CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY OF THE
BURNSIDE REVETMENT ITEM,
ASCENSION AND ST. JAMES PARISHES,
LOUISIANA

Final Report
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This report presents the results of a cultural resources survey of three segments of the Burnside Revetment Item in Ascension and St. James Parishes, Louisiana. During August and September 1985, R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc. conducted an intensive search of archival and cartographic records pertaining to historical occupation and land use within and proximal to the three survey corridors of the study area. After using this information to
After using this information to assess the archeological potential of each segment, an intensive pedestrian survey augmented by subsurface testing was implemented.

During the review of historical documents and cartographic materials, emphasis was placed on the examination of settlement patterns, ownership sequences, land use, and economic trends. From this information, a number of historic themes were outlined for each survey segment. In Segments One and Two, the nineteenth century sugar estates of General Wade Hampton and later of John Burnside, the focus was on: colonial period settlement and land use, antebellum sugar plantations, and the growth of the Central Factory System. The development of the area in Segment Three, which included White Hall Plantation and a number of small farmsteads, was characterized by four themes including: Acadian settlement, the antebellum sugar industry, the effects of the War Between the States, and rural market towns.

This thematic analysis of the study area and immediate vicinity allowed researchers to predict areas of high resource probability and to address the effects of previous impact to archeological remains and their recovery potential. Previous impact was confined primarily to past levee construction and borrowing. Both the settlements of Union and Whitehall were covered by 1927 levee construction. Other adverse impacts resulted from early 20th century building construction. For example, the establishment of the Black community at Hillaryville obliterated remains of the antebellum Marchand occupation. Later, Hillaryville itself was destroyed by the Mississippi River Protection Levee.

Field investigations were designed to identify all cultural resources present within the three segments of the Burnside Revetment Item project area, to assess individual site significance, and to predict impact to those resources. However, no cultural resources were located in the study area. Investigations also allowed researchers to address methodological problems as they pertain to data recovery and preservation, including variable surficial visibility, and geomorphology.

In summary, from available historic documents and maps, it was determined that the majority of the land in the three survey corridors represented former farm lands (structurally unimproved cane fields) and therefore had a very low archeological resource potential. Consistent with these expectations, no archeological remains were located.
TO THE READER:

This report of archeological survey was prepared for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District in advance of construction of three segments of revetment along the Mississippi River in Ascension and St. James Parishes, Louisiana. This survey represents one study in a 10-year commitment by the New Orleans District to locate, record, and assess prehistoric and historic sites adjacent to the Mississippi River, in compliance with Executive Order 11593 and the Amendments of 1980 to the National Historic Preservation Act. Revetment construction is a crucial element in the Corps of Engineers' channel stabilization program, which maintains the Mississippi River in its present course, controls yearly erosion of private and public property, and, not inadvertently, protects an important segment of Louisiana's archaeological and architectural heritage from destruction by channel migration.

Although no surface or subsurface cultural remains were found during this survey, the report provides valuable historic background data which will be utilized in any future assessment of impact in this vicinity. This report has been reviewed and accepted by the New Orleans District, and coordinated with the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer. We agree with its recommendations. Construction of these three segments of Burnside Revetment will proceed without further investigation.

Carroll H. Kleinhans
Authorized Representative
of the Contracting Officer

Gletis R. Waggofig
Chief, Planning Division
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a cultural resources survey of the Burnside Revetment Item, located in St. James and Ascension Parishes, Louisiana. This study was conducted pursuant to Delivery Order No. 001 of Contract DACW29-85-D-0113 initiated by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District. The Burnside project area, which is divided into three discontinuous survey areas (or segments), is located on the east (left descending) bank of the Mississippi River between M-172-L and M-165-L (Figures 1 and 2) (see Chapter II, Project Area Description). Segmentation of the survey area is due to bankline revetment between the survey segments. Revetment construction is planned by the New Orleans District, U.S. Army, Corps of Engineers in the three segments reported here. A continuous, articulated concrete mattress will be mechanically laid from the low water line on the bank to a point several hundred feet into the river channel. In preparation, a corridor 200 to 300 feet (61.0 to 91.4 m) wide adjacent to the bankline will be cleared of all vegetation and graded to a standard slope. The survey effort reported here was designed to locate and identify all cultural resources between the Riverside toe of the levee and the river bank, to permit assessment of project impacts on those resources, and to evaluate the significance of sites identified applying National Register of Historic Places criteria.

Archival research focused on historic land use and on historic architectural improvements to each of the survey segments. Trajectories of land use and property ownership then were examined in order to develop an interpretive framework for the project area and to provide a documentary context for use in the evaluation of the significance of recovered remains. Map research also provided information on recent geomorphological changes in the project area. Map research included an examination of the 1870s and 1921 series Mississippi River Commission Maps, the Caving Banks Maps, levee setback maps, and nineteenth century historical maps.

Field investigations, conducted during September, 1985, consisted of an intensive pedestrian survey within each segment of the project area. The presence of near surface remains was evaluated using a systematic shovel testing program, conducted simultaneously with the pedestrian survey. As no cultural resources were or identified during this phase of fieldwork, additional site recordation and testing procedures were not conducted.

The results of the archival research and archeological field
Figure 1. Excerpt from the Gonzales 7.5', quadrangle showing the locations of Segments 1 and 2 of the project area.
Figure 2. Excerpt from the Donaldsonville 7.5' quadrangle showing the location of Segment 3 of the project area.
survey are presented below, along with an assessment of project impact based upon these investigations.
CHAPTER II
PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION

Location

The Burnside Revetment project area comprises three separate segments of batture along the east (left descending) bank of the Mississippi River between M-172-L and M-165-L, in Ascension and St. James Parishes, Louisiana. The location and extent of the three survey segments, designated Survey Segments 1, 2, and 3, are given in Table 1. Segment 1 (Figure 1) extends approximately 1,100 m along the river; it includes portions of Sections 2 to 6 of Township 10S, Range 3E in Ascension Parish. Segment 2 (Figure 1), which is approximately 730 m in length, also is located in Ascension Parish; it includes portions of Sections 6 and 7 of Township 10S, Range 3E. Survey Segments 1 and 2 both are located on a cutbank of the river immediately opposite Point Houmas. Survey Segment 3, located about 5 km downriver from segment 2, extends approximately 2,515 m along the river; it includes portions of Sections 22 to 29 and 53 to 54 of Township 11S, Range 3E, in St. James Parish (Figure 2).

Natural Setting

The Burnside Revetment project area is located on the alluvial plain of the Mississippi River within the modern meander belt, which the river has occupied for approximately the past 4,800 years (Saucier 1974:22). Fluvial activity, including lateral migration and overbank deposition during flood stages, is the dominant geologic process operating on the landscape in this region. The formation of natural levees, point bar deposits, and other geomorphic features, such as crevasse channels and abandoned
river courses, are well-documented (e.g., Smith et al. 1985).

Bankline erosion characterizes Survey Segments 1 and 2, which occupy positions along the cutbank opposite Point Houmas. Pontchartrain Levee District records (Figure 3) indicate as much as 350 feet of bankline loss between 1866 and 1934 in portions of Segment 1. Approximately 100 to 500 feet of bankline loss occurred in Segment 2 between 1866 and 1940 (Figure 4). The bankline has remained more stable in Segment 3, although deposition and lateral accretion are documented for the downriver portion of this segment, where the river enters a wide bend around White Hall (Figure 5).

Prior to the construction of artificial protection levees, overbank deposition during flood stages created massive wedges of sediment, or natural levees, along corridors parallel to the river channel. In this region, natural levees attain widths of up to 5 km. Natural levee deposits are highest near the river channel, and they gradually diminish away from the channel toward the backswamp. Human habitation, generally, is concentrated in areas of higher elevation near the river. Construction of artificial levees has altered the pattern of deposition and accretion. Most fluvial activity now is concentrated within the batture, land lying between the river and the modern levee system. All three survey segments of the Burnside Revetment project area are located within the present day batture.

Loamy and clayey soils characterize the batture and adjacent natural levee deposits. Convent soils and silty alluvial land characterize the batture (USDA 1973). These soils frequently are flooded, and they are subject to scouring and deposition. They support vegetation typical of initial stages of ecological succession in the region. Initial willow forest is dominated by black willow (*Salix nigra*) with cottonwood (*Populus deltoids*), sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), and hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) comprising the major overstory vegetation. Sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), green ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*), nuttall oak (*Quercus nuttallii*), water oak (*Quercus arkansana*), elm (*Ulmus*), and pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) may occur at higher elevations. Predominant understory vegetation includes poison ivy, grape and trumpet creeper; groundnut, buckwheat vine, and sandvine also may be common locally (Shelford 1963).

During the early historic period, important faunal species included black bear (*Ursus americanus*), mountain lion (*Felis concolor*), deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus floridanus*), swamp rabbit (*Sylvilagus aquaticus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), gray fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*), opossum (*Didelphis marsupialis*), gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), and fox squirrel (*Sciurus niger*). In addition,
Figure 3. Excerpt from the Pontchartrain Levee District Caving Bank Survey showing bankline changes in Segment 1 of the project area.
Figure 4. Excerpt from the Pontchartrain Levee District Caving Bank Survey showing bankline changes in Segment 2 of the project area.
Figure 5. Excerpt from the Pontchartrain Levee District Caving Bank Survey showing bankline changes in Segment 3 of the project area.
several species of birds, reptiles, and fish were indigenous to the present project area (Shelford 1963; Lowery 1974a, 1974b).

Changes in the landscape affected by natural and artificial agencies during the historic period have implications for the preservation and recovery of archeological remains within the project area. Processes effecting change include overbank deposition, lateral migration of the river, and the construction of artificial features such as revetments, protection levees and borrow areas. Following a presentation of the results of the archeological field survey, these changes will be examined in light of expected and observed cultural resources identified for the project area.
CHAPTER III

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

No previously recorded sites are located within the three survey segments which comprise the Burnside project area. Two reconnaissance surveys of segments of batture in the Burnside area produced negative results. Muller and Playharty (1982) conducted a pedestrian survey of another portion of the Burnside Revetment project between M-167.8-L and M-167.4-L, immediately upriver from Survey Segment 3; no cultural resources were identified. Shenkel (1978) conducted a batture survey for the Burnside Shaping and Concrete Slope Pavement Item between M-171.4-L and 167.7-L. This survey extended from a point just upriver of Survey Segment 2 to the upriver boundary of the Muller and Playharty (1982) project area, including all of Survey Segment 2. Again, no cultural resources were recorded by this reconnaissance level survey.

A number of sites have been recorded in the immediate vicinity of the Burnside Revetment project area. The Hermitage plantation great house (16 AN 24), located one mile south of Marchandville and 1.75 miles east of Darrow, Louisiana, is a National Register of Historic Places property. McCloskey et al. (1981) conducted a reconnaissance survey of the proposed site for a coal transfer facility at M-174-L; they recorded a number of cultural remains related to the sugar mill, quarters, and outbuildings of Hermitage Plantation. Remains associated with Riverton Plantation (16 AN 34) are located landward from the upriver extremity of Survey Segment 1. The Houmas House, an eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation which is a National Register of Historic Places property, is located immediately landward of Survey Segment 2.

Heartfield, Price and Greene, Inc., (1980) conducted a cultural resources survey at the location of the proposed IT Ascension Parish Hazardous Waste Management Facility. This 1,200 acre property is located landward from the Mississippi River Protection Levee between Conway Bayou and LA Highway 44. Seventeen resources were recorded, including six archeological sites, one cemetery, nine spot finds, and one historic structure complex. One site, 16 AN 27, which is located on an eroded Mississippi River natural levee remnant, yielded prehistoric materials associated with the Neo-Indian era. The remaining sites dated from the historic period; only one, 16 AN 29, consisting of a surface scatter, cisterns, and a possible crypt, is considered eligible for the National Register.

Guevin (1983) conducted an ethnohistorical reconstruction of the early historic culture of the Houma Indians as part of an attempt to predict locations of historic Houma village sites. He
identified an historic Houma midden or habitation area (Great Houma's Village, 16 AN 35). Artifacts are distributed over an area of 30 x 300 m; shovel testing revealed midden remains between 0 and 25 cm below surface. Guevin suggests that 16 AN 35, 16 AN 27, and the nine aboriginal spot finds recorded by Heartfield, Price and Greene, Inc. (1980) may represent remains of two or three villages or remains of campsites.

Monroe Plantation (16 AN 31), Bruslie Plantation (16 AN 32), and Tezcuco (16 AN 30) are located on the landside of the Mississippi River Protection Levee at about M-169-L, between Survey Segments 2 and 3. These sites yielded late nineteenth and early twentieth century artifactual remains according to Central State Site Files. One of these sites, Tezcuco, is a National Register of Historic Places property.

Finally, Pearson et al. (1979) conducted a reconnaissance survey of Wilton (16 SJ 20) and Helvetia (16 SJ 21) Plantations in St. James Parish. Pedestrian survey and subsurface testing revealed the presence of 56 "cultural localities" (Pearson et al. 1979:7-1) in the project area, all associated with either 16 SJ 20 or 16 SJ 21. A subsequent survey (Castille 1982) identified 33 additional cultural localities. Two historic sites, the Faustina sugar mill site (16 SJ 3) and the Salaberg sugar mill site (16 SJ 4), are located on the west (right descending) bank of the Mississippi River, directly across the river from the upriver portion of Survey Segment 3. Pearson et al. (1979:4-22) report that recent petrochemical refinery construction has virtually destroyed these two mill sites. Results from these surveys were used to test a settlement model suggested by Rehder (1971).
CHAPTER IV
PREHISTORIC SETTING

This section summarizes prehistoric cultural development in the larger region that contains the survey area under consideration here. The sequence of prehistoric cultures in the region is described, and some of the most important or diagnostic aspects of each successive prehistoric culture or cultural stage are presented. No prehistoric sites occur or were encountered within the project area, and only a few are known in the immediate vicinity. However, as noted previously, an earlier controlled pedestrian survey recovered historic aboriginal materials at Great Houma's Village site (16 AN 35).

The earliest well defined archeological evidence of human habitation in North America is represented by the Paleo-Indian stage. A date range of 10,000 - 6,000 B.C. has been suggested for Paleo-Indian occupation of the Lower Mississippi River alluvial valley (Brain 1971:3). Archeological evidence from the western United States indicates that Paleo-Indians were semi-nomadic big game hunters. The material culture of the Paleo-Indian period is best exemplified by the manufacture of large, thin, bifacially-worked lanceolate projectile points which had a "fluted" or channel flake scar at their base. Fluted point complexes include the Llano, Clovis, Folsom, and Plano traditions.

The subsequent Archaic stage reflects cultural adaptations to climatological change occurring after the retreat of the last Pleistocene glaciation (approximately 8,000 B.C.). Critical environmental changes influencing human adaptation during the Archaic period have been summarized by Bryant et al. (1982:21-22) as follows:

1. The extinction, without replacement, of much of the Pleistocene megafauna, including the elephant, horse, and camel, and most of the Bison species on which the Lithic stage economy had been largely based.

2. Certain fluctuations in rainfall and temperature as yet only partly understood but presumed to relate to worldwide climatic changes and to be generally correlated with glacial retreat and oscillations.

3. The plant and animal recolonization of the areas of North America which were previously glaciated, and establishment of...
the modern geographical position of the major North American lifezones.

4. The changing volume and gradient of river systems draining eastern North America generated by worldwide deglaciation and rising sea levels.

Archaic cultural complexes are represented by localized stone tool traditions which are thought to represent regional adaptations to local environmental conditions (Bryant et al. 1982:22). Projectile point types found in early Archaic sites include San Patrice, Meserve and Dalton. A shift towards exploitation of smaller and more varied game occurred, along with an increase in gathering of plants and previously ignored animal species, such as shellfish. Archaic subsistence patterns increasingly became more efficient with technological advances which included ground stone tools, such as adzes and metates, and the use of the atlatl (spear thrower). Common point types for the Middle Archaic are Big Sandy, Keithville, Yarbrough, Evans, and Carrollton. A gradual settlement pattern shift from semi-nomadic to seasonal site occupancy to semi-permanent settlement is evidenced during the Archaic. However, in Louisiana, no intact archeological remains firmly associated with the Archaic period have been systematically investigated (Neuman 1984).

The appearance of earthwork and burial mound construction in the late Archaic marked the appearance of the Poverty Point culture in Louisiana, circa 1,500 B.C. Considered to be either an Archaic-Formative transition or an Archaic climax phenomenon, the Poverty Point site, located in West Carroll Parish, is unique in North American prehistory. Although small quantities of fiber-tempered pottery are present at the Poverty Point site, some scholars argue that the culture was aceramic. Crude pottery figurines and irregular-shaped fired clay objects, possibly used in "stone boiling" cooking techniques, occur in Poverty Point contexts (Bryant et al. 1982:23). Poverty point material culture also is represented by fine stone lapidary work, steatite or soapstone vessels, and by a microlithic tool industry. Subsistence appears to have been based on intensive hunting and gathering, although prior emphasis on protein capture may reflect a bias in archeological studies of the Poverty Point period. Projectile point types originating in the Late Archaic and continuing into the Poverty Point period are Gary, Ellis, Pontchartrain, Kent, Carrollton, and Marshall, and larger forms such as Hale.

The next stage in the chronological sequence for the region is called the Neo-Indian era. The appearance of pottery and arrow points in the archeological record generally is used to mark the beginning of this era. Changes in settlement patterns from semi-permanent to permanent villages, and the introduction of agriculture, characterize post-Archaic periods. The most frequently applied regional chronology divides the Neo-Indian era
in South Louisiana into a number of periods.

The first of these periods is the Tchula or Tchefuncte, which has been dated from ca. 100 – 500 B.C. During the Tchefuncte period, pottery became important in prehistoric Louisiana, and increasing amounts of pottery with rocker stamped decoration and with tetrapodal supports were made. The soft Tchefuncte pottery had poorly compacted paste, and common vessel forms included bowls and cylindrical and shouldered jars. Decoration also included fingernail and tool punctation, incision, simple stamping, drag and jab, parallel and zoned banding, and stippled triangles. Tchefuncte pottery apparently derived from and was genetically related to earlier ceramic complexes at Stallings Island, Georgia, Orange in North Florida, and to the Poverty Point culture. Ford (1969:193) speculated that commonalities in ceramics across the Gulf South states during this period reflect the breakdown of ethnic barriers due to the powerful influence of the arrival of maize (corn) agriculture. Gibson (1978) argues strongly against the presence of maize in the Lower Atchafalaya prehistoric sequence, leaving the reasons for the diffusion of Tchefuncte into this area unexplained.

The Tchefuncte artifact assemblage includes boatstones, grooved plummetts, mortars, sandstone saws, barweights, scrapers, and chipped celts. Socketed antler points, bone awls and fish hooks, and bone ornaments also have been found. Projectile point types found in Tchefuncte contexts are Gary, Ellis, Delhi, Motley, Pontchartrain, Macon and Epps. The population of the Tchefuncte period appears to have been a melange of long-headed Archaic peoples with a new subpopulation of broad-headed people who practiced cranial deformation, and who are thought to have entered the southeast from Mexico. The presence of rocker stamped pottery, burial mounds, and of some other individual traits, also shows similarities to the Hopewellian development (500 B.C. to A.D. 300) (Ford and Quimby 1945; Shenkel 1984).

The subsequent Marksville period (100 B.C. – A.D. 300) to a large degree is a localized hybrid manifestation of the Hopewellian culture climax that preceded it in the Midwest. The type site is located at Marksville, Louisiana. Elsewhere in the state, smaller sites occur which display both Marksville pottery types and a modified form of the Marksville mortuary complex. Marksville houses appear to have been circular, fairly permanent, and possibly earth covered. The economic base of the Marksville culture seems to be a further modification of the Poverty Point – Tchefuncte continuum, albeit prior emphasis on the importance of hunting, fishing, and gathering aspects of subsistence in relation to agriculture may have been overstated. A fairly high level of social organization is indicated by the construction of geometric earthworks and of burial mounds for the elite, as well as by a
unique mortuary ritual system. Although large quantities of burial furniture are not recovered from Marksville sites, some items, particularly elaborately decorated ceramics, were manufactured especially for inclusion in burials (Shenkel 1984; Toth 1974).

Marksville ceramics were well-made, with decorations that included u-stamped incised lines, zoned dentate stamping, zoned rocker stamping (both plain and dentate), the raptorial bird motif, and, flower-like designs. The cross-hatched rim is particularly characteristic of Marksville pottery, and may relate this complex to other early cultural climaxes in the Circum-Caribbean area. Plain utilitarian wares also were produced. Perforated pearl beads, bracelets, and celts have been recovered from Marksville contexts (Toth 1974, 1977).

The next cultural period identified for south Louisiana is the Troyville or Baytown phase (A.D. 300 – 700). This transitional period followed the decline of the Hopewelian Marksville culture; it is poorly understood. Except for the type site at Jonesville, knowledge of the Troyville culture is based on the discovery of Troyville ceramics in other sites. Among the pottery types clustering in the Troyville period are: Mulberry Creek Cord Marked, Marksville Incised (Yokena), Chupupa Punctated, Troyville Stamped, Larto Red Film, Landon Red-on Buff, and Woodyville Red Film. However, these pottery types and most other traits are not confined solely to this period. Troyville is thought to represent the period when maize agriculture and the bow and arrow were adopted. Evidence for agriculture includes shell hoes and grinding stones (Phillips 1970).

The subsequent Coles Creek period (A.D. 700 – 1200) developed out of Troyville. Coles Creek was a dynamic and widespread manifestation throughout the lower Mississippi Valley. Coles Creek may be viewed as the local early or pre-classic variant of the Mississippian tradition, and its emphasis on temple mound and plaza construction again suggests Mesoamerican influence. Population growth and a real expansion were made possible by increasing reliance on productive maize agriculture. The seasonal exploitation of coastal areas supplemented the maize economy of large inland sites, and small non-mound farmsteads were present. A stratified social organization with a dominant priestly social class continued. The construction of platform mounds became important during this period. These were intended primarily as bases for temples or other buildings, but some also contained burials. Rounded smaller mounds still were present. A common motif of Coles Creek ceramics is a series of incised lines parallel to the rim. Pottery types include: Coles Creek Incised, Pontchartrain Check Stamped, and Mazique Incised (Collins 1932; Phillips 1970).
In the southern part of the lower Mississippi Valley, the Plaquemine culture developed out of a Coles Creek background. Ceremonial sites of this period consisted of several mounds arranged about a plaza area. Associated small sites were dispersed about such centers. Social organization and maize agriculture were highly developed. The most widespread decorated ceramic type of the Plaquemine period was Plaquemine Brushed. Other types include Harrison Bayou Incised, Hardy Incised, L'Eau Noire Incised, Manchac Incised, Mazigue Incised, Leland Incised, and Evansville Punctate. Both decorated types and plain wares, such as Anna Burnished Plain and Addis Plain, were well made. Diagnostic Plaquemine projectile points are small and stemmed with incurved sides (Neuman 1984).

Late in the prehistoric period, the indigenous Plaquemine culture came under the influence of Mississippian cultures from the Middle Mississippi River Valley. Mississippian culture was characterized by large mound groups, a widespread distribution of sites, and by shell tempered pottery. A distinctive mortuary cult or complex, called "Southern Cult," that made use of copper, stone, shell, and mica was introduced, and elaborate ceremonialism reflected in animal motifs and deities pervaded Mississippian culture. Trade networks were well established during this period, and raw materials and specialty objects were traded across large areas of the central and southern United States (Neuman 1984).

As stated at the beginning of this section, no prehistoric sites have been identified in the study area by this or previous investigations. Very few have been documented for the immediate vicinity. Historically, the Houma Indians occupied areas along the Mississippi River in the vicinity of the project area (Giardino 1984). The Houma initially were encountered by LaSalle and Tonti in 1682-85 near the Red River, north of Baton Rouge. Under pressure from the Tunica, the Houma left the area, and in 1709 they were located in the region between Donaldsonville and Union, Louisiana. In 1718, they occupied three villages between Burnside and Convent. Until 1766, the Houma occupied the region between Burnside and Darrow, following which the tribe moved toward Terrebonne Parish (Giardino 1984). None of these villages are related to the area in the survey corridors.

The two sites that have been documented in the region of the project include 16 AN 27, a Neo-Indian site recorded by Heartfield, Price and Greene, Inc. (1980), and 16 AN 35, Great Houma's village, identified by Guevin (1983). Neither of these sites are in the survey area. As noted previously, Guevin conducted archeological testing at Great Houma's Village, located near Burnside, Louisiana.
Acadian Settlement in Ascension and St. James Parishes

The first French concession in the area of St. James and Ascension Parishes was granted to the French Duke de Charost and his son, the Marquis d'Anceny. Their concession was located near the present day towns of Gramercy and Mt. Airy within St. James Parish. It originally was settled in 1720 by about 100 persons under the direction of Sieur de L'Epinet. Two years later, following destruction of its stores and supplies by fire, it was abandoned (Bourgeois 1957:6).

Although only intermittent settlement occurred within the parishes for the next forty years, possibly due to the presence of unfriendly Indian tribes such as the Houma and the Chitimacha (Bourgeois 1957:7), a few isolated plantations were established. A land claim filed with the United States government by Mathias Frederic's heirs in 1812, states that six arpents near the present-day town of Vacherie were cultivated as early as 1756 (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:266). Another parcel claimed by Frederic's heirs was granted as a twenty arpent concession in 1755 to Andre Neau (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:385). It is not known whether these were residential plantations. Jacques Cantrelle owned a plantation in St. James prior to 1763, but he did not reside there until after 1769 (Voorhies 1973:201,441). This plantation, which was located on the west bank of the river opposite present day Convent, was called "Cabahonnocer", a phonetic spelling of the Choctaw word for "Mallard's roost."

Three brothers named Mouton were the first Acadian settlers within present day St. James Parish. They settled on the west bank near Vacherie in 1756. Over 650 Acadian refugees arrived in Louisiana in 1765; the first group of 200 immigrated via Ste. Domingue (Haiti) (Rushton 1979:319). Pittman, writing ca. 1770, discussed the nature of and reasons for the Acadian settlement of Louisiana:

The new settlements of the Acadians are on both sides of the river, and reach from the Gurmans to within seven or eight miles of the river Ibbeville (sic). 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 end of the year 1763, removed to New Orleans, at the expense of the King of France (Pittman 1906:60-61).

The river "Ibbeville" (sic) is known today as Bayou Manchac. Initial Acadian settlement encompassed the lower portion of Iberville Parish as well as St. James and Ascension.

In 1766, a group of 216 Acadians moved to Louisiana directly from Halifax, Nova Scotia. Their settlement in the St. James area was known as "la premier cote des Acadiens" (the first Acadian coast); the settlement in the Ascension Parish area was called "la deuxieme cote des Acadiens" (the second Acadian coast) (Arsenault 1965:202). By 1770, the former area extended for 16 miles on both banks of the river; its center was on the east bank, approximately opposite College Point. The area became known as "Cabahannocer," the name of Jacques Cantrelle's plantation; later the name was applied to both Acadian coasts (Marchand 1931:20). The anglicized name in current usage is "Cabanocey."

The "Census of Cabanoce" (sic) shows that in 1766 there were 265 white inhabitants, 98 of whom were males over the age of 15, and 16 slaves. They had 95 hogs, 15 sheep, and 97 guns. The census listed only a few large parcels of fallow land; these were owned by Landry, Bigeou dit Violet, Ducros, Populus, Jacques Cantrelle, and Cantrelle's son-in-law Louis Judice. Most parcels were small, with three to six arpents front. The "List of Acadians at Cababannoce" (sic) demonstrates that by 1769 the settlement had grown considerably. There now were 501 white settlers, 163 of whom were men bearing arms, and 36 slaves. They owned 1,867 hogs, 512 head of cattle, and 16 sheep. Most land holdings remained small, with fewer than six arpents river frontage.

Berguin-Duvallon, whose descriptions of Louisiana's inhabitants generally were unflattering, wrote of a visit to the area in 1802:

The Acadians are descendants of French colonists, transported from the province of Nova Scotia. The character of their fore-fathers 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).

Paul Alliot, who also wrote during the first decade of the nineteenth century, was more positive:

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 Clesest Rouges, Cote des Allemands, Bonnet Carre, 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 Negroes. 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).

The Houmas Claim

In addition to small grants to the Acadian colonists, a patent was given for a large tract of land opposite Point Houmas in Ascension Parish. This property, which includes Segments 1 and 2 of the study area, had been occupied by Houmas and Bayougoula Indians. In 1774, Maurice Conway, Alexander Latil, and a Mr. McNamara bought from the Indians who resided there, property measuring 96 arpents front and 40 arpents in depth. Subsequently, Conway became sole owner. In 1776 he petitioned Louisiana's Spanish Governor Unzaga to grant him the lands to the rear of his parcel, stating that there was no timber on his original land and that the cypress swamp was more than one and one half leagues (four and one half miles) from the river. Unzaga ordered Louis Andry, the Second Adjutant at New Orleans, to establish boundaries on the lands to the rear of Conway's property and to place Conway in possession of them. John Claiborne (1859) described Andry's actions:

Andry first proceeded to an examination of the boundaries of the front tracts, and certified that he found the stakes and landmarks the same as he had himself placed there in 1773, and that he afterwards ran the upper and lower lines on the same compass direction for the length of two arpents in the rear of the stakes or posts at the rear extremities of the said lines, at which distance he placed other posts, describing their height and the wood of which they were made, so that the direction of the prolongation of the side lines might be clearly seen, and then put Conway into possession of the vacant lands included by the lines to be so protracted (Claiborne 1859:4).

On June 21, 1777, Governor Galvez, Unzaga's successor, granted to Maurice Conway a patent for the vacant lands to the rear of his tract, within the boundaries set by Andry. However, Andry had failed to establish a back boundary; his oversight resulted in land title litigation that continued until 1884 when the U. S. Supreme Court confirmed titles of settlers between the Mississippi and Amite Rivers (Marchand 1931:105).

Conway's request for timber lands suggests that he was residing on and cultivating his property. If so, he probably planted indigo, Louisiana's primary cash crop during the eighteenth century. Initially France encouraged indigo production in the Louisiana colony; the Spanish continued to do so after they took formal control in 1769. Cultivation and
processing of indigo, and the related economics, have been described elsewhere (Goodwin, Yakubik and Gendel 1983; Goodwin, Yakubik, Gendel et al. 1985; Goodwin, Gendel and Yakubik 1983).

Maurice Conway sold large portions of his land during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. William Conway, his nephew, acquired thirty arpents front on the Mississippi River; Col. St. Maxint acquired twenty-nine arpents front. During this period, a small residence was erected on property immediately inland from Segment 2 of the present study area. This structure is still extant, and it forms the rear wing of Houmas House (see below). "Houmas lands" fronting on the Mississippi were owned by William Conway, Daniel Clark, John Wren Scott, and William Donaldson in the early nineteenth century. Scott and Donaldson owned tracts which included Segments 1 and 2 of the present survey area (Figure 6).

The Louisiana Purchase and Antebellum Economic Development

In the 1790s and the early 1800s, Louisiana's economy underwent major changes. Indigo produced in Louisiana could no longer compete on the world market; it was more cheaply produced by India. Insect blights and inclement weather caused severe crop losses, and indigo exhausted the soil. An increase in the price of slaves made it difficult to obtain necessary labor for production. The terrible smell from indigo processing sites attracted disease-carrying insects, and waste products polluted the streams between Pointe Coupee and the Yazoo River (Holmes 1967:346-348). Other factors in the changing economy were 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 cultivation of indigo.

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

Above this begins the parish of Cabahanose, or first Acadian settlement, extending eight leagues on the river. Adjoining it and still ascending is the second Acadian settlement, or parish of the Fourche, which extends about six leagues... Except on the point just below the 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
Figure 6. Excerpt from a 1845 map showing the Houma Land (Tulane University).
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 during the early nineteenth century. One skilled slave could cultivate three arpents of land planted with cotton (Robertson 1911:155). Estimates of the average amount of raw cotton picked per day by a single slave range from 20 (Robertson 1911:156) to 150 (Taylor 1976:67). 

Cultivation of cotton is discussed in detail by Goodwin, Gendel and Yakubik (1983) and by Goodwin, Yakubik and Gendel (1983).

Geopolitical changes in the early 1800s influenced economic developments within the area. In 1800, Spain ceded Louisiana to France under the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, and in 1803 France sold the colony to the United States. In 1804 the U.S. Congress created a territorial government; the first governor, William C. C. Claiborne, divided the Territory of New Orleans into twelve counties. However, the new administrative system was unpopular. In 1807, the Legislature made nineteen parishes, including St. James and Ascension, the basis for local government (Branseaux et al. 1977:11-12).

Acquisition of the Louisiana Territory stimulated American immigration into the region. Opportunities offered by the developing sugar and cotton industries attracted new settlers. Because substantial outlays were required for sugar mills, cotton gins, levees, and slaves, small planters and farmers increasingly sold their holdings to large plantation owners or to wealthy speculators (White 1944:352).

However, within Segment 3 of the project area, a settlement of small farms persisted throughout the nineteenth century (Figures 7 and 8). Only one of these farms produced sugar on a regular basis (Table 2); the other farms produced occasional small yields (Champomier 1844-1862). Two of the latter were equipped with horse-powered mills (Table 3). Small farmers concentrated on subsistence crops; some also may have grown perique tobacco.

Perique tobacco was grown only in St. James Parish. It initially is planted in prepared beds at Christmas time; by March it can be transplanted to open fields. After the harvest in June and July, the plants are hung to dry for three weeks. Stalks and stems are removed, and leaves are packed in oak barrels where they
Figure 7. Excerpt from Norman's 1858 Plantations on the Mississippi From Natchez to New Orleans showing the project area (Map on file, R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., New Orleans).
Figure 8. Excerpt from a 1869 map of the levees in the vicinity of Whitehall (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
Table 2. Plantations or Farms in the Vicinity of White Hall that Operated for Ten Years or More (Champomier 1844-1862; Bouchereau 1869-1917).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Average Sugar Production in Hhds.</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1876-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant Gravois</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1875-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel Braud</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1877-1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Henry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1880-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Hypolite</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1881-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcellus Louviere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1881-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Bergeron</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1881-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Plantation</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1876-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Cohen</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1874-1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boudreaux</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1873-1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasseur Loubiere et al.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1868-1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy Plantation</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1885-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Bourg</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1881-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Sims</td>
<td>not given</td>
<td>1889-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Beau et al.</td>
<td>not given</td>
<td>1888-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louviere</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1876-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melford Webre</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1877-1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landry and Gravois</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1844-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Hall Plantation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1849-1887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Planters with Sugar Houses in the Vicinity of White Hall
(Champeier 1844-1862; Bouchereau 1869-1917).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner/Manager</th>
<th>Plantation Name</th>
<th>Sugar House and Apparatus</th>
<th>Average Sugar Production</th>
<th>Years Listed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L. Peytavin</td>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>Wood sugar house; steam and kettle apparatuses (sugar house burned in 1889)</td>
<td>48 hhds.</td>
<td>1876-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Bourgeois</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wood sugar house; horse power and kettle apparatuses</td>
<td>5 hhds.</td>
<td>1874-1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Cohen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wood sugar house; horse power and kettle apparatuses</td>
<td>41 hhds.</td>
<td>1873-1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boudreaux</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wood sugar house; steam and kettle apparatuses</td>
<td>99 hhds.</td>
<td>1885-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walsh</td>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>Wood sugar house; steam and kettle apparatuses</td>
<td>60 hhds.</td>
<td>1844-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Powell (1907)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Steam powered mill</td>
<td>15 hhds.</td>
<td>1850-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymel &amp; Heriard</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse powered mill</td>
<td>20 hhds.</td>
<td>1846-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landry and Gravois</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brick sugar house (destroyed in 1875); wood sugar house built in 1881; Steam and kettle apparatuses</td>
<td>85 hhds.</td>
<td>1849-1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amede Bourg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse powered mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drauzin Mire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse powered mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(viz. Table 6)
are pressed in order to cure the tobacco. The tobacco is removed, aired, repacked, and pressed at intervals; by the following spring it is ready for sale (Bourgeois 1957:114). In the twentieth century, an area along the upper left bank in St. James Parish and an area at Grand Point were the only remaining sites of perique tobacco cultivation (Davis 1940:181; William Oberhelmen, personal communication 1985).

Sugar production rapidly outdistanced that of cotton early in the nineteenth century in St. James and Ascension Parishes. Berguin-Duvallon enumerated the reasons for this:

The sugar cane may be cultivated between the river Iberville and New Orleans, on both sides of the Mississippi, and as far back as the swamps... Above the Iberville the cane would be affected by the cold, and its produce would, therefore, be uncertain. Within these limits, the best planters admit that one quarter of the cultivated lands of any considerable plantation may be planted in cane, one quarter left in pasture, and the remaining half employed for provisions, etc. and a reserve for a change of crops. One Parisian arpent of one hundred and eighty feet square, may be expected to produce, on an average, twelve hundred weight of sugar, and fifty gallons of rum (Davis 1806:168-169; sic throughout).

Increasing numbers of small farms were sold and consolidated into larger plantations as a result of the shift to cane cultivation. Greater capital investments were necessary for cane cultivation relative to cotton (Schmitz 1977:108). Total investment in a sugar plantation could exceed $200,000.00 (Taylor 1976:65); therefore, cane cultivation was impractical for small farmers. Economic practices related to the sugar industry are detailed elsewhere (Goodwin, Yakubik, Selby et al. 1985; Goodwin, Yakubik, and Gendel 1983; Goodwin, Yakubik, Stayner and Jones 1984).

Donaldson Place During the Antebellum Period

The "Houmas lands" were divided into several large sugar plantations during the early nineteenth century. The Donaldson and Scott claim (Figure 6), which includes Segments 1 and 2 of the project area, eventually formed Riverton Plantation and Donaldson Place (Figure 7). Donaldson Place is the site of the antebellum residence Houmas House.

Identities of "Houmas House" and "Houmas Plantation" are
confused, both in indices of local archival repositories and in secondary sources. Donaldson Place, the adjacent Clark and Conway Places, and Orange Grove Plantation sometimes are referred to jointly as "Houmas Plantation" (Lillie Trust Gray Papers, Special Collections, Louisiana State University Library, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, hereafter Louisiana State University); however, the name "Houmas Plantation" more commonly refers to the Bringier Estate located above the St. James/Ascension Parish line (Figure 7) (Louis A. Bringier and Family Papers, Louisiana State University). There is no evidence that the Bringiers ever owned Donaldson Place or Houmas House.

General Wade Hampton, a Revolutionary War veteran from South Carolina, acquired Donaldson Place during the 1820s. He was attracted by opportunities presented by Louisiana's nascent sugar industry. He operated his plantation on an absentee basis while he continued to reside in South Carolina (Kane 1945:174-175). Hampton had acquired 148,000 acres of the "Houmas lands" by 1829, including areas later known as Riverton Plantation, Clark Place, and Conway Place (Crozat 1963). When he died in the 1830s, his son Col. Wade Hampton, who was a veteran of the Battle of New Orleans, inherited his South Carolina property. General Hampton left his holdings in Louisiana to his widow, Mary, and to his two daughters, Caroline (the wife of John Smith Preston) and Susan (the wife of Col. John Manning). The Widow Hampton and her daughters operated the plantation from 1835 to 1847; during this period Houmas House was constructed. The Prestons attached this two and one-half story, plastered brick, Greek Revival mansion to an extant colonial dwelling (see above). Two hexagonal garconnieres were erected nearby.

In January, 1848, Mrs. Hampton and her daughters partitioned the property. Mrs. Hampton got the middle parcel on which Houmas House stood. The Mannings got the upper third, which became Riverton Plantation, and the Prestons got the lower third. Mrs. Hampton sold her share to the Prestons one month later, thereby giving the couple control of Donaldson, Clark, and Conway Places (Crozat 1963). Both the Prestons and the Mannings succeeded in producing exceptionally large sugar crops (Tables 4 and 5).

Preston and his wife, both natives of South Carolina, returned to that state; they managed their Louisiana estate on an absentee basis. Their overseer's journal of 1857 provides details of estate management. He noted that Preston visited the plantation several times during the year, and that he was generally pleased with Seale's management. Seale had occasional problems handling the estate's large slave population, as he noted on January 10, 1857:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owner/Manager</th>
<th>Sugar in Hds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Col. J. S. Preston</td>
<td>1,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Preston, Manning, &amp; Mrs. Hampton</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Col. J. S. Preston</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>John Burnside</td>
<td>1,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>416</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Olivier Bierne</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Mrs. Von Ahlefeldt</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>W. P. Miles</td>
<td>2,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2,094,000 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,406,351 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Miles Planting &amp; Manufacturing Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>2,193,423 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8,495,830 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8,626,276 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>9,224,590 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8,251,012 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6,119,825 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>964,729 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>9,475,457 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Miles Planting &amp; Manufacturing Co., Ltd.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>8,658,218 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>9,717,578 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>4,561,140 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>11,500,545 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>7,963,343 lbs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Steam powered mill
2Steam, kettle, and open pan apparatuses; brick and shingle sugar house
3Includes sugar produced at Clark Place in 1889
4Includes sugar produced at Riverton Plantation in 1890-1892
5Sugar production is not reported for individual plantations between 1894-1906. The gross figure includes Donaldson, Riverton, Clark, Conway, Orange Grove; Monroe is also included in 1895 and 1900; and Conway not included in 1902.
### Table 5. Sugar Production at Riverton Plantation
(Champomier 1844-1862; Bouchereau 1869-1917).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owner/Manager</th>
<th>Sugar in Hhds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>J. L. Manning</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>John Burnside</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Oliver Bierne</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Mrs. Von Ahlefeldt</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>W. P. Miles</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2,094,000 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,406,351 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Miles Planting &amp; Manufacturing Co., Ltd.</td>
<td>2,193,423 lbs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Referred to as "Mulberry Plantation," 1853-1854
2. The name "Riverton" was used for the first time.
3. Steam, kettle, and open pan apparatuses; brick and slate sugar house
4. Steam tram, vacuum pan, and centrifuge apparatuses
5. Sugar yields were combined with those from Donaldson Plantation.

After 1892, the sugar yields for Riverton were combined with those from the Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company's other plantations: Donaldson, Clark, Conway, and Orange Grove.

41
Jacob Ran of for nothing thinking Col. Preston will be hear (sic) soon and he will not be punished... (H. M. Seale Diary, Louisiana State University).

Seale made careful notations regarding his allocations of clothing to slaves. Forty-eight pairs of shoes were distributed in June, 1855, and another sixty-three pairs five months later. Clothing was distributed to the male slaves in October, 1857; most of the 119 men received pants, a shirt, and a jacket. Seale also made a list of occupations of the 118 female slaves. The majority were field hands, although one was a seamstress and two were house servants. Interestingly, there were four cooks: a general cook, a cook for the overseer, a cook for the slave children, and a cook for the slaves. The slave population was fairly stable; Seale noted four deaths and seven births in 1857 (H. M. Seale Diary, Louisiana State University).

Seale made careful entries about the weather and the number of acres planted each day. On a good day, about twelve acres could be planted in cane. He also supervised construction of a new mill in March, 1857 (H. M. Seale Diary, Louisiana State University).

John Smith Preston, who had become a South Carolina State Senator, sold Donaldson, Clark and Conway places, which together consisted of twelve thousand acres. John Burnside, an Irish immigrant to Louisiana who became a successful merchant (John Burnside Letter, Special Collections, Howard Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, hereafter Tulane), purchased the estate for $750,000.00 (Alexander K. Farrar Papers, Louisiana State University). During the 1860s, Burnside also acquired Riverton Plantation.

**White Hall Plantation During the Antebellum Period**

Most landholdings in the vicinity of Segment 3 of the project area were small farms (see above); however, White Hall Plantation, also called Maison Blanche, was located at the downriver end of the segment during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Figure 7). Emanuel Marius Pons Bringier, scion of an aristocratic French family from the district of Limagne, established the plantation. Cotton and indigo were the primary crops. Family tradition held that he lavishly entertained the Spanish colonial governor and one hundred cavalrymen. When the governor offered compensation, Bringier refused; the governor then granted his host's oldest son, Louis, a tract of land on the Ouachita (Biographical Notes of Louis Bringier, Tulane).

In about 1800, Bringier built the mansion from which the plantation name "White Hall" derived. The residence was a French Gothic chateau topped by a balustrade; its outer walls were covered with white marble. The structure was demolished after the Civil War, but a painting of it by Bringier's son-in-law, Christoph Colombe, is still in the possession of Bringier's descendants.
Bringier died in 1820, leaving White Hall in possession of his second son, Michel Doradou Bringier. Michel was married to Louise Elizabeth Aglae Du Bourg de Ste. Colombe, daughter of the Chevalier Pierre Francois Du Bourg, Sieur de Ste. Colombe (Seebold 1941:84). The couple resided in Ascension Parish, upriver from the present project area. They named their plantation "Hermitage" in honor of Andrew Jackson whom they are said to have entertained at White Hall after the Battle of New Orleans (Kane 1945:77). Michel found simultaneous management of Hermitage and White Hall "fatiguing," and in 1821 he offered to sell the latter plantation to Major John Minor for $56,000.00. Although the property had been newly fenced, plowed and readied for cotton planting, and 22 slaves were to be included in the sale, Minor declined (William Kenner Papers, Louisiana State University). Wade Hampton bought the property in 1825 (Seebold 1941:130).

Michel's wife Aglae reacquired White Hall in 1847, one year after her husband died (Seebold 1941:130). Although sugar was produced on the property as early as 1848 (Champomier 1844-1850 and Table 6), Aglae was not successful; she faced chronic financial problems on all four of her plantations: White Hall, Hermitage, Bruslie, and Houmas. Crops were poor in 1849 and 1850 at Hermitage and White Hall (Table 6). Her debts totalled $16,000.00, but the combined income from her four plantations was less than $19,000.00. Her factor advised her not to accept an offer of $10,000.00 for White Hall; he claimed it was worth $140,000.00. Her son, Marius St. Colombe, created additional financial problems. He demanded $10,000.00 for managing Houmas plantation for two months during 1851, and he urged his mother to sell White Hall to him for considerably less than its true value. A good crop in 1853 saved Aglae from financial ruin (Benjamin Tureaud Papers, Louisiana State University). There is no record of sugar production at White Hall after 1852; Aglae may have been processing cane from White Hall at one of her other plantations (Table 6). She continued to operate the estate until after the Civil War.

The Late Antebellum Period

In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, J. W. Dorr described St. James Parish in favorable terms:

The further I journey up the Coast, the more anxious do I feel to vindicate this beautiful country from the aspersions cast upon it by tourists who dash down the Mississippi in steamboats, and very likely fall asleep in their berths, and dismiss the matter with the favorite form of words, viz: "The banks of the Lower

Table 6. Sugar Production at White Hall Plantation (Champomier 1844-1862; Bouchereau 1869-1917).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owner/Manager</th>
<th>Sugar in Hhds</th>
<th>Rice in Bbls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Mrs. M. D. Bringier</td>
<td>251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>H. M. Seale, agent</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Eugene Webre, agent</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>E. &amp; A. Webre</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Eugene Webre</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>A. B. Vegas</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Sundry Planters</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>A. B. Vegas, et al.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Steam apparatuses.
2Name listed as "M. S. Bringier".
3Brick and shingle sugar house.
4Sugar house was destroyed.
5Wood sugar house; steam and kettle apparatuses.
6Crops were produced by tenant farmers.
Mississippi are low and monotonous, and the scenery tame and uninteresting." So the picture doubtless looks to them from their point of view, framed as it is in the foreground with the muddy and rubbish-covered banks of the river outside the levee mound. But let them travel inside the levee, and through this paradisiacal climax of luxurious plantation rurality, and if they do not admire the aspects of the scenery -- the splendid villa-like or castle-like mansions of the planters, the cheerful and comfortable villages of negro houses, the magnificent old trees with their wavy glory of moss, the beautiful gardens filled with the rarest shrubs and plants, the affluent vegetation of the broad fields, the abundant greenery with which lavish nature coats every inch of this prolific soil -- if they do not admire this on the one hand, and on the other the broad tide of the Father of Waters swelling through the long reaches of its winding channel and dotted with steamers or other craft, we will set them down as travelers either of no taste or so filled with prejudice as to be determined not to see anything worthy of admiration in any part of the South.

The forces of the different plantations are very busy hoeing the cane at this time, and on some of them I remark long ranks of fifty to a hundred negroes, hoe in hand, working across the fields with almost the precision of military drill. Of course, estates which have so many hands detached for one duty belong to the largest class. The exceedingly neat, spacious and comfortable character of the negro quarters all along up the coast should be especially mentioned. I have noted some of these villages containing thirty, forty, or fifty houses each, every one of which would rent for from $12 to $16 per month, according to the part of New Orleans in which it might be situated.

Every plantation seems to have its flock of sheep, and in many instances this stock is nearly pure South-down breed. The cattle, too, are fine stock. The carriage horses of the planters are splendid animals; and, for plantation riding, they generally use the strong and hardy and easy-going, but not very handsome, horses of the Attakapas breed (Pritchard 1933:118-119).

Dorr was equally impressed with Ascension Parish:

Donaldsonville is a well-built town of about two
thousand inhabitants. It is laid out with right-angular regularity, and the streets are very pleasant, handsome residences being not unfrequent upon them, and handsome trees everywhere; snug and cozy dwellings, nestling amid flowers and foliage, in a way quite intoxicating to the blase' denizen of brick-and-mortardom, affected with the country phobia which attacks most city dwellers about once a year for the same reason that dogs have the hydrophobia. The population of Donaldsonville is almost exclusively Creole, there being but a small proportionate infusion of the Anglo-American breed of bipeds...

Ascension is one of the largest sugar-producing parishes in the State, there being but three others which ordinarily made heavier crops. In the eastern part of it lay nearly the whole of the lands covered by the famous Houmas Land Grant, which several persons have heard considerable of before now. There are a large number of small farmers and poor settlers on these lands, which are valuable. The total area of Ascension parish is the extent of nearly 125,000 acres, of which about 85,000 are uncultivated, about 20,000 in cane, 17,000 in corn, and 400 in cotton. The cotton culture is carried on a small scale by small planters, located at a distance from the river banks, who cannot afford to go into the heavier business of sugar-making. The communication of the residents of the eastern part of the parish with New Orleans is frequently by way of the lakes, across Lake Maurepas, through Pass Manchac, and into Pontchartrain.

...Ascension pays a State tax of over $28,000, of which the mill tax for the support of public schools constitutes about one third -- nearly $9,000. There are eight school districts and twelve public schools and about 1300 educable children in the parish. The total population is between fourteen and fifteen thousand, of whom about seven thousand are slaves. There are four sugar refineries on a large scale, on the plantations of Messrs. Kenner, McCall, Hewitt and M'me. Bringier; and a number of the most magnificent sugar estates in Louisiana are in this parish, chief among which may be mentioned the great plantations of Messrs. Burnside, Kenner, T. Landry, N. Landry, V. Landry, Manning, McCall, J. Hewitt, Doyle, Ventress, Jno. R. Thompson, Dr. Duffel, M'me, Bringier,
etc. (Pritchard 1938:1122-1125).

The War Between the States and its Aftermath

The War Between the States devastated Louisiana plantations. Planters all along the Mississippi had difficulty obtaining supplies and marketing their crops. Many plantations, including White Hall, were destroyed. White Hall had been damaged by fire and then repaired before the outbreak of war, only to be shelled by a Union gunboat. After the war, it was demolished (Seebold 1941:130).

John Burnside was less affected by war than the Bringiers. When General Benjamin F. Butler threatened to take over Houmas House, Burnside defied him by claiming status as a British citizen. John H. Guild, a Union soldier, described Burnside’s plantation in 1862:

We stopped and fed our horses on Gov. Burnside’s plantation. His estate extends along the river three miles, and is cleared and cultivated more than nine miles back from the river he has six thousand acres under cultivation this year and will probably take off between four and five thousand hogshead of sugar this year. There is over a hundred miles of road on this land, his overseer gets $10,000 per annum besides all this land on this side of the river Burnside owns a large plantation on the other side (John H. Guild Letter, Louisiana State University, sic. throughout).

Burnside’s good fortune was exceptional; the sugar industry generally was seriously affected by the war. Prices fell, credit was tight, and it was difficult to keep slaves on the plantations (Begnaud 1980:38-39; Goodwin and Yakubik 1982b). After the war, many planters lost their estates as a result of their financial difficulties. Recovery of Louisiana’s sugar industry was slow. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the level of sugar production did not approach that of the peak year 1861. Causes for the problems were:

Changes in labor systems, bad politics and government, and fear that the [sugar] tariff would be abolished or greatly modified, preventing capital from being invested... (Bouchereau 1889-1890:53a).

Loss of slave labor encumbered recovery. Former slaves were regarded as unreliable and a political threat; Bouchereau (1870-1871:XX) endorsed employment of German and Chinese contract labor. A pervasive lack of capital was probably the greatest impediment to revitalization of the sugar industry. Planters could not afford to rebuild their sugar houses, nor could they
repair levees. Many former sugar plantations were inundated during high water. As a solution, Bouchereau (1873-1874:XII; 1876-1877; 1877-1878:XX) urged that agricultural and industrial aspects of sugar production be separated. His solution, the "Central Factory System," included centralized mills to serve the needs of many planters, freeing them from the burden of rebuilding and maintaining individual mills. Benefits were obvious. Because manufacture of sugar from cane entailed the greatest expense, the system helped alleviate individual planter's financial and labor difficulties. Also, farmers with small holdings could now afford to grow cane.

The White Hall Area During the Postbellum Period

White Hall Plantation, like many other sugar estates, did not recover from economic effects of the war. Small rice crops were raised (Table 6) initially, probably by an operator manager. The sugar house burned in 1875 (Bouchereau 1876). Only small yields of sugar and rice were reported through the year 1877 (Table 6); by the early 1890s the plantation had been subdivided into small tracts (Figure 9). "White Hall" became the name for this community.

In many parishes, including St. James and Ascension, rice was cultivated because of lack of capital for sugar production:

Many of the old 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 1877-1878:XX).

However, in the area of White Hall, only a few farmers attempted rice cultivation, and their efforts were not sustained for more than a few years (Table 7).

Many farmers near White Hall, unlike those with land in other areas, began to raise sugar during the postbellum period. Five sugar houses were built, including one to replace that at White Hall Plantation (Table 3). Figure 10 shows the marked increase in sugar producing farms in this region between 1865 and 1880. By 1882, a total of thirty-eight farms were producing sugar (Bouchereau 1883). Between 1885 and 1888, the number of sugar producers declined drastically; the decline may have been caused by inclement weather or it may reflect a brief period of sporadic production. Records for the years 1860 to 1916 show that thirty planters reported sugar and rice yields for only a single year; nine reported yields for a period of three to five years; only five
Figure 9. Excerpt from the 1877 Mississippi River Commission Map, Chart No. 70 (drafted in 1894) showing portions of the three survey segments (Map on file, R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., New Orleans).
Table 7. Planters in the Vicinity of White Hall Who Grew Rice (Bouchereau 1869-1917).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Average Production in Bbls</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois Bros.</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. &amp; R. Bourgeois</td>
<td>1,595</td>
<td>1888-1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasseur Loubiere et al.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Louviere</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Webre (White Hall)</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>1872-1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poche &amp; Webre</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>1888-1889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 10. Graph illustrating the number of sugar planters in
1845-1862. Boucheron (1869-1911).

The activity of [name] 1845-1910 (Champion).
reported yields for a period of six to ten years. Apparently, farmers in the area were producing occasional crops, which they probably sold to a central factory like the one that developed in the 1890s at Burnside's plantation.

The settlement at present day Union, immediately upriver from White Hall, developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 11). Originally known as Pointeville, then as Pape Verte (Figure 7), it finally was named for the post office on the adjacent Union Plantation (Bourgeois 1957:74-75). By the early 1900s, Union's population numbered about 100; it had become the rail and shipping point for nearby farms (Portier 1914:561). By the 1940s, population had increased to 750, and perique tobacco cultivation was centered in the surrounding area (Davis 1940:181).

The Postbellum Period at Riverton and Donaldson

Unlike White Hall, Riverton and Donaldson Plantations were relatively unaffected by war and its aftermath, although sugar yields were reduced considerably in the immediate postbellum period (Tables 4 and 5). Burnside hired day laborers to replace his slave force. Laborers also were hired at Donaldson, where, in 1865, wages were $10.00 per month, $8.00 per month, and $5.00 per month for first, second, and third class workers respectively. The total labor force consisted of forty-eight individuals. In 1866, wages ranged from $1.50 to $12.00 per month. At nearby Clark Place, a few workers earned as much as $15.00 per month (Lillie Trust Gray, Louisiana State University).

Hillary Rice, a preacher and politician, founded Hillaryville; former slaves at Burnside helped establish the settlement (Marchand 1931). Burnside himself assisted the community's establishment indirectly:

Mr. Burnside always feared having as his neighbors a colony of the Negro Race. He, therefore, determined to buy the property adjoining his Riverton place on the west, at the first opportunity which would present itself. The land was owned by the Marchand heirs and was known as the Marchand tract. Soon after the Civil War the property went under the hammer, to be sold for cash. Mr. Burnside attended the sale in person and pushed the bidding up to $20,000 for the small farm, which was practically without buildings or improvements. One of the heirs bid one thousand dollars more. Mr. Burnside quit, leaving the "white elephant" to the highest bidder, who immediately after,
Figure 11. Excerpt from Rand McNally's 1899 Map of Louisiana showing Union and Whitehall (Map Division, Library of Congress).
realizing his blunder, offered to accept the $20,000. Mr. Burnside refused to pay it, feeling that he had bid twice the value of the property. The curtain fell. After the numerous heirs had recovered from the shock caused by the loss of the large amount offered by the millionaire sugar prince of Louisiana, they held a meeting among themselves and divided their share into ten tracts. The land was again for sale. Three of the tracts served as the foundation for the building of the village, Mr. Burnside getting the other seven tracts at his own price (Marchand 1931:164).

Many residents of Hillaryville worked at Burnside's plantations, and later at the Houmas Central Factory (see below).

Burnside, a bachelor with no forced heirs, died in 1881; he willed his estate to his partner in trade, Oliver Bierne. Probate inventory indicated that his holdings were valued at over one and one quarter million dollars (Crozat 1963).

Nancy Von Ahlefeldt, Oliver Bierne's daughter, bought the estate from her father in 1886 for one million dollars. Two years later, her son-in-law, William Porcher Miles, who had served as president of South Carolina College, took control. He was an able manager; sugar production increased immediately (Tables 4 and 5). Miles' children and heirs established the Miles Planting and Manufacturing Co., Ltd., in 1892. The company's holdings included Ascension, New Hope, Riverton, Donaldson, Clark, Conway, Orange Grove, Monroe, St. James, Armant, and Armant BQ. Central factories also were established on Clark Place (Figure 12), New Hope, St. James and Armant (Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company, Ltd. Bulletin, Tulane).

In 1895, 394 acres were planted in cane at Donaldson; sugar production was 6607 tons. At Riverton, 496 acres of cane produced 7288 tons of sugar. Both day laborers and tenants cultivated the fields at these sites. Miles Planting also purchased cane from independent farmers. The Houmas Central Factory milled an average of 881.5 tons of cane per day in 1895; in 1896 production had increased to a daily average of 995 tons (Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company Bulletin, Tulane). The factory continued to operate into the twentieth century.

William P. Miles purchased 21.8 acres of land and Houmas House from the Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company. In 1940, his widow and heirs sold the property to Dr. George B. Crozat; the Crozat family retains possession today (Crozat 1963).

Twentieth Century Development in St. James and Ascension Parishes

Agriculture continued to be an important part of the economic base of both St. James and Ascension Parishes throughout the
Figure 12. Excerpt from the 1877 Mississippi River Commission Map, Chart No. 70 (drafted in 1894), showing Segments 1 and 2 of the project area (Map on file, R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., New Orleans).
twentieth century. During the first two decades, sugar was cultivated on lands fronting on the Mississippi River in St. James Parish; rice was grown in the wet back lands. A total of 80,321 improved acres of farmland extended back from the river for three to six miles. Additional crops were potatoes, beans, and fruit (Fortier 1914:415).

Only 69,503 acres of land were cultivated in St. James Parish by the 1950s; 20,000 acres were dedicated to cane. Most cane fields were located on the west bank of the river. Rice continued to be an important crop in low lying areas. Truck farming expanded, particularly in the areas of Lutcher, Paulina, Grand Point, Hester, Convent, Central, and Union. Truck crops included cabbage, eggplant, peppers, corn and shallots; cultivation of small quantities of perique tobacco continued. The economic importance of livestock, particularly cattle, increased from the 1940s onward; fallow rice and sugar fields were used for pastureland. In the 1950s most farms in St. James were operated by their owners. Tenant farmers worked most of the remaining lands (St. James Parish Development Board 1954). In recent years, soybean cultivation and crawfish farming have increased in importance. Although rice is no longer cultivated, cane, tobacco, corn, hay, oats, fruit, vegetables and livestock remain important to the region's economy.

Cane continued as an important crop in Ascension Parish, although farmers on the east bank turned to rice and truck farming in the early twentieth century (Fortier 1914:45). Between 1935 and 1940, when controls were imposed on cane cultivation, production decreased; however, when controls were lifted, acreage planted in cane again increased. Boll weevil infestation in the early 1900s caused a sharp decline in cotton production. Strawberries, beans and potatoes are among the crops produced on the east bank in Ascension during the twentieth century. After the 1940s, livestock raising increased, especially on worn out croplands (Ascension Parish Planning Board 1947). As in St. James Parish, soybeans have replaced rice as a major crop in recent years; significant amounts of corn, strawberries, and livestock also are produced.

Agricultural processing continued as a major industry in both parishes throughout the twentieth century. Refinement of cane sugar was the largest single industry in St. James Parish through the 1950s; refining companies included the Colonial Sugars Company established in 1896 at Gramercy; the Armant Sugar Factory at Vacherie; the St. James Sugar Cooperative, Inc., established on the west bank in 1945; and the Helvetia Sugar Cooperative, Inc., established in 1934. The S. C. Johnson and Son Company began to refine sugar cane wax in 1947. Plants for milling and drying rice were located at Vacherie, Gramercy, and Union during the 1950s (St.
Agricultural processing plants in Ascension Parish included the Evan Hall Sugar Co-op, Inc. at McCall; the S. B. Barnam Cotton gin at St. Armand; the Deezy Brothers syrup mill at Dutchtown, as well as canneries and frozen food producers in Donaldsonville and Gonzales (Ascension Parish Planning Board 1947).

Lumber has been the basis for important industries in both parishes. Sawmills were located at Gonzales, Prairieville, Donaldsonville, and Sorrento in Ascension Parish; lumberyards in Vacherie, Lutcher, and Belmont supplied St. James. Cabinet works were located at Donaldsonville, Gonzales, and Vacherie (St. James Parish Development Board 1954, Ascension Parish Planning Board 1947). Lumbering continues in Ascension Parish at present.

In both St. James and Ascension, the petrochemical industry has assumed increased prominence. During the late 1940s and early 1950s fields were located at La Pice, Vacherie, Burton, College Point, and Hester within St. James Parish; those in Ascension Parish were located at Darrow, La Pice, St. Gabriel, and Sorrento. Oil and natural gas are produced today in St. James, where oil refining has become the major industry.

Summary of Historic Themes Important to the Project Area

The land that included Segments 1 and 2 of the Burnside Revetment Item originally was part of the Houmas claim; it was subdivided into several plantations by the early antebellum period. Much of this land was acquired by an Anglo-American from Virginia who developed his plantation into a large sugar estate. Unlike the majority of Louisiana plantations, the estates in the vicinity of this portion of the project area were relatively unaffected by the War Between the States. As the local economy developed in the postbellum period, a Central Factory was established on these properties. Diachronic development can be characterized by three major themes. These are (1) settlement and land use patterns in the colonial period, (2) Anglo-American immigration and the development of antebellum sugar plantations, and (3) development and growth of the Central Factory System during the postbellum and modern periods.

Early economic and social history of Segment 3 of the study area has been somewhat different. During the Spanish Colonial Period, Acadian settlers predominated at the upper end of this segment. Their landholdings, which were small, were not consolidated into plantations. However, the lower end of Segment 3 was an indigo and cotton plantation during the late eighteenth century; later, it became a sugar estate. After the Civil War, economic disruption led to the sale of this land; by the late nineteenth century it too had been subdivided and conformed to the
pattern of small farms that characterized the area. Settlements
developed at Union and White Hall; the former became a water and
rail shipping center for surrounding communities. Major themes
that characterize Segment 3, then, are (1) Acadian settlement and
land use patterns, (2) development of the antebellum sugar
industry, (3) the economic effect of war and its aftermath on land
use patterns, and (4) the development of rural market towns.

Examination of nineteenth and early twentieth century maps
suggested that no archeological remains would be recovered within
any of the segments of the Burnside Revetment Item (Table 8). The
evidence used to produce Table 8 is illustrated and discussed in
Chapter Six. Although no maps showing structural remains from the
antebellum period were located, structures of major plantation
complexes probably were either outside the project area or were
destroyed by postbellum and early twentieth century development,
such as borrowing for and construction of the 1927 levee. Similarly,
although portions of the project area first were settled during the late Colonial Period, cultural remains from
these settlements probably were disturbed or destroyed by
subsequent development.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Segment</th>
<th>Historic Use</th>
<th>Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Segment 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2, 3, and 4 of T10S, R3E</td>
<td>Former agricultural fields of Bocage Plantation and J. B. Merchant Plantation</td>
<td>No archeological remains expected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 5 of T10S, R3E</td>
<td>Black settlement of Hillaryville and former agricultural fields of Riverton Plantation</td>
<td>Remains of Hillaryville possibly under present levee; no archeological remains expected in study area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segment 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Former agricultural fields of Riverton Plantation and Donaldson Place, and structurally unimproved yard in front of House</td>
<td>No archeological remains expected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segment 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Former White Hall plantation (destroyed and subdivided) and settlements of Union and White Hall</td>
<td>Remains of settlements possibly under present levee; no archeological remains expected in study area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI
FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Methodology

Field investigations were designed to identify all cultural resources present within the project area boundaries and, where appropriate, to assess individual site significance and project impacts on those resources. However, as will be shown below, no cultural resources were identified or located during the course of the survey effort, and further evaluation and testing of historical and archeological resources was unnecessary.

Fieldwork at each survey segment consisted of an intensive pedestrian surface survey, supplemented by a systematic subsurface shovel testing regime. Pedestrian survey was conducted along transects (or lanes) parallel to the bankline by a three-man crew, with a maximum lane spacing of 20 m. The survey corridor extended from the water line to the toe of the modern Mississippi River Protection Levee. Shovel tests, designed to locate and identify any near surface remains, were placed at 50 m intervals within each transect and reached an average depth of 45 cm below surface. This methodology was applied to all three survey segments. The entire survey corridor at each segment was investigated.

Surface visibility varied within the survey area. Good to excellent visibility prevailed near the bankline, extending from the water line to the riverside edge of the wooded batture. In addition, bankline erosion had exposed many of the older, underlying deposits in these areas. Good visibility also characterized higher elevations within the wooded batture, where understory vegetation and ground litter were sparse. Poor visibility prevailed in lower, densely vegetated areas, in water-filled borrow pits, and in the presence of other artificial features, such as rip-rap. The significance of this variation in visibility, including the influence of geomorphological factors, on the recovery and preservation of archeological remains within the survey areas, is discussed below.

Results

Survey Segment 1 is located in Ascension Parish between M-172-L and M-171-L, from Levee Stations 2872+07 (Range U-140) to 2900+75 (Range U-140); its total linear extent is about 1100 m. Visibility was good to excellent in most of this area, particularly along the wide bench from the waterline to the riverside edge of the wooded batture. Surface visibility decreased within the wooded
batture, and standing water was present in some of the lower borrow pits. A series of recent refuse deposits was present within the survey corridor; however, no surface or subsurface archeological remains were encountered or identified during the survey.

The lack of archeological materials in Segment 1 is consistent with expectations derived from archival research. This segment crosses three late nineteenth century plantations. Sections 2 and 3 in T10S, R3E, formerly were cane fields on Bocage Plantation. Both the great house and the slave quarters at Bocage were located upriver from this segment (Figures 12 and 13). Consequently, no archeological remains were anticipated in this area of former farm lands. Sections 4 and a portion of 5 of T10S, R3E were part of the J.B. Marchand holdings during the antebellum period (Figure 13). After the War Between the States, part of this land was purchased by John Burnside and developed as cane fields; it eventually came into possession of the Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company, Ltd. who continued sugar cane production (Figure 13). A portion of Section 5, the area where the former Marchand grant was located (Figure 12), developed into the Black settlement of Hillaryville. No remains from the antebellum Marchand occupation were expected, since this area had been disturbed by the later construction at Hillaryville. However, the 1922 Riverton Levee Setback covered one cabin, the Weil Brothers' Store, and the Baptiste Church (Figure 14). If remains from these structures still survive, they are mostly likely buried beneath the modern Mississippi River Protection Levee. Finally, the structurally unimproved cane fields of Riverton Plantation were located at the downriver end of Segment 1 in Section 5, T10S, R10E. Since the Riverton great house and quarters complexes were located immediately downriver from the end of the segment (Figures 12 and 13), no remains were anticipated in this area.

Survey Segment 2, also located in Ascension Parish, is situated between M-171-L and M-170-L, between Levee Stations 2937+70 (Range U-77) and 2964+69 (Range U-50); its linear extent is about 730 m. Rip-rap was present from the water line to the toe of the modern Mississippi River Protection Levee throughout most of this segment. Pedestrian survey and subsurface shovel testing failed to identify or recover any cultural resources within the segment boundaries. These results are consistent with the historical record. As noted previously, this survey segment crosses Donaldson Place, and extends in front of Houmas House. The majority of the segment is comprised of lands that formerly were structurally unimproved cane fields. Consequently, no archeological remains were anticipated (Figures 12 and 13). However, because the 1926 Donaldson levee setback cut through the front yard of Houmas House (Figure 15), it was possible that refuse from the great house might be encountered. This was not the case. The great house is still setback from the levee a substantial
Figure 13. Excerpt from a 1869 map of the levees in the vicinity of Burnside (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
Figure 14. Excerpt from Chart 50, Levee Setback Maps, Pontchartrain Levee District, ca. 1926, showing a portion of Segment 1 (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
Figure 15. Excerpt from Chart 50, Levee Setback Maps, Pontchartrain Levee District, ca. 1926, showing a portion of Segment 2 (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
distance, and even though portions of the plantation road and live oak grove were removed by the 1926 setback, this area of the plantation apparently was not a high activity area. The exact location of the great house landing is unknown; it is not indicated on the Mississippi River Commission Map (see Figure 12).

Survey Segment 3 is located in St. James Parish, between M-167-L and M-165-L, between Levee Stations 3243+59 (Range D-230) and 3127+68 (Range D-113), a total linear distance of about 2,515 m. As was the case for the first survey segment, excellent visibility prevailed along the bankline, from the water line to the riverside edge of the wooded batture; poor surface visibility characterized lower borrow areas which were covered by a thick mat of fallen leaves and branches and by dense understory vegetation. Several artificial features occurred within the project area, including borrow areas, access roads, rip-rap, and businesses. However, no cultural resources were identified during the survey effort.

The downriver end of Segment 3 of the Burnside Revetment Item crosses lands that were part of White Hall Plantation during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. On the basis of archival research, it was not anticipated that archeological evidence of this occupation would be found. The plantation was shelled during the Civil War, and it was later completely demolished. The land subsequently was subdivided into small farms; the late nineteenth and early twentieth century construction in the area probably disturbed any remains of the plantation occupation. Moreover, point bar deposits at the lower end of the project area have augmented the batture since the nineteenth century. Archival research also revealed that the 1926 Monroe-White Hall levee setback covered or destroyed numerous late nineteenth/early twentieth century residences, cabins, and stores, particularly in the upriver and middle sections of the segment (Figure 16). Clearly, remains of these structures and activity areas may still be present beneath the existing levee. However, associated refuse deposits apparently either do not extend onto the present day batture, or they have been obliterated by erosional processes.

Because of extensive overbank deposition along the Mississippi River batture, examination of one hundred percent of the historic ground surface was impossible. In addition, extensive sections of the project area contained dense secondary vegetation, particularly in low-lying borrow areas. Although surface visibility in these locales was poor, there was little likelihood that cultural resources survived extensive borrowing. Good visibility prevailed in areas where older deposits were exposed along the shoreline of the Mississippi; however, no archeological remains whatsoever were encountered in these areas.
Figure 16. Excerpt from Charts 54 and 55, Levee Setback Maps, Pontchartrain Levee District, ca. 1926, showing Segment 3 (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
Figure 16, Continued.
In general, then, intensive pedestrian survey and systematic subsurface testing failed to identify any cultural resources whatsoever within any of the three survey areas that comprise the Burnside Revetment Item. Therefore, additional testing or recordation was not necessary. These findings were consistent with expectations derived from archival data, which indicated that abundant historic remains would not be encountered within the project area.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The absence of significant cultural resources in any of the segments of the Burnside Revetment project area is consistent with expectations derived from archival research. Though a number of important historic sites are present in the region, few associated remains are expected to occur in the study area (see Table 8). Historically, land use within the corridors has been limited primarily to structurally unimproved cane fields.

Problems with surface visibility due to vegetation, artificial terra-forming, and geomorphological processes were not considered to have a major impact on the area's site identification potential. Historical data suggested that there was little probability of deeply buried sites or remains. Even in areas where older deposits were exposed, no cultural remains were encountered.

Two National Register of Historic Places properties occur in the vicinity of the Burnside Revetment project area: the Hermitage Plantation great house and Houmas House. These properties will not be effected in any way by the planned revetment construction at the Burnside Revetment project area. The Hermitage is located about one mile to the south of Survey Segment One. Houmas House, located near Survey Segment Two, is outside the impact area. Because the Mississippi River Protection Levee is situated between Houmas House and planned revetment construction, there will be no visual impact to that property. Because of the absence of cultural resources in the Burnside Revetment project area, a determination of No Effect is recommended, pursuant to 36 CFR 800.4(b)(1). No further work is recommended.
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