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HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND REMOTE SENSING OF THE FORMER LOCATION OF THE BRAZIEL BAPTIST CHURCH AND CEMETERY COMPLEX (SITE 16IV49), IBERVILLE PARISH, LOUISIANA

VOLUME I OF III

FINAL REPORT
NOVEMBER 2000

PREPARED FOR:

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
New Orleans District
P.O. Box 60267
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13. ABSTRACT ***(Maximum 200 words)***

During September of 1999, human remains and a decorative casket element were recovered from a backhoe trench excavated within the limits of the former Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49), which is located a short distance to the north of the community of Cannonburg, Louisiana. The Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory during which the skeletal material and the casket hardware were recovered was conducted in anticipation of a proposed U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District concrete slope paving project designed to strengthen the existing artificial flood control structure and provide additional protection against flooding in the Cannonburg area.

As determined by the current investigation, additional historical research indicates that the identified human remains and casket furnishing likely are associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Moreover, gradiometric, conductivity, susceptibility, and thermal imaging surveys of the area suggest that additional human interments still may exist within the former cemetery limits, i.e., both beneath the extant artificial flood control structure and within portions of the Mississippi River batture.

In addition, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District maps dating from the 1930s indicate that as many as 134 graves may have once been present within the Braziel Baptist cemetery. Documents acquired from the Atchafalaya Levee Basin District during the historical research portion of the current investigation suggest that at least some of the interments were removed from the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way prior to construction of the extant levee. Historical research also suggests that the removed graves were relocated to the current Braziel Baptist cemetery, which is located to the south of Louisiana Highway 405. Thus, the presence and/or number of intact human interments still present within the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex remains indeterminate.

Based on the results of both historical research and remote sensing conducted during the current investigation, it is recommended that additional fieldwork within the limits of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) be completed. It is recommended that five stripping blocks, four of which should measure 6.1 x 15.2 m (20 x 50 ft) in size and one of which should encompass an area measuring 3.3 x 32.8 m (10 x 100 ft) in extent, be excavated mechanically and examined for the presence of either intact or disturbed human interments.

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REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF:

12 October 2000

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

To The Reader:

This cultural resource effort was designed and guided by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, as part of our cultural resource management program. The report documents the results of a cultural resource background and literature review of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, Iberville, Parish, Louisiana. We concur with the authors' recommendations regarding future cultural resources investigations. The Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer, the State of Louisiana Unmarked Burial Site Board and the Braziel Baptist Church also concur with the authors' recommendations.

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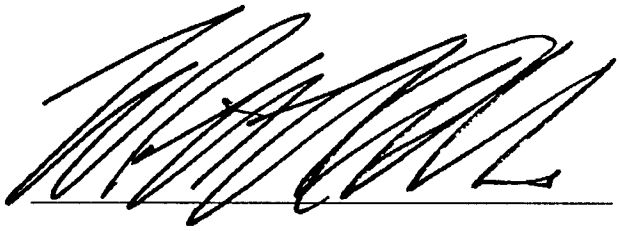
HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND REMOTE SENSING OF THE FORMER LOCATION OF THE BRAZIEL BAPTIST CHURCH AND CEMETERY COMPLEX (SITE 16IV49), IBERVILLE PARISH, LOUISIANA

Final Report



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November 2000

For

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Project Background

This document presents the results of historical research and remote sensing of the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) in Iberville Parish, Louisiana (Figure 1). This church and cemetery complex were identified during the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the Alhambra to Hohen Solms project item. That investigation was conducted during June, July, and August of 1999 on behalf of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, by R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. The results of the initial survey of Site 16IV49, an area measuring approximately 0.48 ha (1.22 ac) in size, were reported in the document entitled *Phase I Cultural Resources Survey and Archeological Inventory of the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms and Hohen-Solms to Modeste Project Items, Ascension and Iberville Parishes, Louisiana* (George et al. 2000).

The cultural resources investigation of the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item initially was conducted in anticipation of planned additions and upgrades to the existing artificial flood control structure by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. According to that agency, the proposed construction plans are designed to:

> . . . enlarge and improve a section of levee along the right descending bank of the Mississippi River between river miles 179 and 191. [As a result,] the existing levee will be slightly raised and its slope re-contoured at specific locations. Borrow and fill material will come from the batture in front of the existing levee. Borrow excavations will not exceed 12 feet in depth. Concrete slope pavement will begin approximately 3 to 4 feet below the base of the levee following the excavation of a 12 to 15-foot-wide toe trench. No construction activity will take place on the landward side of the levee. Construction activity will take place between 50 and 75 feet out from the base of the levee.

The Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item was carried out as a sample survey; thus, only specific portions of the proposed project item, i.e., areas deemed to possess moderate to high probabilities for containing intact archeological deposits, were tested for cultural resources (George et al. 2000). The research design and field methods utilized as part of the investigation are reviewed briefly below. This data provides background information for understanding the results of the current investigation.

Phase I Cultural Resources Survey Research Design and Field Methods

The Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item was designed to identify, record, and assess the distribution of all cultural resources situated within the then-proposed Area of Potential Effect. Because the investigation was designed as a sample survey, personnel from R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., stratified the Area of Potential Effect into areas with no, moderate, and high probabilities for containing intact cultural deposits. Stratification of the proposed project area was completed prior to

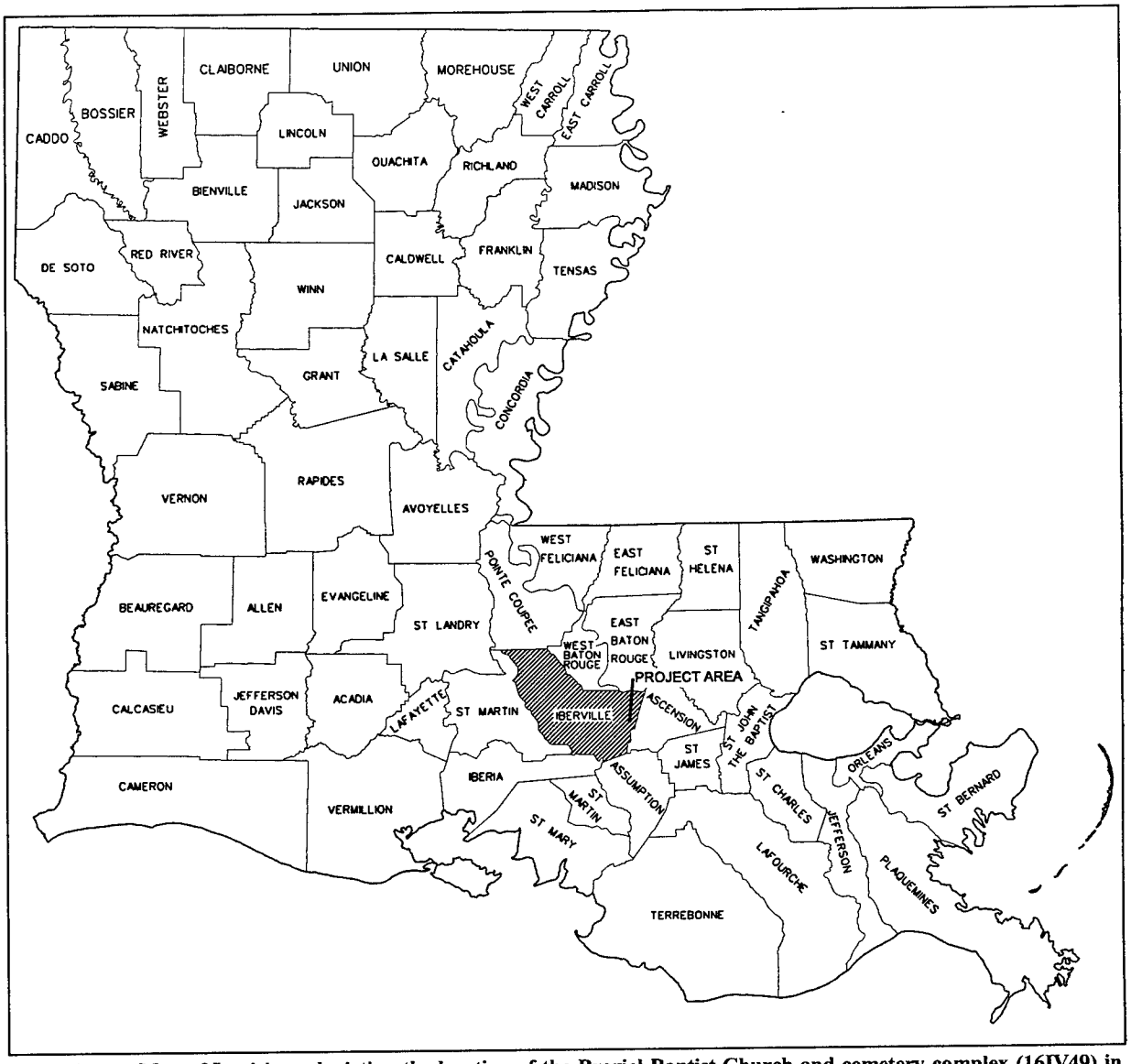


Figure 1. **Map of Louisiana depicting the location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) in Iberville Parishes, Louisiana.**

initiating fieldwork. Only those areas designated with moderate and high probabilities for containing intact cultural deposits were examined during survey; areas determined to possess no probability for possessing intact cultural deposits were not examined.

Areas of high probability for retaining intact cultural deposits were designated on the basis of several natural and cultural factors. During the design of the survey strategy, several layers or "overlays" of natural features, as well as identifiable and potentially identifiable cultural features were compiled. These natural and cultural features taken from historic period maps of the area were digitized; at a minimum, these included changes in various Mississippi River bankline locations over the last 100 years or so. In addition, the position of various historic and modern artificial flood control structures; modern disturbances, e.g., natural gas pipelines and buried power lines; extant historic period standing structures; and potentially identifiable cultural features noted on historic maps were noted. The latter included historic period landings and numerous structures, some of which were most likely related to the plantations of the area and they may represent such structures as workers' cabins, sheds, or barns.

Areas associated with a moderate probability of containing intact archeological deposits were designated more on the basis of natural than cultural criteria. Areas of moderate probability were determined to be those locations that existed between the historic period banklines of the Mississippi River and the present artificial flood control structure. On the basis of detailed historic period map analyses, it appeared that these moderate probability areas probably did not contain such cultural features as stores, landings, or other identifiable structures. The landform itself, however, was old enough to have been utilized by the historic period residents of the area

Fieldwork associated with the initial Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory included both pedestrian survey of the proposed project area and systematic backhoe trenching throughout the Area of Potential Effect. A multi-staged approach was utilized to complete the initial survey. This approach initially consisted of pedestrian survey of the entire Area of Potential Effect, as well as the recordation and preliminary assessment of all identified cultural resources. Once this task was completed, backhoe trenches were excavated systematically in those areas where historic period cultural resources either were identified during pedestrian survey, or the historic map research revealed that the probability for locating intact archeological deposits was considered to be moderate to high. In high probability areas, backhoe trenches were excavated at 30 m (98 ft) intervals along a single survey transect positioned approximately 3 to 5 m (10 to 16 ft) from the toe of the extant levee. In moderate probability areas, backhoe trenches were excavated at 50 m (164 ft) intervals along a single survey transect, also positioned approximately 3 to 5 m (10 to 16 ft) from the base of the artificial flood control structure. A brief discussion of the backhoe trenching procedure used during survey is presented below.

Backhoe Trenching

During the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item, backhoe trenching was conducted throughout the Area of Potential Effect. Each backhoe trench measured approximately 1 x 2 m (3.3 x 6.6 ft) in size and each was excavated to a depth of approximately 200 cmbs (78.7 inbs) or until the presence of water impeded further excavation. Excavation proceeded in 20 cm (7.9 in) artificial levels within each natural stratum. Screening of backhoe trench fill was not undertaken; rather monitoring of the backhoe trench excavation was conducted and artifacts were collected from both the trenches and the resultant backdirt piles. Once excavated, all backhoe trenches were profiled carefully, with the vertical location of all strata breaks and cultural materials plotted in the correct position. Profiling proceeded from the surface of each backhoe trench. In addition, within each moderate and high probability area, all positive backhoe trenches, as well as a representative number of negative backhoe trenches were photographed after excavation was completed. Photographs were taken with 35 mm cameras using both black and white and color film. All backhoe trenches were backfilled immediately upon completion of the archeological recordation process.

Results of Phase I Cultural Resources Survey and Archeological Inventory within the Vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

As a result of survey of the Area of Potential Effect associated with the Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item, five historic period archeological sites (16IV48 - 16IV52) were identified and recorded. Site 16IV49 consisted of the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, the subject of the current undertaking. The results of Phase I survey conducted within the vicinity of this site are discussed briefly below.

Site 16IV49

Site 16IV49 was identified on the batture side of the Mississippi River mainline levee and within Sections 7 and 8 of Township 10S, Range 13E (Figure 2). The site is situated at an approximate elevation of 7.6 m (25 ft) NGVD and it consists of a deposit of nineteenth to early twentieth century historic period artifacts, as well as the associated church and cemetery complex.

Figure 2. Overview photo of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) facing northeast.

During much of the nineteenth century, this area was part of the Celeste and Cannonburg Plantations; later the land upon which Site 16IV49 is located was subdivided and farmed by individual landholders (Chapters II and IV of this document provide detailed descriptions of the historic period use of the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex [Site 16IV49]).

Site 16IV49, as it was identified during the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory, encompasses an area that measures approximately 1.22 ac (0.48 ha) in size (Figure 3). The portion of the site positioned on the batture side of the extant levee is oblong in shape and it is located between approximately 100 to 150 m (328 to 492 ft) from the right descending bankline of the Mississippi River. The site is bounded to the north by two long, narrow borrow pits created during the construction of the existing artificial flood control levee; the site area may extend beneath the flood control structure to a point approximately 5 to 10 m (16.4 to 32.8 ft) north of Louisiana Highway 405 (the possible boundaries of the site are discussed in greater detail in Chapter V of this document). As a result of the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory, 142 historic period artifacts, predominately domestic and construction materials, and 11 faunal specimens were recovered from backhoe trenches excavated within the confines of Site 16IV49.

Cultural material recovered during the initial survey of the 16IV49 site area included 2 imported brown stoneware sherds; 1 plain ironstone sherd; 1 molded/embossed and 8 plain whiteware sherds; 28 machine-made and handmade brick fragments; 2 colorless cup bottom mold glass shards; 1 amber and 3 colorless machine-made bottle glass shards; 10 light aqua tooled lip glass shards; 1 dark green turn paste mold glass shard; 1 colorless unidentified blown-in-mold glass shard; 1 amber, 1 colorless, 1 dark green, 1 green, 2 light aqua, and 2 opaque

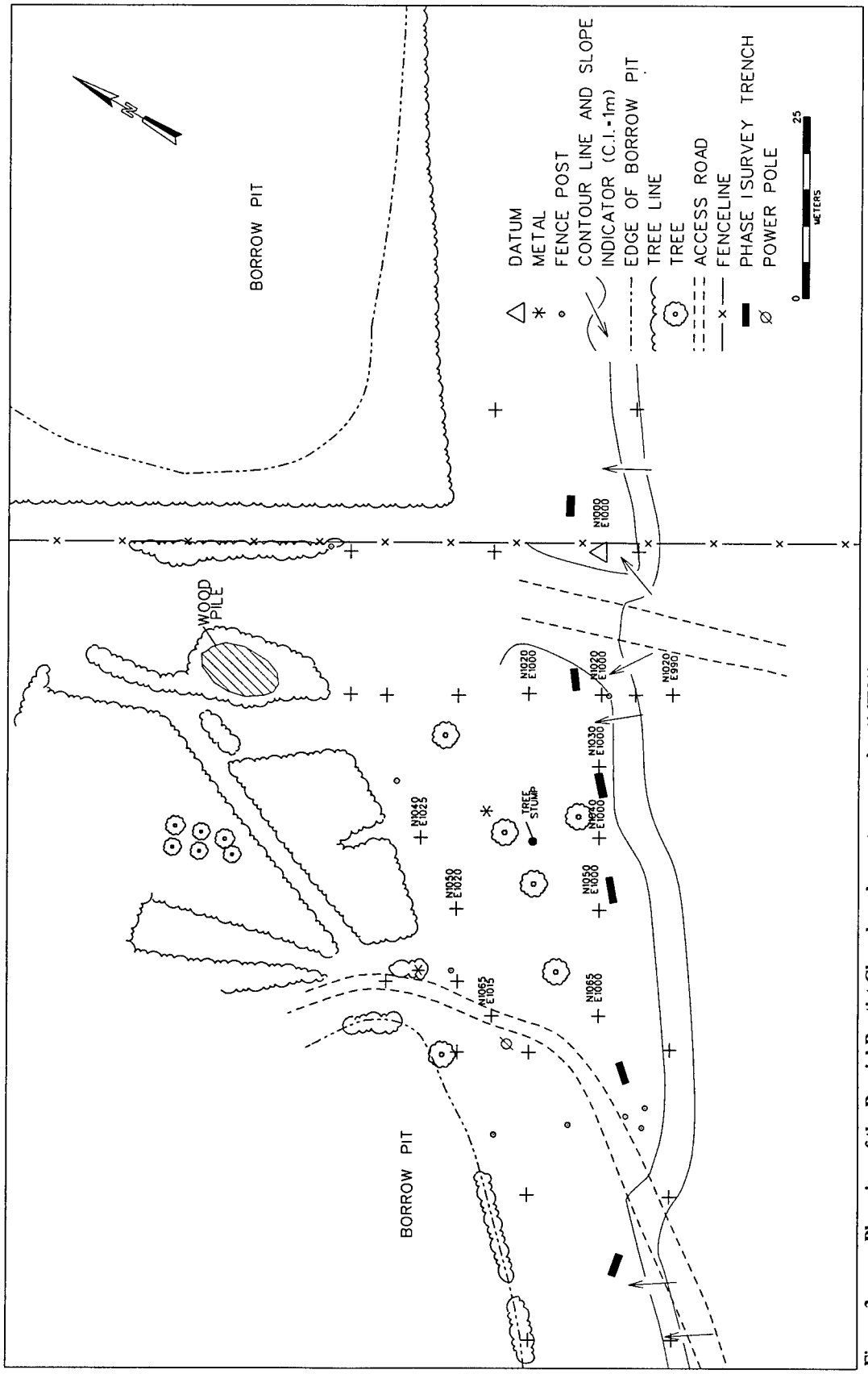


Figure 3. Plan view of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49).

white/milk unidentified bottle glass shards; 1 iron hinge fragment; 1 iron pipe fragment; 1 iron spike; 2 iron fence staples; 1 cast iron stove part; 2 barbed wire fragments; 1 bolt; 1 casket furnishing; 2 wire fragments; 41 machine-cut, 2 unidentified, and 3 wire nails; 1 plow part; 4 sheet metal fragments; 10 unidentified iron fragments; 1 unidentified cast iron fragment; 1 piece of cinder; 1 unidentified synthetic artifact; and 11 faunal specimens (Table 1). The faunal specimens consisted of 6 oyster shell fragments, 1 *Rangia* shell fragment, and 4 unidentified mammal bone fragments, one of which exhibited a saw cut (Table 2). In addition, 17 human bone fragments and a single piece of casket hardware were recovered from Delineation Backhoe Trench N1000 E1306 during survey (Figure 3).

The human remains consisted of several teeth: 1 canine, 1 incisor, 2 molars, and 2 premolars; as well as a single superior eye orbit fragment, 1 tooth bearing element, 2 mastoid fragments, and 7 miscellaneous cranial fragments (Table 3; Figure 4). The developmental stage of one of the recovered molars indicated that the individual was a sub-adult, with death occurring during the mid-teen years (Bass 1995). Due to the fragmentary nature of the identified skeletal material, the gender of the individual could not be determined.

Table 1. Historic period artifacts recovered from Site 16IV49.

STRATA	CLASS	TYPE	SUBTYPE	DESCRIPTION	GENERAL DATE RANGE	TOTAL
II	Glass	Machine-Made Bottle Glass	Colorless	Undetermined	post ca. 1898	1
III	Construction Materials	Architectural Stone	Brick Fragment(s)	Undetermined	Undetermined	1
	Glass	Cup Bottom Mold	Colorless	Base(s)	post ca. 1850	2
		Machine-Made Bottle Glass	Amber	Heel(s)	post ca. 1898	1
		Unidentified Bottle Glass (Kitchen)	Amber	Body(s)	Undetermined	1
	Metal	Construction Hardware	Hinge(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
			Spike(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Miscellaneous Hardware	Barbed Wire fragment(s)	Iron	ca. 1868-1890s (Generic); post ca. 1874 (modern type)	1
			Bolt(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Nail(s)	Machine-Cut, Stamped Head	Iron	ca. late 1830s-1890s+	2
			Machine-Cut, Unidentified Head Style	Iron	ca. 1790s-1890s+	1
			Unidentified	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Tools	Plow Part(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Unidentified Metal Objects	Indeterminate	Cast Iron	Undetermined	1
				Iron	Undetermined	1
IV	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	Base(s)	ca. 1820-1900+	1
				Rim(s)	ca. 1820-1900+	1
	Construction Materials	Architectural Stone	Brick Fragment(s)	Undetermined	Undetermined	1
	Glass	Unidentified Bottle Glass (Kitchen)	Green	Base(s)	Undetermined	1
			Light Aqua	Body(s)	Undetermined	2
		Unidentified Glass (Miscellaneous)	Opaque White/ Milk glass	Indeterminate	Undetermined	1
	Metal	Nail(s)	Machine-Cut, Stamped Head	Iron	ca. late 1830s-1890s+	3
		Unidentified Metal Objects	Indeterminate	Iron	Undetermined	1
V	Construction Materials	Architectural Stone	Brick Fragment(s)	Undetermined	Undetermined	7
	Glass	Tooled Lip	Light Aqua	Rim/Lip to Base	ca. 1820s-1920s	10
		Unidentified Bottle Glass (Kitchen)	Dark Green	Body(s)	Undetermined	1
	Metal	Construction Hardware	Staple(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Nail(s)	Machine-Cut, Stamped Head	Iron	ca. late 1830s-1890s+	5
			Machine-Cut, Unidentified Head Style	Iron	ca. 1790s-1890s+	3

Table 1, continued

STRATA	CLASS	TYPE	SUBTYPE	DESCRIPTION	GENERAL DATE RANGE	TOTAL
V, continued	Metal, continued	Nail(s), continued	Wire, Common	Iron	post ca. 1890	1
		Unidentified Metal Objects	Indeterminate	Iron	Undetermined	1
			Unknown Function	Iron	Undetermined	1
	Stone	Other Miscellaneous Stone	Cinder fragment(s)	Undetermined	Undetermined	1
	Synthetic	Miscellaneous Activities	Miscellaneous	Undetermined	Undetermined	1
Backdirt	Ceramic	Imported Brown Stoneware	Brown Mineral Glaze on Buff	Body & Base	Undetermined	2
		Ironstone	Undecorated White	Rim(s)	ca. 1813-1900+; U.P. post ca. 1845	1
		Whiteware	Molded/ Embossed Decoration	Rim(s)	Undetermined	1
			Plain	Base(s)	ca. 1820-1900+	1
				Body(s)	ca. 1820-1900+	4
				Rim(s)	ca. 1820-1900+	1
	Construction Materials	Architectural Stone	Brick Fragment(s)	Undetermined	Undetermined	12
			Brick, Extruded, Fragment	Undetermined	Undetermined	2
			Brick, Handmade, Partial	Undetermined	Undetermined	4
			Brick, Partial	Undetermined	Undetermined	1
	Glass	Machine-Made Bottle Glass	Colorless	Base(s)	post ca. 1898	1
				Neck(s)	post ca. 1898	1
		Turn Paste Mold	Dark Green	Base(s)	ca. 1870s-1920s	1
		Unidentified Blown-in-Mold Bottle Glass	Colorless	Body(s)	Undetermined	1
		Unidentified Bottle Glass (Kitchen)	Colorless	Body(s)	Undetermined	1
			Opaque White/ Milk glass	Body(s)	Undetermined	1
	Metal	Construction Hardware	Pipe(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
			Staple(s)	Iron	Undetermined	1
		Furniture	Stove Part(s)	Cast Iron	Undetermined	1
		Miscellaneous Hardware	Barbed Wire fragment(s)	Iron	ca. 1868-1890s (Generic); post ca. 1874 (modern type)	1
			Casket Furnishing	Pewter	Undetermined	1
			Unidentified	Iron	Undetermined	3
			Wire fragment(s)	Iron	post ca. 1775	2
		Nail(s)	Machine-Cut, Stamped Head	Iron	ca. late 1830s-1890s+	17
			Machine-Cut, Unidentified Head Style	Iron	ca. 1790s-1890s+	10
			Unidentified	Iron	Undetermined	1
			Wire, Common	Iron	post ca. 1890	2
		Unidentified Metal Objects	Indeterminate	Iron	Undetermined	3
			Sheet Metal	Iron	Undetermined	4
Grand Total						**142**

Table 2. Faunal specimens recovered from Site 16IV49.

STRATA	CLASS	GENUS	SPECIES	COMMON NAME	ELEMENT	MODIFICATION	TOTAL
V	Mammalia	Undetermined	Undetermined	Unidentified Mammal	Miscellaneous fragment	None	1
Backdirt	Invertebrata	*Crassostrea*	*virginica*	Virginia oyster	Invertebrate shell fragment	None	3
					Shell with hinge	None	1
					Whole gastropod shell	None	2
		Rangia	*cuneata*	Brackish water clam	Shell with hinge	None	1
	Mammalia	Undetermined	Undetermined	Unidentified Mammal	Miscellaneous fragment	None	1
						Sawed	1
					Shaft fragment	None	1
Grand Total							**11**

Table 3. Human remains recovered from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49).

GENUS	SPECIES	COMMON NAME	ELEMENT	ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTION	TOTAL
Homo	*sapiens*	Human	Canine		1
			Incisor		1
			Cranial fragments	Cranium	7
				Mastoid	2
				Orbit	1
			Molar(s)		2
			Premolar(s)		2
			Tooth-bearing element		1
Grand Total					**17**

A single decorative casket element was associated with the human remains, indicating that the individual originally had been interred within a wooden coffin or casket that most likely has deteriorated. The decorative element consists of a lug from a double lug swingbail coffin handle; it was manufactured from cast *alfenide*, an alloy of silver and nickel that was electroplated with silver (Figure 5). Similar casket hardware has been identified from the Kenner and Kugler Cemeteries (Site 16SC50 and Site 16SC51), both of which were identified during the cultural resources inventory of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana (Yakubik et al. 1986). Davidson (1999), in his typology for the Freedman Cemetery in Dallas, Texas, also identified similar handle elements dating variously from 1901 to 1906 (Chicago Coffin Co. Catalogue 1896:97; Simmons Hardware Co. Catalogue 1918:682).

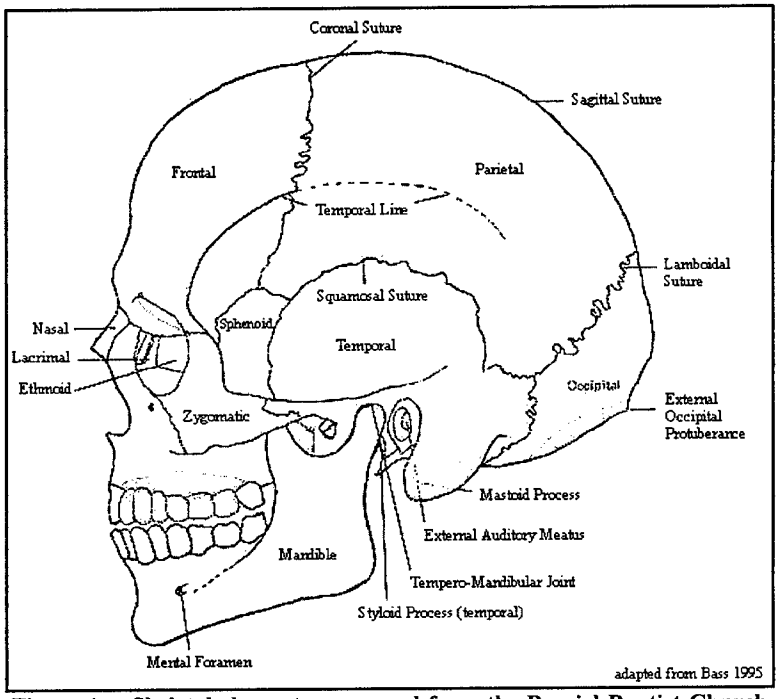


Figure 4. Skeletal elements recovered from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) during Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the proposed Alhambra to Hohen-Solms project item (recovered material depicted in gray).

Backhoe trench N1000 E1306 extended to a maximum depth of 196 cmbs (77.2 inbs) and it exhibited four strata in profile (Figure 6). Stratum I was described as a layer of dark gray brown (10YR 4/2) loamy clay that ranged in depth from 0 to 20 cmbs (0 to 7.9 inbs); it consisted of fill deposited as a result of the 1933 construction of the extant flood control structure. Stratum II, consisted of a series of lenses associated with past alluvial flood events. These lenses varied in color and ranged from a dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) silty clay to a brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) silty clay; these lenses extended from 20 to 65 cmbs (7.9 to 25.6 inbs). Stratum III ranged in depth from 65 to 93 cmbs (25.6 to 36.6 inbs), and it was characterized as a deposit of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) loamy clay. Stratum IV consisted of a layer of brown (10YR 4/3) silty clay that extended from 93 to 196 cmbs

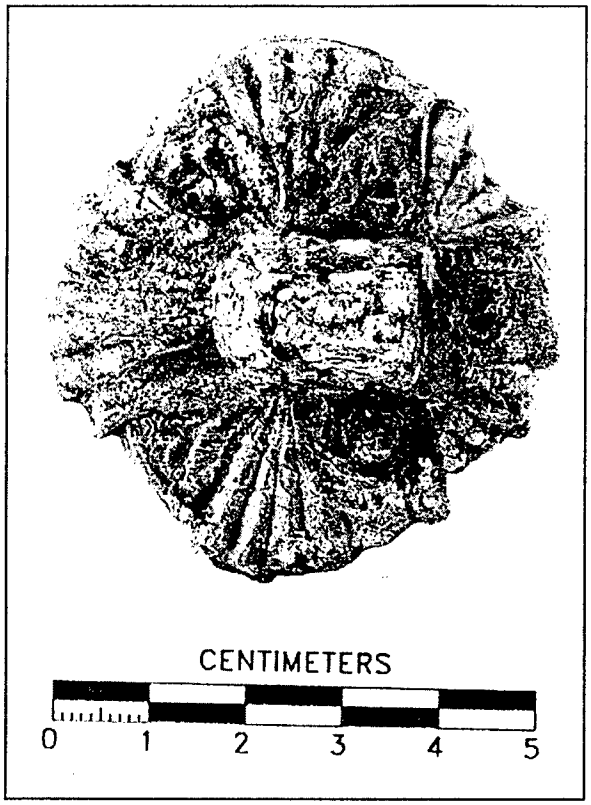


Figure 5. **Photo of decorative casket element recovered from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) during Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory.**

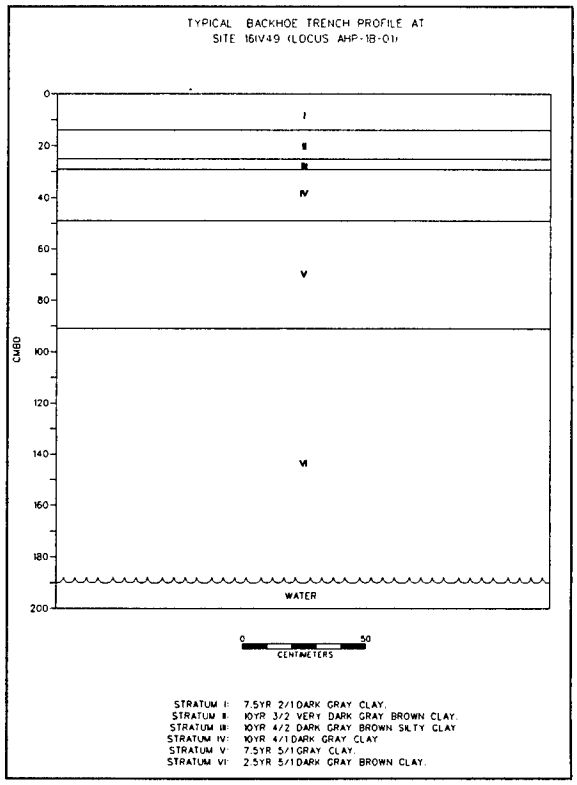


Figure 6. **Profile of Delineation Backhoe Trench N1000 E1306.**

(36.6 to 77.2 inbs); this stratum produced the human remains and the casket hardware noted above.

Historical research suggests that the artifacts recovered from the site represent debris associated with several structures, including the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church; each structure was located in close proximity to the proposed centerline of the then-proposed levee as it was constructed in 1933. The centerline of the extant artificial flood control structure is situated approximately 10 m (32.8 ft) south of the backhoe trenches excavated within the site during the initial Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory; thus, artifacts recovered from these trenches likely were affiliated with the aforementioned structures. In addition to the Braziel Baptist Church, these structures included six historic period residences and/or sheds (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District 1932:2; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1932:1; Department of Public Works 1932:6). The area that produced the decorative casket element and the human remains fell within the documented location of the cemetery complex.

The research associated with the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of Site 16IV49 documented the presence of intact cultural deposits and research potential within the Area of Potential Effect; the site also appeared to be associated with several historic period structures depicted in Mississippi River Commission maps of the area, as well as on the design plans for the 1932 Bayou Goula Bend New Levee setback. The latter plans were produced by the Office Board of State Engineers. Site 16IV49 was assessed as significant and avoidance of or data recovery excavations were recommended for the non-burial portion of Site 16IV49 prior to the initiation of the proposed levee re-contouring and concrete slope paving project. The report also recommended that additional historical research and non-invasive re-

mote sensing of the cemetery portion of Site 16IV49 be conducted prior to initiating any ground disturbing activities throughout the area. This report presents the results of the additional historical research and the remote sensing survey of Site 16IV49.

Historical Research Conducted for the Current Study

In order to conduct such a broad historical investigation in an efficient and comprehensive manner, a research methodology was devised that was both time and cost efficient. The first step included the systematic identification of all the repositories, local and distant, that might hold records related to the project area. Next, the volume and scope of those collections were ascertained - essentially this included an initial examination of the records contained within each archive or library. Finally, an exhaustive examination of all pertinent records housed by the various repositories was performed. The results of these investigations provide the basis for the current report.

Beginning with primary research, each archive was surveyed by one or more historians. Each repository was searched by keywords. Keywords used during the search included:

> Engineer, levee, flood, Flood of 1927, Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Braziel (brazile, braziel, praziel, etc.) Baptist Church, Baptist, cemetery, Cannon, Cannonberg, Celeste, pastors' names (James Tate, Wesley Bryant, William Walker, Noah and Lemuel Lockett), Louisiana Department of State Engineers, Department of Public Works, contractors, F. M. Kerr, surveyor, Mt. Salem, Army Corps of Engineers, War Department (look under army), Lauve, Marie Cadet Clouatre Dupuy, 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic (alternates), burials, disinterment, levee construction and/or enlargement, road construction, Route 405, Route 30, civil war battles in Iberville Parish, Mississippi River Commission, Works Project Administration, and 1928 Flood Control Act.

Once the repositories and collections containing the pertinent material were identified, each collection was investigated extensively. Beginning with whatever targets were identified and moving on to specific indices for each box or for each grouping, every map, piece of correspondence, project description, financial record, contract, permit, bid or other written document from the 1932-33 period related to Iberville Parish was examined. The historical research conducted within the various archives was limited to only those records that pertained directly to the project area.

After analysis of all identified primary material, secondary source materials were examined, to both fill out and to contextualize the documentary record. These sources included not only books and journals, but vertical files, card indexes, newspapers, census records and Parish statistics. For these purposes, the local Iberville Parish libraries were particularly useful.

The historical research associated with the Alhambra Cemetery project encompassed many different repositories scattered throughout the United States. Due to the large volume of Louisiana records housed in New Orleans, the city served as an obvious starting point. Repositories searched in the New Orleans metropolitan area included the Louisiana State Museum, the Historic New Orleans Collection, the Earl K. Long Archives at the University of New Orleans, the Louisiana Notarial Archives, the Louisiana division of the New Orleans Public Library, and the Louisiana Collection at Tulane University. Following the New Orleans archives, the repositories in and around Baton Rouge were examined. These included materials maintained by the Louisiana State Archives, the Louisiana Department of Transportation, the Public Works Records, Hill Library at Louisiana State University, and the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in Port Allen, Louisiana. This investigation also included the parishes surrounding New Orleans and Baton Rouge. For example, land title records at the Iberville Parish Courthouse; the newspaper collections and vertical files at the Donaldsonville, Plaquemine, and White Castle Public Libraries; as well as materials maintained by the River Road African American Museum, in Donalsonville, Louisiana, were examined. Outside of Louisiana, exhaustive records searches were performed at the Southwestern Regional Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration in Ft. Worth, Texas, and the National Archives and Records Administration II located in College Park, Maryland.

In addition, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, houses many maps depicting the Bayou Goula Bend levee construction project, as well as a rich collection of secondary sources related to various flood control projects executed up and down the river. In addition, some records of the Mississippi River Commission were identified at that facility. The Louisiana State Museum holdings included the Cemetery Index compiled by the Works Projects Administration. The Historic New Orleans Collection provided access to their extensive Louisiana map collection. The Earl K. Long collection made available the *Guide to Vital Statistics* prepared by the Works Projects Administration, as well as records of church archives in Louisiana. In addition, the Marcus Christian Collection was examined; it provided background material regarding the history of African American Baptist Churches in Louisiana. The Notarial Archives contained materials relating to Celeste Plantation including records of sale, plans, and leases. The Louisiana division of the New Orleans Public Library provided access to an index of plantations that once operated in Louisiana. Further, some general records for Iberville Parish, i.e., wills, census, and marriage certificates, also were examined. Moreover, their collection of secondary material on Louisiana topics was invaluable. The libraries of Tulane University not only provided secondary sources on African American Benevolent Societies, the influenza epidemic of 1918, and African American Baptists in Louisiana, but it also maintains a very extensive map collection.

The Louisiana State Archives also houses an extensive map collection, as well as the microfilmed records of the Louisiana Board of State Engineers. The Louisiana Department of Transportation holdings included maps and documentation of the Highway 405 project; it also was associated with the 1933 levee construction effort at Bayou Goula Bend. The Department of Transportation also maintains microfilmed records documenting contractual obligations involved in the right-of-way purchases associated with various levee/highway projects. The collections at Hill Library at Louisiana State University include substantial map holdings, primary source holdings on the Lauve family, owners of Cannonburg plantation, and secondary source materials on plantation life and flood management.

The records of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in Port Allen, Louisiana also were accessible on microfilm. This microfilm contained correspondence with the Louisiana State Board of Engineers, landowners, and the Board of Commissioners of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District. Also included within these documents were right-of-way certificates, various permits, certificates of indebtedness and records of all monies paid out by the Levee District, organized by levee project. In addition, the Port Allen office holds various and detailed survey maps and some small amounts of hard copy documentation pertaining to all levees located within the Levee District.

The local parish courthouses and libraries also are filled with seldom-utilized records. The Iberville Parish Courthouse, for example, stores numerous tax records, title transfers, and Township surveys. The White Castle Public Library contains secondary source documentation pertaining to Baptist churches within Iberville Parish. In addition to the White Castle Library, the River Road African American Museum also has widely varied holdings, both primary and secondary, regarding African American Baptist churches and benevolent societies. Both the Donaldsonville Public Library and the Plaquemine Public Library contain microfilmed copies of period newspapers. The *Donaldsonville Chief* and the *Iberville Post-South*, both weekly papers, have articles on the 1918 Spanish influenza epidemic and the construction of levees up and down the river, including the monthly minutes of the meetings of the Board of Commissioners of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District.

The National Archives and Record Administration is a large complex located in several different places around the country. In the Washington D.C. area, the post-World War I records of all military divisions are kept at the National Archives II building, in College Park, Maryland. It is the primary repository for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers records, Record Group 77. Some non-administrative records from Record Group 77 are spread throughout the numerous regional branches of the National Archives, based on the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers divisions. For example, the records from

the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District are housed primarily at the Southwest Branch of the National Archives, located in Fort Worth, Texas. The majority of records from the New Orleans District that originated in the 1930s were never sent to Fort Worth, Texas; however, they were located in the National Archives in Maryland. Record Group 77 contains primarily administrative, financial, and circular records to and from the Chief of each Division and the Chief of each District. They are upper-level reports and correspondence, and the records seem to have been purged of all documentation from field engineers to the District Chiefs. Hence, while a significant number of documents related to the project were uncovered, no daily reports on levee construction or engineering progress were found.

The search of these varied archives resulted in hundreds of pages of cartographic and documentary material. Appendix V contains a summary of the findings which relate directly to the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex.

Project Personnel

Mr. William P. Athens, M.A., R.P.A., served as Principal Investigator for this project and he supervised all aspects of the investigation. Mr. David R. George, M.A., R.P.A., acted as Project Manager. Ms. Katy Coyle, M.A, A.B.D., supervised the historic research for this project; she was assisted by Dr. Ralph Draughon, Jr., Ms. Susan Barrett Smith, B.A., and Mr. James Eberwine B.A. Ms. Kari Krause, M.S., served as Assistant Project Manager and she directed the fieldwork for this project. Ms. Krause also performed a great deal of the historical research associated with this project. She was assisted in the field by Mr. J. B. Pelletier, M.A., Mr. William Lowthert, M.A., Mr. James Strait, M.A., Ms. Stephanie Clayton, B.A. Ms. Wendy Bosma, B.A., Ms. Cheraki Williams, B.A, Mr. Michael Seward, M.A., Ms. Meredith Snead, B.A., and Mr. James Eberwine, B.A. Mr. J. B. Pelletier, M.A., and Mr. William Lowthert, M.A., supervised the remote sensing survey of Site 16IV149. Graphics for this report were produced by Ms. Faith Leech, B.A., and Mr. David Stitcher, B.A. Finally, this document was produced by Ms. Heidi Post, B.A., and Ms. Jennifer Preisler, B.A.

Organization of the Report

The history of the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) is presented in Chapter II. It includes a review of the history of the region from earliest exploration to modern times; the chapter is thematic in nature and it places the land on which Site 16IV49 is situated, as well as the former and present location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, into the context of the larger region. Chapter III provides a discussion of the building of the U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee project item and Mississippi River levees in general; it outlines the methods used during the construction of the extant artificial flood control structure that covers portions of the site. The land tenure history of the parcel upon which the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is located is chronicled in Chapter IV. It consists of a narrative that describes the chain of title for that particular tract of land, as well as background historical information associated with each of the prior landowners. Chapter V contains a cartographic review of the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49). It presents map data relevant to the project parcel and it describes the size and configuration of the church and cemetery complex as determined from numerous historic period maps. The field methods used to conduct the remote sensing of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, as well as the results of those investigations, are highlighted in Chapter VI. Chapter VII presents a summary of the research effort, as well as management recommendations for the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. A list of archival repositories and material included is contained in Appendix I. Remote sensing maps are included as Appendix II. Thermal scan images appear in Appendix III. A compendium of maps collected during the historical research portion of the current project is included as Appendix IV (Volume II). A listing of all repositories visited, as well as a condensed version of the material recovered from each repository, is contained in Appendix V (Volume III).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

The Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) is located on the west bank of the Mississippi River, in Iberville Parish, Louisiana. Historically, this portion of the "Acadian Coast" has been an agricultural region, planted primarily in sugar cane and rice throughout the centuries. Much of the area remains planted in sugar cane today; however, the area has undergone significant industrialization in recent years, adapting to the development of the petroleum and natural gas industries throughout the twentieth century. This chapter presents a general overview of the history of that portion of the Mississippi riverbank that contains the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery complex (Site 16IV49).

Early Exploration and Initial Settlement of the Region

Hernando de Soto, the infamous Spanish conquistador, was the first European to view the Mississippi River, during his explorations in 1541. De Soto and his men traveled through the area later to be called Louisiana, reaching the Gulf of Mexico in 1543. More than a century passed before another European set out to explore the Mississippi River Valley. In 1682, Robert Cavelier de La Salle sailed down the Mississippi River in search of an opening to the sea. During this trip, La Salle identified the village of the Bayougoulas and the Mougoulachas, both of which were situated in the general vicinity of the present-day town of Bayou Goula, Louisiana, i.e., a few miles upriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49).

The Bayougoulas (whose name translates roughly to "bayou people") did not welcome LaSalle and his men, and they attacked the French party with bows and arrows. La Salle fled with his party down the Mississippi River, eventually reaching its mouth and the Gulf of Mexico. Despite the earlier success of de Soto in serving the Spanish crown, La Salle, upon reaching the lower Mississippi River Valley claimed the entire region for King Louis XIV of France. He named the area Louisiana in honor of the French king.

By this point in his travels, their rations were dwindling and La Salle and his men returned upstream to the village of the Bayougoulas in search of food and supplies. During this encounter with the Bayougoulas, La Salle sent a landing party by cover of night to scout the village. Finding only women, the party returned the next morning to capture four Bayougoula prisoners, all of whom were female. La Salle then transported the captives to the east bank of the river, where he allegedly explained to them (in French and pantomime) that he posed "no threat" to their safety, but only sought provisions for his journey. In return for food and supplies, La Salle gave the Bayougoulas several gifts (probably beads and knives, as was the French custom), asked them to convey his message to the village leaders, and returned them to their homes. Before long, La Salle and his men received an invitation from the Bayougoulas to cross the river to trade. The French accepted, and they soon returned to the village where they received gifts of corn. At daybreak, however, the Bayougoulas attacked La Salle and his men, using only their arrows and knives. The French

men, with muskets and ammunition, easily repelled the Native American assault. The Bayougoulas suffered 10 casualties in the skirmish. Although La Salle contemplated a full-force attack on the village, he rejected the idea for lack of ammunition. Instead, he continued his voyage upriver in search of much needed supplies (Bryant et al. 1982:31-32).

Having claimed the river and all adjacent lands for King Louis XIV, La Salle returned to Louisiana in 1684, in an attempt to map the land for settlement. He and his party unknowingly passed the mouth of the Mississippi River, however, and the men were killed a few years later by Native Americans living along the Texas coast. Unaware of his commander's tragic end, Henri de Tonti (or Tonty) followed the next year. He successfully retraced La Salle's first voyage, again encountering the Bayougoulas on the banks of the river. De Tonti, known as "Iron Hand" for the primitive prosthetic he wore, attempted again to make peace with the Bayougoulas and their neighbors, the Mougoulachas. Perhaps because of the demonstration of French firepower two years earlier, the Native American villagers were receptive of their French visitors. According to one account of the meeting, the Bayougoulas apologized for the earlier attack, and they welcomed de Tonti and his men into their village (Bryant et al. 1982:32).

De Tonti waited for La Salle at the village. When he failed to appear, the lieutenant left a note for his superior with the villagers, telling them to deliver it to the man who would "come from the sea." Written in April, 1686, the letter read:

> Sir, having found the column on which you had placed the arms of France thrown down, I caused a new one to be erected, about seven leagues from the sea. All the (Indians) have sung the calumet. These people fear us extremely, since your attack upon their village. I close by saying that it gives me great uneasiness to be obliged to return under the misfortune of not having found you. Two canoes have examined the coast thirty leagues towards Mexico, and twenty-five towards Florida (De Tonti, quoted in Bryant et al. 1982:32).

Despite the failure of these early explorations, Europeans continued their colonial interests in the Gulf Coast region. Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, began the first extensive European incursion into the Louisiana territory in 1698. The main purpose of the Iberville "Mississippi Expedition" was to keep the British out of the Gulf of Mexico (Riffel 1985:2). The Spanish had established a settlement at Pensacola in 1697, and the French government feared an expansion of British colonial interests southward into the Gulf region. Iberville sought to solidify alliances between the French and the Native Americans along the Mississippi River, to serve as a bulwark against other European intrusions.

Together with his brother, Jean Baptiste LeMoyne, Sieur de Bienville, Iberville began his upriver voyage in 1699. They entered the mouth of the Mississippi River from the open sea in two small boats. After a six-week journey, Iberville arrived in the vicinity of what later would become Iberville Parish, named in his honor. On the east bank of the river, he encountered the village of the Houma or (*Oumas*) Indians, and on the west bank the village of the Bayougoulas and the Mougoulachas (Figure 7). Iberville notes that the Houma were better off than their neighbors the Bayougoula; the former lived in a neatly ordered village of some 140 huts, with a population of 350 men in addition to an uncounted number of women and children.

Of the Bayougoula, Iberville observed:

> This village is composted of 107 huts and 2 temples, and there could be as many as 200 to 250 male residents. There are few women. Smallpox, which continues to ravage the population, has exterminated one-fourth of the village . . . . They are the most destitute Indians I have ever encountered, having neither conveniences nor works of art (Bryant et al. 1982:34).

Contact with the French, and perhaps with the Spanish conquistadors before them, had impacted significantly the Native Americans. The brothers LeMoyne found the Mougoulachas dressed in a blue cloak and stockings, tied with "a cravat of a villainous red stuff that had formerly served as a flag," all presents from de Tonti's expedition (quote from Anonymous, in Miller and Anderson 1992:7). Bienville also found a small glass bottle from de Tonti in the Bayougoulas' temple.

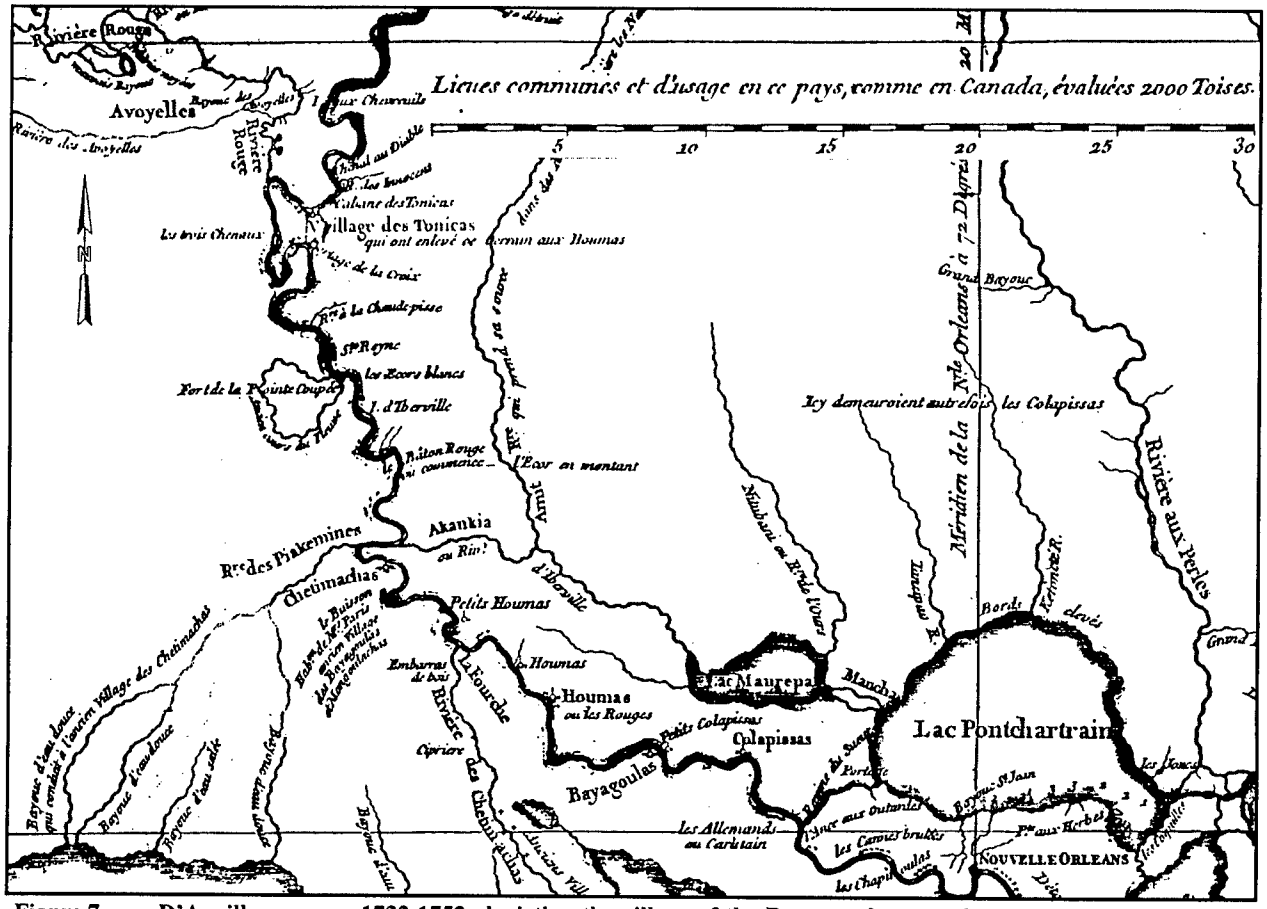


Figure 7. **D'Anville map, ca. 1732-1752, depicting the village of the Bayougoulas, west bank of the River, and the village of the Petit Houmas on the east bank.**

The Native Americans largely were hunter-gatherers, though Iberville described the land around the village as hilly, having "fairly good black soil," and his brother said there were "all varieties of trees," but a dearth of berries (McWilliams 1981:69). Their dwellings were "huts, covered with split canes...bound together," open to light in the roof, and having only dirt for flooring. Their personal possessions, according to the French, were limited to earthen pottery, primitive clothing, and some meager jewelry. The village of the Bayougoulas, guarded from other hostile tribes by a cane palisade, could not protect itself from the most damaging threat brought by the Anglos: disease. When Iberville and Bienville arrived in 1699, 25 percent of the Bayougoulas' village had been decimated by smallpox, which continued to ravage the indigenous population. Bienville noted that the village was surrounded with large platforms, piled high with the bodies of the dead (Usner 1992:22)

The French tactic for colonization of the area relied on converting Native Americans to Catholicism. This approach differed distinctly from the British strategy, which focused primarily on controlling land; the British therefore concerned themselves with the removal of the Native Americans from the area (White 1991). Curiously, it also differed from the Spanish colonization pattern. When Spanish colonists moved into an area, they simply mandated Native American compliance with Catholic doctrine on pain of slavery or death (Gutiérrez 1991). The French, still following the pattern established in Canada, brought priests with them on their early colonizing ventures, and they placed them in villages of the area, where they served as mission-

aries to the Native Americans rather than as ministers for the colony. The French believed that if they could convert the Native groups, there would be no need to dominate the land or its people. In keeping with this practice, Iberville assigned Father Du Ru, a Jesuit priest, to the Bayougoulas village, to organize a mission among the Native peoples. Stationed in the village with two French settlers, Du Ru first set out to construct a church. He traded an axe to a Bayougoula named Longamougoulache, in exchange for a field upon which to build his church. He then constructed a large structure (measuring 20 x 50 m [65.6 x 164 ft] in size) in the shadow of a large cross. Father Joseph de Limoges and Father Anthony Davion, priests from Canada, soon joined Du Ru. Apparently, the Bayougoulas were uninterested in conversion, however, for when Father Gravier visited the village 17 years later, he found them reluctant to even discuss their religion (Bryant et al. 1982:35-36).

Despite Native American reticence toward conversion, the Bayougoulas and Mougoulachas seemed eager to impress the Jesuits with their ability to maintain tradition and order, even in the face of the devastating smallpox plague. Father Du Ru witnessed several types of games and a variety of dances within the village, which he assessed to be at least 600 years old. Du Ru also was permitted to enter the two temples that stood at either end of a large plaza. Domed roofs covered the thatch and cane mat buildings, and the buildings were decorated with carved "animal figures, including a rooster pained red" (Brasseaux 1979:48). The priest compared the buildings to the dome at the College du Plessis. Upon entering the temples, Du Ru was impressed by the eternal flame burning there, the only illumination with which to see the rows of human remains lining the building – tributes to past chiefs (Usner 1992:24).

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the nascent Louisiana colony was both a place of danger and intense cultural exchange. By the time Iberville arrived in Louisiana, the Bayougoulas had assimilated the Mougoulachas into their village, and they soon accepted refugees from several other villages ravaged by disease and warfare. The Quinipissas and the Chitimacha relocated to the riverfront village during Father Du Ru's tenure, and a few years later, in 1706, a group of Taensa Indians followed. Driven from their village upriver on Lake St. Joseph, the Taensa settled in the already multicultural Bayougoulas community. Unfortunately, this move sparked a tragic turn of events when angry, displaced Taensa "suddenly turned against their hosts, killing many Bayogoulas [sic] and capturing several Chitimacha villagers" (Usner 1992:24). Although Father Du Ru's mission was burned in the fray, the Chitimacha apparently suspected French collaboration with the Taensa, and they retaliated by assassinating Father Jean-Francois Buisson de Saint-Cosme, a Jesuit descending the Mississippi River from Natchez. His murder, in turn, gave Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, a French lieutenant in command of Fort La Boulaye, an excuse to attack the Chitimacha. Saint-Denis led a force of 20 French soldiers and approximately 80 Native American warriors from the Lake Pontchartrain area against the Chitimacha village on Bayou Lafourche. Easily defeating the smaller group, Saint-Denis and his men took a group of mostly women and children captive, whom they sold to settlers for 200 livres a head. The French continued to battle against the Chitimacha for many years, with their captives forming the "core of Louisiana's earliest slave population" (Usner 1992:24). By 1708, only 280 people lived in French settlements in Louisiana, 80 of whom were Native American slaves.

Both the French settlers and the Native Americans had to adapt to lives lived in the "middle ground" between Western ideology and commerce and the harsh demands of the frontier. The system of frontier exchange they created was not, as characterized all too often in early historiographies, simply a process of a colonial power penetrating and exploiting indigenous resources. Rather, it was a complex web of cross-cultural exchange that necessarily changed both the individuals and the cultures involved. The need to learn how to hunt indigenous animals, forage for local wild resources, and grow crops suitable to the sub-tropical climate of Louisiana forced colonists to cooperate with the Native Americans in the area. Similarly, French firepower, mercantile advantages and ever-

increasing population left local tribes with no option other than to engage in the new socio-economic world order.

French settlers also adapted to the frontier during this period. Not only were they newly-located in a strange new environment, filled with unfamiliar land, swamps and wildlife, they also were isolated from the meager provisions allotted to the colony from the French monarchy. In the earliest years of colonial settlement, the deerskin pelt trade became the staple of the colonial export commodity. Without such trade, the French colony would have failed for lack of any economic production. French settlers even traded furs to the Spanish garrison at Pensacola for such staples as sugar and wine. The extensive French-Native American trade network also served as an important political and social bridge. The French learned the Native customs regarding gift giving as a form of respect and good will. Perhaps most important, the French also learned that Native American cultures had extensive traditions and rituals that demonstrated savvy political sense. For some, life among the Native peoples was a dramatic improvement over their life in the French garrisons; thus, they deserted their settlements in favor of life "out bush" (Hall 1992:19-20).

Due in part to its involvement with European conflicts and concerns, France paid only slight attention to its young Louisiana colony. As a result, there was little assistance available for her colonists in the early eighteenth century. The historian Alcée Fortier commented:

> Most of the early settlers had come to America imbued with the idea that it was a land of vast wealth, which was easily to be obtained, and they spent their time in vain searching for mines or pearl fisheries instead of opening up plantations (Fortier 1914:303).

In the winter of 1710, supplies were so scarce that the colonists were sent to live among the neighboring Native American tribes in order to survive. This contributed to the acculturation process.

To lessen the economic burden of managing the colony, the French government decided to entrust the administration and development of the colony to private hands (Riffel 1985:4). The first such concession was granted to Antoine Crozat in 1712. Crozat's Company of Louisiana was given a monopoly over production and export from the colony, as well as the mineral rights to all of the land. Unfortunately, the lure of gold led Crozat on the same fruitless search as his predecessors, while settlement, agriculture and trade remained underdeveloped. After only five years had elapsed from his 15- year concession, his losses seemed insurmountable, and Crozat surrendered his charter in 1717.

Later that same year, France granted John Law and his Company of the West the charter for Louisiana. Law understood that the colony could not realize profits with such a population shortage; to attract settlers to the territory, Law offered tracts of land to colonists who would establish agricultural settlements in the struggling colony. Colonization began in 1718. M. Paris, *dit* (called) Duvernay, a director of the Company of the West, was granted a concession near the present project area (Figure 8). Penicaut, writing in 1722, described the concession:

> The first concession established was that of M. Paris, managed by M. Dubuisson, who had brought his brother and his two sisters with him, with twenty-five persons and many personal possessions. It was located twenty-eight leagues above New Orleans on the left bank of the Missicipy [sic] going upstream, in the old village of the Bayogoula [sic]. In addition to the tilling of fields, they established a silkworm factory there; for that reason they planted a great many mulberry seedlings (McWilliams 1953:211-212).

Although the Bayougoulas apparently had abandoned this land, within a year, Dubuisson complained in a letter to Sieur de Bienville of daily raids made on the concession by the Chitimacha. In response, Bienville sent an emissary to speak to the Chitimacha chief about the raids. The Chitimacha were willing to make peace with the French, and they agreed to abandon their village, and to settle on the Mississippi River one league below Duvernay's concession. An inventory conducted in 1726 (Pritchard 1938:979-994) showed that the settlement was "4 square leagues containing about seventy arpents cleared and which are at present planted in rice, potatoes, etc." Although Paris Duvernay transported

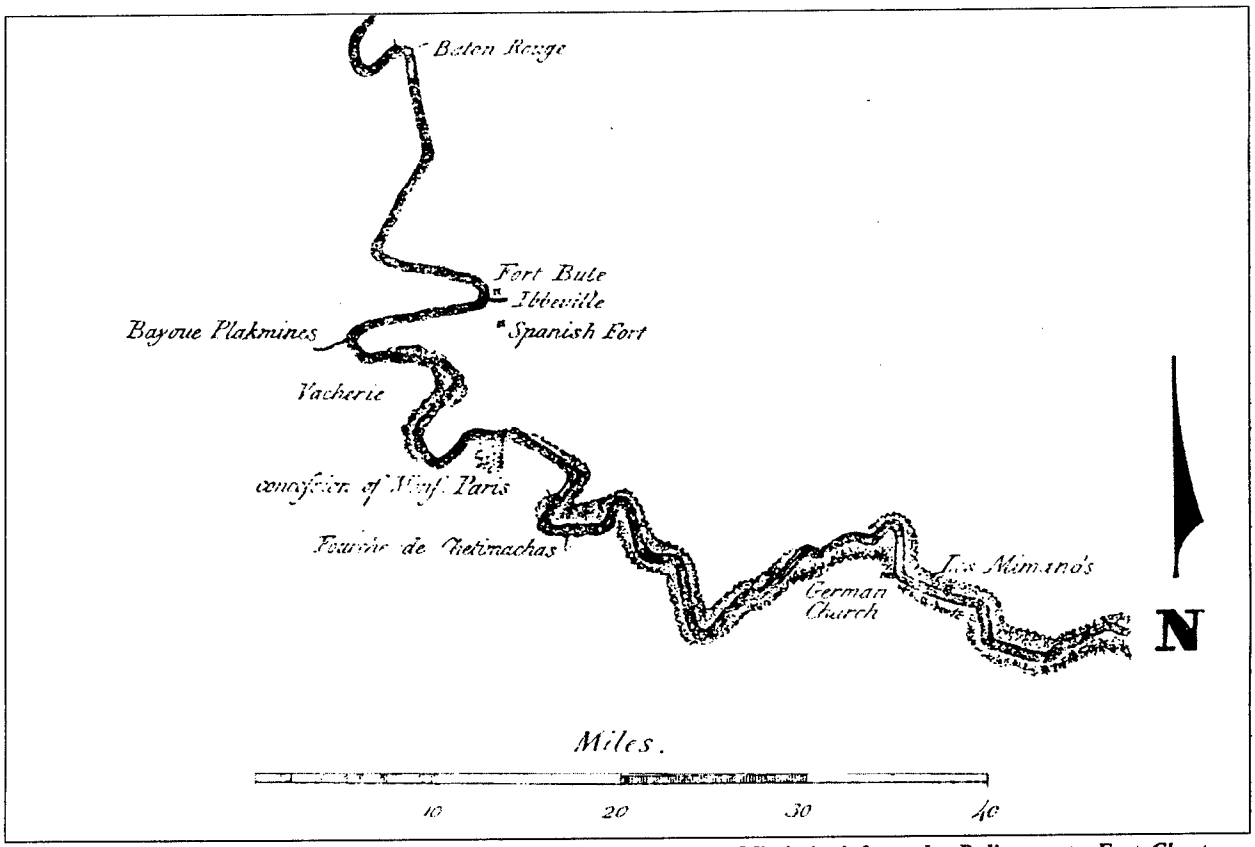


Figure 8. **Excerpt from Pittman's 1765 *Draught of the River Mississippi from the Balize up to Fort Chartres*, showing Paris Duvernay's concession (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University).**

25 laborers, many of them skilled artisans, to his concession in 1724, there was no account of them in the 1726 population tally. In 1731, the census recorded DuBuisson [sic] Monferier with a family of seven (besides himself, his wife and five children), one worker, and six slaves on the Duvernay concession. Another colonist, La Garde, was listed with five workers and 48 slaves. Although it was beset by administrative problems, the Paris Duvernay concession represented a successful early attempt at upriver settlement.

The Duvernay concession was lucrative because he was successful in obtaining slaves. In the early years of the colony, many official documents contained requests for slaves. While Native American slaves were available, they generally were much more knowledgeable of the surrounding area, and they frequently ran away. Also, among French colonists, the prevailing feeling was that the Native American slaves, as one man put it "only cause us trouble and from whom we receive very little service since they are not appropriate for hard labor like the blacks" (Hall 1992:57). In fact, the colonists so preferred slaves of African decent to Native slaves, that Bienville proposed to exchange slaves with French Caribbean colonists - two Native Americans for each African slave. This proposal failed, and very few African slaves were brought to the colony until 1718. Once African slaves were introduced to the colony, however, the slave trade flourished. Between 1719-1731, Louisiana imported over 5,000 African slaves. By 1732, slaves comprised about 60 percent of the Louisiana population (Usner 1992: 46).

Fluid social relations, especially with regard to racial interactions, marked the French colony throughout the next three decades. Though the *Code Noir*, the French slave code, was implemented in 1724, many colonists did not adhere to its strict tenets. For example, though sexual contact between slaves and settlers was prohibited by the *Code*, many in New

France ignored this legal barrier. Father Raphaël, the Capuchin Vicar of Louisiana, complained two years after the doctrine was implemented that "although the number of those who maintain young Indian women or negresses to satisfy their intemperance is considerably diminished, there still remain enough to scandalize the church and require and effective remedy" (Usner 1992:50). Moreover, only one-fourth of the free population of the colony owned slaves, making interracial alliances less threatening to colony officials.

The European wars of the mid-eighteenth century, which culminated in King George's War (1744 - 1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756 - 63), proved disastrous for France. Financially and militarily unable to support the colony any longer, France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1762 in the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau. It was not until 1766, however, that a Spanish governor, Don Antonio Ulloa, arrived in Louisiana to begin the Spanish administration of the territory.

The Acadians and the Spanish Period

Throughout the eighteenth century, European powers struggled for colonial dominance in the New World. France and Great Britain, in particular, fought over New France (Canada) and control of the Mississippi River. In 1713, France ceded "Acadie" - Nova Scotia and New Brunswick - to Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht. These lands, populated by the French colonists known as Acadians, were important strategically, located half way between Boston and the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. Britain required the Acadians to swear an oath of allegiance to the royal crown. Independent, largely Catholic, and convinced of their right to participate in the political process, the Acadians refused, and they struggled with British authorities for decades. On September 5, 1755, approximately 6,000 to 7,000 Acadians, half the total Acadian population, were imprisoned, and shortly thereafter deported to dozens of different colonial settlements. This mass deportation became known as *Le Grand Dérangement,* The Great Deportation (Brasseaux 1987:25-27; Encyclopedia of Cajun Culture 2000:1) (Figure 9).

These emigrées anticipated a reunion with other exiled Acadian immigrants and they believed that a "New Acadia" would emerge in Louisiana. Another group of Acadian refugees already had settled a few years earlier in the Attakapas (Opelousas) region of the colony. Insufficient support from the French colonial government, however, prevented other Acadians from settling in the Attakapas region. During the Spanish reign, in order to protect the area against Native American raids and encourage disperse settlement, the second wave of Acadians (who arrived between 1765 and 1770) were forced to settle along the lower Mississippi coast, rather than in the Attakapas region (Brasseaux 1987:76-77).

In the Summer of 1767, a group of 200 Acadians arrived in New Orleans. The Spanish government, recognizing the need for settlers to cultivate the land in order to establish a strong economic base within the state, welcomed the Acadians into the colony. Governor Ulloa selected St. Gabriel, on the east bank of Iberville Parish, as the primary area for the Acadian settlement. The settlers were equipped with tools, weapons, medicine, supplies, and enough food to tide them over until the initial harvest on their new land (Figure 10).

In his decree of August 6, 1767, Ulloa established the guidelines for the allocation of land to the Acadians:

> These people are to be located down river from the fort of St. Gabriel in Iberville in the direction of New Orleans, settling the shore of the river that extends toward the capital, and it is to be accomplished in the following way...A stretch of land measuring no more than three thousand yards along the shore of the river downward from the fort of St. Gabriel shall be left vacant so that the Spaniards...who in the future shall come with a job or occupation and shall want to establish themselves there may settle on it...From the place where the above mentioned distance reserved for Spaniards ends will begin the lands that are to be distributed to the Acadians, the first settlers of that shore (Chandler 1973:74).

Ulloa demonstrated great concern for the Acadians, expressing his desire that "the first settlers of that shore" be given every chance to succeed and prosper along the river.

Pittman described this early Acadian settlement and the colonists who lived there ca. 1770:

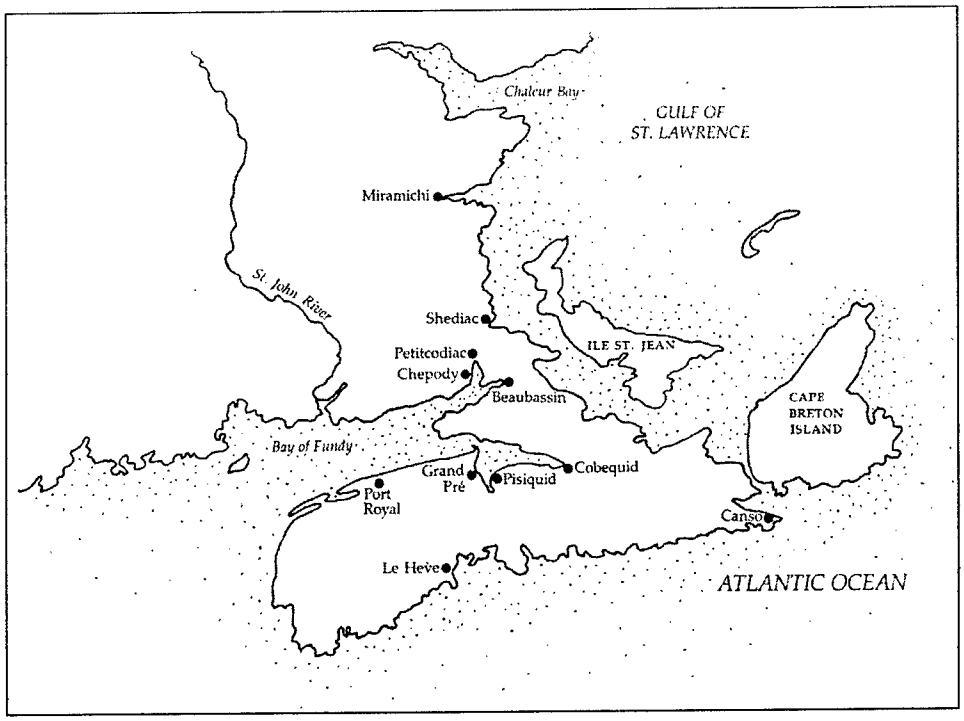


Figure 9. **Acadian settlements, from Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia*.**

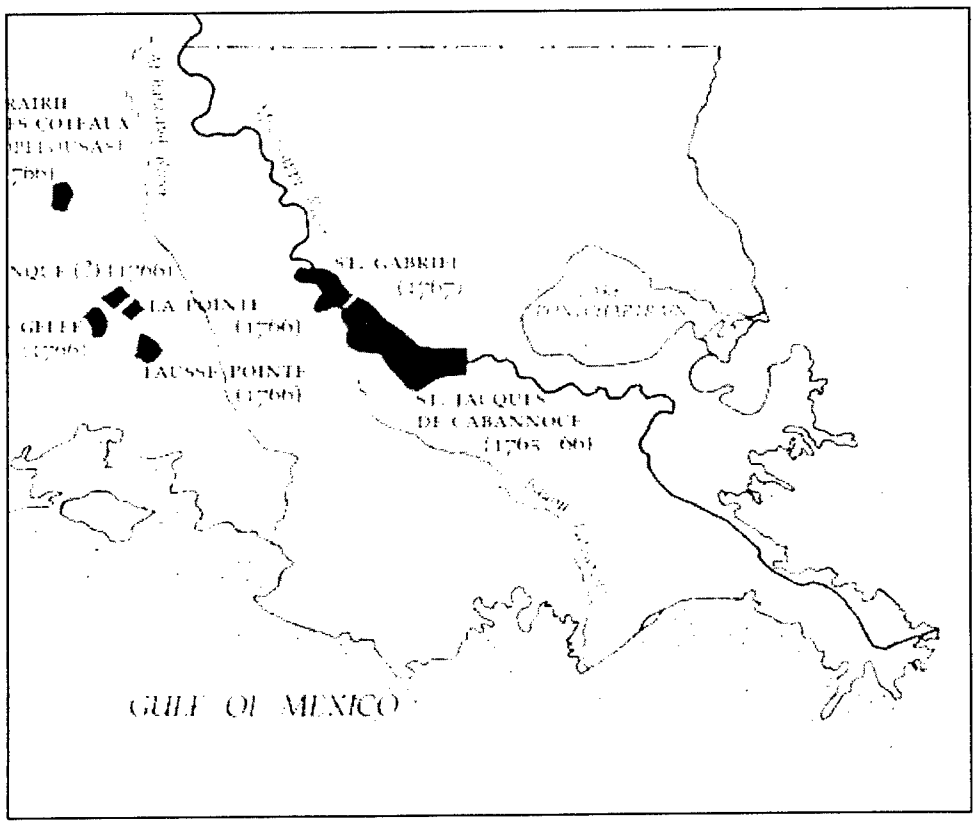


Figure 10. **Acadian settlements in the region of the project, from Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia*.**

> The new settlements of the Acadians are on both sides of the river, and reach from the Germans to within seven or eight miles of the river Ibberville (*sic*) [Bayou Manchac]. These are the remainder of the families which were sent by General Lawrence from Nova Scotia to our southern provinces; where by their industry, they did and might have continued to live very happy, but that they could not publicly enjoy the Roman Catholic religion, to which they are greatly bigoted. They took the earliest opportunity, after the peace, of transporting themselves to St. Domingo where the climate disagreed with them so much, that they in a few months lost near half their numbers; the remainder, few only excepted, were in the latter year 1763, removed to New Orleans, at the expense of the King of France (Pittman 1906:60-61).

Pittman's 1765 map (Figure 11) depicts the Spanish Fort (St. Gabriel) and the "Acadian Coast." The Acadian St. Gabriel settlement was not successful. Disease, food shortages, Native American raids, and the lack of communication between French-speaking Acadians and the Spanish military contributed to its early demise (Perkins 1985).

The Spanish also brought a number of Isleños colonists from the Canary Islands to Louisiana and settled them along the banks of the Mississippi River in Iberville and Ascension Parishes. Between 1765 and 1775, Governor Galvez sent Isleños to a post located below the confluence of the Iberville (Bayou Manchac) and Amite Rivers. This military outpost, named Galveztown, was a strategically important, if small, Iberville Parish settlement. The population of the outpost never exceeded 250 people, and it eventually was abandoned during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

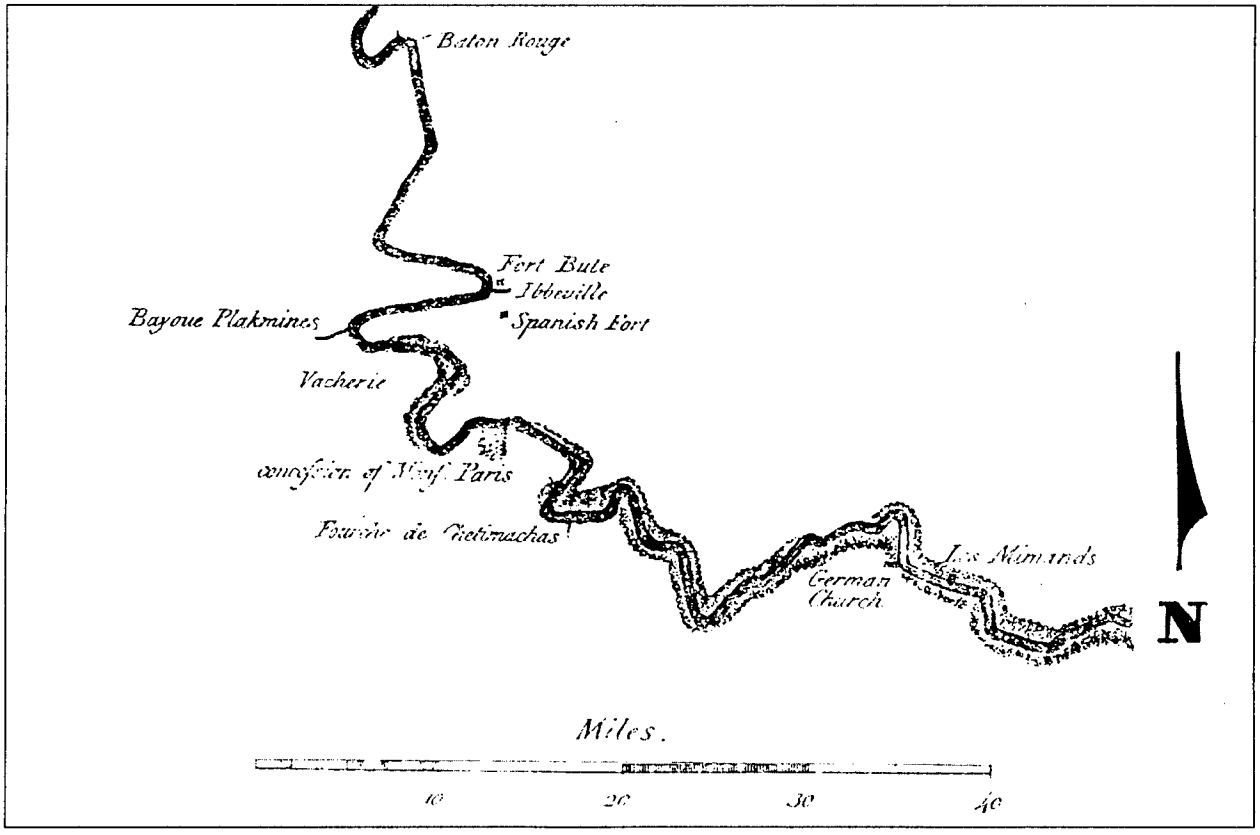


Figure 11. **Excerpt from Pittman's 1765 *Draught of the River Mississippi from the Balize up to Fort Chartres*, showing Paris Duvernay's concession (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University).**

By far, the people most commonly imported into the Spanish colony were African slaves; however, exact population figures are difficult to ascertain following 1788, particularly because the territories were in flux. Moreover, a large portion of the slave trade came indirectly through the West Indies, and the bondsmen were carried illegally into the territory by smugglers. It is clear, however, that the Spanish encouraged the importation of large numbers of African slaves between 1763-1803. In 1763, when France ceded the colony, the slave population was approximately 4,598, compared to 3,654 free settlers. By 1800, 24,264 slaves lived in Spanish Louisiana, compared to their 19,852 free neighbors (Hall 1992:279).

Whereas in the French regime, the slave trade had been a monopoly of the crown, closely regulated and centralized, during Spanish rule, traders from several different nations were involved. In addition to Spanish traders from Cuba, after 1777, slavers from St. Domingue, Britain, Scotland and the United States all fought for economic inroads to the labor-starved territory. Along the Mississippi coast, merchants from the British Isles operated in the larger ports, including Baton Rouge, Natchez and New Orleans. Although the records are spotty and unreliable, it is likely that the majority of the slaves living on Iberville Parish plantations such as Celeste, were purchased from these slavers.

This rapid expansion of slavery had several effects on the river plantations. Economically, it facilitated the growth and dominance of the plantocracy. This plantocracy was enmeshed within a cycle that both created and maintained power. Second-generation planters inherited their land and they had the capital to purchase the slaves, who in turn worked the sugar fields for the profit of the planters. This profit was used to purchase more land and more slaves, thereby generating additional profits. Ownership of large plantations and many slaves, whether mortgaged or not, earned planters both a positive reputation among other planters, and political influence. Political clout permitted planters to reinforce their own power, and the slave system that put them in power in the first place. Through this cycle, the Spanish colonial period witnessed the emergence of an aristocracy of planters.

Census statistics from the Spanish period indicate that the Iberville Parish region developed rapidly. The first Spanish census of 1769 listed only 379 persons in the Iberville district; of these, 78 resided near the Paris concession (Fortier 1914:524). The population of the area, however, decreased to 277 in 1771 (Kinnaird 1945:196). By 1785, a number of Acadian families had settled along both sides of the Mississippi River near what is now the town of Plaquemine, i.e., several kilometers upriver of the current project area. The arrival of additional Acadian refugees increased the population of the area from 673 in 1785 to 944 in 1788 (Martin 1882:240, 242). By 1777, the population had earned the area the title of the "Acadian Coast" (Brasseaux 1985:35; 1987:91, 93, 97, 106-07).

The Acadians who colonized the region settled in widely disparate communities, rather than establishing their residence in a more centralized town. This pattern was in keeping with their tradition, and it allowed for the establishment of livestock areas and farm acreage. Most of these Acadian families settled on lands positioned adjacent to one another, so that extended family structures could remain intact and continue to grow through intermarriage (Brasseaux 1987). Unlike the wealthier French European planters who bought large concessions and used large contingents of slaves to work their plantation fields, most of the immigrant Acadians consisted of "petite habitants," or small farmers. Like the German Rhinelanders who settled the "Côte Des Allemands," the German Coast (along the river in the present day parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist), the Acadians worked their own fields (Kniffen 1974). During this early colonial period, the Acadian settlers in Iberville Parish lived on small parcels of land, three to six arpents front. Hogs were the most common livestock raised, but the Acadians also kept cattle, horses, and sheep (Voorhies 1973). The economy practiced by the Acadians who settled in what is now Iberville Parish probably was similar to that of both their German and Acadian downriver neighbors.

Both the French and Spanish provisional governments refused to honor the French-Canadian paper currency held by the Acadians. As a result, few of these settlers could afford to

purchase slaves. This, in turn, prevented most first-generation farmers from cultivating cash crops such as cotton, tobacco and sugar, all of which were labor-intensive forms of agriculture. Within a generation, however, the Acadians were able to purchase bondsmen to work their lands. Throughout the late eighteenth century, most settlers only held between two and four slaves. Consequently, most practiced subsistence farming and cattle ranching (Brasseaux 1987:192-93).

Already accustomed to living in the New World at colonial establishments in Nova Scotia, the French Acadians settled in the outlying bayou frontier. They learned from the Native Americans, living in the area of the Acadians, and quickly adapted to their new environment. For example, the new settlers learned to build log canoes called "peroques" (pirogues). This adaptation to the area was crucial, since the first boats used regularly by the French and Spanish in the lower valley were "chaloupes" and "canots." These deep rafted and wind powered boats sat low in the water, making movement upstream arduous (Walker 1965). The largest pirogues, on the other hand, could hold 30 passengers or 40 to 50 tons of cargo, and because they were hewn from cypress, they were remarkably buoyant (Walker 1965).

Acadians continued to arrive during the 1780s; many settled within present day Iberville Parish. Berguin-Duvallion, whose impressions of settlers within Louisiana were unfavorable, wrote of the Acadians of 1802:

> The Acadians are the descendants of French colonists, transported from the province of Nova Scotia. The character of their forefathers is strongly marked in them; they are rude and sluggish, without ambition, living miserably on their sorry plantations where they cultivate Indian corn, raise pigs, and get children. Around their houses one sees nothing but hogs, and before their doors great rustic boys, and big strapping girls, stiff as bars of iron, gaping for want of thought, or something to do, at the stranger who is passing (Davis 1806:77-78).

Not every contemporary observer was so cynical. Paul Alliot, who also visited the "Acadian Coast" during the first decade of the eighteenth century, reflected more favorably upon the inhabitants of the area:

> As the traveler leaves New Orleans by the gate St. Louis, to ascend the river... he finds... that (parish) of Cantrelle.... Each of those four communities (the parishes of Clesets Rouges, Côte des Allemands, Bonnet Carré, and Cantrelle) has a priest and a commandant. They are very well populated. Their inhabitants are very industrious, very sober, and very economical. Few of them are married. Almost all of them live with their slaves or with women of color. They cultivate their fields excellently. They raise sugar, indigo, cotton, rice, maize, and many vegetables. The potatoes which they take from the earth are very good. The melons gathered by them are fine, and have an excellent taste and exquisite perfume. Their kitchen gardens are full of fruit trees, the fruit of which they gather from the month of July. They do not keep their fruit more than three months, and the fruits are not very good to the taste. The oranges which they gather are delicious. Their barnyards are full of hogs, cattle, and fowls of all kinds. If those inhabitants had more hands at their disposal, they would become rich in a very short period of time (Robertson 1911:111).

Similarly, C. C. Robin, writing in 1807, was favorably impressed:

> Twenty leagues above the city the Acadian coast begins and runs about another twenty up from there. Like the Germans they work their own farms. Only a few of them have [slaves]. Already the population has risen so that the farms are subdivided into strips of two or three arpents frontage. You must remember that each plot ran back forty arpents from the river. Only about half of that depth, however, is under cultivation, the rest being inundated and covered with cypress and similar swamp vegetation. Rice, corn, several kinds of beans, melon (in season), pumpkin, salted pork and beef make up their principal diet. Their customs can be compared to those of our farmers of Beauce and Brie Good fellows! They do not show the zeal in their work that their European confreres would, for on the one hand, they are not pressed by necessity, and on the other hand, the lack of outlets for their products discourages them from quarter efforts. However, they are still Frenchmen, passionately loving their country, proud to work for it, and showing a great predilection for its products (Landry 1966:114-115).

Though settlement within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex began slowly, the influx of Acadians into the region during the Spanish era marked a period of rapid development.

Colonial Settlement within the Project Area

During the late eighteenth century, the Spanish government granted several patents in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Figure 12). In 1772, Don Louis Andry surveyed two parcels in what is now Iberville Parish and they correspond to Sections 8 and 9 of Township 10S, Range 13E. Louis Dardenne owned one of the parcels; it measured six arpents wide by forty arpents in depth and it was located within Section 10 of Township 10S, Range 13E (Lowrie and Franklin 1834: 242). Blas (Blais) Lejeune owned the other, which measured five arpents in width and forty arpents in depth (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:228). Both men obtained formal grants for the parcels in 1774 from Governor Unzaga, who issued three additional patents that same year for lands within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church. Athanase Daiden (Dardenne?) was granted a parcel with six arpents front; it corresponded to Section 10 of Township 10S, Range 13E (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:272). Anthony Belas received a patent measuring 7 arpents in width by 40 arpents in depth, and five years later he received a patent for 40 additional arpents located adjacent to the rear of his initial holding. His riverfront parcel corresponded to present day Section 14 of Township 10S, Range 13E (Lowrie and Franklin 1834: 276-277). Finally, Pedro Priamo was granted a six arpent wide parcel of land which correlates with Section 11 and the downriver portion of Section 12 of Township 10S, Range 13E; Joseph Mollere acquired the lands corresponding to Section 12 sometime prior to 1790 (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:248)

Many of the above-mentioned grantees probably were Acadians. "Lejeune" and "Dardenne" are Acadian names; although "Priamo" and "Belas" do not appear to be French surnames; although names of immigrants in this period commonly were translated into Spanish (Arsenault 1966: 203). None of these individuals, however, were listed in colonial parish registers from St. Gabriel (Arsenault 1965:1039-1046). The land records offer proof that many of the first colonial inhabitants that settled in the area that encompassed the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex were Acadian refugees.

The land associated with the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex certainly was settled by Acadian refugees. During the Spanish Colonial period, Marie Cloatre Dupuy, the widow of Jean Dupuy, claimed the land on which the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex later stood (see Chapter IV of this document). Jean Dupuy was the son of refugees from Grand Pré, Acadia in Nova Scotia. The refugees were married in St. Gabriel Parish, directly across the river from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Jean and Marie developed a small plantation on the banks of the Mississippi between 1793 and Jean's death in 1802. Marie continued to run the plantation, with the help of three children, three other adults and six slaves. By the 1830s, Marie sold her Iberville Parish tract to Evariste Lauve (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:264-265; Iberville Parish Clerk of Court[IPCC], Conveyance Records; Original Acts A-7, Entry No. 23; Riffel 1985:216).

Territorial Era

As part of the negotiations leading to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Spain restored western Louisiana and the Isle of Orleans to France. Shortly thereafter, France conveyed the Louisiana Territory to the United States. On March 26, 1804, that portion of the Louisiana Purchase located below the 33rd parallel was designated as the Territory of Orleans. The following year, Orleans was partitioned into 12 counties, including the counties of Iberville and Acadia, which encompassed present-day Iberville Parish and portions of neighboring parishes (Figure 13). In 1807, the territorial legislature reorganized the county system, further dividing the Territory of Orleans into 19 parishes. Iberville and Acadia Counties were superceded by Iberville, Ascension, and St. James Parishes, which encompassed the modern parishes of those denominations, as well as adjacent areas. Approximately five years later, on April 30, 1812, the State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union (Davis 1971:157-164, 167-169, 176; Goins and Caldwell 1995:41-42; Thorndale and Dollarhide 1985).

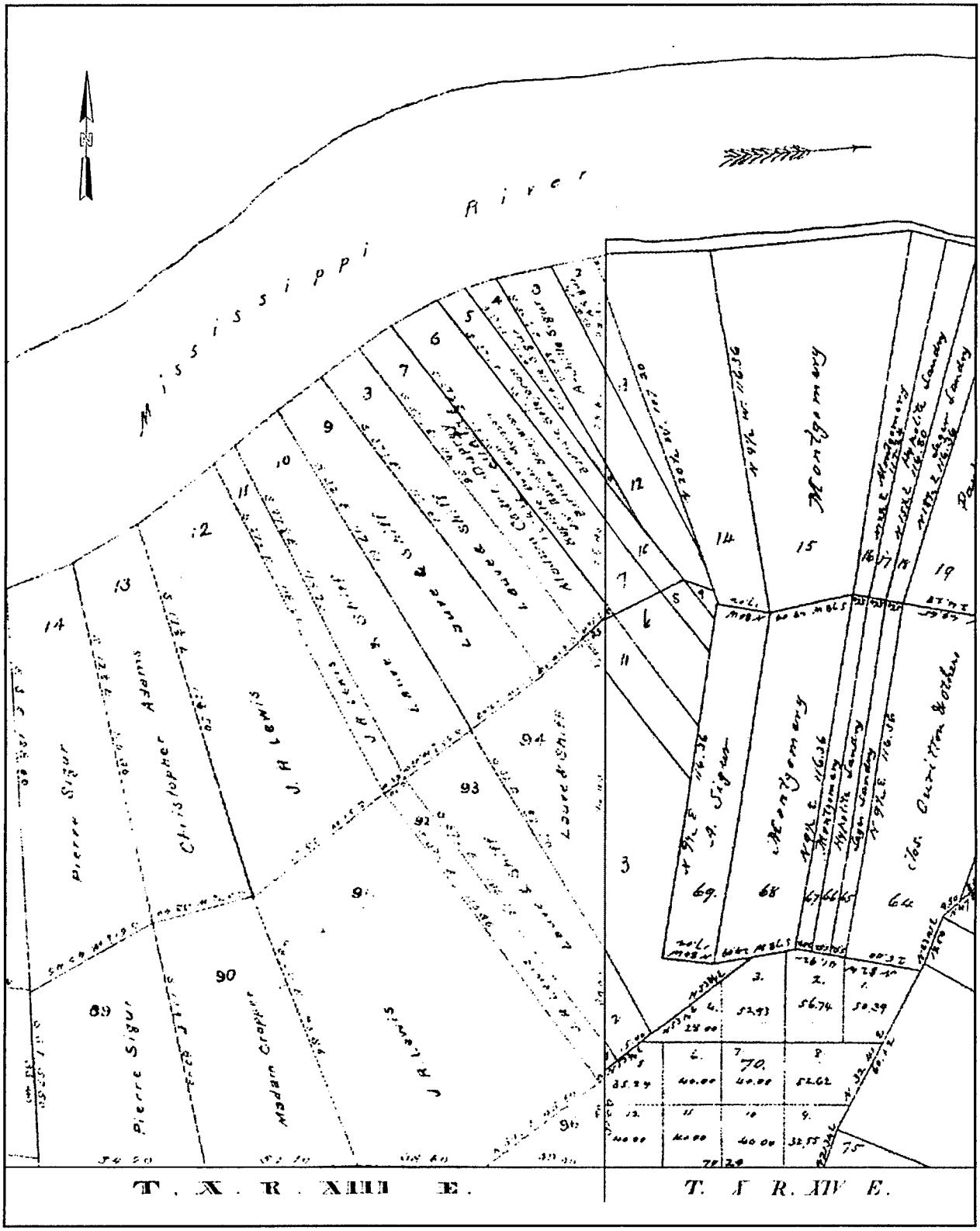


Figure 12. **Excerpts from the Louisiana Surveyor General's township maps, showing the original owners of the project area, (TS 10S R 13E) (Iberville Parish Court House, Plaquemine, Louisiana).**

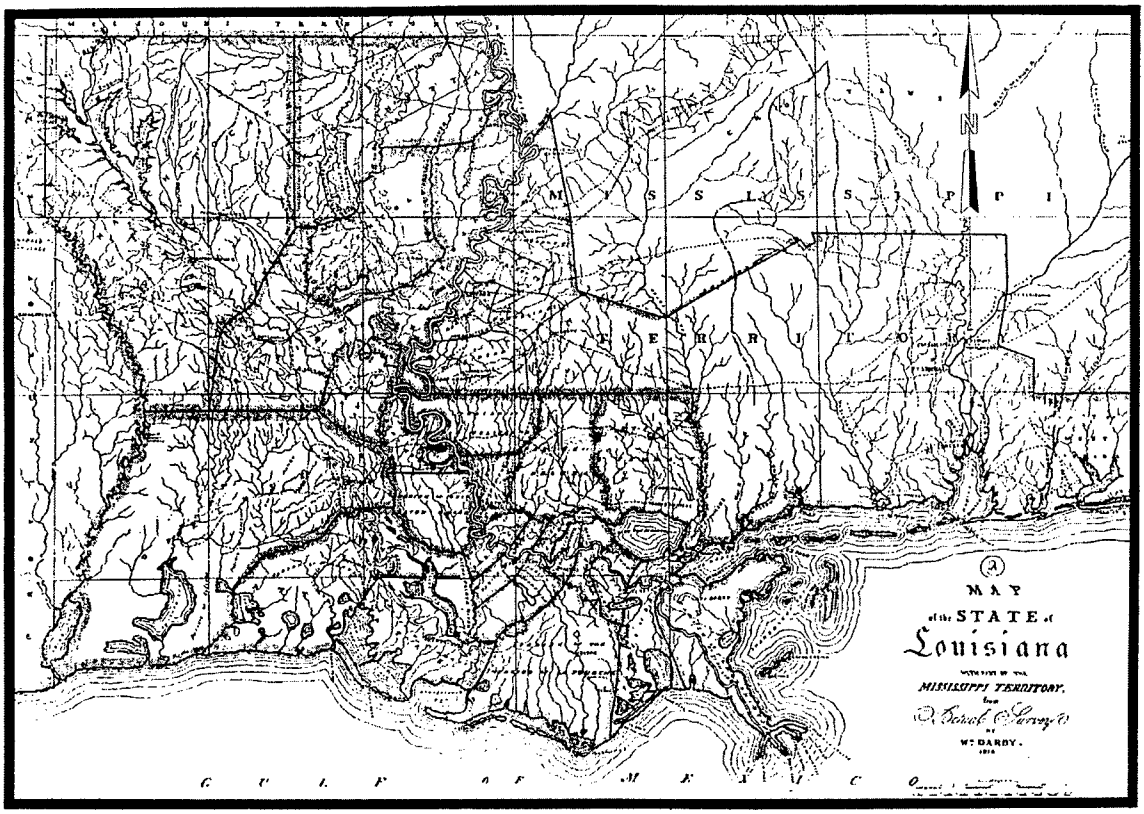


Figure 13. **[1816] Darby's *Map of the State of Louisiana, with Part of the Mississippi Territory.* Map depicts the early territorial divisions of the state.**

In 1806, an American named William Donaldson purchased a tract of land from the widow of Pierre Landry (an Acadian exile), for $12,000.00. This represented the beginnings of present-day Donaldsonville, which is located 11.3 km (7 mi) downriver of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Donaldson subsequently subdivided the tract, and laid out both streets and public areas (Marchand 1949:5; Rushton 1979:83). From this strategic point, at the juncture of the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche, "La ville de Donaldson" promised to develop into a busy shipping and trading center.

From the time of its founding, Donaldsonville proved to be an important communication and shipping point for both the river planters and those who lived along Bayou Lafourche. A post office was established at "Donaldson Town" in 1808; the mail was scheduled to arrive every other Monday; however, the reliance on flatboats and primitive overland routes made delivery haphazard at best (Marchand 1949:13-14).

By ca. 1816, Donaldsonville contained a population of approximately 200 people. It maintained accommodations for travelers, as well as the sort of support services that the surrounding farming community required. By 1830, the population of Donaldsonville numbered 494: 261 whites, 76 free persons of color, and 155 slaves. For a very brief period, between 1830-1831, Donaldsonville served as the seat of government for Louisiana (Ascension Parish Planning Board 1947:13).

By 1860, Donaldsonville remained an important regional center, and it had grown considerably, with a population totaling approximately 2,000. An eyewitness offered this account of Donaldsonville in 1860:

> [Donaldsonville] is laid out with right-angular regularity, and the streets are very pleasant, handsome residences being not infrequent among them, and handsome trees everywhere. . . The population of Donaldsonville is almost exclusively Creole. . .

> . . . The principal business of the town is done by N. Maurin, J. R. Fayette and J. Gourdan, wholesale and retail grocers and dealers in plantation supplies; A. M. Templet, Schender & Landry and B. Mollere, general merchandise; and L. Lion, Murx & Ellie, L. Kahn and S. Sterne, dry goods. There are a number of small shops, and a full assortment of bar-rooms, from the large concerns which retail at a dime a drink to the small ones which wholesale at a picayune a dose, thus "doing for" unwary, reckless or suicidally disposed flatboatmen on the easiest terms.
>
> Donaldsonville has a finely and substantially constructed wharf, the first this side of New Orleans on the right bank, and boasts two hotels -- Jarry's House, a quiet, well conducted establishment, and the Planters' Hotel, a roaring concern if there ever was one, with a popular five cent bar, a popular cock-pit in the yard and a popular rush of all sorts of populace playing "kino" all day Sunday in the bar-room, a cock-fight coming off in the pit at stated intervals of one hour from morn till night. There is a spacious and handsomely built market house in the town, two churches and an institution conducted as a school by the Sisters of Charity . . . (Pritchard 1938:1122-1123).

The traveler went on to describe the impressive public buildings of the city, which included the courthouse, armory, and drill-room buildings for the militia. Among the "most magnificent sugar estates" listed were those of Narcisse Landry, Trasimond Landry, and Valery Landry, all located just downriver of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Pritchard 1938:1124-1125). Although Donaldsonville is located several kilometers downriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, the growth of the town certainly affected the fortunes of the families who established their sugar plantations in nearby Iberville Parish.

The Louisiana Purchase and Antebellum Economic Development

During the 1790s and the early 1800s, the Louisiana economy underwent major changes. Regardless of the few early agrarian successes, both French and Spanish colonial settlers struggled to find a staple crop to sustain the colony. The first cash crop that planters harvested was indigo, which became important during the

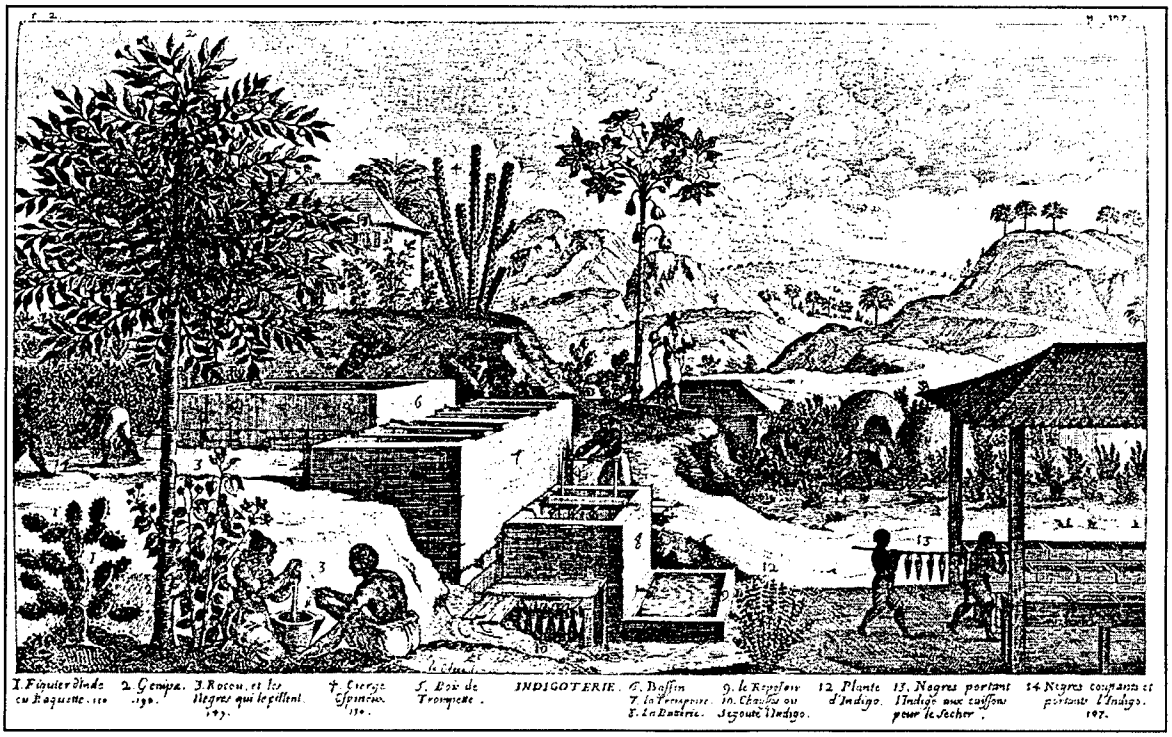


Figure 14. **This drawing of a seventeenth-century Indigotiere in the French West Indies depicts the process used in Louisiana. Adapted from Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*.**

Spanish colonial period. Indigo was a particularly labor-efficient crop; a single slave could plant and tend 0.8 ha (2.0 ac) of the crop and still have time to attend to his own provisions (Holmes 1967:340). Each plantation or farm usually had its own indigo processing facility, since the manufacture of dye from indigo required little expensive machinery. The cut plant was placed in a vat called a "steeper," and the indigo then was covered with water until fermentation occurred. The liquid by-product was subsequently drawn off into another vat, called a "beater," where it was agitated much like the churning of butter (Figure 14). A precipitate was formed in the solution by adding limewater. The water was again drawn off, and the indigo solids were placed in cloth bags to dry (Holmes 1967:344). Because indigo was fairly easy to cultivate, it could be produced with equal efficiency on large plantations and small farms.

While the cultivation of the crop was easier than that of cotton or sugar, the process described above was not. Indigo as a staple thrived in the young colony largely because many slaves from the Senegambia region of Africa brought with them the knowledge of how to build vats, beat the leaves, and gauge the timing of the process. No other ethnic group in the area - French, Spanish, or Native American - had any experience in processing indigo. Unlike failed tobacco crops, which were unsuited to the clayey soil, planters knew indigo would thrive in the marshy Louisiana land, since it grew wild throughout the colony. While local indigo was inferior to that produced by West Indian colonies, it became one of the few export staples of eighteenth century Louisiana (Hall 1992).

By the nineteenth century, the indigo crop had collapsed. In terms of quality, indigo grown in Louisiana could not compete in the world market with that produced in the West Indies. Indigo also was susceptible to insect blights and it was sensitive to weather. Consequently, crop losses were severe. Furthermore, the crop exhausted the soil, and an increase in the price of slaves in Louisiana made it difficult to obtain the labor necessary for large-scale indigo production. Finally, the terrible smell of indigo production attracted disease-carrying insects, and the production of indigo polluted streams (Holmes 1967:346-348). This toxicity also may have contributed to the high death rates among young male slaves, traditionally the age group assigned to work the indigo (Hall 1992:301).

Geopolitical and technological advances also contributed to the decline of indigo, and the subsequent rise in the cultivation of both cotton and sugar. Economic success, absent under the French and Spanish governments, finally would be achieved by Louisianians as citizens of the United States. With the acquisition of the territory by the United States in 1803, Americans from the north began trekking southward to try their luck as planters:

> Rich and poor, slaveholder and nonslaveholder, large planter and small farmer...all poured into this rapidly developing region. Among the newcomers were planters with the capital necessary to undertake sugar culture and the initiative and imagination to foresee the possibilities of the development of the new industry (Sitterson 1953:23).

Other factors that fueled the changing economy included the invention of the cotton gin and the development of a commercial process for extracting sugar from immature cane. Cotton and sugar cane cultivation rapidly became more profitable than the cultivation of indigo. The size of the parcels claimed suggests that by the early nineteenth century, both farming and raising of livestock had increased in scale.

Consequently, changes in land use and distribution occurred quickly. Substantial capital was required for acquiring large tracts of land, sugar mills, cotton gins, protective levees, and slaves. Small farmers and landowners increasingly sold their holdings to large plantation owners and wealthy speculators (White 1944:352). When a small farm was offered for sale, due to the death of the owner or through bankruptcy, the high land valuation kept prices above the reach of other small farmers (Sitterson 1953:48). Under the United States administration, backlands were offered for sale, enabling wealthy landowners to add an additional 40 arpents of land to the rear of their holdings. Furthermore, cane cultivation was only profitable on a large scale, requiring large land holdings and investments that could exceed $200,000.00 (Taylor 1976:65). These factors all led to the smaller farms being consolidated into larger

plantations. This was certainly the case in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Evariste Lauve purchased the property that later would become the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, in the early 1830s. This added to his already large Iberville Parish land holdings. For the next thirty years, the Lauve family ran one of the largest sugar plantations in the parish. The Lauves were one of only 26 plantations in the parish that owned 100 or more slaves, and they were among the 32 planters in the parish that produced over 200 hogsheads of sugar in the 1859-60 season (Menn 1964:237-249).

During the 1790s, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, significantly reducing the time and labor needed to process cotton. In 1795, the Haitian sugar maker Morin introduced Louisiana colonists to refining processes and equipment that helped to make the sugar industry profitable. As a result of these inventions, cotton and sugar rapidly became major money making crops in Louisiana. Berguin-Duvallon, in his 1802 narrative on the status of agriculture in Louisiana, stated: "sugar and cotton are the staple commodities of the colony" (Davis 1806:131).

Although the best areas for cotton cultivation were situated along the river north of Baton Rouge and in the Attakapas and Opelousas districts, cotton was grown as far south as St. James Parish during the early nineteenth century. Berguin-Duvallon described the area at that time:

> The parish of Iberville then commences, and is bounded on the east side by the river of the same name, which, though dry a great part of the year, yet when the Mississippi is raised, it communicates with the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and through them with the sea; thus forming what is called the island of New Orleans. Except on the point just below Iberville [Bayou Manchac], the country from New Orleans is settled the whole way along the river, and presents a scene of uninterrupted plantations in sight of each other, whose fronts are all cleared to the Mississippi, and occupy on that river from five to twenty-five acres with a depth of forty; so that a plantation of five acres in front contains two hundred. A few sugar plantations are formed in the parish of Cabahanose, but the remainder is devoted to cotton and provisions, and the whole is an excellent soil incapable of being exhausted. The plantations are but one deep on the island of New Orleans, and on the opposite side of the river as far as the mouth of the Iberville, which is thirty-five leagues above New Orleans (Davis 1806:167-168, sic throughout).

The average yield of a superficial arpent of land was approximately 400 pounds of cotton, worth about $100.00 during the early nineteenth century. According to historical accounts, one skilled slave could cultivate three arpents of land planted with cotton (Robertson 1911:155).

The cultivation of sugar cane and the making of cane products such as syrup, molasses, rum and granulated sugar began in Louisiana during the early eighteenth century. From the beginning, sugar cane was considered by the French as a likely domestic cultigen for the subtropical regions of south Louisiana. Iberville himself unsuccessfully attempted to grow sugar cane at Fort de Mississippi before 1720 (Sitterson 1953:6); According to Gardeur (1980:4), "the poor quality of the plants and the lack of capable farm workers caused this project to fail." There is no further documentation concerning the cultivation of sugar cane in Louisiana until the 1740s, when the Jesuits brought cuttings to New Orleans from Saint Domingue. During the early 1750s, Claude Joseph Villars Dubreuil, an important builder, inventor, planter, and a commander of the local militia, successfully planted the Jesuit sugar cane cuttings, and he built his own sugar mill to experiment with the granulation process (Gardeur 1980:4; Goodwin et al. 1987:118). Dubreuil soon realized that he could bring the Louisiana cane to artificial maturity. It is uncertain what methods Dubreuil utilized to purify the cane juice enough to attempt granulization. It is clear, however, that Sieur Dubreuil, and the men who purchased his estate and sugar equipment after his death, Jacques Delachaise and Sieur Masan, converted the cane into raw sugar (Gardeur 1980:7; Wilson 1980:60).

After Dubreuil, other planters near New Orleans tried planting sugar cane as a cash crop. Their success was modest, possibly because their production was on a small scale. In 1785, an Isleño Spaniard named Solis, who resided in Terre aux Boeuf (lower St. Bernard Parish), imported a wooden mill from Havana and he became the first person to convert the juice of locally grown sugar

cane into molasses (Fossier 1957:47). Solis, and later Mendez who purchased the Solis plantation, grew the cane and converted the tafia to distill rum. It was the sugar maker employed by Mendez, chemist Antoine Morin, who in 1795 successfully granulated sugar from Louisiana cane for Étienne de Boré (Gardeur 1980:17-22; Sitterson 1953:5). De Boré's success was significant because it was achieved on a large scale. The sugar industry in Louisiana followed de Boré's example, making sugar a large-scale investment and operation.

Cane culture underwent experimentation and innovation during the antebellum era of the nineteenth century. In 1817, Ribbon Cane, sometimes referred to as Black Java or Batavian Striped, was introduced to the area. The heartier Javanese Ribbon variety proved to be better suited to the south Louisiana environment. During the early years, different planting and harvest seasons were tried. Eventually, most planters began planting in January, and cutting the cane in October. The antebellum nineteenth century sugar planters became even more knowledgeable and efficient at growing cane. New cultivation techniques included digging drainage canals, rotating fields with other crops to maintain soil integrity, windrowing (making deep furrows for planting cane cuttings) to protect against severe weather, using premium cuttings for future crops, and spacing the cuttings further apart for better drainage (Begnaud 1980:31, 32; Sitterson 1953:13-127). At the larger plantations, the narrow gauge railroad was used to transfer the cane from the fields to the sugarhouse, and then to the riverfront for export. This reduced both transportation time and cost. During the antebellum decades, the plow replaced the hoe as the implement of choice for cane cultivation. Originally, the plow was used exclusively for preparing the soil for planting. As a cultivating tool, the plow doubled the amount of acres a field hand could cultivate (Sitterson 1953:128).

Unlike rice, which required artificial irrigation, the Louisiana cane fields received enough moisture from rainfall. Cane cultivation and sugar production, however, did require some water management. Sugar processing required water (more so after the introduction of the steam powered sugar mill), so canals and retaining pools were constructed in close proximity to the sugarhouses. Proper drainage was critical to maintain the increasingly large cane fields. By the 1840s, steam powered drainage wheels were used to move the excess water from drainage ditches into the backswamp. Drainage wheels were considered valuable and they often were listed in the sugar plantation inventories.

Sugar production was a complex procedure that required many specialized structures, machines, and tools. The early Louisiana sugar mills were designed to incorporate the existing milling technologies of the large sugar colonies of the French West Indies. The first Louisiana sugarhouses were round to allow draft animals to turn the grinding rollers (Figure 15). During the early nineteenth century, most Louisiana sugarhouses were made of wood (Sitterson 1953:135), although by the Civil War, brick was the material of choice. Before the Civil War, each plantation along the river maintained its own sugarhouse; the Celeste, Old Hickory, Belle Grove, Claiborne, and Chatham Plantations all processed their own cane and manufactured their own sugar and molasses.

In ca. 1817, the introduction of the steam engine into southern Louisiana played a significant role in the technological advancement of the sugar cane industry. Steam-powered sugar mills changed the design of the sugarhouses from round to rectangular. While the first steam-powered sugar mills in the state were expensive, 1027 of the 1,291 sugar mills in Louisiana were steam-powered on the eve of the Civil War (Begnaud 1980:35).

In addition to the introduction of the steam engine for sugar production operation, Norbert Rillieux, a free Creole of color (and cousin of the great Impressionist painter Edgar Dégas), first patented the vacuum-pan apparatus in 1834. This invention improved the evaporation process by offering more control in the heating procedure, thereby improving the quality of the raw sugar. The vacuum-pan apparatus required substantially less fuel, cutting fuel costs as much as 53 percent. Before the vacuum-pan apparatus, approximately 14 cords of wood per day were required to fuel the kettle furnaces (Sitterson 1953:152). The multiple effects system, introduced in the 1840s, further improved the vacuum-pan apparatus by utilizing escaping steam from one pan to supply heat for an adjoining kettle.

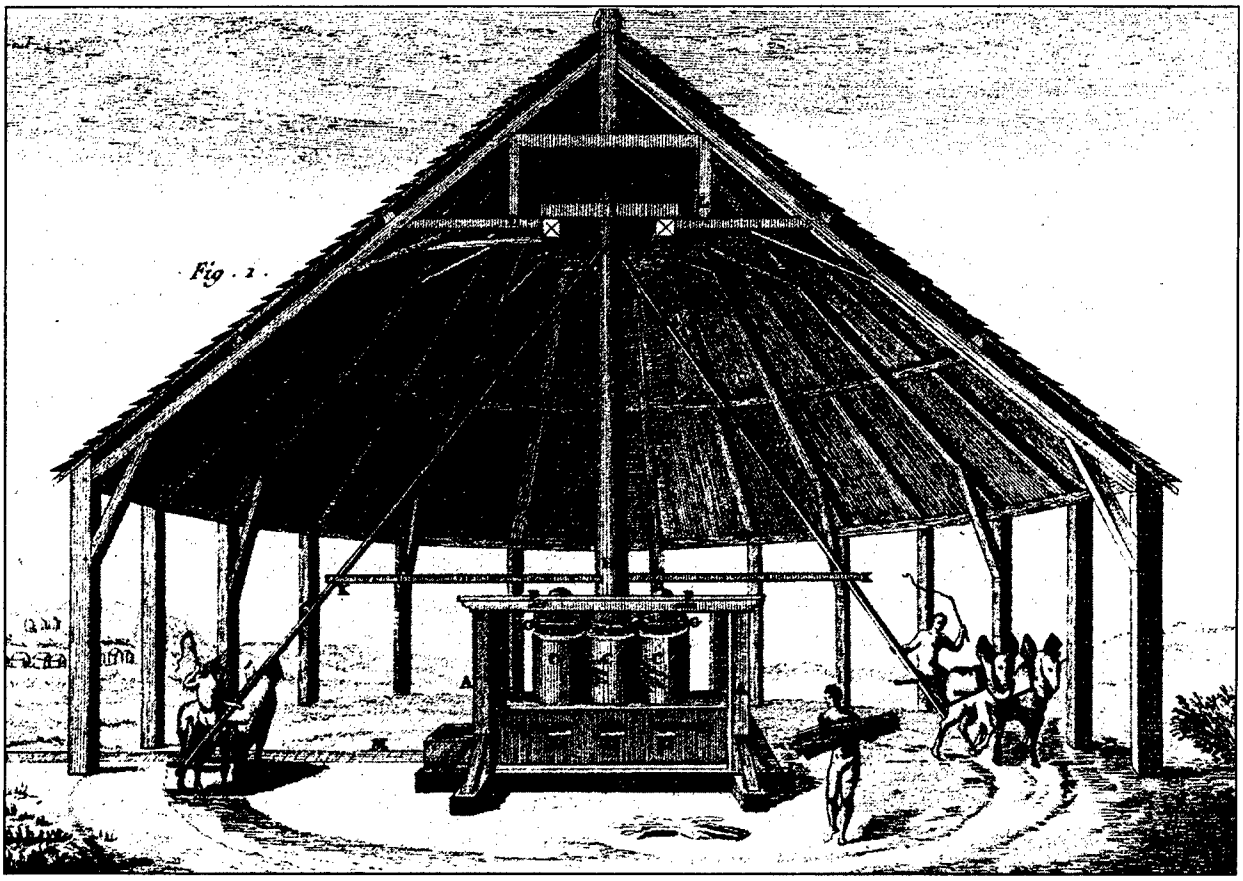


Figure 15. **This engraving depicts a round, animal-powered mill from the eighteenth century, similar to early sugar mills in Louisiana. Adapted from *Green Fields: Two Hundred Years of Louisiana Sugar.***

After heating and reducing, the crystallized mass was cooled and placed into hogsheads. The opened hogsheads then were left to drain in the draining room. According to Heitmann (1987:13), sugarhouses built after 1830 had two draining sheds located at right angles to the sugarhouse. Molasses was the by-product of the draining hogsheads. After draining, the hogsheads were sealed for export. Along the Louisiana "River Parishes," the cargo of hogsheads was loaded for transport via river craft, to New Orleans, then on primarily to the northern markets.

During this period of increased sugar production, there was the consolidation of slave labor. Following the cession of Louisiana to the United States by Spain, the territory gained access to the new nation's extensive slave trade. Although the import of "new" slaves was officially outlawed in 1808, Louisiana was one of the few states to continue the trade clandestinely for several years. Moreover, this law did not preclude the selling of slaves in general, simply the importation of slaves from outside the country. Indeed, for almost half a century longer, the New Orleans "slave exchange" was one of the busiest slave markets in the nation.

As sugar emerged as the dominant cash crop in Louisiana, and as Iberville Parish became the "Heart of the Sugar Bowl," slavery flourished. While cities such as New Orleans housed large pockets of free people of color and skilled slaves, most of the non-white population living on the plantations along the Mississippi River were field slaves. Their opportunities were quite limited compared to their counterparts in the city. Many slaves in New Orleans had significant freedom of mobility and the ability to earn their own money. In the outlying parishes, plantation slaves endured harsher conditions. A select few were trained as craftsmen, such as coopers, blacksmiths, etc., as

needed on the plantation; however, the overwhelming majority of work conducted by field slaves was crop tending. Cane cultivation required laborers to hoe the fields and to tie the bundles. Large gangs were needed to act as cutters, loaders, and haulers in the fields alone. In the mill, workers were forced to cut wood and tend the fire, as well as to work on the levees, clear roads, etc. Demographically, the sugar parishes held far more slaves than free white people, and as a consequence, the fears of a slave revolt ran high. These concerns grew after the much publicized "slave conspiracies" of Denmark Vesey in South Carolina (1822), and Nat Turner in Virginia (1831).

The largest slave revolt in the nation must have had an especially chilling effect on slaves in Iberville Parish, as it took place just downriver in January of 1811. On the West Bank of the Mississippi River, (at the current site of Norco), Charles Deslondes, a slave from Haiti, initiated a rebellion against his owner, Colonel Manuel Andry. Along with several other slaves, Deslondes attacked Andry and his son, killing the latter. Wounded, but still alive, Andry pursued the fleeing rebels down River Road. Armed with a few pistols, but mainly makeshift weapons (hoes, cane knives, sticks), a group of 400 to 500 slaves sacked and burned several plantations on their way toward New Orleans. Andry, accompanied by 80 federal militiamen from Baton Rouge, and armed with "dragoons and one light artillery," chased the rebels into the swamps. One historian described the ensuing skirmish as a "form of a mass execution" (Robinson 2000:7). By January 11, 1811, 66 slaves had been killed, 17 more were missing, and 16 had been captured and were held for trial. A total of five local planters presided over the trial, which took place at nearby Destrehan Plantation. Jupiter, a rebel from Andry's plantation, when asked why he had joined the revolt, replied "detruir le blanc" - to kill the white. A total of 21 slaves were tried for the uprising, and all were convicted. They were shot, and their "heads were placed on poles along the German Coast as a terrible example . . . to all who would disturb the public tranquility in the future" (Robinson 2000:7, quoting the order of the court). This was not the first time this brutal form of deterrence was used along the river. The remains of a slave from the famed Pointe Coupee revolt were displayed in Iberville Parish in 1795.

In addition to these immediate and brutal forms of retaliation for insurrections, planters instituted harsh punishments for runaways. Iberville Parish contained a significant number of maroons and runaways during the antebellum period. While the River Parishes generally were harder to run away from than the city, many slaves escaped their bonds and fled to nearby swamps for refuge. Several maroon communities sprang up in the area, presumably comprised of "outlaw gangs" of escaped slaves. Some of these maroons survived by robbing white planters traveling through the parish. One maroon leader, Primus, violently retaliated against the minority slaveholders. Around 1840, Primus was captured and sentenced in Iberville court for shooting at two white men, and threatening the lives of two others. He was, not surprisingly, convicted and sentenced to hang. As a threatening message to the rest of the maroon community, after he was dead, authorities beheaded him.

One of the many tactics planters used to protect against runaways and control slave mobility was the physical layout of the plantation. The landscape of the early Louisiana sugar plantations was modeled after the large French West Indies slave plantations. The Mississippi River plantations in south Louisiana were arranged in a linear settlement pattern, extending back perpendicular from the river (Kniffen 1968; Rehder 1971). The linearity was achieved from the alignment of the overseer's house and a double row of slave cabins along a centralized road that extended perpendicular from the river. The sugarhouse and outbuildings complex were located at the end of the road, usually equidistant between the levee crest and backswamp (Figure 16). Thorpe (1853:746-747) explains that "[the buildings were situated] to divide up as much as possible the distance that must be traversed in hauling the wood from the "swamp," the cane from the fields, and the crop to the river for shipment." The central location of the overseer's house served as a defense against slave escape.

The Louisiana sugar plantation was a self-contained community. Each plantation grew its own vegetables, raised its own cattle, hogs, and chickens, maintained its own store, chapel, brick

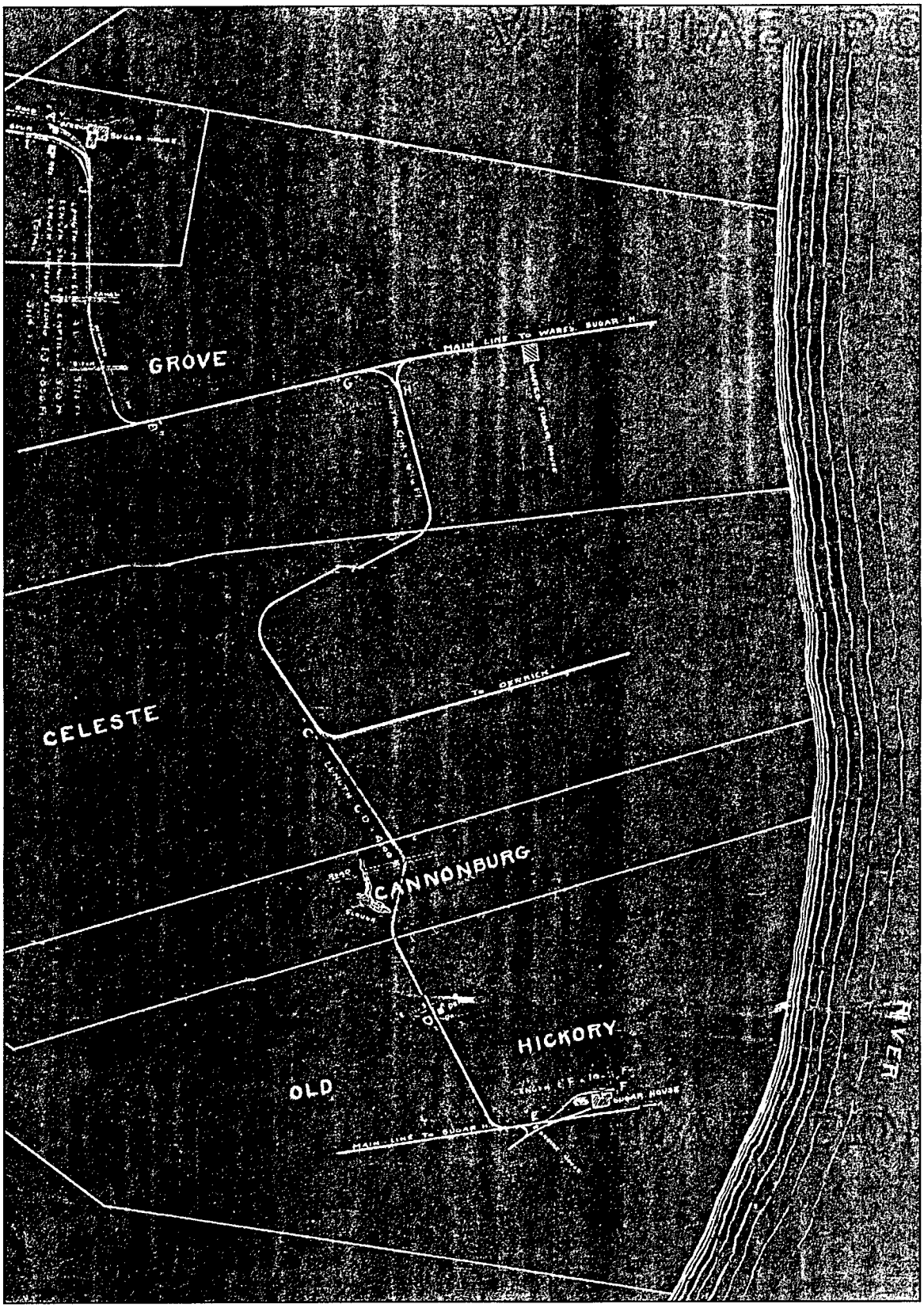


Figure 16. **This map of Belle Grove, Celeste and Old Hickory Plantations show centrally-located sugar houses. From Iberville Parish Conveyance records (Iberville Parish Court House, Plaquemine, Louisiana).**

kiln, and workshops (blacksmith, machine, and carpentry), etc. Moreover, slaves were allowed to cultivate small gardens in order to supplement their rations. In some cases, slaves were permitted to sell the surplus fruits of their labor, sometimes earning enough to purchase their own freedom. In addition, gardens cultivated by slaves allowed slave owners to save money by cutting rations.

The early nineteenth century development of the sugar cane industry resulted in a substantial change in settlement throughout the area. As mentioned earlier, the cultivation and processing of sugar cane required a substantial initial investment, large landholdings, and a large number of slaves. Most of the small farmers could not afford to invest in the construction and operation of a sugarhouse. Instead of competing, at a severe disadvantage, with the surrounding large plantations, many of the small farmers sold their land holdings to larger plantation owners or to wealthy immigrant speculators (Schmitz 1977:108; Taylor 1976:65; White 1944:352). The area along the Mississippi River quickly consolidated into large sugar plantations, whereas the "back acreage" of what is now Iberville Parish still was available for smaller agrarian ventures. This dramatically impacted a large number of the small-tract Acadian farmers who had remained in the region. The Acadian farmer remained focused on subsistence products, i.e., raising cattle and pigs, and corn, potatoes, and other similar crops.

Joseph Landry, one of the original Acadian exiles to settle in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, illustrates the change that occurred during this transitional period. Landry was only three years old when he and his family were expelled from Nova Scotia. They lived in Talbot County, Maryland for several years, and then moved to Louisiana in the 1760s. Joseph Landry was granted land that later became part of New Hope Plantation, i.e., several kilometers downriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Figure 17). Landry ascended to prominence in Ascension Parish during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; he rose through the ranks in the militia (under both Spanish and American governments), became a Justice of the Peace (1805), and was elected to the state legislative council (1805) and

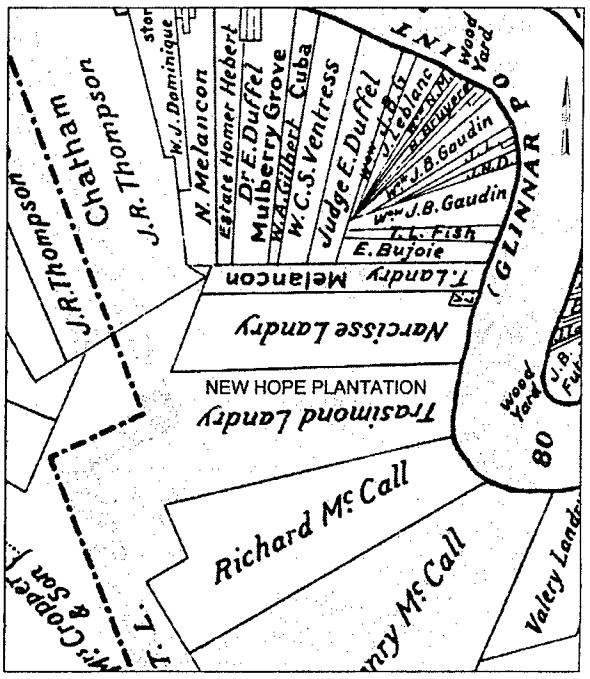


Figure 17. **[1858] Excerpt from Persac's *Plantations on the Mississippi River from Natchez to New Orleans* (Norman's Chart), showing Joseph Landry's New Hope Plantation in the project area (Iberville Parish Court House, Plaquemine, Louisiana).**

state senate (1812). By the time of Joseph Landry's death (1814), New Hope Plantation was producing sugar (Conrad 1988:480).

Trasimond Landry, one of Joseph's sons, also became a major planter in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex during the nineteenth century. Born in 1795, Trasimond was a second lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment of the Louisiana Militia during the War of 1812; he became commander of the Ascension Militia in 1814. During the Civil War, Trasimond served as a colonel in the militia. In 1817 he "helped form [a] family partnership to manage New Hope Plantation," and four years later he "acquired [a] share of [the] plantation" (Conrad 1988:481). Trasimond eventually owned several major sugar producing plantations. He followed in the political footsteps of his father, serving in the state senate (1832) and later as Lieutenant Governor (1846) (Conrad 1988:481-482).

In addition to the Landrys, various Anglos, lured to the Acadian Coast by the availability of land and the promise of wealth through agricul-

ture, purchased small farms and consolidated them into large plantations. For example, Evan Jones arrived on the Acadian Coast during the late eighteenth century, and he began cultivating indigo and cotton on the site that eventually became Evan Hall Plantation; the plantation lies approximately 1.21 ha (3 mi) above Donaldsonville, and downriver of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Henry McCall, the son-in-law of Evan Jones, acquired the property and then transformed it into a sugar plantation. Indeed, well after the Civil War, Evan Hall remained one of the largest sugar plantations in Louisiana (Brown 1888:3-4). Henry McCall also acquired the John Etienne Bujol (Bujau) tract within Section 14 of Township 11 South, Range 14 East, which, along with the adjacent Blanchard tract, later became consolidated into McManor Plantation by his son, Richard McCall. McManor Plantation lies immediately upriver from Evan Hall Plantation, adjacent to New Hope, and a few kilometers downstream of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

Some descendants of the colonial French and Acadian populations, however, managed the transition from small farming to large sugar plantations. For example, the Celeste Plantation originally was purchased by Acadian Madame Clouatre Dupuy, wife of Jean (Juan, in the Spanish records) Dupuy. Evariste Lauve, a descendant of French settlers, and Hart Moses Shiff owned the three sections adjacent to the parcel by ca. 1807. That same year, Lauve married Celeste Brunet, an Acadian from Opelousas, and named his new Iberville Parish sugar plantation after her. Sometime shortly after 1829, Evariste added Section 7 to his land holdings. The Lauves had great economic success along the river, acquiring 94 slaves by 1840; 70 of these slaves worked the fields. When Evariste died in 1843, his estate was worth $132,439.58 and it encompassed 1,214 ha (3,000 ac). Celeste, Evariste's wife, took over the job of running the plantation, perhaps with the help of one of her children, Ulger, Gustave, Norbert, or Marie. Celeste had a great deal of financial success, growing the profits of the plantation to $300,000.00 worth of real estate and personal property in 1850. She continued to run the plantation until her death in 1869. In 1850, Celeste was one of the largest slave owners in the parish, holding property worth $115,000.00, including 111 slaves. The plantation produced primarily sugar, and at the peak of production, i.e., just before the Civil War, the Widow Lauve produced 685 hogsheads of sugar in one year (1861) (Bouchereau 1877-78; Riffel 1985, Sternberg 1996; Iberville Parish Conveyance Records 1829, 1831; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840, 1850).

Unfortunately for scholars of slavery and African American genealogy, white recordkeepers rarely recorded identifying information about bondsmen and women. Slave schedules were added as addenda to census records throughout the antebellum period; however, they listed only the slaveowner's name, and the age, sex and race of the slaves themselves. Hence, we know that the census lists Madame Lauve as the owner of 61 slaves on the eve of the Civil War (1860), but we do not know the slaves' names. A total of 11 of Lauve's slaves were listed as "mulatto." Records note that 31 of the slaves on Celeste were male, 30 were female, and they ranged in age from 1 to 60 years of age. The historical record does indicate the names of three slaves purchased by Evariste in 1840. In a slave sale in New Orleans, Resin Bowie sold three slaves to Evariste Lauve for a total of $2100.00: Ephraim, a 22 year old man; Dick, 40 years old; and Helen, 20. Helen would have been approximately 40 at the time of the 1860 census; four female slaves are listed at that age on the Lauve plantation - three were "black," one "mulatto."

Curiously, this 1860 census documents far fewer slaves than the Widow Lauve owned in either 1840 (n=80) or in 1850 (n=111); however, according to slave historian Menn, the 67 year-old Widow Lauve owned 120 slaves on the eve of secession. The slaves lived in 28 buildings, averaging more than four slaves per slave quarters. The widow Lauve had almost $160,000.00 invested in human bondage, more than half of her total wealth (Menn 1964:246-247).

The Celeste Plantation example indicates that the success of the Louisiana sugar plantations was due primarily to the rise in the slave trade following the admission of the state into the union. The period between the American Revolution and the territorial period was one marked by significant changes in the structure of slavery in Louisiana. Increased fears of slave escape and rebellion in the overwhelmingly African American sugar parishes resulted in much

stronger control over slaves. Several historians suggest that planters in the Louisiana sugar parishes created the most violent and abusive form of slavery, a system designed "to produce the most docile, abject, obsequious, and degraded bondsmen, totally lacking in hope" (Litwack 1979:138). Most often, historians attribute the development of such a harsh system to the large number of slaves per plantation and marked imbalance between the white population and the number of slaves in the parish.

The Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is located in the vicinity of many of the major sugar plantations of the region. Among these nineteenth century properties were Old Hickory, Celeste, Claiborne, Chatham, Mulberry Grove, Cuba, Woodstock (Germania), Pellico, Modeste, Home, Babin, Melancon, Arlington, Ascension, and New Hope Plantations, all fronting the river within the vicinity of the area being studied. A sample listing of some of the area landowners reads like a "Who's Who" among leading antebellum figures – Henry Johnson (Chatham), U.S. Senator 1818-1824 and Governor of Louisiana 1824-1828; Dr. Edward Duffel (Mulberry Grove and Woodstock), Ascension Parish Judge; and Trasimond Landry (New Hope), Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana 1846-1849 (Arthur and Kernion 1931:157-160; Calhoun 1995:473, 476; Conrad 1988:459, 481-482; Heitmann 1987; Marchand 1936:141; Seebold 1941:139-140; Sternberg 1996:166-171, 231-235).

On the eve of the Civil War, several landowners in the vicinity of the church and cemetery complex were among the largest planters and slaveholders (50 slaves or more) in Iberville and Ascension Parishes. Persac depicted the general configurations of most of these properties in his 1858 *Plantations on the Mississippi River from Natchez to New Orleans* (Figure 18). The 1860 federal census confirmed the land and slave-owning status of several of the major planters, whose aggregate landholdings in Ascension Parish alone totaled 14,249 improved ha (35,209 ac), as well as 36,637 unimproved ha (90,529 ac), and were worked by a combined labor force of 5,593 slaves (out of the census total of 7,376). All of these principal landholders cultivated sugar cane; none planted cotton (Menn 1964:120-124). The value of property in Iberville Parish on the eve

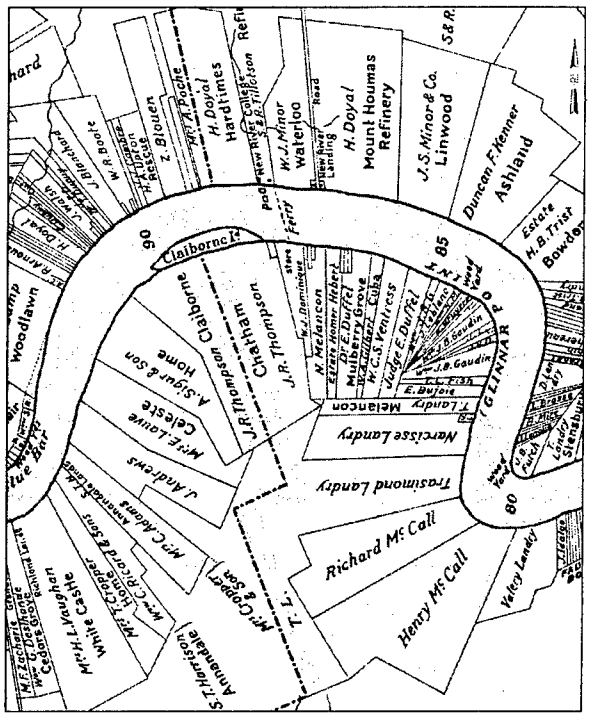


Figure 18. **[1858] Excerpt from Persac's *Plantations on the Mississippi River from Natchez to New Orleans* (Norman's Chart), showing the project area as it was configured on the eve of the Civil War.**

of the Civil War was assessed at approximately $14,000,000.00. At that time 13,355 ha (33,000 ac) were planted in cane, 8,903 ha (22,000 ac) were planted in corn, and 607 ha (1,500 ac) were in cotton. The white population numbered 5,600, compared to 10,000 slaves. Only 200 free people of color lived in the parish (Pritchard 1938:1129). During the next few years, emancipation and the economic ravages of the Civil War would change the status of these planters drastically.

The Civil War and the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

Although a body of water is not considered to be a battlefield or a battleground, the Mississippi River certainly could be described as a major combat zone in the military struggle that began in April 1861. Furthermore, the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex itself was located within the theatre of war. While no actual fighting has been documented for the parcel of land containing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery

complex, the military and naval engagements nearby had a marked and important influence on the entire population of the area and, in particular, upon the slave owners and bondsmen. Even more importantly, the final defeat of the Confederacy and the emancipation of the slaves in 1865 had a profound and lasting effect on the political, economic, and social life of the region.

When the southern states threatened secession in 1850 over the admission of California to the Union as a free state, Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky warned Southerners that peaceable secession would never be permitted. The United States, he said, would never allow the mouth of the Mississippi River to fall into the hands of a foreign power. Although Southerners accepted Clay's Compromise of 1850, they failed to heed his warning. Just 10 years later, Southerners learned that Clay had assessed the situation with accuracy.

With the outbreak of civil war and the secession of 11 slave states in 1861, northern military and political leaders, with considerable unanimity, agreed that the reestablishment of complete Federal control over the Mississippi River must and should be a paramount strategic aim of the United States (McPherson 1988:333-338). In pursuit of this goal, the Federal strategists made New Orleans a prime target.

New Orleans, the largest city in the Confederacy, lasted only a year under the confederate flag before the community was invaded and restored to the Union. In April 1862 Commodore (later Admiral) David Farragut successfully led a Union fleet through a barrage at Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip, situated approximately 120.69 km (75 mi) below the city. On April 25, the Federal fleet steamed into New Orleans where mobs on the levee were burning cotton and cursing the Yankees. A 17 year old New Orleans boy, George Washington Cable, recalled:

> ...the crowds on the levee howled and screamed with rage. The swarming decks answered never a word; but one old tar on the *Hartford* [Farragut's flagship], standing with lanyard in hand beside a great pivot-gun, so plain to view that you could see him smile, silently patted its big black breach and blandly grinned (McPherson 1988:420, quoting George Washington Cable).

Although the mayor of New Orleans refused to surrender, Farragut on April 29 sent in the marines to raise the United States flag over all public buildings. On May 1, General Benjamin Butler and his troops entered the city and he initiated his authority over New Orleans (McPherson 1988:420-21).

After New Orleans fell to Union forces in April of 1862, Federal authorities attempted to arrest Duncan Kenner, a prominent member of the Confederate Congress and one of the richest and most influential men in Louisiana. Kenner had as his chief residence Ashland Plantation in Ascension Parish, where he held 473 slaves (Menn 1964:221). Ashland (now known as Belle Helêne Plantation) was situated on the east bank of the Mississippi and just downriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

When Federal troops impressed a steamboat into service and arrived by night at Ashland Landing to seize Kenner, the steamboat captain disobeyed orders by blowing his whistle to warn Kenner of their approach. Kenner fled on horseback upriver, first to Waterloo Plantation, the residence of a kinsman, Stephen Minor. According to a reminiscence of Kenner's daughter,

> Waterloo . . . might have been considered a safe refuge for the night, but my father and Stephen [Minor], after some discussion, thought best to make assurance doubly sure. The carriage was ordered, and Anthony [a faithful slave] summoned to drive it . . . to Indian Camp, the plantation and residence of old General Camp, who was a staunch friend. He also helped my father on his way to safety by sending him in a skiff across the river to the house of another friend, and the latter sent him further on and more into the interior, where gunboats could not penetrate (Seebold 1941:I:146).

Situated directly across the river from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, Indian Camp Plantation many years later served as the nucleus of an internationally renowned federal treatment center for the disease of leprosy. When Duncan Kenner made his escape from Indian Camp by skiff across the river, he probably sought aid from the Lauve family at Celeste Plantation or from John Andrews at Belle Grove Plantation. Both plantations lay directly opposite Indian

Camp, and both families strongly sympathized with Duncan Kenner and the Confederate cause.

After his successful flight, Kenner continued to serve the Confederacy. Although he remained one of the largest slaveholders in the South, he made, towards the last of the Civil War, a recommendation to the President of the Confederacy that the Confederates free their slaves in order to win European diplomatic recognition (and possibly to prevent armed intervention) for the Confederate cause. Jefferson Davis rejected Kenner's suggestion.

The Bombardment of Donaldsonville

The Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was located almost exactly between Donaldsonville and Plaquemine, Louisiana, two ports on the river that suffered severe damages from both Federal and Confederate forces during the Civil War. The troubles these communities experienced directly affected the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

Federal forces first struck the town of Donaldsonville, approximately 12.8 km (8 mi) below the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. After the fall of New Orleans and Baton Rouge in the spring of 1862, a company of Confederate sharpshooters harassed Federal authority in the Donaldsonville area. Texas Partisan Rangers fired so incessantly on Federal transports and gunboats traveling the Mississippi River near Donaldsonville that Admiral David Farragut threatened the local citizenry with bombardment "for six miles below Donaldsonville and nine miles above" if the sniping did not cease (Winters 1963:153). Planters along the riverfront begged the Confederate partisans to discontinue firing, but to no avail. As a result, Farragut punished the community. After first ordering the evacuation of Donaldsonville, he ordered his ships to open fire on the town at 11 a.m. on the morning of August 9, 1862. A landing party then burned the hotels, warehouses, and other structures in the business district, as well as some private dwellings. The Union forces also shelled and burned the riverfront plantations situated to either side of the town (Bergeron 1985:199; Raphael 1976:25-26; Winters 1963:153). A few days later, the New Orleans newspapers reported "there is nothing left of it [Donaldsonville] now but ruins and rubbish" (Davis 1971:256; Marchand 1936:154).

According to a Confederate brigadier general, the Federal bombardment of Donaldsonville was accompanied by an insurrection of the slaves in Ascension Parish. Local slaveholders ruthlessly suppressed the uprising. Approximately 50 or 60 slaves were put to death for their part in the revolt (O.R., series I, 15:1124-1125).

As the military struggle continued, planters along the river between Plaquemine and Donaldsonville became alarmed by the continuing evidence of unrest and flight among their slaves (Winters 1963:158). The Federal presence on the river promoted disturbances in the slave community. The slaves knew that the Federal intervention offered them an opportunity for release from a lifetime of bondage, and many escaped across Union lines or simply refused to work.

On October 25, 1862, a second Federal attack on Donaldsonville convinced planters in the neighborhood to take action to secure their slaves. The Federals destroyed the one-third of the town that had escaped damage in their earlier bombardment and raid. The wealthier planters in the neighborhood fled, taking their bondsmen to Texas for the duration of the war (Winters 1963:157-158). A neighbor immediately upstream from Celeste Plantation, John Andrews of Belle Grove, tried to ensure his control of his ca. 141 slaves by moving them westward. He left his daughter in charge of his mansion at Belle Grove and the surrounding acreage (Menn 1964:242; Shiff 1863).

The trip to Texas was extremely arduous for the slaves, who walked miles every day. Many planters were surprised when adult male slaves ran away in droves during the trip. So many male slaves escaped that some planters returned to Iberville Parish with a reduced labor force rather than risk any more losses. Other planters, including John Andrews, relocated a portion of their slaves to Texas (Winters 1963:158).

The mass exodus became a familiar sight along Louisiana roads. One historian estimates upwards of 150,000 slaves were marched out of the state to Texas after the fall of New Orleans. Allen Manning recalled, "it look like everybody

in the world was going to Texas. When we would be going down the road we would have to walk along the side all the time to let the wagons go past, all loaded with folks going to Texas" (Litwack 1979:33). A white observer noted, "the road today was alive with [slaves] who are being run to Texas" (Ripley 1976:14). It was a back-breaking trip for the slaves, mothers carrying children, fathers tending to livestock, no protection from the rain or sun. A former Louisiana slave, Charley Williams, remembered it as "the awfullest trip any man ever make." Another former slave remembered how "we all walked barefoot and our feet broke and run they were so sore, and we had blisters for months" (Litwack 1979:33, dialect removed). It is hardly surprising that large numbers of slaves escaped during the long trek. Runaways presented a problem not only to the Ascension and Iberville Parish slave owners but also to the Federal forces. So many runaway slaves from Ascension and Iberville followed the Federal army as it proceeded down Bayou Lafourche in October 1862, that by November 1, the Federal General Geoffrey Weitzel complained that he had twice as many African Americans surrounding his camp than he had soldiers within. Federal military authorities did not always deal with these runaways sympathetically. Many officers viewed the slaves as an impediment to troop movements, and the large number of refugees required additional rations (Winters 1963:158).

Planters in Louisiana, always on the lookout for runaway slaves, became even more afraid of escape as the war approached. During the presidential election campaign, planters in the Pelican State implemented nightly patrols to guard against both slave runaways and uprisings. Beginning in 1859, the Iberville Parish Police Jury appointed 19 separate patrol districts, each headed by a "commissary of patrol." The commissary organized the patrols, to see that each plantation in his district was covered at least once a week. All white men between the ages of 15 and 50 were required to participate in the patrols, and every planter who owned at least 10 slaves had to produce one patrolman. Those who owned 50 or more were required to produce two patrolmen (Bryant et al. 1982:99-100).

Patrols grew more frequent as the war came to Louisiana. White fears of armed African American resistance peaked when the state fell to the Union. Most patrols comprised five men on horseback, all armed. They were at liberty to dispense corporal punishment as they saw fit. For example, the patrols frequently administered 15 lashes to any slave found without a pass and each slave cabin was checked at least once per patrol, "oftener if necessary" (Moody 1924:222). Moreover, when slaves were found to be out of their cabins, whether for a celebration, for worship, or just for visitation, patrols often used packs of dogs to track them down. One former Louisiana slave, interviewed by Works Progress Administration workers in the 1930s, remembered a particularly terrifying night when she was chased by patrol dogs:

> Once my Maw and Paw taken me and Katherine after night to slip to another place to a praying and singing....We prayed for the end of Tribulation and the end of beatings and for shoes that fit our feet. We prayed that [we] could have all we wanted to eat and ...fresh meat.....Some said [they'd be] glad [when] they were dead, 'cause they'd rather rot in the ground than have the beatings. What I hated most was when they'd beat me and I didn't know what they beat me for, and I hated they stripping me naked as the day I was born. When we's coming back from that praying, I thought I heard the ... dogs and somebody on horseback. I said, "Maw...they'll eat us up!" You could hear them old hounds...abaying. Maw listens and says "Sure enough, them dogs ...running! God help us." Then she and Paw talk and they take us to a fence corner and stand us up against the rails and say don't move and if anyone comes near, don't breathe out loud. They went into the woods, so the hounds [would] chase them and not get us. Me and Katherine stand there, holding hands, shaking so we can hardly stand. We heard the hounds come nearer, but we don't move. They go after Paw and Maw, but they circled around the cabins and [got] in. Maw said it's the power of God (Mary Reynolds, from Rawick 1972-79:236-246, dialect removed).

Though the historical record is silent on the use of dogs in Iberville Parish, the practice was so widespread, the likelihood is high that they were used.

The increase in size and frequency of slave patrols can at least partially be attributed to the increase in runaway slaves during the war. Many slaves who would not normally have considered escape into the swamps ran to the Federal troops

at the first opportunity. Once slaves had a proximate destination - the Federal lines - many took their earliest opportunity to flee the atrocities. Moreover, once the Union took control of the River, many, if not most, male planters left for Confederate territory to the west. Not only did this leave slaves free from immediate supervision, it provided a powerful message that the Union was near, and freedom was at hand.

One historian estimates that "literally thousands of bondsmen escaped from the interior and made their way to Union lines" in Louisiana. Iberville Parish, and Celeste Plantation in particular, were no exception. Oscar (Okar) Dupuy reported on this fact to his brother-in-law, Gustave Lauve, heir to his mother's Celeste Plantation, saying "The [slaves] have all left their owners in this parish" (Dupuy 1863). Gustave was living in Shreveport, perhaps having fled the Federal occupation of the parish.

Those slaves that did remain on their plantations often aided the Federal cause, pointing out Confederate movements, providing valuable reconnaissance, feeding the under-equipped forces, or simply turning over the property of the slave owner. Some of them paid dearly for this choice. In Donaldsonville, approximately 12.87 km (8 mi) downriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, Federal Captain H. L. Daigre reported "an insurrection among the [slaves] in Ascension Parish, and the killing of 40 or 50 of them" in August of 1862 (O.R. Series I, v. xv [s#21]). Some of the casualties may well have been from Celeste Plantation, which the Lauves had abandoned. For many who remained behind, slavery would never again be the same, as "the features which sustained the institution - isolation, routing, paternalism, patrols, controls, and the master-slave relationship - could not survive the [Federal] raids" (Ripley 1976:21-22).

Federal soldiers were divided about how to treat the runaways, who they called "Contrabands," since there were, in essence, treated like any other captured contraband. The problems the escaped slaves presented, through no fault of their own, became more serious as the war progressed. Federal military authorities never adopted a policy to deal effectively with the refugees from bondage. General Benjamin Butler in New Orleans wanted the slaves put to work on the plantations. By his scheme, landowners who had taken an oath of loyalty to the Union could hire slaves in Federal possession for $10.00 a month. Those planters who were loyal to the Confederacy would furnish the land for Federal slaves to make a sugar crop for the government of the United States (Winters 1963:158).

The Plantation Bureau, a special agent of the United States Treasury, attempted to relocate "contraband slaves" on plantations. Those who could work were forced to do so, but many refugees from slavery were so badly injured from the effects of bondage that they were unable to do so. One Union soldier reported in Louisiana: "some of them were scarred from head to foot where they had been whipped. One man's back was nearly all one scar, as if the skin had been chopped up and left to heal in ridges" (Litwack 1979:131). In cooperation with the military, the Bureau placed numerous "contrabands" on plantations along the river between Plaquemine and Donaldsonville. Belle Grove Plantation, adjacent to the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, received a large contingent in June 1863.

John Andrews, the antebellum owner of Belle Grove (next to Celeste Plantation), had moved most of his slaves to Texas and left his daughter in charge of the Iberville Parish Plantation. His daughter, Emilie Lynch Adams Andrews Shiff, the widow of Edouard Shiff, struggled to deal with the problems of running a sugar plantation with a very small labor force. In order to eliminate this problem, she took the oath of loyalty to the United States, making her eligible to receive slaves from the Federal army. In a petition that Mrs. Shiff filed, she declared herself to be a loyal citizen of the United States, having taken the oath on January 17, 1863. She further declared that "while in the peaceful enjoyment" of Belle Grove, she had been visited, on or about May 5, 1863, by a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, who was acting as agent of the Plantation Bureau. According to her statement, he:

> entered upon her said plantation and placed three hundred and sixty [slaves] thereon...[who] performed no work whatever of any use or benefit, but on the contrary introduced the utmost confusion among the working hands on the plantation

> belonging to your petitioner, and stripped the plantation of property to the amount of upwards of twenty thousand dollars....; That said [slaves] continued on said plantation in a perfect state of insubordination until five or six days ago; that fearing that the same wanton outrage will be repeated...she now respectfully asks that you will be pleased to afford her protection so as to enable her to carry on the work of her said plantation without further interruption (Shiff 1863).

The detailed list of Mrs. Shiff's losses included 250 loads of wood, numerous tools; 5 horses, 10 mules, 18 hogs, 13 sheep, 8 carts, 6,000 barrels of corn, 23 barrels of sugar, and damages to her sugarhouse of about $2,000 (Shiff 1863). These slaves, who had risked their lives to escape from bondage in the first place, must have been devastated by the betrayal of the Union forces, replacing them on slave plantations. Certainly, the actions of which Shiff complains were to be expected.

In the same letter from Oscar Dupuy to Gustave Lauve, the son of Evariste and Celeste, Dupuy, who lived on Bayou Plaquemine in Iberville Parish, confirmed that, like Mrs. Shiff, "a great number of planters hereabout and in fact men of all professions, have taken the oath of allegiance. Among them are some of our nearest relatives and most intimate friends" (Dupuy 1863). Dupuy also spoke about the policy of placing Federally-controlled slaves on plantations in the vicinity. He wrote:

> The yankees have filled up all the plantations...with [slaves] that they have taken elsewhere ... There are nine hundred of them... mostly old men, women and children, and the worst of it is that they have all kinds of diseases amongst them, and they die like flies (Dupuy 1863).

Given this horrible trend, the incidence of slave escape rose dramatically. Dupuy reported:

> The [slaves] have all left their owners in the parish [Iberville]. Some planters have not even one servant left. Our wives and daughters have to take the pot and tubs; the men, where there are any, take to the field with the plough and hoe (Dupuy 1863).

Nevertheless, some of the former slaves returned to their former plantations, perhaps in response to Federal treatment, or simply to stay with family. Grasping at a straw, Oscar Dupuy saw this as a hopeful sign. He wrote:

> However, since a few weeks, the [slaves] are running away from the yanks and returning to their owners. Father had eighty-five...gone for a while, but about twenty have returned since. All his house servants have gone except Sarah the cook (Dupuy 1863).

Dupuy also reported that Iberville Parish had been subjected to raids by both Federals and Confederates. In January and February 1863, "a brigade of yankees...camped at Indian Village [away from the river in the back country of Iberville Parish] ...they took away all our chicken, hogs, and cattle; destroyed all our boats and skiffs, and in a word did all the harm they could" (Dupuy 1863).

Since then a brigade of Confederate cavalry dashed into Plaquemine, "burnt three yankee boats," and destroyed "a considerable quantity" of cotton that northern speculators had purchased. Summing up the Civil War in Iberville Parish, Dupuy avowed: "As to the times, they are as tough as can be" (Dupuy 1863).

Guerilla Warfare near the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex, 1863-1865

With the surrender of the Confederate fortress at Vicksburg, Mississippi on July 4, 1863, and the fall of Port Hudson, Louisiana five days later on July 9, the United States achieved its strategic objective of restoring the entire course of the Mississippi River to Federal control. Nevertheless, the guerilla warfare between Federals and Confederates persisted beside the river in the area between Plaquemine and Donaldsonville. The Federals held both towns but could not control the countryside between. The guerrillas remained active into 1865, the last year of the war.

In January 1865, a detachment of the Third Rhode Island Cavalry stationed in Donaldsonville vainly pursued a smaller group of mounted Confederate guerillas commanded by a Captain Williams. The guerillas had burned a schoolhouse, probably intended for African Americans, on the plantation of Trasimond Landry, located upriver from Donaldsonville and several kilometers below the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. According to the report of Lieutenant

Colonel Parkhurst, the officer in charge of the Rhode Island cavalrymen: ". . . when my advance guard reached the place they received some half a dozen shots from the guerillas, who immediately took to the field and woods, and, owing to the extreme darkness, it was impossible to follow them" (O.R., series 1, 48:54). Parkhurst led his troop up the River Road to Dominique's Store, just below Claiborne Island, where he divided his men (Figure 19). He sent 25 cavalrymen to the rear of Chatham Plantation, just upriver, where he heard Captain Williams had been seen earlier in the day. In the meantime Colonel Parkhurst advanced up River Road with the other 25 horsemen in his command. The two groups rejoined above Chatham. Continuing upriver, they passed through Celeste and Belle Grove Plantations before they encamped at midnight on Alhambra Plantation.

After mounting their horses the next morning they learned of activity by guerillas on Belle Grove Plantation, adjacent to Celeste Plantation. Parkhurst sent 25 horsemen to pursue the guerillas, but he reported, they "had too much the start, and with that and the great superiority of their horses made their escape into the swamp..."(O.R., series 1, 48:54).

When the entire troop of 50 cavalrymen reformed they proceeded down the River Road towards Donaldsonville, once more passing by the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. When they reached Sigur's plantation, immediately below Celeste, the Rhode Islanders saw Captain Williams and 12 to 14 guerillas making their way through the former slave quarters on the place. Federal cavalrymen pursued the smaller group of Confederate horsemen, but, Colonel Parkhurst reported, the Rhode Islanders could not capture the guerillas "owing to the inefficiency of their [own] horses." The Federals then returned to camp in Donaldsonville. In his report, Colonel Parkhurst wrote:

> I beg leave in conclusion to say that, in my opinion, it is useless to attempt to capture this or any other of these moving bands of mounted men by my detachment until it is better mounted. If we had to-day been properly mounted we should have easily captured the entire party (O.R., series 1, 48:54).

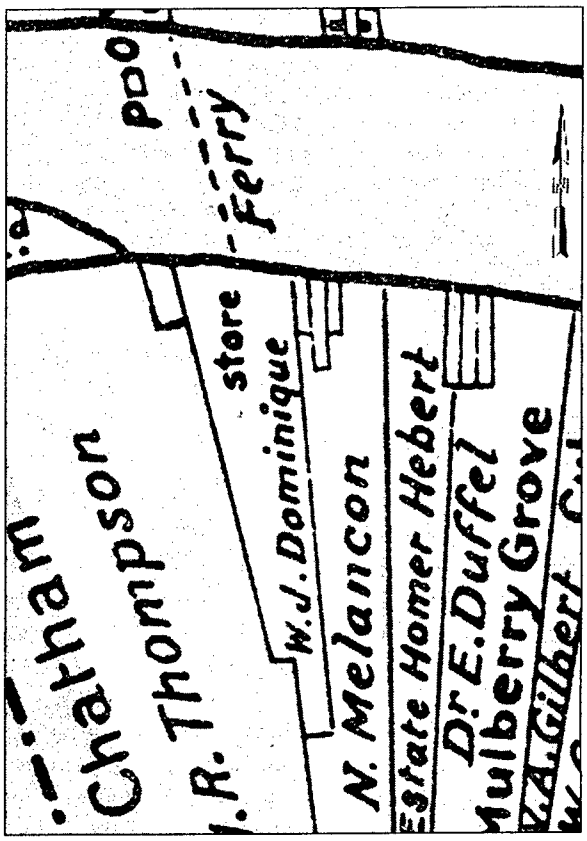


Figure 19. **W.J. Dominique's store was centrally-located, on a major river landing and ferry port. Adapted from Persac's "Norman's Chart," ca. 1858.**

The effect of this constant warfare upon the area that contained the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex remains clear. The drawn out clashes of opposing military forces did severe harm to the countryside and to the feeble efforts of planters to restore their plantations to profit (Winters 1963:410-411). The disruptive forces also affected the former slaves, who often found themselves at the center of the conflict.

Thousands of slaves who escaped their plantations fought valiantly in the war. In a sense, they were the instruments of freedom for those who stayed on the plantation. Moreover, many African Americans saw it as a war of liberation and a chance to earn not only freedom, but citizenship, whereas many white Federal soldiers fought solely for the restoration of the Union, as Lincoln suggested. General Benjamin Butler, the

ranking officer in occupied Louisiana, at first resisted the notion of African American soldiers. Initially describing slaves who crossed Union lines as "contraband," Butler urged his subordinate, General John Walcott Phelps, to stop accepting runaway slaves, and to use those slaves under his protection for "fatigue labor" (Ripley 1976:104). However, Phelps, an uncompromising abolitionist, requisitioned "arms, accoutrements, clothing, camp and garrison equipage . . . for three regiments of Africans" (Ripley 1976:104).

Butler cautiously declined, unwilling to proceed without specific presidential approval. After waiting two months for such approval, Butler concluded Lincoln's silence to be tacit agreement. He recruited the Native Guard, a group of free men of color from New Orleans who had formed a Confederate regiment under white threats, to join forces with the Union. Recommissioned on September 27, 1862 as the 73rd United States Colored Infantry, the regiment became the first regiment of African Americans mustered into the Union.

Just a few months later, in January of 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Unfortunately for Louisiana slaves, those parishes under Union control were exempted from the edict. For a period, the Federals were interested both with maintaining the labor of slaves and placating the concerns of conservatives in Congress. Ironically, it meant that the slaves still in the Confederate territory were free, while those who lived in areas held by the Federals still were enslaved.

Clearly, the Union soldiers were not the saviors that many slaves had anticipated and the white Confederates had feared. In fact, many African Americans were rounded up by men in blue and forced at gunpoint to recruitment stations. In New Orleans, a free man of color, P. Bourgeois, resisted Federal soldiers' efforts at recruitment, whereby they "beat him, knifed him three times and took him away" (Ripley 1976:109). On plantations, as well, Union soldiers impressed both free African Americans and slaves into service.

But despite these hardships, former slaves in Louisiana fought with courage against their former captors. One historian estimates that at least 15,000 African American troops fought for the Union in the Pelican State, although former Governor Warmouth surmised the number was over 18,000 (Ripley 1976:108). In battles all over the Louisiana theatre, former slaves earned distinction and, in some cases, the reluctant respect of both their allies and enemies. One Confederate soldier who fought Corps D'Afrique [African Corps] troops at Milliken's Bend, for example, grudgingly acknowledged that the African American soldiers "fought desperately and would not give up until our men clubbed muskets upon them" (Ripley 1976:123). Indeed, African Americans in the service of the Union had a good reason to fight desperately. Many who were captured by the Confederacy were summarily shot, hanged, or reenslaved. Consequently, African American troops were especially willing to take every chance to survive on the battlefield, rather than face death or recapture. Moreover, Corps D'Afrique members were "more apt to attempt battlefield rescues of the wounded," knowing full well what fate lay ahead for captured soldiers (Ripley 1976:123).

F. Ernest Dumas and André Cailloux, a major and a captain in the Native Guard respectively, were African American soldiers who served with particular distinction. Both fought in the desperate Federal charge at Port Hudson (32.18 km [20 mi] above Baton Rouge) against Confederates situated 91 m (300 ft) above them in rifle nests. Cailloux fell and he was buried a hero in New Orleans 43 days later. Dumas survived to challenge Reconstruction candidate Henry Warmouth for the governorship of Louisiana. Of Dumas, Union General Benjamin Butler said, "he has more capability as a major than I had as a Major General." Cailloux, according to William Wells Brown, "lifted forever the racial prejudice that [African American] soldiers would not fight" (Vincent 1979:87).

The quest to lift the veil of racial prejudice drove many African Americans into battle during the Civil War. Although men of color had offered enlistment in every American war, this war, obviously, held weighty significance for them. Not only did a Union victory promise freedom from slavery, many believed that brave service could pave the way for citizenship and, ultimately, the franchise. Indeed, many men who served in the regiments of the Louisiana Native Guard went on to hold political office in the Reconstruction era. Many others served the public and the freed community as educators, sheriffs, police officers, lawyers, editors and businessmen. Newly freed and eager for equality, these veterans would change Louisiana permanently.

The End of the Civil War and the Reconstruction Era

Historians suggest that in many ways, Louisiana during the war was an experimental model for postbellum Reconstruction. In fact, as noted above, the Union soldiers and occupation government had many choices to make regarding the status and role of freed African Americans during the period of control in the Pelican State. Louisiana did prove to be a sticky constitutional model, given its specific exemption from the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1863, a new state debate emerged between the "radical" reformers and the planters, over the legitimacy of the 1852 constitution, which included all the provisions protecting slavery. The planter party argued that since the state had been exempted from emancipation, slavery remained legal in Louisiana, and, hence, the old constitution remained valid. By November of 1863, Lincoln openly advocated a new constitutional convention, which he hoped would independently endorse emancipation. The next month, Lincoln announced his "ten percent" plan for Reconstruction, whereby when one-tenth of the voting population of any Confederate state swore an oath of allegiance to the United States, a new state government could be formed (Ripley 1976:159-162).

The planter party agreed to ratify the Emancipation Proclamation, but argued forcefully for the reinstitution of all other aspects of the 1852 constitution. This calculated concession on the part of the planters was designed to keep the franchise solely in the hands of the white minority. Knowing, at this point, that the South was losing the war, and that some form of restructuring would be required of them, Louisiana planters sought to retain their monopoly on government by prohibiting any form of African American suffrage. The radicals, meanwhile, furiously registered African Americans throughout the state, in anticipation of some form of suffrage. Many of these men, such as free man of color P. B. S. Pinchback, were veterans of the war and they still were commissioned. They argued that if the franchise was refused to them, then certainly they should be exempted from the draft as well (Ripley 1976:164)

General Nathaniel Banks, Lincoln's military commander, intervened in the ensuing election, successfully thwarting radicals on both sides of the suffrage issue. With a moderate government seated, the constitutional convention of 1864 balked at universal male suffrage, extending the right only to white men over 21 years and "citizens of the United States, as by military, by taxation...or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed entitled thereto" (Ripley 1976:173). While the convention did pass a crucial law establishing African American education, Lincoln's lack of a sure stand on the suffrage issue assured the exclusion of African Americans from the franchise during wartime Reconstruction in Louisiana.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866, combined with the 14th Amendment, secured the ideal of equality before the law. Unfortunately, that phrase was interpreted in many different ways by states and municipalities, not to mention the Freedmen's Bureau agents responsible for representing the rights of former slaves. The most definitive step toward actual equality came with the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. Touted for the next century as a travesty of justice throughout the white South, these acts treated the South in general, and Louisiana in particular, as a "conquered territory." Not surprisingly, the controversial section enfranchised African American men over the age of 21, while it disenfranchised anyone who had been loyal to the Confederacy, thus effectively reversing the Southern power structure.

Despite the racial polemics that swirled around "Radical Reconstruction," the enfranchisement of former slaves permanently changed Louisiana politics. African American officials were elected to hundreds of public offices, including such positions as constitutional delegate, state Representative, state Senator, and Lieutenant Governor. The contemporary popular mythology of the Reconstruction government in Louisiana centered on the fallacies that the newly elect were former slaves, were from the north, were illiterate, or were "contemptuous of property owners." In fact, the vast majority of African American politicians who served in the Reconstruction legislature in Louisiana had been free men of color before the war, were literate and primarily native-born. Moreover, African American "legislators in the 1868-70 legislature actually listed an av-

erage of $991.25 in assets in the 1870 census" (Vincent 1979:96).

Several prominent African American Republican politicians originated from Iberville Parish. Antoine Dubuclet served as state Treasurer from 1868-1878 for example, and he was "the only African American in the reconstructed South to hold ...office for more than one term" (Hanger 1996:12). He was born free in Iberville Parish, worked as a sugar planter, and was one of the wealthiest free men of color in the state prior to the war. Just prior to the end of the war, in fact, his estate was worth over $97,00.00, and it included over 100 slaves. Pierre Deslonde, served as Secretary of State from 1872 to 1876, he also was a wealthy Iberville Parish sugar planter.

These remarkable advances on the political front did not mitigate the difficulty of the transition from slavery to freedom. The early years of Reconstruction in Louisiana were fraught with violence and terror for many African Americans. Planters established local laws, which, in many cases, mirrored slave codes exactly, with the word "slave" replaced by "freedman." Vagrancy laws were passed, permitting whites to seize any unemployed African Americans. Many of these unfortunate former slaves were "sentenced" to work in the fields until their "fines" were paid. Apprenticeship laws made it legal for African American minors to be "leased out" to white planters to "faithfully ...serve and honestly and obediently do all things that a good servant ought to do...[in return for]...good and sufficient clothing, board, washing, lodging and schooling." In Iberville Parish, one Freedman's Bureau agent reported flagrant abuses of African Americans, but complained that he had "no power to deal with them." This early period was so bad, one West Baton Rouge bureau agent concluded "slavery is reestablished" (Ripley 1976:190-1).

The "Louisiana Black Code" was established in 1865. Its primary purpose was to keep newly freed African American laborers on the plantations, in order to keep crops in rotation and bolster the floundering economy of the state. To this end, the law forced many African Americans into labor contracts with planters, to be enforced by Freedman's Bureau agents. One such contract exists for the plantation that later became the town of White Castle, i.e., positioned a few miles upriver of what became the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. In 1869, James Tate, along with 30 other men, probably all freed slaves, signed a contract with P. O. Hebert (executor of the estate of Mrs. H. L. Vaughan) to raise sugar on the White Castle Plantation. These men agreed to do all of the work on the plantation in return for a share of the profits from the sugar crop. They worked under an overseer, performing all the necessary maintenance around the plantation, including fence repair and levee shoring; in essence, performing exactly the same jobs as they did before the war (Iberville Parish Courthouse, Miscellaneous Acts Book 3, Act 225, February 15, 1869). Roughly three years later, James Tate was ordained as the minister of the "Bazil Baptist Church," a member of the First Regular Baptist Association of Louisiana. This church was most certainly the same Braziel Baptist Church researched in this report (Iberville Parish Courthouse, Miscellaneous Acts Book 3, Act 558, December 2, 1873).

Violence followed closely on the heels of the freedmen throughout Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan organized in Tennessee in 1867, primarily as a vigilante group to oppose "radical" Republican politics and to enforce white supremacy. Louisiana chapters organized soon thereafter, dedicated to terrorizing freedmen into voting either Democrat or not voting at all. Also in 1867, white men in Louisiana formed the Knights of the White Camelia, a slightly less visible white supremacy organization. This group held much more sway in Louisiana than did the Klan, although the structure, goals and tactics of the two organizations were very similar.

The Louisiana slave-based sugar industry was thrown into turmoil as a result of the Civil War. Planters, both Creoles of color and white, lost much or most of their capital assets in the war and its wake. In addition to the capital losses sustained when slave "property" became Reconstruction citizens, many landowners lost all their livestock and equipment to the ubiquitous supply raids of the war. After Appomattox, prices fell, credit was tight, and former slaves began the great trek from the fields to the cities, leaving former slave owners for any other opportunity (Begnaud 1980:38-39; Goodwin and Yakubik

1982). As a result of these financial difficulties, the net worth of many planters dropped from maintaining huge holdings before the war to bankruptcy in the aftermath of the event.

After the war, industry was slow to recover from the disruption it had suffered. A pervasive lack of capital impeded the revitalization of the sugar belt. Planters could not afford to rebuild their sugar houses, nor could they repair the levees that had been neglected during the war years. Without the proper levees, many former sugar plantations were inundated during high water. Bouchereau notes some of the causes that prevented capital investment in sugar cane. He wrote: "changes in labor systems, bad politics and government, and fear that the [sugar] tariff would be abolished or greatly modified, prevent[s] capital from being invested . . ." (L. Bouchereau 1889-1890:53a).

The loss of slave labor further encumbered economic recovery. Not only did former slave owners now have to pay for labor, but many former slaves migrated north. The white population perceived the Freedmen who stayed in the area to be a political threat during and after Reconstruction. Moreover, the formation of violent, white, vigilante groups such as the Knights of the White Camelia and the Ku Klux Klan drove even more freedmen from the fields. L. Bouchereau noted that "not more than two out of every twenty sugar planters have a full complement of laborers" (1868-1869:viii).

These fundamental obstacles resulted in dramatic changes throughout the sugar industry. Since most planters lacked both the capital and the laborers to manufacture sugar, Bouchereau proposed a new method in 1874; he urged planters to separate the agricultural and industrial aspects of sugar production. His proposal, the "Central Factory System," included centralized mills to serve the needs of many planters: "Let the sugar factories be established in different neighborhoods and let the producers of the cane sell it to the factory" (Bouchereau and Bouchereau 1874:xii-xiii). In this way, the savings on mill building, repairing, processing and manufacturing could absorb the increased labor costs. This system also allowed smaller farmers to participate in sugar cane cultivation; impoverished farmers were now able to grow sugar cane on relatively small tracts of land and then sell it to the factory. Under the antebellum plantation system, small-scale production of sugar had been an economic impossibility.

Despite these changes to try to boost the productivity of the economically damaged plantations, the relationship between planters and slaves, now freedmen, had changed radically. Formerly successful planters had lost their cheap, abundant supply of labor and they were forced to pay workers in order to continue operations. Despite their new status as freed persons and the economic opportunities awaiting in the North, immediately following the war many former slaves remained in the agricultural fields of the South, both to stay near families and due to lack of industrial skills. Thus, the tenant farming land tenure system was born (Aiken 1978).

Under this tenure system, tenant farmers supplied their labor for the production of crops, which in the case of Iberville included sugar, rice, and, in some areas, indigo. Planters, now functioning in their new roles as landlords, provided the land, seed crops, farm implements, and sometimes dwellings – usually former slave cabins. They also extended a line of credit, either in the form of cash or commodities, from an inflated plantation commissary or store to the tenant farmers. As payment for their labor, the tenant farmers received a portion of the crops, usually well less than 50 percent. In a few cases, the landlord paid the tenant farmer in cash for his portion of the crop. The proceeds, however, were never enough to allow the tenant farmer to pay off the debt he had accrued at the plantation store. This was a cyclical pattern that developed between the landlord and the tenant farmer and the system insured that the labor supply would remain on the plantation, and that, in the long term, the plantation would remain solvent. Only the planter profited as a result of this relationship. Sharecropping, or shares, became the agricultural model in Iberville Parish, as well, and almost certainly in the area of the former Celeste Plantation.

In addition to radical labor changes, the postbellum period also witnessed significant crop diversification. Rice cultivation became a viable alternative to the high cost of sugar cane production for many planters. In 1877, Bouchereau wrote:

> Many of the sugar plantations are planted in rice for want of the necessary means to rebuild or repair sugar houses, etc., while others are only partially cultivated owing to the encroachment of water from crevasses, and many are completely abandoned on account of overflow (Bouchereau and Bouchereau 1877-1878:XX).

Rice was a more appropriate crop for the neglected postbellum plantations since inundation through broken or neglected levees, although harmful to the growth of sugar cane, was necessary for rice cultivation. Rice agriculture also was much less labor-intensive than sugar cane cultivation, an added incentive to planters facing a labor shortage. In addition, rice could be planted on depleted cane fields or on low-lying acreage ill suited to other crops (Ginn 1940:554-557, 575-576; Goodwin et al. 1990:23, 49-50; Jones et al. 1938:21-22). Nonetheless, until well after the turn of the century, the planters in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, i.e., Celeste plantation, continued to cultivate sugar.

By the end of the nineteenth century, sugar had regained its prominence as an agricultural staple, particularly in the River Parishes. The Central Factory System caught on and it was quite successful; in 1893, Bouchereau remarked:

> Gradually the cultivation of cane and manufacture of sugar from it are becoming separate and distinct industries. Men of means invest their capital in equipping first-class factories furnished with all the modern improvements that the genius of the inventor has produced; small planters pursue the cultivation on the general lines...More sugar is now produced per acre than ever before (Bouchereau and Bouchereau 1893-94).

In Iberville and Ascension Parishes, some planters turned to rice to supplement their sugar crop, while a few switched over exclusively to rice production. Sugar, however, remained the most important industry in the region.

After the Civil War, the traditional linear layout of the antebellum sugar plantations did not change (Prunty 1955:460). Slave cabins continued to be occupied by field laborers, and the overseer's house was taken over by the plantation manager. The major difference between antebellum and postbellum sugar plantations focused on the sugarhouse. Many of the old sugarhouses were never rebuilt. After the Civil War, the materials from these abandoned sugarhouses, especially the metal and brick, either were reused or sold.

All over the agricultural South, the postbellum period was marked by change. The area containing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was no exception. The large landholdings of the former slave owners living along the Mississippi River lay fallow for lack of money, seed and laborers. By the 1880s, however, the economy was moving once again. Evan Hall (just downriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex), Ascension and New Hope plantations were among the major sugar producers in Ascension Parish. Evan Hall illustrates the consolidation and modernization that was required to succeed in the post-Civil War economy. Evan Hall was large (including 647.5 ha [1,600 ac] under cane cultivation); by the 1880s, the McCalls, owners of the plantation, had established a system of tenant farming to replace the loss of slave labor. The McCalls also constructed a large, modern sugar refining facility. The refinery at Evan Hall, in 1887, produced over four million pounds of refined sugar (this was produced within two months' time). Neighboring McManor Plantation used this refinery by pumping its cane sugar through a 2.4 km (1.5 mi) long pipe to the Evan Hall refinery for processing (Brown 1888:4).

Ascension and New Hope Plantations also boasted a large sugar refinery; it was built on the dividing line between the two plantations (by this time they both were consolidated into the Oliver Bierne estate). This refinery, named "New Hope," processed over two million pounds of sugar each year (Brown 1888:4). In 1892, these plantations merged with several other regional plantations to form the Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company, Ltd. The same sort of changes had occurred upriver on Belle Grove, Celeste and Old Hickory Estates, which after the turn of the century, were consolidated into the enormous sugar holdings of the Berthelot Brothers.

Plantation consolidation was taking place throughout the "Heart of the Sugar Bowl." One example of such property amalgamation was Germania Plantation, situated between Chatham

and Woodstock plantations, just a few kilometers downriver of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Figure 20). John (George) Reuss combined several tracts, including Mulberry and Cuba Plantations, to form Germania. In 1882, the local newspaper hailed him as the "future" of Ascension Parish:

> . . . Reuss appears to be swallowing the upper portions of the parish . . . . He is welcome to all he can get, provided he continues, as he has begun, to improve and beautify his possessions. He has already inaugurated works on a gigantic scale. The sugarhouse he is now putting up on Germania to serve as a central cuisine, bids fair to be the most splendid structure of its kind in the state. . . . Under the administration of Mr. Reuss, the unsightly willow and cottonwood growth on the batture will disappear; the unhealthy marshes which disfigure the pastures will be drained and filled up; substantial dirt wharves will be constructed on its front, with extensive warehouses for the landing of freight; neat cottages and other outhouses will be added . . .; in one word, the 'confederation' will be the plantation of Ascension (Marchand 1936:205-206).

Along with the postbellum consolidation of sugar plantations came the conversion of former cane fields to rice acreage. As sugar production proved less profitable for financially distressed planters after the Civil War, a number of south Louisiana growers turned to rice cultivation as a supplement to or, in many cases, a replacement for sugar cane agriculture. Because the necessary labor and stock could be utilized between the cane planting and grinding seasons, rice required little additional capital for successful cultivation.

In 1860, the Federal agricultural census listed no rice crop for Ascension Parish; however, 10 years later, the parish reported a rice yield of 7,224 kgs (15,926 lbs) (Kennedy 1864:67; Walker 1872:743). In the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, there were several sugar plantations that had made the partial modification to rice cultivation by the mid-1880s. Celeste Plantation was included among those plantations who at least rotated rice with sugar, although not until after the turn of the century (Figure 21). The crop in the region reportedly was cultivated early at Woodstock Plantation. In 1869, 40 barrels of

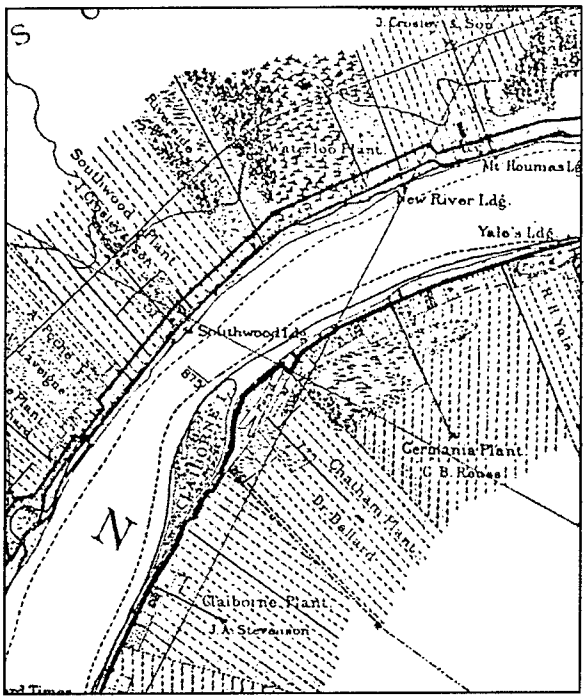


Figure 20. **George Reuss's conglomerate, Germania Plantation. Adapted from *Mississippi River Commission Map of the Lower Mississippi from the Mouth of Ohio River to the Head of the Passes, 1896* (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).**

rice were produced in all of Ascension Parish (Bouchereau 1868-1889; Sternberg 1996:233).

Some plantation owners had more difficulty adapting to the changes wrought by the war. The Lauve family, for example, had owned Celeste Plantation, since the first decade of the century. Shortly after the war, Celeste Lauve, the head of the family, died, leaving her once regal sugar estate to her son, Ulger Lauve. Ulger struggled with the sugar tract. Ultimately, he failed to account for the incipient changes in the labor and manufacturing systems, and he declared bankruptcy twice between 1869-1874. He lost Celeste permanently in 1874.

These economic failures largely were the result of Lauve's inability to accurately estimate how much the plantation was worth *without* slaves. After his mother lost Celeste to bankruptcy in September 1869, Ulger bought it back the same month for $63,000.00. In order to pay off the mortgage, Lauve owed du Fossat, his creditor, at least $8,570.00 per year. That same

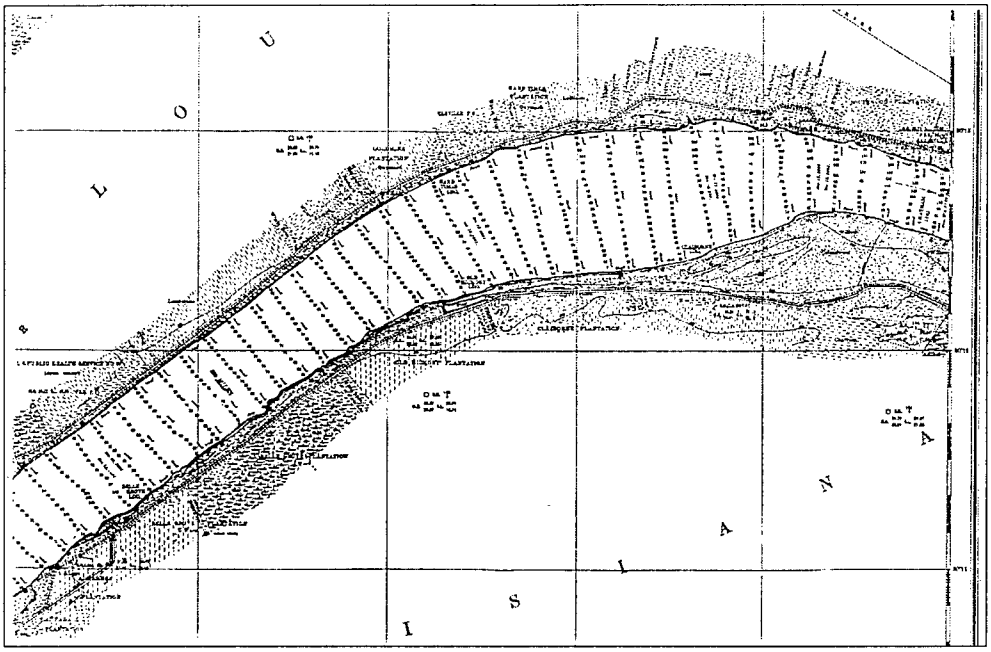


Figure 21. **Adaptation of the *Mississippi River Commission Map of the Lower Mississippi from the Mouth of Ohio River to the Head of the Passes, 1921, Chart 68*, depicts diversified crops along the project reach (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).**

year, the plantation only produced 147 hogsheads of sugar, worth considerably less than his debt. In addition, Lauve had to pay former slaves to work the cane fields and to maintain the large estate, and almost surely he paid the owners of Old Hickory to manufacture the sugar, further reducing his profit margin. It seems likely that in the five years he held on to the property, he worked his way through any family assets that had survived the war. Over the next few years, the property was never leased for more than $2,000.00 a year, and the primary enterprise became the Cannon Store. Even at this much lesser rate, the next two landholders lost the land to foreclosure (Iberville Parish Clerk of Court, COB 13:268, #423; NARC, Notarial Acts of Charles T. Soniat, Volume 3, Act Nos. 50 and 84).

The owner who followed Lauve, Gustave Soniat Dufossat, had purchased several defunct plantations in the wake of the war. He leased the plantation to Thomas Sellers immediately, who in turn used the land for sharecropping. Approximately two years later Dufossat sold the estate to J. J. Thompson, for whom he carried a large mortgage. Thompson, however, was unable to turn enough profit to pay the mortgage and Dufossat foreclosed. The property changed hands several times during the next decade, often through foreclosures. It seems no planter with experience running a plantation could adjust profitably to the new economy. Finally, in 1887, a land speculator purchased the property at a Sheriff's sale, and the new owner abandoned the plantation culture. Lazard Kern parceled out the property to African Americans – quite possibly former slaves already living and working as sharecroppers on the property (Figure 22). For a small amount down - as little as $5.00 - Kern sold former slave cabins and small vegetable plots to sharecroppers. Over the next three years, he sold 14 such plots, as well the large homestead plot to a white storekeeper, all in Section 7 of Celeste Plantation. By 1894, the remaining land had been purchased by large sugar producers, the Berthelot Brothers.

This division of the property to individual landowners in the sugar parishes was unusual. The consolidation of large commercial plots was the trend during this period. Individual tenant farmers buying their own plots of land - indeed,

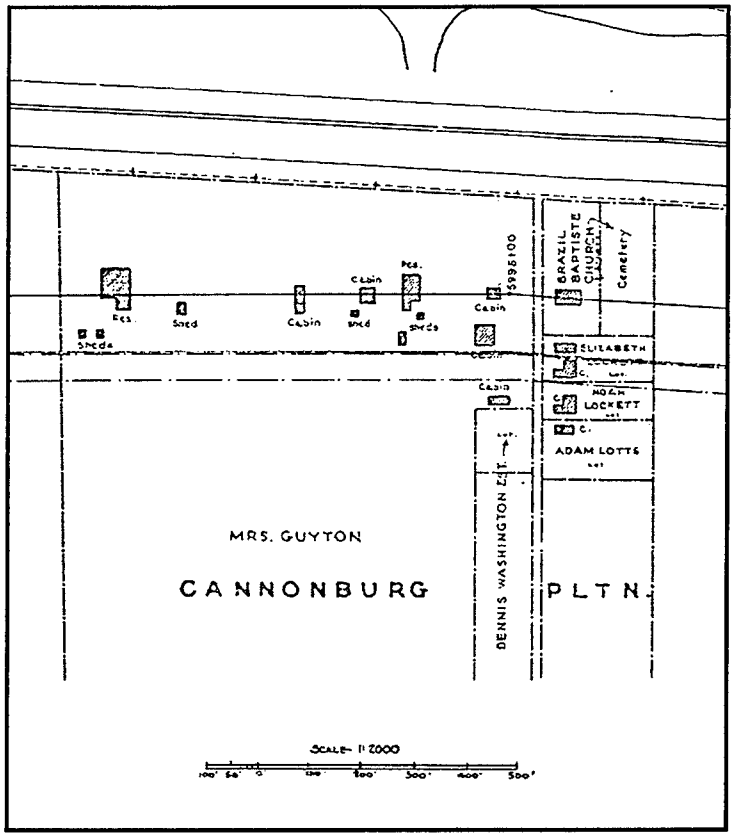


Figure 22. **Cannonburg, with small plots divided from the main plantation. From Atchafalaya Basin Levee District map, 1932 (Louisiana Department of Transportation and Development, Baton Rouge, LA).**

owning property at all - was unique along the river. Nowhere else along the Mississippi River in Iberville Parish was this opportunity available. As a result, the community of African American landowners in what, by the late 1870s became known as Cannonburg, must have been a rather tightly knit neighborhood.

Unfortunately, the historical record does not offer much insight into individual relations or community formation. It is known, however, that the lower portion of Celeste Plantation, abutting Old Hickory on the downstream side, became an African American neighborhood of small farmers, probably sharecroppers, who all owned their own property. Extending back from the river, a road divided the area of the Cannon store from the community, and, generally, the plots ran from this road to the property line of Old Hickory. The hub of this community was the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, which was formally organized no later than 1872. James Tate was the first pastor there, ordained under the auspices of Reverend Ashby. By 1888, though, it is likely that Reverend Tate was no longer the primary minister to the congregation. That year, Wesley Bryant, himself a minister, purchased the land on which the church and cemetery stood. The community apparently was deeply religious, as among the 12 small properties parceled out in this period, at least one more Baptist minister, Reverend Alexander L. Reese, also purchased property (Figure 23).

Other members of the Cannonburg community, probably named after the Cannon Store, included: David Nicholas, Elizabeth Lockett, Levy Barrow, Adam Lott, Louis Hills, Hillary Ross, Bora (Bud) Washington, Dennis Washington, Henderson Williams, Louis Johnson, George Gurley, and Robert Lockett. The parcels contained within the community were not universal in size, varying from the church property, which was the largest at 40.5 by 130.4 m (133

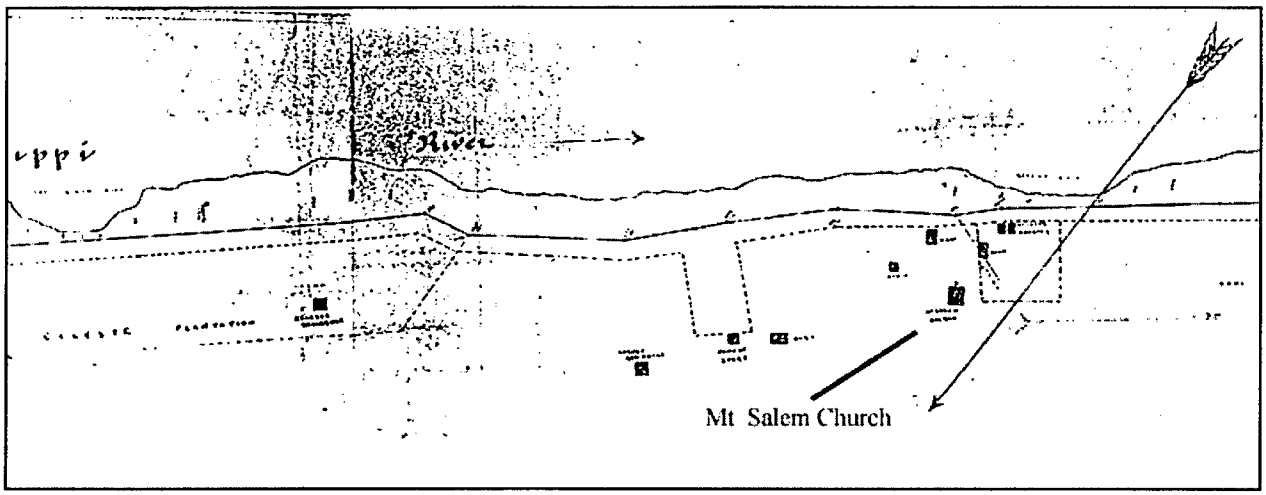


Figure 23. **[ca. 1892] Department of Public Works levee map, depicting "Mt. Salem" church, in the Cannonburg community.**

by 428 ft) to the smallest plots of Mr. Williams and Mr. Johnson, both measuring 22.8 x 67 m (75 ft x 220 ft) in size (IBCC, COB 20:247 and 21:162). A few years later, just after the turn of the century, tax assessments in this area indicated that the neighborhood contained several vegetable gardens and pecan trees. Moreover, a few more African American neighbors lived in Cannonburg, including Lawrence Baltimore, Albert Barrow, Albert French, and Walker Tucker. These men all owned horses; several also owned buggies (IBCC, Tax Rolls, 1907, First Ward Movables). That same year, Elizabeth Lockett's land was assessed at $70.00, her animals at $10.00, and improvements (probably one or both of the houses on the property in later maps) at $130.00.

Twentieth Century

After the turn of the century, agriculture continued to dominate the area surrounding the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Sugar production remained the chief force behind the area economy, with continued consolidated management by such corporations as the Old Hickory Planting and Manufacturing Company and, later, the Guyton Sugar Company, which operated Old Hickory and Celeste Plantations (Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer 1924:92, 1929:49, IBCC, COB 48:30, #42; Tax Roll 1920). By 1921, the riverfront fields of Belle Grove Plantation were under rice cultivation. Most of the Belle Grove rice acreage actually encompassed the old Celeste Plantation, which had been planted in rice during the post-bellum years (Mississippi River Commission [MRC] 1921:67-68).

In addition to the regional economic changes that occurred in the project area during the first half of the twentieth century, several national events impacted Iberville Parish. In particular, the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 and the Great Mississippi River flood of 1927 left their marks upon the people and the landscape of the parish.

The Influenza Epidemic of 1918

The Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918 presented a health crisis for every state in the country. This particular strain of influenza got its start in New England and it rapidly made its way down the Eastern Seaboard before ending up on the Gulf Coast. In New Orleans, 29 deaths marked the beginning of the flu crisis within the state; this was the week of October 5, 1918. This is in contrast to Boston, which had already reported 46 deaths by the week of September 14, 1918 (Crosby 1976:60). Throughout the epidemic, the hardest hit areas were those with high population densities and high traffic areas, i.e., cities and army bases.

In order to combat the epidemic, public officials in Louisiana closed schools, theaters, churches, and most other public gatherings (*New Orleans States* 8 October 1918, 38:282, 3). Clearly, within Louisiana, the flu hit New Orleans hardest. Not only did New Orleans have a very high population density, but its role as a major port made the city an increased target for the flu due to its inflow of visitors. Conversely, within rural Louisiana, although cases of Spanish Influenza were most certainly prevalent, the flu was not as widespread and it never reached the pandemic stage. For example, on October 2, 1918, over 150 new cases of influenza were reported in New Orleans with no new cases being reported in Iberville Parish (*New Orleans States*, 2 October 1918, 38:276, 3). In New Orleans alone, 42,208 cases of influenza were reported during the month of October 1918, while only approximately 3,000 cases of influenza were reported in Iberville Parish (*The Times-Picayune* 5 November 1918, 38:310, 4; 3 November 1918, 82:281, A12).

For a variety of reasons, mainly poor record keeping, mortality rates for this period are hard to address. According to Crosby (1976:206), however, "Americans died . . . at a rate of 4.8 per thousand in the last third of 1918 and 1.8 per thousand in the first half of 1919." Crosby further estimates that more than 25 million Americans caught the flu in 1918-1919 (Crosby 1976:205). Within the ten month period spanning the flu epidemic (the last third of 1918 and the first half of 1919) 675,000 are estimated to have died (Crosby 1976:206). Effectively, three in every one hundred people throughout the nation that contracted influenza perished.

By June of 1919, the Spanish Influenza epidemic was over, however, it left 3,362 New Orleanians dead (Crosby 1976:61). Although mortality rates for Iberville Parish were not available, simply based on the disparity in the number of cases reported, there is no evidence to suggest that the pandemic ever reached significant proportions in Iberville Parish.

It has been suggested that approximately 100 Cannonburg area residents died and they were buried in the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery during this period. Gravestones identified at the present-day Braziel Baptist Church cemetery were tentatively identified as memorials to individuals who had died during this health crisis. The three headstones are all that remain from the pre-1933 Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

While no newspaper reports or other documentation suggests that a large number of people died as a result of the experience, the three headstones found in the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery do date from the time of the epidemic. It is possible that these three men, Nathan Thompson, Aramais Thomas and Johnny Gibson, died from influenza, as they all passed away between October 5th and 12th, 1918. The origin of the large, identical tombstones, however, remains a mystery. They were not restricted to flu victims, since at least one man, Jerry Gross, is buried in Donaldsonville under the same type of marker, albeit in 1923, well after the epidemic. Moreover, it is clearly not a standard military marker, despite the waving flag carved on the top edge. It seems most likely that the three men whose headstones were moved from the original Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex to the current cemetery area, as well as those men buried under similar markers in Donaldsonville, were all members of the same benevolent or burial society.

The Great Flood of '27

In the spring of 1927, it started raining throughout the Mississippi Valley, and, according to one observer, "it just never did stop" (Cobb 2000). Actually, the trouble started during the summer of 1926. By September, several tributaries of the Mississippi had topped their banks in Kansas and Iowa, and on New Year's Day, 1927, the Cumberland River topped the levee at Nashville, exceeding 17.1 m (56.2 ft) and threatening the city. By April, the Mighty Mississippi River below Memphis resembled a floodplain that measured 96.5 km (60 mi) in width in places.

In all, 27,000 square miles of riverbank were flooded to a depth of 9.1 m (30 ft) - "more than the combined area of New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island" (Barry 1997:189). At the height of the flood, the river ran almost 84,951 m^3 (3,000,000 f^3) per second. While exact numbers were difficult to ascertain, historian John Barry estimates that up to 1,000 people lost their lives in the flood. African American sharecroppers - the poorest fieldwork-

ers with the least mobility and most vulnerable riverside housing - died in the largest numbers. At a time when the entire annual Federal budget was only three billion dollars, the damage caused by the flood was estimated at one billion dollars.

In the Delta, the danger of the flood was greater than it was along the upper portion of the riverbank, since all local rain just added to the millions of gallons flowing down from the north. Unfortunately for everyone along the river in Louisiana, the rain continued to fall from Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. In New Orleans, 38.1 cm (15 in) of rain fell over an 18-hour span on April 15th - ominously, on Good Friday. It was the fifth record storm of 1927 in the Crescent City - each one larger and more damaging than any single storm in the previous decade. The river had been leaning on the whole length of the levee for months by this time, and seepage, crevasses, holes and overflows were daily occurrences in every levee district associated with the Mississippi, Yazoo, Arkansas, Tennessee, and a dozen other major rivers throughout the region. As one historian noted, "as long as the flood lasted, the river could only grow stronger, the levees weaker" (Barry 1997:192).

As the waters relentlessly rose, fear also rose. Everywhere along the levee, neighbors gathered to shore up leaks and raise its height with sandbags. Since any significant crevasse in the levee would lower the waters in the neighboring areas, people along the riverbank feared sabotage. In essence, many on the river were afraid that groups of people from a few miles away would attack the levee to create an artificial crevasse - sacrificing "your" land to save "mine." Consequently, communities guarded their local bulwarks like fortresses. Armed with guns, knives, sticks and rocks, local men took shifts, waiting for gangs of townspeople from up or down river to attack the levees. In Greenville, Mississippi, the *Times-Democrat* reported "an attempt to dynamite [the levee] . . . near here was discovered by national guardsmen last night. A pitched battle followed the discovery and three men were shot" (Barry 1997:192).

In Louisiana, the people of St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes, below New Orleans, had long feared for the safety of their levees. Indeed, after the 1922 flood, the chief of the Army Corps of Engineers told a group of powerful bankers and business interests in the city that, "if the river ever seriously threatened the city, they should blow a hole in the levee" (Barry 1997:222). The businessmen set in place a plan to dynamite the levees below New Orleans, sacrificing the parishes to save the city. Five years later, as the floodwaters rose, both nerves and economic concerns stretched to the breaking point. Government-built levees, the strongest barriers on the river, which had always held before, began to give way. Panic gripped New Orleans and the national banking interests that were heavily invested in the city. St. Bernard Parish placed 24-hour armed guards along the levees, even while their neighbors contemplated unleashing a deluge upon them.

Of course, the dire flood predictions for New Orleans would only be valid if all the levees above the city held. Every crevasse from Cairo, Illinois to below Baton Rouge would lower the flood stage in the Crescent City. With fear rising with the water level, the governor of Louisiana agreed to approve the dynamiting of the levee, if the Army Corps of Engineers deemed it unequivocally necessary and if the city agreed to compensate the victims for all their losses. These conditions were met, and on Friday, April 29, 1927 the Army Corps of Engineers, the National Guard and the State Police all gathered to set off 39 tons of dynamite at Caernarvon, 20.9 km (13 mi) below Canal Street. The resulting crevasse inundated St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes, destroying thousands of square acres of land, rendering over 10,000 people homeless. The next day, the Glasscock levee on the west bank of the Mississippi River by Natchez, Ms, gave way. The floodwaters surged through the gap, into the Atchafalaya Basin, and continued down to the Gulf of Mexico. Unfortunately, the flooding of St. Bernard and Plaquemines was for naught (Barry 1997:235-258).

As in the rest of the Delta, fear and destruction attended the Great Flood in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. An estimated 20,000 men worked on the levees between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, placing 6 million sandbags. Though the Glasscock crevasse alleviated the pressure on the Cannonburg levee, the weeks of flooding before April 30th almost certainly witnessed armed guards, washed out houses, and dozens of people homeless.

Figure 24. **Victims of the Great Flood of '27, headed to a "refugee camp," that, for many African Americans, became forced labor camps for months on end.**

Whether Iberville Parish witnessed the rounding up of sharecroppers at gunpoint and the transformation of African American "refugee camps" into makeshift prisons, as happened in Mississippi, is not clear, although it remains a possibility. In all, 330,000 African Americans nationwide found "squalid shelter" in 154 camps (Figure 24). Many of these families were forced to labor on the levees and not permitted to leave; this went on for months. These experiences contributed significantly to the "Great Migration," a flood of African Americans moving from the agricultural south to cities in the north.

The ramifications of the Great Flood of '27 were dramatic: 1,000 dead; over 6,705879 ha (16,570,000 ac) of land destroyed; over 172,000 homes damaged. Over 1,000,000 people - a little less than eight percent of the national population - were left homeless. The economies of the seven states positioned along the river lay in ruins - on the eve of the Depression, no less.

In light of these damages, the Federal Government set about creating a system to prevent this kind of damage from ever happening again. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers abandoned their long-held "levees only" policy, which proposed that riverside bulwarks, if they were built correctly, could themselves contain the most devastating flood. The Mississippi River Commission, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and individual levee districts along the river all reorganized, and a decision was made by Congress to fund an entire new levee system – one designed by the Chief of Engineers, Edgar Jadwin. The plan called for straighter, higher, stronger levees along the entire length of the Mississippi River,

i.e., over 4,827.9 km (3,000 mi). Moreover, it called for spillways - floodplains designed to work in just the way the Atchafalaya Basin worked in the '27 flood. The government bought huge land tracts along the Atchafalaya River, and by Lake Pontchartrain north of New Orleans, and it designated them as floodplains. In case of serious flooding, shunts and locks would be opened to funnel millions of gallons of the river into huge holding areas, thereby alleviating the pressure onthe levees. The new policy recognized that, in times of serious high water, "floods [have] to be dispersed as well as confined" (Reuss 1998:105).

Ultimately, the flood resulted in an entirely new ideology regarding the control of the Mississippi River. The Mississippi Rivers and Tributaries Project (MR&T) began with the passing of the Flood Control Act of 1928, and it continues to this day. The 1928 Act included $325 million to be spent over 10 years - a figure that grew every year. Dozens of National Advisory and Congressional committees were established to advise on how to control the Big Muddy in the future. The Federal Government took control of almost every aspect of levee and flood works, save obtaining the rights of way for these public works. In Louisiana, the flood crisis helped inch Huey P. Long closer to the Governor's mansion. With a new governor, a new flood control plan and federal intervention, life along the Mississippi River would never be the same.

History of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

Tracing the history of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex presents several problems. The public records of the Parish document relatively few snippets of information regarding the evolution of either the community of Cannonburg or the Braziel Baptist Church. What little information that can be found in the preserved documents, combined with some oral history and the records of the church itself, presents a clear, if somewhat incomplete, picture of the development of the church.

Despite an exhaustive search, no Braziel Baptist church records predating the Civil War era were found as a result of the current investigation; however, this is not unusual for churches established by slaves prior to emancipation. In fact, given that the landowners in the area were overwhelmingly Catholic, it would be unique if slaves had been permitted to openly practice any religion other than Catholicism. Moreover, many Baptist preachers prior to emancipation specifically embraced freedom and resistance, making it a particularly threatening denomination to slave owners. Many slaves in Louisiana, however, did clandestinely form Baptist churches, especially in the sugar parishes, in opposition to the directives of the plantation owners. Consequently, it would not be surprising, and in fact could be considered likely, that the core of the Braziel Baptist Church formed prior to 1865.

Despite this speculation, the first extant documentation for the formation of the church was the ordination of James Tate as pastor of the "Bazil Baptist Church" in 1872. This was done in the presence of "the ministers . . . [and] the council," and states specifically that Reverend Tate was already "a member" of the church (Iberville Parish Courthouse, Miscellaneous Acts Book 3, Act 558, December 2, 1873). Hence, the church must have existed prior to 1872. The Reverend John Ashby represented Zion Traveler Churches in the examination and ordination. It is not clear where or why the term "Bazil," or Braziel, as it is now known, originated. It seems possible that this first written record was not a misprint or misspelling of the church's name, but an accurate phonetic spelling. The church may well have been named after the Reverend Basile Dorsey, an African American Baptist pioneer in Iberville Parish. Reverend Dorsey founded the first Baptist church in the parish, St. John's Baptist church, located in Dorseyville (named for Reverend Dorsey), just north of White Castle. In addition to the church, Reverend Dorsey built a school for African American children in the farming community that bears his name (*Iberville Post-South* 1994, 4-14-94).

Regardless of whether or not there was a connection to St. John's Church or the Reverend Dorsey, it is clear that the Braziel Baptist Church did have an association with the Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church in White Castle. The oral history concerning both churches confirms this connection, although there is some dispute about the nature and date of the interaction. A play, entitled "Heritage," written by Sister Mary D. Bridgewater and depicting the

"history of Mount Zion" was found at the Iberville Parish Library in Plaquemine, Louisiana. Probably drawn from years of oral history, it recounted from members of the congregation, the connection between the fledgling Baptist churches. Though no absolute time-frame is referenced, the play, set on Cora - Texas Plantation, just a few kilometers upriver from Cannonburg, takes place several years after slavery had ended. One key character in the play, the Elder A. L. Reese, is the pastor of the clandestine congregation. Prevented from worshipping in the open on Cora-Texas Plantation by the plantation owner, Mr. Whitelo, the members of the church decided to move to "Cannonburg," where the community held church "in the barn." The church members, all sharecroppers, relocated to Cannonburg, where they believed they could find work with either "Ware" (James Ware, owner of nearby Belle Grove plantation) or on Cannonburg (Bridgewater 1986:1-6).

According to Iberville Parish Courthouse records, Reverend Alexander L. Reese purchased property in the Cannonburg community on August 10,1888. On that same day, the Reverend Wesley Bryant, member and pastor of the Braziel Baptist Church, purchased property adjacent to or within a few hundred feet of the Reese purchase. The Bryant property included the land upon which the cemetery was built, and quite likely the first Braziel Baptist Church building as well. It is not clear whether Reese and Bryant pastored together, or whether one followed the other as minister to the Cannonburg congregation. When Reverend Bryant died intestate sometime prior to April 25, 1893, the expenses of his "funeral etc. were borne by the church of which the deceased had been the pastor" - almost certainly the Braziel Baptist Church (IBCC, Probate No. 13: Preliminary Statement). During this early period, then, James Tate was the first ordained pastor, followed by Wesley Bryant and Alexander Reese, although the order is not clear. Figure 25 is a timeline of Braziel Baptist Church Pastors.

In her history of Iberville Parish, Judy Riffel states that the Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, built in 1886, was the first church built in the town of White Castle. If this statement is accurate, Reverend Reese founded Mt. Zion prior to purchasing land in the Cannonburg community. Further, the play "Heritage" indicates that the Mt. Zion church community was forced to move from White Castle, where they had no church building. In contrast, the history of the Braziel Baptist Church holds that Mt. Zion was a "daughter church" to Braziel, born after "the first church was destroyed by a severe storm in 1909" (Braziel Baptist Church 1975). According to this documentation, the Reverend A.L. Reese and several members of the Braziel congregation "built the Mt. Zion Baptist Church at White Castle, Louisiana." The remainder of the Baptist congregation on Cannonburg rebuilt the church, under the leadership of Reverend Thomas Gross.

This same anniversary document indicates that the original name of the Braziel Baptist Church was Mt. Salem Church. Indeed, one map from ca. 1892 clearly depicts the "Mt. Salem Church" within the boundaries of the Cannonburg Plantation, i.e., in roughly the area purchased by Reverend Wesley Bryant (see Figure 22) (Department of Public Works 1892). This time frame suggests, however, that the church was first known as "Bazile" or "Brazile" in the Iberville Parish Courthouse, (IPCC Miscellaneous Acts Book 3, Act 558, December 2, 1873), changed to Mt. Salem sometime prior to 1892 (Department of Public Works 1892), and then the name was changed back to "Brazile" or "Braziel" sometime around 1909, when the new church was built (The Braziel Baptist Church 1975).

Very little information, oral or written, exists on the period between 1909 and 1932. Oral history suggests that several different pastors led the church during this period, although most members are unclear about when each minister led the congregation. Reverend Lemuel Lockett, no doubt related to Ms. Elizabeth and Mr. Noah Lockett, who owned property adjacent to the cemetery tract, was a minister at the church during this period. He appears to have been followed by Reverend Harold Hall (this name is unclear), since Ms. Velma Lockett testified that her father, Reverend Lemuel Lockett, was buried by Reverend Hall (Lockett 1999, informant interview). Also, according to Ms. Lockett, a Reverend Jackson was involved with moving the church, presumably in 1933 when the new levee was constructed. Reverend Jackson probably

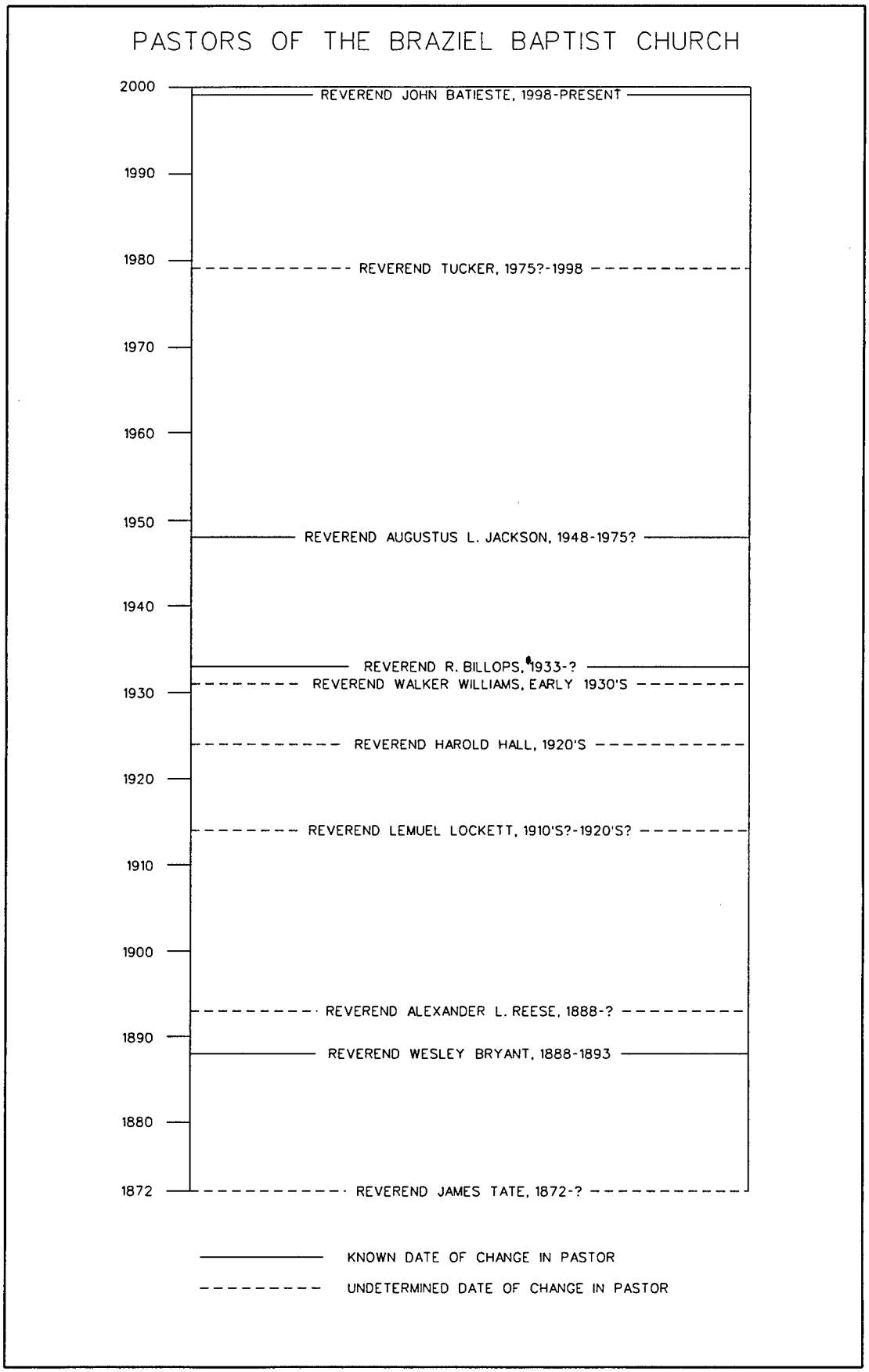


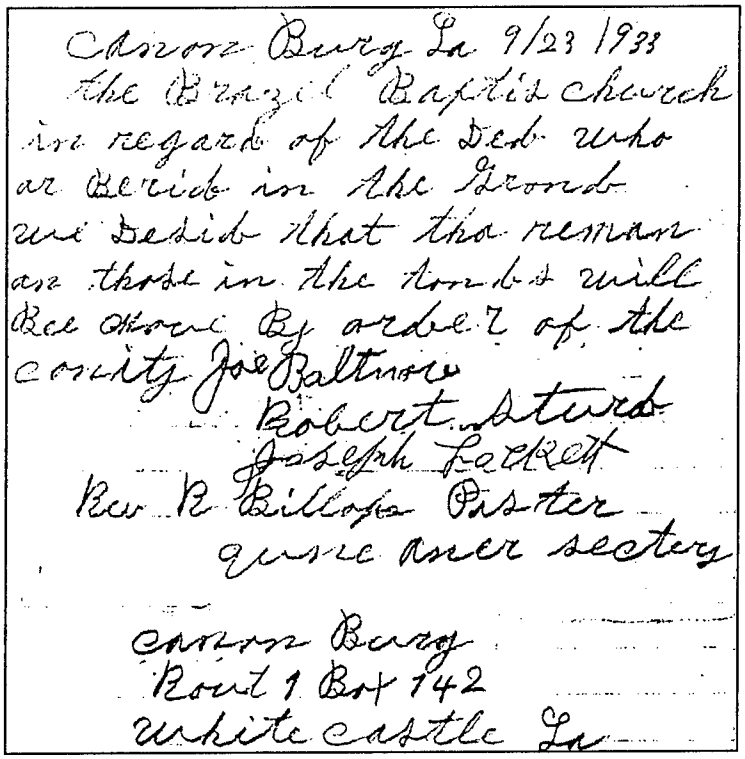
Figure 25. Time line depicting the known pastors of the Braziel Baptist Church.

refers to Reverend August Jackson, who ministered the church much later. A list of church members who probably pre-dated the church move in 1933 is contained in Table 4.

During the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, documents indicate several pastors were associated with the Braziel Baptist Church. "Reverend R. Billops, Pasor" signed a letter sent from the Braziel Baptist Church to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in 1933, indicating that the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was to be moved "by order of the comity" (Figure 26) (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, 9/23/1933). Also signing this letter, presumably members of a church governing committee, were Mr. Joe Baltimore, Mr. Robert Sturb, and Mr. Joseph Lockett. It seems likely that Reverend Billops followed Reverend Walker Williams, since during this period, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District addressed their correspondence to Reverend Walker Williams, "Brazil Baptist Church." Most likely, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District had out of date information regarding the stewardship of the church.

The church, which was built in or around 1909 "on the original . . . landmark," seems to have been the same building moved to its present location as a result of construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee in 1933. The building apparently was damaged in a storm in 1937 (Stevens 1999, informant interview), and later fixed. The Braziel Baptist Church apparently continued, albeit with a number of trials and tribulations, until 1948, when its membership had dwindled to 11 members. The Reverend Augustus L. Jackson, "a young, energetic minister" arrived in August of that year to revive the church. He succeeded against all odds.

It is only after 1948, when the church rebuilt its membership under Reverend Jackson, that the written records of the Braziel Baptist Church begin. In 1950, 33 members were added to the church, through two revivals, several new baptisms, and a few admitted through "experience of grace." By 1957, more than 100 mem-



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Joseph Lockett
Rev R Billops Pastor
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Rout 1 Box 142
White castle La

Figure 26. Letter from Joe Baltimore, Robert Sturb, Joseph Lockett and Reverend R. Billops of the Braziel Baptist Church, dated 9/23/33.

bers were listed on the active church roll, although it is unclear whether some of the congregation actually transfused from the Macedonia Baptist Church.

The church records, however, are incomplete. Several years between 1948 to the present are missing entirely; however, the extant records document that the church increased its membership throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, whereupon the membership remained steady, losing a few members each year to death or relocation. After this period, the Braziel Baptist Church suffered the same fate as many religious organizations in the latter half of the twentieth century, i.e., the membership decreased slowly, as members continued to leave the church without new members joining. Moreover, the rural Iberville Parish area struggled economically, and little employment opportunity existed in the region. This trend has continued, and while the current membership numbers are not clear from the examined records, it seems unlikely that the congregation numbers anywhere near its peak in the late 1950s. Reverend Jackson continued to minister to the Braziel Baptist Church congregation through at least 1975. He was followed by Reverend Tucker, who pastored for more than two decades. The current Pastor, Reverend John Batieste, has only ministered for a short time (see Figure 25).

Economy in the Vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

Land tenure within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex reflects the early twentieth century land use patterns associated with settlement along the Mississippi River and throughout southern Louisiana - agricultural dominance, particularly sugar cane cultivation, with most production in the hands of a few corporations. By 1921, several of the area plantations had converted former cane fields to grain fields, particularly rice; however, sugar cane unquestionably remained the predominant crop (see Figure 20) (Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer 1924:92, 1929:49; MRC 1921:67-68). In 1945, Iberville Parish recorded 10,522 ha (26,000 ac) planted in sugar cane, with only 809 ha (2,000 ac) under rice cultivation. Sugar cane fields at that time represented 50 percent of the cultivated acreage in the parish; of the balance, 30 percent was planted in corn and 20 percent in pasture, rice, hay, potatoes, and truck crops. Currently, sugar cane, soybeans, grain sorghum, pecans, and livestock (beef cattle and horses) are the chief agricultural products of Iberville Parish (Calhoun 1995:218; Draughon et al. 1995:5; Grace 1946:225).

Early in the century, increased quantities of corn, fruit, and pecans were produced in the parish. Cotton, grown during the early 1900s, had all but disappeared by 1940. Soybeans, initially planted with corn to replenish the soil, also became an important cash crop. Livestock breeding increased during the 1930s and 1940s; abandoned rice fields provided good pasturelands. By the 1960s, cattle production was second to sugar cane as a source of farm income (Iberville Parish Development Board 1964). Agriculture was the main occupation of Iberville Parish residents, and it employed over one half of the work force.

The sugar industry, as noted above, endured a difficult economic period between the Civil War and the first half of the twentieth century. In 1869, sugar production statewide had plummeted to less than fifteen per cent of the 1862 production totals. This drop occurred in the project area, as well. Production trends for the reach closely paralleled those of the state though 1889, as production steadily rose with economic improvements in and protection of the industry. Slowly, cane regained prominence in the sugar belt. By the end of 1945, sugar cane accounted for over 50 percent of all the cultivated land in the parish. Conversely, rice production in the parish dwindled significantly; by 1945, only 809 ha (2,000 ac) of land were devoted to rice cultivation, as opposed to the 10,522 ha (26,000 ac) planted in sugarcane (Iberville Parish Planning Board 1945:19-20).

Although agriculture has remained a local force through the twentieth century, the economic and physical landscape of the area that contains the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex began to change with the discovery of petroleum in the area. Escaping natural gas had been noticed at Point Pleasant during the late nineteenth century. In 1898, the ferryman there utilized a large gas seep, "with the aid of a can and jet," to light his Mississippi River night route (Grace 1946:189). In June of 1901, the White Castle Oil & Gas Company was established and it drilled a well; however, the located oil pockets were not commercially viable. Pe-

Table 4. Members of the Braziel Baptist Church, through 1933.

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	POSITION	SOURCE
Anthony	Ella		Braziel Baptist Church History
Antoine	Delphine		Braziel Baptist Church History
Ashley	John	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Baltimore	Cedonia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Baltimore	Joseph	Deacon	Braziel Baptist Church History, Interview-Velma Lockett Williams (Deacon)
Baltimore	Lawrence	Deacon	Braziel Baptist Church History
Baltimore	Mary		Braziel Baptist Church History
Baltimore	Sarah		Braziel Baptist Church History
Barrell	Albert		Braziel Baptist Church History
Barrell	Lizzie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Batiste	Anthony		Braziel Baptist Church History, Interview-New Orleans (Baptiste)
Batiste	Callie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Billups	Robert	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Brisco	Albert		Braziel Baptist Church History
Brisco	Corine		Braziel Baptist Church History
Brisco	Ed		Braziel Baptist Church History
Brisco	Sissie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Brown	Charley		Braziel Baptist Church History
Bryant	Lemuel		Interview-New Orleans
Bryant	Syed		Interview-New Orleans
Butler	F. C.	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Butler	Flora		Braziel Baptist Church History
Callon	Bessie Mae		Braziel Baptist Church History
Claiborne	Zeke	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Coleman	George		Braziel Baptist Church History
Cretchfield	Suzanne		Braziel Baptist Church History
Crutchfield	William		Braziel Baptist Church History
Dabney	Annie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Dabney	Jeanette		Braziel Baptist Church History
Daniels	Jimmie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Davis	Henrietta		Interview-Joe Davis
Davis	Joe		Interview-Joe Davis
Davis	Lillian		Interview-Joe Davis
Davis	Mary		Braziel Baptist Church History
Davis	Percy, Sr.		Braziel Baptist Church History
Davis	Theresa		Braziel Baptist Church History
Dent	Albert		Braziel Baptist Church History
Ellis	Bum Bee		Braziel Baptist Church History
Finds	Johnny		Braziel Baptist Church History
Ford	Billy		Braziel Baptist Church History
Foster	Eva Davis		Braziel Baptist Church History
Frank	Ceethel		Braziel Baptist Church History
French	Albert		Interview-New Orleans
French	Mary		Braziel Baptist Church History
Gant	Henrietta		Braziel Baptist Church History
Gant	Mose		Braziel Baptist Church History
Gant	Sharlette		Braziel Baptist Church History
Gibbs	Ida		Braziel Baptist Church History
Goff	Joseph, Jr.		Interview-New Orleans
Goff	Joseph, Sr.		Interview-New Orleans
Green	Everlena		Braziel Baptist Church History
Gross	Thomas	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Hall	Clara		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hall	Elnora		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hall	Joe		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hall	Ophelia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Harrell	A. L.	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Harris	Apt		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hearst	Sharlette		Braziel Baptist Church History
Henderson	Julia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Henderson	Leont		Braziel Baptist Church History

Table 4, continued

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	POSITION	SOURCE
Hills	Elnora		Interview-New Orleans
Hills	Joseph		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hills	Louis		Braziel Baptist Church History
Hoggins	Armstead		Braziel Baptist Church History
Houston		Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Howard	Alley		Braziel Baptist Church History
Howard	Joe		Interview-Velma Lockett Williams
Howard	Louanna		Interview-Velma Lockett Williams
Howard	Louis		Braziel Baptist Church History
Huddley	Buddy		Braziel Baptist Church History
Huddley	Nettie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Irons	Virginia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Jackson		Reverend	Interview-Velma Lockett Williams
Jones	David		Interview-New Orleans
Jones	Lettie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Julien	Annie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Julien	Beula		Braziel Baptist Church History
Julien	James		Braziel Baptist Church History, Interview-New Orleans (Anna)
Kirkland		Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Lee	Lucenda		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lee	Lucenda		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lee	Melvena		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lee	Melvene		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lee	Pleasant		Braziel Baptist Church History
Legarde	Joe		Braziel Baptist Church History
Little	Frank		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lockett	Azezra		Interview-Nellie Stewart
Lockett	Betsy		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lockett	Elizabeth		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lockett	Elizabeth (Miss)		Interview-New Orleans
Lockett	Elnora		Interview-New Orleans
Lockett	Joseph		Braziel Baptist Church History, Interview-Velma Lockett Williams (Lemuel)
Lockett	Limuel	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Lockett	Maraya		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lockett	Nellie		Interview-New Orleans
Lockett	Norah		Interview-New Orleans
Lockett	Robert		Interview-Velma Lockett Williams
Lockett	Velma		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lott	Adam		Interview-New Orleans
Lott	Redivie		Interview-New Orleans
Lotts	Adams		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lotts	Alexandria		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lotts	Beatrice		Braziel Baptist Church History
Lotts	Mary		Braziel Baptist Church History
Martin	Mary		Braziel Baptist Church History
Martin	Noah		Braziel Baptist Church History
McBride	Patsy	Moved to Mt. Zion Baptist	Interview-New Orleans
McZiel	Tony		Braziel Baptist Church History
Miller	D. M.	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Modell	Ida		Braziel Baptist Church History
Morris	Everlena		Braziel Baptist Church History
Phillips		Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Pierre	Mamie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Pierre	Permiller		Braziel Baptist Church History
Reese	A. L.	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Rieley	Alice		Braziel Baptist Church History
Sanders	Daisy		Braziel Baptist Church History
Scott	Millie		Braziel Baptist Church History
Scott	Pelton		Braziel Baptist Church History
Skeezer	Olevia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Spencer	Violet		Braziel Baptist Church History
Spencer	William		Braziel Baptist Church History

Table 4, continued

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	POSITION	SOURCE
Steward	Ida		Braziel Baptist Church History, Interview-New Orleans (Stewart)
Steward	Robert		Braziel Baptist Church History
Stewart	Vesuvia		Interview-New Orleans
Thayer	Mintz		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thomas	Julia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thomas	Mitchell		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thomas	N. R.		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thomas	Victoria		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thompson	Adolph		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thompson	Joseph		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thompson	Julia		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thompson	N. M.		Braziel Baptist Church History
Thompson	Nathan		Interview-New Orleans
Tucker	Alberta	Moved to Mt. Zion Baptist	Interview-Velma Lockett Williams
Tucker	Amelia	Moved to Mt. Zion Baptist	Interview-New Orleans
Tucker	Gordon	Moved to Mt. Zion Baptist	Interview-New Orleans
Tucker	Walter	Moved to Mt. Zion Baptist	Interview-New Orleans
Tucker		Reverend	Interview-New Orleans
Washington	Charley		Braziel Baptist Church History
Washington	Charley		Interview-New Orleans
Washington	Elijah		Braziel Baptist Church History
Westerly	Jim		Braziel Baptist Church History
White	Anthony		Interview-New Orleans
White	Cloat		Braziel Baptist Church History
White	Irene		Braziel Baptist Church History
Williams	Claire		Interview-Nellie Stewart
Williams	Elvira		Braziel Baptist Church History
Williams	Fisher		Braziel Baptist Church History
Williams	Frank	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History
Williams	Mariah		Braziel Baptist Church History
Williams	Walker	Reverend	Braziel Baptist Church History

troleum exploration did not begin in earnest in Iberville Parish until 1926, when salt domes were discovered southwest of White Castle (just a few kilometers upriver of the project area) and at Bayou Bouillon, or Bayou Larompe. Today, the Point Pleasant Gas Field and the Laurel Ridge Oil and Gas Fields extend into or very near the project area. Across the river, the primary pool of the St. Gabriel petroleum field dominates the industry of the area (Grace 1946:189-190; Louisiana Department of Transportation and Development 1994; Riffel 1985:58). The Georgia Gulf Corporation and Ashland Chemical, Inc., have facilities in the region, as well as Fina/CosMar plant (shared site of the Fina Oil and Chemical Co. and the CosMar Company); Arcadian Fertilizer, L.P.; Allied Signal, Inc., and the Geismar Complex (Draughon et al. 1995; DTC, Inc. 1992a). The banks of the Mississippi River have been transformed by the evolution of the petroleum and chemical industries in Iberville Parish.

Africa Plantation and the Rise of Benevolent Societies in Louisiana

One of the most innovative and unique developments in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was the creation of Africa Plantation in the 1920s from the land once known as Babin Plantation. As a means of combating the devastating effects of the tenancy system, Dr. John Harley Lowry, the first African American physician in Ascension Parish, organized a benevolent society dedicated to helping other first-generation freedmen seize and maintain economic control of their lives. The Grand and Glorious International Order of Brothers & Sisters of Love & Charity purchased the former Babin plantation, on Philadelphia Point (just a few kilometers downriver from the

current Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex) in 1919. Within a few years, more than 200 African Americans - including the children of former Babin Plantation slaves - lived on renamed "New Africa Farm." The benevolent society eliminated tenancy, replacing it with a cooperative model of farming. Members raised rice, sugar, strawberries and figs, as well as livestock on the 182 ha (450 ac) plot. By 1932, more than twenty buildings dotted the plantation, including a large school (Figure 27).

Benevolent societies were organizations designed to aid newly freed men and women during this transition from slavery to freedom. According to a 1906 law passed by the State of Louisiana, a benevolent society was defined as a group that "assembled in halls and required members to attend meetings" (Jacobs 1980:51). This, however, does not fully define their role. One historian of such African American organizations suggests that, "researchers have described the black associations as being a further institutionalization of differences that structured [African American] social life during particular eras. These distinctions most often reflected slave or free status, social class, religious affiliation, and color." (Jacobs 1980:88) Walker defined benevolent societies as:

> Mutual aid organizations [that] perform something of the function usually associated with health and life insurance. The existence of these organizations, commonly known as benevolent societies, is an interesting response to a sense of insecurity, as well as a lack of means of providing medical services and death benefits for low income groups (Walker 1937:18).

Perhaps the best definition of African American benevolent societies would be a synthesis of these descriptions. Benevolent societies were social organizations constructed mainly by African Americans for African Americans. Originally they were intended to help smooth the transition between the slave society and the new free society in the post-Civil War south. The benevolent societies of this period provided

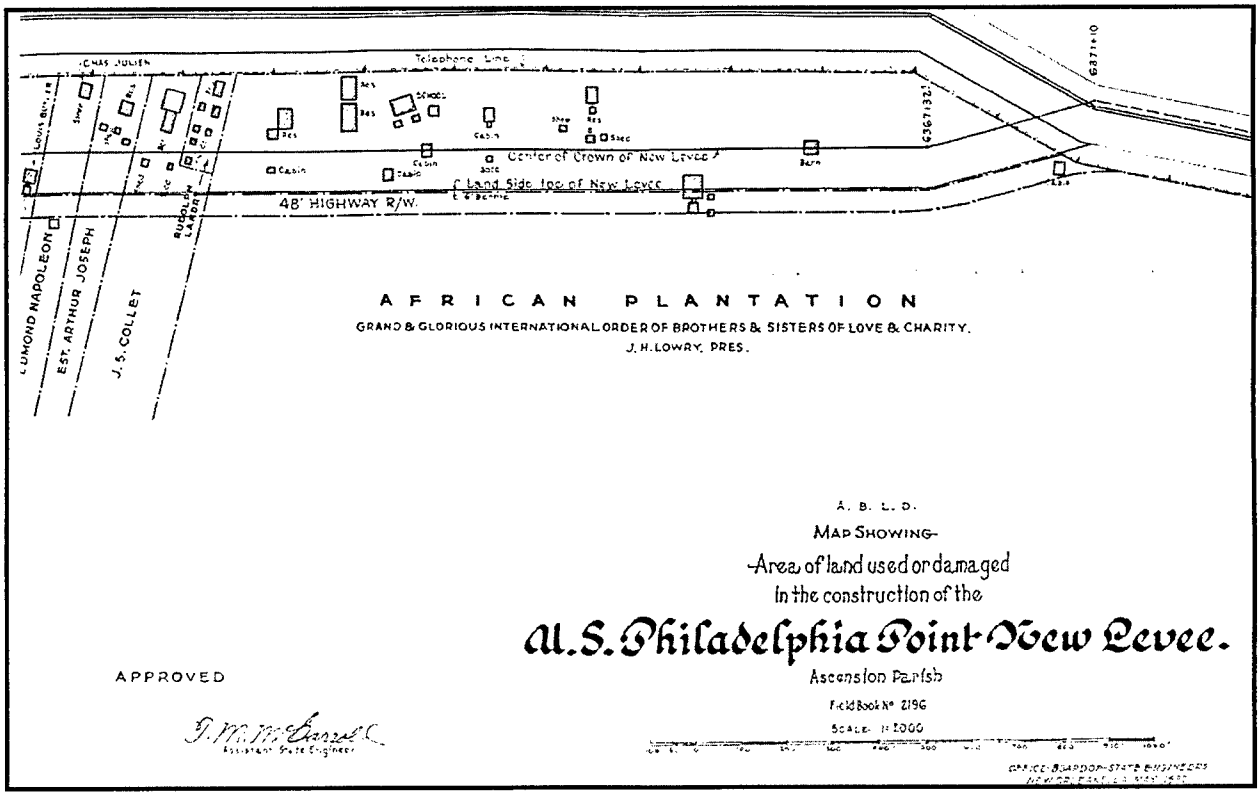


Figure 27. **Africa Plantation collective and Benevolent Society, ca. 1932. Note the Central Agriculture School (Louisiana Department of Transportation and Development, Baton Rouge, LA).**

services that were denied African Americans within American society.

"It would seem that the original benevolent societies sprung from neighbors, co-workers, [or] church members...who organized either for social purposes or in response to problems directly associated with illness and death" (Walker 1937). A combination of features, including the lack of social interaction among slaves and freedmen, storms, floods, disease, and generally poor conditions, were causal to the formation of benevolent societies. In Louisiana,

> [Natural disasters, the 1833 cholera epidemic, and recurring yellow fever epidemics] provided a fertile field for the development of mutual aid organizations in the southeastern section of Louisiana. It was also in this section that the influence of Catholicism with its emphasis upon the observance of certain religious forms, especially the proper burying of the dead, was greatest (Walker 1936:23).

Some historians have traced the origins of African American benevolent societies well into the antebellum era, finding their basic tenets buried in Calvinism and the Great Awakening of the 1830s. Through these religious origins, "the doctrine of the possibility of individual and universal societal perfection through the practice of benevolence came to be interpreted by them to mean that [African Americans] should help other [African Americans]" (Jacobs 1980:84). In either case, it is impossible construct an overview of benevolent societies without linking them to the influence of the surrounding churches within Louisiana.

In Louisiana, churches were quite often the anchor for mutual aid organizations:

> A great many of these societies developed around the church which was in itself an agency looked to for aid when misfortune overtook a person . . . . The greater freedom of the church following the emancipation of the slaves gave ample opportunity for the widespread development of benevolent societies among [African Americans] . . . The . . . preacher was the natural leader in organizing these groups. For a long time the membership of the organizations was restricted to the members of a particular church or group of churches in a community (Walker 1936:28-29).

Many benevolent societies were, in fact, "quasi-religious" organizations. Many opened their meeting with prayer and required their members to be moral, upstanding citizens. Conversely, some societies denied membership to certain individuals whose morality did not meet the standards of the group (Jacobs 1980).

The New Africa Farm Society functioned in a fashion similar to many other African American benevolent societies of the time. Members paid a small amount into the group weekly (maintained in a membership book), and in the case of illness, the Society paid all medical costs. When a member died, the Society would pay the expenses of the funeral (Hambrick 2000, informant interview).

In addition to caring for members of the Society, the New Africa Farm contributed to the welfare of other African Americans in Ascension Parish. The farm donated excess crops from the harvest to local sharecroppers who couldn't feed their families. The Society also sought to expand their holdings throughout the early twentieth century, by purchasing land in South America and participating in the Marcus Garvey "Back to Africa" movement by investing in settlements in Liberia (Hambrick 2000, informant interview).

Like the society on New Africa Farm, African American benevolent societies played a crucial role in the transition from slavery to freedom. Beginning in the eighteenth century, and continuing well into the twentieth, benevolent societies "were to be found everywhere" (Jacobs 1980:86). This being said, the Braziel Baptist Church, an African American church able to trace its roots back to the last part of the nineteenth century, quite possibly was affiliated with one or more benevolent societies. These societies played an instrumental role in the formation of African American society during this period, quite often growing out of religious groups.

After the conclusion of the Civil War, the social and economic systems of the South were altered radically. Without slave labor, the plantation economy underwent drastic change. This change necessitated a new worldview, for both white planters and African Americans. African

Americans were thrust into a world that presented many difficulties. Although the long struggle for freedom was over, the struggle for acceptance and opportunity in American society was only beginning. Benevolent societies became both catalyst and outlet for this transition. In effect, they were instruments for carving new relationships in the new society.

By far the most important challenge facing benevolent societies was the incredibly high mortality rate among African Americans during the late nineteenth century (Jacobs 1980). Out of this challenge grew one very important aspect of the society: the ability to care for the sick. According to one source, "benevolent societies were formed for the express purpose of succoring the sick and burying the dead" (Walker 1936:33).

Death benefits, and control of the rituals associated with burial, were an important step toward remaking a social order out of the chaos of slavery. During the antebellum period, slave owners and overseers controlled the symbolism associated with death and burial. This control assured the reinforcement of the master-slave relationship over familial and communal attachments. Restructuring those rituals during and after Reconstruction allowed freedmen and women to choose their own social order. This community was reinforced through the attendance and cooperation of benevolent society members upon the death of a colleague:

> Besides seeing that the ill were attended, the other major responsibility of the relief committee [of the society] was to guarantee proper functioning of the society upon the death of a member. When this occurred, the head of this committee was notified in order to inform the rest of the organization, help make funeral arrangements, and begin collecting special taxes to pay whatever benefit was due to the family of the deceased (Jacobs 1980:104).

The primary function of benevolent societies was providing for those who could not provide for themselves. In addition to death and burial benefits, societies "provided weekly cash sick benefits, medical service and medicine" (Walker 1936:166). In many cases this constituted having a society doctor(s), a society druggist(s), and a society undertaker (Jacobs 1980).

Health and life insurance may have been the first benefits of benevolent society membership, but the benefits associated with these groups expanded quickly. As they did, they evolved into social organizations. They planned outings to cities, picnics, parades, and other trips. In some cases, the pageantry associated with the parades was as much a selling point for membership as the actual benefits (Walker 1936). Moreover, with "Jim Crow" laws becoming embedded in Southern society, social outings were less readily available to individual African Americans. More importantly, this social bonding, done in public spaces, provided both entertainment and the public performance of a new social order. Through the benevolent society, they were able to expand their social lives to include not only new experiences, but also enlarged public access. Further, in an otherwise bleak existence in the post-Civil War agricultural south, it allowed for relaxation and socializing outside of the fields.

A final role of benevolent societies was job training. Since the benevolent society was a completely independent organization, it necessitated the use of membership labor. This meant that a certain amount of the membership had to be literate. To insure literacy among its members, the Grand and Glorious International Order of Brothers & Sisters of Love & Charity, for example, founded a school. This school, The Central Agriculture School, was modeled after the Booker T. Washington industrial education plan, which advocated industrial and technical schools over formal education for African Americans. The four-room building catered both to children and adults of the Society who had been deprived of educational opportunity.

The structure of a society also:

> provided a means of imparting skills of organization . . . [they] had constitutions . . . kept minutes of meetings, and [had to] know basic bookkeeping techniques . . . . While in many of the smaller organizations these efforts must have been crude at best, in others there existed a high degree of sophistication (Jacobs 1980:108).

Although in Iberville Parish most organizations were certainly "smaller organizations," Jacobs' point remains valid. Only through a concerted

effort by the membership of these societies could they continue as social organizations. Since the leadership of a society was drawn only from the rolls of its members, some of the members had to learn new skills to perform these tasks. In any case, these were job skills freedmen and women would not learn as field laborers. Benevolent societies were a primary means for African Americans to obtain training in skilled, "white collar" labor.

Membership in a benevolent society was not free. In some cases very complex fees and dues were established. These membership dues could be paid monthly, weekly, or quarterly. Moreover, "the failure to make a regular payment of dues over a length of time eventually resulted in a member being declared 'unfinancial' and ineligible to receive society benefits" (Jacobs 1980:93). One example of the complex nature of membership dues can be found in the Dues and Assessment Journal of *Francs Amis*, a New Orleans benevolent society, during the years 1918-1926 (Jacobs 1980:92):

1) Monthly Dues	$1.00
2) Funeral tax-paid upon death of a member	$1.00
3) Membership application fee	$1.00
4) Funeral Absence fee	$0.50
5) Badge and Copy of constitution	$0.35
6) Doctor's Fee-each quarter	$0.25
7) Banquet tax	$0.25
8) Meeting absence fine	$0.10
9) Special tax to benefit treasury	$0.10

In addition to these dues, specific members could be assessed individual taxes for talking out of turn or insulting an officer of the Society, based on the individual bylaws of the society (Jacobs 1980). It was through the collection of these dues and taxes that benevolent societies were able to provide services to their members. It is important to note, however, that the size and economic status of the membership vastly influenced the abilities of the individual society to offer benefits outside of simple health and life insurance.

As implied by the "application fee," membership was selective. Selection, however, was not necessarily based on the same guidelines as an insurance company. In fact, some societies were quite selective:

> although membership in the societies was not based on actuarial principles, affiliation with a group was not automatic. Any candidate was required first to file a request for membership, accompanied by a one dollar application fee, and later submit a doctor's certificate. Individuals were rejected on the basis of age, person's conduct, life style, or values (Jacobs 1980:90).

Obviously, the economic circumstances of the member would influence his ability to stay affiliated with a society.

In his 1936 study of African American benevolent societies in New Orleans, Walker conducted a survey of 76 benevolent societies. He determined that, "the greatest proportion of the males, 36.4%, were unskilled laborers. Skilled workers and foremen, and semi-skilled workers ranked next, each [accounting for] . . . 13.1%." He also found that "46% of female society members were unemployed" (Walker 1936:59). In effect, this means that between one half to two thirds of the 1930s membership in the benevolent societies he studied were unemployed or working class. When one extrapolates this data to include the outlying parishes, with sharecropping as the primary labor opportunity for African Americans, the number of benevolent society members who lived in poverty probably increased substantially. It is quite possible that the number of rural benevolent society members who lived in poverty could be as high as 75 percent. For many, the benevolent society represented one of the few organizations taking an active role in the welfare of African Americans.

The Walker study was performed toward the end of the heyday of the benevolent society (1936). Membership numbers were dwindling from their peaks of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Advances in medicine, business opportunities, and integration all weakened the need for such organizations. Some societies merged as membership declined, and others evolved into companies targeting African American business. For example, "the first [African American] insurance company in the city [New Orleans], Unity, organized in 1906, was the result of a merger of three benevolent societies" (Jacobs 1980:52). Other African American insurance companies would soon follow.

Furthermore, motivated probably more by financial reasons than egalitarian concerns, larger insurance companies began offering policies to African Americans. Clinics operated by the individual insurance companies opened soon after, as a means of attracting new policyholders. Further, the so-called "street societies" a synthesis of an insurance company and a benevolent society also detracted from the membership of the benevolent society (Walker 1936). These street societies operated without meetings and collected dues on a weekly basis, going from door to door. For instance, the St. John Berchman's Association had weekly premiums that entitled members to doctor visits, medicine, weekly relief, and burial. Burials consisted of a hearse, three limousines, and a complete burial including a shroud, casket, and embalming, for $0.25 a week (Walker 1936).

Although some benevolent societies still exist today, the curtain call came in the 1950s, as African American opportunity for civil action expanded. As more African Americans entered the political arena, the opportunities provided by a benevolent society were no longer accessible only through membership in the society. The social security administration and "social welfare" programs offered by companies began to fulfill some of the obligations of the societies. Moreover, several generations of community building and social organization dramatically improved conditions for African Americans (Jacobs 1980). The combination of these factors eventually made most benevolent societies obsolete, except for social purposes. With their membership decreasing steadily, many benevolent societies simply faded away.

It is impossible to underestimate the formative role played by benevolent societies in the formation of African American society in the post-Civil War south. As Blassingame states, "while the societies were not political organizations, they did provide a setting in which [African Americans] could discuss social issues" (Blassingame 1973:377). Further, "they provided an ideology which helped strengthen and unify the [African American] community" (Jacobs 1980:111). These societies, for many African Americans, were the only means of social outreach and community formation. In the years between the close of the Civil War and the Great Depression, when African Americans had little control of their economic and political fates, benevolent societies provided a strong sense of community as well as financial assistance with sickness, death and burial, and leisure activities.

After World War II and the subsequent end of the Depression, the popularity of Benevolent Societies and cooperative farms waned in Ascension Parish. Leonard Julien, an African American farmer and inventor, purchased the New Africa Farm. Mr. Julien invented a machine for planting sugar cane in 1964, thereby revolutionizing the time and labor required for the planting season. In an ironic twist, the Africa Plantation house, of double importance to the history of Ascension Parish for its notable former owners, is now part of a plantation museum. The River Road African American Museum is part of the new tourist economy of Ascension Parish. It is the only plantation resource available that addresses directly the condition of African Americans during and after slavery.

Summary

Historical research into the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex revealed certain significant themes in the regional history that also are essential to understanding historic period archeological remains that may exist in that area. These themes include: the initial Acadian settlement of the eighteenth century and the lifestyle of the subsistence farmer who resided in the area; antebellum economic development, which saw a rise in sugar planting and plantation culture throughout the state and in the river region project area; and the consolation of small farms into large plantations, due in part to the exigencies of sugar cultivation.

Although there is a virtual absence of historical and archeological data relating to the antebellum lumber industry, fragmentary evidence exists that lumbering occurred on a scale beyond the mere clearing of fields along the banks of the Mississippi River within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Grace 1946:90).

Themes relevant to the postbellum period include the movement towards rice cultivation; the shift back to sugar during the late nineteenth century; and, the gradual trend towards centralized sugar manufacture, which led to the even-

tual elimination of sugar processing in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. This centralization enabled small farmers to stay in business and, consequently, brought about some reversal of the trend towards consolidated land holdings. Moreover, significant social and labor changes of necessity changed the region permanently.

Consolidation, however, was the dominant land use pattern in the sugar producing areas of Louisiana. Iberville and Ascension Parishes remain two of the foremost sugar producing parishes in Louisiana. Agriculture has dominated the economy of the parish since its initial settlement, and sugar has been the dominant crop for more than 150 years. Now, the area is dotted with petrochemical properties, and traversed by a number of oil and gas pipelines. With the exception of petroleum exploitation and the petrochemical industry, it does not appear that agriculture, led by sugar cultivation, will lose its place of preeminence within economy of the project area within the near future.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC WORKS AND LEVEE IMPROVEMENTS WITHIN THE PROJECT VICINITY

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of public works and levee improvements as they relate to the construction and maintenance of the Mississippi River mainline levee system. This overview chronicles that period of time extending from the inception of the artificial flood control system to the modern era. It discusses such topics as flood control and water management, labor forces used in levee construction and maintenance, construction methods utilized to build the existing levees, artificial flood control construction specifications, a summary of bids and contracts to build levees within the vicinity of the project parcel, and the building of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee and its effects on the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

Flood Control and River Management

In the earliest days of levee construction, small artificial flood control structures were built along the Mississippi River in an attempt to keep the spreading riverine settlements throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries free from flooding. During the French occupation of the area all landowners with holdings along the Mississippi River were required to clear their sections of the Mississippi River bankline of obstructions and erect 1.8 m (6 ft) wide levees. Early levee specifications required that both foot and bridle paths extend along the landward side of the artificial flood control structures; however, these were the only requirements imposed on landowners (Surrey 1916:92). The individual landowner largely determined the design of the levee and method of construction, and as a result, the quality of the levees varied considerably throughout the region. This is in part because landowners were not trained properly to build levees adequate to the task of holding back the Mississippi River during high water (Figure 28).

The early Mississippi River levee system generally was in a poor state of repair and it was unable to contain high floodwaters. Breaks and crevasses in the flood control system were common, and they resulted in the flooding of the lands they were meant to protect, destroying crops, ruining property, and even taking lives. In general, the building and maintaining of levees was a costly burden for landowners to bear; they were forced out of necessity to maintain the levee system with no forthcoming reimbursement (Humphreys and Abbot 1867; Elliott 1932b). By 1808, the United States strengthened the rules governing levee construction and maintenance by giving parish governments the authority to auction off property if the landowners refused to maintain levees. The money received from the sale of property not properly maintained allowed for the repair of the levees by local governments (Bryant et al. 1982).

In the late 1840s, the state of Louisiana passed laws designed to normalize levee con-

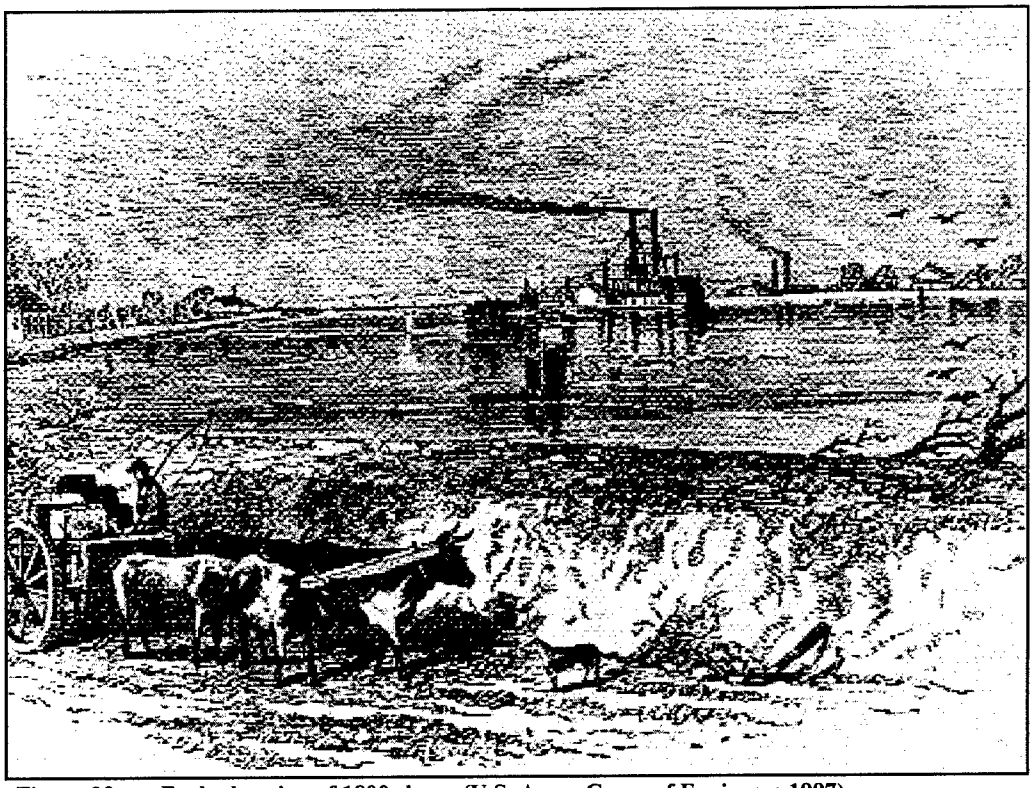


Figure 28. Early drawing of 1800s levee (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1997).

struction practices on a statewide basis by regulating maintenance schedules and providing construction specifications, e.g., minimum basal dimensions were dependant upon the height of the levee, while the stability of the riverbank determined the minimum levee distance from the river. In addition, a mandate required the placement of all borrow pits to the riverside of the levee, and at least 6 m (20 ft) from the toeslope of the flood control structure. Further, palmetto or picket fencing was required to protect the levee against erosion. Fences were placed along the front of the extant levees. While these laws were not enforced strictly, they represent first steps toward creating a standardized levee system that eventually guaranteed the quality and reliability of the Mississippi mainline levees (Humphreys and Abbot 1867).

Beginning in the 1850s, the government shouldered an increased role in the maintenance and construction of the Mississippi River mainline levee system. In 1854, the Louisiana state legislature created four levee districts and it organized the Board of Swamp Land Commissioners. The board was responsible for levee construction and maintenance; however, even the newly revised 1856 Louisiana statutes still required individual landowners to build and maintain their respective sections of the levee system. Within five years of the establishment of the Board of Swamp Land Commissioners, the Board of Public Works came to head the four levee districts. Its role was much the same as that of its predecessor and it was equally as effective in maintaining the aging levee system. In 1871, the legislature replaced the floundering Board of Public Works with the Board of State Engineers, and it charged the new board with designing public works projects to improve river navigation, flood control, and drainage. The legislature further "authorized police juries to pass ordinances regarding the maintenance of levees, appoint levee inspectors, and assess taxes for levee construction and maintenance" (Reuss 1998:46).

These were two important federal reports written prior to the Civil War that discussed the need for a comprehensive Mississippi River flood

control and navigation management system (Elliot 1852; Humphreys and Abbot 1867). Each report highlighted the inadequacies of the extant levee system, and both stressed the need for change in the way the levees were constructed and maintained. While little immediate action was taken in response to either of these two reports, the devastating 1867 and 1874 floods underscored the need for federal involvement in the perennial problem. In response to the 1874 flood, the federal government formed the "Levee Commission" to study the issue and to make recommendations for improving the extant levee system. The 1875 Levee Commission report determined that the Mississippi River mainline levee system was defective for five major reasons: 1) a severely flawed organization scheme, 2) insufficient levee grades, 3) poor construction techniques and improperly selected cross sections, 4) faulty locations, and 5) an insufficient system for inspection and protection. The Commission prepared a cost estimate for repairing the levee system, but it emphasized that the repaired system still would be unsatisfactory. The Commission also recommended that a permanent levee system be constructed; however they stressed the construction of a new system would cost in excess of 13 times the cost of repairing the old system (Elliott 1932b; Reuss 1998). Consequently, no attempt was made by the federal government to act upon these recommendations for several years.

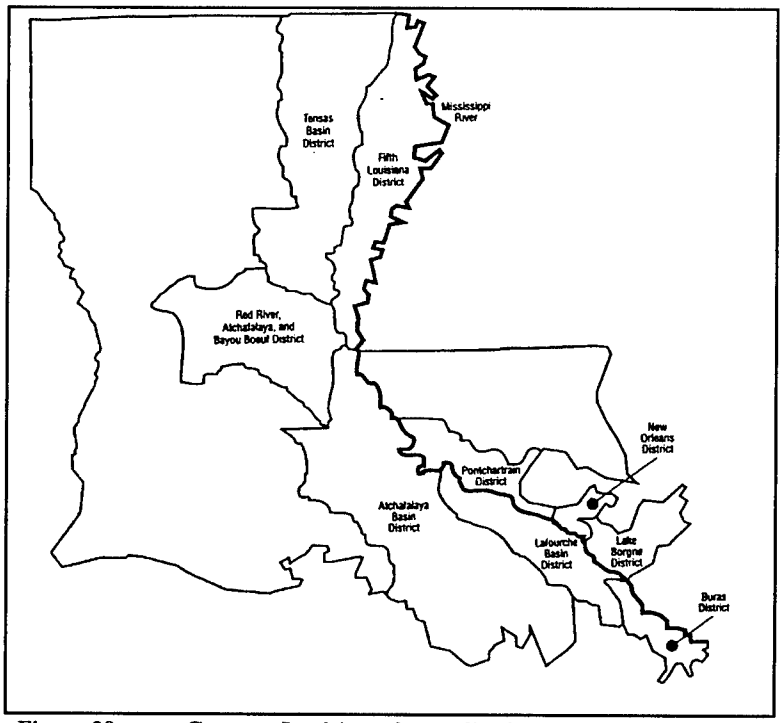


Figure 29. **Current Louisiana levee districts subject to Mississippi River floods (Reuss 1998:61).**

The three-year period between 1877 and 1879 was witness to indecisive legislation concerning the control of levees. Jurisdiction wavered between the Board of State Engineers and the local police juries. In addition, the four original levee districts in Louisiana were subdivided to form five districts and each was authorized to levy taxes on landowners. The actual control of the levees, however, remained in the hands of the juries. Later, the six district levee system, created in 1879, formed the framework of the Louisiana levee management program (Reuss 1998) (Figure 29). Louisiana later subdivided the 4th Levee District and it formed the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District (1890).

The Atchafalaya Basin Levee District encompassed Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge, and Terrebonne Parishes in their entirety, as well as portions of Iberville, Ascension, Assumption, Lafourche, St. Martin, St. Mary, Iberia, and St. Landry Parishes. The district encompassed approximately 1,212,076.5 ha (2,995,000 ac) of land and it maintained 181.4 km (112.7 mi) of levees along the Mississippi River alone (Louisiana Agency Publication 1932-34:69). The district was charged with obtaining rights-of-way prior to new levee construction, assessing taxes on landowners, and other related duties within portions of both the Atchafalaya and Mississippi River systems. Overall, the six levee districts were under the control of the Board of State Engineers until 1940, when that agency was replaced by the Department of Public Works.

In 1879, the Federal government became involved directly in Mississippi River flood control construction and navigation improvement through the formation of the Mississippi River Commission. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was the means through which the Mississippi

River Commission accomplished its tasks. After the formation of the Mississippi River Commission, local levee districts obtained rights-of-way for federal construction projects and they continued to construct and maintain levee construction projects that fell outside of the jurisdiction of the Mississippi River Commission. By forcing monies to be spent solely on projects that aided river navigation, the River and Harbor Bill of 1881 restricted the Mississippi River Commission from constructing a permanent levee system that focused on protecting various areas from floods. Construction of levees were for the purpose of confining floodwaters within the river channel, thereby forcing the enlargement of the channel and improving the Mississippi River for navigation.

After the devastating flood of 1882, the Mississippi River Commission devoted both labor and money toward increasing existing levee grades and toward constructing an unbroken line of levees along the banks of the Mississippi River. The Mississippi River Commission gradually increased the section, or standard height, of the levees to allow for the containment of increasingly higher flood water levels (Figure 30). Until the passage of the River and Harbor Bill of 1890, however, the Mississippi River Commission still was hampered in its efforts in that it had to justify all construction on the basis of improving navigation of the Mississippi River trunk channel. With this restriction removed in 1890, the Mississippi River Commission was able to implement flood control construction directed toward the protection of land and property and not just improved navigation (Elliott 1932b).

Despite renewed efforts at constructing more substantial flood control structures, previous levee heights and protective measures proved inadequate during the floods of 1912 and 1913. As a result, the Mississippi River Commission adopted a new standard, increasing levee height by 0.91 m (3 ft) over the 1912 high water mark (Figure 30). In addition, the flood control acts of 1917 and 1928 substantially increased the jurisdiction of the Federal government over flood control and river maintenance construction. In addition to authorizing the construction of levees by the Mississippi River Commission, the 1917 Flood Control Act required that local interests pay at least one-third of construction costs, furnish all rights-of-way for new levees, and pay for

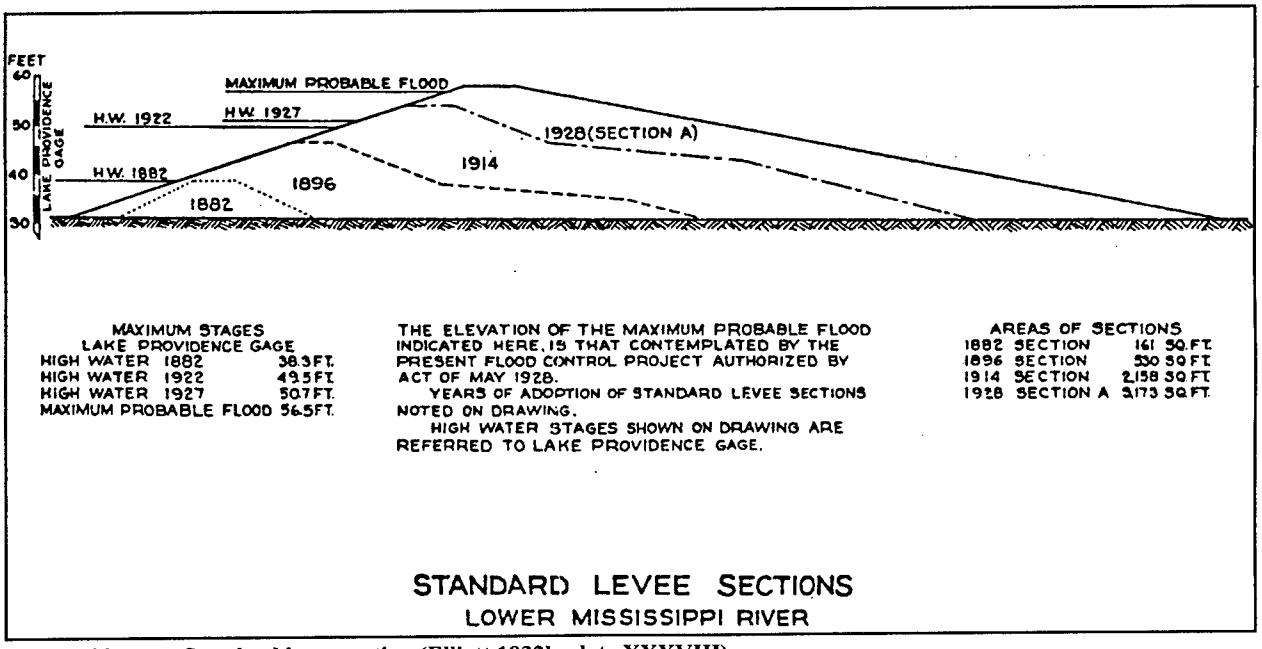


Figure 30. Standard levee section (Elliott 1932b:plate XXXVIII).

the maintenance of all completed construction projects; these new measures, however, were not sufficient enough to solve the existing problems. The destruction caused by the inundation of 59,565.4 km^2 (23,000 mi^2) by the Flood of 1927 forced the adoption of the 1928 Flood Control Act. Under this Act, all construction costs for providing new levees, or upgrades of existing levees were assumed by the United States, while local levee boards still were responsible for obtaining construction rights-of-way and for developing a levee inspection and maintenance system.

Controversy raged for the next several years concerning federal reimbursements to the local districts for obtaining the rights-of-way required to construct the levee system. Until this debate was settled, the levee districts throughout the state still were required to obtain land necessary to implement the levee construction projects. Although money was not forthcoming, the 1930 Amendment to the Flood Control Act provided for reimbursements to levee districts for cost incurred by the 1927 and subsequent floods. Moreover, the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 increased pressure on local levee boards to acquire more land for levee construction. Between 1932 - 1934, 63.29 km (39.33 mi) of new levee and 29.27 km (18.19 mi) of levee enlargement were completed by the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, at a total cost of $2,954,823.76 (Louisiana Agency Publications 1932-34:71-73). With no funds available for payment to landowners, the local districts, including the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, used certificates of indebtedness to pay for the appropriated lands. The certificate holder received a five to six percent interest rate on the debt owed by the levee district. Defaults or deferments by the local boards on certificates were typical throughout this period, while the depression era economy often forced some holders to sell certificates for less than their face value (Reuss 1998). By 1934, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District alone had $980,040.12 in outstanding certificates of indebtedness (Louisiana Agency Publications 1932-34:73). The 1934 Amendment resolved the issue by providing payments to local districts for appropriated levee rights-of-way; advancing the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District $65,915.00 to meet the costs associated with acquiring necessary rights-of-way (Elliott 1932b; Harrison 1961; Shannon et al. 1988; Werlein 1956).

Labor Used During Levee Construction

The passage of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 provided for the authorization of emergency construction projects, i.e., flood control projects, with the aim of providing employment for a large number of people pursuant to the policy of the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931. The Employment Stabilization Act gave preference to ex-servicemen with dependants over other skilled labor. In addition, no prison labor could be associated directly with the construction projects; however, this stipulation was difficult to enforce. All correspondence and contract requirements related to levee work by the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex enforced these provisions.

Minor regulations also referred to the number of hours a man was allowed to work per day or week; however, due to the emergency nature of many of the levee contracts the eight-hour workday was not enforced. In fact, many men worked 11 hours a day; the workweek however, generally did not exceed 30 hours (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 24 September 1932, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland; Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, District Order No. 22, 1 September 1932, Miscellaneous A. 2/2-651, Ft. Worth, Texas). In addition, the utilization of two or three work shifts was common; in fact, a newspaper account relating to a levee setback being constructed upriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex reported that the contractor operated under a 24-hour schedule, using multiple shifts of workers (*The Weekly Iberville South* 22 July 1933a:1). Despite the pressure contractors were under to complete the flood control structures, no work was conducted on Sundays or on national holidays, thereby giving the workers some needed respite.

To determine pay scales, the labor force was divided into two classifications, unsubsisted and subsisted labor (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, District Order No. 22, 9/1/32, Miscellaneous A. 2/2-651, Ft. Worth, Texas). While it is

unclear exactly what the two labor classes signified, documentation referring to the construction of locks and dams provide a close comparison (National Archives and Research Administration II, Circular Letter No. 156, 9/26/33, RG77, E124, Box 6, College Park, Maryland). Subsisted labor wages were designed to support the more experienced employee, and this equaled the pay received by semiskilled laborers. These were men who could drive a truck and unload wagons, handle the horse teams and prepare the levee foundation. In general, apprentices or helpers who worked under the direction of more skilled laborers also received this wage. The subsisted worker received a set rate of $0.32 per hour.

The pay scales ranged from $0.20 to $0.35 for the unsubsisted laborer, who in theory constituted both the skilled and unskilled work force (National Archives and Research Administration II, Circular Letter No. 156, 9/26/33, RG77, E124, Box 6, College Park, Maryland). Skilled employees probably were dragline and tower machine operators, surveyors and technicians, as well as machinists. The manual worker most likely fell under the category of unskilled labor. The latter would have done the clearing and grubbing for the foundation, as well as the hand labor required in unloading and transporting equipment, supplies, and fuel to and from the work site.

During the Depression, the rate of employment was a hot political topic, and in 1933, thousands of men were employed on emergency flood control projects. In July of that year, men employed by dredging companies and in other related projects totaled closed to 1,200 in the Atchafalaya Basin alone; however, the continual battle over federal funds caused a cessation of all activity at this time (*Weekly Iberville South* 7/29/33b:1). Over the next two months, more than 700 men were suspended from their jobs, including engineers, civil service employees, laborers, and dredgemen (*Weekly Iberville South* 8/19/33c:1). When funds finally were made available again, work resumed within the Atchafalaya Basin; providing approximately 1,000 men with work on various construction projects (*Weekly Iberville South* 9/1/33d:1, 9/29/33e). The month of October of 1933 witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of workers employed in Iberville Parish. With more than 1,200 registered names at local reemployment services, a total of 493 men, including 410 whites and 80 African Americans, were given either permanent and temporary work on various construction projects; the majority were hired by dredging companies (*Weekly Iberville South* 10/13/33f:1, 10/20/33g:1, 10/27/33h:1).

Informant interviews confirm that discrepancies existed within the work force on the basis of race. A resident of the Cannonburg, Louisiana area, Eloise Stevens, recalled that African Americans were employed chiefly for dressing the levee, while white employees comprised the main construction work force. When asked if any African Americans were involved in the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, Ms. Stevens replied, "Very few. I tell you what, after they built the levee, they planted grass. All black people were helping to plant the grass." (Stevens 1999:27, personal communication). This situation was not uncommon and it occurred on almost every levee construction project undertaken in the Mississippi River Valley during the early twentieth century.

Levee Construction Methods

Until the late nineteenth century, levee construction was a laborious task, the majority of which was done by hand. During that time, a wheelbarrow system was developed in which plank runways, supported by three-legged timber supports, extended from the borrow pits to the levee (Figure 31). Wheelbarrows were filled by hand at the edge of the borrow pit, transported over great distances, and dumped one by one to form the levee structure. Since it proved uneconomical to transport fill more than 22.9 m (75 ft), most borrow pits were positioned immediately adjacent to the levee toeslopes and they were placed to either side of the flood control structure. Using this method of construction, it was possible for a skilled laborer to move between 10 to 12 cubic yards of fill per day (Elliott 1932b:182).

At the close of the Civil War, both state and federal regulations designed more substantial levees, which required considerably more fill; thus, there was increased pressure for more efficient earth moving machines. As a result, horse and mule-drawn scrapers were developed and they enabled a scraping team to move between 35 to

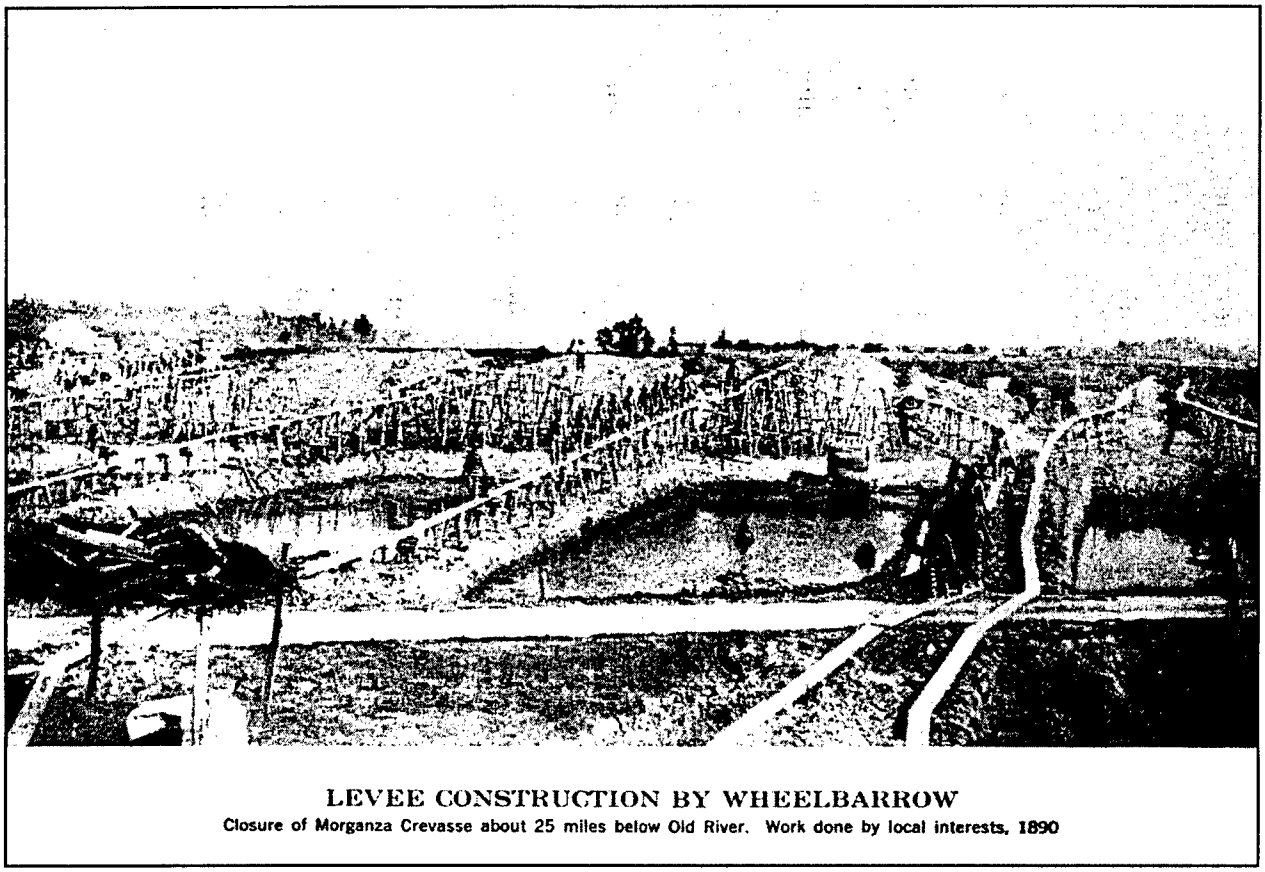


Figure 31. Levee construction by wheelbarrow, ca. 1890 (MRC 1940:8).

40 cubic yards of dirt per day, i.e., over twice the distance of the wheelbarrow system (45.7 m [150 ft]) (Elliott 1932b) (Figure 32). Nevertheless, even the horse and mule-drawn scrapers proved inadequate for building the larger levee system.

As a result, between 1892 and 1914, several experimental machines were developed. Dump wagons, which held from 6 to 10 cubic yards of fill each, were used in conjunction with elevating graders that allowed dirt to be hauled from considerable distances away from the construction site (Figure 33). Initially drawn by mule teams, both wagons and graders were mechanized by the early twentieth century, substantially increasing the efficiency of levee construction projects up and down the Mississippi River. By the 1930s, scrapers were used only for shaping and smoothing the levee slopes, while wagons and dump trucks were loaded by draglines, providing fill during the construction phase (Elliott 1932b).

Damage caused by the floods of 1912 and 1913 resulted in the Mississippi River Commission adopting a new standard levee section in 1914; thus, both the height and width of the levee was standardized to exceed record flood heights (see Figure 30). This section was much more massive in plan, and its construction necessitated the development of larger equipment. Consequently, two types of machines were developed that proved effective and efficient for implementing the new construction specifications. They included the dragline and the tower machine.

The dragline, positioned on the riverside of the levee during construction, consisted of a revolving crane with a drag scraper, or large bucket, which was attached to a track line from the boom to the tail-end anchorage (Figure 34). The track line directed the drag scraper crosswise over the borrow pit and it forced the bucket to drag along and dig into the ground surface col-

Figure 32. Mule drawn scraper (Clay 1976:104).

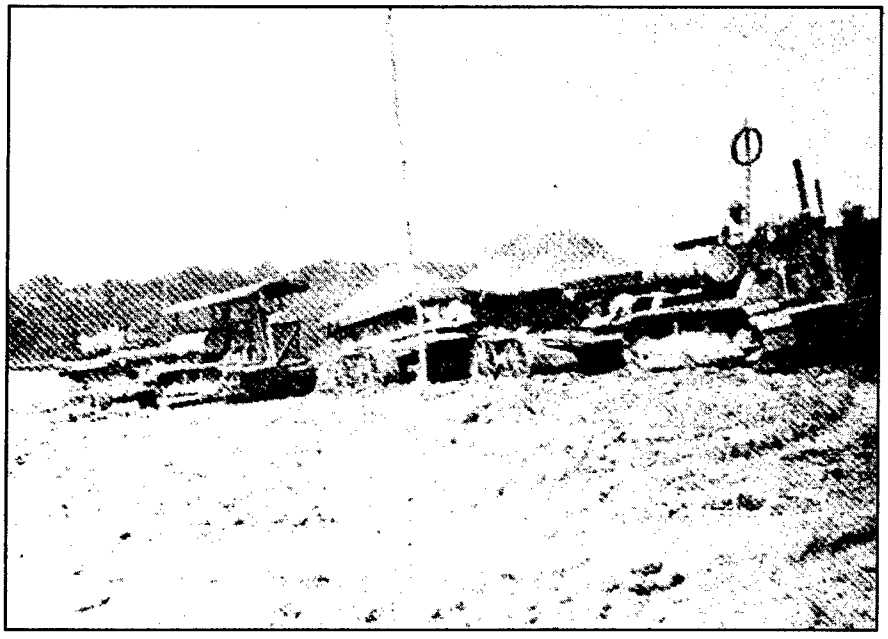
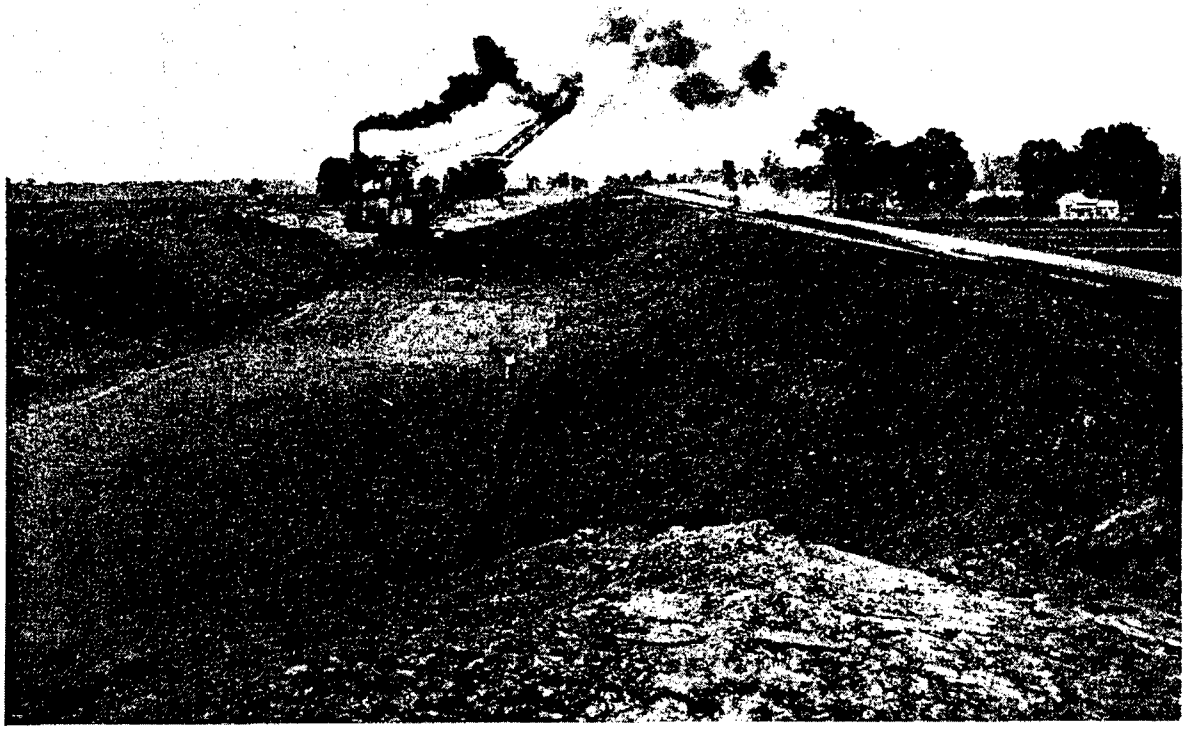


Figure 33. Tractors and 7-yard wagons (Elliott 1932b:183).



LEVEE CONSTRUCTION BY DRAGLINE
Morrison-Picayuneville Levee about 25 miles below New Orleans.
June 15, 1931

Figure 34. Levee construction by dragline (Elliott 1932b:184).

lecting fill. The scraper then was dragged to the levee embankment to dump its load, after which the bucket was lifted into the air for its return trip to the borrow pit (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, *Dragline Equipped with Scraper for Long-Range Digging Job*, Oct. 1931, Miscellaneous A 2/2-536, Ft. Worth, Texas) (Figure 35). Dragline buckets ranged in capacity from 3.5 to 5 cubic yards. Dragline machines contained booms that were capable of extending from 38.1 to 50 m (125 to 164 ft) in length. The larger dragline buckets had an hourly capacity of 150 cubic yard of fill, many times greater than even the daily rates associated with previous construction projects. By the 1930s, some draglines even were capable of dragging a six cubic yard bucket over a 53.3 m (175 ft) boom radius, thereby quickening the pace of levee construction (Mississippi River Commission 1929:1962).

The tower machine, which also was used in levee construction during the early twentieth century, consisted of a slack cableway suspended between two towers that were mounted on platforms (Figure 36). The head tower, located on the landside of the levee under construction, included the operating machinery and it measured 41.1 m (135 ft) in height. The tail tower, situated on the riverside of the borrow pit, measured no more than 12.2 m (40 ft) in height (Figure 37). The bucket on the cableway, which was pulled from the tail tower toward the head tower, was dragged through the borrow pit and filled with soil. Once filled, the bucket was pulled along the cableway

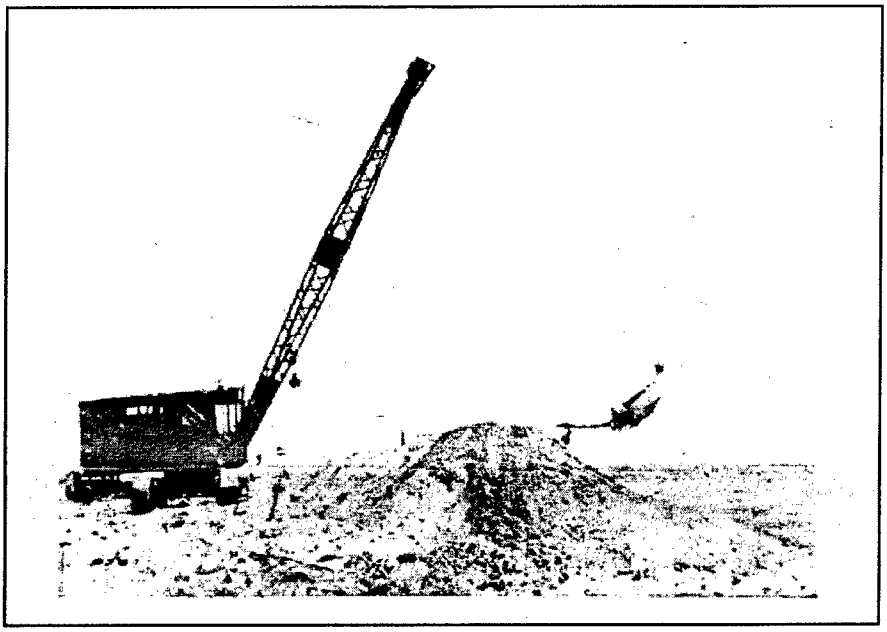
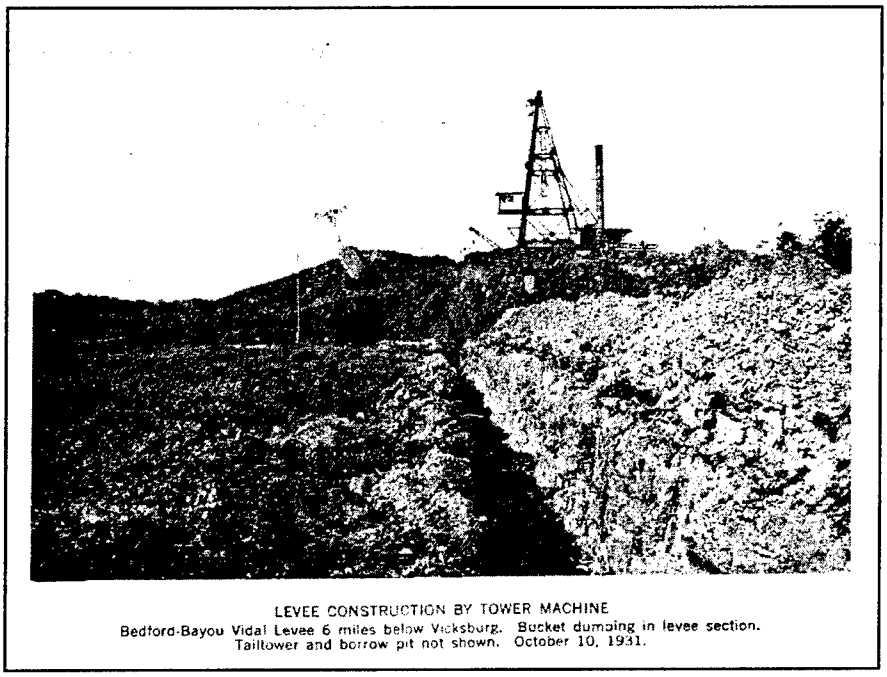
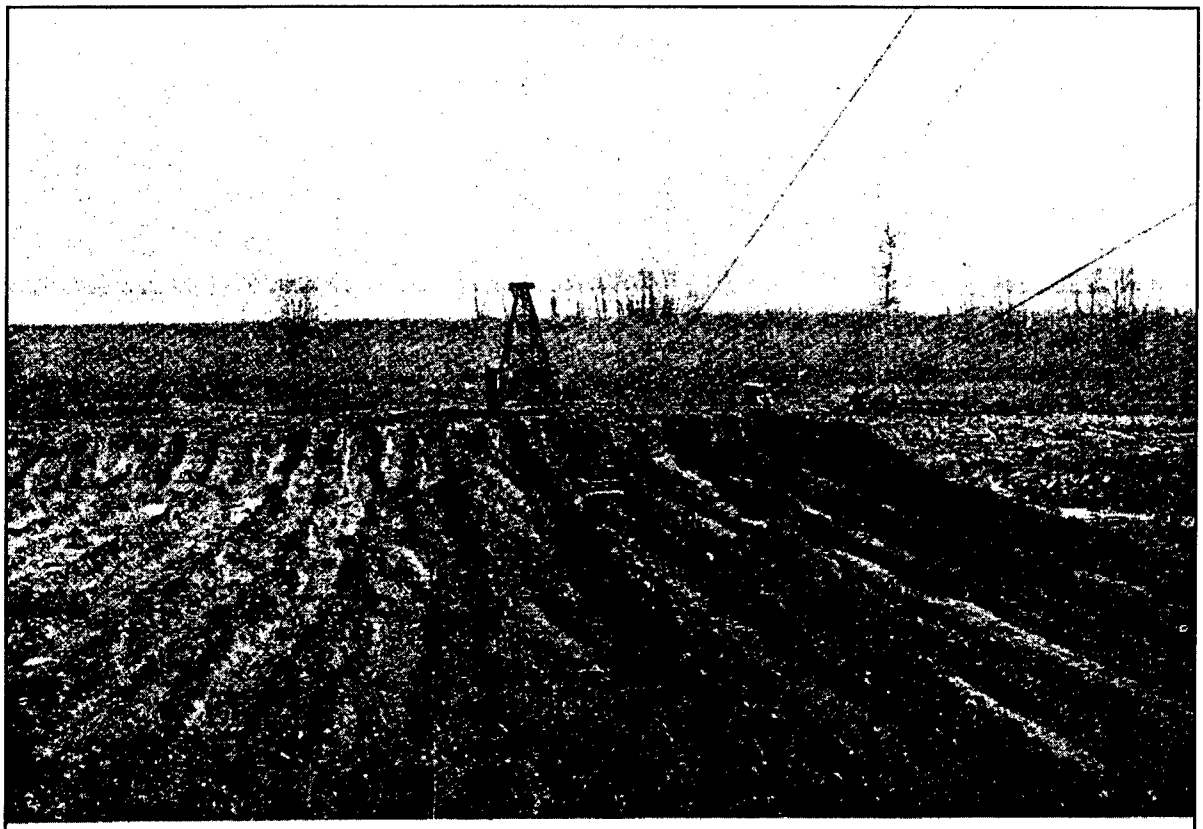


Figure 35. **Levee construction by dragline (SWRB/NARA, Dragline Equipped with Scraper for Long-Range Digging Job, Oct. 1931, Misc. A 2/2-536, Ft. Worth).**



LEVEE CONSTRUCTION BY TOWER MACHINE
Bedford-Bayou Vidal Levee 6 miles below Vicksburg. Bucket dumping in levee section. Tailtower and borrow pit not shown. October 10, 1931.

Figure 36. **Levee construction by tower machine (Elliott 1932b:186).**



LEVEE CONSTRUCTION BY TOWER MACHINE
Cottage Bend near St. Joseph, Louisiana. View from levee section showing riverside borrow pit and tail tower. Mississippi River shown in background. February 26, 1931.

Figure 37. Tower machine tail anchor and borrow pit (Elliott 1932b:186).

to the levee, and the fill dumped. Gravity then pulled the bucket back to the tail tower, to repeat the process. By the 1930s, a tower machine with a 10 cubic yard bucket could move up to 8,000 cubic yards in a double shift per day. While new levee standards were adopted in 1928, the combined use of draglines and tower machines met these standards by increasing the distance and elevation the dirt could be transported (Elliott 1932b) (Figure 38).

In some cases, hydraulic dredges were used effectively for levee construction. Fill from the river was pumped onto the levee. The saturated fill then was contained with dikes and the river water was allowed to flow back to the river through outlets (Figure 39). Once the dredged fill had settled and consolidated, it was shaped to grade and section standards using dry land construction techniques. Dredge boats also were used to support large-scale waterborne equipment, such as draglines, down the river to the next section of levee being constructed (Figure 40). Auxiliary equipment in use included tractors, backhoes, bulldozers and huge spotlights. These mechanized tools allowed construction managers to maintain a 24-hour a day schedule.

Construction Specifications

During levee construction, contractors were required to begin work within 20 calendar days from the date of the notice to proceed (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland). The levee proposals also provided a set number of days for completing the levee. This estimate was

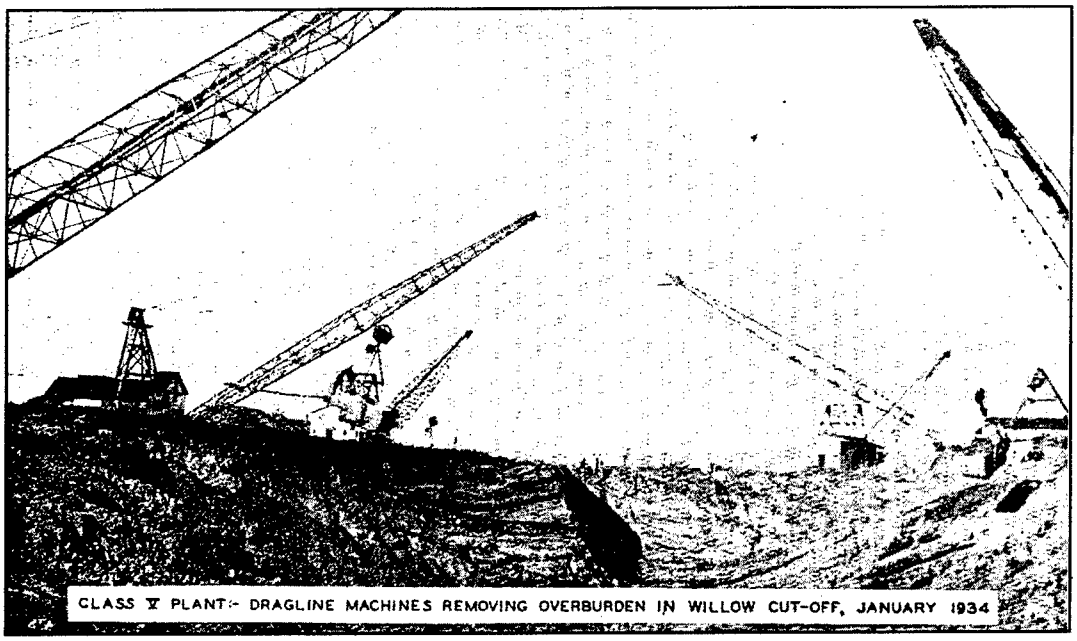


Figure 38. **Several dragline and tower machines working in concert (MRC 1940:25).**

Figure 39. **Levee construction by hydraulic method (MRC 1940:29).**

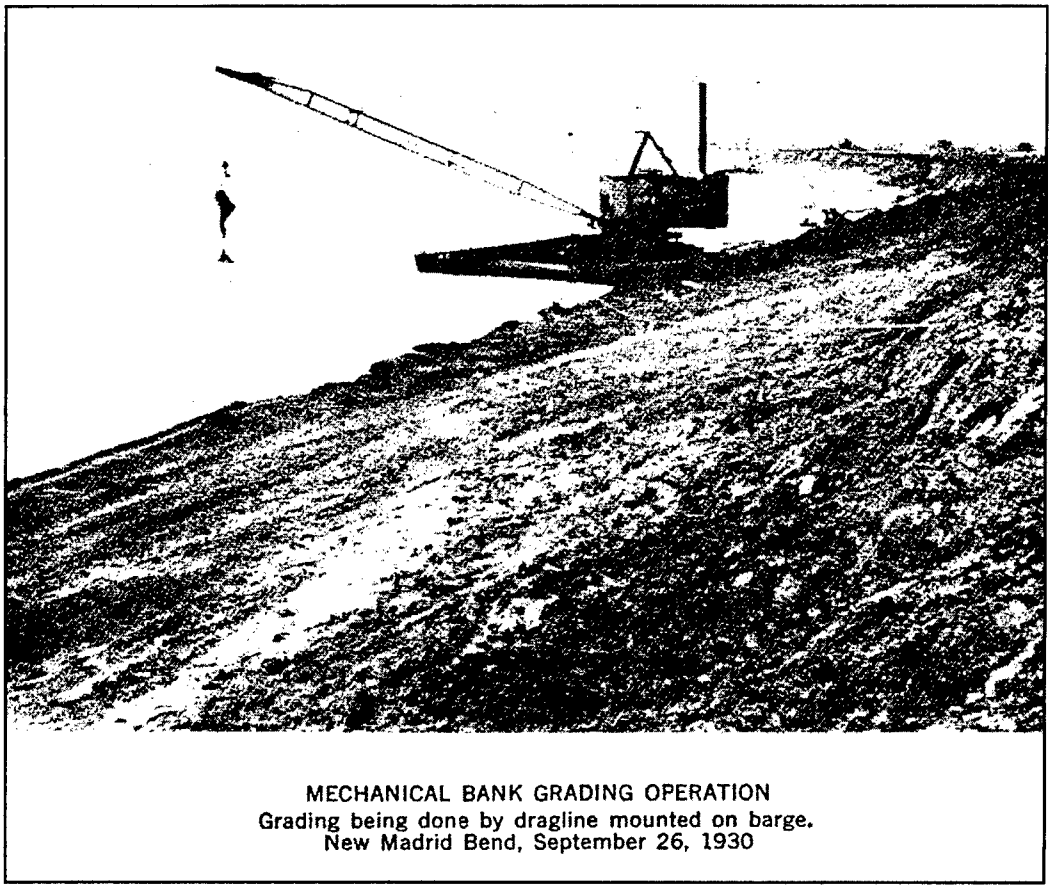


Figure 40. Barges used for transport of dragline (Elliott 1932b:242).

based on the construction of 152.4 m (500 ft) of levee, which could be accomplished within "3 [to] 12 days depending on weather and tracking conditions, output of equipment and the per station quantities" (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, Memorandum, 8/23/33, Miscellaneous. A. 2/2-783, Ft. Worth, Texas). In addition, contractors were held liable for the completion of the levee within the allotted time. Any extensions beyond the fixed completion date resulted in a $20.00 per day fine until the project was finished and placed under the authority of the contracting officer. Any setbacks or miscalculations incurred could further jeopardize a firm from procuring future contracts.

In order to keep a handle on the construction work and allow the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to maintain information on levee completion, the contractor was required to submit daily and weekly updates. Daily labor reports were prepared to provide a clear understanding of the number of employees working, hours worked, and rate of pay per employee. In addition, type of work, whether the work was new construction or maintenance, and the location of the undertaking were included in these briefings (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, District Order 20: Daily Time Report, 9/2/32, Miscellaneous A. 2/2-649, Ft. Worth, Texas). The 5-Day Reports detailed the number of men, animals, and equipment employed on each job site; estimates of work completed, an account of the weather, height of river, inspections and the reasons associated with any downtime; a small diagram depicting the progress of the construction project was included in the reports (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, Memorandum,

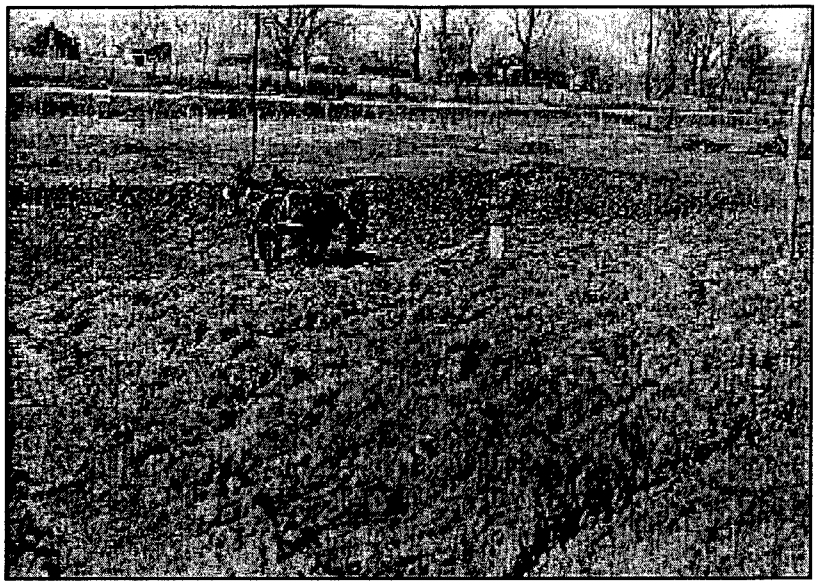


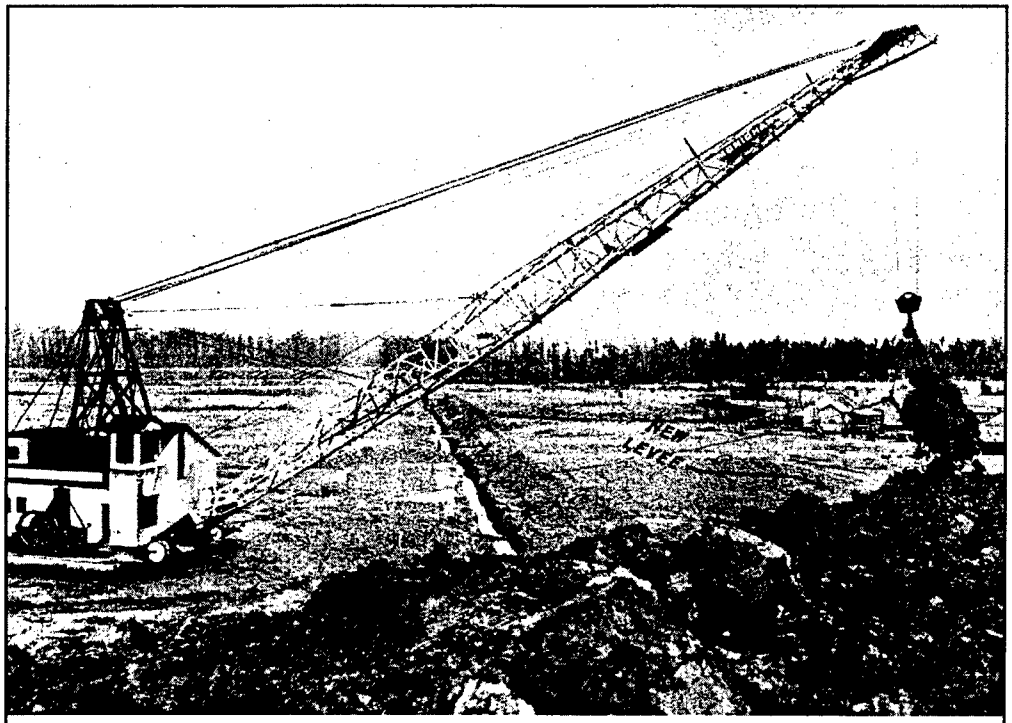
Figure 41. Foundation preparation by mule team (NARAII, 12/21/33, RG77-MRC, Box 2, Folder 7, College Park).

7/11/32, Misc. A. 2/2-629; 8/23/33, Miscellaneous A. 2/2-783, Ft. Worth, Texas). Unfortunately, no such documentation could be located for the stretch of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee situated within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49).

In addition to the submission of 5-Day Reports, standard practices for the preparation of levee foundations were developed over the years. By 1932, the entire levee foundation was stripped of vegetation, including the adjacent 1.5 m (5 ft) of land, and all organic debris and roots measuring over 3.7 cm (1.5 in) in diameter were removed to a depth of 1.8 m (6 ft) below surface. In addition, the proposed levee foundation was grubbed (plowed) to promote bonding between the constructed flood control structure and the foundation (Figure 41). An inspection, or muck, ditch was excavated prior to levee construction. It normally was positioned along the centerline of the new levee (Figure 42). Inspection ditches measured 1.8 m (6 ft) in width at the top and they sloped to 1.2 m (4 ft) in width at the bottom; in general, they measured approximately 1.8 m (6 ft) in depth, and it was excavated to remove organic materials from the foundation and to intercept foundation drainage by disrupting the continuity of porous foundational strata (Elliott 1932b:181). Foundation preparation and ditch excavation was completed approximately 60.9 m (200 ft) in advance of the main levee construction.

All ditches, pits, and depressions within 30.5 m (100 ft) of the landside toe of the levee, or within 12.2 m (40 ft) of the riverside toe, were filled to grade. Cypress stumps, which were very difficult to eliminate, were removed by blasting with dynamite. When a levee was enlarged, the same procedures were instituted, except that muck ditches normally were not excavated into the older levee. In addition, the cap, or reinforcement, usually was placed on the riverside edge of the old levee. This was done to decrease the plane of weakness between the old and new portions of the levee (Elliott 1932b; National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland) (Figure 43).

While borrow pits originally were excavated wherever convenient, by the late nineteenth century borrow pit specifications became standardized. In most cases, borrow pits were placed on the riverside of the levee, and they were separated from the levee by a wide berm, which helped to prevent foundation seepage. According to the 1932 construction standards, borrow pits were to be located at least 12.2 m (40 ft) from the riverside toe of the levee. The borrow pits were shal-



A MODERN METHOD OF LEVEE CONSTRUCTION

Figure 42. **View of levee construction and placement of the inspection or muck ditch (MRC 1940:21).**

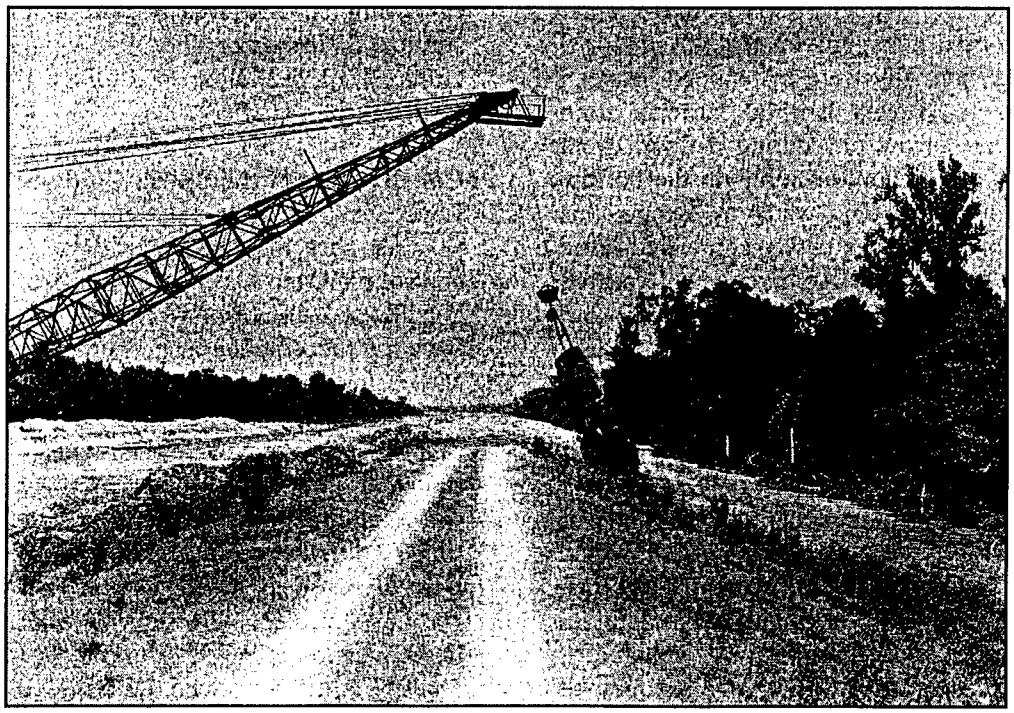


Figure 43. **Dragline used for levee enlargement (NARAII, 8/26/38, RG77-RF, Box 4, Folder K, College Park).**

Figure 44. Traverse between borrow pits (NARAII, 2/9/32, RG77-RF, Box 4, Folder K, College Park).

low and their bottoms sloped toward the river. Any borrow pits excavated inland of the levee had to be placed at least 30.5 m (100 ft) from the landside levee toe; they too were shallow, with walls sloping very gradually away from the levee. Traverses, measuring approximately 4.3 m (14 ft) wide on top, normally were maintained between borrow pits to prevent harmful currents from damaging the borrow pits during a flood event (Figure 44). In addition, openings in the borrow pits allowed the standing water to escape; this prevented impacts to the newly completed levee (Elliott 1932b; National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland).

In addition, the contractor was required to maintain road crossings and provided detours during the construction of the new levee segments. Prior to abandonment of the completed embankment section, any damage to the road within the vicinity of the construction right-of-way was the responsibility of the contractor to repair. When embankment work was concluded, the levee was smoothed to the proper slope and the surface was sodded or seeded with grasses. Furthermore, before final payment for services rendered could be made, the contractor was directed to remove from the levee right-of-way all temporary structures, camps, and other debris that had been used during the construction process (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland).

Construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee

As part of the Atchafalaya Basin flood control plan, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers conducted a number of surveys along the riverfront in Iberville Parish. Encroachment of the Mississippi River on the existing levees prompted the Corps to require the construction of a number of new levees. This work represented a joint effort between the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the state-run levee districts. To that end, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District resolved in 1932 to investigate seven new levee projects. These projects included Relief Levee Items R 876-A and R 876-B (located 1,409 7 km [876 mi] below Cairo, Illinois), the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, and Relief Levee Item R-881, Philadelphia Point (*Weekly*

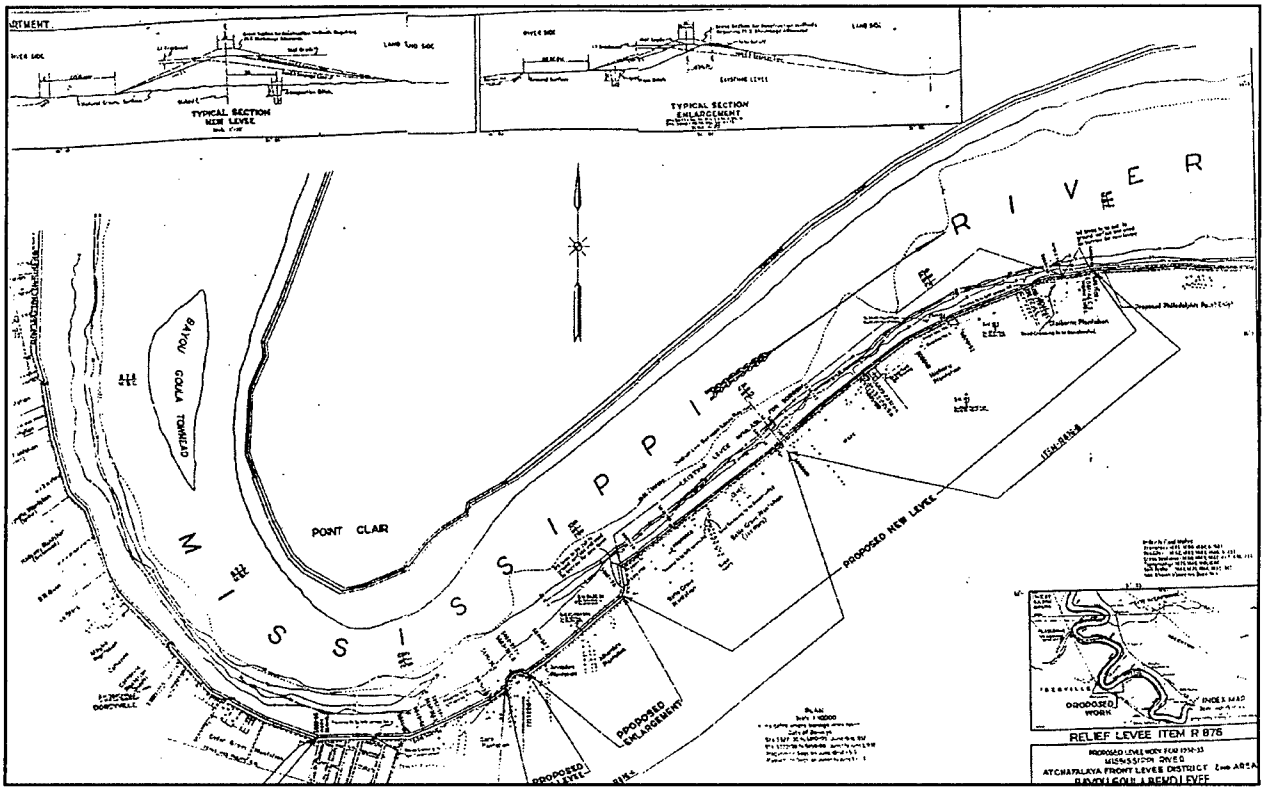


Figure 45. **Bayou Goula Bend Levee and Philadelphia Point Levee overview maps (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers [CORPS], 1932, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans).**

Iberville South 1/16/32a:1). These levee items were located along Old Highway 30, between the towns of White Castle and Donaldsonville in Iberville Parish, Louisiana (Figure 45). The new levee segments were to be set back at a sufficient distance from the Mississippi River to avoid impacts from caving banklines. In addition, they were designed to provide flood protection for the many plantations of the area, i.e., Belle Grove, Celeste, Cannonburg, Old Hickory, Africa, and Philadelphia Point, as well as interior areas of the Iberville Parish.

Levee construction on such a large scale required the appropriation of property from numerous landowners. The acquisition of rights-of-way was initiated by the Board of State Engineers, which sent a formal request to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to obtain the land associated with the new levee construction (*Weekly Iberville South* 1/16/32a:1). A resolution then was adopted calling for the appropriation of the proposed rights-of-way, as well as an assessment of property and "all improvements" contained therein (*Weekly Iberville South* 1/16/32b:3). As part of this effort, 1931 tax assessment rolls were used to determine the value of the improvements, i.e., the dwellings, outbuildings, wells and cisterns, per the 1921 provisions of Section 6 of Article 16 of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana (*Weekly Iberville South* 2/13/32c:3, 3/26/32d:1). In addition, a wide variety of impediments found within the levee right-of-way were considered to be "improvements," e.g., fruit and nut trees, fences, telephone poles, etc. While it is not clear if cemeteries would have been included under the definition of "improvements," it is quite possible that they were considered as such. The value of lands taken for levee construction was calculated to be $40.00 per acre, while producing pecan trees were assessed at up to $75.00 per tree (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Costs for U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, 1936, Reel 11.28, Micro 2, Port Allen; Stevens 1999:18, personal communication).

RESOLUTION

By Mr. C. O. Watts, seconded by Mr. George E. Booksh.

WHEREAS the United States Government has surveyed lands within the territorial limits of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District for use for levee purposes along the Mississippi River as appears from maps of said surveys on file in the records of this Board and markings along the lands affected, particularly the levee lines, locations, and projects following, to-wit:

Item	Levee
R-881	Philadelphia Point
R-876	Bayou Goula
R-867	Point Pleasant
R-862	Union
R-840	Sunrise
R-838	Belair
R-834	Lobdell-Violi
R-805	Plcyaumeville-Waterloo

which said surveys have been approved by the Board of State Engineers of the State of Louisiana; and

WHEREAS, this Board by resolution adopted this day has granted the United States Government Rights of Way on the projects aforesaid;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, by the Board of Commissioners of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in Regular Meeting convened that all lands lying within the path of said levee projects, as shown by the maps above referred to, and by the markings aforesaid; be and the same are hereby appropriated by this Board for said purposes;-

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that payment provided by the provisions of Section 6 of Article 16 of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana of 1921 shall be made to the respective property owners, based on the Assessment of the year 1931;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be published in the Official Journal of this Board for three (3) consecutive issues of the said Official Journal, and that the Secretary of this Board be and he is hereby directed to mail to each of the property owners hereby affected a notice of the adoption of this resolution and that said property owners be notified in said notice that their property lying in the paths of said Rights of Way has been appropriated and that they be directed to clear said Rights of Way of all improvements thereon.

The above resolution having been put to a vote was voted upon as follows:

YEAS: S. A. Levert, L. T. Broussard, C. O. Watts, George E. Booksh, and Douglas Robinson.

NAYS: None.

ABSENT AND NOT VOTING: C. C. Barton and Albert Levert.

Figure 46. Excerpt from the *Weekly Iberville South*, Vol. 59, No. 16, 2/13/32, p. 3.

While landowners were directed, through newspaper notices, to remove any and all structures or improvements located within the area to be impacted by the proposed levee construction (*Weekly Iberville South* 2/13/32c:3), the Levee Board Minutes of March 26, 1932 reflected the necessity to notify each landowner of the impending construction schedule in writing (*Weekly Iberville South* 3/26/32e:4) (Figure 46). Letters detailing the scope and location of the project were sent to landowners on April 15, 1932, notifying them that a resolution had been passed to appropriate property within the right-of-way for the construction of the proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Correspondence, 4/15/32, Port Allen). In addition to land needed for levee construction, the Levee Board obtained property for a new road, Highway 405. This new gravel road was meant to replace Highway 30, which would be rendered useless by the construction of the levees at Bayou Goula Bend and Philadelphia Point (*Weekly Iberville South* 11/12/32f:1).

The first portion of Highway 405 to be constructed measured 2.9 km (1.8 mi) in length and it extended from White Castle, Louisiana downriver to the Claiborne Plantation; this stretch of highway fronted on the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49). The right-of-way, the roadbed, and associated drainage ditches measured 16.5 m (54 ft) in width (Department of Public Works [Department of Public Works], Bayou Goula Bend Levee Highway, 1932:1, PI 231-02-001, Microfilm Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge, Louisiana) (Figure 47). The State Highway Commission awarded the construction contract to Leathers and Martin at a cost of $4,512.25 (*Weekly Iberville South* 5/14/32g:1). An additional 1.6 km (0.97 mi) extension of Highway 405 extended downriver from the project area, beginning at Claiborne Plantation and extending to the northern boundary of Africa Plantation in Ascension Parish (Department of Public Works, Philadelphia Levee Highway, 1932:1, PI 231-02-001, Microfilm Roll 1147, 4th Quarter, Baton Rouge).

During the spring of 1932, the Levee Board adopted a policy designed to relieve the Board of the burden of moving the improvements situated within the proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor. Prior to that

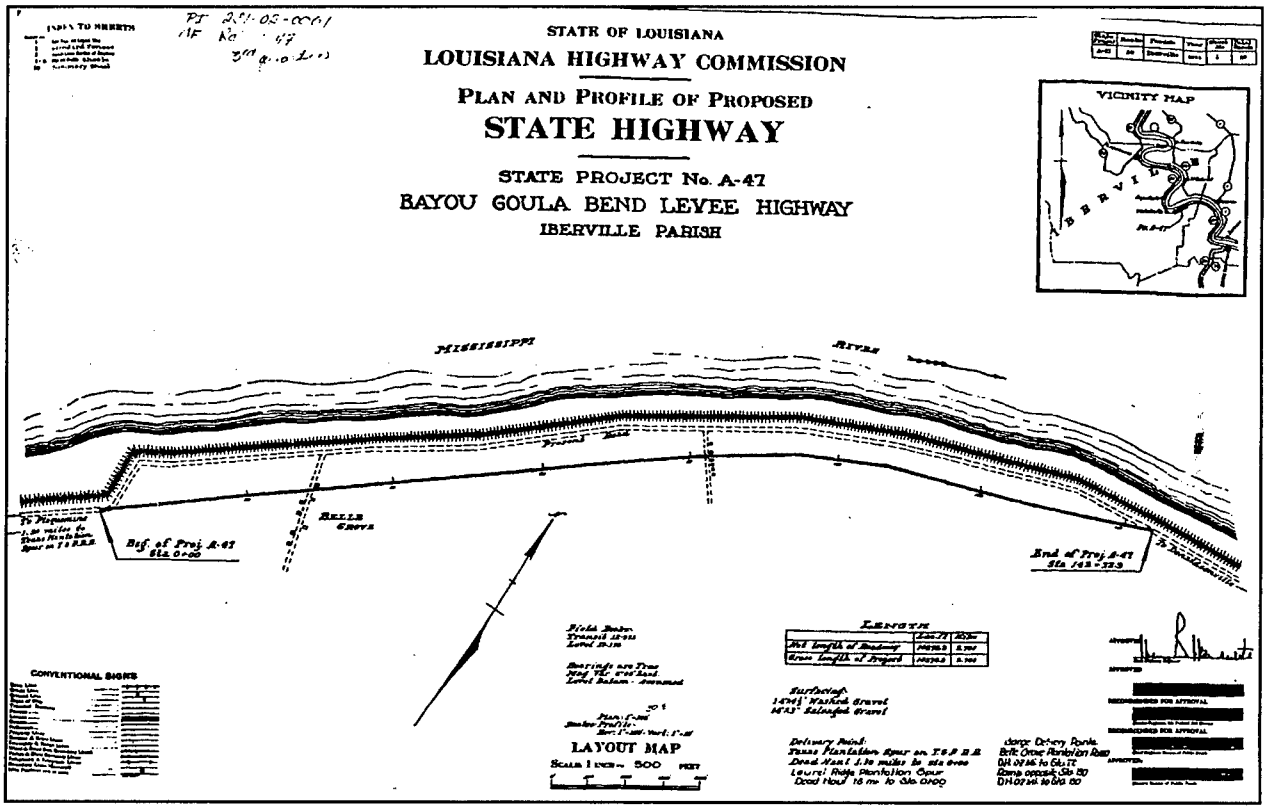


Figure 47. **Right of way map for Highway 405, Iberville Parish (DPW, Bayou Goula Bend Levee Highway [BGNLH], 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge.**

time, the affected property owners were allowed to clear their buildings from the right-of-way and then present a claim for damages for the full value of the property to the Levee Board; the claim was based on the previous year's tax assessment. Since in many cases, the property owner could move his buildings for considerably less than the assessed value of the property, this meant the Levee Board paid over and above the actual costs incurred (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Governor Oscar Allen, 10/31/32, Reel 11.17, Microfilm Roll 3, Port Allen, Louisiana). The new policy relieved the financial burden of the Board by comparing the owner's claim for damages to a contractor's estimated rate for relocating the improvements:

> The property owners are then informed that the Levee Board will enter into a contract with a reliable contractor and have their improvements moved or that the property owner can enter into a contract with anyone for the moving of his improvements but that in any such agreement the cost must first be approved by the Levee Board. As a basis for arriving at the proper allowance for the cost of moving buildings, the Levee Board will accept bids from any reliable contractor but as stated above, the property owner is given the privilege of having his own contractor do the work or of doing it himself, the cost however to be approved by the Levee Board and a release given the Board at the time his claim is presented, showing that the work has been satisfactorily performed and that no further claims will be made for damages (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Governor Oscar Allen, 10/31/32, Reel 11.17, Microfilm Roll 3, Port Allen, Louisiana).

An additional letter reflecting this change in policy was sent from the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District on May 7, 1932. It notified landowners owning property within the proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor that a permit or prior approval from the Levee Board was required before any buildings

or improvements could be removed. It was at that time that the Levee District would consider those claims for damages filed by property owners (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Elizabeth Locket, 5/7/32, Port Allen; *Weekly Iberville South* 5/14/32g:1).

A request for contractor bids to move buildings and improvements within the proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor, as well as the right-of-way for the proposed highway corridor, resulted in the approval of cost estimates submitted by Mr. Leo Cafiero (Dupre 2000, personal communication; Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Bid submitted by L. Cafiero, c. 1932, Port Allen, Louisiana). Mr. Cafiero, a local construction contractor from Donaldsonville, Louisiana, was a first generation Italian-American, who was born in 1886 and who died in 1949. His company was a family-owned venture that not only relocated buildings up and down the Mississippi River, but also installed electrical steam engines and manufacturing equipment, constructed sugar houses, and rented heavy machinery (Dupre 2000, personal communication).

After the award of the contract to move houses positioned within the proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor, Mr. Cafiero contacted the respective landowners and he entered into an agreement with each of them for relocating their property (Dupre 2000, personal communication). Among those contacted were Ms. Elizabeth Lockett and Mr. Noah Lockett; each owned separate lots approximating 0.15 ha (0.38 ac) in size and "measuring part on a road running back from river 75 ft, depth of parallel lines 220 ft more or less" (IPCC, CB 21 E 166, 10 January 1890, Plaquemine). Ms. Lockett's lot was adjoined below by property owned by Noah Lockett and toward the river by the two lots occupied by the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Figure 48).

A right-of-way map produced by the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District suggests that approximately 45 percent of the area of land owned by Ms. Elizabeth Lockett would be required to accommodate the construction of Louisiana Highway 405 (Appendix V, Map 8, Page 2 [Sheet 1]; Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee 1932:1, Port Allen, Louisiana). A certificate of indebtedness for the amount of $100.00 was issued to Ms. Lockett to pay this claim on April 13, 1933 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Mississippi River Levees Claim Payments Index - Bayou Goula Bend Levee, 4/13/33:27, Port Allen, Louisiana). The remaining 55 percent of her property was appropriated for the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. Based on a rate of $40.00 per acre, Ms. Lockett was awarded $16.50 in payment (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Noah Lockett, 5/12/33, Reel 12.42, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). In addition, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District appropriated

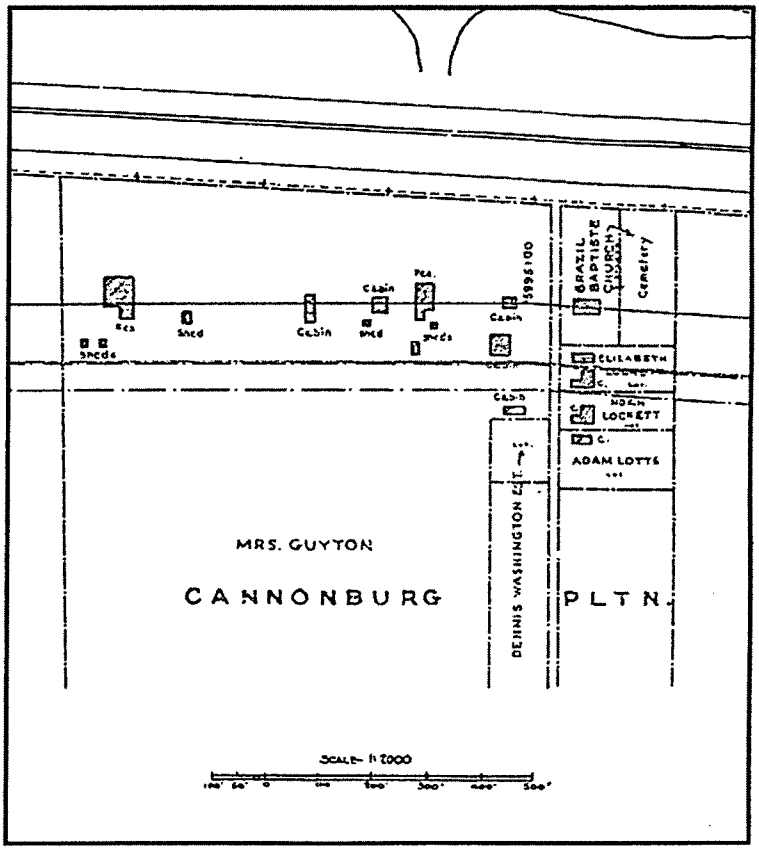


Figure 48. **Right of way map of Bayou Goula Bend Levee, Cannonburg Plantation (ABLD, U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee [USBGBNL], 1932:2, Port Allen).**

approximately 11 percent of Mr. Noah Lockett's property for highway construction. Mr. Noah Lockett was also issued a certificate of indebtedness for $16.50 for the land on 3 May 1933; he redeemed the certificate on July 29, 1936 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Mississippi River Levees Claim Payments Index – Bayou Goula Levee, 4/13/33:26, Port Allen, Louisiana).

Both Elizabeth Lockett and Noah Lockett entered into separate agreements with Mr. Cafiero on April 1, 1932 "for the purpose of moving and rolling of buildings out of the right-of-way of the new levee ... [and] the new road" (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Contracts with N. Lockett and E. Lockett, 4/1/32, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). Ms. Elizabeth Lockett was awarded $100.00 for the value of improvements contained within the proposed levee right-of-way corridor. The sum was to be paid directly to Mr. Cafiero, who had relocated a single cabin off of the right-of-way associated with the construction of the proposed road and levee (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to E.P. Blanchard, 1/27/33; Notarized claim for E. Lockett, 9/29/32, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). In addition, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District paid to Mr. Noah Lockett, the sum of $150.00 for the removal of one cabin from the proposed levee right-of-way corridor; this structure was also relocated by Mr. Cafiero (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Notarized claim for N. Lockett, 9/29/32, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana).

The Braziel Baptist Church occupied two lots situated between the Mississippi River and property owned by Ms. Elizabeth Lockett of Cannonburg, Louisiana (Figure 48). The Atchafalaya Basin Levee District contacted the Braziel Baptist Church through Reverend Williams concerning the appropriation of land for the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letters, 4/15/32, 5/7/32, Port Allen, Louisiana). Ms. Maude Tison, however, claimed ownership of the land occupied by the church and she requested payment for the appropriated property; Ms. Tison requested $100.00 from the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Miss Tison, 9/15/33, Costs for U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, 1936, Reel 11.28, Microfilm Roll 2, Port Allen, Louisiana; Stevens 1999:18, personal communication, Port Allen, Louisiana). Informant interviews conducted with members of the Cannonburg community confirmed that Mrs. John T. Guyton (Maude Tison's representative) had allowed the Braziel Baptist Church to use the property (Stevens 1999:34, personal communication). Examination of the conveyance records indicated the property on which the Braziel Baptist Church was located was absorbed by the Cannonburg Plantation in 1893, which eventually was purchased by Guyton in 1916 (Iberville Parish Public Courthouse, COB 23:547, 43:225) (see Figure 64 in Chapter IV). Available Atchafalaya Basin Levee District documentation indicates that there was a disagreement over who actually owned the property on which the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was located. Ms. Maude Tison claimed that she owned it, and that, consequently, any payment for the appropriation of the property should be made to her; however, no records exist that settled the matter of ownership, and no payments for the land were issued prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to M. Tison, 9/16/32, Costs for U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, 1936, Reel 11.28, Microfilm Roll 2, Port Allen, Louisiana; Stevens 1999:18, personal communication, Port Allen, Louisiana).

On April 1, 1932, the "New Brazela Baptist Church" also signed a contract with Mr. Leo Cafiero for the removal of the church building and all improvements from the right-of-way corridor of the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Contract, New Brazela Baptist Church, 4/1/32, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). Informant interviews conducted with residents of the Cannonburg community indicated that it took approximately a month to move the church. Removal of the church was accomplished using rollers. Ms. Stevens recalled, they used regular rollers with planks. She indicated that "they had to keep on moving the planks and put them in front. The old fashioned way ... and horses and people were pushing them" (Stevens 1999:22, personal communication). Despite the lengthy moving process, the daily routine conducted within the

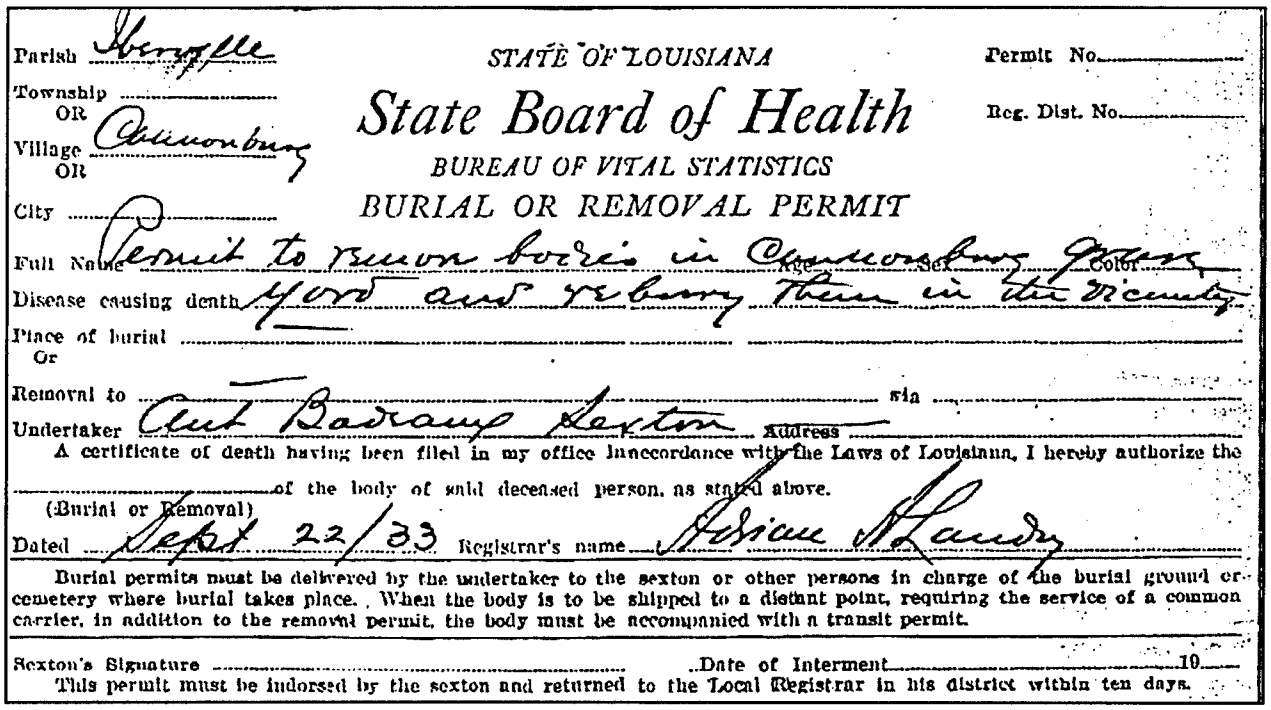
buildings continued unabated. Ms. Eloise Stevens remembered attending school in the church building and sleeping through the night at home while the moving process was underway. She remembered:

> They had school in that church when we were, when they were rolling it... Because we stayed in our house. We slept in it. They moved it in the daytime and we slept in it at night. They would roll with us in the bed (Stevens 1999:22-23, personal communication).

Inherent in the contracts issued to Mr. Cafiero was the clause that "all of the buildings and improvements and fences in the right-of-way of said levee and road" were to be moved (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Contract with New Brazela Baptist Church, 4/1/32, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). One of Mr. Cafiero's former employees, Mr. William Dupre, confirmed that Mr. Cafiero had moved several cemeteries prior to levee construction, and that there was no contractual separation between moving "improvements" and moving a cemetery; however, Mr. Dupre indicated that when a graveyard was encountered, Mr. Cafiero often subcontracted the removal to the individual churches, "especially the colored ones," thereby allowing the church to relocate the cemetery interments (Dupre 2000, personal communication). Mr. Cafiero made these subcontract agreements with the church boards, possibly explaining a hand-written letter sent from the committee of the Braziel Baptist Church to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District concerning the removal of individuals from the graveyard (see Figure 26) (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter from Joe Baltimore, Robert Sturd, Joseph Lockett and Rev. R. Billops, 9/23/33, Port Allen, Louisiana). Mr. Cafiero charged $800.00 for relocating the church, and the sum was paid by the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in January 1933 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to E.P. Blanchard, 1/27/33, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, Port Allen, Louisiana). The sum was considerably higher that the original $475.00 estimate to move the church (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Bid submitted by L. Cafiero, ca. 1932, Port Allen). The remaining $325.00, may have been designed to pay for the removal of graves, either to Mr. Cafiero as the contractor, or to the Braziel Baptist Church as the subcontractor; however, no documentation exists to confirm this.

Documentation for the treatment of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery, or Cannonburg Cemetery prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, is sparse. While a contract is on file at the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District presumably for moving the Braziel Baptist Church and all associated improvements, including the cemetery, situated on the two parcels of land occupied by the church (Appendix IV, Document 15), no separate contracts were recorded concerning the cemetery (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Contract between Bazela Baptiste Church and L. Cafiero, Reel 11.18, Microfilm Roll 4, 4/1/32, Port Allen, Louisiana). A Burial or Removal Permit and the above-mentioned hand-written letter from the Braziel Baptist Church to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District are the only known statements of intent to move the burials contained within the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery (State Board of Health 1933; Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter from Joe Baltimore, Robert Sturd, Joseph Lockett and Rev. R. Billops, 9/23/33, Port Allen, Louisiana). The Burial or Removal Permit (Figure 49) was dated September 22, 1933 and it was signed by Aut [sic] Bodraux, who, at that time, served as sextant of the Braziel Baptist Church. This permit gave the sextant, or person in charge of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery, 10 days to "remove bodies in Cannonburg graveyard and rebury them in the vicinity" (State Board of Health 1933).

Members of the Braziel Baptist Church committee also submitted a hand-written letter to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District that was dated a day after the removal permit. Although the letter was not addressed, a copy exists in the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District files. The letter indicates, "that the [remains are] those in the tombs will bee move by order of the comity [sic]," implying that the church would do the actual disinterment and re-interment (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter from Joe Baltimore, Robert Sturd, Joseph Lockett and Rev. R. Billops, 9/23/33, Port Allen, Louisiana). This letter may be in response to an agreement with Mr. Cafiero who subcontracted to the indi-



Parish Abbeville — STATE OF LOUISIANA — Permit No.

Township OR

Village Cannonburg OR — State Board of Health — Reg. Dist. No.

City — BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS

BURIAL OR REMOVAL PERMIT

Full Name Permit to remove bodies in Cannonburg Cem. Age Sex Color

Disease causing death Yard and reburry them in the vicinity

Place of burial

Or

Removal to via

Undertaker Act Badraux Sexton Address

A certificate of death having been filed in my office in accordance with the Laws of Louisiana, I hereby authorize the of the body of said deceased person, as stated above.

(Burial or Removal)

Dated Sept 22/33 Registrar's name Adrian A Landry

Burial permits must be delivered by the undertaker to the sexton or other persons in charge of the burial ground or cemetery where burial takes place. When the body is to be shipped to a distant point, requiring the service of a common carrier, in addition to the removal permit, the body must be accompanied with a transit permit.

Sexton's Signature Date of Interment 10

This permit must be indorsed by the sexton and returned to the Local Registrar in his district within ten days.

Figure 49. **Burial permit from the State Board of Health for the removal of bodies from the Cannonburg Cemetery, dated 9/22/33.**

vidual churches for burial relocations (Dupre 2000, personal communication).

Unfortunately no confirmation pertaining to the relocation of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery was recorded. The permit, signed by Mr. Badraux, should have been re-submitted to the State Board of Health within 10 days for a confirmation of the relocation. If this permit was submitted to the State Board of Health, it no longer exists, nor does the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District have a copy. Furthermore, no information concerning the existence, location, or nature of the cemetery, i.e., contracts, letters, permits, or statements of concern, were identified within the extant records of the Braziel Baptist Church supplied to R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., by the law office of Mr. Terrie Bonnie of Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

In this case, the cemetery records simply would not have been located in one place, nor would they have been limited to a single document if they existed. If such a document existed, one certainly would expect to find significant data representative of such an agreement. The contract, several letters relating to the contract (to the contractor, the issuing body, and the church, at least), a record approving payment for the relocation of the cemetery, a Certificate of Indebtedness for that work, and the payment of the Certificate of Indebtedness all could be expected to appear somewhere in the records of the State Board of Engineers, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, or the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District if they had been supplied to those agencies. The absence of documentation strongly suggests that the Atchafalaya Basin Levee Board, the state agency responsible for clearing the land for the levee, did not issue a separate contract for the relocation of the cemetery. In at least one case, the records of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District document a voucher of payment for the removal and reburial of two graves; however, again, no contract was issued (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, voucher number 1399, from E. D. Gianelloree, dated October 17th, 1933). If, for some exceptional reason, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District had taken responsi-

bility for the removal and relocation of the cemetery, this research should have produced some information documenting the process.

Although the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District preferred to work through Mr. Cafiero, each landowner was given the opportunity to contract with a mover of their choice to remove their personal property (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Governor Oscar Allen, 10/31/32, Reel 11.17, Microfilm Roll 3, Port Allen, Louisiana). Ms. Maude Tison contracted with Mr. Alex Traylor to remove five cabins, two residences, and various improvements associated with the Cannonburg Plantation; all were situated within the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way corridor (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Bid submitted by Mr. L. Cafiero, ca. 1932, Port Allen, Louisiana) (Figure 48). Mr. Traylor conducted the work of clearing obstructions from the project area well before the construction of the levee and Louisiana Highway 405, i.e., between September and November of 1932 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to S. Levert from J. Guyton, 9/27/32, 11/23/32, Reel 11.17, Microfilm Roll 3, Port Allen, Louisiana). The claim submitted by Ms. Tison for damages to improvements totaled $2,300.00, including $296.00 that was to be paid to Mr. Traylor for his work (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to M. Tison from the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, 2/1/33, Reel 11.28, Microfilm Roll 1, Port Allen, Louisiana). The differences apparent within the costs suggest that Ms. Tison lost the majority of her buildings through demolition. As one local informant explained:

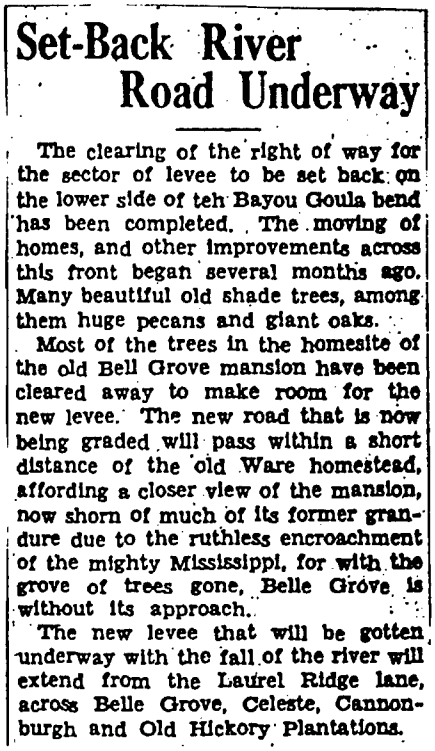
> Well, all the way from, all the way across Cannonburg was red brick houses, ... and when the levee came, they took all them houses down, because it used to be slave houses ..., but all the brick houses was made on the ground, built on the ground. So they took all that down. Normally the houses that was on pillars, they rolled back. But all the houses that was brick, they took them down (Stevens, personal communication, 1999:36-37).

The Atchafalaya Basin Levee District appropriated approximately 3.5 ha (8.55 ac) of land within the boundaries of the old Cannonburg Plantation. In response to several requests, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District informed Mr. Guyton and the Federal Land Bank of New Orleans, which held a mortgage on the Cannonburg Plantation, that the levee board would pay $40.00 per acre for property appropriated for construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. Approximately 3 ha (7.55 ac) of the Tison property was impacted by the proposed construction; it was purchased through a certificate of indebtedness. The levee board paid cash for the 0.4 ha (1 ac) taken for the construction of Highway 405 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Letter to Federal Land Bank of New Orleans from S. Levert, 1/28/33, Reel 11.28, Microfilm Roll 1, Port Allen, Louisiana). Ms. Tison was awarded $302.00 on September 16, 1933 for land appropriated for the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee; however, the certificate of indebtedness for this parcel was not redeemed until April of 1936 (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Mississippi River Levees Claim Payments Index, 4/13/33:27; Voucher No. 967, 9/16/33, Reel 12.43, Microfilm Roll 1, Port Allen, Louisiana). No confirmation of a $40.00 payment for the land taken for the construction of the highway could be located.

By June of 1933, a newspaper account states that numerous buildings had been removed and that the clearing of the proposed right-of-way corridor for the construction of Bayou Goula Bend New Levee and Louisiana Highway 405 had been completed (Figure 50) (*Weekly Iberville South* 6/17/33i:1). An aerial photograph taken in August of 1933 depicts the newly constructed gravel surface of Highway 405 within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. In addition, *The Weekly Iberville South* (6/17/33i:1) confirmed that the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee was to be initiated sometime after the level of the Mississippi River had declined, i.e., that year (Figure 51).

Bids and Contract Associated with the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee

On October 11, 1932, District Engineer, Lieutenant Colonel John N. Hodges, issued a request for proposal, soliciting bids for the completion of approximately 13,390,000 cubic yards of proposed levee construction. These bids included the construction of the Bayou Goula



Set-Back River Road Underway

The clearing of the right of way for the sector of levee to be set back on the lower side of teh Bayou Goula bend has been completed. The moving of homes, and other improvements across this front began several months ago. Many beautiful old shade trees, among them huge pecans and giant oaks.

Most of the trees in the homesite of the old Bell Grove mansion have been cleared away to make room for the new levee. The new road that is now being graded will pass within a short distance of the old Ware homestead, affording a closer view of the mansion, now shorn of much of its former grandure due to the ruthless encroachment of the mighty Mississippi, for with the grove of trees gone, Belle Grove is without its approach.

The new levee that will be gotten underway with the fall of the river will extend from the Laurel Ridge lane, across Belle Grove, Celeste, Cannonburgh and Old Hickory Plantations.

Figure 50. Excerpt from *Weekly Iberville South*, Vol. 60, No. 54, 6/17/33, p. 1.

Bend New Levee (R 876 A-B), the Point Pleasant Levee (R 867 A-C), the Picayuneville-Waterloo Levee (R 805 A-E), and the Batchelor-New Texas Levee (R 784 A-D), all situated within the boundaries of the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District. In addition, 11 requests for proposal for the construction of levees in both the Tensas and Pontchartrain Levee Districts were advertised that same year (National Archives and Research Administration II, Abstract of proposals, 10/11/32:1-4, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland).

A total of 24 construction companies from as far east as Georgia, north to Illinois and west to Texas, responded to the solicitations. In order to insure the receipt of a levee contract, many bidders submitted combined or "all or none" proposals, which allowed them to reduce further the cost per cubic yard. In addition, some construction companies submitted bids for several different projects in an attempt to be awarded at least one of the levee contracts. This practice caused confusion when the US Army Corps of Engineers prepared the abstracts for contracts, and again when they determined the awards for construction. In most cases, the government performed its own estimates to determine the cost of the bid; however, this created problems with the use of combination bids, whereby the comparison would exceed the allowable margin of 25 percent in excess of the government estimate. Two solutions were suggested to resolve this dilemma: one limited the number of combination bids to only those items where the government had prepared a combined estimate, while the second suggested allowing the government to interchange individual and combined estimates on a pro rata basis. Both suggestions had the potential of preventing the United States government from awarding the lowest bids (National Archives and Research Administration II, Combination bids, 10/17/32, RG77, Box 495, Folder 21, College Park, Maryland).

The W.E. Callahan Construction Company, based in St. Louis, Missouri was one of eight companies to submit bids for Relief Item 867-A-C, the Point Pleasant Levee, and Relief Item 876-A-B, the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. For both levee items, the government estimate for completing the work totaled $396,200.00. The Callahan Company submitted two combined bids based on a price of $0.086 per cubic yard, for a total construction cost of $243,380.00 (National Archives and Research Administration II, Abstract of proposals, 10/26/32:3, Estimate to accompany abstract no. 33.133, 10/11/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, Serials 1097/1-542/1, College Park, Maryland). The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers accepted this bid and it awarded the Callahan Company the contract to build the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee.

On December 14, 1932, W.E. Callahan Construction Company was given notice to proceed on both the Point Pleasant and Bayou Goula Bend New Levees (National Archives and Research Administration II, letter from J.N. Hodges, 12/19/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 495, Folder 21, College Park, Maryland). The Callahan Company was required to begin work within 20 days, setting the commencement date between December 14 and 24, 1932. Furthermore, the contract called for the work to be completed within 300 days of the commencement date. Most likely, the Callahan Company

Figure 51. Excerpt from a 1933 Aerial of Cannonburg, Louisiana (Tobin International, LTD 1933).

first began work on the Point Pleasant Levee (R 867-A-C), which consisted of a 11.3 km (7 mi) long stretch of new levee construction, located 17.9 km (11.1 mi) upriver from White Castle, Louisiana. These three segments were completed within 9.4 months, allowing the Callahan Company to proceed with the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee between September and December of 1933.

The then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee was divided into two separate project items. Relief Item R 876-A, situated between old levee stations 5822+00 and 5968+00, protected the town of White Castle and several plantations including Texas, Cora, Annadale, Alhambra, and a portion of Belle Grove from high water. An estimated 395,000 cubic yard were proposed for new levee construction, while 105,000 cubic yard were needed for levee enlargements (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32:10v, pt. 34.19, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland). Extant records indicate that the Callahan Company began construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee in September of 1933, when inspectors noted an active caving bank in the area. The safety of the levee enlargement between stations 5822+58 and 5876+96, which was located approximately 5.1 km (3.2 mi) upriver from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, was called into question shortly after construction. The proposed work between the above-mentioned stations was eliminated, thus reducing the original bid's estimate by 61,000 cubic yard or $5,246.00 (National Archives and Research Administration II, Memorandum for General Pillsbury, 10/25/33, Change Order No. 1, Contract No. W1096eng-2373, 10/12/33, Record Group 77, E112, Box 496, Folder 23, College Park, Maryland).

Relief Item R 876-B, situated between then-extant levee stations 5968+00 and 6061+44, encompassed a portion of the Belle Grove, Cannonburg, Old Hickory, and Claiborne Plantations. It was designed to a reach a height of 4.9 to 6 m (16 to 20 ft), and required approximately 500,000 cubic yard of soil to complete this construction (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, Item R876 Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans, Louisiana) (Figure 52). The Bayou Goula Bend New Levee was designed utilizing the soil conditions consistent with a Type "B" cross section, which consisted primarily of loam. Embankment requirements specified that construction slopes could not be steeper than 0.3 m (1 ft) vertical to 0.76 m (2.5 ft) horizontal (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32:10v, pt. 34.19, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland) (Figure 53). The contractor was directed further to remove all available soil from the existing levee, i.e., between old levee stations 6054+00 and 6060+00 and use it in the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. According to the contract's specification, riverside borrow pits could be used during construction, and removal of material from the old levee between stations 5970+50 and 6054+00 was available, but not required. Furthermore, the formal bid explicitly stated:

> no material shall be obtained within the limits of the [Cannonburg] cemetery between approximate stations 5996+00 and 5998+00. Material for the construction of the levee within the cemetery area will have to be obtained from pits upstream or downstream therefrom (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32:10v, pt. 34.19, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland) (Figure 54).

During a conversation with Reverend Baptiste of the Braziel Baptist Church, Ms. Eloise Stevens, who was nine years old in 1933, remembered when the men came to clear the land and dig the inspection, or muck, ditch for the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. She recalled:

> Stevens: They had bends all in the levee. You know, bends, like big "V's" and things. And they built this levee to get all that out. And they dug a big canal, I guess twenty-five feet deep, and you could look down in it because I was afraid of anything black water, when I was small. And daddy would try to get us to cross over and I hated to cross that black water. The thing was so deep, and the water looked like it was black because the sun couldn't get down there, you know. And I was afraid of it. So, in the middle of the levee, they got a big canal. And that keeps the levee from shifting. And that's when I first was aware of it, because we used to crop on the (unclear). And they

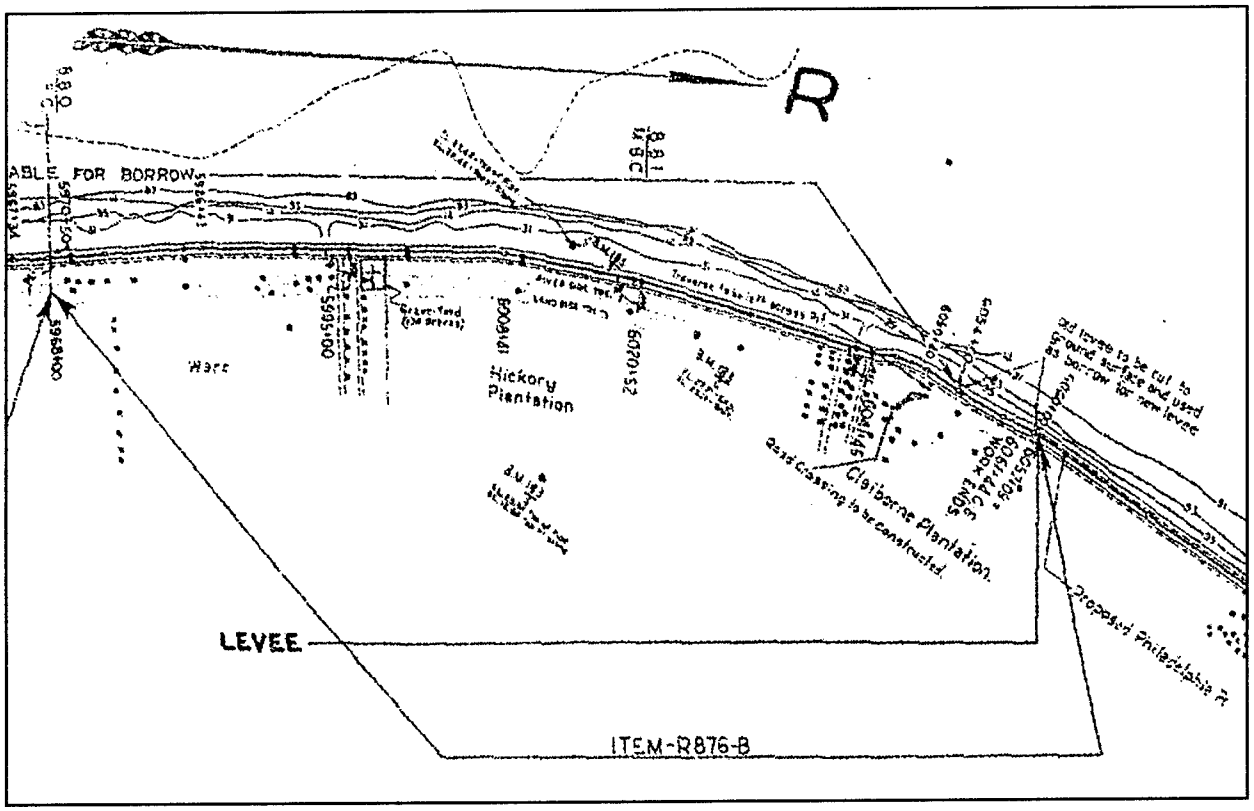


Figure 52. **Close up of Levee Relief Item R-876-B (CORPS, 1932, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans).**

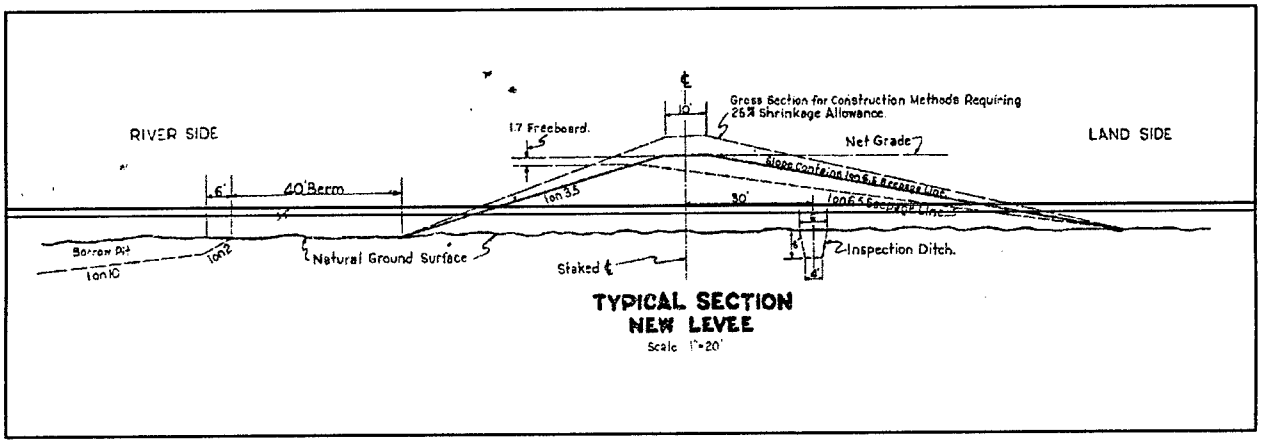


Figure 53. **Typical new levee section (CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans).**

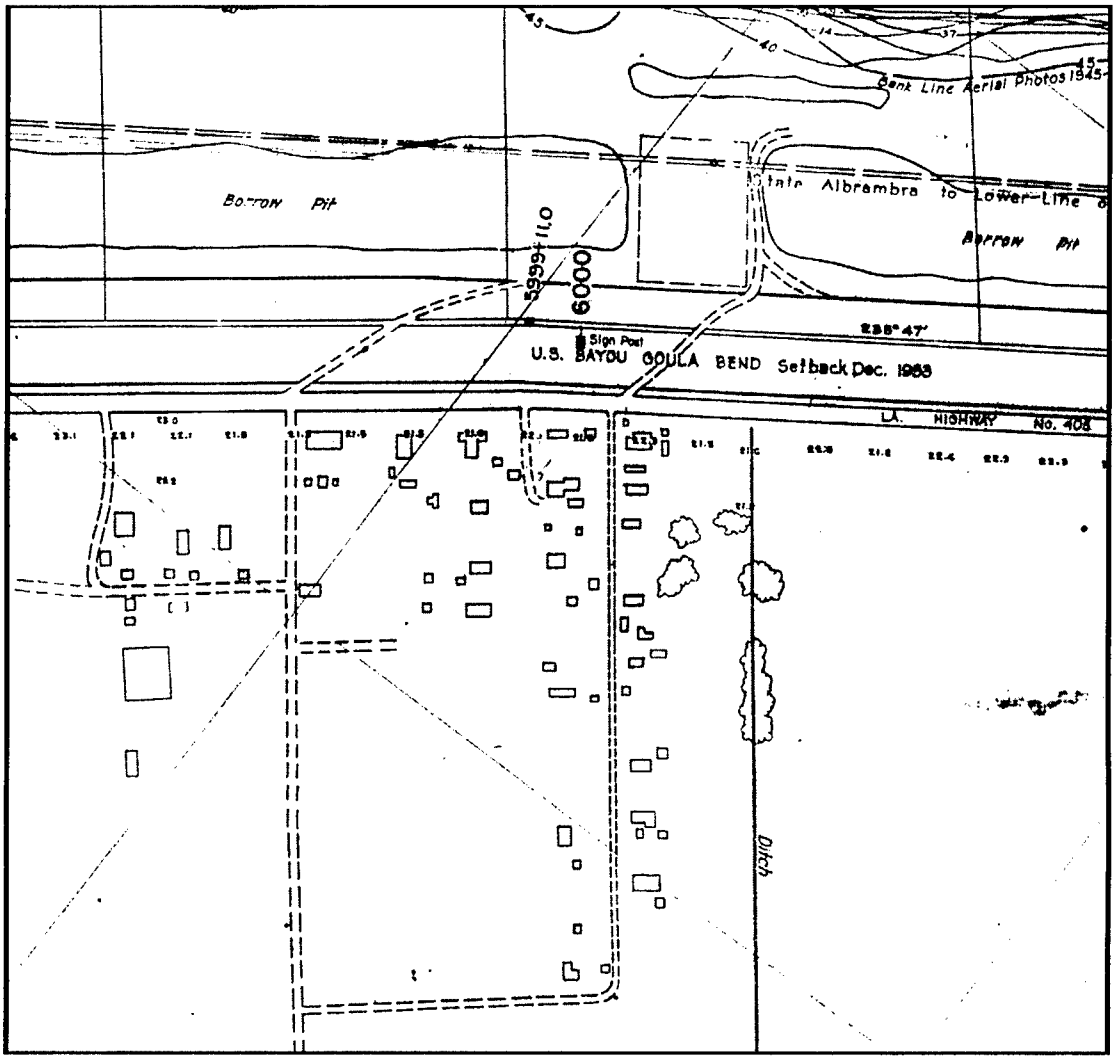


Figure 54. **Caving Bank Survey (CORPS, Caving Bank Survey, 1945:98, File H-22-24483-98, New Orleans).**

had put a plank there for us to cross. And I was so afraid to cross that plank, you know.

Baptiste: How wide was it? How far from one side to the other?

Stevens: I don't know. It was huge to me, but I was a kid then (1999:15-16, 25).

In actuality, the inspection ditch probably was much smaller. The purpose of the trench was to identify buried obstructions that might have interfered with the structural integrity of the levee. A standard muck ditch was situated approximately 15 m (30 ft) landside of the proposed levee crown (Figure 53). This ditch used to inspect the future location of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee measured 1.8 m (6 ft) in width at the top by 1.2 m (4 ft) at the bottom; it measured approximately 1.8 m (6 ft) deep (Figures 55 and 56).

Foundation preparation and ditch excavation for the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee was completed approximately 60.9 m (200 ft) in advance of the main embankment construction. Employees for levee contractors often worked a rigorous 24-hour schedule, operating through the night while supervising two to three work shifts. Ms. Stevens recollects these activities on the property encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. She remembered:

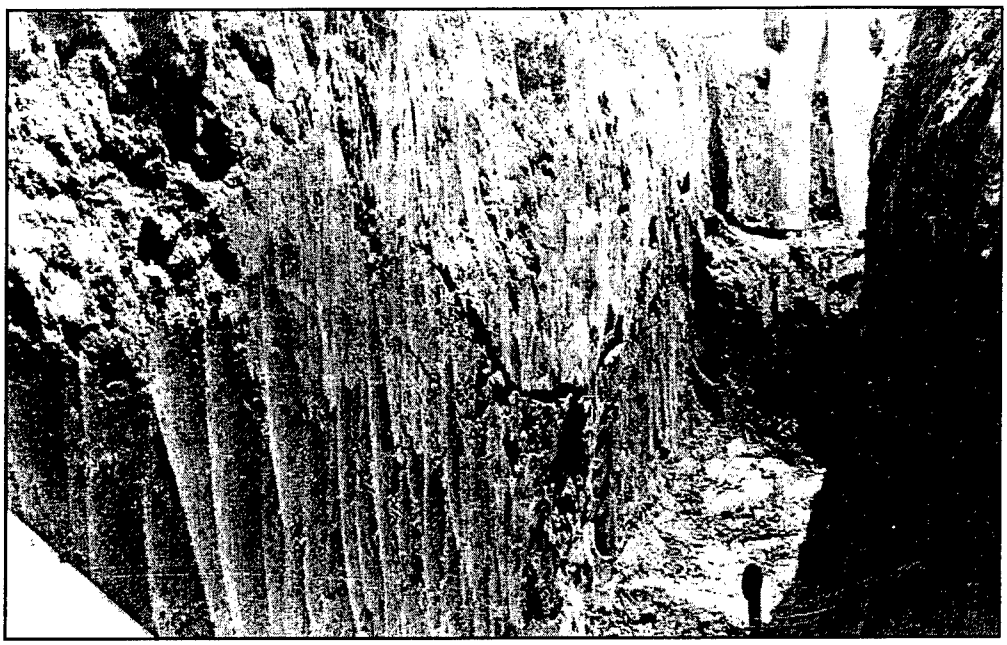


Figure 55. **Inspection or muck ditch view 1 (NARAII, July 1937, RG77-MD, Box 7, Album 18, College Park). Note person in top right corner for scale.**

> when they got to the cemetery, they stopped. They had a big dredge boat. And they stopped till night. And you could see the pieces of casket and stuff falling out of the big boon, you know. You could see it falling at night. But caskets was, you know, they was digging up dead people. They didn't do it until at night. And we was sitting up there on grandma's back porch, and we could see it. You know, how they was digging up dead people (Stevens, personal communication, 1999:16).

The original construction contract allowed 300 days for completion of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee; the date for completion was October 10, 1933. The report on contract completion indicated that construction had been delayed due to high water levels during the flood season. In the event of high water, a stipulation had been included in the contract giving the contracting officer the right to suspend operation for safety reasons (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32:9, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland). The Callahan Company completed the first portion of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (R 876-A) on December 15, 1933, while the second portion (R 876-B) had been completed a month earlier, i.e., on November 9, 1933. Before the Callahan Company could relinquish responsibility for the levee, it had to be inspected and approved by the contracting officer. The Bayou Goula Bend New Levee was approved on December 19, 1933, and payment of $80,271.00 was made to the Callahan Company (National Archives and Research Administration II, Report of completion of contracts, 2/21/34, Record Group 77, E112, Box 497, Folder 26, Serial 1476-1540, College Park, Maryland).

Contractors clearly had future bids riding on the successful and timely completion of every job. In one case involving the Callahan-Walker Construction Company from Omaha, Nebraska, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers withheld payment as a result of significant delays in the completion of a levee project. The company pleaded its case in court, arguing that not only was payment due, but that penalties incurred for each overdue day should be expunged because the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers changed the scope of work during the course of the contract. Moreover, they claimed, that U.S Army Corps

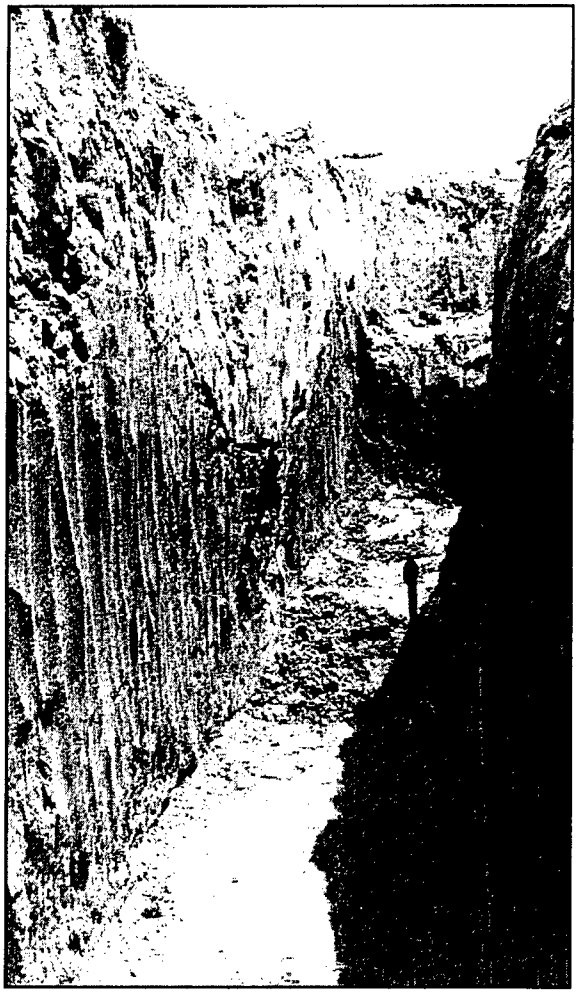


Figure 56. Inspection or muck ditch view 2 (NARAII, July 1937, RG77-MD, Box 7, Album 18, College Park). Note shovel handle for scale.

of Engineers personnel responsible for on-site inspection repeatedly prevented them from using the soil from the batture, as the contract specified. As a result, the contractor asserted, they had to bring in fill for the levee from a distant source, changing both the timetable and the cost of construction (National Archives and Research Administration II, Miscellaneous Letters, Record Group 77, E112, Box 496, Folder 22, Serials 1126-1200, College Park, Maryland).

This lawsuit highlights several points. Every day over the allotted completion date that a levee project continued, the contractor was penalized. In addition, the Corps was on-site each day, and they were concerned with the material used for fill. Finally, contractors were careful to abide by all U.S. Army Corps of Engineers regulations, or at least give reasons why compliance was impossible. Contractors were well aware that a poor record in the eyes of the District Engineer, the person responsible for awarding future contracts, could very well damage their chances of procuring future work during a period when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was rebuilding the entire expanse of the river bank, and authorizing the expenditure of several hundred million dollars worth of levee work each year.

The Braziel Baptist Church and Levee Construction in Iberville Parish

Little documentation exists concerning the early organization of the Braziel Baptist Church. Oral history suggests the that church originally was known as the Mt. Salem Baptist Church, although this appears to have been interchangeable with Braziel Baptist Church until the turn of the twentieth century. The first and only written record of the name Mt. Salem Baptist Church appears on a map dating from ca. 1892 (Figure 57). Reverend John Ashley organized the church some time after the Civil War, and the congregation consisted largely of Freedmen and women (Braziel Baptist Church 1975). It certainly was established prior to 1872, when Brother James Tate, a member of the "Bazil Baptist Church," was ordained as pastor on the recommendation of "Rev. John Ashby, minister and layman," representing the Zion Traveler Churches (Iberville Parish Public Courthouse, Miscellaneous Acts 3, #558). Westly Bryant may have succeeded Tate as pastor of the congregation (Iberville Parish Public Courthouse, Probate No. 13: Preliminary Statement). According to oral history, in 1909 a severe storm destroyed the original Mt. Salem Church structure, at which time Reverend Alexander Reese split from the church to form the Mt. Zion Baptist Church at White Castle, Louisiana (Braziel Baptist Church 1975; Stevens 1999:32, personal communication). Reverend Thomas Gross rebuilt the church on the Mt. Salem foundations and officially renamed it the Braziel Baptist Church. Several men held the position of pastor

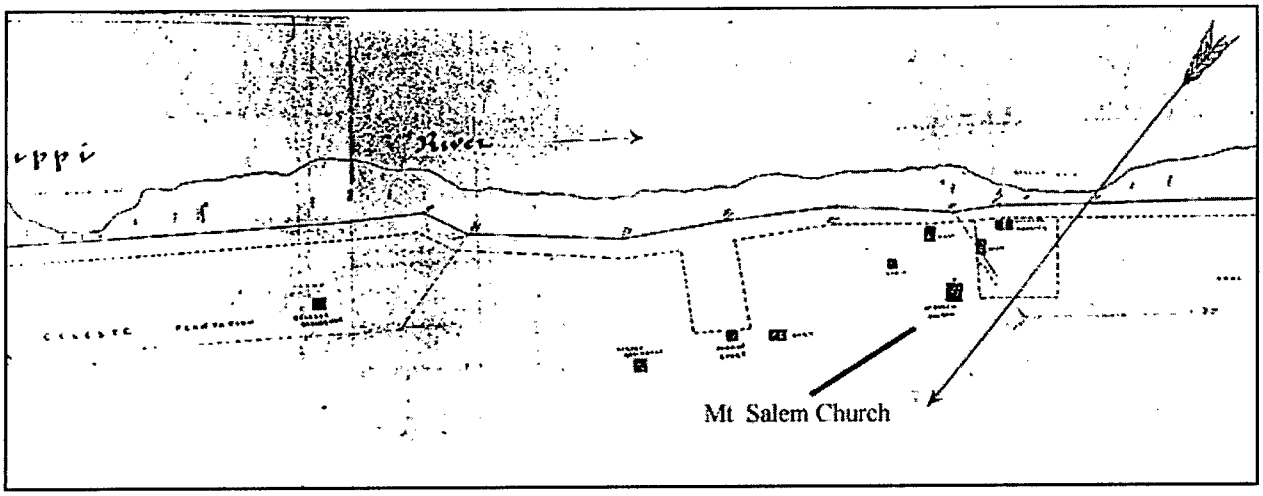


Figure 57. Levee construction map, Celeste and Mt. Salem area, ca. 1892 (DPW, LD4-1031-1).

between 1909 and 1933, including the Reverends Jackson, Lemuel Lockett, Harold Hall, Walker Williams and R. Billops, respectively.

Most of the correspondence relating to the levee construction and clearing of the right-of-way in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church was directed to Reverend Williams, including the above-mentioned contract signed by Mr. Cafiero. However, the short, hand written note referring to the removal and re-interment of graves is signed by "R. Billops, pastor." In the fall of 1932, Mr. Cafiero moved the church building to its present location (Figure 58).

Certainly, the oral history strongly suggests that most burials had not been removed from the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. Ms. Eloise Stevens, for example, recalled:

> And then at night, they went with that big boom and they dug up all the dead people. See, all the people was still there that was in graves. They couldn't move, they were rushing them so fast they didn't have time to move them (Stevens, personal communication, 1999:25).

The only evidence of removal of some of the burials associated with the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is indicated by the presence of three grave markers in the current Braziel Baptist Church cemetery in Cannonburg (Figure 59); however, the testimony above suggests that the representatives from the Braziel Baptist Church did not have time to remove the actual burials, suggesting that the stones were the only objects removed prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (Stevens 1999:6, personal communication).

The gravestones date from a one week period between October 5 and 12, 1918. The burials of Mr. Nathan Thompson, age 29, Mr. Aramais Thomas, age 28, and Mr. Johnny Gibson, age 21, measuring approximately 0.46 x 1.2 m (1.5 x 4 ft) were furnished cement markers (Figures 60 and 61). Each marker had a symbol of a waving flag with the words "AT REST" stamped below (Figure 62). Research at the Donaldsonville Protestant Cemetery, in Donaldsonville, Louisiana resulted in the identification of two additional gravestones of identical design. One of the stones commemorated the death of Mr. Eugene Baptiste in August of 1918, while the second memorialized the passing of Mr. Jerry Gross in 1923 (Figure 63). Their location in a predominately white, protestant cemetery suggests that the symbol was not associated with Baptist benevolent societies or a strictly African American affiliation. Archival research conducted with the Veterans Administration, the Arlington National Cemetery, and the Gravestone Studies Organization, as well as personal communications with Historians Wanda Lee Dickie from the Chalmette Battlefield, Louisiana, and Dr. Martin Gordon, and Mr.

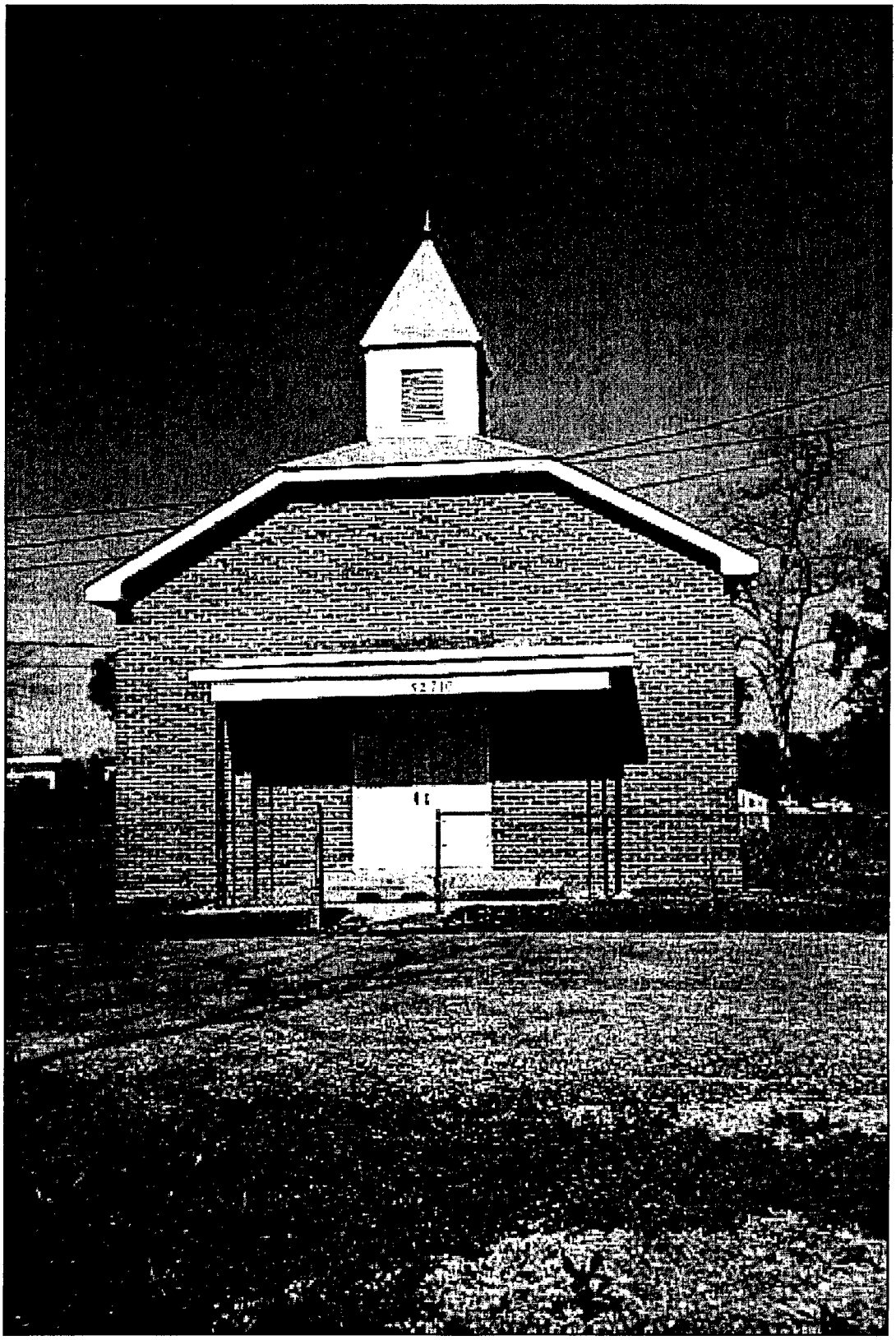


Figure 58. **Braziel Baptist Church, Iberville Parish, LA.**

Figure 59. Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery, 1933 to present, Iberville Parish, LA.

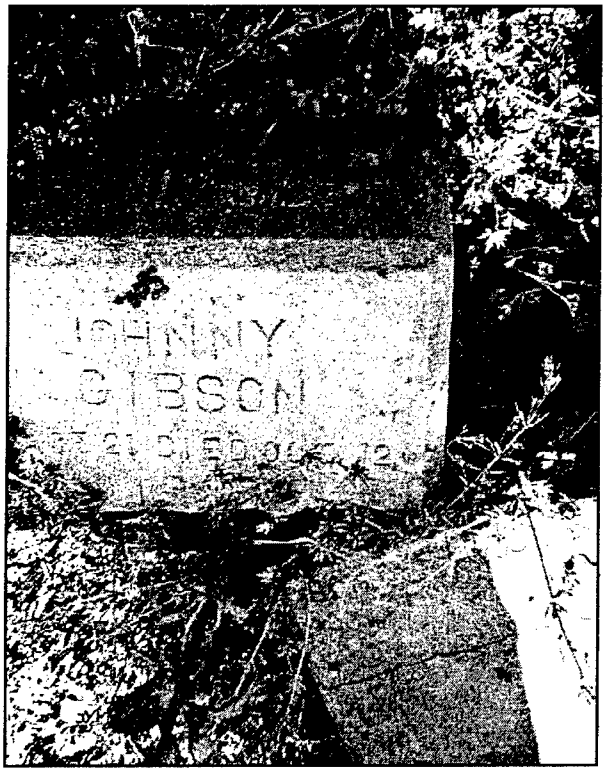


Figure 60. Gravestone at Braziel Baptist Cemetery.

Figure 61. Gravestone at Braziel Baptist Cemetery.

Figure 62. Detail of symbol on J. Gibson headstone in Braziel Baptist Cemetery.

Martin Reuss of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers headquarters confirms that this particular flag was not used as a standard military grave marker; however, no alternative identification has been forthcoming.

The Braziel Baptist Church was not the only church in the immediate area affected by levee construction; several churches were moved due to levee setbacks between 1929 and 1933. The St. Matthew Baptist Church in the town of Plaquemine, Louisiana was affected by construction of the Union Levee (R-862) setback in 1933. At that time, Atchafalaya Basin Levee District Vouchers #979-983 totaled $2700.00 in payment to that church for the appropriation of land and improvements within the proposed levee right-of-way corridor, including moving the "church building, a dwelling, and tomb(s)" (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Voucher 979, 11/11/33, Voucher 980-983, 11/22/33, Reel 12.43, Microfilm Roll 2, Port Allen, Louisiana). In addition, a 1929 newspaper account related the disinterment and reburial of 263 bodies from the St. Paul Catholic Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana prior to the construction of the Bayou Goula New Levee (*Weekly Iberville South* 6/8/29:1). Also in the Town of Bayou Goula:

> a cemetery over fifty years old, setting back more than a half mile from the river when it was first opened, was finally reached on the third building of the levee and the bodies had to be moved, when they could be moved, some to New Orleans, others to St. Raphael Cemetery four miles up the river; but, many remaining in the ground under the new levee, or behind it on the riverside.
>
> The same thing happened at the old brick church near St. James Station in St. James Parish on the West bank. And there is now a threat of the same destruction to the cemeteries at Brusley Landing in West Baton

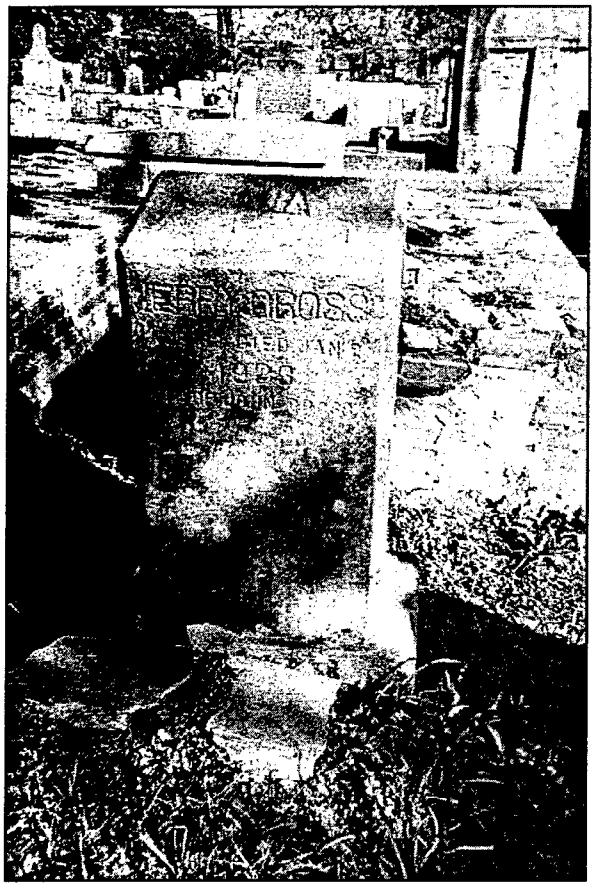


Figure 63. Headstone of Jerry Gross at Donaldsonville Protestant Cemetery.

Rouge Parish, at St. Gabriel in Iberville Parish and at Convent in St. James Parish (Hebert 1933:15).

Located within the vicinity of the Point Pleasant Levee Item (R-867), the Second Mount Olive Baptist Church is close to the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Documentation from the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District indicates that a payment of $36.75 was made to the church for land appropriation. In addition, another $800.00 for moving the improvements located on the property; no mention is made of the existence or the necessity to move an associated cemetery (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Mississippi River Levees Claim Payments Index--Point Pleasant Levee, 4/13/33:49, Letter to E.P. Blanchard, 1/27/33, Reel 11.18, Microfilm 4, Port Allen, Louisiana).

Modifications to the design of the new levee were made for the St. Gabriel Cemetery on the St. Gabriel Levee (L 868), in Iberville Parish. In order to avoid the cemetery, the contractor petitioned to change the borrow pit locations, which incurred some additional costs for hauling material (National Archives and Research Administration II, Modification of Contract No. W1096eng-1923, 11/29/32, Record Group 77, E112, Box 495, Folder 21, College Park, Maryland). In addition, in the case of the Lucky Hit Levee, on the Atchafalaya River, two graves were identified during the clearing of the right-of-way. For the cost of $2.50 per body, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District paid George Shaw to remove the burials and re-inter them at another location (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Voucher 13995, 10/17/33, Reel 12.43, Microfilm Roll 2, Port Allen, Louisiana).

While specific standards appear to have been in place with regard to the treatment of cemeteries encountered during levee construction, the specifications themselves were not recovered as a result of this research. Correspondence emphasizes the necessity to identify graveyards or individual burials in advance of the proposed construction, thus allowing the levee boards time to remove the graves or to include pit traverses within the vicinity of the identified cemeteries (Southwest Regional Branch of the National Archives and Research Administration, Circular Letter: Cemeteries Encountered in Levee Locations, 5/9/32, Misc. A. 2/2-585.2, Ft. Worth, Texas). The large pit traverse located within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex indicates that no borrow pits were excavated within the cemetery proper. It appears, however, that the actual treatment of grave relocations varied by circumstance, including the ability of the contractor to avoid the cemetery, the necessity of relocating graves, and moving borrow pits (National Archives and Research Administration II, Invitation for Bids, 9/24/32:10v, pt. 34.19, Record Group 77, E112, Box 44, College Park, Maryland).

Summary

In summary, historical research into the design and construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee in 1933 has documented several facts concerning the process and agencies involved in authorizing and overseeing the construction activities. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was responsible for identifying areas in need of flood protection. That agency then appropriated the funds for the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New levee, and it awarded a contract for the construction of the artificial flood control structure. In turn, the individual levee district, in this case the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, was responsible for obtaining the rights-of-way from landowners, and contracting for the removal of houses, outbuildings, fences, telephone lines, and electric lines - in short, for all improvements existing within the then-proposed right-of-way corridor. The Atchafalaya Levee District then issued Certificates of Indebtedness for both the rights-of-way and for the clearing of the land; the certificates were then paid, in most cases, several years later, when their parent organization, the State Board of Engineers, made the funds available. These state organizations also worked with the Department of Public Works, which was responsible for the parallel job of building a new and separate levee road.

Unfortunately, the historical research provided no clear resolution as to who was responsible for moving the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee in 1933. If a separate contract for the removal and reburial of the interments existed, no documentation can be found in the records of the State Board of Engineers, the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, the Department of Public Works, or with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The only documentation related to the removal of the burials that was encountered as a result of this research was the above-mentioned hand-written letter from the Braziel Baptist Church committee to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District and the permit from the Board of Health regarding the removal of the interments. It seems highly likely, given the testimony of Mr. William Dupree, that the contract with the Braziel Baptist Church to move the church "building and all improvements" was to include the cemetery as well. This would also account for why the price of moving that building was so much more than that charged to relocate other buildings in the area. If Mr. Cafiero and his company shouldered this responsibility, it is not evident in the extant historical record. Moreover, it is equally unclear whether, if it was his responsibility, Mr. Cafiero then subcontracted with the church or some other party to move the cemetery, or whether he simply did not move the cemetery at all. In either case, both historical research and archeological findings suggest that at least a portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex may remain within the vicinity of Bayou Goula Bend New Levee as it is known today.

CHAPTER IV

LAND TENURE HISTORY

Introduction

The parcel of land encompassing the original Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) occupies the northeastern portion of Section 7 of Township 10S, Range 13E in Iberville Parish, Louisiana. Historically, the parcel was part of a plantation that has been cultivated since the late eighteenth century. This particular area was utilized by the local church for worship and as a cemetery at least as early as the mid-1870s. This chapter presents a general overview of the land tenure history of that portion of Section 7 that once was home to the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. A schematic representation of the general land title history of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) also is provided (Figure 64).

Certain terms used in this chapter refer to archaic or seldom used units of measure. Among these is the linear arpent, roughly equivalent in length to 58.54 m (192 English ft or 180 French ft), as used in the U.S. Township Surveys of Louisiana. The superficial arpent is equal in area to approximately 0.40 ha (0.85 of a "superficial acre"). Another French measure is the toise, a linear unit equivalent to a fathom, or roughly 1.95 m (6.4 English ft or 6 French ft) (Waddill n.d.; Walker 1995:2). A more commonly known term of measurement utilized throughout this chapter is the hogshead. According to the nineteenth century sugar crop records cited in this chapter, the antebellum hogshead held approximately 454 kg (1,000 lbs) of sugar; after the Civil War, the hogshead more commonly held between 499 and 544 kg (1,100 and 1,200 lbs) of sugar (Bouchereau 1868-1877, 1877-1890; Champomier 1844-1846).

Dupuy Family Tenure: Late Eighteenth Century to ca. 1830s

The *American State Papers* list Marie Cloatre [Clouatre], widow of Jean Dupuy, as the confirmed claimant of Land Certificate No. 70: "a tract of land . . . containing six arpents in front, and forty in depth, and bounded on the upper side by land of Blas Lejeune and on the lower side by land of Barthelemi Monpierre" (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:264). The Lejeune property, Land Certificate No. 53, for Sections 8 and 9 of Township 10S, Range 13E was granted to Blas Lejeune in 1774 (surveyed for him in 1772); however, the tract was confirmed during the early nineteenth century to a subsequent purchaser, Mr. Joseph Landry (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:263). By 1829, Sections 8 and 9 formed that piece of property owned by Evariste Lauve and Hart Moses Shiff that later would become Celeste Plantation. The Dupuy land in Section 7 eventually was incorporated into these holdings (Figure 65) (Surveyor General 1829-1830). By late 1793, the lower boundary of the Dupuy tract was confirmed by Land Certificate No. 263 to Joseph Orillon; he also owned Section 6 of the same township and range. The Orillon/Monpierre property formed the upriver portion of the plantation that by 1829 belonged to Baptiste Bergeron; it later became known as Old Hickory Plantation (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:281). These two plantations, Celeste and Old Hickory, historically marked the boundaries of Section 7.

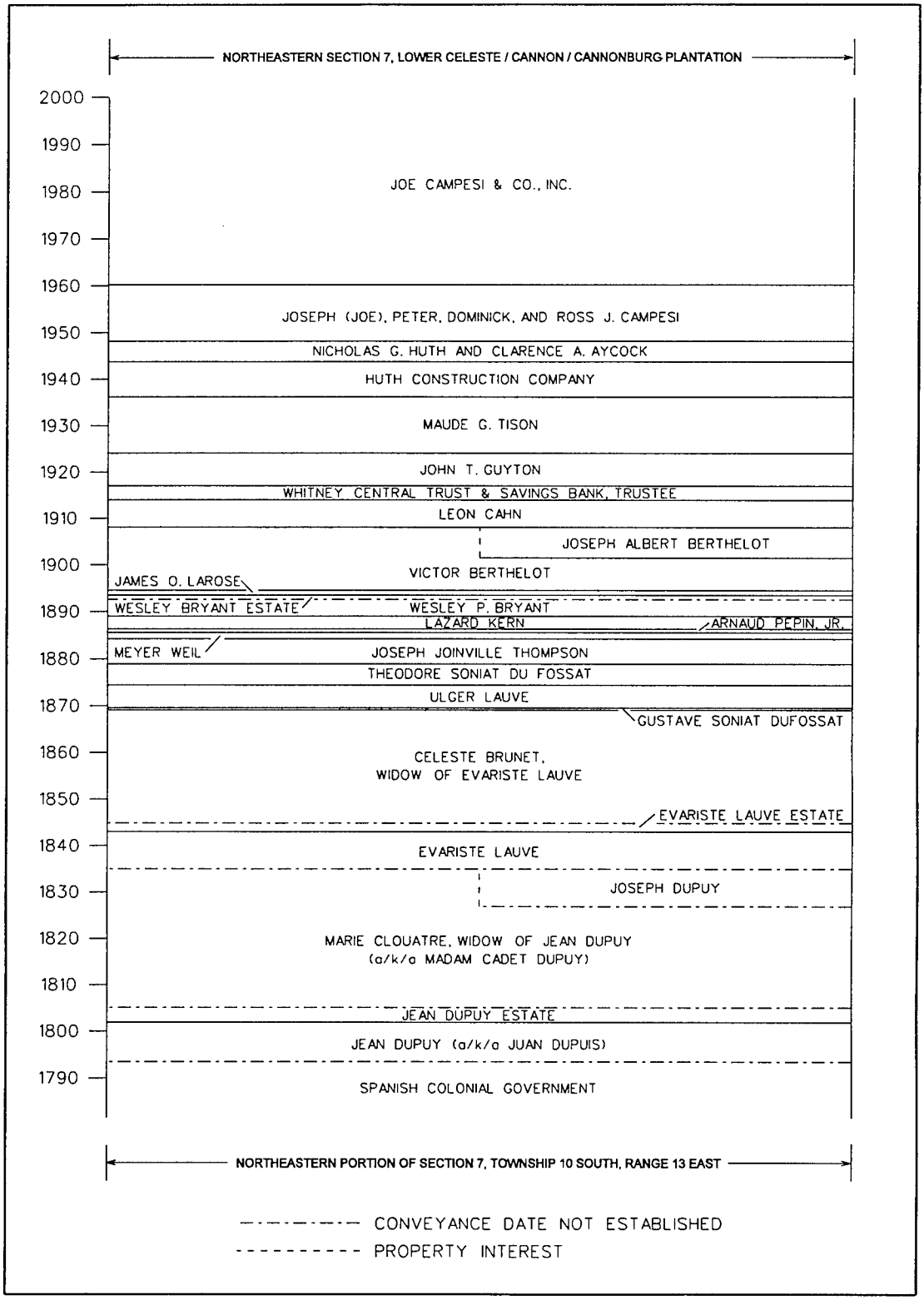


Figure 64. **Schematic representation of the general land title history of the project area in Section 7, Township 10S, Range 13E, located in the northeastern portion of the acreage formerly known as lower Celeste Plantation or Cannon/Cannonburg Plantation, Iberville Parish.**

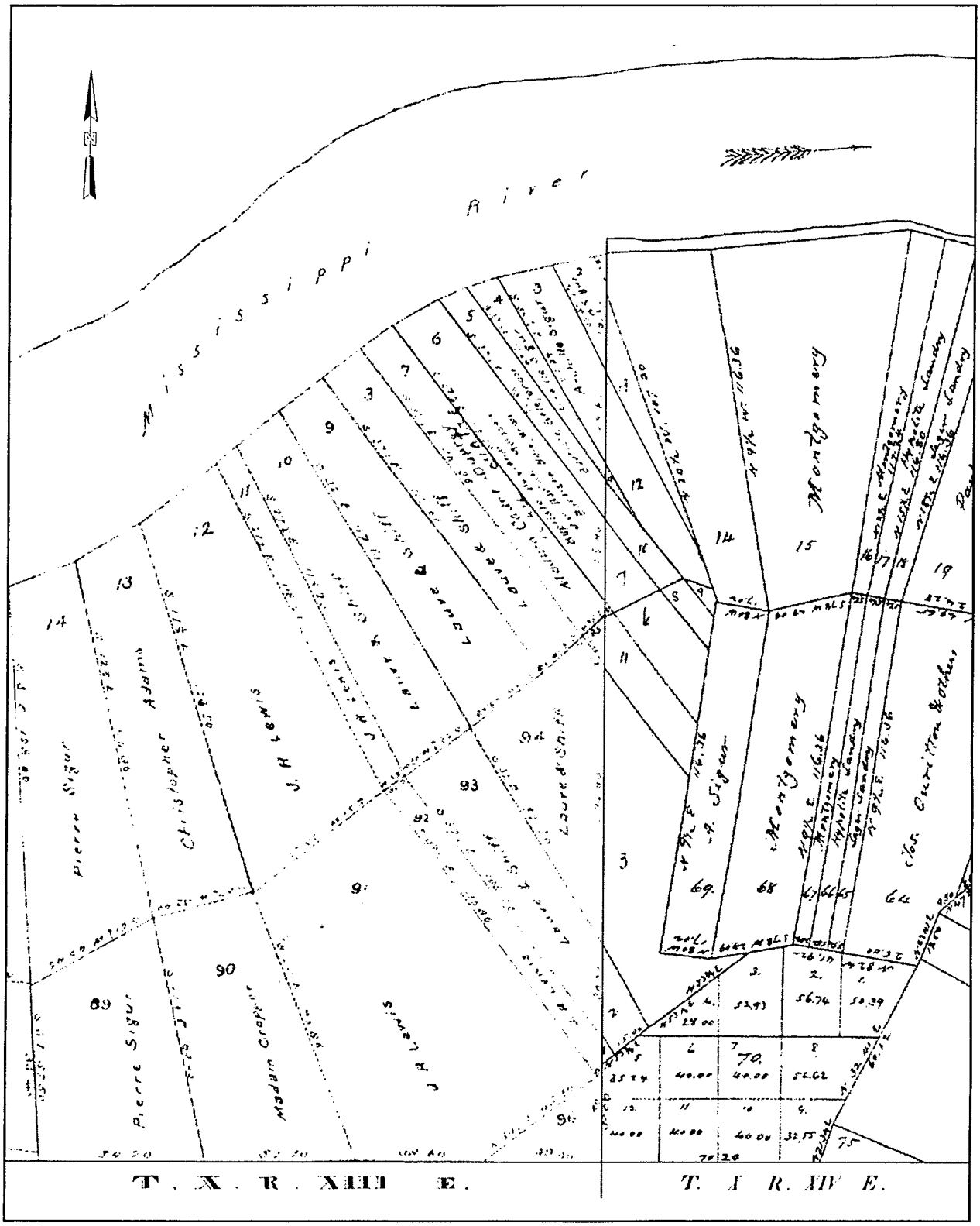


Figure 65. **[1829-1831] Excerpts from the Surveyor General's approved plats of Township 10S, Range 13E (1829), and Township 10S, Range 14E (1831), South Eastern District, Louisiana, in reference to the project vicinity. Map excerpts depict confirmed land claims with assigned section numbers.**

Claim No. 70, by Marie Clouatre Dupuy, consisted of land that in 1829 was divided by a township survey into Section 7 of Township 10S, Range 13E and Section 5 of Township 10S, Range 14E (Figure 65) (Surveyor General 1829-1830). The property apparently had been granted during the Spanish colonial period to her husband, Jean (or John) Dupuy. The *American State Papers* document that this tract of land was "continually inhabited and cultivated for more than ten consecutive years prior to the 20th December, 1803," i.e., since at least late 1793 (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:265).

Born January 24, 1773, Jean Dupuy was the son of Joseph Dupuy and his wife, Anne Marie Hebert, residents of Grand Pré, Acadia; they were among the early settlers (ca. 1767 - 1769) of Acadian Louisiana (the communities at St. Gabriel and Pointe Coupée, respectively). Jean Dupuy married Marie Cloatre [sic], daughter of Pierre and Madeleine Boudreaux Cloatre, on September 19, 1797, in St. Gabriel. Whether Dupuy actually resided within the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) prior to that is not clear; however, it is likely given how long the property had been "continuously inhabited." The public records of Iberville Parish contain several Spanish documents involving "Juan Dupuis" that were filed prior to the Louisiana Purchase; however, all apparently were recorded during the late Spanish regime ca. 1799 - 1802. Jean Dupuy died in April of 1802 at the age of 29 years, leaving behind his widow, Marie (Maria Clouatre Dupuis, in the Spanish records), and their minor children (Iberville Parish Clerk of Court [IPCC], Conveyance Records; Original Acts A-7, Entry No. 23; Riffel 1985:216).

This plantation apparently consisted of a small operation that was maintained under the tenure of the Widow Dupuy. The 1810 census of Iberville Parish listed Widow J. Dupuy as the head of a household of 7 free persons, 3 children under 16 years of age and 4 adults, and the owner of 6 slaves. By contrast, some of her neighbors held many more slaves. Pierre Belly, for example (Section 15) owned 85, Pierre Sigur (Section 14) owned 24, and Joseph Orillon (Section 10) owned 14 slaves (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:2:263, 281, 324; S-K Publications 1999:172-173).

Various transactions (executed in the French language after 1803) named Marie (sometimes spelled Marine) Clouatre as the widow of Jean Dupuy; however, by 1829, she apparently had remarried. The government township surveys including her property recorded her name as Madam Cadet Dupuy or Duprey (Figure 65) (Surveyor General 1829-1831). Furthermore, records indicate that Marie Clouatre Dupuy sold her Iberville property interests during the 1830s. Because she held land interests along Bayou Lafourche, it is possible that the Dupuys left Iberville Parish around that time to take up residence in the Lafourche country (IPCC, Conveyance Records; Lowrie and Franklin 1834).

Lauve Family Tenure: ca. 1830s to 1874

During the early nineteenth century, as early as 1807, according to one source, the partnership of Evariste Lauve & Hart Moses Shiff acquired Sections 8, 9, and 10 of Township 10S, Range 13E - the land tracts adjacent to Section 7, on the upriver side (Sternberg 1996:229). Together with the "back lots," Sections 93 and 94 of the same township and Sections 2 and 3 of Township 10S, Range 14E, Lauve & Shiff combined the parcels to form Celeste Plantation (Figure 65) (Surveyor General 1829-1830). In 1828, the partnership of Lauve and Shiff produced 250 hogsheads of sugar on their Iberville Parish plantation. This was the third largest sugar crop harvested in the parish during that season, and, although their sugar production fell to 182 hogsheads the following year, Lauve & Shiff still produced the parish's third largest sugar crop in 1829 (Degelos 1892:65).

At some time during the next decade, Lauve bought out Shiff, and he acquired the Dupuy tract, which adjoined Celeste Plantation on its lower boundary. Also during this time period, the partnership of Lauve & Shiff apparently was dissolved. By the time of his death in 1843, Evariste Lauve was the sole interest holder in the Celeste Plantation. Lauve was a native of New Orleans who had acquired land in Natchitoches Parish before moving to Iberville Parish. He named the Iberville riverfront property for his Acadian wife, Euphrosine Celeste Brunet, whom he married in Opelousas, Louisiana, on October 26, 1807 (IPCC, Conveyance Records;

Riffel 1985:64; Sternberg 1996:229). Evariste and Celeste Lauve were related to the Jean and Marie Dupuy family by marriage. Their son, Norbert, was married to one of the Dupuy great-nieces, Marie Antoinette Pamilia Dupuy. There were various other Lauve connections and also a peripheral family link to Shiff (Beazer 1996-2000; Riffel 1985:214-217).

By 1840, Evariste Lauve had acquired 94 slaves, 70 of whom worked the fields of Celeste Plantation (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840). Of these, three (Ephraim, aged 22 years; Dick, aged 40 years; and Helen, aged 20 years) were purchased in April of 1840 from Resin P. Bowie, brother of Jim Bowie of Alamo fame. Bowie had acquired these slaves in New Orleans and he sold them to Lauve, who had been represented by his son Norbert, for a total of $2,100.00 (IPCC, Conveyance Book T, Folio 433, Entry No. 308 [COB T: 433, #308]). Unfortunately, as is so often the case, little else is known of the slaves who helped run Celeste Plantation.

When Evariste Lauve died in 1843 at the age of 63 years, he owned 80 slaves and his estate, which included 1,214 ha (3,000 ac) of land, was valued at $132,439.58 (Grace 1946:72). Following his funeral across the Mississippi River at St. Gabriel, Lauve was buried in a sepulcher that had been constructed in front of the Celeste sugarhouse. Since then, both the Lauve tomb and plantation house have been "swept away" by river flooding (Sternberg 1996:230).

After the death of her husband, Celeste Lauve continued to operate the family plantation throughout the Civil War years and briefly in the postbellum period, until her own death in 1869 at the age of 81 (Figure 66) (Persac 1858). Throughout that time period, the Widow Lauve remained one of the largest sugar planters and slave owners in Iberville Parish. In 1850, her property was valued at $115,000.00 and included 111 slaves. In fact, the slaves represented well more than 50 percent of her wealth. During the sugar cane season of 1851 - 1852, Celeste Plantation produced 250 hogsheads of sugar. A decade later, Celeste Plantation produced 635 hogsheads of sugar, an impressive increase of nearly 139 percent over the blighted 1859 - 1860 season, in which only 266 hogsheads were produced. The 1868 - 1869 sugar harvest reflected the economic decline of the Lauve family after the Civil War: 147 hogsheads, a 77 percent decrease from the boom season of 1861 - 1862 (Bouchereau 1869; Grace 1946:112; Menn 1964:238; Sternberg 1996:230; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860).

On September 4, 1869, Celeste Lauve lost the plantation through Sheriff's sale to one of her creditors, Gustave Soniat Dufossat of Paris. Less than two weeks later, Dufossat reconveyed the property back to the Lauve family, selling the plantation on September 15, 1869, to Ulger Lauve for $63,500.00, with a hefty mortgage. Lauve's mother, "said widow Evariste Lauve" was noted as "the partner to this act" (IPCC, COB 9:600, #382). Celeste Plantation was described in the document as:

> A certain plantation situated in the Parish of Iberville, on the right bank of the Mississippi & at about twenty nine leagues from the city of New Orleans & known as the "Celeste Plantation" measuring Seventeen arpents two toises, front on said [Mississippi] River, by forty arpents in Depth, opening by degrees on the upper line where it is bounded by lands of John Andrews, and by a Second Depth consisting of a tract of land beginning at said forty arpents, composed of about six hundred & forty arpents in area, and a portion of land situated in the said Parish of Iberville on said right bank of said River, measuring four arpents front on said River by about Seventy arpents in depth, between parallel lines, bounded above by the land above described and below by land of Mrs. O'Brien together with all the buildings & improvements thereon & thereunto belonging [sic throughout] (IPCC, COB 9:600, #382).

The last-enumerated land parcel (4 x 70 arpents) of this property description would have included the project parcel in Section 7 of Township 10S, Range 13E.

Celeste Brunet Lauve apparently died not long after these 1869 transactions. Nearly five years later, her son, Ulger Lauve, again lost the family plantation in a bankruptcy sale on June 19, 1874. The buyer was Theodore Soniat du Fossat of Jefferson Parish, who probably was related to earlier creditor Gustave Soniat Dufossat (IPCC, COB 13:423, #423; Sternberg 1996:230). With this conveyance, Celeste Plantation passed out of the hands of the Lauve family.

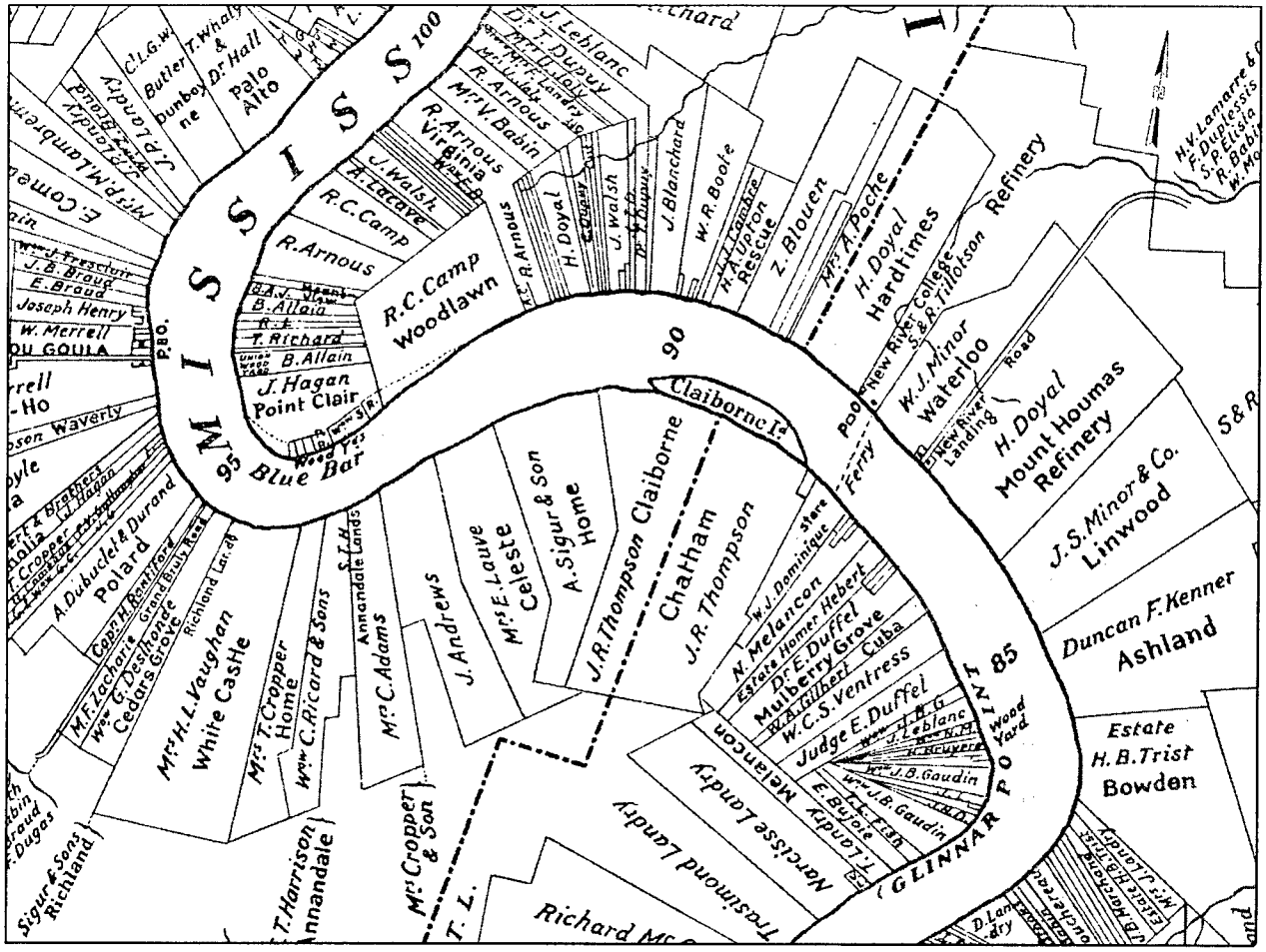


Figure 66. **[1858] Excerpt from Persac's *Plantations on the Mississippi River from Natchez to New Orleans* [Norman's Chart] , in reference to the project vicinity. Map excerpt depicts Mrs. E. Lauve's Celeste Plantation.**

After Ulger Lauve filed for bankruptcy, the court for the District of Louisiana, on April 4, 1874, ordered authorization to:

> . . . cancel all mortgages, judgments, liens and privileges standing against said property & particularly the following viz: . . . Privilege [special right, immunity, or benefit] claimed by Dominique Larre and James Tate, President Board Trustees of Brazil Baptist Church on certain buildings erected on said [Celeste] plantation reserving to the said parties . . . all their rights in law to the proceeds of the [upcoming bankruptcy] sale according to rank & priority [sic throughout] (Notarial Archives Research Center [NARC], Charles T. Soniat, 1874, Volume 2, Act No. 47).

Only a few months previously, the First Regular Baptist Association of Louisiana had filed a certificate of ordination on December 2, 1873, declaring that Brother James Tate "was called to ordination by the Bazil [sic] Baptist Church, of which he is a member" (IPCC, Miscellaneous Acts 3, #558). During examination of the Iberville Parish public records, these documents were determined to be the earliest entries found documenting the existence of the Braziel Baptist Church on the grounds of Celeste Plantation.

Late Nineteenth Century Land Tenure

The acquisition of the Celeste Plantation by Theodore Soniat du Fossat in June of 1874 marked the move away from the operation of the plantation as a family-run enterprise. In 1875 and in 1876, du Fossat executed two leases of the property in favor of Thomas Joseph Sellers, a Jefferson Parish resident who apparently moved to Iberville Parish in order to oversee management of the plantation. Each lease ex-

tended for one year, at $2,000.00 per annum and they ran from January 1, 1876, to January 1, 1878. Included in these leases were all buildings and improvements, as well as the right to use the plantation mules. Although the structures on the premises apparently were in some disrepair at the time, Sellers was required:

> during this term of the lease, to keep in good order and repair the buildings and improvements thereon, to keep the public road and levees in good order and repair, . . . and also . . . the fences on said leased premises, . . . at his own cost and charge (NARC, Charles T. Soniat, 1875 Volume 3, Act Nos. 50 and 84).

On December 20, 1878, du Fossat sold the lower portion of the Celeste Plantation to Joseph Joinville Thompson of Iberville Parish for $5,000.00, with a vendor's lien. The conveyed property was described in the document as:

> . . . the lower part of the Celeste Plantation, measuring more or less . . . five arpents front on the Mississippi River by a depth on the lower sideline of about fifty five and one third arpents (55 1/3 arps) and, on the upper sideline by a depth of about fifty nine and two thirds arpents (59 2/3 arps) the lower side line closing by degrees on the rear at a distance of about forty arpents from the river, the said portion of ground containing more or less two hundred and eighty seven (287) arpents in area and is bounded on the lower side and in the rear by lands now or formerly belonging to Mrs. O'Brien called the "Old Hickory" Plantation, on the upper line by the remaining "Celeste" Plantation, now belonging to the present vendor Theodore Soniat du Fossat . . . (IPCC, COB 13:628, #423).

This property description included Section 7 and the lowermost one-arpent frontage of Section 8, Township 10S, Range 13E (Figure 67) (Gournier 1878). Du Fossat "further declared that the buildings and improvements situated on the portion of ground above described and sold are not his property and belong to J. U. Babin and the Brazil [sic] Baptist Church, that the said buildings do not form part of this sale" (IPCC, COB 13:628, #423; NARC, Soniat, 1878, Volume 5, Act No. 100). It is possible that the cemetery already existed at this time, and it was, in the absence of some other specific wording, included in the term "improvements." The document also noted that the tract occupied by Babin was subject to a one-year lease, at $10.00 per month, due to end on December 31, 1878, but with the privilege of renewal for another year. While it is implied that Babin was the representative of the church, he may well have been the lessee of a store on the plantation grounds. An advertisement from ca. 1876-77 indicates that he was the proprietor of the Cannon Store (Bouchereau 1876:77, cited from Bryant et al. 1982:366).

It apparently was just before or during Thompson's tenure that the Cannon Store was constructed and the property became known as the Cannon Plantation. In December of 1878, J. J. Thompson purchased doors, flooring, shutters, and other building materials from L'Hote & Co. of New Orleans for use in the construction of the Cannon Store. During 1878 and 1879, Thompson also stocked the Cannon Store with fabric, thread, buttons, shoes, shirts, parasols, violin strings, and numerous other items from Samuel L. Boyd, Importer and Jobber in Dry Goods, a firm based in New Orleans. After shipping and delivering the merchandise to Thompson, Boyd filed an affidavit claiming his vendor's lien and privilege on the billed articles, which totaled $583.38 as of March 31, 1879 (IPCC, COB 16:34, #41; COB 16:37-41, #47-#52).

In October of 1879, Joseph J. Thompson completed an application for the establishment of the Cannon Store Post Office. The contractors listed were J. J. Brown and John W. Cannon, with Thompson serving as the proposed postmaster. The new postal service was housed in the Cannon Store and served an estimated 1,200 to 1,500 people on the New Orleans-to-Bayou Sara route, which delivered mail four times weekly. Prior to that time, area residents had to depend on mail carried to Hohen Solms, located 8.0 km (5.0 mi) southeast of the Cannon Store, or to Bayou Goula, situated 9.6 km (6.0 mi) upriver from the store (Figure 68) (U.S. Post Office 1879).

Various sources state that the Cannon Store and Plantation were named for Captain John W. Cannon, mentioned previously as the co-contractor for the post office. Unfortunately, the Iberville Parish records did not clarify his role in the operation of the store and plantation that carried his name. Cannon's local claim to fame appears to have been his steamer, the *John W.*

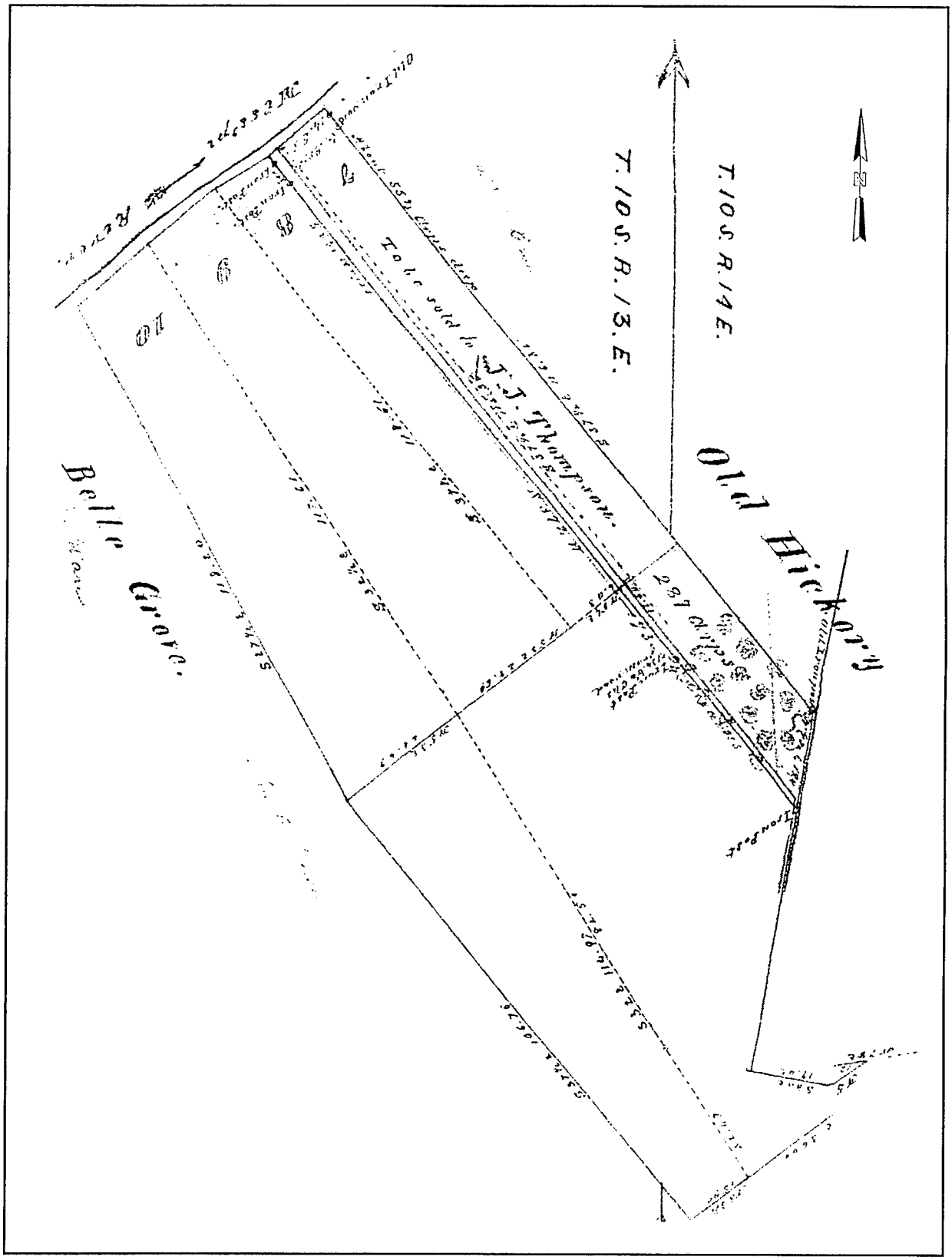


Figure 67. **[1878] Excerpt from Gournier's *Plan of Celeste Plant'n. . . . . Showing the subdivision of a tract of 5 arpents front* . . . . Map excerpt depicts the lower portion of the plantation, including Section 7 and the lower one-arpent frontage of Section 8, "To be sold to J. J. Thompson."**

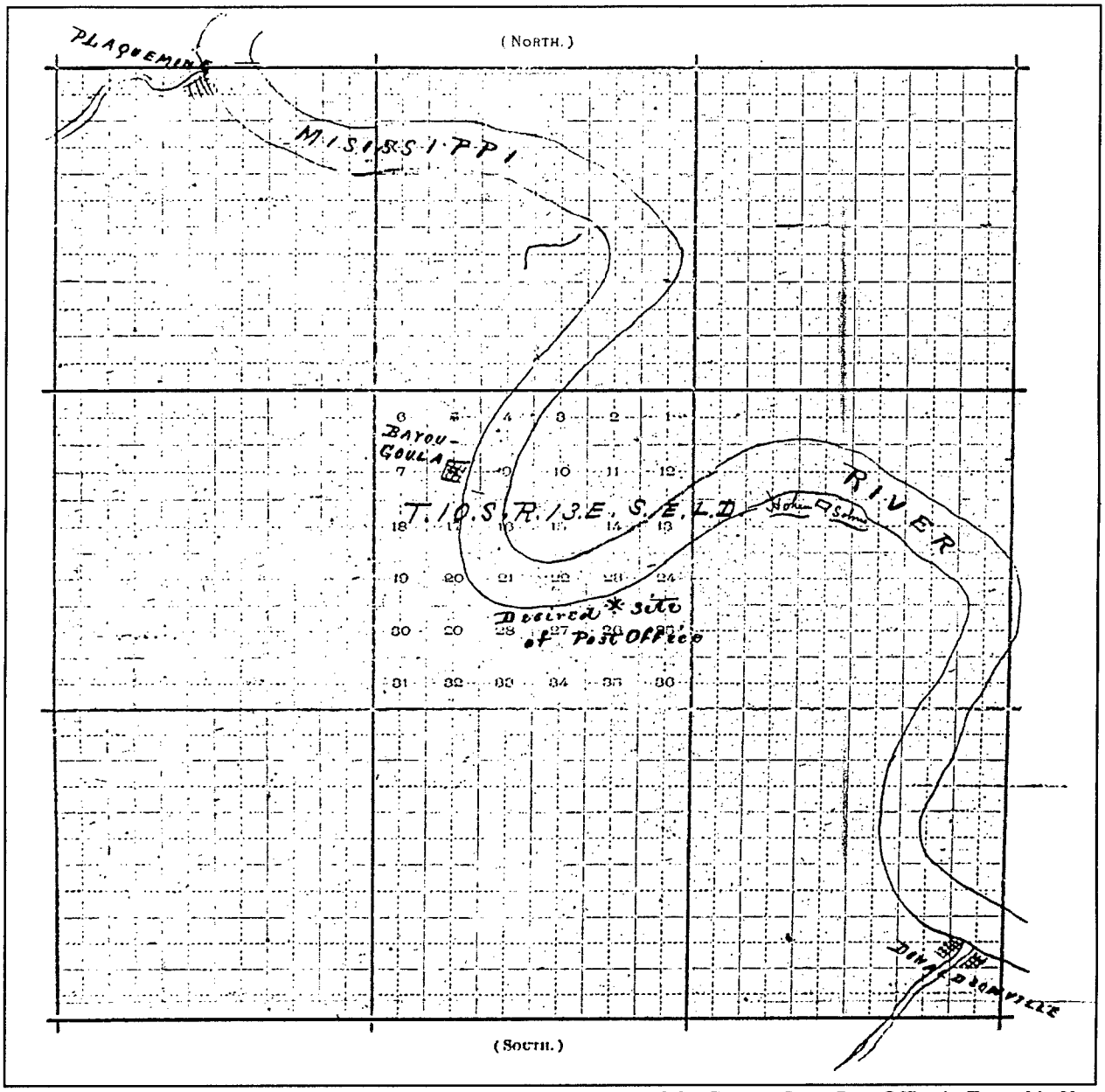


Figure 68. **[1879] U.S. Post Office's "Diagram showing the site of the Cannon Store Post Office in Township No. 10 S, Range 13 E . . . Parish of Iberville, State of Louisiana, with the adjacent Townships and Post Offices."**

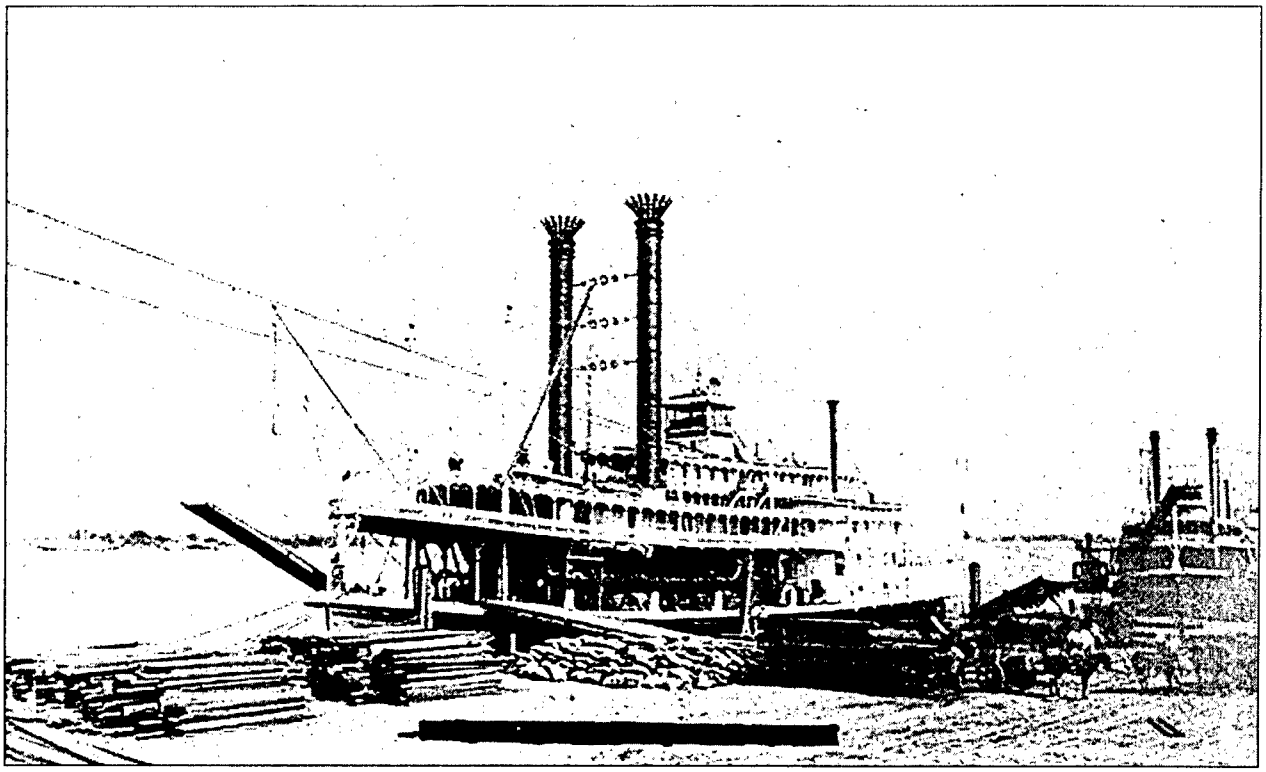


Figure 69. **Photograph of the steamer *John W. Cannon*, "built in 1878 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; John W. Cannon, master and owner" (Norman Collection, Photograph I-106).**

Cannon. The boat was constructed for him in 1878 at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and with it he won a much-heralded steamboat race (Figure 69) (Grace 1946:99-100; Riffel 1985:23; Sternberg 1996:230).

During this general time period, Thompson's property became known vernacularly as Cannon Plantation. On October 5, 1880, he filed an affidavit claiming the front 25 arpents (in area) of his plantation as his homestead. The improvements on this land tract, which measured five arpents along the Mississippi River front by a depth of five arpents, consisted of a store, the residence, an outhouse, kitchen, stable, and warehouse. Together with one horse, one wagon, one cart, three or four hogs, and "necessary corn and fodder for the current year," the entire homestead property was estimated at a value of approximately $2,000.00 (IPCC, Mortgage Book [MOB] 16:403, #408). The general layout of the Thompson homestead tract and structures, including the Cannon Store Landing, were depicted on the Mississippi River Commission map of the area, dating from 1882 - 1883 (Figure 70) (MRC 1884:68).

On July 1, 1882 (recorded February 19, 1883), Thompson leased his store, warehouse, and a "certain tract of land on which same are situated" for a four-year term to James O. Larose, a New Orleans merchant. Both parties agreed that Thompson would relinquish a portion of the rent "for whatever improvements the lessee [Larose] may wish to add to said premises." Furthermore, the two men agreed that Larose could sublet the property and that Thompson would "not pick up carry on or conduct a store of genl merchandize within five miles of his the Cannon Store without his [Larose's] consent" [sic throughout] (IPCC, Miscellaneous Acts 4, #285). It is likely that this stipulation was included to avoid a problem that Thompson had previously encountered - between 1877 and 1878, two advertisements in the *Sugar Manufacturer* announce competing stores in the vicinity of the Cannonburg Plantation, one run by Thompson, the other by J.U. Babin.

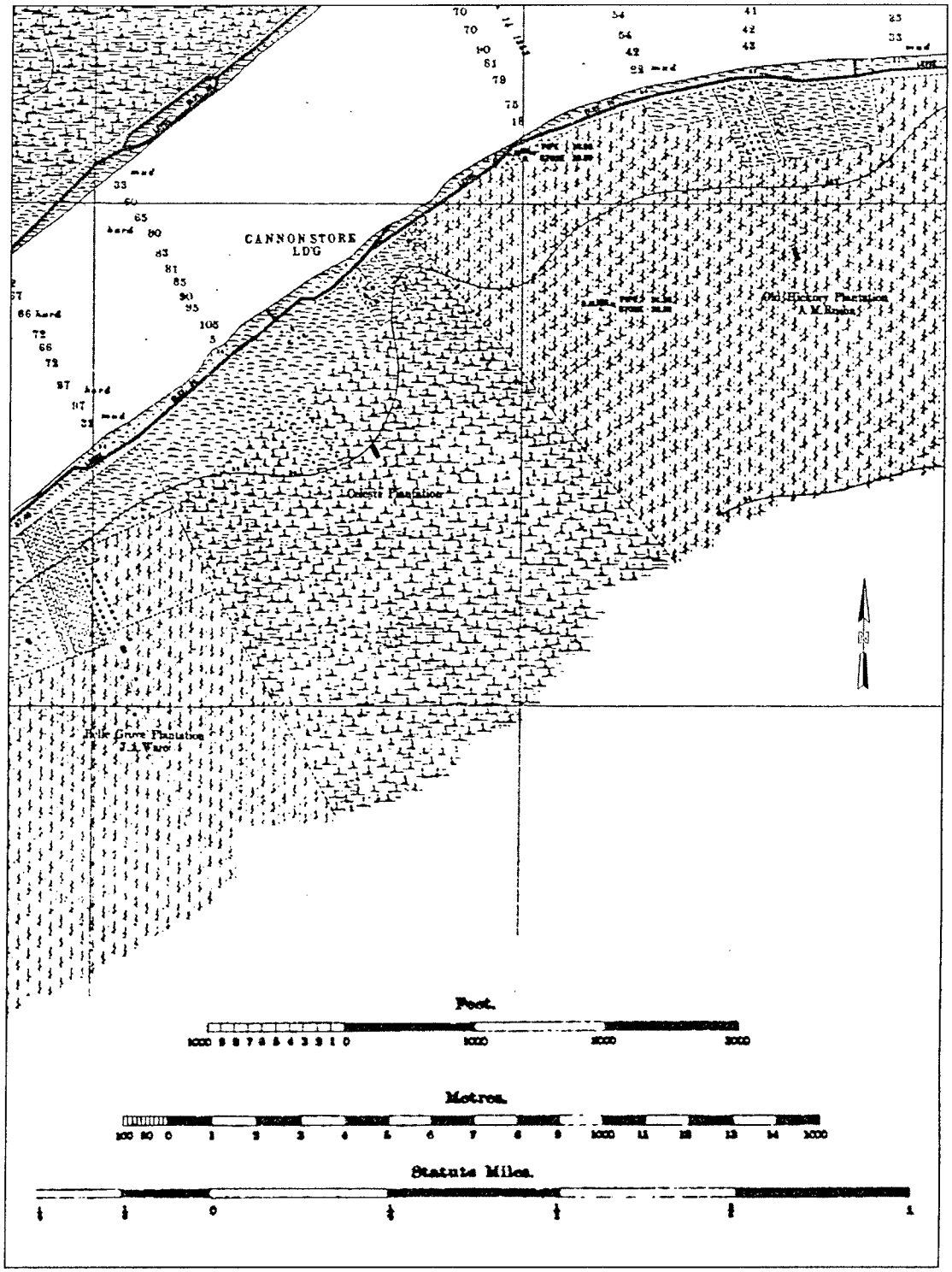


Figure 70. **[1884] Excerpt from the Mississippi River Commission's Survey of the Mississippi River, Chart No. 68, in reference to the project vicinity. Map excerpt depicts Celeste Plantation, including structures located in the lower (downriver) portion (northeastern corner) of the property that became known as Cannon, or Cannonburg, Plantation.**

Larose probably sought some assurance that Thompson would not impinge on his business, especially since Thompson was local and already had a clientele and reputation on the West Bank of Iberville Parish. Larose moved to Cannonburg shortly thereafter and succeeded Thompson as postmaster of the Cannon Store Post Office on March 2, 1883 (Riffel 1985:23; U.S. Post Office n.d.:678).

Joseph J. Thompson experienced serious financial troubles during the early 1880s. In October of 1881, there was a transaction between Thompson and Felix Sach (probably a sale-resale involving a vendor's lien) that apparently never was resolved satisfactorily. In May of 1884, the moveable property that had existed on the Thompson place at the time of that 1881 transaction was seized and sold by the U.S. Marshal in order to satisfy a $9,000.00 debt to Meyer Weil of New Orleans, who was, no doubt, the holder of Thompson's primary mortgage. The items sold included 6 mules, 2 wagons or carts, a drainage pump, a boiler, an Invincible thresher, and a hay press. Nearly two months later, in 1884, the U.S. Marshal also sold all 287 arpents of real estate, which was purchased by creditor Meyer Weil (IPCC, COB 18, # 170 and #174; MOB 19:99, #83).

A year after acquisition of the Thompson property, Meyer Weill sold the plantation for $8,000.00, with a mortgage, to Arnaud Pepin, Jr., of New Orleans. On June 26, 1886, Pepin sold the land parcel to Lazard Kern of St. John Parish, for the lower price of $6,500.00, with a mortgage. At this time, the property was described formally as the lower part of Celeste Plantation, fronting five arpents along the Mississippi River and measuring 287 arpents in area (IPCC, COB 18:224, #174; COB 19:125, #101).

During this period of transition, the parish tax rolls indicate that J. O. Larose maintained the Cannon Store. In 1885, James Tate was assessed for improvements on Weill's land, suggesting that he continued his charge of the Braziel Baptist Church, near which he may have built a home (IPCC, Tax Roll 1885). No tax records exist for the church, since religious organizations are not taxable, and the "tax exempt" books of the parish are no longer extant.

Under the tenure of Lazard Kern, Cannon, or lower Celeste, Plantation was subdivided into a number of small lots that subsequently were sold (through an agent, Abe Kern) to various landowners. Although documents do not say specifically, it is very likely that the tracts were purchased by sharecroppers. These acquisitions, most filed between 1887 and 1890, marked the beginning of the development of the village of Cannonburg. One of the first property sales appears to have been the Cannon Store lot; it measured 162 ft (49.4 m) front on the Mississippi River, by a depth of 744 ft (226.8 m). This parcel was sold on April 6, 1887, to store proprietor James O. Larose. Another conveyance was a small fenced plot, 35.9 x 45.7 m (118 x 150 ft), located on the west side of the village and away from the river; it was purchased on July 31, 1888, by the Reverend Alexander L. Reese, who presumably succeeded James Tate as minister to the Braziel Baptist Church. By mid-1888, the land descriptions referred to this area as the Village of Cannonburg (IPCC, COB 19, #333, #340a, #340b, #371, #417; COB 20, #246-#247, #253-#255; COB 21, #162, #165-#166).

The Iberville Parish conveyance records indicate that the project tract probably was included within the land parcel sold by Lazard Kern to Reverend Wesley Bryant on July 30, 1888, for the consideration of $518.00, with a mortgage. The Bryant lot was described as being located:

> . . . just below Cannon Store, measuring in front on the Public road along the Levee, one hundred and fifty three feet (153') [46.6 m] by a depth of between parallel lines of four hundred and twenty eight feet (428') [130.5 m] bounded in front by said public road, above by land of said Vendor, below by the Old Hickory Plantation of E. M. Rusha & rear by land of said Vendor (IPCC, COB 20, #255).

Kern reserved the batture in front of the land tract for his own use, probably because of the plantation landing located nearby. The document of sale did not note any structures or features situated on the property sold to Bryant; however, many of the researched public records make no such reference. By the early 1890s, though, the Iberville Parish tax rolls listed an unidentified church as the northern boundary for the Elizabeth Lockett parcel, which was the northernmost

of the taxed Cannonburg lots (IPCC, COB 20, #255; Tax Rolls 1892, 1893).

On September 20, 1888, Kern leased Cannon Plantation to Auguste Saulet for a one-year term, with the privilege of a two-year renewal. The property was described as containing approximately 280 arpents situated between the properties of J.O. Larose and Rucha [sic] (Celeste and Old Hickory Plantations, respectively), and it included a frame residence, stable, shed, and four cabins for laborers. Kern retained the right to continue to sell lots from the plantation and also the right to open a store during the lease period. Among other stipulations, Kern agreed to furnish to Saulet the lumber for construction of a rice flume (IPCC, COB 20, #375). The Mississippi River Commission survey of the area indicates that most of Cannon Plantation, depicted on the map as the lower, or downriver, portion of Celeste Plantation, had switched from sugar cultivation to rice during the 1880s (Figure 70).

Less than four years after acquiring Cannon Plantation, Lazard Kern (by then, residing in New Orleans) sold the property to James Oscar Larose for $3,800.00 in March of 1890. By that time, Larose already had acquired the adjacent Celeste Plantation. As in earlier conveyances, the land tract was referred to as the lower part of the Celeste Plantation, rather than Cannon; however, it was noted that the original 287 arpent property was "now a lesser quantity" due to the various Kern transactions. The document of sale also noted that a portion of the plantation was under lease to A. E. Hutchinson, whose term was due to expire at the end of November, 1890 (IPCC, COB 21, #247).

Approximately three years after his acquisition of lower Celeste Plantation, J.O. Larose also acquired the Wesley Bryant lot situated below the Cannon Store. Bryant died intestate sometime prior to April 25, 1893, and his estate administrator, Victor Berthelot, requested that his Cannonburg tract (assessed then at $100.00) and other property be sold in order to pay the Bryant debts (IPCC, Probate No. 13). The expenses of the Bryant "funeral etc. were borne by the church of which the deceased had been the pastor" (IPCC, Probate No. 13: Preliminary Statement). Although no church name was noted in the preceding statement, it is probable, given the location of his land parcel that Wesley P. Bryant was the minister of the Braziel Baptist Church, perhaps following Reverend Reese. On June 17, 1893, the Bryant tract, with all buildings and improvements, was adjudicated to J.O. Larose, who had been a Bryant creditor, for $100.00 cash in hand (IPCC, COB 23:547, #474; Probate No. 13). This acquisition placed J.O. Larose in possession of all of Celeste and Cannon Plantations, including the church and cemetery, save the several small lots already sold to various owners.

On April 12, 1894, nearly 10 months following his acquisition of the property, J.O. Larose sold the lower 287 arpents fronting the Mississippi River, excepting the parcels in the Cannonburg community. Iberville Parish resident Victor Berthelot, who had been the administrator of the Wesley Bryant estate, purchased the property for $10,000.00, with a mortgage. Besides the land, the plantation included all buildings and improvements; however, Larose reserved the right to retain possession of the residence, the Cannon Store, and all outbuildings and improvements associated with those structures "free of rent or charge of any kind" (IPCC, COB 24:488, #327).

On April 6, 1895, almost one year after the Larose conveyance to Berthelot, the Cannon Store post office was closed. The town of White Castle, founded ca. 1884 on part of its namesake plantation, established a post office in 1887. This post office, located approximately 3.5 mi (5.6 km) upriver from the Cannonburg community, obviated the need for the Cannon Post Office (Figure 71). By 1895, White Castle had evolved into a busy trade center that drew commerce away from the village of Cannonburg, thereby reducing the need for both the store and the post office (Riffel 1985:23, 54-56; U.S. Post Office 1887, n.d.).

Twentieth Century Land Tenure

Victor Berthelot retained possession of lower Celeste Plantation through the turn of the century. On August 10, 1901, he sold an undivided 50 percent interest in several of his properties to his brother, Joseph Albert Berthelot of Ascension Parish. Among the lands included in that conveyance was the Cannon Plantation, including the now re-incorporated church and

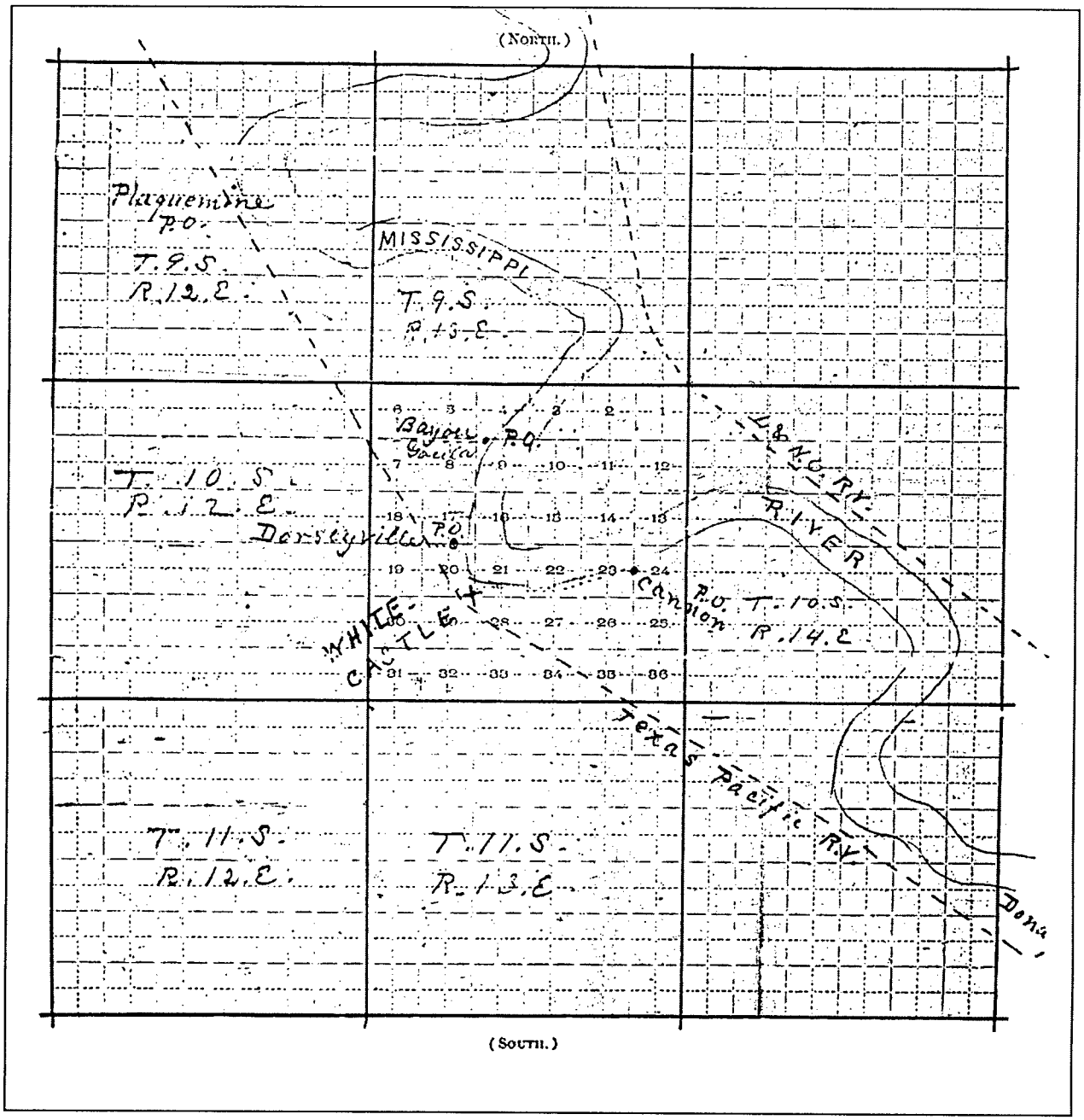


Figure 71. **[1887] U.S. Post Office's "Diagram showing the site of the White Castle Post Office in Township No. 10 S, Range 13 E . . . County [Parish] of Iberville, State of Louisiana, with the adjacent Townships and Post Offices."**

cemetery complex. For $10,000.00, J.A. Berthelot received an equal share of Victor's real estate, with all buildings and improvements, mules, carts, implements, and machinery. In 1907, Berthelot Brothers was the landholder listed for the Cannonburg area acreage bounded above by James A. Ware (Belle Grove Plantation) and below by Hickory [sic] Plantation (IPCC, COB 34:1, #1; Tax Rolls 1900, 1907).

The region encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex experienced part of the petroleum exploration boom early in the twentieth century. Natural gas had been noticed at Point Pleasant, upriver from Cannonburg, during the late nineteenth century (Grace 1946:189). Oil and gas subsequently were discovered in the White Castle region, prompting the establishment of the White Castle Oil & Gas Company in June of 1901. The company drilled a well shortly thereafter; however, the located oil pockets were not commercially viable. Still, the promise of large petroleum deposits encouraged major oil companies to lease Iberville Parish lands in the hopes of future returns. On August 15, 1903, the Berthelots granted an oil, gas, and mineral lease to Alfred C. Kemper of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in return for a one-eighth interest in any mineral resources discovered on their plantations, i.e., on Cannonburg, Old Hickory, Claiborne, and Chatham. There were several other oil and gas leases granted in later years, particularly after 1926, when significant petroleum fields were discovered in the parish (Grace 1946:189-190; IPCC, COB 36:82, #85; Conveyance Records; Riffel 1985:58). Nonetheless, oil and gas exploration still took a back seat to rice and sugar cropping in the Cannonburg neighborhood.

On April 22, 1908, the Berthelots lost the Cannonburg Plantation to seizing creditor Leon Cahn of New Orleans. Around the same time, they also forfeited ownership of other properties, including Old Hickory and Claiborne Plantations (IPCC, COB 39, #606, #677). Cahn held title to the Cannonburg Plantation for the next six years. In late April of 1914, he conveyed the property to Whitney Central Trust & Savings Bank, Trustee, for "good and valid consideration." This transaction included the agricultural lease executed a month earlier by Leon Cahn & Company, a New Orleans-based firm of commission merchants, in favor of the Old Hickory Planting and Manufacturing Company (IPCC, COB 42:243, #420). .

The Whitney banking institution held Cannonburg for less than three years; however, during its tenure, an extension of the existing plantation railroad was planned across Celeste and Cannonburg Plantations. The proposed line intended to connect the Old Hickory Plantation sugarhouse to the Texas and Pacific Railroad spur, extending through upriver Laurel Ridge and Belle Grove Plantations (Figure 72) (Daney & Waddill 1916). On December 18, 1916, the Whitney Central Trust & Savings Bank, Trustee, sold Cannonburg Plantation to John T. Guyton for $9,500.00 with mortgage (IPCC, COB 43:225, #354).

His acquisition of the Cannonburg Plantation in 1916 marked the return of the property to locally held or operated interests. On January 5, 1924, Guyton sold his Cannonburg lands, a total of 125.46 ha (310 ac) that included the five-arpent river frontage in Sections 7 and lower 8, to Miss M. [Maude] Tison, *femme sole*, of Caddo Parish. The consideration for this transaction was "the transfer and delivery by the vendee [Miss M. Tison] of the $5,000.00 promissory note executed by Guyton Sugar Company to the vendor [John T. Guyton]" (IPCC, COB 48:30, #42; Tax Roll 1920). In late 1924, Maude Tison appointed Olive Tison Guyton, wife of John T. Guyton, to act as her agent and attorney-in-fact in Iberville Parish matters. A few years later, in his dealings with the Atchafalaya Basin Levee Board, John T. Guyton refers to Maude Tison as his "mother," although it seems more likely that she is, in fact, his mother-in-law. Maude Tison owned the Cannonburg Plantation and assumed its mortgage, generally using Olive Guyton as her agent (IPCC, COB 49, #196; Conveyance Records).

In May of 1925, Maude Tison granted an agricultural lease to the partnership of Holden Powers & John T. Guyton to "plant, cultivate, and harvest cane, rice, and other agricultural products" on Cannonburg Plantation (IPCC, COB 48:522, #767). By this time, it appears that the plantation railroad extension proposed in 1916 had become a reality. On May 22, 1925, Miss Tison agreed to a servitude across Cannonburg Plantation in favor of R. L. Emory, who

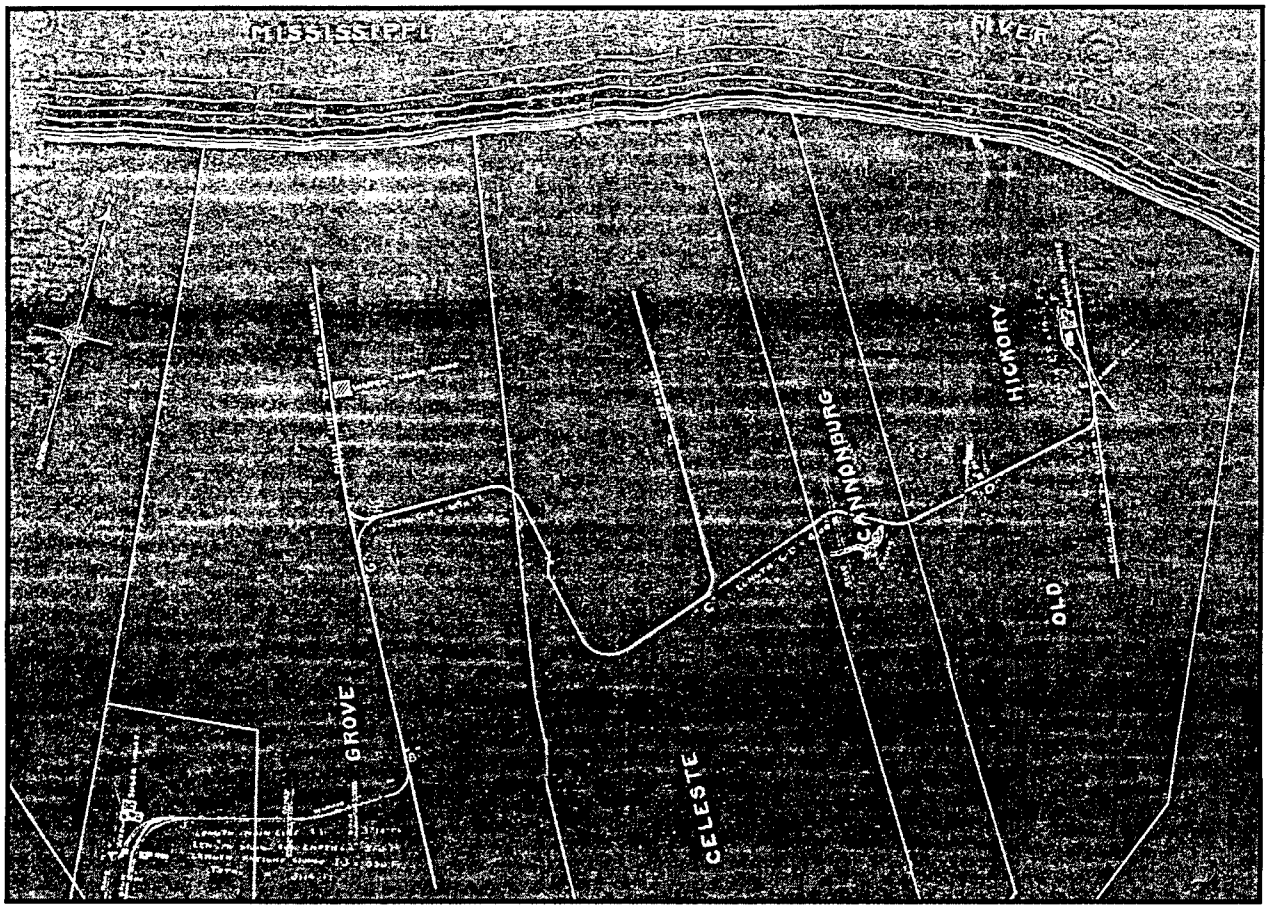


Figure 72. **[1916] Excerpt from Daney & Waddill's *Map of Laurel Ridge, Belle Grove, Celeste, Cannonburg, and Old Hickory Platn's*. . . . . Map excerpt depicts the proposed railroad track crossing Cannonburg Plantation from the Old Hickory Plantation sugar house.**

was "to maintain and operate the railroad for transporting and receiving cane from various properties over which [the track was] constructed to the Old Hickory Sugar House" (Figure 72) (Daney & Waddill 1916) (IPCC, COB 52:236, #277). It was apparently during the early 1920s that sugar operations on Old Hickory Plantation shifted from the Old Hickory Planting & Manufacturing Co. to the Guyton Sugar Company. Emory later assumed ownership and management of Old Hickory (Figure 73) (Louisiana Department of Public Works n.d.) (Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer 1924:92, 1929:49).

On May 28, 1936, after a dozen years of ownership, Maude Tison sold the Cannonburg Plantation to Huth Construction Company, a firm based in Franklin, Louisiana, but which had significant holdings in the immediate area. All buildings and improvements were included in the $7,500.00 cash deed; however, one-half of the mineral rights were reserved from the conveyance. John T. Guyton, who by this time also resided in Caddo Parish, represented Tison in this transaction (IPCC, COB 61:92, #79). In September of the same year, the Huth Corporation granted a five-year agricultural lease (January 1, 1937 through December 31, 1941) to Robert Boudreaux and his family in return for one-fifth, or 20 percent, of their crop sales. The Boudreaux family lived in Terrebonne Parish, but they moved to Iberville Parish in order to cultivate the Cannonburg fields. Just two years into their lease, the Boudreauxs were released from their Cannonburg contract because they no longer wished to remain on the plantation. By this time, the Huth Construction Company also owned adjoining Celeste Plantation (IPCC, COB 61:415, #401; COB 67, #268).

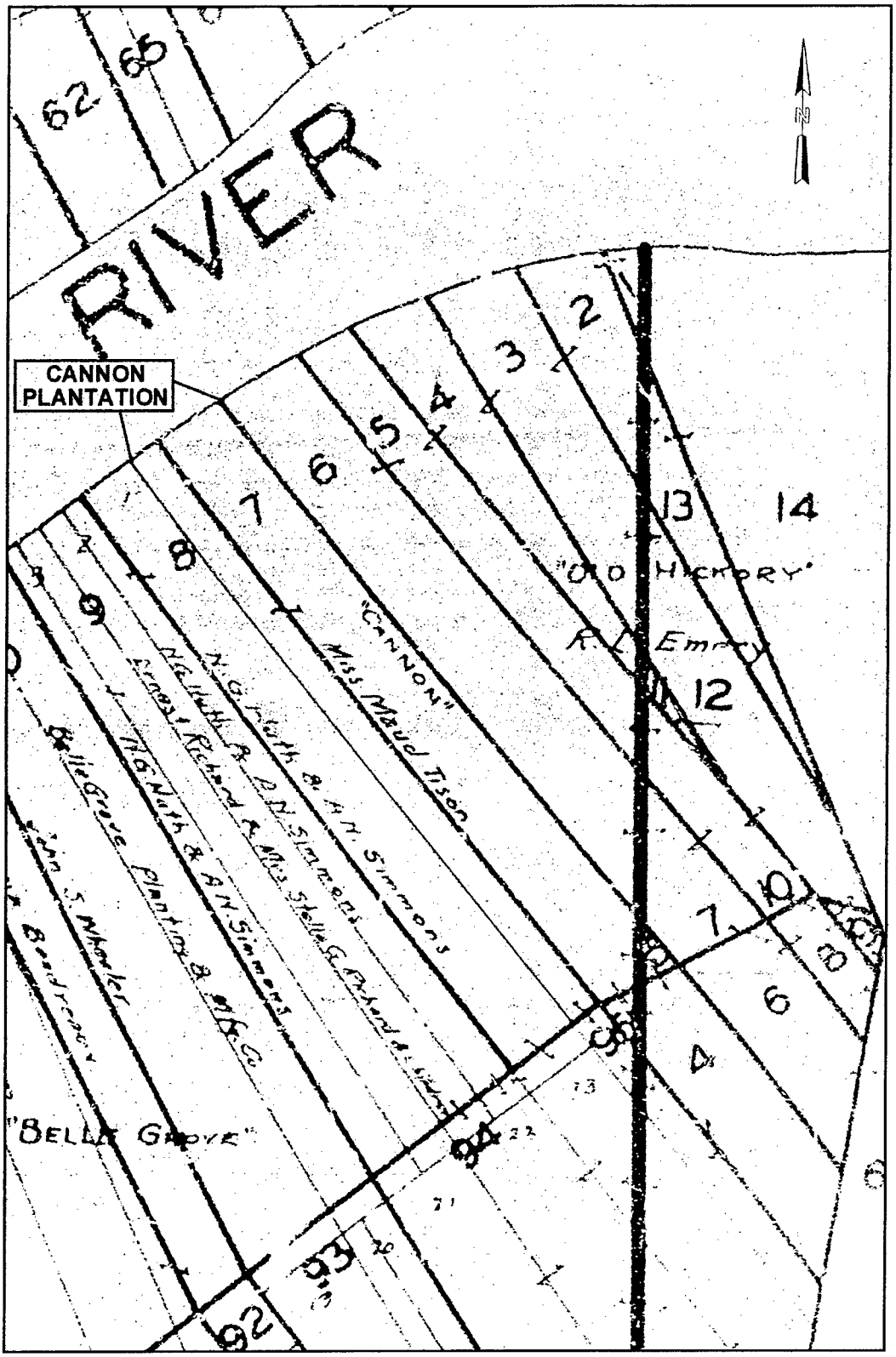


Figure 73. **[n.d., probably drawn between 1924 and 1936] Excerpt from the Louisiana Department of Public Works' survey of properties along the Mississippi River, Iberville Parish, in reference to the project vicinity. Map excerpt depicts Miss Maud [sic] Tison's "Cannon" Plantation and neighboring properties.**

Represented by its secretary-treasurer, Clarence A. Aycock, the Huth Construction Company conveyed the Cannonburg Plantation to Nicholas G. Huth of Lafourche Parish and said Clarence A. Aycock of St. Mary Parish on July 3, 1943. The $12,234.87 cash sale included the five-arpent riverfront real estate and all buildings and improvements, subject to the earlier reservation of one-half of the mineral rights. (IPCC, COB 76:51, #34). The Huth/Aycock ownership continued for nearly five years, keeping the Huth-related parties in control of the plantation for over a decade.

Huth and Aycock finally sold their interests in the Cannonburg Plantation (less and except a one-quarter mineral reservation) to the Campesi family of Iberville Parish on March 1, 1948. Joseph, Peter, Dominick, and Ross J. Campesi paid $80,000.00, with a mortgage, for both the Cannonburg and Celeste Plantations, including all buildings and improvements, agricultural equipment and vehicles, 9 mules, blacksmith tools, and 20 sacks of winter peas. The conveyance deed stipulated that the vendees were to plant 40.5 ha (100 ac) in sugar cane during the first season and then 101 ha (250 ac) in plant and stubble sugar cane in the following year. On May 4, 1960, the four Campesis sold their plantation, formerly known as Celeste and Cannon Plantations, to the family-run corporation, Joe Campesi & Co., Inc., which assumed two promissory notes and issued company stock (211 shares to each individual, for a total of 844 shares of stock). Besides the land tracts, the Campesi firm also purchased the automotive equipment and agricultural tools and equipment of the plantation, including two cane loaders and one molasses mixer (Figure 74) (Hargrove 1958) (IPCC, COB 89:164, #84; COB 152:171, #204). The Campesi family corporation retains ownership of the Celeste/Cannonburg real estate to the present-day, making theirs the longest property tenure since the nineteenth century Dupuy/Lauve ownership.

Summary

The project vicinity has remained part of a cultivated plantation from its earliest tenure to the present. Research indicates that the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) existed on the riverfront portion of this tract from at least 1872 to the early 1930s. Unfortunately, few of the public records filed with the Iberville Parish Clerk of Court made specific references to such features, making it difficult to specify their locations from those documents. Following construction of the new levee in 1933, the riverfront occupants, as well as the church congregation, were forced to move, and above-ground traces of the nineteenth century riverside structures gradually disappeared beneath alluvium and overgrowth.

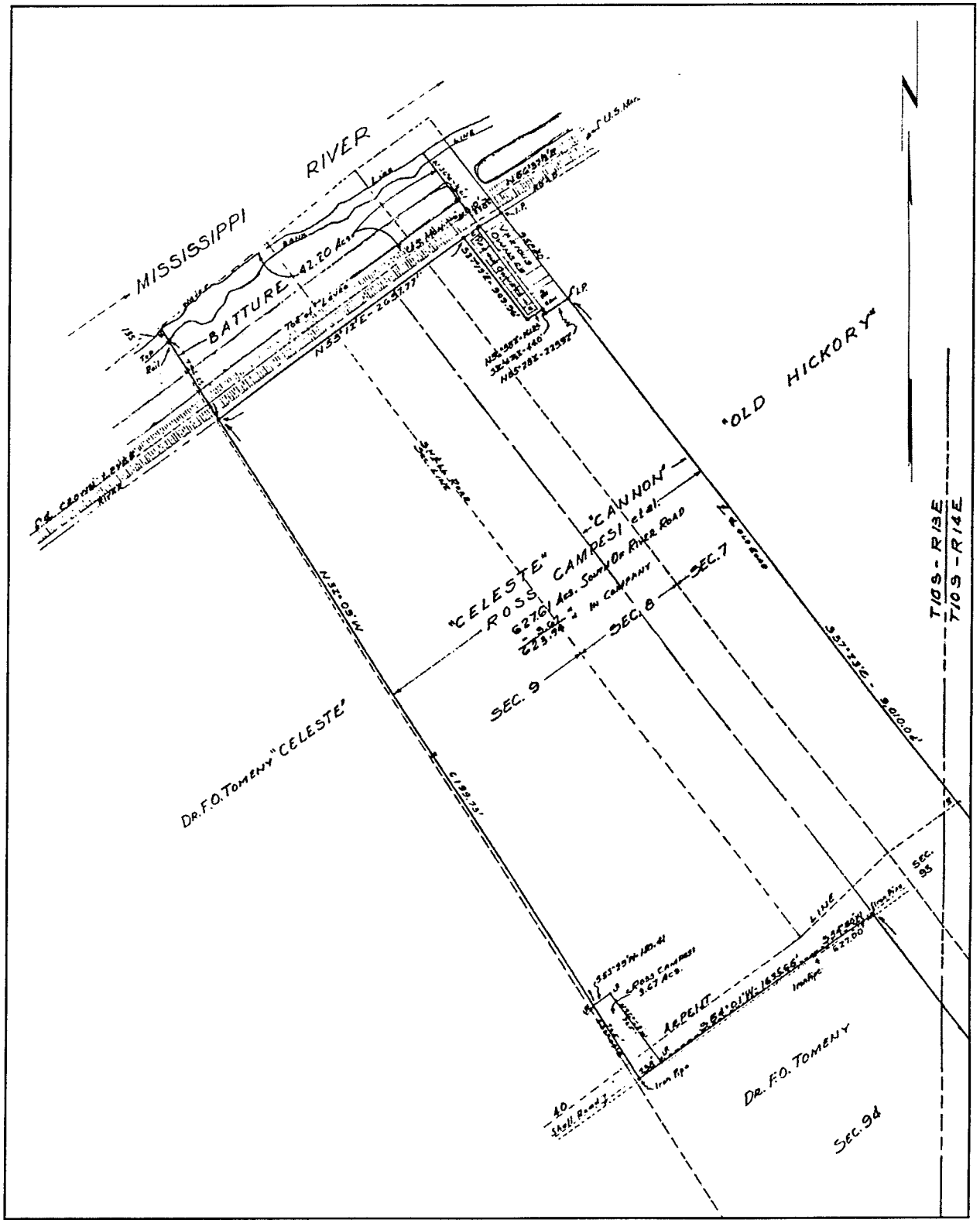


Figure 74. **[1958] Excerpt from Hargrove's revised *Map Showing Survey of 678.24 acres of land . . . for: Ross Campesi et al.* (Iberville Parish Clerk of Court, attached to COB 152:171, #204).**

CHAPTER V

CARTOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

Introduction

In 1932, three government agencies conducted detailed surveys of the Cannonburg Plantation and surrounding areas to aid in levee and highway construction. The schematics drawn of the area surrounding the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (also referred to the Cannonburg Cemetery at that time) were housed at the Department of Public Works in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; the office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District in New Orleans; and the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District in Port Allen, Louisiana (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District 1932:2; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1932:1; Department of Public Works 1932:6). Comparisons were made among the three maps to determine the accuracy of the mapped location of the cemetery boundary and the structures that once existed within its vicinity, i.e., the Braziel Baptist Church and various outbuildings and residences. This chapter presents a review of the cartographic data as it pertains to the size and configuration of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex as it existed prior to the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee during the early 1930s.

Cartographic Data Pertaining to the Location and Configuration of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

In August 1933, one month prior to the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, aerial photography depicts progress made by the various contractors towards completion of the new artificial flood control structure (Tobin International, LTD 1933) (Figure 75). As noted on the aerial image, all structures, including the Braziel Baptist Church, had been removed from the new levee right-of-way, leaving scatters of debris and areas of disturbance as the only evidence of their former existence within the current project right-of-way. In addition, two highways are clearly visible on the aerial photograph, the "old levee road" (Highway 30) which is located closest to the Mississippi River, and the recently constructed Highway 405 to the south. The old levee and the remaining structures extant within the nearby community of Cannonburg, Louisiana

Figure 75. 1933 Aerial of Cannonburg, Louisiana (Tobin International, LTD 1933).

also are clearly visible on the aerial photograph. Using corresponding landmarks, the scaled drawings of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex produced in 1932 can be overlaid accurately with the aerial photograph, resulting in a depiction of the boundaries of the church and cemetery complex in relation to the old levee and the two highways. Some small discrepancies exist between the scaled drawing and the aerial photo, and they are the result of overlaying the scaled drawing onto the aerial photograph, the latter of which is somewhat disturbed since it was taken at an angle to the earth's surface and not from directly overhead. It is clear, however, that any discrepancies are only minor in scale.

The Atchafalaya Basin Levee District conducted a right-of-way survey prior to the appropriation of the parcel containing the cemetery for construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee (Figure 76). This scaled drawing aided in defining property ownership (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District 1932:2). It depicts the position of several small property tracts situated adjacent to the parcel of land occupied by the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. A single residence, 1 church, 10 cabins, and several small sheds, as well as the position of the new highway and the proposed centerline for the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee also are depicted on the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District map. When overlaid onto the 1933 aerial, the scaled drawings of the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church, as well as the church itself, correspond well with the scatters of debris that appear as white spots on the aerial photograph (Figure 77).

In addition to the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District drawings, the Department of Public Works produced several scaled drawings of the area that were used during the planning phase of Highway 405 (Department of Public Works 1932:6) (Figure 78). This map depicts the proposed highway centerline and various structures, as well as the property boundaries as they existed at that time. The lot owned by Elizabeth Lockett was situated between the southern boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery and the northern edge of the proposed Louisiana Highway 405. This relationship clearly indicates that the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery boundary did not extend all the way south to the edge of the proposed highway; therefore, if the scaled drawing is accurate, the construction of Louisiana Highway 405 did not impact the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

In addition, as it was planned, the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee encompassed only 55 percent of the Lockett property; the remaining property was appropriated for the new highway. Minor differences in scale and landmark positioning are evident when the map is compared to the 1933 aerial; however, the placement of all roads corresponds to the photo, as do the locations of historic period standing structures (Figure 79). Again, historic period structures removed from the right-of-way prior to construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee clearly are associated with visible scatters of debris, while extant structures correlate very closely with the scaled drawing and the aerial photograph.

A large-scale map of the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex also was completed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District and it depicts both Relief Levee Items 876-A and 876-B within the Bayou Goula Bend Levee (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District 1932:1, L-8-2295-A) (Figure 80). This U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District map depicts the crown of the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee and its associated toe slope placements in relation to the parcel of land containing the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49). On this map, the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex does not extend south of the landward toe slope of the levee; however, the Lockett property lies between the toe and the new road. In addition, this map indicates the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery contained "134 graves." Confirmation of the accuracy of this map was measured against the 1933 aerial, which again depicted excellent correlation between historic period structural locations, scatters of debris resulting from removal of various structures, and the locations of extant buildings (Figure 81).

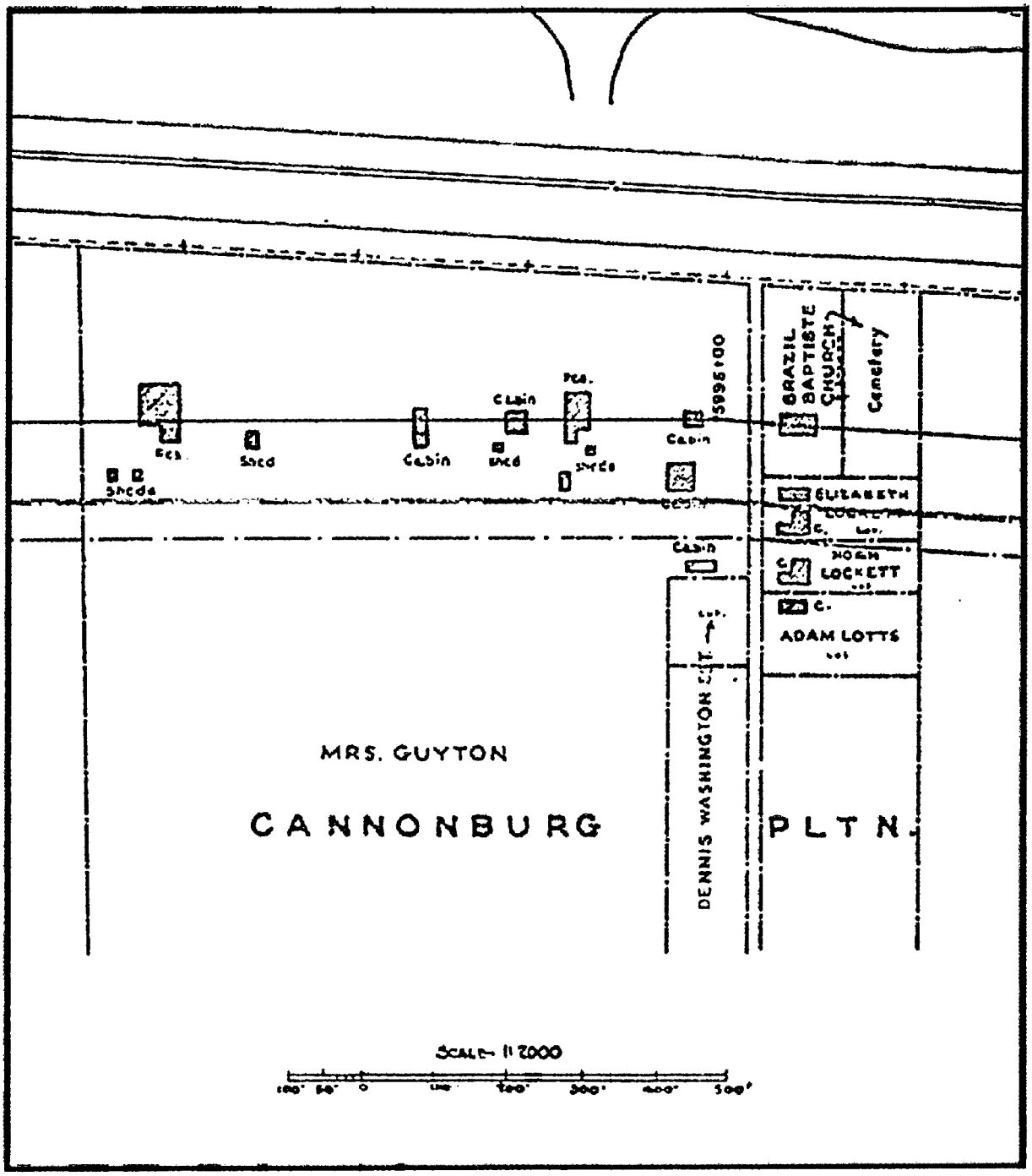


Figure 76. Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map of the proposed levee construction in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen).

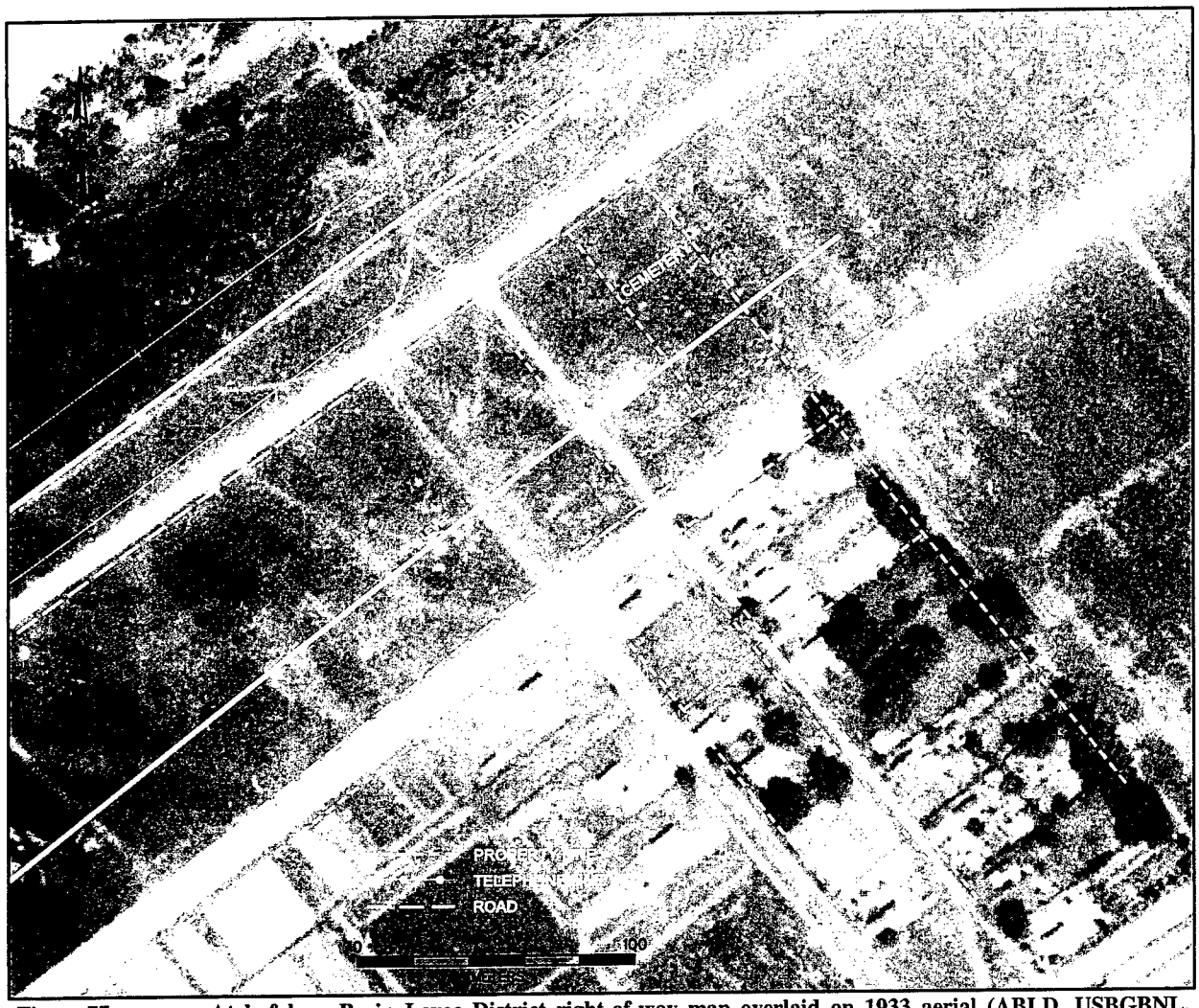


Figure 77. **Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map overlaid on 1933 aerial (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen; Tobin International, LTD 1933).**

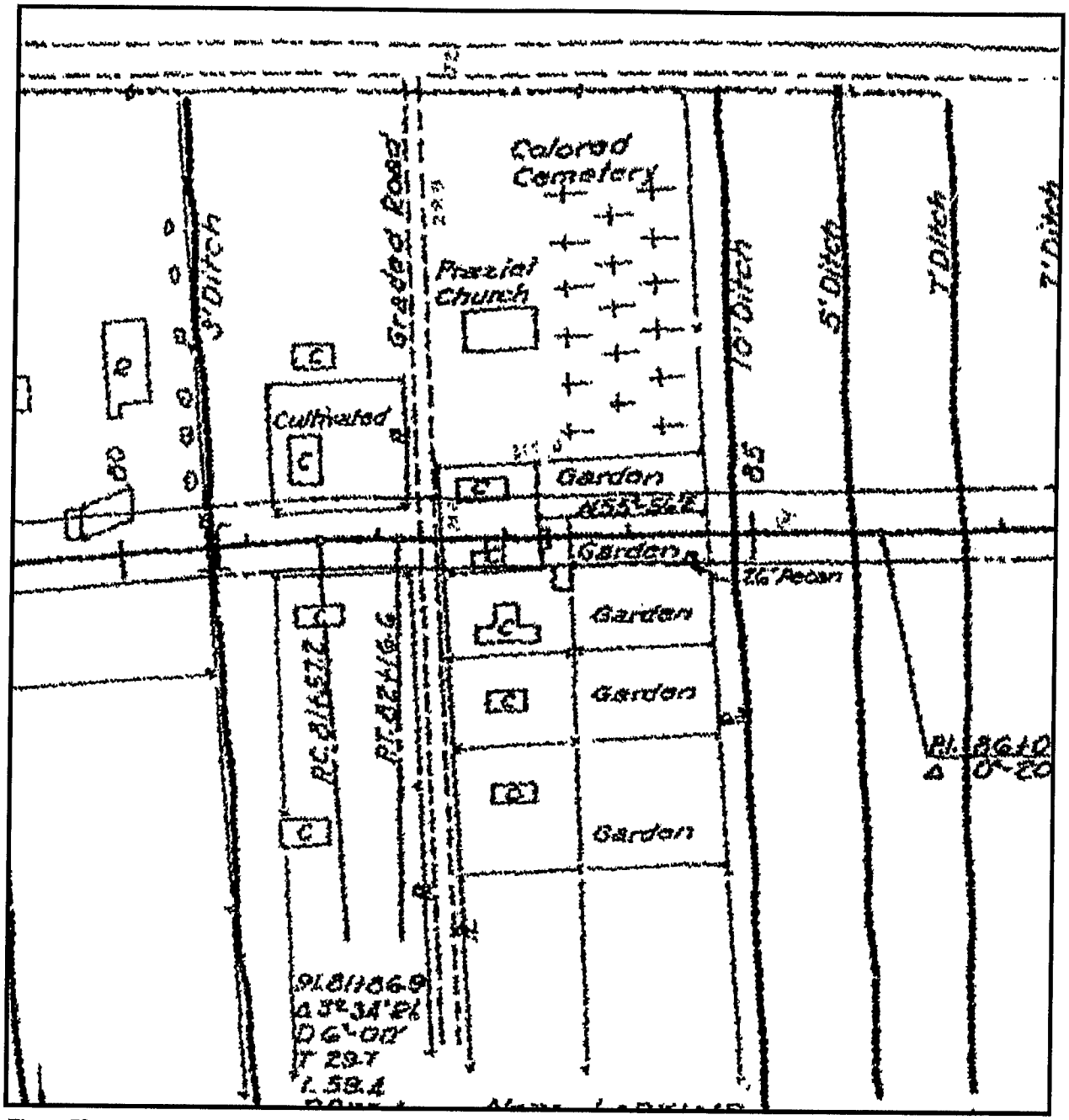


Figure 78. **Department of Public Works planning map for Highway 405, in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery (DPW, Bayou Goula Bend Levee Highway [BGNLH], 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge).**

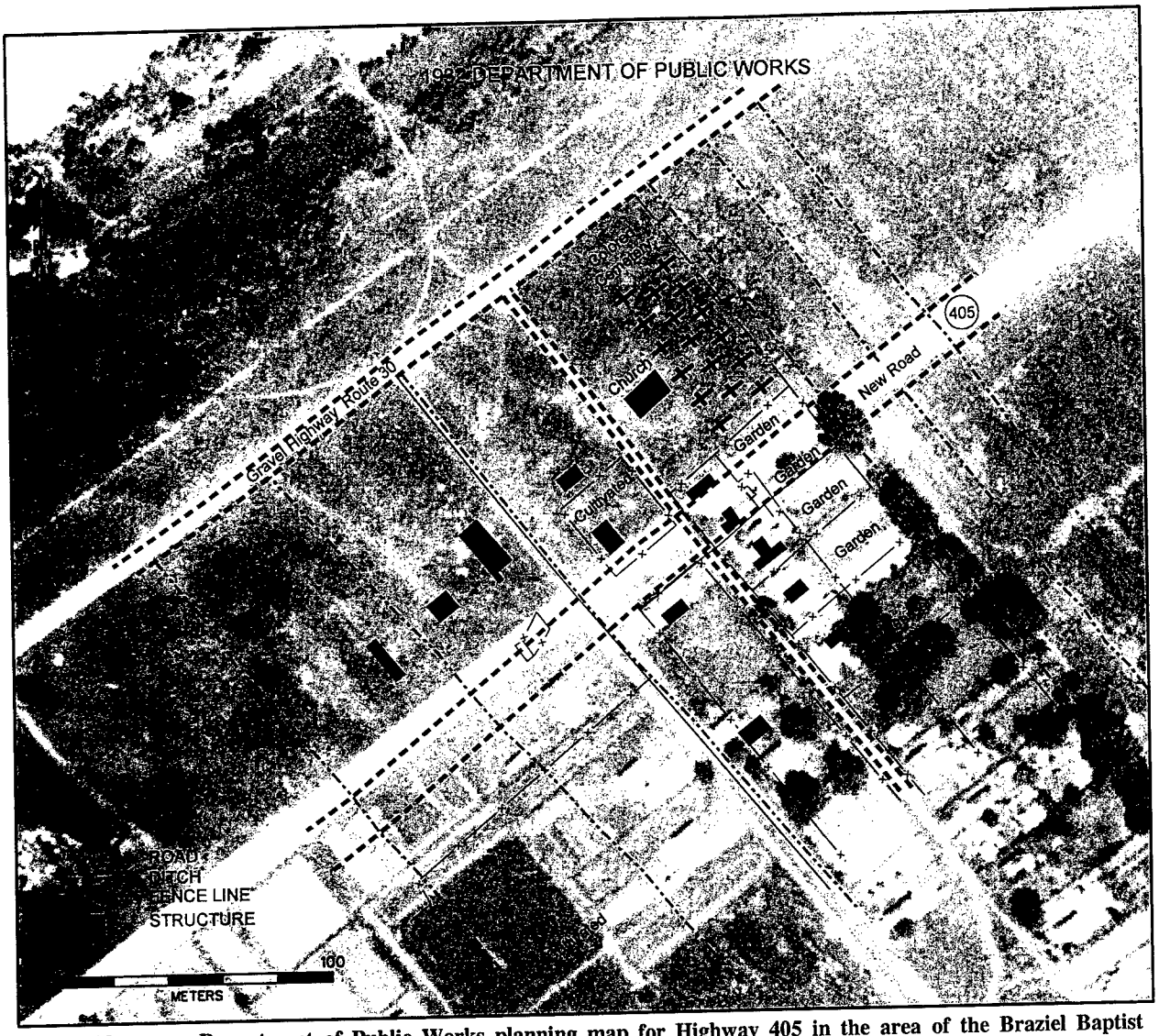


Figure 79. **Department of Public Works planning map for Highway 405 in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery overlaid on 1933 aerial (DPW, BGNLH, 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge; Tobin International, LTD 1933).**

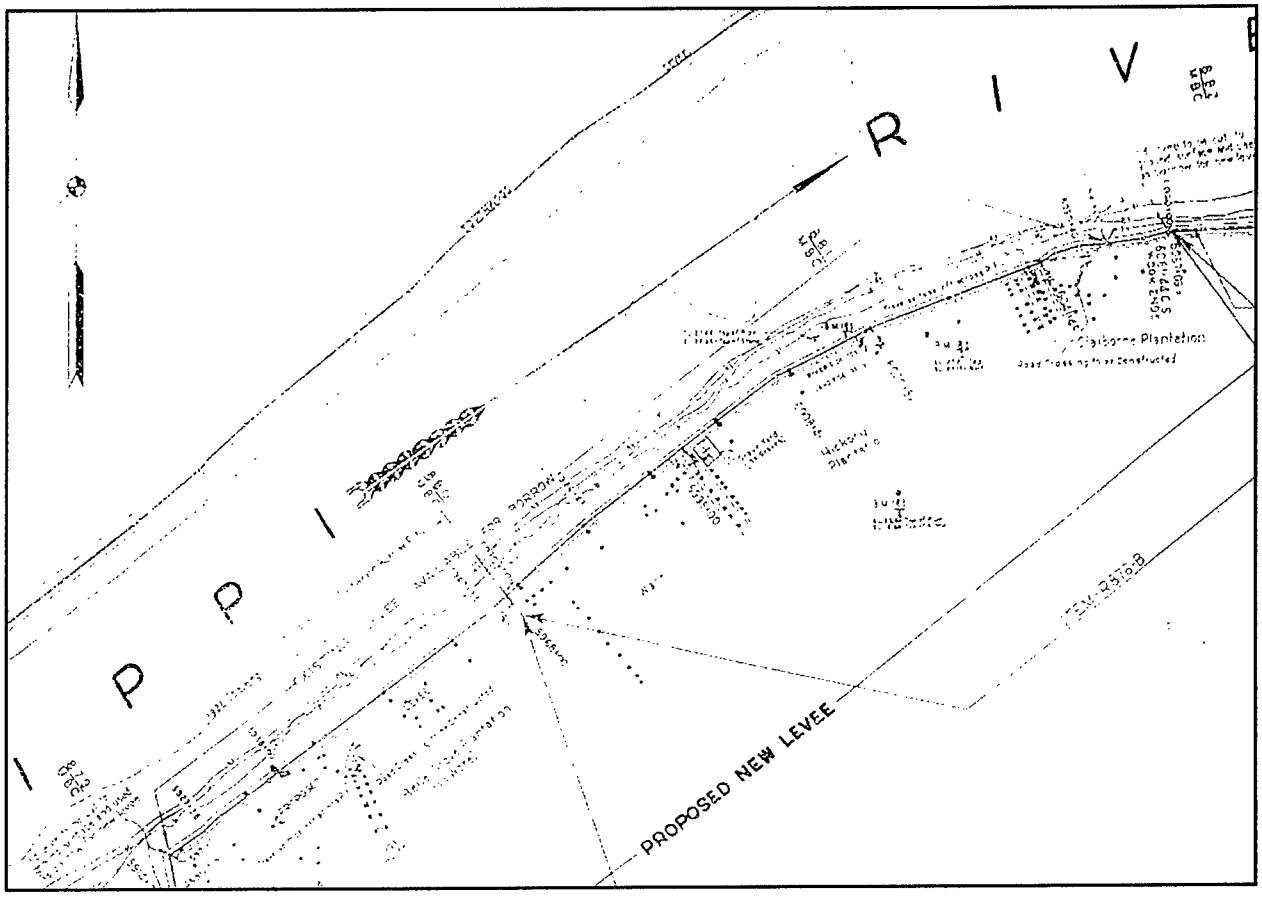


Figure 80. **U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map depicting Relief Items 876-A and 876-B in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery (CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans).**

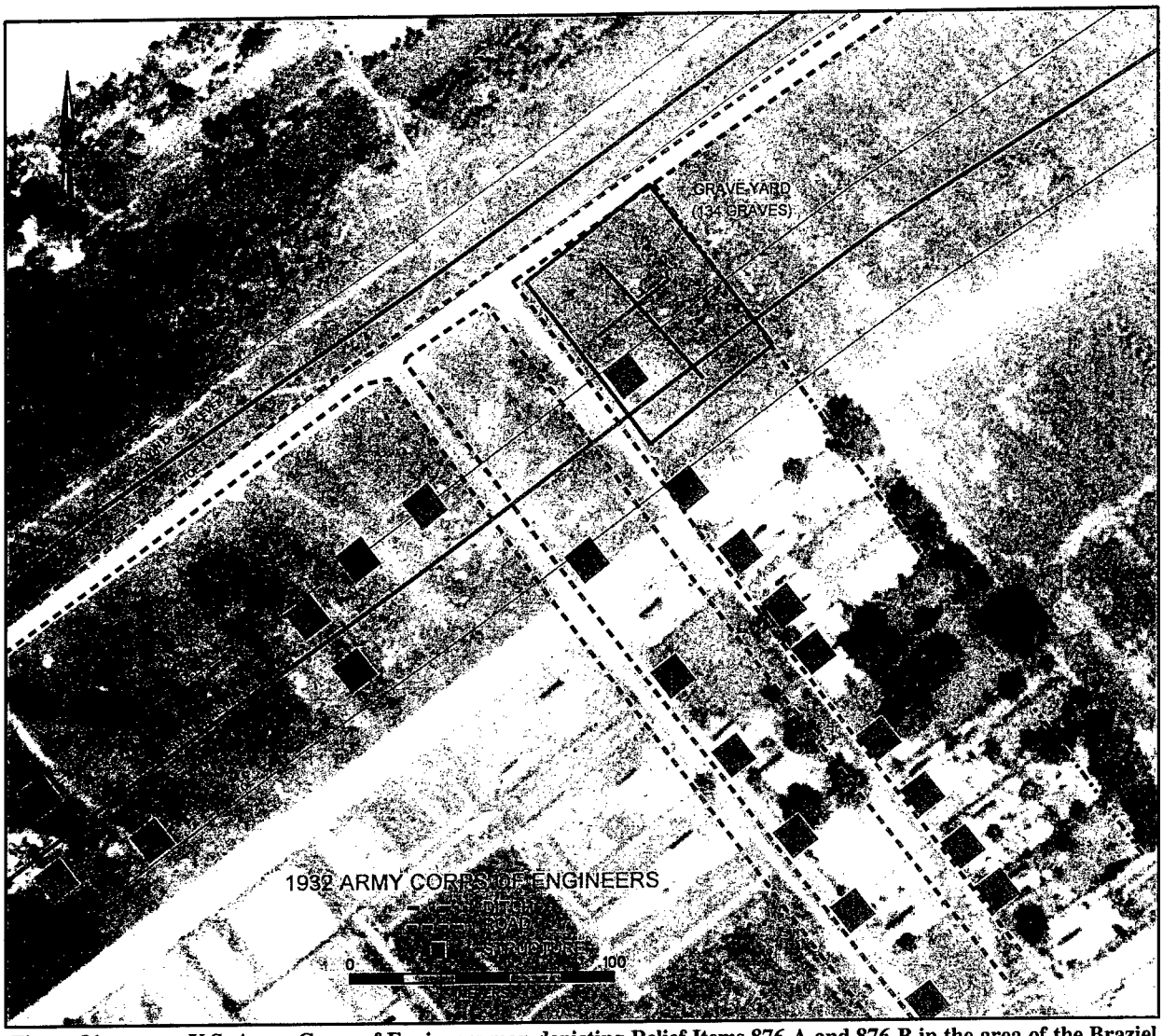


Figure 81. **U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map depicting Relief Items 876-A and 876-B in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery overlaid on 1933 aerial (CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans; Tobin International, LTD 1933).**

Further comparisons can be made of the area encompassed by the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex and its proximity to Louisiana Highway 405 and the proposed centerline of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee by overlaying all three of the maps discussed above on the 1933 aerial photograph (Figure 82). All three versions indicate that the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex did not extend to the northern boundary of Louisiana Highway 405, nor did the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee completely obliterate the church and cemetery complex. Figure 82 depicts a tight clustering of the locations of the Braziel Baptist church building as it was depicted on the three scaled drawings. It also indicates that any debris or structural features associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church would currently be located beneath the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee bank; however, informant interviews conducted with members of the Cannonburg community who remember the former church location indicate that any such structural features would be limited to small foundation footings, i.e., piers, because the church itself was moved, in toto, to its present location south of Louisiana Highway 405 (Stevens 1999).

In addition, differences in the depicted size of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex on the various scaled drawings of the area are minor, attesting to the relative accuracy of the maps. The area encompassed by Department of Public Works map totals 0.59 ha (1.45 ac) in size, with 49 percent of the area previously occupied by the church and cemetery complex covered by the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. This is consistent with the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District scaled drawing, which encompasses approximately 0.58 ha (1.44 ac). The Atchafalaya Basin Levee District scaled drawing indicates that approximately 50 percent of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex was impacted by the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee. Finally, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District plan of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee indicates that the parcel of land containing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex measured approximately 0.51 ha (1.26 ac) in area and that roughly 37 percent of the church and cemetery complex would be covered by the construction of the then-proposed artificial flood control structure. The discrepancies among the various scaled drawings of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex as it existed in the early 1930s are small. All of the maps indicate that the church and cemetery complex existed between the boundaries of Louisiana Highway 405 and the previous (1892) levee location, and that the area was not impacted by the construction of either facility.

In order to compare the size of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex to modern landscape features, a 1996 aerial was used as a base map (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, Alhambra to Hohen-Solms, 1996:2). Comparisons were made using the three above-mentioned 1932 drawings (Figure 83). The crown of the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee and the centerline of Louisiana Highway 405 are the only remaining landmarks available that correspond within acceptable limits between both the 1996 aerial photograph of the Cannonburg area and the three scaled drawings. The comparison of the aerial photo with the scaled drawings indicates clearly that the excavation of the extant borrow pits did not extend into the boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex as it was known in the early 1930s; however, the aerial photograph indicates that an access road used to cross the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee extends through the northwest corner of the property. Comparisons between the 1996 aerial photograph and the scaled drawings indicate that approximately 0.56 ha (1.38 ac) of land or 45 percent of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex currently is situated beneath the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee; thus, approximately 55 percent of the church and cemetery complex is located within the batture of the Mississippi River.

In addition, comparisons of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex using the 1996 aerial photograph and the three scaled drawings dating from 1932 clearly indicates that the church and cemetery complex did not extend to the southern limit of the landside toe slope of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee as it was constructed, nor did the construction of Louisiana Highway 405 impact the church and ceme-

Figure 82. **Overlay of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map, Department of Public works Highway 405 map and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map of Relief Items 876-A and 876-B on 1933 aerial photograph (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen; CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans; DPW, BGNLH, 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge; Tobin International, LTD 1933).**

Figure 83. **Overlay of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map, Department of Public works Highway 405 map and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map of Relief Items 876-A and 876-B on 1996 aerial photograph (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen; CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans; DPW, BGNLH, 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge; CORPS, Alhambra to Hohen-Solms, 1996:2, New Orleans).**

tery complex in any way (Figure 84). Comparisons of the 1932 scaled drawings of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex with the 1996 aerial photograph confirmed the spatial patterns observed during comparisons of the same scaled drawings with the 1933 aerial photograph of the Cannonburg area.

Spatial Patterning within the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex (Site 16IV49)

While comparisons of the 1933 and 1996 aerial photographs with scaled drawings of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex provide accurate placement of the church and cemetery complex within the Cannonburg area and in relation to the centerline of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, the following discussion presents data relevant to intrasite spatial patterning. This section discusses the location of the Braziel Baptist Church in relation to the cemetery portion of the project parcel. It also presents data relevant to the size and configuration of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery, as well as the minimum and maximum number of interments the cemetery may hold depending upon grave location and spatial patterning.

The area of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex encompasses what appears on both the 1932 scaled drawing of the area produced by the Department of Public Works and the 1932 scaled drawing of the parcel made by the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to be two separate parcels (Atchafalaya Basin Levee District 1932:2; Department of Public Works 1932:6). The western parcel contained the Braziel Baptist Church building, while the eastern piece of land contained the cemetery. While both parcels measured at most a combined 64.61 x 100.58 m (212 x 330 ft) in size, it is suggested by the drawings, and even by informant interviews, that the cemetery was located within only the eastern half of the area.

This eastern half of the project parcel, which contained slightly more land than the area containing the Braziel Baptist Church, was equal in length to the church property, but slightly wider. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1932:1) (Figure 83) documents the cemetery portion of the project parcel as measuring 50.9 x 76.35 m (167 x 250.5 ft) in size. These are the largest dimensions listed on any map of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. The Department of Public Works map depicts the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery as measuring 45.72 x 100.58 m (150 x 330 ft) in size, making it the longest dimension for the cemetery (Department of Public Works 1932:6) (Figure 86).

According to the 1932 Atchafalaya Basin Levee District map, which offers the most detailed drawing of the then-proposed Bayou Goula New Levee, the southern edge of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is located approximately 21.34 m (70 ft) from the centerline of the artificial flood control structure, i.e., toward the landside toe. According to that map, the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex extended approximately 56.88 m (186.6 ft) from the centerline of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee into the Mississippi River batture. Furthermore, the existing fence line that forms the eastern boundary of the project parcel was most likely the same fence line that comprised the eastern boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex in 1933.

Estimating an approximate number of graves located within this area is very difficult and speculative. To do so, several cemeteries in the Donaldsonville area were contacted in order to determine the approximate size of grave shafts, as well as the spacing between them. Unfortunately, there appears to be no standard size or spacing of grave shafts in cemeteries, even today. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that a standard size for graves existed prior to 1933; however, according to Lawrence Leblanc, of the Donaldsonville Cemetery Association, the traditional size for an adult grave measures between 0.9 to 1.2 m x 2.1 to 2.4 m (3 to 4 ft x 7 to 8 ft) in size. Further, a representative with the First Baptist Church in Gonzales, Louisiana indicated that approximately 0.3 to 0.9 m (1 to 3 ft) is left between interments. Finally, the vast majority of burials in the United States traditionally have been oriented "feet to the east," so the deceased can face the rising sun at the end of days. Hence, given maximum dimensions of 50.9 x 100.58 m (167 x 330 ft) in size for the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery, and assuming a completely full graveyard with the smallest possible dimension for each grave, a maximum number of

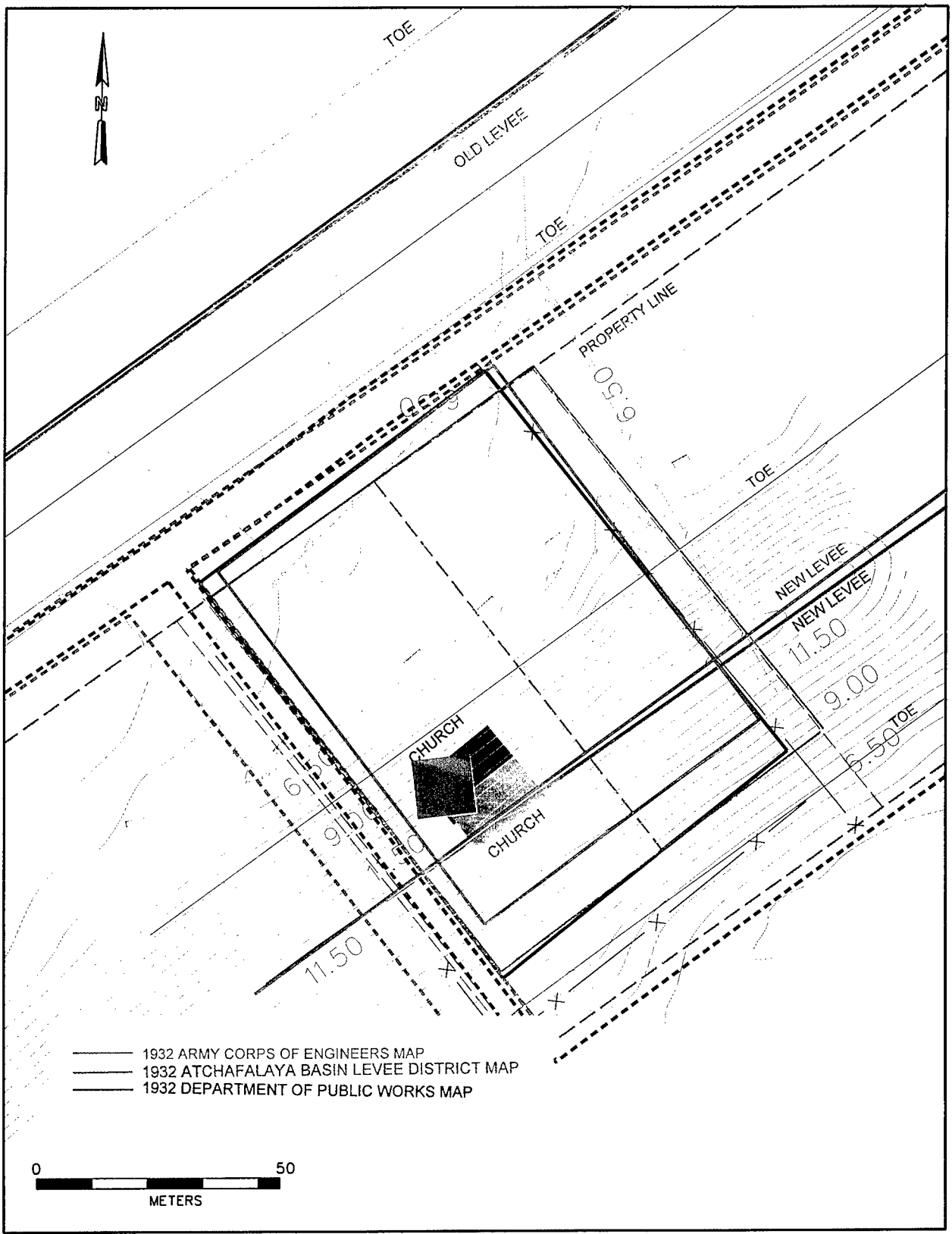


Figure 84. **Overlay of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map, Department of Public works Highway 405 map and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map of Relief Items 876-A and 876-B on modern topographic map (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen; CORPS, 1932:1, L-8-2295-A, New Orleans; DPW, BGNLH, 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge).**

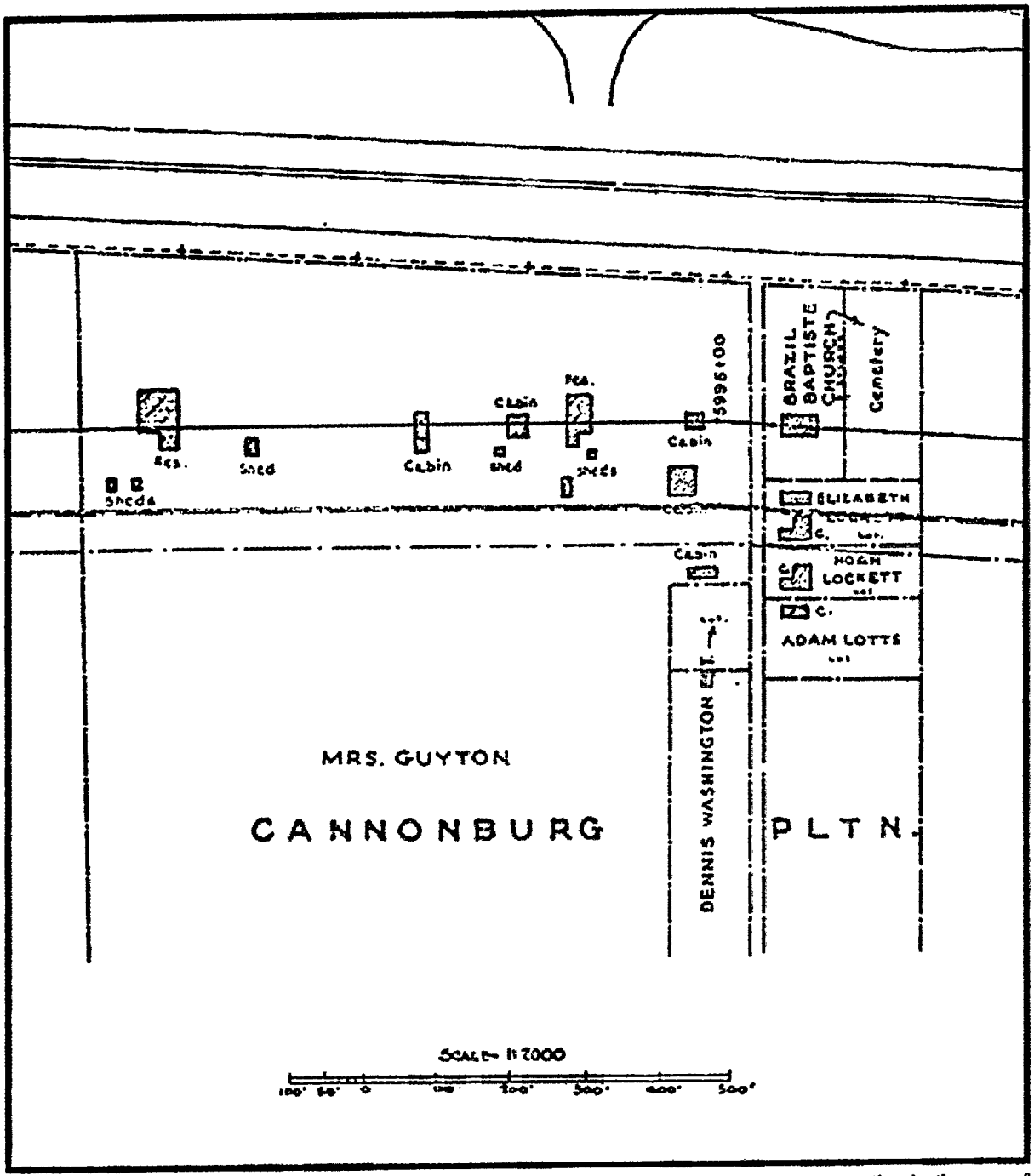


Figure 85. Atchafalaya Basin Levee District right-of-way map of the proposed levee construction in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery (ABLD, USBGBNL, 1932:2, Port Allen).

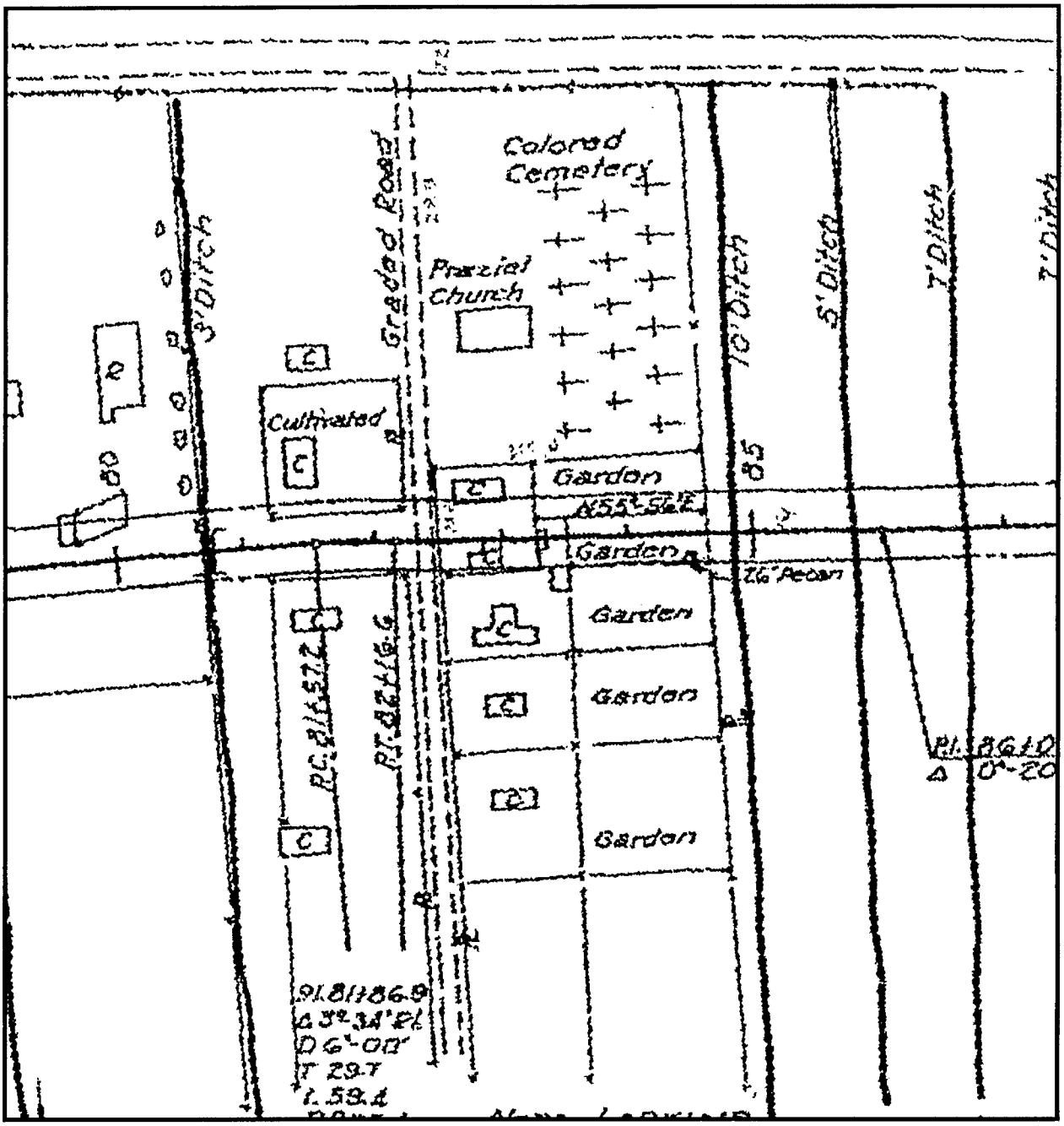


Figure 86. **Department of Public Works planning map for Highway 405, in the area of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery (DPW, Bayou Goula Bend Levee Highway [BGNLH], 1932:6, PI 231-02-001, MF Roll 1147, 3rd Quarter, Baton Rouge).**

1,640 graves could fit within the cemetery. Using the smallest dimensions for the cemetery, 45.7 x 76.2 m (150 x 250 ft), and the largest dimensions for each grave, 1.2 x 2.4 m (4.0 x 8.0 ft), and 0.9 m (3 ft) between graves, a completely full graveyard might contain approximately 455 interments.

With the exception of the burial permit and a letter drafted by the Braziel Baptist Church Committee in the early 1930s, neither of which contains any specific dimensions for the cemetery or numbers of interments contained therein, the only documentation extant on the size of the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery itself is cartographic. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District map, which indicates "134 graves" is the only indication of the number of interments contained within the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. It seems likely that this number represented only the number of grave markers or still visible interments within the cemetery during the early 1930s; however, given the age of the cemetery and the demographics of the Braziel Baptist Church community, it is highly likely that many interments either were entirely unmarked or that some of the markers deteriorated over time, perhaps having been made of wood. While any attempt to determine how many interments are contained within the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is tentative, given the population of Cannonburg and the Braziel Baptist Church community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the age of the cemetery, and oral history indicating that it was almost full, it is possible that there could be more than 134 interments contained within the Braziel Baptist Church cemetery. Of course, with no size standard for graves nor distance between graves, no plot map, and no indication of how the graves were laid out, any number suggested beyond the number depicted on the map of the area would be speculative.

CHAPTER VI

REMOTE SENSING OF THE BRAZIEL BAPTIST CHURCH AND CEMETERY COMPLEX

Overview

As part of the archeological investigations of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49), geophysical survey was undertaken within and immediately adjacent to the reported boundaries of the cemetery to ascertain if possible grave shafts located within the area could be identified conclusively. Geophysical investigations were undertaken in December of 1999 and January of 2000, and included thermal imaging, magnetometer, earth conductivity, and magnetic susceptibility. Magnetometer survey was undertaken using a Geometrics G-858 Cesium Gradiometer, while earth conductivity and magnetic susceptibility was measured using a Geonics Limited EM-38B Ground Conductivity Meter. Both surveys were completed by the staff of R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. In addition, a thermal scan of the church and cemetery complex was completed by Real Time Imaging, LLC, using advanced infrared photographic equipment. The results of the magnetometer and conductivity testing are presented in detail below. Data acquired as a result of the thermal scan of Site 16IV49 are summarized in this chapter, and they are presented in their entirety in Appendix III of this document.

Introduction to Magnetometer and Conductivity Testing

Prior to implementing the geophysical survey, an electronic distance measurer was used to establish a grid over the cemetery portion of Site 16IV49. The various survey blocks were tied to the grid to facilitate future ground-truthing of the identified anomalies. To facilitate this investigation, the project area was divided into six separate blocks totaling 0.34 ha (0.96 ac) (Figure 87). The examined parcel was bounded by the artificial flood control structure to grid west, and by a borrow pit and/or secondary growth to grid east.

The six survey blocks encompassed a portion of the levee toe and a wide grassy depositional floodplain, i.e., the batture, which contained several 50 to 70 year old trees. At the grid south edge of Block B and grid north edge of Block F, a barbed wire fence (in disrepair) bisected the survey area. In addition, an access road extended from the levee into the batture; it bisected the survey area at the northern edge, i.e., in Blocks D and E. Numerous deposits of modern ferrous debris (including segments of barbed wire) also were identified within the entire survey area. These ferrous sources appeared to be concentrated near the fence line bordering Blocks B and F. In addition, the eastern edge of Block C contained debris piles and ferrous material scattered throughout the area of secondary growth. Whenever possible, the relatively intense magnetic deflections of these objects were correlated with the distribution of side "trash." Prior to implementing the survey, all metal and modern trash visible on ground surface was collected and removed from the area to minimize

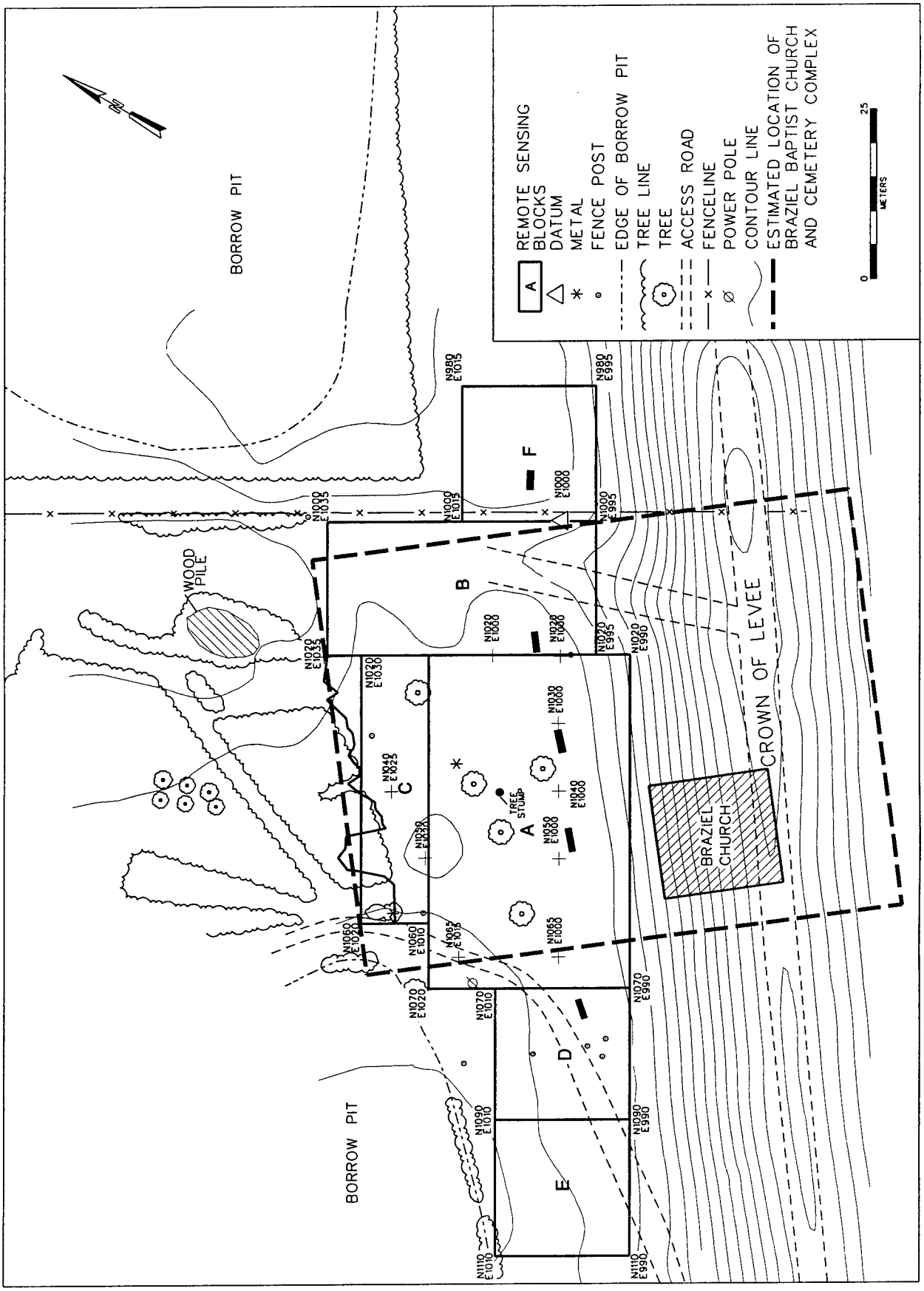


Figure 87. Site map of Braziel Baptist Church cemetery with survey blocks.

its effects on the remote sensing equipment. A metal detector then was used to locate the relatively shallow deposits of metal trash not visible across the surface of the survey area. The near-surface metal trash identified in the upper portion of the deposited alluvium also was removed prior to undertaking the remote sensing survey.

Based on the initial Phase I cultural resources investigations, alluvium deposited throughout the site area since construction of the extant levee measured approximately 60 cm (23.6 in) in thickness. Trash and metal debris located within the upper portion of the alluvial deposits have the potential to effect the remote sensing results. The thickness of the alluvial stratum also has the potential to limit the effectiveness of the EM38B Ground Conductivity Meter.

Remote Sensing Survey Description and Methodology

This section provides an overview of the types of remote sensing equipment used during the survey of the cemetery portion of Site 16IV49. This equipment included a Geometrics G-858 cesium gradiometer and a Geonics Limited EM38B ground conductivity meter.

Geometrics G-858 Cesium Gradiometer

Both induced and remnant magnetism create magnetic anomalies that allow them to be detected by a magnetometer. Induced magnetism is the combined effect of the magnetic property of the material (permeability), the earth's magnetic field, and the shape and orientation of the object as it sits within the earth's magnetic field. If the object's magnetic permeability (or a related property called magnetic susceptibility) is high, the material is described as being ferromagnetic. These conditions exist for most types of iron and steel. These factors cause the material to behave like a magnet in the presence of the earth's magnetic field.

Remnant magnetism is the property of the object under examination. This type of magnetism is related only to the object being studied and not directly to the earth's magnetic field or the orientation of the object within that field. Remnant magnetism reflects the metallurgy and thermal/mechanical history of the object. Once molten metal cools, it reaches its Curie point, at which time the iron atoms within the mass move from a chaotic state to an altered state where they align with the earth's local magnetic field(s). An object can re-align its remnant orientation if it is left in a fixed orientation for a long period of time. Soils with natural ferrous components react the same as iron. That is, if the soil is left undisturbed, it aligns its remnant magnetic field to that of the earth. Mechanical shocking, heating, or the induction of a current, however, will cause a chaotic shift in the remnant magnetism of the object or soil. Thus, the alignment period of the object will restart or be "reset." The return to homeostatic equilibrium with the earth's magnetic field takes literally hundreds to thousands of years to occur. In magnetic remote sensing, both of these properties are used to isolate or differentiate the magnetic field of an object from the local magnetic gradient and that of the soil matrix.

This remote sensing survey of the cemetery portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) was accomplished using a portable cesium pumped optical gradiometer (Geometrics G-858). The Geometrics G858 cesium pumped gradiometer is a highly sensitive magnetometer that utilizes two closely spaced, coupled magnetic sensors with a sensitivity of .1 nanoTeslas. These sensors sample and record data every 1/10 second. The difference between magnetic field readings recorded by each sensor (the gradient) is extracted and processed by an onboard computer. This computer also removes the effects of regional magnetic forces, or of large masses of ferrous material that may mask changes in the ambient magnetic field. For this reason, gradiometer data are valuable particularly for survey in areas where strong ferrous sources such as wire fences, power lines, and piles of ferrous debris occur.

Gradiometric data also reveal subtle changes in remnant soil magnetization. Ferrous components of soils that have not been disturbed for long periods of time, e.g., hematite, magnetite, ilmenite, basalt, and gabbros, align magnetically to the earth's ambient magnetic field. Any disturbance to the soil profile alters the magnetic equilibrium within the soil. These disturbances often are associated with surface disruptions, such as plowzones, bioturbation (animal burrows and root migration), excavation, and me-

chanical shock incidents (the effects of heavy equipment). The gradiometric survey of the soil allows close inspection of the surface gradient in which small anomalies or broad disturbances can be mapped with great accuracy.

During survey, the gradiometer was moved at a constant rate along survey transects spaced 1.0 m (3.3 ft) apart. Particular attention was paid to visible ferrous objects, which were noted by the operator for later correlation. Processing of the magnetic data was accomplished using Geometrics's *MagMapper96* software, and, later, using Golden Software's *Surfer* 6.0 graphics program; these programs filtered out the magnetic noise, and they created magnetic contour plots and surface maps of the project area. The post-processed data then were analyzed for the presence of magnetic disturbances and for patterning among the anomalies.

Geonics Limited EM38B Ground Conductivity Meter

A conductivity and susceptibility survey was undertaken utilizing the Geonics Limited EM38B Ground Conductivity Meter. The EM38B measures both earth conductivity and magnetic susceptibility:

> by inducing very small electrical "eddy" currents into the ground and measuring the magnetic field that these currents generate. A small transmitter coil located at the rear of the EM38B is used to generate the time-varying primary magnetic field which induces the eddy currents into the ground, and a small receiver coil located at the front end measures both this strong magnetic field and the much smaller secondary magnetic field arising from the eddy currents in the ground (Geonics Limited 1999).

Earth conductivity is "a measurement of the difficulty or ease with which an electrical current can be made to flow through the soil" (McNeill 1980). Magnetic susceptibility is defined as the ratio of the induced magnetic field of a material to the applied magnetic field of iron oxides (hematite) naturally occurring in the soil (Spoerry 1992). In general, the conductivity mode of the instrument detects the effects of fire on soil (i.e., the baking of clay in the soil caused by hearths, fireplaces, and fire pits), and minor changes in the clay content of the soil (such as would be created when a pit or grave is excavated and then backfilled).

In the susceptibility mode, the instrument measures the effects of burning and the presence of organic decay where ferromagnetic maghematite is produced. The machine also functions as a powerful metal detector. It can read changes in the electrical field caused by coffin hardware, grave goods, and other metal artifacts. As a result, this ability to read metal signatures requires that the survey area be relatively free of metal trash prior to initiating the survey. Modern metal, trash, and buried metal objects, i.e., pipes and power lines, can obscure more subtle changes in the electrical field associated with historic period features. In addition, the operator of the EM38B must not be wearing clothing that contains metal or metal jewelry such as watches and rings.

The remote sensing investigation of the cemetery portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) was conducted within six survey blocks. During the examination of a survey block, survey transects were traversed in a west-east direction along transects spaced 1.0 m (3.3 ft) apart. Conductivity and susceptibility readings were taken at 50 cm (19.7 in) intervals along each survey transect. The EM38B was operated in the vertical mode, allowing maximum depth penetration (40 to 150 cmbs [15.7 to 59.1 inbs]). The EM38B measured earth conductivity and magnetic susceptibility in the same pass, facilitating an exact overlay of both data sets if deemed necessary. Upon completion of the survey, remote sensing data were downloaded into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for processing. Changes in ground conductivity and magnetic susceptibility were plotted using the *Surfer* 6.0 (Golden Software) graphics program. The post-processed data then were analyzed for anomalous disturbances and for patterning among the anomalies.

Remote Sensing Results

Geophysical survey of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) resulted in the identification of 199 magnetic anomalies, 84 conductivity anomalies, and 105 susceptibility anomalies. As depicted in the tables below, some of the locations of the earth conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, and mag-

netometer anomalies were identical; other anomalies were identified only by one or two of the geophysical techniques employed at the site. The following sections present the results of the geophysical survey by method and survey block.

Gradiometer Results

A total of 199 magnetic anomalies were identified with the cesium gradiometer within the study area. These anomalies may be associated with anthropogenic processes, e.g., excavation of grave shafts, building construction and/or demolition, etc (Appendix II, Figure 1).

Block A

Block A measured 30 x 50 m (98 x 164 ft) in extent and it included approximately 5 m (16.4 ft) of the levee toe along its western border (Appendix II, Figure 2). A section of the access road extending from the levee crown into the batture cut across the southern edge of the survey block. Block A produced the greatest number of magnetic features recorded (40 High Δ gradient [gradient change], 43 Moderate Δ gradient, and 10 Low Δ gradient) (Table 5). In addition, Block A produced one large linear set of anomalies (M11, 12, 58, 85, and 91) that extended in a grid north-south direction. These anomalies appear to be both deeply buried (±100 cm) and regularly spaced. The high magnetic gradient change associated with these anomalies appears to reflect the distribution of ferrous materials within a relatively compact area.

In addition, a large ferrous scatter (M70-72, 78-80, 89, 90, and 91) was detected in the northeastern corner of the survey block; it may represent a building footprint, or demolition area from prior structures, e.g., the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church. The large agglomeration of magnetic anomalies identified in the southeastern corner of the block may represent an area of multiple buried ferrous objects; they produced a large, complex gradient change as detected by the cesium gradiometer. The remainder of the magnetic anomalies in Block A did not exhibit signs of preferred spacing or orientation.

Table 5. List of magnetic anomalies located in Block A.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M1	990	1026	Moderate	
M2	990	1030	Moderate	
M3	994	1032	Moderate	
M4	991	1035.5	Moderate	
M5	995	1034	Low	
M6	997.5	1033.5	Low	
M7	999	1027	High	
M8	999.5	1036	High	
M9	1001.5	1022	Moderate	
M10	1002	1020	High	
M11	1004.75	1024.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M12	1004	1033.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M13	1002	1035	Low	C5, S6
M14	1005	1020	Moderate	
M15	1006.5	1021	Low	
M16	1009	1022	Moderate	C1
M17	1014.5	1023	Moderate	
M18	1017	1024	Moderate	
M19	1018	1021	Moderate	
M20	1018.5	1024	Moderate	
M21	1020	1023	High	
M22	1007	1034	High	C10
M23	1009	1035	High	
M24	1011.5	1032	High	
M25	1009.5	1035	Moderate	
M26	1009	1030	Moderate	S7
M27	999.5	1033	Moderate	
M28	1014	1034	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M29	1015	1035	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8

Table 5, continued

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M30	1018	1035	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M31	1016	1032	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M32	1014	1030	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M33	1013	1029	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M34	1014.5	1034.5	Moderate	
M35	1017.5	1031	Moderate	
M36	1017	1017	Moderate	
M37	1018.5	1025	Moderate	S4
M38	1020	1023	High	
M39	1018.5	1021	Moderate	
M40	999.5	1036	Moderate	
M41	1011.5	1037	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M42	1016	1038	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M43	1016	1038.5	High	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M44	1014	1040	Moderate	Associated with M28-33, and M41-44, EMC3, C6, and S8
M45	1012	1040	Low	
M46	1006	1040	Low	C9, S13, S12
M47	1000.5	1040.5	Moderate	C8
M48	994	1040.5	Moderate	S10
M49	992	1044	Moderate	
M50	990	1046.5	High	
M51	995	1047	High	S14
M52	1000	1045.5	Moderate	
M53	1001.5	1047.5	Moderate	
M54	1008.5	1047	Moderate	Associated with M54-56
M55	1010	1049.5	High	Associated with M54-56, C13, S15
M56	1010.5	1050.5	Moderate	Associated with M54-56, C13, S15
M57	999.5	1050	Low	
M58	1004	1049.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M59	990	1052.5	High	
M60	992.5	1051	Moderate	Associated with M60-61
M61	993	1053.5	High	Associated with M60-61
M62	993	1056	Moderate	Associated with M60-61
M63	996	1052	Moderate	
M64	996	1056.5	High	Associated with M64-66, C15, S19
M65	996	1054.5	Moderate	Associated with M64-66, C15, S19
M66	998	1054	Moderate	Associated with M64-66, C15, S19
M67	1000	1058	Moderate	
M68	1003.5	1056.5	Moderate	
M69	1008	1056	High	May be associated with liniation (M11,12, 58,85 and 91)
M70	1016	1056	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M71	1018	1055	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M72	1020	1056.5	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M73	991	1061	Moderate	Associated with M73-74.
M74	992	1059.5	Moderate	Associated with M73-74.
M75	994	1061	Moderate	Associated with M73-74, C19, S22
M76	999	1061.5	High	
M77	1010	1061	High	
M78	1018	1059.75	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M79	1018	1062	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93) C23, S25
M80	1020	1061.5	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M81	990.5	1065	Moderate	
M82	994	1068	Moderate	
M83	999	1066	Low	Associated with M84
M84	1001	1066	Moderate	Associated with M83
M85	1004	1061.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M86	1005.5	1064.75	Low	
M87	1006.5	1066	Low	
M88	1008.5	1065	Moderate	
M89	1016	1067	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M90	1018	1068	High	Possible building footprint (M70-72,78-80,89,90,93)
M91	1004	1069	High	Associated with liniation through Block A
M92	1006.5	1069	Moderate	
M93	1012.5	1069.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85, 91) C4, S26

Block B

Block B measured approximately 20 x 40 m (66 x 131 ft) in size and it produced evidence of 41 magnetic anomalies (Appendix II, Figure 3). Of these, 22 exhibited high Δ gradient, 18 displayed moderate Δ gradient, and 1 produced a low Δ gradient (Table 6). Finally, two of the magnetic anomalies (M123 and M124) may represent a continuation of the linear anomaly identified previously within Block A. In addition, there was a general trend of deflections (M94, 97-101, 103, and 105) along the southern margin of Block B; these anomalies likely were associated with a barbed wire fence that bisected the survey block in that location. Several sections of old fencing were found buried in that area. In addition, there was a rather broad area of extreme change (Anomalies M105, 106, 118, and 109) identified within the block and these anomalies exhibited multiple gradient changes. These anomalies may represent several buried ferrous masses; they were identified in the southeastern corner of the block. Again, there did not appear to be a preferred orientation to the anomalies, nor was any patterning detected within the block.

Table 6. List of magnetic anomalies located in Block B.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M94	999	1000	High	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M95	995.5	1004.5	Moderate	Dipole
M96	1005	10035.5	High	
M97	1009	1004	Moderate	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M98	1018	1002	Low	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M99	1020	1003.5	Moderate	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M100	1021.5	1001.5	Moderate	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M101	1024	1002	Moderate	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135) C24, S42
M102	1023	1004	Moderate	Dipole
M103	1033	1000	High	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135)
M104	1035	1003.5	High	
M105	1028.5	1005	High	Associated with M105, 106, 118, 119. Dipole C48
M106	1026	1006.5	High	Associated with M105, 106, 118, 119
M107	1022	1006.5	High	
M108	1021	1008.5	High	
M109	1016	1009	Moderate	
M110	1014	1010	Moderate	
M111	1003.5	1007.5	Moderate	Dipole
M112	1001	1008.5	High	C27, S36
M113	1008	1011	High	
M114	1010	1011.5	High	
M115	1013	1011.5	Moderate	
M116	1014	1010	Moderate	
M117	1018	1010	Moderate	
M118	1025	1012.5	High	Associated with M105,106,118,119
M119	1027	1011.5	High	Associated with M105,106,118,119
M120	1031	1011.5	Moderate	Dipole
M121	1034	1012	High	Dipole C44
M122	998	1016.5	Moderate	
M123	1001	1014	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M124	1002	1014.5	High	Associated with liniation through Block A (M11,12, 58, 85 and 91)
M125	1004	1014	High	C28, S28
M126	1005	1016	High	S29
M127	1006	1015	High	
M128	1011	1017.5	High	
M129	1015	1016.5	Moderate	C31, S38
M130	1016.5	1018	Moderate	
M131	1019	1015	High	
M132	1022.5	1017	Moderate	Dipole
M133	1028	1015	High	
M134	1029	1018.5	Moderate	Dipole C41, S41
M135	1000.25	1020	Moderate	Possible fence/debris (M94,97-101,103, 135) Dipole

Block C

Block C measured approximately 10 x 40 m (33 x 131 ft) in area and it produced 13 magnetic anomalies (Table 7; Appendix II, Figure 4). Anomalies M147 and M143 identified within this block may be associated with the possible building footprint or demolition area located in the northeast corner of Block A. This "footprint" may be associated with the former location of structures demolished in the building of the 1932-33 Levee Project, or they may be the remnants of structures predating that construction. In addition, two anomalies (M138 and M139) displayed characteristics associated with broad areas of high gradient change. These anomalies represented separate, large ferrous masses; both were associated with debris piles recorded along the eastern margin of the survey block.

Block D

Block D consisted of a 20 x 20 m (66 x 66 ft) area that incorporated 5 m (16.4 ft) of the toe of the artificial flood control structure along its western border and the levee access road that bisected the southern edge of the block. This block contained 26 anomalies (Appendix II, Figure 5) These included 15 high Δ gradient, 11 moderate Δ gradient, and 1 low Δ gradient shifts (Table 8). The majority of the high Δ gradients were identified along the toe of the extant levee and within the vicinity of the identified access road. This area may reflect solufluction. The road margin acted as and continues to act as a catchment for ferrous debris intercalated in the levee. Alternatively, these anomalies may be associated with prior areas of habitation that are now buried beneath the levee. As with the high Δ anomalies, moderate and low Δ anomalies may be associated with buried ferrous material in the levee or with the signature of the church likely identified in the southeast corner of the block.

Block E

Block E measured approximately 20 x 20 m (66 x 66 ft) in size and it included approximately 5.0 m (16.4 ft) of the toe of the extant levee; it extended along the grid-western boundary of the study area. During the gradiometer survey of Block E, 13 anomalies (11 with a high Δ gradient, and 2 with a medium Δ gradient. Anomalies (M170 - 172, and 174 – 181) were identified (Table 9) (Appendix II, Figure 6); these anomalies appeared to be associated with a large scatter of ferrous material identified in Block D. In addition, the distribution of these anomalies reflected a pattern suggestive of a ferrous material scatter located at the toe of the extant levee. Finally, two anomalies (M187 and M188) were associated with ferrous surface debris; both anomalies were identified at the north end of the survey block.

Block F

Block F was the southernmost block within the study area; it measured 20 x 20 m (66 x 66 ft) in extent. Survey of this area resulted in the identification of nine magnetic anomalies (Appendix II, Figure 7). These consisted of 3 with high Δ gradients, 5 with moderate Δ gradients, and 1 with a low Δ gradient (Table 10). Magnetic anomalies M191 - 197 were associated

Table 7. List of magnetic anomalies located in Block C.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M136	1020	1024	Low	
M137	1029.5	1023	High	
M138	1020.5	1028	High	Broad dipole
M139	1023.5	1029	High	Broad dipole
M140	1025	1027	High	
M141	1020	1040	Low	Broad low area
M142	1021	1042.5	Low	
M143	1022	1054	High	Associated with possible building footprint in Block A
M144	1029	1057.5	High	
M145	1026	1060	Low	
M146	1030	1063.75	Low	
M147	1020.5	1069	High	Associated with possible building footprint in Block A
M148	1025	1068	Low	
M149	1020	1029	Moderate	

Table 8. List of magnetic anomalies located in Block D.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M150	992	1070	High	
M151	997	1072	Moderate	C56, S53
M152	1003.5	1070	Moderate	
M153	993	1074.5	Low	C54, S49
M154	991	1075	High	
M155	991	1076.5	High	
M156	1010	1075	Moderate	C70, C69, S59
M157	1001	1078	Moderate	C58, C54
M158	997.75	1077	Moderate	
M159	994.5	1078	High	
M160	1002.5	1081.5	Moderate	Associated with M161
M161	1002.5	1083	Moderate	Associated with M160
M162	1005.5	1082.5	High	
M163	1010	1083	Moderate	
M164	1007	1084.5	High	Associated with M165, C62, S62
M165	1009	1085	High	Associated with M164, C67
M166	991	1083	High	Associated with M166-168
M167	992	1085	High	Associated with M166-168, S51
M168	1009	1085	High	Associated with M166-168
M169	1007	1086	Moderate	
M170	991	1085.5	High	
M171	993	1086	High	
M172	993	1087	High	
M173	1009.5	1088	Moderate	C65, C66, S67
M174	991	1089	High	Associated with M174-176
M175	993	1088	High	Associated with M174-176
M176	993	1090	Moderate	Associated with M174-176

Table 9. List of magnetic anomalies located in Block E.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M177	990.5	1091	High	Associated with M170-72,174-181
M178	996	1091.5	High	Associated with M170-72,174-181, S86
M179	998	1091	High	Associated with M170-72,174-181
M180	1000	1091	High	Associated with M170-72,174-181
M181	1002	1090.5	High	Associated with M170-72,174-181
M182	994	1096	High	
M183	998	1097	High	
M184	996	1101	High	
M185	1004	1099.5	Low	
M186	1005	1104	Moderate	C73, S78
M187	1007	1104	Moderate	Surface debris
M188	1008	1105.5	High	Surface debris
M189	996	1105	High	
M190	994	1109	High	S69

Table 10. List of magnetic anomalies locates in Block F.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
M191	995	997	Moderate	Fence and debris
M192	999	999	High	Fence and debris
M193	1002	997	High	Fence and debris
M194	1005	997	Moderate	Fence and debris S88
M195	1008	996	Moderate	Fence and debris
M196	1010	996	Moderate	Fence and debris
M197	1012.5	997	High	Fence and debris
M198	1015	993	Moderate	Isolated small debris C77, S91
M199	1008	991	Low	Isolated small debris

with the three to four-strand barbed wire fence that bisected the survey block. The remaining magnetic anomalies (M198 and M199) appeared to represent isolated ferrous debris. The magnetic survey within Block F showed little disturbance to the magnetic field throughout the survey block.

Earth Conductivity Results

The measurement of earth conductivity throughout the area resulted in the identification 84 anomalies. These anomalies either represented ferrous deposits or the effects of soil disturbances (Appendix II, Figure 8). The results of the earth conductivity survey are presented below by block.

Block A

A total of 23 conductivity anomalies (5 high Δ gradients, 11 moderate Δ gradients, and 7 low Δ gradients) were identified during the examination of Block A (Appendix II, Figure 9; Table 11). Examination of these anomalies documented several recognizable patterns within Block A. First, the edge of the levee slope was represented clearly by the darker shaded area seen along the grid west edge of the block. Fill from levee construction activities, however, has obscured any buried soils as well as evidence of buried soil deposits. Second, the modern levee access road is represented by the low conductivity readings depicted along the northern edge of the survey area. Conductivity has been reduced throughout this area by the compaction of the soil. In addition, a linear area of low conductivity was identified that may represent the remains of an old road trace or evidence of other historic period activities; it was located just grid north and east of the access road. This pattern extends from N1070, E1010 to approximately N1064, E1018 where it has been obscured by a dipole signal associated with Anomaly C23. This area of low conductivity corresponds to an area of anomalies identified with the cesium gradiometer. Third, the southeastern corner of Block A contains a large single or a collection of smaller anomalies that may represent multiple buried ferrous objects. Finally, a Y-shaped anomaly was identified within the northern third of Block A. Some of these anomalies exhibited dipole signatures indicative of buried ferrous objects. This Y-shaped pattern is represented by Anomalies C15, C17, C19, C20, C21, C22, and C23.

Table 11. List of conductivity anomalies located in Block A.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C1	1008	1021	Low	Correlates with M16
C2	1012	1027	Low	
C3	1014	1030	High	Correlates with M28-33, M41-44
C4	1013	1070	Moderate	Correlates with S26, M93
C5	1001	1034	Low	Correlates with S6, M13
C6	1015	1035	High	Correlates with S8, M28-33, M41-44, dipole
C7	1003	1036	Moderate	
C8	1001	1040	Low	Correlates with M47
C9	1007	1041	Low	Correlates with S13, M46
C10	1006	1035	Moderate	Correlates with M22
C11	998	1047	Moderate	
C12	1006	1048	Moderate	
C13	1010	1049	Moderate	Correlates with S15, M55-56
C14	1019	1048	High	
C15	998	1052	High	Correlates with S19, M64-66
C16	1001	1052	Low	
C17	1003	1055	Moderate	Correlates with S20
C18	1018	1046	Low	
C19	994	1060	Moderate	Correlates with S22, M75
C20	1001	1059	Moderate	Correlates with S23, M67
C21	1007	1058	Moderate	Correlates with S21
C22	1012	1060	Moderate	
C23	1019	1061	High	Correlates with S25, M79

Block B

A total of 25 conductivity anomalies (6 high Δ gradients, 12 moderate Δ gradients, and 7 low Δ gradients) were identified within Survey Block B (Appendix II, Figure 10; Table 12). Unlike Block A, with the exception of a second levee access road, no patterns could be associated with these anomalies. The areas of low conductivity associated with the access road dominate the western portion of Survey B; these readings obscured any potentially buried deposits that might be located in this area. The majority of remaining anomalies in this block likely represent metal debris associated with the aforementioned access road.

Block C

During survey, only five conductivity anomalies were identified within Block C (Appendix II, Figure 11; Table 13). These anomalies, consisting of 2 moderate Δ gradients, and 3 low Δ gradients, did not exhibit any evidence of patterning. The nature of these anomalies remains unidentified.

Block D

A total of 17 conductivity anomalies (2 high Δ gradients, 3 moderate Δ gradients, and 12 low Δ gradients) were identified within Survey Block D (Appendix II, Figure 12; Table 14). Both the levee and the associated access road obscure the western portion of the survey block. A linear area of low conductivity may represent an old road trace or evidence of other historic period activity; it is visible in the central portion of Block D. The majority of low and moderate singular anomalies in the survey block likely represent deeply buried pieces of ferrous material. This material may be associated with the borrow pit or other historic period activities in the area.

Block E

During survey, only five conductivity anomalies (all moderate Δ gradients) were identified within Block E (Appendix II, Figure 13; Table 15). Unfortunately, signal distortion in Block E obscured portions of the survey block, and no patterns were clearly identified. Conduc-

Table 12. List of conductivity anomalies located in Block E.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C24	1023	1002	High	Correlates with S42, M101
C25	1006	1007	Moderate	Correlates with S31
C26	1009	1002	Low	Correlates with M112
C27	1014	1010	High	Correlates with S36, M116
C28	1004	1014	High	Correlates with S28, M125
C29	1006	1018	Moderate	
C30	1015	1016	Moderate	Correlates with S37
C31	1019	1015	High	Correlates with S38, M129
C32	1021	1010	Moderate	Correlates with S39
C33	1022	1007	Moderate	Correlates with S40
C34	1025	1008	Moderate	
C35	1028	1010	High	
C36	1030	1015	Low	
C37	1034	1012	High	
C38	1032	1008	Low	
C39	1027	1002	Low	
C40	1029	1012	Low	
C41	1029	1019	Low	Correlates with S41, M134
C42	1035	1003	Moderate	
C43	1029	1012	Low	
C44	1034	1012	Moderate	Correlates with M121
C45	1025	1009	Moderate	
C46	1025	1007	Moderate	
C47	1027	1009	Moderate	
C48	1029	1007	Moderate	Correlates with M105

Table 13. List of conductivity anomalies located in Block C.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C49	1029	1048	Low	Correlates with S43
C50	1020	1037	Moderate	Correlates with S44
C51	1021	1025	Moderate	Correlates with S45, M136
C52	1030	1051	Low	Correlates with S46
C53	1024	1042	Low	Correlates with S47

Table 14. List of conductivity anomalies located in Block D.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C54	993	1074	High	Correlates with S49, M153
C55	991	1072	Low	Correlates with S48
C56	998	1071	Low	Correlates with S53, M151
C57	996	1076	Low	
C58	1001	1078	Moderate	Correlates with S54, M157
C59	1004	1086	Low	
C60	1004	1074	Low	
C61	1008	1072	Low	Correlates with S58
C62	1007	1084	High	Correlates with S62, M164
C63	1002	1089	Low	Correlates with S65
C64	1006	1088	Low	Correlates with S66
C65	1009	1088	Low	Correlates with S67, C66, M173
C66	1009	1087	Moderate	Correlates with S67, C65, M173
C67	1010	1084	Moderate	Correlates with M165
C68	1010	1081	Low	Correlates with S61
C69	1009	1076	Low	Correlates with S59, M156
C70	1010	1074	Low	Correlates with M156

Table 15. List of conductivity anomalies located in Block E.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C71	1003	1109	Moderate	Correlates with S70
C72	1002	1104	Moderate	Correlates with S74
C73	1005	1101	Moderate	Correlates with S78, M186
C74	1007	1093	Moderate	Correlates with S84
C75	1006	1091	Moderate	

tivity anomalies identified in Block E likely were associated with modern ferrous debris or possibly with other historic period activity conducted in the area.

Block F

A total of nine conductivity anomalies (1 high Δ gradient, 4 moderate Δ gradients, and 4 low Δ gradients) were identified within Block F (Appendix II, Figure 14; Table 16). Signal distortion in Block E persisted in Block F, although to a lesser extent. The barbwire fence line situated within the vicinity of the N995 line was visible as two linear areas of conductivity lows and highs situated parallel to the existing fence line.

Magnetic Susceptibility

Magnetic Susceptibility survey of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) also was performed utilizing the Geonics Limited EM38B Ground Conductivity Meter. It resulted in the identification of 105 anomalies. These anomalies may represent ferrous item deposits or evidence of soil disturbances within the six survey blocks. These anomalies are discussed by survey block below.

Block A

During survey, 26 susceptibility anomalies (12 high Δ gradients, 5 moderate Δ gradients, and 9 low Δ gradients) were identified within Survey Block A (Appendix II, Figure 15; Table 17). Unlike gradiometric and conductivity readings associated with this block, patterns generally were not evident within the data collected from Block A. The levee slope, prominent in the conductivity readings along the grid west edge of the block, does not seem to have obscured the susceptibility readings. The modern access road and possible historic road trace also are not evident in the data; however, the Y-shaped pattern identified within the northern third of Block A is apparent only as several dipole readings; they likely represent deposits of buried ferrous material. The multiple ferrous readings (n=58) so prominent in the gradiometric and conductivity reading in the southeast corner of Block A appear as at least two strong dipole readings.

Table 16. List of conductivity anomalies located Block F.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
C76	1011	995	Moderate	Correlates with S90
C77	1014	994	Moderate	Correlates with S91, M198
C78	1012	993	Moderate	Correlates with S92
C79	1004	992	Low	Correlates with S96
C80	1004	985	Moderate	Correlates with S99
C81	1014	984	High	Correlates with S101
C82	1014	981	Low	
C83	1007	981	Low	
C84	1004	981	Low	Correlates with S103

Table 17. List of susceptibility anomalies in Block A.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S1	998	1022	Moderate	
S2	1013	1023	Low	
S3	1001	1028	Moderate	
S4	1019	1026	High	Correlates with M37
S5	996	1031	High	
S6	1002	1034	Low	Correlates with C5, M13
S7	1009	1031	High	Correlates with M26
S8	1015	1035	High	Correlates with C6, M28-33, M41-44, 2 dipoles
S9	996	1039	Low	
S10	993	1041	Low	Correlates with M48
S11	1003	1039	Low	
S12	1006	1039	Low	Correlates with M46
S13	1009	1041	Low	Correlates with C9, M46
S14	994	1046	High	Correlates with M15
S15	1009	1050	High	Correlates with C13, M55-56, dipole
S16	1018	1052	Low	
S17	1013	1054	Low	
S18	994	1054	Moderate	
S19	998	1052	High	Correlates with C15, dipole
S20	1005	1054	High	Correlates with C17, M64-66
S21	1007	1056	High	Correlates with C21
S22	994	1060	Moderate	Correlates with C19, M75
S23	1001	1060	Moderate	Correlates with C20, M67
S24	1011	1056	High	
S25	1018	1062	High	Correlates with C23, M79
S26	1013	1070	High	Correlates with C4, M93

Table 18. List of susceptibility anomalies located in Block B.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S27	1000	1008	Moderate	Correlates with C26, M112
S28	1003	1015	Moderate	Correlates with C28, M125
S29	1006	1017	Moderate	Correlates with M126
S30	1008	1012	Moderate	
S31	1006	1008	Low	Correlates with C25
S32	1006	1004	Low	
S33	1012	1003	Moderate	
S34	1014	1003	Moderate	
S35	1008	1008	Low	
S36	1015	1012	Moderate	Correlates with C27, M116
S37	1016	1016	Moderate	Correlates with C30
S38	1020	1014	High	Correlates with C31, M129
S39	1022	1010	Moderate	Correlates with C32
S40	1021	1006	Low	Correlates with C33
S41	1029	1019	Low	Correlates with C41
S42	1022	1003	Moderate	Correlates with C24, M101

Block B

A total of 16 susceptibility anomalies (1 high Δ gradient, 10 moderate Δ gradients, and 5 low Δ gradients) were identified in Survey Block B as a result of the current investigation (Appendix II, Figure 16; Table 18). No patterning could be derived from the conductivity results. The susceptibility lows likely represent isolated deposits of buried metal associated with the construction and use of the levee or levee access road.

Block C

During survey, only five susceptibility anomalies were identified within Block C (Appendix II, Figure 17; Table 19). These anomalies, 2 moderate Δ gradients and 3 low Δ gradients, did not exhibit any evidence of patterning; however, they correspond with the conductivity anomalies identified within this survey block.

Block D

A total of 21 susceptibility anomalies were identified within Survey Block D (Appendix II, Figure 18; Table 20). They consisted of 12 high Δ gradients, 4 moderate Δ gradients, and 5 low Δ gradients. Unlike the conductivity results for Block A, the levee road and possible historic period road trace were not evident in the susceptibility results for Block D. The majority of susceptibility anomalies in this survey block corresponded with conductivity anomalies, and they likely represent deposits of buried ferrous objects associated with the excavation of the borrow pit or with other types of historic period activities that occurred in the area.

Block E

Although signal distortion obscured readings in portions of the survey block, 19 susceptibility anomalies, including 3 high Δ gradients, 13 moderate Δ gradients, and 3 low Δ gradients, were identified within Block E (Appendix II, Figure 19; Table 21). No patterning was observed among these anomalies. The susceptibility anomalies identified in Block E likely were associated with ferrous debris or other historic period activity, and not with the reported cemetery.

Block F

A total of 18 susceptibility anomalies were identified in Block F (Appendix II, Figure 20; Table 22). They consisted of 4 high Δ gradients, 6 moderate Δ gradients, and 8 low Δ gradients. The barbed wire fence line and other isolated ferrous material noted in this area likely account for these anomalies.

Interpretations and Recommendations

Using the disturbance in the remnant magnetic field of the soil as a measure, the gradiometric, conductivity, and susceptibility surveys did not result in the *definitive* identification or location of any grave shafts within the cemetery portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49); however, the

Table 19. List of susceptibility anomalies located in Block C.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S43	1029	1048	Low	Correlates with C49
S44	1020	1037	Moderate	Correlates with C50
S45	1021	1025	Moderate	Correlates with C51, M136
S46	1030	1051	Low	Correlates with C52
S47	1024	1042	Low	Correlates with C53

Table 20. List of susceptibility anomalies located in Block D

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S48	991	1072	High	Correlates with C55
S49	993	1074	High	Correlates with C54, M153
S50	990	1080	High	
S51	992	1086	High	Correlates with M167
S52	996	1071	Low	
S53	998	1072	Low	Correlates with C56, M151
S54	1002	1077	Low	Correlates with C58, M157
S55	1002	1072	Moderate	
S56	1005	1071	High	
S57	1006	1074	Moderate	
S58	1008	1072	High	Correlates with C61
S59	1009	1075	Moderate	Correlates with C69, M156
S60	1009	1078	Moderate	
S61	1010	1080	High	Correlates with C68
S62	1008	1084	High	Correlates with C62, M164
S63	1003	1084	Low	
S64	999	1087	Low	
S65	1003	1088	High	Correlates with C63
S66	1005	1088	High	Correlates with C64
S67	1009	1088	High	Correlates with C65, M173
S68	1006	1090	High	

Table 21. List of susceptibility anomalies located in Block E.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S69	992	1109	Moderate	Correlates with M190
S70	1002	1109	High	Correlates with C71
S71	1005	1107	Moderate	
S72	1007	1106	Moderate	
S73	993	1104	Moderate	
S74	1002	1104	High	Correlates with C72
S75	992	1102	Low	
S76	995	1103	Low	
S77	996	1102	Moderate	
S78	1005	1102	Moderate	Correlates with C73, M186
S79	996	1100	Moderate	
S80	993	1099	Moderate	
S81	990	1098	High	
S82	1001	1098	Moderate	
S83	1010	1098	Low	
S84	1007	1094	Moderate	Correlates with C74
S85	1009	1092	Moderate	
S86	995	1092	Moderate	Correlates with M178
S87	993	1092	Moderate	

Table 22. List of susceptibility anomalies located in Block F.

ANOMALY #	EASTING	NORTHING	FIELD CHANGE	COMMENT/CORRELATION
S88	1004	997	Moderate	Correlates with M194
S89	1002	995	Low	
S90	1012	995	High	Correlates with C76
S91	1014	994	High	Correlates with C77, M198
S92	1012	993	High	Correlates with C78
S93	1007	993	Moderate	
S94	1000	992	Moderate	
S95	998	992	Low	
S96	1003	990	Moderate	Correlates with C79
S97	997	988	Low	
S98	1002	986	Low	
S99	1004	985	Low	Correlates with C80
S100	1010	985	Moderate	
S101	1014	983	High	Correlates with C81
S102	1009	984	Moderate	
S103	1003	982	Low	Correlates with C84
S104	1000	982	Low	
S105	1010	981	Low	

recovery of skeletal material and casket hardware from one of the backhoe trenches excavated during the Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of Site 16IV49 indicates that at least one human interment is present within the limits of the site. The reason the remote sensing could not detect definitively that intact grave shafts remains within the site area lies in the nature of the site formation and geomorphic processes that have affected the study area. The soils in the vicinity of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) have been laid down recently (from a geo-chronological perspective), and they are disturbed magnetically. In order for the soil to reach a homeostatic balance and for it to develop a measurable remnant field, it must be relatively undisturbed and it must contain sufficient amounts of ferrous minerals within the soils to align to the earth's induced magnetic fields. Such was not the case in the study area.

Phase I cultural resources survey and archeological inventory of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49) resulted in the identification of 60 cm (23.6 in) or more of recent alluvial sediment covering the buried A horizon soil associated with the original cemetery ground surface. This amount of recent alluvium is indicative of a high rate of deposition of "raw," unaligned soils that would "mask" the weak buried remnant field associated with the slightly older soils beneath. Also, the migration of the Mississippi River across the present floodplain precluded the necessary time needed to develop a remnant field within the soil that would show grave shaft disturbances.

In addition, the maximum depth of penetration for the EM38B is 150 cm below ground surface, although resolution at this depth is limited. The deposition of 60 cm (23.6 in) or more of recent alluvium with imbedded modern ferrous material may obscure the more subtle anomalies associated with possible grave shafts and funerary hardware.

Interpretations

The following sections provide brief overview of the interpretations of the data collected from the various survey blocks during the remote sensing portion of this investigation. These interpretations are presented in order by survey block.

Block A

In both Blocks A and B, a linear feature (with regular spacing) was observable. This gradiometric anomaly extended from grid south to north and consisted of magnetic anomalies M11, 12, 58, 85, and 91, all of which were indicative of massive changes in the magnetic gradients on the order of several thousand gammas. The approximate depth of these anomalies can be calculated to be over 100 cmbs (39.4 inbs), since these anomalies were not evident in the conduc-

tivity or susceptibility readings. The regular spacing may represent a series of iron objects or markers of some sort used to delineate a border. These anomalies are isolated clearly from the surrounding smaller anomalies.

Another massive magnetic anomaly identified within Block A consists of an agglomeration of several weaker magnetic anomalies (M28-33 and M41-44) that correlated well with the conductivity (C3, C6) and magnetic susceptibility (S8) readings. This correlation allowed the approximate depth of the anomalies to be calculated at between 0 to 100 cmbs (0 to 39.4 inbs) for the majority of the buried objects that comprise this anomaly. In addition, the very complex nature of this disturbance indicated that several distinct sources of ferrous material may be present in the area.

The last major area associated with targets identified in Block A occurred within the northeastern corner of the survey block. This area seemed to contain several large, deeply buried ferrous masses that may be associated with a building footprint, an area containing demolition material (possibly associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church), or some other deposit of large ferrous material. Since the EM38B did not read these disturbances clearly, it must be assumed that the sources of these anomalies lie below 100 cmbs (39.4 inbs). In Blocks A and D, the EM38B identified an area of conductivity lows possibly associated with an old road trace. This conductivity low feature may be related to the possible building footprint of the former Braziel Baptist Church or to an access road that led into the cemetery. This series of conductivity lows can be identified readily on the image and shaded relief maps (Appendix II, Figure 21), to grid north and east of the darker levee access road depicted in Blocks A and D.

Block A has a very disturbed, low to moderate magnetic field across the entire survey block. The low to moderate isolated anomalies situated within the block may be associated with possible graves, by virtue of the nature of their low gradient shifts. Low to moderate shifts are more likely caused by small amounts of iron (nails, hinges, or other funerary hardware), which could have been used in the construction of the caskets. The overall signatures recorded within Block A, indicate a high to moderate amount of ground disturbance, and high frequencies of buried ferrous scatter throughout.

Block B

Block B is similar to Block A in the amount of disturbances and in the large amounts of high to moderate gradient shifts. This indicates that there is also a significant amount of buried ferrous material. In addition, there are two anomalies (M123 and M124) that may be associated with the magnetic linear feature in Block A; however, a shallow ferrous scatter should be expected in and around the lower access road and the barbed wire fence that bisects this block. The nature of the magnetic fields recorded within this portion of the study area indicate that there is a large amount of ferrous material buried beneath the soils, particularly along the border of Blocks A and B, and in the southeastern corner of Block B. Where the EM38B correlated with magnetic anomalies, the assumed depths are less than 100 to 150 cmbs (39.4 to 59.1 inbs), and where the gradiometer recorded anomalies with no correlation, the depths may exceed 100 to 150 cmbs (39.4 to 59.1 inbs). Roughly four percent (n=5) of the recorded anomalies correlated between the two survey techniques, indicating that the majority of ferrous material in this block lies below 100 cmbs (39.4 inbs).

Block C

Block C did not exhibit the same profound field disruptions as was recorded in Blocks A and B; however, the analysis indicates that there are three regions of disturbances that may relate to anomalous magnetic fields within Block A. The grid north portion of Block C contains four anomalies (M136 and M138-140) that may be a continuance of the large agglomeration of high amplitude features identified in the southeastern corner of Block A. The large gradient changes associated with these four anomalies suggest that they are deeply buried (140 cmbs [55.2 inbs]), and that they are not all situated in the same vertical plane. The second and third areas of anomalous readings in C are located in the upper northern portion of the block. Here, the anomalies appear to be confined to two bands that bisect the block. Looking at the larger pattern depicted in Appendix II, Figure 1, it appears

that they may be associated with a possible building footprint or demolition area associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church. Some anomalies with moderate to low gradient shifts are isolated (Table 7); like those in Blocks A and B, these lower readings should be examined through excavation to see if they are associated with any funerary hardware or, perhaps, other metal debris.

Block D

Block D does not exhibit the same degree of disturbance noted within Blocks A and B, although several high gradient fields are associated with the toe of the extant levee. These gradient fields are attributed to buried historic period, ferrous debris mixed in with the levee material at the time of its construction, or to debris that has been deposited within the survey block since construction of the artificial flood control structure. The levee access road bisected this survey block, and it too contained a significant amount of associated ferrous debris. The position of the road can be determined by the distribution of anomalies recorded along the margin of the levee and along the access road. Identified grid east of the levee road, the previously mentioned conductivity lows may represent a historic period road trace associated with the former structures, or with the cemetery. The remaining anomalies within this survey block are isolated, and they are not thought to be associated with the Site 16IV49.

Block E

Block E represents a continuation of Block D, and it has similar high gradient shifts associated with the toe of the extant levee. Again, the anomalies situated along the levee toe may be associated with prior historic period activity, structures, or with ferrous debris intercalated in the levee. The patterning and orientation of these anomalies do not share similarities to those recorded in Blocks A, B, and C.

Block F

Block F appears to mostly consist of undisturbed ground. It does not share any of the large-scale disturbances that were recorded in Blocks A, B, and C, nor the amount of anomalous ferrous material recorded in Blocks D and E. Recorded anomalies include the barbed wire fence that bisects this block along the border of Block B, as well as other low amplitude anomalies thought to comprise isolated debris deposited on or near the surface.

Results of Thermal Scanning of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

In addition to the magnetometer, conductivity, and susceptibility surveys, a thermal scan of the area encompassing the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) was completed on December 28, 1999. The thermal imaging of the area was conducted by Mr. Robert F. Melia, President of Real Time Thermal Imaging, LLC, of New Orleans Louisiana. The scan was completed using an infrared camera and associated video recording device. The following discussion presents a brief overview of the results of the thermal imaging of Site 16IV49. The report presenting the results of the thermal imaging is presented in its entirety in Appendix III of this document.

A total of five thermal signatures were interpreted by Mr. Melia to be buried anomalies located within the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. The first anomaly detected using the infrared camera appeared to be the remains of a "pit-like" feature; it was detected within the east-central portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. The second identified anomaly was characterized as a trench that extended along the batture side edge of the levee toeslope. According to the aforementioned report, the trench extended parallel to the levee for approximately 15 to 20 m (49.2 to 65.6 ft).

The third and fourth anomalies identified as a result of this investigation were positioned within the eastern portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex and they were described as the possible remains of two structures that once stood in the area. These two anomalies were situated immediately adjacent to one another, and they may, in fact, represent a single structure or an associated scatter of debris that was created during the removal of the church structure from the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way.

Finally, after post processing of the recovered infrared data was completed, a fifth ther-

mal anomaly was identified. It was identified within the southeastern portion of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49). This anomaly appeared to be "linear, with equal spacing between both the vertical and horizontal lines" (Melia 1999). According to Melia (1999), the fifth identified feature may represent a grouping of interments or an "articulated burial" area.

Aside from the five above-mentioned anomalies, no other thermal features of note were identified during examination of the area encompassing Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (Site 16IV49). The reader is referred to Appendix III of this document for a complete presentation of the results of thermal scanning at Site 16IV49.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During September of 1999, human remains and a decorative casket element were recovered from a backhoe trench excavated within the limits of the former Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49), which is located a short distance to the north of the community of Cannonburg, Louisiana. The archeological investigation during which the skeletal material and the casket hardware were recovered was conducted in anticipation of a proposed U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District concrete slope paving project designed to strengthen the existing artificial flood control structure and provide additional protection against flooding in the Cannonburg area.

As determined by the current investigation, additional historical research indicates that the identified human remains and casket furnishing likely are associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. Moreover, gradiometric, conductivity, susceptibility, and thermal imaging surveys of the area suggest that additional human interments still may exist within the former cemetery limits, i.e., both beneath the extant artificial flood control structure and within portions of the Mississippi River batture.

In addition, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District maps dating from the 1930s indicate that as many as 134 graves may have once been present within the Braziel Baptist cemetery. Documents acquired from the Atchafalaya Levee Basin District during the historical research portion of the current investigation suggest that at least some of the interments were removed from the then-proposed Bayou Goula Bend New Levee right-of-way prior to construction of the extant levee. Historical research also suggests that the removed graves were relocated to the current Braziel Baptist cemetery, which is located to the south of Louisiana Highway 405. Thus, the presence and/or number of intact human interments still present within the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex remains indeterminate.

As with all remote sensing surveys, anomalies identified within the survey blocks must be examined, i.e., ground-truthed, to assess with certitude their nature and degree of depositional integrity. Thus, ground-truthing of the identified anomalies is recommended within remote sensing survey Blocks A, B, and C, as well as in the southern half of survey Block D. The soil overlying these areas should be removed mechanically to reveal the buried A horizon associated with the historic period ground surface of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. The methods for doing so are outlined below.

Proposed Fieldwork Methods for Identifying and Examining Potential Human Interments within the Former Location of the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

In order to ground-truth the results of the remote sensing undertaken as part of the current investigation, and to determine whether or not either intact or disturbed human interments are situated within the boundaries of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, it is recommended that five areas be stripped mechanically. With the exception of a single stripping block that will measure 3.3 x 32.8 m (10 x 100 ft) in area, the proposed stripping blocks should measure approximately 6.1 x 15.2 m (20 x 50 ft) in size and their placement be dependent upon the results of the remote sensing investigations. Recommendations for the distribution of the five stripping block are as follows: Block 1 should be placed within the brushy area located to the north of and adjacent to the perceived boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, i.e., within survey Block C as it was designated during the remote sensing investigations (Figure 88). Stripping Block 2 should be positioned within the northern section of remote sensing survey Block B, i.e., within the northeastern portion of the perceived boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex and adjacent to the extant fence line. Stripping Block 3 should be excavated within the northeastern corner of remote sensing Block A, i.e., in the central portion of the perceived boundary of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex, while stripping Block 4 should be located within the southwestern corner of remote sensing Block A, between the toe of the extant levee and an access road situated along the western boundary of Site 16IV49. This southern edge of this stripping block should located approximately 5 m (16.4 ft) from the toe of the levee and excavation within this area should not entail disturbing any part of the extant artificial flood control structure. In addition, stripping Block 4 should measure 3.3 x 32.8 m (10 x 100 ft) in size in order to determine if intact human remains lie adjacent to the toe of the extant levee and to identify the western boundary of the cemetery. Finally, the placement of stripping Block 5 was determined in consultation with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. That agency requested that the final block be placed within the toe of the extant artificial flood control structure in an effort to determine whether or not any human interments are located beneath the levee. Therefore, a portion of the levee measuring approximately 6.1 x 15.2 m (20 x 50 ft) should be removed to accommodate inspection of the historic period A horizon contained beneath the extant flood control structures.

The purpose of the proposed mechanical stripping at the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex is to determine whether either intact or disturbed human interments exist within the Area of Potential Effect associated with the concrete slope paving project proposed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. The methods to be used in completing the proposed fieldwork are discussed below.

Mechanical Removal of Overburden within the Braziel Baptist Church and Cemetery Complex

After consultation with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, it was determined that mechanical stripping using heavy equipment, i.e., a bulldozer(s) and/or backhoe(s), will be required to ground-truth those anomalies detected during the remote sensing survey of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex. The purpose of the mechanical stripping will be two-fold. First, stripping will be implemented to determine whether or not either intact or disturbed human interments exist within or adjacent to the Area of Potential Effect. Second, **if human interments are detected, all mechanical stripping will cease and hand excavation will be used to determine the boundaries of the area(s) in which the graves are located.** If human skeletal material is detected in the backdirt produced during the mechanical removal of the overburden, it will be removed by hand.

As mentioned above, mechanical stripping will be conducted within five large rectangular blocks. With the exception of stripping Block 4, which will measure 3.3 x 32.8 m (10 x 100 ft) in area, each block will measure 6.1 x 15.2 m (20 x 50 ft) in size and each will be excavated in 10 cm (3.9 in) levels. The stripping process will be accomplished using a bulldozer(s) and/or a

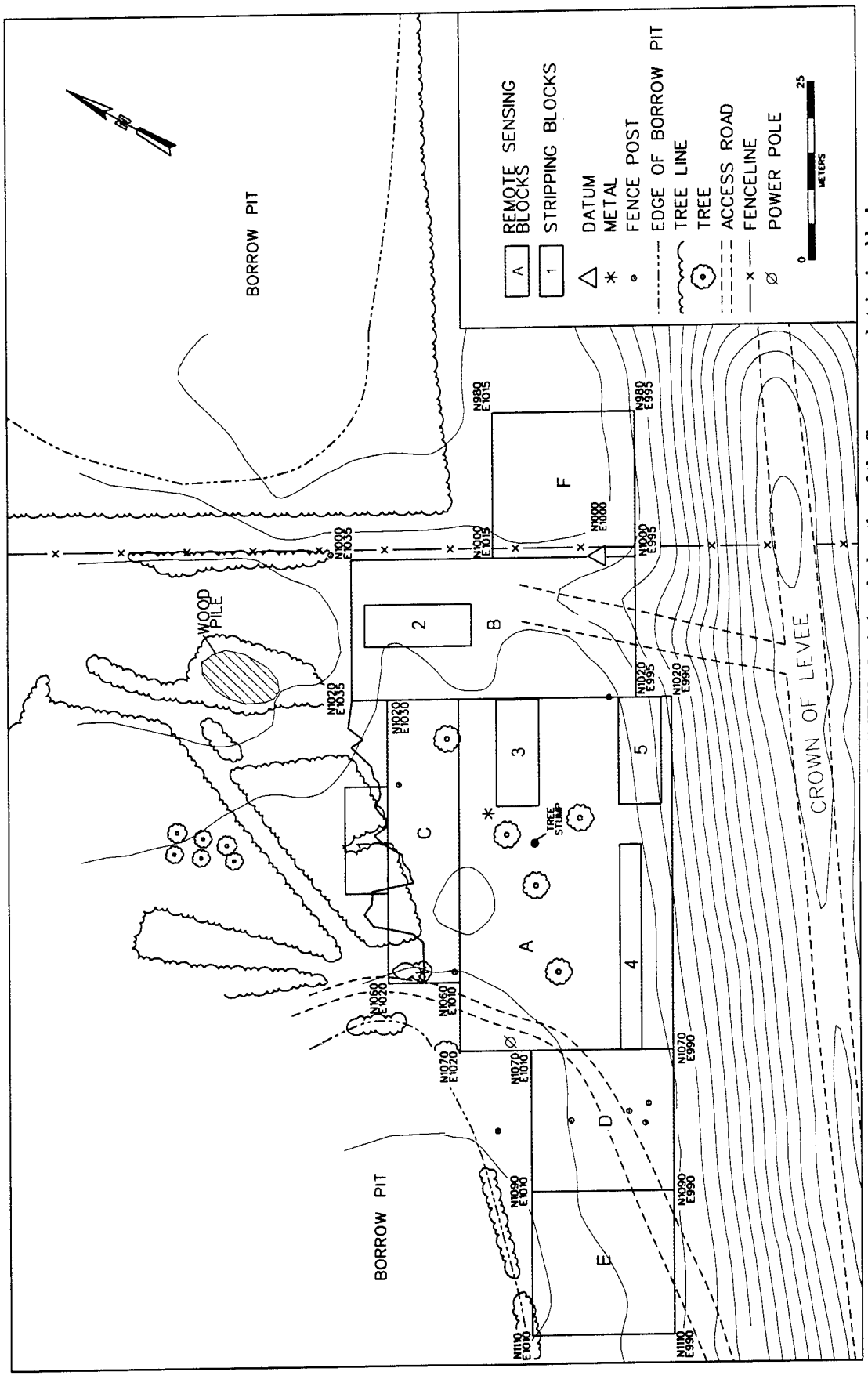


Figure 88. Plan view of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49) depicting the location of the five proposed stripping blocks.

backhoe(s) fitted with a smooth blade. The excavation of the blocks will be monitored at all times by a minimum of two archeologists, one positioned to either side of the heavy equipment. Mechanical stripping will proceed only to a point deep enough to expose the upper most portion of any potential grave shafts; once identified, all mechanical stripping will cease and the exposed areas will be cleaned by hand using flat shovels and trowels to delineate the edges of any exposed cultural features.

All cultural features, i.e., interments, exposed during mechanical stripping will be mapped relative to the site datum using an Electronic Distance Measurer, and the surface of each cultural feature will be drawn and photographed in plan view. Photographic recordation of the identified cultural features will be completed using both black and white and color film, as well as a digital camera. The five proposed stripping blocks will encompass an area that measures approximately 463.6 m^2 (4,990.3 ft^2) in size.

While the procedures outlined above will be adequate for the excavation of stripping Blocks 1 - 4, the method of excavation required for stripping Block 5 will entail some modification, as it will necessitate removal of a short segment of the extant levee. The method to be used during the excavation of stripping Block 5, as it is described below, was determined in consultation with both the cultural resources and engineering divisions of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District.

In order to excavate Block 5 safely and with minimal impact to the extant levee, the portion of the extant artificial flood control structure measuring 6.1 x 15.2 m (20 x 50 ft) in length will extend parallel to the long axis of the levee. According to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District specifications, the removal of the levee segment will be completed as follows:

> In order to safely accomplish this excavation, it will be required to degrade the [levee] crown down to design grade and bench the levee on a 1V on 3H slope from the existing levee centerline to a point 20 feet from the existing riverside toe. The levee should be degraded from the crown down. Side slopes should also be [on] a 1V on 3H [slope] (see Figure 89).

Thus, the excavation of Block 5 will not simply involve removing a section of the levee toe slope, but it also will be necessary to reduce the slope of the riverside levee face within the vicinity of the area investigated for cultural features, i.e., for human interments. It is proposed that for each

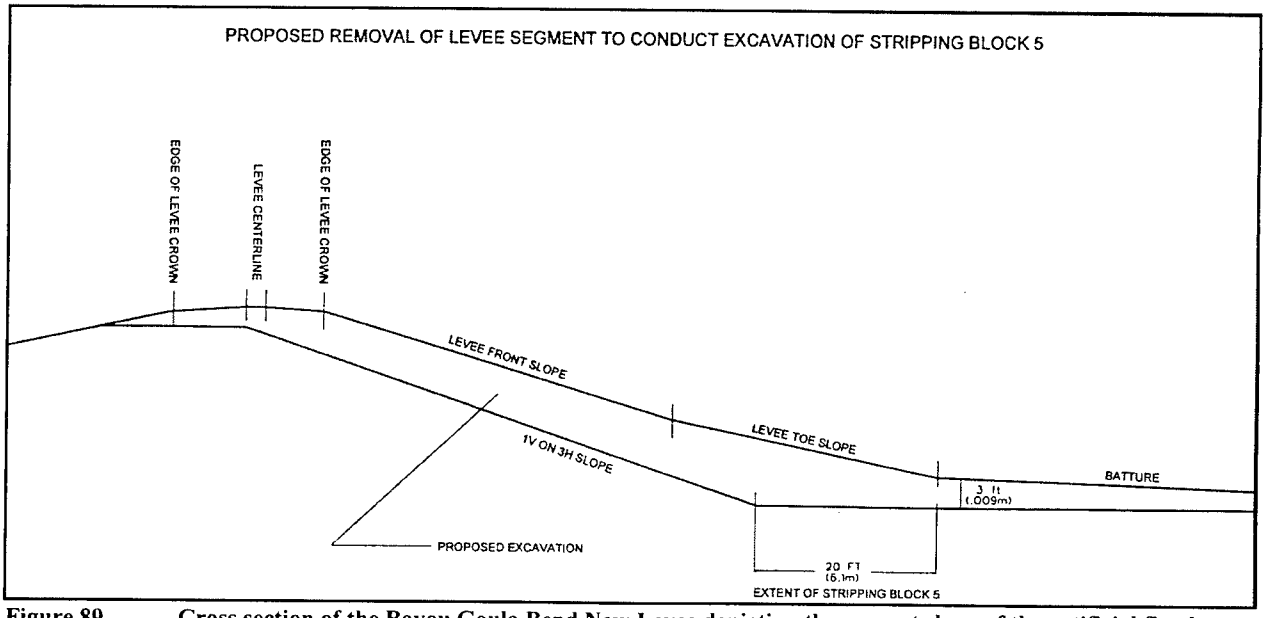


Figure 89. **Cross section of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee depicting the current slope of the artificial flood control structure and the proposed excavation.**

0.91 m (3 ft) of horizontal area effected by the excavation of Block 5, the levee slope may be reduced by 0.3 m (1 ft) in height. Strict adherence to this protocol will be followed, and it will ensure that the excavation of Block 5 will be accomplished safely and efficiently. Once excavated, the examination of the ground surface contained within stripping Block 5 will be identical to that conducted within the remaining four blocks, with all identified cultural features plotted on a site map using the EDM. Furthermore, no cultural material, i.e., artifacts or human remains, will be collected from any of the five areas during the stripping process.

Examination of Identified Cultural Features

As mentioned above, once identified, the surface of each cultural feature suspected to contain a human interment will be cleaned by hand using flat shovels and trowels. Once cleaned sufficiently enough to determine the horizontal limits of the cultural feature, the surface of each will be drawn by hand, photographed using black and white and color film, as well as a digital camera, and then point-provenienced relative to the site grid using an EDM.

In addition, it was determined in consultation with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, that up to five suspected interments will be excavated partially to determine whether they indeed contain either intact or disturbed human remains. The excavation of each suspected interment will be conducted as follows: **Proceeding from the surface, each suspected interment will be excavated carefully by hand in arbitrary 5 cm (2 in) levels within natural strata.** These excavations will take place within an area that measures 50 x 50 cm (19.7 x 19.7 in) in size; this exploratory unit will be placed in the center of the exposed cultural feature. All fill removed from each excavation level will be screened separately using 0.64 cm (0.25 in) mesh hardware cloth; in addition, all fill removed from the suspected grave shaft will be stockpiled in a single location to assure that it is returned into the interment upon completion of the archeological recordation process. Finally, any cultural or skeletal material identified during the screening process will be cataloged in the field and **returned to the interment upon its closing.** Again, under no circumstances will any artifacts or human remains be removed from the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

If in situ human skeletal material is detected within the suspected grave features, all further excavation will be limited only to exposing the skeletal material for recordation. At this point, only **delicate** field tools, including picks, trowels, whiskbrooms, and dustpans, will be employed. In addition, under no circumstances will photographs of the in situ skeletal material be taken; rather, only drawings of the exposed portions of the interments will be rendered. In addition, **no skeletal material or associated funerary objects will be removed from the excavated burial shafts.**

Once identified and tested, each of the excavated interment features will be backfilled completely. Prior to backfilling, a thin layer of plastic will be placed over each interment to aid in future identification, should it be necessary to relocate the remains to another location. During backfilling, the matrix removed from each grave shaft will be replaced within its respective feature. Finally, all feature fill will be tamped down lightly to prevent slumping and/or damage to the interments contained therein.

Backfilling of the Exposed Stripping Blocks

Upon completion of the archeological recordation process, each of the exposed stripping blocks will be filled completely. In the case of Blocks 1 - 4, backfilling will be accomplished simply by returning all backdirt to its original location. Once the fill is placed in its original location, the heavy equipment will make several passes over each area to compact the soil to prevent future slumping. The backfilling process for Block 5, located within the toe of the extant artificial flood control structure, will require somewhat different techniques; these techniques are described below.

When backfilling Block 5 and the associated segment of the artificial flood control structure, the fill must be returned to the levee in the way in which it was removed. That is, the front and toe slopes of the levee will be filled incrementally, with compaction of returned soils between deposition of each fill layer. Levee construction specifications drafted

by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, require that each layer of fill deposited within the front and toe slopes of the levee be compacted using tamping rollers. Such rollers may consist of tractor-drawn, self-propelled, rubber-tired, or crawler-type rollers. These pieces of equipment are designed such that they contain no less than 521.6 kg (1,150 lbs) of ballast within the roller drums. Passage of the roller drums over the newly filled portions of the levee will serve to compact the added soil and provide the front and toe slope of the artificial flood control structure with integrity and stability.

During the backfilling process of Block 5 and the reconstruction of the associated portion of the extant levee, the filling and compacting processes will be followed in succession until the front and toe slopes of the artificial flood control structure are returned to their original condition. In addition, after filling and compaction, the segment of levee investigated during the fieldwork will be dressed. Dressing of the levee segment will consist of smoothing the surface of the levee to within acceptable tolerances of the original levee design plans. Once dressed, the front and toe slopes of the levee should be smoothed to permit fertilizing, seeding, and if necessary, mulching operations.

All of the above-mentioned excavation and reconstitution of the extant levee will be completed under the direct supervision of engineers and cultural resources personnel from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. In addition, all subcontractors necessary to complete the task of degrading and reconstructing the levee segment will be specified by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District; only the individuals or companies approved by the New Orleans District will be contracted to complete the proposed work. Finally, no deviation from the above-mentioned excavation plans will be made. Should a situation arise in the field where changes in the plan are necessary, all such alterations must be made in consultation and under the supervision of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District.

Summary

The recovery of human remains and casket hardware indicate the presence of at least one interment within the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex (16IV49). Historical research demonstrates that a portion of the project area was a burial ground from at least 1872 to 1933. Moreover, cartographic evidence suggests that portions of the former location of the Braziel Baptist cemetery lies beneath the extant levee and within portions of the Mississippi River batture. However, extant documentation cannot conclusively fix all the boundaries of the cemetery, nor can it establish whether, or how many, interments may remain intact.

In addition, remote sensing of Site 16IV49 identified several anomalies possibly associated with the former location of the Braziel Baptist cemetery. Ground-truthing of the identified buried anomalies is recommended to establish conclusively the presence, extent, and conditions of human interments within the former location of the Braziel Baptist Church and cemetery complex.

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1933f 125 Men Placed on Construction By Local Office. 13 October: Vol. 60, No. 51, Page 1. Plaquemine, Louisiana.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF ARCHIVAL REPOSITORIES AND MATERIALS COLLECTED

DOCUMENTS RECOVERED FROM ALL ARCHIVAL SOURCES

National Archives and Research Administration II – College Park, MD

Army Corps of Engineers' Notice to Prospective Bidders dated Sept. 24, 1932
Contains specifics for Bayou Goula Bend

Standard Government Form of Invitation for Bids (Construction Contract)
Individual Specifics for construction of Bayou Goula Bend Levee, dated Oct. 1, 1932

Army Corps of Engineers estimates for levee construction bid out October of 1932
Includes Bayou Goula Bend Levee

Chart of bids received for construction of Bayou Goula Bend levee by
Independent contractors with recommendations for awarding bids, dated Oct. 26, 1932

Correspondence, Subject: Combination bids dated Nov. 17, 1932
Contains textual recommendation to award Callahan Construction Co. Point Pleasant and Bayou Goula Bend levee contracts

Report of Completion of Contracts dated Nov. 21, 1932
Lists Contract W1096eng-828 as Bayou Goula Wave Wash

Change of contract order dated Nov. 29, 1932, which contains orders to, "relocate the cemetery at St. Gabriel, Louisiana..."

Memo dated Dec. 12, 1932 awarding Point Pleasant and Bayou Goula Bend levees to W. E. Callahan Const. Co.

Untitled Correspondence dated Dec. 19, 1932
Confirmation of contract receipt by Callahan Construction Co. for Pt. Pleasant and Bayou Goula Bend Levees, Contract No. W1096e-2373

Circular Letter, Finance No. 156 dated Sept. 26, 1933 Subject: Information on Contracts under National Industrial Recovery Act

Change of contract order dated Oct. 25, 1933 for Bayou Goula Bend Levee

Report of Completion of Contracts Feb. 28, 1934
Contains the Completion Report for Bayou Goula Bend

Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Port Allen, LA

Letter from State Engineer to Louisiana Highway Commission informing of approval of Bayou Goula Bend levee dated March 22, 1932

Bid of Leo Cafiero for moving improvements on Bayou Goula Bend Levee, no date

Contract dated April 1, 1932 between Brazil Baptist Church and Leo Cafiero

Contract dated April 1, 1932 between Elizabeth Lockett and Leo Cafiero

Contract dated April 1, 1932 between "Norah" (Noah) Lockett and Leo Cafiero

Letter dated April 15, 1932 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Brazil Baptist Church

Letter dated April 15, 1932 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Elizabeth Lockett

Letter dated May 7, 1932 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Brazil Baptist Church

Letter dated May 7, 1932 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Elizabeth Lockett

Voucher No. 13629 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Cyril Babin dated Aug. 26, 1932

Letter from John Guyton to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District dated Sept. 27, 1932

Letter from State Engineer to Governor of Louisiana in reference to moving improvements on levees, dated Oct. 31, 1932

Letter from John Guyton to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, dated Nov. 23, 1932

Letter from State Engineer to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District for payment of claims on Bayou Goula Bend, dated Jan. 27, 1933

Letter from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Federal Land Bank of New Orleans regarding Maude Tison, dated Jan. 28, 1933

Letter from State Engineer to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District regarding certificates paid for Bayou Goula Bend right of way improvements, dated Jan. 30, 1933

Letter from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Maude Tison, dated Feb. 1, 1933

Letter from State Engineer to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District regarding costs of improvements moved from Bayou Goula Bend dated, Feb. 27, 1933

Miscellaneous financial report of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District regarding claims paid at Bayou Goula Bend, dated after April 13, 1933

Letter from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Noah Lockett dated May 12, 1933 and enclosed tax receipt of 1931

Letter from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Maude Tison, dated Sept. 10, 1933

Certificate No. 967 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Maude Tison, dated Sept. 16, 1933

Permit from Louisiana State Board of Health for removal of bodies in Cannonburg Cemetery, dated Sept. 22, 1933

Hand written letter from Brazil Baptist Church to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, dated Sept. 23, 1933

Voucher No. 13995 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to George Shaw, dated Oct. 17, 1933

Letter from Army Corps of Engineers to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District informing of completion of Bayou Goula Bend levee, dated Jan. 3, 1934

Letter from Louisiana Assistant State Treasurer listing certificates paid by Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, dated April 11, 1935

Atchafalaya Basin Levee District minutes dated January 7, 1936 listing outstanding certificates of indebtedness

Letter from Federal Land Bank of New Orleans to Atchafalaya Basin Levee District presenting certificates for payment, dated March 28, 1936

Voucher No. 15250 from Atchafalaya Basin Levee District to Noah Lockett, dated July 29, 1936

Letter from Louisiana Assistant State Treasurer listing certificates paid by Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, dated Aug. 28, 1936

Board of State Engineers chart showing money spent on Bayou Goula Bend, dated 1936

Page 27 of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District's index to Miss. River Claim Projects: Bayou Goula Bend, no date

Page 28 of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District's index to Miss. River Claim Projects: Bayou Goula Levee, no date

Page 50-A of Atchafalaya Basin Levee District's index to Miss. River Claim Projects: Pt. Pleasant Levee, no date

National Archives and Research Administration, Southwest Division – Ft. Worth, TX

Correspondence titled Cemeteries encountered in levee locations, dated May 9, 1932

Memorandum for all Area Chiefs, dated July 11, 1932

District Order No. 22 (Rates of Payment for Labor), dated Sept. 1, 1932

District Order No. 20 (Daily Time Reports), dated Sept. 2, 1932

Correspondence regarding daily levee cross-sections, dated Aug. 23, 1933

Records received from representatives of Brazil Baptist Church

Transcript of meeting between Army Corps of Engineers and representatives of Brazil Baptist Church, dated Sept. 29, 1999

Transcript of oral interview between Reverend Batieste, Johnny Duncan and Joe Davis, dated Sept. 22, 1999

Transcript of oral interview between Reverend Batieste, Terry Bonnie, Johnny Duncan and Nellie Stewart, dated Sept. 22, 1999

Transcript of oral interview between Reverend Batieste, Johnny Duncan and Velma Lockett Williams, dated Sept. 22, 1999

Transcript of oral interview titled "New Orleans Interviews", no date

Records from the Notarial Archives, New Orleans, La

Bankruptcy of Ulger Lauve, Sale of Celeste Plantation to Theodore Soniat du Fossat, April 4, 1874, in the Notarial Records of Charles T. Soniat. Vol. 2, Act No. 47.

Lease of Celeste Plantation by Theodore Soniat du Fossat to Thomas J. Sellers, 12/21/1876, in the Notarial Records of Charles T. Soniat. Vol. 3, Act No. 50

Sale of Celeste Plantation by Theodore Soniat du Fossat to J. J. Thompson, 12/13/1878, in the Notarial Records of Charles T. Soniat. Vol. 5, Act No. 100.

Maps Recovered from All Archival Sources

Survey of the Mississippi River, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Chart # 68, 1879-80.

Maps, ca. 1914, numbered 105-95. Untitled and undated, which appear to be right of way maps for the Atchafalaya Basin Levee District (they do note "A.B.L.D."), including the project area and several other plantations above and below Cannonburg.

USACE project map, "Proposed levee work for 1932-33, Mississippi River, Atchafalaya Front Levee District, 2nd Area, Bayou Goula Bend Levee, New and Enlargement, Relief Levee Item R 876." Microfilm, on file at the New Orleans Corps map room, L-8-2295-A, item # R-876, including typical enlargement sections and cross sections. September, 1932.

USGS Topographic 15' series, White Castle, Louisiana, Grid Zone "C", 1936.

Excerpt from Caving Banks Survey Maps 1945, revised ca. 1960s, Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. 2 pages.

Vicinity of Bayou Goula Bend, LA, Caving Bank Survey, Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, ca. 1949, revised 1960s and 1970s. 2 pages.

Alhambra to Hohen Solms Levee Enlargement and concrete slope pavement design report, USACE, New Orleans District, project maps for ABLD, Original Design Sections. September 11, 1995.

Atchafalaya Basin Levee District, Port Allen, Louisiana

Board of State Engineers, "A.B.L.D. Map showing area of land used or damaged in the construction of the Bayou Goula Bend New Levee." May 1932. Have 2 of 3 sheets extant at Port Allen. Final sheet located at Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans, Second District. 2 sheets.

USACE map, "Proposed Levee work for 1932-33, Mississippi River Atchafalaya Front Levee District, 2nd Area, Philadelphia Point Levee, New and Enlargement. Item R-881." U.S. Engineer Office, Second District, New Orleans, LA. September, 1931.

USACE map, "Proposed Levee work for 1932-33, Mississippi River Atchafalaya Front Levee District, 2nd Area, Bayou Goula Bend Levee, New and Enlargement. Item R-876." U.S. Engineer Office, Second District, New Orleans, LA. September, 1931.

Board of State Engineers, "A.B.L.D. Map showing area of land used or damaged in the construction of the U. S. Philadelphia Point New Levee, Ascension Parish." May, 1932. 1 sheet.

Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Archives, New Orleans, La.

Survey of the Mississippi River, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Sheet 25, 1907.

Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-1928, microfilm. Applications for Cannon Store Post Office, with attached map of route, August 18, 1879; White Castle Post Office, with attached map of route, August 31, 1887; White Castle Post Office, with attached map of route, February 11, 1914; Organized by state and county/parish. Reports of Site Locations 1837-1950

Iberville Parish Courthouse, Parish Records Office, Plaquemines, Louisiana

Original Township Surveys, Surveyed by John M. Williams, 1829 T 10 R 13 Southeastern District Louisiana

Daney & Waddill, "map of Laurel Ridge, Belle Grove, Celeste, Cannonburg, and Old Hickory Platn's, showing locations and length of proposed new track and curves to connect Texas and Pacific spur with 'Old Hickory' sugar house." Also showing approximate location of existing track. April 14, 1916. Conveyance Book 43, item 155.

"Plan of Preliminary Subdivision of Belle Grove and Celeste Plantations Iberville Parish," Plan Book 5, p. 9, September 16, 1920.

E. P. Hargrove map, "showing Survey of 678.24 acres of land; 627.61 acs South of River Road, 8.43 acs. in batture; Located in Sections 7, 8, 9, 94, & 95. T10s-R13E and sec. 3, 4, & 5, T-10S-R14E. Iberville Parish, Louisiana for: Ross Campesi et. al. July 30, 1954, revised May 28, 1958.

Public Works Records, located in the Department of Transportation, General Files, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Engineer Drawings, Office Board of State Engineers

LD-4-1329-2, Alhambra Levee, Iberville Parish, August 26, 1884, depicting location, profile and cross-section of levee.

LD-4-1182-1, Board of State Engineers "compiled map of Bayou Goula White Castle Bend, Iberville Parish, La, showing retrenchment of levees from 1869 to 1933, due to caving, also continuous bank lines as indicated." September 13, 1888.

LD-4-1359-2, "Old Hickory Levee, Iberville," surveyed by F. M. Kerr, depicting location, design and cross-section of levee, September 13, 1888.

LD-4-1014-1, A.B.L.D. map, "Alhambra Levee, Iberville Par.," surveyed by F. M. Kerr, depicting location, design and cross-section of levee, September 13, 1888. 2 pages.

LD-4-1031-1, unidentified map, "Celeste and Mt. Salem Levees, Iberville Parish," depicting location of levee and surrounding buildings, September 30, 1892.

LD-1-1665-T, unidentified surveyor, Iberville Parish, lower portion, 1930

LD-4-1133-1, Board of State Engineers map, "showing area of land used or damaged in the construction of the U.S. Bayou Goula New Levee (1929), Iberville Parish," upstream of project area, Tally-Ho plantation, showing Catholic Church and Cemetery infringement by the new levee. May, 1929.

LD-4, roll 60.12, Sheet 2, Drawing 2, USACE map, "proposed levee work for 1929-30, Atchafalaya Front Levee District, 3rd Area, Bayou Goula Levee New (867-R), March 1929.

LD-4-1162-1, Board of State Engineers map, entitled "A.B.L.D. map showing area of land used or damaged in the construction of the U.S. Bayou Goula Bend New Levee, Iberville Parish." May, 1932. 3 pages.

Surveyor field books:

Board of State Engineers, Surveyor Field Book #2196, "U. S. Bayou Goula Bend N. L., Iberville Parish, Hwy A.B.L.D." May 1932. 23 pages.

Board of State Engineers, Surveyor Field Books, List of Dimensions Book # 170, 2/21/23 to 3/21/24, Ahambra to lower line Chatham, dates: 8/9/23; 12/2/23; 12/22/23; 3/20/24, lists station numbers, gross fill amount, dimensions to foot of slope (both land and river sides) and center of crown, distances from stake to stations, river edge and berms. 5 pages.

Louisiana Highway Commission Records, Department of Transportation, General Files, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

State of Louisiana, Louisiana Highway Commission, "Plan and Profile of proposed State Highway, State Project No. A-47, Bayou Goula Bend Levee Highway, Iberville Parish," Project Identification No. 231-02-0001, roll 11.47, 3rd quarter. 1932. 9 sheets.

State of Louisiana, Louisiana Highway Commission, "Plan and Profile of proposed State Highway, State Project No. A-48, Philadelphia Levee Highway, Ascension Parish, Project Identification No. 231-01-0001, roll 11.47, 4th quarter. 1932. 5 sheets.

Louisiana Notarial Archives

E. Gournier, "Plan of Celeste Plantation, the property of Theodore Soniat Fossat, Parish of Iberville, La., showing the subdivision of a tract of 5 Arpents front, on the lower side by the depth thereunto belonging." Dated December, 1878, attached to the Notarial Acts of Charles T. Soniat, vol. 5, act 100. December 13th, 1878.

National Archives and Research Administration II

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. Unidentified surveyor. Submap B, Map #Z297. From headquarters Map file 'Bayou Goula Vicinity, LA'. Ca. 1860s.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Chart #154. Ca. 1888.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Low Water Survey, Vicksburg to Donaldsonville, Map No. 676, File No. Z676, Sheet 30. November, 1895.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Low Water Survey, Vicksburg to Donaldsonville, Map No. 676, File No. Z676, Sheet 35. November, 1895.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Shore Line Survey, File No. 828A, Sheet 20. Chief of Surveying party, A. T. Morrow. 1909-1910.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Shore Line Survey, File No. 828A, Sheet 21, Chief of Surveying party, A. T. Morrow. 1909-1910.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Chart #68. 1921.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Chart #69. 1921

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Transit Book No. 1010, Topography of the town of Plaquemine and Claiborne, C. M. Winchell, Chief of Party, H. W. Kerr, Topographer. 1882-83.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Transit Book No. 1011, Topography Bayou and town of Plaquemine, 1 to 21 and Bayou Goula to Claiborne Island, Pages 21 to end and Claiborne, C. M. Winchell, Chief of Party, H. W. Kerr, Topographer. 1882-83.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Transit Book No. 3132, Donaldsonville to Saint Louis 185,A. T. Morrow, Chief of Party, G. H. French, Topographer. November 12, 1895

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Topography Book No. 3825, Donaldsonville to Saint Louis 185, A. T. Morrow, Chief of Party, G. H. French, Topographer. 1897-98.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Topography Book No. 8367, Below White Castle to Philadelphia Point, E. L. Hartman, Chief of Party, B. Whiteside, Topographer. 1921.

Record Group 77, Map Division, College Park, Md. *Survey of the Mississippi River*, made under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, Topography Book No. 8338, Saint Louis to Stone Line 196 and return to Memphis, E. L. Hartman, Chief of Party. 1921-22.

State Land Office

Original Township Survey, T 10 R 14 E, South Eastern District Louisiana, surveyed by Augustus S. Phelps, Deputy Surveyor, December, 1829 to January, 1830.

Original Township Survey, T 10 R 13 E, South Eastern District Louisiana, surveyed by John M. Williams, Deputy Surveyor, March, April, May and June, 1829.

Tobin International, LTD, San Antonio, Tx

Aerial Photograph of Cannonburg, Louisiana. September 25, 1933,
Portion of 355-027, San Antonio, Texas.

APPENDIX II

REMOTE SENSING MAPS

REMOTE SENSING MAPS

Figure 1. Contour Map of Magnetic Gradients in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F 2

Figure 2. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block A 3

Figure 3. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block B 4

Figure 4. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block C 5

Figure 5. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block D 6

Figure 6. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block E 7

Figure 7. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block F 8

Figure 8. Contour Map of Earth Conductivity in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F 9

Figure 9. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block A 10

Figure 10. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block B 11

Figure 11. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block C 12

Figure 12. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block D 13

Figure 13. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block E 14

Figure 14. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block F 15

Figure 15. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block A 16

Figure 16. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block B 17

Figure 17. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block C 18

Figure 18. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block D 19

Figure 19. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block E 20

Figure 20. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block F 21

Figure 21. Image and Shaded Relief Plots of Earth Conductivity in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F 22

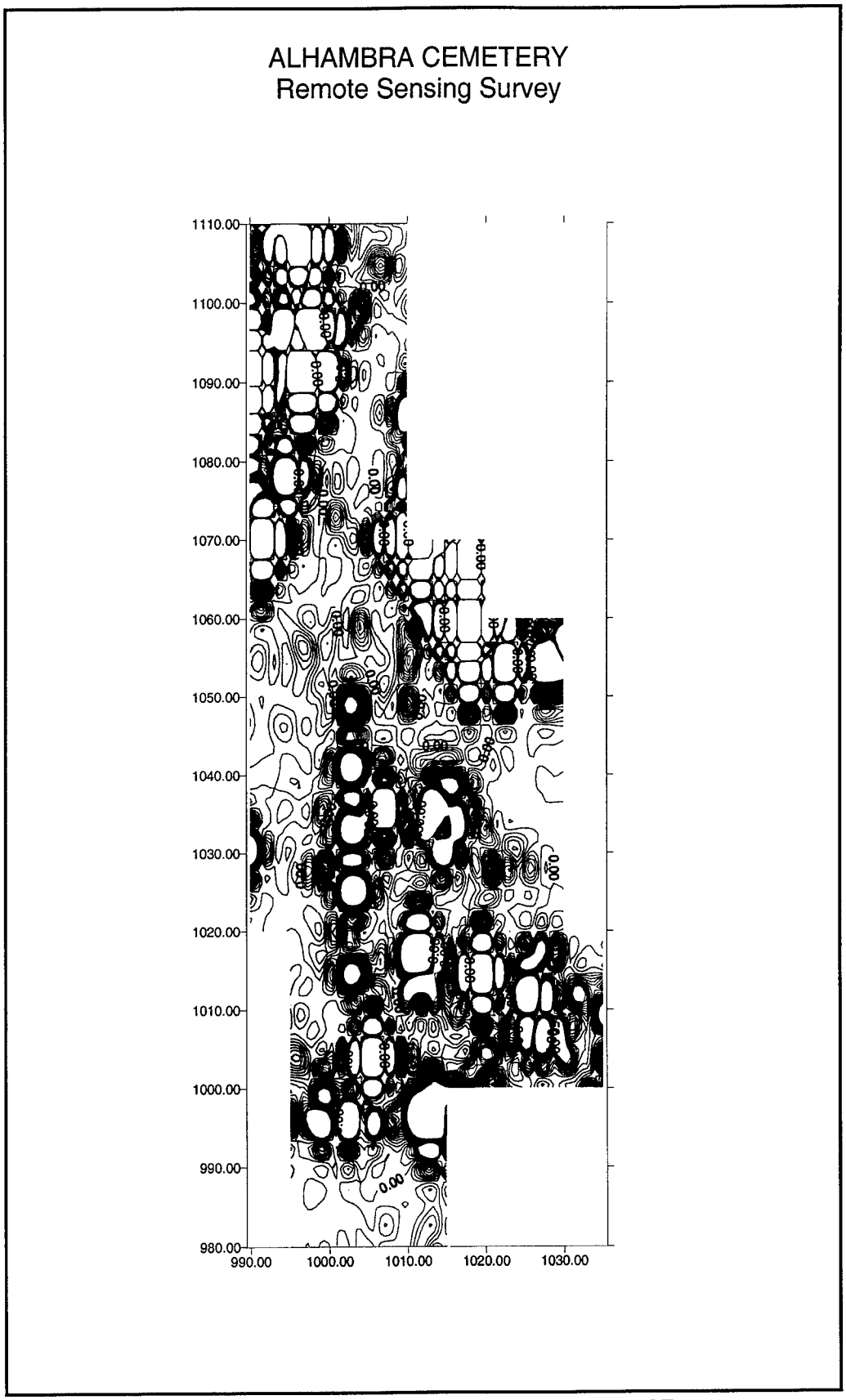

Figure 1. **Contour Map of Magnetic Gradients in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F.**

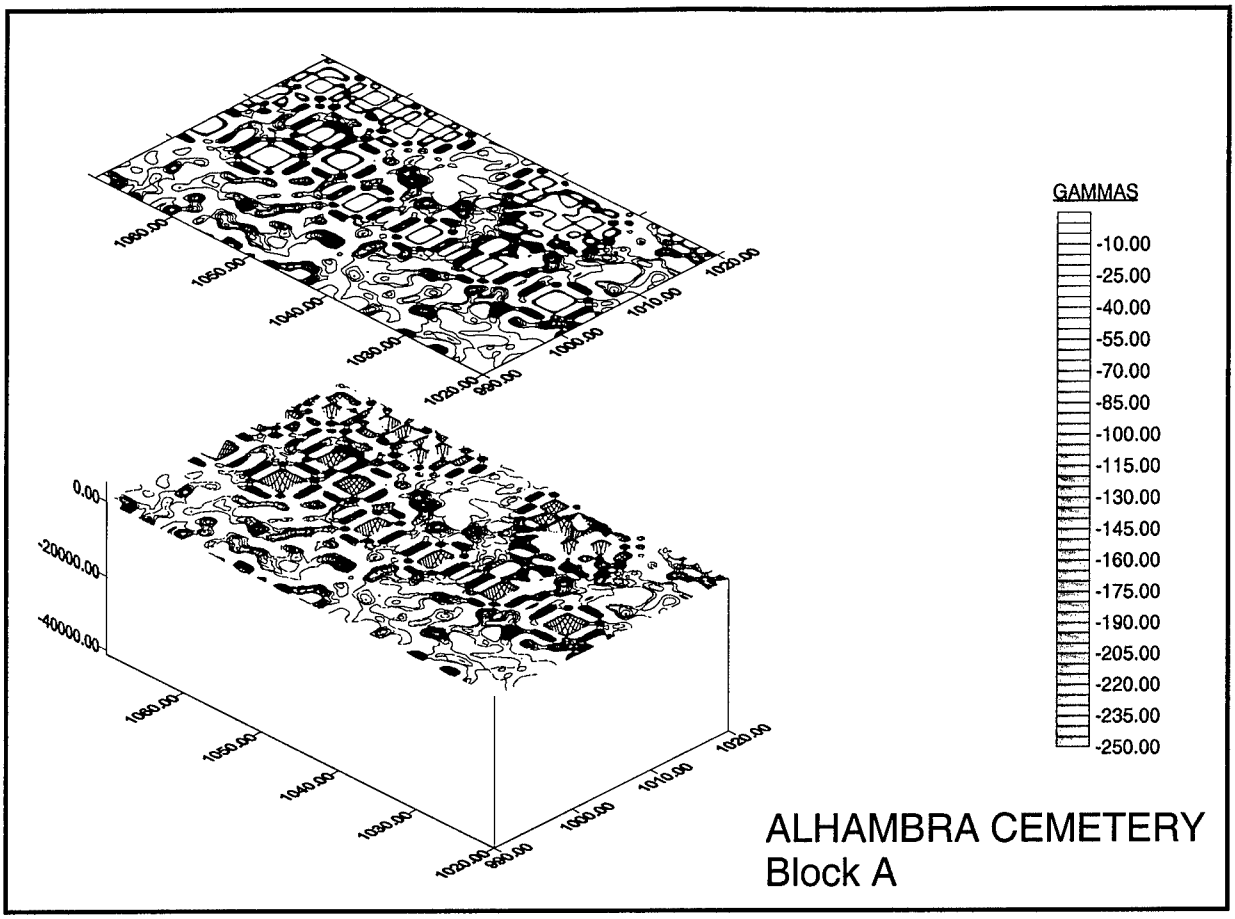

Figure 2. **Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block A.**

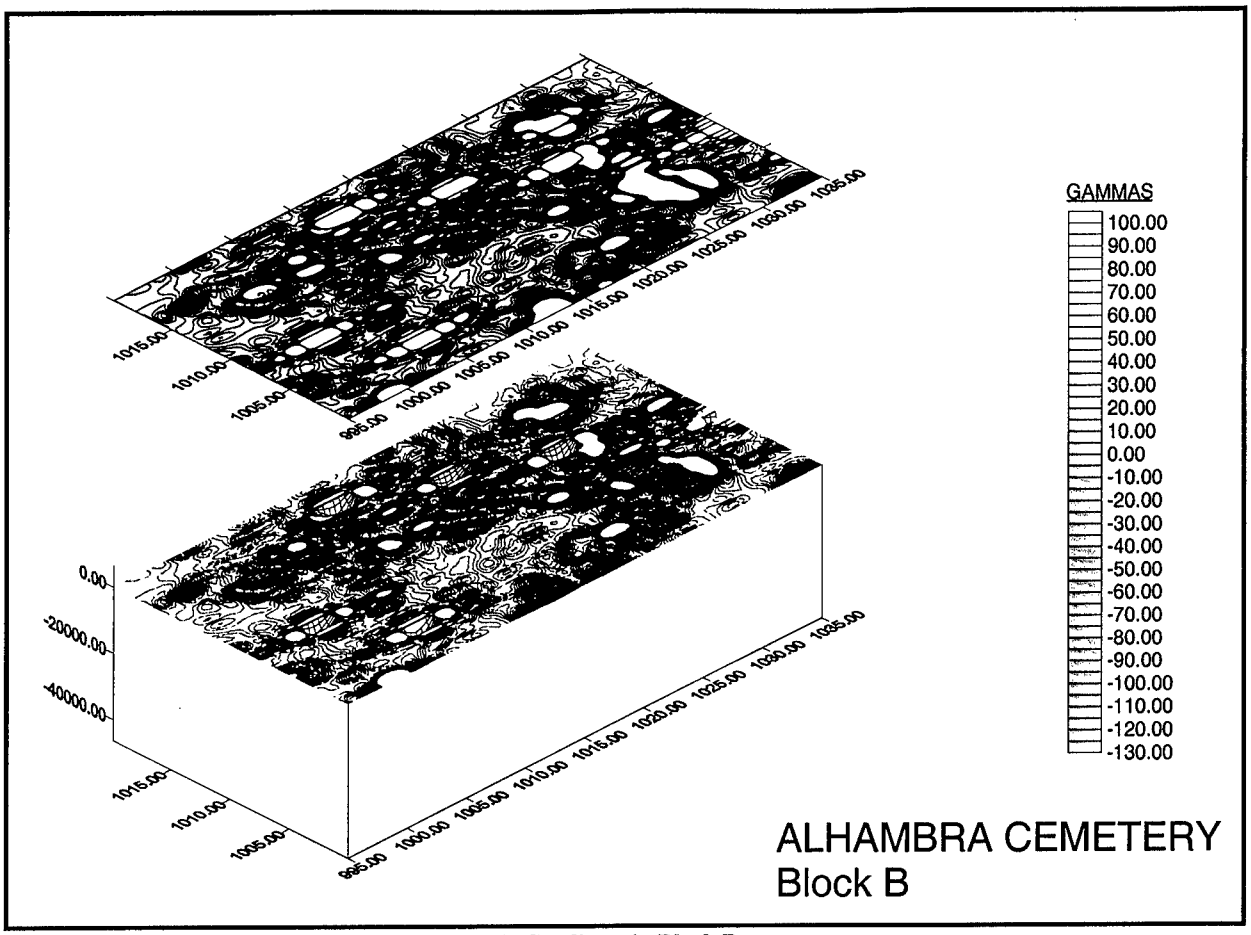

Figure 3. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block B.

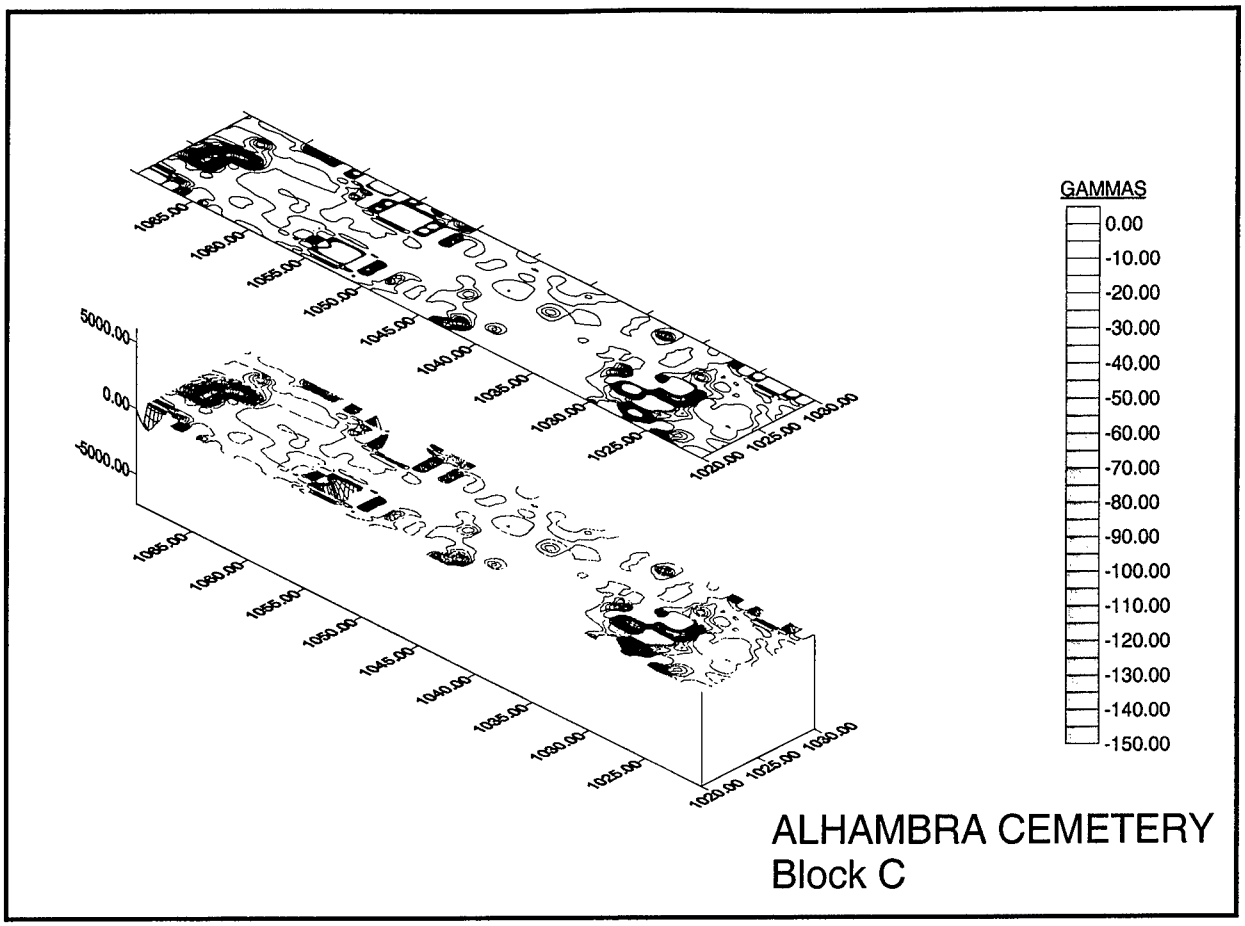

Figure 4. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block C.

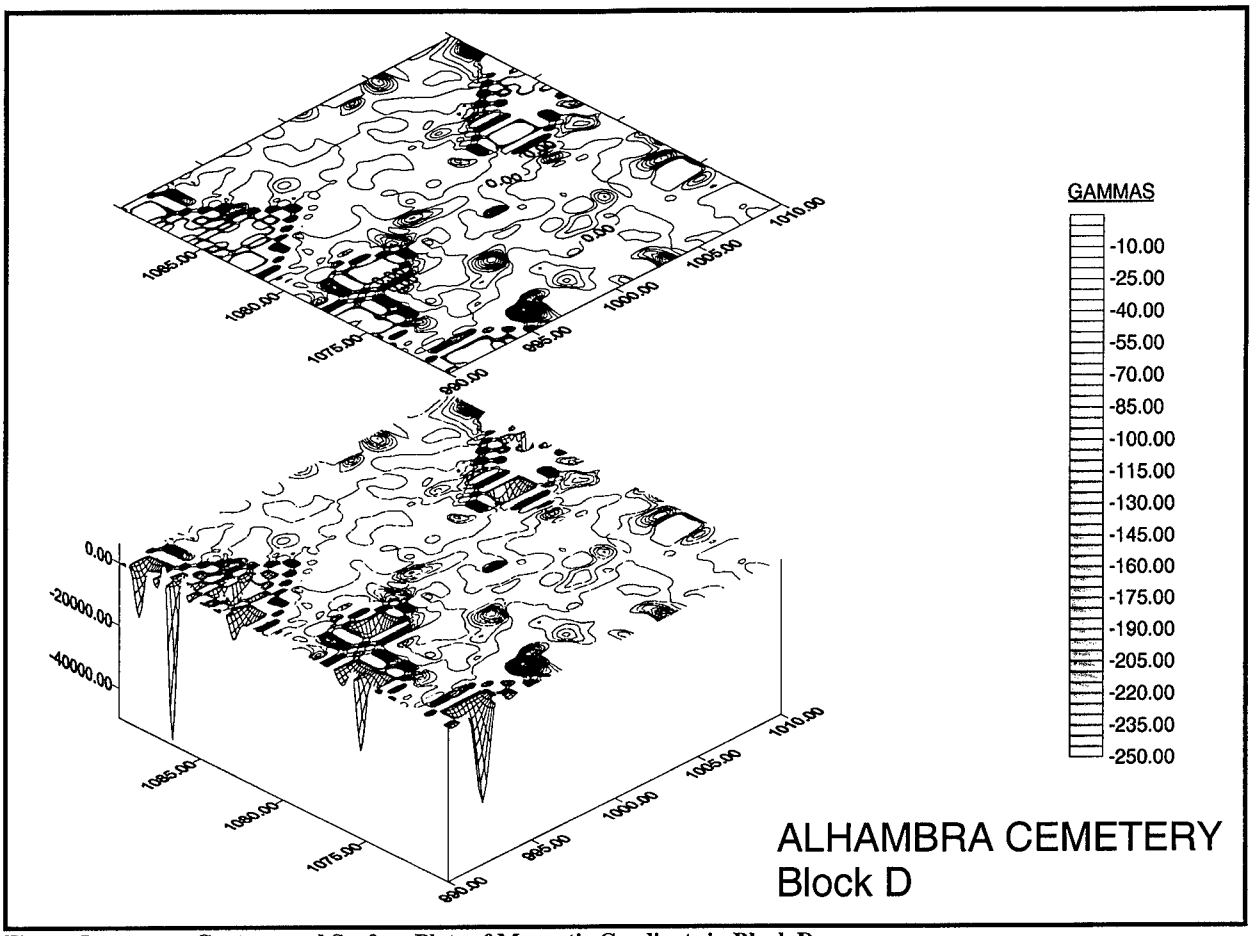

Figure 5. **Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block D.**

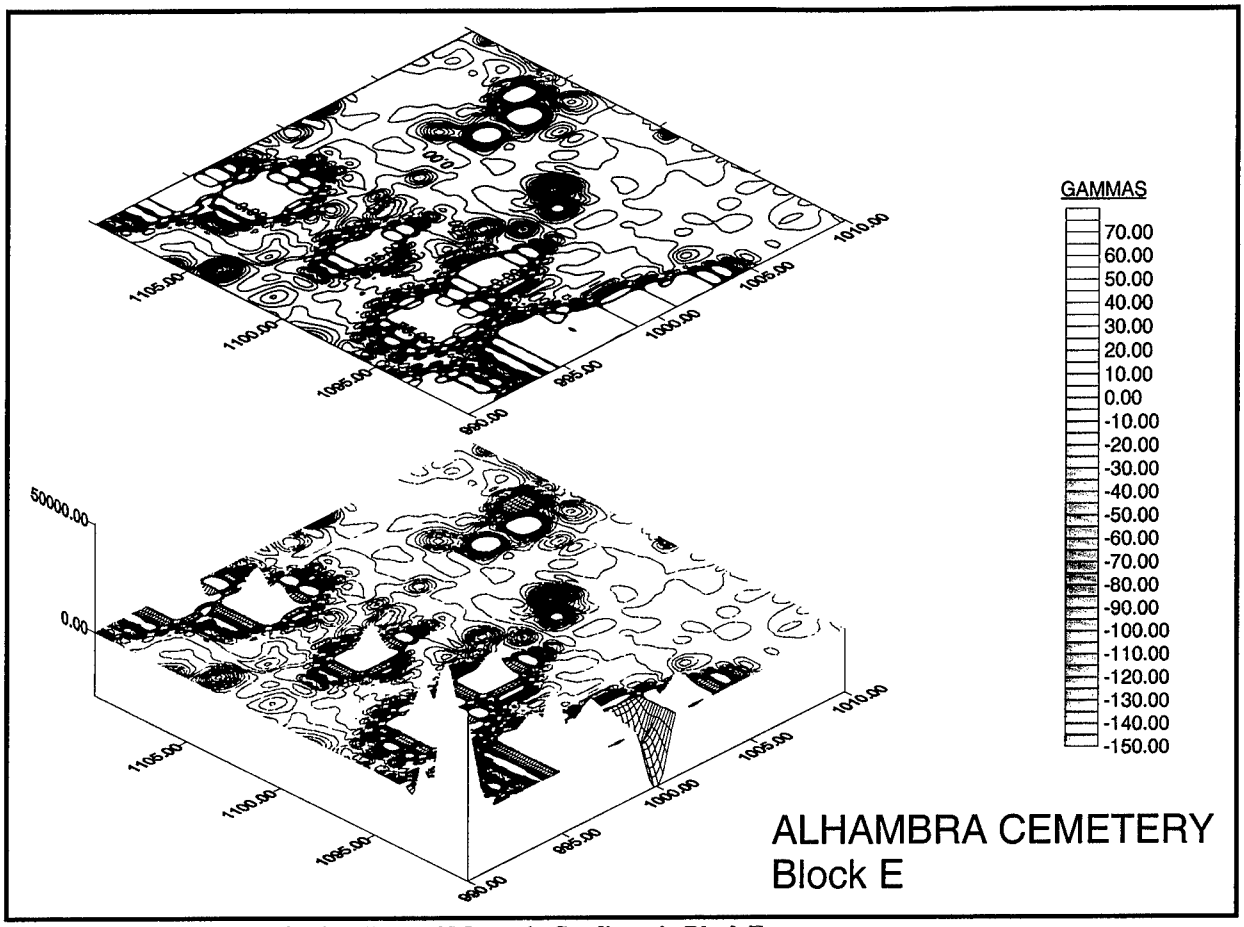

Figure 6. **Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block E.**

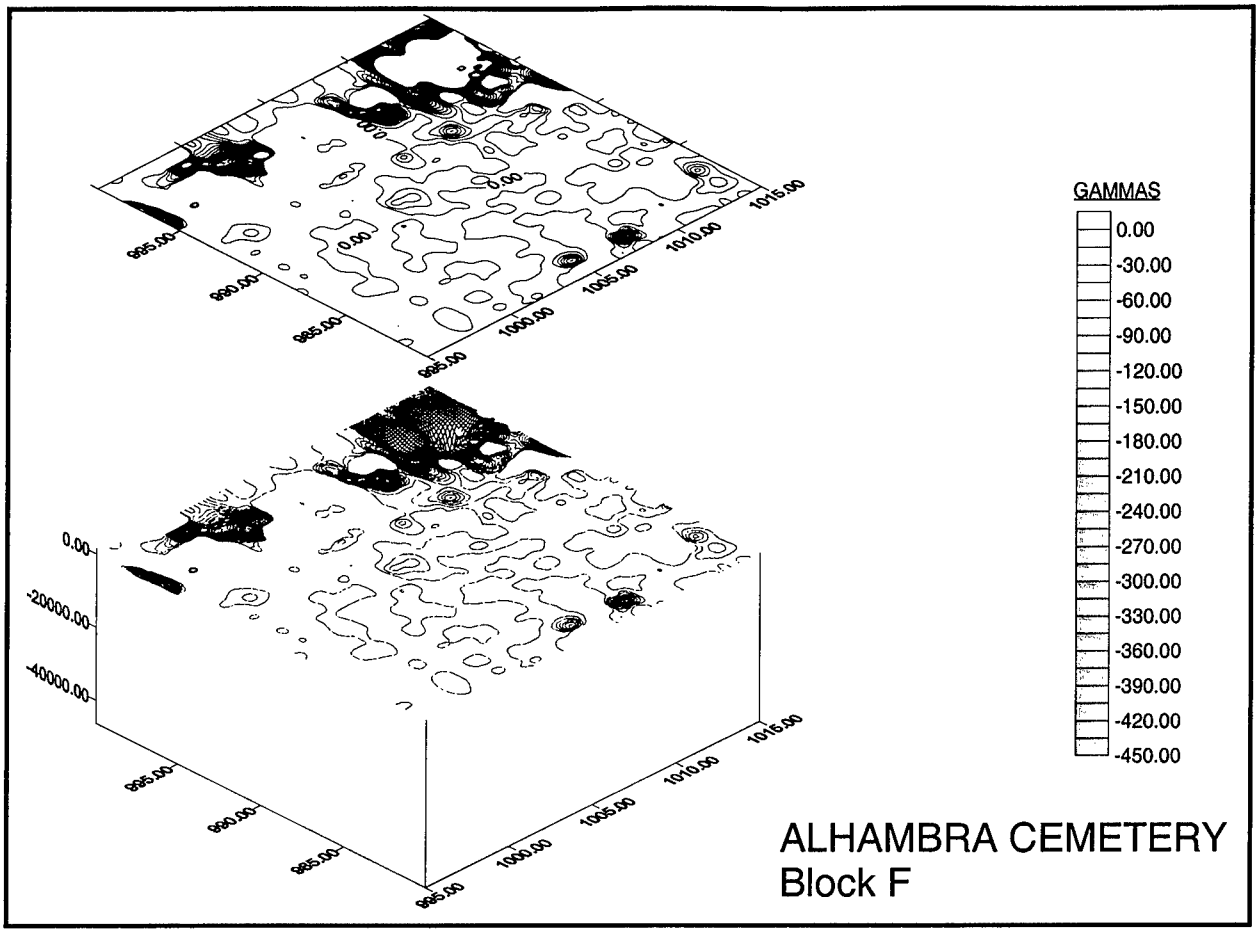

Figure 7. **Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Gradients in Block F.**

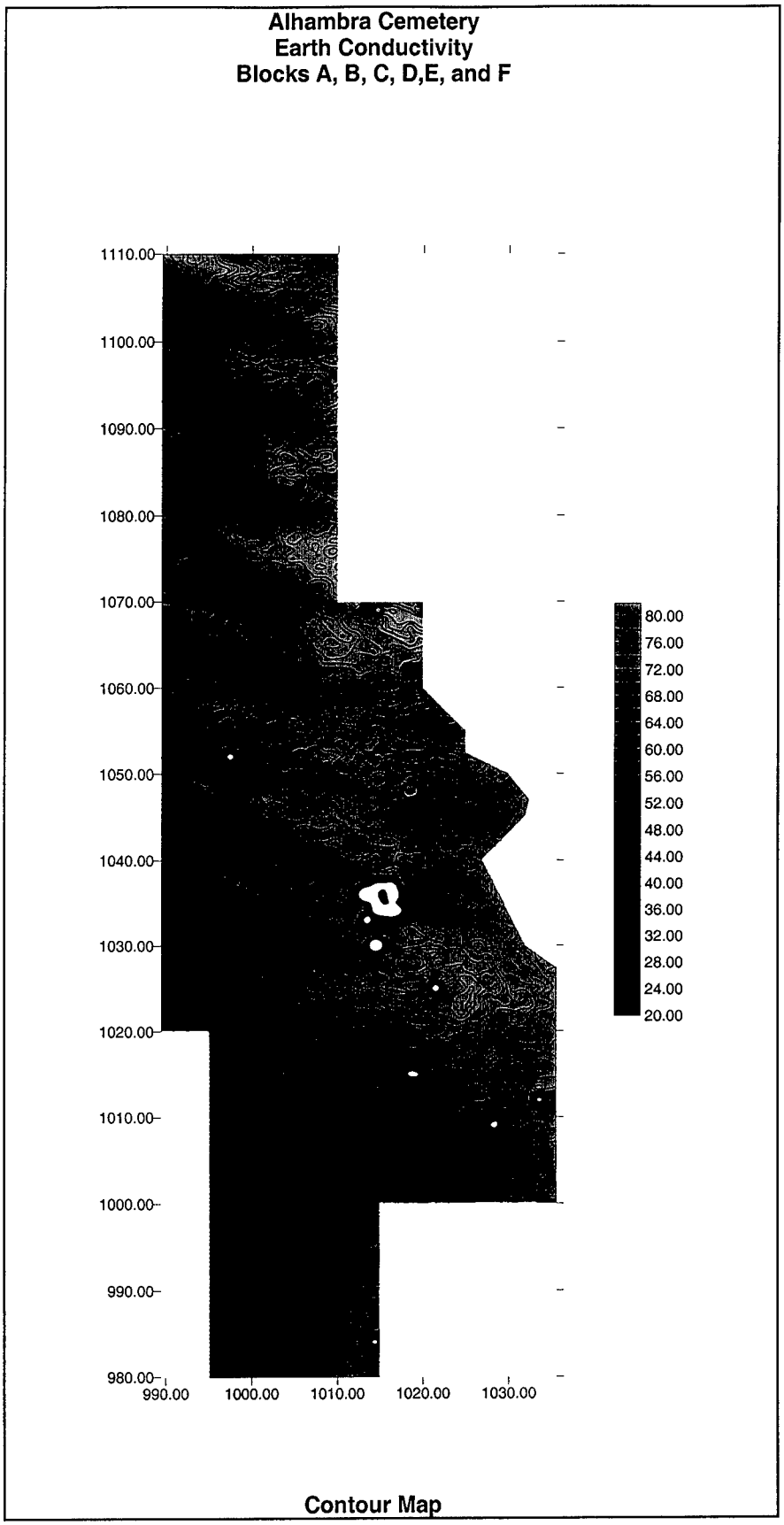

Figure 8. Contour Map of Earth Conductivity in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F.

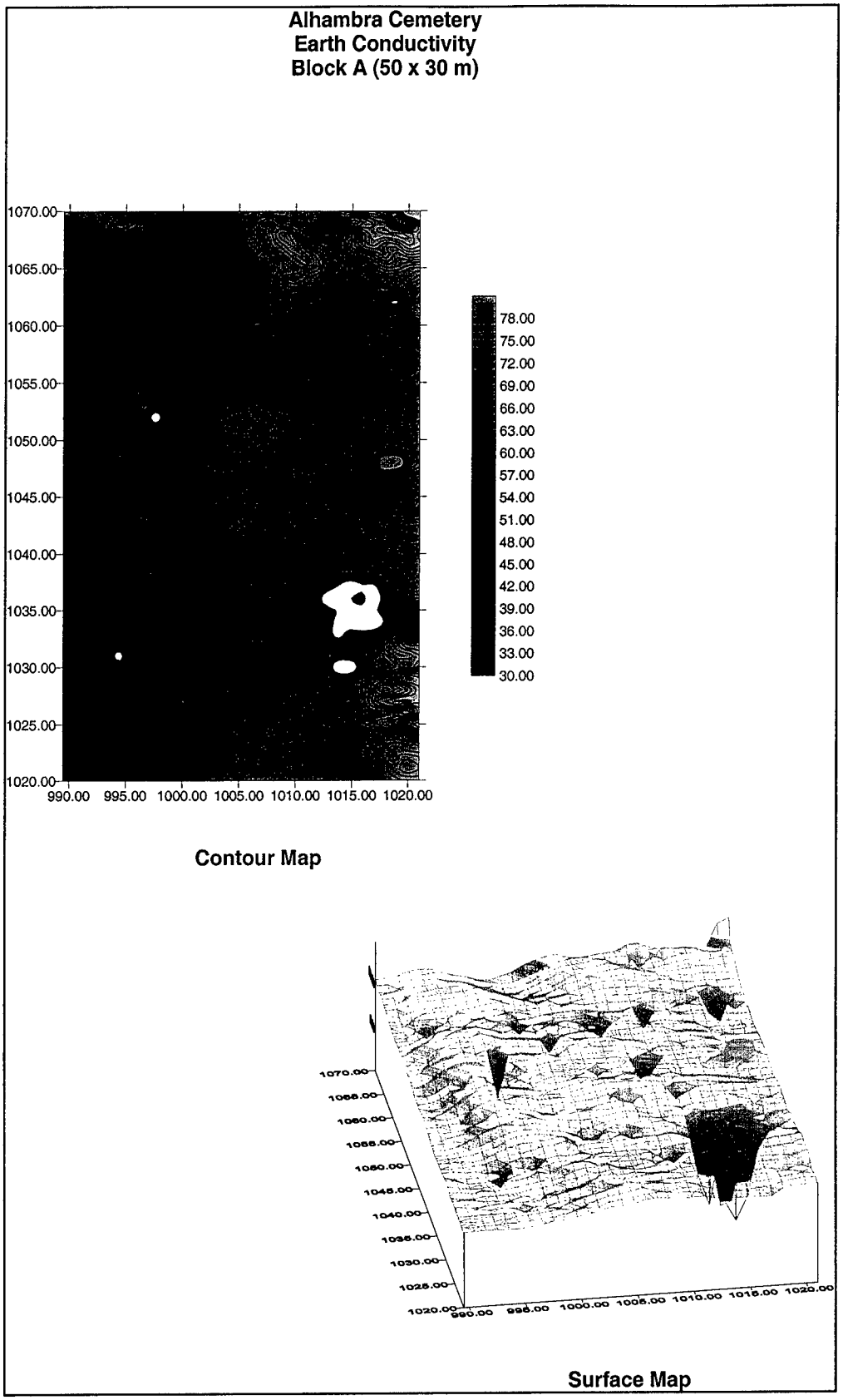

Figure 9. **Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block A.**

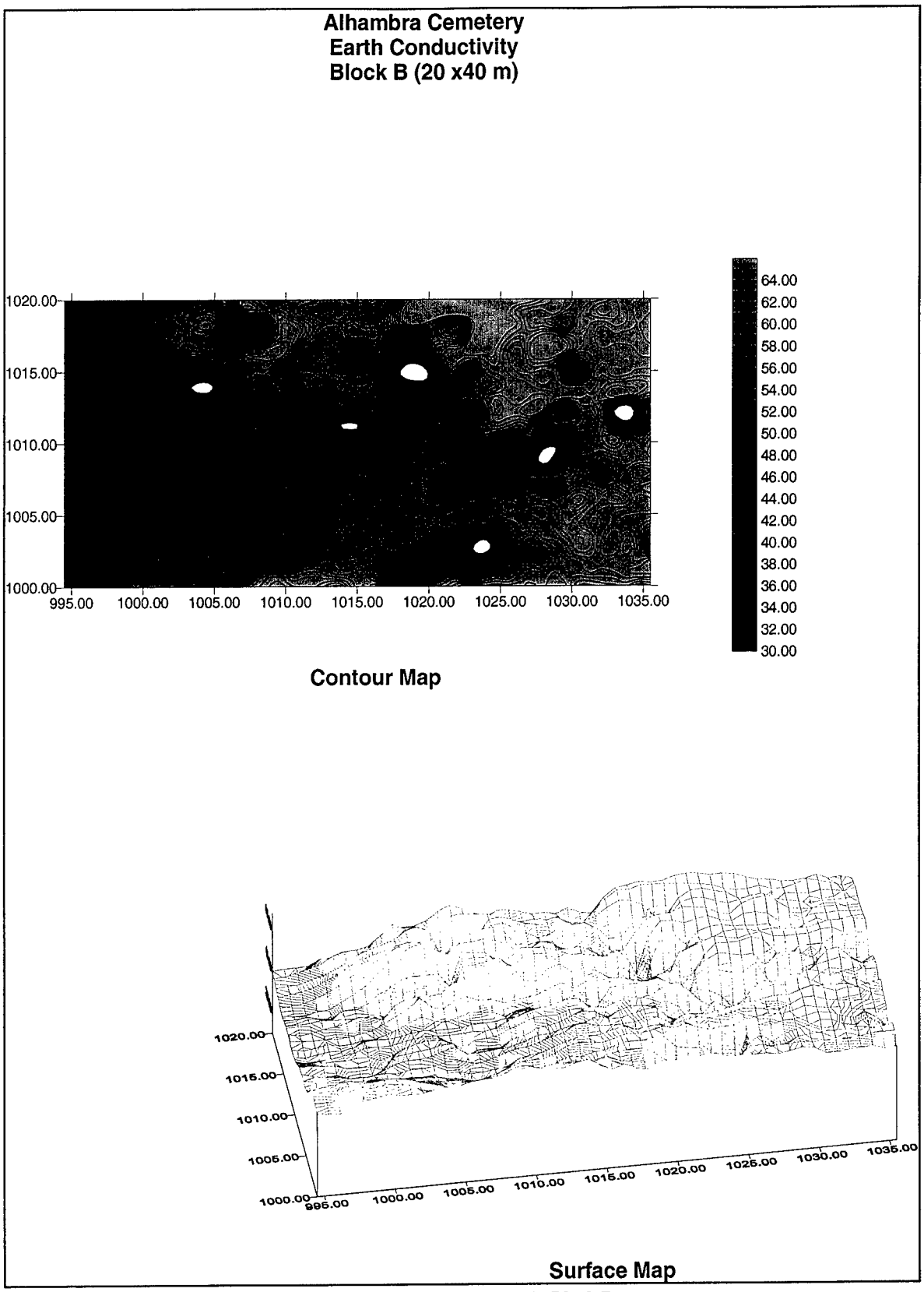

Figure 10. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block B.

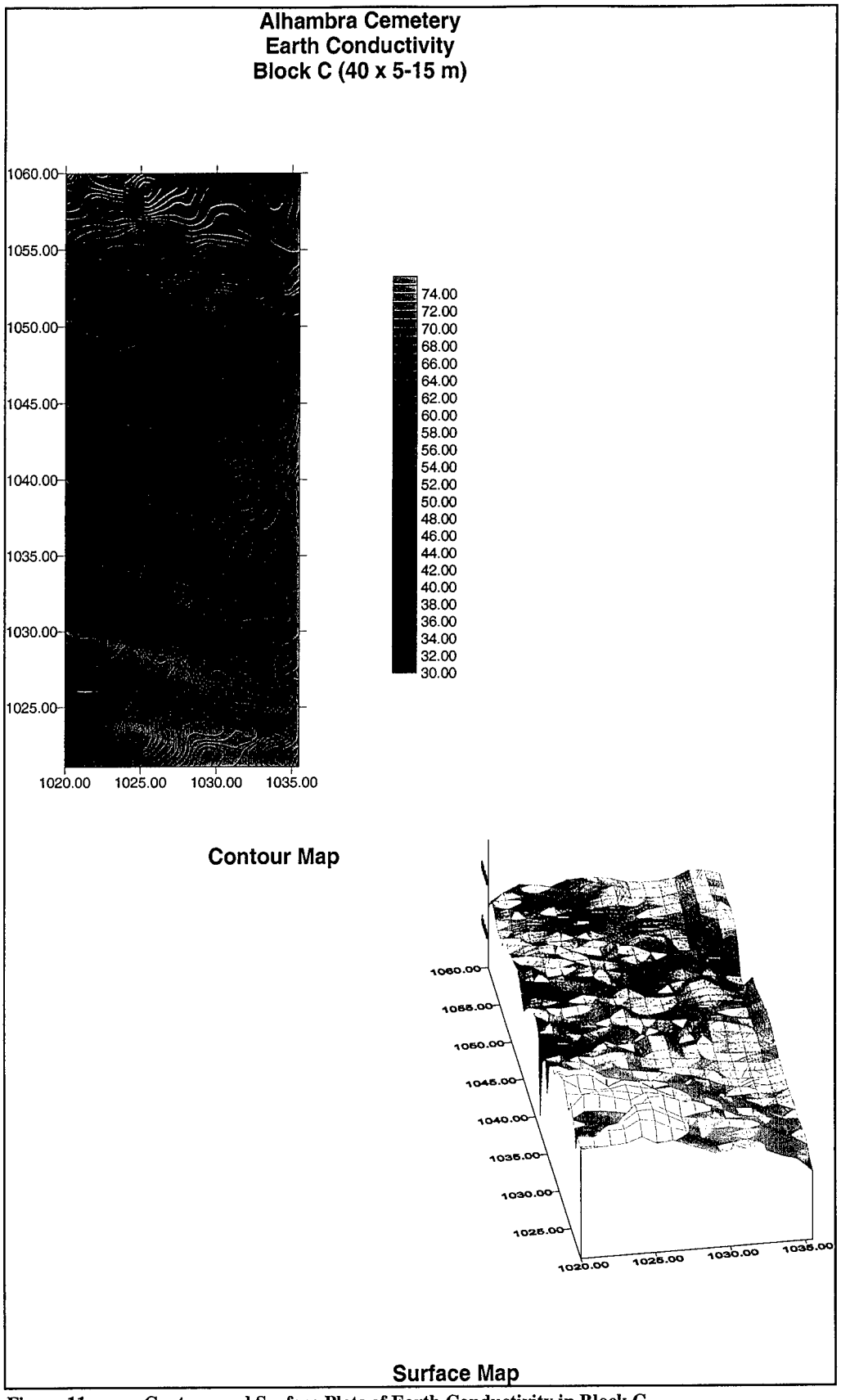

Figure 11. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block C.

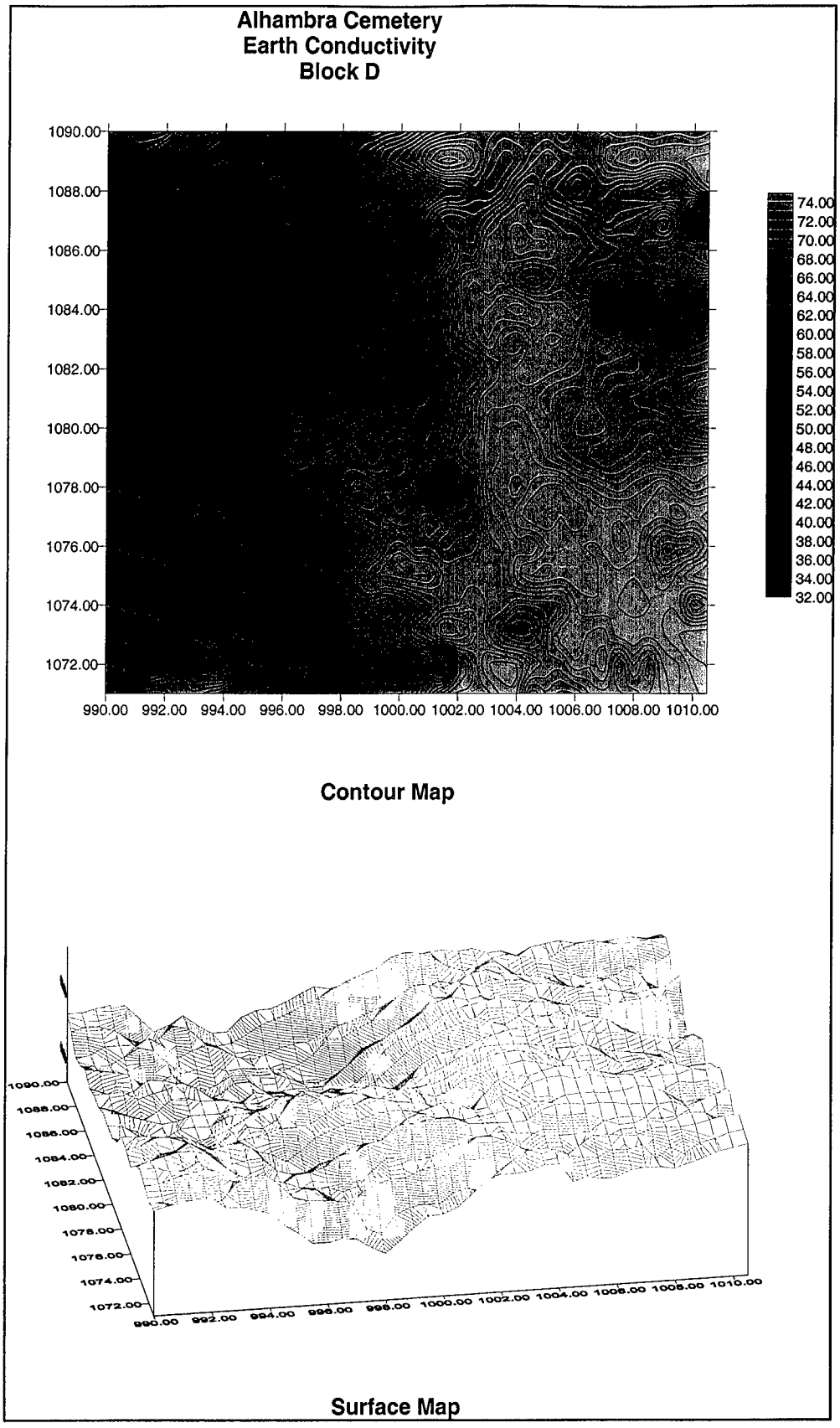

Figure 12. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block D.

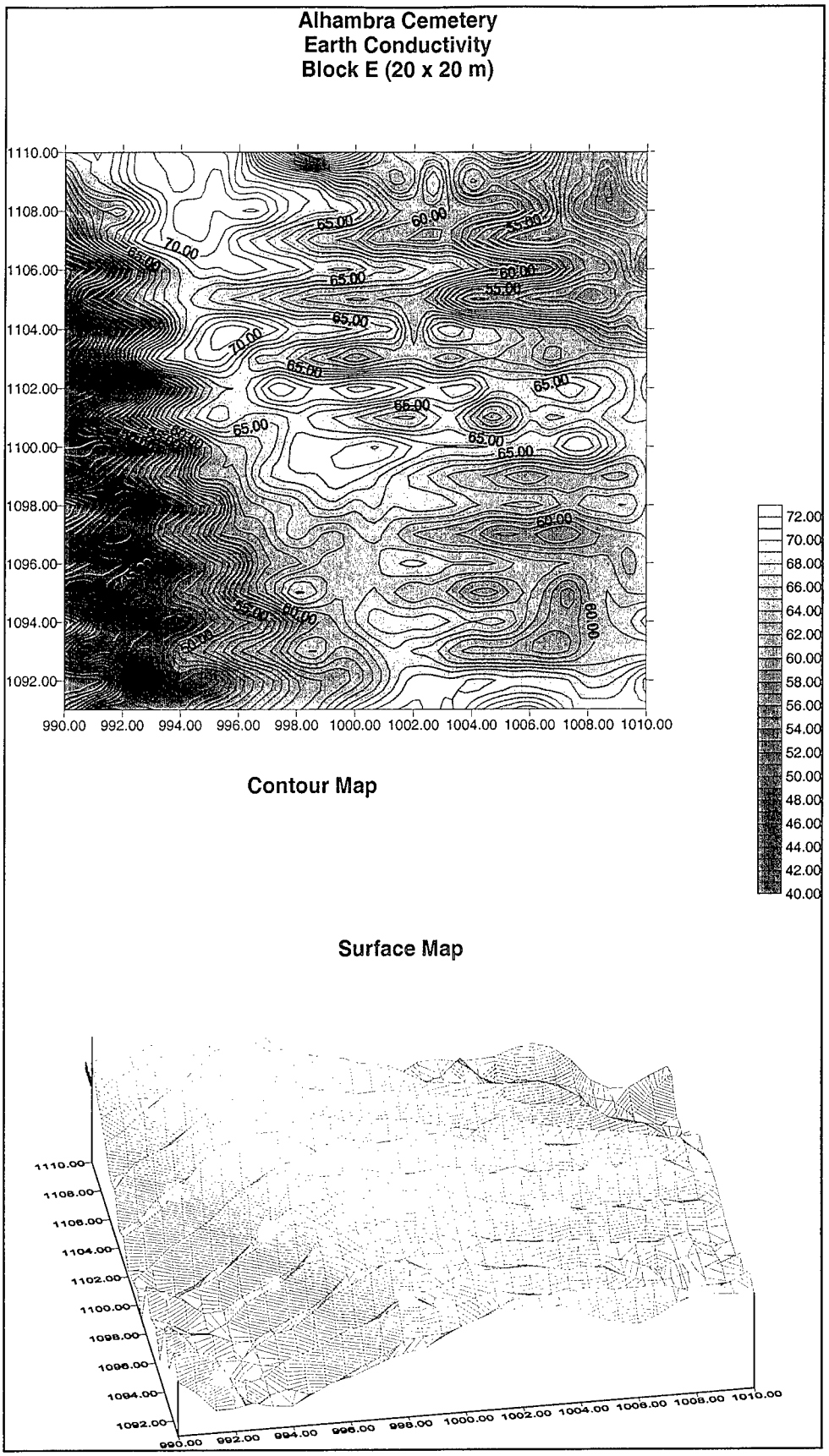

Figure 13. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block E.

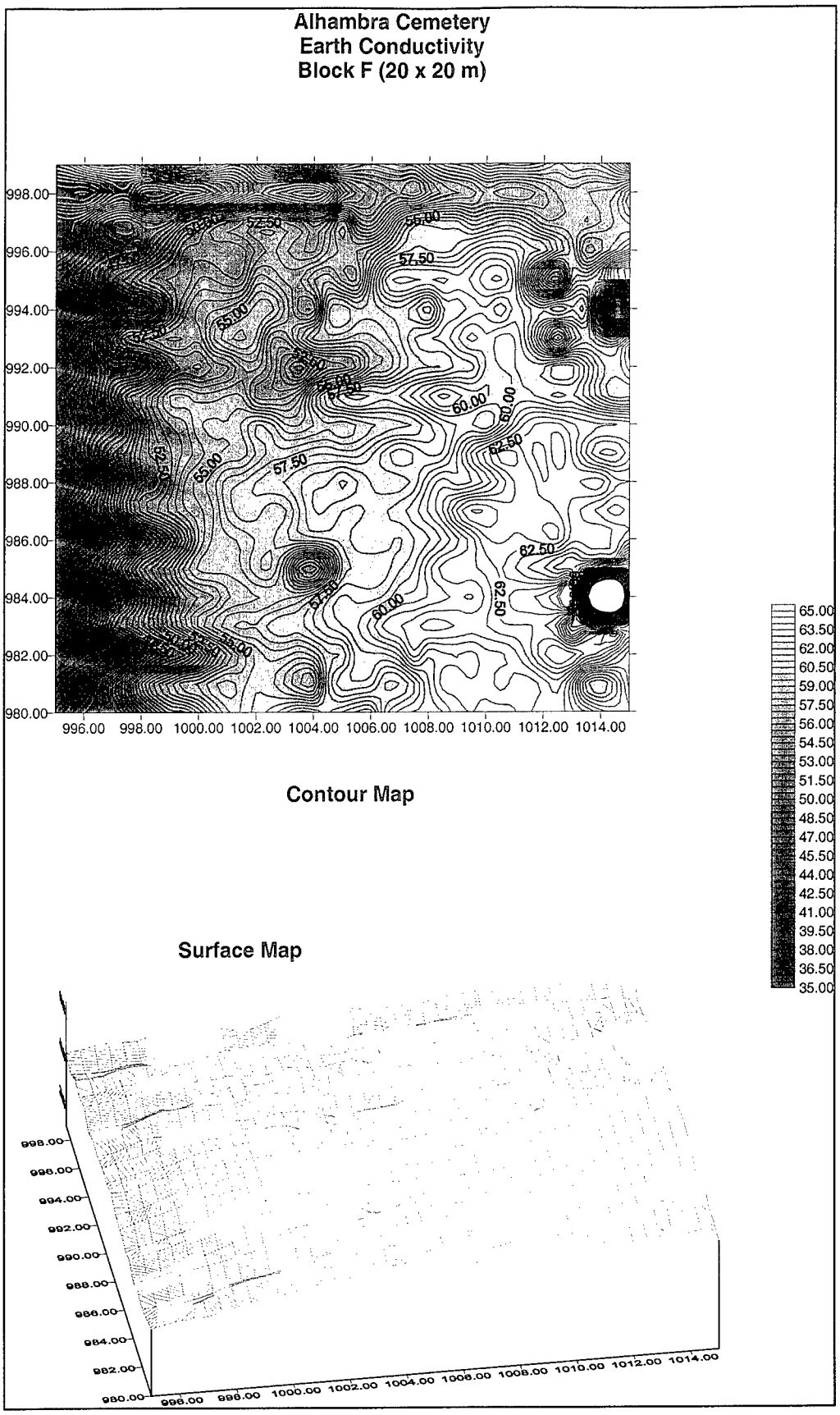

Figure 14. Contour and Surface Plots of Earth Conductivity in Block F.

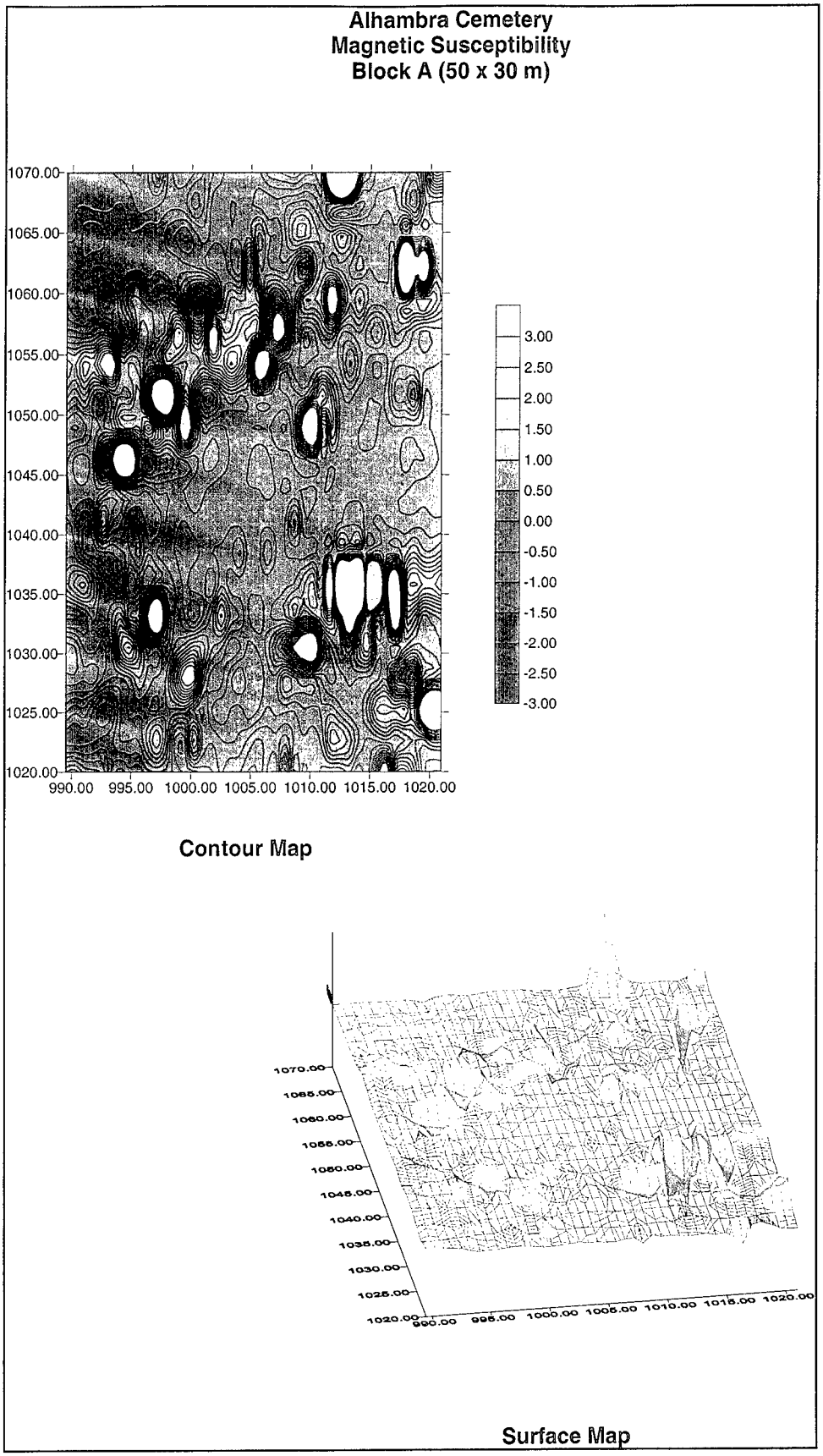

Figure 15. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block A.

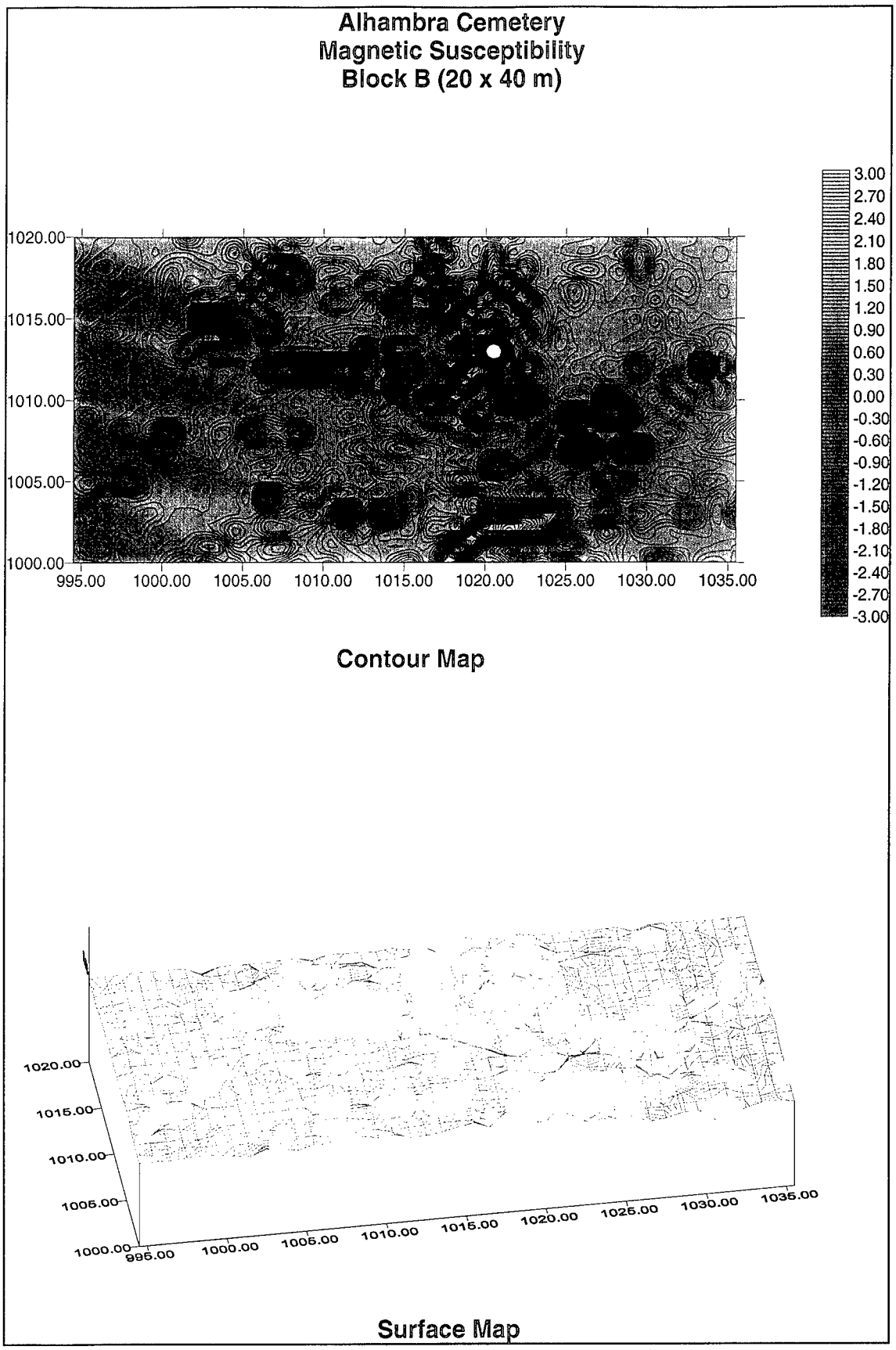

Figure 16. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block B.

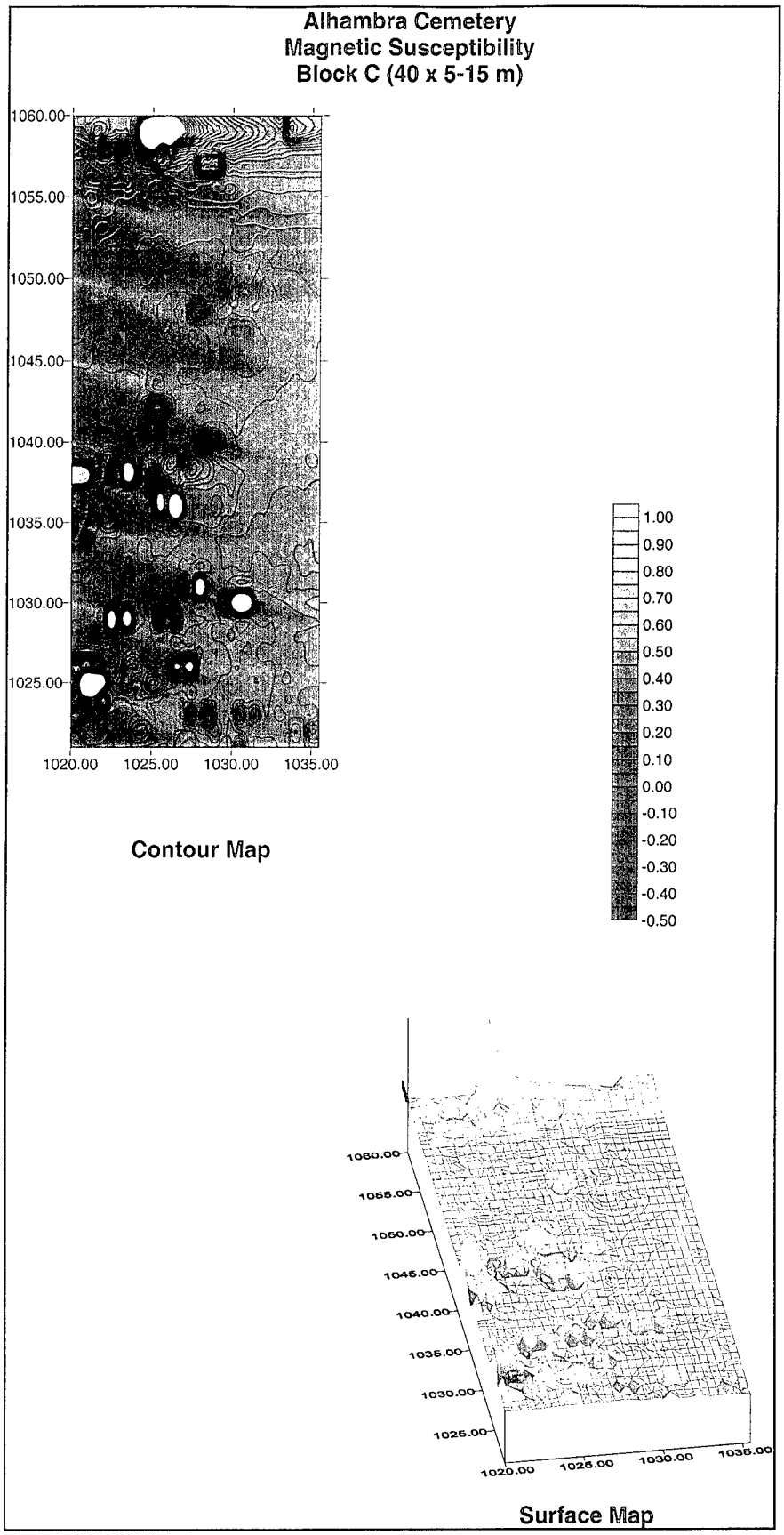

Figure 17. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block C.

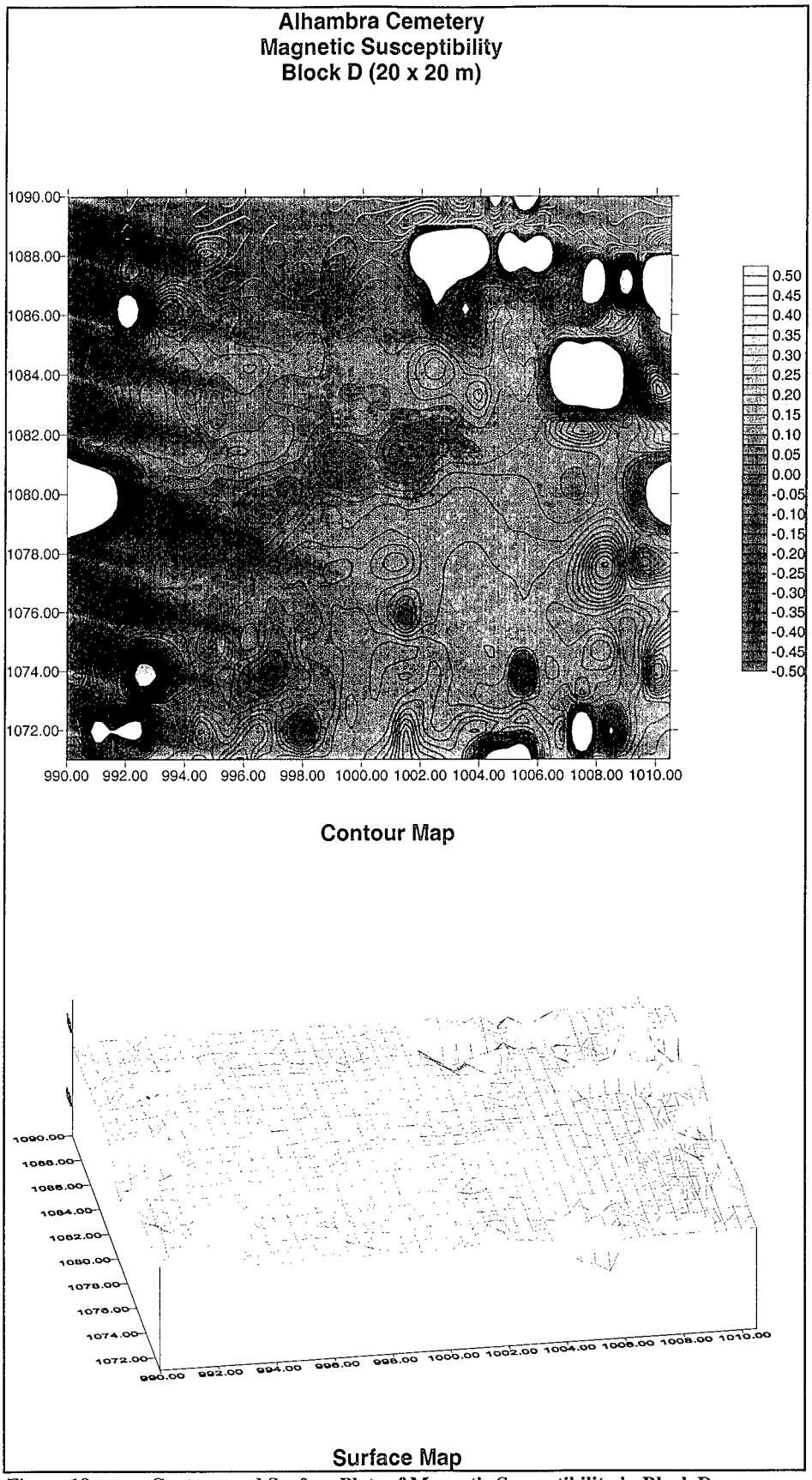

Figure 18. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block D.

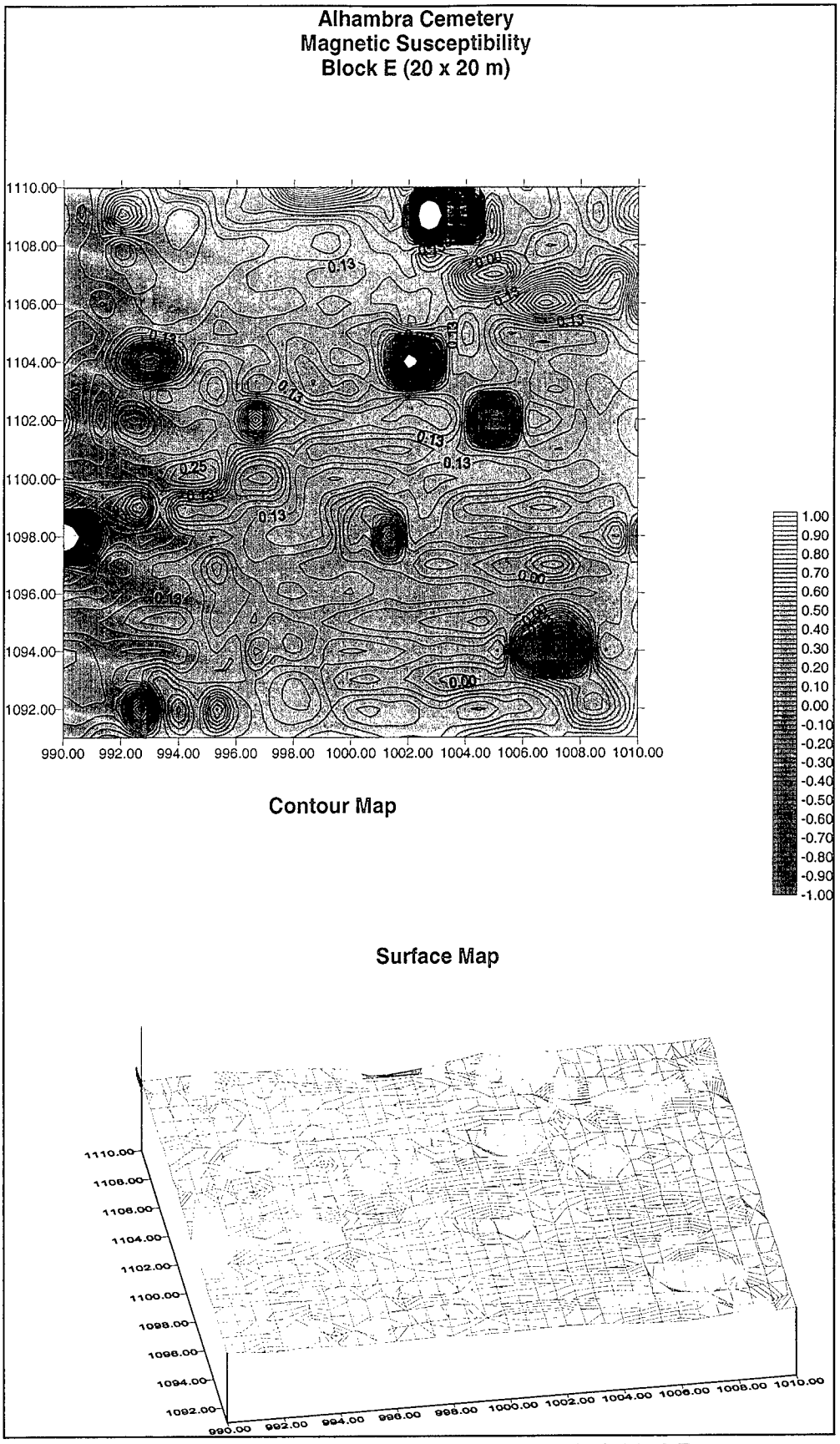

Figure 19. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block E.

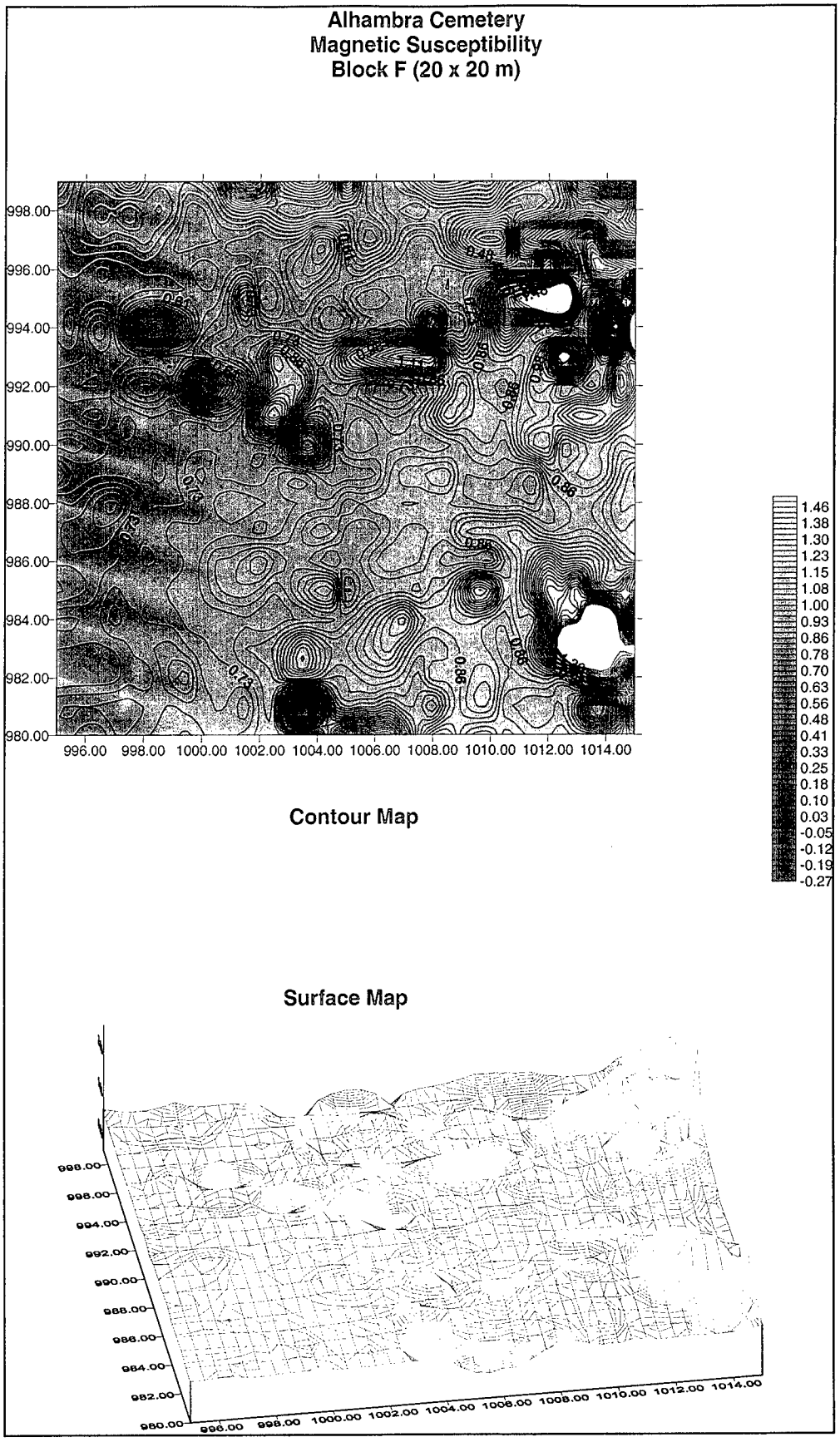

Figure 20. Contour and Surface Plots of Magnetic Susceptibility in Block F.

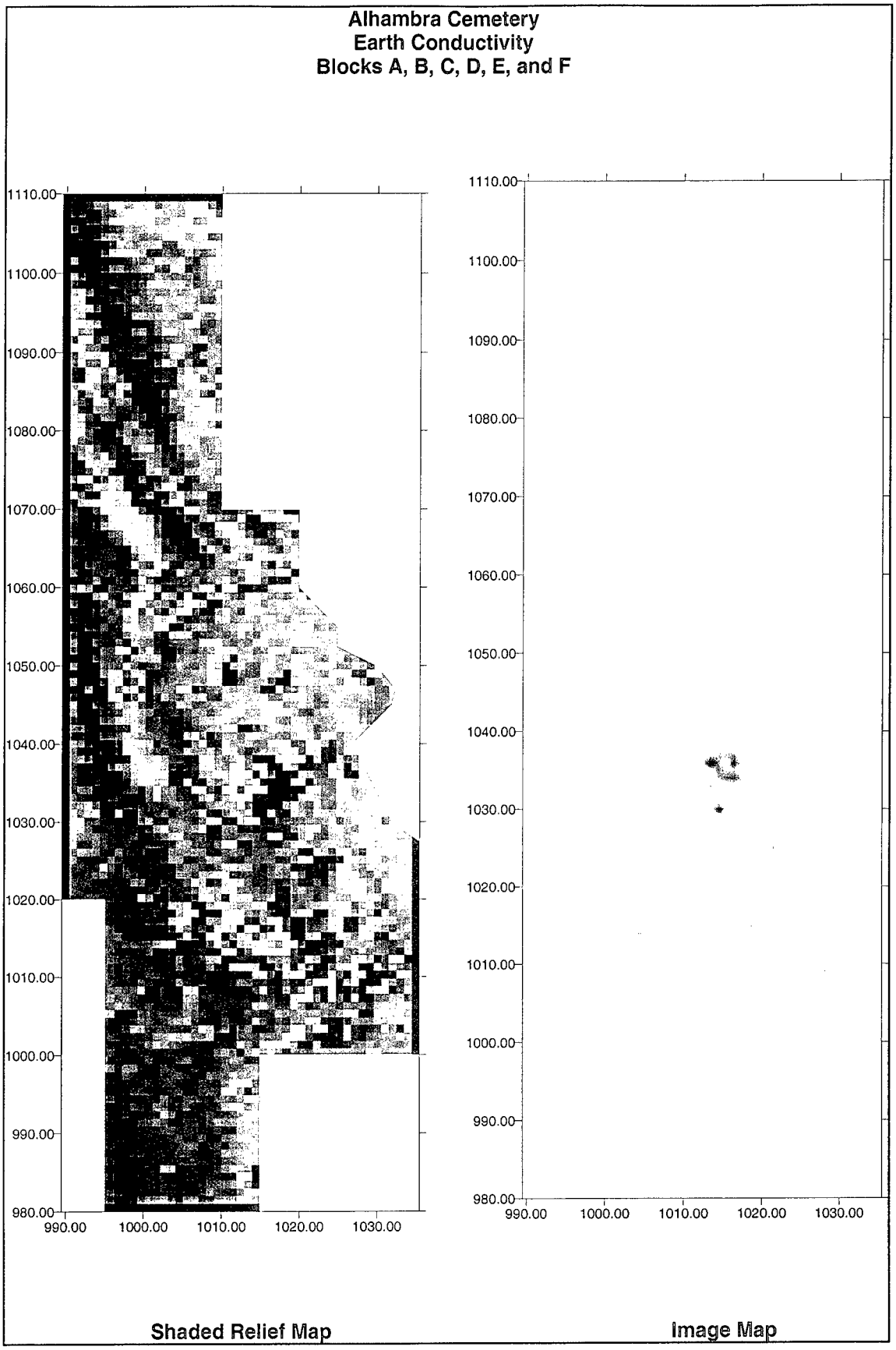

Figure 21. Image and Shaded Relief Plots of Earth Conductivity in Blocks A, B, C, D, E, and F.

APPENDIX III

THERMAL SCAN IMAGES

BRAZIEL BAPTIST CHURCH SITE

On December 28, 1999, a thermal scan was conducted of the area formally known as the Braziel Baptist Church. The area was located in White Castle, Louisiana, at position 30-11.783N x 091-06.262 at 17: IOUTC. The scan was conducted at the request of R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. The purpose of the scan was to identify any suspect features in the position of the old church that could represent gravesites. Mr. David George and a field team from Goodwin and Associates was present to mark any features that were detected. This mapping was done to identify areas for further testing.

The scan was taken from the top of the levee. The first area examined was the downriver side of the fenced area. The first detected was a pit-like feature (Figure 1). The perimeter of the anomaly was marked by the field team. The next detected anomaly appeared to be a trench that had been filled in some time ago. The suspected trench was running parallel to the levee between the fence and the levee for approximately 15 to 20 meters. This feature was marked by the field team (Figure 2).

A scan from the downriver end did not detect any features outside the fenced-in area on the downriver side. An earthen mound running perpendicular to the protection levee masked any thermal features in that area. Scans from the back and upriver side confirmed features previously detected.

A scan from the levee from approximately 100 meters upriver from the first scan site showed two large feature areas that may have been structure foundations at one time (Figure 3).

Upon further review during post-processing, another anomaly was detected. The anomaly was linear with equal spacing between both the vertical and horizontal lines (Figure 4). This feature presents itself as an articulated burial ground.

It is the opinion of the writer that there is a strong suggestion that remains are presently in the identified areas. The storm protection levee masked the thermal signature from the ground under the levee; but the location of the detected thermal features would suggest that gravesites could be under the levee. If all the detected features running from the river to the contain remains, then a progression of burial sites running under the levee could be assumed.

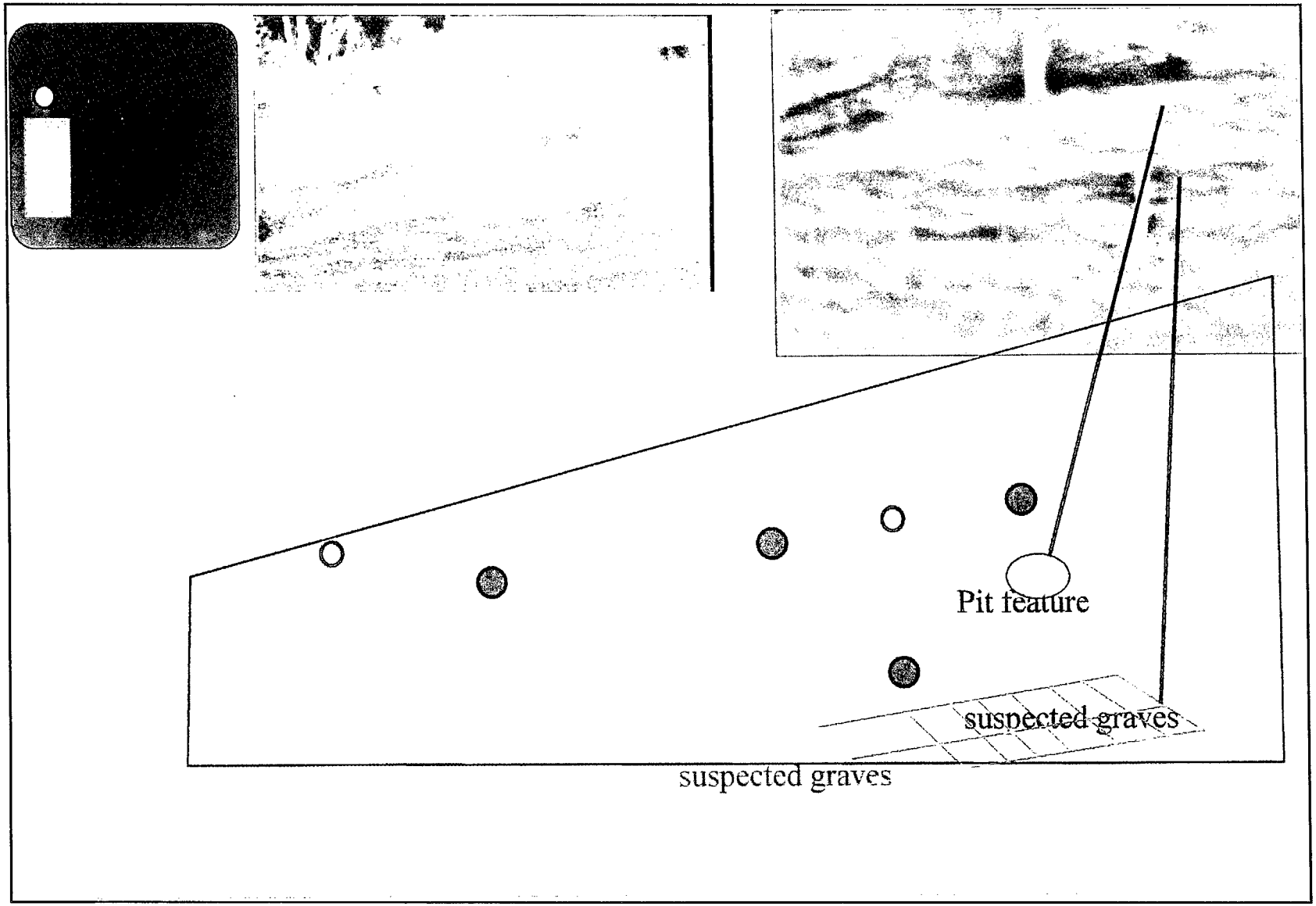

Figure 1. Thermal image showing suspected grave and pit feature anomalies.

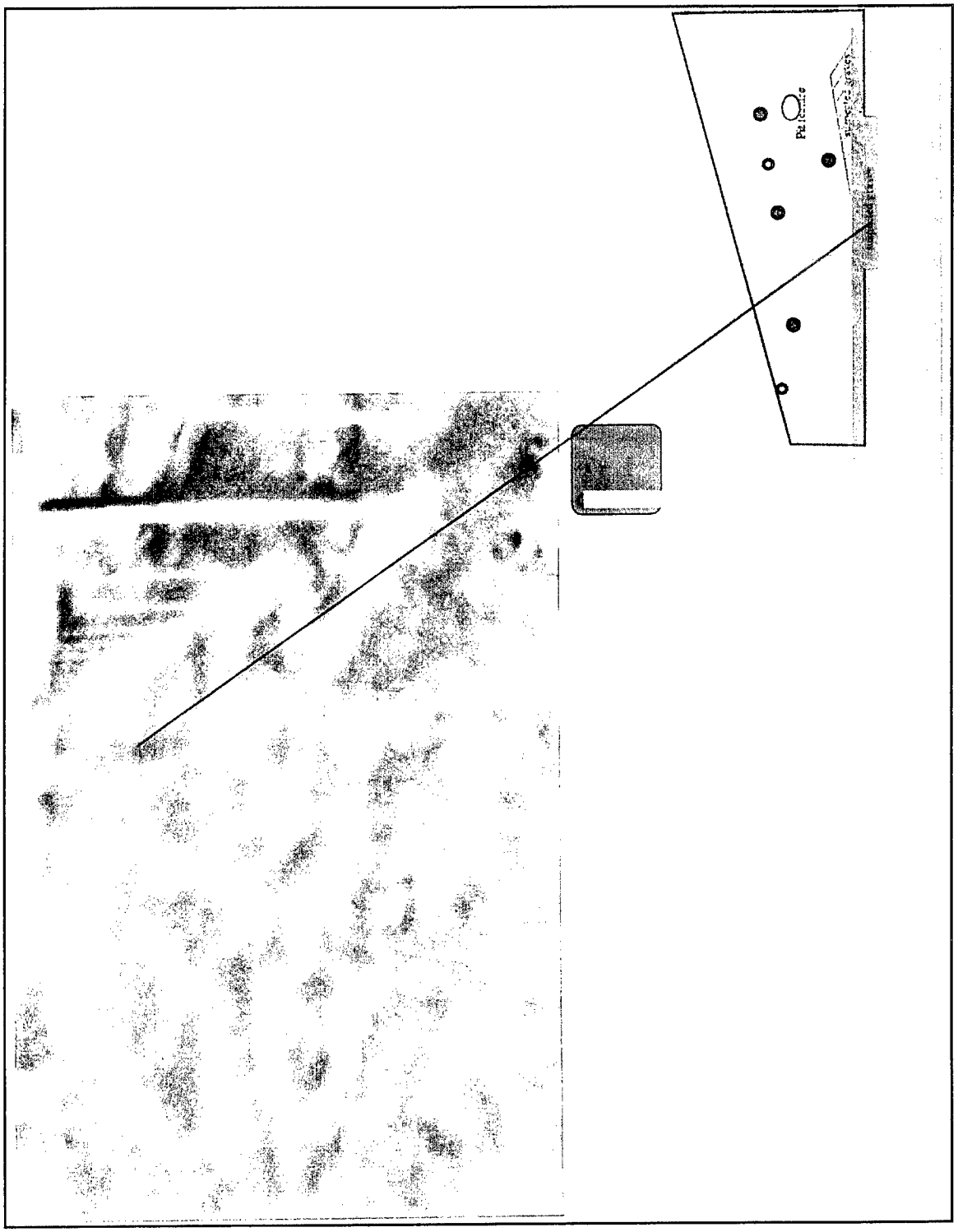

Figure 2. Thermal image showing suspected trench anomaly.

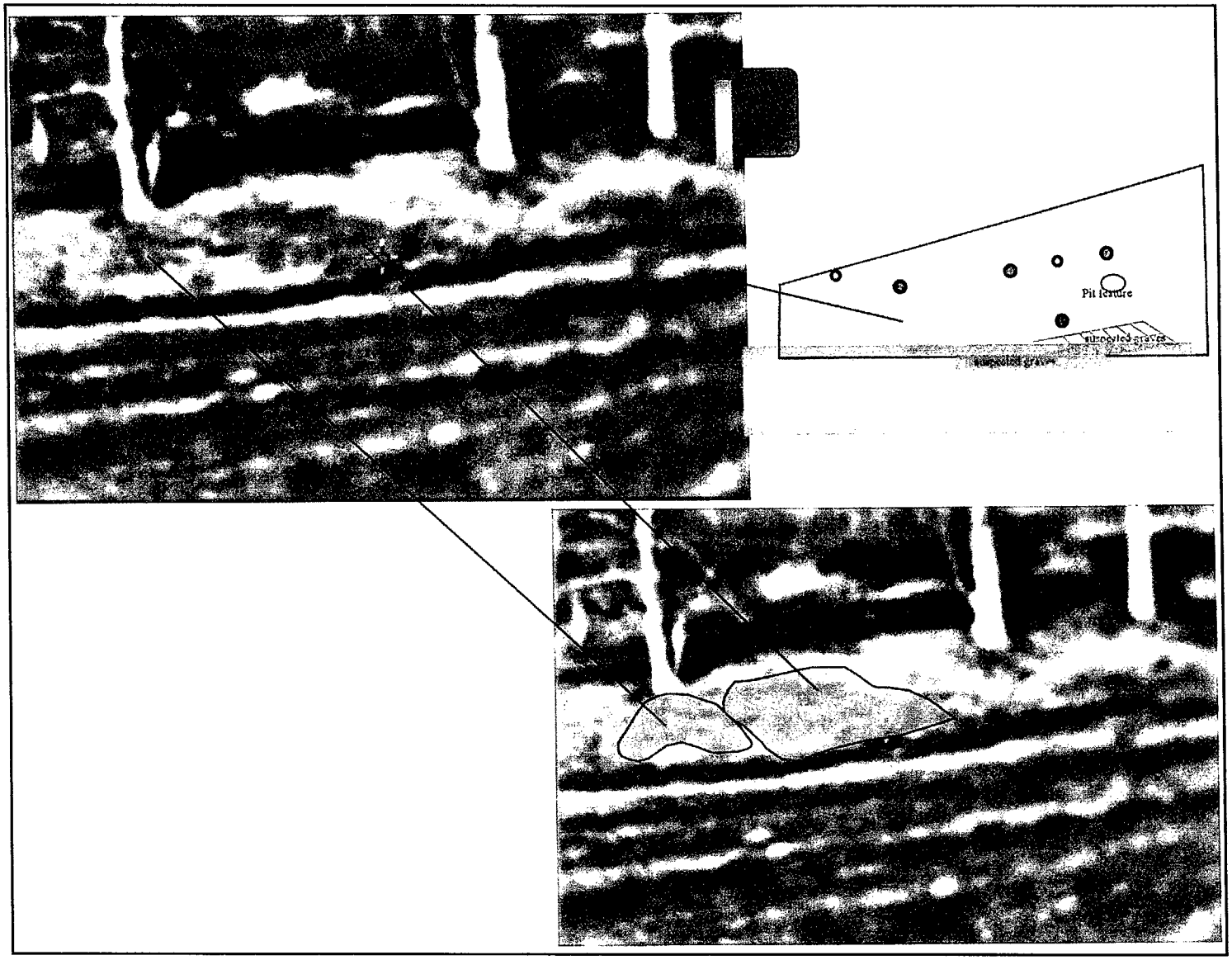

Figure 3. Thermal image showing two suspected pit feature anomalies.

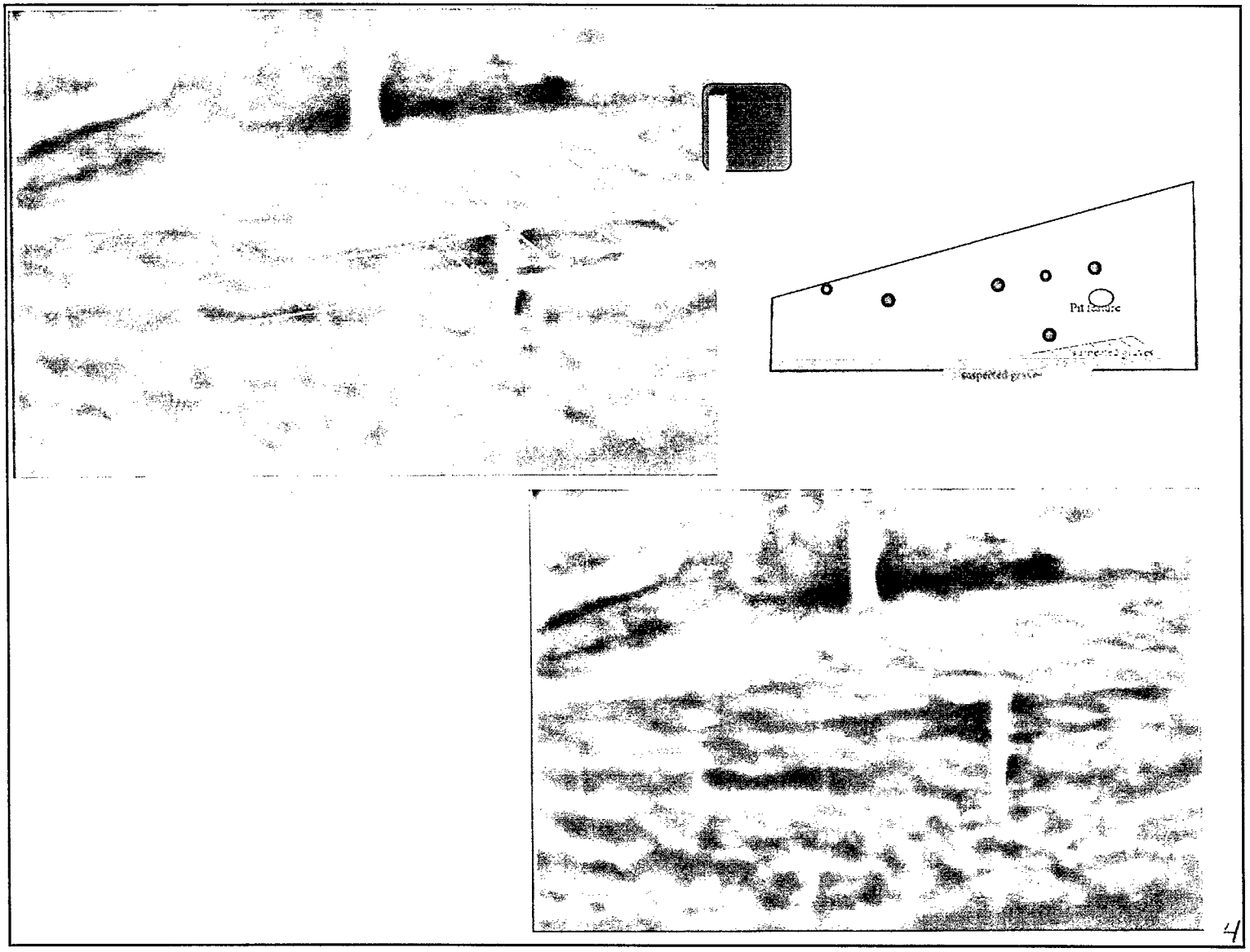

Figure 4. Thermal image showing suspected grave anomalies.