life, especially as oil and other industries continue to flock to the lower Mississippi taking over formerly available agricultural land. Kniffen says that wildlife, including deer, waterfowl, bear, turkey, and fish, constituted a large part of the subsistence of the early European settlers. As early as 1749 it became apparent in the New Orleans area that game was decreasing to the extent that it was no longer reliable as a food source. Today waterfowl hunting will never approach its eighteenth century heyday, nor will fresh water river shrimping, which has been victimized by overkilling and pollution. Man can well fall prey to his own devices. This environmental destruction was and is directly related to European and Euro-American practices.[12]

The Bonnet Carre Spillway may be a marvel of modern technology. Completed in 1936, it can carry almost two million gallons of water per second out of the Mississippi River into Lake Pontchartrain from which body it enters the Gulf of Mexico thus entirely avoiding New Orleans. Yet advanced technology is no guarantee of progress.[13]

> It is pertinent to emphasize the fact that the kind of agriculture practiced by aboriginal peoples in the Mississippi Valley was of such a nature that it was ideally suited to the geographic situation. The aboriginal agriculture of all the New World was characterized by hoe cultivation, that is, the plow was absolutely unknown before the advent of Europeans. The essential plants were maize or Indian corn, squash of numerous varieties, and perhaps a number of kinds of beans. These three vegetables were planted simultaneously in the same hillock, and thus the beans could twine about the stalks of corn and squashes meander over the ground. On these fertile natural-levee lands, yields of approximately twenty-five bushels

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12. Randall A. Detro, "Mississippi Delta," in Encyclopedia of Southern History, p. 837; Kniffen, Lower Mississippi Valley, pp. 2, 12; N.M. Miller Surrey, The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), p. 259; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, p. 48; William C. Manson, "Civilization as Disease," Dialetical Anthropology, VI (1982), p. 273.

13. Price, "The Lower Mississippi," pp. 703-04; Detro, "Mississippi Delta," p. 837.

per acre were attained by Indians. Not until after 1850 when the steel-pointed plow had been introduced into the area was this average exceeded.[14]

As a further example, the colonial French and British who occupied the Mississippi Valley built different types of houses using identical materials. The French borrowed West Indian ideas for their Creole-raised cottages with large hipped roofs that provided excellent insulation.[15] Some Anglo-Americans were seemingly more style conscious as was seen in the elaborate Georgian front entrances incorporated in the classic Greek Revival plantation houses they built along the Mississippi:

> From tidewater Virginia came aristocratic planters thoroughly imbued with ideas as to the proper manner of living and equipped with capital and slave labor sufficient to put them into effect. The Virginians were steeped in the Georgian architectural tradition in elaborate entrances . . . and [were] amenable to influence from the classical revival.[16]

By the first decade of the nineteenth century only a thin line of plantations had spread slowly upstream from New Orleans on the choice natural levee lands. Two decades later both banks of the Mississippi were lined with plantations. In their heyday before the Civil War, the plantations were largely self-contained adaptations to cash crops, using slave labor for planting and harvesting and river transportation to reach their markets.[17]

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14. Haag, "Geography and Cultural Anthropology," p. 177.

15. Kniffen, Lower Mississippi Valley, p. 1; Beth Littleton, History of Destrehan Plantation Manor (Destrehan, La.: River Road Historical Society, nd), pp. 2-3.

16. Kniffen, "Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana," pp. 294-95.

17. Haag, "Geography and Cultural Anthropology," p. 178; Guy Lyman, III, "Louisiana Plantations: Adapting to a Changing World," Go Magazine: The Authentic Guide to New Orleans (November, 1982), p. 4.

1. African Slaves

On Emanicipation Day, January, 1863, 331,726 slaves, African in origin, were freed in Louisiana. Many of their descendants today live along the banks of the Mississippi in former plantation country as well as in New Orleans. As early as September 1712, under the terms of charter granted him by the French government for exclusive trading rights in Louisiana, Antoine Crozat was permitted to send one vessel per year to West Africa for Blacks to be sold as slaves in Louisiana. Before that time there were only about twenty black slaves in Louisiana. The first large forced emigration or importation of slaves did not occur until the summer, 1719, when 500 Africans arrived from Guinea. By 1722 2,500 African slaves had arrived, a figure that increased to 6,000 by 1731.[18] Individuals from at least eighty different African populations were brought as slaves to what is now the United States varying from the Wolof of Senegal to the Ovimbundu of Angola. West Africa was heavily represented, but some came from East Africa, including Mozambique. Slave ships were floating horrors with crowded quarters below deck, horrible food, rampant disease, and an appalling death rate.[19] There were many incentives for profit and few sanctions for Atlantic slave traders until 1807 and 1811, when heavy penalties were imposed on British subjects in who engaged in the slave trade. In 1808 the United States also outlawed further importation of slaves.

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18. Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Afro-Americans in South Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 284; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, pp. i-x; Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Baton Rouge: J.E. Ortlieb, 1931), p. 61; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "From African Captivity to American Slavery: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana," Louisiana History, XX (Winter, 1979), p. 26; James Calhoun and Helen K. Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, 1979-1980, (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Company, 1979), p. 84; John G. Clark, New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 24.

19. Philip D. Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Atlantic Slave Trade," Problems in African History. Ed. by R.O. Collins (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 358, 361; Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 291-98; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, p. x. Arthur W. Cook, Africa: Past and Present (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1965), p. 40.

A ready market for slave labor in the New World was the paramount reason for the slave trade. Nevertheless, European trade goods were also a motivating factor in the Atlantic slave trade as part of an "African willingness and ability to export fellow Africans".[20] No less than 150 different kinds of European trade goods, especially guns, were paid to African elites, to traffic in humans. Stated one authority:

> The Atlantic slave trade left the capture, transport, and maintenance [to and at the coast] of slaves largely to local political and economic entities. . . . The Europeans furnished the commodities most desired by the African elites--fine cloth made in India, Brazilian tobacco, rum, metal, and guns, above all guns, guns by the hundreds of thousands annually. Thus, we get the emergence of the "gunpower" politics. Asante [Ashanti] has its origins among Twi-speaking matrilineages that began to acquire guns in the mid-seventeenth century and were strong enough by 1699 to replace other rivals in dealings with the Europeans. Similar processes underlie the rise to dominance of Oyo, Dahomey, and the city-states of the Niger delta.[21]

Some 600,000 Africans were forcibly emigrated to the North American mainland between 1690 and 1808.[22] Blacks have contributed greatly to the regional culture of the Mississippi Delta as slaves, as free people of color, and as full citizens, especially in such forms of expressive culture as music, food, language, and folklore.

2. Voodooism as Concomitant of Land Use Practice

Voodoo is one Afro-American cultural characteristic found in Louisiana. It has to do with magico-religious beliefs in certain spirits and in their intervention in human affairs through ritual invocation. Voodoo originated in a Black, French, West Indian tradition that entered Louisiana from West Africa through Haiti by way of the Atlantic slave

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20. Johannes Postma, "The Atlantic Slave Trade," in Encyclopedia of Southern History, p. 1116.

21. Wolf, "Culture," p. 4.

22. Postma, "Atlantic Slave Trade," p. 1116.

trade.[23] One scholar has described the demonstrable origins of voodoo as a mystery, defining it as a complex mixture "of the few bits of African culture that survived the Black man's traumatic immigration to the New World, and the trappings of French folklore and Roman Catholic worship."[24] Yet another indicates that voodoo methods matured from the widely different sources of African and European folklore and American Indian medicine.[25]

Voodoo contains many African elements with Dahomey, West Africa, especially as a place of origin. Historically, voodoo flourished in French-occupied areas such as Haiti. With reference to Louisiana, after existing in New Orleans for several decades, the practice of voodoo increased early in the nineteenth century when an influx into Louisiana of Haitian and West Indian Blacks occurred between 1804 and 1810.[26] Several decades later there was a surge of reports on voodoo in the New Orleans press during Reconstruction. As one observer noted, "In the period of tumultuous Reconstruction politics, the conservative White press was quick to exploit any evidence of voodoo to make it appear that Blacks were ill prepared to vote and hold public office."[27]

It should be noted that the practice of voodoo during its heyday in Louisiana before the Civil War had many Black as well as quite a few White adherents.[28] Voodoo still exists. Despite the open entrepreneurial

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23. Spitzer, "Afro-Americans," pp. 138, 291.

24. Blake Touchstone, "Voodoo in New Orleans," Louisiana History, XIII (Fall, 1972), pp. 373-74.

25. Hortense Powermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 295.

26. Roger Bastide, African Civilizations in the New World (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 11-12; Touchstone, "Voodoo," pp. 373-74, 377; Spitzer, "Afro-Americans," p. 277.

27. Touchstone, "Voodoo," p. 371.

28. Ibid., p. 372.

selling of voodoo charms which can be traced to at least the 1870s (and which continues today as the business of a voodoo speciality shop at 521 St. Philip Street in the French Quarter), the hallmark of voodoo remains its secrecy. Secrecy prevails; secret ceremonies persist in modern Louisiana, particularly in New Orleans.[29]

In voodoo belief, a person seeks out a voodoo doctor for an amulet, or gris gris, to bring good fortune to the seeker and harm to his or her enemies. The gris gris may contain a concoction, such as of blood, bones, feathers, grave dust, herbs, saliva, or hair, often wrapped in red flannel and worn around the neck. However, the power of the amulet is not the only thing that is important. Strong will power is essential to aid the voodoo towards its end. Some voodoo doctors insist they work miracles "by the grace of God" and see no conflict between Christianity, Catholicism, and voodoo. One voodoo doctor reported that he would not teach his power to an unworthy person who might use it for evil instead of good, thus affording recognition of the belief that power inherent in voodoo can be used for either good or evil. One method of hexing an enemy is to place an appropriate voodoo charm on, or in, an adversary's pillow. Such an example was reported in the New Orleans Picayune on July 31, 1886, and involved a woman's throwing of her father's pillow into the Mississippi to drown some sort of fetish contained in it that was making her father ill. After the pillow was gone, the man supposedly recovered.[30]

Voodoo first appeared as part of Black Creole Catholic culture as a coping mechanism of slaves of the French. It soon spread to slaves of the Anglo-Americans. Today an aspect of voodoo, the carrying of protective amulets, is popular among both Catholic and Protestant rural Blacks, such as those along the Mississippi on the west bank of St. John the Baptist Parish. Anthropologists place the survival of voodoo in the context of other African cultural survivals in Louisiana: body art, such as tattooing; music, including jazz and zodico; foodways, such as the

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29. Ibid., p. 382.

30. Ibid., pp. 382-84; Powermaker, After Freedom, p. 292.

many forms of gumbo; and the African overtones found in the Louisiana Creole French language. The latter has been described as having a French lexicon, an Africanized phonology, and a Creole syntax.[31] This combination of traits is a good example of cultures in contact. Thus, in Louisiana Creole French, the words are French, the sounds are pronounced with African overtones, and the grammar has a distinctiveness or unique way of forming sentences that developed in Louisiana.

C. Cultures in Contact

When cultures are in contact, borrowing of either a free or a directional nature may take place. Culture shock can occur, too, which, of course, inhibits borrowing. An example of the latter was the aroused colonial French reaction to the widespread Indian treatment of prisoners of war--death by torture.[32] White and Indian prisoners of war were often burned alive by their captors.[33] Gayarre describes the death or torture of enemy Indian prisoners of war of the Natchez and other Southeastern Indians, and how the Indian victim, "far from weeping or begging for mercy, . . . sang as if in defiance of his enemies . . . [and] heaped upon them every opprobrious epithet . . . [to cheat] his tormentors of . . . [his] agony."[34] Southeastern Indians in turn were shocked at the sharp way Frenchmen sometimes disciplined their children, being generally less permissive than the Indians.[35]

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31. Spitzer, "Afro-Americans," pp. 291; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, p. x.

32. Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 137.

33. Joseph L. Peyser, "The Chickasaw Wars of 1736 and 1740: French Military Drawings and Plans Document the Struggle for the Lower Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History, XLIV (February, 1982), pp. 11-12.

34. Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana (4 vols.; orig. pub. New Orleans, 1854, 1866. Reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1965), I, 320.

35. Walter B. Miller, "Two Concepts of Authority," American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), pp. 271-89.

An example of free borrowing may be found in foodways called gumbos, of which New Orleans abounds. These are okra-based dishes of West African origin. As one student noted, "This is, of course gumbo in Louisiana French, and has come to refer to the entire dish, whether it contains okra or not."[36] Gumbo and jambalaya (sausage and rice) have been coupled into a popular cultural category labeled "Cajun-affiliated," but it is just as easy in Louisiana to find the very same foods called "Creole dishes".[37] It is interesting to note that the borrowing of African gumbo (okra) has become so diffuse that its meaning as okra is lost in some instances. Such is the implication in the menu usage of the Gumbo Shop Restaurant in the French Quarter. Among its entrees may be found "Seafood Okra Gumbo (Bowl)" and "Creole Seafood Okra Gumbo (Dish)." Since okra (nkruman) and gumbo (gumbo) are both West African in origin with subtleties that escape modern Americans in Louisiana and elsewhere, perhaps it is only fitting and not linguistically redundant to find okra gumbo among chicken, shrimp, and other gumbos or thick soups.

On the subject of foodways, Old World transplants with local substitutions can be found in Louisiana. Colonial French and Acadian French settlers borrowed the basics of jambalaya, from the Spanish paella, but adapted it to what was available in Louisiana--onions, garlic, green pepper, ham, sausage, and rice.[38] Jambalaya is derived from jambon, the French word for ham.

> The Europeans who settled this part of the country brought with them the feel for food, which pervades our [Louisiana] culture to this day. One of their great loves was sausage, so much a part of life in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy whence they came. We are all beneficiaries of that predeliction since they continued to make sausages in their Louisiana home.[39]

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36. Spitzer, "Afro-Americans," p. 290.

37. Ibid., p. 289; Mary L. Capouch, "Tchoupitoulas Plantation," Go Magazine: The Authentic Guide to New Orleans (December, 1979), p. 43.

38. Frank Bailey, "Jambalaya," Go Magazine: The Authentic Guide to New Orleans (January, 1983), p. 16.

39. Frank Bailey, "Creole Sausages," Go Magazine: The Authentic Guide to New Orleans (November, 1982), p. 16.

Andouille, a French Creole (native Louisiana born) sausage made from chitterlings or hog intestines in France, became in Louisiana a "slightly smokey and peppery blend of pork, garlic, and seasonings".[40] Boudin rouge, a French Acadian sausage in Canada and France made of ground pork liver, kidney, and blood mixed with rice and red pepper, became in Louisiana a pale-colored speciality, "a pork sausage mixed with a savory rice dressing," boudin blanc.[41]

> But if Cajuns [Acadians] carry on this secondary tradition of white boudin or boudin blanc, what happened to the primary one, the pseudo-Assyrian blood pudding, boudin rouge, still so popular in modern France when grilled and accompanied with sauteed apple rings or mashed potatoes? Barry Ancelet [of Lafayette, Louisiana] thought the Cajun version, . . . boudin rouge, had died out completely. But at least one enterprising food retailer, LeBouef's of Broussard [Louisiana], still produces Cajun blood pudding on a daily basis in a sausage factory tucked away behind a big conventional American supermarket.[42]

The author of this passage believed that boudin blanc was always more popular in Louisiana than boudin rouge, perhaps because of the force of custom.[43]

An instance of directional borrowing is the Gallicization of German family names of those who settled in the 1720s on the German Coast or Cote des Allemands of the Mississippi River, in what is now St. Charles and St. John the Baptist parishes. The German Coast is defined as "land along the banks of the Mississippi in the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist, settled by Germans and Swiss from 1719 through 1774."[44] St. John the Baptist Parish is divided between the German and

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40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Raymond Sokolov, "Hot Cajun Sausage," Natural History, LXXXIX (Number 8, 1980), p. 94.

43. Ibid., p. 92.

44. William A. Read, Louisiana French (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1931), p. 111.

Acadian Coasts, lower and upper parts, respectively. Gallicization resulted from the assimilation of the German settlers with the dominant French culture. The Germans became surrounded by the French, first downriver and then upriver from the German Coast. Ironically, the Germans were on the river before the Acadians. There were Acadians in St. John the Baptist Parish as early as 1766. The very first Acadians, four families from New York, arrived in Louisiana on April 6, 1754, and settled upriver in St. James Parish near the modern town of St. James. Yet because of the similarity between the Germans and Acadians as yeoman farmers or petit inhabitants, the Germans became "cajunized" or absorbed by French Acadian culture. The Germans borrowed the French language and customs of the Acadians, so much so that they came to regard themselves as Acadians or Cajuns. Conversely, what the Germans contributed to the Acadians was the accordion; the Germans are probably responsible for the introduction of the accordion to Cajun music.[45] (A note on the definition of Cajun: according to Sokolov, Cajun is a North American Anglophone corruption of the French Acadien. The Acadiens were the eighteenth century French settlers of Acadie, what is now the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, and the Gaspe Peninsula of Quebec. Acadie was and still is the home of the Micmac Indians. The origin of term Acadie may derive from the Micmac akaatii, a piece or area of land, sometimes equated with the land of the Micmac people.[46] The French Acadians were forcibly expelled by the British from Acadie [or Acadia] in 1755.) Numerous German names were Gallicized. Of particular interest is Schaf, which became Chauffe and Chauff. Cyprien Chauff built a house in 1882 on the German Coast in St. John the Baptist Parish. He was descended from Jacob Shaf, who came from Weisenburg, Germany. Cyprien's father, George Chauff

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45. Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, p. ix; Nicholas R. Spitzer, "European Ethnic Groups on the Mississippi Delta of Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," pp. 301-02; Calhoun and Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, p. 85;

46. Sokolov, "Hot Cajun Sausage," p. 92; Andrew H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 71; Silas T. Rand, Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1888; reprint New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972), p. 177.

acquired the land in 1844 on which the 1882 house stands as part of Emilie Plantation.[47]

Adaptive borrowing as part of the theme of cultures in contact may be thought of as developing a new use out of an old practice. A mundane but creative example is the cobblestone paving of the French Quarter, New Orleans, which was taken from the Old World as ballast and laid in New Orleans on Gravier and Magazine Streets in 1817. The city in the second decade of the nineteenth century paid bounties when a ship carried rock as ballast instead of sand, hence the European origin of many of the paving stones of New Orleans. On a less material but still European note of origin, the practice of cleaning graves just prior to All Saints Day, widespread in southern Louisiana, is a cultural inheritance from medieval Catholicism by way of the French that has passed into Baptist and Methodist practice, both White and Black.[48]

By no other event can the theme of cultures in contact be more dramatically illustrated than by the Mardi Gras in New Orleans, centered in the French Quarter. The French Quarter itself epitomizes peoples and cultures in contact, having been cosmopolitan since its infancy in the early eighteenth century as a commerce center and port of trade. Spontaneous street pagents, balls, and masquerades were characteristic of the Mardi Gras in New Orleans from its early days. The first formally organized celebration took place in 1857 when the Mistick Krewe of Comus appeared in the name of Comus, the Greek and Roman god of mirth and festive joy, at the head of a torchlight parade. It continued annually until the outbreak of the Civil War. The Mistick Krewe of Comus resumed in 1872, along with two new Mardi Gras organizations, Rex-King of Carnival and the Knights of Momus. Mardi Gras and Fat Tuesday evolved from the Old World custom of parading and feasting before Lent. Many

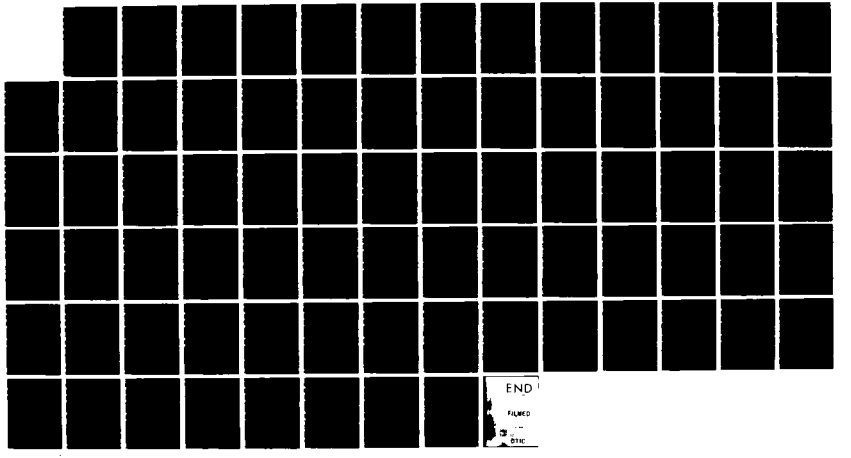
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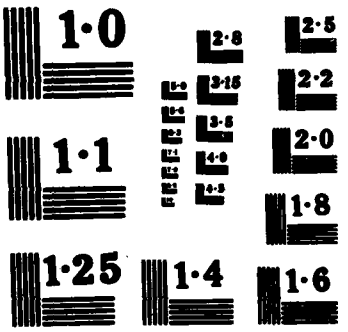
47. Read, Louisiana French, p. 111; Jean M. Eyraud and Donald J. Millet, A History of St. John the Baptist Parish (Marrero, La.: Hope Haven Press, 1939), p. 89.

48. Graves, "Louisiana," p. 399; Spitzer, "Afro-Americans," p. 292.

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different ethnic groups today participate in the carnival-like Mardi Gras of New Orleans, and there is a folk element to the much smaller Mardi Gras parades on the levees upriver along the Mississippi, as at Edgard, and to the country Mardi Gras celebrations involving horseback riding, as in the Acadian town of Mamou.[49]

This description only hints at the rich diversity and distinctiveness of the cultures in contact along the Lower Mississippi. Worth noting here is a tendency towards cultural uniformity. Consistent with recent cultural ecological and geographical orientation is the vanishing skills of working and living on the land. Skills and arts such as woodworking, basketry, weaving, meat curing, making blood pudding, baking, and producing syrup are being replaced by centralized sources of supply. Modern centralized sources of electric power, natural gas, building materials, stores, and bakeries that only mean greater cultural uniformity, a loss of economic independence per homestead, and an increasing vulnerability to large-scale disruptions and disasters. Social scientists detect changes in the cultural landscape correlated with centralized supply sources and the passing of skills associated with an older, more self-sustaining subsistence economy.[50]

1. Perique Tobacco

Perique is a pungent variety of tobacco, famous worldwide as a pipe blend (United States Type 72), and grown only on the east bank of the Mississippi on some 1,000 acres in St. James Parish. The raising of Louisiana perique is a matter of both culture and ecology. It is cultural in that there has been an uninterrupted succession of perique cultivation from 1776 to the present as an Euro-American product, and before that as an Indian one. It is ecological in that the right combination of climate and soil seems only to be found in what is now St.

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49. Clark, New Orleans, p. 25; Carolyn B. Patterson, "Mardi Gras in New Orleans," National Geographic, XCVIII (November, 1960), p. 726; Anthony Tassin, "Mardi Gras in Edgard (St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana)," Louisiana Folklore Miscellany III (April, 1970), pp. 76-77.

50. Kniffen, "Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana," p. 292, 298-99.

James Parish near Lutcher, Louisiana. Although perique seed will grow anywhere that other varieties of tobacco grow, the perique plant seems to mature somewhat differently elsewhere. What is sought and produced in Louisiana is a glossy black, spicy strong variety for blending with lighter, milder tobaccos in pipe mixtures. Commercial perique is traced to an Acadian refugee, Pierre Canet, nicknamed "Perique," who settled in St. James Parish in 1776. He learned perique tobacco cultivation directly from some Indian neighbors, probably Houmas, and is credited with being the first to introduce perique as a cash crop. His descendants and those of other Acadians who became tobacco farmers comprise the few families who carry on the perique tradition today. They continue to produce and process this dark, rich leaf through the La Perique Tobacco Company in Lutcher, exporting much of it to other parts of the world.[51]

Houmas, Bayogoulas, and Acolapissas lived along the perique section of the Mississippi River. The Houmas were the dominant group in a loose confederation, having essentially absorbed the other two peoples as refugees by 1739. The Houmas are known to have sold land on the east bank in 1776, but they remained in the area until early in the next century.[52] Although Indians were growing tobacco when the French arrived in Louisiana, the Acadians may well have borrowed a few curing techniques from the colonial French, who steadily increased their tobacco production from 1720 on. The process of curing the tobacco has been described thusly:

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51. Calhoun and Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, p. 315; Harnett T. Kane, "Land of Louisiana Sugar Kings," National Geographic, CVIII (April, 1958), pp. 561, 567; Harry Hansen, Louisiana: A Guide to the State (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1971), pp. 64, 522; River Trails, Bayous and Back Roads, p. 114.

52. John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America 196, 200, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 145; reprinted 1971, pp. 186, 196, 200; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana: A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1971), p. 80A.

> [The grower] hung the stalks in a drying-shed, bottom end upward in order that the sap would gradually flow down into the leaves. As the leaves dried . . . he stripped them, tied them into bundles, wrapped the bundles in cloth for a time, then tightened and rewrapped the bundles. [The grower] . . . wrote that, "This tobacco turned black and so waxy that it could not be rasped in less than a year; but then it had a substance and flavour so much more agreeable . . . I sold it for double the price of the common."[53]

Modern perique curing is remarkably similar, and is tied in twists to cure in its own juices. Perique is sold in carottes or cylindrical rolls and exported to such places as Canada, England, and Norway as one of the most expensive tobaccos grown.[54] The perique story is one of cultural borrowing and one in which an individual's innovation became cultural for his group.

2. Jean Etienne de Bore as Culture Hero

The topic of this section is the successful start of sugar cane production on the Lower Mississippi at the close of the eighteenth century. Sugar cane rapidly became a plantation staple, an event often attributed to the efforts of a single planter, Jean Etienne de Bore, who experimented on his land in what is now Audubon Park, New Orleans. Since the historical literature emphasizes de Bore's contribution so singularly, the anthropological term "culture hero" is employed here to call attention to the cultural ecological importance of his innovation. His success ensured the dominance of riverine plantation agriculture from his day to the Civil War.

In 1795, Etienne de Bore demonstrated that despite the nine-month growing season, compared to the twelve-month-long season in the West Indies, crystallized sugar could be profitably produced from cane in

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53. Davis, Louisiana, p. 73, quoting Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, The History of Louisiana (London: T. Becket, 1774).

54. Kane, "Land of Louisiana Sugar Kings," pp. 561, 567; Ansen, Louisiana, p. 522.

Louisiana.[55] Appellations have been applied to de Bore, such as "Savior of Louisiana" and "Father of the Sugar Cane Industry in Louisiana." At least one student goes so far as to say that de Bore "developed a process for the manufacture of granulated sugar, and thus gave the New World a new industry."[56] The historian Charles Gayarre opined that de Bore "succeeded for the first time in the [Louisiana] colony in securing the granulation of the juice."[57] Others stated that Etienne de Bore produced the first successful sugar crop in Louisiana.[58] Following is a summary on the introduction of sugar cane to Louisiana.

> Legend credits the introduction of sugar cane to the Jesuits, who are supposed to have brought it from Santo Domingo about 1751, but in all probability it was first planted at some point along the Gulf Coast or the lower Mississippi by either Iberville or Bienville during the first years of settlement. It was certainly being grown in 1733, as Bienville mentions it in his report of that year. Until the late 1740s, it was grown only in small amounts for the making of a poor-grade syrup or an even poorer alcoholic drink called "tafia." There is reason to believe that during the 1740s Joseph Villars Dubreuil began to experiment with sugar cane, and sometime before his death in 1757 built the first sugar mill in Louisiana. But the clarifying and granulating process could not be mastered, and the sodden mass called "sugar" leaked from the casks in shipment; the Louisiana sugar industry had to await the success of Etienne de Bore in perfecting the granulation process in 1795.[59]

What de Bore did was to employ certain open-kettle boiling methods brought from Santo Domingo by Josep Solis and perfected by Antonio Mendez on a small scale in Louisiana. What de Bore did was to boil the

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55. Clark, New Orleans, p. 213; Joe Gray Taylor, Louisiana: A Bicentennial History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976), p. 28; Calhoun and Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, pp. 64, 86.

56. Richard J. Amundson, "Sugar Industry," in Encyclopedia of Southern History, p. 1170; Graves, "Louisiana, Land of Perpetual Romance," p. 395.

57. Ibid.

58. Gayarre, History of Louisiana, I, iv.

59. Calhoun and Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, p. 269.

the syrup rapidly enough to satisfactorily reach a "graining point" at which uniform crystals form and grow.[60]

When de Bore experimented with sugar cane, indigo, the principal cash crop, was being devastated by insects and fowl weather.[61] "Bad weather, followed by a plague of caterpillars in 1793-1794, played havoc with indigo production."[62] Thus, planters were ready for a replacement for indigo, and the land was well suited for sugar cane. Although sugar cane could grow in a variety of soils, the ideal was a mixture of sand, silt, clay, and organic matter found in the rich bottomlands of southeastern Louisiana. So circumstances were ripe in 1795 for a substitute crop like sugar cane to be adopted in place of indigo if it could be shown to be practicable.[63] Yet de Bore was not without critics and naysayers at the time who were skeptical of his plan to extract granulated sugar from nine-month cane. But he successfully persisted, and after his experiment actively campaigned "to convince Louisiana planters to convert to cane sugar production."[64] He was successful in this endeavor, too. Soon sugar replaced indigo as a staple of the lower Mississippi by way of extensive sugar plantations.[65]

A culture hero is a recognized bringer or inventor, real or mythological, of customs or lifeways to a society. It is suggested here

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60. Davis, Louisiana, p. 72; Amundson, "Sugar Industry," p. 1170; Gayarre, History of Louisiana, III, 349; Harold L. Lyon, et al, "The Manufacture of Sugar," in Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: William Benton Publisher, 1961), XXI, 528-29.

61. Gayarre, History of Louisiana, III, 346.

62. Paul F. LaChance, "The Politics of Fear: French Louisianians and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809," Plantation Society (June, 1979), p. 170.

63. Amundson, "Sugar Industry," p. 1170; G. Melvin Herndon, "Indigo Culture," in Encyclopedia of Southern History, p. 624.

64. Amundson, "Sugar Industry," p. 1170.

65. Clark, New Orleans, p. 218.

that as innovator and popularizer of a practice that affected land use, the economy, and a social system symbolic of the Old South, Etienne de Bore is a culture hero in a descriptive sense. He overcame the conventional wisdom--the conservative force of custom--and showed that syrup from sugar cane in Louisiana would granulate and could be marketed profitably. His efforts greatly affected the manner in which land was used for at least half a century, for it perpetuated the plantation system begun with indigo. De Bore, of course, would be no hero, cultural or otherwise, to Afro-Americans because his sugar success and the resultant cane cultivation led to the importation of large numbers of African slaves in the early nineteenth century.[66] De Bore's feat can be summed up as follows: "When de Bore ignored his critics and planted his cane, he performed an innovative, if not desperate, act in search of a substitute cash crop for indigo. Hardly less can be said of the dozens of planters who imitated him within a year or two.[67]

De Bore was not alone once he had made his point; others followed. One was his colleague and brother-in-law, Jean Noel d'Estrehan of what is now known as the Destrehan Plantation Manor House on the east bank of the Mississippi in St. Charles Parish. D'Estrehan turned out to be an equally industrious and apt planter who first used bagasse, the remainder of the cane stalk after mill crushing, for fuel in boiling the syrup and as a field cover at harvest to protect cut cane from frost. The work of de Bore and d'Estrehan has been viewed as applied science: "The cane sugar industry by 1800 provided an outstanding example of the rewards to be gained through the application of science and technology to agriculture."[68] This analysis fits that of others who stress the

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66. Anderson, The Cultural Context, p. 347; Amundson, "Sugar Industry," p. 1170; La Chance, "Politics of Fear," p. 170.

67. Clark, New Orleans, p. 220.

68. Ibid., p. 219.

importance of European technology and agriculture as themes in the cultural ecology of the lower Mississippi Valley.[69]

3. English Turn

Consistent with aforementioned cultural-ecological themes of technology and agriculture for the lower Mississippi, the story of the naming of English Turn is recounted to emphasize the importance of New Orleans as a port and the Mississippi as a waterway. In folklore, tales like that of English Turn fit a category of "stories reputed true" or "historical anecdotes of interesting incidents." In September, 1699, Jean Baptise Le Moyne de Bienville, descending the Mississippi with two canoes, came upon the English frigate Carolina Galley anchored in the river at the last great downstream bend, eighteen or so miles below what is now New Orleans. Bienville dissuaded the English captain, Lewis Banks, from staying by asserting that a large French force was hovering out of sight farther upstream. He waxed that the French had already explored and taken possession of this particular river and assured the captain that the river he sought to establish a settlement was located farther west. The bluff worked, and Banks weighed anchor, turned about, and sailed downstream and away. Bienville dubbed the spot Le Detour des Anglais, or English Turn, its name ever since.[70]

According to another version, a group of Washa and Chawasha Indians had noticed and monitored the ascent of Carolina Galley and attacked when Captain Banks tried to land. Banks turned about and

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69. See Kniffen, Lower Mississippi Valley, p. 2 and passim.

70. Melville J. Herskovits, "Negro Folklore," in Cultures and Societies of Africa. Ed. by Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 337; Herbert Asbury, The French Quarter: An Informal History (Saint Simons, Ga.: Mockingbird Books, 1936), p. 28; Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year 1802, Giving a Correct Picture of Those Countries. Trans. by John Davis (New York: I. Riley and Company, 1806), p. 20; Davis, Louisiana, p. 41; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana. (4 vols.; New York: Manzi, Joyant, and Company, 1904), I, 258; Hansen, Louisiana, p. 39; Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane (New Orleans: A.L. Boimare, 1831), p. 19; Kniffen, Lower Mississippi Valley, p. 19.

departed.[71] Either way, an English ship's turning about is the origin of the English Turn. Its historical significance is that Carolina Galley is regarded as the "first ocean-going vessel of which there is record to dare the entrance to the Mississippi."[72] Carolina Galley and its "English Turn" showed Bienville that a port settlement could and should be established upriver from the mouth of the Mississippi. All else follows in Louisiana history or at least in its cultural ecology from this "pivotal" incident: the Mississippi as entryway.

D. Immigration and Cultural Groups of the Lower River

According to the census of 1980, Louisiana's population at that time numbered 4,203,000 persons. That figure started centuries ago with an estimated aboriginal population of 13,000. By 1731, the non-aboriginal population stood at somewhere between 7,000 and 5,000 Whites and 2,000 Blacks. In 1717 three ships left LaRochelle, France, for Louisiana with some 800 colonists aboard. By 1720, the population was around 6,000, including 500 or so African slaves who arrived in 1719. That year 250 Germans came and settled on the Arkansas River, but by 1721 they had moved to the German Coast on the Mississippi. One hundred thirty-one years later, one-fourth of the total population of 517,762 or 129,440 were foreign-born. People were still coming, and people are coming yet, the Vietnamese being the most recently arrived ethnic group with some 6,000 in Louisiana in 1979. The Acadians are the single most populous identifiable ethnic group totaling about one-third of Louisiana's present population.[73]

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71. Du Pratz, History of Louisiana, p. 276; Fortier, History of Louisiana, I, 258.

72. Walter M. Lowrey, "The Engineers and the Mississippi," Louisiana History V (Summer, 1964), p. 234.

73. U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1981), p. 9. The Indian population today is almost exactly what the White population was in 1731, 5,000 or so. Fred B. Kniffen, The Indians of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), p. 108; Calhoun and Kempe, Louisiana Almanac, pp. 84, 85; Ewell P. Roy and Donald Leary, "Socio-Economic Survey of American Indians in Louisiana," Louisiana Agriculture (Fall, 1977), pp. 14-15; Riley E. Baker, The History

In its first hundred years New Orleans grew into a bustling port and trading center, "a crossroads of culture during that dynamic century [1718-1818], . . . a cosmopolitan place where language and way of life were different from bayou to bayou, from village to village, from street to street."[74] This quote represents the cultural diversity that so typifies the lower Mississippi region. The level of detailed ethnography or cultural description implied above prompts a question: what units of culture are appropriate for different types of reporting? Folk cultures, ethnic groups, and peoples are units of culture that could be used in this report. "Folk culture" has been defined as including certain unwritten aspects of a society's culture, "learned without formal instruction and dealing with expressive elements such as dance, song, music, and graphic arts as well as storytelling."[75] Some anthropologists identify four traits as distinguishing features of folk cultures. Folk cultures are relatively small, isolated, homogenous groups with everyday relationships that are mostly face to face regarding community interaction. The Black Catholic community in St. John the Baptist Parish on the west bank of the Mississippi in the vicinity of Lucy, Louisiana, would be an example of such a folk culture.[76]

The term "ethnic group" is synonmyous with "subculture" in which a group in a complex society possesses certain behaviors, values, beliefs,

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73. (cont'd) and Government of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1975), p. 51; Michael Caron, "The Vietnamese," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 374; Begnand, "Louisiana," p. 736.

74. Marc P. Malik, William R. Jones, and William Brown, Feasibility Study: Proposed Jean Lafitte National Cultural Park, Louisiana (Denver: National Park Service, 1973), p. 53.

75. Muriel Crespi, Anthropological Definitions: Recommendations for the Cultural Resources Planning Manual, (NPS-28) (Washington: National Park Service, 1983), n.p.

76. David E. Hunter and Phillip Whitten, "Folk Culture," Encyclopedia of Anthropology, p. 173; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, passim.

or practices that are distinctive and somewhat different from those of the larger, dominant society as well as from those of other so-called ethnic groups in the society. Filipinos and Islenos are examples of ethnic groups in Louisiana. One could possibly classify White aristocratic plantation women and their lifeways and social conditions as a subculture or even a folk culture. Such, in fact, has been done in describing the work and ways of plantation mistresses in the Old South, including Louisiana. The plantation mistress, for example, was often lonely and isolated and restricted as to whom she socialized with apart from the heavy managerial tasks thrust upon her in her husband's absence. Moreover, plantation mistresses were subjected to a sexual double standard by husbands who fathered their own slaves.[77]

1. The Colonial French

The French were the first to settle Louisiana and arrived at Natchitoches, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge in 1714, 1718, and 1719, respectively. Most of the lower Mississippi has been designated a French cultural region at initial occupancy, including the German Coast of the early Gallicized Germans. French culture is still the most influencial of all in the culture core of Louisiana. Despite small-scale individual farming, plantation agriculture is associated with the colonial French, especially in regard to the growing of indigo and sugar cane. Planter-class French refugees came to Louisiana at the end of the eighteenth century following slave uprisings, as did Royalists and aristocrats during the French Revolution. These were the last groups of colonial French to settle in Louisiana.[78]

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77. Crespi, Anthropological Definitions, n.p. See Catherine Clinton, The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

78. Milton B. Newton, Jr., Atlas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univeristy, 1972), map: "Culture Regions"; C. Paige Gutierrez, "The Colonial French," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 102.

Distinguishing features of the colonial French include Roman Catholicism, with its many religious festival days, plantation agriculture, and privateer mercantilism. Commercial shipping and many forms of trade developed early, especially those with a laissez-faire philosophy of conducting business outside the then nation-colony system of monopoly mercantilism, first of France and then of Spain. That is to say that smuggling became an acceptable business and an acceptable way of doing business, as was later epitomized in the personage of Jean Laffite.[79]

The use of the French language and the development of a dialect of French associated with native-born French Creoles is a distinguishing cultural feature, along with Mardi Gras celebrations, especially in New Orleans. French was predominantly used in Louisiana during the periods of the colonial French and Spanish occupations and was the most widely used language there in 1803, when the United States gained possession of Louisiana. A Creole French dialect survives today.[80]

2. The Colonial Spanish

Although Spain technically had control of Louisiana from 1763 until 1800, no great cultural influence was exerted by the Spanish except for an architectural legacy present today in the French Quarter of New Orleans. That Old World architecture of wrought iron filigreed galleries and arched carriageways to enclosed courtyards are Spanish rather than French because of the devastating fires of 1788 and 1794. Spain contributed mostly government officials, soldiers, and a few sugar planters. Many of the Spanish officials and soldiers who stayed in the colony married French women and adopted the French lifestyle and language. Their children became Creoles. The Spanish language gained no widespread use; however, it has remained a remnant dialect of the Islenos, settlers from the Canary Islands in the eighteenth century.[81]

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79. Erwin Thompson, A Brief History of Jean Lafitte and the Baratarians (Denver: National Park Service, 1973), n.p.

80. Gutierrez, "The Colonial French," p. 119.

81. Louise C. Hoffman, "The Vieux Carre," Go Magazine: The Authentic Guide to New Orleans (January, 1983), p. 25; C. Paige Gutierrez, "The Colonial Spanish in South Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 173.

Spain encouraged groups like the Islenos to settle in Louisiana. It is ironic that Acadian refugees who sought protection in Louisiana because it was a French possession arrived only after Spain had obtained title. Nevertheless, the Spanish helped the Acadians to find suitable land, initiated an active colonization program in 1777, and proved more flexible than the French had been in recruitment. From 1785 on, Spanish immigration policy in Louisiana departed from its traditional role of excluding American Protestants. This practice was more enlightened than France's policy of religious and political orthodoxy, which prevented groups like the Huguenots, who would have been good colonists and hardworking farmers, from settling in Louisiana.[82] The following quote sums up the contribution of the Colonial Spanish:

> Since France and Spain were both Catholic monarchies that used the Roman law, the transition from French to Spanish rule was a rather smooth one. The Spanish system of land grants and tenure was remarkably similar to the French; therefore, the Spanish made little distinctive impact on the settlement patterns of Louisiana. Spanish culture generally gave way to French culture, and one group of the Louisiana colonial period Spanish settlers retains its Spanish identity today [the Islenos].[83]

3. The Islenos

Immigrant families of Islenos, or Canary Islanders, were recruited for Louisiana between the years 1777 and 1783. The Spanish Heritage and Cultural Society of St. Bernard Parish observes 1778 as the year marking Isleno immigration to help secure the territory of Louisiana, especially New Orleans, from United States military expansion and to symbolize a Spanish presence in the face of pro-French sentiments by the colonial French and Acadians.[84]

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82. Begnand, "Louisiana," p. 736; Gilbert C. Din, "Immigration Policy of Esteban Miro," Southwestern Historical Quarterly LXXV (1969), p. 155.

83. Gutierrez, "Colonial Spanish," p. 173.

84. Antonio Acosta Rodriguez, "Overview of the Consumption of Food and Goods by Isleno Immigrants to Louisiana," Louisiana History, XXII (Summer, 1981), p. 299; Jeffrey M. Golliher and Nicholas R. Spitzer, "The Islenos, Louisiana's Canary Islanders," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 177.

The ship Santisimo Sacramento bearing the first Islenos arrived in New Orleans in 1779. The Islenos had original settlements in what is now St. Bernard Parish at Terre-aux-Boeufs, or Tierra de Bueyes as called by the Spanish, and in what is now Ascension Parish near Donaldsonville at the confluence of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi. There are still some descendants of the Islenos in the Donaldsonville area, such as Benjamin Vega, whose house still exists in that community.[85] Antonio Mendez, mentioned earlier in connection with the sugar cane experiments of Etienne de Bore, was also an Isleno. Guillotte credits him with being the first to actually produce granulated sugar in Louisiana, a feat accomplished in 1791 at Terre-aux-Boeufs.[86]

The Islenos mostly practiced small-scale agriculture, selling their produce in the markets of New Orleans. Between 1820 and 1860 many Islenos were induced to sell and move away from the desirable natural levee land they occupied and were bought out by Anglo-American sugar planters. These Islenos went to smaller bayou areas such as in lower St. Bernard Parish, "where they maintained households and a subsistence livelihood supplemented by seasonal work on sugar plantations."[87] By the 1920s Islenos were doing a lot of trapping as a major subsistence activity--muskrats, otters, raccoons, mink, and the like. Today, in addition to subsistence trapping, fishing, and gardening, many Islenos work on off-shore platforms or as commercial fishermen in areas often far-removed from their homes in lower St. Bernard Parish, in such towns as Delacroix, Reggio, Shell Beach, and Yscloskey.[88]

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85. Joseph V. Guillotte, III, "Isleno Revival," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans. Ed. by John Cooke and Mackie Blanton (New Orleans: Committee on Ethnicity in New Orleans, 1981), p. 16; Samuel G. Armistead, "Hispanic Folk Literature Among the Islenos," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 21.

86. Joseph V. Guillotte, III, Masters of the Marsh: An Introduction to the Ethnography of the Islenos of Lower Saint Bernard Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: National Park Service, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1980), p. 23.

87. Golliher and Spitzer, "The Islenos," p. 178.

88. Ibid., p. 177.

A distinguishing feature of Isleno culture is Spanish spoken in a distinctive dialect common to the eighteenth century. Spanish is not a written language among the Islenos. They have been trilingual in the past, speaking Spanish, French, and English; it is unlikely, however, that Spanish will survive among the Islenos. As one observer has noted:

> Most young people [among the Islenos], indeed people in their early forties, are monolingual in English. There are a few encouraging exceptions, mainly at Delacroix Island, but present indications are that Spanish is dying a slow death in St. Bernard Parish. So in two hundred years, the sequence [of] . . . Spanish monolingualism, Spanish-French bilingualism, Spanish-French-English trilingualism, Spanish-English bilingualism, and, finally, English monolingualism appears to have played out.[89]

Conclusions about the way English words are borrowed by speakers of Isleno Spanish support these concerns about the weakening of Isleno Spanish and the apparent on-going shift to English in the Isleno community. Witness the respective pronunciation of borrowed English words by Isleno-Spanish speakers and by Cuban-Spanish speakers in the New Orleans area. The Cubans show adherence to Spanish phonology with their English borrowings while the Islenos use English with English words. This is not surprising since English now is the native language of so many Islenos.

> The interference of English is shown, in the case of the Islenos, by the frequent switch from one language to the other without their realizing it. All new inventions, products, and experiences, for example, have an English name in Isleno speech, and the majority of them are given the exact English pronunciation of the area. An English-speaking person who does not know Spanish would have no difficulty understanding English words like can, shovel, anti-freeze, or television as pronounced and used by an Isleno.
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> When the Cubans, on the other hand, borrow an English word, it is generally adapted to the Spanish pronunciation and grammar. For example, if it has a sound not familiar to Spanish, this sound is either eliminated or replaced by the most

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89. Guillotte, Masters of the Marsh, p. 76.

similar Spanish one. English ticket is pronounced ti-ke because Spanish does not have a final t sound. English shovel is pronounced with an initial ch sound because Spanish does not have an sh sound.[90]

Yet all is not lost culturally among the Islenos. A revitalization movement presently is underway focusing on the Spanish language through a newly formed Spanish Heritage and Cultural Society and Museum, El Museo de los Islenos. The latter is now administered by Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and weekly classes in Spanish are held there for children and adults.[91]

Isleno folk-medicine beliefs and practices also survive as decima singing. Decimas are ten-line stanzas, narrative poems of local inspiration in couplet form, a style dating from sixteenth-century Spain.

> The performance of one of these [decima] songs will inevitably produce laughter, lively commentary, and sometimes, in the case of some of the more controversial texts . . . [of] satirical humor . . . and . . . the tall-tale, . . . even anger and hurt feelings. The decimas were, and still are, the most important folkliterary [oral, not written] vehicle for the expression of cultural values, community concerns, and humorous commentary on the rigors and difficulties attendant upon the major local [Isleno] economic activities: muskrat trapping, fishing, crabbing, shrimp trawling, and oyster dredging.[92]

Another surviving cultural trait is the value of extended families. Coupled with strict reciprocal relations in the community, great respect is shown to older people and to male heads of families. People are expected to freely help one another with everyday tasks and responsibilities and during times of trouble.

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90. Beatriz Varela, "Isleno and Cuban Spanish," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 45.

91. Guillotte, "Isleno Revival," p. 18.

92. Armistead, "Hispanic Folk Literature Among the Islenos," p. 22.

4. The Filipinos

Espina relates that as early as 1765 Filipinos were living along the bayous of southeastern Louisiana as refugees from Spanish impressment. Excellent seamen, the Filipinos were forced into sea service for the Spanish galleon trade between Manila, the Philippines, and Acapulco, Mexico, between 1565 and 1815. Many Filipinos jumped ship and made their way to coastal Louisiana. Fishing villages built on stilts were first comprised of men who eventually married women of other ethnic groups, such as French, Irish, German, English, Welsh, Spanish, and American Indian. In time, entire families lived in the stilt villages, the most famous being Manila Village in Barataria Bay, which was a base for commercial shrimp drying, as was the stilt village of St. Malo "on the reedy swamps south of Lake Borgne."[93] Both of these villages were destroyed by hurricanes--St. Malo in 1915 and Manila Village in 1965.[94]

The Filipinos have a long history of involvement in the Louisiana dried shrimp industry and are credited with being "the first to initiate the drying of Louisiana shrimp as an industry."[95] "Dancing the shrimp" was a distinctive practice among Filipino shrimp fishermen prior to the 1920s and the advent of shrimp-shucking machines. Foot power was used in dancing the shrimp--men moving in a circle, singing arm-in-arm. The purpose was to remove the heads and hulls of the shrimp, which were then boiled in brine and sun dried.

One interesting feature of the Filipinos is their history of multi-lingualism--Tagalog, Spanish, French, and English. Filipinos were not only seamen and fishermen but also businessmen. Their interest in business in New Orleans can be traced to the early 1800s, when they

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93. Marina E. Espina, "Filipinos in Louisiana: Manila Village Today," Louisiana Renaissance, I, (1977), p. 36.

94. Marina E. Espina, "Asians in New Orleans," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 65; Marina E. Espina, "Seven Generations of a New Orleans Filipino Family," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 34.

95. Espina, "Filipinos in Louisiana," p. 39.

opened small oyster houses and restaurants.[96] As part of Filipino ethnicity, "oral tradition says that the Filipino colony on Barataria Bay supplied men skilled in the use of rifles during the Battle of New Orleans [1815]. This is one of the legacies that the Filipinos in Louisiana are very proud of."[97] Probably some of Laffite's men were indeed Filipinos.[98]

Five waves of immigration can be identified for the Filipinos. The first lasted is from 1765 to 1898 and comprised the migration of Filipino pioneers to Louisiana, including refugee seamen and others. Following the Spanish-American War, in which the Philippines became an American possession, the second wave began and lasted until 1934, with students, domestic help, and unskilled workers as immigrants. The third wave has been defined as occurring from 1934 to 1965, comprising veterans of the United States armed forces and merchant marines and their families. The fourth wave began in 1965 when Congress abolished the national origins formula designed to preserve the ethnic balance of the United States. This "brain drain" period from 1965 to 1972 is so labeled because many professionals came seeking greater opportunities than were available in their homeland. The fifth period began in 1972 when martial law was imposed in the Philippines. The people who came then were political refugees. Today Filipinos are not only still active in fishing and shrimping but also work in industry, business, and the professions in New Orleans and its environs.[99]

A distinguishing characteristic of the Filipinos is Catholicism, their observance of Catholic rituals and holidays, and their enthusiastic participation in Mardi Gras. Filipinos won the grand prize for best decorated float in 1935, first prize in 1936 and 1937, and a winning prize

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96. Espina, "Seven Generations of a New Orleans Filipino Family," pp. 34-35; Michael Caron, "The Filipinos," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," pp. 358-59.

97. Espina, "Filipinos in Louisiana," p. 37.

99. Caron, "The Filipinos," p. 355.

99. Ibid., pp. 355-56; Espina, "Asians in New Orleans," pp. 65-66.

in 1946. Presumably, they are still enthusiastic Mardi Gras participants.[100]

5. The Germans

Le Conte estimates that from 1720 to 1722 about 1,600 Germans, Alsatians, and Swiss emigrated to Louisiana through the efforts of John Law and his Company of the Indies, which had the official sanction of the French government. These settlers spent brief periods at each of John Law's concessions, first at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers and then at English Turn below New Orleans. Deiler's map, "The Principal Forts and Trading Posts of Louisiana," shows the two Law concessions, as well as the German Coast, on the Mississippi. Settlement of the German Coast took place in June and July 1721 on authorization of Governor Bienville, who donated lands of the Company of the Indies in the absence of John Law. The latter fled France for Italy in 1720 because of fraudulent business practices.[101]

> Of the seventy German families living on the German Coast [or Cote des Allemands], the place of origin of sixty-eight is known [Census of 1724]. Eight were Alsatians, five were Swiss, ten were from the Palatinate, fifteen from the Rhenish ecclesiastical states, four from other Rhenish states, six from Wurtemberg, four from Lorraine, and fifteen from other German states. In addition to these, some German families were living on the right [west] bank of the Mississippi below the German Coast, some lived in New Orleans, and a few families lived at Pointe Coupee.[102]

From 1724 through 1774 Germans continued to settle on the German Coast; these included Swiss and Lorrainers. In 1774 some German

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100. Caron, "The Filipinos," p. 357; Marina E. Espina, "A Brief Sketch of Filipino Voluntary Associations in Southern Louisiana," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 86,

101. Rene Le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," Louisiana History VIII (Winter, 1967), p. 75; Clark, New Orleans, p. 23. See also J. Hanno Deiler, The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1909), passim.

102. Le Conte "Germans in Louisiana," pp. 80-81.

families traveled from Maryland to Fort Pitt by foot, then down the Ohio and the Mississippi by canoe to the German Coast where they established themselves. The second wave of German immigration occurred after the Napoleonic Wars. Yet a third wave is considered to have begun in the early 1840s and to have continued until the outbreak of the Civil War. Many were political refugees who fled from the abortive revolution of 1848. The fourth wave of German immigrants began after the Civil War and lasted until World War I. People left their homeland to avoid political and religious restrictions and to seek the economic opportunities advertised by trans-Atlantic steamship companies and American railroad companies. A smaller fifth wave occurred from 1920 to the present.[103]

By 1840 the settlement of the German Coast was complete. German farms had spread out to colonial French and Anglo-American plantations and no arable land was left. Newly arriving German immigrants went to the southwestern Louisiana prairies as rice farmers and cattle raisers or remained in New Orleans to become merchants or artisans. The 1870s in New Orleans saw a heyday in German language newspapers, such as Deutsche Zeitung and Staats Zeitung, which went out of business as immigration dwindled and ceased during World War I.[104]

Within the first century of settlement, the assimilation, or French Creolization, of the Germans on the German Coast was so complete, through intermarriage and a shift in language from German to French, that the original German forms of family names had been forgotten. Assimilation continued with the additional settlers and thus any distinctive German traits were absorbed and obscured. Settlers on the German Coast were and are known for their honesty, hardiness, and devotion to the land. An early contribution was the provisioning of New Orleans with

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103. Ibid., p. 84; Robert T. Clark, Jr., "The German Liberals in New Orleans, 1840-1860," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XX (January, 1937), p. 1; Harriet Stern, The Germans in New Orleans (New Orleans: National Park Service, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1980), pp. 2-3.

104. Robert R. Rathburn, "The Germans," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," pp. 306-07; Stern, Germans in New Orleans, p. 6.

foodstuffs. After 1731, when they were no longer subject to requirements of the Company of the Indies, the German colonists turned to producing vegetables, fruit, cattle, and poultry. Their surplus became a source of fresh vegetables, fruit, eggs, butter, and cheese for New Orleans.[105]

German ethnicity was more apparent among the German immigrants who resided in New Orleans later in the nineteenth century. German language newspapers and businesses flourished, and German beer brewing was established as an industry. The Fabacher family founded Jax, one of the city's two major breweries. Dixie was the other local beer, brewed by the Merz family. Dixie survives today as a well-known regional beer.[106]

The formation of the German Society, which existed from 1847 to 1887, may be viewed as a cultural ecological response. Yellow fever epidemics prompted its founding as a benevolent organization to secure medical assistance, to provide emergency financial relief, and to bury the dead of the poor. The society gave aid and assistance to German immigrants arriving in New Orleans, helping them with customs, with finding employment and housing, and with information about adjusting to the local environment.[107]

Today there are Afro-Americans along the German Coast, mostly descendants of slaves of the colonial French and Anglo-Americans, but also slaves of the German settlers and of free people of color. The latter two groups, by and large, were owners of small and moderate-sized farms, not large plantations. The Germans as French Creoles of German descent today still comprise the largest part of the white population of

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105. Clark, "German Liberals in New Orleans," p. 137; Rathburn, "The Germans," pp. 303, 305-06; Le Conte, "Germans in Louisiana," pp. 82-83.

106. Glen E. Lich, "Germans in the New Orleans Melting Pot," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans, p. 22; Rathburn, "The Germans," p. 307.

107. Stern, Germans in New Orleans, pp. 6, 11.

the first and second German Coasts or of St. Charles and St. John parishes, respectively. Both Blacks and Whites share the tradition of lighting bonfires at Christmas Eve on the levee. Considered a genuine folk custom, huge bonfires are lit on Christmas Eve along the levees of the Mississippi River in St. John the Baptist, St. James, and Ascension parishes--along the old German and Acadian Coasts. Preparation or construction of the bonfire frames usually begins shortly after Thanksgiving. Frames take on recognizable shapes such as tepees, forts, log cabins, and pirate ships, although the most popular is the tepee shape. The log frames are filled with cane reeds or bagasse, bamboo, and old rubber tires. The effect is spectacular because the cane and bamboo pop and crack and the tires emit smoke and flames of different colors.[108]

The bonfire tradition may have been brought from the Old World by the French and German settlers to light the way and assist Papa Noel in finding the homes along the banks of the Mississippi. French precedents include the feu de joie (fire of joy), the feu de solstice (fire of the winter solstice in December), and the buche de Noel (Yule log). The feu de joie may be held several times a year, such as on New Year's Eve, the Eve of the Epiphany, and the first day of Lent. Kris Kindle was the German precedent for these German and Acadian Coast bonfires or Light of Christ fires. The origin of the German Coast Christmas Eve bonfires may be more recent than the eighteenth century, and may not have occurred before the late nineteenth century. Two informants are Father Louis Poche and Mrs. Beatrice Jacob, life-long residents of St. James and St. John the Baptist parishes, respectively. Poche stated that the Marist fathers of Jefferson College, now Manresa Retreat House, started the bonfire practice locally, following a French tradition. Jacob remembered that the bonfires began when she was a girl. She was born in 1882 so the practice originated before 1900 but after the 1880s. Whether of eighteenth or nineteenth century origin, the folk custom continues, and is

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108. Isabel M. French, "Review: The German Coast, by J. Hanno Deiler (1909, reprinted 1979)," Louisiana History XII (Summer, 1971), p. 292; Le Conte, "Germans in Louisiana," pp. 81-82; Rathburn, "The Germans," p. 308; Gaudet, Folklore and Customs, pp. 14-20.

followed by a gumbo dinner some time during the early morning hours of Christmas Day.[109]

6. The Acadians

The first documented arrival of refugees from Acadia or Nova Scotia occurred on April 6, 1754, when "four families, totaling twenty people, arrived via New York."[110] A historical marker designates the spot in St. James Parish on the Acadian Coast of the Mississippi where the first settlement occurred. The Acadian Coast extends from the upper half of St. John the Baptist Parish through St. James, Ascension, and Iberville parishes. The Acadians mainly came during the 1760s through the 1790s using a variety of routes and many detours to settle on the Acadian Coast and Bayou Lafourche. They were petis habitants, or small farmers, and, although some came to own slaves, they were not planters. They had been small farmers in Nova Scotia, having settled there early in the seventeenth century where they lived in peace until 1713. That year marked the end of Queen Anne's War with the Treaty of Utrecht, in which France ceded Nova Scotia to Great Britain. The British forcibly deported the Acadians as allegedly disloyal subjects, the agony of whose trauma Longfellow depicted in his poem, Evangeline.

Modern Acadians, or Cajuns, remain small farmers, as well as trappers, fishermen, hunters, and cattlemen on the bayous and prairies of southwestern Louisiana. That region is "Cajun Country" because colonial French, and after 1803, Anglo-Americans, acquired for sugar plantations much of the choice natural levee land the Acadians had occupied on the Acadian Coast. Today Cajuns are also well known as offshore oil workers as they have carried their industrious skills to platforms in the Gulf of Mexico and the North Sea.

Acadian or Cajun dialects of French qualify as distinguishing cultural features. So do Cajun music, dancing boudin, food styles, and some

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109. Ibid., pp. 16, 20; Rathburn, "The Germans," p. 308.

110. William F. Rushton, The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), p. 316.

crafts such as boat building and quilting. The long, narrow lots of the arpent system historically distinguished the farm boundaries of the petit habitants' holdings, forty arpents deep and six wide, and are the basis of irregular American sections along Louisiana watercourses today. Additionally, Roman Catholicism with the church occupying a prominent place in the community, a close extended family structure, and a joie de vivre, or joy of life, are characteristics that presently distinguish the Cajuns.[111] The Acadians or Cajuns are aware of their distinctive cultural characteristics and seek to preserve them:

> Cajun concerns address issues of culture, identity, and heritage . . . . They have always been subject to a superordinate culture [being a minority group even in France before emigrating to Nova Scotia] . . . that they do not fully share; they were exploited or neglected for much of their history; and they have recently seen vast improvements in their conditions. . . . [Ethnic pride may be seen] emanating independently from many thousands of individuals. These sentiments are manifested in the bumpersticker and T-shirt slogans, the current popularity of old-style Cajun houses (with modern floor plans and amenities), a revival of traditional Cajun fiddle and accordion music, and the like.[112]

The Cajuns are a composite group in that they have absorbed members of other groups, and Cajun culture has influenced other cultures, namely, Germans of the German Coast, Black French Creoles, Houma Indians, Islenos, and some Anglo-Americans. Thus, many Louisiana Cajuns have no Acadian heritage.

7. The Anglo-Americans

In the history of Louisiana and New Orleans, Anglo-Americans or persons of early English ancestry represent just another ethnic group; that is, "they were seen by others and by

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111. Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Cajuns and Black Creoles," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," pp. 125-66.

112. Marjorie R. Esman, "Internal Conflict and Ethnic Activism: The Louisiana Cajuns," Human Organization, XLII (Spring, 1983), pp. 57-59.

themselves as a distinct and recognizable group with obvious social and cultural characteristics."[113] Anglo-Americans underwent "Cajunization" and "Creolization" but still managed to preserve some distinctions and are agents of on-going social and cultural change. Creolization, as illustrated in the quote below, refers to the fact that early Anglo-American settlers tended to be dominated by French culture, yet they contributed to the amalgam that is Louisiana today.

> Wholly unnoticed by most . . . is that, starting with the French culture as acted upon by the Black, German, Spanish, etc., New Orleans has created its own ethnicity. This process, . . . called "creolization," has left its mark on almost every modern New Orleanian, producing differences in custom, outlook, and values when compared with the remainder of the United States.[114]

A distinction is made between Anglo-American yeoman farmers and small planters of the Upland South and the Anglo-American planters of Tidewater Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The former entered Louisiana by land and by way of the Mississippi and settled mostly on the hilly, bluff terrain of northern Louisiana. Some went farther south and ended up bereft of arable lands in competition with their more wealthy Anglo-American planter counterparts. These landless Anglos soon joined Cajuns as trappers, hunters, and fishermen in the swamp basins and coastal marsh regions of southwestern Louisiana. Some became French in culture and language--Cajuns, but not Acadians, with Anglo names such as Clark and Tate.[115] The Tidewater planters acquired lands along the Mississippi, established sugar plantations, and built some of the showplace Greek Revival style plantation houses that survive today, such as Nottoway and Houmas House on the west and east banks, respectively, in Ascension Parish. One notes that Anglo-American houses, whether Upland-South style or Tidewater-Greek Revival, were characterized by

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113. Joseph Logsdon, The Anglo-Americans (New Orleans: National Park Service, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1980), p. 1.

114. George Reinecke, "The National and Cultural Groups of New Orleans, 1718-1918," in New Orleans Ethnic Cultures. Ed. by John Cooke (New Orleans: Committee on Ethnicity in New Orleans, 1978), p. 6.

115. Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Les Americains: Anglos in South Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," pp. 255, 252-74.

central hallways and "the walls were either made completely of wood or brick."[116]

Anglo-American businessmen and mercantile families along the Mississippi and in New Orleans were the ones subjected to Creolization. Some could legitimately call their ancestors Creoles (Louisiana born), as Anglo-Americans had begun to participate in the life of New Orleans and Louisiana well before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.[117] Commerce called, but not necessarily Creolization:

> What frustrated most Anglo-Americans residing in New Orleans was the prevailing French language, and the Creole's lack of interest in public schools, libraries, and city improvements to assist commerce and trade. Therefore, in 1822 James Caldwell and Samuel J. Peters began a new suburb, Faubourg St. Marie, above Canal Street. Here Anglo-Americans not only planned the residential area now called the Lower Garden District [with wide, open lawns surrounding the stately mansions versus the internal courtyards of the French Quarter], but they also established the American Theater, the St. Charles Hotel, the St. Charles Theater, the First Presbyterian Church, and a state government building at Baronne and Common Streets. . . . By 1834, the uptown American sector [the Garden District] had fewer people but greater real estate value than the Vieux Carre or French Quarter.[118]

Anglo-Americans in northern Louisiana were known for their Evangelical Protestantism and use of the English language. English usage also characterized the mercantile Anglo-Americans in New Orleans, who were known for their civic concerns and keen business sense. The descendants of these Anglo-Americans continue to exert civil power and to have interests in banks, newspapers, real estate, port facilities, and private universities.[119]

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116. Spitzer, "Les Americains," p. 261.

117. Logsdon, The Anglo-Americans, p. 1.

118. Ibid., p. 6.

119. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

8. The Jews

The year 1718 marked not only the founding of New Orleans but also the appearance of Jews in Louisiana. These people came not in groups at first, but as individuals from France, Portugal, the North American Atlantic seaboard, and from farther up the Mississippi. Later, in the nineteenth century, families and groups immigrated to Louisiana from Germany and eastern Europe. German Jews founded the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Widows' and Orphans' Home in New Orleans, circa 1854. Touro Infirmary was established in 1852 according to terms of Judah Touro's will. Touro was born in Rhode Island of Jewish-Spanish Heritage, and expansion of this facility in New Orleans was accomplished by German Jews, especially Julius Weis, Frederic Lacker, and William Kohlman.[120]

Jews in Louisiana have participated in all sorts of business enterprises--serving as river pedlars, artisans, craftsmen, proprietors of stores selling clothing and furniture, and as investors and financiers. Direct involvement in agriculture has been a minority pursuit for Jews; they have been more involved in the financing of agricultural enterprises and the brokering of agricultural products. An exception to direct participation in farming is the agri-businessman Abraham Kaplan, who around 1900 acquired much land in Vermilion Parish, developed an irrigation system for rice growing there, and had such influence that the town of Kaplan in southwestern Louisiana was named for him.

Jews did not arrive in Louisiana in large numbers until the early years of the nineteenth century after 1803 when the United States removed the Code Noir, or Black Code, which had been in effect since 1724. Although not strictly enforced, the Code Noir decreed the expulsion of Jews from French and later Spanish Louisiana, recognizing only Catholicism as a religion. When Jews finally arrived in sizable numbers they tended to settle in mercantile areas such as New Orleans,

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120. Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Jews in South Louisiana," in "Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview," p. 332; Stern, Germans in New Orleans, p. 11.

Baton Rouge, and Donaldsonville. New synagogues were established in these areas in the 1850s.[121]

Many Jews today are managers of firms of varying size or are self-employed businessmen. Another significant segment comprise self-employed professionals such as physicians, attorneys, and engineers. There are still Jewish family stores, and Jewish financiers are involved in all sorts of endeavors including the Louisiana offshore oil industry.[122]

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121. Carolyn Lipson-Walker, Commentary on the Jews and Bibliography of New Orleans Jewry (New Orleans: National Park Service, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1980), p. 1.

122. Lipson-Walker, Commentary on the Jews and Bibliography of New Orleans Jewry, p. 2; Spitzer "Jews in South Louisiana," p. 332.

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Surrey, Mrs. N.M. Miller. "The Development of Industries in Louisiana During the French Regime 1673-1763," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IX (December, 1922), pp. 227-35.
Very superficial and often misleading article.

Tansey, Richard. "Southern Expansionism: Urban Interests in the Cuban Filibusters." Plantation Society, II (June, 1979), pp. 227-51.
Although thrust is directed toward Cuban filibusters in the late 1840s and 1850s, the author presents a succinct appraisal of New Orleans economic conditions in the 1850s.

Tassin, Anthony. "Mardi Gras in Edgard (St. John the Baptist, Louisiana)," Louisiana Folklore Miscellany, III (April, 1970), pp. 76-77.
Local account of Mardi Gras walks on the levee.

Thomas, Prentice M., and Campbell, L. Janice. "The Peripheries of Poverty Point," New World Research Report of Investigations, XII (1979).

Toth, Alan. "Archeology and Ceramics at the Marksville Site," University of Michigan Anthropological Papers, LVI (1974).
Discussion of the type site of the Marksville period.

Touchstone, Blake. "Voodoo in New Orleans," Louisiana History, XIII (Fall, 1972), pp. 371-86.
Reports from newspapers in New Orleans on voodoo practices in the context of a brief history from colonial New Orleans through the 1870s to the present.

Tousard, Anne Louis de. "The Assaults on New Orleans, 1814-1815." Edited by Norman B. Wilkinson. Louisiana History, III (Winter, 1962), pp. 43-53.
Two letters by a not impartial observer to the British attack on New Orleans who was at the time French Consul ad interim in the city.

Treen, David C. "Foreward," River Trails, Bayous, and Back Roads: Louisiana -- A Dream State. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Office of Tourism, 1982.
A listing of the many peoples of Louisiana to show general recognition of the state's cultural diversity.

Tregle, Joseph G., Jr. "British Spy Along the Mississippi: Thomas Hutchins and the Defenses of New Orleans, 1773," Louisiana History, VIII (Fall, 1967), pp. 313-27.
Useful description of existing defenses of New Orleans in 1773 with a proposal on how they might best be circumvented during an invasion such as that the British launched forty years later.

Tyler, Bruce "The Mississippi River Trade, 1784-1788," Louisiana History, XII (Winter, 1971), pp. 255-67.
Contains useful information on Spanish and American commerce on the Mississippi.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr. "From African Captivity to American Slavery: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana," Louisiana History, XX (Winter, 1979), pp. 25-48.
Compilation of facts on early African slavery in Louisiana.

Varela, Beatriz. "Isleno and Cuban Spanish," in Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans. Ed. by John Cooke and Mackie Blanton. New Orleans: Committee on Ethnicity in New Orleans, 1979, pp. 42-47.
Comparison between the Isleno and Cuban dialects of Spanish.

Vecsey, Christopher. "American Indian Environmental Religions," in American Indian Environments. Ed. by Christopher Vecsey and Robert Venables. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980.

Voegelin, Charles F., and Voegelin, Florence M. Map of North American Indian Languages. New York: Rand, McNally Company, 1966.
Basic anthropological reference for the classification and distribution of Indian language families.

Voorhies, Jacqueline K. "The Attakapas Post: The First Acadian Settlement," Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1976), pp. 91-95.
Contains some information on early Acadian settlement in the area controlled by the Spanish.

Walker, Winslow W. "The Troyville Mounds, Catahoula Parish, Louisiana," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, CXIII (1936).
Report on the type site of the vague Troyville period.

Watson, Thomas D. "A Scheme Gone Awry: Bernardo de Galvez, Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, and the Southern Indian Trade," Louisiana History, XVII (Winter, 1976), pp. 5-17.
Good discussion of Spanish-Indian relations during and after the British occupation of Louisiana.

Webb, Clarence H. "The Extent and Content of Poverty Point Culture," American Antiquity, XXXIII (January, 1968), pp. 297-331.
Perhaps the best synthesis of Poverty Point period culture.

Weinert, Richard P. "The Confederate Regulars in Louisiana," Louisiana Studies, VI (Spring, 1967), pp. 53-71.
Treats the development of the short-lived force of regular, as opposed to volunteer, soldiers in Louisiana in 1861.

Weinstein, Richard A., and Rivet, Philip G. "Beau Mire: A Late Tchula Period Site of the Tchefuncte Culture, Ascension Parish, Louisiana," Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism Anthropological Report, I (1978).
Good case study of a local Tchefunce period variant.

White, Alice P. "The Plantation Experience of Joseph and Lavinia Erwin, 1807-1836," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVII (April, 1944), pp. 343-478.
A general discussion of Louisiana plantation life and economics in the early nineteenth century.

Wicke, Gordon R. "Pyramids and Temple Mounds: Mesoamerican Ceremonial Architecture in Eastern North America," American Antiquity, XXX (April, 1965), pp. 409-20.
Interesting study of MesoAmerican style architecture in the eastern United States.

Wiegman, Fred H. "Agriculture in the Louisiana Economy," in The Louisiana Economy. Ed. by Thomas R. Beard. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.
Scholarly treatment of post-World War II economic development of Louisiana.

Williams, Stephen. "Historic Archeology in the Lower Mississippi Valley," Southeastern Archeological Newsletter, IX (1962), pp. 53-63.
Brief treatment of the region's historic site archeology.

_____. "Settlement Patterns in the Lower Mississippi Valley," in "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World," ed. by Gordon R. Willey, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, XXIII (1956), pp. 52-62.
Early brief summary of regional prehistoric settlement patterns.

Winston, James E. "Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IX (September, 1924), 200-26.
Winston presents a very good chronicle of economic conditions in New Orleans during the first part of the nineteenth century.

Wolf, Eric R. "Culture, Panacea or Problem?" Distinguished Lecture, Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association, Princeton, New Jersey, March 10, 1982, Northeastern Anthropological Association Newsletter, (Fall, 1982), pp. 1-10.
Information on the desire for European trade goods as a motivating factor of African elites in their role as slave settlers in the Atlantic slave trade.

Woods, Patricia D. "The French and the Natchez Indians in Louisiana: 1700-1731," Louisiana History, XIX (Fall, 1978), pp. 413-35.
Brief but thoughtful account of relations between this tribe and the French during alternating periods of friendship and hostility.

Wright, H.E., Jr. "The Dynamic Nature of Holocene Vegetation," Quaternary Research, VI (December, 1976), pp. 581-96.
Discusses post-Pleistocene life zone shifts.

Young, Tommy R., II. "The United States Army and the Institution of Slavery in Louisiana, 1803-1815," Louisiana Studies, XIII (Fall, 1974), pp. 201-13.
Uses of the army in Louisiana for dealing with the threat of slave insurrection, including psychological security for the white population.

_____. "The United States Army and the Institution of Slavery in Louisiana, 1815-1835," Louisiana Studies, XIII (Fall, 1974), pp. 214-22.
Focuses on the army's role as a psychological deterrent against slave uprisings during the period indicated.

4. Books and Pamphlets

Aaron, Daniel; Hofstadter, Richard; and Miller, William. The United States: A History of a Republic. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967.
A basic reference for United States history which places the Mississippi River in the perspective of national events.

Adair, James. History of the American Indians. Orig. pub. London: E.C. Dilly, 1775. Reprint, Johnson City, Tenn.: Watauga Press, 1930.

Early classic description of Indian life and warfare in the eastern and southern colonies.

Agassiz, Garnault. St. Bernard Parish: A Modern Acadia, n.p., n.d.

A four page pamphlet extolling the virtues of St. Bernard Parish.

Alvard, Clarence Walworth. The Mississipp Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution. 2 vols. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917.

Contains some trade data for the lower Mississippi during the French and Spanish colonial period.

Anderson, Robert. The Cultural Context: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1976.

Consideration of cultural processes and how particular cultures adapt to their environments.

Anthony, John. The Mississippi Valley Frontier: The Age of Exploration and Settlement. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

Recent and general publication concerning early exploration, but not the best available.

Asbury, Herbert. The French Quarter: An Informal History. Saint Simons Island, Ga.: Mockingbird Books, 1936, reprinted 1981.

Popular history of this well known New Orleans feature.

Baker, Riley E. The History and Government of Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1975.

Bannon, John Francis. The Spanish Borderlands Frontier: 1513-1821. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

General work that discusses Spanish exploration throughout North America and gives a framework for exploration in Louisiana.

Bartlett, Napier. A Soldier's Story of the War; including the marches and battles of the Washington Artillery, and of other Louisiana Troops . . . . New Orleans: Clark and Hofeline, 1874.

Contains muster rolls of Washington Artillery, 1861-1865, Louisiana Adjutant General reports, plus anecdotal stories of Louisiana in the Civil War.

_____. Military Record of Louisiana; including Biographical and Historical Papers relating to the Military Organizations of the State. New Orleans: L. Graham and Company, Printers, 1875.

Data on military organizations of Louisiana in Civil War.

Bartram, William. Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida . . . . Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791.

Important contemporary chronicle with much descriptive information on late eighteenth-century Louisiana and the lower Mississippi River.

Bastide, Roger. African Civilizations in the New World. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Beard, Thomas R. The Louisiana Economy. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

General overview of Louisiana economy of some benefit in understanding the Mississippi trade.

Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. Travels Through North America During the Years 1825 and 1826. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828.

An excellent work, especially the author's lengthy description of life in New Orleans during the mid-1820s.

Berquin-Duvallon. Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year, 1802, giving a Correct Picture of Those Countries. Trans. by John Davis. New York: L. Riley and Company, 1806.

Although the author purports to give a correct picture of the areas in which he traveled, he describes New Orleans as the most disagreeable place on earth. Actually the city had a bright future. Provides a good description of settlement along the Mississippi just before American acquisition.

Bezou, Henry C. Metaire: A Tongue of Land to Pasture. Gretna: Pelican Press, 1973.

Bolton, Herbert E., and Marshall, Thomas. The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.

Older but still useful overview of the colonial period which places the settlement of the lower Mississippi in the proper historical context.

Booth, Andrew B. (comp.) Records of the Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands. 3 vols. New Orleans, n.p., 1920.

Useful source in identifying the various command units mustered in Louisiana between 1861 and 1865.

Bossu, Jean-Bernard. Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762. Trans., ed. by Seymour Feiler. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Contains a historically significant contemporary look at Louisiana and New Orleans during the last years of French rule.

_____. New Travels in North America by Jean-Bernard Bossu, 1770-1771. Trans., ed. by Samuel Dorris Dickinson. Natchitoches: Northwestern University Press, 1982.
Later observation of the author while traveling in the South.

Bourgeios, Lilian C. Cabanocey: The History, Customs, and Folklore of St. James Parish. Gretna: Pelican Press, 1976.

Bowman, Greg and Curry-Roper, Janel. The Houma People of Louisiana: A Story of Indian Survival. Harvey, La.: United Houma Nations, 1982.
A popular ethnohistory of the Houma people, stressing their plight as a minority group and their attempts to win Federal recognition as an Indian tribe.

Brain, Jeffrey P. On the Tunica Trail. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, 1977.
Well-written presentation of the prehistoric and historic movements of the Tunica Indians.

Brasseux, Carl A. (ed., trans.) A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville and Jean Jacques-Blaise d' Abbadie. Lafayette, La.: University of Southwestern Louisiana Press, 1979.
Contains much valuable information on French colonial Louisiana.

Butler, Benjamin F. Butler's Book. Boston: A.M. Thayer and Company, 1892.
Autobiographical treatment of Butler's Civil War military career, including an apologia covering his administration of New Orleans after the fall of the city in 1862.

Calhoun, James, and Kempe, Helen K. Louisiana Almanac, 1979-1980. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, 1979.
Presents useful facts on Louisiana history.

Campbell, Marie McDowell Pilkington (comp.). Nostalgic Notes on St. James Parish, Louisiana: Then and Now. Baton Rouge: Instant Print Center, 1981.

Capers, Gerald M. Occupied City: New Orleans under the Federals, 1862-1865. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
Excellent descriptive analysis of the Federal occupation of New Orleans and the administration of Butler and his successors. Contains a revisionist assessment of Butler.

Carpenter, Edward. Civilization: Its Cause and Cure. Orig. pub. London, 1889. Reprint, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.
Early statement, with cultural ecological implications, of the dangers of ignoring the environment and the balance of nature.

Caughey, John Walton. Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934.
Study of Galvez administration in Louisiana highlighting internal politics in the colony under Spain.

Chambers, Henry E. Mississippi Valley Beginnings: An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922.

Dated study of period of exploration which remains moderately useful.

Citrus: 16,200 acres for Industry, Living, and Recreation. Louisiana Citrus Lands, Inc., ca. 1969.

A brochure of Plaquemines Parish designed to attract industry in the "Citrus" area.

Clark, Andrew H. Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

Scholarly work on the cultural geography and ecology of Acadia or Acadie.

Clark, John G. New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970.

Well-written basic economic history of early New Orleans and the Mississippi.

Clement, William Edwards, and Landry, Stuart Omer. Plantation Life on the Mississippi. New Orleans: Pelican Press, 1952.

Clinton, Catherine. The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

A depiction of the lifeways of plantation wives--isolated, lonely, and demanding and subject to the sexual double standard of their husbands.

Clisby, Arthur Stanley. The Story of the West Florida Rebellion. St. Francisville: St. Francisville Democrat, 1935.

Local historical study of transition period between Spanish and American rule in Louisiana.

Coastal Environments, Inc. Cultural Resources Evaluation of the Northern Gulf of Mexico, Continental Shelf. Vol. 2: Historical Cultural Resources. Baton Rouge: Coastal Environments, Inc. 1977.

Contains useful site information on cultural resources at the outlet of the Mississippi Delta.

Conrad, Glenn R. (comp.) St. Charles: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles, 1700-1803. Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1974.

_____. St. Jean-Baptiste des Allemands: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. John the Baptist Parish, 1753-1803. Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1972.

_____. The German Coast: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812. Lafayette, Louisiana: University of Southwestern Louisiana, Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981.
Presents a fine introductory synthesis of German contributions.

Conrad, Glenn R., and Brasseaux, Carl A. A Selected Bibliography of Scholarly Literature on Colonial Louisiana and New France. Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1982.

Corthell, E.L. A History of the Jetties at the Mouth of the Mississippi River. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1881.
Good but dated work on the subject of Mississippi River jetties.

Cowdrey, Albert E. Land's End: A History of the New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and Its Lifelong Battle with the Lower Mississippi and Other Rivers Wending Their Way to the Sea. New Orleans: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1977.
General work on flood control in the New Orleans District that should not be considered exhaustive on the subject.

Cox, Isaac Joslin. The West Florida Controversy, 1789-1813: A Study of American Diplomacy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1918.
Dated study on the American acquisition of the Feliciana and East Baton Rouge Parishes.

Crespi, Muriel. Anthropological Definitions: Recommendations for the Cultural Resources Planning Manual (NPS-28). Washington: National Park Service, 1983.

Crete, Liliane. Daily Life in Louisiana, 1815-1830. Trans. by Patrick Gregory. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1981.
Provides a somewhat superficial view of Louisiana in the period covered.

Cunningham, Edward. The Port Hudson Campaign, 1862-1863. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963.
A detailed accounting of this significant episode regarding military control of the Mississippi River during the Civil War.

Curet, Bernard. Our Pride: Point Coupee. Baton Rouge: Morgan Publishing Corporation, 1981.
Most current parish history tends toward the anecdotal.

Davis, Edwin A. Louisiana: A Narrative History. Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1971.
Useful for classification of Indian languages in Louisiana and for sketches of Indian life.

_____. Louisiana: The Pelican State. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.
A general state history containing much of interest on the Mississippi River.

_____. Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846, as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Study of limited use for information on East and West Feliciana Parishes.

Dawson, Joseph G., III. Army Generals and Reconstruction. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Comprehensive study of Military Reconstruction between 1862 and 1877.

Deiler, J. Hanno. The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent. Philadelphia: American Germanica Press, 1909.

Basic history on German Coast settlement, including the Gallicization of German names and German culture.

Down to Brass Tacks. n.p., n.d.

A Chamber of Commerce type publication designed to attract business to New Orleans.

Drechsel, Emanuel J., and Drechsel, Makuakane; and T. Haunani. An Ethnohistory of Nineteenth Century Louisiana Indians. New Orleans: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1982.

Somewhat pedantic tracing of the movements and cultural change of Louisiana's Indians in the last century.

Driver, Harold E. Indians of North America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

General ethnography, topically arranged; useful for Southeastern Indian social organization.

Dufour, Charles. The Night the War Was Lost. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1960.

Well-written narrative that contends that the Confederate cause was lost at the moment Farragut's fleet got by Forts Jackson and St. Philip to capture New Orleans, a view not universally accepted by Civil War historians.

Du Pratz, Antoine Simon Le Page. The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing A Description of the Countries that Lie on Both Sides of the River Mississippi: With and Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, and Products. Orig. pub. London: T. Becket, 1774. Reprint, New Orleans: J.S.W. Harmanson, 1947.

DuPratz lived in the New Orleans area from 1718-34. He gives a good description of life in that early period, although a number of errors are present.

Eyraud, Jean M. and Millet, Donald J. A History of St. John the Baptist Parish. Marrero, La.: Hope Haven Press, 1939.

Local history of St. John the Baptist Parish, with emphasis on family and church affairs.

Fortier, Alcee. A History of Louisiana. 4 vols. New York: Manzi, Joyant, and Company, 1904.

A somewhat enthusiastic, often breezy, and now dated account of Louisiana history from French occupancy to the turn of the twentieth century.

_____. Louisiana. Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. 3 vols. Np: Century Historical Association, 1914.

Fossier, Albert A. New Orleans: The Glamor Period, 1800-1840. New Orleans: Pelican Press, 1957.

Foster, John W. Prehistoric Races of the United States. Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1873.

Among the earliest treatments of regional prehistory.

French, Benjamin Franklin. (ed., trans.) Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing the Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of that State Compiled with Historical and Biographical Notes. 2 vols. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846; Redfeld, 1852.

Valuable source for translated documents though the footnotes are occasionally incorrect.

Gayarre, Charles. History of Louisiana. 4 vols. Orig. pub. New Orleans, 1854, 1866. Reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1965.

Vol. I contains romantic inaccuracies. Vols. II and III are the best, dealing with the French and Spanish periods. Vol. IV degenerates into a chronicle of legislative sessions. In Vol. III the author leaned heavily on Martin's work of the Spanish period.

Gayarre, Charles. Louisiana: Its History as a French Colony. New York: John Wiley, 1852.

Gianelloni, Elizabeth B. (comp.) Calendar of Louisiana Colonial Documents--Vol. III--St. Charles Parish--Part I: The D'Arensbourg Records, 1734-1769. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission, 1965.

Giraud, Marcel. A History of French Louisiana. Volume I: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974.

A most detailed narrative on the early exploration and commercial rivalry of France in Louisiana.

Glazier, Willard. Down the Great River. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1892.

Account of travels quite general in nature owing to the fact that the author did not remain long in one area.

Gould, E.W. Fifty Years on the Mississippi; or Gould's History of River Navigation. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Company, 1889.

A good general history of Louisiana prior to 1889.

Green, Thomas Marshall. The Spanish Conspiracy. A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the South-West. Orig. pub. 1891. Reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967.
Early account of the Wilkinson intrigues with Spain in the Southwest. Stresses the traitorous side of Wilkinson and his machinations against the United States.

Gregory, Hiram F. Road to Recognition: A Study of Louisiana Indians, 1880 to the Present. New Orleans: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, 1982.
Scholarly treatment of movements and cultural change of Louisiana's Indians today.

Hansen, Harry. Louisiana: A Guide to the State. Orig. pub. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Library Commission, 1941. Reprint, New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1971.
Vignettes of history arranged in a number of tours of the state.

Herring, H.S. Golden Jubilee of the New Orleans Board of Trade Limited, 1880-1930. Np., nd.
Promotional account of New Orleans merchants' efforts to increase trade.

Hodge, Frederick W., and Lewis, Theodore H. (eds.) Spanish Explorers in the United States, 1528-1553. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.
Older work using translations of Spanish narratives on exploration, including those concerning the Mississippi River.

Hodgson, Adam. Remarks During a Journey Through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, and 1821 . . . . New York: Samuel Whiting, 1823.
The author did not like New Orleans with its Catholic population and slaves.

Hudson, Charles M. The Southeastern Indians. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976.
Fine regional ethnography and ethnohistory, arranged topically.

Hunter, Louis C. Steamboats on the Western Rivers. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
Standard reference to the development of river steamboats.

Irving, Theodore. Conquest of Florida Under Hernando de Soto. 2 vols. Fort Myers, Florida: Island Press, 1973.
Detailed account of the travels of the de Soto expedition.

Jackson, H. Edwin, Jr. A Cultural Resource Survey of the Delta-Breton National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana. Monroe, La.: Heartfield, Price and Greene, Inc., 1979.
Discusses cultural events and sites at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Jackson, Joy J. New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-American Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Jennings, Jesse D. Prehistory of North America. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
Excellent synthesis of North American prehistory that strives to convey broad patterns rather than minutiae.

Jennings, Virginia Lobdell. The Plains and the People: A History of Upper East Baton Rouge Parish. Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Company, 1974.

Kellough, Elizabeth, and Mayeux, Leona. Chronicles of West Baton Rouge. Baton Rouge: Kennedy Print Shop, 1979.
Bicentennial parish history of uneven quality, but containing much useful information.

Kemper, J.P. Floods in the Valley of the Mississippi: A National Calamity. New Orleans: National Flood Commission, 1928.
The author claims ot have advocated a spillway system on the river as early as 1912, but was ignored by the Mississippi River Commission. His work presents a thorough compilation of floods and flood control measures up to 1928.

Kendall, John S. History of New Orleans. 3 vols. New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922.
Chronicle of New Orleans that reads like a chamber of commerce tract. Reflects the period in which it was written, the 1920s, when business was held in high esteem. Volume III contains short biographical sketches of some of New Orleans more illustrious citizens of the period.

Kesel, Richard H., and Saunder, Robert A. A Field Guidebook for Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Moran Industries, Inc., 1978.
Written as a guide for tours conducted during the 1978 national meeting of the Association of American Geographers in New Orleans. Gives general information about the areas between New Orleans and Baton Rouge and identifies the agricultural and industrial products of the region.

King, Edward. The Great South: A Record of Journeys in Louisiana, Texas, the Indian Territory, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1875.
Fairly in-depth and enthusiastic view of Louisiana and what the author feels to be its agricultural potential.

King, John, and King, Lilian. A Self-Guided Tour of Baton Rouge. Baton Rouge: Sightseeing Publishing Company, 1974.

Kniffen, Fred B. Louisiana: Its Land and People. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968.
Interesting, but written more for a high school level audience.

_____. The Indians of Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965.
Discusses demography and tribal identities of the Indians of Louisiana.

_____. The Lower Mississippi Valley: European Settlement, Utilization, and Modification. Atlanta and Little Rock: National Park Service and Arkansas Archeological Survey, 1971.
Synthesis of cultural adaptations on the Lower Mississippi, emphasizing differences in technology between Indians and Europeans.

[LaHarpe, Bernard de?] Journal Historique de l'Etablisement des Francais a la Louisiane. New Orleans: A.L. Boimare, 1831.
Local history that recounts the naming of English Turn.

Landry, Stuart Omer. The Battle of Liberty Place: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule in New Orleans, September 14, 1874. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1955.
Detailed accounting of a significant episode in Reconstruction-era New Orleans.

Latrobe, Benjamin H.B. Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary and Sketches 1818-1820. Ed. by Samuel Wilson, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
Presents interesting observations and drawings of the New Orleans area and provides insight into early nineteenth-century New Orleans.

Lewis, Henry. The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated. Orig. pub. ca. 1850s. Reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967.
Generally descriptive work about the history and contemporary beauty of the Mississippi River. Contains useful material, although frequent inaccurate passages require that it be used with caution.

Lily, Peter. The Great Riding: The Story of De Soto in America. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983.

Littleton, Beth. History of Destrehan Plantation Manor. Destrehan, Louisiana: River Road Historical Society, 1982.
Pamphlet on the history of Destrehan plantation and house with some interesting architectural observations on West Indian houses in colonial Louisiana.

Lockett, Samuel H. Louisiana As It Is: A Geographical and Topographical Description of the State. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

The author was an engineer who undertook a topographical survey of Louisiana. His final report served as the basis for this book which was printed by the Louisiana State University Press one hundred years after his survey began. It is a general survey by parish of the terrain and products of Louisiana.

Lossing, Benson J. Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America. 2 vols. Philadelphia: George W. Childs, Publisher, 1866.

A personal, nostalgic remembrance of the war, valuable for its descriptions of little-known places and events and for its illustrations.

Lyon, E. Wilson. Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

Interesting work on the efforts of France to regain Louisiana through diplomacy.

Marchand, Sidney A. The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana. Baton Rouge: J.E. Ortlieb, 1931.

A local history of Ascension Parish, with emphasis on settlement and development.

_____. The Flight of a Century, 1800-1900, in Ascension Parish, Louisiana. Donaldsonville: Privately printed, 1936.

Martin, Francois-Xavier. The History of Louisiana: The Earliest Period. Orig. pub. New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1882. Reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963.

Marginally useful work on colonial Louisiana.

Martin, Paul S., and Wright, H.E., Jr. Pleistocene Extinctions: The Search for a Cause. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Classic study implicates human hunting as a significant factor in the extinction of Pleistocene.

Martin, Paul S.; Quimby, George I., Jr.; and Collier, Donald. Indians Before Columbus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.

Perhaps the first professional synthesis of American prehistory, drawing upon WPA-era data to treat the lower valley.

Mathews, John L. Remaking the Mississippi. N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

General non-scholarly work printed as superficial information for the public on the upkeep of the Mississippi River.

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Standard work on the travels of de Soto and his army.

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