CULTURAL RESOURCES SERIES
Report Number: COELMN/PD-86-06

US Army Corps
of Engineers
New Orleans District

CULTURAL RESOURCES INVENTORY OF
THE MONTZ FRESHWATER DIVERSION
PROJECT CORRIDOR, ST. CHARLES PARISH,
LOUISIANA VOLUME I

Final Report
June 23, 1988

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Prepared for
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
New Orleans District
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Unclassified. Distribution is unlimited.
This report presents the results of a cultural resources inventory of Montz, in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. During February and March, 1986, R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. under contract to the New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers,
conducted an intensive search of historical and archival materials and of cartographic records pertaining to the Montz region. In addition, a pedestrian survey, detailed mapping of the Montz study area and of the Montz Cemetery, and complete recordation of all surface manifestations at that cemetery were conducted. All standing structures within the Montz study area also were recorded, using the format specified by the Louisiana State Historic Preservation officer.

During field work, a total of seventy-four standing structures were recorded and evaluated. Only one of these structures, the Montz schoolhouse, may possess the quality of local significance as defined by the National Register criteria. However, in its present state, this structure does not exhibit the integrity requisite for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Therefore, no further work is recommended in regards to standing structures in the project corridor.

No prehistoric or historic archeological sites were located during pedestrian survey of the Montz study area. In addition, review of the prehistoric setting of the project area indicates that aboriginal sites within the region are more likely to be located on the shoreline of Lake Pontchartrain than on the natural levee of the Mississippi River, the venue of the current study. Historic and archival research, including examination of all available historic maps of the area and of title data pertaining to land ownership at Montz, failed to provide any indications of high probability areas for historic archeological sites. This negative research results was borne out by the pedestrian survey; all historic surface concentrations of remains were demonstrated to have been deposited during the modern period, and most of these consisted of contemporary refuse from the town of Montz.

Finally, the Montz Cemetery was studied in detail, and the configuration, chronological placement, and individual components of that cemetery, including grave types, funerary architecture, inscriptions, and grave goods were recorded. Data indicate that the Montz Cemetery has received most intensive use during the past few decades, and that few interments there antedate World War II. Although this study has provided information on the nature and composition of rural Black cemeteries in the river region above New Orleans, it was requisite to nomination for and inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The research design for the cemetery study at Montz presents a theoretical framework and methodology for detailed study of cemetery sites, so that data from such sites can be quantified and used in subsequent higher order comparisons and interpretations.

In summary, no cultural resources were located or identified within the Montz project corridor that exhibit the qualities of significance and integrity requisite for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.
CULTURAL RESOURCES INVENTORY OF THE MONTZ FRESHWATER
DIVERSION PROJECT CORRIDOR, ST. CHARLES PARISH, LOUISIANA

By

Herschel A. Franks, Jill-Karen Yakubik, Jeffrey E. Treffinger,
R. Christopher Goodwin, Paul C. Armstrong

June 23, 1986

Prepared for Department of the Army, New Orleans District, Corps of
Engineer, P. O. Box 60267, New Orleans, Louisiana 70160, Under
Delivery Order No. 14, Contract DACW29-84-D-0029.

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To The Reader:

This Cultural Resource work effort and Report was scoped, funded and guided by the New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Work was designed to ensure:

- Adequate consideration of Cultural Resources during the Preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement for a Freshwater Diversion Project at Montz, Louisiana as part of the Mississippi and Louisiana Estuarine Study;

- That necessary and sufficient Cultural Resource information was available for use by management in making informed decisions;

- That necessary and sufficient Cultural Resource information was available for compliance with Federal Historic Preservation Laws; and

- That a sound academic and professional archeological effort was obtained.

It is the Corps of Engineers' opinion that these objectives were met. The enclosed report prepared by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc. has been reviewed by the New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers. We accept the promulgated recommendations and compliment the firm for their positive and professional attitude and effort.

James E. Chase
Technical Representative

Michael E. Stout
Authorized Representative of the Contracting Officer

Glattis R. Wagshoff
Chief, Planning Division

Enclosure
CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

**Work Performed**

This report presents the results of a cultural resources inventory of the Montz study area, in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. During February and March, 1986, R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., under contract to the New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers, conducted an intensive search of historical and archival materials and of cartographic records pertaining to the Montz region; in addition, a pedestrian survey, detailed mapping of the Montz study area and of the Montz Cemetery, and complete recordation of all surface manifestations at that cemetery were conducted. All standing structures within the Montz study area also were recorded, using the format specified by the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer.

**The Cultural Resource Data Base**

During fieldwork, a total of seventy-four standing structures were recorded and evaluated. Only one of these structures, the Montz Schoolhouse, may possess the quality of significance as defined by the National Register criteria. However, because it lacks integrity necessary for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6), no further work is recommended. Other standing structures within the project area do not possess the quality of local, regional, or national significance; in addition, they either are not of sufficient age or lack integrity as defined by the National Register Criteria (36 CFR 60.6). Therefore, no further work is recommended in regards to any of the seventy-four standing structures within the project corridor.

No prehistoric or historic archeological sites were located during pedestrian survey of the Montz study area. In addition, review of the prehistoric setting of the project area indicates that aboriginal sites within the region are more likely to be located on the shoreline of Lake Pontchartrain than on the natural levee of the Mississippi River, the venue of the current study. Historic and archival research, including examination of all available historic maps of the area and of title data pertaining to land ownership at Montz, failed to provide any indications of high probability areas for historic archeological sites. This negative research result was borne out by the pedestrian survey; all historic surface concentrations of remains were demonstrated to have been deposited during the modern period, and most of these consisted of contemporary refuse from the town of Montz.

Finally, the Montz Cemetery was studied in detail, and the configuration, chronological placement, and individual
components of that cemetery, including grave types, funerary architecture, inscriptions, and grave goods were recorded. Data indicate that the Montz Cemetery has received most intensive use during the past few decades, and that few interments there antedate World War II. Therefore, it was concluded that the Montz Cemetery does not fulfill the criteria requisite to nomination for and inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6). No further work is recommended.

Prehistoric and Historic Human Use and Occupations

Although prehistoric sites have been identified approximately five kilometers from the Montz study area, they are located on or near the shores of Lake Ponchartrain. No prehistoric sites have been identified on the batture or the natural levee of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of the project corridor. No prehistoric remains were noted during pedestrian reconnaissance conducted in the course of this study; based on previous investigations and sites identified in the Louisiana State Site Files, there is little probability that cultural resources of this nature exist in the study area.

The land that included the Montz study area originally was settled by German immigrants to Louisiana. By the early nineteenth century, the small landholdings that characterized the German settlement pattern in the river region had been consolidated into substantial estates for monocrop agriculture. Within the first two decades of the nineteenth century, sugar cane became the most important crop in St. Charles Parish. Following the disruption of the Civil War and a series of disastrous levee crevasses, rice became the primary crop in the study area. At the end of the nineteenth century, the primarily Black settlement of Virginia Town was established. This community today is known as Montz; the latter name derives from the original post office for the town. The twentieth century witnessed the growth of the Montz community, and the establishment of facilities such as a church, a cemetery, and a school. Thus historic development in the Montz study area is characterized by four major themes: (1) settlement and land use patterns on the German Coast; (2) the development of ante bellum sugar plantations; (3) the post bellum expansion of the rice industry; and (4) the settlement and growth of post bellum black rural communities.
Recommendations

Because no significant prehistoric or historic cultural resources were located in the course of the present study, and because archival and historic map research resulted in a prediction that there is little probability that such significant cultural resources exist within the project corridor, no further work is recommended.
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INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Background of the Montz Study

This report presents the results of a cultural resources inventory of Montz, in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, undertaken pursuant to Contract No. DACW29-84-D-0029, Delivery Order No. 14, for the New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The data, analyses, and conclusions and recommendations reported here are intended to assist the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, in augmenting an Environmental Impact Statement for the Mississippi and Louisiana Estuarine Study, in conjunction with the planned Montz freshwater diversion project. The purpose of the aforementioned study is to investigate the feasibility of introducing fresh water into the Lake Pontchartrain Basin in order to improve the habitat and productivity of fish and wildlife resources; it is being conducted in response to a resolution adopted on September 23, 1976, by the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Public Works and Transportation. A portion of Montz, Louisiana, is one of the sites selected for freshwater diversion from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain; construction of the facility will result in severe surface disturbance of lands within the diversion project corridor. An artist's rendering in Figure 1 represents an aerial view of the proposed facility superimposed on the impact corridor.

Nature and Objectives of the Montz Study

In accordance with the Scope of Services (Appendix I) for the Montz project, the effort reported here consisted of an intensive search of historical and archival materials related to the area of potential impact. This research focused particularly on the history of the study area, and on the Montz Cemetery, an historic graveyard located on the Lake Pontchartrain side of the Montz community. Fieldwork included a pedestrian reconnaissance of the study area; twenty meter transect lanes of the entire study area were surveyed to determine whether significant prehistoric or historic cultural resources are present within the project corridor.

In addition, fieldwork was designed to enable recordation and evaluation of all standing structures within the Montz community; recordation followed the formats specified in the Louisiana Historic Standing Structure survey. Assessments of the significance and of the eligibility of all structures in Montz for the National Register of Historic Places were undertaken as part of the architectural inventory and evaluation procedure. Also,
Figure 1. Schematic representation of the Montz freshwater diversion facility.
detailed field investigations were undertaken at the Montz Cemetery; the cemetery study consisted of mapping and recordation of inscriptions, funerary architecture, and of the spatial organization of the Montz cemetery. This portion of the study effort provided information regarding the nature of burial practices at rural Black cemeteries in the river region above New Orleans.

The Project Team

The Principal Investigator for this effort was Dr. R. Christopher Goodwin; the Project Manager was Dr. Herschel A. Franks. Archival and historical research was conducted by Ms. Jill-Karen Yakubik, who was assisted by Mr. Paul Armstrong. The inventory and evaluation of historic standing structures was conducted by Mr. Jeffrey Treffinger, a professional historic architect. Dr. Franks and Mr. Treffinger were assisted during pedestrian survey, mapping, and recordation efforts by Mr. Don Bascle and by Mr. Timothy Crawford. All project personnel for the Montz study are full time employees at R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., in New Orleans.

The Project Schedule

Archival and historical research were conducted during February and March, 1986. Field investigations were begun on February 17, 1986, and they were completed on March 25, 1986. Report preparation began with production of cartographic illustrations during late February, 1986; the report was completed on April 3, 1986. Field notes, photographs, and original maps that resulted from this study currently are on file at R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., in New Orleans, Louisiana; upon completion of this project, these data will be submitted to the Environmental Analysis Branch, Planning Division, New Orleans District Corps of Engineers.

Significance of the Montz Study

As will be seen, although the Montz Cemetery is not eligible for the National Register, study of that site provided a typology of funerary architecture, insights into the nature of rural Black burial practices, and information on the spatial organization of rural cemeteries that should be useful in future studies of this poorly understood class of sites in South Louisiana as well as elsewhere in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Data were collected according to an explicit research strategy included in this report; the strategy is designed for use in other similar sites so that a comparative data base can be obtained for historic cemeteries.
Throughout the study effort and in this report emphasis was given to the recordation and graphic presentation of information on the distribution and spatial organization of cultural features within and surrounding the Montz community. Furthermore, an attempt is made to portray changing patterns of land use in Montz and at the Montz cemetery in diachronic perspective, in order to elucidate patterns of change and development in this rural riverine community. While most cultural features were shown to be relatively recent, e.g., post 1945, the data amassed during this effort provide a complete record of spatial organization of residential and non-residential structures, of the community cemetery, and of patterns of waste disposal for a rural Black settlement along the lower Mississippi River; the settlement represents the present day expression of an ethnic enclave that originated in the post bellum period. Thus, despite the absence of significant cultural resources in the project corridor this study has provided information of benefit to the fields of archeology, architectural history, and cultural geography.
CHAPTER II
PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION AND PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Location and Physical Parameters

The geographic location of the Montz study area is shown in Figure 2. Montz lies along the Mississippi River in St. Charles Parish, immediately adjacent to the Bonnet Carre' Spillway. The study area is bounded on the east by the western guide levee for the Bonnet Carre' spillway, and on the west by the Little Gypsy Power Plant owned by the Louisiana Power and Light Company. The Mississippi River is the southern boundary; as shown on Figure 2 the northern boundary is 900 meters from the river. The northern edge of the study area was derived from an aerial photo included in the Scope of Services (Appendix I). However, an additional area was surveyed by means of pedestrian reconnaissance; this additional area is from the northern edge of the Montz Cemetery to the northern boundary of the study area as shown on Figure 2, and from the western edge of the Montz Cemetery to the western guide levee of the Bonnet Carre' spillway. Based on maps of the study area provided by the U.S. Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, the Montz project area was determined to comprise an area that measured 900 meters from north to south, and 440 meters from east to west (Figure 2). The total project area, then, consisted of 396,000 square meters of land (98 acres). Additional coverage noted above consisted of 80,000 square meters of land (19.8 acres).

Natural Setting

The Montz Project study area is located in the Upper Deltaic Plain of the Mississippi River within the modern meander belt, which the river has occupied for approximately the past 4800 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).

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. Natural levee deposits are highest near the river channel; they gradually diminish between the channel and the backswamps. Human habitation generally is concentrated in areas of higher elevation near the river. The construction of artificial levees has altered the natural pattern of deposition and accretion. Most fluvial activity now is concentrated within
the batture, or land lying between the river and the modern levee system. Portions of the Montz project area are located on the present day batture; the remainder is situated on the natural levee.

Loamy and clayey soils characterize the batture and adjacent natural levee deposits. Convent soils and silty alluvial land are characteristic of the batture. These soils frequently are flooded; in times of flood, they are subject to scouring and overbank deposition. They typically support a vegetation characteristic of initial stages of ecological succession. Initial willow forest is dominated by black willow (Salix nigra), with cottonwood (Populus deltoides), 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 illinoinensis) may occur at higher elevations. Predominant understory vegetation includes poison ivy, grape and trumpet creeper, groundnut, buckwheat vine, and sandvine. At present, wooded areas of the batture and wooded areas located in some other portions of the project area represent secondary climax forests. Trees have attained heights of 20 to 25 meters; the canopy is complete, and undergrowth is relatively sparse. Aerial photographs provided by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, show that in 1935 trees had been cleared throughout most of the study area; therefore, successful recolonization by native species listed above has been rapidly achieved.

During the early historic period, important faunal species included the 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, several species of birds, reptiles, and fish were common in habitats both within and near the present project area (Shelford 1963; Lowery 1974).

The Cultural Setting

The study area, located due west of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway, is primarily a residential community with two distinct sections. The larger section of the town has three roads: Union Lane, Tower Lane, and Kenner Lane (proceeding west to east). Included in this section of Montz are 84 per cent (62 out of 74) of all standing structures. All residents in this section are Black, and many are lifelong residents. The remaining sixteen standing
Structures are located at the easternmost side of town, immediately adjacent to the Bonnet Carre' Spillway guide levee. All residents in this section are of Italian descent. Three non-residential structures are included in the 74 standing structures observed. These are Providence Baptist Church No. 2, Montz Tavern, and the Double R Riding Stables. The other important cultural feature of the project area is the Montz Cemetery, shown in Figure 2.

Previous Investigations in the Vicinity of the Project Area

Introduction

In this section of the report, previous archeological, historical, and cultural resources investigations within and proximal to the Montz study area are reviewed. In this discussion, prehistoric and historic sites in the subregion adjacent to Montz that have been recorded in the Central State Site Files in Baton Rouge are delineated, and the nature and range of variability of cultural resources within the area is demonstrated. It should be noted, however, that no previously recorded sites or cultural resources are located within the Montz project area; as will be seen, prehistoric archeological sites in the region are located near or on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain, while historic sites are concentrated along the Mississippi River on the higher natural levee. No sites within or immediately adjacent to the Montz project corridor have been listed on or determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places; similarly, no prehistoric or historic sites near Montz have been listed on the Louisiana State Register. Thus, the Montz project will not effect any previously documented cultural resources.

Prehistoric Sites

Prehistoric sites identified during previous investigations near the Montz project area are located a considerable distance from the Mississippi River, at or near the shore of Lake Pontchartrain. These sites, which are approximately five kilometers from the study area, consist almost entirely of *Rangia cuneata* shell middens, some of which contain prehistoric artifacts. Ceramic analyses have indicated that these sites were occupied during the Tchefuncte and Marksville periods. At the time of their discovery, two of the sites were completely buried as a result of subsidence; one (16 SC 10) was discovered during subsurface drilling, and the other (16 SC 12) was found as a result of dredging in Bayou Labranche.

The Bayou Trepagnier (16 SC 10) site is situated on the west bank of Bayou Trepagnier at Lake Pontchartrain. It consists of a buried midden composed of *Rangia cuneata* shells; boring at the time
of initial investigation demonstrated that shell extended to at least thirteen feet below surface (Louisiana State Site Files). The site has been assigned to the Ponchartrain phase of the Tchefuncte period on the basis of ceramic classification; Marksville and Mississippian components also may be present (McIntire 1958; Phillips 1970; Weinstein et al. 1977).

The Bayou Labranche Mouth (16 SC 11) site is an accumulation of wave-washed shell that forms a ridge and beach at the confluence of Bayou Labranche and Lake Ponchartrain. Ceramics collected here have been used to establish a Labranche phase as an early Marksville component. Historic ceramics and glass from the site are evidence of late nineteenth or early twentieth century occupation (Saucier 1963; Phillips 1970; Weinstein et al. 1977; Weinstein et al. 1980) The Bayou Labranche (16 SC 12) site is a small, buried shell midden located on Bayou Labranche, approximately 1/4 mile upstream from its confluence with Lake Ponchartrain. Although no collection was made at the time of its discovery by dredging in 1951, it has been suggested that both Tchefuncte and Marksville components are present (Weinstein et al. 1977).

Two unnamed sites, 16 SC 16 and 16 SC 17, are described as beach accumulations of Rangia shell along the shores of Bayou Piquant and Lake Ponchartrain (Louisiana State Site Files). Although sherds were recovered at the time of discovery by Robert Neuman of the Museum of Geoscience at Louisiana State University, neither of the sites were relocated during a cultural resources survey of the area (Weinstein et al. 1980).

Historic Sites

A number of historic sites and historic standing structures dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are located on the east bank of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of the Montz project study area. With the exception of a church originally constructed in the eighteenth century, the sites represent former plantations. Information regarding these sites is derived almost entirely from historic documents; field archeology, with the exception of survey level efforts, has been limited in this portion of the river region.

Destrehan Plantation (16 SC 18) is a site located on the east bank, approximately 13 kilometers downriver from the Montz study area, that includes the great house which is still standing. This house, located along the Mississippi River on Highway 48 in the town of Destrehan, was built in the late eighteenth century for Robert de Logny. (Louisiana State Site Files). At a later date, it was owned and occupied by members of the Rost family who also owned land within and adjacent to the Montz study area. It has
been renovated, and it is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Recent (1984 - 1986) investigations into the historic architecture and historic archeology of Destrehan Plantation have been undertaken by Richard Beavers of the University of New Orleans; by Eugene Cizek of the Tulane University College of Architecture; and, by members of the Delta Chapter of the Louisiana Archeological Society. As of this date, no report on the results of these recent investigations is available.

The Little Red Church (16 SC 23) site is the location where, in 1740, the Catholic church St. Charles Borromeo ("The Little Red Church") was constructed of logs. It is situated approximately one kilometer west of Destrehan, or twelve kilometers from the project area. The original structure was destroyed by fire, as was the building that replaced it. The present church and an adjacent cemetery stand just landward of the original church site; much of the cemetery here was damaged by flooding, and a number of graves have been relocated away from the river. Parish church records were lost during the aforementioned fire (Louisiana State Site Files). Also west of Destrehan is Ormond Plantation (16 SC 24). The site, approximately ten kilometers downriver from the Montz project area, is the location of a plantation house built by Pierre Trepagnier in the late eighteenth century. A few years after construction was completed, Richard Butler became the owner when Trepagnier disappeared. The archeological potential of the plantation grounds is unknown; no record of archeological work at this venue has been made as of this date. However, the great house recently has been restored (Louisiana State Site Files).

Discussion

Several cultural resources surveys have been conducted in the region containing the Montz project area; in addition, a portion of the project area under consideration here has received archeological attention during recent years. However, with the exception of the sites delineated above no additional historic or prehistoric sites have been reported. A pedestrian survey with shovel testing on the batture in front of Ormond Plantation yielded no cultural debris. Poor visibility due to vegetation was noted during this survey effort (Shafer et al. 1984). Similarly, an absence of artifacts was reported during a pedestrian bankline survey of the proposed LaPlace - Destrehan Levee Enlargement area (Stuart and Greene 1983). The negative results of this survey effort, which included at least perfunctory review of batture lands within the Montz project corridor, were attributed to bankline erosion and to recent anthropogenic processes.

Pedestrian survey of the batture areas of six revetment items including one zone within the Montz study area under consideration here, also yielded no cultural remains (Iroquois Research
Visibility was poor except at the Montz Revetment, which comprises a portion of the present study area. At this location, vegetation represented an advanced stage of ecological succession on a point bar where long term deposition has resulted in increased elevation. The high canopy here reduced lower story undergrowth so that visibility conditions were good (Iroquois Research Institute 1982). Again, no cultural remains were observed in the vicinity of the project area under consideration here.

Cultural resource surveys have been conducted for pipeline corridors that cross the immediately adjacent Bonnet Carre' Spillway. No sites have been recorded as a result of these pedestrian and aerial surveys, and related map and archival research (McIntire 1979, New World Research Institute 1983). According to McIntire (1979), the absence of prehistoric sites near the river in the vicinity of the current project area may reflect a preference for settlement in close proximity to Lake Ponchartrain where food sources may have been more abundant. The topography may have been more suitable for settlement as well. The relatively large number of beach deposit sites around the lake reflects a preference for this environment.

Thus, although much of the batture area along the Mississippi River near Montz has been surveyed for cultural resources previously, no cultural resources have been identified there. One reconnaissance effort on the batture within the Montz project corridor (Iroquois Research Institute 1982) failed to reveal any cultural remains whatsoever.

Probability of Locating Sites within the Montz Study Area

In order to determine the likelihood that prehistoric or historic sites might be present within the Montz study area, archival and map research were conducted prior to and in the course of field work. Examination of the Louisiana State Site Files and of reports of previous cultural resources inventories in the region indicated that prehistoric sites are not likely to be located on the Mississippi River batture or natural levee. All known sites of this nature are in lowlying areas, and most of these (see discussion above) are associated with the mouths of bayous along the shores of Lake Ponchartrain.

The results of extensive examination of historic maps and archival research related to the Montz project area are contained in Chapter IV of this report. Based on that research, no high probability area could be defined within the project corridor.
Prior to 1859 the Delhomme landholdings included the study area, and they extended beyond the study area for approximately 700 meters both upriver and downriver. In 1859, these lands were purchased by Pierre Rost who owned Hermitage Plantation, located immediately downriver from the original Delhomme holdings. Although there may have been structural improvements on the Delhomme's plantation at the time of this transaction, they are not specifically noted in the act of sale. During extensive title research, no historic maps or plats for the period up to 1859 showed structures within the project area.

In a succession transaction in 1878, the former Delhomme lands, now a part of Hermitage Plantation, were devoid of structural improvements. The 1894 Mississippi River Commission Map (Chart Number 74) that includes the project area shows only six structures; three of these, if remains exist, are under the western guide levee of Bonnet Carre' spillway. The other structures were located downriver of present day Kenner Lane and within fifty meters landward of the present day Mississippi River levee. By 1921, there were several structures within one hundred meters landward of the levee. However, as is discussed in results of field investigations (Chapter VI below), the remains of these structures, if they exist, are in an area that has been continuously occupied since that date. As is discussed in Chapters VII and VIII, remains of previous structures are continuously recycled to provide building materials for new structures. Further, the pattern of waste disposal noted in the study area is horizontal and diffuse; when this pattern has been observed in relation to other sites in the region, it is difficult to distinguish distinct components (Goodwin, Gendel, and Yakubik 1983a).
CHAPTER III
PROJECT RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical bases for the study at hand are reviewed; anticipated gains in cultural resources knowledge are delineated; and, the practical and theoretical implications of the study are discussed. Finally, a detailed research design for historic cemeteries, including the one at Montz, is presented. This latter discussion is particularly relevant because of the frequency of discovery situations in the region involving cemeteries, and because at present no general anthropological and archeological framework exists for the study and evaluation of this category of sites.

Theoretical Basis for the Investigation

A primary focus of this study was the cemetery at Montz. Systematic analysis of cemeteries presently in use is of growing interest to historians, archeologists, cultural geographers, and cultural anthropologists. However, research is largely in a nascent phase, and a comparative data base is not yet available. Understanding burial practices, funerary architecture, and attendant behavioral patterns first requires establishing typologies, recordation of measurements, and observations appropriate to the definition and description of materials and relationships that comprise a cemetery study universe. Subsequent comparisons with other cemetery sites are contingent upon such baseline data collection. Established typologies should facilitate collection of data that are suitable for statistical manipulation, and use of those typologies should result in repeatable results. Work of this nature will allow formulation of higher order hypotheses and explanations.

Another aspect of the Montz study was an inventory of standing structures within the project area. Construction materials, probable date of construction, decorative details, and dimensions were documented for individual structures. A map of the project area was drawn to depict the spatial relationships between structures, roads, footpaths, gardens, and refuse disposal areas. The theoretical basis for this aspect of the field investigations derives from the perspective that examination and recordation of material culture and spatial organization of a presently existing settlement or community can provide data that is helpful in interpretation of the archeological record of historic and prehistoric occupations.
Anticipated Gains in Cultural Resource Knowledge

Although, as will be discussed in Chapters IV and VII, standing structures within the study area and, therefore, the relationships between structures, are mostly of recent origin, residents of Montz represent the descendants of slaves and Freedmen who remained in the region following Emancipation. It is generally known that many Freedmen in the southern United States continued to live on plantations where they had served as slaves; however, few studies have focused on their descendants to determine whether distinctive cultural and ethnic traditions have been maintained.

For the study at hand, a decision was made that a pedestrian survey would be utilized for reconnaissance of the study area; lane spacing is discussed in Chapter V. At the time of survey, all cultural features, including those of recent origin, would be noted and their locations recorded. Subsequent to pedestrian survey, the plan of study included preparation of a detailed site map by the architectural historian to delineate locations and spatial relationships between observed features. It was expected that comparison of these data with historic maps and aerial photographs could provide the basis for a diachronic perspective of development of the study area. Further, locations of previously existing structures could be compared with locations of standing structures at the time of the study. This technique, when augmented by archival research, was expected to provide a basis for assessing the likelihood and nature of subsurface remains that might exist within the study area. Further, application of these techniques would result in the only complete documentation of major aspects of material culture for a settlement such as this, the significance of which is described in the preceding paragraph.

Cemetery recordation at Montz also represents a contribution to a growing research field. Anecdotal descriptions are available for some rural Black cemeteries in the southern United States, and a number of unique features have been noted previously. Establishing typological categories for the study at hand represents an important contribution to these studies, because it is a necessary first step to facilitate meaningful comparisons. Cemeteries represent an ideal arena for testing of archaeological theories regarding temporal changes in use patterns. The typologies established here were designed for the Montz Cemetery; however, it was anticipated that if the study at hand were successful, then the typologies could be applied more generally for comparisons with greater time range and with broader cultural affiliations.
Management Significance

This study provides important data regarding the significance of cultural resources. As such, this report provides the basis for compliance with Federal laws and regulations governing cultural resources. Fieldwork, archival research, and examination of historic maps and aerial photographs continued through all phases of the project so that results would be integrated prior to report preparation. Site visits were made by particular members of the research team, depending on the nature of questions that arose and the related expertise of each researcher. This team approach was critical for evaluation of standing structures and for developing typologies and appropriate recordation techniques for the cemetery investigations. Methods developed for cemetery recordation, which are based on the research design discussed in the following section, should also be useful in similar cases where a determination regarding the origin, age, and significance of an historic cemetery that is still in use, must be evaluated. In short, the management significance of this research effort is twofold: first, it has provided an inventory and evaluation of cultural resources in the study area at hand, and second, it presents a methodological framework for applying the expertise of workers from several disciplines in future studies of this nature.

Research Design for Cemetery Investigations

Variables Related To Description of Historic Cemeteries

In order to characterize accurately a cemetery that is still in use, variables must be defined. As is the case for scientific research generally, definitions of the variables should be specific enough to allow accurate and adequate description of the cemetery in question; at the same time, if the definitions are intended to facilitate comparative studies, they should be broad enough to apply to other cemetery sites. The variables for describing cemeteries proposed in this report are designed so that within each variable, types and subtypes can be established; this allows classification to move from broad to specific levels of description as required by the nature of funerary goods in the cemetery under investigation. It also allows comparison between cemeteries by using the appropriate broader level of classification.

For the study at Montz, ten variables were defined prior to data collection. These are: (1) geographic location; (2) size/shape; (3) pattern of growth; (4) modes of burial; (5) internal plan and design; (6) identity of individuals interred; (7) nature of maintenance (upkeep); (8) types of markers; (9) nature of inscriptions; and (10) types of grave goods.
The first two variables, geographic location, and size and shape, characterize physical parameters of the cemetery site as a whole. Geographic location refers to (a) absolute location of the site; (b) location of the site relative to important natural features such as a river; (c) the nature of the landform occupied by the site; and (d) location of the site relative to other cultural features such as a churchyard, a town square, a residential community, or an agricultural field. Size/shape refers to dimensions that define the boundaries and extent of a particular cemetery and the geographic orientations of those dimensions. For instance, one cemetery might be square with its sides oriented north/south and east/west; a different cemetery site might be rectangular with the long axis oriented north/south. In some cases the axes might be oriented relative to some nearby cultural or natural feature (e.g., a road or a river), rather than relative to cardinal directions.

A third variable, the pattern of cemetery growth, describes the location of new interments relative to those already existing within the cemetery boundaries. If numerical growth results in areal expansion, then the pattern of cemetery growth affects size and shape of the site. The pattern of growth will also affect or reflect the fourth variable, internal plan and design. Plan and design characterizes the spatial relationships between interments; therefore, it describes orientations of burials, presence or absence of rows, presence or absence of aisles between rows, spacing between or within rows, etc. Data relevant to this variable are best represented by a site map or an aerial view.

Mode of burial characterizes the nature of interments that occur within a cemetery, e.g. subsurface or above ground, in vaults or in crypts, single or multiple interments in a single plot, etc. For purposes of recordation and analysis, each mode may be considered a type; the appropriate number of subtypes can then be defined for each type. For instance, if "subsurface burial" is considered a primary type, then subtypes might be "with architecture (coping)," "without architecture," "with mounding evident," etc. A particular cemetery may contain one or several modes. In the latter case, if the entire cemetery or an adequate sample is characterized, statistical comparisons can be made between sites. The nature of interment modes can affect or reflect the pattern of growth and the internal plan of a cemetery. For instance, if subsurface burials are exclusively utilized, then when all plots have been used, subsequent interments might be placed in a different cemetery. However, if the same cemetery is used for subsurface burials even though all plots have been previously used, multiple interments in single plots would allow continued use of the cemetery without necessitating areal expansion or a change in internal design. If multiple interments
are not utilized, then either the size and/or shape of the cemetery will be altered due to areal expansion or the internal plan will be affected due to the necessity for placing new burials within aisles or within rows that previously exhibited regular spacing.

The identity of individuals interred within a cemetery is a primary variable that must be defined in order to place the site in its proper social context. A particular cemetery might be reserved exclusively for members of a particular church or society, or it might be generally available to members of a community or residents of a broad geographic area. Interment in a cemetery may be the result primarily of the cost of plots. Some cemeteries may contain members of a particular ethnic or cultural group, or they may be multi-ethnic; in the latter cases, members of different groups might be located in discrete areas of the cemetery or the members of the different groups might be interspersed. Determining the identity of individuals interred is necessary if in order to determine whether variability between cemeteries may result from social factors.

Another variable with important social implications is the nature of maintenance (upkeep). Modes of upkeep differ between cemeteries; for instance, in parts of Louisiana, vegetation that is not ornamental is removed by hoeing, whereas in other parts, a manicured grass cover is part of a site's aesthetic. Even when the preferred mode of upkeep is the same for a group of cemeteries, the level of maintenance may vary. Another aspect of the same variable is identity of the person(s) responsible for upkeep. In some cemeteries, sextons and/or hired laborers will be responsible for maintenance; in other cases, relatives and friends of those who are buried at the site may assume primary responsibility. Maintenance also has a temporal aspect. It may occur on a daily basis; it may be an organized community event; it may be associated with religious holidays; or, if individuals are responsible, it may occur on anniversaries that represent significant links between the living and deceased.

As noted above, the variable referring to modes of burial is amenable to typological analysis. Three other variables easily and appropriately studied by using a typological approach are marker types, the nature of inscriptions, and grave goods; systematic recordation of the mode of expression of these variables for all interments within a cemetery or for an adequate sample of interments would result in a statistical profile of the site that could be compared with the profile of other sites. It should be noted that for each of these variables the first datum recorded at an interment would be "present" or "absent." Ideally, data recorded for markers would include construction materials and dimensions.
Inscriptions are variable within, and possibly between, cemeteries. They may be incised in the marker, or inscribed on the marker surface. Inscriptions also differ in terms of information concerning the deceased: the individual's name may be the only datum presented by an inscription; alternatively, the name may be accompanied by the date(s) of birth and/or death. Additional phrases may be present denoting the individual's relationship to living relatives (e.g., "Our Beloved Mother") or in the form of quotes from religious texts, etc. If the cultural and social affiliations of a cemetery have been established, then comparison of inscriptions between cemeteries might provide insight into differing ethnic or cultural values associated with death.

A typological analysis of grave goods is more problematic than for markers or inscriptions. Only anecdotal data are available at present regarding grave goods, and although the data suggest that this aspect of funerary practices reflects cultural differences, classification and statistical analysis are necessary to demonstrate soundly what those differences are. An initial approach to this aspect of cemetery studies might be to categorize floral arrangements as a major type and to create subtypes for associated receptacles or containers. Other major types might be personal goods (e.g., medicine bottles, combs, pipes, etc.) and kitchenware.

External Variables that Affect Within and Between Cemetery Variability.

Complex interrelationships between the ten variables designed for characterizing cemeteries are discussed below. First however, it is necessary to identify a larger set of variables that may affect within and between cemetery variability. These are (1) geomorphology, (2) patterns of land use, (3) socioeconomic status, and (4) cultural perspectives. Regional geomorphology and patterns of land use are physical constraints on the expression of cemetery variables. Cultural perspectives are likely to be a source of variability. Socioeconomic status may, in some cases, be a source of variability, and in other cases, a constraint on the expression of variability.

Geomorphology in this context refers to geological and other natural features that characterize landforms of a region. Therefore, it includes factors such as surface relief, the nature of local water tables, the nature and quantity of soils and/or rocks present, etc. These aspects of the natural environment may represent a constraint on suitable locations for interment (e.g., location on a natural levee or other elevated surface may be necessary if surrounding areas are lowlying or swampy). Geomorphology may also affect modes of burial within a cemetery (e.g. subsurface burials may be impractical when the water table is
high) or the size/shape of a cemetery (e.g., the shape of a cemetery may reflect that of the landform on which it is located).

Patterns of land use also represent a constraint on the expression of cemetery variables, because they affect the relative value of available land in a particular region. In southern Louisiana, for instance, land that is suitable for cultivation, habitation, and many types of industry is a limited resource because of geomorphology; in addition, population expansion in the area has increased the economic value of available land. In areas such as this, valuable property is more likely to be used as a resource for the living rather than as a repository for the dead. Generally, only areas that are nonproductive and are unsuitable as residence sites will be dedicated to cemetery use. Further, when previously existing cemeteries are located on land that due to development or population expansion has become more valuable, it is likely that they will be moved, covered over, or destroyed.

This phenomenon is illustrated by the history of New Orleans and its cemeteries. In 1721, the "Vieux Carre" was laid out as a gridded area which extended four blocks from the river. A map dated 1725 shows that the earliest established cemetery was located further from the river than the last of these streets, i.e. outside the city limits. The cemetery site was low and swampy, and earth from nearby ditches was used to increase the elevation. In 1784, additional burials were banned at this location because of an alleged danger to public health; in 1789, a royal edict decreed that the old cemetery would be used as a site for the construction of houses. Although illegal burials continued here for some years, the cemetery was divided into building lots in 1800 and sold by the city council. St. Louis Cemetery I was established in 1784 as a temporary cemetery, and its location was officially approved in 1789. Like New Orleans' first cemetery, the new site was located at the edge of the now expanded city limits (Christovich 1974:4,5). Although the earlier cemetery was abandoned for health reasons, expansion of the city had increased the value of the property where it had been located so that it was soon used as a site for human habitation; its replacement, St. Louis Cemetery I, was located outside the city limits at a site that had no economic value at the time.

In 1820, the New Orleans City Council, again out of fear of the spread of contagion, tried to establish a new cemetery further from populated areas. A site was selected, but C. Pontalba who owned nearby land brought an injunction to block the plan (Christovich 1974:10). Although the site was away from the center of population, Pontalba presumably realized that the proposed cemetery would decrease the value of his own property. As a result, St. Louis Cemetery II was placed at an even more remote location in 1823. A portion of this latter site, which was
privately owned and had been used for only a few scattered burials, was purchased in 1845 by Increase Stoddard Wood; Wood also bought an additional, adjacent parcel of the cemetery from the City Council. He convinced that body to annul the city's gift of the land to St. Louis Cathedral; they did so, again citing health hazards. However, in 1846, Wood built a cotton compress at the location despite the presence of burials (Christovich 1974:11). Again, as the city had expanded and the economic value of land increased, a cemetery site was appropriated for economic development.

The early history of the Girod Street Cemetery, also in New Orleans, is another illustration of the use of economically unproductive land for a burial site. Established for Protestants in 1822, the cemetery was located in an area that was referred to at the time as "The Swamp." Despite the marginal location, the deed associated with sale of this land stated that use of the site as a cemetery would be allowed "until the Council of the City of New Orleans sees fit to change the location of this Cemetery by virtue of its proximity to the City..." (Christovich 1974:18,19).

Socioeconomic differences between groups occupying a region can represent either a constraint on or a potential source of variability between cemeteries. The cost of some funerary items may be prohibitive for some individuals but not for others. For example, the concurrent use in southern Louisiana of brick vaults covered by plaster and whitewash for above ground burials and of subsurface burials without architecture in the nineteenth century may have been a result of the socioeconomic status of different families. The economics of funeral and mortuary items, however, is not the only social source of variability in practices related to care and disposal of the dead. Cultural perspectives may mitigate these economic issues.

Attitudes towards care and disposal of the dead differ between cultural and religious groups. Mental constructs based on cultural perspectives that are different between groups causes variability between some aspects of mortuary practices in Louisiana. For example, in southern Louisiana crosses are more frequently used as grave markers than in northern Louisiana. The former area is predominantly Catholic, and the latter is predominantly Protestant (Nakagawa 1986).

Of the four major variables identified in the preceding discussion, geomorphology represents an environmental constraint on burial practices and treatment of the dead. Geomorphology, in addition to having direct effects on aspects of cemetery variability, also affects the regional pattern of land use; that pattern is, in turn, an additional constraint. Socioeconomic differences also are primarily a constraining
factor on some aspects of funerary practices.

The potential effects of these three constraining variables should be documented and discussed prior to attempts to attribute variability between cemeteries to cultural differences. Physical and socioeconomic influences often are primary; although mental constructs based on culture may sometimes be independent of natural or of other social factors, scientific study necessitates control of those factors in order to demonstrate the primacy of culture. Otherwise, differing practices may be ascribed to cultural differences by using post hoc "just so" stories. Similar problems have arisen in biology, when natural selection has been used to "explain" differences between organisms that actually derive from developmental constraints. Without control for other factors, discussions of cultural causation of variability are speculative. However, if the alternative research strategy outlined above were applied to cemetery studies, then meaningful cross-cultural comparisons could be made between regions or within a region populated peoples of diverse cultural origins.

Table 1 is designed to demonstrate which of the ten variables identified for analyzing cemeteries are influenced by geomorphology, land use patterns, socioeconomics, and cultural constructs respectively. Location of a cemetery, for instance, may be influenced or determined by any one of these factors or by any combination of the four. Individuals from a particular cultural background may have a preferred location for interment that derives from that background, but constraints resulting from regional geomorphology and land use patterns in the area where they reside may preclude use of sites that exhibit attributes of their culturally based preference. The table is designed for coordination of cemetery studies within a particular region. Geomorphology and land use patterns can be characterized for the region, and cemetery locations can be examined and compared to determine whether site loci reflect constraints from those sources. When effects of these two variables are controlled, then potential socioeconomic influences on site loci can be examined. If cemetery locations remain unexplained by examining these external influences, then cultural constructs may best explain the locations being investigated. Each of the variables proposed here for describing historic cemeteries can be investigated in the same manner. If used in regions inhabited by members of diverse ethnic groups, attribution of variable mortuary practices to culture would, as a result, derive from the scientific method.

Interrelationships between Variables that Characterize Cemeteries.

Ten variables have been identified to provide a format for characterizing important physical aspects of cemeteries. The
Table 1. Potential Effects on Cemetery Variability due to Environmental, Social, and Cultural Factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geomorphology</th>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>Socioeconomic</th>
<th>Cultural Constructs</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
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<td>Shape/size</td>
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<td>Burial mode</td>
<td>Burial mode</td>
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<td>Internal design</td>
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<td>Grave goods</td>
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<td>Who is in it?</td>
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<td>Maintenance</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
potential effect of environmental constraints (geomorphology), social constraints (land use patterns and socioeconomics) on expression of variability has been discussed, because if ignored, attribution of interment practices to cultural constructs is methodologically unsound and possibly erroneous. Prior to applying this model for cemetery studies to particular cases, however, it is necessary to examine the interrelationships between the variables that have been proposed for characterizing interment sites. This is particularly important because some of the ten identified variables may be dependent on others.

Figure 3 shows schematically how the ten cemetery variables interrelate. The manner in which one variable is expressed may affect expression of a second variable. Complex interrelationships also may exist. For instance, a cemetery site associated with a high water table is likely to contain a large proportion of above ground burials. When this occurs, the above ground mode of burial may affect the pattern of growth; growth, defined in this case as an increase in the cemetery population, may be vertical because interments can be stacked. This in turn might allow retention of a formal plan that includes regular aisles and regular spacing so that alteration of cemetery shape/size is not necessitated.

However, other external variables may intervene. In southern Louisiana where above ground burials are common, subsurface burials also occur. The two modes may often be observed in the same cemetery. Therefore, some other external force is modifying the effect of geographic location on the mode of burial. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the difference likely derives from the identity of the individuals who are interred and their social/cultural background. Either socioeconomics, e.g. the higher cost of above ground mortuary architecture, or culture, e.g. a shared mental construct concerning the appropriate manner for dealing with the deceased, might then be the explanatory factor.

Geographic location is at the top of Figure 3, and four other cemetery variables are clustered below: shape/size, mode of burial, pattern of growth, and internal design. Geomorphology and land use patterns are shown to be the external factors most likely to affect geographic location, which in turn is likely to affect, or in some cases determine, the manner of expression of the four above-listed cemetery variables. It should be noted, however, that as the figure indicates, identity of groups/individuals who use the cemetery site in question may also have affected, influenced, or determined the site's geographic location.

Figure 3 also shows a second set of cemetery variables
Figure 3. Flow chart depicting relationships of variables that characterize cemeteries and potential effects of external influences.
(upkeep, markers, inscriptions, and grave goods) which cluster below the variable concerned with identity of groups/individuals who utilize a particular cemetery. These four variables should reflect group/individual identity, and as the figure shows are likely to be influenced by socioeconomic and by culture, rather than by the natural environment.

In summary, as is shown in Figure 3, five cemetery variables (geographic location, shape/size, mode of burial, pattern of growth, and internal design) may all be influenced directly or indirectly by external environmental parameters or by the identity of associated groups/individuals. Therefore, any one of the four external factors (geomorphology, land use patterns, socioeconomics, and culture) may be involved. However, four other cemetery variables (upkeep, markers, inscriptions, and grave goods) should be independent of geomorphology and land use patterns; they are likely to be associated with the socioeconomic or culture of associated groups/individuals. Although socioeconomics and culture could potentially influence all aspects of variability identified on the chart, it is more likely that the other external constraints identified in this discussion also are important. Even when culture is the only (or the most important) external factor affecting expression of cemetery variability, comparative studies that aspire to causal explanations are invalid unless the other potential external influences are considered.

Application to Montz Cemetery

The general research strategy for cemetery studies was developed so that data collected in a study focused only on the Montz Cemetery would yield results that could be placed in a regional, comparative framework. Also, the strategy was designed so that, when used in conjunction with the National Register Criteria regarding cemeteries, a determination regarding the social, historic, and scientific significance of the site would be facilitated.

Potential Effects of Geomorphology and Land Use Patterns

In accordance with the above-outlined research strategy, potential effects of geomorphology and land use patterns on expression of cemetery variables in the region that includes the study area were examined. Montz Cemetery is located on the natural levee of the Mississippi River; lakeward of the site are low-lying swamplands associated with Lake Ponchartrain. Significant aspects of geomorphology that might influence expression of cemetery variables, including location, are surface elevation and the high water table. The natural levee is a relatively narrow strip of land that is sufficiently elevated to
allow habitation, agriculture, and industrial development. Therefore, land that is not characterized as swamp or marsh is a limited (scarce) resource in the region. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, cane agriculture was the most important economic activity until the twentieth century; cultivation of this particular crop was viable only when large tracts of land were planted. Therefore, geomorphology which limited available land, in conjunction with this pattern of land use, made cultivable fields an even more valuable commodity.

The high, seasonally fluctuating water table in this region might also strongly influence the expression of cemetery variables. If a cemetery were located too close to lowlying swamps, subsurface burials would be impossible; also, subsidence might result in rapid deterioration of mortuary architecture associated with above ground burials. Therefore, cemetery location might represent a compromise that reflects conflicting external factors. Lands close to the river have the highest elevation and therefore are better suited for interments than lands in or near lowlying swamps. However, the riverward lands are also a valuable commodity because they are cultivable (and in the twentieth century suitable for industrial or residential development). Montz Cemetery, located lakeward of the residential portion of the study area, near the back of the natural levee, may reflect the influence of geomorphology and patterns of land use characteristic of the region.

**Potential Effects of Socioeconomic and Cultural Factors**

As discussed in the research strategy outlined above, socioeconomics and culture, because they are closely associated with the groups/individuals utilizing a particular burial site, are the other external factors that may influence cemetery variability. The Scope of Services for the project at hand (Appendix I) and an initial site visit provided information relevant to determining sociocultural associations of Montz Cemetery. The site lies at the terminus of one of three roads that run through a small settlement locus. All of the residents of the three streets are Black. Providence Baptist Church No. 2, the only church in the settlement, is located on the same road as the cemetery. These observations, in conjunction with historical and ethnographic research, suggested that Blacks, possibly members of the Baptist Church, are predominantly associated with the cemetery under investigation. Therefore, the socioeconomic status of Blacks in southern Louisiana, as well as cultural practices representative of this ethnic group, were considered probable sources of some aspects of expression of cemetery variables at Montz.
Prior to initiation of recordation and mapping in Montz Cemetery, a series of hypotheses were formulated. These were based on aspects of the cemetery research design outlined above. The first variables considered were geographic location and size/shape; the cemetery in question is rectangularly shaped, and it is located a short distance from the river, possibly near the rear of the natural levee. Its long axis is oriented perpendicularly to the river. USGS topographic maps for St. Charles Parish and other sugar-producing parishes adjacent to the Mississippi River were examined to determine whether other cemeteries had similar shapes and similar geographic positions relative to the river. Although location and size/shape varied between cemeteries depicted on these maps, it was noted that some cemeteries exhibited characteristics similar to the one at Montz: they have rectangular shapes, and the long axis is oriented approximately perpendicularly to the river. The width of these cemeteries is approximately twenty meters, but their length was variable.

Investigations of one other burial site, Kenner Cemetery located in the Bonnet Carré Spillway, provided important data for formulating hypotheses regarding Montz. Kenner Cemetery was the site of interment of a Black Union Army veteran, Sanders Royal, in 1895. Its size and shape, as well as its location relative to the Mississippi River, are similar to Montz Cemetery. Archival data related to Kenner Cemetery suggest that it probably began as an ante bellum slave cemetery, and continued to be used in the post bellum period by Freedmen and their descendants (Yakubik and Franks 1986).

These observations were the basis for an initial hypothesis regarding the age and origins not only of the Montz Cemetery, but also of other cemeteries mentioned above. This working hypotheses were:

(1) The cemetery sites with the above-described shapes and locations represent interment locations utilized primarily by Blacks.

(2) They first were used as locations for interment of deceased slaves during the ante bellum period when the grounds of most Louisiana plantations included such an area.

(3) Their nearly constant width and shape, as well as their location and orientation relative to the river were related to cane cultivation.
(4) Their proximity to low-lying swamps further away from the Mississippi was due to planters' reluctance to devote prime agricultural areas of their holdings to a slave cemetery, so burials were located in more marginal parts of the plantations.

(5) Descendants of slaves who had been interred at these sites continued to use the locations during the post-bellum period.

Formulation of an Alternate Hypothesis

One alternative and simpler hypothesis concerning the age and origins of the Montz Cemetery was considered. During a preliminary site visit, it was noted that the earliest legible date on grave markers there was 1935. The alternate hypothesis was that cessation of interments at Kenner Cemetery and relocation of nearby residents during the 1920s had been necessitated by construction of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway structure; therefore, a new cemetery subsequently was established in nearby Montz.

If the alternate hypothesis were correct, then the size and shape of Montz Cemetery, which according to the more complex hypotheses outlined above had some functional relationship to sugar cane agriculture in the ante bellum era, might instead be the result of continuing cultivation of lands around the new cemetery site. Alternatively, Blacks resident in the area may have developed a mental construct regarding the proper shape, size, and location for cemeteries that was based on an acquaintance with those older cemeteries. Finally, the proposed functional association of location, size, and shape of these cemeteries with agriculture may overemphasize environmental determinism; rather, these physical parameters may represent an abstract notion, the cultural origin of which is unknown, regarding cemetery design.

Preliminary Hypothesis Testing

An initial test of the working and alternate hypotheses outlined above consisted of a visit to a cemetery with appropriate dimensions and location relative to the river; the site selected was located in St. Charles Parish in the town of St. Rose, downriver of the present study area. The visit confirmed the first aspect of the working hypothesis, that cemeteries with this shape and size and location relative to the river would be utilized primarily by Blacks. However, observations were made that also maintained the viability of the alternate hypothesis. First, expansion of the cemetery at St. Rose was restricted by residential development on four sides. Second, no empty space remained for location of new interments; dense spacing appeared to necessitate either reuse of subsurface plots or of crypts. Stacked crypts were evident, and it appeared that the cemetery was experiencing a period of vertical growth. Montz Cemetery, however, included an area apparently
devourd of burials and even in those portions of densest interments, it did not appear as crowded as St. Rose. Therefore, the Montz site might now represent one of the few predominantly Black and relatively inexpensive cemeteries remaining on the east bank in St. Charles Parish. Further evidence that this might be the case was the observation that a number of crypts bearing the surname "Royal" were observed at St. Rose; that surname belonged to the only individual whose burial at Kenner Cemetery had been confirmed. Therefore, descendants of individuals interred at a former plantation cemetery now are being buried at other sites, some of which are overcrowded.

Further Development of the Research Strategy

Establishment of variables to describe physical aspects of cemeteries and of environmental and social variables that might affect expression of the cemetery variables, therefore, resulted in formulation of working and alternate hypotheses regarding the Montz site. A preliminary test described above, as well as fieldwork, data analysis, and archival research related to Kenner Cemetery, supported the validity of both hypotheses.

A determination was made that fieldwork in the Montz Cemetery would be designed to provide data relevant to the ten variables describing cemeteries as discussed in the research strategy above. A detailed and accurate map would provide relevant data concerning shape/size, patterns of growth, and internal design. In addition, modes of burial could be indicated on that map. Individual plots would be assigned numbers and complete recordation of marker types, inscriptions, and grave goods related to each plot would be carried out. Also, descriptive data concerning maintenance of the plots would be collected to supplement observations of maintenance of the entire cemetery area. These data would represent nearly complete recovery of above ground data at the site, and could easily be integrated into a comparative regional framework. Also, the data might provide indirect evidence concerning the age and origins of the Montz Cemetery.

In addition, it was determined that intensive archival research, examination of real estate records relevant to the site, and historic map work would be conducted to test the hypotheses related to the age and origin of the Montz Cemetery (Chapter IV). Oral interviews of elderly Black residents of this portion of St. Charles Parish already were in progress to supplement field and archival data collected concerning Kenner Cemetery; questions regarding aspects of interment practices such as modes of burial, size and shape of former plantation cemeteries, practices regarding markers, and perspectives concerning location of new interments previously had been outlined. It was expected that the
resultant data would be relevant not only to general aspects of the formulated hypotheses, but also for those parts of it that applied specifically to the age and origins of Montz.
CHAPTER IV
HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide a framework for understanding the historic context of Montz. A basic overview of St. Charles Parish history is presented from initial colonization through the late nineteenth century. Although no archeological remains dating from the colonial period were noted during survey, and the incomplete archival record prohibits establishing exact land ownership of the project area for the eighteenth century, historical evidence indicates that the area was settled as early as 1731. Therefore, general data on settlement, population, and land use in St. Charles Parish are presented below for the 1700s, and more specific data are provided for the period following the Louisiana Purchase. Sources consulted include published secondary sources; unpublished conveyance and court records in St. Charles and Orleans Parishes; unpublished military records from the National Archives; the Louisiana Revised Statutes; and historic maps and plats. In addition, oral historical data on the area gathered for a cultural resources survey of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway have been incorporated (Yakubik and Franks 1986). Research was conducted in the Louisiana Collection and Special Collections, Tulane University Library; Special Collections, Louisiana State University Library; the Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge; the Clerk of Courts office, St. Charles Parish; the New Orleans Notarial Archives, and at the Louisiana Collection, New Orleans Public Library. The following discussion, then, follows chronological order, beginning at the advent of the colonial period during the late seventeenth century.

The Colonial Period

By 1673, La Salle had claimed the entire Mississippi River Valley for France. Early French attempts to settle and to develop colonial properties in the North American continent were undertaken in order to secure French territorial claims. However, the accounts of the first French explorers noted that rich natural resources were present in America; France also sought to develop and to exploit the mercantile promise of its colonies (Taylor 1976:3-5).

The goal of developing a prosperous American colony was not easily realized. Both physical distance and governmental lethargy hindered the development of French territories. In 1712, Antoine Crozat contracted with the French crown to
administer France's holdings in continental America. This enterprise was a failure. In 1717 the colony reverted to the crown but was immediately placed in the control of the Company of the West (Fortier 1914:302-306; Gayarre 1903:Vol. I, 192; Wall 1984:16-20).

Two years later, John Law proposed a similar concession and trade contract. In return for exclusive trade rights in America, Law's Company of the Indies was contracted to administer the colony to France's political and economic advantage. Under an agreement with the Duc d'Orleans, Regent for Louis XV, Law's Company of the Indies absorbed the Company of the West. Law's new corporation was empowered to grant land; to transport and to settle 3000 whites and 6000 blacks in Louisiana to promote agriculture; and to serve as the exclusive trade agent within the colony (Gayarre 1903:Vol. I, 2001-205; Wall 1984:20-21).

Initial Settlement of St. Charles Parish

In addition to recruiting French colonists, the French printed Company of the Indies pamphlets encouraging immigration in several languages, and these were distributed throughout Europe. The glowing descriptions of Louisiana proved to be particularly attractive to Germans in the Rhine region. This area had been devastated by the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and its aftermath. Promises of peace, political and religious freedom, and prosperity eventually encouraged an estimated 10,000 Germans to leave their homes in the Palatinate, Alsace, Lorraine, Baden, Wurttemberg, Main and Trier (Deiler 1975:14-15; Voss 1928:8-9) Deiler (1975:17) estimates that only 6,000 of these survived the journey to and the hardships encountered at the French ports, and only 2,000 Germans ever reached Louisiana (Deiler 1975:16-17).

Penicault described the arrival in Biloxi of the first of the German colonists in 1719:

One month after the departure of M. derbigny, a vessel named Les Deux Freres arrived, with a great number of German men and German women on board. It was further loaded with all kinds of merchandise and personal possessions which belonged to them. This vessel anchored in the Isle-aux-Vaisseaux roadstead, and their personal effects and merchandise were unloaded at New Biloxi, to which they were brought in flatboats along with all the people that were on that ship (McWilliams 1953:235).

Deiler (1975:19) notes that since these settlers apparently arrived in Biloxi with personal possessions and other goods, they
probably were independent colonists rather than engages of the
Company of the Indies. He further suggests that these colonists
were the first settlers on what became known as the German Coast,
or, La Cote des Allemands (Deiler 1975:50). Their settlement,
described in the 1724 census as Le premier ancien village allemand,
was located about ten leagues (thirty miles) above New Orleans on
the right bank of the Mississippi, one and one-half miles inland
from the river.

Subsequently, numerous German engages were sent to the
Louisiana colony. John Law had been granted a concession in
Arkansas on the condition that 1500 Germans be settled there.
The Germans were transported on Les Deux Freres, La Garonne, La
Saonne, and La Charante. Few of the Germans reached the Arkansas
concession; the four vessels became known as the "pest ships"
because of the deplorable conditions that the engages were
subjected to on board. Those that survived faced equal or greater
hardships in the colony, since they lacked the equipment and
supplies to establish themselves there. The settlers soon
learned that they could expect no further assistance from Law, who
went bankrupt and fled Paris at the end of 1720. By early 1722, the
Germans abandoned the Arkansas concession. They returned to New
Orleans, and demanded passage back to Europe. Governor Bienville
however encouraged them to remain in the colony and provided them
with lands on the German Coast.

By the time the engages from Arkansas arrived on the German
Coast, le premier village had been abandoned. A hurricane in 1721
had inundated the village, and a second settlement had been founded
near the first, three-quarters of a mile inland from the river.
Deiler (1975:55) suggests that this second village was founded by
Karl Friedrich D'arenbourg, the first commandant of the German
Coast, and the engages who arrived in Louisiana under his
supervision in 1721. The first and the second villages, which
were separated by the cemetery, were jointly called "Karlstein"
(Figures 4, 5, and 6). The engages from Arkansas settled on the
higher, natural levees of the right bank. By May, 1722, three
settlements, Hoffen, Mariental, and Augsburg, had been
established on the right bank of the Mississippi, and there were
257 inhabitants on the German coast (Deiler 1975:74). By this
date, Karlstein had been virtually abandoned, although a few
persons had returned there by 1724 (Maduell 1972:39-42).

Data from the 1724 census indicates that approximately 185
individuals were residing on the German coast at that time. The
settlers included natives of Alsace, Brandebug, Wurtemburg,
the Palatinate, Baden, Mayence, Bavaria, and Switzerland. At
least one of the settlers was Hungarian. The settlement by this
date had both a cemetery and a chapel (Figure 7). There is no
indication that any of the settlers possessed slaves, although
Figure 4. Excerpt from D'Anville's 1732 Carte de la Louisiane. The arrow points to the German settlement [Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library].
Figure 6. T. Kitchen's 1761 New Map of the River Mississippi from the Sea to Bayogoulas. The arrow points to the German Settlement (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
there were servants residing on the concession of M. de Meuiers. Many of the sixty households of the settlement included one or more orphan children (Maduell 1972:39-42).

The 1724 census provided colorful anecdotal information on German immigrants to St. Charles Parish, as well as an insight to the nature of the original settlement and subsistence pattern of the first European settlers in the region. Especially because archeological evidence of this period has been lost to the river, as well as to anthropogenic site destruction processes, these census data provide insight to a largely undocumented way of life that formerly was characteristic of the region. The census noted:

All these German families in the present census raise large quantities of beans and mallows, and do much gardening, which adds to their provisions and enables them to fatten their animals, of which they raise many. They also work to build levees in front of their places...their small frontage on the river brings them so close together that they look like villages... They would consider themselves very happy to get one or two negroes, according to the land they have, and we would soon find them to be good overseers... They could also feed their negroes very well on account of the great quantities of vegetables they raise. They could also sell a great deal to the large planters, and these, assured of a regular supply, could give more attention to the raising of indigo, the cutting of timber, and to other things suitable for exportation to France (Deiler 1975:90-91).

By 1731, the settlement had expanded to the left bank of the river (Maduell 1972:146-147; Deiler 1975:76-77), and the first "Red Church" of St. Charles Borromeo was established in present-day Destrehan in 1740. Maps from the mid-eighteenth century illustrate settlements lining both banks of the river (Figures 7 and 8). The left bank settlements were plagued by Indian raids as late as 1748; as a result, a small fort with on gun en barbette was erected on the east bank of the Mississippi (Figure 9) (Deiler 1975:60-61) Pittman, writing in 1770, described both the church and the fort:

At the German settlements, on the west side of the river, is a church served by the capuchins; and a small stockaded front of the center of the settlements on the east side of the river; an officer and twelve soldiers are kept there for
Figure 7. Excerpt from Ross' 1765 Course of the River Mississippi from the Balise to Port Chartres. The arrow points to the first church on the German Coast (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
Figure 8. Excerpt from a 1760 map of Louisiana. The arrow points to the German coast, which has settlement on both banks of the river at this date (Map Division, Library of Congress).
Figure 9. Excerpt from a 1767 map of Louisiana. The arrow points to the German fort (Map Division, Library of Congress).
the police of that quarter. This post was originally erected as an asylum for the inhabitants who first settled there... (Pittman 1973:22-23, sic throughout).

Additional Settlers on the German Coast

Through the remainder of the French colonial period additional colonists were settled on the German coast. In 1754, a large group from Lorraine was sent to the German settlements. Governor Kerlerec noted:

I have received the families from Lorraine by the Concord. They are established aux Allemands and work well. Many like those would be necessary for the advancement of the colony—families accustomed to working the soil, whose energies would redouble in a country where the revenues would belong to them without the burden of taxation (Deiler 1975:105-106).

Although the majority of Acadian exiles from Nova Scotia settled immediately upriver from the German Coast, some established themselves along the Cote des Allemands in 1766. As was the case elsewhere in Louisiana, French eventually became the dominant culture. However, despite the fact that many surnames were Gallicized, the Germans retained their cultural identity throughout the Colonial Period. C.C. Robin, writing in the early 1800s, noted:

These Germans living among the French have retained their taciturn character, their language and their manners. They do not have that open and affectionate countenance of the French. They are stingy but well behaved. They work their own farms, without Negroes, and although originally northern they have become well acclimated. Yellow fever never bothers them because they work. This malady strikes those who in New Orleans live in inactivity or in the too active state of passion and intemperance (Robin 1966:114).

Agriculture On The German Coast During The French Colonial Period

The German Coast settlement prospered, both through the industry of its inhabitants and the agricultural potential of the region. The area occasionally was referred to as Cote d'Or, or Golden Coast, because of the fertility of the lands (Voss 1928:13). Jeffreys, writing at the end of the French Colonial period,
described the economy of the German colonists:

Ten leagues before the stream reaches New Orleans is the settlement of the Germans, who after the disgrace of Mr. Law, abandoned his plantation at Arkansas, and obtained leave of the council to settle in this country. Here, by means of their application and industry, they have got extremely well cultivated plantations, and are the purveyors of the capital, whether they bring, weekly, cabbages, salads, fruits, greens, and pulse of all sorts, as well as vast quantities of wildfowl, salt pork, and many excellent sorts of fish. They load their vessels on the Friday evening, towards sunset, and then placing themselves two together in a pirogue, to be carried down by the current of the river, without ever using their oars, arrive early on Saturday evening at New Orleans, where they hold their market, whilst the morning lasts, along the bank of the river, selling their commodities for ready money. After this is done, and when they have provided themselves with what necessaries they want, they embark again on their return, rowing their piques up the river against the stream and reach their plantations in the evening with provisions, or the money arising from the produce of their labours (Jeffrey 1761:147, sic throughout).

Transfer of the Louisiana Colony to Spain

Despite the apparent rich potential of the land that was to become St. Charles Parish, the colony as a whole operated at a deficit. By 1731, the Company of the Indies had exhausted its financial resources; they surrendered their charter in 1732. The colony reverted to the crown, and Louis XV reappointed Bienville as colonial Governor. Bienville remained governor until 1743. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was named Governor of New France in that year; when Vaudreuil was appointed Governor of Canada in 1755, Captain Louis de Kerlerec was made Governor of Louisiana. Kerlerec served as Governor until the beginning of the Spanish period (Wall 1984:26-28; Taylor 1976:14-15; Vexler 1978:4).

In 1762, Louis XV ceded the Louisiana colony to Spain by the secret Treaty of Fontainbleau. The exchange was partially induced by diplomatic considerations, since the crown sought to limit the amount of colonial land surrendered to England with France's imminent defeat in the Seven Years War. In addition, the primary motivation for French colonialism was mercantilism, and,
as noted earlier, the Louisiana colony was a financial liability to war torn France (Wall 1984:31; Taylor 1976:17-19).

The cession of the Louisiana Territory was not made public until 1764. Because Spain did not take immediate possession of Louisiana, French colonists hoped to convince Louis XV not to abandon the colony. Nicholas Chauvin de Lafreniere the younger drafted a petition which was carried to France by Jean Milhet in 1765. The king, however, refused an audience to Milhet. The first Spanish governor, Don Antonio Ulloa, arrived in Louisiana in 1766 but delayed taking formal possession of the territory until additional Spanish troops arrived. Ulloa promptly ordered a census; he also restricted trade in favor of Spanish interests. A group of French patriots, led by Lafreniere, held secret meetings to discuss methods for maintaining French patrimony over Louisiana. One of the methods discussed apparently was the expulsion of the Spanish by force. In October, 1766, at a meeting of the Superior Council, Lafreniere presented a petition demanding that Ulloa either provide the Council with formal credentials or that he leave New Orleans. A few days later, 400 Germans under the command of Villere, with Acadians under Noyan, and the Chapitoulas Coast militia under de Lery marched on New Orleans to demand that the Superior Council opposition Lafreniere's petition. Because of popular support, Ulloa departed as asked (Gayarre 1903:Vol. II, 127-243; Wall 1984:37-40).

In August, 1769, Don Alejandro O'Reilly arrived in New Orleans with a fleet of Spanish ships. Shortly thereafter, the revolutionary leaders of the area surrendered to the superior forces Spanish authorities. Feigning mercy for the French patriots, O'Reilly, the new governor, invited them to a reception, at which Lafreniere and his compatriots were arrested. After a trial on October 24, 1769, Lafreniere, Jean-Baptiste Noyan (Lafreniere's son- in-law), Pierre Caresse, Pierre Marquis, and Joseph Milhet were condemned to death; five other conspirators were given prison sentences. The properties of all of the condemned men were ordered confiscated. Lafreniere and his comrades were executed by firing squad on October 25, 1769. This ended the French Colonial Period (Wall 1984:40-42; Gayarre 1903:Vol. II, 314-343).

The Spanish Colonial Period

Governor Alejandro O'Reilly quickly established Spanish authority in the colony. Besides structural political changes, however, the Spanish had little lasting influence on Louisiana. The culture remained predominately French. In general, the economic and demographic patterns initiated during the French colonial period continued to develop under Spanish rule. Residential and industrial settlement remained focused on the
Mississippi River. Since the Spanish granted small tracts of land to military officers and to petty officials, a mix of small and large plantations developed on the river (Taylor 1976:21-29).

Louisiana's economy continued to focus on agriculture, on forest products, and on commerce during the Spanish rule. However, commodity and trade patterns changed. Monocrop agriculture was more prevalent during this period; sugar replaced indigo as the primary crop by the end of the eighteenth century. This shift was hastened by a decrease in the profitability of indigo; by rising demand for processed sugar; and, by the development of an economical process to produce sugar from immature cane. The volume of English and American trade through New Orleans also increased as a result of the accelerating establishment of settlements north of Louisiana. New Orleans thrived as the official port of deposit for goods shipped via the Mississippi River.

Despite continued economic growth, political tension between prominent French Colonials and Spanish officials remained unabated until the end of Spanish domination. The Spanish command viewed Louisiana as a subservient mercantile colony. Trade became subject to Spanish duties and market restrictions. All returns from trade, agriculture, and colonial manufacture were to support Spain's commercial and military efforts throughout the world. Conversely, the lax French colonial administration had fostered self-determination in economic and political matters among the settlers. This trend added to the conflict between the colonists and their Spanish superiors.

Population During the Spanish Colonial Period

During the late eighteenth century, the German Coast often was divided into two portions for the purpose of identification. The lower German Coast, or Premier Cote des Allemands, corresponds to present-day St. Charles Parish. The parish derived its name from the ecclesiastical parish of St. Charles Borromeo, the patron of the "Red Church". The inhabitants of the upper, or second German Coast built their own church in 1771 in what is today the town of Edgar, thereby establishing the separate ecclesiastical parish of St. John the Baptist.

Census data collected during the early Spanish Colonial Period show that by 1770 there were 327 whites and 591 slaves in St. Charles Parish. The high ratio of slaves to whites indicates that the inhabitants of the area generally were affluent, although thirty-two families held no slaves. At least three of the residents of the Parish could be classified as large slaveholders; Meuillon, Dominique Bourgeois, and Michel Chelatre possessed forty-one, forty, and sixty slaves, respectively (Voorhies
The predominance of French names enumerated in the 1770 census is striking. These include surnames such as Lafleur, Cariere, Lemelle, St. Jean, Bourgeois, Bellile, Poche, and Rouseau (Voorhies 1973:263-265). Several of the militiamen of the first company of the German Coast were born in Canada or France. However, the majority of the militiamen with German surnames were born on the German Coast. These include individuals with the names Rixner (formerly Richner), Vogensback, La Branche (formerly Zweig), Toups (formerly Dubs), and Sechschneyder (formerly Scheckschneider) (Voorhies 1973:404-407).

By 1783, there were 561 whites and 1,273 slaves on the First German Coast. This represents a 72 per cent increase in the number of white inhabitants, and a 115 per cent increase in the number of slaves in a thirteen year period. In addition, there were sixty-nine Free People of Color in St. Charles Parish at this date (Davis 1806:136). These undoubtedly were former slaves who had been manumitted by their masters.

Most contemporary writers were complimentary of the colonial inhabitants of the Cote des Allemands. However, Berguin-Duvallion, who found fault with many of Louisiana's residents, was unimpressed by the Germans:

The Germans are somewhat numerous, and are easy to be distinguished by their accent, fair and fresh complexion, their inospitality, brutal matters, and proneness to intoxication. They are, however, industrious and frugal (Davis 1806:78).

Agriculture and Land Use Patterns of the Late Eighteenth Century

Francisco Bouligny, writing in 1776, described the pattern of landholding along the Mississippi River between New Orleans and Manchac:

Land is measured by river frontage, and all these lands, or most of them, belong to various individuals according to their abilities. But as a rule, on an average, they have 500 to 600 varas (1400 to 1800 feet) in depth. This is the usual concession; but beyond this distance, as the interior of the lands is not inhabitable, the concession is usually augmented in depth.

Generally, each planter does not cultivate his land except for 600 to 800 varas (1800 to 2240

63
feet) at most from the river's edge. The rest is left in pasture for the animals and he is content to cut the wood which is abundant in the interior (Din 1977:45).

During the Spanish Colonial Period, agrarian activities on the German Coast focused on subsistence and cash crop cultivation. The 1770 census indicates that corn, beans, and rice were the major crops in St. Charles Parish. C.C. Robin, writing in the first decade of the nineteenth century, described rice agriculture on the German Coast:

The rice plantations which are operated mainly by the Germans, whom I mentioned earlier, along with a few others, are watered in the same way by trenches cut in the levee, and they also can only be watered during the period of flood. The river spills into the fields but never drains them. In lower Egypt, the Egyptians water their fields during the flooding of the Nile, and a lack of flooding means a failure in the harvest. Just so in Louisiana, a failure of the river to flood prevents the sawmills from turning and the rice fields from being flooded. Rice cultivation could be much extended in Louisiana (Robin 1966:112).

The German farms also continued to supply produce to the city of New Orleans:

...the Germans settled ten leagues above New Orleans; they are very laborious, and are looked upon as the provides and victuallers of the town. The two villages are under the direction of a Swedish captain (Bossu 1771:33-34, sic throughout).

Similarly:

These Germans, who are the food suppliers of the city, (as I have already observed) live well, without however having made any fortunes. This is hardly astonishing when we consider that the city market is not large, that the price of meat has always been low, and that the artificial restrictions of commerce have prevented the development of other outlets (Robin 1966:114).

As noted above, at least three of the residents of St. Charles Parish in 1770 were large slaveholders. In all probability, these
individuals owned large plantations rather than farms and concentrated on monocrop agriculture. At the onset of the Spanish rule in Louisiana, indigo was the predominant crop in the area. By the 1790s indigo was becoming unprofitable. In terms of production costs, Louisiana's indigo could not compete in the world market with indigo produced in India. Indigo presented numerous problems for the planter. It was susceptible to insect blights and was sensitive to the weather. Consequently, crop losses could be severe. Furthermore, the crop quickly exhausted the soil. The terrible smell of indigo production was thought to attract disease-carrying insects, and the production of indigo polluted the streams between Point Coupee and the Yazoo River (Holmes 1967:346-348). Additionally, an increase in the price of slaves in Louisiana made it difficult to obtain the necessary labor for indigo production on the plantations.

Alternatives to indigo production appeared as a result of innovations in the cotton and sugar industries. During the 1790s, the cotton gin was invented, and Etienne de Bore developed a process enabling the commercially successful production of sugar from cane. In 1795, Bore realized a profit of $12,000.00 from his plantation's sugar crop. That same year, a St. Domingue (Haitian) sugar maker, Morin, introduced refining processes and equipment that helped to make the sugar industry profitable. As a result of these technological advancements, cotton and sugar rapidly became Louisiana's two major money crops. Berguin-Duvallon's 1802 narrative remarked on the status of agriculture in Louisiana. The manuscript stated:

Sugar and cotton are the staple commodities of the colony. Scarcely any indigo is raised (Davis 1806:131).

Pierre Clement de Laussat, the French Colonial Prefect for the retaking of Louisiana by France (see below) noted that plantations on the east bank of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes grew both sugar and cotton. He observed twenty-two plantations between that of the Widow Trepagnier (Ormand Plantation) and that of Manuel Andry:

We went on forward, traveling alongside seventeen plantations devoted to the raising of cotton and five others to that of sugar. We alighted at the last of these, that of Monsieur Andri, at whose house we dined.... Only two of these sugar plantations were large enough to manufacture sugar there. The others manufactured Tafia (Laussat 1940:105-106).

Thus, by the end of the Spanish Colonial Period, the patterns of the
consolidation of smaller landholdings into plantations and of the economic dependence on cash crop cultivation that would typify land use during the ante bellum period were already evident in St. Charles Parish.

The Shift to French Control and the Louisiana Purchase

The Spanish period witnessed substantial economic, commercial, and demographic growth. Spain and the United States signed the Pickney Treaty in 1795, granting Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River; New Orleans was designated the port of deposit for regional import and export trade (Wall 1984:64). New Orleans and the adjacent river region flourished with the increased volume of American river trade. Although the volume of American trade through New Orleans increased annually, commerce did not focus solely on the Mississippi River. The local inhabitants continued to support extralegal networks with French, English, and American markets; they increasingly moved imported and exported goods through Barataria.

In general, though, the Louisiana colony proved as unprofitable for Spain as it had for France thirty-four years previously. With the signing of the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800, Louisiana was retroceded to France. Napoleon, who had been unable to establish a naval base in the Caribbean, became fearful that the colony would be captured by the British. Therefore, he agreed to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803. The price for this vital extension of American holdings was fifteen million dollars. Official transfer took place on December 17, 1803 (Taylor 1976:42-45).

The Ante Bellum Period

In 1803, purchase of the Louisiana Territory vastly enlarged the geographic boundaries of the United States. It also introduced another set of political, cultural, and social ideas into the lower Mississippi River valley. During this period, the St. Charles Parish area became part of the young American nation. In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson ordered a survey of the Louisiana Territory. The surveyors found that in the New Orleans area:

The best and most improved (lands) are above the city and comprehend what is there known by the Paroisse de Chapitoulas, Premier and Second Cote des Allemands, and extend 16 leagues (Duane 1803:5).

After initial surveys, the territory was divided into the Louisiana and Orleans Territories; the latter comprised that
portion south of the thirty-third parallel. William C.C. Claiborne ordered Dr. John Watkins to visit the commands along the Mississippi River and to make political appointments. Watkins reported to Claiborne:

In the Parish of St. Charles or the District of the first German Coast which begins about seven leagues above town, I found that the former commandant Mr. St. Amand had already received his Commission, and instructions directly from your Excellency, and was actually engaged in the different functions of this office. He had no hesitation in taking the oath of allegiance to the United States or that of his office, and having communicated to him the substance of your Excellency's instructions, and received assurances on his part of the good disposition of the inhabitants of his District towards the government of the United States, I proceeded without delay to the Parish of St. John the Baptist, or the District of the 2nd German Coast (Robertson 1911:311, sic throughout).

In 1805, the territorial legislature divided Orleans into twelve countries, including the County of the German Coast. The county system did not work in Louisiana and on May 31, 1807, the Legislature passed an act dividing the territory of Orleans into nineteen parishes. The County of the German Coast was divided into St. John the Baptist and St. Charles Parishes. The latter included all of the ecclesiastical parish of St. Charles.

Land Tenure in the Project Area During the Early Ante Bellum Period

Shortly after the acquisition of the Louisiana territory, the U. S. Government became aware of the need for legal ratification of land ownership. Local land owners and occupants were required to register formal claims to their land. Legal ownership of claimed land was granted based on proof of French or Spanish grants, patents, concessions, and orders of survey. In the absence of such a record, proof of continued habitation and cultivation for ten years prior to 1803 provided evidence of ownership. The federally sponsored surveys, plat maps, and registered claims established parish boundaries and local ownership. All unclaimed areas were designated as public land; these were made available for purchase.

Figure 10 shows the project area at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. Two major plantations were located in the vicinity of the project area at that date, that of Verloin, and that of Fouchere (Foucher). Title research has indicated that Pierre Edmond
Foucher at one time owned property downriver from the survey area (Succession of Francois Joseph Delhommer, St. Charles Parish), but no mention of Verloin was found. However, neither Foucher nor Verloin laid claim to the property (Section 11 in T12S, R7E) which includes the present project area. The parcel instead was claimed by a Madame Trepagnier:

Madame Trepagnier claims a tract of land, situated on the east side of the river Mississippi, in the County of the German Coast, containing fifteen arpents and three toises in front, and forty arpents depth to nine arpents and three toises of said front, and a depth extending to the lake to the remaining six front arpents, and bounded on the upper side by land of Mr. Duez, and on the lower by land of Francois L'Hommer.

This tract of land having been occupied and possessed by those under whom the claimant holds for more than ten consecutive years prior to the 20th December, 1803, the Board confirm the title to the extent of the ordinary depth of forty arpents, and reject the claim to the second depth to six of the front arpents (Lowrie & Franklin 1834:382).

Madame Trepagnier probably was Elizabeth Renaud, the widow of Pierre Trepagnier (Arthur 1931:83). It is possible that she purchased the land from Verloin after 1803, and she subsequently registered her claim. Alternately, it is possible that Figure 10 only illustrates residence plantations, and since Madame Trepagnier lived at Ormond Plantation at this date, her land holdings in the vicinity of the project area are not shown on this map. It is unlikely, however, that Madame Trepagnier herself consolidated the fifteen arpent tract from smaller farms. In such cases, the claimant usually divided his or her claims to the U.S. Government into their smaller constituents. Instead, Madame Trepagnier claimed this parcel as a single, fifteen arpent front unit.

Madame Trepagnier’s claim was confirmed by the United States government in 1811. Unfortunately, no record of how or when she disposed of this land was recovered during archival research. The next reference to the tract of land which includes the project area dates to 1824, when the parcel was included as a portion of the estate of Francois Joseph Delhommer (Succession of Francois Joseph Delhommer, St. Charles Parish). It should be noted that Delhommer held the adjacent downriver parcel at the time Madame Trepagnier laid her claim. Thus, Delhommer expanded his plantation holdings
during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. As will be seen, this pattern of expansion was typical during the early ante-bellum period in southeastern Louisiana, and it resulted from the increased profitability of sugar production on a large scale.

Early Nineteenth Century Economic Development and the Growth of the Sugar Industry

As noted above, many plantations were established in St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes prior to the Louisiana Purchase. Nevertheless, a large number of the area's inhabitants still engaged in subsistence agriculture and produce raising in the early ante-bellum period. Paul Alliot described the area in 1804:

As the traveler leaves New Orleans by the gate St. Louis, to ascend the river, the first parish or quarter which he finds is that of Glaeters Rouges, about six leagues away; that of the Cote des Allemands nine leagues away; that of Bonnet Carre', sixteen leagues away; and that of Canterelle, twenty-five. Each of those four communities has a priest and a commandant. They are well populated. Their inhabitants are very industrious, very sober, and very economical. Almost all 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 an 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 very rich in a short time. It is an incontestable fact that not a single poor man is to be found in that country, while in the city there are many of them (Robertson 1911:111).

The transfer of the Louisiana Territory stimulated American immigration into the area. Most incoming settlers were attracted by the opportunities presented by the new sugar industry in Louisiana. As Perrin du Lac (1807:197) noted, early during the
American period

... (indigo) has been replaced in all the low parts of the colony by that of sugar, whose easy sale insures to the inhabitants a more certain and not less profitable revenue (du Lac 1807:87).

Sugar production rapidly outdistanced that of cotton early in the nineteenth century in St. Charles Parish. 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; sic throughout).

As a result of the shift to sugar cultivation, increasing numbers of small farms were sold and consolidated into plantations. This was due to the greater capital investments necessary for cane cultivation than was necessary for cotton agriculture. According to Schmitz (1977:108), in 1860 the average investment in machinery on a Louisiana plantation was $1076.00. The average investment for a cotton plantation was slightly less than $828.00. However, the cost for machinery on a sugar plantation was far greater, with the average investment cost being $9,900.00. Most of this cost was the expense of the sugar mill. Because of the relatively low expense of cotton production, it could be cultivated both by owners of large plantations and by slaveless, yeoman farmers (Taylor 1976:65). However, the total investment in a sugar plantation could exceed $200,000.00 (Taylor 1976:65), so that sugar cultivation was not practicable for small farmers. The attractiveness of cane cultivation derived from around a nine percent return of the planter's investments, while the return on a cotton plantation of 1,500 acres was about seven percent (Taylor 1976:67).

Several innovations introduced during the ante bellum period
facilitated cane cultivation. In 1817, Jean Coirin introduced the cultivation of Javanese ribbon cane. This cane type was better suited to Louisiana's climate, and it soon replaced other types of cultivated cane. A Black Creole, Norbert Rillieux, introduced the vacuum pan process in 1830. Using this method, the sugar in the last stage of production could be boiled to the point of granulation within a vacuum. A further refinement of this process was the multiple effects system, which utilized escaping steam from one pan to heat an adjoining evaporator (Sitterson 1953:147). The majority of sugar mills were steam powered by the late ante bellum period. Most plantations utilized firewood for powering their mills. Later, the byproducts of sugar manufacture were utilized. Nicholas Noel Destrehan of St. Charles Parish was one of the earliest sugar planters to employ this technique:

In the Antilles, the fires of the refinery are kept constant with the use of bagasse, that is to say with the stumps of cane from the preceding year, broken, crushed, deprived of their sugar and dried up, as they come from the mill. Monsieur d'Estrehan having preserved some from last year for the first time, expected to consume all of them in a fortnight. Until the present, this colony had only used firewood, but as the latter is sure to become scarce as the years progress, Monsieur d'Estrehan had set an example which every refinery, from now on, will follow (de Laussat 1940:103).

Detailed discussions of cane cultivation, sugar processing, and plantation organization and layout have been presented elsewhere (Goodwin, Yakubik and Gendel, 1983; Goodwin, Gendel and Yakubik 1983a, 1983c; Goodwin, Yakubik, Stayner and Jones 1984).

By the end of the ante bellum period, 45,884 acres of St. Charles Parish were under cultivation. This represented about 56 per cent of the total acreage in the Parish. Of this, 38,000 acres were planted in cane, 6,000 in corn and 400 in rice. The agrarian economy was supported by a huge slave population; in 1860 there were 900 whites, 200 Free Men of Color, and 3719 slaves in the parish (Pritchard 1938:1114).

The Delhomme and the Rost Ownership of the Project Area

As noted above, the project area was included as part of the estate of Francois Joseph Delhommer in 1824. At the time of his death, Delhommer owned a total of 29 arpents front on the river, roughly corresponding to Sections 11 and 12 in T12S R79. The property was described at this date as "one plantation established as a sugar plantation, composed of two plantations" (Succession of
Francois Joseph Delhomme, St. Charles Parish). The plantation was inherited by his widow, Marguerite Darensbourg, and his children, Aimee, Alexander, Elizabeth, Clemence, Emilie, Billion, and Clelie.

The title history for the plantation during the remainder of the Delhomme's ownership is extremely complicated due to the large number of heirs to the estate of F. J. Delhomme. Because a detailed account of minor changes in interest and ownership provides no information relevant to land use, only a synopsis will be presented below.

On October 7, 1826, Marguerite Darensbourg sold her interest in the downriver eleven arpents front of the plantation to her children Elizabeth, Alexander, Clemence, Emilie and Billion (Original Acts, JMMG, Folio 165, St. Charles Parish). She retained the upper eighteen arpents, which included the study area, for herself. Unfortunately, the title information provides no clear indication as to whether these were residence or absentee plantations. Both parcels continued to be utilized for cane cultivation during the Delhomme's ownership (Table 2), and the sugar reports suggest that the two plantations continued to operate as a single estate. Most years they produced a large crop. Thus, we may assume that the Delhommers possessed a substantial number of slaves.

The Widow Delhomme died in 1853, and her surviving children produced an exceptionally large crop from the two plantations that year (Table 2). By the following year, Emilie Delhomme, the wife of Evariste Perret, and Elizabeth Delhomme, the wife of Joseph Bayet, had gained full ownership of the downriver, eleven arpent tract. They produced a small crop that year, but it appears that the upriver, eighteen arpent tract was not cultivated for cane (Table 2). Neither plantation produced a crop in 1855. One year later, Emilie and Elizabeth sold their plantation to Judge Pierre Adolphe Rost, who owned the adjoining downriver plantation, "Hermitage" (COB B, Folio 177, St. Charles Parish). On February 8, 1859, Rost purchased the upriver, eighteen arpent front plantation from the Widow Delhomme's heirs (COB C, Folio 18, St. Charles Parish). Both of the properties were consolidated into Rost's Hermitage Plantation. Interestingly, no slaves were included in the sale.

Rost was born in France in 1792. He immigrated to the United States in the early nineteenth century. He studied law in Natchez and he later served in the Mississippi legislature. He moved to New Orleans in 1830, and married Louise Odile Destrehan. Louise was the daughter of Nicholas Noel Destrehan, the builder of the Destrehan Plantation great house. Louise eventually inherited Destrehan Plantation, and the couple resided there (Yoes 1973:48)
Table 2. Sugar and Rice Production in the Study Area, 1844-1891 (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>1844</td>
<td>Mrs. Delhommer</td>
<td>326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Billion Delhommer</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Mrs. Delhommer &amp; others</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Mrs. &amp; B. Delhommer &amp; Co.</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Estate of Mrs. &amp; B. Delhommer &amp; Co.</td>
<td>450</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Meadames Payet and Perret</td>
<td>68</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Judge P.R. Rost</td>
<td>173</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1857</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>280</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1863</td>
<td>W. Harris</td>
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<td>Jos. Walker &amp; Est. of P.R. Rost</td>
<td>1,975</td>
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<td>1870</td>
<td>Est. of P.R. Rost</td>
<td>119</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>N.Y.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>Est. of P.R. Rost &amp; Co.</td>
<td>714</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Laurent Sellers</td>
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<td>Paul Grima</td>
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<td>John Morris &amp; Others</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,760</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1,210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Sugar crops lost to overflow.
2. Delhommer property absorbed by Hermitage plantation.
3. Steam and kettle apparatuses, brick and shingle sugar house.
4. Steam, kettle, and open pan apparatuses.
5. Referred to as New Hope Plantation for the first time.
Figure 11. Excerpt from Lloyd's 1863 Map of the Lower Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico. The arrow points to the study area, and the Rost and Delhomme plantations (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
Thus, Hermitage Plantation was operated on an absentee basis. Rost was appointed to the Louisiana Supreme Court in 1839. Later, he served as the Minister to Spain for the Confederacy. Rost was also one of the largest slaveholders in St. Charles Parish; he owned 323 slaves between Destrehan and Hermitage Plantations in 1860 (U.S. Census, 1860).

The Civil War and its Aftermath

The War Between the States was devastating to Louisiana plantations. Planters all along the Mississippi had difficulty obtaining supplies and marketing their crops. Before the end of 1861, Federal troops had blockaded the Gulf Coast. Early in 1862, Commodore David Farragut launched an attack against Forts St. Philip and Jackson, and forced his way upriver after five days of shelling. Farragut demanded and received the surrender of New Orleans on April 25, 1862. At the beginning of May, Major General Benjamin F. ("The Beast") Butler and his troops arrived to occupy the city.

Following the fall of New Orleans, Federal troops ascended the river. The historian Alcee Fortier, grandson of the prominent St. James Parish planter, Valcour Aime, described the Union attack on the river parishes:

After the fall of New Orleans, the Federal gunboats ascended the river, and being attacked by Confederate batteries on the banks, bombarded the plantations as they passed. This was natural where they had batteries, but too often, houses were bombarded in front of which stood no batteries. How well do I remember the flight of our whole family to the river front to seek the protection of the levee, whenever a gunboat was coming. There we stood behind the levee, my sisters and myself, our school mistress and our nurses, while our father stood on the levee to look at the Federal gunboats and at the shells, which generally passed over our heads, but which, occasionally were buried in the levee and covered us with dust... How dramatic all this was: the huge iron clad Essex passing in triumph the river batteries, her shells whizzing like huge meteors over our heads, and we helpless against the invaders! (Fortier 1894:221-222).

Many buildings were razed during this attack. Structures that remained standing and crops in the field were raided and destroyed. Moreover, federal troops captured Boutte Station and Bayou des
Allemands in 1862.

In August, 1862, the Union troops discovered that Confederate troops were attempting to gather cattle brought in from Texas on the east bank at Bonnet Carre' Bend. A Federal unit of two hundred men under the command of Colonel Thomas found the herd of five hundred head, and, just upriver, they discovered a small Confederate camp. A few men and horses were captured, but the majority escaped. Thomas thereafter returned to the courthouse in Hahnville, confiscating livestock en route (Yoes 1973:80-81).

In July, 1862, the United States government passed the Confiscation Act, which gave the Confederates sixty days to take the oath of allegiance to the United States or to have their property seized (White 1970:46). The Treasury Department took control of the confiscated property, and planned to utilize these estates both to produce revenue and to assist the freedmen by establishing farming cooperatives. General Richard Taylor's St. Charles plantation, Fashion, and Rost's Destrehan Plantation were set aside for the latter purpose (White 1970:47). Hermitage Plantation was leased to an Oliver Richardson (White 1970:105). The Freedmen's Bureau did not restore the cooperative farms to their former owners until 1866 (White 1970:53).

An attempt was made in September, 1862, to recapture Boutte and Des Allemands. Militia regiments from St. Charles, Rapides, and Terrebonne parishes and a battalion of Texas Rangers under the command of General John C. Pratt successfully retook the Boutte Station. From there, Major James A. McWaters of the Rapides militia advanced to the Hahnville courthouse. Federal troops, anticipating this movement, surrounded them on three sides and forced their retreat into the swamp (Yoes 1973:83-85).

Louisiana was readmitted to the Union in July, 1868. This readmission officially ended military rule, but the state remained under the jurisdiction of General Sheridan's Fifth Military District until 1877. Federally supported troops occupied New Orleans and other major Louisiana cities until that date. Sheridan placed his own choices in the offices of governor and lieutenant governor. Throughout the Reconstruction period, Republicans remained in state office. Ostensibly, the state government's major focus was the rebuilding of Louisiana's transportation systems, factories, and agricultural industry. However, graft and corruption permeated legislative motives and actions during this period.

Sugar Production During the Post Bellum Period

The economy of St. Charles Parish during Reconstruction suffered from the lack of available capital for rebuilding, and
from the demise of the slave labor system. After the occupation of New Orleans, sugar farming became virtually impossible. In addition to low prices and difficulties in marketing, credit was almost non-existent. Slaves ran away. Federal troops confiscated stock and supplies. Some planters switched to subsistence farming; others gave up and rented their lands (Begnaud 1980:38-39; Goodwin and Yakubik 1982). After the war, many planters lost their plantations due to continued financial difficulties. Prior to the war, the largest sugar crop made in the state was that of 1861. For most of the remainder of the nineteenth century, sugar production did not even approach the scale obtained during the ante bellum high. This was the result of:

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 1890:53a).

Critical labor shortage encumbered the recovery of the sugar industry. The Thirteenth Amendment freed all people formerly held as slaves, destroying the South's large scale labor system. Farms throughout the region lay idle for lack of field hands. The free labor system initially proved inadequate for the sugar crop; planters complained that day labor or contract work was inefficient, too costly, and inadequate in number. Former slaves were judged uniformly to be lazy, evil, and a political strength to the foes of the former plantocracy. Bouchereau advocated the introduction of white labor into the state's sugar economy; the author proposed a settlement organization, the Louisiana Immigration and Homestead Company, and to "introduce into the state a good class of laborers" (Bouchereau 1871). Bouchereau (1871:XIX) formally endorsed the use of German and Chinese contract labor.

Italian immigrants provided another source of white labor. During the late 1860s, Louisiana maintained direct commercial ties with the Mediterranean region, particularly Southern Italian and Sicilian ports. Sicily suffered numerous social, political, and economic problems during the late nineteenth century, including inequitable distribution of land and a depression in agriculture. Many disgruntled Sicilians obtained passage on the regular citrus trade routes between Palermo and New Orleans. Beginning in the 1870s, many Italians residing in New Orleans found employment on the sugar plantations of the region (Scarpaci 1972:32-44). They soon proved to be excellent workers:

(The Italian) requires almost no supervision, but, assigned a task, he toils at it without need
of watching and urging on the part of an overseer; and though he has not the physical strength of the Negro, his close application makes ample amends for this deficiency. Centuries of experience in a worn out country have made him one of the most careful and economical of farmers. The necessity of cultivating the same little plot of ground year after year has taught him how to obtain the largest possible yield from his limited acreage. As intensive farmers, the Southern Italian and the Sicilian are easily among the best in the world.

Many Italians would migrate into the sugar parishes for the Zucarata, or the grinding season, when more labor was needed to cut cane and make sugar (Scarpaci 1972:38). Some Italian seasonal workers came from out of state; wages from the grinding season and escape from winter fuel bills made it profitable for Italians to travel from Northern cities for the Zucarata (Scarpaci 1972:109). Others permanently settled in the sugar parishes as wage laborers and tenant farmers. Many Italian families established themselves in the vicinity of the project area.

In 1870, Bouchereau's publication noted the beginnings of a tenancy system in Terrebonne Parish. The author strongly advocated the "Share System;" the planter furnished the land, implements, and seed, while tenants provided labor and their own support. The profits then were split three ways, with one-third each going to the planter, the laborer, and to overhead. However, share tenancy and share cropping were not especially suited to sugar monocrop cultivation.

The entire sugar industry remained stagnant during the early 1870s. Individual and total sugar crop yields continually dropped during the first half of the decade. More significantly, the actual number of operating sugar houses listed in 1869 had decreased dramatically since the ante bellum period. The "Panic of 1873" depressed sugar prices, and Louisiana plantations suffered short crops during these years. In the introduction to the 1874 edition of this book, Bouchereau quoted Edward D. Seghers' statements that "It is a notorious fact that the sugar industry of this state has been steadily going to ruin ever since the war" (Bouchereau 1874:xii-xiii).

Perhaps the greatest impediment to the revitalization of the sugar industry was the pervasive lack of capital. Many sugar houses could not be rebuilt for lack of funds. In addition, wages had to be paid to workers for the first time. In response to the lack of capital, Bouchereau (1874:xii; 1877; 1878:xx) repeatedly
urged the separation of the agricultural and industrial aspects of sugar production:

Let the sugar factories be established in different neighborhoods and let the producers of the cane sell it to the factory (Bouchereau 1874:xii-xiii).

This was the "Central Factory System," in which individual planters, rather than operating their own mills, would utilize a centralized mill serving the needs of many surrounding planters. The greatest labor and wage expenditures in sugar production were in the actual manufacturing of sugar from cane. The more efficient central factory system helped to alleviate labor difficulties. It also assisted the planter who did not have the capital to rebuild his sugar house, and it allowed small scale planters to produce sugar without incurring the cost of a mill.

Rice Agriculture During the Reconstruction Period

Bouchereau's statements also show increasing levels of rice production in the parish after the war. This was another response to the lack of capital for sugar production. Bouchereau wrote:

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).

and,

Rice culture has proved itself to be a paying crop, and we hope to see many plantations now idle profitably employed in its culture (Bouchereau, 1879:117).

In a real sense, rice was the appropriate crop to plant after the War Between the States. While water from unmaintained levees ruined cane, it was necessary for rice cultivation. Detailed discussions of rice agricultural technology have been presented elsewhere (Goodwin, Yakubik, Stayner and Jones 1984).

The Post-Bellum Ownership of the Project Area

Pierre Adolphe Rost died shortly after the Civil War. An inventory was taken of moveables at Hermitage Plantation on February 23, 1869. The inventory included one lot of farming utensils including carts, plows, spades and hoes; thirty-nine
mules, and five head of cattle. The total value of these moveables was $2420.00 (Succession of P. A. Rost, #32417, Second District Court, Orleans Parish).

As shown in Table 2, sugar cane continued to be planted at Hermitage until 1873. Even during this time period, attempts were made to cultivate rice. An exceptionally large rice crop was the only cash crop grown in the project area (Table 2). It should be noted that several individuals, including Joseph Walker, William Harris, Laurent Sellers, Paul Grima and John Morris either rented or managed Hermitage Plantation between the time of Rost's death and 1878, when the estate was finally settled (Table 2).

Rost's wife and son both died prior to the settlement of the estate. This complicated the succession, and held it up in probate for over ten years. On January 26, 1878, Rost's surviving son, Emile, was adjudicated 18 arpents front of Hermitage Plantation, which included the study area (COB E, Folio 675, St. Charles Parish). Subsequently, a family meeting was called for the benefit of the Rost's minor grandchildren. The decision was made:

...that the Hermitage Plantation and the two tracts of land adjoining the same, and known as the Delhommer tracts, form one same Plantation, established as the Sugar Plantation, that there are machineries and establishments thereon destined to serve the cultivation of the whole of the said lands in sugar cane, that a large portion of the said Plantation is flooded by the Bonnet Carre' Crevasse and has no value if taken or appraised separately from the balance of the said Plantation, and that the portion which is free from the waters of the Crevasse of the Plantation for cultivation as a Sugar or Rice Estate, that the cutting or cantling of the said Plantation would cause a diminution of value and destroy the object and destination of the same (Succession of Louise Odile Destrehan and Pierre Adolphe Rost, #32417 and 40174, Second District Court, Orleans Parish).

Several days later, Emile Rost was adjudicated the downriver sixteen arpents front of Hermitage Plantation, "together with the sugar house and all the other buildings and improvements on the said plantation" (COB E, Folio 668, St. Charles Parish) (Figure 12).

These transactions indicate that by the early post-bellum period, the majority of plantation improvements, including the
sugar house, were located on the downriver portion of Hermitage Plantation, and thus, outside of the present project area. We may assume that the quarters area also was located on this downriver portion, since the quarters usually were adjacent to the industrial facilities on Louisiana Plantations. As noted above, it is unclear whether the upriver portion of the plantation, which included the project area, was a resident or an absentee landholding during the Delhommer ownership. In either case, the title evidence suggests that Pierre Rost consolidated plantation improvements on the downriver parcel, since by 1878, this property is noted as being improved, while the parcel including the project area was only described as "a tract of land" (COB B Folio 675, St. Charles Parish). Map evidence supports this hypothesis. Figure 13 shows that in 1893, the sugar house and quarters area are still clearly definable on the downriver parcel which still was called Hermitage Plantation, while there is no evidence of ante-bellum structural complexes still extant on the upriver tract (by this date known as New Hope, and incorrectly labelled New Home).

Emile Rost, like his father, was an attorney. He served as a police juror and as a school director for the parish. He was elected Judge of the Twenty-First Judicial District in 1886. Ten years later, he was elected District Attorney (Yoes 1973:121). Emile Rost inherited Destrehan Plantation as well as Hermitage, and this was his primary residence. Evidently, Rost did not manage Hermitage; John Morris and other individuals grew rice at the plantation between 1877 and 1881 (Table 2). Between 1881 and 1884 neither sugar nor rice was cultivated at Hermitage. Undoubtedly, this was the result of widespread flooding in the area. The Bonnet Carre' Crevasse first opened in 1874, and by 1882 it had still not been closed. That year:

The great overflow of the Mississippi River in 1882 surpassed in magnitude any of its predecessors, and caused widespread devastation and terrible suffering and destitution among the inhabitants of the submerged region (Bouchereau 1882:xiiii).

The Bonnet Carre' Crevasse was finally closed in 1882.

Emile Rost sold both the eleven arpent front tract and the upriver eighteen arpent front tract to Adam Keller and Ernest Lafitte in 1884 (COB B, Folio 491, St. Charles Parish). The partners produced an outstanding rice that year (Table 2). The sale was remitted the following year, and Rost sold one-half interest in these two parcels to Adam Keller (COB G, Folio 693, St. Charles Parish). Keller succeeded in producing large rice crops on the upriver tract, which he named New Hope Plantation (erroneously labelled "New Home Plantation" on the 1875 Series
Mississippi River Commission Map, see Figure 13), until 1891 (Table 2) while other individuals continued to sporadically produce cane and rice on Hermitage for Rost (Bouchereau 1885-1895).

The Subdivision of the Project Area

In 1895, Keller and Rost decided to partition their property. Rost retained the downriver Hermitage Plantation, while Keller received the upriver, New Hope Plantation (COB J, Folio 351, St. Charles Parish). Keller immediately began to subdivide and sell the downrivermost eight arpents of New Hope Plantation. Because of the complexity of the subdivision and subsequent re-subdivisions, the property transfers to 1920 are shown schematically in Figure 14.

The lowestmost one arpent front of Keller's property was purchased by Achille Hawkins. Hawkins may have been a Free Man of Color prior to the Civil War; he was exceptionally well educated. He owned and operated two stores, one in Sellers (present day Norco), and one which he established on the upriver corner of the property under consideration here. He lived in Sellers during the early 1900s, and employed a manager to farm his upriver one arpent front tract. He served as a constable and judge for petty matters for the black population in the vicinity of the project area, which included residents of Sellers, Diamond Plantation, Kugler (Hermitage) Plantation, and Virginia Town (see below). Hawkins also was a major organizer in the community. He helped found the Sons of Levi Benevolent Association in 1889. This group, established through the Good Hope Baptist Church, provided health and funeral insurance to its members. Hawkins assisted Black Union veterans in obtaining pensions from the United States government. He also counseled the local freedmen to save money, enabling many families to purchase their own lands. Hawkins' wife, Maria, was the community midwife and, "was as good as any doctor." His son-in-law, John Smith was the local undertaker until his death in 1917, and his coffin shop was located on Hawkins property. (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Other important members of the local black community purchased land which had formerly been part of New Hope Plantation. Francis Oliver helped Hawkins found the Sons of Levi (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986). Peter Brown served as the Justice of the Peace. Hector Johnson was the driver for the downriver Diamond Plantation (Phelam Smith, personal communication 1986). (Figure 14). It appears that many of the families who originally settled the area were Freedmen from Hermitage and Diamond (Roseland and Myrtle Land) Plantations. There is no evidence that these people formerly were slaves on only a single plantation, however.
Figure 14. Archival reconstruction of land ownership in Section 11, T12S, R7E of the study area.
Key to Figure 14.

1. Section 11, T12S, R7E was claimed by Madame Trepagnier to the United States Government. Her claim was confirmed on December 11, 1811 (Lowrie and Franklin 1834:382). Although no sale from Trepagnier to Francois Joseph Delhomme was located, the latter was in possession of the property by 1824 (Succession of Francois Joseph Delhomme, St. Charles Parish).

2. Judge Pierre Adolphe Rost acquired the property from the Heirs of F. J. Delhomme on February 8, 1859 (COB C, Folio 18, St. Charles Parish). The parcel measured eighteen arpents front by forty in depth. Rost previously has acquired the portion of the Delhomme holdings immediately downriver from the parcel under consideration here. Both tracts were added to Rost’s Hermitage Plantation.

3. Emile Rost inherited the property the from the Successions of Pierre Adolphe Rost and Louise Odile Destrehan on January 26, 1878 (COB E, Folio 675, St. Charles Parish).

4. Adam Keller bought one-half interest in the property from Emile Rost on January 10, 1885 (COB G, Folio 693, St. Charles Parish). On January 21, 1895, Keller obtained full title to the property (COB J, Folio 351, St. Charles Parish).


6. George Sims bought one-quarter of one arpent front by forty in depth from Adam Keller on January 31, 1895 (COB J, Folio 370, St. Charles Parish).

7. Julien Pierre bought one-quarter of one arpent front by forty in depth from Adam Keller on February 9, 1895 (COB J, Folio 380, St. Charles Parish).

8. Francois Oliver bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Adam Keller on January 31, 1895 (COB J, Folio 372, St. Charles Parish).


11. Jean Paquet bought one arpent front by forty in depth from Adam Keller on January 21, 1895 (COB J, Folio 358, St. Charles Parish).


14. Benjamin Rainey bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Julien Herndon Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB L, Folio 1, St. Charles Parish).

15. Joseph Waters bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Julien Herndon Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB K, Folio 596, St. Charles Parish).


17. Hector Johnson bought one half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Joseph Clement Triche on April 19, 1906 (COB N, Folio 375, St. Charles Parish).

18. The Union Benevolent Association bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Joseph Clement Triche on April 19, 1906 (COB N, Folio 390, St. Charles Parish).

19. Alexander A. Bettis bought one-quarter of one arpent front by forty in depth from Julien Pierre on January 31, 1912 (COB Q, Folio 290, St. Charles Parish).

20. Dr. Sidney Montegut bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from the Union Benevolent Association on March 18, 1912 (COB Q, Folio 283, St. Charles Parish).

21. Albert Montegut bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Dr. Sidney Montegut on April 23, 1919 (COB T, Folio 559, St. Charles Parish).
22. Thomas Paul bought one-quarter of one arpent front by forty in depth from Benjamin Rainey on April 18, 1918 (COB T, Folio 347, St. Charles Parish).


24. Peter Brown bought one-half of one arpent front by forty in depth from Alfred Beckner on January 21, 1899 (COB K, Folio 582, St. Charles Parish).
In 1897, Rost decided to sell Hermitage Plantation to Prosper E. Boudreaux (COB K, Folio 207, St. Charles Parish). Boudreaux in turn decided to subdivide his holding. In 1900 he sold two and one-half arpents front on the river to J. Florian Faucheaux (COB L, Folio 358, St. Charles Parish). This parcel is the downrivermost portion of the project area. Four years later, Faucheaux sold the land to Vincenzo Calcagno (COB N, Folio 51, St. Charles Parish). Calcagno sold interest in this tract to Vincenzo Canpice, Sebastiano Vivano and Vincenzo Fertitta shortly thereafter (COB N, Folio 123, 337, St. Charles Parish). Like their Black neighbors upriver, the Italians who settled in the downriver portion of the study area undoubtedly were former sharecroppers, tenants, or day laborers who managed to save enough money to purchase their own land.

The "Town" of Montz

As noted above, a number of Blacks had purchased land in the study area by the turn of the century, while the lowermost section of the project area was settled by Italians. The area in which they lived was not called Montz at this time. Instead, they called the area "Virginia Town").

(Virginia Town is) a community named for some of the old ancestors who lived there...See, a long time ago, whenever you settled a plantation, or some people bought the place, then just where they settle at, they named the place after them. Just like Norco, it's originally named Sellers. Because the man that first bought the place name was Sellers (Phelam Smith, personal communication 1986).

Virginia Town extended from Boudreaux (downriver from the project area) upriver into what is now the Little Gypsy Power Plant (Cleoma and Phelam Smith, personal communication 1986). Both Virginia Town and the present project area were part of Hermitage Plantation from 1859 until 1887. Between 1887 and 1895, the study area and Virginia Town formed a portion of New Hope Plantation. New Hope Plantation extended approximately 700 meters upriver from the present project area. The area between New Hope Plantation and Gypsy Plantation was occupied by a number of smaller landholdings during the late nineteenth century (Figures 13 and 15).

Another Black community called Coffee Town was located above Virginia Town. The area originally called Montz was located above Coffee Town (Figure 15):

The post office was run by people named Montz. It was owned by people named Montz. The way
Figure 15. Excerpt from the 1927 U.S. Gypsy New Levee Map, showing the Montz family's landholdings upriver from the study area (Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge).
Montz got its name, the people living there was a big family of farmers. And they was the first in the community. And they named the place after them (Phelam Smith, personal communication 1986).

The post office of Montz was established in 1896 (Bouchereau 1897). Because the post office served Coffee Town and Virginia Town, these areas also became known as Montz.

Montz had its own railroad station as early as 1899 (Bouchereau 1900). However, the town is not noted on any maps of Louisiana prior to 1907, although other place names such as Hermitage, Sellers, Gypsy, and even Keller Station are shown (Figures 16, 17, 18, and 19).

The Economy of the Study Area

As we have seen, the original settlers in Virginia Town purchased small frontages on the river that extended forty arpents deep (Figure 20). They built their residences along the river road:

There were people just living right on the highway. There wasn't no streets (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Figures 21 and 22 show structural improvements clustered along the river in the 1920s. Behind their houses, the residents had small truck farms. These provided them with their livelihood:

You could go back here, just anywhere back in the field, and you could get the most beautiful vegetables you wanted to get. The most beautiful you would ever see, back in the field, all those people were raising them (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

A packing house was located to the rear of the community near the railroad to transport the produce to market. The study area was primarily a farming community until the 1960s. The Hawkins property was the last parcel in the project area that was cultivated (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

A sawmill was located behind the study area near the railroad. This was a logging camp established by the railroad company to make ties. The camp, which was known as Alcazar, had its own quarters, and individuals who lived in Virginia Town were not employed there (Figures 23 and 24) (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal
Figure 17. Excerpt from A. Von Haake's 1902 Post Route Map of the State of Louisiana. The arrow points to the study area (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
Figure 18. G. F. Cram's 1906 Cram's Superior Map of Louisiana. The arrow points to Keller Station (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
Figure 20. Reconstruction of land ownership in study area during the 1920s.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jore Joseph</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jn Waters</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Paul</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jmin Rainey</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet Reynaud</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lois Oliver</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin Lasseigne</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cete Sims</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Hawkins</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Reconstruction of land ownership in the Montz study area during the 1920s.
Key to Figure 20.

1. Achilles Hawkins purchased one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Adam Keller on January 21, 1895 (COB J, Folio 354, St. Charles Parish).

2. George Sims purchased one quarter of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Adam Keller on January 31, 1895 (COB J, Folio 370, St. Charles Parish).

3. Augustin Lasseigne purchased one quarter of one arpent by forty arpents in depth from Julien Pierre on January 31, 1912 (COB Q, Folio 290, St. Charles Parish).

4. Francois Oliver purchased one half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Adam Keller on January 31, 1895 (COB K, Folio 582, St. Charles Parish).

5. Peter Brown purchased one half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Alfred Beckner on January 12, 1899 (COB K, Folio 582, St. Charles Parish).


7. Albert Montegut purchased one half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Dr. Sidney Montegut on April 23, 1919 (COB T, Folio 559, St. Charles Parish).

8. Mrs. Harriet Reynaud, wife of John Tregre purchased one half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Alfred Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB L, Folio 1, St. Charles Parish).

9. Benjamin Rainey purchased one half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Julien Herndon Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB L, Folio 1, St. Charles Parish).

10. Thomas Paul purchased one quarter of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Benjamin Rainey on April 18, 1918 (COB T, Folio 347, St. Charles Parish).


12. Mistress Mary Kenny, wife of Theodore Joseph, purchased one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Julien Herndon Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB K, Folio 594, St. Charles Parish). Figure 8. Excerpt from a 1760 map of Louisiana.
Figure 21. Excerpt from the 1921 Mississippi River Commission Map, Chart No. 75, showing the project area (Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library).
Figure 23. Excerpt from Railroad Commission of Louisiana's 1913 Map of the State of Louisiana. The arrow points to Montz Station and Alcazar Station (Map Division, Library of Congress).
As might be expected, the Black community in the vicinity of the project area was fairly close knit. There was considerable social interaction between the residents of Sellers, Virginia Town, Kugler (Hermitage) Plantation, and Diamond Plantation. People in Virginia Town belonged, and still belong to the Good Hope Baptist Church in Norco:

> I can remember a gang of people like this would walk to Norco, and I mean a bunch, like on First Sunday, and for prayer service, they would even have noon day prayer service, like during the Lenten Season, or when they were having a revival, they would walk from up here (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Children from Virginia Town, Sellers and the plantations had to attend school at the Good Hope Baptist Church and the Providence Baptist Church during different periods. This provided another context for social interaction (Phelam Smith, personal communication).

Cleoma Smith (personal communication 1986) divided her time between Montz and Sellers as a child:

> I lived in Montz and I lived in Norco. I was a grandmother's child. See, my grandmother lived in Norco. And my mother lived up here. And my daddy was a carpenter, and whenever he would come by, like that, I had to come home. By the time I would get to Montz, I was ready to go back.

Thus, there were family ties between the two communities, as well.

Individuals who performed services, like the midwife Maria Hawkins or the undertaker, John Smith, ministered to all the blacks in the area. Yet, the most convincing evidence of the unity of the blacks in the area is the military pension application of Sanders Royal (National Archives, Washington, D.C.) Achille Hawkins organized people who lived as far away as Sarpy to provide testimony on behalf of Royal and his wife, Gustine. The local blacks knew each other since slavery times, and most of those who testified served on the adjacent plantations of Hermitages, Roseland, and Myrtle Land (Franks, Yakubik, Goodwin, and Nash 1986).

Relations between the Italians and the blacks in Virginia
Town were amicable:

Their ancestors lived together, they were right adjoining here, to us, the Calcagnos' and the Vivanos'. And their children used to come play with me, and I would go over there and play with them. They would eat in my house, and I would eat in their house, 'cause I liked the macaroni, and they used to like the rice, 'cause we had rice with everything we eat (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Unfortunately, relations between the Blacks and other whites in the region were not as good. Around the turn of the century, Italian members of the Black Hand Society from Harahan, plotted to lynch Achille Hawkins. Hawkins was warned, and his friends both black and white, barricaded him into his house, armed themselves with shotguns, and managed to drive the lynch mob away (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Subdivision of the Study Area

As we have seen, only the riverfront area of Virginia Town was initially occupied, and the back lands were reserved for cultivation. During the 1930s, some individuals in the community began to sell lots from their farms. This trend accelerated during World War II and immediately after the war. Many of these lots were sold or donated to the children of the original owners of the tracts. For example, Achille Hawkins provided land on his tract for his daughter, Rose, and his son to build a house after their marriages. As a result, the majority of people in the community were born and raised there:

Yes, they are natives. We have very few strangers. We speak about that often. We don't have no whole lot of houses rented, because people own their own little houses. Everybody has their own little shack here (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

The first street established in the town was Union Lane. Kenner Lane, however, was not laid and subdivided until the 1950s. The latter street is located on what formerly was the Oliver tract, while the former is located between the Montegut and Tregre (Reynaud) properties (Figures 14 and 20). (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Surprisingly, few people moved into the project area as a result of being displaced from somewhere in the vicinity. Most of the individuals left homeless following the 1929 building of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway moved to Norco. Similarly, the residents
1. Union Benevolent Association
2. Congregation of the Providence Church
3. Providence Baptist Church Number Two
4. Albert Montegut
5. The Universe Lodge No. 99 Knights of Pythias
6. The Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias
7. Harriet Reynaud
8. St. Charles Parish School Board
9. Benjamin Rainey
10. Thomas Paul

Figure 25. Major landholdings in the Union Lane area in Montz study area.
Landholdings in the Union Lane area in the study area.
Key to Figure 25.

1. The Union Benevolent Association purchased one-half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Joseph Clement Triche on April 19, 1906 (COB N, Folio 390, St. Charles Parish).

2. The Congregation of the Providence Church purchased lot no. 6 measuring one-half of one arpent width in front, by one hundred feet in depth from Albert Montegut on December 6, 1919 (COB U, Folio 227, St. Charles Parish).

3. Providence Baptist Church Number Two purchased lot no. 7 measuring one-half of one arpent width in front by one hundred feet in depth from Emaline Wilson Smith on May 28, 1975 (COB 162, Folio 710, St. Charles Parish).

4. Albert Montegut purchased one-half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Dr. Sidney Montegut on April 23, 1919 (COB T, Folio 559, St. Charles Parish).

5. The Universe Lodge No. 99 Knights of Pythias of Sellers, Louisiana purchased one square acre in the Union Benevolent Association tract from Albert Montegut on May 11, 1929 (COB CC, Folio 146, St. Charles Parish).

6. The Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias of North America, South America, Asia, Africa, Australia, Jurisdiction of Louisiana, purchased one square acre in the Union Benevolent Association tract on October 9, 1959 (COB 25, Folio 299, St. Charles Parish).


8. The St. Charles School Board purchased a lot from the John Tregre et als tract, eighty eight feet in width by a depth of two hundred feet between equal and parallel lines from Mrs. Harriet Reynaud, wife of John Tregre, on April 23, 1931 (COB GG, Folio 203, St. Charles Parish).

9. Benjamin Rainey purchased one-half of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Julien Herndon Beckner on January 30, 1899 (COB L, Folio 1, St. Charles Parish).
10. Thomas Paul purchased one-quarter of one arpent front by forty arpents in depth from Benjamin Rainey on April 18, 1918 (COB T, Folio 347, St. Charles Parish).
of Virginia Town above the Tregre tract (Figures 14 and 20) were displaced when the Little Gypsy Plant was built in the 1960s. Evidently, they left the area altogether (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

Providence Baptist Church No. 2

Phelam Smith (personal communication 1986) related the story of the founding of the local Baptist Church:

My mother told me about that. You see up there, they had a crevasse, the levee broke. And the church was the only one. Well, all the people on this side of the crevasse, just like the Mississippi River, they divided, all them on this side, they built a church on this side of the crevasse. And they called it Providence No. 2. And the one on the other side (in LaPlace), they called it Providence No. 1. But it was all one church before the crevasse. Well, the levee broke, you see. And they still call it Providence No. 1 and Providence No. 2. 'Cause there is a break from that church. The same man that was pastoring that church in LaPlace was pastoring this one here. But that's how the church got here.

Originally, the Providence Baptist Church No. 2 was located upriver near the Paquet (Parquet) tract (Figures 14 and 22). In 1919, the congregation purchased a one-half arpent by 100 foot lot from Albert Montegut (COB U, Folio 227, St. Charles Parish). The present site of the church was purchased in 1975 (COB 162, Folio 710, St. Charles Parish) (Figure 25).

Today, people in the project area use both Providence Church and the Good Hope Baptist Church, as do the people in Norco. Some members of the Providence Baptist Church regularly attend Sunday services, at the Good Hope Baptist Church (Della Humphreys, personal communication 1986).

The Montz Cemetery

Prior to the building of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway in 1929, the Black inhabitants of Montz were buried at the Kugler Cemetery (Melvin Marshall, personal communication 1986). Peter Brown, the Black Justice of the Peace, and an early landholder in Virginia Town, was buried in the Kugler Cemetery. (Melvin Marshall and Phelam Smith, personal communication, 1986). The Kugler Cemetery was located on what formerly was Hermitage Plantation, directly behind the quarters area. On the basis of this location, it is
very probable that this cemetery was in use during the ante-bellum period.

The Kugler Cemetery was condemned at the time that construction of the Bonne Carre' Spillway began in 1929. On May 11, 1929, the Universe Lodge No. 99, Knights of Pythias of Sellers, purchased one acre from Albert Montegut (COB CC, Folio 146, St. Charles Parish), for the purpose of establishing a cemetery (Figure 25). Local inhabitants recall its founding:

(The people of Montz) used to use the Kugler Graveyard. After the Spillway come through there, then they start to use Montz. I remember the first person who was buried back there (Melvin Marshall, personal communication 1986).

All elderly informants agreed that the Montz Cemetery was not in use prior to ca. 1930 (Oletha Cammon, George Brown, Melvin Marshall, Phelam Smith and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986). In addition, there is no documentary evidence to suggest that the area was utilized as a cemetery prior to the building of the Spillway. Similarly, nothing indicates that the Montz Cemetery formerly was a slave cemetery. In fact, informant data indicate that the site of the Montz Cemetery was selected because it was available ca. 1930, rather than because the community regarded it as consecrated ground. Elderly informants remember that from the turn of the twentieth century, the area was used as agricultural fields prior to the establishment of the Montz Cemetery (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

The Knights of Pythias Universe Lodge transferred the cemetery property to the Grand Lodge in 1959 (Figure 25). The sons of the members who originally purchased the Montz Cemetery currently hold the title to the tract. The cemetery has no formal or institutional affiliation with the Providence Baptist Church No. 2, although members of that church, and of other local churches, are buried there (Phelam and Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986).

The Montz School

The first school in the area for the black residents was in Sellers at the Good Hope Baptist Church. This school was established during the late nineteenth century. Later, the school was moved upriver to the Providence No. 2. By the 1920s, the Good Hope Baptist Church school again was in operation. Conditions at the schools were difficult:

We had eight classes, one teacher in that church. Same thing at Providence Church. We didn't have
running water, we didn't have any heat. We didn't have no water, we had to get water the best we could. We had buckets sitting in the back of the church, and we had a sipper. To have heat sometime, the boys would go under the levee and get wood (Cleoma Smith, personal communication).

In 1923, Huey P. Long made an unsuccessful bid for the governor's office; part of his campaign platform was to provide public education for the Louisiana's school aged children. The issue remained part of his platform in his successful campaign four years later (Kane 1941:50-59). Long promised to provide free school books and other instructional materials to students; Legislation in 1932 provided for this (RS17:351; Louisiana Statutes Annotated 1982). Similarly, many schools were opened during Long's first term as governor, including the Montz School and a school in Norco (Cleoma Smith, personal communication 1986). The land for the Montz School was purchased in 1931 from the Tregre tract (COB GG, Folio 203, St. Charles Parish) (Figure 25). Both schools were closed in 1952 as part of a legislative move to consolidate the public schools of St. Charles, St. John the Baptist and St. James Parishes (RS17:151-17:151.2, Louisiana Statutes Annotated 1982).
CHAPTER V

FIELD METHODS

Site Plan Preparation, Pedestrian Survey, and Reconnaissance

Because Montz is a discrete residential unit, and due to the number of extant standing structures, dependencies, and ancillary activity areas there, prior to commencement of survey procedures initial efforts focused on production of a detailed map of the study area. Map work was designed to provide information on and horizontal control of the locations of all standing structures within the project area; all refuse disposal areas; roads and pedestrian pathways; and other important cultural features. A scale of 1:10,000 was adopted for map work; this scale was consistent with 1975 air photo imagery provided by the New Orleans District, which also provided information on features that have been lost or destroyed during the intervening decade, such as tree lines and standing structures. In conjunction with 1934 black and white air photo imagery, the 1975 imagery and the 1986 map effort have provided information important to delineation and understanding of the nature of changes in land use patterns in Montz during the twentieth century.

An initial pedestrian survey of the residential portions of the Montz study area (Figure 26) using twenty-five meter wide transects was conducted simultaneously with an inventory of standing structures. Locations of cultural debris were recorded so that activity patterns could be mapped in relation to residential structures; this enabled reexamination of activity area locations at a later date, so that all such features could be interpreted and evaluated. Evidence of surface and subsurface disturbance also was noted. The architectural inventory, which was performed coterminously with the initial pedestrian survey effort, is discussed in detail in Chapters VIII and IX of this report, both in terms of the methodology applied and of the results of standing structures recordation and assessment.

Upon completion of mapping, a second pedestrian survey was undertaken to ascertain the nature and extent, and to verify the locations of additional features such as refuse disposal areas, drainage systems, paths, etc. These features were thought to be important to interpretation of modern lifestyles and domestic patterns in the Montz study area. In addition to the recordation of modern patterns, areas where historic map and aerial photographs exhibited evidence of settlement or activity also were examined, and areas thought to have the potential to contain subsurface materials also were mapped. The second pedestrian survey effort applied a combination of narrow transects, e.g., 10 m
wide in the residential area and 20 m wide in the wooded areas shown on the map in Figure 26, and purposive reexamination of previously surveyed areas. Pedestrian reconnaissance was, therefore, complete for the area shown on Figure 26 with the exception of lands owned by Louisiana Power and Light which are outside the project corridor.

After completion of mapping, the modern architectural assemblage at Montz was reexamined in light of the 1935 and 1975 air photo data. Several structures present in these photographs have been demolished. Finally, vegetation, both naturally occurring and that planted during landscaping, was mapped as a guide to land tenure in the Montz study area. No subsurface testing was undertaken during cultural resources survey of the Montz study area. The results of these phases of field investigation are discussed in Chapters VI, VII, and VIII.

Cemetery Recordation

Following the research strategy developed by the authors for scientific investigations of cemeteries, fieldwork at the Montz cemetery site began with mapping of the locations of all interments in the Montz Cemetery. The nature and locations of cultural debris in the vicinity of the cemetery were recorded and mapped, as well. Each gravesite then was assigned a number to facilitate complete recordation concerning modes of burial, types of markers, inscriptions, and the presence and nature of associated grave goods. Pursuant to the Scope of Services (Appendix I), no subsurface excavations were undertaken nor were materials collected.

A grid was established for cemetery mapping; UTM coordinates at datum were determined to be 33°21'31"N, 79°33'30"E. All distance measurements in the cemetery were chained using a 50 m tape. Graves on the westernmost row of burials were numbered first; numbers then were assigned from the northernmost to the southernmost burial in that row. When the southernmost grave had been numbered and mapped, assignment of numbers began again at the northern portion of the cemetery. Initially, unmarked graves were not assigned numbers. During the process of mapping and subsequent recordation, additional grave sites were noted. These were added to the map, and they were assigned the next available number. Finally, when all marked graves had been numbered and mapped, interments not associated with markers were assigned numbers and included on the map.

When map work was completed, specific data recordation tasks were assigned to individual crew members, to assure that observations and notations would be consistent throughout the study. A numbered 3"x5" card initially was attached on each
gravesite, identifying that venue for each recordation specialist. This provided real time control, and insured consistent application of the numerical designators assigned on the base map. One individual was responsible for recording the presence or absence of markers, for recording the nature of the markers when present, and for accurate and complete recordation of legible inscriptions. A second discrete task was description and measurement of funerary architecture, such as crypts and copings. This task was undertaken by an architectural historian, who also produced field illustrations of structural types following the classification of those remains. Finally, a third individual documented and recorded all grave goods associated with individual interments; that crew member also maintained the photographic log, and executed photographic documentation of each interment from a minimum of two cardinal directions.

Scaled views were drawn of each type of crypt observed, including end and side views. A brief description of materials and mode of construction, including variations in design and/or materials of construction, was made for each type. A scaled diagram also was prepared of a typical coping enclosing a burial plot. Elevations as well as variations in materials and modes of construction were recorded.

As noted above, the presence and nature of grave goods were recorded; additional notations also were made on the type of goods and on their placement, or spatial organization, in relationship to the crypts and copings. An assessment of level of maintenance of each grave site was recorded in the field; and, photographic views of the cemetery site at large were taken.
CHAPTER VI

RESULTS OF RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

Overview

One factor influencing the nature of cultural resources within the Montz study area is the history of natural and anthropogenic site destruction activities that have occurred there. These processes are described below in this chapter, and in Chapters VII and VIII, which describe the functional reuse of antecedent building materials in subsequent construction episodes. In addition, and as will be seen, much of the Montz area has been subjected to episodes of levelling and clearing, sometimes using heavy machinery.

Finally, and as the discussion of historic land tenure in the Montz vicinity contained in Chapter IV has shown, the Montz study area did not comprise a primary venue of historic residential occupation until after World War I. Earlier land use within the project area appears to have been primarily agricultural, and there is no archival or cartographic record of great house, quarters, or industrial architecture in the study corridor. The earliest historic maps which depict standing structures show only a few scattered buildings (see the concluding section of Chapter II, also Chapter IV). Rather, Montz appears to have been peripheral to adjacent sites and occupations, and expectations for the recovery of substantial or significant historic cultural resources could not be generated using the direct historical approach.

Nevertheless, cultural resources survey of the Montz study area did reveal several minor concentrations of historic refuse and debris; observations on those features are described below. Pedestrian transect survey of the batture riverward of Montz failed to delineate any cultural resources whatsoever, an observation consistent with those described by Iroquois Research Institute (1982) (See Chapter II).

In addition, cultural resources survey of Montz provided an opportunity to study and to document the organization and material culture of a predominantly modern rural Black community in the river region above New Orleans. Because data on the spatial organization, vernacular architecture, and on other physical aspects of community structure are lacking for the region at large, special attention was given to recordation even of sites and features that a priori do not warrant regulatory action because of their age. Observations on the physical structure of Montz, and discussion of the importance of those observations to
anthropological understanding of rural Black communities in South
Louisiana, are contained in the subsequent chapter of this report.

**Historic Archeological Manifestations**

During cultural resources survey of the Montz project area, areas of surface and subsurface disturbance were observed which suggested the prior presence of standing structures. These locations were recorded during transect survey, additional observations were made during the second phase reconnaissance, and, a final site visit was made to review these remains after archival and map research had been completed. Recordation of these features entailed examination and documentation of physical parameters, coupled with reconnaissance of the surrounding area to ascertain the presence or absence of related cultural deposits, such as kitchen middens, domestic refuse, etc. In addition, the extent of surface disturbance in the area containing these features was examined, in order to provide information on the integrity of those remains prior to evaluation applying the National Register criteria. The following discussion refers to the base map of Montz (Figure 26, and Figure 26 oversize in the back pocket of Volume I) prepared during initial field work; that map also is integral to discussions contained in the following chapters.

The first anomalous area observed during survey was located at the site of the standing structure Montz 23 (Figure 26). A rectangular area of surficial disturbance was present below the house at this locale, and it also extended west and east of the aforementioned structure. The dimensions of this area are 12 meters north-south, and 15 meters east-west. Examination of a 1975 aerial photograph showed that a standing structure formerly occupied this site; its construction, combined with its demolition and removal during this decade, resulted in the disconformity observed in the field. The dimensions and shape of the attendant scar are consistent with the shape of the building in the photograph. The elevation of this disconformity in relationship to the surrounding land indicates that this former house site originally was filled, preparatory to construction. However, no structural remains or cultural materials were observed during any of the three examinations of this feature.

The second anomalous area was located at the intersection of Kenner Lane and River Road. The 1975 aerial photograph showed a structure located at the eastern side of this intersection; this structure was demolished in 1980. It originally occupied an area 14 meters wide along River Road, and 16 meters deep. Presently, this area is used for refuse disposal by the residents of the Montz community. Again, no structural remains were present on this site, with the exception of a small pile of roofing material that
could not be related definitively to the former standing structure that occupied this locale. Rather, the modern refuse at this venue included plastic containers, tin cans, shampoo bottles, creosoted pilings, and other common components of roadside and illicit trash disposal areas. No historic remains were observed; as a result, this trash feature was not given a site designation, nor does it warrant further consideration.

The third anomalous area was located twelve meters west of the Reginald Hawkins residence (Montz 61). A rectangular area of undulating topography there was observed to be ten meters wide and twenty meters long. The surface in this grassy area was highly disturbed; that disturbance may derive from demolition of the Hawkins Store, which existed on this site until the early 1960s. No structural remains or historic artifacts were observed; the irregular horizontal milieu indicates that any buried remains probably lost contextual integrity, albeit no evidence for any such remains was noted either during field work or in the historical record.

A fourth feature was located 42 meters north of the Cleoma Smith residence (Montz 62), just north of a treeline located behind that house. The feature consisted of several small brick piers, brick rubble, and of an admixture of domestic refuse in which modern beer and soda bottles predominated. The brick piers were not in situ, and they showed evidence of fracturing during removal to this site from another location, probably by a bulldozer or front end loader. These remains may derive from a dwelling that formerly was located directly behind the Smith residence. The refuse in this area also appears to represent opportunistic dumping episodes from nearby dwellings during the modern period.

The final archeological feature observed during pedestrian survey was a surface scatter of bricks and brick fragments located at the southern edge of the chicken yard present behind the Richard's residence (Montz 48). This feature was three meters wide and twenty meters long. An elevated area roughly one half meter high was observed to contain automobile parts and tires, discarded air conditioners, and brick and mortar piers and fragments. Portions of a number of brick piers were present; some of these measured as large as \(0.5 \times 1\) meters, indicating that they did not derive from residential architecture within the Montz community. Indeed, these piers indicate a structure of sufficient dimensions so that it would have been portrayed on any single quadrangle map of the project area, from the advent of the Mississippi River Commission maps to the present. None of these remains was in situ; rather, the feature appears to derive from mechanized land clearing, in combination with episodic refuse disposal. The distribution of trash at this locale indicates that bulldozing proceeded from north to south, and that clearing of the
adjacent chicken yard might have contributed to the configuration just described. Machine and automobile parts were severely mangled, providing further evidence that this pile was placed by heavy machinery. Other structural materials such as wood or roofing materials were not present in this area of disturbance; the piers previously described probably were trucked in from another location, a conclusion corroborated by the absence of attendant classes of remains that might have been associated with documented patterns of land tenure at Montz. Following disposal of these items, then, they were redeposited during adaptation of the area for chicken domestication. Although this feature illustrates sequential deposition and modification of modern cultural debris, it is best understood as intrusive to Montz. It was neither integral to nor was it reflective of any autochthonous activity associated with the community of Montz.

North of the basketball court shown on Figure 26 is the outline of a cinder block structure; although the walls remain standing, the structure apparently was never completed. At the western edge of the wooded area, immediately to the east of the unfinished building, are the wooden remains of a makeshift structure, possibly a temporary restroom. Two walls of plywood remain standing, and plywood and other construction debris are scattered within the immediate vicinity.

Summary

As the foregoing discussion illustrates, no archeological sites sensu strictu were observed in the Montz project area. The only archeological features recorded were shown to comprise modern trash dumps, former structural locations that did not provide artifactual remains, and refuse redeposited by heavy equipment. These observations were in accord with the negative expectations engendered by background research applying the direct historical approach.
CHAPTER VII
PATTERNS AND PROCESSES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONTZ

Introduction

In this chapter, contemporary land use patterns within the residential portion of the Montz study area are reviewed in light of observations recorded during pedestrian survey and mapping. Frequent reference to Figure 26 and Figure 26 oversize in the back of Volume I, the Montz base map, will help to clarify this discussion. Salient features of the natural and cultural landscape are categorized and described, and those features are reviewed in terms of the structural organization of space and of behaviors. In addition, the development of contemporary land use patterns is reviewed in diachronic perspective following definition of four major periods in the growth of the Montz community.

Data are presented regarding water supply and drainage, domestic agriculture and animal husbandry, patterns of waste disposal, pedestrian pathways, and landscaping. Detailed documentation of presently existing residential settlements is rarely undertaken. Archeologists, however, often attempt to derive these kinds of data from sites representing prehistoric or historic occupations. The methodological approach that guided this aspect of the Montz cultural resources inventory, then, was to examine and record significant aspects of material culture in a rural, residential settlement occupied primarily by Blacks; in conjunction with the equally detailed site map of the area (Figure 26), the work reported here represents preservation of data concerning rural lifeways of Louisiana during the late twentieth century.

Residential Patterns at Montz

Figure 26 depicts the residential portion of the Montz study area. On that plan, important features of the cultural and natural landscape are illustrated. A large wooded area that runs north-south through the center of the study area comprises a primary natural division at Montz. To the west of this wooded area are the three streets that encompass the Black residential section of the Montz project area: Union Lane, Tower Lane, and Kenner Lane (from west to east). In the remainder of this report, this subsection of the project corridor is referred to as the western sector. To the east of the wooded area is a residential section occupied by individuals of Italian descent; this subsection of the project corridor is referred to as the eastern sector.
In the western sector of the study area, the architectural assemblage is modest. Structures typically exhibit at least one and sometimes several phases of construction; however, the materials present on renovations rarely match those on original structures. Apparently, materials employed were often salvaged from previously existing structures. Many residential structures exhibit evidence of growth by accretion; additions to the original structure were made when more living space was required. Because building materials used for these renovations are not consistent with materials used for the original structure, an inconsistent and uneven architectural language has resulted. Many of the residences in the western sector are in disrepair; most need painting, and many have porches with torn screens and collapsing sheds which house exterior water heaters. Aluminum or vinyl siding was rarely used for renovations; this contrasts markedly with residences in the eastern sector where these modern building materials were common.

The eastern sector of the project area exhibits an architectural assemblage that appears to reflect a higher level of prosperity than the assemblage of the western sector. Renovations of older homes here reflect the original forms, and materials are consistent on individual structures. Architecture is predominantly modern; most structures are less than twenty years old, and all are in excellent condition. Mobile homes here have been located so that courtyards are created between them; most have patios or decks. This arrangement was not observed in western Montz.

The concept of site organization (i.e., the placement of secondary structures or dependencies) differs between the eastern and western sectors. Property owners in the eastern sector use governing lines such as the edge of the house or a neighboring house to determine the location and orientation of sheds and garages. For example, the northern edge of a house may define the southern edge of a garage which stands behind the house (e.g., Montz 66). This practice does not obtain in western Montz, where dependencies appear to have been placed randomly in relation to their associated dwelling; in this sector, there is little evidence of orthogonal relationships between structures. Non-orthogonal organization also characterizes Montz Cemetery (below). The significance of this lack of orthogonal organization in western Montz is unknown at present; neither anthropologists nor architects have examined twentieth century rural settlements populated by either Blacks or whites in present day United States in sufficient detail to provide comparative data. It is unlikely that relationships between structures in the western sector of Montz represents an "Africanism." Although some aspects of an African heritage have been maintained by Blacks in the United States (Genovese 1972), it is improbable that village layout is one of these because during
almost two hundred years of slavery in Louisiana, Blacks on sugar plantations were housed in "quarters" areas with gridded layouts (Rehder 1971). An explanation of the differences in site organization based on differences between the "African" and the "European mind" would represent a return to the racist theories that prevailed among anthropologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century prior to Boas; no valid evidence has been presented to date that demonstrates a genetic basis even for subtle behavioral differences between modern races (Gould 1981).

Therefore, until further studies are conducted that include detailed attention to spatial organization of residential rural settlements where different ethnic groups predominate, an explanation for the phenomenon observed at Montz and discussed in this chapter is speculative. One such speculative explanation is that relationships between structures in the western sector are the result of organic rather than planned growth. As noted above, a variety of materials are used to renovate individual structures, and the result is an inconsistent architectural language. Similarly, new structures may be oriented so that they relate to some cultural or natural feature that is no longer present or that is not evident to a nonresident (the "outside" observer). Also, relationships between residential structures may reflect partitioning of land along kinship lines within the settlement.

Periods of Growth

The architectural assemblage in the Montz study area is a result of four distinct periods of growth. The first period began near the turn of the century and continued through the early 1930s. Structures that predated this period or that resulted from construction activity during this period are shown in Figure 27. Twelve of the seventy-four standing structures at Montz date from this period. Prior to 1935, the highest concentration of structures stood along River Road and along Union Lane; Tower Lane experienced only modest growth during this period. Only a single structure, located at the intersection of River Road, stood on Kenner Lane. Between 1935 and 1950, there was a hiatus in residential construction at Montz.

Residential development within the project area was extensive during the second phase of growth, between 1950 and 1965. Figure 28 shows the locations of twenty-seven structures built during that period; Union Lane was developed north to the cemetery, Tower Lane grew to its present length, and Kenner Lane became a residential street with construction of nine homes. Structures which typify this period are bungalows and cabins.

Between 1965 and 1975, a third period of growth occurred in Montz; thirteen structures, the locations of which are shown in

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Figure 27. Standing structures in the Montz Study Area: 1900-1935.
Figure 28. Standing structures added in the Montz Study Area: 1930-1965.
Figure 29, were the result of construction activity at this time. In western Montz, most new residences were located on previously vacant lots; none of the streets were expanded to the north at this time. The Italian settlement in the eastern sector began to expand northward during this period. The architecture of this phase of development is typified by suburban ranch style houses and mobile homes. The building that now houses Providence Baptist Church No. 2 (Montz 19) on Union Lane was erected during this period.

The final phase of residential growth in Montz began in 1975. Twenty-two of the structures inventoried date from this period, and their locations are shown in Figure 30. Since 1975, Kenner Lane was expanded to its present length, and structural infill continued in western Montz. The number of structures in the eastern sector increased, and the Double R Stables (Montz 73) began operation as a commercial facility. For the most part, this period saw an influx of mobile homes, which accounts for sixteen of twenty-two structures that date from this period. Suburban ranch style houses account for the other six structures. In addition, basketball courts and a concrete block structure which apparently was never completed were located in Montz Park.

Water Supply and Drainage

The town of Montz was connected with the St. Charles Parish water system by 1952. At that time, it was common practice to add indoor plumbing and bathrooms to existing structures; a shed for housing a bathroom was added to the side of most residences that date from this or an earlier period. Presently, the western sector of Montz is not linked to the St. Charles Parish sewer system, and septic tanks are present at each residential site. Grey water from sinks and baths drains into culverts which run north/south through the town. One such culvert is present at the western edge of Union Lane; it runs continuously from River Road to the cemetery. Structures on the western side of Union Lane typically have driveways and sidewalks which bridge this culvert. Houses on the eastern side of Union Lane utilize a culvert which is located at their rear; again, this ditch runs in a north/south direction and extends past the northern edge of the cemetery. Although all structures on Tower Lane are located on its eastern side, drainage is provided by a cut that runs down the western edge of the road. Grey water waste pipes pass beneath the road surface and empty into this culvert. An additional drainage ditch is present between Tower and Kenner Lanes; structures on Kenner Lane and the newer structures on Union Lane utilize this culvert. The Hawkins residence (Montz 61) and the Cleoma Smith residence (Montz 62) use a culvert located to the east of both structures; this culvert extends along the eastern edge of the wooded area which divides the eastern and western sectors of the project area.
Figure 29. Standing structures added in the Montz Study Area: 1965-1975.
The eastern area of the Montz study area, including the Anders property, the Calcagno settlement, and the Double R Riding Stables is serviced by culverts which run north/south; one runs along River Road, and the other defines the western boundary of the Calcagno property. Generally, these culverts provide a fairly primitive solution to waste water disposal. The ditches typically are filled with stagnant water; during the summer months, these culverts are a breeding ground for mosquitos.

Domestic Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

During the early twentieth century, the northern side of Montz was used for small garden plots and for raising farm animals such as pigs and chickens. Subsequent residential development of Montz eroded this pattern, and few garden plots remain today. One outstanding exception is located on the property of Melvin Brown (Montz 13). Behind the Brown residence is a 750 square meter vegetable patch. Mr. Brown is in the garden at sunrise and throughout most of the remaining day; he sells and gives the produce to his neighbors in Montz. Another area of tilled soil was observed to the north of Montz 21; a third large garden is located to the east of Francis Hotard's trailer (Montz 74). This plot is carefully maintained and vegetables are abundant there.

In addition to these gardens, there are several livestock enclosures. To the east of the Richard's residence (Montz 48) are coops and pens for housing chickens, guinea hens, and goats. Many of these animals roam freely through the neighborhood; they were observed wandering up and down Kenner Lane. Another area currently used for livestock is located twenty meters east of the cemetery; a long rectangular series of pens at this location houses pigs. The final area dedicated to livestock is located on the Anders property (Montz 71) where cattle are run.

Patterns of Waste Disposal

Waste disposal areas, located primarily in the western sector of the study area, were mapped; locations are shown in Figure 26. Refuse was divided into five categories: domestic refuse, automotive refuse, mixed debris, construction debris, and burn piles. Treelines were a common site for waste disposal. Directly east of the Montz Cemetery, a cut in the trees extends northward. The eastern edge of this cut is heavily littered with both domestic and automotive refuse; several abandoned cars are present here. Generally, the Montz Cemetery is surrounded with debris ranging from domestic to automotive and funerary. Another treelined area which is being used as a dump site is located on the western edge of Montz Park; the culvert there is filled with abandoned sofas, chairs, and with various other types of modern
domestic refuse. A third area of refuse disposal, also associated with a wooded edge, lies east of the intersection of River Road and Kenner Lane; both domestic and automotive refuse are abundant there.

Vacant lots are the second most prevalent sites for contemporary refuse disposal. The most prominent site of this nature is a large auto salvage yard located between Union and Tower Lanes at the southern side of the project area. Numerous abandoned cars and trucks litter this site. A garage (Montz 31) is clearly associated with these vehicles. Another vacant lot extensively used for trash disposal is located on the western side of Union Lane directly across from Montz 6 and 7. Debris there consists of automotive and domestic refuse, and there is an area where trash is burned. Several such burn piles are scattered throughout the western side of the study area. Along Tower and Kenner Lanes a frequent pattern observed was disposal of domestic refuse in piles behind houses. Again, these piles usually were associated with a treeline. This practice was not observed on Union Lane or in the eastern section of the project area.

Pedestrian Pathways

Several clearly defined paths are shown on the study area site map (Figure 26). These pedestrian pathways, which essentially are trails created by frequent use, may reflect social relationships within the project area. The most significant of these paths clearly links the church, the junkyard, and Montz Park; it enters the park near the basketball courts. This path begins at the western side of Tower Lane immediately across the street from the entrance to the church parking lot. The path continues eastward between Montz 32 and 33. The placement of a trailer (Montz 50) on Kenner Lane after 1975 dissected the path. As a result, a new path around the trailer is being established. The main pathway continues east, passing between Montz 49 and 51; here it enters the wooded area which separates the eastern and western sides of the study area, ending in Montz Park at the northern edge of the study area. Another path, directly south of the one just described, links the Richard's property (Montz 48) and the park. Within the western study area, several additional pathways run between homes.

Landscaping

Observations related to landscaping were recorded during pedestrian survey and architectural inventory within the study area; relevant patterns are shown on the map in Figure 26. Generally, landscaping of domestic sites did not appear to be a priority in either the eastern or western sectors of Montz. However, where landscaping was present, several interesting
characteristics were noted.

A large number of fig trees are present in western Montz; these fruit trees are scattered throughout the community. The highest concentration of figs is located at Montz 1; three very old figs were planted within a fenced yard to the north of the house, and may be an important source of fruit for making preserves.

Generally, the placement of trees and shrubbery in the western sector exhibits random patterns. With several exceptions, trees are not symmetrically placed, nor was there consistency in terms of species on individual sites. Trees have not been planted along the sides of streets. The only large scale landscaping project occurred at the eastern and western edges of the Montz Cemetery, where tree removal created linear rows of fringing trees. Pecans and oaks were left standing to screen the cemetery; they provide an aesthetically pleasing canopy for the site.

Conclusions

The data presented in the preceding chapter characterize a rural, residential community in present day southeastern Louisiana. In conjunction with the site map (Figure 26) of the study area, the discussion represents an archeological/anthropological perspective on land use patterns within the settlement. Aerial photographs dated 1935 and 1975 are shown in Figures 31 and 32 respectively; the contrast between these illustrations dramatizes the diachronic change discussed in this chapter. Significant cultural and natural features which are important to the lifeways of residents are delineated. A similar approach to data recovery was utilized at Montz Cemetery (Chapter XI). Although archeologists recently have recognized the desirability of data collection of this nature, it is seldom undertaken.
Figure 31. Aerial photograph of the Montz Study Area: 1935
Figure 32. Aerial photograph of the Montz Study Area: 1975.
CHAPTER VIII
ARCHITECTURAL INVENTORY OF MONTZ

Introduction

Architectural inventory of all standing structures within the town of Montz was begun and completed in March, 1986. All standing structures within the project area were inventoried, documented, and evaluated according to the National Register criteria (36 CFR 60.6). Recordation followed the format specified by the Louisiana Division of Historical Preservation. Construction dates were determined by examination and interpretation of modes and materials of construction and of stylistic periods. Historic Standing Structure Survey Forms for all buildings inventoried during this study are contained in Appendix III (Volume II). The following discussion reviews the results of this survey effort, and documents the nature and significance of standing structures within the study area.

Table 3 summarizes the results of the architectural inventory. Each structure is listed with the architectural type it most closely represents, approximate dates of construction, and location. In addition, if the structure possesses the quality of significance as defined by Criteria A, B, C, or D, of the National Register criteria (36 CFR 60.6), the level of significance (local, regional, or national) is noted. The results of evaluation of each structure's integrity also is noted on Table 3. Finally, Table 3 indicates whether structures warrant consideration for nomination to or listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Evaluations were guided by the Secretary of Interior's guidelines entitled How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (1982). Following those guidelines, a property must meet one or more of the four specified significance criteria (A, B, C, or D) to qualify for listing on the National Register (36 CFR 60.6). In addition, a property must possess integrity to qualify for listing. Integrity is the authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period (Secretary of Interior's Guidelines 1982:35).

A total of 74 structures were documented; they were classified into types, and the discussion below is organized according to typological categories. Individual structures representative of particular periods or styles important to understanding the history of Montz are discussed within the
Table 3. Summary of All Standing Structures at Montz, Including Significance Assessments on the Local, Regional, and National Level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure No.</th>
<th>Architectural Type</th>
<th>Circa</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Criteria&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Integrity</th>
<th>N.R.H.P.</th>
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<td>1975-1985</td>
<td>Calcagno property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montz 71</td>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>1975-1985</td>
<td>Anders property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montz 72</td>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>1975-1985</td>
<td>Calcagno property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montz 73</td>
<td>Stables</td>
<td>1975-1985</td>
<td>Zeringue property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montz 74</td>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Zeringue property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1L=Local, R=Regional, N=National levels of significance
Key to Table 3

Montz 8* Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), shotgun, it does not possess structural or visual integrity. It does not have integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. Additions to this structure include asphalt shingles which have been placed over and which totally obscure the original wooden weatherboards, as well as concrete block piers which post-date the original construction.

Montz 11* Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), shotgun, it does not have integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. Its structural and visual integrity have been lost, as well. Additions to this structure include horizontal weatherboards which have been placed over and which obscure the original vertical cypress boards, as well as concrete block piers which post-date the original construction.

Montz 18* Although this structure (the Montz schoolhouse) has at least indirect association with events (i.e. education) that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the area's local and regional history (criterion A), and while it also embodies the distinctive characteristics of a functional building type (criterion C), schoolhouse, it does not have integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or feeling. As noted in Chapter 8, this structure today is used as a residence; the addition of modern siding over the original horizontal weatherboards has destroyed the visual integrity of this structure.
Montz 25* Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), creole cabin, it does not have either structural or visual integrity. Additions to this structure which have destroyed its visual integrity include asphalt shingles placed over the original wooden weatherboards, as well as aluminum framed windows.

Montz 32* Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), shotgun, it does not have integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. Additions to this structure which have destroyed its visual integrity include a shed addition at the western side, as well as non-original doors.

Montz 33* Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), bungalow, it does not possess structural or visual integrity. In addition, it does not have integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. A modern shed addition at the northern side of this structure has changed its configuration substantially.

Montz 61* Although this structure is associated with the descendants of Achilles Hawkins, a person significant in the historical development of Montz, there is no direct association with a locally important personage. Therefore, it does not fulfill criterion B. Although this structure embodies the distinctive characteristics of a regional vernacular architectural type (criterion C), bungalow, it does not possess integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. Modern additions to this structure which have destroyed its visual integrity include a shed addition on the eastern side, as well as several aluminum framed windows.
Methods and Materials of Construction

As was discussed in the preceding chapter, residences within the study area date from a number of periods, the earliest of which began in about 1900. All of the older structures present have been renovated. Framing lumber, sheathing materials, windows, and roofing materials often were salvaged for renovation, rather than purchased. The level of craftsmanship of many structures in the western sector suggests construction by non-professional builders. Older residences have lost their historical integrity due to recent additions, enclosures, and renovation materials that do not match existing materials. For example, it is not uncommon to see a facade comprised of a combination of sixty year old six-over-six cypress framed windows (six panes on one frame and six on another) and fifteen year old aluminum storm windows. In the eastern sector of Montz, homes exhibit modern materials and a higher level of architectural consistency.

Architectural Types

A total of six distinctive residential architectural types, for which general definitions and descriptions are given in the following paragraph, were observed in the study area. There were eighteen mobile homes, sixteen suburban ranches, fifteen cabins, thirteen bungalows, six shotguns, and two Creole cabins. In addition, four structures were determined to be singular examples of functional types. These structures were: the old Montz Schoolhouse (Montz 18), the Providence Baptist Church (Montz 19), the Montz Tavern (Montz 27), and the Double R Riding Stables (Montz 73).

Mobile homes are wood frame structures that are usually covered with corrugated aluminum siding; the siding is often glazed. They typically have tin roofs, either curved or exhibiting a very slight pitch. Doors and windows generally are framed with aluminum. Mobile homes often are elongated rectangles; entrances, of which there usually are two, are always on the elongated sides. These structures normally rest on jacks or on concrete blocks. Suburban ranch style houses usually are wood framed structures which have hipped roofs; they often are sheathed with brick veneer. In Louisiana, they commonly rest on concrete slabs. Cabins are slightly rectangular structures with either front or side gables. They are sheathed with wood siding and raised on concrete block foundations. The entrance is often centered at the front and has an attached gable. Bungalows are buildings that are two rooms in width and two or more rooms deep. They have a frontward-facing gable, beneath which is a porch (Kniffen 1936). Complex roof lines, commonly hipped with gables,
are a characteristic feature. Rafters are always exposed at the eaves. Bungalows generally rest on either brick or concrete piers. **Shotguns** are elongated rectangular structures (one room wide and one or more rooms deep), and they have a forward-facing gable with an attached porch supported by pillars (Kniffen 1936). At the time most shotguns were constructed, brick piers were in general use as supports. **Creole cabins**, like shotguns, are a common type in the region. They typically are side gabled with a full gallery across the front (Newton 1972). Dormers, usually two but sometimes three, face towards the front. Creole cabins are always sheathed in wood, and cypress is the commonly used material. They originally rested on brick piers. An attached roof at the rear or a rear gable is usually present.

**Mobile Homes**

Many structures in the study area that post date 1975 are mobile homes, all of which are used as residences (n=18; Montz 2, 10, 20, 21, 22, 24, 36, 38, 40, 43, 44, 50, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, and 74). They represent 24.3 per cent of standing structures present. Mobile homes offer low cost, efficient, modern housing. At Montz, they are generally 12 to 14 feet wide and 52 to 67 feet long; the most popular size was the 12 by 56 foot variety. The largest mobile home inventoried was 14 feet wide and 76 feet long (Montz 43); the smallest was eight feet wide and thirty feet long (Montz 71). A typical foundation system for these structures consists of concrete pads (16" x 16") on which concrete blocks rest. The mobile home is brought to level by shimming with wood of varying thicknesses between the concrete blocks and the structure. Once leveled, galvanized straps are attached to the underside and secured to augured stakes which are screwed into the ground. These straps prevent the lightweight structures from tipping over during periods of high winds. Although several mobile homes rested on jacks rather than concrete blocks, the above described system can be considered typical of the study area. All structures of this type in the town of Montz were sheathed with aluminum screwed tight to a wooden frame beneath; window frames were also aluminum. Typically, they had two exterior doors. In most cases, stairs were in place at both doors, although several had only one set of stairs which was located at the main entrance. Exterior doors were usually constructed of wood, and most had screen doors on the exterior. No mobile homes inventoried showed signs of renovations or additions; as a group, they were the only structures which did not have exterior water heaters.

**Suburban Ranch Style Houses**

The second most common residential architectural type inventoried at Montz was the modern suburban ranch style house (n=16; Montz 6, 9, 12, 16, 23, 26, 35, 37, 39, 52, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66,
This type comprised 21.6 per cent of the Montz architectural inventory. Ranch style houses were first constructed in Montz during the early 1960s; several of the most recent houses also are of this type. The average size of a typical ranch in Montz was 45 five feet wide and 34.5 feet deep.

Although ranch style houses in Louisiana usually rest on concrete slabs, only five of the sixteen that occurred in the study area had foundations of this type. Sheathing materials varied; brick veneer was the most common, although wooden, lapped weatherboards, aluminum siding, and exterior masonite siding also were observed. All ranch style houses inventoried possessed aluminum window frames. Roof types were evenly divided between hipped and side gables; five of the side gabled houses had attached front gables which usually were placed above the entrance forming a pediment. A vented soffit was present on about half of the ranches; the remainder were vented at the gable ends. All roofs were sheathed in either asphalt or seal tab shingles. Carports were also a common trait on these structures; these were present on twelve of sixteen structures inventoried. Carports are typically supported by wrought iron pillars.

Cabin

The next most common architectural type, representing 21.6 per cent of standing structures inventoried, was the side gabled cabin (n=16; Montz 3, 17, 30, 34, 35, 42, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, and 62). Cabins date from the second (1950-1965) and third periods of the development of Montz. Typically, gable ends were parallel to the street. Most cabins inventoried were two or three rooms (cribs) wide. The average width (street elevation) of a Montz cabin is 36 feet and the depth typically is 24 to 25 feet. Most of these structures rested on concrete block piers, although several were associated with poured concrete piers, and only one was raised on brick piers. Wooden siding was present on ten of the fifteen cabins surveyed; the remaining five had either aluminum or masonite siding. Aluminum window frames were present on twelve of fifteen cabins inventoried. As previously discussed, all cabins possessed side gable roofs with either soffits or exposed rafters at the eaves; asphalt shingles were in place on the majority of the cabins surveyed, although tin roofs and seal tab shingles also were observed. There were fewer carports associated with cabins than with ranch style houses. A recurring decorative motif was associated with a number of cabins; it consisted of vertical, sometimes scalloped boards, which were arranged to form a pediment at the gable end. The motif occurred on more than half of the cabins inventoried. There also were several examples where atypical materials, e.g., industrial corrugated steel, were used instead of wood to decorate the gable ends.
The home (Montz 62) of Cleoma Smith, a descendant of Achilles Hawkins, originally an L-shaped structure; subsequent additions here greatly altered the form of this house. Many of the original brick piers have been replaced with concrete piers; obviously the house was shored at some point. Weatherboards are six inch, lapped cypress. The original windows are six-over-six cypress although other types and styles are present. The roofline of this structure has grown by accretion and includes gable ends, hips, and attached gables; rafters are exposed and the roof is tin. Several old sheds are present on the site. Although this structure has had numerous additions over the years, the eave of the house dates from the original phase of development in Montz. Because of extensive renovations that utilize methods and modes of construction inconsistent with those of the original dwelling, the Cleoma Smith residence does not possess the quality of integrity as defined by the National Register criteria.

**Bungalows**

Bungalows comprise 16.2 per cent of the Montz architectural inventory (n = 12; Montz 1, 5, 13, 14, 29, 33, 41, 45, 46, 61, 64, and 65). They derive from the second phase of development of the town, which occurred during the 1950s. Typical bungalows were between 32 and 33 feet wide, and 38 feet long. Of twelve bungalows surveyed, six stood on concrete blocks, three were on poured piers, and only three rested on brick piers. Bungalows were typically sheathed with lapped wooden weatherboards, six or eight inches wide. Because of their period of construction, most of the structures inventoried had wooden double-hung windows; the incidence of aluminum framed windows was low. Complex rooflines are a trademark of bungalows, and they were observed on structures of this type in the study area; roofs combining gable end and hipped style attached gables were a common element. At the eaves, exposed rafters and soffits were evenly distributed among the bungalows surveyed. Roofs were generally sheathed with asphalt shingles, although slate and seal tabs were also present. Many of the bungalows inventoried had a skirt of corrugated metal around the base; this phenomenon is common in Louisiana, where it serves to protect above ground pipes during hard freezes. Screened porches, which are often associated with this type of residential structure, usually were located beneath one of the attached gables. In general, bungalows are among the most well-crafted structures in Montz. They usually exhibit their original elements and materials, and on the whole, they show more attention to detail than other dwellings in the town.

Three bungalows inventoried in the Montz study area were determined to date from the first period of development (Montz 33, 64, and 65). Montz 33, constructed in 1929, has seen several phases of renovation which have affected the historical integrity
of the structure. Aluminum windows as well as other modern materials are present in this structure. Montz 64 and 65 are located at the Calcasno property; these both have seen extensive modernization, including the addition of aluminum framed windows and vinyl siding. As a result, none of these structures possesses the quality of integrity as defined by the National Register Criteria.

The bungalow type is best represented by the house at 1736 Union Lane, (Montz 1), the first house south of the Montz Cemetery. Constructed on concrete block piers, the base of this house is skirted with corrugated metal. The house is sheathed with grooved and lapped 1" x 8" weatherboards which are typical of the period. Windows vary in size and are typically six-over-six cypress; screens have been placed over these windows. A screened porch, also type-related, is present at the front. The roof is a gable end at the rear, while the front is a combination of gabled extensions attached to a hipped roof. These attached gables typically are added to accentuate elements on the facade such as windows or entires. Exposed rafters are present at the eaves and the roof is sheathed with tin; the roof is vented at the gable ends. A shed at the rear and to the south of the house appears to be more recent than the house. The house does not meet the age criterion for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

At the bend in River Road, just west of the guide levee is the Reginald Hawkins residence (Montz 61); it was built originally by Achille Hawkins' son, and it is one of the oldest standing structures in the study area. The Hawkins residence is a hybrid design, combining elements characteristic of shotguns and bungalows; its roofline, porch posts, and dormers suggest that ante bellum designs common in an earlier era influenced the builder. The house is raised on brick piers which are original, soft red brick; there is no evidence that it was ever moved. The walls are sheathed with lapped, cypress weatherboards on all sides; these are in very good condition. Some original windows are present which are double hung cypress six over six; these also are in excellent condition. However, aluminum windows have been installed on three sides. A full length gallery extends across the front (south) of the house which still possesses its original raised wooden porch as well as four cypress posts which support the roof; the ceiling of the porch is sheathed with beaded, two inch boards. There are two doors at the front, both of which have original screen doors in place. Capitals and bases are in place on the cypress posts; these are simple federal type assemblages which are consistent with those constructed during the ante bellum period in southeast Louisiana. The most striking feature of the Hawkins residence is its roofline; a long low hip, it clearly draws influence from the West Indian tradition which become a dominant architectural influence in eighteenth and early nineteenth
century Louisiana. Also exemplary of this period is the broad dormer present at the front (south) of the roof. All rafters are exposed and original; the roof is sheathed with tin. A shed located to the north of the house was constructed of vertical cypress boards; it may predate the house. The Hawkins residence was constructed around the turn of the century.

A shed addition present at the eastern side of the house contains a modern bathroom; although materials used to sheath and roof this shed are consistent with those pre-existing on the house, the use of other elements such as concrete block supports and aluminum windows are inconsistent and are not in keeping with detailing of the original structure. In addition, an original door on the rear (northern) facade has been replaced with an aluminum framed window; the weatherboards used to patch this opening are inconsistent with the original structure. At some point, the house was leveled and several supports are not original. These renovations and additions to the Hawkins house are inconsistent with the original methods and modes of construction so that the building no longer exhibits the quality of integrity as defined by the criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6).

**Shotguns**

Shotguns, which are an abundant and important style in the region, represented only 8.1 per cent of structures in the Montz architectural assemblage (n = 6; Montz 8, 11, 15, 28, 31, and 32). Examination of historic aerial photographs and of construction features indicates that they are among the oldest structures in the study area; most date from Montz's first phase of development (1900-1935). Several foundations are more recent than the structures which they support. Two of the shotguns inventoried (Montz 11 and 31) were abandoned at the time of inventory. The average width of shotguns was 19.5 feet, and depth averaged 47 feet. The majority of the shotgun structures surveyed were constructed on brick piers, a mode consistent with their period of construction. However, several residences of this type now stand on relatively modern foundations made of concrete piers or blocks. Typically, lapped wooden weather boards were used to sheath these structures; two shotguns showed evidence of vertical cypress boards beneath (Montz 11 and 31). Window frames and doors typically were constructed of wood. Roofs were generally front gables, although several hipped roofs were observed. Rafters were commonly exposed at the eaves, and tin roofs were typical. A common element on most shotguns inventoried (62 per cent) was the addition of a shed to one side (Montz 8, 11, 32, 61, and 62). These sheds contain bathrooms, and they were added subsequent to the original period of construction.
The Lynette Victor residence (Montz 8) is a shotgun that includes elements such as a chimney constructed of soft red bricks and original six-over-six cypress windows. These features suggest it is at least fifty years old. The building rests on concrete block piers which are inconsistent with the apparent age of the house. Asphalt shingles have been employed as sheathing; these were applied when a bathroom was added to the northern side. A porch is present at the western side of the house, although the concrete slab was probably poured shortly after relocation. The shotgun is a front gable and it has exposed rafters at the eaves; the roof is sheathed with tin. Scalloped, vertically placed weatherboards accentuate the front gable; this has been observed as a recurring motif in the town. Renovations are inconsistent with the original methods and modes of construction; therefore, the building does not possess the quality of integrity necessary for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Montz 11 is another shotgun located on Union Lane; it is presently abandoned and in poor condition. Air photos, circa 1935, show this house in its present location. Original brick piers are present below the house, as are concrete piers which were used to shore the house. Vertical cypress weatherboards are present beneath the horizontal, lapped boards which are currently in use. Windows are original six-over-six cypress and are double hung. This shotgun possesses a hipped roof with exposed rafters at the eaves and it is sheathed with tin. An addition is present at the northern side and contains the bathroom; it was common to do this when plumbing became available in the early 1950s. Montz 11, because of inconsistent use of materials for repair and renovation, is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historical Place.

Montz 32 on Tower Lane is a shotgun which stands one hundred and sixty-five meters north of River Road; its front is oriented towards the river. The building dates from the early twentieth century; standing on brick piers, it appears to be original to the site. The walls are sheathed with lapped, wooden weatherboards which vary in size and period (repairs have been made). The windows are mostly original four-over-four cypress framed. The roof is a front gable which has a hipped attachment for the porch at the front as well as a small shed roof at the rear; rafters are exposed and the roof is sheathed with tin. The porch at the front (south), is original and two large cypress posts support the roof here. This structure is oriented towards the river rather than the road, indicating that at the time of construction Tower Lane may not have been a developed thoroughfare. Renovations and replacement of some elements with materials inconsistent with original modes and methods of construction have resulted in loss of integrity as defined by the National Register criteria for evaluation.
Montz 15 (1726 Union Street) exhibits a melange of compositional elements that derive from different periods. It rests on concrete pillars that are inconsistent with the probable date of original construction. The house is sheathed with lapped, wooden weatherboards. The central portion of the house has original six-over-six wooden windows; metal frame windows are present at the east and west sides. The roof is hipped and sheathed with tin; a narrow soffit is in place at the eaves. Originally constructed as a shotgun, the eave of the house appears to be at least sixty years old. A soft red brick chimney is present at the ridge of the roof. At some point, the house was renovated extensively. A gallery or porch at the front of the house was enclosed and aluminum frame windows were added; a shed addition was also constructed at the northern side. Finally, a room was added at the west side along the track of the house. The house is interesting because it illustrates a common occurrence within the study area: rather than building new structures, residents tend to modify existing structures in order to accommodate changing spatial needs. Despite its being a representative of the manner in which older buildings are adapted for changing needs of residents in the study area, inconsistent use of modes and methods of construction during periodic renovations have resulted in a loss of integrity as defined by the National Register criteria.

Creole Cabins

Two of the seventy-four structures inventoried at Montz are best described as hybrids of the creole cabin type (Montz 4 and 25); neither is particularly outstanding. Although both are among the oldest structures in Montz, they have been renovated extensively over the years, and they lack stylistic and structural integrity. The Eugene residence (Montz 4) is one of the oldest surviving structures in Montz. Twenty-eight feet wide and forty-two feet deep, this house is constructed on red soft brick piers. Although the sheathing is inconsistent and modern (exterior c.b.x board and asphalt shingles), vertical cypress boards are present beneath. The roofline is the typical creole side gable with attached shed at the rear; it is sheathed with tin. A gallery extends across the front facade where originally a raised porch and wooden posts must have existed. At some point, the porch was removed and the posts were replaced by wrought iron supports which rest on concrete cylinders; a slab is present on grade across the front. A chimney located centrally in the roof also appears to be original. This structure was constructed as a side gable cabin; during the 1950s, an addition was added at the rear (east) which converted the Eugene house to a creole cabin in profile. Periodic renovations have resulted in a seriously altered front gallery; sheathing materials are also inconsistent. Therefore, the structure does not possess
the quality of integrity necessary for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

The second creole cabin inventoried, the Oliver residence (Montz 25), is located at the intersection of Union Lane and River Road. This residence, which is located near the Mississippi River, is one of the original homes built in the study area. The house is constructed on brick piers which are original; full 2" x 6" cypress beams support the floors. The original sheathing (horizontally lapped cypress) has been covered with asphalt shingles. The windows on the Oliver residence are typically six-over-six and wooden; they appear original to the structure. Aluminum frames are also present on the eastern facade. The roofline is a side gable at the front with an attached shed at the rear; it is sheathed in tin. A full gallery extends across the front with a raised porch. The gallery roof is supported by four 6" x 6" posts, several of which still possess ornamental brackets at the cornice. Centrally located on the roof is a chimney constructed of original soft red brick. At the base of the house is a skirt of exterior plywood. As was the case with the previously described Eugene residence (Montz 4), periodic renovations and the inconsistent use of materials have affected the integrity of the Oliver residence, and it is therefore not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Non-Residential Architecture

In addition to the six domestic types previously described, four structures inventoried at Montz were institutional, religious, or commercial structures. Montz 18 is the original Montz two-room schoolhouse. Constructed in 1931 during the administration of Huey P. Long, the date of construction of this structure coincided with the end of Montz's first phase of development as a community. The schoolhouse is a side gable structure with a large porch attached at the front; it retains its original massing and most of its original features. It rests on brick piers which appear to be more recent than the structure. Lapped, cypress weatherboards can be seen beneath the asphalt shingles which now sheath the structure. Windows vary in size; all are original six over six cypress framed. Exposed rafters are present at the eaves on the east and west sides, while brackets are used at the gable ends (north and south). The roof is sheathed with slate. Round, poured in place, concrete steps lead to the porch which is central on the eastern facade. A flagpole base stands in front of the structure. A shed, constructed of vertical cypress boards, is present at the north side; it may predate the schoolhouse. At this time, the schoolhouse is used as a domestic residence. Only two non-original components are present; these are brick piers and asphalt shingles. As noted above, original
cypress lapped weatherboards remain present beneath the shingles. The structure is discussed in terms of criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in a subsequent section of this report.

The second non-residential structure inventoried (Montz 19) is the Providence Baptist Church; it is located on Union Street immediately across from the previously described schoolhouse (Montz 18). The church is a thoroughly modern structure which was constructed in 1975. Built on a slab, the walls of the church are concrete blocks; windows and doors are all aluminum frame. The roof is a combination of side gable and hipped, sheathed with seal tab shingles. At the southwestern corner, there is an attached gable overhang above the entrance supported by brick pillars; a cross is placed at the peak of this gable. A large shell lot at the north side allows parking; this lot can be entered from both Union and Tower Lanes. Prior to 1975, the congregation met at a smaller structure which was located slightly closer to the river (Mrs. Eugene, personal communication, 1986). An air photo from circa 1935 shows two structures in this area.

At the intersection of Tower Lane and River Road is the Montz Tavern (Montz 27). This building is an example of a very common type in the region that is especially prevalent on River Road between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Constructed during the 1950s, its methods and materials of construction are typical of the second phase of development in Montz. The River Road facade is a stepped parapet wall which screens the gable roof behind it; these parapets are typical of rural, roadside bars and restaurants across the country. The sides are sheathed with lapped, wooden weatherboards. Windows are placed high on the facades and are made of wood; all have security bars in place. A double door with screens serves as the primary entrance on the southern facade. The front gable roof is sheathed with tin; an addition is present at the east. Attached to the facade is a steel pole from which a sign hung. A small gravel and shell lot is located in front of the tavern at the River Road. The tavern has been closed since January 1, 1986 (Zachary Richard, personal communication 1986).

The only currently operating commercial facility in Montz is the Double R Riding Stables, owned by Roy Zeringue (Montz 73). Mr. Zeringue rents horses, stables, and pasture space on this property. Structures on the site include two gable roof stables and one long shed roof stable. Currently, both of the gabled stables are being expanded to the west to provide additional space. These structures are sheathed with plywood or corrugated metal; all roofs are metal. In addition to these structures, the site also includes two large, fenced corrals. The stables' proximity to the spillway provides a viable commercial location. The Double R Riding Stables are located at the eastern limit of the Montz project area.
CHAPTER IX

INVESTIGATIONS AT THE MONTZ CEMETERY

Description, Location, and Physical Parameters of Montz Cemetery

Montz Cemetery lies at the northern end of Union Street, and it is enclosed on all sides by wooded areas. Its location relative to the remainder of the area surveyed in the course of this project is shown in Figure 26. The southernmost boundary is marked by a chain-link fence. The extension of Union Street, which has a shell surface, leads into the cemetery from this direction; the western end of the fence ends at the road, and no gate is present. The distance between the fence and the southernmost grave site is 61 meters. This southernmost portion of the cemetery, which is covered with herbs and grasses, appears undisturbed and devoid of burials. No markers are present, and no anomalies can be noted on the surface that are indicative of subsurface, unmarked graves.

In the course of cemetery investigations, the surrounding area was surveyed. Although no anomalies indicative of burials were noted, refuse disposal and vegetation distributions were noted and mapped. One type of refuse that was noted in several locations is termed "funerary refuse" throughout this chapter. It refers to discarded floral arrangements, floral stands, flower pots, styrofoam, bags of whitewash, and other items associated with grave good offerings or grave maintenance items. On the immediate western side of the road, a shallow ditch marks the western boundary of the cemetery. West of the ditch is an undeveloped, wooded area. Hackberries account for eighty percent of trees present in this western wooded area; the remaining trees are red and black oaks, rain trees, cherry laurels, and black cherries. Trees in this area are approximately 20 to 25 meters in height; the average density is 1.46 trees per square meter. Vines present are blackberry, honeysuckle, poison oak, and poison ivy. The northernmost extension of the cemetery also is demarcated by dense, untended vegetative growth. Species composition and density are similar to that described for the western perimeter. Similarly, the eastern boundary is marked by a line of untended vegetative growth. Tree species composition along the eastern boundary is approximately sixty percent hackberry and forty percent pecans, and a few oaks are present; tree height generally is 25 to 28 meters. Tree density is variable; at the northern end, density approximates 1.5 trees per square meter, and at the southern end, it approximates .8 trees per square meter. Although pecans are growing along the eastern boundary, species composition suggests that the trees surrounding the cemetery were not planted; all of the species identified, including pecan trees (Carya illinoensis), occur naturally in Louisiana (Little 1983). It
appears that selective clearing was used to create a treeline around the cemetery.

During the period of initial site visits, and during survey and recordation from February 17 to February 19, 1986, vegetation within the cemetery largely was dormant due to the season. At the time of a final site visit on March 28, 1986, herbaceous plants within the cemetery were untended and some of these had attained a height of one meter. However, cemetery boundaries remained clear relative to the immediately surrounding area because of the presence of woody undergrowth in the latter.

Figure 33, and Figure 33 oversize in the back pocket of Volume I, is a detailed site map of Montz Cemetery. The cemetery extends 175 meters from the fence at the south to the demarcating vegetative growth at the north. Its dimension from the shallow ditch on the western side of the road to the line of demarcating vegetation on the east is 26 meters. However, the area that actually includes interments is smaller; the measured distance between grave sites located at the extreme north and the extreme south is 114 meters, while the distance from east to west is 17 meters. The surface area, then, is 2964 meters for the entire cemetery including the southern portion that appears to be devoid of burials; for the area that includes burials, the surface area is 1938 meters.

The site map in Figure 33 shows locations where funerary and other refuse is concentrated on the eastern and western perimeters. Along the northwestern boundary is an area of mixed funerary and domestic refuse; the latter appears to be of recent origin. Immediately beyond the northern terminus of the road through the cemetery, the location of a mound of domestic refuse is shown; its surface is overgrown with herbaceous plants, indicating that it no longer is used for deposition of garbage. The presence of non-funerary refuse in the area of the cemetery is evidence that the site is used occasionally as a dump, despite signs prohibiting such activity.

Figure 33 shows locations and numbers assigned during field investigations for grave sites, some of which contain multiple interments. Numbers for crypts, copings, and subsurface burials associated with markers, either crosses or tombstones, were assigned first, and these numbers generally run sequentially from north to south. Numbers then were assigned to unmarked subsurface burials.

Interment sites are perpendicular to the road, an approximate east/west orientation. The overall configuration of graves suggests the presence of five approximate rows, oriented in a north/south direction; the rows lie between grave site 1 and 212; 9
Figure 33. Site Map of Montz Cemetery.
and 227; 229 and 253; 199 and 266; and 131 and 198. However, within these rows relative placement of burials is often staggered (see, for example, burials 137 through 145 on Figure 33). Similar grave placements can be seen in Figure 8.4 of a report on excavations of part of Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia; that site probably represents an interment area for paupers in the late nineteenth century (Blakely and Beck 1982). Similarly, surface stripping at the historic Black cemetery at Cedar Grove, Arkansas revealed a pattern of semiregular placement; although rows were present at that site, they were curvilinear rather than linear (see Figures 11 and 12, Rose et al. 1985). At Montz, the easternmost and westernmost rows are more regular than those in the center of the cemetery, and the northernmost and southernmost graves exhibit linear alignment. However, that alignment is lost in the interior of the cemetery. Also, no regularly spaced aisles are present between any of the approximate rows. Therefore, internal plan and design of Montz Cemetery appears to consist of (1) east/west orientation of graves and (2) north/south orientation of approximate rows. Burial plots do not appear to have been organized by means of a grid or survey executed prior to initiation of use of the cemetery. Rather, new graves probably were oriented relative to interment sites that already existed in closest proximity.

Number and Density of Graves at Montz Cemetery

Data collected during production of the site map and during inscription recordation indicated that a total of 280 grave sites were present in the cemetery; of these, 200, or 71 percent, were associated with markers. When the southern portion of the cemetery, which appears to be devoid of graves, is excluded from the calculation, the density of burial sites is one per 6.92 square meters. Comparative data are available from the aforementioned excavations in Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, where density ranged from one burial site per 3.2 square meters to one burial site per 4.6 meters, depending on the area sampled (Blakely and Beck 1982). At Cedar Grove, a Black cemetery in use in rural Arkansas until the 1920s, density was estimated as one burial site per ten square meters (Rose et al. 1985). At Montz, inscription recordation provided evidence that multiple interments occur in single plots. This practice is common in urban New Orleans at Carrolton and Holt Cemeteries, both of which are used by the same ethnic group as that at Montz (Franks, personal observation). Therefore, density of individuals may be considerably higher than density of burial sites.

Age and Growth of the Montz Cemetery

Dates of marked burials ranged from 1935 to 1985. Numbers of individuals interred during five year intervals are shown in the
The period of maximal growth was between 1970 and 1974, when the number of burials showed a dramatic increase. Some burials during this period represent part of a cohort born between 1890 and 1899, the decade in which the largest number of interred individuals were born (compare frequency distributions in Figures 36 and 37 showing decades of birth and ages at death, respectively).

Figure 35 is a series of maps that shows placement of burials during the entire period of cemetery use. Representation is cumulative so that all grave sites that occurred before or during the year shown are darkened. The earliest dated burials occurred in the northernmost part of the cemetery, and cemetery growth generally was from north to south. In addition, the row of graves located closest to the road is recent relative to other rows; the earliest dated burials here occurred subsequent to 1959.

Demographic Data Based on Inscription Recordation and Interpretations of Those Data

Data derived from inscription recordation were used to examine characteristics of the population interred in the cemetery at Montz. Results are presented in the series of tables and graphs discussed below. Dates of birth were tabulated in ten year periods for the years 1869 to 1969; Figure 36 is a histogram showing total number of individuals who were born for each of the decades represented. The earliest recorded birth date was 1863, and the most recent was 1967. The greatest number of individuals whose burials could be dated were born between 1890 and 1899. As the histogram demonstrates, the number of individuals born in subsequent decades and interred at Montz has declined.

Data derived from the inscription study were sufficient to provide age at death for 90 individuals. The range was from 10 to 96 years, with a mean age at death of 60.9 years. Ages at death were grouped into ten year periods for the interval 0 to 9 years of age to the interval 90 to 99 years; results are presented in the histogram in Figure 37. Intervals representing life spans of 50 to 59 years and 70 to 79 years include the largest numbers of individuals. The total number of individuals who died between birth and 49 years of age is less than either of these categories. These numbers do not reflect biology of the population utilizing the cemetery at Montz, so that comparison with demographic data that are unbiased would be spurious. Rather, a cultural explanation for the skewed mean age of death is necessary. One explanation may be that with increased age there is an increased likelihood of interment in a marked grave. Although demographic data are biased, the following explorations of those data provide information concerning the nature and possible explanation for the bias.
Figure 34. Number of individuals buried in Montz Cemetery in five year intervals from 1935-1985.
Figure 35. Growth in the Montz Cemetery, 1935-1985
Figure 36. Years of birth for individuals interred at Montz Cemetery, grouped in ten year intervals (1860-1969).
Figure 37. Ages at death of individuals interred at Montz Cemetery.
Figure 38 is a survivorship curve based on data available for age at death of 90 individuals interred at Montz; the same data are graphed as percentages in Figure 39. Twenty individuals died between the ages of 10 and 50, and the rate of death was fairly constant for the ten year intervals between those years. The number of deaths for grouped ages increases sharply at age 50. By age 70, 59 percent of the original population were deceased, and by age 80, 85 percent were deceased. Only four individuals survived beyond the age of 90.

Data for age at death then were analyzed separately for males and females. Figure 40 shows the total number of each sex surviving at age 10 to age 100, and Figure 41 presents the same data as percents. There were five dated burials for males who died between the ages of 10 and 20, but no interments were recorded for females during the second decade of life. A cultural rather than biological explanation is likely to explain this phenomenon. It is possible that females who have children are more often interred in marked graves than those who are too young to bear offspring. The percentage of females surviving is higher at all ages than that for males, although for individuals at age 40 and age 50, percentages are approximately equal. After age 50, the death rate is much higher for males than for females. At age 80, seven individuals of each sex were living; this represents only 11 percent of the total number of males as compared to 25 percent of females.

The absence of marked burials for individuals younger than ten years, and the fact that the youngest females in marked graves are age 21 and 34, contrasts sharply with demographic data generally available. As noted above, the discrepancy must be explained by cultural rather than biological phenomena. Surface indications of below ground interments were examined in order to determine whether a high number of unmarked graves were infant or child-sized. This was not observed to be the case. Therefore, if infants and children are represented in the population in the Montz Cemetery in proportions that would be expected on the basis of biological expectations, they apparently are interred in subsurface burials and/or crypts in which adults also are present or which are larger than might be expected. Further, their presence in the cemetery is not recorded on markers. If this explanation is correct, it indicates a cultural value that places little emphasis on marking graves of individuals younger than age 20. Alternatively, infants and children may be interred at some other location. However, even if children are interred at some other location or they are interred in graves that also contain adults, inscription analysis indicates that markers are more likely to be associated with individuals who have attained adulthood; in the case of females, the data suggest that marked
Figure 38. Longevity curve for 90 individuals interred at Montz Cemetery.
Figure 39. Longevity curve in percentages for 90 individuals interred at Mentz Cemetery.
Figure 40. Longevity curve for males versus females.
burials may be more likely following the births of children. Certainly, further investigations would be necessary to explain these observations.

Christian names were examined to determine the sex ratio of individuals whose names are recorded on markers in the Montz Cemetery. A total of 126 names could be identified as either male or female; of these, 80 were males and 46 were females. The presence of 39 military markers, which contributed 31 percent of the names available for this analysis, was considered a source of bias in the data. When these markers are excluded from analysis, the sex ratio is 1.2 females for each male.

**Surnames in the Cemetery**

Recordation of legible inscriptions resulted in the compilation of surnames from 126 markers in the Montz Cemetery. A total of 83 surnames were recorded; of these, 36 occurred more than one time. The relative positions of grave sites associated with the recurring surnames are shown in Figure 42. The map demonstrates that although some individuals with identical surnames are buried in different parts of the cemetery, a more common practice is adjacent or clustered interments. This agrees with informant data which indicates that historically, family members were buried close together (Melvin Marshall, personal communication 1986).

During map and reconnaissance work in the residential portion of the study area, a partial list of residents was derived from mailboxes. Comparison of surnames on this incomplete list with surnames recorded during the inscription study revealed that at least 43 percent of the households in the study area share surnames with individuals interred in the cemetery.

**Military Service Based on Marker Inscriptions**

A total of 39 interments had markers that showed the deceased were veterans of military service. Sixteen (41.0 percent) served in World War I, fourteen (35.9 percent) in World War II, and two (5.1 percent) in Korea. The types and frequencies of varieties of military markers in the Montz Cemetery are discussed below. Subsidence and erosion of markers account for the percentage discrepancy apparent in the figures just given.

**Modes of Burial**

Three modes of burial were recognized during data recovery in the Montz Cemetery. These were burials enclosed in crypts, subsurface burials, and burials associated with copings. Each of these major types and the varieties within each type are discussed
Figure 42. Distribution of Recurring Surnames in Montz Cemetery.
Of the total number of grave sites present, 109 or 39 percent, were crypts. Typically, crypts are constructed of poured concrete, and they have two components. The bottom component is the container which is a rectangular, concrete, waterproof box into which the coffin is placed; the lid, which is placed above, represents the second component. The joint where they meet usually is filled with mortar to produce a water tight seal that protects the coffin. Crypts may be whitewashed, stuccoed, or left in their natural state. All crypts inventoried in the Montz cemetery were prefabricated and manufactured. Crypts were characterized as belonging to one of four subtypes based on variation in shape, depth of burial, association with markers, and placement.

Crypt subtype 1, which is shown in Figure 43 and in Figure 44, was the most common subtype observed in the Montz cemetery; 88 were present, and they comprised 80 percent of all crypts. Typically, the seam between the top and the bottom sections was mortared. Considerable variation was noted in the relationship between this crypt variety and the ground surface. The watertight seal allowed lower placement in the ground, and the mortared seam often was located subsurface. Markers commonly are placed on top of these crypts.

Crypt subtype 2, shown in Figures 45 and 46, was distinguished from that described above because the joint between the lid and the container was not mortared. Instead, lids of this type were beveled near the joint so that a greater angle was present than that observed on subtype 1; this design results in a six to eight centimeter extension of the lid beyond the sides of the container, thereby preventing water from contacting the joint. The relationship of crypts of this variety was consistent; they usually were placed so that the joint between the lid and the container was approximately 35 centimeters above the ground. Markers were less commonly associated with these crypts because their curved lids make attachment difficult. This subtype represented eleven percent of all crypts observed, and their dates were relatively recent.

Seven examples, or six percent of all crypts observed in Montz cemetery, could be assigned to a third category, Crypt subtype 3 (Figures 47 and 48). These were among the oldest crypts present in the cemetery. Their shape is designed to resemble that of a casket. These crypts typically have rounded lids and beveled ends; as was the case with subtype 2, the rounded lid makes marker placement difficult. Lids typically are placed on the container
CRYPT TYPE 1

Figure 43. Side view of crypt type one.
CRYPT TYPE 2

Figure 46. End view of crypt type two.
CRYPT TYPE 3

Figure 47. Side view of crypt type three.
CRYPT TYPE 3

Figure 48. End view of crypt type three.
without mortar at the joint, and the joint is located approximately forty centimeters above ground surface. The weight of the lid provides a tight seal with the container below.

Crypt subtype 4, raised or stacked crypts (Figures 49 and 50), were the least frequent of all those inventoried in the Montz cemetery; only two such crypts were present. Evidence suggests that these crypts facilitate multiple interments. The base and top of these crypts are constructed in a fashion which is similar to crypt type 1. The difference here is that a central section, which is 45 centimeters tall, separates the base from the top. There is evidence of a mortared connection immediately above the bottom section of the crypt; this suggests the placement of a later interment above the original crypt. Type 4 crypts were also the largest of all crypts inventoried in the Montz cemetery, typically standing 110 centimeters tall.

Copings

Another common method of interment which was observed in the Montz Cemetery was subsurface burials placed within rectangular or square copings (Figures 51 and 52). These copings are low walls which define the area of burial; oftentimes, multiple interments are contained within a single coping. Copings vary greatly in terms of size and materials; some were much more elaborate than others. Concrete blocks were commonly used in the construction of the walls; the most modest approach to copings was merely to place a line of bricks or wood around the edge of the burial. If concrete blocks were employed, the walls were typically 50 centimeters above the ground; blocks were either left in their natural state or stuccoed and whitewashed. Twenty three such burials, representing eight percent of the total number of graves, were observed in the Montz cemetery.

Subsurface Burials

The majority of burials in the Montz Cemetery, 53 percent, were subsurface burials. These are below ground interments that are not associated with copings.

Temporal Ranges of Modes of Burial

Modes of burial were compared by year for all interments for which a date of death was available. The range for subsurface burials was from 1940 to 1985 and for burials with copings from 1935 to 1995. The earliest dated crypt occurred in 1954, and use of crypts continues to the present. The data were grouped into five year intervals for the period from 1945 to 1984, and the percent each type comprised of total burials was compared. Results are plotted in Figure 53. The graph indicates that since the
Figure 50. End view of crypt type four.
Figure 51. Plan view of coping type burial.
Figure 52. End view of coping type burial.
Figure 53. Percent composition of modes of burial for five year intervals from 1945 to 1984.
introduction of crypts at Montz Cemetery, their frequency of use has increased steadily; during the first interval they were used, they accounted for only 17 percent of dated burials; that figure had risen to 74 percent during the years 1980 to 1984. As Figure 53 illustrates, then, the relationship between subsurface interments and crypts is almost perfectly inverse after 1960, and the popularity curves for these classes of burials present near mirror images after that date. Popularity and/or economic changes may account for this observation.

**Comparison of Military and Non-Military Interments**

Frequencies and dates of burials associated with military markers were compared with non-military burials for which dates were available; the data were grouped into five year intervals, and the results are plotted in Figure 54. Between 1940 and 1969, the number of interments of Armed Services veterans was equal to or greater than the number of other marked burials. However, as Figure 53 demonstrates, the number of military burials has not risen as rapidly as other burial types during the period of expansive growth that began in 1969. Available data, then, indicate that the relative frequency of military markers in Montz reflects the heavy use of the cemetery site for burial of the World War I cohort.

**Analysis of Marker Types**

Five distinctly different types of markers were observed at the Montz cemetery: tombstones, crosses, beveled blocks, plaques, and temporary markers. Distribution of these types as well as distribution of military markers is shown on Figure 55. Within each of the type categories, multiple subtypes or variations on the type were also present. Each type as well as its associated subtypes are discussed below. Markers were observed to be either freestanding or attached to the previously described crypts and copings. The following section also will discuss the materials of construction, level of craftsmanship, and medium of inscriptions associated with each of the types. In addition, the prevalence of each form of markers is reviewed.

**Tombstones**

Tombstones at the Montz cemetery (Figures 56 through 64) were the most prevalent marker type; ten distinctive variations on the basic tombstone were observed and recorded. Type A (Figure 56) was the traditional tombstone shape, e.g. rectangular with a rounded top. Type A tombstones were typically homemade and exhibited various levels of craftsmanship, none of which were professional. This type is made by constructing a wooden form or mold which then was filled with cement and allowed to harden.
Figure 54. Frequency of military and non-military interments in five year intervals from 1935 to 1984.
Figure 55. Distribution of Marker Types in Montz Cemetery.
MILITARY TREE -6 MRTS
CROSS -FNCE
UTILITY POLE
Plaque -9
BEVELED
MONTZ CEMETERY
C TEMPORARY
Cemetery.
Figure 56. Tombstone A

GOD BLESS
TROY LEE SMITH
BORN
JULY 26, 1864
DIED
FEB. 2, 1894

Figure 57. Tombstone C

AUGUST
FRANCIS
BORN 1895
DIED 1934
WORLD WAR I
VS. JAPAN
MARCH 25, 1945
Figure 58. Tombstone D

Figure 59. Tombstone E
Figure 60. Tombstone F

Figure 61. Tombstone G
Figure 62. Tombstone H

Figure 63. Tombstone I
Figure 64. Tombstone J
Diagnostic signs of homemade tombstones are irregular edges and inconsistent curves at the top. Inscriptions on type A tombstones varied between handwritten, stenciled, and inscribed.

Type B tombstones were also homemade but varied from type A in that they were pointed at the top rather than rounded. Again, the level of craftsmanship of type B tombstones was generally low; this type was constructed in the same fashion as previously described for type A. Inscriptions on this type generally were handwritten.

Type C is a standard military tombstone presented to the families of deceased Armed Services veterans (Figure 57). Military types observed the traditional tombstone shape; all were made of marble and very well crafted. Inscriptions are engraved into the marble using beveled letters. A cross within a circle is typically at the top of these stones.

Type D tombstones (Figure 58) are those which have a cross added to the top of the stone. As was the case with types A and B, type D headstones were also homemade and exhibited irregular edges. The cross is incomplete in that the base is not present; rather, it is connected to the stone at the intersection of horizontal and vertical components. Inscriptions were not observed on this type.

Type E tombstones (Figure 59) were very small, homemade cement triangles which were poorly crafted. These were the smallest of all tombstones inventoried and they were not a very common type in the Montz cemetery. Inscriptions on type E tombstones were typically inscribed into the cement as it was curing; they were all handwritten.

Type F tombstones (Figure 60) were among the most recent of those observed in the Montz cemetery. This type consisted of a polished, rectangular granite stone placed on a concrete support. Tombstones of this type are extremely well crafted; they were purchased from funerary suppliers. Inscriptions on this type are engraved into the granite using beveled letters and numbers. Type F stones are also one of the most expensive types which were observed in the cemetery. Similar to type F is type G (Figure 61) which differs only in the use of a stone which is curved at the top rather than flat.

Type H tombstones (Figure 62), like type C, were also military issued and mark the graves of armed forces veterans. This type is a rectangular marble marker which are typically placed directly on the ground. Inscriptions are engraved into the marble using beveled type; name, rank, branch of service, division number, war served in, as well as years of birth and death are all included in military inscriptions. The level of craftsmanship is generally
excellent on this type.

Type I tombstones (Figure 63) are those which are shaped to represent an opened Bible. Both granite and cement stones of this type were observed in the Montz cemetery. Inscriptions on this type are engraved or hand-painted. Because of the sculptural complexity of the form, often this type is not homemade; rather, it was purchased from funerary suppliers.

Type J (Figure 64) is the final tombstone type which was observed in the Montz cemetery. This type is a square cement marker which is typically placed directly on the ground. The engraved inscriptions on this type also suggest that these too are purchased from funerary suppliers. The level of craftsmanship of this simple type is good.

Crosses

The second most common type of marker in the cemetery at Montz were crosses (Figures 65 through 70). Six variations on the basic cross were observed and documented. Type A (Figure 65) is a cement cross on a base (the width of which is consistent with that of the cross). Inscriptions are typically placed on this base and are often engraved. The level of craftsmanship of this type, which is purchased from funerary suppliers, is generally good.

Type B (Figure 66) is the homemade wooden cross. Two pieces of wood are lapped and secured with nails or glued forming a standard cross shape. Inscriptions on this type are either hand written or stenciled across the horizontal member of the cross. The level of craftsmanship of this type ranges from good to fairly primitive.

Type C (Figure 67) is also a homemade wooden marker but it is "T" shaped, rather than a full cross. Only one marker of this type was observed in the Montz cemetery; this was poorly crafted and bore no inscription.

Type D (Figure 68) is a metal cross which is made of cast iron. This type tends to be very small and slender. Older crosses in the cemetery were of this type. Because the horizontal and vertical members of type D were so narrow, no inscriptions were present on crosses of this variety.

Type E (Figure 69) is a standard cross which is made of cement. These crosses were observed to be both homemade and manufactured. The homemade crosses of this variety had irregular edges and were generally poorly crafted. Inscriptions were inscribed into the cement as it was curing and were placed on both the horizontal and vertical members of the cross.
Figure 65. Cross A

Figure 66. Cross B
Figure 67. Cross C

Figure 68. Cross D
Figure 69. Cross E

Figure 70. Cross F
Type F (Figure 70) is similar to type A in that it is also a cross placed on a base and entirely constructed of cement. The difference is that the base on type F is square and also wider than the cross which it supports. Inscriptions are placed on the base and engraved; the level of craftsmanship of type F crosses is generally good; they are purchased from funerary suppliers rather than homemade.

Beveled Markers

Beveled markers (Figures 71 and 72) were third in order of frequency. These typically were constructed of cement or granite blocks, one side of which was angled. Inscriptions were placed on this angled surface; inscription types and the inclination of the bevel were variable. This marker type was commonly in place on top of crypts, although several also were placed directly on the ground.

Type A (Figure 71) is a concrete marker that typically is beveled at a thirty degree angle. Many of these appear to be homemade; inscriptions were observed to be inscribed, engraved, and handwritten. It appears that although the markers themselves may be purchased from funerary suppliers, the inscriptions, which are generally crude, sometimes are produced by family members.

Type B has the same basic shape, size, and angle (30 degrees) as type A, except it is made of polished granite, rather than cement. Craftsmanship for these markers was typically excellent; inscriptions were engraved.

Type C (Figure 72) is identical in all aspects to type A with the exception of the inclination of the bevel. The inscription face on this type was cut at a fifteen to twenty degree angle rather than the thirty degree cut previously described on types A and B. Fewer markers of this type were observed than the other beveled cement type.

Plaques

Markers characterized as plaques were less frequent than beveled markers in the Montz cemetery. They usually are affixed to the front of crypts; bronze military plaques occasionally are mounted on separate beveled supports. Type A is a polished granite plaque of which only one was observed; it was mounted on the front of a crypt with screws. Craftsmanship was excellent, and the inscription was engraved.

Type B (Figure 73) refers to bronze military plaques. Again, these are presented to the families of deceased Armed Services
Figure 71. Beveled Marker A

Figure 72. Beveled Marker C
Figure 73. Plaque B

MAUEL DIGGS
SSGT, US ARMY
WORLD WAR II
1942-1945
veterans. Inscriptions were embossed, rather than engraved. The edge of these plaques had a continuous sculpted border; a cross was similarly embossed, and it was centered at either the bottom or the top of the plaque.

Type C is a cement plaque which typically is placed on top of crypts. This type appeared to be homemade and was generally poorly crafted. Inscriptions in this type commonly were inscribed.

Type D is a molded plastic plaque which was observed on only one grave in the Montz cemetery. This type was the smallest of all plaques inventoried, and it was glued to the crypt lid. A plastic crypt also was affixed to the crypt.

Temporary Markers

In addition to the permanent markers previously described, several temporary markers were observed in the Montz cemetery. Type A was a steel pipe or pair of pipes placed at one end of a burial. These pipes were driven into the ground and extended roughly two feet above the surface. Type B was a rectangular plastic holder in which an identification card was placed. This card could be viewed through a clear plastic window which protected the card from the weather. Only one marker of this type was observed in the Montz cemetery; it was attached to a wooden stake (Figure 74).

Comparison of Frequencies of Marker Types

As was noted above, five major types were established during classification of burial markers, and subtypes were established for each major type. The percent composition for subtypes within each major class are presented in Figures 75, 76, 77, and 78.

Of the total number of crosses present, Cross A comprised 41 percent. As the histogram in Figure 75 demonstrates, Cross D and E both represented 17 percent of the total number, and the other three categories combined represented 22 percent. Of the total number of bevel type markers in the cemetery, the subtype Bevel A accounted for 72 percent (Figure 76).

The percent composition of plaque subtypes is presented in Figure 77; Plaque B, which is a bronze military marker, accounts for 56 percent of the total; Plaques A and B each represent 18 percent of the total number of bevels, and Plaque D comprises the remaining 8 percent. Tombstones, the fourth major type of marker at Montz, had the greatest number of recognizable subtypes. The percent composition of those subcategories are shown in the histogram in Figure 78. Tombstone C, a military marker, accounted
Figure 74. Temporary Marker B
Figure 75. Frequency of cross marker subtypes.
Figure 76. Percentages of beveled marker subtypes.
Figure 77. Percentage of plague subtypes.
Figure 78. Percentage of tombstone subtypes.
for 27 percent of total tombstones, and the other military type, Tombstone H, for 16 percent. The non-military Tombstone A accounted for 24 percent. For both these major types, therefore, military markers represent approximately one-half of the total number present.

**Temporal Range of Marker Types**

Inscriptions that included dates of death were examined to determine the earliest and most recent dates of occurrence for each marker subtype; date ranges are presented in Figure 79. As noted above, two burials dated 1935 were the earliest marked interments; one was marked by a Tombstone A and the other by a Cross A. Burials associated with Tombstone A have continued through 1984. No dated burials have been marked by Cross A since 1980; absence of the latter type during a period when a relatively large number of burials occurred suggests it has been replaced due to lack of availability or cessation of demand.

Occurrences of Tombstone C, the marble military marker, were recorded for the period from 1946 to 1978. As shown in Figure 79, Tombstone H, also a military marker, first appeared in Montz Cemetery in 1959, and it continued to be used until 1977. Use of the third type of military marker, Plaque B, began in 1964 and continues to the present. During the period when these three subtypes were in use, Tombstone C was associated with three burials, and Tombstone H and Plaque B each were associated with four; no trends in relative popularity were apparent. Date ranges for Tombstone types D, F, I, and G, graphed in Figure 78, demonstrate a pattern of successive replacements. Tombstone D was used from 1954 until 1963; in 1965, Tombstone F first was used and it persisted until 1974. In 1975 and 1976 respectively, Tombstones I and G were introduced, and subtype G has continued in use until the present. As noted above, Tombstone A concurred with these other subtypes.

The earliest date for Bevel type markers was 1961, when subtype B first appeared; subtype A was introduced in 1966, and subtype C in 1970 when it replaced subtype B. As was mentioned above, frequencies of subtypes B and C were extremely low; their combined use represented only 28 percent of all beveled markers. Although subtype A was not the first to be introduced, it immediately became the most popular variety of beveled marker, as indicated both by date ranges and by frequencies of occurrence.

**Discussion**

Field investigations and subsequent data analyses demonstrate that cemeteries are repositories of information concerning cultural practices and temporal changes in those
Figure 79. Bar graph demonstrating year of initial and final occurrence of important marker types in Montz Cemetery.
practices (see also Deetz and Dethlefsen 1978). Data from a single cemetery are not a sufficient base for conclusions or generalizations concerning either the origin or the significance of these phenomena. However, the analysis presented above suggests that if data were collected for a region and for cemeteries used by different ethnic or cultural groups, temporal trends and variable mortuary practices could be quantified, compared, and contrasted. The effects of geomorphology, land use patterns, socioeconomic differences, and cultural differences then could be discerned.

Because the previously described data from the Montz cemetery can contribute to comparative study of funerary and burial practices in the region, and because so little comparative data on these subjects is available, during fieldwork and subsequent analyses emphasis was given to recordation and classification. The resultant data base, therefore, permits both the characterization of patterns of use and the delineation of changes in the material culture of a single rural Black cemetery complex. While these data are insufficient to permit generalizations about broader regional patterns and trends, they have enabled a number of conclusions about the particular case under study here. They also provide a frame of reference, as well as a rigorous methodological approach, for future synthetic and comparative studies.

**Summary of Results Regarding Age and Origins of Montz Cemetery**

As a result of these research efforts, the age and origins of the Montz Cemetery have been clarified. As shown above, the earliest dated burials at Montz occurred in 1935. Although eighty unmarked interments were noted at the site, there was no observable or locational indication that these grave sites antedated other burials. Also, and as Chapter IV (see subsection "The Montz Cemetery") pointed out, data collected from oral informants (Yakubik and Franks 1986) indicate that inhabitants of Montz utilized Kugler Cemetery prior to construction of the Bonnet Carre' Spillway in 1929. One informant remembered that the first interment at Montz had occurred in the 1930s, and other informants stated that the fraternal organization Knights of Pythias purchased the land for and initiated burials at Montz Cemetery. Therefore, it is more likely that the alternate hypothesis regarding origins and age of Montz Cemetery is correct; it probably was not a site for ante bellum interments of slaves; rather, it is of recent origin. This latter fact has important ramifications for the issue of significance of the Montz cemetery site, applying the National Register criteria (Chapter X).
Impact Analysis

A schematic representation of the Montz freshwater diversion facility is shown in Figure 1, which shows that proposed construction will directly impact the eastern portion of the Montz study area from the Bonnet Carre' guide levee to the western edge of Kenner Lane. The area west of Kenner Lane (Figure 79) lies outside of the area of direct physical disturbance; construction of the freshwater diversion facility will not result in physical alteration of cultural resources in this portion of the project area, unless construction related activities there require modification of the existing landscape and removal of extant standing structures. If project implementation does not necessitate damage to surface and structural remains west of Kenner Lane, impacts to cultural resources in this portion of the project area will be indirect, consisting primarily of visual impacts. Because the potential effects of project implementation, and any long term effects of subsidence and of water transport are unknown at this time, project impacts are viewed herein primarily as direct effects.

In the following discussion, the potential for adverse effect to significant cultural resources within the Montz study area is discussed within an evaluatory framework that applies the National Register criteria (36 CFR 60.6). Because of the absence of recorded or predicted archeological sites within the project area, this discussion emphasizes standing structures and the Montz cemetery. This discussion is organized geographically, and both assessments of significance and review of project impacts proceed from east to west. For each geographic unit discussed, recorded cultural resources are assessed using the National Register criteria; the nature of impacts is reviewed; and, recommendations are made concerning the management of any resources and the need for additional work. This discussion begins with the Eastern sector of the Montz study area.

The Eastern Sector of Montz

As can be seen by comparing Figure 26 and Figure 1, impacts to the Calcagno property, the northeastern most residential area in the study corridor, will be direct. Although two standing structures (Montz 64 and 65) located in this portion of the study area antedate 1945, as was discussed in Chapter VIII, neither of these bungalows possesses sufficient integrity to warrant consideration for inclusion on the National Register of Historic
The remaining structures (Montz 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, and 74) in the northeastern section of the Montz study area were erected subsequent to 1945, precluding eligibility for the National Register. Because no significant cultural resources can be identified in this portion of the planned project corridor, no effect on significant cultural resources should result from the planned undertaking there. For this portion of the study universe, then, no further work is recommended.

The Hawkins Sector

The next location to be considered is south of the wooded area that divides the eastern and western residential sections of the study area; the proposed freshwater diversion facility will impact this area directly. As shown in Chapter VI, this property historically is related to the Hawkins family, which has substantial longevity in the Montz area. Two structures (Montz 61 and 62) are located here. The Reginald Hawkins house (Montz 61) is situated closest to the river. As was discussed above, this structure probably was erected shortly after 1900. However, as discussed in Chapter VIII, modern renovations and additions have destroyed the integrity of the Hawkins house, altered the massing of the building, thereby severely compromising the architectural and historical integrity of this residence. Because associations with significant personages or events are indirect, and due to the lack of architectural integrity, the Reginald Hawkins house (Montz 61) is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6). Similarly, modern renovations have resulted in the loss of architectural integrity of the Cleoma Smith House (Montz 62); therefore, it does not possess the quality of significance as defined by the National Register criteria (36 CFR 60.6). Thus, no significant standing structures in the Hawkins Sector will be effected by the planned construction; as noted above, no archeological sites are recorded or expected within the Hawkins sector.

The Kenner Lane Sector

Construction of the proposed freshwater diversion facility will impact directly structures on both the eastern and western sides of Kenner Lane. As discussed in Chapter X, all of the structures located along Kenner Lane (Montz 42 through Montz 60) were erected after 1945. Therefore, they are not eligible for nomination to and inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6). No significant cultural resources will be effected by the planned construction within the Kenner Lane sector; no archeological sites are recorded or expected there.
The Tower Lane Sector

The next area to be considered in analysis of impact is the residential settlement on the eastern side of Tower Lane; there are no standing structures on the western side of this street. None of the standing structures in the Tower Lane sector of the Montz project area fulfills the criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. As Chapter VIII has shown, standing structures Montz 27 through Montz 41 either post date 1945 or they have been reworked and renovated to such an extent that they no longer possess the quality of integrity (36 CFR 60.6). Therefore, no significant standing structures in the Tower Lane sector of the Montz study area will be effected by the proposed construction; no archeological sites are recorded or expected there.

The Union Lane Sector

The final segment of the Montz study area is the Union Lane sector where residential settlement has occurred on both sides of the street. Providence Baptist Church (Montz 19) and the Montz Cemetery also are located in this sector. The cemetery will be considered subsequently. Impacts to structures (Montz 1 through 26) in the Union Lane sector will be indirect, unless project implementation results in physical alteration of areas adjacent to the project corridor presently defined by the New Orleans District, Corps of Engineers. Although several residential structures located in this sector (Montz 4, 8, 11, 15) pre-date 1945, as Chapter VIII illustrated, each of these four structures has been modified substantially using materials and workmanship inconsistent with the original configurations, and with their periods and styles; therefore, they lack sufficient integrity to warrant their consideration for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6). Providence Baptist Church (Montz 19), one of two non-residential sites in this sector, as well as the remaining residential structures (Montz 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and Montz 19 through 26), were erected after 1945, and therefore do not warrant consideration for the National Register of Historic Places (36 CFR 60.6). Thus, the planned construction of the Montz freshwater diversion project will not effect any significant residential standing structures within the Union Lane sector.

The Montz School

A final structure located within the Union Lane sector merits special consideration here. As noted in Chapter VIII, the Montz school (Montz 18) currently serves as a single family dwelling. However, archival research revealed that it originally was constructed in 1931 as a two-room schoolhouse to serve the settlement located at Montz. Therefore, it warrants
Methods and materials used in construction of this building were detailed in Chapter VIII; a standing structure record form for Montz 18, with photographs, is contained in Appendix III. It is a side gable structure, and original lapped, cypress weatherboards remain in place beneath asphalt shingles which were used as sheathing at a later date. Original six-over-six cypress framed windows also are present. Round, poured in place concrete steps lead to the large front porch, and a flagpole base stands in front of the structure. A shed constructed of vertical cypress boards is present at the north side; the shed may predate the schoolhouse. The only two non-original components present are brick piers and asphalt shingles.

Figure 80 is a photograph of Fisher No. 2 School, in Jefferson Parish. Comparison with photographs of Montz 18 (Appendix III) demonstrates clearly that the former schoolhouse at Montz represents a functional architectural type which may have been common during a previous period in Louisiana. The Fisher School No. 2 also is a side gable structure with an attached porch at the front. Similar brackets are present at the eaves of both buildings. The massing of both the Fisher schoolhouse and the Montz schoolhouse are identical. Clearly, a common architectural language is shared by these structures; this, in conjunction with their identical function, suggests that the former schoolhouse at Montz (Montz 18) is an exemplar of a functional type associated with expansion of Louisiana's public school system.

Public education was of profound significance to residents in rural communities such as the one located in the present study area. State funded education remains one of the most important publicly funded services, and the importance of public education as a significant theme in Louisiana history is undisputed in contemporary society. Nevertheless, as of this date no single former or presently used schoolhouse or school building from Louisiana is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Consolidation of schools and school districts during the 1950s obviated the use of schoolhouses such as the Montz school. As a result, many of these structures probably have been lost to development during the intervening years. In short, the Old Montz Schoolhouse (Montz 18) is of sufficient age for National Register eligibility, and it is associated with a theme of importance in American history, (e.g., the advent of public education) [36 CFR 60.6 (a)].

As noted above, however, the Montz schoolhouse is sheathed with asbestos shingles at present. As a result, the original configuration of the structure is not visible. According to the
Secretary of Interior's Guidelines (1982), entitled "How to apply the National Register criteria,

...buildings, structures, and objects must have a substantial degree of integrity, visible enough for the property to convey its significance under Criterion A, B, or C only. In a few limited situations, buildings, structures, and objects may qualify even though their historic features are visually obscured. A property such as a building that is significant under Criterion A, B, or C, and is intact is eligible. However, if that property has been covered by recent sheathing that obscures but has not damaged the property's important features, the property can only be eligible if the recent sheathing is removed (44).

Therefore, in its present condition, the Old Montz Schoolhouse (Montz 18) is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. As stated in the Guidelines (1982) above, it can only be eligible if the asphalt shingles that cover the original lapped, cypress weatherboards are removed. Visual integrity, rather than structural integrity, is currently lacking in this building.

The Montz Cemetery

As is shown by comparing Figure 25 and Figure 79, Montz Cemetery is outside of the direct impact area of the planned freshwater diversion facility. However, because of the sensitive nature of cemeteries in general, and pursuant to the Scope of Services for this project, this cemetery site merits scrutiny as a cultural resource so that management decisions can be made concerning its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. The following discussion, then, reviews the Montz Cemetery in light of current guidelines and interpretations governing cemetery sites as cultural resources with potential eligibility for the National Register.

According the Secretary of Interior's guidelines entitled "HOW TO APPLY THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA," a cemetery may be eligible for the National Register:

(1) ... if it is a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design values, or from association with historic events.
Furthermore, a cemetery may be eligible if it contains the graves of a number of persons of transcendent importance; if it has achieved historic significance for relatively great age in a particular geographical or cultural context; on the basis of distinctive design values, e.g., aesthetic and/or technological achievement in fields such as planning, architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, and sculpture; if it is associated with historic events; if it is a National cemetery; and, if it has the potential to yield information that is important within a specific context, and if that potential is demonstrated (Secretary of Interior's Guidelines "How to Apply the National Register Criteria," 1982:54-57). In addition, cemeteries must retain integrity of design features such as plan, grave markers, and any related elements, in order to be eligible.

Clearly, the intent of these guidelines is to permit National Register status for cemeteries with key historical associations, that contain the graves of transcendent personages, that are unique exemplars of styles or forms, or that have clearcut potential to provide information important to understanding of history. These guidelines, then, provide an interpretation of the National Register criteria [36 CFR 60.6 (a-d)] for the special case of cemeteries; other aspects of significance, such as the ineligibility of recent sites, still obtain, except where otherwise allowed by a unique or transcendent association.

Insofar as the Montz Cemetery is concerned, it is clear that it does not contain the graves of persons of transcendent importance. Even on the local or regional level, the only significant personage identified in the historical record is Achilles Hawkins; Hawkins is buried at St. Charles Borromeo, several miles downriver from Montz. Second, it has not achieved historic significance for its relatively great age within its particular geographical and cultural context. As shown above, Montz Cemetery postdates 1930, and the vast majority of graves there date from after World War II. A constructionist view of the Secretary of Interior's guidelines, then, would delimit only that portion of the Montz Cemetery that antedates World War II as potentially significant, even if other evaluatory criteria were met.

Design values that characterize Montz Cemetery, although aesthetically pleasing and consistent with those of other cemeteries of this nature, do not represent the level of achievement that is required under 36 CFR 60.6(c). The attribution of aesthetic significance to the Montz Cemetery would require a reductionist interpretation of the governing regulations that would confer National Register eligibility to virtually any rural cemetery, regardless of age. In addition, the cemetery, because of its relatively recent origin, is not
associated directly with historic events.

Although substantial information on rural Black cemeteries, on the demography of the locality, and on funerary practices has been engendered by this project, these results still have not demonstrated additional research potential of the Montz Cemetery that is sufficient to confer the quality of significance as defined by the National Register criteria. The results of this study derive in large measure from the development of a rigorous methodology for cemetery studies, and from punctilious recordation. However, if all graves that are too recent to qualify for the National Register are removed from consideration, even the preceding observations and interpretations would not have been possible.

Rather, the remaining pre-World War II interments are too few to permit reliable statistical analyses; they also are located subsurface, and lack the funerary architecture that enabled some of the more fine-grained analyses and delineations presented above. The ability of a site to contribute to understanding of history [36 CFR 60.6(d)] presupposes historical context and time depth that is lacking in a small, essentially synchronic burial assemblage, such as that present in the pre-1945 interments at Montz. Diachronic patterns and cultural processes at Montz Cemetery are visible only when the recent interments are included in analyses; such an inclusion obviates significance for research potential in this case.

Finally, the presence of massive and numerous post-1945 crypts admixed and interspersed with the pre-1945 subsurface burials has modified the original configuration of the cemetery. This represents an addition within the historic portion of the cemetery to such an extent that "either by quantity or visual impact they significantly impair the cemetery's historic identity" (Secretary of Interior's Guidelines 1982:57). Thus, the Montz Cemetery does not possess sufficient integrity for National Register status.

In short, despite the contribution of the foregoing data and analyses to cemetery studies in South Louisiana, these research results have academic, rather than management significance. The Montz Cemetery does not possess the quality of significance, as defined by the National Register criteria, and no further cultural resources measures are indicated. However, if impact to the cemetery will occur as a result of construction of the proposed freshwater diversion facility, caution should be exercised within the southernmost portion of the cemetery which, as discussed in Chapter IX, apparently is devoid of graves. The absence of burials in this area should be confirmed by remote sensing (e.g., magnetometer survey) and, if the data indicate it is appropriate, by limited subsurface testing.
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APPENDIX I
SCOPe OF SERVICES
MONTZ, LOUISIANA LITERATURE AND ARCHIVAL REVIEW
AND A RESEARCH DESIGN FOR A
MONTZ, LOUISIANA CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY
Contract DACW29-84-D-0029, Delivery Order 14

1. Introduction. This contract effort is intended to assist the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District in augmenting an Environmental Impact Statement for the Mississippi and Louisiana Estuarine Study in conjunction with the Montz freshwater diversion project at the Bonnet Carre' Spillway. Work efforts will supplement other cultural resource studies of the project and the compliance process required to address and assess project effects. This effort will provide a data base for assessment of project effects on National Register and Register-eligible properties, the people of Montz, and consideration of possible mitigation measures. This effort will also provide the basis for compliance with Federal historic preservation and other environmental laws.

The geomorphology of the area is complex and some surfaces are old. Historic resources are expected to date from at least A.D. 1800.

2. Background. The Bonnet Carre' Spillway was authorized under the Jadwin Plan, approved by the Flood Control Act of 15 May 1928. Bonnet Carre's purpose is to furnish flood protection for New Orleans, about 26 miles downstream. Specifically, its use is to prevent the river stage at Carrollton, in New Orleans, from exceeding 20 feet M.S.L. The Bonnet Carre' structure was completed in 1931 and the levees were completed in 1932.

The Mississippi and Louisiana Estuarine Study was conducted in response to a resolution adopted 23 September 1976 by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Public Works and Transportation. The purpose of the study is to investigate the feasibility of introducing fresh water into the Lake Pontchartrain Basin in the interest of improving the habitat and the productivity of fish and wildlife resources. One of the selected sites for diversion will require the relocation of Montz and will result in severe surface disturbance.

Relevant authorities include the National Historic Preservation Act and the Archeological Resources Protection Act. Authority for the cultural anthropological work may be found in Section 502 of the 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (PL96-515, Dec. 12, 1980, 16USC470). The cultural anthropological work is also undertaken pursuant to the recommendations contained in Cultural Conservation, DOI & American Folklife Center, 1983 promulgated pursuant to Section 502 of NHPA. Additional guidance is at 4331(b)(4) of NEPA (42USC 4321-4347).
3. General Nature of the Work to be Performed. The work to be performed by the Contractor shall be an intensive cultural/historical literature/archival search of the project's direct and indirect impact areas. The potential impact area of the project includes the physical alteration of the project right-of-way, the potential for visual or aesthetic impacts to National Register or Register-eligible resources located adjacent to the project right-of-way, the potential impact on the Montz cemetery, and the effect on the Montz community caused by the project implementation.

The literature search will determine the need for and provide justification for any additional cultural resource work. Commensurate with the findings of the literature/archival search, additional cultural resource work recommendations will be accompanied by an explicit Research Design.

The cultural/social anthropology work effort will concentrate on community structure, cohesiveness, and religiosity in an attempt to determine the effects of the project on the community and the cemetery. Recommendations will be promulgated to avoid, reduce, or alleviate project effects on the community and the cemetery. Work conducted for this effort will ensure all professional and legal requirements for the utilization of human informants are considered and met (if needed during the Research Design construction). How human informants are to be utilized during the execution phase will be explicitly discussed in the Research Design.

4. Description of the Study Area/Population. The study area generally consists of the potential project impact area as shown on Figures 1 and 2. The study area is encompassed by a rectangle approximately 1/2 mile x 1/2 mile. The study area encompasses approximately 320 acres. This estimate should be confirmed by the Contractor during preparation of the proposal.

The current population of Montz is about 500 persons. Montz is a predominantly low income community and most of the residents are closely related. The community has a strong sense of cohesiveness. As many as four generations of some families live in Montz. Approximately 70 single-family dwellings and one church are to be directly affected by the project. The Montz cemetery is currently outside the direct construction impact area. However, project implementation may cause a direct impact to the cemetery.

Montz was a named community as early as 1904. However, the community may have begun much earlier and be associated with cultural features depicted in the area since the late 1700's.

5. Study Requirements. The required studies will be conducted utilizing current professional standards and guidelines as they apply to each particular study effort.

The work to be performed by the Contractor is divided into three parts: Cultural Resource Study Area Literature Review and Archival Research; Montz Cultural Anthropology Community Study; Data Analysis and Report Preparation.
Figure 1

LEGEND

Improvements completed

NOTE

Elevations are in feet and refer to
National Geodetic Vertical Datum

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION WORK
FLOOD CONTROL MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND TRIBUTARIES
BONNET CARRE SPILLWAY

SCALE AS SHOWN

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT ENGINEER, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
REVISED 30 SEPTEMBER 1983
a. Part I: Cultural Resource Study Area Literature Review and Archival Research.

The Contractor shall commence with an intensive literature and archival search oriented solely on the study area and the community of Montz. The literature/archival search should detail the history of Montz, the study area, and the Montz cemetery. The literature/archival search will identify and define data gaps and problems in our knowledge of Montz, the study area, the Montz cemetery, and their history. The report developed should follow, as appropriate, the format specified in Enclosure 1.

The literature/archival review and report will be developed through historical research, records review, literature review, and other appropriate data. The review will specifically include the following:

1. A detailed description of the history of Montz, the study area, and the Montz cemetery;
2. A brief summary and evaluation of all previous archeological/historical investigations in view of contemporary methodology, research objectives, and accuracy. Previous research will also be summarized in terms of the theoretical framework employed and research questions investigated, identified, and resolved;
3. Identification of items or areas (prehistoric or historic) of archeological interest and areas of high site locational probability, based on historic documentation, geomorphology, settlement theories, and remote sensing. This effort will include information to support remote sensing survey if remote sensing is recommended by the Contractor. The methodology and assumptions used shall be fully explained;
4. Recommendations for the necessity (pro and con) of additional cultural work. Recommendations shall be made for specific areas and specific resources and will not be made in generalistic terms. Any recommendation for additional cultural resource work shall be accompanied by a Research Design. The Research Design shall be an appendix to the report and shall conform to the format specified in Enclosure 2;
5. A determination of the age of Montz, the individual structures, and the cemetery based upon the literature/archival search. Age of structures will also be based upon architectural assessment;
6. A determination of the ownership and residents and dates of burial for the Montz cemetery. Initially this will be limited to inscription study, recordation, and limited archival research, e.g. church records;
7. Recommendations (based mostly upon the archival research and reconnaissance) for the National Register eligibility and significance of Montz, individual structures, or other cultural resources located. The
Contractor will specifically address the three levels of National Register eligibility: local, regional, and national;

(8) the relationships of Montz, individual structures, and the cemetery to Gypsy and New Home Plantations, and settlements, villages, and small plantation homes located in the area since the late 1700's; and

(9) a determination of the probability for the presence or absence of historical and prehistoric remains of archeological interest (see 32 CFR 229) in the study area.

The written draft report shall be submitted to the Contracting Officer's Representative (COR) within 8 weeks after work item award for review and approval. All review comments will be resolved and incorporated within 2 weeks after the comments are provided to the Contractor.

b. Part 2, Montz Cultural Anthropology Community Study.

(1) The Contractor shall prepare a well-defined Research Design (see Enclosure 2 for format) oriented toward identification and analysis of the structure, cohesiveness, ethnicity, and religiosity of Montz and the residents' psychological attachment to their community church and cemetery. The Research Design will include statements concerning the general and specific goals in the form of hypotheses and how these will be operationalized. Further, the Research Design will specify the data, techniques, and analyses which will allow testing and verification of the hypotheses. Thus, the Research Design will integrate research objectives with specific data collection and analysis techniques, and will serve as the plan for conducting the study and recommending mitigation to alleviate or reduce impacts.

The Research Design will be developed from any appropriate data base including data produced from the cultural resource study (Part I). The Research Design is a plan for a cultural anthropological study and is not a plan for a sociological or economic study. The Research Design will specifically include consideration of the following:

(a) Definitions of community, structure, identity, cohesiveness, ethnicity, religiosity, and psychological attachment to the area, the church, and the cemetery.

(b) determining the effect of isolating the community from its church and/or cemetery and vice versa;

(c) determining the effect on community cohesion, structure, and identity of the project implementation in three modes: piecemeal relocation, wholesale relocation to a new, established area, and wholesale relocation to an area to be acquired and built;

(d) developing mitigation measures to alleviate significant impacts; and
(e) protecting and using human informants.

A written draft Research Design shall be submitted to the COR within 9 weeks of the work item award for review and approval. All review comments will be resolved and incorporated within 2 weeks after comments are provided to the Contractor.

(2) The Research Design will not be executed under this delivery order.


(1) All data will be analyzed and documented using currently acceptable scientific methods. The Contractor shall catalog and document all photographs, maps, and so on utilized in the two studies. The Contractor shall also provide to the COR, two copies of all catalogs and notes. Two legible and usable copies shall be provided to the COR of all maps and photographs utilized. The catalog will include provenience information sufficient to locate specific referenced locations.

(2) The Contractor shall provide necessary and sufficient information critical to understanding recommendations and conclusions. Information will be integrated to produce a scientifically acceptable report that will withstand peer review. Project impacts will be assessed. For each additional work recommendation, the Contractor shall evaluate and recommend alternatives. Specific requirements for the draft report are contained in Section 6 of this Scope of Services.

6. Reports.

a. Part 1, Montz Cultural Resource and Part 2, Cultural Anthropology Study Effort. Six copies of the results of Part 1 will be submitted to the COR within 8 weeks after work item award for review and approval. Six copies of the results of Part 2 will be submitted to the COR within 9 weeks after work item award for review and approval. These documents will present the results of the Montz literature review and archival records research, and will present in detail the proposed Montz cultural anthropology Research Design. In no case will this work extend beyond April 1986, and all fiscal matters will be completed no later than May 9, 1986.

b. Progress Reports. Telephonic progress reports will be provided to the COR every 2 weeks. These reports will itemize work accomplished, work to be accomplished, results, and identification of problems requiring resolution.

c. Draft and Final Reports (Parts 1, 2, & 3).

(1) Six copies of the draft final reports (Montz Cultural Resource and Montz Cultural Anthropology) integrating all phases of each investigation will be submitted to the COR for review and comment. The Montz
Cultural Resource report will be submitted within 8 weeks and the Montz Cultural Anthropology report within 9 weeks after work item award.

(2) Along with the draft Montz Cultural Resource report, the Contractor shall submit one copy of support documentation for each cultural resource which the Contractor recommends as eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. This documentation will follow the specified format and contain all data required by the Guidelines for Level of Documentation appended to Title 36 CFR Part 63. The Contractor shall also provide recommendations for mitigation of each cultural resource recommended as eligible for the National Register.

(3) The written reports shall follow the format set forth in MIL-STD-847A with the following exceptions: (a) separate, soft, durable, wrap-around covers will be used instead of self covers; (b) page size shall be 8-1/2 x 11 inches with a 1-1/2-inch binding margin and 1-inch margins; (c) the reference format of American Antiquity will be used; (d) spiral binding is acceptable for the Montz Cultural Anthropology Research Design. Spelling shall be in accordance with the U.S. Government Printing Office Style Manual dated January 1973. The body of the Montz Cultural Resource report shall generally adhere to the format for reports in Enclosure 1. The Montz Cultural Anthropological community study Research Design shall generally adhere to the format for Research Designs in Enclosure 2. Changes, additions, and deletions to the format requirements will be coordinated with and approved by the Technical Representative. Formats will be followed such that informational requirements are met.

(4) The COR will provide all review comments to the Contractor within 2 weeks after receipt of the draft reports (10 and 11 weeks after work item award). Upon receipt of the review comments on the draft reports, the Contractor shall incorporate or resolve all comments and submit two preliminary copies of the final reports to the COR within 2 weeks (12 and 13 weeks after work item award). Upon approval of the preliminary final reports by the COR, the Contractor will submit 40 copies and one reproducible master copy of the final Montz Cultural Resource, Literature/Archival Report and ten copies and one reproducible master copy of the final Montz Cultural Anthropological Community Research Design to the COR within 14 weeks after work item award.

(5) Included as an appendix to the Final Montz Cultural Resource Report will be a complete and accurate listing of cultural material and associated documentation recovered and/or generated. In order to preclude vandalism, reports shall not contain specific locations of sites. Site specific information, including site and standing structure forms, black and white photographs and maps, shall be included in an appendix separate from the main report. The Contractor shall submit two copies of this separate appendix with the draft reports, and ten copies and one reproducible master copy with the final reports.

(6) Included as an appendix to the final Montz Cultural Anthropological Community Research Design will be a complete and accurate
listing of all documentation recovered and/or generated. Other appendices critical and necessary to the Research Design shall be included.
INTRODUCTION

The cultural resources research design forms the foundation upon which all Cultural Resources Management activities are based. The design has three steps that must be undertaken consecutively:

a. Acquisition of background information.

b. Reconnaissance.

c. Development of research design.

The State Historic Preservation Officer and academic community should be informed of these activities and may be sent a copy of the completed research design and may suggest revisions or additions. A qualified archeologist or other cultural resource manager must prepare the research design.

ACQUISITION OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Data review is a thorough literature and archival review followed by the analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of data and the establishment of a research design pertaining to previously identified and potential cultural resources, geological, paleontological, and environmental resources including sites eligible for or listed in the National Register of Historic Places or the National Landmarks Register. The data review provides an estimate of the variability, potential density, distribution, and other characteristics of cultural resources expected in the study area. It also provides information pertaining to problems that need to be solved and the background required for hypothesis formulation and testing. This information forms the basis for a cost-effective research design. When the background information has been acquired, a general cultural resource overview should be prepared and included in the research design.

A qualified archeologist and/or other cultural resource professionals should acquire and interpret the background information. The professional can steer the search toward relevant data sources in less time and thus be more cost-effective than an unqualified person because the qualified professional is familiar with available data sources that pertain to any given region and will know where to search for them.

RECONNAISSANCE

Becoming familiar with the region and resources being studied is both a general investigation of the biological and topographic characteristics of the study area and an unstructured and unsystematic attempt to locate previously identified resources. Generally, a reconnaissance is not designed scientifically. Because cultural resource types, densities, and information discovered during the reconnaissance may not accurately represent the area's resources, Cultural Resource Management cannot be
accurately performed with data derived solely from a reconnaissance. However, most often a reconnaissance will enable the professional to formulate a better research design that adequately addresses the various parameters associated with a particular cultural resource effort. The cultural resources reconnaissance is structured in part by the background information. During reconnaissance, the cultural resource professional:

a. gains a general impression of the terrain characteristics where he will have to traverse or work;

b. gains a general understanding of the biological forms within the area's ecology;

c. attempts to locate known/unknown sites to determine general characteristics of visibility;

d. makes photographs of sites, including possible aerial photographs;

e. tours the study area and notes characteristics of cultural resource areas;

f. verifies map locations of all cultural resources;

g. modifies the research design to incorporate data derived from reconnaissance.

Physical reconnaissance produces far better planning and execution than a map reconnaissance.

DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Introduction. The successful research design is an outgrowth of cultural resource expertise. Well-written research designs offer the Federal land managers and the cultural resource community several advantages over ad hoc and/or poorly formulated approaches.

a. If problems, hypotheses, goals, and standards are set forth at the outset, all concerned parties are more likely to gather relevant data.

b. A stated and well-formulated research plan allows for COE managerial, public, and professional monitoring of the quality of investigative efforts and compliance actions.

c. From a management perspective, the progress, efficiency, and cost-effectiveness of an undertaking are more readily evaluated.

d. The stated research design allows for better integration of compliance actions and professional cultural resource undertakings.

e. A stated research design is an integral part of the cultural resource program and is the basis for research and compliance activity.
2. The Research Design.

a. Research design. Each design involves combining the essential elements of investigation into an effective problem-solving sequence and is a plan concentrating on the components needed for the design's objectives to be realized and evaluated. Thus, the plan of investigation is a statement that concentrates on the components that must be present for the research objectives to be realized. Effective structuring of research designs is essential to productive cultural resource work. The main elements for the design are Formulation for Research Design and Essential Elements of Research Design.

b. Formulation of a Research Design. In cultural resource management, the wide variety of investigative intentions range from testing precisely defined hypotheses to general explorations of subjects. Some of the main types of productive cultural resource research goals are:

1. Description of selected cultural resource subjects. This type of investigation has been accorded rather low status in much of the recent cultural resource literature. However, the examination of a wide range of literature indicates that descriptive investigations may be the more prevalent style in some other sciences. The style is sometimes disguised by post hoc reference to hypotheses, theoretical models, and so on. In the archeological literature, studies often involve questions such as: What are the main features of organization of the market system?; What is the role of animal husbandry?; or reports on topics such as: A new type of projectile point.

2. Examination of systematic linkages between behavioral traits evident in cultural resource data. Probably the most common hypothesis testing is the examination of covariation of an element, X, with a trait, Y, with which it is thought to be linked casually. An example is a test of the proposition that archeological site locations are related to various topographical characteristics.

3. Search for the cause phenomena. This type of research question is gaining popularity in cultural resource research. The investigative goal is a search for the independent variables. Examples may include the following: What causes human society to change?; What caused the Pueblo disappearance from parts of the American Southwest?; What causes agriculture to be adopted?

4. Examination of the effects or consequences of particular events. Examination of the effects implies an important independent variable and attempts to identify the dependent variables. Examples may include the following: What are the social and cultural effects of a technological innovation, such as new agricultural practices?; or, What are the social and cultural effects of an environmental change?

5. Complex research designs involving combinations of the preceding four types. Archeological investigation usually involves complex combinations or the foregoing investigative goals. The archeologist must
sort out the basic analytical units and clarify the research design in terms of each goal as an independent investigative enterprise. Many investigative activities appear hazy in conceptualization because they combine several different questions that have not been segmented or divided into manageable elements.

Furthermore, an archeologist may wish to test alternative hypotheses concerning the relationships among sites, artifacts, location, and resources. Although the problem may be broken down into an examination of the covariations of each pair of patterns, the logic of the problem also includes linking the correlations among the four patterns into a more complex system. These problems of a similar correlation type are often the precursors of complex systems investigations.

(6) Investigation of Complex Systems. When the archeologist or other cultural resource manager is interested in the interaction of several variables observed simultaneously, it may be a systems investigation. An examination of the covariations among pairs of variables is often a precursor to systems investigative problems. Setting up complex models of interaction among variables is useless unless the relationships among some of the pairs have been established preliminarily. An example may include: Most computer simulation studies of cultural resource data are examples of systems research as are studies that treat several variables simultaneously.

c. Essential Elements of Research Design. For a research design to efficiently guide cultural resource studies, it should contain at least seven essential elements:

(1) Introduction
(2) Statement of specific research goals
(3) Specification of research procedures
(4) Research population sampling procedure
(5) Diagram of research design
(6) Analytical procedures
(7) Additional features may include a time table, personnel listing, facilities available, and budget.

The basic elements of a research plan design are the same in any competent cultural resource investigation. Each research goal requires a particular ordering of essential design elements. The qualified professional will avoid straight-jacketing data gathering operations into unalterable research designs.

3. Cultural Resources Research Design Model; Example.

a. General—The basic elements of a research plan are the same in any good cultural resource study. However, for some of the investigative goals previously discussed, the pieces are organized differently. The following outline is structured in terms of investigative goal number 4—Examination of the effects or consequences of particular events. The purposes are to depict an ideal design model applicable to all types of cultural resource
management research designs. Additionally, the design is applicable to programmatic, site specific, sampling work, intensive inventory problems, mitigation programs, and other cultural resource questions. The following example constitutes the general format.

b. Research Design Example

(1) Introduction

(a) Historical background; brief sketch of the area; of known cultural resources; of situation prior to innovation or event; chronology of events; brief summary of relevant studies and literature.

(b) Practical and theoretical significance.

(c) Theoretical basis for proposed investigation.

(d) Anticipated gains in cultural resource knowledge.

(e) Significance of the investigation:

(1) Practical social implications.

(2) Significance for cultural resource (discipline) theory.

(3) Management significance.

(4) Additional advantages.

(2) Statement of Specific Research Goals:

(a) Specific aspects to be the focus of research.

(b) Specific hypotheses (if any) to be treated.

(c) Test implications for hypotheses.

(d) Definition of terms.

(3) Specifications of Research Operations.

(a) Description of intended research tools to be used as the basis for operational definition of key terms.

(b) Mention of general descriptive procedures as well as quantifiable research operations.

(c) Mention of hypothesis generating features of initial investigation phase.
(d) Description of interfering variables and how they will be controlled.

(4) Populations and Sampling Design.

(a) Methods to be used in delimiting aggregates to be studied if a sample is derived. The methods of selecting and studying the representative sample should be specified.

(b) Specification of any control population.

(c) Specification of the statistical universe, study population, and so on.

(5) Diagram of Research Design.

The cultural resource professional should develop a diagram to visualize the logic of data gathering operations and to clarify points of the research strategy. This diagram must show the following information:

(a) The prior situation in both populations—under study and control.

(b) Clear evidence that the event happened or the innovation was introduced in one group and not the other.

(c) Observations on dependent variables for both populations.

(d) Recycling, feedback aspects of on-going investigations.

(6) Analysis of Results.

(a) Type of statistical—and/or other analysis to be used.

(b) Statement of types of results that would lead to the rejection of the hypotheses listed.


(a) Timetable (chronological sequence with estimated dates.)

(1) Travel and preparations before entering field or conducting work.

(2) Initial period—rapport building, etc.

(3) Construction and development of research instruments.

(4) Prelisting of research tools and techniques.
(5) Collection of main data as specified in research design.

(6) Preanalysis of data before leaving field.

(7) Collection of further supporting data as time allows.

(8) Selection of samples.

(9) Data analysis and writing.

(10) Publication.

(11) etc.

(b) Personnel.

(1) Principal Investigator.

(2) Assistants (including local persons in the area).

(3) Supporting persons in other fields, e.g., archeologist, paleontologist, geologist, geomorphologist, historian, statistician, etc.

(c) Facilities Available.

(1) In field and at home base for storage, analysis, conservation, etc.

(2) Supporting information sources.

(3) Data analysis and other assistance (Computer Center, consultants, technical editors, access to comparative collections, and so on).

(d) Budget.

(1) Personnel—salaries, wages, insurance, etc.

(2) Equipment—tape recorder, cameras, typewriter, microscopes, etc.

(3) Supplies—paper, notebooks, film, etc.

(4) Travel—to research area, interval while at site, etc.

(5) Computer and other data-processing facilities.
(6) Miscellaneous data-collection costs, e.g., visit to local collector, museum, etc.
(7) Duplicating—maps, records, etc.
(8) Shipping, mailing, etc.
(9) Writing and data analysis.
(10) Publication.
(11) Communications.
(12) Curation.

SUMMARY

Each type of investigative goal requires its particular ordering of essential design elements. For example, a general descriptive study requires no hypothesis testing and usually includes no control samples or populations. The operational definition of terms often arises from the initial phase of research, rather than being defined in advance. On the other hand, research designs using advanced mathematical or statistical manipulations can be visualized as equations or dummy tables to clarify the types and relationships among the variables. The cultural resource professional will avoid pigeon-holing data gathering operations into unalterable research designs. However, one should remain fully aware that planless fact gathering usually leads to a hodgepodge of useless data and materials, to degradation of the resource base, and to problems of compliancy. The good research design is a plan for resolving specified problems and it may be modified at any time to incorporate new data or solve new problems.
REPORTING CULTURAL RESOURCE INVESTIGATIONS STANDARDS

The following report format outlines information that should be included in final cultural resource reports. The depicted format should be followed. The investigator is not required to limit the report scope to the information identified in this format outline. However, all items in this format should be adequately addressed in the report.

This format is designed to ensure a clear and adequate presentation of information, achieve uniformity in format, review and interpretation, and expedite Federally-mandated and negotiated compliance activities. Inclusive information provided by and included in cultural resource management reports (in the suggested format) expedite review, acceptance and approval of the cultural resource submission. Complete and original cultural resource reports should be submitted separately because some cultural resource information is not public information (ARPA, FOLIA, PA). This also facilitates and expedites compliance activities. The suggested format also ensures compliance with mandated publication requirements.
I. Title Page

A. Type and purpose of cultural resource management work, e.g., Research Design, initial inventory, inventory, sampling, testing, mitigation, and so on.

B. Project Name and area of location

C. Name of Contractor-major and subsidiary

D. Principle Investigator, author, and institutional association

E. Date of report

F. Date of field work

G. Type of project

II. Abstract

Provide a 250-word or less abstract of the report. The abstract must outline the report and refer to specific highlights from the report. This abstract is used for other reference systems, such as the National Technical Information System (NTIS).

III. Cultural Resource Management Summary

Provide an executive summary capsuling the salient points of the report. Provide concise statements about:

A. work performed—who, what, when, where, how, how much, and why

B. the cultural resource data base

C. types and numbers of cultural resource located

D. prehistoric and historic human use and occupations

E. significance evaluations, and recommendations, National Register eligibility and impacts

F. management options and recommendations—brief and by categories

G. other points as required by report text

The summary should enable the reader to ascertain cultural resource management results without reading the entire report. The summary should not exceed 10 double-spaced typewritten pages. This portion of the report should be prepared last.
IV. Table of Contents

This part should also include a list of figures, tables, and appendices.

V. Introduction

A. Identify purpose of report, e.g., why is it submitted—what is action proposed, compliance with Federal legislation, and so on.

B. Contracting institutions and, if appropriate, ARPA permit(s) number, permit dates (issue and expiration), permit stipulations and limitations.

C. Scope of work—contracted for and actually accomplished.

D. Potential and/or actual project impacts on cultural resources.

E. Dates work performed, by whom, and where—specifically.

F. Project area location and type, general and specific—refer to maps.

G. Land ownership—use maps as necessary.

H. Disposition of field notes and collected material.

I. Principal Investigator, Project Manager, and author—include name, phone number, highest degree, and discipline for all.

J. Any exceptional features of the area, e.g., geology, archeology, paleontology, etc.

VI. External Environmental Parameters

A. Physical features—maps may increase understanding.

1. topography
2. hydrology
3. soils
4. geology—include local and regional culturally-important lithic and mineral sources
5. geomorphology
6. and so on.

B. Climatic conditions—past through present, and during CRM effort

C. Flora—past through present; use maps of distributions

D. Fauna—past through present; use maps of distributions

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E. Remarkable areal features and/or resources

VII. Cultural Parameters

A. Background data sources—these should be consulted and documentation should be provided. The sources are not limited to the following:

1. National Register of Historic Places
2. SHPO and/or State Archeologist records
3. State register of significant properties
4. Historic documents
5. Ownership documents
6. University and museum documents; and so on
7. Published and unpublished survey and excavation reports
8. Regional and site-specific studies
9. Personal communications, informants—amateur and professional
10. Any EIS or EA, draft or final, that addresses the area or plan. Include name of preparing agency(ies) and date of issuance.

B. Historic and Prehistoric overview. (Some of VII A. may be integrated here, e.g., 6-9.)

1. Culture History—earliest to latest cultural manifestation. The temporal context should be established, itemized, documented, and explained. Major time periods (Paleo Indian, Archaic, etc.) should subsequently be divided into smaller subdivisions (Poverty Point, Tchefuncte, etc.) with local manifestations explained.
2. Lifeways
3. Culture process
4. Estimates of the variability, potential density, distribution, and other characteristics of cultural resources expected.

C. Complete citations are required for all sources of information.

VIII. Project Research Design

Project Research Design must interface with Areal Research Designs; Site Research Designs must interface with Project Research Designs. The Historic and Prehistoric overview may suffice for a portion of the introduction. The categories following are minimum requirements:

A. Introduction

1. Historic and Prehistoric overview—Part VII B. May suffice
2. Practical and theoretical significance
3. Theoretical basis for proposed investigation
4. Anticipated gains in cultural resource knowledge

5. Significance of the research:
   a) practical social implications
   b) significance for cultural resource theory
   c) management significance
   d) additional advantages

B. Statement of Specific Research goals

1. Specific aspects to be the focus of investigation
2. Specific hypotheses (if any) to be tested
3. Test implications for hypotheses
4. Definition of terms—must define operational definition of "site" as used in report—survey and so on.

C. Specification of Research Operations

1. Description of investigative tools or methodologies—to include but not limited to:
   a) field methodology: specific project boundaries—how and why selected; include maps indicating area(s) surveyed, comments, and documentation on surface visibility, acreage, and so on.
   b) recording techniques—mapping, photographs, man-days, etc.
   c) crew size, operation and composition, person hours, man-days, etc.
   d) survey operations and how accomplished
   e) data collection and control techniques and rationale
   f) testing techniques and rationale
   g) constraints on investigations
   h) other, e.g., any areas not surveyed should be explained and justified
2. General descriptive procedures as well as quantifiable investigative operations.
3. Description of interfering variables and how they will be or were controlled.

D. Populations and Sampling Design

1. Methods used in delimiting aggregates studies. If a sample was chosen, the methods of selecting and studying the representative sample and their accuracies should be specified and justified. Include number and types of strategy and/or units and fractions. Describe selected sample units including topography, cover, slopes, dimensions, etc.
2. Specify any control population.
3. If a sampling strategy was chosen, specify controls for boundary effects, uneven sample size or configuration or any other effect.
4. Density of cultural resources to be expected, e.g., number of sites per number of acres—by type and period.

5. State accurately and completely the objective and strategy. Include definitions of sampling terms used and a discussion of the typology employed. Also discuss the population sampled, the sampling unit size, any strata developed, and the selection of the sample. Describe the field methodology utilized.

E. Analysis of Results

1. Type(s) of statistical and/or other analysis used.
2. Statement of types of results that would lead to rejection of hypotheses listed in 3.
3. Laboratory methods
   a) Types of analysis performed and by whom
   b) Method of chronological determination and by whom
   c) Supporting persons, e.g., archeologists, geologists, statisticians, geomorphologists, paleontologists, ceramicists, historians, etc.

IX. Resources

A. Prosaic description of each site for each component at present and at the time of occupation.

1. Site number
2. Legal (cadastral) description and UTM location—in annex
3. Site relationship to surrounding land forms and nearest water
4. Site relationship to surrounding vegetation
5. Site size—horizontal and vertical
6. Features
7. Materials collected or observed—spatial distribution, variety, type, and resource made from
8. Site type/function with supporting evidence
9. Cultural/temporal affiliation
10. Elevation
11. Physical condition
12. USGS map or portion which clearly indicates the location of each site—in annex
13. Site relationship to other environmental variables, e.g., soils, other sites, aspect, and so on
14. Site maps—should be in a report annex
   a) scale, north arrow, legend
   b) test areas
   c) artifact locations and/or concentrations
   d) structures and features
   e) intrusions—vandals, road, fence, subsidence, and so on
   f) topographic features
   g) accurate locational data
h) planar diagrams of vertical and horizontal site attributes, including safety

i) site datum is depicted.

15. Map(s) indicating each site's location in relation to the project area and specific areas planned for disturbance—in appendix

16. Site recording forms of sufficient detail will be included as an appendix to the report

17. Photographic recording of cultural resource locations is mandatory and will be included with each site description. All photo reproductions included will be of such quality that features, structures, concentrations, etc., are clearly discernible. In many instances, color photographs are recommended. Color photographs are mandatory for historical resources. A photo log should be included as an appendix to the report. The log should include roll number, type of film (black and white or color), orientation, UTM location of object photographed, photographer, and so on.

18. If no cultural resources were located, it will be explicitly stated. Conjectural reasons for the apparent site absence will be discussed in contextual, environmental, prehistorical, and historical relevant terms.

B. Description and Analysis of Artifact Assemblage.

1. Topological assessment
2. Use, function analysis
3. Behavioral aspects
4. Graphic representations—line drawings and photographs
5. Temporal aspects
6. Significance
7. Resource exploitation aspects
8. Cultural indicators
9. Size, weight, and dimension characteristics, and so on
10. Artifact catalogues should be included in appendix to CRM report

11. Spatial and locational aspects
12. Provenience—Isolated finds will be included in this discussion
   a) map indicating the location of the IF
   b) UTM's will be provided
   c) an isolated find record will be included as an appendix to the report

X. Synthesis and Future Research Orientations

A. Provide a summary of the cultural resources located. Use graphics and tables, as appropriate.
B. Integrate results into the regional framework, the regional and project area research designs, and the State Historic Preservation Plan.

C. Discuss the quantitative and qualitative manipulation of the data. Include estimates of the number, density, distribution of cultural resource locations, and determine the diversity of cultural resources.

D. Discuss the cultural resource aspects identified in X.C. in different portions of the project area. For example, density may be discussed from the point of view of sites, components, cultural, or functional types.

E. Discuss any significant correlations of cultural resources with the external environment and with each other.

F. Compare the results of this investigation with other investigations in the same area or at the same project area.

G. Discuss the results obtained by specific objectives which the investigation was designed to achieve.

H. Discuss the reliability of the results, changes in the original objectives, or strategy, and major gaps in the data base.

I. Discuss results as they pertain to culture history, lifeways, and cultural process.

J. Discuss perceived patterns and relevant processes.

K. Provide a summary of relevant data.

L. Discuss questions and issues raised by the results that are related to future cultural resource research and cultural resource management—locally, state-wide or nationally.

M. Suggest future investigative needs and directions. These may be specific or general.

N. Relate results to stated or other investigative objectives.

XI. Management Options and Evaluations

A. Evaluations

1. Apply National Register Criteria of eligibility to each site.
2. Apply the aspects of significance, e.g., ethnic, religious, etc, as appropriate.
3. Each site will have its significance or non-significance fully justified and explained.

4. Information and documentation forwarded to substantiate eligibility recommendation will be sufficient to allow the COE to seek determinations of National Register eligibility.

5. For sites recommended as eligible for the National Register by the cultural resource professional, information will be submitted on completed Rational Register forms.

B. Project Impacts

1. Site locations should be compared to project layout, and activities, facilities maps, post project contour and roads, etc., to assess direct and indirect impacts.

2. Discuss proposed or actual impacts on each site located or other known cultural resources. Refer to maps. This should clearly identify all envisioned impacts on each site, detailing the type of anticipated impact, direct and indirect.

3. For each site included in or eligible for the National Register, this assessment will be in accordance with 36 CFR 800.3(a) and 36 CFR 800.3(b).

C. Management Options

Methods of mitigating adverse impacts on each significant site will be stated and discussed in detail for each site. Discussions should include the rationale that justifies the mitigation options.

XII. Management Recommendations

Based on impacts, significance and eligibility recommendations, the report must make recommendations for the cultural resource clearance of the proposed project. Recommendations must be site specific and consideration must be given to protection plans and nomination of eligible sites. If significant cultural resources are located in sufficient numbers, consideration will be given to contiguous district, non-contiguous district or individual nomination. If significant cultural resources cannot be protected or conserved and data recovery is recommended, consultations will begin and a mitigation plan, in the format of Section 8 of this format, will be submitted with the cultural resource report. The mitigation plan must meet the Advisory Council's Guidelines for eliminating adverse effects to National Register Properties.

XIII. Appendices and Annexes

Provide relevant ones developed as a result of the preceding sections or other needs. Minimum requirements include:
A. Site forms
B. Artifact catalog
C. Photograph log
D. IF Catalog
E. Site location data, maps, and so on
F. Charts, graphics, tabulations, and so on

XIV. References

A. cited
B. relevant
## APPENDIX II
### FIELD RECORDS INVENTORY

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<th>Specific Number</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
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<td>18 B&amp;W negs. Views of Montz Cemetery Tombstones Frames #18 - 35</td>
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<td>002</td>
<td>24 B&amp;W negs. Views of Montz Cemetery Tombstones Frames #0 - 23</td>
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<td>26 B&amp;W negs. Views of Montz Cemetery Tombstones Frames #0 - 25</td>
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<td>006</td>
<td>36 B&amp;W negs. Views of Montz Cemetery Tombstones Frames #1 - 36</td>
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<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>24 B&amp;W negs. Views of Montz Cemetery Tombstones Frames # -1 - 23 (* #20 - 23 have retakes on Roll 8)</td>
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Figure 33. Site Map of Montz Cemetery.
KEY

- DOMESTIC REFUSE
- AUTOMOTIVE REFUSE
- GARDEN
- CONSTRUCTION DEBRIS
- BURN PILE
- MIXED REFUSE

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