Exhibit E

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

PRESS ROBINSON, EDGAR CAGE, DOROTHY NAIRNE, EDWIN RENE SOULE, ALICE WASHINGTON, CLEE EARNEST LOWE, DAVANTE LEWIS, MARTHA DAVIS, AMBROSE SIMS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE ("NAACP") LOUISIANA STATE CONFERENCE, AND POWER COALITION FOR EQUITY AND JUSTICE, *Plaintiffs*, v. KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as Secretary of State for Louisiana. *Defendant*.	Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB
EDWARD GALMON, SR., CIARA HART, NORRIS HENDERSON, TRAMELLE HOWARD, *Plaintiffs*, v. KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as Secretary of State for Louisiana. *Defendant*.	Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00214-SDD-RLB

REBUTTAL EXPERT REPORT OF MICHAEL S. MARTIN, PH. D.

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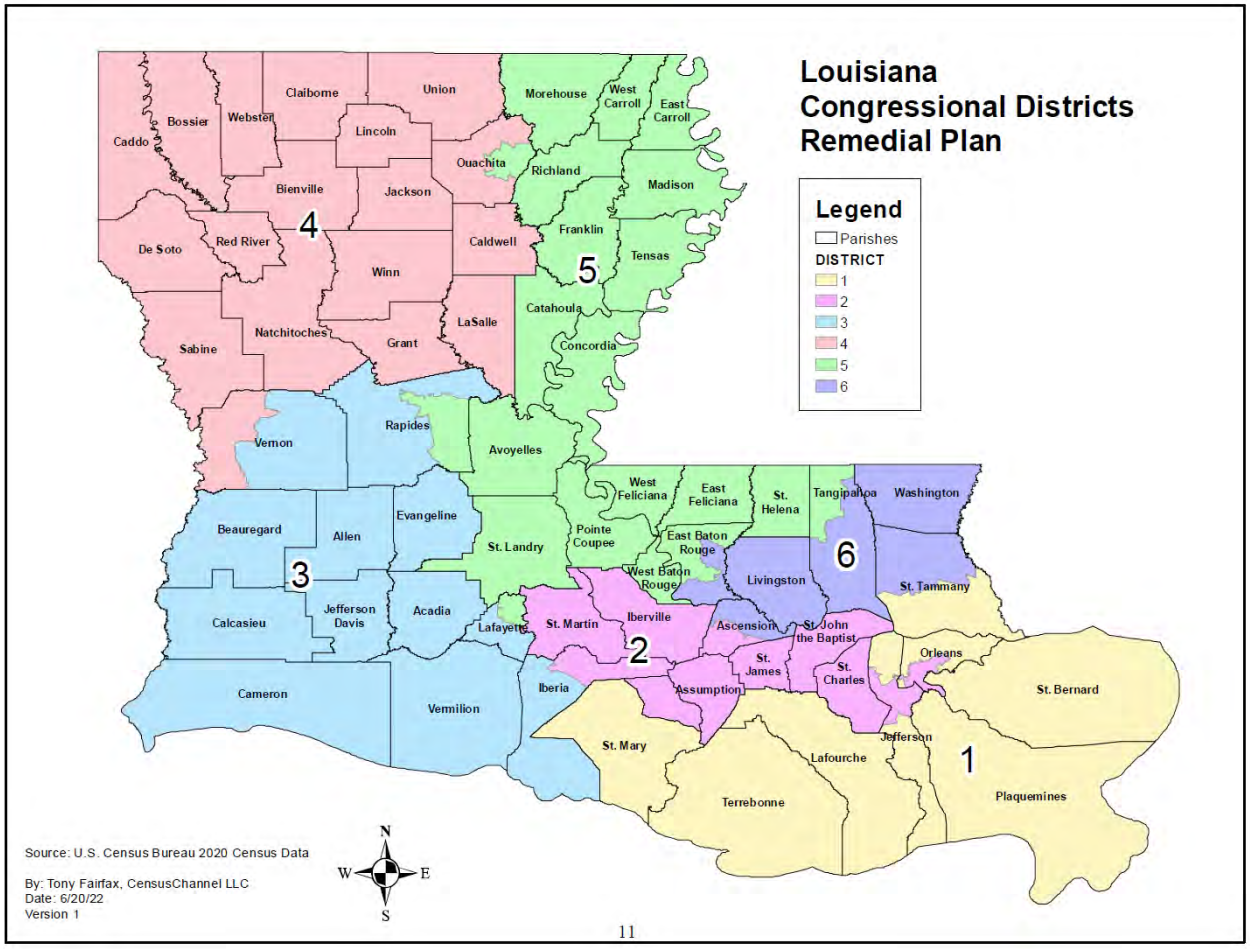
INTRODUCTION

A. Assignment

I have been asked by Plaintiffs' counsel to review and comment on the Report by Dr. Henry Robertson for Defendants. My task was two-fold: 1. To determine if the places of Proposed District Five of the Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan (see map below) have shared histories, and 2. To respond to particular arguments and assertions made in the expert report created by Dr. Henry Robertson for Defendants. I also have been asked to provide deposition and trial testimony if necessary.



B. Qualifications

I am a professor of history at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. I currently serve as interim chair for the UL Lafayette Department of History, Geography, and Philosophy, and hold two endowed professorships, the Cheryl Courrégé Burguières/BORSF Endowed Professorship in History and the Senator Edgar "Sonny" Mouton/BORSF Endowed Professorship in Liberal Arts.

I earned my B.A and M.A. in history from the University of Southwestern Louisiana and my Ph.D. in American history from the University of Arkansas.

Since returning to UL Lafayette twenty years ago, I have taught close to 100 sections of Louisiana History, along with dozens of upper- and graduate-level classes on specific topics within Louisiana history. I have supervised seventeen master's theses, most of which were on a Louisiana subject. From 2011 until 2018, I was the director of UL Lafayette's Center for Louisiana Studies, and I am currently an affiliated faculty member of the University's Kathleen Blanco Center for Public Policy and Guilbeau Center for Public History.

Since 2010, I have held the position of managing editor for the Louisiana Historical Association. In that position I oversee the editing, formatting, and production of the quarterly journal *Louisiana History*. I am also a fellow of the Louisiana Historical Association.

My publications include monographs, edited collections, textbooks, articles, and book chapters, nearly all on Louisiana History.

I have attached my full Curriculum Vitae at the end of this report.

C. Methods

My methods are based on best practices within the historical profession. When possible, I have reviewed primary sources related to the matter at hand, although time constraints have forced me to rely much more on published secondary sources, usually peer-reviewed academic books or journals. I have also used my own prior research experience related especially to the local history of Lafayette Parish to provide concrete examples for some of the historical generalities discussed in the report. Finally, and where absolutely necessary, I have relied on web-based information but only from sites with established credentials and sterling reputations. My conclusions were developed only after reviewing the source materials.

From this source base, I have constructed this report in a way that proceeds chronologically through Louisiana's history, with occasional asides for items of particular note. I devote a significant amount of space to the colonial origins, if they exist, of each of the parishes and cities that make up Proposed District Five. I feel compelled to do so because of the oversimplifications and misrepresentations conveyed by Dr. Henry Robertson's report. With the colonial period done, I move forward from the Louisiana Purchase to the late twentieth century, elaborating on the shared histories of Proposed District Five within the contexts of large segments of our state's past.

D. Summary of Rebuttal

The parishes and cities of District Five of the Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan have significant shared histories. These commonalities are rooted in colonial background and have evolved significantly since the Louisiana Purchase. They reflect the historical and cultural processes of creolization and Americanization.

E. Fees

My fees are $300 per hour for research, writing, consultation with counsel, and expert witness testimony. The findings of this report are not dependent upon my fees.

F. A Note on Terminology

Before proceeding further, I feel obligated to define a few terms. The first are "creole" and "Creole." These are not synonymous. Small-c creole is used as an adjective to describe anything that is native to one place but has an ancestry elsewhere. This is the truest meaning of the word, and it dates back to the colonial era. It can be used to describe any number of things: creole ponies or creole tomatoes, for instance. Capital-C Creole is altogether different. Typically used after the Louisiana Purchase, it refers to any person whose ancestry in Louisiana dates to before the Purchase—hence, French Creoles, Creole slaves, Black Creoles, or White Creoles are all correct.

"Creolization" refers to a specific process that happens over time when multiple distinctive cultures are brought together. Out of the interactions between cultures a new culture develops. If this new culture is the result of one taking on the other's, that process is assimilation. If the two cultures blend together in a process prescribed by some authority, that is acculturation. But if the two cultures blend into something altogether new—sometimes unexpectedly so—without any external intervention, then that is creolization.[1]

"Americanization" refers to a specific type of assimilation. In this instance, non-American cultures become more American, or as historian Shane Bernard puts it, Americanization is "the process of becoming like the Anglo-American establishment that has traditionally dominated the nation's mainstream culture."[2]

By my reckoning, creolization is the best way to understand Louisiana's early history. Many cultures from all around the Atlantic World meeting together over time in a particular place led to something unintentionally new—and the process happened at different times in different places. Americanization, on the other hand, is the best way to grasp Louisiana's history since the turn of the twentieth century. To a greater or lesser extent, the cultures of Louisiana have become more, although not completely, homogeneous. Creolization and Americanization can only happen among peoples with shared histories and experiences. The following will provide examples of those for the parishes and sub-divided parishes that make up the Proposed Fifth District.

THE HISTORY

In this section, I assess historical commonalities shared among the parishes of proposed Congressional District Five. Rather than provide a detailed history of each parish, I instead look at their pasts within the context of the major periods in Louisiana's history: colonial, territorial,

[1]Masseaut, Kellman, Martin, eds., Creolization in the French Americas (University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, Lafayette, LA, 2015).
[2] Shane K. Bernard, The Cajuns: Americanization of a People (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), xviii.

antebellum, Civil War, Reconstruction, late nineteenth century, early twentieth century, Great Depression, World War II, post-World War economic boom, civil rights movement, and economic bust. Chronologically, these topics cover 1699-2000. The period from 2000-present is covered elsewhere as it is not a historical but rather the contemporary period.

As will be evident through this analysis, the parishes that make up proposed Congressional District Five share significant historical experiences and trajectories. In order to proceed to the earliest of these, I will first provide some brief background that influences, but does not specifically effect, the developments in the geographical area covered. If we take "Louisiana" to be the place that brought together in a permanent way peoples from around the Atlantic World—notably American Indians, Europeans, and Africans—then Louisiana's earliest history begins in the very late seventeenth century. The background section also provides a very brief introduction to the establishment of New Orleans since the city yielded an inordinate influence over the rest of Louisiana during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

A. Early French Louisiana, 1699-1718

Expeditions led by two French Canadians, the LeMoyne brothers, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, effectively established the European and African presence among American Indians in Louisiana. Arriving along the Gulf Coast in early 1699, they brought two companies of royal marines and about 200 colonists to create settlements they hoped would provide protection for the Mississippi River, which had been claimed for the King of France in 1682 by René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle, and develop commerce in the mercantilist framework of the burgeoning French empire.

On March 3, 1700, a contingent of the LeMoyne expedition entered the mouth of the Mississippi. Although they found no suitable location for an outpost on the river during this first trip, they did establish a station, Fort Maurepas (later, Old Biloxi near present-day Bay St. Louis, Mississippi) in 1699. Iberville then returned to France for more supplies and manpower; Bienville remained and continued to reconnoiter the Mississippi River for a place of settlement on the river itself. Upon his return, Iberville took a portion of Louisiana's small population and established it at a site they named Fort de la Boulaye, about fifty miles upriver from the mouth of the Mississippi.[3]

For a number of reasons, the fort on the river, as well as the one at Old Biloxi, were deemed unsuitable as the Louisiana colony's administrative center. In 1702, Iberville abandoned Fort de la Boulaye and relocated most of Fort Maurepas's population to "Old" Mobile and Fort Louis along Mobile Bay. Old Mobile would be capital of colonial Louisiana for the next eight years.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) ushered in a period of horrible scarcity and deprivation for the young Louisiana colony. Although never completely cut off from the rest of the French Empire, the colonists along the Gulf Coast lost any significant connection with France at a time they desperately needed it. This was a life-or-death situation. Because the

[3] Here and the following paragraphs: Crouse, Nellis M. Lemoyne d'Iberville: Soldier of New France. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001; Philomena Hauck, Bienville: Father of Louisiana; Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana, 3 vols., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1974, 1991, 1993.

colonists expected supplies and trade items to arrive from France when they left home for Louisiana, they had no reason to think that they would need to be able to provide for themselves. This lack of self-sufficiency very nearly killed the colony altogether. Had it not been for nearby American Indians, Canadian fur traders, illegal trade with the Spanish and English colonies, and occasional visitors from French Saint-Domingue (today's Haiti), the colony would have more than likely ceased to exist. By 1712, Louisiana's non-indigenous population stood at ca. 300 Europeans and 10 African slaves, a remarkably low total considering it had been more than a decade since the first settlements were erected.

Toward the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the royal government of France returned its attention to colonial endeavors. In surveying the experiment in Louisiana, the one thing that was evident was that it appeared to be a complete and utter failure—from the perspective of the royal government, at least. As a result, in 1712, the crown granted wealthy Frenchman Antoine Crozat a proprietary contract to administer and profit from Louisiana for fifteen years. Crozat, who had shown a propensity for growing his own wealth, was expected to make the colony profitable. He never came to Louisiana, but he worked with Governor Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, an administrator who had overseen the creation of previously successful colonies in New France, to try to implement reforms that would turn Louisiana into a profitable endeavor. In short, they failed. Despite creating the Superior Council, an advisory body that would later evolve into a judiciary and legislature, and overseeing the expansion of an internal deerskin trade centered at the small outposts of Fort St. Jean-Baptiste (Natchitoches), Fort Rosalie (across the Mississippi River from the Natchez Indians), and Fort Toulouse (among the Creek Indians), the same problem that plagued earlier Louisiana populations continued—they simply were not self-sufficient, and the threat of starvation was never far from their minds.

From both Crozat and Cadillac's perspective, the Louisiana colony was a failure. By 1717, both men had disassociated themselves from the place—Cadillac had asked to be reassigned elsewhere and Crozat had asked to be relieved of his obligations. Thus, Louisiana returned to the hands of the royal government of France. Looking back, it is clear that little of what we consider Louisiana today can be traced back to those first two decades, although the stage was set for significant change after Crozat gave up his proprietorship.

Some important trends that portend future Louisiana developments are evident, however: First, the colony was consistently viewed as a failure in the eyes of administrators in France, leading some historians to label the colony "a study in failure." On the other hand, and despite the lack of self-sufficiency, the colonials had succeeded at simply surviving, no mean feat considering the circumstances, and they had also begun to develop on-the-ground strategies for dealing with their situation. Doing so had required a great deal of experimentation, another hallmark of colonial Louisiana—try something, and if it doesn't work, try something else, then repeat until success. Ultimately, the divergent views of Louisiana's "failure" and "success" would lead to one side viewing the place as chaotic and disordered, which it could be at times, and the other as simply ordered in an unexpected way. That process of creating unexpected order out of chaos is one way of thinking about creolization.

Upon the colony's return to the French royal government, the Duc d'Orleans, regent of France, added it to his growing problems in governing the nation and its empire. Louis XIV had left the

country near bankruptcy when he died in 1715. He also left an heir, his great-grandson, too young to rule, which had necessitated the period of regency.

The Duc D'Orleans brought aboard Scottish financial genius John Law to help correct France's floundering finances. Law had developed a reputation as an early proponent of modern banking practices and the use of paper money in place of hard currency. Fascinated as he was with banks, Law received permission to create General Bank of France in 1716. The following year the Louisiana colony was given over to a joint-stock company, the Company of the West. The bank and the company's paths came together in 1718, when Law reorganized the bank as the Royal Bank of France, the Company of the West revised itself into the Company of the Indies, and Law determined to use Louisiana as a way to reap profits for both. Ultimately, the scheme saw the Company selling shares in Louisiana as a commercial venture and using the Bank as a means of generating funds for investment in the colony. These economic elements of Law's plan resulted in what became known as the "Mississippi Bubble," which burst in 1720, and led to the Scotsman's fleeing France.

Despite his brief time in control, Law exerted a long-lasting and profound influence on the colony. Under his guidance, the Company of the Indies implemented policies that set the stage for the Louisiana we know today. Notably, Law's brief time in control saw: the clearing of land and early construction of the colony's new capital, New Orleans; the beginnings of European immigration on a large scale by means of recruiting from populations of impoverished French and German farmers; the sometimes-forced immigration of French prisoners; and the first arrival of shipments of enslaved Africans, almost all of them from the Senegambia region.

Although John Law left the scene in 1720, the Company of the Indies, reorganized after his departure, continued to manage the Louisiana colony until 1731. It is under the Company that we see the true beginnings of a self-sustaining colony and the early emergence of a viable economy in Louisiana. Many of these developments came as a result of finally having a port and defense structure along the Mississippi River—New Orleans.

B. Early New Orleans

The historian's task in outlining Louisiana's history is complicated by the outsized stature of New Orleans within the colony. From its humble beginnings in 1718, the city quickly became Louisiana's largest center of population, its administrative and religious capital, and its central entrepot. Every other place of European settlement in the colony had some connection with New Orleans, so it is relevant to briefly discuss its early history.

Recent scholarship on early New Orleans points to the fact that the city during the French period was a hotbed of disorder and experimentation.[4] Although French in the sense that it was a part of the French Empire in North America, the city's disconnection from France made it a very un-French place. This became even more notable after 1731, when the Company of the Indies ceded control back to the royal government, which by then had simply lost interest in Louisiana and left it to its own devices.

[4] Shannon Dawdy, Building the Devil's Empire; Lawrence Powell, The Accidental City; Jason Berry, City of a Million Dreams.

The population of New Orleans between 1720 and 1763 is notable for its diversity. It is true that there were French people from France there, but even among that relatively homogenous groups marked differences stood out. The French population include voluntary immigrants, *petits gens* (the equivalent of English indentured servants), *forçats* (ex-prisoners), Ursuline nuns, soldiers, and sailors. These individuals came from all over France and exhibited cultural differences, notably language differences, which remind us that the French nation was still undergoing consolidation in the eighteenth century. Beyond the French from France, French Canadians (not Acadians) made up a sizeable portion of the city's early population, and their cultural and historical backgrounds distinguished them markedly from their fellow Frenchmen. Add in visitors from the French Caribbean, which several historians contend had stronger connections with New Orleans than either New France (Canada) or France itself, and the influence of yet another group of non-standardized French left an imprint on the city's early history.

Then there are the other populations of early New Orleans. American Indians in the eighteenth century consistently outnumbered Europeans and Africans in Louisiana, and they used New Orleans for their own purposes in ways that led to a near constant stream of Indians in the city at any given moment.[5] Africans from Senegambia brought with them languages, cultural practices, and religious traditions that they not only maintained in the city but also passed along to later generations. This distinctively Senegambian heritage became deeply engrained in New Orleans slave culture, especially after the French royal government closed the slave trade in 1731.[6]

In the best recent treatment of New Orleans during the French period, Shannon Dawdy, a historical archaeologist, points to the fact that the idealized visions of the city held by administrators and government officials in France never matched the realized version of it in Louisiana. Indeed, because the Company established the city in the 1720s and France generally ignored it until it was handed over to Spain, distinctive, creolized models of economy, social structure, slavery emerged there. Dawdy points to how these patterns developed in three generations of New Orleanians. The "founder generation" of the 1720s was mostly made up of natives of Canada, France, and Africa and therefore had the most connection to their homelands. That group was succeeded by the "first creole generation," meaning the first collective group of individuals, free or enslaved, born in the city. The first creole generations' connections with its "homelands" were more tenuous, which granted individuals the freedom to begin crafting their own understanding of what their lives in that place meant. By the time of Dawdy's "second creole generation," any connections with the homeland were fairly well erased, and that generation's leaders, especially among the free population, crafted what Dawdy calls a "rogue colonialism" that worked quite well for them despite the fact that it seemingly broke all the rules of the French Empire's mercantilist framework. By 1763, New Orleans was nominally French, but it was a vastly different French place viz-a-viz France and other French colonies.

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[5] Daniel Usner, American Indians in Early New Orleans: From Calumet to Raquette. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018.

[6] Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth-Century. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992; Ingersoll, Thomas N. Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1999.

By the end of the French colonial era in Louisiana, the stage had been set for historical developments within the proposed 5th Congressional District. We can now turn to the specifics of that district's histories, using broad eras of Louisiana's history to understand their commonalities.

C. The Colonial Era, 1699-1803

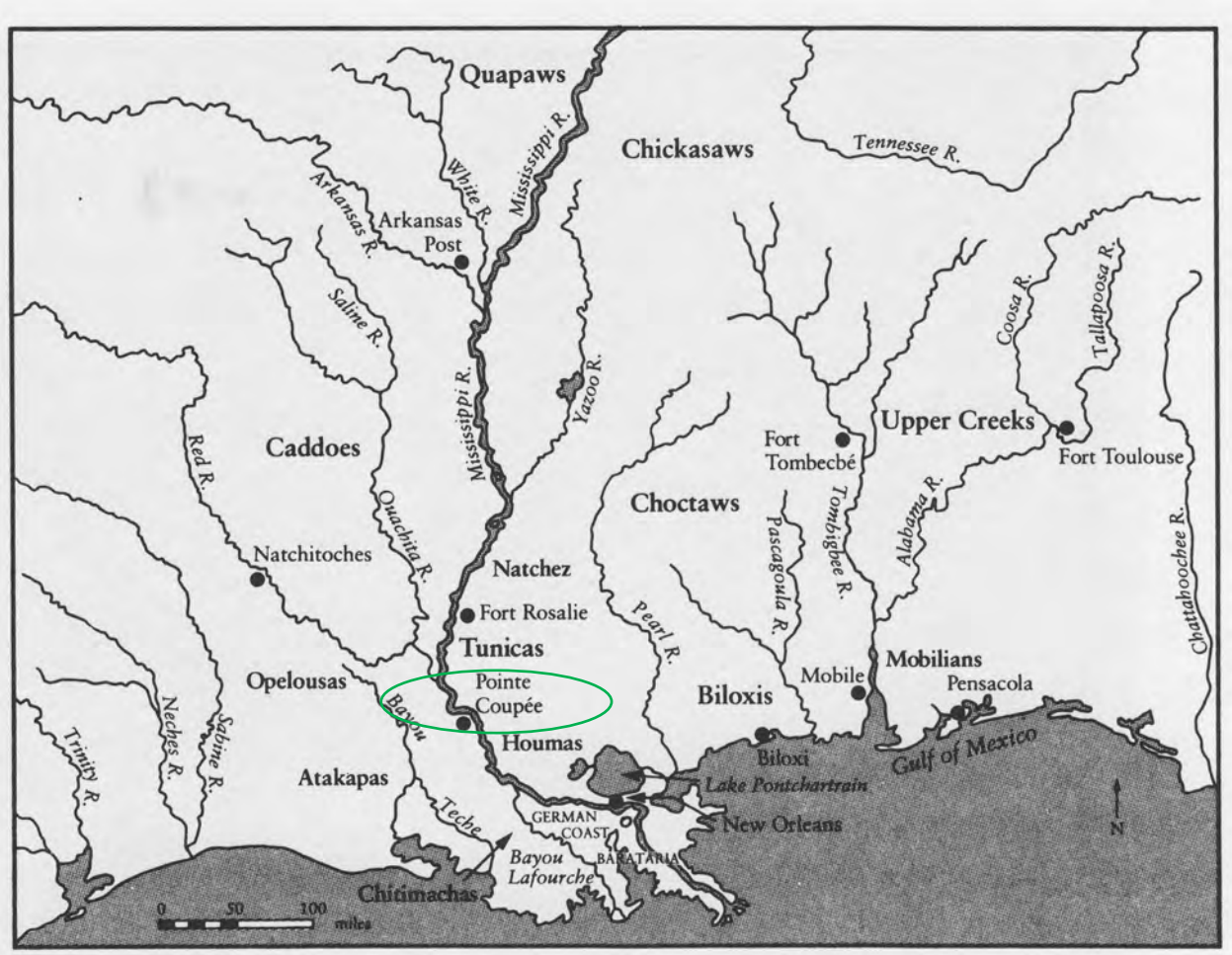
1. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements Under French Rule

The following parishes had their earliest colonized settlements during the period 1699-1763.

Pointe Coupée Parish
Trappers from New France (Canada) visited the area that became Pointe Coupée Parish as early as 1708, according to some relations of the parish's history. By 1712, an infusion of population from Upper Louisiana (sometimes called the Illinois Country) or New France provided the first non-Indigenous settlements. Bienville established a military post at Pointe Coupée (noted as "Fort de la Pointe Coupée" on the below map) According to Karen Kingsley, professor emerita of architecture at Tulane University, the St. Francis Church of Pointe Coupée was established at Chenal in 1728.[7]

1752 Anville Map of the Gulf Coast and Mississippi River Delta

[7] Kingsley, The Buildings of Louisiana; "St. Francis Chapel of Point Coupee," 64 Parishes



MAP 1. *The Lower Mississippi Valley in the 1730s*

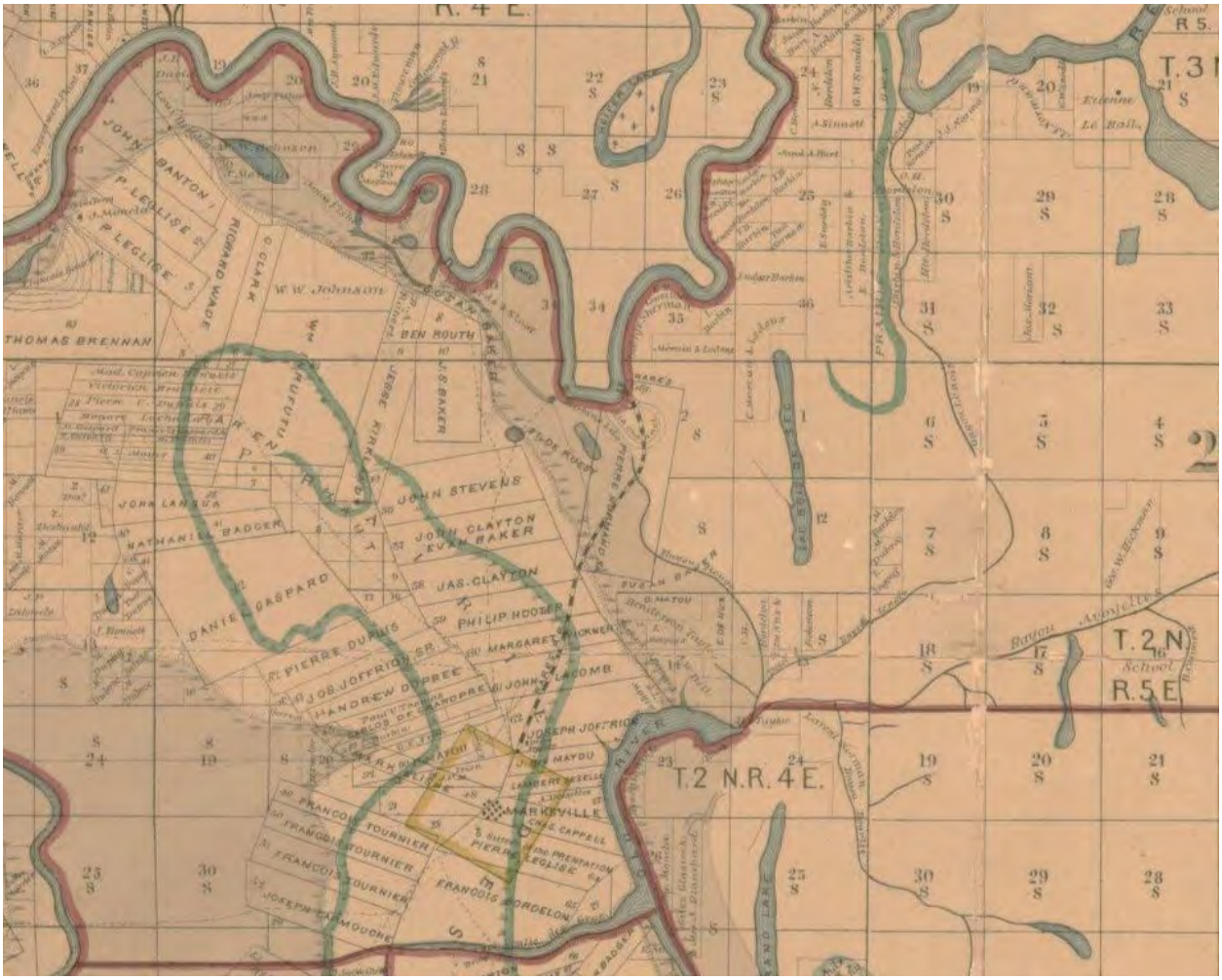
Pointe Coupée in a broader context, 1730. From Daniel H. Usner Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

2. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements Under Spanish rule

The following parishes had their earliest colonized settlements during the period 1763-1800.

Avoyelles Parish

As with many other Louisiana parishes, it is likely that the first Europeans in Avoyelles were itinerant traders or fur trappers from New France. The first influx of European settlement, however, came in the late eighteenth century. Governor Bernardo de Gálvez established the Avoyelles Post in 1780. Acadians and French Canadians were the earliest documented settlers.[8] See the below detail of an 1879 survey map of Avoyelles Parish to compare the long, narrow Spanish land grants with the later American system of sections and townships.



S.B. Robertson, “Map of Avoyelles Ph, La.," 1879, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. Library of Congress Control Number 2012592318, https://lccn.loc.gov/2012592318.

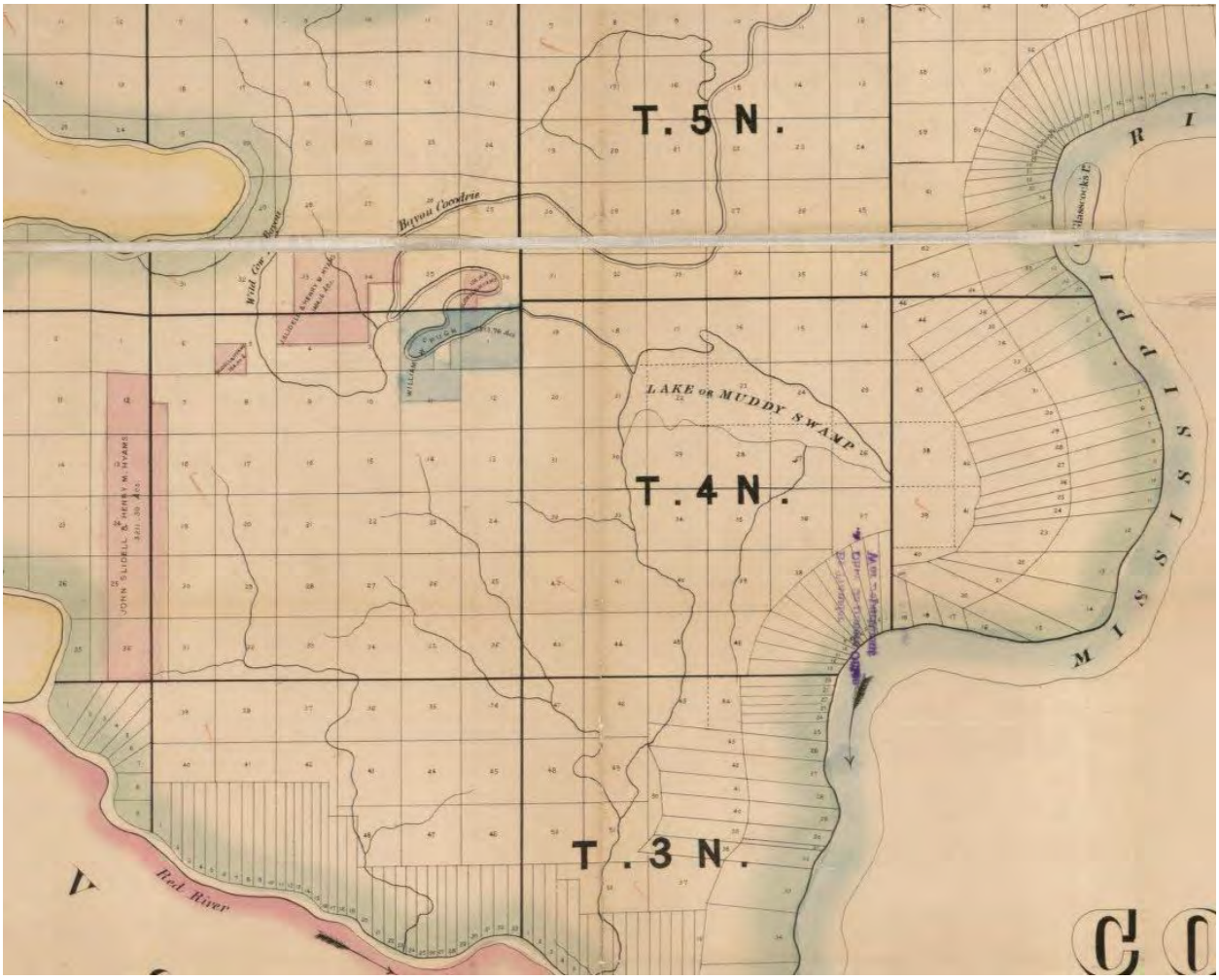
[8]Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1943).

Catahoula Parish

French colonizers had established themselves in what is now Catahoula Parish by the 1720s. Although the exact date of their arrival is difficult to pinpoint, we do know that they abandoned their settlements in the wake of the Natchez Revolt (1729). The parish itself was created after the Louisiana Purchase in 1808 from parts of Ouachita and Rapides parishes.[9]

Concordia Parish

Although there is overlap with Catahoula Parish, especially with reference to the French colonial period, the beginnings of Concordia Parish are dated to Don José Vidal, a Spanish administrator who in 1798 received Spanish land grants for himself and his sons. Vidal established the Post du Concorde across the Mississippi River from Natchez. After the Louisiana Purchase, the territorial government renamed the town as Vidalia in honor of its founder. Note the pattern of Spanish land grants along waterways and American sections and townships inland in the map below.[10]



[9] Leeper, C. D. (2012) Louisiana Place Names. [edition unavailable]. LSU Press.
[10] Leeper, C. D. (2012) Louisiana Place Names. [edition unavailable]. LSU Press.

Map of the Parish of Concordia, Louisiana : from United States surveys, New Orleans, [La.] : McCerren, Landry & Powell, 1860, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C., Library of Congress Control Number 2012592310, https://lccn.loc.gov/2012592310.

East Carroll Parish, Morehouse Parish, Richland Parish, and West Carroll Parish

Much of the early non-indigenous settlement of the northernmost reaches of Proposed District Five emanated from the machinations of Philip Hendrik Nering Bögel, who called himself the Baron de Bastrop despite the fact that he had no noble lineage. The ruse worked well enough to convince Spanish Governor Francisco Luis Héctor, barón de Carondelet, to provide him with an extraordinarily large concession of twelve square leagues (about 620,000 acres) on June 21, 1796. Land grant in hand, Bastrop attempted to attract settlers, with some success, but the shifting winds of Spanish governmental support doomed his scheme. He eventually sold the land to Abraham Morehouse of Kentucky.[11]

Lafayette Parish

Lafayette's earliest non-indigenous population came filtered through settlements further to the south, along the Bayou Teche, where non-Acadian French had first settled in the 1740s and gradually established cattle ranches known as vacheries. When the Spanish took over Louisiana, the vicinity of southwest Louisiana became known as the Attakapas District. As more non-indigenous arrived in the area, the population shifted outward from Bayou Teche to the north and west, ultimately arriving in the area of today's Lafayette Parish. The first records of lands granted to settlers along the Vermilion River come from the 1770s. René Trahan, an Acadian, received one of the earliest, and by far the largest, of the Spanish land grants on May 4, 1776. It covered 20,240 acres on both sides of the Vermilion River. On the same day, Michel Meaux and Joseph Broussard received allotments contiguous to, although much smaller than, Trahan's. Trahan's lands formed the basis for much of what later became the town of Vermilionville (today's Lafayette). The Vermilion River's navigability ended at roughly the center of Trahan's lands.

Not long after these initial land grants were given, Jean Mouton and his brother, Marin, received their own further north along Bayou Carencro. Although their grants date to 1781, the Mouton brothers had arrived some time earlier than that and had been cultivating the land that subsequently was granted to them. After the Louisiana Purchase, Jean Mouton played a key role in the creation of Lafayette Parish and the town of Vermilionville, the latter of which he had platted on his own property.[12]

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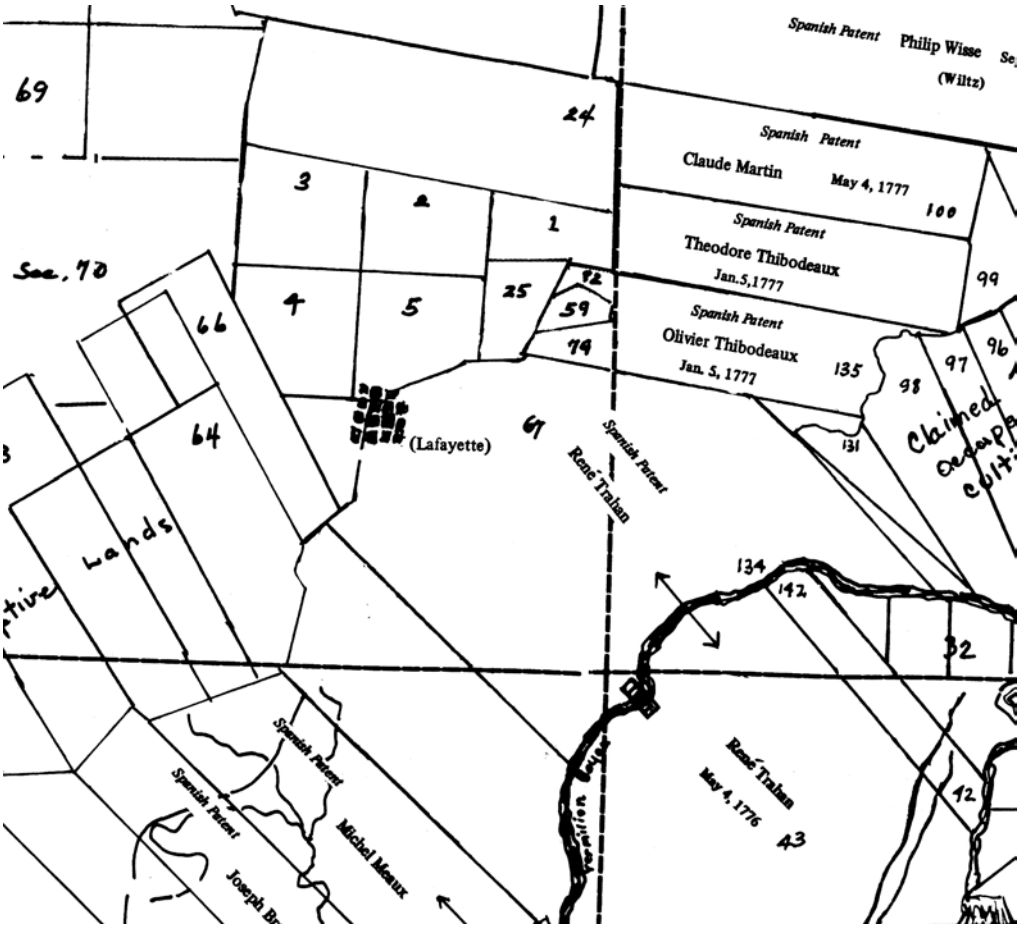
[11]Keith Ouchley, "Felipe Enrique Neri, Baron de Bastrop," 64 Parishes, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, https://64parishes.org/entry/felipe-enrique-neri-baron-de-bastrop; Library of Congress, About this Newspaper, "The Morehouse Clarion (Bastrop, La.) 1874-1904," https://www.loc.gov/item/sn86053659/; *The West Carroll Gazette*, Oak Grove, LA, December 29, 1999 (reprint from 1951), 14 B.
[12]Michael S. Martin, Historic Lafayette: An Illustrated History (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2007).



Detail of "Land Grants on Upper Vermilion River," created by Carl Brasseaux and Gertrude Taylor for the Attakapas Historical Association.

Ouachita Parish

The first major European presence in what is now Ouachita Parish came when Don Juan Filhiol set off in 1783 to establish a protective outpost along the Ouachita River. Filhiol, a native of France, initially considered a site near today's Camden, Arkansas, before heading downstream on the Ouachita to a place then referred to as Prairie des Canots. There, in 1785, he established the Poste du Ouachita. The meager population of the place—barely more than 200 individuals at first—soon felt threatened by the powerful Osage Indians. Whether the threat was real or not, Filhiol decided in 1790 to build a fort on his own land grant. Christened Fort Miró in honor of the Spanish governor, Esteban Rodríguez Miró, site on the Ouachita River soon became the area's locus for law, commerce, worship, and Indian relations. Filhiol retired in 1800, just as the Spanish returned Louisiana to France.[13]

In the below 1858 map, note the long, narrow Spanish land grants side-by-side with the later American system of sections and townships, similar to the map above of Avoyelles Parish.

[13] Leeper, C. D. (2012) Louisiana Place Names. [edition unavailable]. LSU Press.

Marshall, William Everard, "Map of the Parish of Ouachita, Louisiana," New York : Pudney & Russell, 1858. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650, Library of Congress Control Number 2012592306. https://lccn.loc.gov/2012592306.

Rapides Parish

The French established the Poste du Rapides in 1723 or 1724 as a trading station. It attracted a small number of non-Indigenous settlers, either French or French Creoles. The population remained small until after the Spanish claimed Louisiana. In 1785, Alexander Fulton of Pennsylvania received a Spanish land grant in the area and was granted a monopoly on Indian trade. With his partner William Miller, Fulton began to amass landholdings in the area. After the Louisiana Purchase he would be integral in the creation of the town of Alexandria.[14]

St. Landry Parish

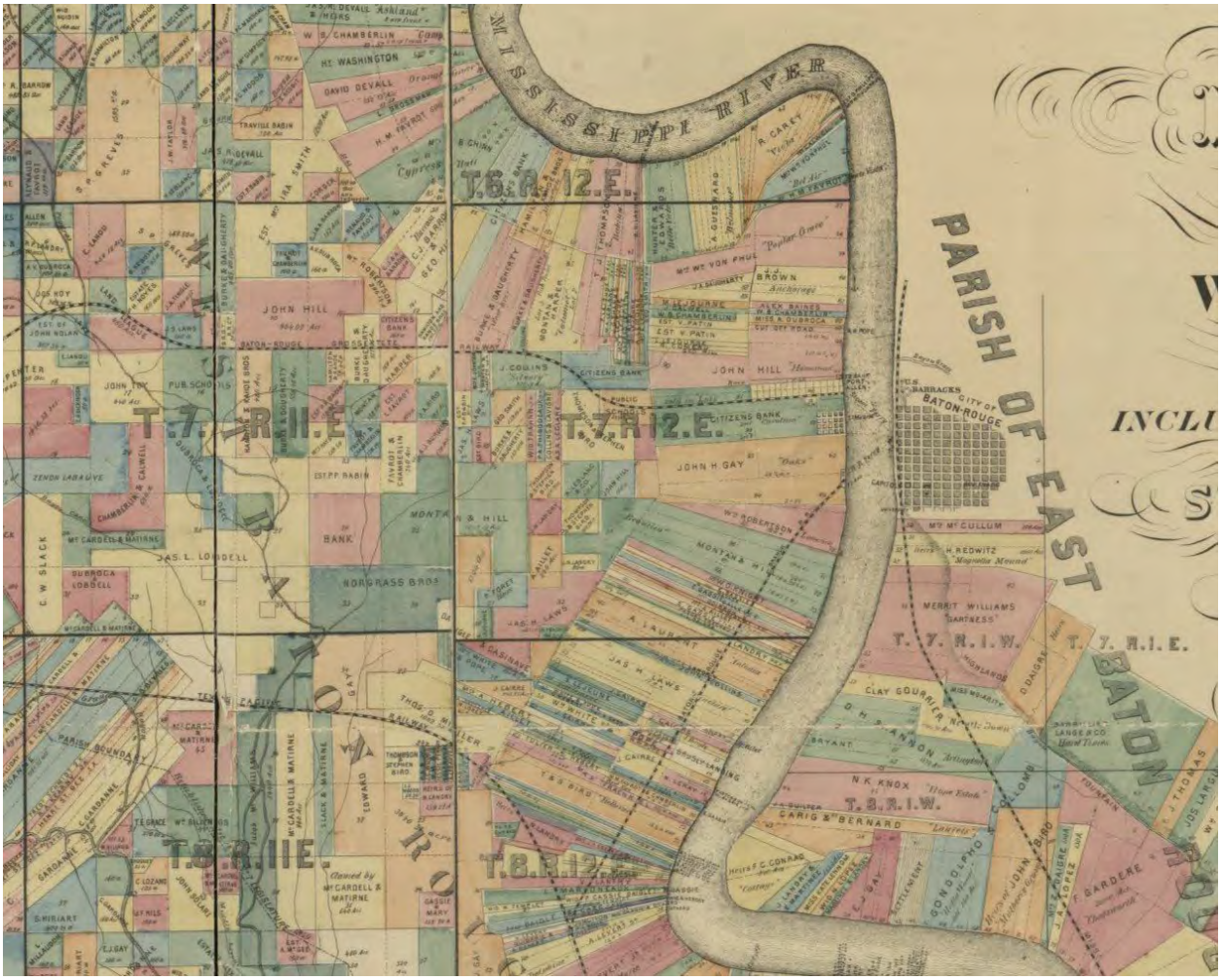
[14] G. P. Whittington, "Rapides Parish, Louisiana--A History, Part II," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 16:1 (January 1933), 30; “Louisiana Riverfronts: Alexandria-Pineville,” Acadiana Profile, July 1, 2010, https://acadianaprofile.com/louisiana-riverfronts-alexandria-pineville/.

Undocumented reports state that at least one French trader went through the St. Landry Parish area in the 1690s. More verifiable records show that an early French trading post called le Poste des Opelousas was established around 1720. The trading post was still doing business when the Spanish government granted land to Frenchman Louis Pellerin, who laid out a new Opelousas Post in 1764. Then located along Bayou Courtableau, the site was further to the north than the city of Opelousas's present location. Most of the early settlers to the area immigrated from France. Beginning in the 1780s, the population increased with an influx of more French, plus Spanish, Creoles, Africans, and African Americans. Acadians also moved into the area from the Attakapas District.[15]

West Baton Rouge Parish

The site of West Baton Rouge Parish probably had some non-indigenous settlers during the French period, but documentation shows the Spanish colonial era as the time when larger populations showed up in the area. The early settlers received the same sorts of Spanish land grants as those elsewhere. The place originally was named simply "Baton Rouge Parish," but after the West Florida Revolt, a second Baton Rouge Parish—East Baton rouge—was added.[16]

[15] *Daily World*, Opelousas, LA, January 1, 2000, 1.
[16] Leeper, C. D. (2012) Louisiana Place Names. [edition unavailable]. LSU Press.



Dickinson, C. H. "Map of the parishes of Iberville most of West Baton Rouge and including parts of the parishes of St. Martins, Ascension, and Pointe Coupée, Louisiana : accurately compiled from latest and most authentic United States surveys," 1883. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C., Library of Congress Control Number 2011588002. https://lccn.loc.gov/2011588002

West Feliciana

Noted Louisiana historian Edwin Adams Davis wrote in his master's thesis that some French arrived in West Feliciana as early as 1712, but migration into the area really began after the English took control of it in 1763. Once the Spanish regained it after 1783, they instituted the same land grant policies for those already there and for newcomers. As a British colony between 1763 and 1783, West Feliciana Parish attracted Anglo-Protestants from North Carolina and Virginia.[17]

[17] Edwin Adams Davis, "Social and Economic Life in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, 1830-1850, as Reflected in the Plantation Diary of Bennet H. Barrow," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1936).

3. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements under British Rule

The following parishes witnessed their earliest colonized settlements during the period 1763-1783.

East Baton Rouge Parish

The French had a presence at the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River as early as 1718, when Diron D'Artaguette held a large concession with a population of two whites and twenty-five Africans, but that settlement proved fleeting and disappeared by 1727. Not until the British took over West Florida and built a fort there in 1763 did a permanent settlement arise. By 1765, the first of a permanent Anglo-Protestant population, mainly from the Carolinas, arrived.[18]

4. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements under American Rule

The following parishes witnessed their earliest settlements after the Louisiana Purchase. They will be dealt with below, in the section titled The Territorial Period, 1804-1812.

East Feliciana
St. Helena
Tangipahoa

Colonial Era Commonalities

Based on the preceding, one can safely say that, although they exhibited distinctives in every situation, most of the parishes or portions of parishes that make up Proposed District Five were established under Spanish governance and reflected the Spanish land grant policy.

D. The Shared Histories of Proposed District Five After the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-2000

1. The Territorial Period, 1804-1812

On October 1, 1800, Spain and France signed the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, making Louisiana a French colony once again. Despite the secrecy, rumors swirled—in Europe, in Louisiana, even in the United States—that the deal had been made. Fearful of a militarized Louisiana under the authority of Napoleon Bonaparte, President Thomas Jefferson sent negotiators to France to try to work out a deal to get New Orleans and thus control of the Mississippi River. In 1803, Robert Livingston and James Monroe, the American negotiators,

[18] "From Red Stick to River Capital: Three Centuries of Baton Rouge History," electronic exhibition, LSU Libraries, Case 1: Native American and Colonial Origins. https://www.lib.lsu.edu/sites/all/files/sc/exhibits/e-exhibits/redstick/cas1txt.html; Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, And Persons, Arranged In Cyclopedic Form* (Madison, WI: Century Historical Association, 1914), 352.

leaped at the opportunity when their French counterpart offered all of Louisiana for the price they offered for just New Orleans. On December 20 of the same year, Territorial Governor William C.C. Claiborne and American general James Wilkinson oversaw the lowering of the French flag and the raising of the United States' and took formal control. Louisiana and its people now entered a new historical era, the Territorial Period.[19]

The Territorial Period, which lasted from the creation of the Territory of Orleans in early 1804 until Congress approved Louisiana's application statehood 1812, was marked by tension and resolution. Tensions developed between the creole populations (French, Spanish, Acadian, Isleños, Black) and American newcomers. Because the territorial process required the integration of a past colony into a nation composed of equal states, the entire population of Louisiana became embroiled in the transition.[20] (It should be noted here that the Louisiana Purchase did not include that area of Spanish empire known as West Florida, thus the parishes known today as East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, and Tangipahoa were not involved in the early developments of the Territorial Era.)

All citizens of the territory, including those in Proposed District Five, shared similar experiences during this time. As the territorial government under Governor Claiborne instituted American legal, political, and governmental traditions, everyone in Louisiana confronted the same process of reconciliation. They also all contended with historical events not directly tied to the territorial process, including disputes with the Spanish, potential insurrections from outside and within, and an actual insurrection of slaves.

Of course, there were cultural contrasts. The coming together of Anglo-American government and military officials with their French counterparts in New Orleans led to bitter disputes over such seemingly insignificant matters as which version of the quadrille dance should be played at balls, is but one example. The so-called War of the Quadrilles symbolized deeper concerns among the creole natives of Louisiana about Anglicization and Protestantization and among the Americans about the distinctly non-American background of the Louisianians. All of this reflected the chaotic, disorderly bringing together of different cultural backgrounds, and both sides of the divide experienced it.

In 1810, the arrival of some 10,000 former Saint-Dominguans—whites, free Blacks, and enslaved Blacks—compounded the problems. The free refugees mostly settled in the city of New Orleans, filling in the new neighborhoods of Faubourg Marigny and Faubourg Tremé, and they infused that place with a French-Caribbean culture that remains evident today. It would be a mistake to think of them as simply another French population and their arrival as simply a strengthening of some monolithic French culture. Instead, they were but one of many distinct groups of French there, with the most obvious differences between the French-Creoles, black and white, and what became known as the Foreign French, those who arrived after the Purchase. The Foreign French included not just the Saint-Domingue refugees, but also émigrés directly from France. Despite a similar deep historical background and mother language, all of these

[19] Jon Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America*. New York, 2003
[20] Tregle, Joseph G. "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal." *The Journal of Southern History* 18, no. 1 (1952): 20–36.

populations were easily distinguishable from one another, and they considered themselves distinct. One of the only things that brought them together was a mutual interest in working politically against the Americans.[21]

Among the most noted of the difficulties with bringing a formerly French and Spanish colony into the United States was the confusion around two very different legal traditions: civil and common law. Although it is accepted among those who think about such things to refer to the Napoleonic Code as one of main reasons for Louisiana's exceptionalism, the reality of the situation was, as always, much more complicated. During the territorial period, Louisiana judges and lawyers, led by esteemed jurists such as Francois-Xavier Martin, began a slow intertwining of the common and civil law traditions. The laws applied to the entirety of the territory, and thus all inhabitants of it, regardless of their historical point of origin, ethnicity, even race. What's more, as scholars who engage in the New Louisiana Legal History have shown recently, even the process of reconciliation of different legal traditions was more widespread in American history than previously thought. Thus, Louisiana's experience, when placed in this broader context, fits more closely with the rest of the United States, undermining the contention that American newcomers to Louisiana experienced the law revisions differently from the creole inhabitants.[22]

Claiborne oversaw the multi-stage implementation of an American-style government in the territory, again a process that all living in Louisiana experienced. For the creole population, at least a select group of white male representatives of it, this meant learning the practice of self-government, the structure of separate powers and checks-and-balances, and the ideology of republicanism. As tempting as it is to say that American immigrants, who came in ever increasing numbers during the territorial period, might have already been familiar with these things, the reality is that if they came from places like Virginia or the Carolinas, as a great many of them did, they had never lived through the territorial procedure that gradually implemented the American government structures. Even if they came from other territories—and a large number of them came from the Territory of Mississippi—they had not seen the territorial process through to its completion. All of this reflected the chaotic, disorderly bringing together of many distinct cultural backgrounds, and all sides experienced it.

The activities of Claiborne and the territorial government—and the cultural, political, and social disputes that came with them—transcended the boundaries of New Orleans and affected Louisianians in uniform ways. For instance, in 1805, the territorial government decreed the creation of counties as new local jurisdictions. Notably for the purposes of this report, the counties of Ouachita, Concordia, Catahoula, Rapides, Pointe Coupée, St. Landry, St. Martin, and West Baton Rouge included portions or all of today's Proposed District Five parishes. The county plan did not sit well with the creole populations, and in 1808, the parish system still used today was put in place. We should not think of the counties as just an anomaly in Louisiana's history. Rather, keep in mind that this applied to all residents of the territory, across the board,

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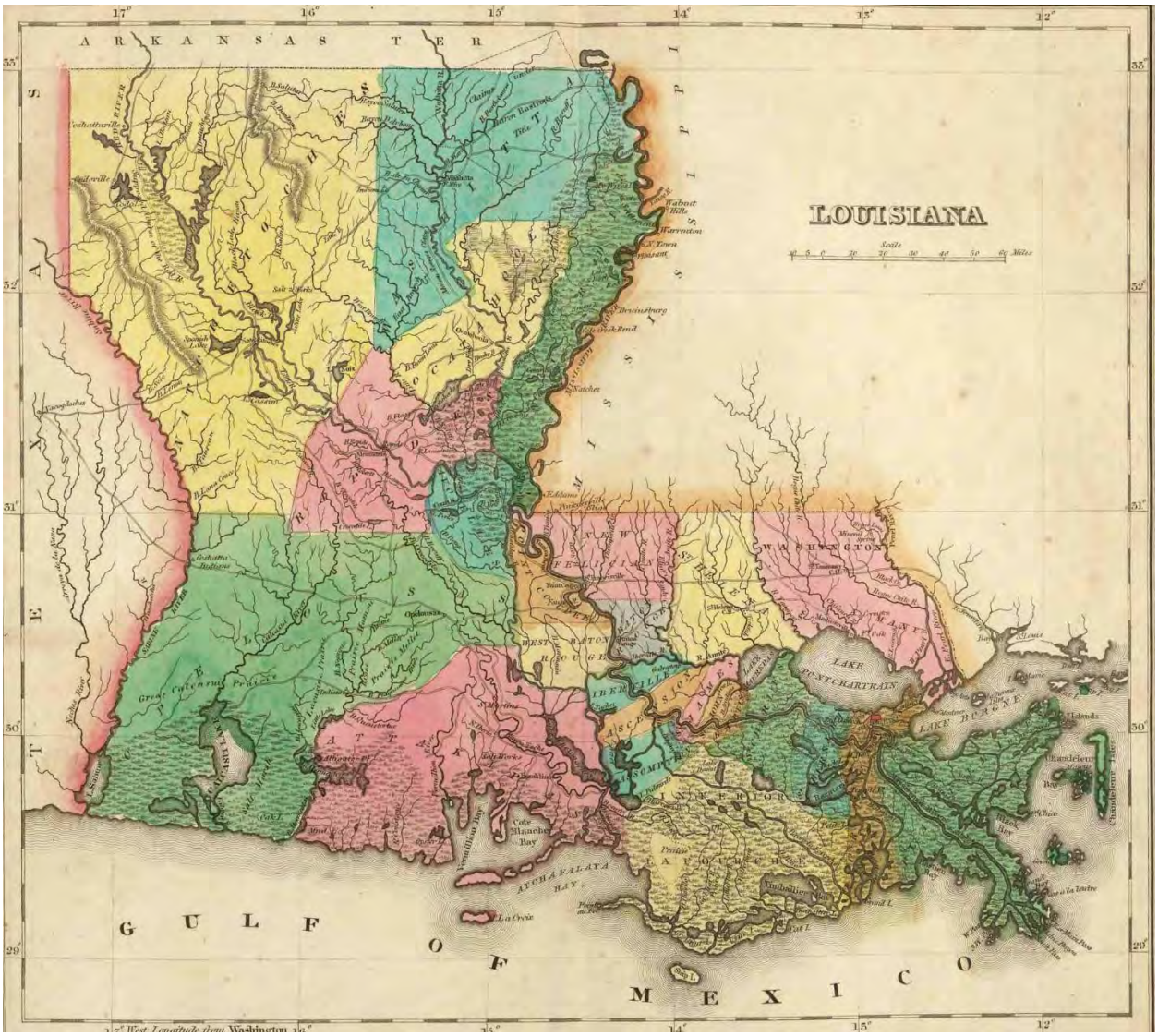
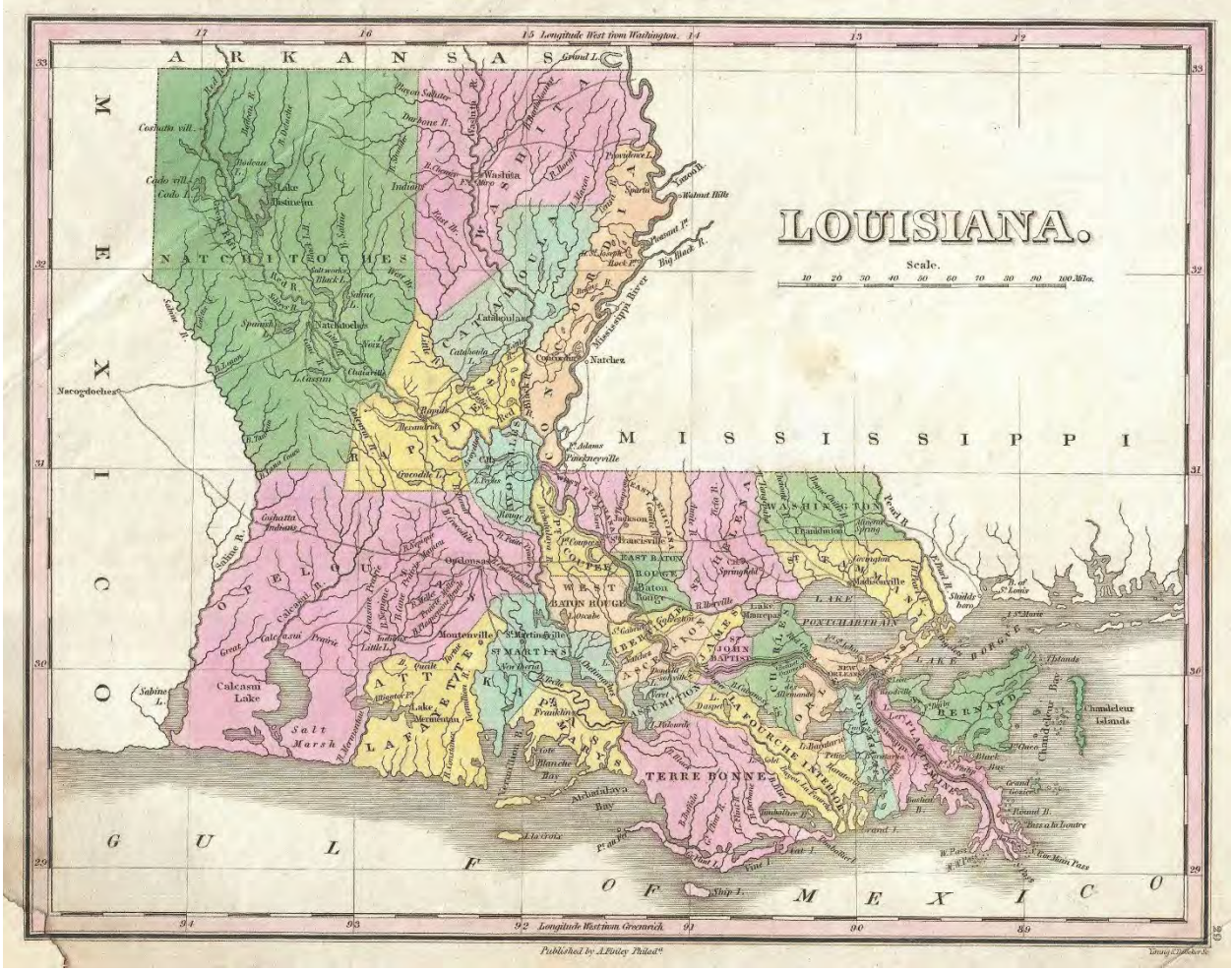
[21] Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007; Brasseaux, Carl A., and Glenn R. Conrad. *The Road to Louisiana: The St.-Domingue Refugees, 1792–1809*. Lafayette, La.: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1992; Tregle, Joseph G., Jr. Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Clash of Cultures and Personalities. Baton Rouge, 1999.

[22] Michael S. Martin, "Francois Xavier Martin," chapter in Great American Judges, Vol. 2, L-Z, ed. John Vile, (Santa Barbara, Ca.: ABC-CLIO, 2003): 502-510 ; Billings, Warren, and Mark Fernandez. *A Law unto Itself? Essays in the New Louisiana Legal History*. Baton Rouge, 2001.

and that the experience would have been shared by settlements along the Ouachita just as it was all the way south on the Vermilion River.



Louisiana's counties of the early nineteenth century. From Henry Charles Carey and Isaac Lea, *A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas, Being a Guide to the History of North and South America, and the West Indies . . . to the Year 1822*.



Early Louisiana Parishes. From Anthony Finley, *A New General Atlas, Comprising a Complete Set of Maps, representing the Grand Divisions of the Globe, Together with the several Empires, Kingdoms, and States in the World; Compiled from the Best Authorities, and corrected by the Most Recent Discoveries*, Philadelphia, 1827.

Those initial parishes did not include portions of modern Louisiana, notably the section of the state today known as the Florida Parishes. Between the 1760s and early 1800s, the area had been passed off from the French to the English and then from the English to the Spanish. Although a few non-Anglos lived in the area, for the most part Anglo-Americans populated it, first as British colonists and then as immigrants from the young United States. By 1810, the Americans represented a substantial majority of West Florida's population, and many of them were unsatisfied with their Spanish government. The West Floridians went through, and were still experiencing, a transition similar to the inhabitants of territorial Louisiana—they faced the bringing together of two very disparate groups of people, with divergent ideas about things like politics and government.

The American émigrés considered the lack of self-government particularly irksome, and they found the Spanish government's laissez-faire attitude toward enforcing the laws problematic in that the lack of clear authority attracted disreputable individuals. In June 1810, hundreds of American West Floridians met in today's West Feliciana parish. They called for a convention of elected delegates to meet at Baton Rouge in August. At the convention, the delegates drew up a

plan to create a representative government under Spanish rule. Upon receiving the report, the Spanish governor of West Florida surreptitiously began calling for reinforcements to quell what he expected to turn into an insurrection. The Americans intercepted the secret correspondence, which led to exactly what the governor feared: outright rebellion. On September 21, 1810, Philemon Thomas, a transplant from Kentucky and veteran of the War for American Independence, took charge of a small force and, two days later, captured the undermanned and undersupplied Fort San Carlos, which guarded Baton Rouge. Within a couple of weeks, a delegation had met and issued a Declaration of Independence for West Florida. By October, whatever limited opposition existed to the rebellion had been eliminated, and on October 24, 1810, a constitution was adopted for the independent Republic of West Florida.

The new nation lasted only 74 days before Governor Claiborne, acted on orders from President James Madison, annexed the area. In 1812, an eastern border was established along the Pearl River, and the parishes of Feliciana (later split into East and West), East Baton Rouge, Saint Helena, Saint Tammany, and Washington (Tangipahoa was carved out of the latter two) were added to Louisiana. [23]

In sum, the Territorial Period began a process of Americanization that impacted everyone in Proposed District Five. This was not a one-way process, and it changed both Creoles and newcomers.

2. The Antebellum Era, 1812-1860

Louisiana's overall population grew tremendously in the decades following statehood. The census records from 1810-1860 show the following:

Year	Total Population	Free Population	Enslaved Population
1810	76,556	7,585 FPC[24]/ 34,311 White	34,660
1820	153,407	10,476 FPC 73383 White	69,064
1830	215,739	16,710 FPC 89,231 White	109,588
1840	352,411	25,502 FPC 158,547 White	168,452
1850	517,762	17,462 FPC 255,491 White	244,309
1860	708,002	18,647 FPC 357,629 White	331,726

[23] Hyde, Samuel. *Pistols and Politics: Feuds, Factions, and the Struggle for Order in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810–1935, 2nd Edition*. Baton Rouge, 2018.
[24] FPC = Free People of Color. The numbers of FPC are from https://lib.lsu.edu/sites/all/files/sc/fpoc/history.html.

POPULATION OF LOUISIANA: 1810 TO 1920.

CENSUS YEAR.	Population.	INCREASE OVER PRECEDING CENSUS.		Per cent of increase for the United States.
		Number.	Per cent.	
1920	1,798,509	142,121	8.6	14.9
1910	1,656,388	274,763	19.9	21.0
1900	1,381,625	263,037	23.5	20.7
1890	1,118,588	178,642	19.0	25.5
1880	939,946	213,031	29.3	30.1
1870	726,915	18,913	2.7	22.6
1860	708,002	190,240	36.7	35.6
1850	517,762	165,351	46.9	35.9
1840	352,411	136,672	63.4	32.7
1830	215,739	62,332	40.6	33.5
1820	153,407	76,851	100.4	33.1
1810	76,556	.....	.....	.....

Even given the inconsistencies of nineteenth-century census taking, the growth is dramatic, and telling. The population numbers are not simply a reflection of natural increase. Instead, they reflect the large-scale immigration of a variety of ethnic groups into the state. What were they coming for? Some came for economic opportunity, others because they had no choice.

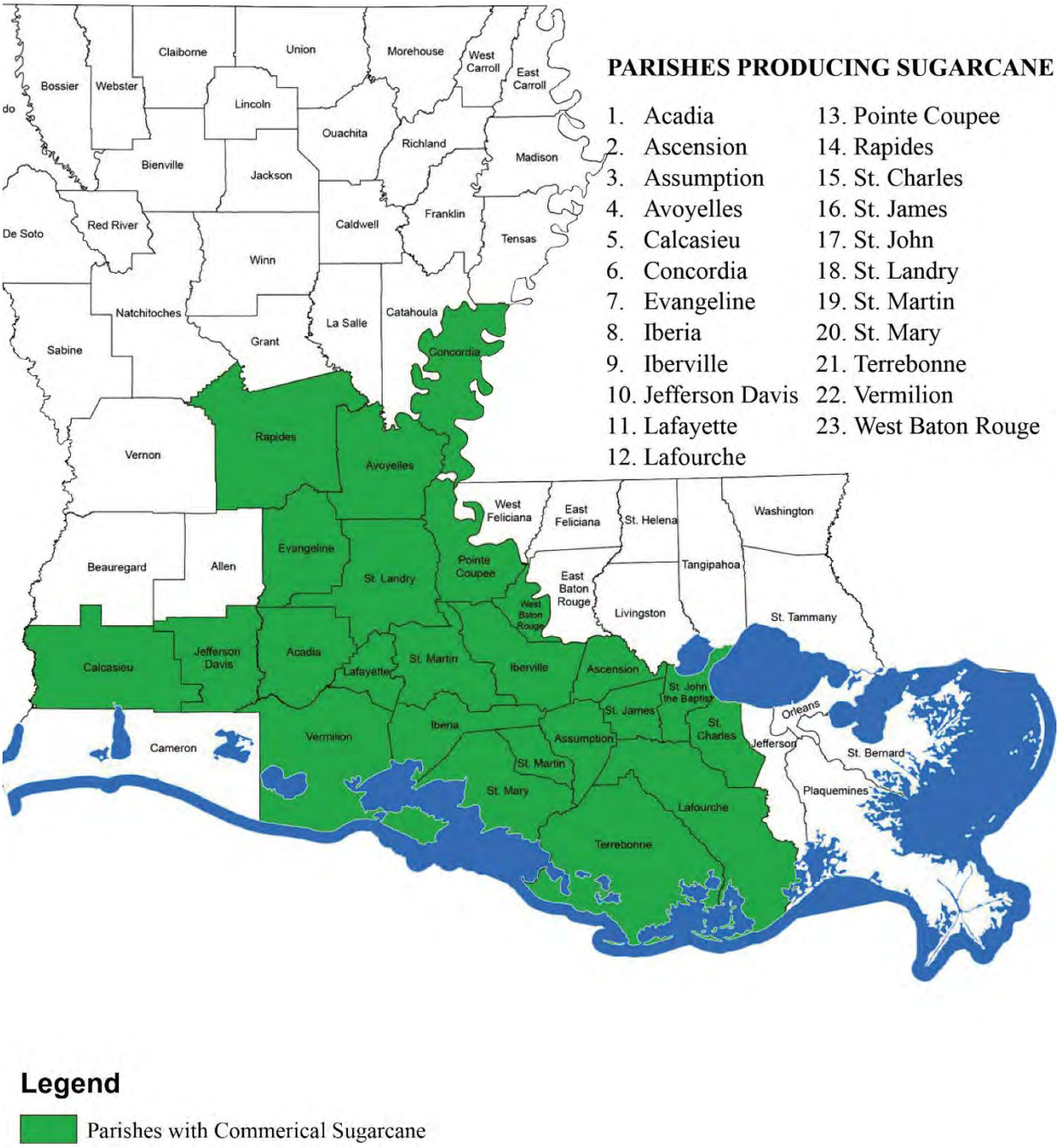
The state's population growth points to the defining characteristic of Louisiana in the period between statehood (1812) and the outbreak of the Civil War (1861): the emergence, and then dominance, of a plantation agriculture economy. That economy rested mainly upon the large-scale cultivation of two cash crops, cotton and sugar cane, and it infiltrated all other aspects of Louisianians' lives. The prospects of great wealth attracted many free immigrants, and to produce that wealth they either bought or brought enslaved Blacks.

In the colonial era, rice, indigo, and tobacco had been the closest things to cash crops grown in Louisiana. The colonists tried sugar cane and cotton, but neither took off until the 1790s, when the earliest influx of Saint-Domingue refugees brought with them knowledge about cane production and an enslaved labor force trained in it. Étienne de Boré, who owned a large plantation just upriver from New Orleans, used the knowledge and skills of Saint-Dominguans to produce, refine, and granulate the first important sugar crop in Louisiana in 1795.

From there, the crop took off. By 1800, the colony had 75 mills, producing 5 million pounds of sugar. The amount of sugar produced by the state during the antebellum period is remarkable. In 1839, Louisiana had 700 farms or plantations producing 100,000 hogsheads[25] of sugar. Ten years later, 1,536 farms or plantations produced 250,000 hogsheads. By 1859, 1,308 farms or plantations produced 221,840. Two years later brought a bumper crop, 460,000 hogsheads, but also the beginning of the Civil War. The tremendous amount of sugar produced in Louisiana led to geographical spread of the sugar plantations. From close proximity to New Orleans, sugar

[25] Unfortunately, the amount of sugar per hogshead varied significantly, from 500 to 1,500 pounds, making it difficult to come up with a specific overall weight.

planters moved up the Mississippi River on both banks, and then down the bayous of southern Louisiana. By 1860, Lafayette, St. Landry, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, Avoyelles, and Pointe Coupée parishes were firmly ensconced in the sugar industry. Those same parishes, plus several more, still produce sugar today.[26]



Map of Louisiana's Sugarcane Producing Parishes, 2022, from *The Louisiana Sugar Industry* (Thibodaux, LA: American Sugar Cane League, 2023).

[26] Follett, Richard. *The Sugar Masters: Planters And Slaves In Louisiana's Cane World, 1820-1860*. Baton Rouge, 2005.

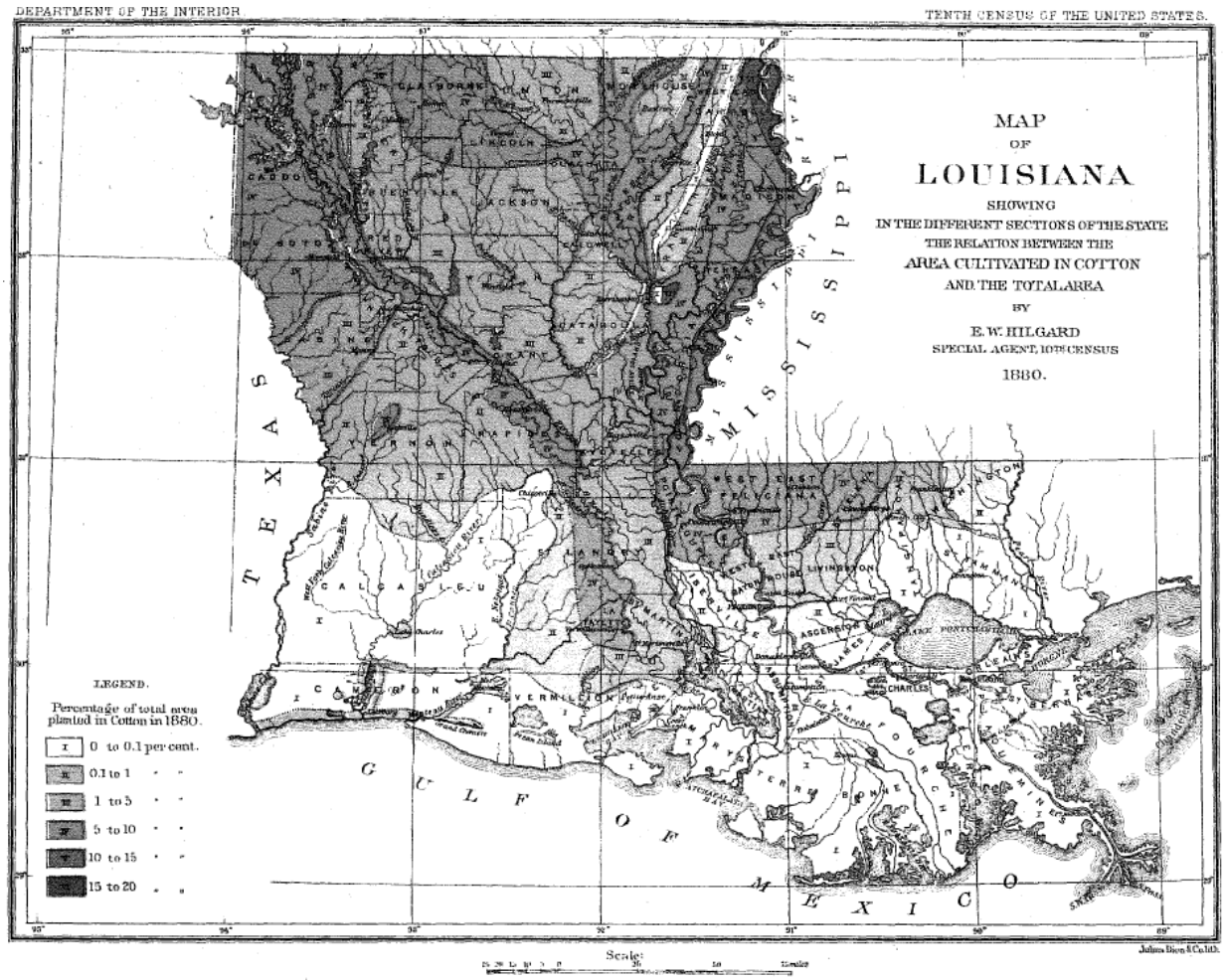
Between 1840 and 1860, Louisiana's annual cotton crop grew from 375,000 bales to nearly 800,000.[27] On the eve of the Civil War, the state produced about one-sixth of all cotton grown in the United States and exported almost one-third of all cotton from the nation. New Orleans was the major port city for American cotton. The northeastern section of Louisiana held some of the richest cotton country in the South. By 1860, cotton plantations there averaged nearly 800 improved acres and 100 slaves. The area had more large slaveholders than anywhere else in Louisiana. Even the "small" farmers of the area turned significant profits, however.

Dr. Robertson's expert report contends that towns in northeast Louisiana "lacked a dynamic economy as they were visited weekly or at harvest time with the region's life mostly found on farms where all the family and their slaves sweated together. These people scratching out a living on less than 600 acres and in communities of less than 20 slaves." This may be true, but if anything, it simply proves the shared history these places had with places elsewhere in Louisiana. Lafayette and St. Landry parishes particularly come to mind.

Likewise, Robertson's report states, "This lifeline [the steamboat] established in 1820 made for the first time commence practical up and down their river easier." (p. 47) There can be no doubt that steamboats connected Monroe with the rest of the world, particularly for commercial purposes. But this, too, is a misrepresentation by omission. The steamboat revolution also happened in places like Alexandria, Lafayette, and Baton Rouge. If anything, this makes the case for the similarities of these places.

Cotton was not exclusively a north Louisiana crop. It was grown deep into the southern reaches of the state, including in St. Landry and Lafayette parishes. Starting from Morehouse, West and East Carroll, Richland, Madison, Franklin, Tensas, and Concordia in Northeast Louisiana, cotton cultivation as a significant portion of planted land extended into: Pointe Coupée; St. Landry, and Lafayette parishes along either side of the Atchafalaya Basin; West and East Feliciana, St. Helena, plus a small northeast triangle in Tangipahoa (which loosely correlates to the portion proposed for inclusion on the Remedial Plan), in the Florida Parishes; and Rapides Parish in Central Louisiana.[28]

[27] One bale is equivalent to 500 pounds.
[28] Luck P. *Replanting a Slave Society : The Sugar and Cotton Revolutions in the Lower Mississippi Valley*. University of Virginia Press; 2022

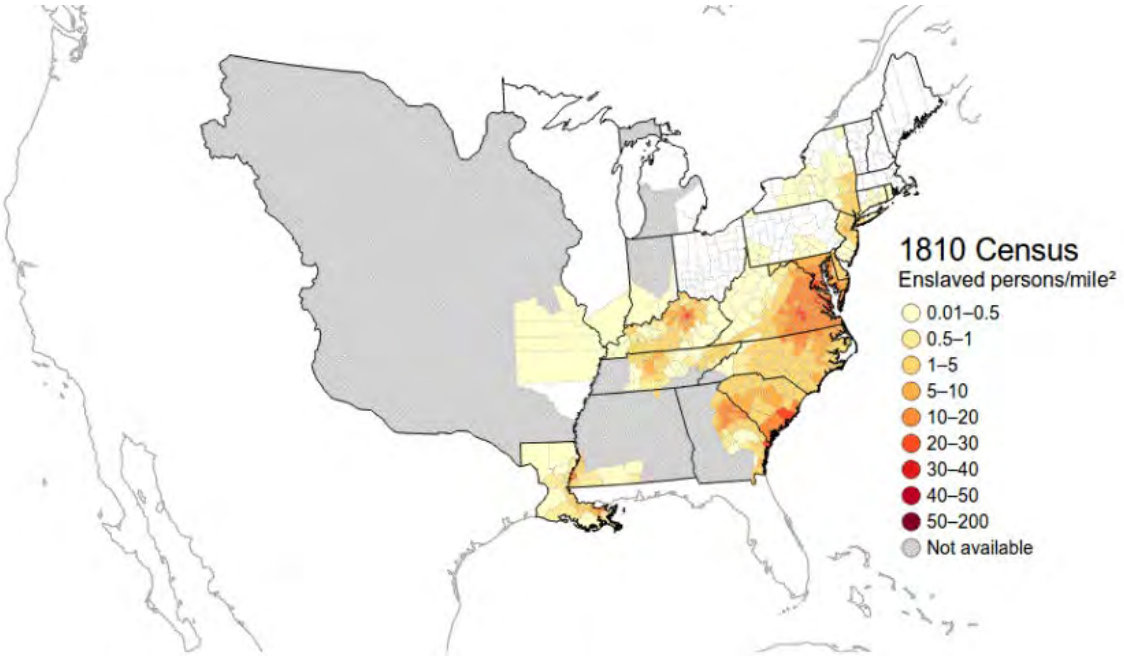


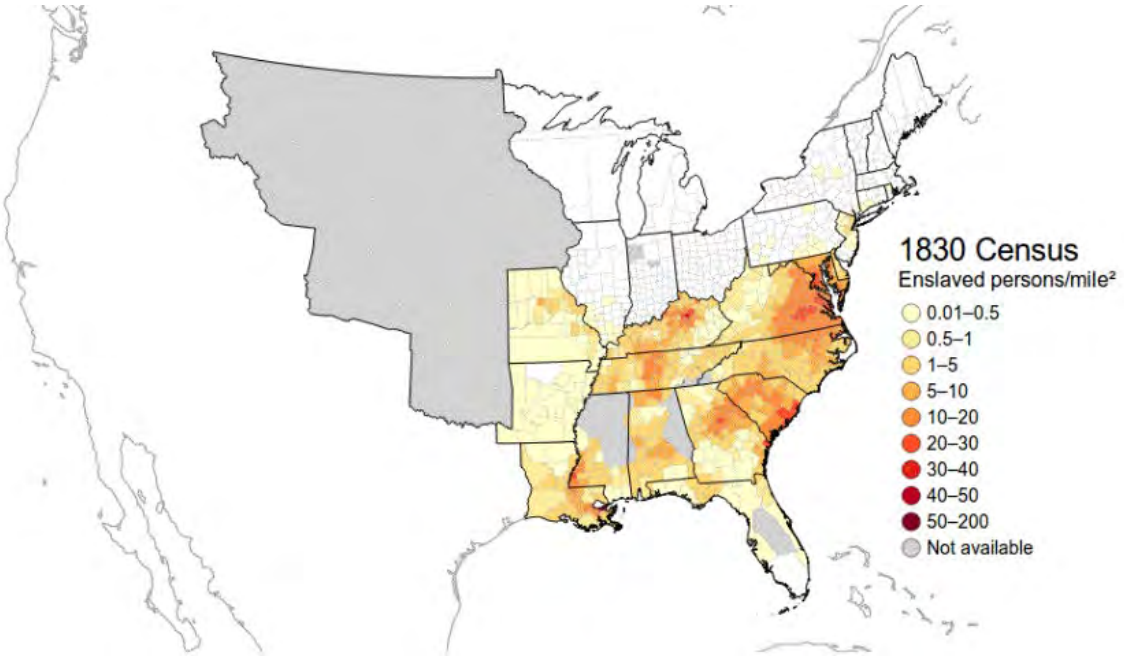
Cotton cultivation in Louisiana, 1880. Although later than the antebellum period, the map shows how deeply cotton cultivation extended into the so-called sugar parishes.

There are crucial differences between cotton and cane planting. A cotton planter generally spent or borrowed less from year-to-year than a cane planter, but they also generally earned less of a return on the investment. Enslaved labor forces lived different lives on cotton and cane plantations, as well. Those and other differences are real, but they should not overshadow the more significant facts that, despite the differences, plantation owners were plantation owners everywhere, regardless of the crop they produced. And slaves were slaves, regardless of where they lived and toiled or what they produced with their labor. The defining characteristic of a planter was plantation ownership, and the defining characteristic of a slave was enslavement.

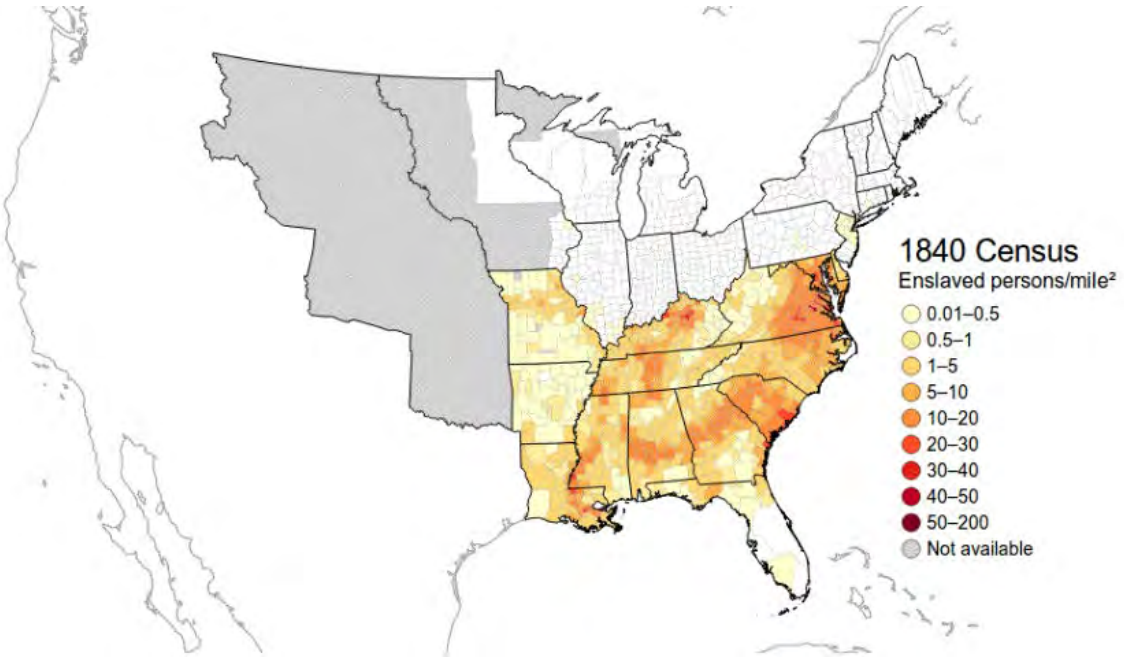
As noted in the above table showing population growth in the state, Louisiana's slave numbers consistently equaled or outpaced the free population. Interestingly, this remarkable growth occurred after the United States shut down its international slave trade in 1808. Most of the slaves who came to Louisiana during this period came from other places in the nation, particularly along the eastern seaboard.

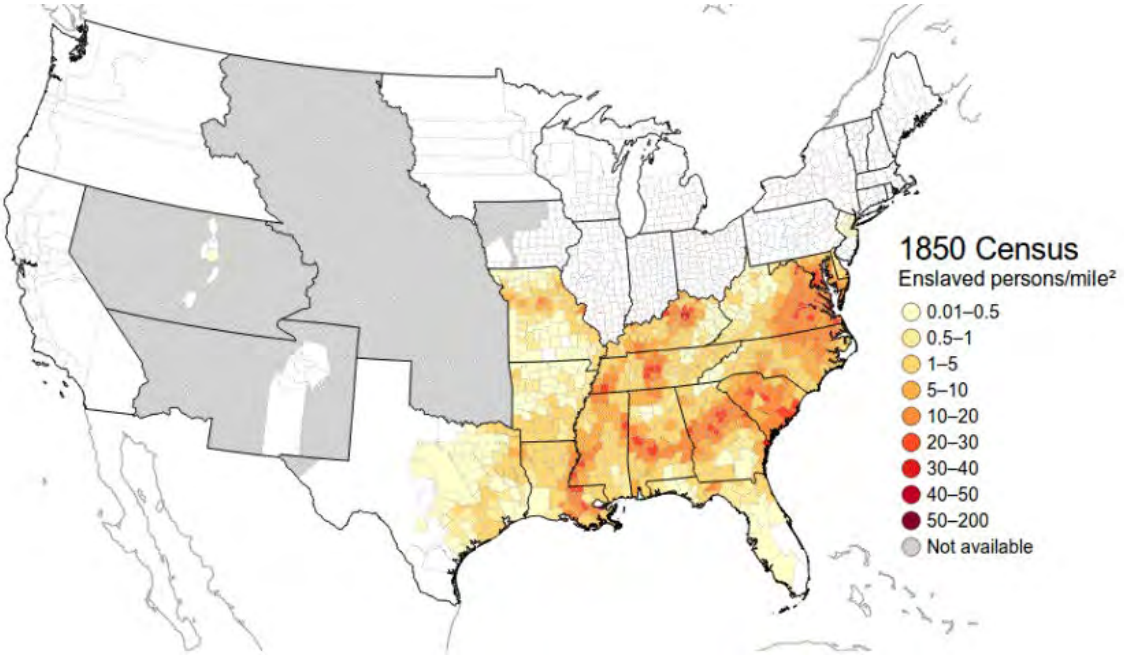
The following maps, developed by the Smithsonian Institution, indicate this massive population shift.[29]

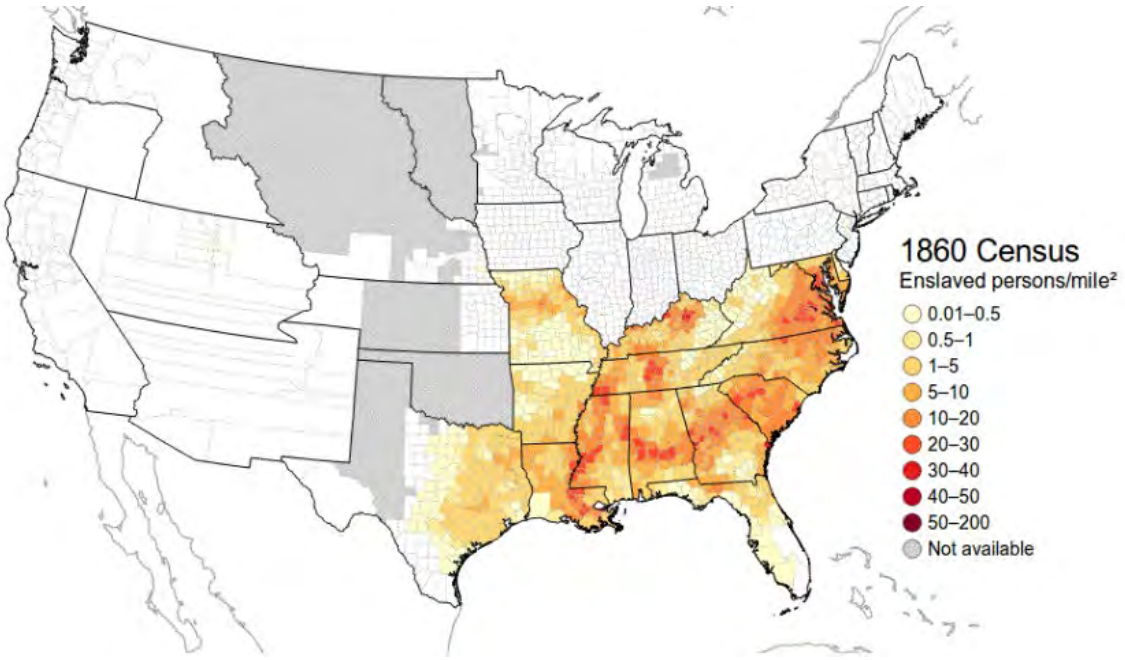




[29] https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/maps-reveal-slavery-expanded-across-united-states-180951452/


1840 Census
Enslaved persons/mile²
0.01–0.5
0.5–1
1–5
5–10
10–20
20–30
30–40
40–50
50–200
Not available


1850 Census
Enslaved persons/mile²
0.01–0.5
0.5–1
1–5
5–10
10–20
20–30
30–40
40–50
50–200
Not available



The individuals forced into this domestic slave trade all shared similar experiences, and when they arrived in Louisiana, they all faced integration into the Creole slave community. Likewise, the slaves already in Louisiana faced that integration process from a different side. The Creole slaves also shared the common experience of coping with increasingly rigid slave laws under the Americans.

Despite the enormous number of enslaved people in the state, not all free Louisianians owned slaves. In fact, the vast majority of free people did not. But that does not mean that they were not connected to the plantation economy and concerned about maintaining the institution of slavery. Towns like Alexandria, Monroe, Baton Rouge, and Lafayette provided important access to transportation required to ship product to the port in New Orleans, and the people who lived in them developed service economies rooted in, and dependent on, the production of cash crops. In rural areas, small farmers produced truck crops and other food items for towns and sometimes large plantations. They likely also aspired to the sort of wealth and power displayed so ostentatiously by the larger planters. Of course, New Orleans's commercial economy was intricately interwoven with the plantations and the crops they produced.

In a discussion about the Florida Parishes, Dr. Robertson points to the fact that one the enormous plantations developed along the Mississippi River, "Smaller scale farms emerged in the pine forests east of the Mississippi and out into the hill country." No doubt this is correct, but it omits the fact that similar patterns happened all across Proposed District Five. The specifics might change—live oaks instead of pine trees off of the Vermilion instead of the Mississippi; the hill country of Rapides instead of West Feliciana or Baton Rouge—but arrangement stayed the same, big plantations with the best lands along the waterways, smaller farmers behind them.

I said above that the plantation economy defined Louisiana's history between 1812 and 1860. Its significance went well beyond just the business realm, however. The leaders and chief

beneficiaries of the plantation economy—the large sugar and cotton planters—spread their power to other spheres, as well. In most communities or parishes, they dominated the social, political, cultural, and even religious scenes. They consistently won elections to the governorship, legislature, and police juries, among other offices. They served as deacons, elders, *marguillers*, even bishops. They functioned as the social and cultural elites in their locales, admired and deferred to by others. Whether they lived in places like Lafayette, Rapides, Morehouse, or Concordia parishes, these plantation owners shared a history rooted in those elite experiences.

Other historical developments within the state, while significant, should not distract us from the facts of the shared experiences of the antebellum period. Yes, party politics mattered, so did constitutional changes, but what enmeshed Louisianians together most was the shared, sometimes forced, interest in maintaining or expanding plantation agriculture.

While much of Louisiana's population growth during the antebellum era can be attributed to free and enslaved individuals moving in from elsewhere in the United States, another substantial portion of the population came from overseas. Between 1820 and 1860 over 550,000 immigrants came to New Orleans, and although not all of them stayed in Louisiana, by 1850 about one-quarter of the state's population—and the majority of New Orleans's white population—had been born outside of the United States. Some examples: Between 1820 and 1850 almost 54,000 Germans entered the port of New Orleans, followed by a swift uptick of over 126,000 between 1850 and 1855. Germans made up roughly one-tenth of the city's population in 1860. That same year, the eve of the Civil War, over 24,000 Irish and 10,000 French-born individuals called New Orleans home.

By 1860, the plantation economy and the institution of slavery had become so foundational to Louisianians' lives that any threat to them could be perceived as imperiling a sizable portion of the free population. Understanding this goes a long way to explaining events in Louisiana following the November 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln.

Before we get to that, a brief aside on an internal threat to the dominance of the large planters: dissent and violence in places like the Florida Parishes and Lafayette Parish. The work of Samuel Hyde, particularly his *Pistols and Politics: Feuds, Factions, and the Struggle for Order in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810–1935*, has shown us that yeoman farmers sometimes chafed against the dominance of large plantation owners. In Lafayette Parish, a comparable situation in the late 1850s nearly boiled over into outright rebellion. I trace this occurrence below, but please note that in both the Florida Parishes and Lafayette Parish, a similar sort of conflict emerged due to shared sensibilities; in short, this is evidence of a shared history and culture between segments of both Lafayette and the Florida Parishes populations.

The sources of the conflict in Lafayette Parish are vague, due mainly to the fact that very few participants wrote about their activities.[30] Here's the story as we know it: In 1859, a group of Lafayette Parish residents formed themselves into a Committee of Vigilance. Soon seven such committees sprang up not only in Lafayette Parish but also in surrounding parishes. Within months, these vigilantes numbered about four hundred men. Many of them had been recruited by

[30] Most of what we know comes from Alexander Barde's *The Vigilante Committees of the Attakapas: An Eyewitness Account of Banditry and Backlash in Southwestern Louisiana*. Barde was a partisan of the vigilantes.

Alexandre Mouton, son of Lafayette founder Jean Mouton and a former governor of Louisiana. Alexandre's son, Alfred, a graduate of West Point and soon-to-be Civil War general, trained the vigilantes. A small army was being created, but to what end?

According to the leaders of the Vigilante Committees, local and state authorities failed to adequately punish or even prosecute "criminal elements" in their area. The committees therefore determined to mete out their own "justice" in the form of whippings, forced expulsions, and lynchings, all done without the benefits of trials. Based on what we know of the "criminal element," these were mostly small farmers who resented the economic control of the large planters. The state's governmental officials did not take kindly to this brand of vigilantism, and in May of 1859, Governor Robert Wickliff ordered the committees to disband, branded the vigilantes criminals themselves, and called for public support of his stance. The Committees of Vigilance ignored the governor, but another group took his statements to heart: self-styled "antivigalantes" gathered together and formed their own committees.

The result: localized civil war. In early September 1859, several hundred vigilantes, trained by Mouton and under the direction of Major Aurelean St. Julien, marched out of Vermilionville toward Bayou Queue du Tortue. There, they met a force of antivigilantes. The antis had gathered at the bayou to prepare for an assault on Vermilionville itself; the vigilantes hoped for a preemptive strike. Following blustering on both sides, the vigilantes unveiled their trump card: a brass cannon. The antis knew the destruction a cannon could bring to their side, and they turned and ran. When the pursuit ended, the vigilantes held about two hundred prisoners. Of those, eighty received lashes and were forced out of the state.

The dissent seen in places like Lafayette Parish (and elsewhere) points to two key facts: 1. the economic and social dominance of large planters could be so complete that it fostered resentment. and 2. such resentment was not singular to a particular parish.

3. The Civil War, 1861-1865

Following Lincoln's election in 1860, several southern states, led by South Carolina, seceded from the United States and joined together to form the Confederate States of America (CSA). Originally composed of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana, the CSA ultimately totaled eleven following the secessions of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

In order to join the CSA, Louisiana held a secession convention, in which delegates from each parish voted on a secession resolution. State representative and senate districts were used to determine the number of delegates elected: dependent on population, the 21 senatorial districts would send 31 delegates and the representative districts would return 99 delegates, for a total of 130 members. Those elected to the secession convention from the Proposed District Five parishes are noted in Appendix One.

The delegates to the convention, which met starting on January 23, 1861, had an average wealth of $130,000 at a time when even skilled laborers in Louisiana averaged only $2.75 a day. These were the leaders of the plantation economy—another indication of shared sentiment. The

delegates elected former U.S. Senator and Louisiana Governor Alexandre Mouton of Lafayette Parish as the convention president. Mouton owned about 20,000 acres and 120 slaves at the time. On January 26, the convention voted 100 to 17 (not all members cast a ballot) to secede from the United States. Two months later, on March 26, Louisiana joined the CSA.

Looking at the vote and reviewing the vote tallies in Appendix One, it is evident that not all Louisianians fully agreed with the idea of immediate secession. Once the decision was made, however, and especially once the war began, the tide of public opinion shifted dramatically to support for the CSA.

On April 12, 1861, less than three weeks after Louisiana joined the CSA, the first shots of the Civil War sounded at Charleston, South Carolina, where Confederate troops under Louisianian P. G. T. Beauregard fired upon the U.S.-controlled Fort Sumter. Over the next four years, the United States witnessed the most brutal and horrific conflict in its history. By the end, more than 600,000 Americans lay dead.

Initially, Louisiana seemed destined to escape the traumas of the war. Most of the major fighting in 1861 occurred outside the Bayou State. 1861 turned out to be a year of preparation inside the state. By June, Louisiana had sent 16,000 men out of the state. By the end of the war, between 50,000 and 60,000 Louisianians had joined or been conscripted into the Confederate army. Most of them served outside the state.

Louisiana controlled the Mississippi River, the control of which was a major component in the United States' overall strategy. In 1862, the war arrived in Louisiana. On May 1, U. S. General Benjamin Butler took control of New Orleans. Later that month, both Donaldsonville and Baton Rouge fell to the Union military. The fall of these river strongholds set the stage for battles further west. In the spring of 1863, as part of a push to gain control of all Louisiana, a Union army under General Nathaniel Banks began pressing to the west and then north from the Mississippi. In what became the Teche Campaign, Confederate General Richard Taylor, vastly outnumbered, tried his best to slow Banks's progress. Several battles were fought as part of the campaign, but because a portion of Lafayette Parish is in the Proposed Fifth District, I will give a little more attention to the happenings there.

Banks threatened Vermilionville by April 1863. Vermilionville native Brigadier General Alfred Mouton commanded almost half of Taylor's men and was charged with protecting his hometown. At Pin Hook Bridge, Mouton briefly slowed Banks's advance on April 17 by burning the bridge after his soldiers retreated across it. He then threw the men into building a defensive breastwork. That evening, the Union troops attempted to rain artillery fire upon the Confederates, but their aim was off, and the explosions occurred either in the air above or on the land behind the Confederates. Mouton knew that the bridge-less Vermilion River would not hold the federals for long, and that night he escaped to Opelousas. Mouton's foresight was correct, for the very next day Banks's men built a new bridge across the river. General Banks set up camp at Vermilionville for a brief period before moving on to Opelousas in St. Landry Parish.

In northern Louisiana, 1863 saw General Ulysses S. Grant march soldiers through on his way to attack Vicksburg, Mississippi, causing much destruction as he went. Union troops in the Florida

Parishes burned, ransacked, and looted towns and farms. But the most important Louisiana battle of 1863 was the Union attack of Port Hudson, just north of Baton Rouge on the Mississippi River (in that portion of East Baton Rouge Parish connected to Proposed District Five). There, Union General Banks began a siege on May 27, 1863; it continued for 45 days. On July 9, 1863, Port Hudson fell, five days after Grant took Vicksburg. All of the Mississippi River at this point was in Union hands. The area west of the Mississippi, including Louisiana, was now severed from the rest of the Confederacy. It would remain so for the rest of the 22 months of fighting.

But not all of Louisiana lay in Union hands; they controlled only about two-sevenths of the state. Shreveport had become capital of Confederate Louisiana, an important consideration for the Union officers who wanted to expand their authority in the state. A more important consideration, perhaps, was the cotton crop waiting in the fields along the Red River route to the new capital. The crops were literally ripe for the picking. It is a much-debated topic, but some historians contend that Banks and other Union leaders had their eyes on that cotton and wanted it more than they wanted complete control of the state. Regardless of the motivation for the Red River Campaign, we can definitively say that Admiral David Porter assembled twenty gunboats and a number of smaller transports at the mouth of the Red River in mid-March. They combined with General A. J. Smith and his 10,000 troops, and in March, they began moving up the river. On March 14, 1864, Fort Derussy, which guarded Alexandria, fell. Two days later, on March 16, the U.S. forces occupied Alexandria. On March 24, 20,000 additional Union forces arrived. The total of 30,000 men was now under the command of General Nathaniel Banks. They set out for Shreveport, but never made it there.

A Confederate army of 9,000 men under General Richard Taylor was, at the same time, in North-Central Louisiana. Taylor determined to make a stand at Mansfield, some forty miles south of Shreveport and fifteen miles west of the Red River. On April 18, 1864, Taylor ordered an attack on the approaching Union forces, driving them back. He followed this victory with another at the Battle of Pleasant Hill. The Banks's army retreated, and, indeed, gave up its plan for taking all of Louisiana. The Union forces caused great destruction as they retreated. Alexandria ended up destroyed. General Banks was held responsible for the defeats and blamed for losing control of his troops.

The experiences of Louisianians during the Civil War transcended regional boundaries. It is obvious that the people of Proposed District Five all shared yet another set of historical circumstance, whether through military service, activities on the home front, or occupation of the U.S. military.

4. Reconstruction, 1862-1877

The end of the Civil War brought with it a new historical era called Reconstruction. Reconstruction meant two things: first, reconstructing the war-torn South, which had been the site of most of the Civil War's fighting and which for decades following reeled from the devastation; second, reconstructing the nation, which had been torn apart and now had to be mended.

Abraham Lincoln had hoped for a conciliatory reconstruction of the nation. After his assassination, however, a group of Republican politicians, known collectively as Radical Republicans, became frustrated with his successor's policies and took the reins of Reconstruction. Beginning in 1867, the Radical's plan for military Reconstruction was put into effect in the former Confederate states. At the heart of those plans stood the freedpeople, former slaves emancipated during the war and after, whose political, social, and economic standing remained undefined. The goal of Radical Reconstruction was to provide full equality to the freedpeople as citizens of the United States.

One way to help guarantee the freedpeople such equality would have been to provide them with land. This was a fundamental problem across the South after the Civil War: the people who had the land had no labor, and the people who had the labor had no land. As a result, as Dr. Robertson states in his section on Baron Rouge and the Florida parishes, "sharecropping and tenant farming debt enslavement" emerged after the Civil War. (p. 15) In a later section on Baton Rouge, Robertson attests that, after the end of Reconstruction, "African-Americans and poor whites fell into sharecropping, tenant farming, or wage labor at the city." (p. 28) As those are the only two mentions of sharecropping and tenant farming in the report, the conclusion might be drawn that those forms of economic repression only existed in Baton Rouge (and perhaps the Florida parishes). In reality, sharecropping and tenant farming emerged everywhere in rural Louisiana. In fact, they provide yet another set of examples confirming the shared histories of small-scale farmers spread across many parishes of the state.
The tensions of Reconstruction spilled over into racial intimidation and terrorism. Simply put, many whites did not wish to have recently emancipated slaves put on an equal footing with themselves. They likewise believed that their own rights would be trampled in the Radical effort to establish the rights of the freedmen, in essence elevating the former slaves above whites. Terrorist organizations arose to reassert white Democratic control over a state that was now governed by the majority-Black Republican Party. Nationally, the most famous of these organizations is the Ku Klux Klan, but for Louisiana the more significant groups are the Knights of the White Camellia (KWC) and the White League. Alcibiades Deblanc, a native of St. Martin Parish and veteran of the Civil War, founded the KWC in May 1867. Made up mostly of Confederate veterans and members of the plantation elite, the KWC, like the other organizations mentioned here, devoted itself to white supremacy. The KWC also targeted expressly political goals. Its members saw the best way to restore white supremacy as being through control of the government, which meant controlling voting. The KWC spread quickly across Louisiana in the months leading up the presidential election of 1868, the outcome of which at least one historian claims the KWC determined in Louisiana. Evidence exists of KWC activities in all regions of the state, and for our purposes here, they were quite active in Lafayette and St. Landry parishes in South-Central Louisiana; the Florida Parishes; Franklin, Ouachita, and Morehouse in Northeast Louisiana; and Avoyelles Parish in the central part of the state. The KWC died out by early 1870s, but not before wreaking havoc on the state's electoral politics and striking fear into the hearts of many Republicans. [31]

The White League formed partly from remnants of Knights of White Camellia. The earliest records we have of it come from St. Landry Parish. The White League had an even broader base

[31] James G. Dauphine, "The Knights of the White Camelia and the Election of 1868: Louisiana's White Terrorists; A Benighting Legacy" Louisiana History 30 (1989), 173-190

of membership than its predecessor and was an open society with membership rolls. It used physical intimidation to stop Republicans from voting and to remove Republicans from office, often going further than sheer threats. The League notoriously lynched five white Republican politicians in the "Coushatta Massacre" and engaged in a bloody battle with the Metropolitan Police at the Battle of Liberty Place in New Orleans. The latter ended with a coup that saw the White League overthrow the state's Republican government and installed its own Democratic one, until federal troops arrived and reclaimed the control for the Republicans.

To give a sense of what the White League was like at a parish level, I'll use Lafayette as an example. The first White League in Lafayette Parish formed at Vermilionville in August 1874. It was quickly supplemented by thirteen other "clubs" from smaller communities around the parish. Total membership numbered nearly 500 men, roughly five percent of Lafayette Parish's population. Keep in mind that membership does not fully show the support of the parish's white population for the White League's activities.

It is difficult to say without definitive evidence whether or not the KWC or White League were behind some of the more deadly rampages of the Reconstruction Era, and I will not speculate on that front. Instead, to give a sense of how violent life in Louisiana was during this time, I below list the more notable instances of Reconstruction violence. Note the locations. More often than not, these incidents occurred in southern Louisiana, which goes against conventional thinking about the racial liberalism of the area.

September 1868
- Opelousas Massacre, ca. 250 dead

October 1868: voter suppression violence before that year's election
- Caddo Parish Massacre: at least 53 killed
- New Orleans Violence: 14 dead
- St. Bernard Parish Massacre: at least 35 dead
- Algiers Violence: 7 dead
- Bossier Parish Massacre: at least 162 dead

1873
- Colfax Massacre (April): at least 150 dead
- Grant Parish Lynching (November): 6 dead

1874
- Coushatta Massacre: at least 11 dead
- New Orleans Battle of Liberty Place: 32 dead

1875-76
- East Feliciana Parish (over the course of several months): at least 30 dead

1876
- West Feliciana Parish: at least 17 dead

Reconstruction ended in 1877, as did Republican and Black hopes of maintaining equal rights in the state.

What is significant about the struggle for control of Louisiana during Reconstruction? First, the fact that the KWC and the White League both had deep roots in places like St. Landry and Lafayette parish puts to the lie the contention that race relations differed between the northern and southern parishes of the state. Second, the organizations themselves, with memberships and "clubs" existed all across the state. Third, and most important for this report, the activities of these groups, and the participation in them, show a shared history that transcends the overly simplified boundaries usually drawn as cultural regions in Louisiana. As with other evidence presented in this report, the experiences of people across Proposed District Five coincided.

5. The Late Nineteenth Century, 1877-1900

The shared history of terrorism and terror did not end in 1877. If anything, violent activities surrounding politics and race only worsened over the following decades. Reconstruction's end brought about the removal of Radical Republican power in the South, and it also brought about the removal of many of the freedoms and liberties freedpeople had come to enjoy and expect in the years since the end of the Civil War. Over the next few decades, southern Democrats, now firmly back in power, erected two colossal barriers to black freedom: disfranchisement and segregation.

Southern conservatives, "redeemed," in their eyes, from the shackles of Reconstruction and determined to recreate a close approximation, if not an exact replica, of the antebellum South, erected during the late nineteenth century a system of laws designed to separate blacks from whites socially and to restrict black participation in politics and government. This was when the Jim Crow system, with its separate spaces for the races, developed, solidified, and became codified in the law. And it was the time of disfranchisement, by which most southern blacks and many poor whites lost the right to participate in their own governance. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision and Louisiana's Constitution of 1898 put the state's system of segregation and disfranchisement into place. In order to reach that stage, however, the Democrats had to reclaim control of the state's government. They did this through threats and violence.

None of this happened in a vacuum. The Plessy case defined national law for almost sixty years. The 1898 Constitution remained in effect until 1921, but the disfranchisement implications of it carried on into the 1960s. And everywhere in Louisiana, including all parishes of the Proposed 5th District, segregation became the norm for blacks *and* whites, while having no opportunity for democratic self-government became standard for blacks—and making sure things stayed that way become the rule for whites.

The 1880s brought important infrastructure developments that tied disparate parts of Louisiana together. Dr. Robertson notes that "The 1880s railroad building boom brought another transportation route to get cotton out of the region. It also gave the region an easier way to get to the Long Leaf Pine timber found in a belt across the central part of the state." (p. 45) But the railroads did much more than that. As shown in the below map, by the second decade of the

twentieth century, they linked Alexandria to Lafayette, Monroe, and Baton Rouge—and those cities to one another. Tracks sliced through every parish of Proposed District Five—North, South, and Central Louisiana, plus the Florida Parishes. This transportation revolution occurred everywhere in the Proposed Fifth District. If anything, the arrival of the railroads brought about even more uniformity. Once isolated places were now interconnected. So when Dr. Robertson writes on page 17 of his report, "New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Lafayette are not in the same culture regions and have not been so since colonial times," he appears to be disregarding the long, deep commercial culture that railroad, and steamboats before them, allowed for.

Louisiana Railroads, 1919. From L.L. Poates, *Poates Complete Atlas of the World* (New York, NY: Poates Corporation , 1921) 60-61.

6. The Early Twentieth Century, 1900-1929

The post-Civil War violence noted above during the Reconstruction Era continued into the twentieth century. Lynchings across Louisiana further exemplify the similar history of race relations happening across the state. To take the southern-most parish within the Proposed Fifth District as an example, whites in turn-of-the-century Lafayette lynched at least seven individuals: Felix Keyes, on July 11, 1889; Anton Domingo, on November 29, 1906; an unidentified black family of four, in March 1911; and Norbert Randall, on November 26, 1911.[32] Expanding our view to the entirety of the Proposed Fifth District, we see the following numbers for lynchings per parish; note that these refer to instances of lynchings, which sometimes included murdering more than one individual:

Avoyelles, 4
Catahoula, 7
Concordia, 7
East Baton Rouge, 7

[32] Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, SUPPLEMENT: Lynchings by County, Equal Justice Initiative.

East Feliciana, 5
Franklin, 8
Lafayette, 4
Madison, 9
Morehouse, 16
Ouachita, 35
Pointe Coupée, 13
Rapides, 12
Richland, 14
St. Helena, 3
St. Landry, 6
Tangipahoa, 22
West Baton Rouge, 3
West Carroll, 9
West Feliciana, 6

To go one step further in showing the similarities between these parishes in terms of race relations, we can look no further than recently uncovered Ku Klux Klan membership lists for early 1920s Louisiana. This list was discovered by me and a research assistant in the papers of Anti-Klan governor John Parker. The list is broken down by city, town, or parish, and comprises more than three thousand names. It includes membership rosters from all the parishes of the Proposed Fifth District. Even when narrowed to include those parishes that are divided under the proposal, the individual towns of Lafayette, Alexandria, Monroe, and Baton Rouge appear. Below are few representative samples from the list.

cont. BASTROP, LOUISIANA

JOHN T HOOD	J K SKIPWITH SR.	J T SCOGIN	J C FREELAND
W PIPES	S D GRAVES	J J NORSWORTHY	A B CONGER
J H MICHIE	W E CONGER	R E BARHAM	T H MILLIKEN
J F HARP	C F SHEAR	G C HARP	W H GRAY
F L BILLINGTON	H W DAVIS	T B PRATT JR	T B PRATT
J W MONTGOMERY	F L HIGGINBOTHAM	T E BARHAM	R L CREDILLE
W L GULLIDGE	FRANCIS BROWN	R L THOMAS	W T SMITH
W M PICKETT	J D HIGGINBOTHAM	W E TURPIN	D N HARPER
E L HETZLER	J NELSON JONES	W E ADEN	S R MORRIS
H T PEEDE	T R STEVENSON	L L MORRIS	J R FREEMAN JR
EARNEST BAKER			

ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA

J M LOVE	M F CAPPEL	MONROE BRASHER	B P STEDMAN
R E CALLOWAY	S M BRAME	HARRIS, H H	A H HERNDON
S G BØYRD	C H DOTY	C H BREITHAUPT	C G WILSON
A L CROW	ROBT L STEWART	U T DOWNS	F PFFERHOM
F M CLEMENTS	M E STEADMAN	F I STRICKLAND	T B GAMBLE
L S WHARTON	K HUNDLEY*	H J BRENNER	N J WOODLAND
R M SCOTT	W W O NEAL	O E CROUK	J I LUKER
C C O'MALLEY	E J ILES	A N MOORE	C W BRISTER
H H THOMAS	M F JARRELL	E C STERLING	W V JACKSON
GEO N ADAMS	J M NUGENT	E G FORTNER	M G SMITH
WM. REYNOLDS	T F GLAZE	W P LEWIS	J R STANLEY
M CAPPELL	ALBERT HILLIARD	A V HUNDLEY	SAM D BOGAN
W R YOUNGER	J W MULER	J W CARTER	J A HOGAN
C E SCARBROCK	R B JORDAN	W C BRADY	W C DOWDY
L A FAUST	A H BEAVER	W J CLOVER	C W MACHOST
F A COTEY	P IVEY	GEO YOUNGER	NEWTON ALSUP
C W ROBINSON	J H LEGGETT	CHAS M BOLLAR	FOSTER BRADY
B F EUBANK	H E STILES	AJS S WEEKS	G P ROSSMAN
B G DAWKINS	I D DEARMAN	W F MORGAN	JAS F THOMSPON
J T POWERS JR.	J W YOUNG	W W TULLY	D L SITTON
T DODD	L J MIDDLETON	J C WILLIAMS	J L CAMPBELL JR.
C T ICE	I B WHITE	BEN F BRADFORD	W D RUSH
W M RINGGOLD	J A LAW	J M McFARLAND	C W CROCKETT
J G BOND	DR. J L WILSON	B ARMSTRONG	A G BARNHART
JOHN F FELL	ED. W HIXSON	P A GILHAM	C E BARNETT
W J AVERY	W J AVERY	V L FREEMAN	SAM G ALLEN
TROY BRANNON	J T MERRITT	J E STOWE	M P JORDAN
BEN F RUSH	H T WADLEY	DR. C M ABBOTT	THOS L OWEN
S B CROUCH	L L WEST	W V MURPHY	DR. R P EVANS

KLEAGLE'S PROVISIONAL KLAN REPORT

This report MUST be made immediately after the institution of a Klan and sent to the Imperial Kleagle, by him approved and sent to the Imperial Palace without delay.

To the Imperial Wizard, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:

I have this day instituted a provisional Klan at Rayville, County of Richland, State of Louisiana, with ~~39~~ 31 Charter Petitioners.

Name of Klan Richland

OFFICERS APPOINTED

Title	Name	Address
Ex'd C.	M.A. Cooper	
Klaliff	J.A. Hoon	
Klokard	W.L. Jones	
Kludd	W.R. Harvell	
Kligrapp	E.T. Morris	
Klabee	W.W. Kelley	
Kladd	W.J. Thomas	
Klarogo	Jos. D. Colhouno	
Klexter	E.S. Stouart	
Klokann	W.L. Calhoun, Sr.	
	S.W. Sprwles	
	J.W. Summerlin	
Night-Hawk	C.C. Buck	

Signed:

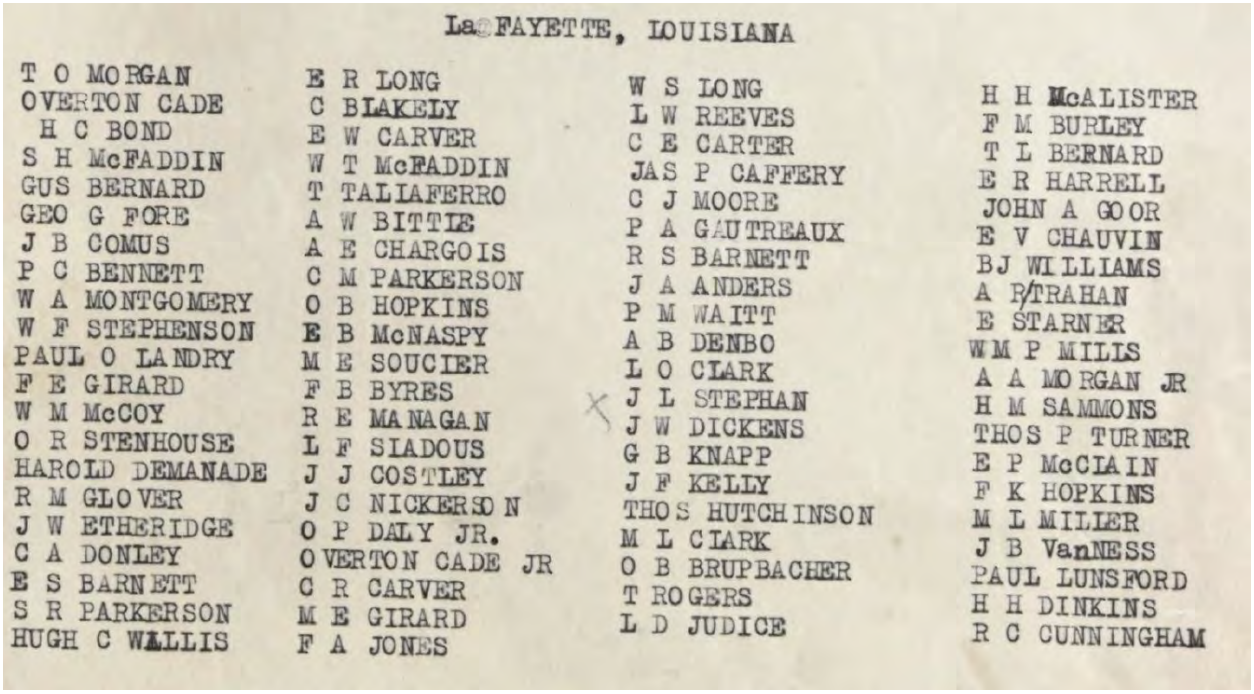
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

CHAS ALBRITTON
T M APPLEBY
CHAS. F A BROWN
W O BLAIR
H H BUTLER
E G BROWN
W R BARROW
J J BENTON
J A CHANEY
H D COURTNEY JR.
L D CRAIG
T H DALEHITE
D W DEARING
O C EDWARDS
H M FORT
G W FARR
F N FREEMAN
P A FRIDGE
W G GAY
G W HORTON
A S HARRIS
S A HARRIS
W L HARGER
E C HONEA
A D JACKSON
D M KIRK
B T KARNES
M M LeCROIX
E D LEINGANG
W E McMILLIAN
J E McLEAN
W H MORELAND
W G MUNDINGER
E W NORTON
J H PERCY
J A PRATT
G B PHILLIPS
F C READ
J R REDDEN
W H RECTOR
B B ROBERTSON
W G RANDOLPH
P W SMITH
J R SHOPTAUPH
M A STRICKLAND
A D StAMANT
BEN SEWELL
E L TRACEY
A T TRAHAM
E R WALLER
W E WOOD
M WILLIAMS
B C ZUBER JR.
W H COX
J W SLAUGHTER
A M COR
I N DOYLE
ISAAC DAVIS
L W HIMES
E M TAYLOR
E E LARETT
P CARPENTER
E J ARNOLD
M N KING
RIVERS M BROWN

E B ALLEN
GEORGE AUSTON
E J BAILEY
H K BENTON
W A BRANLON
B W BRANNON
ALLISON BOGAN
C R BROOKS
W D CHALMERS
O G CARTER
J W CHAMBERS
W E DOYLE
S H DICKSON
V H EDWARDS
R P FLOWER
S Q FORD JR.
H J FELTUS
G B GOLSAN
F GUIDROZ
G C HILLMAN
D T HARVEY
P O HIGGINBOTHAM
M HEATH
S P HIGGINBOTHAM
G T JOHNSON
W B KENNARD
H C LUCKETT
J B LEWIS
J L MORRISON
R H McCLELLAND
CHAS P MANNING
J C McMILLIAN
W E McADAMS
R NEASON
W F PRATT
N F PRESSON
R R PRICE
F M REX
C A RICHARDSON
C M RUSSELL
J A REDHEAD
J B RICHARDSON
CHAS E STARNES
J R SMITH JR
J D SAINT (Saint)
H K STRICKLAND
J R STOCKWELL
W I THOMPSON
M C VARNADO
T L WHITACKER
H O WEBB
J D WOMACK
V P BLAKE
J E NOALND
J A CROWELL
DAN L CALHOUN
J F McADAMS
C B PENNINGTON
A L CARR
W B LUDWIG
E L WOODSIDE
C M LAW
J M BARNETT
W C ROSS
J A COPELAND

E C AVARA
G C BRANNON
ASA BROWNING
C C BIRD, JR.
S E BOUDINOT
H R BEGGERLY
S A BROWN
H R COLLINS
S S CHARLTON
D E CHAPMAN
D W COWART
J D DOYLE
R L DANIEL
J B EASTERLY JR
C A FONTENBERRY
C F FLAKE
W E FRIDGE
V W GORDON
J L GORE
M HULL
C W HARRELL
J I HIGDON
C A HARRISON
P H JONES
G D JONES
F H KROENKE
B M LANDRY
J B LOFTIN
J H MULLINS
R L McGRAW
L F MILLER
A G McLAVY
J P NORRIS
J R PARKERSON
C PILLOW
C E PHILLIPS
M R READ
M C RAIFORD
WP ROBERTS
P E RICHARDSON
CHAS RUSSELL
J D STANNARD
T W SHARP
H B STOUBE
J L STERLING
D F STANFILL JR.
S R SHARP
J G TILTON
EUGENE VICKS JR.
ANTHONY WOLFE
WM O WATSON
G W WOMACK
C B PITMAN
G N NOLAND
HARRY JOHNSON
P P GORDON
GEO C CHAMBERS
J R HEARTFIELD
J R COTTON
J K DYKER
P M FLOYD SR.
H B STEPHENSON
M C MUCKABY
J J LINDSEY
R C GLADNEY

G L ANDERSON
W W BEARD
E J BAILEY
R B BARROW
D D BOND
J W BROCK
L S BECKMAN
R P CHAMBERS
B E CLARK
C C CHAPMAN
J E CRAIG
W R DANIEL
S P DuBOIS
GEO R FULTON
JAS FINCH
C D FOLKES
W D FOLKES
P H GRIFFITH
W F GLADNEY
G C HUCKABY
F C HEATH
W O HINES
CHAS. HUBBS
H D JONES
B A KENT JR.
R G KEAN
D E LYLE
T W LOVETT
J WEBB McGEHEE
A L MANNING
A G MINDINGER
J J MUNDINGER
J A NORTON
W B PUCKETT
LEVI PEMBLE
D R PHILLIPS
G J REILEY JR
W F ROGILLIO
K R RICKS
P E ROBERTS
J A RICHARDSON
K S SALE
W SHROPSHIRE
W A SMITH
G W SIBLEY
C H SMITH
R W TAYLOR
J W TRAUGHBER
E J WELCH
S B WALL
C P WALTER
R G WOOLFOCK
E C STALLCUP
G A EVANS
D C CALHOUS
A D ELLIS
ALBERT LIGON
E W BANKSTON
U H MILLER
CHAS LITTLE
J K BEALE
A B CRUDGE
W T COKE



LaFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

T O MORGAN
OVERTON CADE
H C BOND
S H McFADDIN
GUS BERNARD
GEO G FORE
J B COMUS
P C BENNETT
W A MONTGOMERY
W F STEPHENSON
PAUL O LANDRY
F E GIRARD
W M McCOY
O R STENHOUSE
HAROLD DEMANADE
R M GLOVER
J W ETHERIDGE
C A DONLEY
E S BARNETT
S R PARKERSON
HUGH C WALLIS

E R LONG
C BLAKELY
E W CARVER
W T McFADDIN
T TALIAFERRO
A W BITTLE
A E CHARGOIS
C M PARKERSON
O B HOPKINS
E B McNASPY
M E SOUCIER
F B BYRES
R E MANAGAN
L F SIADOUS
J J COSTLEY
J C NICKERSON
O P DALY JR.
OVERTON CADE JR
C R CARVER
M E GIRARD
F A JONES

W S LONG
L W REEVES
C E CARTER
JAS P CAFFERY
C J MOORE
P A GAUTREAUX
R S BARNETT
J A ANDERS
P M WAITT
A B DENBO
L O CLARK
J L STEPHAN
J W DICKENS
G B KNAPP
J F KELLY
THOS HUTCHINSON
M L CLARK
O B BRUPBACHER
T ROGERS
L D JUDICE

H H McALISTER
F M BURLEY
T L BERNARD
E R HARRELL
JOHN A GOOR
E V CHAUVIN
BJ WILLIAMS
A P TRAHAN
E STARNER
WM P MILLS
A A MORGAN JR
H M SAMMONS
THOS P TURNER
E P McCLAIN
F K HOPKINS
M L MILLER
J B VanNESS
PAUL LUNSFORD
H H DINKINS
R C CUNNINGHAM

The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s was a bit different than its Reconstruction-era version. Although it still maintained its foundational ideology of white supremacy, it added to that jingoism and other elements, which made it tremendously popular across the United States. For the purpose of this report, though, it is enough to say that memberships in the Ku Klux Klan (and potential victimization by the Klan) represents a shared history for many citizens of all the parishes of Proposed District Five.

The late 1920s brought another example of shared history, one that became a defining moment in the lives of many who experienced it: the Great Flood of 1927. In late 1926, heavy rains began falling in the Ohio River Valley and further south along the Arkansas and Red River drainage systems. Within a couple of months, those rivers flowed at capacity. Their waters poured into the Mississippi. To knowledgeable observers, any more water would result in widespread flooding, either of the tributaries or of the Mississippi itself.

More water came in March 1927. The Mississippi plowed into the man-made and natural levees that kept it to its course and, ostensibly, prevented flooding. Such preventative measures failed. On April 21, the Mississippi broke through levees in Mississippi and Arkansas. A couple of weeks later, on May 3, the river crashed through the levee at Cabin Teele, Louisiana, not far from Tallulah in Madison Parish. Free of its binds, the river roared southward toward the Red River Delta and the Atchafalaya Basin. Near Cottonport (Avoyelles Parish) on May 12, the levee at Bayou des Glaises crumbled, and water rushed into the Basin. Two days later, the deluge burst through the levee at Henderson.

The rising waters spread across south Louisiana from the eastern bank of the Mississippi River—think Baton Rouge—to a natural rise in the land that runs in a ragged north-south direction from Marksville down through portions of Iberia Parish. Known variously as the alluvial wall, the

escarpment, or the coteau, this rather sudden incline is most evident in places like Grand Coteau (St. Landry Parish) or in Lafayette Parish along State Highway 94. The elevation allowed areas west of it to remain dry, while areas east of it became parts of the swirling mass of water.

Lafayette's location atop the alluvial wall made it an ideal location for relief and recovery efforts. But that does not mean it escaped in the horrors of the disaster. As it would more than three quarters of a century later in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, Lafayette's population swelled as a result of thousands of refugees fleeing nature's wrath. For much of the late spring of 1927, the town housed three times as many people as usual, with as many as 30,000 refugees living in three tent cities.

The experience of those who lived in Lafayette paled in comparison to those who lived in the parishes that flooded. With the exception of East Feliciana, St. Helena, and Tangipahoa, the floods waters reached every parish in the Proposed Fifth District. The flood of 1927 left in its wake a staggering amount of destruction. In Louisiana, the Mississippi River flowed over six million usually dry acres. The flood tore up and mangled three thousand miles of railroad track; it drowned 25,000 horses or mules and 50,000 head of cattle. Three hundred Louisianans died.

The Great Flood of 1927 is a defining moment in American history. Its significance transcends the boundaries of Louisiana. Yet it also provided a shared touchstone, a historical frame with a clear before and after. That history was shared among everyone in the Proposed Fifth District.

7. The Great Depression and World War II, 1930-1945

Unlike elsewhere in the United States, the Depression's effects at first were not so easy to observe in Louisiana. Like much of the Deep South, the state had not experienced the so-called Roaring Twenties. Indeed, the agricultural South had been mired in a depression for many years before the 1929 Stock Market Crash. It didn't take long for the Great Depression's impact to be felt in the countryside, however. Combined with a record drought, sharp decreases in farm commodity prices to record lows battered the already beaten down farmers of the state. The Depression wrought its damage with seeming equity: the largest planters and the smallest sharecroppers felt its negative results.

The effects of the Depression hit places like Monroe, Baton Rouge, Alexandria, and Lafayette sooner than they did the countryside, and these cities' populations went through a shared experience which must have seemed unimaginable. Steep increases in unemployment, bank failures, and municipal government bankruptcies all defined the period for the people who lived in towns. Rather than go bankrupt, when the Depression hit, urban business owners often reorganized and usually cut payrolls first. Such things only delayed the inevitable in most cases The experience of Lafayette Parish provides a good example of this shared history.

As elsewhere, the full brunt of the Great Depression did not fully hit Lafayette until 1932 and 1933. By then, it was proving to be devastating. This was especially evident in the Lafayette city government. As a result of Lafayette's growth during the early twentieth century, the government had engaged in deficit spending and borrowed funds to pay for infrastructure improvements. The town's first roads had been paved, streetlights had been installed, parks had been created. But

with this progress came an unexpected consequence. When the Depression hit, lenders began to call in their bills. By early 1932, the city of Lafayette had run out of money. That same year, lenders began refusing to provide more loans to the city. The city could no longer pay its employees, and it could no longer provide many of the services that citizens had come to expect. Beginning in 1932, employees received city-issued scrip as opposed to paychecks or cash. The scrip became so common in Lafayette that business owners used it in lieu of dollars. In 1933, the city government cut the pay of its employees by a third.

That year, 1933, brought a new president to the White House, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Once in office, Roosevelt immediately set about developing strategies for dealing with the Depression and having them implemented by Congress. Known collectively as the New Deal, Roosevelt's programs never completely solved the Depression, but they did provide much-needed relief for those suffering from unemployment, displacement, and hunger.

It took a while for the full force of Roosevelt's New Deal to make itself felt in Louisiana, largely because Louisiana's flamboyant U.S. Senator, Huey Long, had little interest in allowing the Roosevelt administration or his opponents to reap the political benefits. Long, virtual dictator of the bayou state, despised Roosevelt; the feeling was mutual. It was not until after Long's 1935 assassination that his successors made peace with Roosevelt and federal funds began to pour into the state.

When the money arrived, it came in enormous amounts. In Lafayette, the Federal Emergency Relief Agency, in conjunction with the Louisiana Emergency Relief Agency, oversaw the creation and filling of government jobs to counteract the era's immense unemployment rates. The Works Progress Administration paved Lafayette streets and installed a new storm drainage system. The Civilian Conservation Corps created a camp at Girard Park and built other parks and recreation areas throughout the city. Perhaps the most dramatic changes wrought by New Deal dollars came in the building of public structures. In Lafayette, over the course of the New Deal era, some two million dollars were used to purchase materials for, and, most important, to put people to work on, the construction of thirteen new buildings at Southeastern Louisiana Institute.

The problem with the New Deal was that while it alleviated the suffering of many Americans, it never fixed the root causes of the Great Depression. That changed in 1941. Following the December 7, 1941, sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States entered the already-raging war on the side of the Allies. Before the final shots in 1945, some 400,000 Americans died. World War II brought dramatic changes to Louisiana.

The federal government spent more than $1.7 billion on war contracts in Louisiana. Citizens of the state returned in kind by purchasing over $1 billion in war bonds. The war brought massive numbers of outsiders into the state, including some 400,000 for the Louisiana Maneuvers, and it also sent thousands of Louisianians to places they never imagined visiting. Military bases sprang up in Central Louisiana, air bases in North Louisiana, shipyards and airplane factories in New Orleans. The burgeoning oil industry across South Louisiana provided much of the fuel for American ships, tanks, and jeeps.

War is devastating, of course, and the impact of the conflict created deep and long-lasting wounds. Almost five thousand Louisianians died. Practically every Louisianian knew someone who either did not come home or ended up a casualty in some other way. Below are the total casualties for each of the Proposed District Five parishes[33]:

Avoyelles	74	Pointe Coupée	30
Catahoula	30	Rapides	146
Concordia	12	Richland	50
East Baton Rouge	150	St. Helena	4
East Carroll	18	St. Landry	81
East Feliciana	11	Tangipahoa	78
Franklin	50	Tensas	14
Lafayette	81	West Baton Rouge	9
Madison	18	West Carroll	50
Morehouse	40	West Feliciana	11
Ouachita	114		

Regardless of where one called home in these parishes, the war, like the flood of 1927, marked a signal moment in life—a common history that ignored artificial distinction.

8. The Post-World War II Period, 1945-1980

If there is a time in Louisiana's history that rivals the antebellum period for wealth development and an economy driven by a single profit-producing engine, it is the post-World War II period. Typically referred to as the Oil Boom, these decades witnessed Louisiana's energy industry grow dramatically. The development was expected, given that oil had been discovered at Jennings, Louisiana, in 1901. At the time, wildcatters and oil companies were focusing most of their attention on the East Texas field. When they did turn their focus to Louisiana, the set their sights first on the northwestern corner of the state, particularly in the area around Shreveport. As crude oil production spread from there, so too did the need for refining, and that came in the form of Baton Rouge's Standard Oil refinery, which first opened in 1909 and was the largest in the world at the time. In 1916, the energy industry in Louisiana added natural gas when northeastern Louisianians tapped the 500 square mile Monroe Gas Field in Ouachita Parish. Best estimates put the fields volume at 6.5 trillion cubic feet of gas.[34]

Writing of the discovery of the Monroe Gas Field, Dr. Robertson states that "change happened practically overnight with the discovery of natural gas around Monroe. The population in 1920 standing at 12,675 after nearly 130 years experienced over 100% growth in the next ten boom years of the 1920s. This due to natural gas wells that were dropped placed fire in the night sky. Over 26,000 people inhabited the city by 1930. These new people were the professionals, laborers, and service providers for the burgeoning industry." (p. 48) Those facts may be correct but they undermine his argument for the lack of similarities between Monroe and places like

[33] "Tabulation by Parishes and Types of Casualty," https://nara-media-001.s3.amazonaws.com/arcmedia/media/images/28/30/28-2965a.gif
[34] "Monroe was world's natural gas capital," News Star, April 8, 2016. https://www.thenewsstar.com/story/news/local/2016/04/08/monroe-worlds-natural-gas-capital/82700550/.

Lafayette or Baton Rouge. The same pattern—emergence of energy economics, population boom, growing middle class—happened all over the state. In Lafayette it was after World War, but the pattern was the same. Baton Rouge was before, during, and after World War II, and the pattern was the same. These are similarities, not distinctions.

After World War II the energy industry developed at a rapid clip, thanks largely to infrastructure investments made during and immediately after the war. The offshore segment broke into massive deposits of crude oil below the Gulf of Mexico. The industry brought with it high wages, even for the lowliest of laborers, and it reaped massive profits for large oil corporations.

In many ways, Louisiana's energy industry impacted the entirety of the state—even in those places that had no oil or gas underground. Corporations and individuals were not alone in benefitting from the energy economy. With the creation of a state severance tax in 1921, Louisiana's government created a revenue stream like nothing it had ever had before. As the tax rate increased under politicians like Huey and Early Long, they used the funds to provide what became an incipient welfare state for the people of Louisiana. To use a cliché, the rising tide of tax revenue raised all Louisiana ships. By the late-1950s, Louisiana's state government under Earl Long's governorship was outspending every other state in the South and was coming in at 11th in the country. Broken down by category, Louisiana led the South in per capita expenditures for education, highways, healthcare, and welfare programs. Although it would be correct to assume that all of this largesse was not spent equally on Louisiana's citizenry, the fact is that the funding for schools, roads, charity hospitals, and the like benefitted everyone in the state—and all parishes in the Proposed Fifth District.

The energy industry brought new financial opportunities for natives of the state, while it also brought new inhabitants from elsewhere. This has important implications for the cities of Baton Rouge, Lafayette, Monroe, and to a lesser extent, Alexandria. Because the energy jobs led to more income, many former ruralites migrated to rapidly growing suburbs in these areas. And the newer energy implants, many of whom came from places like Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, did the same. Thus, it's no coincidence that at the peak of the energy economy in Louisiana, those cities with key connections to the industry began spreading outward geographically and demographically through a process called suburbanization.

All of the cities in the partial parishes of Proposed District Five experienced suburbanization. This is a process that began in the mid-twentieth century, sputtered briefly in the 1980s as the energy economy fizzled, and then took off again with renewed vigor in the 1990s. It continues through today. Again, I'll use Lafayette as my example.

Lafayette Parish itself had begun shifting away from an agricultural economy to a more urbanized one during World War II, but the oil boom confirmed and hastened that change. The new oil companies coming into the Oil Center and elsewhere brought employees from throughout the United States to the heart of south Louisiana. These newcomers, distinctive at first thanks to their largely Anglo cultural background and their Protestantism, eventually not only became part of Lafayette' population but also significantly influenced its culture.

Many of them bought homes in a southern suburban corridor developing along what had been known simply as the Abbeville Highway (today's Johnston Street). Suburbs in north Lafayette developed after World War II, also, but they were populated mainly by former small farmers who lost their economic niche with the coming of mechanized agriculture. There was a clear racial dynamic at play here, as well. The southern suburbs were invariably white, while the northern ones began as relatively mixed race. As more former sharecroppers and tenant farmers left their rural lives and started anew in the suburbs, the northern edge of the city of Lafayette became a center of black population in the city.

The new suburbs on both ends of town brought about a shift in the economic geography of Lafayette. Whereas the town's business center and shops had for more than a century been located in the original downtown laid out by Jean Mouton and along the nearby railroad tracks, businesses and stores began to move outward in the mid-twentieth century. New office buildings, restaurants, shopping centers, even malls, sprung up along what had been sleepy country roads. The change was dramatic.

This is not to say that the suburbs that provide so much similarity from one place to another in Louisiana developed for the exact same reasons. A myriad of changes caused suburbs to emerge at specific places and specific times, notably the availability of larger homes and lots, usually for less money; reduced taxation; and better infrastructure. Another of the key reasons for the suburbanization of places across the South is what has been termed "white flight" by some historians. Whites who have lived in cities for generations, in the aftermath of things like the *Brown v. Board* decision, left their urban home but not their city jobs and headed for places far away from the center of town. The implications of this are profound in that the move, whether or not it was motivated simply by fear or anger over racial progress, changed social, economic, and political patterns. Historian Keith Finley has shown in his recent work that white flight from New Orleans to the Florida parishes had profound implications for then Congressman Jimmy Morrison, a multi-term incumbent Democrat who lost the 1966 race for the U.S. House to a political near-unknown, Republican John Rarick.

The post-World War II economic boom paralleled a rising interest among Louisiana's Black population with reasserting its economic, political, and social rights. On page 59 of his report, Dr. Robertson states "Even the civil rights movement did not proceed the same way in different regions. There was no march from New Orleans to Baton Rouge or from Lafayette to Baton Rouge as there was a brave trek from Bogalusa to Baton Rouge across the Florida Parishes." I suggest that regardless of the specifics of the protest actions, the sheer fact of protest and an organized movement points to shared histories among all of Proposed District Five. Although many of the notable moments from Louisiana's civil rights movement happened in places like Baton Rouge (the Baton Rouge Bus Boycott, 1953), Lafayette (the desegregation of SLI, 1954), and New Orleans (the 1960 school crisis), Blacks everywhere in the state began to push the boundaries of what they had been told they could and could not do. This was true in rural areas as well as urban, as historian Greta de Jong shows in her book *A Different Day: African American Struggles for Justice in Rural Louisiana, 1900-1970*, a study of nine rural parishes. Seven of those parishes are part of Proposed District Five—Concordia, East Feliciana, Madison, Pointe Coupée, St. Helena, St. Landry, and West Feliciana—so it is worthwhile noting her findings. De Jong points out that despite the threat of massive white resistance, the Congress of

Racial Equality and Louisiana Farmers Union dedicated their organizing and educational work to these places. She likewise shows that Black residents across the parishes she studied sought four main objectives: education, economic independence, a say in politics, and safety. Importantly, De Jong points out that Black ruralites had been struggling to attain these goals for decades before outside organizations like CORE arrived. These patterns, take note, stretch across all the parishes De Jong studied, regardless of their regionality. They reflect a shared rural, Black experience.

Another shared historical experience of the post-World War II era combined massive federal and state construction projects with American car culture. Through the construction of the Interstate Highway System—the largest public works project in all of history—Louisianians with access to an automobile could suddenly travel great distances in relatively short amounts of time. This was revolutionary. Through the Depression era, most citizens of the state had to contend with dirt roads, often nearly impassable after rainstorms. Even in some of the state's larger towns, the roads were not paved until the 1930s. But the 1960s and 1970s brought with them a completely new way of moving from one place to the other. The completion in the 1970s of Interstate-10 and Interstate-20 made round trips to cities and elsewhere in the state, or even to places outside the state, a possibility for people who maybe had never made such trips before. Louisianians were able to connect with other places, to be influenced by them, to bring those influences home. Just as important, the interstate highways made Louisiana easily accessible to outsiders, who had similar experiences here before returning home.

The interstate highways, like so many other post-World War II inventions, had a dramatic homogenizing effect on American culture. Besides being able to drive to places and see how others lived their lives, an ever-increasing number of Louisianians could listen to nationwide radio broadcasts or watch national television shows. Where being entertained once meant perhaps going to a dancehall or a church singing, or getting information meant reading the local newspaper, or experiencing the world meant going as far a dirt road could take you, the people of Louisiana, regardless of their historical or cultural background or the region they lived in, were becoming more like the rest of the United States—Americanized.

SPECIFIC CRITIQUES OF EXPERT REPORT OF DR. HENRY O. ROBERTSON, PH.D.

The Robertson Report oversimplifies the cultural and historical characteristics of the regions of Louisiana and their component parishes. It also ignores important commonalities among the places it deems distinctive, while claiming "Regions . . . need to be respected"[35] without explaining why. And sometimes it indulges in rehashing long-dead myths, as in "From the start of their settlements down to the present Cajuns exhibited a *Joie de vivre* about life that was probably a holdover from their happy go lucky days in Acadia before the British directed purge began."[36]

[35] Dr. Henry O. Robertson report, 55.
[36] Dr. Henry O. Robertson report, 33.

Robertson's Presentation of Zelinsky's "First Effective Settlement"

Zelinsky's "first effective settlement" theory has been disputed by other scholars over the last fifty years. I will not review all those criticisms leveled here, as Robertson presents only a small portion of the overall theory presented by Zelinsky in *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (1973).

As presented by Robertson, the "first effective settlement" theory presumes a unified cultural and social experience of the first effective settlers, disregarding the possibility for diversity among that group. It likewise falls prey to the "pristine myth," by which the physical context of the "first" settlers is seen as a blank slate, wiped clean of any Indigenous peoples or their influences. And the theory does not consider the possibility of cultural and social change over time that is evident with just a cursory review of the history of particular community, parish/county, and state developments in U.S. history.

In short, Roberson's presentation of the "first effective settlement" theory assumes that once a dominant culture is asserted, it remains static. In order for this to be true, a case would have to be made for at least three contentions:

1. The culture and society of "first effective settlement" can be defined as a singular, unified thing.

2. The culture and society of "first effective settlement" remains the same over time, only changing if a new non-"first" effective settlement occurs.

3. The "first effective settlement" is defined within a very specific area but is later spread over a general region.

To take New Orleans as an example, Robertson claims that the "first effective settlement" of the city is "a French culture" (Robertson, 7). For the theory to be proved, evidence would be needed to show what that "French culture" is, how it has not changed over time, and how it started in New Orleans but later spread to the region called, in the very same sentence, "Greater New Orleans." Robertson does not succeed in proving this. He produces no evidence that there as a single, monolithic "French culture," and he provides no discernible evidence of that culture spreading across the Greater New Orleans region.

This is simply one example, used for introductory and illustrative purposes. It shows the difficulty, if not absurdity, of using the "first effective settlement" theory in defining Communities of Interest. I would contend that there are better ways to do this, including using the conceptual frameworks of Americanization and creolization.

Greater New Orleans and Its Implications

The defining characteristic of New Orleans culture and society has always been fluidity and disorder. There simply is no single, dominant culture or history that defines the city. It is perhaps possible to contend that specific neighborhoods of New Orleans have such cultures and

histories—the Ninth Ward, Central City, Garden District, or Tremé, for instance—but that only proves the point. If one has to drill down to such small geographic locations to find unified and shared history and culture, then the idea of a Greater New Orleans regional shared history and culture is not viable.

An implication of this: because every other urban area dealt with in Robertson's report is similarly situated, even if in on a smaller scale, the reality is that those places also have no dominant culture or society—unless they are broken down into discrete sub-locales. To say Lafayette's culture is monolithically Cajun is a mistake and ignores places like the historically mixed-race Freetown neighborhood or the hothouse of Zydeco music, McComb-Veazey, both of which are parts of Lafayette's metropolitan area and both of which have their own cultural and social distinctives. The same can be said of Baton Rouge (with places like Scotlandville, Old South Baton Rouge, and Spanish Town), Monroe (Booker T Washington, Garden District), and Alexandria (Garden District, Sam Town).

A second implication: If a dominant culture and society established by "first effective settlement" cannot be shown at the parish, or even city, level, then a unifying factor of all of these places is the *diversity* of their histories, cultures, and social settings.

General Comments

The Robertson report clearly comes down on the side of Louisiana having an exceptional history and being an exceptional place, but this concept is deeply debated among historians. The debate revolves around not so much whether Louisiana has exceptional characteristics, of course it does, but whether Louisiana's historical development is more reflective of its contexts (*i.e.*, Louisiana as part of the South, Louisiana as part of the United States, Louisiana as the northernmost rim of the Caribbean) than its exceptionality.

Part of the problem with viewing the state's history as exceptional is that it causes one to see patterns that are only teased out if one is looking for the exceptions. Take as an example the statement "Louisiana's regional identities emerged in the colonial period and cut across race and ethnicity." If true, this is a clear case of Louisiana's distinctiveness. The problem is, not only is it not true, but the actual development of identities in Louisiana is much more in line with practically everywhere else. Beyond the problems of the "first effective settler" theory as noted above, this is simply a vast oversimplification. In the Acadiana region, for instance, the most significant identities that emerged in the colonial period were Acadian *and* French (two different things) *plus* African/African American. This statement also presupposes that the "first effective settlement" population eradicated the indigenous population, or at least that the indigenous had no impact on the settler population--either way, that is incorrect. If one were to say that the identities I just listed—Acadian, French, African, African American, Native American—blended together through the process of creolization, that would be much closer to the historical truth, but even then, that would only account for the creation of the culture. The idea that a culture, once established, stagnates is not reflected in the historical circumstances of a place like Acadiana, either.

Another example: Assuming Cajun French culture is the dominant culture established by the "first effective settlers" in the eighteenth century, that would imply that the dominant musical form of that culture is Cajun music. The problem with that is the Cajun music of the eighteenth century, about which we know very little in terms of performance and sound, almost certainly was nothing like the many variations of the music performed today. It took Germans in the nineteenth century to introduce the accordion to the sound. The loudness of that instrument made it the main focus of the music, whereas the fiddle more than likely had been before. The accordion also forced changes in singing, in choices of musical keys, and in song selection. That's just one instrument introduced by one group of people we would definitely not define as "first effective settlers." Beyond that, would it be fair to say that Cajun music is the music of the dominant culture and ignore other traditional music like Zydeco, LaLa, or Juré? What about the musics that are easily the most listened to by people who define identify as Cajuns today: modern country and hip-hop? Robertson also says Cajun music "distinctive with the fiddle, accordion, and lyrics delivered in the French language" (p. 34) Assuming this is an attempt to make the case for not including Lafayette or St. Landry in Proposed District Five, the statement is ineffective in that it does not consider that distinctive music is common across the district—in Northeast Louisiana delta blues, Slim Harpo-style swamp blues, Ivory Joe Hunter's R&B from Monroe, or Jerry Lee Lewis's rock and roll and country from Ferriday.

Further down in the same paragraph, the Robertson Report asserts that "Regions are a fixed part of Louisiana's long and storied history." It seems obvious to me that Louisiana's regions as Robertson's Report defines them, are not inherent to the state but rather constructs. This is especially true when looking at the report's maps, all of which are much more reflective of contemporary motivations than anything defined by the people who live there—and their cultures. The cultural regions defined by the now-defunct Center for Cultural and Eco-Tourism was specifically designed to simplify Louisiana's complex cultural milieu for the purpose of informing and attracting outsiders. The Department of Health, Louisiana Association of Realtors, and Public Service Commission maps are designed for the sheer purpose of dividing the state into manageable chunks for the business of those organizations. The Watershed Initiative Environmental Regions show geographic, geological, and hydrological features, not cultural or historical. Without more explanation, the Balance of State Continuum of Care Homeless Care Regions and the LSU AG Center map could be useful for historical or cultural purposes, but not as presented. In almost every one of these maps, especially in comparing one to the other, we see the sort of region creation that the report seems to argue against.

On page 4, Robertson states, "Cutting into the cities of Monroe, Lafayette, Alexandria, Baton Rouge, or even New Orleans to link them as is proposed in a remedial plan considered by the court violates the regional histories." This assumption is based again on the oversimplification of the histories of the places. The idea of a monolithic Monroe, Lafayette, Alexandria, Baton Rouge, or New Orleans reflects Robertson's stance on "first effective settlers," as well. Immediately after that statement, Robertson states that "The history and experiences of African Americans is tied to each region," which implies that there is a single, monolithic African American people. Again, this is not true. At the very least, there exists today a divide between self-identified Black Creoles and African Americans, but historically even that does not convey

the true complexity of the situation. The Spanish, for instance, divided their population into sixteen different permutations of racial mixture, and those *castas* were used as identifiers during the late-eighteenth century.

Robertson's statement that "community institutions, festivals, books about the place and other media" is presentistic in the sense that it supposes that culture doesn't change over time and that the way it is presented through these various venues is reflective of its vibrancy over centuries. This further disregards the fact that such events or venues invariably cause culture to change due to the public nature of the experience.

Regarding the dates of "first effective settlement," there are several problems. First, the Acadiana region, named initially by a television station for marketing purposes and only officially christened by the state legislature later, is an artificial construct. Even if we take it as a locally generated place, the "first effective settlers" would have been French (not Acadians) and African (not African Americans). The date of 1805 for Alexandria ignores the fact that a French trading station was there as early as the 1720s, and Alexander Fulton's land grant was issued in the 1780s. Either way, 1805 is not really indicative of the "Major Influx of Non-Native Peoples." The founding of the Poste du Ouachita in 1785 is a good starting point for "first effective settlement" of Monroe, and if not, then certainly the establishment of Ft. Miro in 1790 works. The date for Lafayette (1821) is wrong, even if the first effective settlers are defined solely as Acadians. They arrived in the 1770s/1780s. The political jurisdiction of Lafayette Parish was created in 1823, and the town of Vermilionville was platted in 1824.

The report contradicts itself in statements about Greater New Orleans. The statement that "A French culture is the first effective settlement for Greater New Orleans" belies the fact that even in France there was no singular French culture. Further down, the report, in talking of Africans in early New Orleans, says, "These enslaved people spoke French or mixed French customs into an Afro-Creole culture." This likewise undermines the contention for a "French culture" as the "first effective settlement for Greater New Orleans." How, after all, could and Afro-Creole culture emerge when a "French culture" already dominated and would continue to do so? There is a similar instance on page 9, wherein the reports says that the "creole spirit" can be found in the 1811 Slave Revolt: if that is true, then it contradicts a "French culture" that should have influenced the slaves. And if the insurrectionists in Louisiana were inspired by the revolution in Haiti, what does that say about the influence of the "first effective settler" culture? Cecile Vidal and others make the case that the culture and society of New Orleans was influenced by the Caribbean more than by France itself. Finally, the report lists a series of hallmarks of Black identity in New Orleans, but again, these seem to make the case against the French culture argument Robertson is making. Almost all of the examples can be traced to non-French cultures: Zulu and Mardi Gras Indians have deep histories that extend back to at least sixteenth-century Africa. The fraternal and benevolent societies are very evident historically in the Caribbean, and Jeroen DeWulf's recent work traces them back to the Kingdom of Kongo.

The Robertson reports contends that American settlers and their English-speaking slaves "made up a first effective settlement for the Florida Parishes and Baton Rouge." Ignoring the underlying assumption that White Americans and Black Slaves shared the same culture, which is

problematic, how is it that such a thoroughly American group of people—indeed the dominant culture—came to be so well-versed in the Spanish civil law codes, as Sara Brooks Sundberg has shown in here 2012 article "Women and Property in Early Louisiana: Legal Systems at Odds"?[37]

Further down, Robertson describes the settlers of the Florida Parishes as "not French, not Catholic, nor sugar cane growers, nor urban, nor creole oriented in outlook, nor were they wealthy people. These were rural, evangelical, poor, and if they owned slaves, they worked in the fields with them." I agree with this assessment, but I also think that the description, aside from the French/Catholic part, sounds very much like early Acadian settlers, which undermines the distinction that Robertson is drawing between Anglo-Americans and Acadians, if not others. Later in the same paragraph, the report says that Florida Parish fathers "valued family, God, independence from outside authority, and lived by a code of honor and personal liberty." Again, this is an apt description for Acadians. Finally, is it fair to call a place that has a Spanish government, a civil law code, and commerce geared toward the Gulf of Mexico through New Orleans "the Fourteenth American colony"?

The Robertson Report's Figure Four and its accompanying paragraph is yet another example of oversimplifying. The most recent work on Louisiana languages, published in Dajko and Walton, eds., *Language in Louisiana* (2019), shows that, besides several indigenous languages still viable in Louisiana still, there are three "broadly delineated kinds of Louisiana French" and three "perceptibly different kinds of English," in the state today. (xvii, xviii). They also discuss other languages, including Vietnamese and Spanish of various "new populations" in the state. Their overall conclusion, however, is that "the overwhelming majority of Louisianians—even in southern Louisiana's French triangle—are monolingual anglophones." (xvii). This reflects Americanization rather than the endurance of "first effective settlers."

In the discussion of Monroe, Robertson focuses on the influences of Baptists and Methodists and their experiences there. I have no qualms with that, but by only discussing them here, the report makes it seem as if Baptists and other fundamentalists, or Methodists and other reformers, did not exist in south Louisiana. They did, though, they just came a little later. By the early twentieth century, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians could be found in a place like Lafayette. What's more, the idea that religious beliefs tempered violence in Monroe simply does not match the facts. There's a reason Monroe was sometimes called the Lynch Law Capital of the Nation, and as Thomas Aiello has shown, the violence sometimes emanated from *within* churches.

CONCLUSIONS

In assessing the evidence from Louisiana's history, I find no reason that the Proposed District Five should not be created. Almost all the places in the proposed district shared historical development over vast stretches of time. From the colonial era, which saw the earliest non-Indigenous settlements created for most of them, through today, where we bear witness to not

[37] *Journal of the Early Republic* 32 (2012): 633–65.

only an Americanizing cultural hegemony but increasingly a globalizing one, the parishes that make up this area show noted similarities.

Most of them trace their roots to the Spanish period of Louisiana's history and had relatively diverse early populations. They all underwent the territorial process, during which political, social, and cultural tensions were resolved gradually into negotiated outcomes. They all were connected to the antebellum plantation economy, shared the devastations of the Civil War, and witnessed the acrimony and violence of Reconstruction. Sadly, they all share a history of violence, disasters, economic depression, and war.

If shared history reflects or provides for community of interest, then surely the places and people of Proposed District Five have it.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed September 28, 2023.

Michael S. Martin

NOTES ON LOUISIANA HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Before proceeding with my bibliography, I would like to take a moment to discuss the historiography of our state. From the earliest histories of Louisiana through the most recent books and articles on the topic, the literature has witnessed dramatic changes. For the most part, these shifts are not the results of finding some new, unknown, or underutilized source material, but rather reflect the interpretative stances historians take within their own contexts. The very earliest of historians of Louisiana, writing during the colonial era, thought it their purpose to extoll the virtues of this place in order to entice immigration. Some created outright fabrications and others were quite factual, but in both instances, their motivation was the same. By the nineteenth century, authors such as Judge Francois-Xavier Martin or later, Francis Parkman, wrote much more serious works about Louisiana and did the hard, deep research necessary to root as much of their work in primary sources as possible. Yet they, too, belied interpretive biases—Martin in focusing mainly on judicial and legal history (he was a judge, after all) and Parkman focusing on how Louisiana and New France fit into the broader narrative of history, which he saw as culminating in the creation of the United States. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed debates that point to some truly distinctive things about history. Most notably Charles Gayarré wrote the multi-volume *History of Louisiana*—remarkable to this day if only for its source materials—dedicated to extolling the virtues of White Creoles and denying the existence of Black Creoles. Conversely, Black Creole Rodolphe Desdunes wrote his *Nos Hommes et Notre Histoire*, which provides fifty biographies of important Black Creoles in New Orleans's history.

In the first half of the twentieth century, historians of Louisiana who were all white men, and had been mostly trained by the same white men at either Ivy League or prestigious southern institutions, researched and wrote about Louisiana from their own context's perspective. It should come as no surprise, and perhaps it is even logical to minds such as theirs, that Louisiana's history should focus on people like them—the great planters, leaders of the Confederacy and Confederate Army, "redeemers" of the late nineteenth century. Not until after World War II did this paradigm begin to shift, and then only subtly. Historians like John Winters and Joe Gray Taylor reassessed the Civil War and Reconstruction, respectively. William Ivy Hair questioned just how redeeming the redeemers really were by focusing on reformers who protested against them. The tide also shifted with the entrance into the field of women like Jo Ann Carrigan and Joy Jackson. By the 1970s and 1980s, not only were historians of Louisiana questioning some of their predecessors' assumptions, but they were also venturing into new subjects—Black history, women's history, or social history, for instance. This continued to be the trend until the early 1990s, when four scholars published seminal works that changed the way historians understood not just Louisiana but the rest of the nation, and perhaps beyond. Those books, Daniel Usner's *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Fronter Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783*, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Africans In Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth-Century*, Kimberly Hanger's *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803*, and Adam Fairclough's *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972*, opened the door for historians to think about Louisiana in new ways. Among the key debates these works amplified is the question of Louisiana history's exceptionalism. Louisiana is clearly distinctive from other American states, but just how exceptional is it? Is it best to understand Louisiana

according to these differences or should Louisiana's history be thought of in terms of a variety of contexts—the French and Spanish empires, the American South, or the Atlantic World, for instance.

Based on my experiences as a researcher, writer, reader, and teacher of Louisiana History, I find myself in the contextual camp. Louisiana's similarities with other places outweigh its distinctiveness, and viewing the history of our place through the prism of exceptionalism only provides a partial and skewed perspective.

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Vidal, Cécile. Caribbean New Orleans: Empire, Race, and the Making of a Slave Society. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

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TEACHING AND RESEARCH POSITIONS

2014-present:	Professor of History, University of Louisiana at Lafayette
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2010-present:	Cheryl Courrégé Burguières/BORSF Endowed Professor in History, UL Lafayette
2009-2014:	Associate Professor of History with tenure, UL Lafayette
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2003-2009:	Assistant Professor of History, UL Lafayette
2001-2003:	Personal research associate for Prof. Anthony J. Badger (then of Cambridge University, now of Northumbria University). Albert Gore Sr. Biography Project, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State Univ. Work contributed to Albert Gore, Sr.: A Political Life.
2000-2001:	Research Associate, Depts. of Chemical Engineering and History, University of Arkansas
1998-2000:	Master Lecturer, University of Arkansas, Dept. of History
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ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

2023-	Interim Department Head, Department of History, Geography, and Philosophy, University of Louisiana at Lafayette
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EDUCATION

2003: Ph.D. in American History: Fulbright College, University of Arkansas
1997: M.A. in History: University of Southwestern Louisiana
1994: B.A. in History: University of Southwestern Louisiana

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

"The Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana: A Roster, 1922."
"Anxiety, Authority, and Acceptance: Louisiana's Congressional Delegation, 1960-1972
The Silver Fox's Louisiana: Politics in the Era of Edwin Edwards, 1972-1996—book manuscript in early stages

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Record Production

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Executive producer: Acadie á Louisiane: Festivals Acadiens et Creoles. UL Lafayette and Festivals Acadiens et Creoles, 2015.

Co-producer: Brand New Old Songs: Recycling the Lomax Recordings. Center for Louisiana Studies, 2014.

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"The Treasures Within the Lafayette Museum," Verite, (Spring 1994).

GRANTS AND SPONSORED PROJECTS WORK

2022: £44,899.43 ($60,614.23) Co-Principle Investigator with David Ballantyne, Keele University, and Andrea Livesey, Liverpool John Moores University. "Reckoning with Racial Conflict: Comparative Perspectives." Arts and Humanities Research Council (U.K.) Networking Grant. 2022. Not Awarded.

2021: $10,000. Sanders Research Scholar Award, Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University. Awarded.

2021: Member of Humanities Advisory Team for "Exploring the Cajun Roots: Augmented Reality Tour of Acadia History," Dr. Beenish Chaudhry's NEH Discovery Grant for augmented reality tour of Vermilionville Living History Museum. Awarded.

2015: $2,000. "The Path to a New Acadia." Atchafalaya National Heritage Area Education Series fund. Awarded.

2012-2013: $38,816. Co-Principle Investigator. "The Freetown History and Culture Project." Lafayette Consolidated Government and the Freetown/Port Rico Coterie. Awarded.

2009-2011: $373,000. Principle Investigator for UL Lafayette Subcontract for "Louisiana's Place in Traditional American History." Jefferson Davis Parish School System. U.S. Department of Education Teaching American History Grant. Not awarded.

2009-2013: $173,125. Co-Principle Investigator for Subcontract for "Conflict and Resolution." Lafayette Parish School System. U.S. Department of Education Teaching American History Grant. Awarded.

2008: $954. Principle Investigator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Outreach Grant How the Civil Rights Movement Changed and Did Not Change Louisiana. Awarded.

2008: $600. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer Adam Fairclough, University of Leiden. Awarded.

2007: $100. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer James Wilson, Center for Louisiana Studies. Awarded.

2006: $600. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer Mikhail Suprun, Pomor State University (Russia). Awarded.

2005: $2500. Principle Investigator to coordinate UL Lafayette-New Orleans Notarial Archives internship cooperative endeavor. Funded by New Orleans Notarial Archives. Awarded.

2004: $2,500. Principle Investigator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Outreach Grant (Project Director): Fifty Years Later: Commemorating the Desegregation of Southwestern Louisiana Institute. Other funding awarded for same project: $500 from the Deep South Regional Humanities Center; $250 from the UL Lafayette Alumni Association; $250 from the Christiana Smith African-American Chapter of the UL Lafayette Alumni Association; $500 from the UL Lafayette College of Liberal Arts; $598 from the UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee; $250 from Alpha Phi Alpha. All awarded.

2001: $1,500. Baum Grant, University of Arkansas, for development of history graduate student computer lab. Awarded.

2001: $1,000. Diane Blair Dissertation Research Grant, University of Arkansas Department of History: $1,000. Awarded.

2001: University of Arkansas Summer Dissertation Research Award. Awarded.

TEACHING AND GRADUATE DIRECTION

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Teaching Competencies

Courses taught at UL Lafayette:

U. S. History to 1877
Louisiana History
Louisiana and the World
Louisiana History Through Music

From the Great Depression to the Reagan Revolution
Contemporary America
The Longs in Fact and Fiction
Colonial and Revolutionary America
The American Revolution
Rethinking the Modern South, 1900-2000
Twentieth-Century Louisiana
Corporate & Institutional Histories (Applied Public History)
Local History (Applied Public History)
Readings in Cajun Identity: Directed Independent Study (Undergraduate)
Readings in Italian Louisiana: Directed Independent Study (Undergraduate)
American Diplomacy between the Wars: Directed Independent Study (Undergraduate)
Historical Research and Writing Seminar capstone course (Undergraduate)
Public History Readings: Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Louisiana Politics, 1898-1960: Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Louisiana, 1699-2000: Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Louisiana and Southern Politics, 1928-present: Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Race and Relationship in the Jim Crow South: Co-Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Urban History: Directed Independent Study (Graduate)
Historical Editing (Applied Public History, Graduate)
The Longs of Louisiana (Graduate)
The United States since 1945 (Graduate)
The American Colonial Experience (Graduate)
Reinterpreting Recent Southern History (Graduate)
Readings in American History Seminar (Graduate)
Recent Trends in Louisiana History (Graduate)

Courses taught at the University of Arkansas (1998-2001):

History of the American People to 1877
History of the American People since 1877
Western Civilizations I

Graduate Direction and Committee Work At UL Lafayette

Master's Theses – Completed:

Naquin, Thomas. "The Big Muddy and the Bayou State: Louisiana's Reaction to Vietnam, 1964-1973." (2005) Naquin is deceased. He worked as a historian at the World War II Museum.
Gibbens, Patrick. "From Provincial Progressive to Political Obsolescence: Congressman Edwin Willis and His Journey through the Cold War, 1948-1968." (2005) Gibbens is currently an assistant professor of history with South Louisiana Community College.
Tweedel, Erin. "Local History and the Louisiana State Comprehensive Curriculum." (2008) Tweedel became a teacher with Lafayette Parish Public Schools.
O'Bannon, Mark. "Religious Non-Conformity in French Colonial Louisiana." (2008) O'Bannon is deceased.
Murphy, Dan. "Making the Meta-City: Shreveport, Louisiana, as a Central Media City for the Ark-La-Tex Region." (2008) Murphy is currently a high school teacher in Alexandria, La.
Griffin, Gareth. "Flames of Hate: The New Orleans Upstairs Lounge Fire, 24 June 1973." (2008) Griffin is director of Prospect Development at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
DeRouen, Charles M. "The Long Lieutenants: A Political Machine's Continuity, 1934-1939." (2009)
Flanagan, Patrick. "Terror on the Horizon: The Deslondes Slave Rebellion of 1811." (2011). Flanagan is a teacher with Metro Nashville Public Schools.

Senette, Sarah. "None Longed to Go Back to the 'Mud-Holes of New Orleans': The Multiethnic Frontier and Egalitarian Cattle Culture of the Southwest Louisiana Prairie, 1680-1850." (2012) Senette received a fellowship for Tulane University's Ph.D. program in history.
Flint, Brandon. "The Dissent of the Godly: Crime, Criminals, and Law in Puritan New England, 1620-1650." (2012) Flint received a fellowship to and earned his doctorate from the University of Missouri's Ph.D. program in history. He is currently on the faculty of Liaoning Normal-Missouri State College of International Business in Dalian, China.
Brittman, Edward. "Deliberation and Implementation of the Breaux Act" (2015) Brittman received a Presidential Fellowship for the University of South Florida's Ph.D. program in history.
Donovan, Mary Magdalene. "Maneuvering Life: Women of Color on the Louisiana Frontier" (2016). Donovan was accepted into Tulane University's Ph.D. program in history with full funding.
McKinney, Karen "Louisiana Coastal Vernacular: Grand Isle, 1783-1931." (2018) McKinney is an adjunct instructor specializing in historic restoration in the UL Lafayette School of Architecture and Design.
Stephens, David Chase. "Congressman Edwin Willis, 1957-1968: HUAC, Civil Rights, and the Ku Klux Klan" (2019). Stephens is a doctoral student at Auburn University with full funding.
Blomquist, Rachel. "Jambalaya, Apple Pie, Chante Quelque Chose Oh Yé Yaille: A History of Cajun Culture through Music from the Early 1920s to the Late 1980s" (2019). Blomquist is an museum registrar at the Anderson Abruzzo International Balloon Museum Foundation, Albuquerque, NM.
Jones, Rex, Jr. "Two Quiet Revolutions and the Transformation of American Health Care" (2020). Jones teaches Social Studies at Southside High School, Lafayette Public School System and is pursuing a Ph.D. in history at Louisiana State University. Jones's thesis won the 2020 Neitzel Family Endowed Graduate Student Award in Louisiana Studies.
Tate, Nicholas. "The Council for the Development of French in Louisiana and Cultural Commodification" (2021)

Masters Theses/Public History Projects Under Direction:

Suir, Taylor. Arnaudville Acadian Memorial Site (2023)
Fontenot, Logan. (2024)

Non-Thesis Track Advisees:

Guidry, Courtney (2007)
McVay, Brittney (2008)
Fontenot, Paula (2011)
Wooster, Simon (2011)
Frey, Philip (2012)
Semere, Lauryn (2016)
Bordelon, Claire (2022)

M.A. Committee Membership (2003-2021):

Bennett, David
Bourque, Todd
Brodowski, Hilary
Brown, Yvonne
Case, Margaret
Churay, Mary
Cummings, Russ
David, Joey
Dossmann, Meagan
Estes, Guy
Foret, Mary
Foster, Jason
Foote, Ruth
Gause, Christell
Gautreaux, Jacob
Gutekunst, Patricia
Hampes, Matthew
Harvey, Michelle
Henderson, Seth
Holmes, Tiffany
Honeycutt, Scott
Hopkins, Joel

Hughes, Laura
Jenkins, Ellena
Jones, Thomas
Karnath, Mary
Kent, Joe
Landry, Tim
Lee, Tamla
Luquette, Marianna
Manuel, Daniel
Myers, Matthew
Patton, Kara
Richard, Greg
Richardson, Jordan
Roberson, Tranquella
Savoie, Christine
Schexnayder, Samantha
Stokes, Anne-Marie
Vo, Thanh

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Professional Service for the Louisiana Historical Association

Managing Editor, *Louisiana History: The Quarterly Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* (2010-present). This position includes oversight and editing of all aspects of the publication of each four-issue annual volume (Volumes 50-64 at present). Each volume contains 528 pp.

- Since the summer of 2020, this position has also included oversight of an MA-level editorial assistantship.

Member, Executive Committee (2010-)
Member (ex-officio), Publications Committee (2010-)
Member (ex-officio), Hugh Rankin Prize Committee (2011-)
Chair, Local Arrangements Committee (2015)
Member, Board of Directors (2004-2007, 2010-2011)
Member, Program Committee (2011)
Chair, Committee on Teaching (2008-2011); member (2005-2008)
Article Referee: *Louisiana History* (prior to 2010)

Professional Service for the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities

2022: Entry Reviewer, *64 Parishes*
2015: Consulting scholar, Louisiana Governors Project
2011: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Lafayette Parish Public Library (April-May)
2010: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Vermilion Parish Public Library (September-October)
2010-2011: Principal Scholar for "Journey Stories," an initiative of Museums on Main Street, a partnership of the Smithsonian Institution, the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, and the Acadian Museum of St. Martinville, La.
2008: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Iberia Parish Public Library (October-November)
2008: Outside Evaluator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Public Humanities Grant. Banners Series, McNeese State University.

Professional Service for the Center for Louisiana Studies/UL Lafayette Press/Center for Cultural and Eco-Tourism *prior to becoming Director*

Manuscript Reviewer
Member, UL Press Editorial Board (2004-2011)
Fellow, CCET (2005-2011)

Professional Service for the Louisiana Folklore Society

Member, Board of Directors, 2017-2018

Manuscript Reviewer

University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, Louisiana State University Press, University Press of Mississippi

PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Professional Paper Presentations

"'You have followed even the slightest suggestion that the President L.B.J. has ordered': Hale Boggs, James Morrison, Russell Long, and the Great Society." 2021 Southeast Louisiana Historical Association meeting. October 21, 2021. Hammond, La.

"Anxiety, Authority, and Acceptance: Louisiana's Congressional Delegation, 1960-1972." 2021 Louisiana Historical Association. Online.

"Louisiana's Richard 'Dickie' Landry and Avant-Garde New York." 2016 Society for the Study of Southern Literature, Boston, Mass.

"Forty Years of Publishing in Louisiana: The UL Press." 2015 American Culture Association/Popular Culture Association meeting, New Orleans, La.

"The Battle Over the 'Right to Work': Vetoes and Votes in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Southwestern Historical Association meeting, Houston, Tx.

"The Battle Over the 'Right to Work': Vetoes and Votes in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Louisiana Historical Association

January 9, 2010: "'Right to Work' Proposals in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Phi Alpha Theta Biennial National Convention, San Diego, Ca.

March 20, 2009: "Searching for Authenticity: Cajun Food and a 'Golden Age' of Cajun Culture." 2009 Louisiana Historical Association meeting

March 23, 2007: "Russell Long's Louisiana and National Contexts." 2007 Louisiana Historical Association meeting

March 24, 2006: "Russell Long and States' Rights, 1948-1968." 2006 Louisiana Historical Association meeting

January 6, 2006: "Nascent Neo-Con or New Deal Liberal?: Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana." Phi Alpha Theta Biennial National meeting, Philadelphia, Pa.

February 24, 2005: "'Congress is Perhaps Better Off Without the Smell of This Sort of Proposed Legislation on its Hands': Russell Long and the Second Reconstruction," The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965: A Conference, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana

July 10, 2004: "'A Fabulously Complex and Unworkable Monstrosity': Russell Long and the Family Assistance Plan, 1969-1972," Organization of American Historians Southern Regional Meeting

March 13, 2004: "Russell Long, the Family Assistance Plan, and the Politics of Poverty, 1969-1972," Louisiana Historical Association

October 2003: "The Anti-Gore Candidates in the 1970 Tennessee Senate Campaign," with Anthony J. Badger, Tennessee Conference of Historians

March 2003: "New Orleans Becomes a Big-League City: The NFL-AFL Merger and the Creation of the New Orleans Saints," Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association meeting

March 2003: "Russell Long and the Cold War," Louisiana Historical Association

1997-2002 presentations included: Tennessee Conference of Historians (2002); Phi Alpha Theta—Arkansas Regional Conference (1999, 2001); The Citadel Conference on the South (2000); Gulf South History and

Humanities Conference (1998); Mid-America Conference on History (2002, 1998); Louisiana Historical Association (1997, 1998, 2002); Arkansas Association of College History Teachers meeting (1997); Phi Alpha Theta—Southwestern Social Sciences meeting (1997)

Professional Conference/Panel Proposals and Participation

January 2022: Panelist, "Confronting the Ghosts of our Institution's Past, Present, and Future: Building Name and Race at Two Deep South Campuses." American Historical Association.
March 2021: Organized Online Roundtable Panel, "Building Renaming on a University Campus: Motivations, Justifications, and Observations." 2021 Louisiana Historical Association. Online.
October 2017: Co-organized, "H2O/LA: An Examination of Louisiana's Relationship with Water" day-long symposium
October 2016: Co-organized, "Cajun Dance Halls and Zydeco Clubs, Then and Now" day-long symposium.
March 2016: "The Significance of the National Historic Designation: Lafayette's Freetown/Port Rico Neighborhood." Louisiana Historical Association proposal (accepted), chair, and roundtable participant
October 2015: Organized "The Path to a New Acadia: A Symposium on the 250th Anniversary of the Acadians' Arrival in Louisiana" day-long event. October 8, 2015.
September 2015: Organized "Gun Violence in Louisiana: A Symposium" day-long event.
March 2011: Organized and chaired "Teaching History: On Site and 'On the Move.'" Louisiana Historical Association meeting.
March 2011: Organized "Politics and Religion in the Age of Jim Crow." Louisiana Historical Association meeting
March 2010: Organized "The 'Right to Work' and Conservative Politics in Post-World War II Louisiana" proposal for Southwestern Historical Association meeting
March 2010: Organized "The Louisiana Voices Educators' Guide: Online Resources for Louisiana's K-12 and College Teachers" for Louisiana Historical Association
March 2010: Organized "Rise of the New Right in Cold War Louisiana" for the Louisiana Historical Association
March 2008: Organized "Teaching History in Louisiana Colleges and Universities: A Roundtable." Louisiana Historical Association
February 2008: Participant. "Massive Resistance: The Reaction to the Civil Rights Movement in Louisiana." 2008 Civil Rights Conference. Northwestern State University. Natchitoches, Louisiana.
March 2007: Organized "Russell Long After Twenty Years," Louisiana Historical Association
March 2006: Organized "States' Rights, Race, and Reds in Twentieth Century Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Association
September 2004: Organized "Fifty Years Later: Commemorating the Desegregation of Southwestern Louisiana Institute." September 10 & 11, 2004.
June 2003: Participant. "Protest, Politics, and the Law: Baton Rouge and the Civil Rights Movement," Baton Rouge Bus Boycott 50th Anniversary.
March 2003: Organized "Louisiana and the Cold War," Louisiana Historical Association. Panel prepared with Charles Pellegrin, Mississippi State University.
September 2002: Organized "History, Biography, and Twentieth-Century Politics," Mid-America Conference on History. Panel prepared with Jeffrey Littlejohn, Norfolk State University.

Professional Comments

"Why We Sound the Way We Do." Chair and comment. 2019 Louisiana Historical Association
"Beyond the JFK Assassination Debate: New Directions in Scholarship on New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison." Chair and comment. 2018 Gulf South History and Humanities Conference
""Things and Their Networks in Early Louisiana." 2018 Louisiana Historical Association
"Social Change, State Programs, and the Legacy of the Longs." 2017 Louisiana Historical Association

"The Right and the Republican Party in 1950s and 1960s Louisiana." 2011 Louisiana Historical Association
"Youth in the United States." 2010 National Biennial Meeting of Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society
"Natural Disasters in History." 2010 National Biennial Meeting of Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society
"A Moderate City in an Era of Massive Resistance?" Chair and comment. 2008 Meeting of the Urban History Association
"Revisiting the School Desegregation Crisis in Norfolk, Virginia." Chair and comment. 2008 Meeting of the Southwestern Historical Association
"Twentieth-Century American Entertainment." 2008 National Biennial Convention of Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society
"Media Responses." 2008 National Biennial Convention of Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society.

Chaired Sessions at Professional Meetings

2019, 2018, 2011, 2009, 2007, 2006, 2005 Phi Alpha Theta Regional Meeting; 2017 Organization of American Historians; 2002 Mid-America Conference on History

Other Professional Service

2018: organized and moderated "An Evening of Cajun Culture and Music," Jackson State Community College, Jackson, TN, April 16, 2018
2016-2017: member, Advisory Council, Louisiana in World War II exhibit, The National WWII Museum, New Orleans
2015: outside evaluator for tenure review, Department of History, Loyola University New Orleans
2014: external review of University of Arkansas-Monticello Department of History program, Arkansas Department of Higher Education
2012: reviewer for online CultureGrams (http://online.culturegrams.com) Louisiana State Edition
2010: consultant for River Road African-American History Museum, Donaldsonville, La.
2010: outside evaluator of "Democracy and Diversity in Walker County, Texas." Enhancement Research Grant, Sam Houston State University.
2009: Manuscript Reviewer: Peter Lang Publishing
2009: Article Referee: *Agricultural History*
2007- present: Member, H-Louisiana Advisory Board
2006: outside evaluator of "'They Say That We Must Have Moderation': The Struggle for Educational Equality in Norfolk, Virginia, and Why It Matters Today." Enhancement Grant for Professional Development, Sam Houston State University.
2005: Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Proposal reader/reviewer for *New Orleans, An American Experience Special*.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

For the University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Consulting Scholar, UL 125th-Anniversary Committee
Member, Campus Building Names Task Force, 2020-
Member, Graduate Faculty (2004-2013); Level II (2014-)
Affiliated Faculty, Kathleen Babineaux Blanco Center for Public Policy, 2018-
Panelist, Election Reflection 2020
Member, UL Global Campus Monument committee, 2018-2019
Member, Kathleen Babineaux Blanco Center for Public Policy director hiring committee, 2018-2019
Member, Campus Cupboard committee, 2018-2019
Chair, Neitzel Family Endowed Prize in Louisiana Studies committee, 2018
Presenter, Louisiana Studies Cajun Ignite Presentations, "The Center for Louisiana Studies as a Hub for Louisiana Scholars," April 28, 2017

Chair, J. J. Burdin, M.D, and Helen B. Burdin Professorship in Louisiana Studies Selection Committee, 2017
Member, Louisiana Studies Community of Interest Committee, 2017
Member, College of Liberal Arts Professorship Selection Committee, 2015, 2017
Member, Eminent Chair in Liberal Arts QSN Committee, 2015
Speaker, "Professional Development for Graduate Students," Fall 2014, Spring & Fall 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019 Graduate School Orientation
Speaker, "Professional Development for Graduate Students," Lunch and Learn Workshop, Graduate School, Fall 2014
Speaker, "The Peer Review Process from the Inside and Out," Graduate Student Appreciation Week Professional Development Workshop (April 5, 2012)
Master of Ceremonies, *Antonine Maillet and Her World: Retour en Acadie*, the Festival of the Arts Symposium (March 16, 2012)
Co-coordinator, *The Distant Brought Near: A Discussion Series Inspired by the Art of George Schmidt*, with Lee Gray, Hilliard University Art Museum (February-April 2012)
Member, Comeaux Chair in Traditional Music Advisory Committee (2012-2022)
Member, Campus Planning Committee (2012-2015)
Member, University Research Council (2011-2012)
Faculty Mentor, SOUL Camp/United Way of Acadiana (2011)
Member, Search Committee, UL Child Development Center Program Coordinator/Assistant Director (2011)
Member, James Williams Rivers Prize Committee (2007-2018)
Member, Faculty Alumni Committee (2004-2007, 2008-2011)

For the UL Lafayette Department of History, Geography, and Philosophy

Interim Department Head (2023-)
New History Faculty Mentor (2019-)
Member, Public History Committee (2020-)
Contributing Faculty Member, Guilbeau Center for Public History (2019-)
Member, Dual Enrollment Committee (2018-)
Member, Graduate Studies Committee (2004-2011, 2018-)
Chair, Guilbeau Charitable Trust UL Lafayette Collections Research Awards Committee, (2013-)
Chair, Midtenure Review Committee (2020, 2022)
Chair, African-American History Hiring Committee (2018-2019)
Representative, Majors and Minors Fair (Spring 2019)
Chair, Outreach Committee (2008-2011)
Chair, Latin American Hiring Committee (2007-2008)
Chair, Charles B. Allen Memorial Award for Contributions to Phi Alpha Theta Committee (2004-2011)
Member, African-American Hiring Committee (2010-2011)
Member, Finance Committee (2004-2006)
Member, Geography Hiring Committee (2005)
Member, British History Hiring Committee (2006-2007)
History Department Representative, Fall 2004, Spring 2023 Preview Day

Other

Member, Resources Committee, History Organization of Graduate Students, Univ. of Arkansas (2000-01)
Member, Membership Committee, History Organization of Graduate Students, Univ. of Arkansas (2000-01)
Student Member, Grievance Committee, Graduate School, University of Arkansas (2001)

ADVISING

2018-present: Undergraduate Advisor, Department of History, Geography, and Philosophy, UL Lafayette. 28 current

advisees

2004-2015, 2018-present: Faculty Co-Advisor, Epsilon-Xi chapter, Phi Alpha Theta, UL Lafayette

- 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 **Best Chapter** for National Division V (15,001 to 23,000 students)
- 2008-2011, maintained Epsilon Xi chapter's Moodle website
- organized participation in community service projects: Habitat for Humanity (2006, 2007); Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure (2007); American Heart Association Heart Walk (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009)
- General Editor, *Clio's Quill*, journal published annually by the Epsilon Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (2004-2009).
- Editor, *Clio's Musings*, UL Lafayette Department of History and Epsilon Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta newsletter (2004-2007).
- 2006-2011, Director of Epsilon Xi Guest Lecture Series:
  1. February 2006: "Massive Resistance and the Problem of School Integration in Norfolk, Virginia," Jeffrey Littlejohn, Sam Houston State University.
  2. September 2006: "Lend-Lease and Russia," Mikhail Suprun, Pomor State University (Russia).
  3. February 2007: "Pierre Caliste Landry: The Louisiana Slave Who Became the First African-American Mayor," James Wilson, Center for Louisiana Studies.
  4. September 2007: "From Stormtroopers to Klansmen? A Transnational Episode in the History of German Right-Wing Political Culture," Richard Frankel, UL Lafayette
  5. February 2008: "The Heritage Fallacy: Race, Loyalty, and the First Grambling-Southern Football Game," Tom Aiello, UL Lafayette
  6. February 2011: "Before 'Civil Rights' Were in Vogue: Black Lawyers in the Jim Crow South," David Pye, UL Lafayette

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Co-Curricular Presentations

September 23, 2023: What's So Spanish About the Old Spanish Trail, Old Spanish Trail Day, Rayne, LA

September 17, 2023: "A Tale of Two LafayetteThe Marquis de Lafayette and Vermilionville, Alexandre Mouton House/Lafayette Museum

November 2, 2022: The Washington Mardi and Its Founders, Lunchtime Lecture Series, Louisiana State Museum-Capital Park, Baton Rouge

March 17, 2022: Rose McConnell Long, Vignettes of Louisiana Women series, Third Thursday After Hours, Louisiana State Museum-Capital Park, Baton Rouge

August 13, 2020: A Brief History of Lafayette's Oil Industry. 2020 Energy Leadership Program, LAGCOE.

November 16, 2019: Introductory Remarks for speaker Adam Fairclough, 75th Anniversary of the 1944 Expulsion, Iberia African American Historical Society, New Iberia, La.

Rethinking New Acadia book discussions:

- December 4, 2019: St. Martin Parish Main Library
- November 2, 2019: Louisiana Book Festival, Baton Rouge
- August 15, 2019: Acadian Memorial, St. Martinville, La.
- August 11, 2019: Vermilionville Acadian Culture Day, Lafayette, La.

September 27, 2019: "Rethinking New Acadia and the New Acadia Project," co-presented with Dr. Mark Rees, Friends of the Humanities, Lafayette

September 13, 2019: "History of Settlement on the Vermilion," Rediscover the Vermilion, 6th Annual River Symposium Bayou Vermilion Preservation Association, Lafayette, La.

February 28, 2019: "Mardi Gras" Teach-In panelist, UL Lafayette

February 25, 2019: curator for screening of *All on a Mardi Gras Day*, Les Vues Film Series, Vermilionville Living History Museum and Folklife Park, Lafayette, La.

October 15, 2018: "Political Corruption in Louisiana" Teach-In panelist, UL Lafayette

September 26, 2018: "Hidden History" Teach-In moderator, UL Lafayette

February 21, 2018: "Crime and Punishment in Louisiana" Teach-In moderator, UL Lafayette

January 15, 2018: "Lafayette's Response to Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination," Lafayette Public Library

October 13, 2017: "A Band of Builders," moderator, Crafting the South Louisiana Sound: Tools of Cajun and

Creole Music symposium, Vermilionville, Lafayette, La.

July 20, 2017: "What's New at the Center for Louisiana Studies," Rotary Lafayette, Lafayette, La.

July 19, 2017: "Recent Scholarship on the Acadians," Acadian Memorial Foundation Board meeting, St. Martinville, La.

September 27, 2016: curator for screening of *Fatal Flood*, Les Vues Film Series, Vermilionville Living History Museum and Folklife Park, Lafayette, La.

April 20, 2016: "The Center for Louisiana Studies and its Missions." Kiwanis Club, Lafayette, La.

March 9, 2016: "Long in Lit: The Context of *Kingfish*." East Baton Rouge Parish Library.

February 16, 2016: "The J. Arthur Roy House." Acadiana Preservation Summit, Vermilionville, Lafayette, La.

January 14, 2016: "The Life of Huey Long, 1928-1935." Lafayette Public Library/Alexandre Mouton House lecture series. Lafayette, La.

October 13, 2015: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" SAGE Series. DeRidder, La.

September 17, 2015: "The Louisiana Governors Project: A Historic Job Description, roundtable on Edwin Edwards," Crowley, La.

May 9, 2015: "The J. Arthur Roy House." Preservation Alliance of Lafayette's "Historic Preservation Celebration." Lafayette, La.

April 22, 2015: "Louisiana Politics during the Cold War and Civil Rights Eras." Invited lecture before Political Science 2056, "Louisiana Government," course, Louisiana State University. Baton Rouge, La.

Russell Long: A Life in Politics book discussions:

- April 22, 2015: Hill Memorial Library. Louisiana State University. Baton Rouge, La.
- April 15, 2015: East Bank Regional Library. Metairie, La.
- November 11, 2014: SAGE Series. DeRidder, La.
- November 4, 2013: University of Louisiana-Monroe.
- November 1, 2014: Louisiana Book Festival (recorded for C-SPAN2's BookTV program).
- October 23, 2014: Cavanaugh Lecture Series. LSU-Alexandria.
- October 13, 2014: SAGE Series. McNeese State University, Lake Charles.
- October 1, 2014: Then and Now Lecture Series. Southeastern Louisiana University, Hammond.
- September 25, 2014: *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* authors' party. Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge.
- August 20, 2014: Jeanerette Historical Museum, Jeanerette, La.
- August 14, 2014: Foundation for Historical Louisiana's Heritage Lecture, Old Governor's Mansion, Baton Rouge, La.
- August 12, 2014: Octavia Books, New Orleans, La.
- June 12, 2014: Bayou State Book Talks. Lafayette Public Library, Lafayette, La.
- April 10, 2014: Louisiana State Museum, Old U.S. Mint, New Orleans

February 28, 2015: "The Mouton Family and Early Lafayette Landownership." Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office's "Historic Preservation Ramble." Lafayette, La.

October 22, 2014: "A Journey Through the History of Cajun Music." Jeanerette Historical Museum, Jeanerette, La.

June 14, 2014: "Louisiana in the Aftermath of the Civil War." Imperial St. Landry Genealogical Society, Opelousas, La.

April 15, 2014: "Freetown Then and Now." The Freetown-Port Rico Annual Neighborhood Meeting. Lafayette, La. (With Lionel Lyles and C. Ray Brassieur)

March 12, 2014: "Violent Louisiana: Chaos after the Civil War, 1866-1900." Jeanerette Historical Museum, repeat invitation

October 9, 2013: "The Louisiana Scandals of 1939." Jeanerette Historical Museum.

August 21, 2013: "Violent Louisiana." Jeanerette Historical Museum.

March 15, 2013: "Louisiana Legacies" Book Talk, Noontime Lecture Series, Ledoux Library, LSU-Eunice.

March 13, 2013: "How the Saints Saved Football," Lafayette Rotary Club-South.

November 14, 2012: "How the Saints Saved the NFL." Jeanerette Historical Museum.

November 13, 2012: "Cigar-Box Fiddles and Washtub Basses: A Homemade Instrument Workshop." Panelist and discussion leader. In Your Own Backyard Series, Lafayette, La.

November 12, 2012: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" Senior Adult Group Encounter. McNeese State University, Lake Charles, La.

October 17, 2012: "Why the Longs Still Matter." Jeanerette Historical Museum.
October 13, 2012: Participant, "The Politics of Culture and Statehood" roundtable, Festivals Acadiens et Creoles
September 19, 2012: "Louisiana's Influence on Professional Football," Iberia Parish Library.
September 6, 2012: "State of the Studies: Louisiana History," Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.
June 21, 2012: "Louisiana in 1812." Lafayette Public Library, North Branch.
June 19, 2012: "Louisiana in 1812." Lafayette Public Library, South Branch.
June 7, 2012: "From Territory to State: The Process of Statehood." Louisiana Bicentennial Commission Teacher Workshop. State Library of Louisiana.
March 15, 2012: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" Hilliard University Art Museum, UL Lafayette.
February 28, 2012: "Race and Rights in Louisiana: A Discussion of the Past and Present." UL Lafayette. With Thomas Aiello and Shannon Frystak.
January 20, 2012: "From Territory to State: The Process of Statehood." Louisiana Bicentennial Commission Teacher Workshop. Lafayette Parish Library.
January 9, 2012: "From the Louisiana Purchase to the State of Louisiana." In Your Own Backyard Series, Lafayette, La. With Mark Fernandez.
October 29, 2011: "New Interpretations of Twentieth-Century Race Relations." Louisiana Book Festival. Invited discussant.
May 28, 2011: "St. Martin Parish Journeys." Inaugural lecture for "Journey Stories," a joint exhibition sponsored by the Acadian Memorial, the Smithsonian, and the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities
November 10, 2009: "The Florida Parishes in Early Louisiana History." Lafayette Parish Public Library. Invited lecture.
September 24, 2009: "The Great Depression: Then and Now." Iberia Parish Public Library. Invited lecture as part of the "The Big Read."
April 21, 2009: "Lincoln and Louisiana." Iberia Parish Public Library. Invited lecture as part of the "Lincoln Project."
May 15, 2008: "The American Revolution: Sources, Strategy, Ideology, Outcome." Invited lecture before the Attakapas Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.
August 23, 2007: "The Marquis de Lafayette and Louisiana: Connections and Legacy." Invited lecture as part of *Lafayette in History: A Lecture Series*. Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.
April 5, 2006: "Russell Long and the Politics of Transcendence." Invited Lunchtime Lecture at the Louisiana State Museum, Baton Rouge.
February 22, 2006: Invited comment on "The Legal History of the Civil Rights Struggle and the Voting Rights Act of 1965," a lecture by Dr. Stanley Halpin, Jr. Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.
January 23, 2006: "Huey Long and the Great Depression," lecture and discussion, part of *The Great Depression: A Teaching American History Workshop*. Smithsonian Institute and Lafayette Parish Schools.
October 9, 2005: "The Perils of Baptist Intellectualism," luncheon address, Baptist Collegiate Ministry, Lafayette, Louisiana.
September 2005: "The Researchers Reality: Russell Long and Religious Revolutionaries," UL Lafayette Department of History's Brown Bag Lunch Research Discussions.
April 14, 2005: "Why the Longs Still Matter," invited Keynote Address, Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta initiation, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.
December 18, 2004: Invited Commencement Speaker for UL Lafayette College of Liberal Arts graduation ceremonies.
September 3, 2004: "Commemorating UL Lafayette's Fiftieth Anniversary as a Desegregated Institution." Keynote Address, UL Lafayette Alumni Association 2004 Leadership Weekend.
June 11, 2004: guest on "Louisiana Live" radio program; discussed Reagan presidency.
May 1, 2004: "How to Connect Your Club History to Community History." Rotary District 6200, District Conference and Meeting.
March 29, 2004: Invited introduction of Professor Anthony Badger, "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Failure of Southern White Liberals." Norfolk State University, Norfolk, Virginia.

March 29, 2004: "The Effects of *Brown v. Board* in Norfolk, Virginia." Roundtable with Anthony Badger, Jeffrey Littlejohn, and Dan Margolies. Virginia Wesleyan College, Norfolk, Virginia.
October 2003: "History and Reality TV," keynote speech, Epsilon-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta induction ceremony, UL Lafayette.
November 2002: "Chemical Engineering and Alpha Chi Sigma at the University of Arkansas," with William A. Myers. Dinner talk at "Celebration of 50 Years of Service to the American Chemical Society by Professor Emeritus of Chemical Engineering James Riley Couper." Fayetteville, Arkansas.
August 2002: "Chemical Engineering and Alpha Chi Sigma at the University of Arkansas," with William A. Myers, American Chemical Society, Division of Chemical Education.

Media Appearances

Interview on Earl Long's 1959 Breakdown for *Invitation au voyage: Le magazine de l'évasion Culturelle* (ARTE: The European Culture Channel), aired September 2022.
KADN "The Verdict: The Huey Long Story," Parts one and two, Spring 2019.
Liberal Arts Spotlight, AOC Community Media and UL Lafayette College of Liberal Arts, recorded September 29, 2017
"Bayou to Beltway," KRVS, September 27, 2017; July 2, 2019
C-SPAN, "Book TV," recorded November 1, 2014, at the Louisiana Book Festival.
"The Reading Life with Susan Larson," WWNO (New Orleans), May 20, 2014.
Multiple appearances on local Lafayette television (KLFY, KATC, KADN) and public radio (KRVS)
Interviewed for newspaper articles: *The Daily Advertiser* (Lafayette, La.); *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans); *The Advocate* (Baton Rouge, La.); *The Vermilion* (UL Lafayette)

Other Community Service

Leadership Lafayette: moderator and discussant for panel on "Cultural Investment and Quality of Life," June 9, 2023.
Consulting Scholar, Lafayette Parish 200th Anniversary, 2023.
Day-leader for Local History session, Empowerment Through Education Program, National Coalition Building Institute (with students from Northside, St. Thomas and Teurlings high schools in Lafayette). February 8, 2023.
Spring 2022: Volunteer Consultant, Cultural Receptacle Art Trash Can project, Do It Greener Foundation.
President, Vermilionville Living History Museum Foundation Board (2014-2016; 2018-2021); Member (2007-2021); curatorial committee member (2018-2021); accreditation committee member (2018-2021)
Guest speaker on Louisiana history, 3rd grade class, Prien Lake Elementary, Lake Charles, LA, April 20, 2021. Online.
Lafayette Azalea Trail Historic Tour Guide, March 14, 2020
Leadership Lafayette: Historic Lafayette Downtown Tour, March 6, 2020
The 705: Historic Lafayette Downtown Tour, November 21, 2019
Member, Arts + Business = Culture ICON Arts Awards Selection Committee (2016-2018)
Member of Historic Preservation Committee, Downtown Lafayette Unlimited (2015-2017)
Guest speaker on "Huey Long" for seven 8th grade Louisiana History classes, L.J. Alleman Middle School, March 15, 2019.
Guest speaker on "Cajun Music and Its History": Loreauville High School, January 14, 2014
Guest Speaker before two eighth-grade classes on topic "The Civil War in Louisiana," St. Pius Catholic Elementary School, 1 March 2011.
Facilitator, Career Shadowing--Paul Breaux Middle School (2010), New Iberia Senior High School (2010, 2011)
Member, Board of Advisors of UL Lafayette Baptist Collegiate Ministries (2004-2007)
October 30, 2004: Organizer, UL Lafayette Department of History and Geography participation in American Heart Association Heart Walk

March 20, 2004: Proctor, University of Louisiana at Lafayette Literary Rally

HONORS/AWARDS

2022: named Senator Edgar "Sonny" Mouton/BORSF Endowed Professor, Blanco Public Policy Center, UL Lafayette
2020-2021: Inaugural Recipient of J. Y. Sanders Research Scholar award (Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies)
2020: accepted into the Louisiana Historical Association's Company of Fellows
2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022: named Cheryl Courrege Burguieres/BORSF Professor in History, UL Lafayette
2007: named SLEMCO/BORSF Professor in Liberal Arts, UL Lafayette
2006: Initiate into Order of the Palmetto (for excellence in Louisiana Studies)
2004: Spirit of Eternity Award, Epsilon-Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
2001-2002 Diane Blair Fellowship, University of Arkansas Department of History—declined
2001-2002 President, Alpha chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (University of Arkansas)—declined
2001 Walter Lee Brown Scottish Rite Scholarship (presented to the University of Arkansas Outstanding Graduate Student in Southern United States History)
2000-2001 President, History Organization of Graduate Students, University of Arkansas
2000-2001 University of Arkansas Departments of Chemical Engineering and History Tuition Waiver, Academic Stipend, and Research Associateship
1998 University of Arkansas Department of History Travel Award
1997-2000 University of Arkansas Department of History Tuition Waiver, Academic Stipend, and Graduate Assistantship (offered for 2001-2002, declined)
1997-1998 Amos E. Simpson Award for Outstanding Graduate Research—University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department
1996-1997 President, Epsilon-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (University of Southwestern Louisiana)
1996-1997 PSG Charles B. Allen Memorial Award for Service to the University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department
1997 Ben Procter Phi Alpha Theta Award, Southwestern Social Sciences Association meeting
1997 Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities
1996-1997 University of Southwestern Louisiana Office of Public Relations and News Service Graduate Assistantship
1996 Louisiana Society Colonial Dames XVII Century Cole Exchange Scholarship
1996 University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department Graduate Assistantship
1994-1995 W. Magruder Drake Award Senior Award for Excellence in History, University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department
University of Southwestern Louisiana Spring Honors Convocation: 1992-94, 1996-97
1991-1994 University of Southwestern Louisiana Dean's List
Phi Alpha Theta: life member
Pi Gamma Mu: life member
Phi Kappa Phi: life member

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Historical Association
Louisiana Historical Association
Louisiana Historical Society
Organization of American Historians
Southern Historical Association