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THE LOUISIANA FRENCH CULTURE REGION: GEOGRAPHIC MORPHOLOGIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1984

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE LOUISIANA FRENCH CULTURE REGION: GEOGRAPHIC MORPHOLOGIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

LAWRENCE ERNEST ESTAVILLE, JR.

Norman, Oklahoma

1984

THE LOUISIANA FRENCH CULTURE REGION:

GEOGRAPHIC MORPHOLOGIES IN

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

By

Richard L. Nostrand

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In memory of my brother,
Daniel Paul Estaville

PREFACE

D. W. Meinig is a master geographer. This study is but a meager attempt to follow in the footsteps of his provocative belles-lettres syntheses that overflow with innovative insight, incisive explanation, and penetrating theory. The Louisiana French are exquisite people. And this study is surely a superficial attempt to understand their multifarious nineteenth-century culture that had been chiseled from a tradition of change--sometimes glorious, sometimes sorrowful. Examined through Meinig's spatial and evolutionary theories, attacked by a battery of quantitative tools, and scrutinized via an extensive literature search, some of the romantic folk fantasies surrounding the Louisiana French, like a mythical veil, were, unfortunately or not, drawn back and exposed to a stronger light. Yet these Louisiana French that were stripped of their murky myths were as beautiful as the old ones.

It would be impossible to acknowledge adequately all the advice, assistance, and support I have received from a host of very generous people. I owe a special debt to Professor Richard L. Nostrand who, as my advisor,

sagaciously guided me all along the way in this research endeavor, and, as my friend, always cheerfully encouraged me to "hang in there." I am also most thankful for the advice given by Professors Marvin W. Baker, Jr., Emanuel J. Drechsel, James M. Goodman, and Robert E. Shalhope. I wish further to express my most sincere gratitude to Professor C. W. Fogleman whose unwavering confidence in a floundering student introduced me to the rewards of academe.

I want to thank lovingly my daughters, Deborah and Susanne, for all the sacrifices they made during the years of my dissertation research, particularly the many "fun times" we missed together. Without my wife, Joyce, I would be as lost as a rootless, tumbling weed. Whatever I have accomplished has been because of her indefatigable efforts, understanding, and love.

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ABSTRACT

Within the theoretical framework of Meinig's gradational and evolutionary paradigms, this study attempted to trace the nineteenth-century morphological development of the Louisiana French culture region. Employing the 1820, 1860, and 1900 manuscript census schedules as the prime data sources, the Louisiana French region was delimited for each of the three years. Also identified were independent variables that discriminated between French and Anglo areas as well as among three internal French zones--core, domain, and sphere. The 1820, 1860, and 1900 synchronic cross sections were then diachronically linked to provide more specific spatio-temporal explanation. A postdictive linear model was constructed to suggest points of further inquiry, and a seven-stage Louisiana French regional model refined Meinig's evolutionary paradigm to include the nuances of the Louisiana French experience during three centuries of change.

Moreover, the findings of this research exploded several time-honored myths about the Louisiana French: 1) The Louisiana French were not geographically isolated

in the nineteenth century. 2) Few French called themselves full-time hunters, trappers, or fishermen. 3) Louisiana French farmers were no more backward than the Anglo Saxon yeomen of North Louisiana. 4) Cajuns were not just poor petits habitants; in fact, a significant number of Cajuns were wealthy, large slaveholders. 5) In an agrarian age Roman Catholic French families were no larger than those of the Protestant Anglos. 6) The greatest erosion to the French language occurred not in the twentieth century but in the nineteenth. 7) And during the nineteenth century the Louisiana French did not remain unchanged because they had been drawn into an increasingly-dominant Anglo culture.

CHAPTER I

THE GRADATIONAL REGION THROUGH TIME

Like historians use periodization to organize studies of events through time, geographers employ the region as an intellectual construct for managing spatial investigations. Yet to define this regional concept, it seems, is to contemplate a nebulous, idiosyncratic entity. Almost half a century ago Odum and Moore collected more than twenty-five definitions of the region, and since then there has surely been no interregnum proclaimed in the formulation of regional denotations. Past peculiarity and present novelty, according to Minshull, are the definitional strengths of the regional concept, a fluid, eclectic idea in general, yet specifically an adaptive, timely, and solid framework for spatial explanation.[1] Or as McDonald romantically poeticized the intriguing plasticity of the region:

> . . . geographers seek regions as alpinists seek unconquered peaks: "because they are there" . . . . as the region has represented a challenge to each generation of geographers it may, in a sense, be said to be part of the soul of geography: forever sought, forever undefined.[2]

Allow me to offer nevertheless still another definition of the region; I should hope a synthesis of many of its predecessors: A geographic region is an area of earth-space possessing one or more unifying spatial patterns/processes that differentiate it from surrounding areas. The word differentiate in this definition should not be misconstrued as studying unique entities nor should the foregoing region-period analogy be misinterpreted as a Kantian, idiographic parallelism. Although it may be delimited by countless combinations of criteria and since both methodological antagonists Hartshorne and Schaefer maintained that it is where systematic studies in fact take place, the region, to unequivocally underscore, is no more than a management tool for spatial investigation of an infinite surface and should not be burdened with epistemological baggage for within its compass fits the entire idiographic-nomothetic spectrum.[3]

Patterns as a Methodological Tool

Since Blaut's ontological view has dismissed everything in reality as simply process, a continuing development of phenomena involving change, it seems that the term patterns may be redundant in the foregoing definition of the region. Others have considered Blaut's reasoning acceptable, and perhaps if one wishes to reflect

upon reality's maze of tautologies, then the idea of process may be the ultimate reduction. This unity, however, may also methodologically imply, as Blaut tried to show for geography, that since no such unique "things" labeled space or time exist, there are no separate intellectual realms as geography and history. Conversely, though, as Harris inferred, geography and history can just as easily be considered "super disciplines" encompassing all processes but from different methodological perspectives, and as such no other investigative disciplines should exist.[4] Nevertheless, it is proposed here that to embrace either of these possibilities as an avenue in search of truth, explanation, and perhaps laws within reality leads to a highly untenable if not self-defeating methodological posture.

To say that everything is process is methodologically like placing the entire population of the earth into one class interval, then undertaking an exhaustive demographic analysis of its composition. Other than the beginning and the end, if ever truly discerned, what are the temporal reference points for investigation into any particular process? How is the timeless interim of process to be measured? How are comparisons to be made within it? How is it to be methodologically managed? If, as some have advocated, patterns are processes stopped in time, time slices or freeze frames of the motion

picture called reality, they serve an important methodological if not ontological purpose--they are the reference points for processes.[5] This argument, of course, assumes that processes are not homogeneous and unvarying, that they do change, mutate, experience plateaus, peaks, and ebbs and do not just simply begin and end. Carefully selected points in time therefore become salient spatial patterns within processes.

As temporal referents, patterns have another methodological advantage. Decreasing the movement of phenomena through time should increase comprehension and precision within spatial analysis. In other words, to control for temporal "noise" should enhance the search for spatial relationships. To gain the fullest investigative assessment possible ideally requires study of a large number of patterns sampled both randomly and intuitively; but the maximizing model can never be reached on the infinite continuum of time. Moreover, if processes are indeed a limitless array of patterns, or patterns through time, then it is suggested that those who profess to adhere to a diachronic methodology, call it the vertical theme, longitudinal study, genetic method, or whatever, so long as it presumably examines phenomena in a continuous flow through time, must be grasping, though impossible as it is, for this maximizing model, an incalculable number of patterns.[6] Although

understanding the processes within earth-space is essential, it thus may be folly for geographers to blur spatial analysis for the sake of temporal development. Patterns as spatial referents cannot be perfunctorily discarded when we recognize that our studies are finite ventures best managed within an infinite spatiotemporal mileau by a simple yet satisfying regional methodology.

Finally, to study processes is to assume these processes are recognizable. But how does science analyze processes that are unknown or exist only in fragments, some of which may be quite fleeting. One way is through inferences from patterns made by these enigmatic processes. Yet abandoning the possibility of explanation or inference from spatial patterns some geographers have zealously rushed to investigate processes for their intrincities alone with little or no earth-space underpinnings and consequently have been censured for becoming pseudo biologists, sociologists, political scientists, pyschologists, and so on.[7] These same disciplines and others, however, enthusiastically describe, explain, and draw inference from patterns: patterns of atoms, cells, waves, clouds, speech, voting, buildings, business, and human bodies, and on rocks, shells, trees, and canvases, to name but a few. For geographers to strike the word, much less the concept of pattern, from our vocabularies because it is not "trendy" in geographic circles is fatuous to say the least,

particularly if we wish to fulfill one of our principal objectives--communication with other sciences, for their students understand the methodological meaning and explanatory significance of patterns.

Patterns, then, are temporal referents that provide bases of measurement and comparison; they are also a methodological tool in applying a ceteris paribus approach to filter out the vagaries of an infinite time frame. Patterns furthermore furnish an excellent explanatory framework to understand the known earth-space processes and to detect those that are not known. It should consequently be the fundamental goal of geography to explain the earth-space interrelationships of all processes, and to do so as many discrete patterns as possible must be discovered, because, as Schaefer stressed, patterns are geography's morphological laws.[8] There are, moreover, no better portraits of spatial patterns than those vivid vignettes painted within the region.

Regional Taxonomy

As with geography itself, the epistemological evolution of the regional concept has been explained as a series of dichotomies: specific versus generic, single-feature versus multiple-feature, and uniform versus nodal.[9] Of capital interest to this discussion is the uniform-nodal antithesis. The uniform region is

noted for its relatively static phenomena that are presumably dispersed homogeneously throughout an area, while the nodal region possesses relatively dynamic phenomena that are spread nonuniformly and that interact with a central locus or loci (Fig. I-1a,b,c).[10] Although other labels identify each--uniform as formal or homogeneous, and nodal as functional--Symanski and Newman, in my opinion, have quite correctly argued that the term functional is a misnomer when applied only to nodal regions, for both the uniform as well as the nodal region demonstrate functionality. They elucidated that the essence of nodal regions is spatial focus and that interaction does not automatically insure functionality. Conversely, they continued, such uniform regions as the "Corn Belt" and the "Garment District" can be defined as functioning systems.[11]

Symanski and Newman also took exception to definitions that mold uniform regions into static entities and nodal regions into dynamic ones. But, to me, though both types of regions exhibit process, their time scales do appear to be different. For instance, although both the uniform Hispano culture region and the multi-nodal Wisconsin newspaper distribution region change spatially through time, the latter nodal region fluctuates far faster. One may certainly counter that when each is contrasted with other events of its formative processes

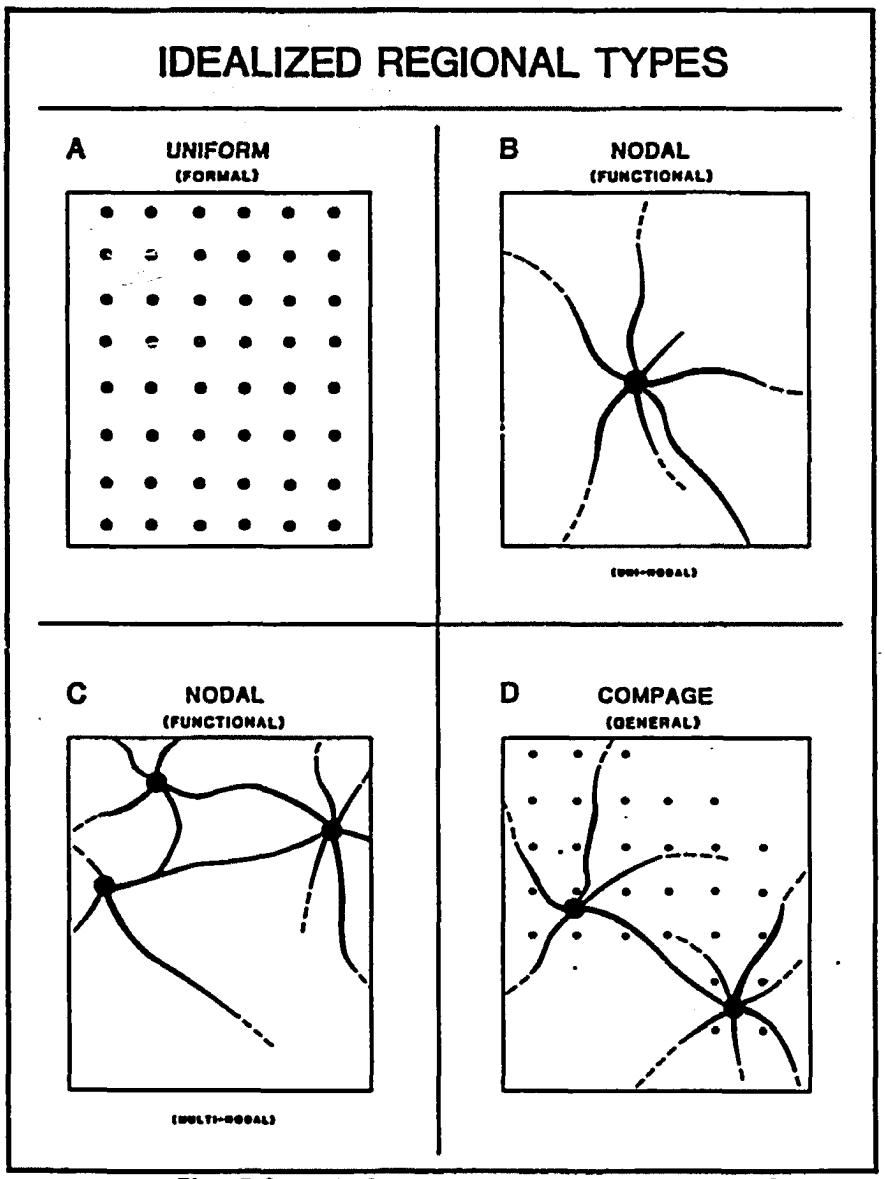


Fig. I-1. Idealization of the three traditional regional types--uniform, nodal and the compage.

the uniform Great Plains region may be more ephemeral than New York City's uni-nodal financial region. But in terms of human life span, to provide a temporal standard of comparison within relative time, the newspaper and financial regions are undoubtedly the more dynamic in each of the foregoing pairings.

Another attribute of this uniform-nodal schism needs to be addressed: the implication that only the nodal region demonstrates declining intensity or distance decay from its node or nodes to its periphery. By its theoretical definition the uniform region cannot possess such variance, it is homogeneous. Yet in a manifestly practical sense it may be uniform only with respect to but a certain value of its delimiting criterion. A formally structured "uniform" forest region, for example, may encompass an area with trees no more than, say, fifty feet apart; but does this preclude tree density from varying within the region or that there is no denser "heart of the forest," so to speak, of thirty, twenty, or ten feet apart (Fig. I-2a)? The central question becomes: Can relatively static phenomena be empirically separated into zones or sectors of relative intensity within the corpus of a "uniform" region? In other words, can culture regions like Zelinsky identified for the United States that have core areas be uniform?[12] Or, simply, does distance decay operate within uniform regions? To this,

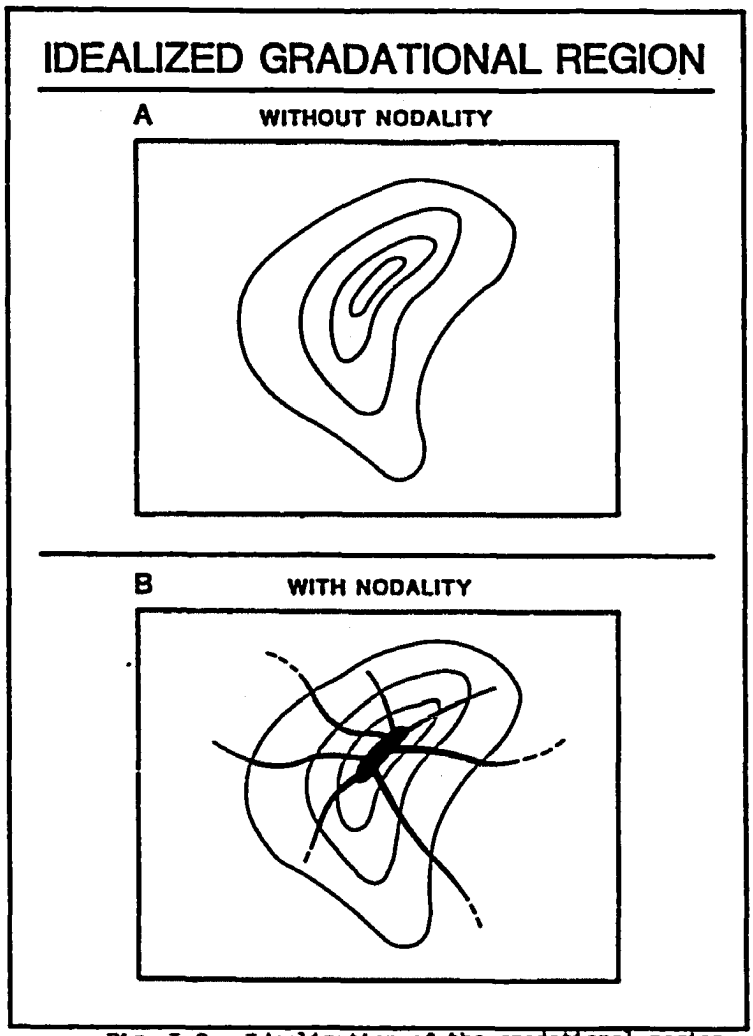


Fig. I-2. Idealization of the gradational region without nodality and with nodality.

add the possible scenario of relatively static phenomena empirically differentiated into separate but homogeneous zones, each observed to interact with a distinguishable node (Fig. I-2b). Does this situation still remain within the rubric of the uniform region? Does it instead belong to the nodal genre? Is it perhaps subsumed somewhere in Whittlesey's totally integrated compage (Fig. I-1d)?[13] Or does it become a hybrid--the gradational region?

Troubled by the foggy extra-core areas within a uniform region, Whittlesey himself, while discussing cores and boundaries in his renowned 1954 paper on the region, implicitly prophesied in various paragraphs a gradational solution:

> Where regions are defined by discontinuities, or occupy an area of discontinuous distribution, regional peripheries are likely to be acutely troublesome because they are transitional, or zonal, and at the same time critical. . . . Although the whole region is homogeneous in terms of the criteria by which it is defined, the peripheral parts of it are distinguished from the core by an increased intermingling of extraneous characteristics. . . . The core of a uniform region possesses two qualities which may be blurred in the peripheral zone: it exists as a recognizable and coherent segment of earth-space, defined by the criteria of its selection, and it differs notably from neighboring core areas. . . . the core is the epitome of the region's character whether uniform or nodal. . . . Within any category, an occasional region may have so little internal variety that the core embraces the whole of it, but more commonly the periphery is transitional, partaking of the character of two or more cores. It follows that comparison of different cores produces a sharper areal distinction between regions than can be found in the fuzzy interpenetration of peripheral areas. . . . But most boundary lines in discontinuities are not abrupt. The peripheral zones are marked by a varied

> intermixture or interfingering of component features. . . . A geometric boundary usually evolves into a zone. . . . In uniform regions the boundary is drawn where distinctive characteristics of adjacent core areas are least discernable or fade into each other. . . . They [continuity boundary lines] do not represent divisions between differences of kind, for the same kind of feature exists on both sides of the line. The differences are those of degree or intensity [emphases added].[14]

If the concepts of cultural core and diffusional distance decay are intertwined and incorporated within the purview of a uniform region, then this region no longer respects its theoretical homogeneity; instead its internal morphology reflects in zonal contours or sectoral thrusts varying cultural intensities radiating out from the region's core. Meinig espoused such thinking in his seminal work, "The Mormon Culture Region," which delineated cultural gradations--core, domain, and sphere--yet underscored that the Mormon core was a pulsating node interacting variably through time with the outer zones. Meinig's gradational model became a sophisticated system in which the uniform region was restructured into distance-decay zones of cultural intensity and was brought to life by the nodality of its cultural core.[15]

A Gradational Niche

Then from years of experimentation and rumination geographic methodologists have identified three basic regional types and two internal morphological variations: the uniform region with its gradational variant, Platt's

nodal region including the subsets uni-nodal and multi-nodal, and Whittlesey's totally integrative compage which incorporates a myriad of variables that coalesce into an ultimate spatial gestalt. Though these are surely valid attempts at conceptually organizing and managing spatial investigations, like reality itself, there are no absolutes in research. Therefore this triad of regional types should not be envisioned as discrete classes but instead perhaps as points along methodological continua depicting studies that are more or less uniform, nodal, or integrating; and beyond to a multifarious fabric in which, at less than total synergism, the uniform and nodal types can intersect each other, nest within the other's boundaries and, like the Meinigian Mormon model, be congruous; and perhaps these combinations can be located within a triangle of regional relationships (Fig. I-3).

If these regional types are related along triangular continua, then so too are their defining criteria: dispersion, change, feature, and distribution. The first two of these criteria--dispersion and change--link uniform and nodal regions. The dispersion or randomness continuum runs from nodal clustering--uni or multi--through gradations to a more uniform spread with perhaps a random pattern somewhere in between. Change or circulation flows along a line from the relatively static uniform region to the more dynamic nodal variations. The latter two defining

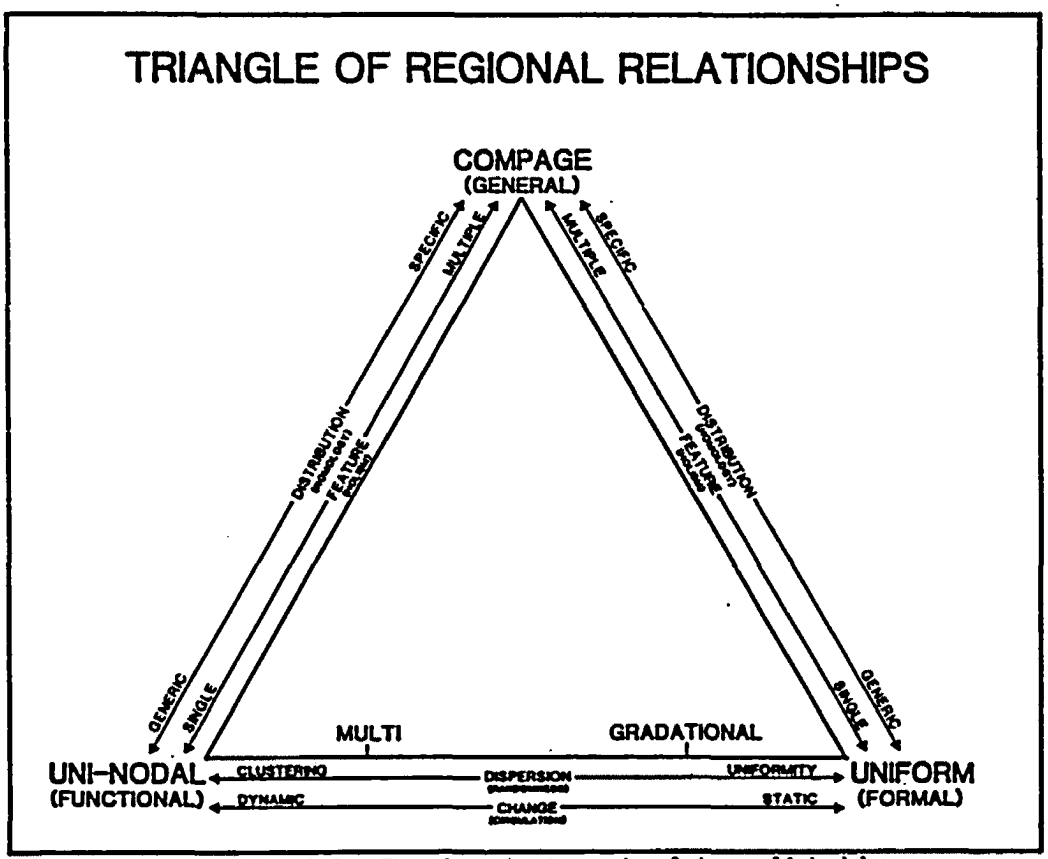


Fig. I-3. The three basic regional types linked by continua of their defining criteria—dispersion, change, feature, and distribution.

criteria--feature and distribution--take the region to what Minshull considered as its highest form, the compage or the general region.[16] The continuum of feature, call it in more contemporary terms geographic variable, mirrors the degree of holism in research; that is, whether geographers select single feature or univariate investigations, as many basic uniform and nodal regions have been structured, or multiple features or multivariate studies which become increasingly intricate through variable accretion as they approach the holistic compage. It follows that the number of variables employed in a study will determine the location of such a region on the distributional or nomologic continuum. At one end are generic regions, each with a skeleton of features but which are ubiquitously located and from which Schaefer's "laws" may be nomothetically generalized,[17] while more specific regions are idiographically colored by the multitudinal passions of place that produce only one Midwest, one Wisconsin, or one Oshkosh.

The Gradational Region: Meinig's Contribution

D. W. Meinig is a synthesizer. And his provocative, impeccably-written syntheses enjoy innovative insight, incisive explanation, and penetrating theory. Like the master artist, Meinig has drawn from a manifold array of geographic hues and through his gifted intellectual prism has painted them vividly upon spatial canvases: "The

American Colonial Era" (1957), On the Margins of the Good Earth (1962), "The Mormon Culture Region" (1965), The Great Columbia Plain (1968), Imperial Texas (1969), Southwest (1971), and "American Wests" (1972), to name some of his superb geographic portraitures.[18]

In his innovative article, "Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Meinig proposed his gradational region idea and defined three generic cultural zones: 1) a centralized, innermost core that possesses the greatest density of occupance, intensity of culture, and degree of nodality; 2) a less complexly-developed middle domain where the culture is nevertheless dominant; and 3) an outer sphere of cultural minority that has been seriously diluted (Fig. I-4). Recognizing primary and secondary subdivisions in the Texan domain and adding a new gradation termed a zone of penetration that showed recent Texan expansion westward, Meinig refined his spatial theory four years later in Imperial Texas, An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography (Fig. I-5). Furthermore, in 1978 his article, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," advanced a gradational design as a productive research approach at the national scale, the American culture.[19]

Meinig, however, could not claim credit for formulating the primary conceptual pigments he swirled together

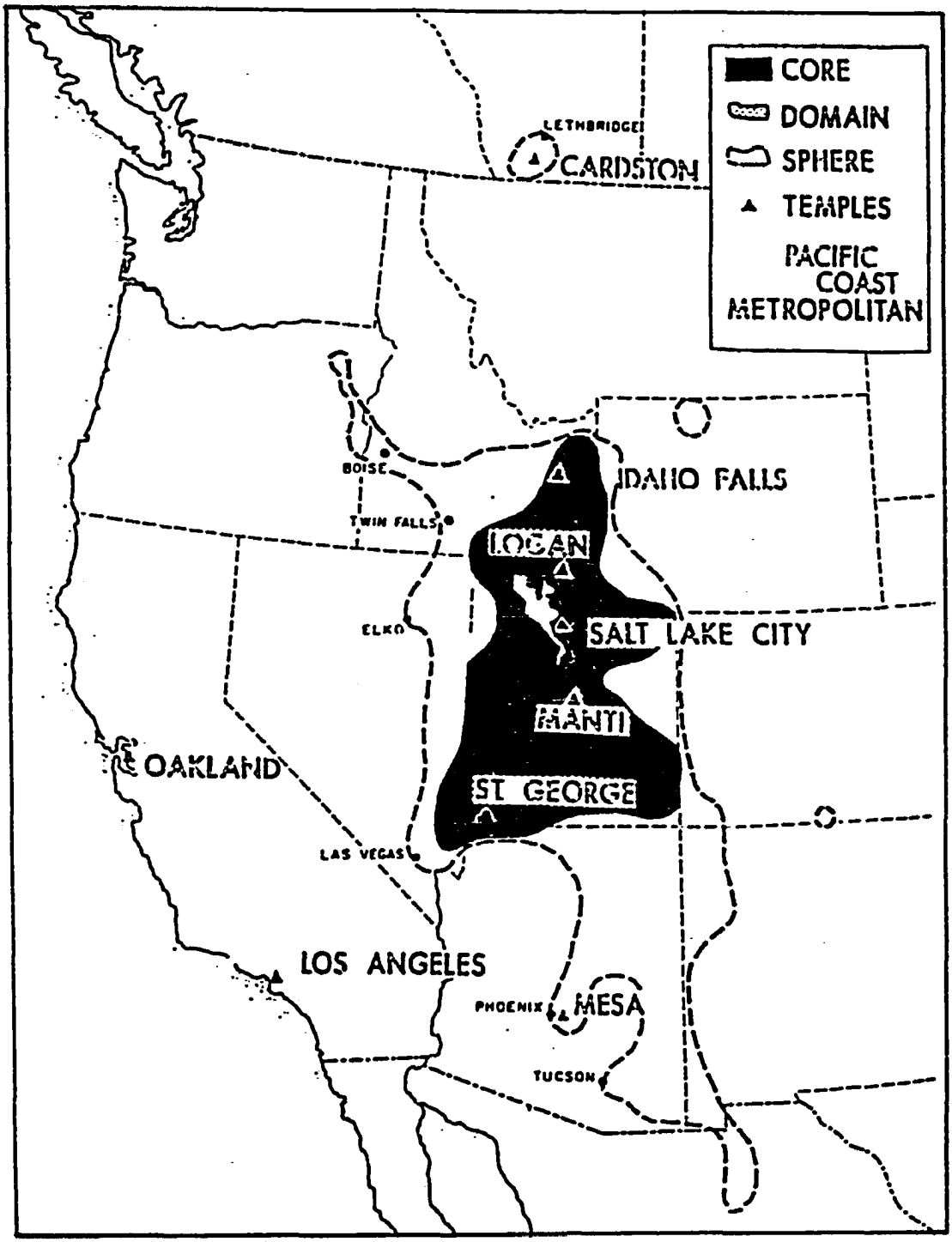


Fig. I-4. Meinig's Mormon Culture Region. Reproduced from Meinig (1965: 214).

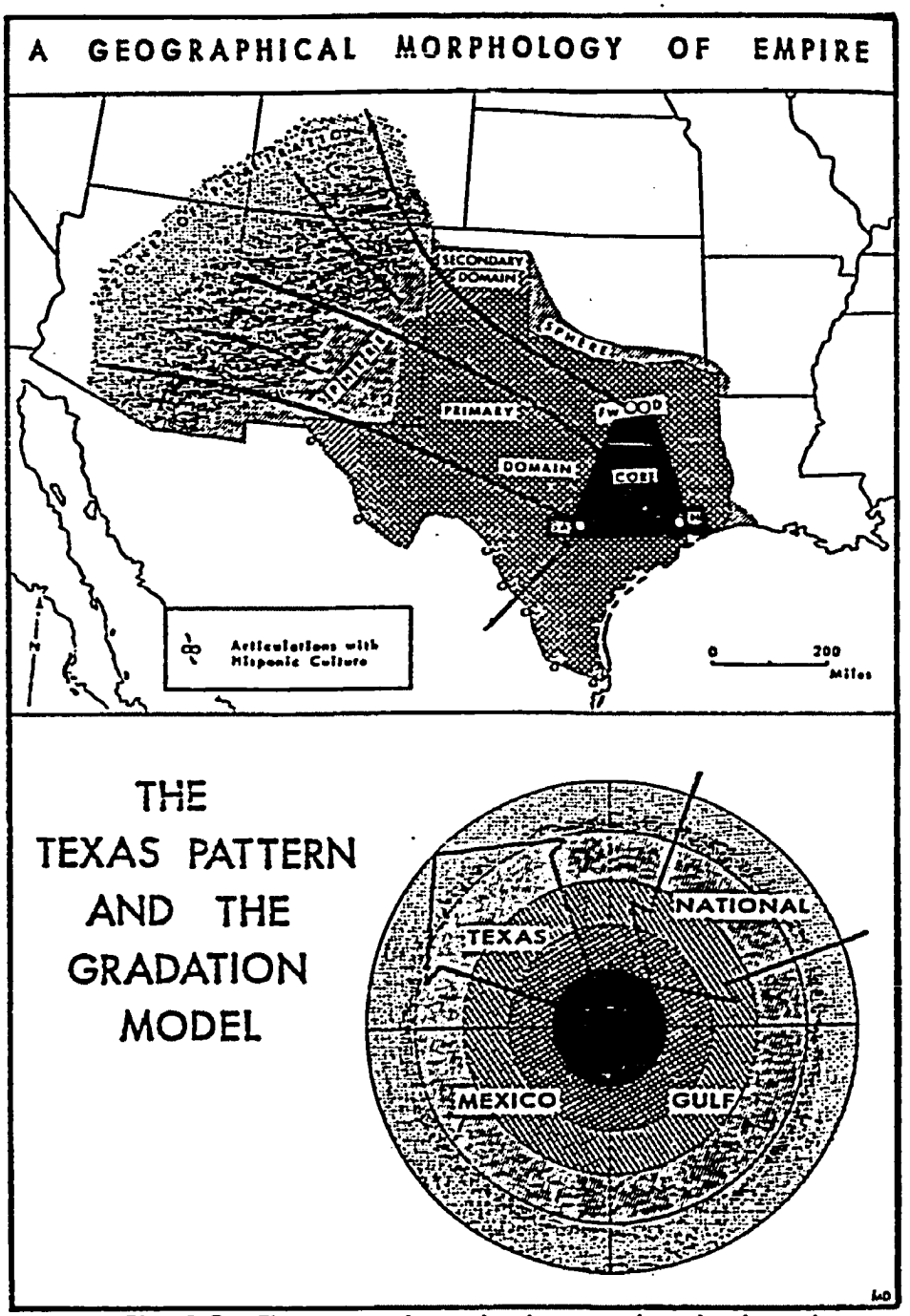


Fig. I-5. The core, primary domain, secondary domain, sphere, and zone of penetration in Meinig's Imperial Texas gradational model. Reproduced from Meinig (1971: 116).

on his geographical pallete. The concepts of cultural hearth, cultural core, and cultural diffusion had long been included in geography's cognitive collage. And Robinson, Bogue, and Philbrick, for example, had earlier discussed combinations of uniform and nodal regions: Robinson acknowledged the possible simultaneous existence of both regional types within one area, Bogue suggested nodal regions are int. digitated with hinterland uniform regions, and Philbrick conceptualized a nested hierarchy of uniform and nodal regions alternating at different scales. Areal zonation into concentric circles can perhaps be traced back through Burgess' 1923 urban morphological model to von Thunen's nineteenth-century "isolated state." Distance decay was the essence of these zonation frameworks and its origin can be found in seventeenth-century Newtonian physics that had been transferred to geographic models.[20]

Reaching for somewhat of a theoretical culmination, Wagner and Mikesell in 1962 envisioned intricate nodal-uniform region hybrids existing within zonational settings:

> Plotting of a distribution leads to establishment of a zonation, created with a definite organizational pattern that has been brought about by regularities of movement by human beings. The whole scheme may be summarized as defining a minor "nodal" region of human activity and landscape type, and a larger area in which such patterns are recurrent may qualify as a relatively homogeneous region. If several such regions, separated by some distance, show a landscape development similar in these respects, they may attest to cultural similarity between their respective inhabitants.[21]

And long before such theoretical complexity was propounded and Meinig's substantive work was undertaken, in 1939 Meigs had actually applied a gradational structure by constructing an isopleth map that showed Louisiana French intensity declining in gradations out from a core area.[22]

What then was new in Meinig's thinking; what was his contribution? All these salient spatial concepts--cultural hearth, cultural core, cultural diffusion, uniform region, nodal region, areal zonation, and distance decay--woven into a sophisticated synthesis that skillfully explained the Mormon culture region was his intellectual endowment. Unlike Meigs who had provided little insight or few cultural relationships for distance decay out from a singular Louisiana French core, Meinig used the foregoing concepts to interpret the spatial evolution of the Mormon culture pulsating from its core through zones of diminishing intensity and interconnected by a vibrant circulatory system of religion, politics, and commerce, all of which left an indelible cultural imprint upon the American West.

Meinig's contribution has been borne out by the host of geographers who have emulated his gradational design. In 1969 Lewis was perhaps the first to follow Meinig's gradational typology. Lewis chose the labels <u>domain</u>, <u>sphere</u>, and <u>periphery</u> to describe his "Negro Culture Regions." He defined the domain as 60 percent or more black, the sphere as 20-59 percent black or at least nine

blacks per square mile, and the periphery as sphere outliers no more than 400 miles apart. Yet other than passing mention of predominant agricultural pursuits and rural-urban dichotomies, his study did not spatially interpret American black culture but instead focused only upon relative black-white racial demographics. Thus his accompanying choropleth map, "Negro Culture Regions of the Conterminous U. S. A. in 1960," was a magnified misnomer (Fig. I-6). Lewis' article merely updated in more detail numerical terms Hartshorne's 1938 study, "Racial Maps of the United States." Discounting differences in the arbitrary class intervals selected by each researcher, Hartshorne's choropleth cartography could have been just as easily labeled in Meinigian fashion; in fact, Lewis offered little new demographic insight and seemed to have even mimicked such Hartshornian semantics as the "Negro problem." Simply said, Lewis provided nice labels but, unlike Meinig's "Mormon Culture Region," failed to explain the spatial relationships between varying black population intensities and black culture.

Evidently drawing from Hart and Taeuber, Lewis did furnish an interesting modification to Meinig's Mormon structure in the form of "intensifying" or "diminishing" spheres each based upon the absolute differences in black population between 1930 and 1960, thereby incorporating the important idea of change into his paradigm. In the

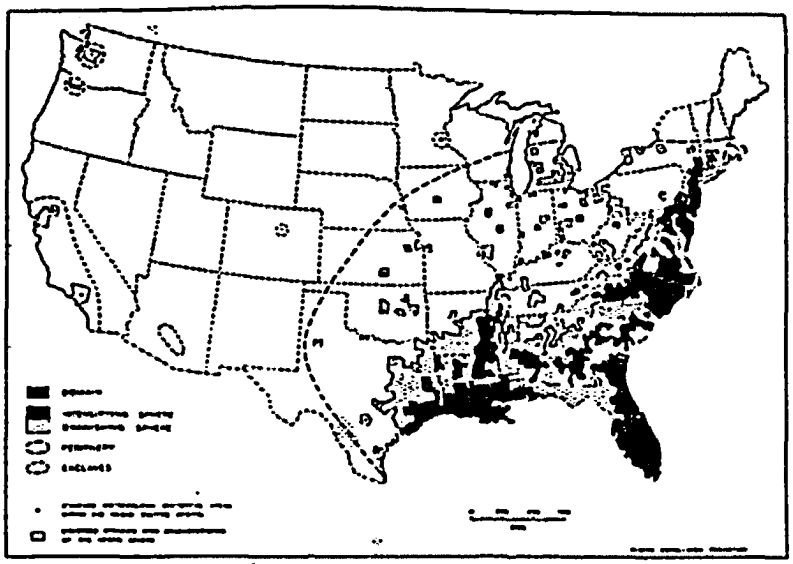


Fig. I-6. Lewis' Negro culture regions of the conterminous United States in 1960. Reproduced from Lewis (1969: 413).

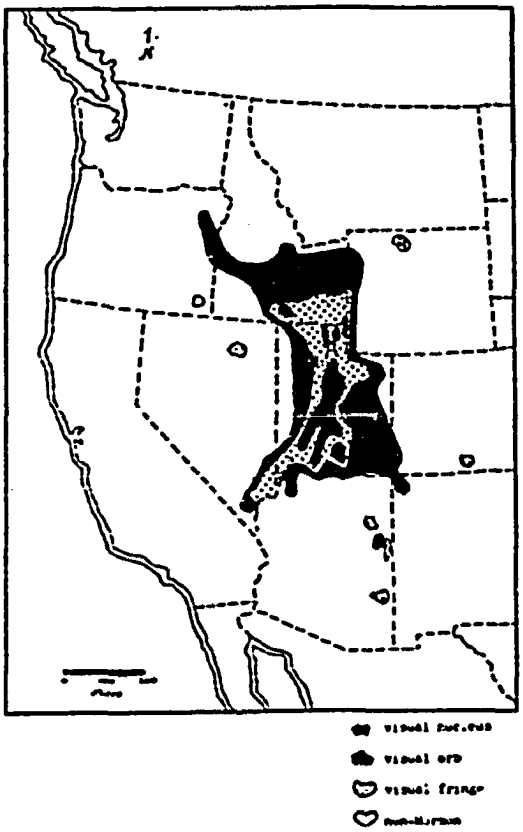


Fig. I-7. The visual nucleus, orb, and fringe of Francaviglia's Mormon Landscape Region. Reproduced from Francaviglia (1970: 61).

same year Meinig himself included a movement component, the zone of penetration, in his "Imperial Texas" morphology.[23]

Francaviglia in 1970 identified and mapped ten visual characteristics that he considered important in the Mormon cultural landscape settled before 1900 (Fig. I-7). Employing the descriptors "virtually all," "dominant," and "mixed," he cleverly coined his own morphological terms, respectively: visual nucleus, visual orb, and visual fringe. Although Francaviglia indeed determined the bounds of several outstanding Mormon cultural markers, he provided scant understanding of these visual elements with respect to the total cultural mileau and only superficially noted relationships between his rather qualitative and obfuscate morphology and Mormon cultural evolution. Nevertheless, his map, "The Mormon Landscape," was strikingly similar to Meinig's "Mormon Culture Region" cartography in the areal extent of its gradations if not its definitional rigor.[24]

In the same year, combining earlier religious (Zelinsky), speech (Kurath), and folk housing (Kniffen) boundaries with his own street pattern delimitation and modifying Meinig's Mormon scheme, Pillsbury generalized data spanning a century and a half (c. 1800-1950) into an amazingly stable internal structure for the Pennsylvania culture area (Fig. I-8). Pillsbury's morphological

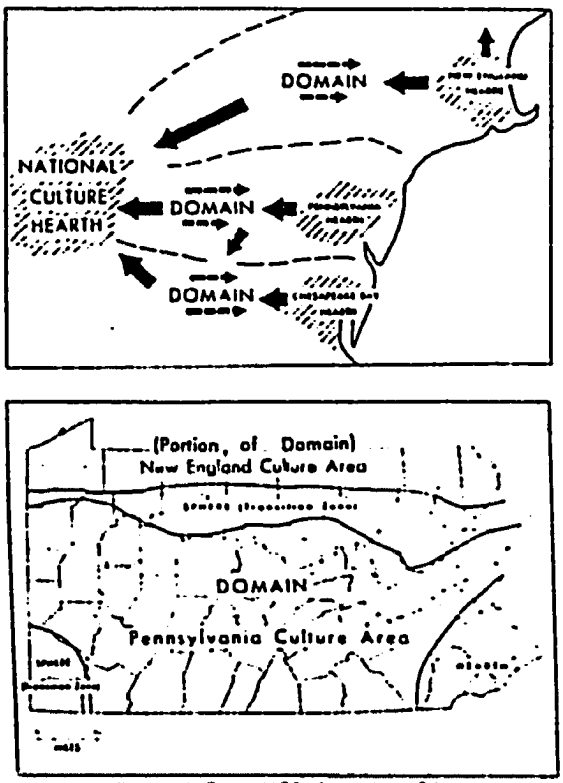


Fig. I-8. Pillsbury's "linear wave" Pennsylvania Culture Area with its hearth, domain, and shere. Reproduced from Pillsbury (1970: 445-46).

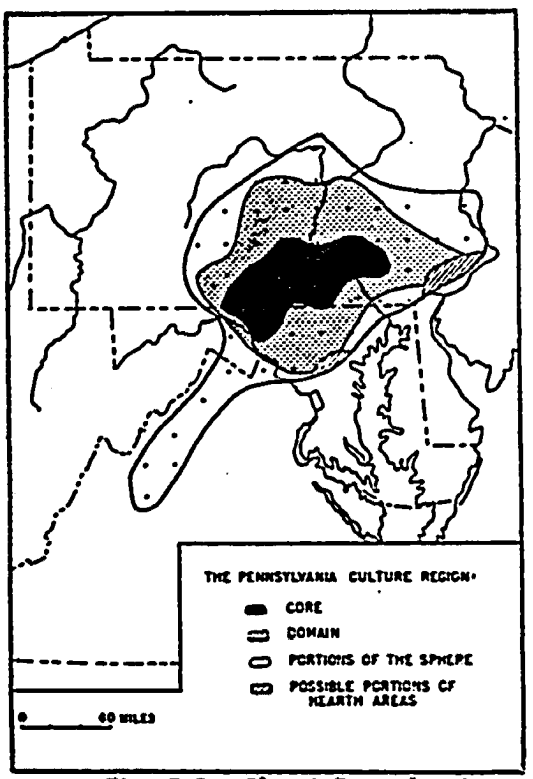


Fig. I-9. Glass' Pennsylvania Culture Region based on Pennsylvania farmsteads. Reproduced from Glass (1971: 257).

taxonomy discarded Meinig's complicated core in favor of a simple, intuitively-discerned hearth in southeastern Pennsylvania; borrowed the domain and sphere labels, the latter parenthetically termed a transition zone; and restricted his zones to the state of Pennsylvania. Because of cultural competition from New England and from the Chesapeake hearth to the south, Pillsbury abandoned moreover the concentric circles into which Meinig had contoured the ripples of serial cultural waves within the isolated, unconstrained Mormon region for a linear wave concept in which culture traits continuously expanded westward from littoral nodal hearths. All these transformations of the Meinig model may have merit for the Pennsylvania culture area; but after logically arguing his theoretical position, Pillsbury concluded his paper never really relating specific PCA culture traits to the mechanism of his gradational design and its nodal hearth.[25]

Working with Pennsylvania farmhouses and barns as diagnostic traits of interest and with some definitional qualifications, Glass in 1971 rather successfully applied Meinig's gradational plan to the Pennsylvania culture area (Fig. I-9). He quantitatively characterized the core as an area having the greatest concentration of Pennsylvania farmsteads, that is, farms having both Pennsylvania farmhouses and barns; the domain as a gradation where at least one Pennsylvania farmhouse and barn were located at each

ten-farm sampling site and the total number of Pennsylvania farmhouses and barns were in the majority at each site; and the sphere as a large, undelineated zone possessing less than domain intensity and stretching far beyond his study area. Glass admirably accomplished his objectives to locate Pennsylvania farmhouses and barns, to place his findings into a Meinigian framework, and to contrast his region with Pillsbury's delimitation. Yet after convincingly fitting his farmstead gradations and associated nodal circulation attributes within the Meinig model and adjusting Pillsbury's culture wave notion to include, as in the Mormon archetype, varying intensities through time, Glass, like Pillsbury, employed the gradational design as a morphological end in itself rather than as an explanatory medium for investigating the PCA's spatial evolution as reflected in selected cultural surrogates.[26]

In 1973 Zelinsky caustically criticized Meinig's gradational paradigm:

> He contends that, under ideal conditions (that is, given relative isolation over a long period, freedom from interference by others, and the opportunity for unhindered territorial expansion for a cultural group), three concentric zones will materialize. . . . This simple scheme, it must be stressed, works readily only under rather exceptional conditions and better at the national than subnational scale. . . . Although the Meinig model accommodates the facts for the Mormon and Texas areas without much compromise, it can be made to work only with much stretching and bending in the New England, Midland, or French Canadian cases, and it is almost useless in describing or explaining other North American culture areas.[27]

But four years later, to help fill the void in understanding the "anatomy or physiology of culture areas,"[28] Zelinsky published a long-awaited study of Pennsylvania towns which incorporated a somewhat original methodology--a non-replicable, phenomenologically-derived data base analyzed through positivist statistical procedures--and which buried in a footnote a sheepish admission of Meinig's influence. Zelinsky statistically smoothed his scaled responses to the question, "Is this place Pennsylvanian?" and capriciously chose data intervals that mapped three unlabeled zones of urban "Pennsylvanianess" within his PCA delimitation (Fig. I-10). Most remarkably, Zelinsky attempted to explain the spatial variation of Pennsylvania towns within the PCA before presenting his gradational map, which, after taking great pains to construct and cartographically compare with Glass' farmstead core, domain, and sphere gradations, he promptly ignored in favor of a tabular, temporal interpretation.[29]

No mention was made of Meinig or his gradational model in Breton's adroit analysis of the Louisiana French; yet using 1970 U. S. census data for French mother tongue, Breton outlined three zones of Louisiana francophones: 1) le coeur du domaine, the core region (foyer central), in which more than 40 percent of the population claimed French as their mother language; 2) les marges, a less intense, outer zone where French was spoken by 10-40 percent

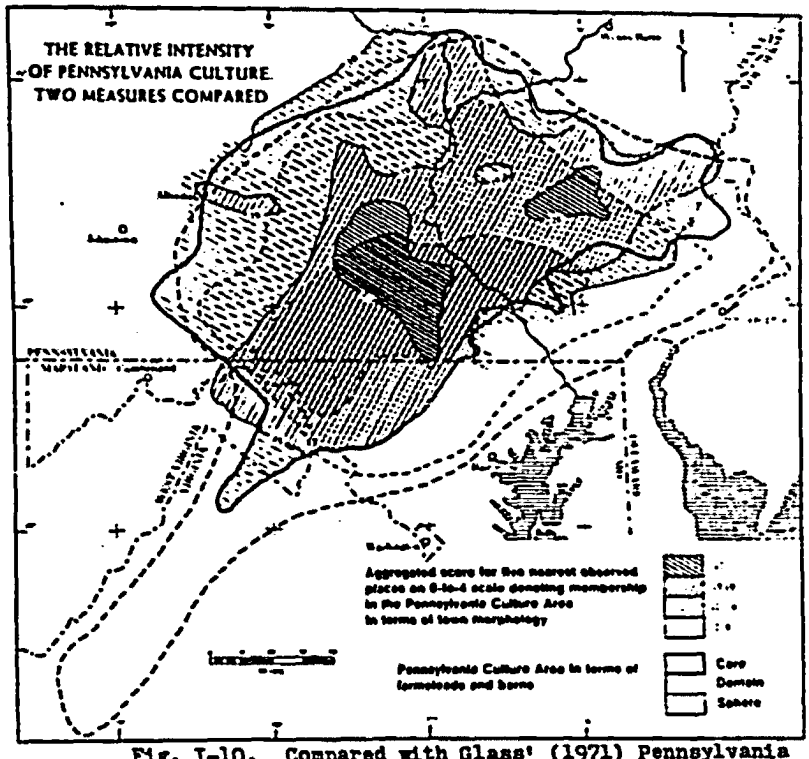


Fig. I-10. Compared with Glass' (1971) Pennsylvania farmstead PCA, Zelinsky's Pennsylvania Culture Area in terms of town morphology. Reproduced from Zelinsky (1977: 143).

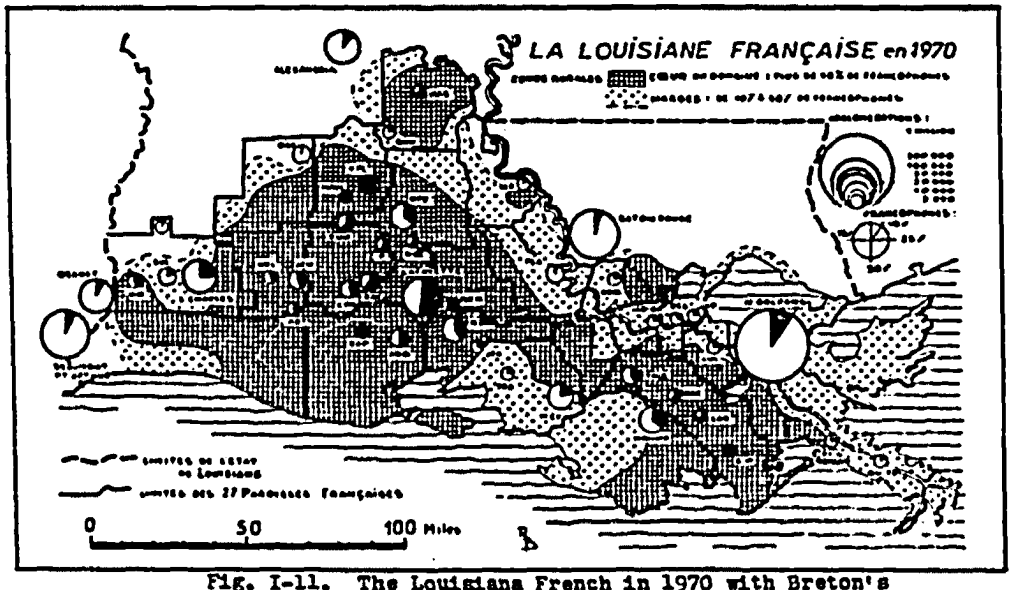


Fig. I-11. The Louisiana French in 1970 with Breton's coeur du domaine and marges. Reproduced from Breton (1979: 92).

of the people; and 3) les ilots, outliers inside and outside Louisiana where French-speakers had clustered (Fig. I-11). Although Breton well described many traits of the French in Louisiana, his focus was linguistic diversity rather than spatial understanding of the Louisiana French culture in its entirety, and this was reflected in his arbitrarily selected cartographic data intervals. His map, "La Louisiana Francaise en 1970" (only coeur du domaine and marges shown), did nevertheless demonstrate diminishing cultural intensity within a gradational framework if not the nodal and circulation characteristics of Meinig's Mormondom.[30]

Later in the same year Louder joined Breton in publishing an article that somewhat summarized Breton's report as well as suggested a more refined gradational design for what they called "Acadiana" (Fig. I-12). Again no reference was made of Meinig's work when Breton and Louder defined, with some glaring errors in class construction, four linguistic zones within their "Acadiana" by the percent of population claiming French mother tongue in the 1970 U. S. census: 1) zones de retranchement (exclusive French) --more than 90 percent; 2) zones de solide majorite francophone (solid majority) --70-80 percent; 3) zones equilibrees (balanced) --40-60 percent; and 4) zones a minorite francophone (minority) which had two subdivisions: "encore notable" (still noteworthy) --20-30 percent and

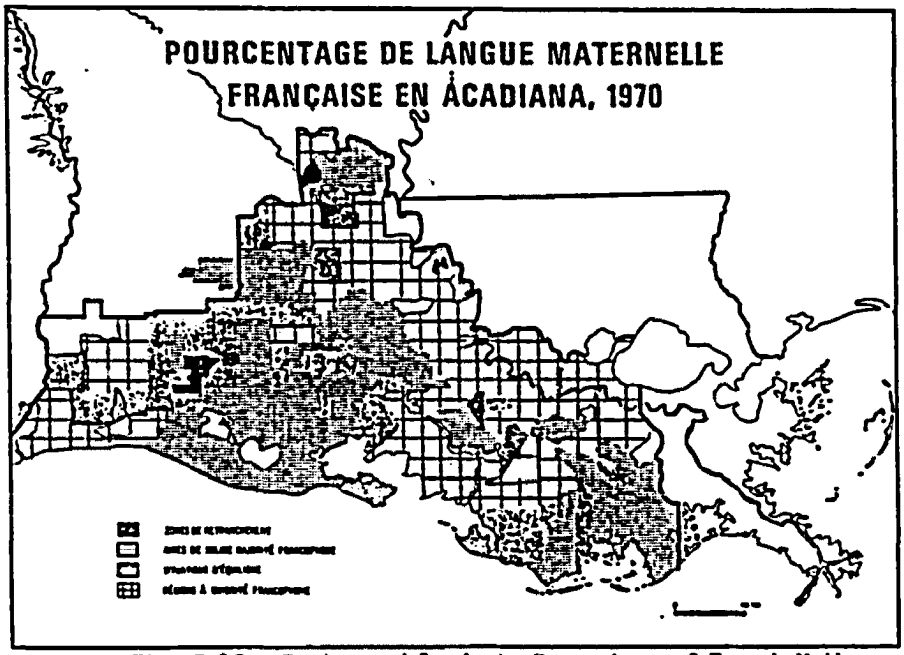


Fig. I-12. Breton and Louder's Percentage of French Mother Tongue in Acadiana by wards in 1970. Reproduced from Breton and Louder (1979: 233).



Fig. I-13. The cultural heart and islands of Breton and Louder's 1970 Acadiana based upon Breton's (1979) foregoing map. Reproduced from Breton and Louder (1979: 236).

"relique" (relic) --less than 10 percent. Other than their perception that many Louisiana places seem to be at the "bout du monde" and their concern about Anglicization brought on by nineteenth-century sugar planters and twentieth-century urbanization and oil boom, they offered little correlation between the varying intensity of French language persistence and other Louisiana French cultural attributes. Astonishingly, their culminating cartography, "Coeur Et Ilots-Temoins de L'Acadiana, 1970," totally discarded the foregoing statistical structure and its typological intricacies in favor of Breton's earlier isopleth map of the Louisiana French coeur and marges, albeit this time within the twenty-two parish area arbitrarily delineated as "Acadiana" by the 1971 Louisiana Legislature (Fig. I-13).[31] The Breton and Louder study was nonetheless an attempt to apply the gradational model to another of Zelinsky's North American culture regions.

Perhaps the most satisfying reproduction of Meinig's gradational design has been Nostrand's meticulous 1980 reconstruction of "The Hispano Homeland in 1900." After recording from the 1900 manuscript census schedules economic, social, and political data for almost a quarter of a million residents, all of whom were also ethnically classified in his five-state study area, Nostrand intuitively determined three Hispano gradations based upon ethnic percents in each of more than 500 precincts: a large, amoeba-shaped

stronghold of 90-100 percent Hispano; a much smaller, interstitial inland of 50-90 percent; and a fragmented outland of 10-50 percent (Fig. I-14). He suggested that his inland and outland may have been analogous to Meinig's domain and sphere, but Nostrand was very explicit in distinguishing his stronghold from Meinig's core concept because the 1900 census data alone could not show nodality nor circulation through time. Nostrand's inquiry was nevertheless important. Unlike most other subscribers of the gradational model, he utilized it as an explanatory tool for dissecting the internal morphology of a culture region rather than merely an exercise in boundary construction for cultural surrogate intensities. Drawing solid and previously untapped data from the manuscript schedules, Nostrand demonstrated that selected economic, social, and political attributes correlated with differing intensities of Hispano ethnicity in 1900.[32]

In little more than a decade, then, eight geographic studies incorporated in varying degrees Meinig's gradational principles. These works have not all fit into a neatly-flowing, refining evolution nor have they been free of problems. A troubling trend has been tied to capricious selection of data classes which has meant the gradational sets created may not have mirrored the most realistic data breaks and were neither statistically nor cartographically comparable. Merely labeling, furthermore, isopleth or

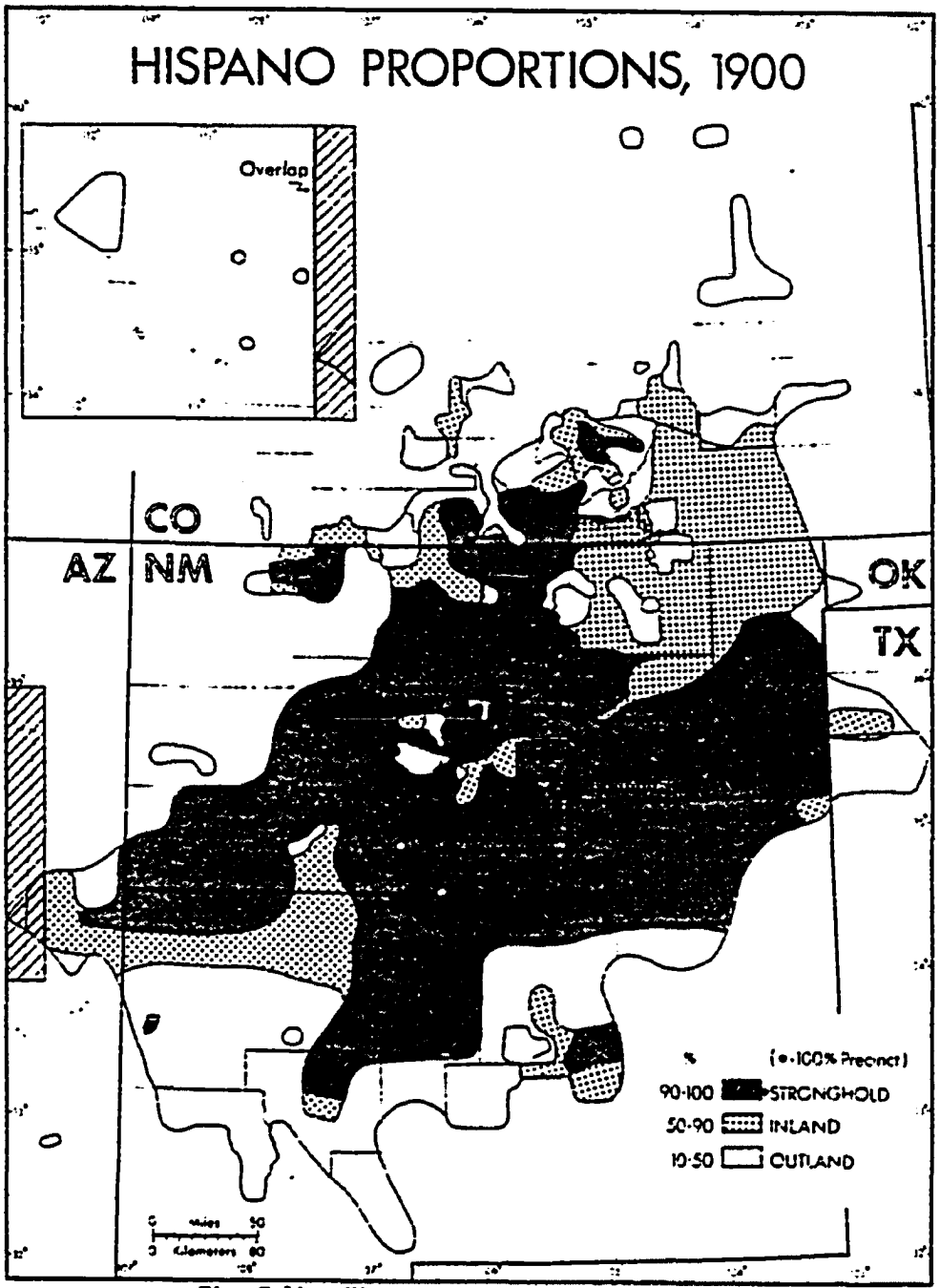


Fig. I-14. Hispano proportions in Nostrand's Hispano Homeland and its thirteen outliers in 1900. Reproduced from Nostrand (1980: 391).

choropleth maps to illustrate distance decay from nuclear areas without explanation of the relationships between the manifest morphologies and culture traits has left a path of ingenious semantics strewn with relatively empty exercises in boundary construction--monogrammed gradaticnal structures as ends in themselves. And almost all neglected Meinig's core nodality and concomitant circulation concepts mainly because of uncooperative data bases, fallacious assumptions, and/or lack of interest. This research lacuna has been most unfortunate since the relational workings within each gradational set remain unclear if not enigmatic.

On the other hand, three significant, innovative mutations of the original Mormon model were promoted. First, Pillsbury carefully constructed his PCA zones from composite delimitations of four different cultural surrogates and thus implied that multivariate morphological criteria reflect reality far better than a simple, single marker. Second, Lewis and Meinig himself, who had also felt his cultural gradations inherently depicted changing patterns through both time and space,[33] introduced movement components into their designs to consider the explicit expansion or contraction of cultural zones through time. Pillsbury and Glass likewise addressed spatial change with their wave concepts which transformed superficially Meinig's image picturing cultural ripples of

serial, expansionary waves out from the Mormon core but which did underscore a continuous modification of a region's gradational morphology--the gradational process. And Nostrand's 1900 "Hispano Homeland" undoubtedly demonstrated that to spatially examine such a process it need not be stopped only at the contemporary cross section. Third, Nostrand, more importantly, used his Hispano gradations as an explanatory vehicle and proved that specific cultural attributes directly correlated with varying Hispano intensities.

Ruminating about the mixed reviews of this methodological decoupage, the prime question crystallizes: Is there indeed a place in geographical research for the gradational region? To Meinig and his followers it surely must exist, though more obfuscate for some than others; a middle ground, but not a bastardization, between the lethargic uniform and the ebullient nodal types where a culture region can become as vivacious as its people. Only the test of time of course can corroborate.

Meinig's Evolutionary Model: A Temporal Corollary

Meinig also proposed an apparently lesser-known model of evolutionary stages for culture regions. Developing his study toward a climactic gradational morphology in Imperial Texas, he synchronically analyzed Texan historical geography during four periods: implantation

(Spanish and Mexican seeds), assertion (American annexation through the Civil War), expansion (Texan Reconstruction and New South), and elaboration (twentieth-century Texas). Meinig solidified these temporal thoughts three years later in a provocative essay titled "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation," in which he articulated a similar four-stage evolution for six urban-focused "dynamic regions" in the West: nuclear, regional, regional-national, and metropolitan-national. Unlike the Texan periods these terms became spatial generics for examining a universal culture region evolution through four intrinsic diagnostics: population, circulation, political area, and culture, each of which undergo their own development and therefore have their own battery of evolutionary labels. Population growth, for example, ubiquitously encompasses implantation of a nucleus, expansion, competition, and metropolitanization (Fig. I-15), while culture follows the sequential semantical set: transplant, regional culture, impact of national culture, and dissolution of historic regional culture (Fig. I-16).[34]

Synthesizing is putting parts together to form a logical, intelligible whole; it strives for simplicity yet can get unwittingly snarled in an inextricable web of complexity. Perhaps such confounding explains why Meinig's evolutionary concepts have not been as widely emulated as his gradational archetype. Meinig inadvertently added to

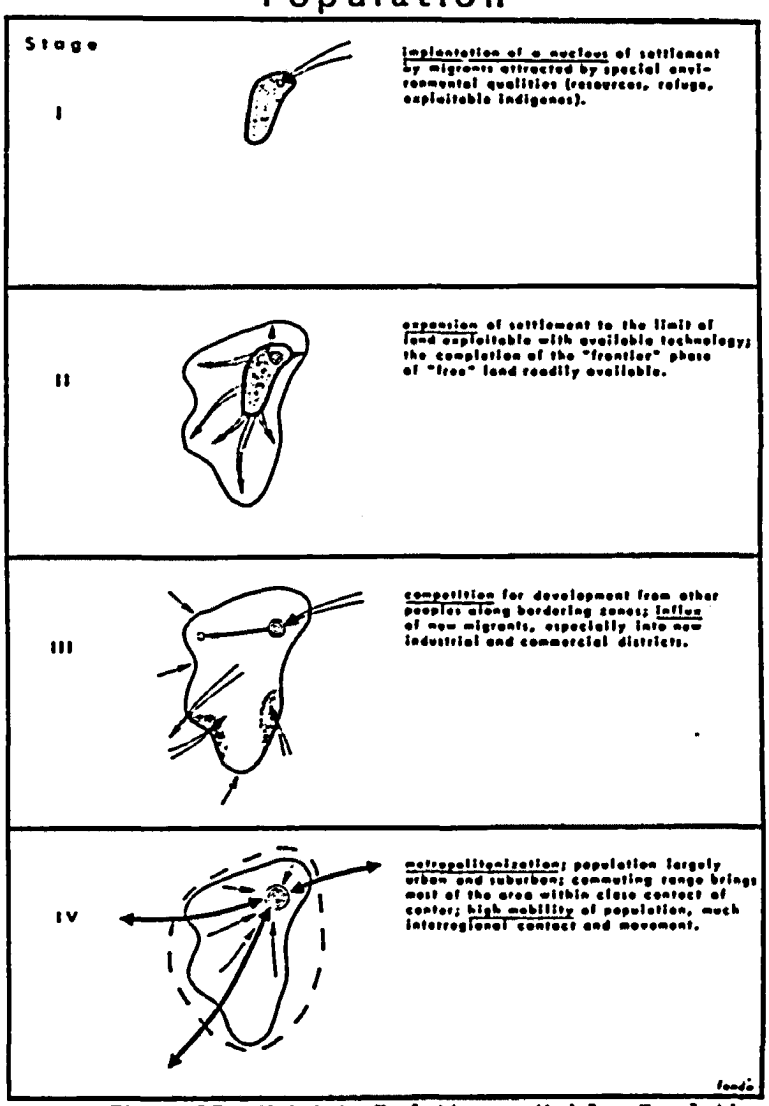


Fig. I-15. Meinig's Evolutionary Model: Population. Reproduced from Meinig (1972: 162).

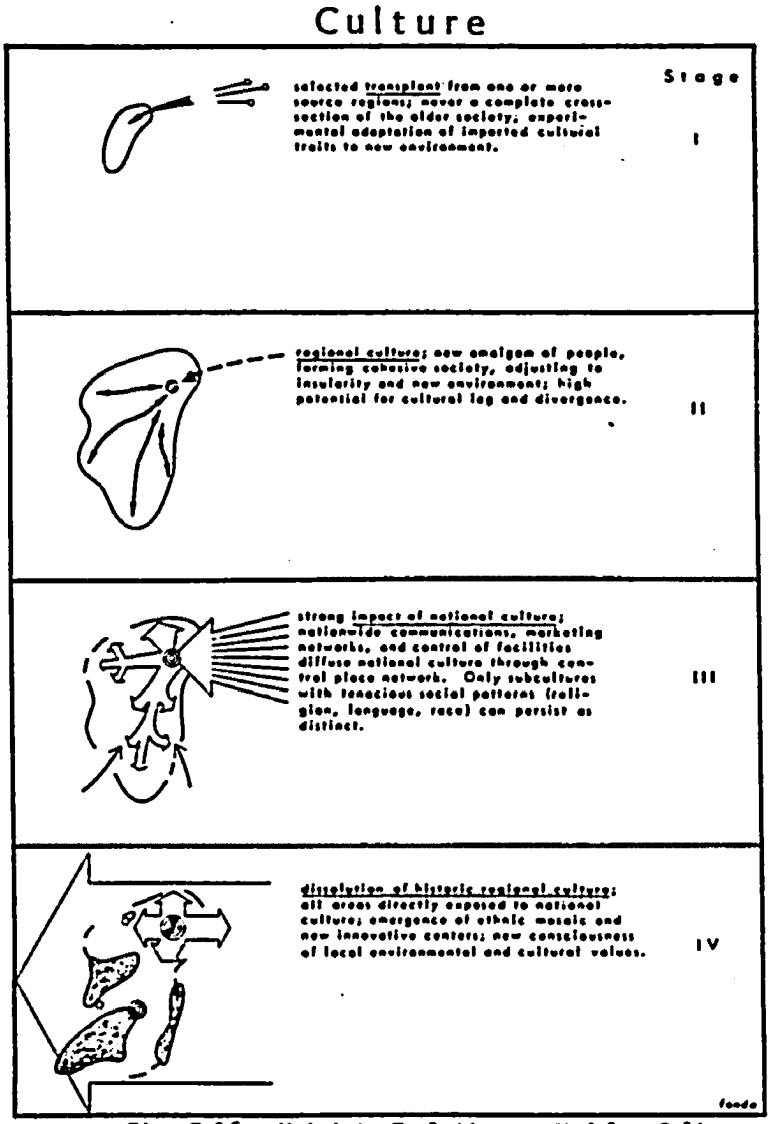


Fig. I-16. Meinig's Evolutionary Model: Culture. Reproduced from Meinig (1972: 163).

this unfortunate confusion in the "American Wests" article by casually interjecting pell-mell previously restricted gradational generics--core and domain--and Texan qualifiers--implantation, expansion, and elaboration--among new, undefined spatial terms--nucleus and periphery--and by presenting a map, "Major Nuclei and Regions of the West in Stages I and II," in which the Mormon area's nucleus (stage 1) and region (stage 2) looked suspiciously like the old core and domain of his "Mormon Culture Region" (Fig. I-17).[35] Surely through this cartographic portrayal Meinig was again emphasizing that gradational morphologies inherently evoke evolutionary stages as spatial patterns, but his regrettable labels demonstrated that spatial generics can be hauntingly constraining. Nevertheless, Meinig mapped a skeleton of the maze of past reality and submitted this temporal model as a corollary to his gradational design for better comprehending spatial evolutions of the world's culture regions.

Toward a Theoretical Synthesis: The Gradational Region Through Time

Thus through this analysis of Meinig's rich theoretical and methodological contributions, a three-step development can be discerned: 1) a diachronic cultural discourse that led to a crowning contemporary gradational morphology in "The Mormon Culture Region" (1965); 2) the introduction of specific cultural evolutionary stages in Imperial Texas

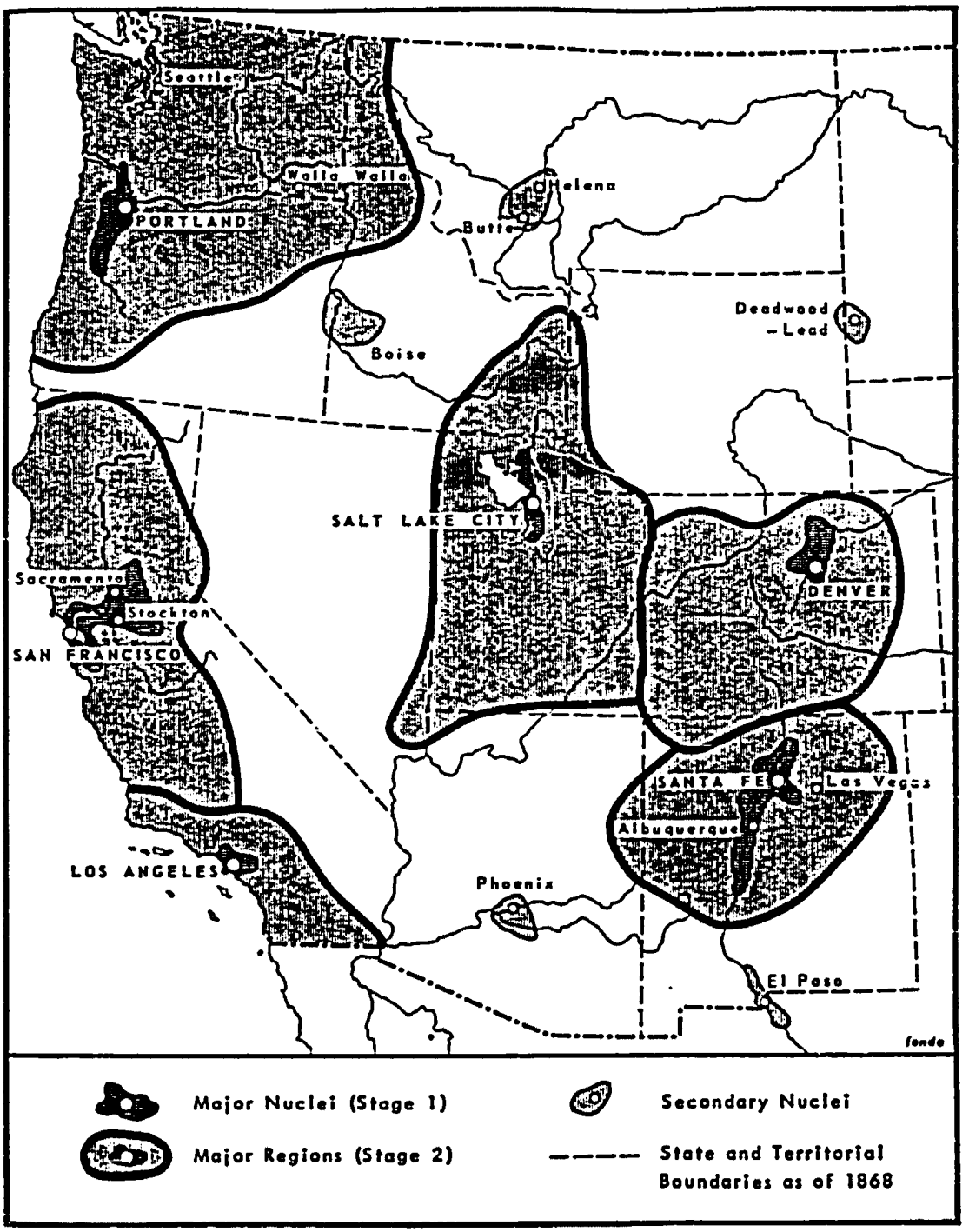


Fig. I-17. Meinig's major nuclei and regions of the West in Stages I and II. Reproduced from Meinig (1972: 169).

(1969) and later generic formulations in "American Wests" (1972); and 3) the combination of his spatial and temporal models in Imperial Texas wherein cultural evolutionary stages culminated in a contemporary gradational morphology.

The final methodological step remains undone, however. To bring Meinig's work to its ultimate fruition would require a methodological synthesis in which a series of dynamic gradational morphologies become analytical capstones for distinctive periods within the evolution of a culture region. Such a spatiotemporal union, for instance, would have meant that after each of the four evolutionary stages in Imperial Texas a consummating gradational morphology would have been constructed for explication of cultural relationships within the region during the preceding period.[36] To accomplish this methodological integration--synchronic gradational morphologies diachronically linked--would necessitate sequential sets of highly time-specific historical data, something Meinig has not relied upon, and may concomitantly create an unchartered labyrinth of methodological mysteries, a veritable research hornet's nest. Yet the harvest from a study of this sort should indeed be theoretically as well as substantively bountiful, even though the research investment may be rather extravagant. I am now anxiously obligated nevertheless to take this mortifying methodological risk and sedulously investigate the nineteenth-century

spatial evolution of the Louisiana French culture, mapping the gradational region through time.

NOTES

[1]David Turnock, "The Region in Modern Geography," Geography 52 (1967):374; John A Jakle, "Time, Space, and the Geographic Past: A Prospectus for Historical Geography," American Historical Review 76 (1971):1090; Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration (New York: Henry Holt, 1938), p. 2; Roger Minshull, Regional Geography, Theory and Practice (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), pp. 17-19. In 1951 Kimble, the vociferous critic of the "synthetic region," wrote that there were "no less than one hundred definitions" of the region. See George H. T. Kimble, "The Inadequacy of the Regional Concept," in London Essays in Geography, eds. L. Dudley Stamp and S. W. Woolridge (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), p. 151.

[2]James R. McDonald, "The Region: Its Conception, Design, and Limitations," Annals, Association of American Geographers 56 (1966):528.

[3]Richard Hartshorne, The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past (Lancaster, PA: Association of American Geographers, 1939), pp. 634-35; Perspective on the Nature of Geography (Chicago: Association of American Geographers and Rand McNally, 1959), pp. 144-45; Fred K. Schaefer, "Exceptionalism in Geography: A Methodological Examination," Annals, Association of American Geographers 43 (1953):228-29, 237; Edward A. Ackerman, Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 53 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), pp. 14-15. Whittlesey's prestigious Committee on Regional Study staunchly agreed with Hartshorne and Schaefer that the region is the universal geographic research medium in which systematic studies transpire. See Derwent Whittlesey, "The Regional Concept and the Regional Method," in American Geography: Inventory and Prospect, eds. Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1954), pp. 30-31. In his geographic model, Nostrand categorically concurred: ". . . all geography is regional geography." Richard L. Nostrand, "A Model for Geography," Journal of Geography 67 (1968):16. And regarding an imagined

regional-systematic methodological dichotomy, McDonald emphatically wrote: "The geographer who studiously avoids any regional orientation must be theorizing without relation to finite earth space. If he is doing this, there is serious reason to doubt that he is practicing geography." James R. McDonald, A Geography of Regions, The Brown Foundations of Geography Series (Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 1972), p. 118. This view of the region as a research vehicle had much earlier been rebuked, by Hall for instance:

> One reason for the lack of progress is that the region has too often been regarded as simply a convenient device by which to limit and characterize the worker's study and has not consciously been integrated into the world order of things.

Robert B. Hall, "The Geographic Region: A Resume," Annals, Association of American Geographers 25 (1935):127. Whittlesey, p. 44, however, held: "Acceptance of the region as objective reality has been increasingly criticized by geographers, and it is flatly rejected in this book as being incompatible with the position that the region is a device for segregating areal features." Four years later Zobler suggested: "Regional boundary lines are conceptual area frames fitted to the earth's surface within which landscape features are sorted." Leonard Zobler, "Decision Making in Regional Construction," Annals, Association of American Geographers 48 (1958):140. McDonald has also supported the contention that the region is but a spatial management tool:

> . . . regional patterns can properly be established as a framework for discussion or as a foundation for further systematic investigation, not as ends in themselves. Once this is understood, and regional synthesis accepted as a tool rather than a goal, it is possible to investigate the degree of precision with which regional limits can be established. . . .

McDonald, "The Region," p. 524. And Schaefer and later in much more detail Grigg affirmed that regionalization is merely spatial classification, that is, a class boundary delimiting some area. See Schaefer, pp. 245-46; and David Grigg, "The Logic of Regional Systems," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):465-91.

[4]J. M. Blaut, "Space and Process," Professional Geographer 13 (1961):2. Four geographers, for example, who have accepted Blaut's "everything is process" logic have been Janelle, Symanski, Newman, and Prince. Refer to Donald G. Janelle, "Spatial Reorganization: A Model and Concept," Annals, Association of American Geographers 59 (1969):348; Richard Symanski and James L. Newman, "Formal, Functional, and Nodal Regions: Three Fallacies,"

Professional Geographer 25 (1973):351; and Hugh Prince, "Time and Historical Geography," in Making Sense of Time, eds. Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes and Nigel Thrift (New York: John Wiley, 1978), p. 25. In 1953 Darby unequivocally professed: "All geography is historical geography, either actual or potential." H. C. Darby, "On the Relations of Geography and History," Transactions and Papers, Institute of British Geographers 19 (1953):6. Although Nostrand has absolutely agreed with Darby, Moodie and Lehr in a direct semantical attack on Darby's assertion have concluded otherwise. See Nostrand, "Model for Geography," p. 17; and D. W. Moodie and John C. Lehr, "Fact and Theory in Historical Geography," Professional Geographer 28 (1976): 132-34. Moreover, starting a rhetorical war in the Historical Geography Newsletter, Zelinsky in 1973, perhaps for the sake of intellectual stimulation alone, argued that the "fuzzy moiety" of historical geography does not exist since all geographers ask similar questions and use historical data to seek their answers. But maybe the most embarrassing thing about Zelinsky's canard logic was that to continue it to its appropriate conclusion is to argue away not only the "historical" concept of time but also that of space as the organizing notion within geography, exactly Blaut's syllogism. Read Wilbur Zelinsky, "In Pursuit of Historical Geography and Other Wild Geese," Historical Geography Newsletter 3 (1973):1-5; John A. Jakle, "In Pursuit of a Wild Goose: Historical Geography and the Geographic Past," Historical Geography Newsletter 4 (1974): 13-16; Alan R. H. Baker, "In Pursuit of Wilbur Zelinsky and Any Other Hysterical Geographers," Historical Geography Newsletter 4 (1974):17-19; and D. W. Moodie, John C. Lehr, and John A. Alwin, "Zelinsky's Pursuit: Wild Goose or Canard?" Historical Geography Newsletter 4 (1974): 18-21. For an overview of the current "debates" and their antecedents within historical geography, see also David Ward, "The Debate on Alternative Approaches in Historical Geography," Historical Methods Newsletter 8 (1975): 82-87. Tacking into Zelinsky's deja vu wind, Harris in 1971, drawing from May, saw historical geography as the eclectic acme of scientific holism: ". . . the idea of synthesis itself becomes more important as it becomes obvious that our larger problems transcend narrow subject matter fields." Cole Harris, "Theory and Synthesis in Historical Geography," Canadian Geographer 15 (1971):170; Joseph May, Kant's Concept of Geography and Its Relation to Recent Geographic Thought, University of Toronto, Department of Geography Research Publications, No. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970). Nearly twenty years earlier, however, Schaefer had criticized such a Hartshornian cosmological approach: "Some of this lag [in the scientific progress of geography] is perhaps due to the unrealistic

ambitions fostered by the unclear idea of a unique integrating science with a unique methodology all its own." Schaefer, p. 227. See also Hartshorne, Perspective, pp. 26-35.

[5]Several exemplary advocates of the idea that patterns are merely processes stopped in time have been Hartshorne, Perspective, p. 103; Symanski and Newman, p. 351; William Bunge, Theoretical Geography, Lund Studies in Geography, 2nd ed. (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1973), p. 250; H. C. Prince, "Historical Geography," in Congress Proceedings, 20th International Geographical Congress, ed. J. Wreford Watson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967), p. 169; and Meinig who wrote:

> . . . the regional geographer is typically more concerned with patterns than processes, and to seek some synthesis of a whold rather than just an analysis of parts. Such an approach is only a matter of emphasis, not of exclusion, for these terms merely denote different aspects of the same thing.

D. W. Meinig, The Great Columbia Plain, A Historical Geography, 1805-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. xii-xiii. Regarding reference points for processes Prince, p. 21, suggested: "Where there is change there is motion, and to register motion we need some fixed reference points."

[6]Hartshorne was bothered by geographic analysis of "whole" regions continuously speeding through time and concluded that to do so was an almost practical impossibility. Refer to Hartshorne, Perspective, pp. 103-04.

[7]Schaefer, p. 228, almost thirty years ago critically cautioned such straying geographers:

> Geography, thus, must pay attention to the spatial arrangement of the phenomena in an area and not so much to the phenomena themselves. Spatial relations are the ones that matter in geography, and no others. Nonspatial relations found among the phenomena in an area are the subject matter of other specialists such as the geologist, anthropologist, or economist. Of all the limitations on geography, this one seems to be the most difficult for geographers to observe.

In defense of regional geography and an ecological approach, Fisher also scolded practitioners of peripheral "new geographies." See Charles A. Fisher, "Whither Regional Geography," Geography 55 (1970):373-89.

[8]Ibid., pp. 244, 248. Particularly in Chapter Nine, "Patterns of Location," Bunge, for one, has been an

especially fervent supporter of Schaefer's "morphological laws."

[9]Brian J. L. Berry, "Approaches to Regional Analysis: A Synthesis," Annals, Association of American Geographers 54 (1964):4; Hartshorne, Nature, pp. 361-65; Perspective, pp. 130-39; David Grigg, "Regions, Models and Classes," in Models in Geography, eds. Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 492-93; Whittlesey, pp. 35-40.

[10]Whittlesey, pp. 39-40; Hartshorne, Perspective, pp. 130-39; Minshull, pp. 38-45; McDonald, Geography of Regions, pp. 20-33; Bunge, pp. 14-25; G. W. S. Robinson, "The Geographical Region: Form and Function," Scottish Geographical Magazine 69 (1953):49-55; Donald J. Bogue, "Nodal Versus Homogeneous Regions, and Statistical Techniques for Measuring the Influence of Each," Proceedings of the Conference of the International Statistical Institute (1955):577-92; Robert S. Platt, "A Detail of Regional Geography: Ellison Bay Community as an Industrial Organism," Annals, Association of American Geographers 18 (1928):81-126; Allen K. Philbrick, "Principles of Areal Functional Organization in Regional Human Geography," Economic Geography 33 (1957):299-310; Symanski and Newman, pp. 350-52. According to Hartshorne, Platt and Wellington Jones introduced the nodal region in the United States during the 1920s. See Hartshorne, Perspective, p. 134. Platt originally called the nodal region an "organism" and later became disenchanted with the nodal terminology which he considered ". . . a static substitute for more dynamic forms: a node as a small area of concentration in a large area of dispersion instead of a focal point in a process-pattern of lines and limits of movement." Robert S. Platt, "A Review of Regional Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers 47 (1957):190.

[11]Symanski and Newman, pp. 350-52.

[12]Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, Foundation of Cultural Geography Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 118-19.

[13]Whittlesey, pp. 36, 44-51; Derwent Whittlesey, "Southern Rhodesia--An African Compage," Annals, Association of American Geographers 46 (1956):1-97; Hartshorne, Perspective, pp. 39-40; Minshull, pp. 120-44; Ackerman, pp. 5, 36. In his 1954 chapter Whittlesey advanced and defined his compage concept: "The compage is, by definition, something less than spatial totality; but it does

include all of the features of the physical, biotic, and societal environments that are functionally associated with man's occupance of the earth." Whittlesey, "Regional Concept," p. 45.

[14]Whittlesey, "Regional Concept," pp. 40-43. Famed anthropologist Kroeber earlier envisioned cultural distance decay out from a core and proposed gradationally-shaded maps to depict such dynamic variability in cultural intensity:

> In short, what boundaries really show is not so much clefts occurring in nature, as relative extent and strength of influences emanating from foci. They represent something comparable to political spheres of influence expressed by devices suitable for showing artificial political entities. It would be desirable, therefore, to construct cultural maps without boundary lines, on some system of shading or tint variation of color; but the mechanical difficulties are great. For the present, it seems necessary to use the old devices and leave it to the reader to translate what his eye sees into dynamic aspects that are intended. This difficulty inheres in all attempts to express in static two-dimensional space terms, phenomena that have a sequential as well as spatial aspect; a flow as well as a distribution.

A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 5-6. Although not calling them internal gradations, while graphically explaining his idealized "centripetal" and "centrifugal" regions, McDonald indeed drew concentric gradations of variable intensity around regional cores. See McDonald, "The Region," pp. 517, 519. And in a pragmatic sense, Kimble, pp. 158-59, complained that he had difficulty observing from the air regional boundaries, thus implying a gradational structure:

> The Wheat Belt of the American prairies merges almost imperceptibly into the Hay and Dairy Belt to the east, and the Corn Belt to the south. The cotton economy of the Deccan is subtly woven into the rice economy of its north-eastern and western perimeters. In the Kenya Highlands, there is no telling where the zones of the white man's culture ends and the African's begins. Similarly, in Australia, there are no landmarks separating the sheep-ranching country from the desert.

[15]D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American

West, 1847-1964," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):191-220.

[16]Minshull, pp. 152, 155. In 1957 Platt was not as kind to Whittlesey's compage concept:

> The way to progressively better achievement in regional geography seems not to be through the compages, a dead end in regional method, but along other lines indicated less enthusiastically if at all in the chapter in American Geography: Inventory and Prospect.

Platt, "Review of Regional Geography," p. 190.

[17]Schaefer, pp. 241-49.

[18]D. W. Meinig, "The American Colonial Era: A Geographic Commentary," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch (1957-1958):1-22; On the margins of the Good Earth, The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884, Association of American Geographers Monograph Series, No. 2 (Chicago: Association of American Geographers and Rand McNally, 1962); "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):191-220; The Great Columbia Plain, A Historical Geography, 1805-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968); Imperial Texas, An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969); Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation," Annals, Association of American Geographers 62 (1972):159-84. I am not alone in praise of Meinig's belles-lettres literary style. For instance, Spate wrote about On the Margins of the Good Earth:

> This is perhaps the most elegant piece of geographical writing yet devoted to an Australian region. Before discussing its more substantive contribution, it may be worth while to consider it as an examplar for the research student anxious to reduce the generally uncouth mass of the thesis in an acceptably tidy form. In this respect it ranks very high. . . . substantively it is of value as a superbly assured and competent presentation and a very careful and stimulating analysis. But to this reviewer it has an added value as a model to the young geographer: Go thou and do likewise!

O. H. K. Spate, review of On the Margins of the Good Earth, The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884, by D. W. Meinig, in Australian Geographical Studies (1964):124-25. Kramer reviewed The Great Columbia Plain:

> This is a regional historical geography of exceptional quality. Regional studies, Carl Sauer once remarked in a seminar, involve judgment and perspective, insight and talent, and therefore should be attempted only by the mature practitioner. Donald Meinig qualifies on all counts. His excellent book makes us painfully aware of how little really good and readable work has been done in this genre. . . . Meinig's book in unquestionably the best monograph on the historical geography of any section of the United States to be published in a long, long time.

Fritz L. Kramer, review of The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910, by Donald W. Meinig, in Geographical Review 60 (1970):136-37. English critiqued Imperial Texas:

> . . . geography has produced a few scholars who roam more freely in the world of ideas to produce studies of penetration and insight. Meinig is one of these men, and Imperial Texas is such a study. . . . Imperial Texas is an elegant, lucid, thoughtful piece of scholarship in the belles lettres tradition. It treats a region and a people of size and complexity with sensitivity and insight. . . . A remarkable book.

Paul English, review of Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography, by D. W. Meinig, in Annals, Association of American Geographers 60 (1970):787-89. And of the Southwest Stanislawski said:

> In reading his efficiently terse, but never stark, description one is grateful for his clear view of the material to be treated and the deftness with which he has shaped it. Luckily he also has a felicity of expression. . . . Its size in no way indicates the amount of material included, for the author has the faculty of recognizing essential material and avoiding profitless digressions. . . . It will long be useful as an efficient and intelligent outline of the major changes in the human geography of the Southwest during the last two centuries.

Dan Stanislawski, review of Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600-1970, by D. W. Meinig, in Annals, Association of American Geographers 62 (1972):548-50. Meinig's literary style has not been beyond reproof, however. In an extraordinary diatribe, Symanski, it seems more from envy than for scholarship, "scientifically" analyzed a case study--Meinig's writings, mainly "random" paragraphs from Imperial Texas. Symanski pompously proposed: "If my analysis is incorrect then one ought to copy Meinig's style of language usage to be successful; if my analysis is correct, then Meinig's work is a paradigmatic and seductive use of hyperbole which should be avoided." Amazingly, this blatantly nefarious attack on a

single scholar, without any thought whatsoever of comparison with works of others, was published by the premier journal of the Association of American Geographers (John C. Hudson, editor). That it was remains a disturbing shock to me for it had to be one of the "cheapest shots" in the annals of American geography.

[19]Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," pp. 191-220; Imperial Texas, pp. 110-18; "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," American Historical Review 83 (1978):1186-1217.

[20]Preston E. James and Geoffrey J. Martin, All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas (New York: John Wiley, 1981), pp. 248, 374-76, 413-17; Robinson, p. 55; Bogue, p. 387; Philbrick, p. 308; Peter Haggett, Andrew D. Cliff, and Allan Frey, Locational Analysis in Human Geography, vol. 1: Locational Models, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1977), pp. 191-230; B. J. Garner, "Models of Urban Geography and Settlement Location," in Models in Geography, eds. Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 338-41; Peter J. Taylor, Distance Decay in Spatial Interactions, Concepts and Techniques in Modern Geography, No. 2 (Norwich, U. K.: Geo Abstracts, 1975), pp. 8-10; Furthermore, Haggett, Cliff, and Frey, p. 227, have proposed that

> . . . there is no a priori reason why it [the Burgess urban model] should not be equally applicable to rural areas. . . . [and that] Fusion of the static von Thunen model with the dynamic Burgess model might yield a useful discriptive tool for the analysis of European overseas settlement.

[21]Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, eds., Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 12.

[22]Peveril Meigs, "An Ethno-Telephonic Survey of French Louisiana," Annals, Association of American Geographers 31 (1941):243-50.

[23]G. M. Lewis, "The Distribution of the Negro in the Conterminous United States," Geography 54 (1969):410-18; Richard Hartshorne, "Racial Maps of the United States," Geographical Review 28 (1938):276-88; Fraser Hart, "The Changing Distribution of the American Negro," Annals, Association of American Geographers 50 (1960):242-66; Irene B. Taeuber, "Change and Transition in the Black Population of the United States," Population Index 34 (1968):121-51. In an excellent demographic study of black distribution and migration in the United States, Hart,

pp. 250-51, mapped a choropleth Negro core of at least nine blacks per square mile and 20 percent black in the total population. His map "The Negro Area in 1950" also recognized three unlabeled, outer gradations, but he did not fall into Lewis' culture region error nor did he explicitly try to associate varying black intensities with black culture traits.

[24]Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," Proceedings, Association of American Geographers 2 (1970):59-61; Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," p. 214. For additional insight into the Mormon landscape, consult Evon Z. Vogt, "American Sub-cultural Continua as Exemplified by the Mormons and Texans," American Anthropologist 57 (1955): 1163-72; and Richard H. Jackson, "Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Cultural Region," in Dimensions of Human Geography, University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper 186, ed. Karl Butzer (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 100-27; Meinig, Imperial Texas, pp. 114-17.

[25]Richard Pillsbury, "The Urban Street Pattern aa a Cultural Indicator: Pennsylvania, 1682-1815," Annals, Association of American Geographers 60 (1970):428-46. This article was based upon his doctoral dissertation, "The Urban Street Patterns of Pennsylvania Before 1815: A Study in Cultural Geography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1968). Unfortunately, like his article, Pillsbury's dissertation offered no explanatory relationships between his gradational model and the PCA. Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals, Association of American Geographers 51 (1961):139-93; Hans Kurath, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949); Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):549-77. Meinig noted serial cultural waves in his "Mormon Culture Region": "For the most part, the circumferential sphere merely enclosed those little clusters of rural Mormons which represent the outer ripple of the last wave of expansion late in the last century." Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," p. 216.

[26]Joseph W. Glass, "The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A Geographical Interpretation of Barns and Farmhouses" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1971), pp. 10-12, 235-76. Grigg, pp. 471-72, has logically criticized such regional construction as a final research outcome:

> Given the belief that there can be one "correct" natural classification it is not difficult to envisage a situation where the construction of classifications becomes an end in itself. But a prime aim of classification is to enable inductive generalizations to be made about the objects studied, not simply to arrange objects in classes. . . . Many regional systems seem to be devised as an end in themselves; the definition of a region or regions becomes important in itself rather than as a means to understanding the area in question.

[27]Zelinsky, Cultural Geography, pp. 114-16. When Zelinsky made this curt dismissal he had the results of the studies by Pillsbury and Glass, two of his doctoral students who themselves apparently supported Meinig's principal points. Zelinsky nevertheless presumptuously passed a sweeping wand of judgment for all culture regions of North America other than those enumerated. Haggett, however, argued that Meinig's gradational analysis has far wider applications:

> Although Meinig has used his method only to analyze other areas /besides the Mormon/ in Broek's Occidental realm--notably Texas--it has obvious relevance to other non-Western cultures as well.

Peter Haggett, Geography: A Modern Synthesis, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 255. And hopefully the present study will join the other researchers cited herein to prove the Meinigian morphological model is far more than "useless."

[28]Zelinsky, Cultural Geography, p. 114.

[29]Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account," Geographical Review 67 (1977):127-47. Three years later Zelinsky again used a gradational scheme to roughly map North America's vernacular regions, though no attempt was made to place them into an explanatory framework. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "North America's Vernacular Regions," Annals, Association of American Geographers 70 (1980):1-16. Yet these PCA and vernacular studies were simply a continuation of a two-tiered gradational notion within Zelinsky's regionalization of twelve major American ethnic groups that amazingly appeared in the very book in which he originally castigated Meinig's model. See Zelinsky, Cultural Geography, pp. 30-31.

[30]Roland J. L. Breton, Geographie du francais et de la francite en Louisiane (Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, 1979), pp. 20-65, 92.

[31]Roland J. L. Breton and Dean R. Louder, "La Geographie linguistique de l'Acadiana," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):219-36; Breton, p. 92. It is strange, to say the least, that two cultural geographers had not read any of Meinig's culture region morphological work and even more so that they did not cite any of it.

[32]Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispano Homeland in 1900," Annals, Association of American Geographers 70 (1980):382-96. Nostrand borrowed the term "stronghold" from Meinig's Southwest monograph, p. 92. A decade earlier, in delimiting a Hispanic-American borderland, Nostrand included a county choropleth map of percents of Spanish surname population but attempted no gradational explanation. See Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region," Annals, Association of American Geographers 60 (1970):651.

[33]Meinig wrote:

> Because cultures are areal growths such gradations are also likely to represent a sequential spread from a locality of origin, or hearth. Thus these terms /core, domain, and sphere/ will be at least suggestive of patterns in both time and space.

Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," p. 213.

[34]Meinig, Imperial Texas; "American Wests," pp. 159-84. In his monumental book, The Great Columbia Plain, Meinig, using such chapter headings as "Entry," "Competition," "Colonization," "Conquest," "Empire," "Elaboration," and "Culmination," had earlier brushed a vague vignette of an evolutionary model. See Meinig, Great Columbia Plain. Others, of course, have championed evolutionary stages; for an analogue example of rural settlement, see Hudson's plant ecology postulates: colonization, spread, and competition. John C. Hudson, "A Location Theory for Rural Settlement," Annals, Association of American Geographers 59 (1969):365-81.

[35]Meinig, "American Wests," pp. 159-84. As mentioned above, a year earlier Meinig coined another undefined label--Hispano Stronghold--for a map in his Southwest study. See Meinig, Southwest, p. 92.

[36]In The Great Columbia Plain, Meinig, p. xiii, did employ something similar to the methodology advocated here but not within a gradational framework:

> This book is structured around an alternation of geographical descriptions and historical narrations, in which a series of verbal and cartographic depictions

of the region at particular times is linked by descriptions of developments between those times.

CHAPTER II

THREE CENTURIES OF CHANGE: DELIMITATIONS OF THE LOUISIANA FRENCH CULTURE REGION

Two years ago was the tricentennial of La Salle's historic Mississippi River expedition in which he proclaimed for France the huge expanse drained by North America's greatest river. La Salle's intrepid adventure also gave birth to the French culture in present-day Louisiana, and French settlement of Louisiana during the subsequent three centuries has been the subject of more than a few researchers--historians, geographers, sociologists, demographers, political scientists, anthropologists, archaeologists, genealogists, linguists, and folklorists.

In their research efforts some of these scholars have mapped the areal extent of the Louisiana French culture at various times in its evolution. Temporally, these maps can be grouped into three classes: 1) those depicting seventeenth-century French distributions, 2) a broader category encompassing pre-twentieth century French boundaries, and 3) a multitude of twentieth-century Louisiana French delineations. Most of these

delimitations, in diverse ways, separate French South Louisiana from the Anglo North, but a few flow outside the state to enclose parts of southern Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama (Fig. II-1).[1]

Eighteenth-Century Delimitations

Of the four attempts to delineate eighteenth-century Louisiana French areas, two were broad strokes on a cultural canvas. Though not indicating his sources, in 1972 Newton generalized the initial French occupance from 1699, the year Iberville founded Fort Maurepas at Biloxi, to 1763, the date Spain assumed control of Louisiana under the provisions of the Treaty of Fontainebleau signed the previous year (Fig. II-2). Employing a variety of descriptive historical accounts, Detro in 1970 estimated Louisiana settlement by French, Germans, Spanish, and Anglo-Americans in 1800, only three years before the Louisiana Purchase, the presage of American domination.

The remaining two delimitations etched more precisely a French cultural surrogate, the arpent survey system. In 1950, as part of his doctoral research concerning agricultural settlement on the prairies of southwest Louisiana, Taylor mapped what he thought was the extent of the French forty arpent survey system during the eighteenth century (Fig. II-3). Rationalizing the cultural importance and persistence of distinctive

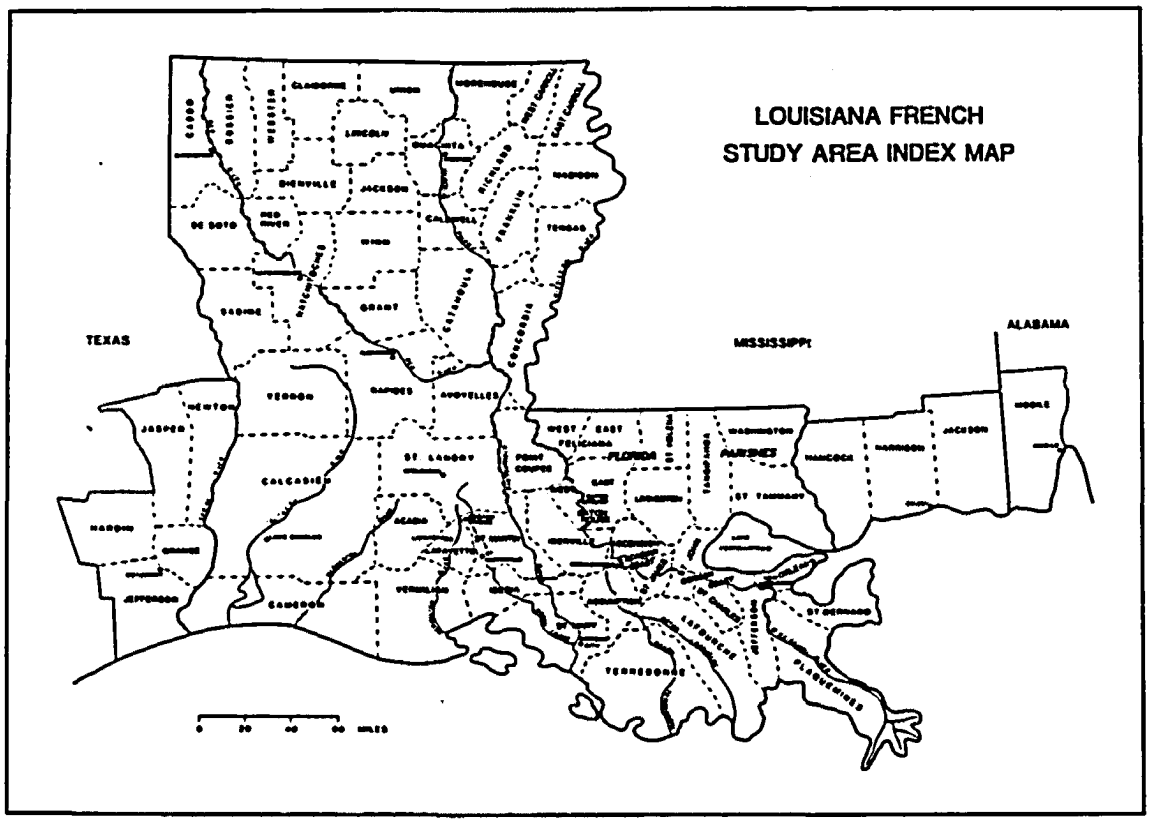


Fig. II-1. Louisiana French regional delimitations included Louisiana and parts of Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama.

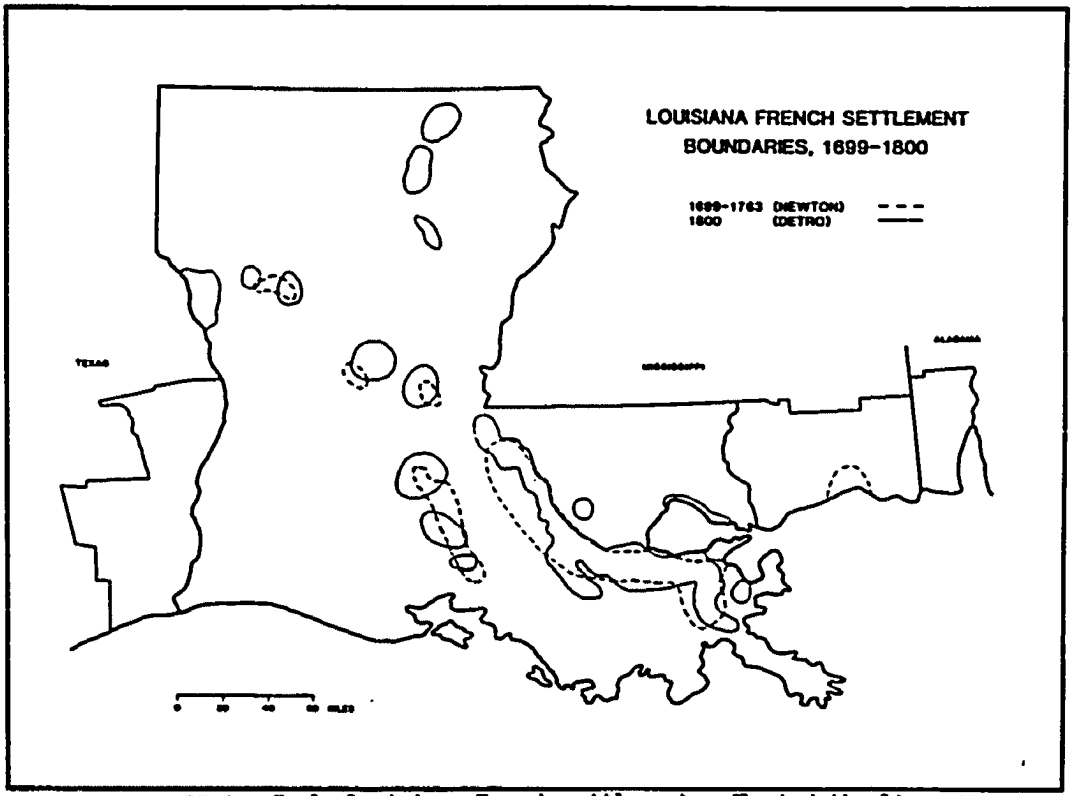


Fig. II-2. Early Louisiana French settlement reflected the linearity of its riparian orientation along the Mississippi, Red, and Ouachita rivers and Bayou Teche.

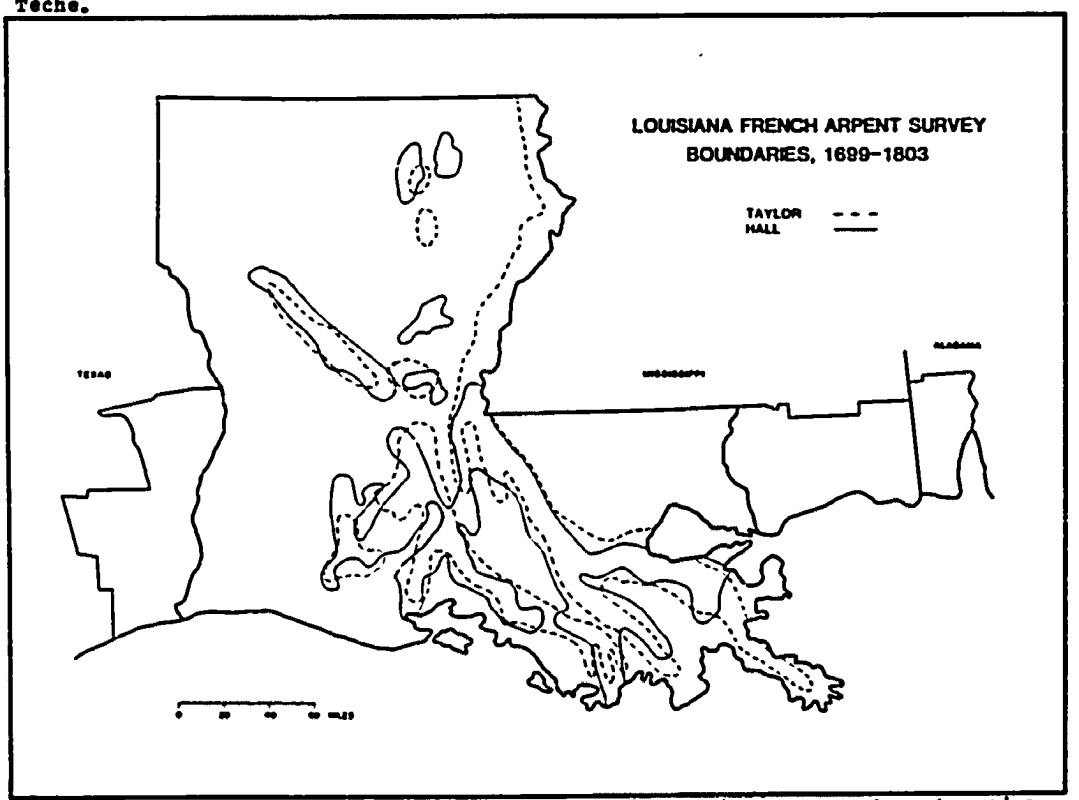


Fig. II-3. The eighteenth-century French arpent survey system stamped a lasting cultural imprint upon the Louisiana landscape.

cadastral patterns, Hall twenty years later cartographically redefined the areas of French arpent and American long lot survey systems in Louisiana and then verbally qualified the limits of each. The American long lot system, according to Hall, was simply a modification in English measurement of the earlier French arpent system within which elongated parcels of land with narrow levee frontages were surveyed on the backslopes of rivers and bayous. Yet because of the French law of coparency, or equal inheritance rights, many of these elongated farms were fragmented through the years into splinters of land, one of which Taylor described had been chopped down over four generations to but one twenty-seventh of its original size.[2]

Each of these attempts to demarcate eighteenth-century Louisiana French settlement underscored an inherent riparian linearity primarily along the lower Mississippi and Red river transportation arteries, on the banks of Bayou Lafourche, a Mississippi distributary, and Bayou Teche, a sluggish stream west of the Atchafalaya Swamp and the hearth of the present Cajun subculture, and to a lesser degree along the upper Ouachita River in the environs around Fort Miro (Monroe today).

Delimitative Link

Detro's exhaustive study of the toponymic evolution of a variety of physical features throughout the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries provided a link, albeit singularly thin, between initial French implantations and contemporary patterns. Focusing upon such generic terms as anse, chute, ecore, marais, portage, brule, cheniere, coteau, and coulee, his first boundary for the Louisiana French toponymic area considered place naming during the entire eighteenth century and reiterated the riparian nature of French settlement along the lower Mississippi and Red rivers (Fig. II-4). During the first half of the nineteenth century French toponyms were reinforced in the Red River Valley and had migrated northward along its Ouachita River tributary. Moreover, two large French toponymic belts in South Louisiana, one traversing the central coast and its many islands and the other back toward the interior through the lower Atchafalaya Swamp and onto the southwest prairies, outlined substantial French westward movement. Detro's final French place-name demarcation encompassed the latter half of the nineteenth century and reemphasized French settlement in southern Louisiana and its continued drift westward.

Conversely, Detro concentrated on the key physical terms creek, branch, landing, cut off, and glade to delimit the Anglo-American toponymic areas for the same periods, thus showing Anglo intrusion deep into traditionally French homelands (Fig. II-5). Before the Louisiana Purchase Anglo toponymic incursion into Louisiana was

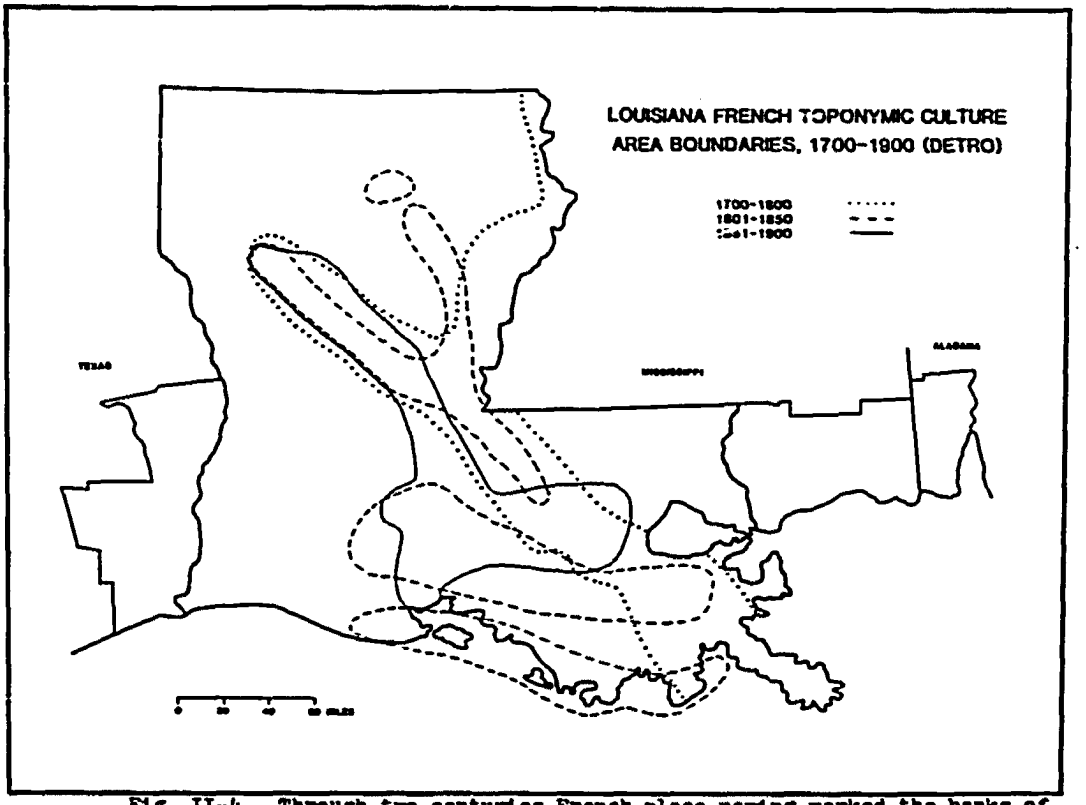


Fig. II-4. Through two centuries French place-naming marked the banks of major rivers and bayous and then pushed westward into Louisiana's southwest prairies.

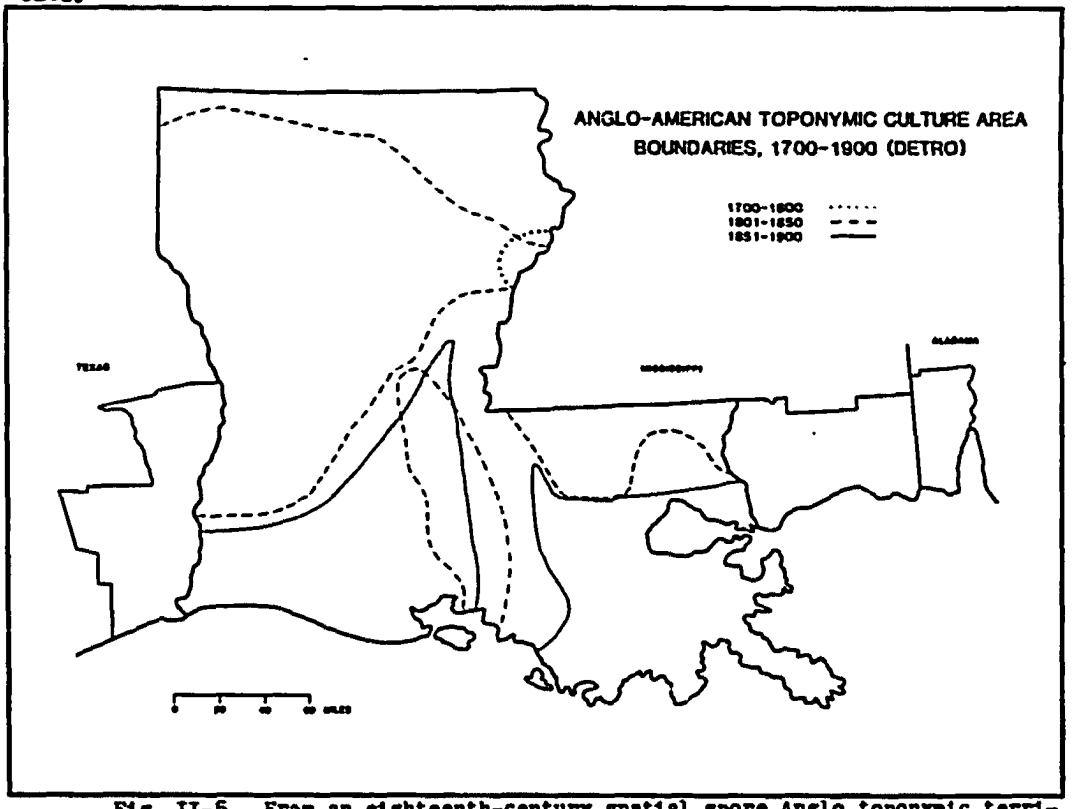


Fig. II-5. From an eighteenth-century spatial spore Anglo toponymic territory grew exponentially and thrust deep into traditionally French homelands.

little more than a small enclave west of the Mississippi River in present-day Concordia and Tensas parishes. Yet this cultural germ grew exponentially during the early nineteenth century to engulf most of northern Louisiana with tenacles that reached throughout the Atchafalaya Basin and grabbed much of the "Florida Parishes" east of the Mississippi and north of Lake Pontchartrain. By the turn of the twentieth century Anglo place names abounded in all but the extreme southeastern and southwestern corners of the state, and they had forged a toponymic wedge right through the Atchafalaya Swamp, Anglos having named some of the most remote and inhospitable places in Louisiana.[3]

Twentieth-Century Delimitations

The cornucopia of Louisiana French delimitations in the twentieth century was far more eclectic than the two previous periods. The French folk landscape was an early interest of several Louisiana geographers, particularly Kniffen and his students. Several of these researchers considered the gathering of Spanish moss, a grayish, stringy epiphyte that had a variety of uses, one of the important folk occupations of the Louisiana French, especially the Cajuns.[4] In his penetrating study of the Atchafalaya Basin, Comeaux mapped eighteen Spanish-moss gins, located mostly on the periphery of the Atchafalaya Swamp, that were operational in 1930

(Fig. II-6). According to Aldrich, Deblieux, and Kniffen the 1930s were the greatest years for moss production in Louisiana, and these scholars located twenty-six active gins in 1941.[5]

Crawfishing also has been strongly associated with the French in Louisiana, and Comeaux likewise plotted the 1961 distribution of commercial crawfish farms which were situated mainly in the rice-growing southwest prairies noted for their underlying, impermeable clay hardpan (Fig. II-7). A dozen years later Gary's dissertation about an increasingly-lucrative commercial crawfish industry in South Louisiana showed that the greatest intensification of crawfish operations had occurred not on the prairies but eastward back into the Cajun cores along bayous Teche and Lafourche, with a few stray ponds even as far east as the southern "Florida Parishes," especially St. Tammany. Without question, however, licensed crawfish processing plants were concentrated on the upper Teche, particularly near Breaux Bridge, Louisiana's "Crawfish Capital."[6]

Comeaux suggested that the twentieth-century expansion of commercial crawfishing, which began as early as the 1880s, led to the evolution of a new, larger type of pirogue. In 1956 Knipmeyer had defined the areal extent of this French Louisiana folk boat--the pirogue,

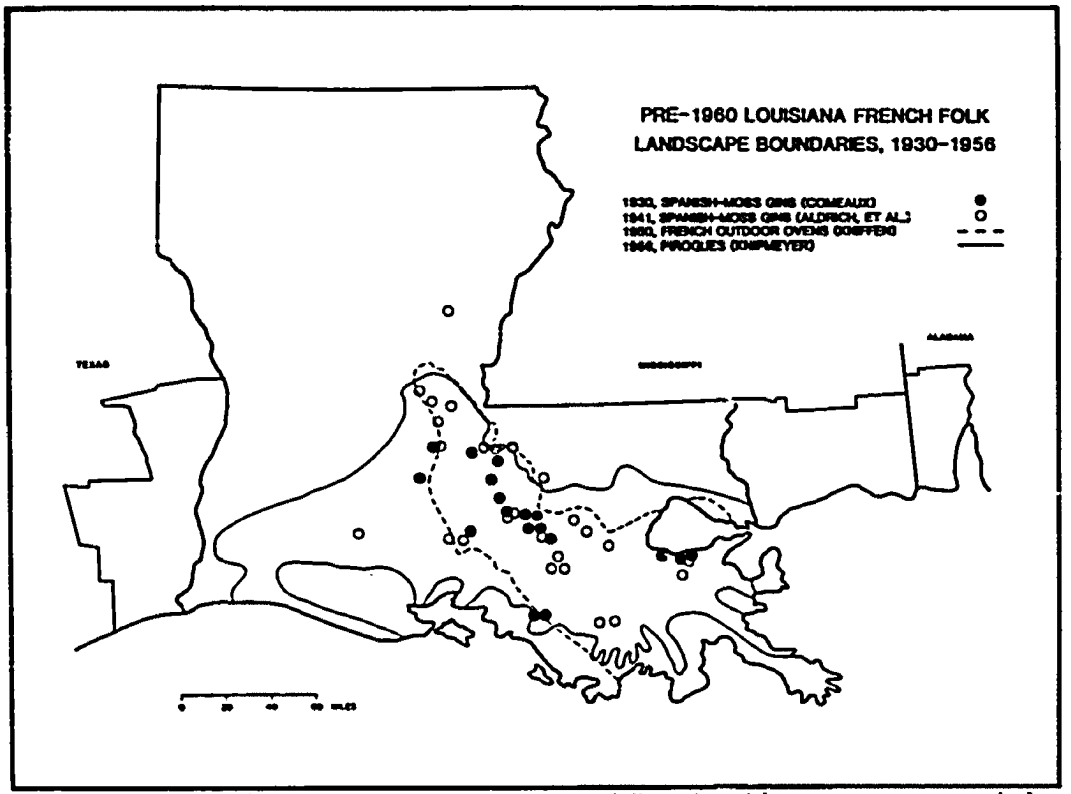


Fig. II-6. Most Spanish-moss gins and French outdoor ovens were nested within Knipmeyer's pirogue boundary.

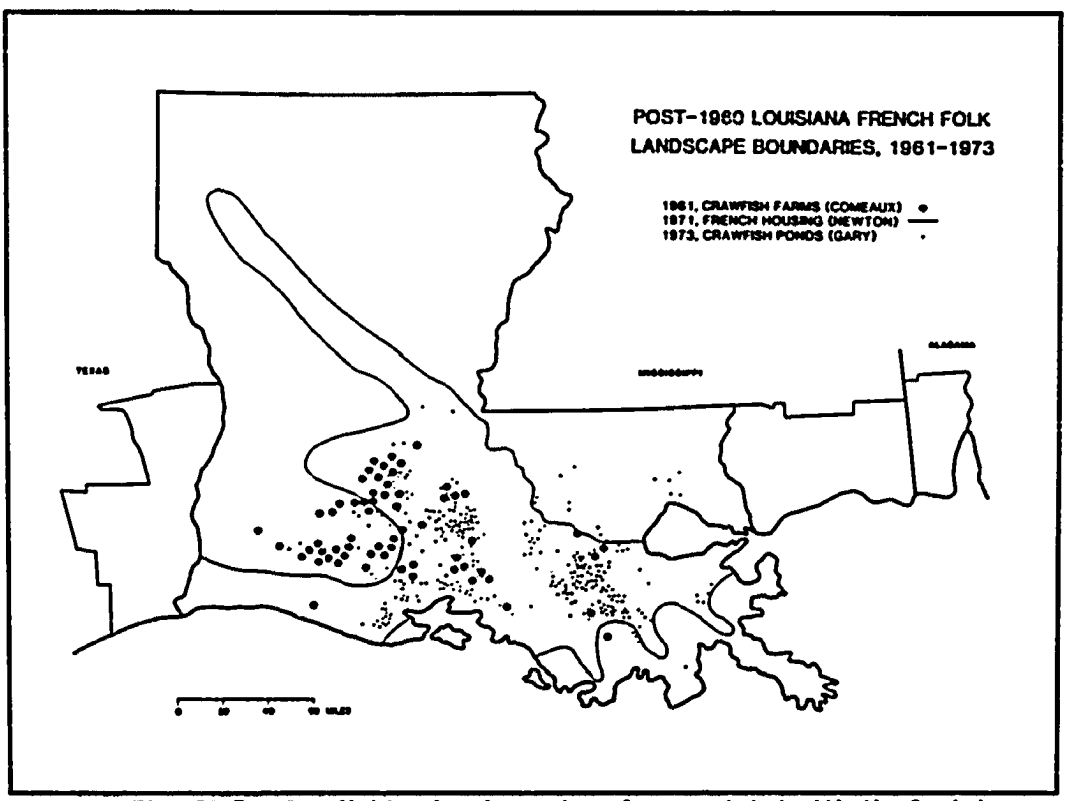


Fig. II-7. Crawfishing has been strongly associated with the Louisiana French.

a narrow, blunt-ended canoe. Its archaic sub-type, the dugout pirogue, was localized in the extreme southeastern sector of the state, while the more contemporary plank pirogue enjoyed a nearly ubiquitous geographical acceptance in South Louisiana.[7]

At mid-century Kniffen mapped the distribution of relic French ovens which he professed to be prime French cultural landscape markers. But because the Cajuns who moved onto the southwest prairies borrowed Anglo corn bread preparation during the nineteenth century, the French ovens were restricted roughly to the area east from Bayou Teche to the Mississippi River and the northern shores of Lake Pontchartrain where wheat breadstuffs had long been predominant. In 1971 Newton combined and generalized Kniffen's 1936 ground-breaking work regarding Louisiana house types. Newton's French folk housing area comprised most of South Louisiana, with the exception of the far southwestern grasslands of Jefferson Davis and Calcasieu parishes, and prominently protruded up the Red River Valley remembering an earlier French presence.[8]

Through this twentieth-century tapestry of the Louisiana French folk landscape were woven several significant threads of commonality. Other than the Red River protrusion of relic French housing, all these cultural markers were within Knipmeyer's pirogue border; more than a scattering of boundary segments for pirogues, outdoor

ovens, and housing were congruent or nearly so; and both in 1961 and 1973 the margins of commercial crawfish farming were nestled within the bounds of the pirogue. Furthermore, the midwestern house types brought onto the southwestern prairies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century created a bulging non-French housing enclave that was later included within pirogue territory and densely populated by crawfish farms, perhaps denoting continued French westward migration during the first half of this century.

Non-material cultural attributes certainly were not neglected in this twentieth-century spatial potpourri of the Louisiana French, and drawing political boundaries played a central role (Fig. II-8). Prefacing these contemporary boundaries was Howard's 1957 work regarding the early French-American political cleavage and the "French Ascendancy" in gubernatorial elections and appointments during the 1820s which created the political structure that insured French power throughout the early antebellum period. Howard, a political scientist, offered a choropleth map showing this French political dominance in the 1820s, but unfortunately he grossly distorted past reality by utilizing twentieth-century parish boundaries. Newton's 1972 map of "French Ascendency" corrected Howard's cartography, yet, like Howard, Newton failed to

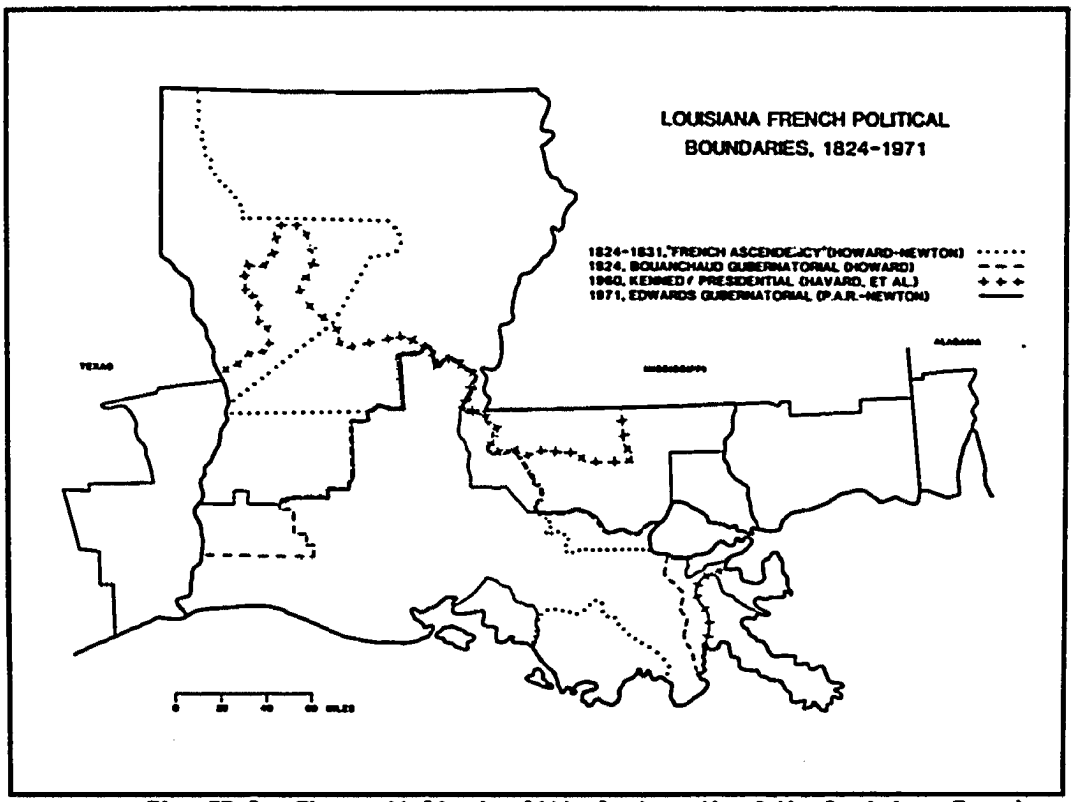


Fig. II-8. The revitalized political strength of the Louisiana French during the 1970s mirrored spatially the foregoing folk landscape delineations.

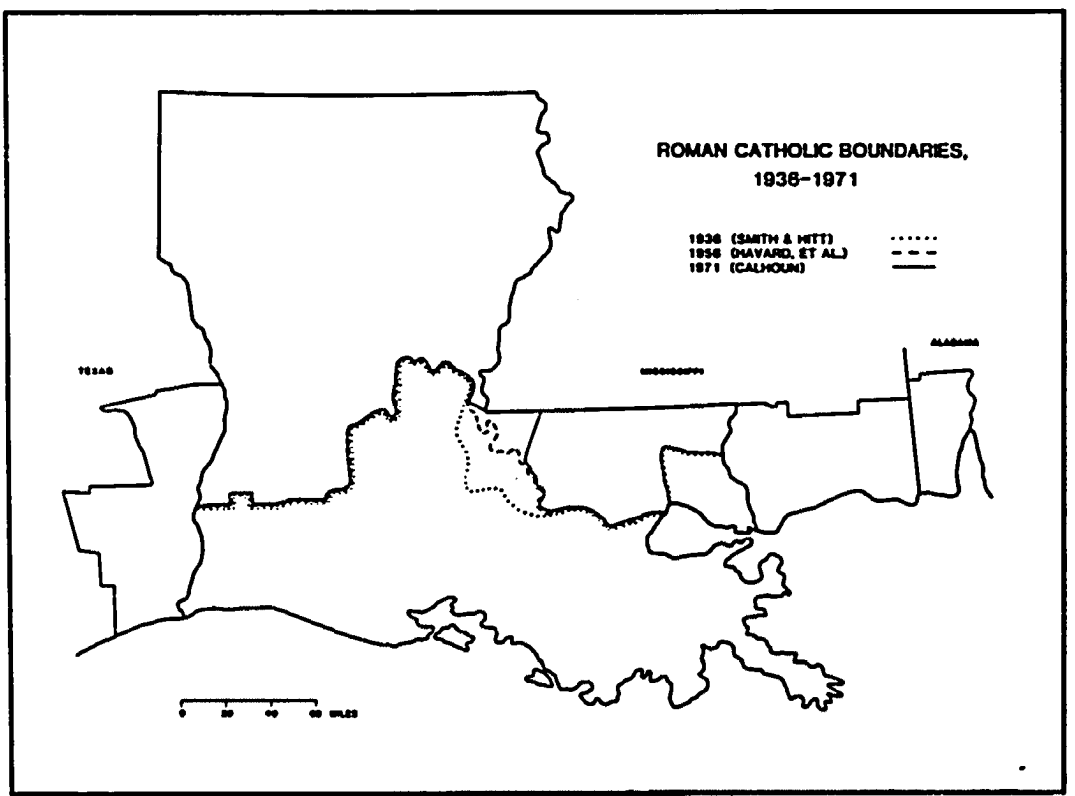


Fig. II-9. Outlining the areal extent of a prime Louisiana French cultural attribute, Roman Catholic boundaries changed little between 1936 and 1971.

consider that much of Louisiana had not been settled by the 1820s.[9]

The Howard-Newton French political boundary for antebellum Louisiana was not as anachronistic as it may first appear when discussing contemporary political influence. Two gubernatorial contests, Bouanchaud (1924) and Edwards (1971), and one presidential election, Kennedy (1960), serve as representative French political surrogates for this century. In his excellent analysis of Louisiana's political tendencies through three centuries, Howard also mapped support for French, Roman Catholic Bouanchaud in his unsuccessful effort in the 1924 gubernatorial first primary. Havard and Heberle joined Howard in 1963 to study the 1960 Louisiana election results, and they demarked the northern limit of parish electorates that voted for Catholic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy. And in his atlas Newton included a map of P.A.R.'s (Public Affairs Research Council) analysis of the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1971 that indicated voter preference for Edwards, the only Catholic to be elected governor of Louisiana in this century.[10]

Comparing these more modern political lines with the antebellum French boundary, the Kennedy presidential vote recaptured some of the latency of the old Natchitoches French heritage evident within the antebellum delineation,

while both gubernatorial patterns followed much more closely the foregoing French folk landscape markers. After more than one hundred years, then, the quiescence of Louisiana French political strength was reinvigorated during the 1970s in a rather successful "neo-Ascendancy" of what might be jocularly termed "Cajun Power."

The Louisiana French have surely been devout Roman Catholics. Utilizing the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies, demographers Smith and Hitt in 1952 published a choropleth map of Roman Catholic predominance in Louisiana (Fig. II-9). Four years later Havard, Heberle, and Howard, without citing any sources, mapped the Louisiana parishes with Catholic majorities in 1956. Twenty years later Lewis incorporated 1957 data from the National Council of Churches Division of Home Mission to depict Louisiana's "dominantly Catholic" area whose boundary followed without exception the Havard, Heberle, and Howard line. And in 1979 Calhoun included in his almanac a map of parishes that were preponderantly Roman Catholic based upon a 1971 survey conducted by the National Council of Churches of Christ.[11] These four religious silhouettes are remarkably similar, even though they span thirty-five years.

Continuing to piece together this cultural collage, Meigs in 1939 constructed a seminal isopleth map of French surname proportions (Fig. II-10 shows the 50% boundary

only). To obtain his data Meigs used the ten most common surnames found in 115 telephone directories from Louisiana and Texas communities and recorded names from 159 mailboxes in eight parishes that had no directories. The linguist Oukada, however, criticized Meigs' methodology on at least three counts: 1) Employing surnames alone, Meigs could not distinguish such French cognate names as Bernard, Martin, and Richard from their English counterparts; 2) only surnames of household heads were included, thereby discounting most French females who were perhaps the most important socializing agents in early mixed Anglo-French marriages; 3) without counting all surnames in the 115 telephone directories, how did Meigs determine the ten most numerous names in each? Two other criticisms can be added to Oukada's inventory: 1) Because of the unusually high endogamy among Cajun families both in their early homeland of Acadia and in their subsequent, eighteenth-century Louisiana implantations, the number of Cajun patronyms are relatively few, therefore biasing the ten-most-common-names criterion in favor of the French; 2) since by 1939 telephone communications had diffused unevenly, as evidenced in the eight parishes without directories, urban places more attuned to novelty enjoyed a greater input into Meigs' sample which may have overlooked many conservative petits habitants unwilling or unable to purchase the new gadgetry. Nevertheless, these

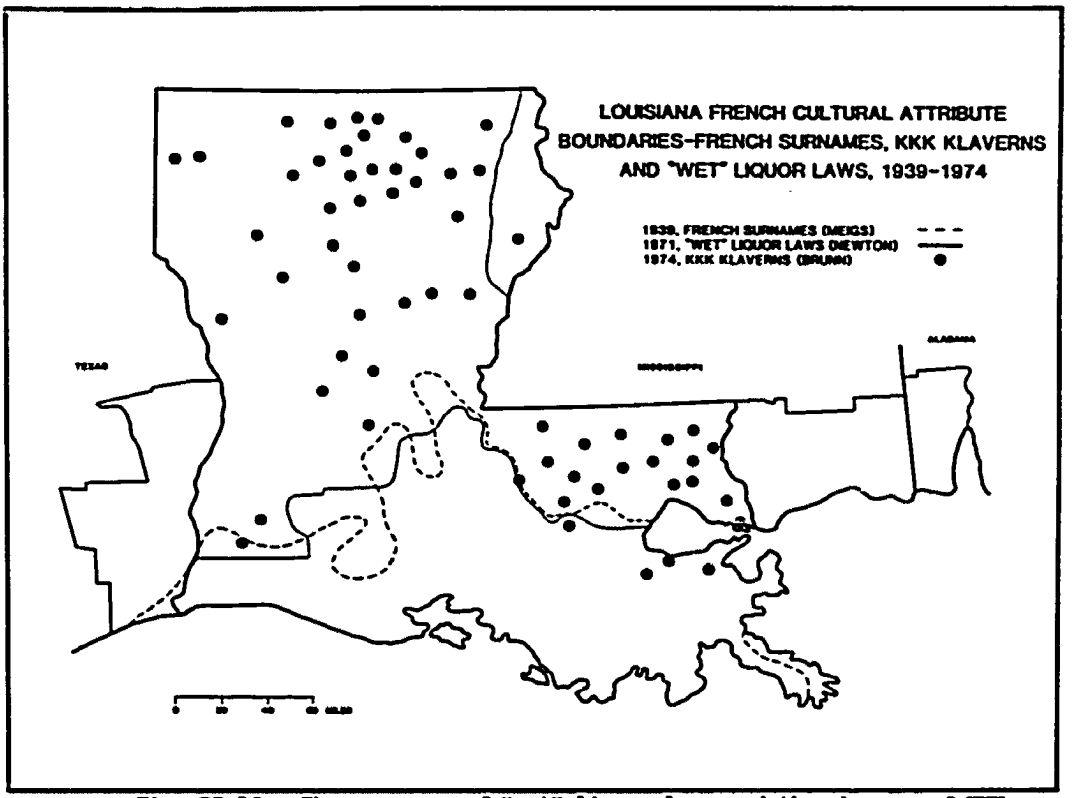


Fig. II-10. The presence of "wet" liquor laws and the absence of KKK klaverns within the Louisiana French surname area underscored French liberalism.

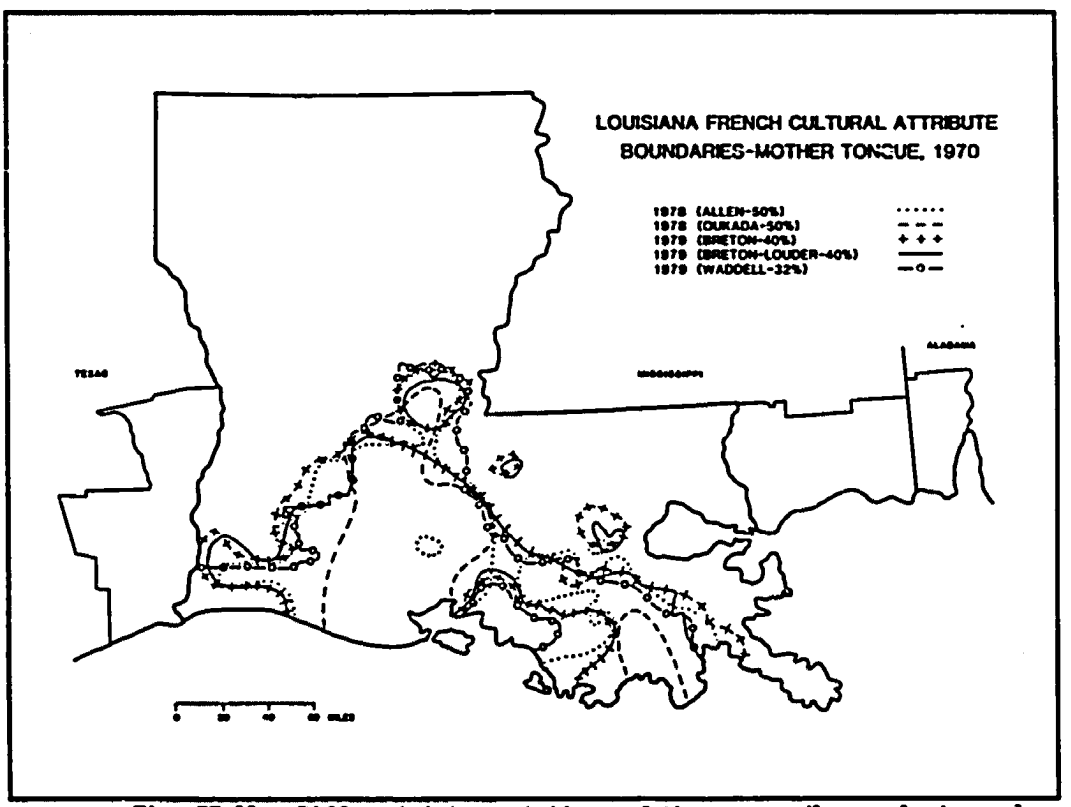


Fig. II-11. Different interpretations of the supposedly conclusive cultural diagnostic--French mother tongue--left a variety of discordant spatial delimitations.

critiques leveled some forty years after Meigs' investigation do not discredit the salience of his quantitative delimitation that utilized innovative sources for sampling spatial data, nor do they diminish his pioneering effort to demonstrate the gradational predilection of the internal morphologies of culture regions, though he offered little explanation and few relationships for such distance decay out from a singular core. By matching his ten-most-common surnames with LeBlanc's list of 207 names of families who had been expelled from Acadia, Meigs, moreover, evidently has been the only one to have cartographically undertaken the differentiation of Cajun and Creole subcultures. In short, Meigs' concise eight-page article was chock-full of theoretical and methodological ideas.[12]

Taking social relationships one step further, Newton mapped the parishes that had completely "wet" liquor laws in 1972. With the exception of the cotton "Delta" in northeastern Louisiana, all of Newton's "liquor region" was nested within the 1956 Catholic delineation, maybe implying that the Roman Catholic Louisiana French not only exhibit a distinctive joie de vivre but also fully appreciate the adage, "Laissez les bons temps roulcr."[13] This Latin liberalism is also reflected in racial relationships. From no more than a casual glance at Brunn's 1974 dot map of Ku Klux Klan klaverns, the

almost total absence of these foci of bigotry in French Louisiana is striking.[14]

The 1970 census provided what many researchers had hoped would be a conclusive cultural diagnostic for the Louisiana French--mother tongue. As it turned out, because of definitional difficulties it was not a panacea. For example, the Acadiana Profile published in 1970 the results of CODOFIL's (Council for the Development of French in Louisiana) eighteen-parish survey conducted the previous year which estimated that of the 2,059,270 residents 868,440 were French-speakers. And from this sample the council's statisticians projected that there were 1,468,440 French-speakers in all Louisiana. The 1970 census, however, counted only 572,262, about one-third the CODOFIL extrapolation. On balance, both of these estimations were erroneous: CODOFIL's projection was inflated, possibly for self-promotion, and the government's figure was far too conservative because of its very restrictive definition.[15]

Spatial delimitations were likewise torn by disaccord. Using precisely the same census data Allen, Oukada, Breton, Breton and Louder, and Waddell drafted five different maps for French mother tongue in Louisiana (Fig. II-11). Four reasons underlie these incongruities: 1) Waddell constructed a choropleth map, and the other investigators created isopleth maps; 2) Oukada and Waddell

mapped parish proportions, while the others obtained more precision with ward (precinct) aggregates; 3) Oukada, who suggested no particular critical value within his isopleth schema, and Allen constructed 50 percent isolines, and the Breton and Breton-Louder maps followed the 40 percent break of their "ethnograms;" 4) unlike Breton's evidently original carte, Breton and Louder unfortunately constrained their delineation within the "Heart of Acadiana," an ambiguous territory of twenty-two or so parishes capriciously pronounced as such by the 1971 Louisiana Legislature.[16]

As their patterns clearly display, this family of cartographic efforts to delimit the Louisiana French in the twentieth century by way of non-material cultural surrogates--political support, Roman Catholicism, liquor laws, KKK klaverns, and mother tongue--was spatially related. Perhaps more importantly, however, each of these attributes, as well as the folk landscape artifacts, became diagnostic precursors of generalized or composite French boundaries in which some of these specific surrogates have played valuable roles within researchers' intuitions.

Before 1970, a watermark year since mother tongue data were previously unavailable, four intuitive Louisiana French borders were advocated. Although not the first to offer a generalized French boundary, in 1956 Knipmeyer did enthusiastically proselytize a more intuitive approach:

> For the reasons that an exact boundary does not exist and is not of primary concern, a generalized line based on a sound knowledge of the area is the most desirable and satisfactory solution. . . . a cultural region is known by its nuclear conditions, and any average boundary is adequate.[17]

Knipmeyer evidently felt he possessed "a sound knowledge of the area," for without citing any sources he intuitively demarcated French Louisiana (Fig. II-12). Knipmeyer did nevertheless preface his perception with sagacious insight: "Regions could be delimited on the basis of personal familiarity, and results would vary according to individual interpretation"[18]--certainly a vexing truism within regional geography.

Heberle and Bertrand produced in 1949 the first generalized, nonstraight-line map of the Louisiana French. They seemed to have simply traced Meigs' 25 percent French surname isoline and professed that the basic population within the area was of French origin and predominantly Roman Catholic.[19] Six years later in a superb study entitled The Many Louisianas: A Study of Rural Social Areas and Cultural Islands, sociologist Bertrand proposed a ". . . broad line of transition between French and Anglo-Saxon Louisiana."[20] Apparently drawing from the Smith and Hitt investigation as a point of departure, Bertrand procured perceptional information by questioning county agents and others in each parish of the state and visiting specific "cultural islands" to gain "local sentiment and

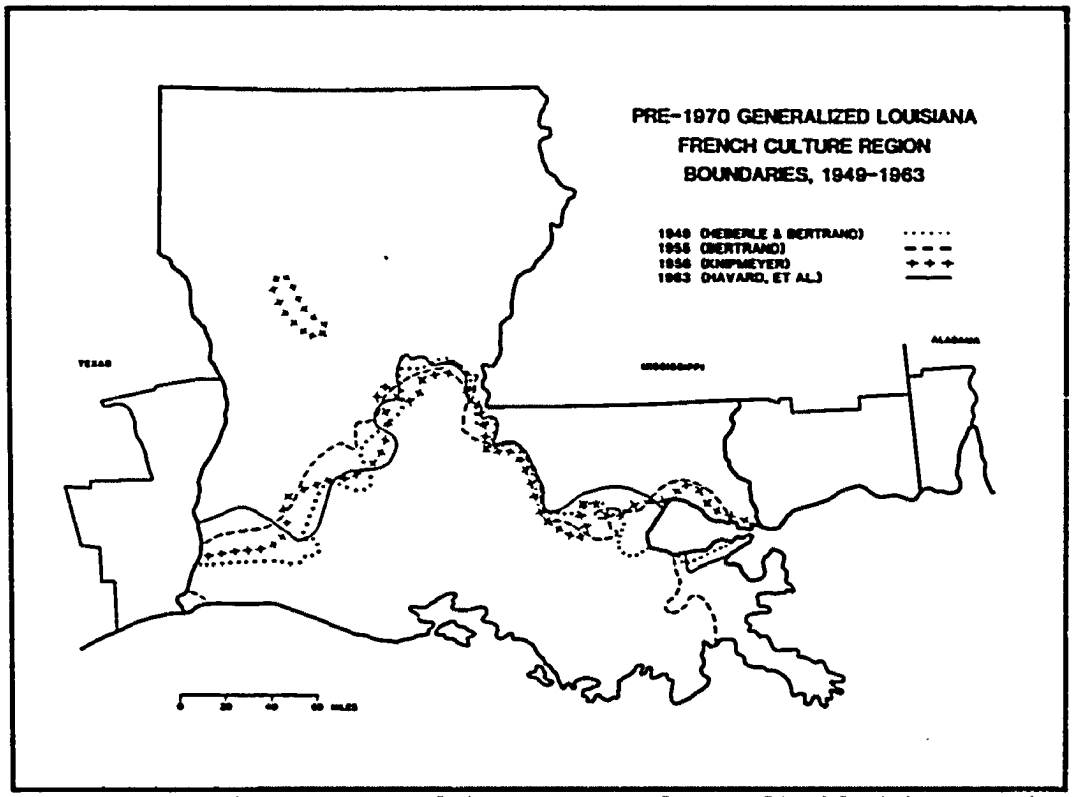


Fig. II-12. Before the 1970 census several generalized Louisiana French boundaries were drawn intuitively.

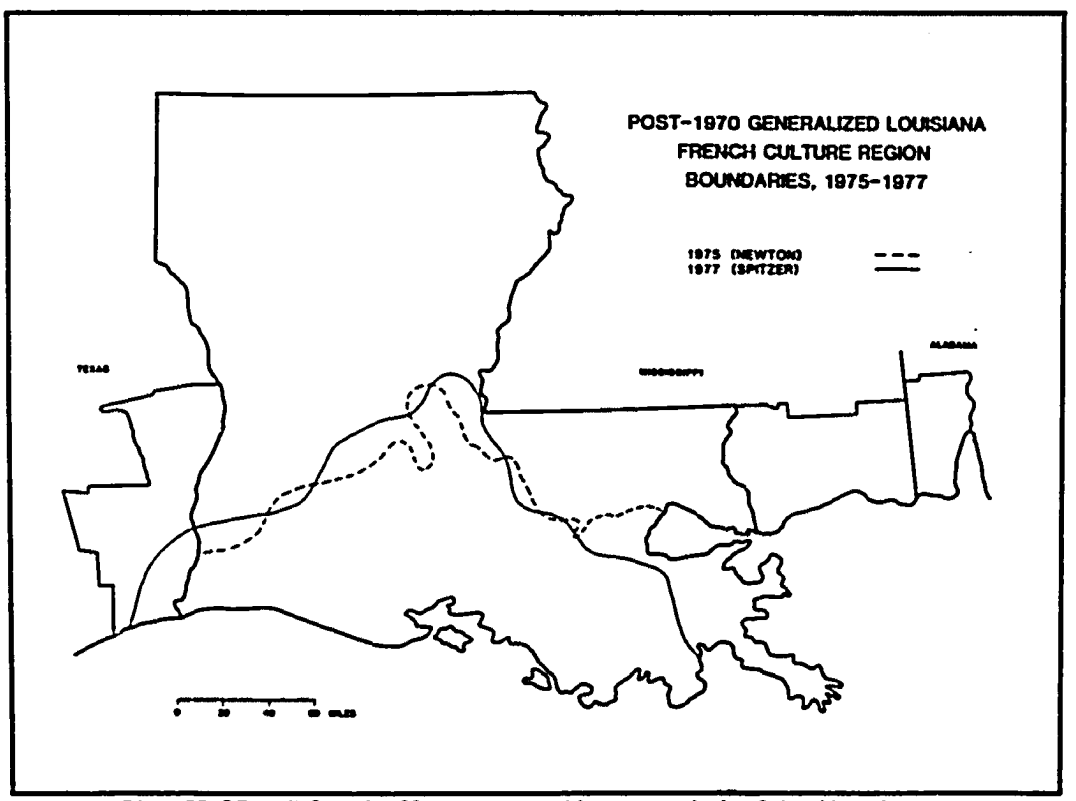


Fig. II-13. Eclectically incorporating a myriad of traits, two mean delimitations of the Louisiana French culture region were intuitively constructed after 1970.

feeling." Extensive library searches then supported his sampled field data. In 1963 Havard, Heberle, and Howard suggested the final pre-1970 broad border. Although for substantiation these political scientists depended upon the works of Smith and Hitt, Bertrand, and Howard, with but slight modification, they appeared to have borrowed Heberle and Bertrand's French delimitation which, as mentioned, was based upon Meigs' 25 percent isoline.[21]

Thus these four pre-1970 generalized Louisiana French boundaries were nearly concordant, of course two of them by Heberle and Bertrand and Havard, Heberle, and Howard had followed Meigs' cartography. The two presumably independent interpretations by Bertrand and Knipmeyer were often congruent or nearly so as well as in close harmony with the two foregoing renderings. The only major exceptions were: 1) a Lake Pontchartrain dichotomy with the two boundaries based upon Meigs' map skirting south of the lake and the other two to the north encircling southern Tangipahoa and St. Tammany parishes; 2) Bertrand's exclusion of the lower Mississippi River delta, mainly Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes; and 3) Knipmeyer's inclusion of a Natchitoches outlier.

Two post-1970 French composite maps claimed creation of delimitations based upon several criteria. In 1975 Newton, in a synopsis titled "Blurring the North-South Contrast," argued that many of Louisiana's north-south

cultural cleavages have all but disappeared during this century and, eschewing quantification, championed the ethnographic method which intrinsically incorporates ". . . intimate knowledge of the workings of the relevant processes, [without which] we cannot know what is worth measuring or worthy of predictive concern."[22] He then evoked his "intimate knowledge" and emulated a host of other researchers' delimitations "worth measuring," though without giving most of them credit. These borders were intuitively averaged to produce Newton's definitive north-south boundary between what he called blurred or confused regional differences (Fig. II-13). Unfortunately for Newton, he fell deep into a quantification if not an epistemological quagmire of his own making, for many of the myriad of "relevant processes" from which he struck his phenomenological mean were of a positivist genre: toponymic counts, Catholic proportions, election results, economic statistics, migration data, and urbanization percents, for example.[23]

Two years later Spitzer, a folklorist, proposed, but not dogmatically, another mean boundary

> . . . based on a synthesis of traits: language use, family names, house types, and religion as represented in previously drawn maps by Meigs, 1939; Kniffen, 1941; Smith and Hitt, 1952; and Newton, 1975. Census data from 1970 was [sic] also used.[24]

Spitzer's map was somewhat unique in that unlike almost all others, Meigs' having been the principal exception, he

boldly drew his French line into east Texas right through the middle of Orange and Jefferson counties. The significance of his Texas thrust was threefold: 1) The Sabine River was not a magical barrier where cultures feared to cross or cartographic boundaries disappeared; 2) the Louisiana French were a group of people who occupied in both historical and modern times an area along the north central coast of the Gulf of Mexico that was larger than merely French Louisiana, albeit Louisiana was their cultural hearth and is their present regional core; 3) the Louisiana French during the twentieth century had continued their westward movement all the way into Texas.[25]

To complete this discussion of generalized Louisiana French boundaries is, in a way, to recognize a temporal tautology. Smoothing out any crenulations Smith's classic straight-line interpretation was the first attempt to define the twentieth-century pattern of French Louisiana (Fig. II-14). Kniffen, Beliveau, and Rushton only slightly modified, though Beliveau and Rushton projected their lines sharply up the Red River to Alexandria,[26] Smith's 1937 spatial description of French Louisiana as resembling

> . . . a large triangle whose base consists of the Gulf of Mexico. One side is bounded by a straight line running from the southwestern tip of the state to the junction of the Red and the Mississippi rivers, and the other side is bounded by a straight line running from the latter point through the city of New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico.[27]

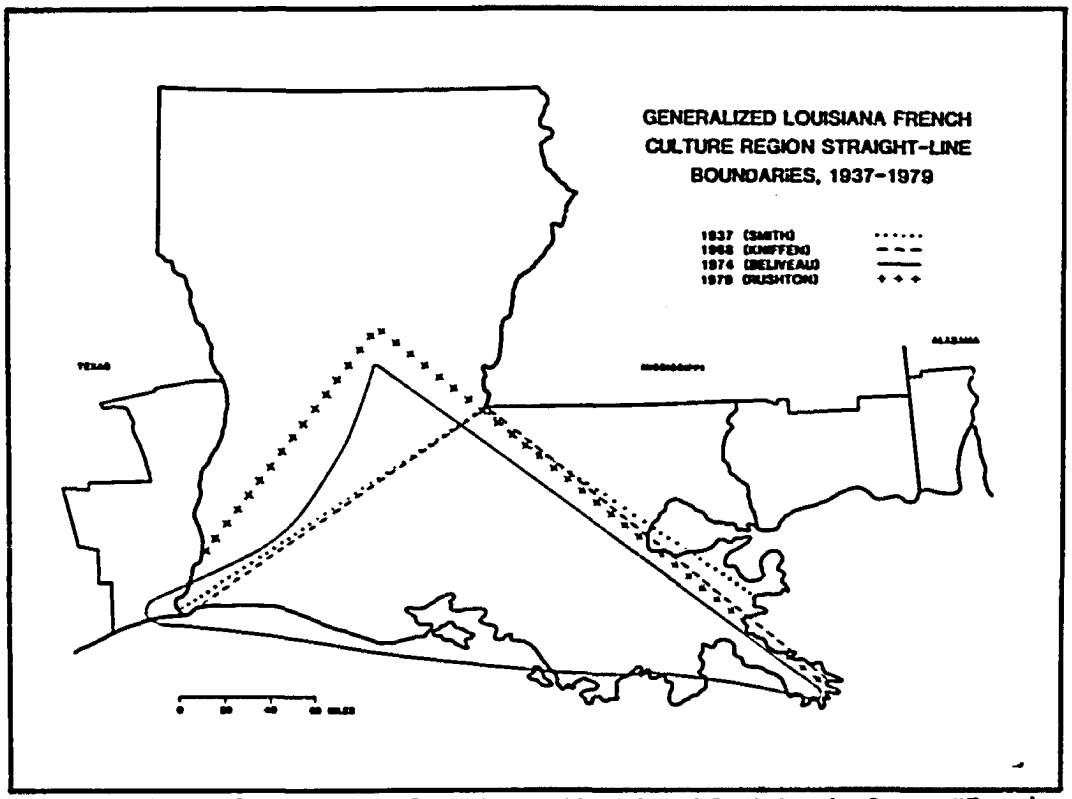


Fig. II-14. Straight-line demarcations bound Louisiana's famous "French Triangle."

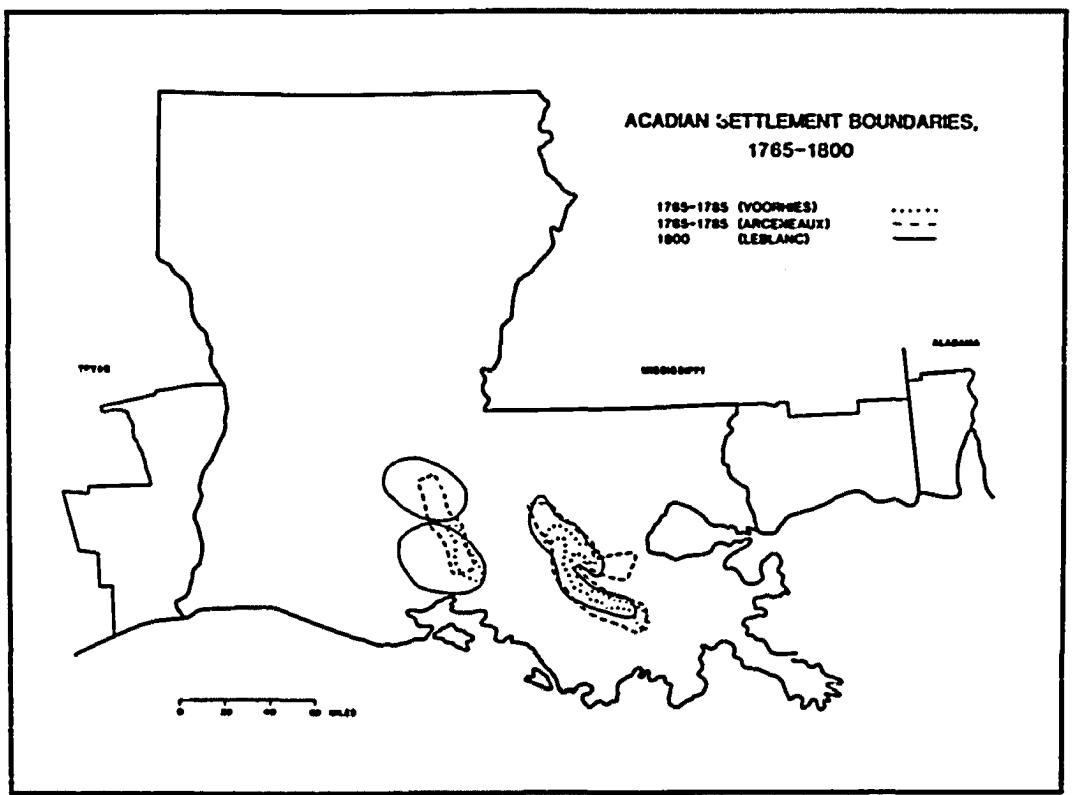


Fig. II-15. Early Cajun natal places focused on the lower Mississippi's "Acadian Coast" and Bayou Teche.

Internal and National Delimitations

Two ancillary trends have emerged from the foregoing Louisiana French delimitations. One is tied to the delineation of the Cajun subculture, and the other is associated with attempts to define a national niche for the Louisiana French culture. With respect to the former, LeBlanc, in his 1962 vignette of Acadian migrations, apparently relied heavily upon Winzerling's 1955 work to paint broadly the locations of Acadian settlements in Louisiana at the turn of the nineteenth century (Fig. II-15). In 1971 Arceneaux presented a rather vague spatial interpretation of "Acadian Settlement Sites in Louisiana, 1765-1785" during the gales of the Acadian diaspora--*le grand derangement*. And in 1978 Voorhies etched a more areally-restricted rendering. Kelley's 1934 physical characterization of "Acadian South Louisiana," the Attakapas District located roughly between the Atchafalaya and Mermentau rivers, and Meigs' 1939 surname study demonstrated that the Cajun natal places--along the lower Mississippi's "Acadian Coast," the upper Lafourche, and the mid-reaches of Bayou Teche--over almost two centuries had greatly expanded throughout much of southwest Louisiana (Fig. II-16).[28]

In 1952 Roumagnac created a map of regrettable consequence. He combined Meigs' Louisiana French surname area with Smith and Hitt's Roman Catholic territory to produce what Roumagnac termed the "Acadian Parishes."

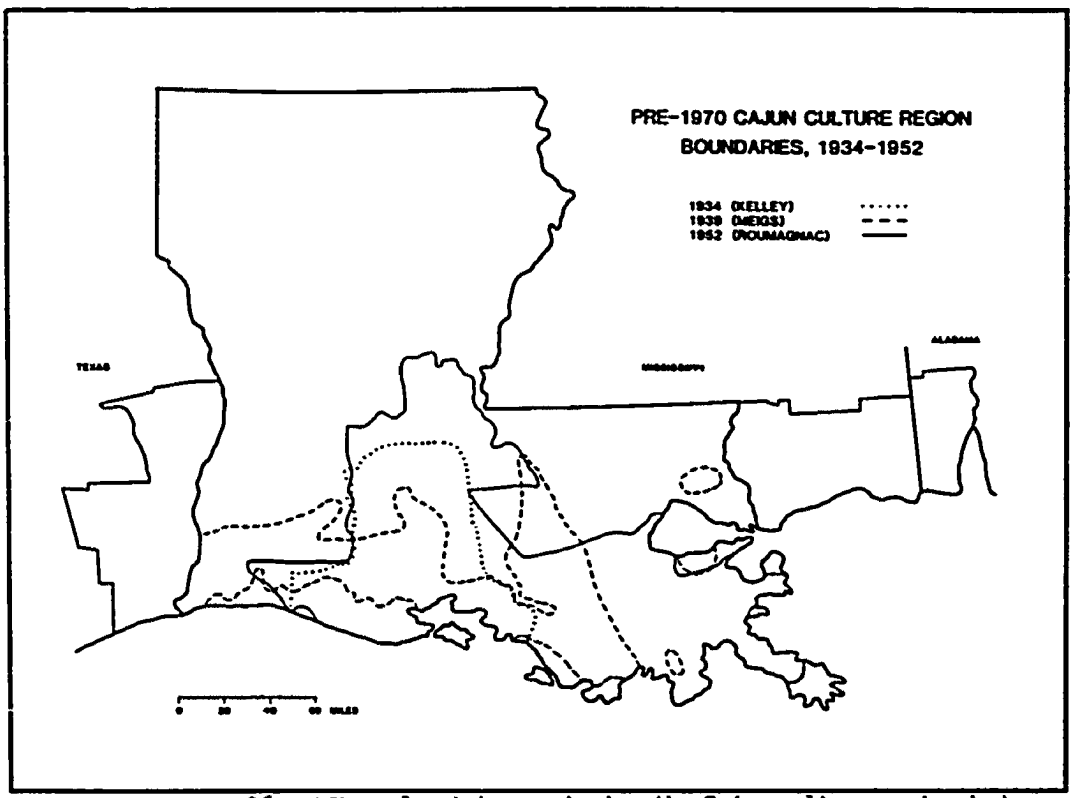


Fig. II-16. After almost two centuries the Cajun culture region had drifted westward and expanded throughout much of southwest Louisiana.

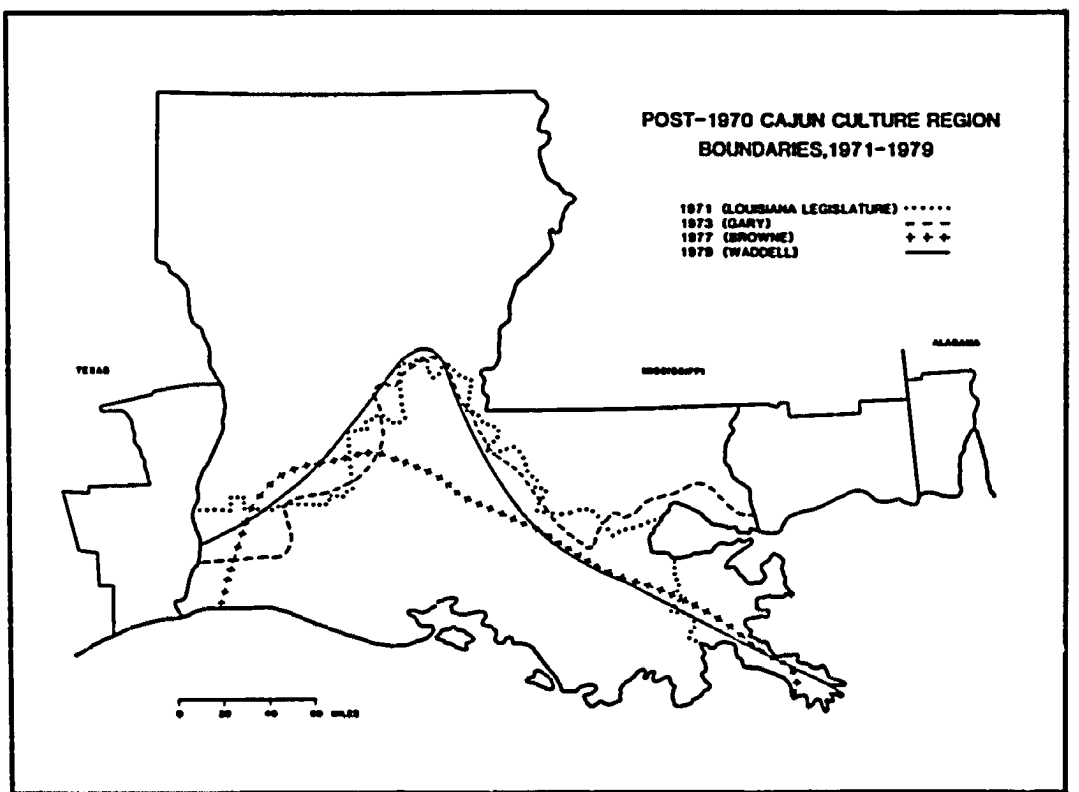


Fig. II-17. Four portrayals of the Cajun culture region in the 1970s erroneously equated it with the more extensive Louisiana French triangle.

Neither the Meigs nor the Smith and Hitt studies purported to define Acadian parishes; yet, in fact, Meigs' "Acadian French" map did delineate 25 and 50 percent Acadian isolines. In listing his twenty-two "Acadian Parishes," however, Roumagnac obviously ignored Meigs' "Acadian French" map and relied solely on his more spatially inclusive "Louisiana French" rendering. Regrettably, Roumagnac's map has been frequently cited as a sound delimitation of the Cajun culture region. Yet in utilizing Meigs' Louisiana French surname criterion he not only incorporated Meigs' methodological errors but also embraced many non-Cajun areas, and in employing Smith and Hitt's Roman Catholic parishes he included French Creoles, European French, Italians, Irish, Germans, and other non-Cajun, Roman Catholics. Furthermore, Roumagnac's inconsistent methodology excluded Ascension Parish, one of the old "Acadian Coast" parishes, and Jefferson Davis Parish, both of which were clearly shown as Cajun in Meigs' "Acadian French" cartography and as over two-thirds Catholic on the Smith and Hitt map. In short, although noted in the literature as such, Roumagnac's map did not delineate the "Acadian Parishes." Possibly the only redeeming feature of his cartographic depiction was that he copied Meigs' core concept.[29]

Two decades later the Louisiana Legislature promulgated its own delineation of the Cajun subculture

(Fig. II-17), and its ambiguity has been noted earlier:

> . . . the Legislature of Louisiana designate[s] the cultural region known as The Heart of Acadiana within the state of Louisiana consisting of, but not exclusively the following parishes: Acadia, Avoyelles, Ascension, Assumption, Calcasieu, Cameron, Evangeline, Iberia, Iberville, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Lafourche, Pointe Coupee, St. Charles, St. James, St. John, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermilion, West Baton Rouge, and other parishes of similar cultural environment.[30]

In deference to Louisiana's legislators, if the inane phrases "but not exclusively the following parishes" and "and other parishes of similar cultural environment" were deleted and the twenty-two parishes listed were mapped as Waddell did in 1979, then the Legislature's boundary would closely approximate the preceding generalized French Louisiana demarcations, thereby demonstrating the legislators' keen collective knowledge of their state.[31] The epithet, "Heart of Acadiana," was nonetheless a romanticized misnomer since it ignored the multifarious nature of the Louisiana French culture and included many non-Cajun areas.

In his 1973 analysis of Louisiana's commercial crawfish industry, Gary's Cajun boundary dismissed the Louisiana Legislature's list and followed Knipmeyer's more expansive generalized 1956 delimitation of the Louisiana French. Gary termed this area "French (Cajun) Louisiana," which parenthetically yet explicitly defined French as Cajuns and thus erroneously discounted the

thousands of other non-Cajun Louisiana French residents within his boundary. On the other hand, both Reed's 1972 "Cajun Country" map and Conrad's spatial introduction to his 1978 anthology about the Cajuns not only duplicated exactly the Louisiana Legislature's promulgation of the "Heart of Acadiana" but also its intrinsic liabilities. Perhaps Browne's somewhat squat 1977 "Cajun Country" sketch characterized more correctly the contemporary spatial status of the subculture.[32]

The most recent attempt to demark the Cajun region occurred when Waddell in 1979 swept a curvature of Smith's "French Triangle" across Louisiana and equivocally titled it the "Effective Limits of the Cajun Cultural Area." The word "effective" can be interpreted in several ways, but Waddell gave no explicit definition. If it meant that which is actual, then his map was too ambitious, encompassing many non-Cajun areas inhabited by French of Creole or later European heritage. If, on the other hand, "effective" denoted that the Cajuns had affected these areas, then his portrayal was more valid, though it neglected large parts of several parishes along the lower Mississippi that were early Cajun birthplaces.[33]

Several scholars have cartographically placed the Louisiana French within a national perspective. Perhaps the first to do so was Woofter who in 1940 published a map titled "Rural Cultural Regions in the United States."

Meigs, however, found that Woofter's cartography was derived from Mangus' 1940 small scale map of rural cultural regions. Mangus had used ten quantitative indices to delimit his thirty-two culture regions, and he had labeled Region XXIV as "Southern Louisiana." According to Meigs, Woofter then erroneously changed the name to "French Louisiana" yet kept the same Mangus line which included much of the non-French "Florida Parishes" and excluded the French parishes of Avoyelles and Pointe Coupee (Fig. II-18).[34] At the national level of generalization, Woofter's misnomer at least remained within close proximity of the Louisiana French area. Others have taken greater liberties.

In 1973 Zelinsky presented "French Louisiana" as a third-order region within his hierarchy of culture areas. His French boundary was generally correct but tapered eastward all the way to Mobile Bay. Two years later Gastil multiplied Woofter's mistakes by incorporating a large chunk of southern Mississippi. Jordan and Rowntree in 1982 have probably proposed the most exact Louisiana French delimitation at the national scale. In an admirable review, especially for an introductory geography text, titled "Ethnic Geography," Jordan and Rowntree drew from Meigs' 1939 Louisiana French surname study and Allen's 1978 French mother tongue cartography to map as a second-order cultural border the famous "French Triangle" but

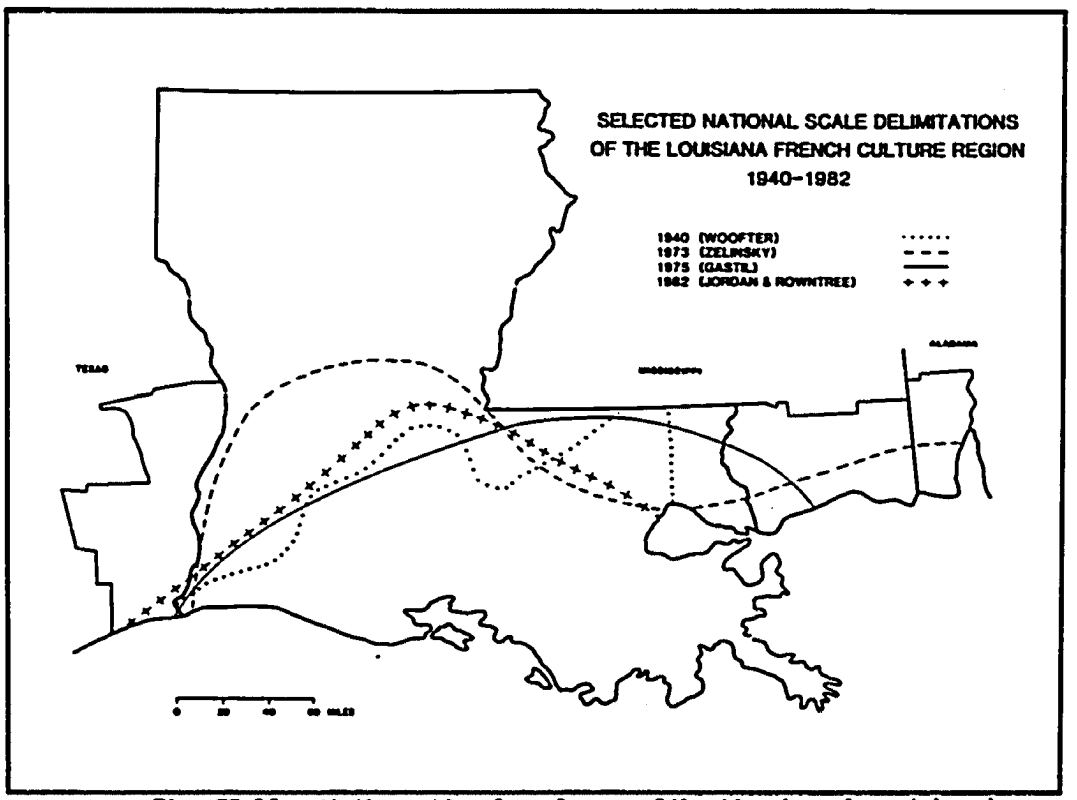


Fig. II-18. At the national scale some liberties have been taken in defining the contemporary Louisiana French culture region.

with its western leg lapped accurately over the Sabine River into southeast Texas.[35]

Several of the Louisiana French attributes have been mapped within a national framework. As a matter of fact, Jordan and Rowntree placed long-lot surveys on an even more expansive, continental scale by demarcating their areal predominance within several states and Canadian provinces. In 1954 West delimited the riparian generic "bayou" within the United States. Burrill and Detro, incorporating West's data, almost thirty years later not only mapped nationally the locations of the term "bayou" but also those labeled "coulee," a seasonal, intermittent watercourse in Louisiana. Defining a "Creole house" as one that was developed by the French during colonial Louisiana, Knipmeyer in 1956 delineated what he called the "Distribution of Creole Architecture at its Greatest Extent" along the Gulf Coast and at various places throughout the Mississippi River Valley. Hart, in his 1967 geographical sketch of southeastern United States, mapped Louisiana's "liquor region" within a wider spatial spectrum. And in 1976 Louder, Morissoneau, and Waddell created two maps, one using a 10 percent isoline and the other graduated circles, to illustrate the distribution of French mother tongue in the United States and Canada.[36]

Of course Paullin's classic 1932 Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States plotted a dot

distribution of Roman Catholic churches in 1860, and Gaustad's fine 1962 Historical Atlas of Religion In America published a county choropleth map of Roman Catholic churches in 1850. It was left to Zelinsky, however, in 1961 to construct a national choropleth map of Roman Catholic counties for the mid-twentieth century and then a dozen years thereafter to offer in his Cultural Geography of the United States a generalized adaptation that was almost perfectly congruent with his foregoing "French Louisiana" culture region. Sopher's 1967 version of a national religious map used Roman Catholic diocese data for 1950 to contour in Louisiana a somewhat smoothed and shrunken "French Triangle." Employing 1971 data to create county choropleth maps, both Gaustad's 1976 revised atlas and Shortridge's 1977 article updated the national religious distributions which for Louisiana indicated little change from Zelinsky's mid-century interpretation.[37]

Nineteenth-Century Delimitative Lacuna

It might be an understatement to consider the foregoing delimitations of the Louisiana French culture region, including internal and national mutations, as eclectic: survey systems, toponyms, outdoor ovens, pirogues, house types, Spanish-moss gins, crawfish farms, political support, Roman Catholicism, surnames, liquor laws, KKK klaverns, mother tongue, physical features, and an assortment of

generalizations. Of these eighty-four delineations, only eight portrayed eighteenth-century French implantations, seven dealt with nineteenth-century Louisiana French spatial evolution, and the remaining sixty-nine depicted twentieth-century geographic patterns. The rare eighteenth-century spatial renderings have to a large degree been balanced by voluminous written literature which has provided much insight into the incipient Louisiana French culture region. Few such explanatory works have supplemented the paucity of nineteenth-century maps, four of which were produced in Detro's outstanding toponym dissertation, one was of Howard's 1820s "French Ascendancy," and two, Gaustad's 1850 and Paullin's 1860 Roman Catholic church distributions, were at the national scale.

Regarding the most famous of the Louisiana French subcultures, Taylor, a celebrated student of Louisiana history, in 1976 wrote: "Not much is known about economic distinctions among rural Acadians /in antebellum Louisiana/ . . . ."[38] Two years later, Baker, one of the handful of researchers who has endeavored to rectify this nineteenth-century neglect, corroborated in a more expansive fashion:

> The Acadian contribution to the growth of Louisiana in the eighteenth century is well understood and properly applauded; the formative role Acadian culture played in molding the emerging character of the young state in the nineteenth century has yet to be defined.[39]

But in 1975, before these observations of investigative omissions, sociolinguist Tentchoff had pleaded: "Histories

of the Cajun people that continue beyond Le Grand Derangement /the latter half of the eighteenth century/ need to be written."[40] These appraisals have referred only to the most widely-known and written-about subculture of the Louisiana French, the Cajuns, and therefore have themselves overlooked the ancienne population of French Creoles and the thousands of later "Foreign French" immigrants. The study of the economic, social, and political institutions of all the Louisiana French sub-cultures as a whole in the nineteenth century has thus been even more uncommon.

Fragments of information concerning the Louisiana French in the nineteenth century have been scattered haphazardly in general histories of Louisiana and in journalistic accounts, some of questionable validity that have been caught in polarized contradiction. A variety of scholarly, multi-disciplinary works that obliquely include information, some much more than others, about the nineteenth-century Louisiana French have been those of geographers Post on the cultural geography of the Cajuns, Comeaux into Cajun environmental impact, and Detro concerning French toponyms; historians Shugg on social class conflicts, Tregle dealing with antebellum political struggles, and Hackett with respect to the social structure of Jacksonian Louisiana; demographer Treat about immigration into the state; and political

scientist Howard regarding the politics of Acadian parishes. Indeed Hackett was the first to use manuscript census schedules to determine parish proportions of French ethnicity. Hackett, however, failed to construct an 1840 map to spatially depict his data; nevertheless, borrowing the information, Howard in 1978 did so. Unfortunately Howard did not consider Louisiana's unsettled areas, and, more importantly, he provided a key that gave no class intervals for his isopleth Symap, thus making it unintellegible. Accordingly, the Hackett-Howard 1840 map was not mentioned in the foregoing review of Louisiana French delimitations.

Apparently, then, only Newton exploring antebellum French Creole cultural erosion, Rogers considering the Anglicization of several Louisiana ethnics, and Baker investigating the antebellum Cajun milieu, have been courageous enough to make some sense of the history of the Louisiana French in the nineteenth century. And evidently they alone have produced the only titles with such a focus: Newton--"Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana--A Study in Cultural Conflicts," Rogers--"Origin and Cultural Assimilation of the Population of Louisiana," and Baker--"The Acadians in Antebellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation."[41] These investigations, however, were essentially limited to the antebellum period.

Although all the preceding delimitative studies and augmenting literature have exponentially enlightened our understanding of the Louisiana French culture in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, a marked research lacuna remains in examining its evolution in the nineteenth century. In attempting to fill some of this hiatus, the present investigation focused upon economic, social, and political demographics to analyze the nineteenth-century geographical evolution of the Louisiana French as a whole.

NOTES

[1]Several of these cartographic delimitations appear, some in modified form, in Milton B. Newton, Jr., Atlas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972); and John F. Rooney, Jr., Wilbur Zelinsky, and Dean R. Louder, eds., This Remarkable Continent: An Atlas of United States and Canadian Society and Cultures (College Station, TX: Society for the North American Cultural Survey and Texas A & M University Press, 1982). But perhaps for the most comprehensive reviews of the multi-disciplinary work done regarding the Louisiana French, turn to Larbi Oukada, "The Territory and Population of French-Speaking Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978): 5-34; and Roland J. L. Breton, Geographie du francais et de la francite en Louisiane (Quebec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, 1979).

[2]Newton, p. 71; Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana, 4 vols. (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1903), 1:30-78, 2:108-30; Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of Louisiana (New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1882; reprint ed. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1963), pp. 89-96, 179-93; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana, 4 vols. (New York: Goupil, 1904), 1:12-30, 117-41; Randall A. Detro, "Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana, An Index to the Cultural Landscape" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970), pp. 101-13; James W. Taylor, "The Agricultural Settlement Succession in the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), pp. 36-41; James W. Taylor, "Louisiana Land Survey Systems," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 31 (1950):275-82; John W. Hall, "Louisiana Survey Systems: Their Antecedents, Distribution, and Characteristics" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970), pp. 11-13, 23-25. Taylor's map was generalized in William B. Knipmeyer, "Settlement Succession in Eastern French Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), plate 8; and a simplified version of Hall's map was published in Newton, p. 71. Though without providing a distributional map, more information with respect to Louisiana cadastral systems, mainly those in the "Florida Parishes," is given in Carolyn O. French,

"Cadastral Patterns in Louisiana: A Colonial Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1978). An arpent was technically a linear measurement equal to 192 feet, but in its more general usage as a square measure it amounted to approximately 85% of an acre. See Hall, pp. 23-25. In argument on the positive side of Louisiana farm fragmentation, Smith has posited that the line settlement pattern of the close, narrow long lots provided a spatial organization ". . . which combines the economic advantages of the isolated farm with the social advantages of the village community, without the major disadvantages of either." See T. Lynn Smith, "An Analysis of Rural Social Organization Among the French-Speaking People of Southern Louisiana," Journal of Farm Economics 16 (1934):681-82. Folse added that the accessibility of the 138-mile "long street" along Bayou Lafourche afforded more farmstead efficiency. See Clinton L. Folse, "Form of Settlement as a Factor in Social Solidarity, with Special Reference to South Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1935), p. 2. Taylor related a tale about the closeness of long-lot farmsteads: "Along Bayou Lafourche there are homes so close together, so the story goes, that a baseball could be thrown from house to house for more than a hundred miles." See Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 176-77. For more on long lots in North America and Europe, see Alvar W. Carlson, "Long-Lots in the Rio Arriba," Annals, Association of American Geographers 65 (1975):48-57; C. P. Barnes, "Economies of the Long-Lot Farm," Geographical Review 25 (1935):298-301; and Terry G. Jordan, "Antecedents of the Long-lot in Texas," Annals, Association of American Geographers 64 (1974):70-86.

[3]Detro, pp. 334-38. For references to Anglo migration into South Louisiana's swamps, see Malcolm L. Comeaux, "Settlement and Folk Occupations of the Atchafalaya Basin" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1969), pp. 23-25; and his excellent assessment in "Louisiana Acadians: The Environmental Impact," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 146-52. His dissertation was reworked and published as Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations, Geoscience and Man, II, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), and his anthology article first appeared a year earlier as "Les Acadiens Louisianais: L'Impact de l'environment," Revue de Louisiane 6 (1977):163-78. To obtain more information about migration into and within Louisiana,

turn to Victor H. Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1967); Paul H. Price, "Migration Within Louisiana, 1935-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1953). Some others who have presented interesting studies, mostly at the parish scale, of Louisiana place names have been: Alcee Fortier, Louisiana, Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form, 3 vols. (Madison, WI: Century Historical Association, 1914); William A. Read, Louisiana Place-Names of Indian Origin (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1927); Lillian Douglass, "Place-Names of East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1932); Elaine E. Lorio, "Place-Names of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1932); Nora Berry, "Place-Names of Natchitoches Parish" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1935); Sara A. Turner, "Place-Names of Webster Parish" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1935); Jack A. Reynolds, "Louisiana Place-Names of Romance Origin" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1942); Hilgard O. Sternberg, "The Names 'False River' and 'Pointe Coupee': An Inquiry in Historical Geography," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 31 (1948):598-605; Robert C. West, "The Term 'Bayou' in the United States: A Study in the Geography of Place Names," Annals, Association of American Geographers 44 (1954):63-74; Mary L. P. Folk, "A Word Atlas of North Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1962); Nolan P. LeCompte, Jr., "A Word Atlas of Terrebonne Parish," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1962) and "A Word Atlas of LaFourche Parish and Grand Isle, Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1967); and Leslie G. Whitbread, "Louisiana Place Names: Some Preliminary Considerations," Louisiana Studies 7 (1968):228-51.

[4]Spanish moss has been used in brick making; house construction; filling mattresses, furniture cushions, and automobile upholstery; weaving harnesses, bridles, and saddle blankets; and even making Mardi Gras costumes. See Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin," pp. 134-35; Atchafalaya Swamp Life, p. 78; C. C. Aldrich, M. W. DeBlieux, and F. B. Kniffen, "The Spanish Moss Industry of Louisiana," Economic Geography 19 (1934):347-48; Allen E. Begnaud and Jon L. Gibson, "Cajun Folk Occupations: A Summary," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 50-51; Lyle G. Williams, "Spanish Moss Gathering in Pierre Part--1953," Attakapas Gazette 8 (1973):99; Fred B. Kniffen and Malcolm L. Comeaux, The Spanish Moss Industry

of Louisiana, Melanges, 12 (1979), School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, pp. 1-19; Herman J. Jacobi, The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana, School of Social Work, No. 8 (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1937), p. 38.

[5]Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin," pp. 139-58; Atchafalaya Swamp Life, pp. 78-87; Aldrich, DeBlieux, and Kniffen, pp. 351-54. Begnaud and Gibson, without mapping them, counted twenty-nine Spanish-moss gins operating in 1940. See Begnaud and Gibson, pp. 51-52.

[6]Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin," pp. 159-80; Atchafalaya Swamp Life, pp. 63-70; Don L. Gary, "A Geographic Systems Analysis of the Commercial Crawfish Industry in South Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Oregon State University, 1973), pp. 46, 57-83.

[7]Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin," pp. 168-77; Atchafalaya Swamp Life, p. 68; Knipmeyer, pp. 144-62; Begnaud and Gibson, pp. 53-54.

[8]Fred Kniffen, "The Outdoor Oven in Louisiana," Louisiana History 1 (1960):25-35; Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals, Association of American Geographers 26 (1936):179-93; Milton B. Newton, Jr., Louisiana House Types, A Field Guide, Melanges, 2 (1971), School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, p. 5; Newton, Atlas, p. 86. Fifteen years after he published his classic on Louisiana folk housing, Kniffen directed a group of his students in a rather extensive survey of rural house types and farm buildings and followed this work with his excellent article on diffusion of folk housing. Moreover, Kniffen's Louisiana geography text devoted almost an entire chapter to French and Anglo-Saxon house types. See U. S., Office of Naval Research, "Cultural Survey of Louisiana," directed by Fred B. Kniffen, Final Status Report, No. N 7 ORN 35606, Baton Rouge, 1951; Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):549-77; and Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 130-35. Kniffen summarized somewhat the basic thrust of the "Cultural Survey of Louisiana" report in his article, "The Physiognomy of Rural Louisiana," Louisiana History 4 (1963):291-99. Newton has continued the investigation into vernacular Louisiana housing. See Newton, Atlas, pp. 87-92; and "A Field Guide." For a similar map of Newton's Louisiana house types, refer to Knipmeyer, plate 45. Also compare Robert W. Heck, "Building Traditions in the Acadian Parishes," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and

Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 161-72; R. Warren Robison, "Louisiana Acadian Domestic Architecture," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 63-77; and Lauren C. Post, "Cajun Houses," in Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 83-91. And for a collage of landscape relics on a parish scale, consult George A. Stokes, "Landscape Forms and Patterns of French Origin in the Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, Area," Louisiana Studies 3 (1964):105-16.

[9]Perry H. Howard, Political Tendencies in Louisiana, Revised and Expanded Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), pp. 26-31; Perry H. Howard, "The Politics of the Acadian Parishes," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 225-27; Vaughan B. Baker, "The Acadians in Antebellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 121-22; Newton, Atlas, p. 71; Taylor, Louisiana, pp. 83-85; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp. 189-93. Two other incisively detailed investigations into antebellum Franco-American political struggles appear in Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Study in Ego-politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954) and Lewis W. Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment between the French and the Anglo-American Populations of Louisiana, 1803-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929). See also Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Political Reinforcement of Ethnic Dominance in Louisiana, 1812-1845" in The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850, Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, III (Pensacola, FL: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1972), pp. 78-87; and two articles by D. L. A. Hackett, "The Social Structure of Jacksonian Louisiana," Louisiana Studies 12 (1973):325-53; "Slavery, Ethnicity, and Sugar: An Analysis of Voting Behavior in Louisiana, 1828-1844," Louisiana Studies 13 (1974):73-118.

[10]Howard, Political Tendencies, pp. 228-31; "Politics of the Acadian Parishes," pp. 227-39; William C.

Havard, Rudolf Heberle, and Perry H. Howard, The Louisiana Elections of 1960, Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, No. 9 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 55-78; Newton, Atlas, pp. 104-05; Taylor, Louisiana, pp. 170-71.

[11]T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1952), pp. 135-36; Havard, Heberle, and Howard, pp. 12-14; Peirce F. Lewis, New Orleans--The Making of an Urban Landscape, Association of American Geographers Comparative Metropolitan Analysis Project (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing, 1976), p. 13; James Calhoun, ed. Louisiana Almanac, 1979-1980 (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1979), p. 465; Douglas W. Johnson, Paul R. Picard, and Bernard Quinn, Churches & Church Membership in the United States: An Enumeration by Region, State and County (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Churches of Christ, 1974), pp. 91-94, map. For further substantiation of Louisiana French Roman Catholic piety, read Roger Baudin, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (New Orleans, 1939); Dudley J. LeBlanc, The Acadian Miracle (Lafayette, LA: Evangeline Publishing, 1966), pp. 197-201; Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana, comps., Louisiana: A Guide to the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), pp. 126-33; Jacobi, particularly pp. 48-56, 86-91; and Edward J. Kammer, A Socio-Economic Survey of the Marshdwellers of Four Southeastern Louisiana Parishes, Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1941), pp. 43-57.

[12]Meigs, pp. 243-50; Oukada, p. 26; Dudley J. LeBlanc, The True Story of the Acadians (Lafayette, LA: 1932), Appendix A; Genevieve Massignon, Les Parles francais d'Acadie: Enquetes linguistiques, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1962), 1:46-74; Jacqueline K. Voorhies, "The Acadians: The Search for the Promised Land," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 103; Cole Harris, "Brief Interlude with New France," Geographical Magazine 52 (1980):276; W. C. Gaynor, "A Contrast In Acadians," Canadian Magazine 42 (1914):547; Theodore F. Thurmon and Ellen B. DeFraites, "Genetic Studies of the French-Acadians of Louisiana," Birth Defects 10 (1974):203. The term "Cajun" is apparently a corruption of the French word "Acadien" and refers to a person of Acadian heritage or to one who has been assimilated into or self-ascribes to the Cajun culture of South Louisiana. The word "Creole," from the Spanish

"Criollo," is much more nebulous, perhaps one of the most misunderstood and misused words in our language. "Creole" can be associated with such diverse tangibles as tomatoes, horses, foods, and mulattoes, yet the term's inherent definitional chaos centers on its intangible, symbolic denotations.

Following Dominguez's trenchant historical analysis and Tentchoff's contemporary survey, "Creole" has evidently evolved through three centuries in Louisiana from a generic term to a highly specific one--a label of exclusion. At each of five steps, all certainly not within an exact chronological path but rather including times of transition and coincidence, those who professed to be Creoles excluded another socio-racial group so that a Creole became only a:

1) Louisiana native;
2) Non-Anglo Louisiana native;
3) Non-Anglo Louisiana native of colonial ancestry;
4) Non-Anglo, non-black Louisiana native of colonial ancestry;
5) Non-Anglo, non-black, non-Cajun Louisiana native of colonial ancestry.

To explain this evolution very briefly, the original definition, as Tregle inconoclastically argued, simply meant that which was native to Louisiana; therefore Creole tomatoes, Creole horses, Creole slaves, and German Creoles were merely indigenous to the area. When the Anglo-Saxon Americains stormed into Louisiana, the power of the Louisiana French was gravely threatened. To place social distance between the "barbaric" Anglos and themselves, the ancienne population promoted the label Creole ladened with aristocratic, condescending airs. Yet other Frenchmen, the "foreign French" or emigres, from France and the Caribbean continued to arrive in Louisiana during the early nineteenth century. To distinguish themselves from these aggressive Latin newcomers within the social structure, the Louisiana Creoles incorporated a "grandfather clause" into the definition that made colonial ancestry a requisite. Toward the end of the nineteenth century an awakened community of marginal mulattoes in hope of grasping more upward social mobility began to call themselves "Creoles." Too, over the years Yankees began to question the racial purity of Louisiana Creoles, and Louisiana Creoles are still generally perceived in other parts of the United States as blacks. To thwart the upstart blacks from usurping the "Creole" label and to quell unequivocally accusations of miscegenation, the Louisiana Creoles vehemently denied any relationships with blacks, though apparently until these events it never occurred to the Creoles to do so. Finally, because of the economic disparity between the original French population and the displaced Acadians, Louisiana's Creoles largely shunned

the less literate Cajun petits habitants. Although the two French subcultures have fused greatly over the decades, today Creoles of supposedly "wealthy, aristocratic heritage" who speak bon francais persist in making a rather haughty distinction between themselves and the "poor country Cadiens."

Who exactly is or has been a Louisiana Creole and when precisely a particular definition held true are obviously difficult questions. Nevertheless, the present study defined a "Creole" in the most restrictive sense, that is, as a non-Anglo, non-black, non-Cajun Louisiana native of colonial ancestry. For more depth into the terms "Cajun" and "Creole," consult Tregle, "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson," pp. 38-42; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):20-36; Virginia R. Dominguez, "Social Classification in Creole Louisiana," American Ethnologist 4 (1977):589-602; Dorice Tentchoff, "Cajun French and French Creole: Their Speakers and the Question of Identities," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette,LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 87-109; and "Speech in a Louisiana Cajun Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1977); Lewis W. Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana--A Study in Cultural Conflicts," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 14 (1933):31-48; Elizabeth Brandon, "The Socio-Cultural Traits of the French Folksong in Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 1 (1972):21; Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 2-3; and "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 79-88; Joseph L. Tisch, French In Louisiana: A Study of the Historical Development of the French Language of Louisiana (New Orleans: A. F. Laborde, 1959), pp. 39-42; M. H. Herrin, The Creole Aristocracy: A Study of the Creole of Southern Louisiana, His Origin, His Accomplishments, His Contributions to the American Way of Life (New York: Exposition Press, 1952), pp. 27-34; Lyle Saxon, Edward Dreyer, and Robert Tallant, Gumbo Ya-Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945), pp. 138-206; Grace King, Creole Families of New Orleans (New York: Macmillan Company, 1921); Fortier, Louisiana, Comprising Sketches, 1, pp. 20-21; 298-99; Davis, Louisiana, passim; Taylor, Louisiana, passim; Oukada, "French-Speaking Louisiana," pp. 6-11; Kniffen, Louisiana, p. 127; Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 1-50; Annie Lee W. Stahl, "The Free Negro in

Ante-Bellum Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 25 (1942):378; Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History 1 (1916):366-67; Frances J. Woods, Marginality and Identity: A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 7-11; Albert Rhodes, "The Louisiana Creoles," Galaxy 16 (1973): 252-60; W. H. Sparks, The Memories of Fifty Years: Containing Brief Biographical Notices of Distinguished Americans, and Anecdotes of Remarkable Men (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1870), pp. 379-81; LeBlanc, True Story of the Acadians, p. 79; Walter M. Kollmorgen and Robert W. Harrison, "French-Speaking Farmers of Southern Louisiana," Economic Geography 22 (1946):154; George S. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana French," Language 10 (1934):324-25; Lewis, New Orleans, p. 3; Howard R. Floan, The South in Northern Eyes, 1831 to 1861 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), pp. 171-72; Writers' Program, Louisiana, pp. 86-87, passim; Howard M. Jones, America and French Culture, 1750-1848 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1927), pp. 111-123; Harnett T. Kane, The Bayous of Louisiana (New York: William Morrow, 1944), pp. 15-19, passim; James A. Robertson, Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 2 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1911), 1, pp. 188-205; Nicholas Spitzer, "Cajuns and Creoles: The French Gulf Coast," Southern Exposure 5 (1977):140-55.

[13]Newton, Atlas, p. 71. Louisiana French joie de vivre has been noted often throughout the literature, for example: Vernon J. Parenton, "Notes on the Social Organization of a French Village in South Louisiana," Social Forces 17 (1938):73-82; T. Lynn Smith and Vernon J. Parenton, "Acculturation Among the Louisiana French," American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938):364; Vernon J. Parenton, "Socio-Psychological Integration in a Rural French-Speaking Section of Louisiana," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 30 (1949):194; Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 152-68; Marie S. Dunn, "A Comparative Study: Louisiana's French and Anglo-Saxon Cultures," Louisiana Studies 10 (1971):163; Lawrence Wright, "In Quest of the Unreconstructed Cajun," Southern Voices 1 (1974), passim; Steven L. Del Sesto, "Cajun Social Institutions and Cultural Configurations," in The Culture of Acadians: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 121-38; Clyde V. Collard, "The Cajun Family: Adjustment to Modern Trends," in the Culture of Acadians: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L.

Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 117-18; Taylor, Louisiana, p. 183; Charles L. Dufour, Ten Flags in the Winds: The Story of Louisiana, Regions of America Series (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 116; Kane, pp. 305-18; Spitzer, pp. 146-50; Brandon, 22, passim; William F. Rushton, The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), pp. 241-59; Mathe Allain, "Twentieth-Century Acadians," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 137-41; and Turner Browne, Louisiana Cajuns (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), passim.

[14]Stanley D. Brunn, Geography and Politics in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 11.

[15]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 20, Louisiana; "French Runs Deep in Louisiana Parishes," Acadiana Profile 1 (1970): 11; Printed material entitled "1970 U. S. Census: French-Speaking Population of Louisiana" in correspondence from Christine Crittenden, Publication Director of Louisiana, Mensuel bilingue publie par Media-Louisiane, Lafayette, LA, 18 November 1981. Other estimates of "French," Acadians, and French-speakers at various times from 1900 to 1976 are compared in Oukada, pp. 11-15. Through what they called an "informal statistical technique," Smith and Hitt devised the most intricate of these Louisiana French population estimation procedures, yet they did not offer a distributional map of their data. See Smith and Hitt, p. 49. Price has supported the idea that American ethnic organizations inflate estimates of their ethnic populations:

> Many ethnic communities want to emphasize their size and strength, especially when trying to establish ethnic radio programs or special language courses in schools and universities, and therefore use the highest estimate available.

Charles A. Price, "Methods of Estimating the Size of Groups," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephen Therstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 1034.

[16]James P. Allen, "Mapping Regional Ethnicity by Minor Civil Division: The Case of the French in Louisiana," paper Presented in the Special Session on La Louisiane francaise at the annaul meeting of the Association of American Geographers, New Orleans, LA, 12 April 1978, pp. 3-6; Oukada, pp. 28-34; Breton, p. 92; Roland J. L. Breton

and Dean R. Louder, "La Geographie linguistique de l'Acadiana," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979): 219-36; Eric Waddell, "La Louisiane: Un poste outre-frontiere de l'Amerique francaise ou un autre pays et une autre culture?" Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):207-10. Also, Allen, Breton, and Breton-Louder all constructed French mother-tongue choropleth maps by wards, while Oukada did the same using parish aggregates. And continuing the confusion, each used different sets of class intervals. Furthermore, evidently employing CODOFIL's 1969 French survey as his data base, Smith-Thibodeaux published a twenty-two parish outline map of French Louisiana as an introduction to his book. See John Smith-Thibodeaux, Les Francophones de Louisiane (Paris: Editions Entente, 1977), pp. 7, 124. Incidently, this "Quebec group," led by Louder and Waddell, has recently provided fresh insight into twentieth-century geographic patterns of the Louisiana French. Many of their findings were published in an indispensable special edition of the Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979).

[17]Knipmeyer, pp. 2-3.

[18]Ibid., p. 2.

[19]Rudolf Heberle and Alvin L. Bertrand, "Factors Motivating Voting Behavior in a One-Party State," Social Forces 27 (1949):345, 348.

[20]Alvin L. Bertrand, The Many Louisianas: A Study of Rural Social Areas and Cultural Islands, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 496 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1955), p. 20.

[21]Ibid., pp. 20-21; Havard, Heberle, and Howard, pp. 3-7.

[22]Milton B. Newton, Jr., "Blurring the North-South Contrast," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), p. 46.

[23]Ibid., pp. 42-48.

[24]Spitzer, p. 142.

[25]Louder and LeBlanc have corroborated the twentieth-century migration of Louisiana French into east Texas. Refer to Michael J. LeBlanc and Dean R. Louder, "Coonasses:

The Cajuns of East Texas," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1 June 1979; and Dean R. Louder and Michael LeBlanc, "The Cajuns of East Texas," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):317-30. See also Joel L. Fletcher, The Acadians in Louisiana Today (Lafayette, LA: Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1959).

[26]T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 293 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937), p. 17; Oukada, p. 24; Kniffen, Louisiana, p. 5; Jules Beliveau, "Le francais en Louisiane: une langue officielle venue de loin," La Presse (Montreal), 7 Decembre 1974, p. A7; Jules Beliveau, "Les Cajuns prient en francais et jurent en anglais," La Presse (Montreal), 9 Decembre 1974, p. A5; Rushton, p. 125.

[27]Smith, Population of Louisiana, p. 17.

[28]Robert G. LeBlanc, "The Acadian Migrations," Proceedings of the Minnesota Academy of Science 30 (1962): 55-59; also reprinted in Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 11 (1967):523-41; and Canadian Geographical Journal 81 (1970):10-19. LeBlanc's well-received article was a synopsis of his M.A. thesis "The Acadian Migrations" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1961). Oscar W. Winzerling, Acadian Odyssey (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1955), pp. 130-62; William Arceneaux, Acadian General Alfred Mouton and the Civil War, University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series, No. 5, 2nd ed. (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1981), p. 8-9; Jacqueline K. Voorhies, "The Acadians: The Search for the Promised Land," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed., Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 106; Minnie Kelley, "Acadian South Louisiana," Journal of Geography 33 (1934):81-83; Meigs, pp. 248-50.

[29]Claude J. Roumagnac, "A Demographic Analysis of Selected Characteristics of the 'Acadian' Population of Louisiana, 1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1952), pp. 11-16; Meigs, pp. 243-50; Smith and Hitt, pp. 135-36. Some of those who have cited as valid and/or utilized Roumagnac's "Acadian Parishes" have been Howard, Political Tendencies, p. 8; Havard, Heberle, and Howard, p. 13; Oukada, p. 23; and Howard, "Politics of the Acadian Parishes," p. 226. At least Roumagnac's depiction was vastly more accurate than King's inept 1970 "Cajun Country" blot. Because King's map was so terribly malformed, it was not included in this review. See Larry L. King, "Exploring Cajun Country" Holiday 48 (1970):70.

[30]Quoted in Oukada, p. 29; and Waddell, p. 214.

[31]Waddell, p. 208. The Louisiana Legislature has not been the only one to simply list "French" parishes. Oukada has noted four other "French" parish totals: 24, 25, 26, and 27. See Oukada, p. 27; and, respectively, John Guilbeau, "Louisiana French," paper presented at the American Association of Teachers of French, New Orleans, December 1975; Smith and Hitt, p. 143; Marilyn J. Conwell and Alphonse Juilland, Louisiana French Grammar, I: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), p. 19; Edwin L. Stephens, "The Story of Acadian Education in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 28 (1935):399. Thirteen Cajun parishes have also been listed in Revon Reed, Lache pas la patate: Portrait des Acadiens de la Louisiane (Montreal: Editions Parti pris, 1976), p. 8.

[32]Gary, pp. 46-51; Roy Reed, "Louisiana's Cajuns, A Minority with Power," New York Times, 9 May 1972, p. 43; Glenn R. Conrad, ed., The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), front end paper; Browne, p. 1.

[33]Waddell, pp. 207-10.

[34]Meigs, pp. 46-48; U. S., Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, Division of Research, Rural Regions of the United States, by A. R. Mangus (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1940), pp. v-vi, 24-26.

[35]Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, Foundations of Cultural Geography Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 117-23. Oddly, an earlier map (p. 31) depicting Franco-Americans in the United States in Zelinsky's monograph contoured a much more valid delineation of the contemporary Louisiana French. Seven years later Zelinsky plagiarized Reed's methodology to produce a map series of "North America's Vernacular Regions." Nevertheless, since Zelinsky's crude rendering of Louisiana's Acadiana was restricted to only five data points, it was not included in this review. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "North America's Vernacular Regions," Annals, Association of American Geographers 70 (1980):1-16; and John S. Reed, "Heart of Dixie: An Essay in Folk Geography," Social Forces 54 (1976):925-39; Raymond D. Gastil, Cultural Regions of the United States (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 174, 190-91; Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree, The Human

Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), pp. 9, 270-72. Their second edition provided the same Louisiana French boundary based upon Meigs but did not contain Allen's French mother-tongue corroboration. See Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree, The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), pp. 10, 297-99. Because Raitz has severely criticized the methodological inconsistencies of the ethnic map of the United States and southern Canada in the Soviet "Atlas Narodov Mira," it too has not been reviewed here. For example, he opined: "The French-speaking area of Louisiana is clustered around Lafayette but is smaller than it should be." See Karl B. Raitz, "Ethnic Maps of North America," Geographical Review 68 (1968):337-38. And to criticize Raitz, his review overlooked all Louisiana French delimitations save Meigs'.

[36]Jordan and Rowntree, 1979, p. 106; 1982, p. 99. Jordan and Rowntree, without citing their source, also presented the distribution of "Selected radio stations in the United States broadcasting part-time in French, 1976." But because they were "selected" and the national-scale map did not show their exact locations, Jordan and Rowntree's French radio stations were not included in the foregoing review of Louisiana French cultural attributes at the regional level. See Jordan and Rowntree (1982), p. 272; and (1979), p. 299. West, pp. 63-74; Rooney, Zelinsky, and Louder, pp. 133-34, 299; Knipmeyer, pp. 88-93, plate 45. Having located French landscape relics in the "American Bottom" along the Mississippi River in southern Illinois and in the city of St. Louis, Henderson and Smelser have documented part of Knipmeyer's extra-Louisiana distribution of "Creole architecture." See John R. Henderson, "The Cultural Landscape of French Settlement in the American Bottom" (M.S. thesis, Illinois State University, 1966); and Marshall Smelser, "Housing in Creole St. Louis, 1764-1821: An Example of Cultural Change," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 21 (1938):337-48. J. Fraser Hart, The Southeastern United States, Van Nostrand Searchlight Series (Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1967), figure 6. The Louisiana "liquor region" maps by Hart and Newton, Atlas, had exactly the same boundaries, but both geographers failed to provide their data sources. D. Louder, C. Morissonneau, and E. Waddell, "Du continent perdu a l'archipel retrouve: Le Quebec et l'Amerique francaise," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979): 11, 14.

[37]Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, ed. John K. Wright (New

York: Carnegie Institution of Washington and American Geographical Society of New York, 1932), plate 85; Edwin S. Gaustad, Historical Atlas of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 105; Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals, Association of American Geographers 51 (1961):168; Cultural Geography, p. 97; David E. Sopher, Geography of Religions, Foundations of Cultural Geography Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 84-85; Edwin S. Gaustad, Historical Atlas of Religion in America, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), end paper; James R. Shortridge, "A New Regionalization of American Religion," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 16 (1977):146-47.

[38]Taylor, Louisiana, p. 60.

[39]Baker, p. 126.

[40]Tentchoff, p. 105. There is a rather voluminous literature concerning the Acadian grand derangement. Foremost in this work are Winzerling, Acadian Odyssey; LeBlanc, "Acadian Migrations" (1962 and 1970); George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton, eds., Chronicles of Canada (Toronto, 1916), vol. 10: The Acadian Exiles, by Arthur G. Doughty; Bona Arsenault, History of the Acadians (Ottawa: Editions Lemeac, 1978), pp. 97-242; Emile Lauvriere, La Tragedie d'Un Peuple: Histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines a nos jours, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Paris: Editions Bossard, 1923); Antoine Bernard, L'Acadie Vivante: Histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines a nos jours (Montreal: Edition du Devoir, 1947), pp. 62-116; Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973), pp. 38-80. Peruse also Felix Voorhies, Acadian Reminiscences, With the True Story of Evangeline (New Iberia, LA: Frank J. Dauterive, 1907), pp. 53-107; Harry L. Griffin, A Brief History of the Acadians (Grand Coteau, LA: College of the Sacred Heart, 1952); LeBlanc, True Story of the Acadians, pp. 17-71, and Acadian Miracle, pp. 187-341; Voorhies, "Acadians," pp. 97-114; Shelby T. McCloy, "French Charities to the Acadians, 1755-1799," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 21 (1938):656-68; Gilbert Din, "Early Spanish Colonization Efforts in Louisiana," Louisiana Studies 11 (1972):31-49; Basil Sollers, "The Acadians Transported to Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 3 (1908):1-21, and "Party of Acadians Who Sailed from the Potomac, Bound for the Mississippi," Maryland Historical Magazine 4 (1909):279-81; R. E. Chandler, "End of an Odyssey: Acadians Arrive in St. Gabriel, Louisiana," Louisiana History 14 (1973):69-87; Sidney A. Marchand, Acadian Exiles in the Golden Coast

of Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1943), pp. 21-70; C. E. Lart, "Notes on the Fate of the Acadians," Canadian Historical Review 5 (1924):108-17; Antonio Huot, "Les Acadiens de la Louisiane," Revue Canadienne 57 (1909): 46-47; and Harris, "Brief Interlude with New France," pp. 276-79. For a discerning geographical discourse on Acadia prior to le grand derangement, read Andrew H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

[41]Post, "Cultural Geography" and Cajun Sketches; Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin" and Atchafalaya Swamp Life; Detro, "Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana;" Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana; Tregle, "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson" and "Political Reinforcement of Ethnic Dominance in Louisiana;" Hackett, "Social Structure," and "Slavery, Ethnicity, Sugar;" Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana;" Howard, Political Tendencies and "Politics of the Acadian Parishes;" Hackett, "Social Structure," pp. 327-29; Howard, "Politics of the Acadian Parishes," p. 229; Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana," pp. 31-48; Tommy W. Rogers, "Origin and Cultural Assimilation of the Population of Louisiana," Mississippi Quarterly 25 (1971-72):45-67; Baker, pp. 115-28.

CHAPTER III

THE MYTH OF A CENTURY WITHOUT CHANGE

Because of the neglect in studying the nineteenth-century Louisiana French culture, many commentators have demonstrated a strong proclivity to conclude that in blissful, bucolic isolation little happened to the Louisiana French during those decades, that since their culture was dominant in South Louisiana it rapidly assimilated all others with no change, no erosion to itself through one hundred years, or, in the most hyperbolic cases, that the nineteenth-century seemingly never existed. While valiantly trying to dispel some of the aura of romanticism enveloping the Cajuns and their history, Conrad's 1978 discourse unwittingly perpetuated the myth of a century without change.

In a seventeen-page introductory chapter to his Cajun anthology, Conrad determined that the demise of the Cajun cultural identity was solely a twentieth-century phenomenon attributable to ". . . four factors: compulsory education, mass communication, the oil boom and World War II."[1] He was perhaps correct to suggest that these events have been the coup de grace for the Cajun culture.

Nevertheless, in the only paragraph he devoted to the nineteenth century, Conrad almost totally discounted an entire century pregnant with change that witnessed in South Louisiana at least five important vectors of acculturation: 1) thousands of Anglos, many with English-speaking slaves, who were voraciously hungry for agricultural land and timber on the Mississippi's fertile delta, in the depths of the Atchafalaya Swamp, and on Louisiana's southwestern prairies;[2] 2) railroad transportation which had reached the Atchafalaya River before the Civil War, bringing with it hundreds of foreign laborers, settlers, and travelers and their ideas;[3] 3) the years of the Civil War itself when hundreds of Creoles and Cajuns, many fighting proudly for Generals P. G. T. (Pierre Gustave Toutant) Beauregard and Alfred Mouton, crisscrossed the Confederacy from Shiloh to Manassas and when occupying Yankee armies tromped across the most remote Louisiana swamps and bayou backslopes;[4] 4) Reconstruction and its radical changes like the banning of the French language from public schools and its use in the publication of state legislation;[5] and 5) continued European in-migration throughout the century, particularly thousands of Italians in the last two decades.[6]

Progenitors of the Myth

In fairness to Conrad, he was merely echoing a host of earlier writers who forged over the years the myth

of a changeless century for the Louisiana French, especially the Cajuns. Daniels opined in an 1880 article titled "The Acadians of Louisiana" in the Scribner's Monthly:

> But go back from the Mississippi and other navigable streams and from the various towns of importance, to the smaller bayous, where steamboats never come; to the extensive prairies where the whistle of the engine has not yet been heard, and you find genuine Acadians everywhere, unchanged, too, in character and mode of living from what they were fifty--perhaps one hundred--years ago.[7]

At the turn of the twentieth century O'Hagan, while painting a virtuous vignette of Cajun cultural character, reported: "Primitive indeed they /Cajuns/ have remained according to the modern idea of progress. . . ."[8]

Gilmore continued the theme throughout a 1933 study, "Social Isolation of the French Speaking People of Rural Louisiana":

> It is doubtful that geographical, occupational, and language isolation have been as effectively combined to produce social isolation of ethnic groups anywhere else in America. . . . It thus seems reasonable to believe that the Acadians offer the best example of large scale community isolation to be found in this country. It should be pointed out also that, as a result of this isolation, they constitute probably the largest unassimilated nationality in America.[9]

"These people /Cajuns/ are indisposed to change," Kelly, a geographer, unequivocally asserted the following year in an article titled "Acadian South Louisiana."[10] Smith in his frequently-referenced 1937 monograph, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, confidently explained:

> . . . the population commonly thought of and designated as French has assimilated large groups of extraneous ethnic elements. In addition to considerable admixtures of Spanish blood, a few generations have sufficed for Germans, Dutch, Irish, and "Americans" to become completely acculturated as Louisiana French. Many such groups have lost all memory of their real extraction and former culture, have identified themselves with the French population, and frequently have claimed Acadian descent. In his study of the phenomenon, the writer has been constantly amazed at the capacity for absorbing extraneous elements which has been shown by the French population of south Louisiana.[11]

From their often-cited 1934 survey of Assumption and Terrebonne parishes, sociologists Smith and Parenton in 1938 testified:

> Under American rule the Louisiana French have, to the present time, perpetuated their language and culture, and at the same time, have absorbed most of the diverse Anglo-Saxon ethnic elements which have settled among them. . . . In their contacts with the Germans, the English, the Irish, the Dutch, the Scotch, and the Spanish, the Acadians always proved their own culture to be the most persistent. . . . they have acculturated thousands from various other ethnic groups into their own persistent cultural mold.[12]

A year earlier Smith and Post, armed with the results of the foregoing 1934 survey, argued with assurance about Cajun assimilative strength in "The Country Butchery: A Co-operative Institution":

> They [Cajuns] are a homogeneous people of French descent set apart from neighboring groups by language, religion, and customs, and have maintained in unaltered simplicity many of the ways and manners of their forefathers. While holding tenaciously to the lands settled by their progenitors, these people have resolutely resisted cultural influences which have been impinging upon them from surrounding groups. Indeed, they have shown an unlimited capacity for absorbing the extraneous population elements coming among them. In many cases they have stamped the offspring of intermarriages with their own customs and traditions, the change from an Anglo-Saxon to a

> French cultural heritage sometimes taking place in a single generation.[13]

In 1939 Shugg described the severe backwardness of the nineteenth-century "swamp Cajuns":

> Cajuns who dwelt along the southern bayous were even more conservative [than the Cajun prairie residents], and completely untouched by the changing customs of the world outside. Large communities within seventy-five miles of New Orleans were living in 1870 "as they lived a hundred years ago" [as reported in the New Orleans Picayune, 28 July 1873].[14]

Of the cultural purity of the Louisiana Creoles residing in New Orleans in 1941, the W.P.A. Writers' Program proposed:

> The Creoles, white descendants of the French and Spanish settlers, make up a large percentage of the [New Orleans] population and still retain their Latin identity in respect to language, customs, and culture, in spite of more than a century of American intercourse.[15]

Three years later Kane in his romanticized history idyllically pictured Cajun pastoral isolation:

> The world heard little and saw nothing of the Acadian and his bayous. He remained in the back country, developing his own habits, his own economy, his likes and dislikes. His contacts with others, even of his own territory, were few; he lived on his own resources. He acquired, with the years, not possessions but peace. Let others concern themselves with problems and abstractions and systems of money; the Acadian worked and played as in times gone by, behind his protective barrier of bayou and distance.[16]

Parenton in 1949 again spoke out:

> Thus French Louisiana in its first experience of cultural pressure, as in its later contacts with Anglo Saxon influences, remained essentially French. Indeed these outside elements often were acculturated to French Louisiana's way of life.[17]

Overlooking the entire nineteenth century in her 1951 "Historical Sketch of the Acadians," Saucier wrote with reverence regarding the Cajun provincial panoply:

> Some few of the Louisiana Acadians in remote sections are still living as they did in Grand Pre /before 1755/. It is interesting to note that writers such as Casgrain /1885/, Rameau de St. Pere /1877/, and Grace McKinstry /1925/ visited Louisiana in order to verify this fact. Casgrain (1890) /1885/ saw the Acadians go to church in carts just as they had done in Grand Pre.[18]

In their well-known 1952 monograph, The People of Louisiana, Smith and Hitt repeated verbatim, changing only the grammatical singularity of the last sentence, Smith's 1937 assessment of French assimilative ability quoted above.[19] Dunn recited the same litany in 1956:

> . . . the French culture found in South Louisiana today is very largely that handed down by descendants of the Acadians, and the French and Spanish settlers. They have been very tenacious in holding their French culture traits. . . .[20]

Writing for the American Heritage in the following year, Ketchum fantasized on the remote, rustic life of the contemporary Cajun:

> . . . Acadians came to Louisiana to settle, and since that time, physically isolated and set apart from the main currents of American life, they have clung to their old ways, remaining one of the least assimilated peoples in the United States. Speaking an ancient French dialect which few outsiders can follow, mixing little with the modern world, they earn a living by fishing, boating, trapping, and by selling hand-woven baskets and cloth. In a region of few roads, they live on simple wooden houseboats, dependent on the waterways and the pirogue--a slender, graceful canoe hollowed out of a single cypress log--for transportation.[21]

Without citing any references, Oster in 1959 reflected fancifully in the introduction to his Cajun folk music article about the changeless nature of Cajun customs:

> Because of isolation from the rest of the world and because of pride in their French heritage, descendants of the Acadians, now usually called "Cajuns," have retained a fundamentally French culture for most of the two centuries of their stay in a dominantly English-speaking nation. A generation ago, a French visitor to southwest Louisiana, the area along the Lafourche, Teche, and Vermilion bayous, could easily have imagined himself in a province (somewhat tropical) of France itself. He would have noticed that the people spoke French almost exclusively, a dialect much like that of the provinces, that they still practiced many French customs, and that some of the people sang ancient French folksongs.[22]

LeBlanc noted in his 1962 "Acadian Migrations" thesis:

> . . . it is worthy of mention that the retention of their culture by the Acadians in Louisiana even to today has been at least in part the result of physical isolation. Even though a few entered city occupations, most were in typical bayou settlements where travel, except along the bayou by boat, was difficult. Until the advent of modern roads in the 20th century this isolation was effective in protecting their culture.[23]

In their 1963 Louisiana French grammar text, Conwell and Juilland highlighted another interesting theme within the literature which may be at odds with the tremendous assimilation power proposed for the Louisiana French--a contemporary perception of xenophobia brought about by their isolation:

> It is more or less true that anyone who does not speak French and is not a Catholic remains a stranger in the area; it is not unusual for Acadians to refer to such individuals as Americans and to themselves as Frenchmen.[24]

Keating in 1966 also discerned such distrust of outsiders: "The estimated quarter of a million French-speaking dwellers of the Louisiana coastal marsh do not accept strangers easily."[25] Five years later in the New York Times, Reed reported a similar awareness:

> They have resisted fairly successfully the galloping assimilation by the national majority that has overtaken many other ethnic minorities. With some qualification, it appears that the Cajuns have had more affect on the outsiders who have come to southern Louisiana than vice versa. . . . Many Acadians still refer to themselves as "Frenchmen" and to persons of other areas as "the Americans."[26]

And in 1973 Western maintained the xenophobia motif in his Geographical Review article: "Their [Cajun] isolation bred introspection, mistrust of outsiders, and a distinctive patois."[27]

Even Taylor in his 1976 general history of Louisiana jumped onto the cultural lag bandwagon:

> As late as the 1950s, driving an automobile in South Central Louisiana on Sunday was made difficult by the horses and buggies of 'Cajun' families going to and returning from mass.[28]

In the next year Spitzer, a folklorist, reported in a Southern Exposure magazine article:

> The effect of acculturation on Cajuns greatly increased after 1930. Until then, they had tended to absorb the various groups they had come in contact with, partly by sheer numbers, and partly through relative prosperity and social strength. . . . Thus, the 1930s to the 1960s saw Cajuns and Creoles alike becoming less culturally distinct from other Southerners, but because of the isolating factors and cultural strengths, much that was traditional survived or was modified within tradition.[29]

Offering no documentation, but with complete confidence, Brandon, a professor of French, claimed in 1978:

> It is known outside New Orleans, especially in the south-central and southwestern part of the state, the Acadians were culturally the most dominant group of settlers who absorbed all other ethnic elements that came in contact with them. The colonists of Spanish, German, and Italian origins, as well as Americans of English-Scotch-Irish stock, became thoroughly acculturated and today claim Acadian descent. . . . For over a century and a half the Acadians lived in geographical and cultural isolation and did not come into contact with the American way of life.[30]

To bolster her statement, Brandon perhaps relied on her comment made six years earlier:

> Because of their isolation and closely integrated family and community life, the Cajuns continued to cling to their language, their customs, and their Catholic religion. Through their marriages to Cajun girls, the young American bachelors became thoroughly assimilated. Their descendants continued the pattern of life of the bayou country without any change until the beginning of the twentieth century.[31]

In 1978 linguist Oukada, stressing historical precedent, argued:

> Indeed, their sociocultural tenacity has been evidenced historically by their stubborn refusal to swear allegiance to the king of England, refusal which led subsequently to their deportation from Nova Scotia, and by their resistance to the cultural assimilation promoted by the "melting-pot" philosophy whereby Americans from diverse backgrounds were forced, through legislative enactments, to merge into a culturally cohesive society. The current use of the French language, however casual it may be, is strong evidence for such relative immunity to absorption by the dominant or "mainstream" culture. It is difficult, however, to ascertain that the "tenacity feature" is peculiar to the Acadian subculture alone. Would the "Creoles" of New Orleans have perpetuated their Colonial French to a greater degree had they settled in an area as geographically isolated as that occupied by the Acadians?[32]

And in 1980 LeBreton reiterated the Cajun isolation-assimilation refrain in the prestigious Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups:

> By and large the Acadian communities existed in isolation; often living in rural and inaccessible areas, the inhabitants were self-sufficient and kept to themselves. . . . many outsiders noted their extreme insularity, buttressed by the use of Acadian French, their maintenance of Acadian folk customs, and their tendency to marry only other Acadians. . . . Cajun women occasionally married outsiders--Germans, Spanish, English, and others. By the early 20th century there were Cajun families by the name of Schneider, Lopez, Kibbe, Higginbotham, Hoffpauir, Smith, and Hernandez. In almost all such instances, however, the outsiders were completely absorbed into the Cajun culture and community; they learned to speak French and adopted the local customs. Family ties were very strong, and Cajun women generally raised their children in the Cajun way of life. . . . Cajun culture and Cajun communities thrived in rural isolation; in the 20th century they have become partially Americanized.[33]

With such a seemingly ceaseless, self-sustaining medley in the literature it is no wonder then that Cajuns themselves have promoted the mystique of provincialism. In attempting to rationalize his study on Cajun cultural isolation, Hodges in 1971 quoted his interview the previous year with Alcius Fuselier of Acadia Parish:

> We've got our own way of doing things in these parts. We haven't changed much since the old days, but that's because we like things the way they are. The more outsiders come here, the more things are bound to change. Like it or not, things would be different.[34]

Wright, in his 1974 journalistic search for the "unreconstructed Cajun," quoted a proud Cajun speaking broken English: "Lots of peoples try to change us, but six mont's after they come, they're Cajuns too."[35]

Criticism and Contradiction

So from this voluminous literature the Louisiana French apparently lived in almost complete isolation and changed little during the nineteenth century. Yet judging from their sources, of the foregoing twenty-six scholars who advocated a Louisiana French culture frozen in time and isolated in space, nineteen were influenced to some degree by one or more of the Gilmore, Smith, or Smith and Parenton works.[36] These three seemingly wellspring studies are not themselves isolated from criticism, however.

Gilmore's article was highly opinionated, having provided no methodological discussion and having depended upon only seven sources, three of which were general histories.[37] He fully admitted in his introduction that his research was exploratory:

> It should be made clear in the beginning that this paper does not constitute a report on a finished research project. Rather, it is an attempt to outline in a broad way a subject which deserves thorough study, on which some research is in progress, but which cannot be carried to completion with the resources now at hand.[38]

Smith's 1937 demographic study was certainly seminal, but when describing Louisiana French assimilative preeminence he cited only Deiler's work which had emphasized eighteenth-century French assimilation of Germans and Olmsted's book which had recounted a mid-nineteenth-century, overnight visit with a "Dutch American" who could speak both French and English but was obviously

confused about his ethnic heritage. Even if Olmsted's "Dutch American" was correct about his ancestors early assimilation into the Louisiana French culture, the total number of Dutch in Louisiana was relatively insignificant.[39] Smith therefore chose to substantiate his French assimilation thesis with two works that did not reflect the main ethnic event of nineteenth-century Louisiana--massive Anglo in-migration.

Smith and Parenton's investigation possessed an impressive bibliography centered on Deiler's monograph but its methodology was inherently flawed. At the heart of their study stood a 1934 survey that sampled only fifty-nine families with non-French surnames in only two French parishes--Assumption and Terrebonne, two very rural, conservative ones no less, to determine the degree to which the French had assimilated other ethnics--Spanish, German, English, and Irish. From this extremely small spatial as well as population sample and with no explanation of their sampling technique nor any temporal framework in which the assimilation process had occurred, Smith and Parenton generalized their findings to the Louisiana French experience as a whole.[40] They wrote, for instance:

> Here [Assumption and Terrebonne parishes] were found entire households of various ethnic elements other than French who nevertheless claimed French descent and spoke French by preference. For example, out of twenty-two Spanish families studied, the members of three spoke French only; members of five spoke principally French, being barely able to understand and speak the most simple English; thirteen

> were bilingual, but with a definite French preference; while only one person out of the twenty-two households retained a bare speaking knowledge of Spanish.[41]

It can be just as easily argued, on the other hand, that more than likely the Louisiana ancestry of these Spanish families originated in the eighteenth century and that mathematically, using purposefully conservative figures, it is very possible all twenty-two families could have descended from only one Spanish male, thus illustrating that but one person may have been assimilated into the French culture long ago, not twenty-two contemporary families. The remarkable finding in the Smith and Parenton survey is that after almost a century and a half one person could still speak Spanish in the midst of French speakers.

The inferences from these three 1930s investigations, nevertheless, have been repeated over and over again by a fraternity of researchers who evidently have had little inclination to question their validity. A noteworthy trend accompanied this twentieth-century mimicry. Although most of these scholars based their isolation/assimilation arguments on the three 1930s works, many also stressed that the events/technologies at the time of their reports or shortly before were causing the ultimate demise of the Louisiana French culture: television, post-World-War-II oil boom, World War II, movies, highway construction, automobiles, radio, World

War I, public education, and agricultural mechanization (see Note 1). But, enigmatically, this trend back through time, according to these researchers, never quite reached the nineteenth century because it surely possessed no antecedents to these events, it had been changeless.

Furthermore, some of these writers, while championing Louisiana French, particularly Cajun, cultural isolation and assimilative prowess, have been caught in contradictory thoughts. The foregoing 1880 Daniels' article prefaced its comment on Acadian bucolic seclusion:

> These peculiar people [Cajuns] are often spoken of as 'passing away.' This may be true of certain localities. On the Mississippi River, for instance, where they once owned large and valuable tracts of land, they have mostly yielded before the more enterprising energetic American, the uneducated class moving to the interior, and, as it were, finding their level among their own kind, while the more intelligent that remain are rapidly becoming Americanized--losing their distinctive characteristics through English education, social intercourse, and intermarriages with their American compatriots.[42]

As he correlated the distribution of sugar plantations with high black population density, Smith was forced to recognize rapacious nineteenth-century Anglo incursion deep into French Louisiana:

> The early years of the American period saw a great influx into Louisiana of American planters from the southeastern states and some from the northeastern states, many of whom moved into the sugar bowl, established plantations, and began the production of sugar on a large scale. In some cases, a large

> holding was obtained by consolidating a number of small farms. The "Teche Country" was especially attractive to these newcomers, although some settled on Bayou Lafourche and the other distributaries of the Mississippi and Red rivers.[43]

Kane's inconsistency corroborated Smith's incursion idea:

> They [Cajuns] moved into the adjoining prairie stretches and streams, leaving the Teche banks for others. The Americans arrived early in small numbers, then in greater crowds, and here they have entrenched themselves as on no other large bayou of South Louisiana. . . . Today over the Teche spreads an alternation of elements--one part that of the older Creoles; another, that of the Acadians; but predominant over many miles, that of the Anglo-Saxons.[44]

"Much of the popular literature has capitalized on the 'romantic' aspects of the French culture based on their retention of the traditional, both in physical environment and in behavior,"[45] Dunn openly admitted, perhaps oblivious to her own predicament. Oster also contradicted his dreamy imagination:

> When settlers from the southern mountains, inheritors of the tradition of the British Isles, made their way into the Cajun country, they often brought with them Anglo-Saxon and southern mountain songs. Some of these found so much favor with the Cajuns they translated them into the French idiom. Some followed the original quite closely with little or no modification to make the French words rhyme. For example, "A Paper of Pins" became "Un Paquet d' Epingles" and "Billy Boy," "Billy Garcon."[46]

Brandon likewise vacillated:

> Folksongs from American folklore, with roots in England, Scotland and Ireland, translated into French, are known by all the [Cajun] singers, young and old. The favorites are Billy Boy, often called Billy Garcon, Et ou c'que t'es parti, mon bon vieux mari?--translation of My Good Old Man, Un papier d'epingles, the English Paper of Pins, La fille

d'un boucher taken from the well known British broadside ballad The Butcher Boy, etc.[47]

Gilmore confessed throughout his 1933 opinionated article:

> In the small towns located in agricultural sections, are an educated [Cajun] minority who have become fairly well Americanized, and who are engaged in "white collar" occupations. . . . the merchants, by virtue of their business connections, have the most frequent outside contacts. Next to the merchant is the farmer. Since farm products must be marketed, many of the agricultural sections are reasonably accessible to lines of transportation. Americanization, even among the tenant class, therefore, has made some progress. . . . In conclusion it must be said that if the effects of social isolation on the Acadians are to be recorded, an adequate study must be made soon. . . . the process of change is now under way and is certain to gain momentum. Already some opportunities have been lost.[48]

Gilmore slipped again:

> The most obvious effect of social isolation on the Acadians is the dialect, cajun patois, referred to above. Sufficient study has been made of this to indicate clearly that it is the product of a slow change in their original language and that it contains some words which have filtered in from other sources.[49]

This change in language, which perhaps is the essence of a culture,[50] seems to be a major stumbling block for those who support the Cajun insularity thesis, for, if in total isolation, how did their distinctive Cajun patois become distinctive? One way is that little change occurred, and they held true to seventeenth-century French. Nostrand has noted that Hispanos through centuries of isolation in mountain valleys of their New Mexico homeland have done exactly that--maintained into this

century the archaic, sixteenth-century Spanish language of their ancestors.

Another way--the way of the Louisiana French--is that unique patois developed from different "gumbos," each made with a French "roux," of several languages. Davis pointed out that early nineteenth-century French Creoles spoke French which had been corrupted through the years by Indian, African, and Spanish words and expressions.[51] On the Cajun dialect, Fortier, famed commentator of nineteenth-century Louisiana, recorded in 1891:

> The English language has naturally exerted a great influence on the Louisiana Acadian patois, and so have the Spanish and Creole patois, producing thus a very interesting speech mixture.[52]

In his germinal work on the evolution of the Louisiana French language, Read in 1931 documented that both Creole and Cajun dialects contain "certain French archaisms"[53] and concisely concluded that:

> It is obviously impossible to erect an insurmountable barrier between the language of the Creoles and that of the Acadians. Both dialects have to a great extent the same native vocabulary, and both have borrowed from the same foreign sources--English, German, Spanish, African, and Indian.[54]

Portraying a hypothetical scenario in which a French-speaking visitor meets for the first time some contemporary Louisiana French sociolinguist Tentchoff in 1975 exclaimed:

> He finds that with some effort he can understand the speech of some of his new acquaintances. Other speakers are almost totally incomprehensible to him.

> They are not speaking French though he recognizes a word here and there.[55]

Tentchoff, moreover, commented that not only do Creole and Cajun French speakers intersperse English words within their speech, some actually incorporate English grammatical structure.[56] The nadir of such language bastardization dismissed all cultural pride during this century with the cute Anglicization of French surnames for commercial purposes. Western's 1973 survey in the city of Houma, for example, found that ". . . Hebert's Motel was renamed the 'A Bear' Motel and Broussard's used-car lot became 'Bruces'."[57]

Before listing 147 English words and meanings that in some way had crept into spoken Louisiana French by 1939, Smith and Phillips squarely placed the blame for this historical corruption on the educational process which had been thoroughly permeated with English words, ideas, and viewpoints and which had stringently restricted contact with French culture, especially French literature.[58] Certified Brasseaux: ". . . Cajuns became the target of constant pressure by Anglo-Americans to accept an educational system made in their own image and the values which had produced that system."[59] These were not new ideas, though, for in the previous century Fortier (1891) had sagaciously predicted:

> All of them [some Cajuns he visited] spoke French, but the influence of English on their French was sometimes

> apparent. . . . Education will, of course, destroy their dialect, so that the work of studying their peculiar customs and language must not be delayed long.[60]

Ironically, the "lingering death" of Louisiana French literature, most specifically newspapers and magazines of the nineteenth-century Creoles, wrote Tinker incisively, was a tragic result of a no-win, language-use tautology:

> Gallic journalism, as we have seen, increased in power and importance until the outbreak of the Civil War, and then began to decline. . . . The main reason for this was the waning use of the French language. The post war poverty forced the Creoles to forego their annual visits to France and made then send their sons to New Orleans public schools instead of to Parisian universities. Here they learned English and, because the American boys made fun of them, they became ashamed to speak French. These changes caused a distinct cleavage with Gallic culture and tradition and brought about a progressive Americanization of the Creole population that rapidly diminished the number of those interested in French newspapers. . . . by 1900 the use of French in Louisiana had become, not a necessity, but a mere sentimental addiction, indulged in by a rapidly decreasing few.[61]

So then did Robin's (1803-05) impassioned, one-hundred-year-old warning to the Louisiana French come true:

> . . . the retention of your native language, which if you obtain it, will give you the means of obtaining everything else you desire, since it will give you the right to be governed by leaders of your choice. If you do not obtain it, all other gains that you may obtain will be illusory.[62]

Perhaps a young lady interviewed by Western in 1971 best personified Robin's illusion: "We're Americans first and Cajuns second, and that's the way it's got to be."[63] And the Cajuns as well as the Creoles became Americans long

before most Louisiana French would admit and many researchers have realized.

The Myth Challenged

Reporters, some nineteenth-century contemporaries and some twentieth-century scholars, who have provided descriptions debunking this Louisiana French isolation-assimilation myth have been almost entirely ignored. For example, Senator Bernard Marigny, President of the Louisiana Senate during the 1820s "French Ascendancy," two decades later, while debating legalities of a proposed state constitution, declared with acrimonious regret:

> The Anglo-Saxon race have /sic/ invaded every thing. They have supremacy in both houses of the legislature. . . . I know that the Anglo-Saxon race are /sic/ the most numerous and therefore the strongest. We are yet to learn whether they will abuse the possession of numerical force to overwhelm the Franco-American population.[64]

After the consolidation of the "Crescent City's" municipalities in February 1852, an anonymous observer in a Knickerbocker article crowed triumphantly about the political outcome of this Franco-American "Battle of New Orleans:" "The Creole influence breathed its last breath in the late struggle against the amalgamation of all the municipalities under one government; and New Orleans is now an Anglo-Saxon city."[65] Two years later Olmsted, in the midst of his memorable, antebellum travels through the "American Slave States," spent a March night with a

family along the road from Lake Charles to Opelousas and recorded:

> In an evening smoke, upon the settle, we learned that there were many Creoles about here, most of whom learned English, and had their children taught English at the schools. The Americans would not take the trouble to learn French. They often intermarried. A daughter of their own was the wife of an American neighbour.[66]

Reflecting about the changes that took place in Cajun social mores after the Civil War, the anonymous author of the Breaux Manuscript, a folkway collection completed in 1901 containing memories of rural French Louisiana as far back as the 1840s, lamented:

> Times have changed. Many of the old family-heads have died, and others have taken their place, people coming from neighboring parishes or states. It is not uncommon, here as elsewhere, for the children not to resemble their parents. It follows then that the character is more suspicious, that there is less simplicity, frankness and good-faith in the population, and this new disposition diminishes the old cordiality.
>
> Things that have happened since the Civil War, things aimed at civilizing and enlightening the people, have not been without influence on the younger generation. The increase in human contacts over the past forty years has been great. There is less peasant rusticity and coarseness; it yields to a sort of pride, strongly marked in some which is quite the opposite of the early character. . . . For good or evil, the new ideas and ethics must be adopted. Young folk who tried to revive the sociability of the earlier epoch would soon be the dupes of their own simple honesty. The more one examines the new centers of population, the more one finds the new character accentuated, whereas the old Acadian mores are now to be found only in out-of-the-way places, and especially among the elderly.[67]

Richardson in 1885 reminisced about fifty years of change in the "Teche Country" and described vividly several

agricultural improvements, for instance:

> With a change in agriculture came a change in implements of husbandry and all connected with them. The improved clipper plow took the place of the old barshear for cultivation, and the venerable Creole breaking-up plow, drawn by four yoke of oxen by the horns, and which, at a distance, looked so much like slow moving funeral processions, was replaced by the bright steel mold-board behind fast-stepping horses. The improved cart and wagon took the place of the all-wood wheel and axle-tree without a scrap of iron about the whole concern, and which, of a clear morning, could be heard half a mile away, screaking like a thousand tom-cats having their tails ground off.[68]

Regarding Anglo agricultural contributions in South Louisiana, Comeaux quoted from an 1850 article in the widely-respected DeBow's Review by Andre LeBlanc, a Cajun from Assumption Parish: "We owe in a great measure, to the inhabitants of the Carolinas and Virginia, who have settled among us, the great improvements we have so far made in agriculture."[69]

In the last two decades of the century a flood of Midwesterners attracted by familiar flat grasslands at cheap prices swept into Louisiana's southwest prairies,[70] and Kniffen has narrated the revolutionary changes, all of which were soon adopted by their Cajun neighbors, these Midwest farmers wrought on traditional rice agricultural methods in Louisiana:

> They thought to bring with them the corn-hog economy which had worked so well in the Midwestern prairies, but somehow this system did not succeed in the Louisiana prairies. And in seeking a substitute these farmers happened upon rice, which the Acadians of the prairies had been raising in a rather haphazard manner. The Midwesterners were accustomed to

> growing crops like wheat, oats, barley, and rye. They saw in rice simply another grain which could be grown by methods with which they were familiar. . . . The Midwesterners used the same machinery and methods they had previously employed in grain growing: seeders, binders, shocks in the field, and steam threshing machines. . . . All this represents an enormous change from the simple hand methods employed with "providence" rice. And it is vastly different in concept and execution from the production of river rice, of Louisiana origin and applied to the levee backlands of the Mississippi system.[71]

Of course it is strange indeed that presumably ultra-conservative Cajun farmers renown for their resistance to any change whatsoever would take up such foreign agricultural advancements.

Only a handful of researchers have challenged, some with other purposes in mind, the idea that for the Louisiana French the nineteenth century was a never-changing cultural void in which, with unqualified success, they resisted American mainstream assimilation. In his superbly-researched and most-convincing dissertation, Newton wrote in various chapters:

> It was into such a /eighteenth-century Louisiana French/ society that the Anglo-Americans came, at first for adventure and profit; then to govern, and finally, by absorption, to Americanize. . . . By the opening of the 'Roaring Forties' the imprint of Americanism had been deeply laid upon Louisiana. Commerce at New Orleans, sugar and cotton in the agricultural regions, and expansion into Texas were fast assuring the preponderance of the new population over the old. . . . a decade or more before the Civil War political and economic assimilation between the French /Creoles/ and Anglo-Americans in Louisiana was almost complete, and that afterwards political and economic blocs in the state were to be formed on other bases. To a certain degree, also, there had come about a social interfusion. . . . Neither at the beginning nor at the close of the Civil War was

> the Creole effaced from his native land. He was outnumbered, his power was broken, in his political and economic relations he was trimmed to the American pattern, his tongue was forced more and more toward English phrases, and his blood tended little by little to lose its purity through intermarriage.[72]

Certainly as Rogers succinctly recounted years later, "The Anglo-Saxon element moved in by land from other states, bringing with them [sic] the civilization which had already been established on the South Atlantic seaboard."[73] And this Anglo civilization had a very large "sweet tooth." Rushton told of the fatal fortune of small, antebellum Cajun farmers along the Mississippi River's prized sugar-soil backslope--the "second expulsion:"

> Acadian farmers could grow sugar cane, and some did, and many still do. But sugar production, unlike indigo or the subsistence agriculture of the Acadian Coast farms, works most efficiently on large tracts. Slaves were needed both to plant and to harvest the cane and to maintain the long expanses of levee protecting the river or bayou edges of the plantations--plantations carved out of raw territory or consolidated from hundreds of smaller Cajun farmers. One 1859 map shows that only splinter Cajun holdings along the Acadian Coast survived the consolidation process. Those lands were often held by the widow so-and-so and were surrounded by larger and expanding holdings under Anglo names.[74]

In his Sugar Country study, Sitterson said that this American encroachment, already well underway by the 1830s, thrust rapidly west of the Mississippi along Bayou Lafourche and into the Attakapas parishes of St. Mary and St. Martin with petits habitants succumbing to affluent Anglo sugar planters.[75] Comeaux concurred:

> Soon after the Louisiana Purchase the second major migration of the Acadians began. This one, unlike the first, was to go largely undocumented and would result from many wealthy Americans moving onto the levee lands, thereby displacing Acadians. Areas once densely settled by white yeoman farmers were soon transformed into plantations occupied by a few wealthy Americains with many black slaves. This displacement process was particularly swift along the Mississippi and Bayou Lafourche. In 1802, for example, the major crop along Bayou Lafourche was cotton, but by 1828 a plantation economy based on sugarcane was dominant in most of the area. Of course, not all Acadians fled before the surging plantation system. Some remained to become wage laborers. A few remained as yeoman farmers. As late as 1873 a traveller found a thickly settled community of small farmers two miles above Bayou Lafourche along the Mississippi, but along the Bayou Lafourche there was only a continuation of the "tier of magnificent plantations." Seventy years earlier the traveller would have found the area inhabited only by small independent farmers.[76]

Comeaux, moreover, stressed that the Anglos did not deposit their cultural baggage only at New Orleans and in the lower Mississippi sugar country but continued their aggressive invasion into the deepest swampland:

> Greater pressure for agricultural land by the 1830s and increasing profits from sugarcane crops caused many wealthy Americans to turn their attention toward the Atchafalaya Basin. These English speakers moved there from several directions. . . . Several families with French surnames moved near Bayou Chene, but English was always the major language in the area and these French speakers soon adopted it.[77]

Underscoring her Acadian acculturation thesis, Baker forcefully argued that the Cajun political record clearly demonstrated Cajun participation in state governmental affairs at the highest levels ever since Louisiana statehood and that upwardly-mobile, nineteenth-century Cajuns modeled their lives upon the social mores of the

Creoles who they perceived as being more sophisticated but who were themselves being rapidly Americanized.[78] Baker rested her case:

> . . . it seems abundantly clear, despite the popular preference to exclude the Cajun in toto from the normal patterns of acculturation, that at varying rates of speed from the time of the migration until the present, Acadians have accepted and in part adapted to mainstream society.[79]

And the exaggerated idiographic approach to Cajun history provoked the indignation of historian Arceneaux, a Cajun himself:

> Almost from the beginning, Acadians were actively involved as participants and leaders in virtually every phase of life in antebellum Louisiana. Historians of the nineteenth century have tended to overlook this fact. Instead, they have focused their attention myopically on the unique culture of the Acadians. The Acadians were different from other Americans: they were French, not Anglo-Saxon; they were Catholic, not Protestant; and they shared a unique experience that created in them a deep sense of identity. But in other ways, there were similarities to Americans of other backgrounds. In the early nineteenth century, the United States--and particularly the South--was a rural, agrarian society. In every Southern state there existed side by side plantations and shanties, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, slave and free, black and white. All these conditions existed to some degree in South Louisiana, and they existed within the parameters of Acadian culture. Before the end of the eighteenth century, the Acadians were firmly established in Louisiana, their Nouvelle Acadie. Confident that their way of life was secure, the Acadians ended their self-imposed isolation eager to face the nineteenth-century world around them.[80]

Finally, while elucidating antebellum Franco-American political struggles in Louisiana, Tregle, like Newton before him, struck shrewdly at the heart of the issue:

> Against these [American] dangers the French community could pit only limited resources. . . . Their one safeguard was in numbers, for, at least in the beginning, they were the clear majority in the community.[81]

Brasseaux not only effectively expressed the reason for Marigny's chagrin but also explained why Tregle's "beginning" was so ephemeral:

> Greatly outnumbered in statewide democratic processes, lacking any control over the legal or governmental apparatus of the state, Cajuns could do little more, over the years, than employ delaying tactics to preserve some semblance of their cultural values.[82]

What has not been fully appreciated in all the literature promoting Cajun cultural chastity is the fact that these French had a history, at times tragic, of dramatic change. In the seventeenth century they were becoming Acadians. In the eighteenth century they were becoming Cajuns. And in the nineteenth century they were becoming Americans. Certainly in the eighteenth century they and their Creole brethren had assimilated smaller populations into their way of life, and Deiler has deeply lamented the fate of the German Creoles.[83] But in the nineteenth century the tables were turned. The French Creole ancienne population, the thriving Cajun culture, and the "Foreign French" newcomers felt the tide of an aggressive Anglo nation searching for its destiny across an entire continent. Yet perpetuating this myth of nineteenth-century Cajun absolute insularity, Conrad firmly upheld as valid Warner's 1887 comment in Harper's New Monthly Magazine on Cajun provincialism: "In a

comparative isolation from the disturbing currents of modern life, they have preserved the habits and customs of the eighteenth century."[84] Of course Warner's assertion may be true; but, then again, it may be just another romantic frame in the folk fantasy surrounding the Louisiana French, especially the Cajuns, which has not only been promoted by these people themselves but also by several generations of journalistic writers eager to satisfy their audiences' insatiable appetites for melodramatic episodes in the tradition of "Evangeline."[85]

So as it directed its attention to the manifest lacuna in analyzing the nineteenth-century geographical evolution of the Louisiana French culture as a whole, the present research premised an opposing thesis: The nineteenth century was one of critical, tumultuous transformation in which the eighteenth-century Louisiana French Creoles and Cajuns, after completely assimilating in one generation John Law's German transplants while, in the next, totally discounting four decades of Spanish governmental control, fell as the paramount cultural force to but a minority in Anglo-dominated twentieth-century Louisiana.

NOTES

[1]Glenn R. Conrad, "The Acadians: Myths and Realities," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 15; also published the preceding year as "Les Acadiens: La legende et la realite," Revue de Louisiane 6 (1977):5-17. For other Louisiana, especially Creole, myths Conrad has attempted to dispel, refer to Glenn R. Conrad, "Should We Take Another Look at Antebellum Louisiana?" Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978):35-48. In support of his four reasons for the twentieth-century collapse of the Cajun culture, Conrad cited Parenton's 1949 article:

> Today, urbanizing influences are permeating the entire section. These include improved communication, mechanization of agriculture (with it concomitant social implications) and, particularly, mass media of education (radio, movies, newspapers) as well as increased contacts outside French-speaking Louisiana.

See Conrad, "Acadians," p. 20; and Vernon J. Parenton, "Socio-Psychological Integration in a Rural French-Speaking Section of Louisiana," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 30 (1949):195. But Parenton was not the first to make such observations during this century. Gilmore in 1933 declared:

> The extension of the highway system is rapidly breaking down their geographical isolation and the development of a more adequate and more aggressive public school system is tending to break down their language barriers. Even earlier, the taking of large numbers of young people from these communities to the World War seems to have considerably disturbed the provincial complacency which for years resisted social change.

See H. W. Gilmore, "Social Isolation of the French Speaking People of Rural Louisiana," Social Forces 12 (1933):84. Others too have diagnosed those symptoms of the Americanization epidemic that caused the Cajun cultural fatality. Saucier, for example, proudly listed in 1951:

> But on the whole, the Acadians of today are in tempo with the jazz age. The paved road, the Ford car, the radio and the television have produced a marvelous change in the past few years. . . . The splendid

> public-school system of Louisiana was a great factor in teaching English to the Acadians. . . .

Corinne L. Saucier, "A Historical Sketch of the Acadians," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 34 (1951):85. Oster enumerated at length about the causes of such cultural cancer: public schools, road building, phonographs, radio, motion pictures, television, World War II, oil discovery, and industrialization. See Harry Oster, "Acculturation in Cajun Folk Music," McNeese Review 11 (1959):12. Western blamed the twentieth-century developments of road building, automobile transportation, public education, radio and television communication, World War II, and the postwar oil-field boom. Read John Western, "Social Groups and Activity Patterns in Houma, Louisiana," Geographical Review 63 (1973):302-04. Brasseaux charged that

> . . . . during the late 1920s and early 1930s, the construction of a modern road system linking Acadiana with the remainder of the state foreshadowed the introduction. . . of the automobile, radio, motion pictures and other technological advancements of the early twentieth century drastically altered Cajun values and life styles.

Carl A. Brasseaux, "Acadian Education: From Cultural Isolation to Mainstream America," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 218. And LeBreton repeated the ritual: advances in transportation, communications and education after World War I; farm mechanization, radio, motion pictures, television; and post-World War II oil and gas discoveries. See Marietta M. LeBreton, "Acadians," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 2. Conrad has not been alone in neglecting the nineteenth-century Cajuns. For instance, in both of his books LeBlanc jumped from the eighteenth century to the twentieth as if the intervening one hundred years never occurred. See Dudley J. LeBlanc, The True Story of the Acadians (Lafayette, LA: By the Author, 1932) and The Acadian Miracle (Lafayette, LA: Evangeline Publishing, 1966).

[2]Conrad, "Acadians;" Victor H. Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1967), passim; Malcolm L. Comeaux, Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations, Geoscience and Man, II, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), pp. 14-15; "Settlement and Folk Occupations of the Atchafalaya Basin" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1969), pp. 23-25; Parenton, p. 192; Tommy W. Rogers, "Origin and

Cultural Assimilation of the Population of Louisiana," Mississippi Quarterly 25 (1971-72):46-47; Lewis W. Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana--A Study in Cultural Conflicts," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 14 (1933):32-35; "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment between the French and the Anglo-American Populations of Louisiana, 1803-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929), pp. 99-102, 192-93; W. H. Sparks, The Memories of Fifty Years: Containing Brief Biographical Notices of Distinguished Americans, and Anecdotes of Remarkable Men (Macon, GA: J. W. Burke, 1870), pp. 386-89; Gladys C. Case, The Bayou Chene Story: A History of the Atchafalaya Basin and its People (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1973), pp. 37-88; Ione Weiland, "Typical Household: Lafayette Parish, 1825-1835," Attakapas Gazette 9 (1974):8; Joel L. Fletcher, The Acadians in Louisiana Today (Lafayette, LA: Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1959), n.p.; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 177; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 182; Joseph L. Tisch, French In Louisiana: A Study of the Historical Development of the French Language of Louisiana (New Orleans: A. F. Laborde and Sons, 1959), pp. 46-47; William A. Read, Louisiana-French (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1931; revised ed. 1963), p. 113; Alvin L. Bertrand and Calvin L. Beale, The French and Non-French in Rural Louisiana: A Study of the Relevance of Ethnic Factors to Rural Development, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 606 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1965), pp. 7-8; T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 205-14; Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 18-19, 36, 63, passim; Vaughan B. Baker, "The Acadians in Antebellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 118; Jerah Johnson, "The Louisiana French," Contemporary French Civilization 1 (1976):20-21; Eric Waddell, "La Louisiane: Un poste outre-frontiere de l'Amerique francaise ou un autre pays et une autre culture?" Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):203; Brasseaux, p. 213; Western, p. 302; Donald J. Millet, "The Lumber Industry of 'Imperial' Calcasieu, 1865-1900," Louisiana History 7 (1966):51-59; Rachel E. Norgress, "The History of the Cypress Lumber Industry in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 30 (1947):979-1059; Donald J. Millet, "The Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation,

Louisiana State University, 1964), pp. 259-92.

[3]Marshall Gautreau, "The New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, 1850-1860" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1955): Conway D. Thornburgh, "The History of the New Orleans Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, 1851-1861" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1950); Merl E. Reed, New Orleans and the Railroads, The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), pp. 108-30; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Louisiana Railroads in the Civil War" (M.A. thesis, McNeese State University, 1970), pp. 44-68, 79-87; Walter Prichard, ed., "A Forgotten Engineer; G. W. R. Bayley and his 'History of the Railroads of Louisiana'," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 30 (1947): 1065-325; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "A Small Contribution: Louisiana's Short Rural Railroads in the Civil War," Louisiana History 18 (1977):89-95.

[4]For descriptions of the wartime fortunes of some of these Louisiana French troops and the fighting in French Louisiana, read Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1931), pp. 63-77; J. Philip Dismukes, The Center: A History of the Development of Lafayette, Louisiana (Lafayette, LA: City of Lafayette, 1972), pp. 18-21; Harry L. Griffin, The Attakapas Country: A History of Lafayette Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1959), pp. 142-46; Lillian C. Bourgeois, Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish (New Orleans, Pelican Publishing, 1957), pp. 48-50, 198-99; Grover Rees, A Narrative History of Breaux Bridge, Once Called "La Pointe" (Lafayette, LA: 1976), pp. 28-29; Case, pp. 113-24; Barnes F. Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense," Louisiana History 1 (1960):99-129; William H. Perrin, ed., Southwest Louisiana, Biographical and Historical (New Orleans: Gulf Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 61-65; T. Harry Williams, P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press); William Arceneaux, Acadian General Alfred Mouton and the Civil War, University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series, No. 5, 2nd ed. (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1981); David C. Edmonds, Yankee In Acadiana: The Great Texas Overland Expedition Through Southwestern Louisiana (October - December 1863) (Lafayette, LA: Acadiana Press, 1979); John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1963), pp. 29-38, 58-59, 73-80, 164-65, 212-25; Jefferson D. Bragg, Louisiana in the Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941), pp. 34-39, 122-33, 158-59; Davis, pp. 243-79; Taylor, Louisiana, pp. 87-114; and

Edwin C. Bearss, "The Civil War Comes to the Lafourche," Louisiana Studies 5 (1966):97-155; Shugg, p. 173. Moreover, the Yankee invasion of South Louisiana forced the movement of Louisiana's state capital, state officials, and government operations to Opelousas, deep into French Louisiana, from May 1862 to January 1863. See Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction (New York: 1879; reprint ed., New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1955), p. 47; Davis, p. 261; and Louisiana Legislative Council, The History and the Government of Louisiana, Research Study No. 17 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Legislative Council, 1964), p. 9.

[5]Larbi Oukada, "The Territory and Population of French-Speaking Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978): 20; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), pp. 388-90, passim; Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), passim.

[6]Treat, passim; Jean A. Scarpaci, "Italian Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1880-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1972), pp. 32-96.

[7]R. L. Daniels, "The Acadians of Louisiana," Scribner's Monthly 19 (1880):383.

[8]Thomas O'Hagan, "The Acadians In Louisiana," North American Notes and Queries (June 1900):13.

[9]Gilmore, p. 82.

[10]Minnie Kelley, "Acadian South Louisiana," Journal of Geography 33 (1934):85.

[11]T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 293 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937), p. 17.

[12]T. Lynn Smith and Vernon J. Parenton, "Acculturation Among the Louisiana French," American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938):357, 364.

[13]T. Lynn Smith and Lauren C. Post, "The Country Butchery: A Co-operative Institution," Rural Sociology 2 (1937):335-37.

[14]Shugg, p. 309.

[15]Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana, comps., Louisiana: A Guide to

the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 318.

[16]Harnett T. Kane, The Bayous of Louisiana (New York: William Morrow, 1944), p. 11.

[17]Parenton, p. 192.

[18]Saucier, pp. 84, 86, 88-89.

[19]Smith and Hitt, p. 48.

[20]Marie S. Dunn, "A Comparative Study: Louisiana's French and Anglo-Saxon Cultures," Louisiana Studies 10 (1971):133.

[21]Richard M. Ketchum, "Cajun Country" in The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places (New York: American Heritage Publishing, 1957), pp. 228-29.

[22]Oster, p. 12.

[23]Robert G. LeBlanc, "The Acadian Migrations" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1962), p. 69.

[24]Marilyn J. Conwell and Alphonse Juilland, Louisiana French Grammar, I: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), p. 18.

[25]Bern Keating, "Cajunland: Louisiana's French-speaking Coast," National Geographic 129 (1966):355.

[26]Roy Reed, "Louisiana's Cajuns, a Minority with Power," New York Times, 9 May 1972, p. 43. In my present residence I read in a local newspaper about the nineteenth-century Cajun cultural insularity:

> Isolated from the mainstream of American development well into the 20th century, the Cajuns clung to their language and culture, developing their own cuisine, architecture, crafts and, in particular music.

Joy S. Lewis, "Cajun Jumpin' Gumbo Music Spices Louisiana Life," Milwaukee Journal, 6 February 1983, Entertainment section, p. 4. This Cajun isolation idea associated with little previous change, furthermore, has evidently been spread nationwide and is apparently being upheld by all sectors of the journalistic community. A case at point is Steve Croft's summary comment on the CBS Evening News for 15 February 1983, about Cajun customs in his television report regarding Mardi Gras in South Louisiana: "Cajun life has begun to change."

[27]Western, p. 302. See also Lyle G. Williams, "Some Effects of Acadian Settlement on the Pattern of Land Occupance in Lafayette Parish," Attakapas Gazette 6 (1971): 25.

[28]Taylor, Louisiana, p. 25.

[29]Nicholas Spitzer, "Cajuns and Creoles: The French Gulf Coast," Southern Exposure 5 (1977):150.

[30]Elizabeth Brandon, "Acadian Folk Songs as Reflected in 'La Delaissee'," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 187-88.

[31]Elizabeth Brandon, "The Socio-Cultural Traits of the French Folksong in Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 1 (1972):21.

[32]Oukada, pp. 9-10.

[33]LeBreton, pp. 2-3.

[34]David J. Hodges, "The Cajun Culture of Southwestern Louisiana: A Study of Cultural Isolation and Role Adaptation as Factors in the Fusion of Black African and French Acadian Culture Traits" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1971), p. 92.

[35]Lawrence Wright, "In Quest of the Unreconstructed Cajun," Southern Voices 1 (1974):34.

[36]The Daniels, Keating, Reed, and Wright articles were not considered scholarly and thus were not counted.

[37]Gilmore, pp. 78-84.

[38]Ibid., p. 78.

[39]Smith, Population of Louisiana, p. 117; J. Hanno Deiler, The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent (Philadelphia: 1909; reprinted ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1975), passim; Frederick L. Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observation on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 323-24.

[40]Smith and Parenton, pp. 355-64.

[41]Ibid., p. 362.

[42]"Acadians of Louisiana," p. 383.

[43]Smith, Population of Louisiana, pp. 10-11.

[44]Kane, p. 224.

[45]Dunn, pp. 144-45.

[46]Oster, p. 19. For more about Louisiana French folk songs and music, consult Irene Whitfield, Louisiana French Folk Songs, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1969); Brandon, "Acadian Folk Songs," pp. 185-209; "The Socio-Cultural Traits," pp. 19-39; Lyle Saxon, Edward Dreyer, and Robert Tallant, comps. Gumbo Ya Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales, Louisiana Writers' Project (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945), pp. 427-87; Steven L. Del Sesto, "Cajun Social Institutions and Cultural Configurations," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 122-26; Lauren C. Post, Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 158-62; Pierre V. Daigle, Tears, Love and Laughter: The Story of the Acadians (Church Point, LA: Acadian Publishing Enterprise, 1972), pp. 73-124.

[47]Brandon, "The Socio-Cultural Traits," pp. 23-24.

[48]Gilmore, pp. 81, 83-84.

[49]Ibid., p. 82.

[50]For two theoretical discussions of the socio-cultural importance of language and linguistic change, refer to Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 1-6; and William Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), pp. 260-325.

[51]Tisch, p. 3; Hosea Phillips, "The Spoken French of Louisiana," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 176; Nostrand, p. 382; J. D. Faulk, Cajun French I (Abbeville, LA: Cajun Press, 1977), p. xiv; Johnson, p. 31; Davis, p. 174.

[52]Alcee Fortier, "The Acadians of Louisiana and Their Dialect," Modern Language Association of America

Publications 6 (1891):85. Fortier's statement appeared verbatim three years later in his Louisiana Studies: Literature, Customs and Dialects, History and Education (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1894), pp. 182-83.

[53]Read, p. xix.

[54]Ibid., p. xxi. For specific words, see pp. 76-151.

[55]Dorice Tentchoff, "Cajun French and French Creole: Their Speakers and the Question of Identities," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 87-88.

[56]Ibid., pp. 98-100. For more information regarding the Louisiana French language, its dialects, and its evolution, consult Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979); Conwell and Juilland (1963); Reed (1976); John Smith-Thibodeaux, Les Francophones de Louisiane (Paris: Editions Entente, 1977); Jay K. Ditchy, Les acadiens louisianais et leur parler (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, Societe de publications romanes et francaises, 1932); Hosea Phillips, Etude du parler la paroisse Evangeline (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, Societe de publications romanes et francaises, 1936); James F. Broussard, Louisiana Creole Dialect (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944); Phillips (1978); Faulk, Cajun French; Donna K. Darden, "A Study in Louisiana French Onomastics" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1969); Dorice Tentchoff, "Speech in a Louisiana Cajun Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western University, 1977); Harley Smith and Hosea Phillips, "The Influence of English on Louisiana 'Cajun' French in Evangeline Parish," American Speech 14 (1939):198-201; George S. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," Language 10 (1934):323-33; 11 (1935):5-16; John Guilbeau, "Folklore and the Louisiana French Lexicon," Revue de Louisiane 1 (1972):45-54; Gayle Calais, "The Acadian French of the Parks (St. Martin Parish), Louisiana, Area" (M.A. thesis, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1968); Carol J. Doucet, "The Acadian French of Lafayette, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1970).

[57]Western, p. 305.

[58]Smith and Phillips, pp. 198-201.

[59]Brasseaux, p. 212.

[60]Fortier, "Acadians and Their Dialect," pp. 78, 80. For further information about nineteenth-century Louisiana French education and Louisiana education in general, refer to

Edwin L. Stephens, "The Story of Acadian Education in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 28 (1935):397-406; Brasseaux, pp. 212-24; Martin L. Riley, "The Development of Education in Louisiana Prior to Statehood," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 19 (1936):595-634; Stuart G. Noble, "Governor Claiborne and the Public School System of the Territorial Government of Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 11 (1928):535-52; John W. Faulk, "The History of Education in Lafayette Parish Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1933); William H. Miller, "The History of Public Education in Lafourche Parish Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1933); Marie L. Renaud, "The History of the Public Schools in St. Bernard Parish to 1877" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1946); Raleigh A. Suarez, "Chronicle of a Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana," Louisiana History 7 (1971):109-22; Olive I. Arceneaux, "A Brief History of Public School Education in Louisiana, 1805-1845" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1938); Leon C. Beasley, "A History of Education in Louisiana During the Reconstruction Period, 1862-1877" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1957); George A. Huff, "Public Education in Louisiana During the Reconstruction, 1866-1876" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1939); Edwin L. Stephens, "Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 16 (1933):38-56; Minns S. Robertson, Public Education in Louisiana After 1898 (Baton Rouge: 1952); Thomas H. Harris, The Story of Public Education in Louisiana (New Orleans: 1924); U. S. Bureau of Education, The History of Education in Louisiana, No. 20, by Edwin W. Fay in the Contributions to American Educational History Series, ed. Herbert B. Adams (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898; Guy C. Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1942); and Writers' Program, pp. 116-25.

[61]Edward L. Tinker, "Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, 42 (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1933), pp. 277-79.

[62]C. C. Robin, Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805, trans. and ed. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1966), p. 175.

[63]Western, p. 305.

[64]Quoted in Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana," p. 47. This quote, in a more expansive version, is also found in Newton, "Americanization of French

Louisiana," p. 202. Of the firey and colorful Marigny, Rogers paraphrased an Anderson story:

> An amusing sidelight of the conflict between American in-migrants and the native Creoles was what promised to be the most absurd of all Louisiana duels. In 1818 James Humble, a blacksmith who had moved to Catahoula Parish from Georgia, was elected to the state legislature. At that time a controversy raged between the French and the American elements in the state. Bernard Marigny, another legislator, made a speech to which Humble retorted in such fashion that Marigny considered himself insulted, and challenged Humble to a duel. When Humble declined, Marigny stated that no gentleman could refuse. Humble stated he was no gentleman. When assured he would be ruined politically and socially, Humble agreed to the duel; but, having the choice of site and weapons, the former blacksmith, who was seven feet tall, selected sledge-hammers in six feet of water in Lake Pontchartrain. Marigny, less than five feet eight, withdrew the challenge.

See Rogers, p. 52; and John Q. Anderson, "Drinking, Fighting, and Fooling--Sidelights of Social History in Ante-Bellum Louisiana," Louisiana History 4 (1964):35. Read also Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, the Pelican State (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), pp. 167-68.

[65]Quoted in Newton, "Americanization of French Louisiana," pp. 190-91.

[66]Olmsted, p. 319.

[67]George F. Reineche, trans., "Early Louisiana French Life and Folklore from the Anonymous Breaux Manuscript as Edited by Professor Jay K. Ditchy," Louisiana Folklore Miscellany 2 (1966):9-10.

[68]F. D. Richardson, "The Teche Country Fifty Years Ago," Southern Bivouac, New Series, 1 (1885):593. And because of the socioeconomic turmoil of the Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction, McGinty summarized emphatically that ". . . agriculture underwent many changes from 1860 to 1930" throughout Louisiana, both French as well as non-French. G. W. McGinty, "Changes in Louisiana Agriculture, 1860-1880," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 18 (1935):427.

[69]Comeaux, Atchafalaya Swamp Life, p. 10.

[70]Kniffen, pp. 156-60; Millet, "Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana," pp. 63-84; Treat, pp. 36-169.

[71]Kniffen, pp. 157, 159. For more on the development of Louisiana rice agriculture and its great Midwestern

catalyst, see, for example: Chan Lee, "A Cultural History of Rice with Special Reference to Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1960; Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 23 (1940):544-88; Millet, "Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana," pp. 216-58; U. S., Department of the Interior, United States Census office, Agriculture, Census Reports, vol. VI, pt. II, Crops and Irrigation (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1902), pp. 53-59, 94-95, 192-93; Mary A. Fontenot, Acadia Parish, Louisiana, A History to 1920 (Lafayette, LA: Acadiana Press, 1979), pp. 14-90; and Garnault Agassiz, "The Untold Treasures of Louisiana," National Magazine 35 (1912):630-38; Lauren C. Post, "The Rice Country of Southwest Louisiana," Geographical Review 30 (1940):574-90; Edward H. Phillips, "The Gulf Coast Rice Industry," Agricultural History 25 (1951):91-96; Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 78-82; and "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 186-208.

[72]Newton, "Americanization of French Louisiana," pp. 22, 153, 205, 225.

[73]Rogers, pp. 46-47.

[74]William F. Rushton, The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), p. 82.

[75]J. Carlyle Sitterson, Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950 (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), p. 47.

[76]Malcolm L. Comeaux, "Louisiana Acadians: The Environmental Impact," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 146.

[77]Comeaux, "Atchafalaya Basin," pp. 23-24; Atchafalaya Swamp Life, p. 14. For an in-depth genealogical look at Bayou Chene's Anglo families and their origins, read Case, The Bayou Chene Story, particularly pp. 49-88.

[78]Baker, pp. 115, 121.

[79]Ibid., p. 126.

[80]Arceneaux, p. 14.

[81]Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Political Reinforcement of Ethnic Dominance in Louisiana, 1812-1845," in The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850, Proceedings of the Gulf

Coast History and Humanities Conference, III (Pensacola, FL: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1972), p. 79.

[82]Brasseaux, p. 212.

[83]Deiler, passim. See also Louis Voss, The German Coast of Louisiana, Historical Bulletin No. 9 (Hoboken, NJ: The Concord Society, 1928), pp. 17-18; Lubin F. Laurent, "History of St. John the Baptist Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 7 (1924):319-320; Bourgeois, pp. 70-73; Post, "Cultural Geography," pp. 87-88, 181-82; Harley N. Gould, "The Acadian French in Canada and in Louisiana," American Journal of Physical Anthropology 28 (1941):291; Tisch, pp. 30-33; Read, pp. 101-12, 128-50; Taylor, Louisiana, pp. 11, 27-29; Davis, pp. 58, 141, 153.

[84]Conrad, "Acadians," p. 20; and Charles D. Warner, "The Acadian Land," Harper's Monthly Magazine 74 (1887):335.

[85]Conrad himself has accused some of such histrionic writing, for example: Ketchum, "Cajun Country"; Warner, "The Acadian Land"; James A. Maxwell, "The Evangeline Country," Holiday 28 (1960):1927; Kane, The Bayous of Louisiana. In my opinion, it is not difficult to lengthen considerably Conrad's list, for instance: Marius Barbeau, "Louisiana French," Canadian Geographical Journal 54 (1957): 2-11; "The Acadians of Louisiana," Scribner's Monthly; O'Hagan, "The Acadians In Louisiana"; W. C. Gaynor, "Acadians and Acadians," Magazine of History 16 (1913):221-35; "A Contrast In Acadians," Canadian Magazine 42 (1914):541-49; Larry L. King, "Exploring Cajun Country," Holiday 48 (1970): 70-73, 80-81; Carolyn Ramsey, Cajuns on the Bayous (New York: Hastings House, 1957); Aden I. Spell, Life in Louisiana Cajun Country (Asheville, NC: Biltmore Press, 1956); parts of Saucier, "A Historical Sketch of the Acadians"; and LeBlanc, The True Story of the Acadians and The Acadian Miracle; and two photographic essays thematically depicting contemporary Cajuns as being bucolically-backward swamp folk, Myron Tassin, We Are Acadians (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1976); and Turner Browne, Louisiana Cajuns (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977). For a rather extensive bibliography of works about Acadians from their earliest settlements in Canada and Louisiana, with many interesting twentieth-century titles from local Louisiana newspapers, see Louisiana, Department of Commerce and Industry, The Acadians in Fact and Fiction: A Classified Bibliography of Writing on the Subject of Acadians in the Stephens Memorial Library, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana, compiled by Pearl M. Segura (Baton Rouge: Department of Commerce and Industry, 1955).

CHAPTER IV

A SPATIOTEMPORAL METHODOLOGY

As previously mentioned, using selected economic, social, and political demographics sampled from manuscript census schedules as the principal data base, the central problem of this dissertation is to locate and analyze the nineteenth-century geographical evolution of the Louisiana French.

Temporal Management

Tuan has recently asked: "How can one analyze spatial organization in depth without knowledge of temporal organization?"[1] The pendulum of geographic methodology has surely swung wildly around Tuan's axiomatic question. Earlier this century Davis was engrossed with geomorphological stages, Whittlesey squarely saw "sequent occupance" as the organizing essence of cultural geography, Sauer tenaciously maintained indestructible confidence in the "genetic method," and Darby unequivocally professed that all geography is historical geography. These eminent scholars were all at the forefront of geographic thought during their careers and all were certainly cognizant that

the temporal element must be taken fully into account in geographic investigations regardless of whether spatial relations are probed in the 1880s or the 1980s. But in the past few decades a generation of spatial analysts have stressed process and movement while paradoxically paying scant attention to temporal management. Never explicitly discussing throughout his entire monograph, Theoretical Geography, the role of time in spatial studies, Bunge perhaps epitomized this methodological neglect. Lately, however, there seems to be a resurgent appreciation for temporal organization that is not only shared by Tuan but also by a new wave of diffusionists, mainly Europeans.[2]

In their research historical geographers have nevertheless directly addressed Tuan's query and likewise its corollary: How can time be organized to analyze spatial relationships? They have thus developed a set of time-organizing strategies to manage spatial investigations into past regional patterns/processes: 1) the temporal cross section, 2) synchronic cross sections, 3) diachronic subsection(s), and 4) integrations of two or more of these.[3]

Known also as successive cross sections or comparative statics, synchronic cross sections are merely a multiple extension of the simple temporal cross section--a single instant of time selected for its particular

salience in history or because of the availability of significant source materials to study spatial relationships of a variety of phenomena. Demonstrating change from one time to another, synchronic cross sections can be structured from either the progressive approach (working from some relatively distant time in the past to a more contemporary time) or the retrogressive approach (working from some more contemporary time to a relatively distant past time) (Fig. IV-1).

Advantages of synchronic cross sections are threefold: 1) Without any ambiguity their data bases admit to being simply discrete reflections of the incessant parade of reality; 2) flipping the pages of historical space to important, discrete locations in time, similar to a chronological series of maps, enables spatial relationships of an array of phenomena to be thoroughly examined at each cross section; 3) unlike a single cross section, the synchronic strategy obviously allows for analysis of change therefore providing pertinent temporal comparisons and promoting process insight. On the other hand, three attributes are negatively noteworthy: 1) Few cross sections certainly restrict process understanding; 2) events within cross sectional interims are only inferentially explained which may lead to interpretive error at any given cross section; 3) the rates of change for

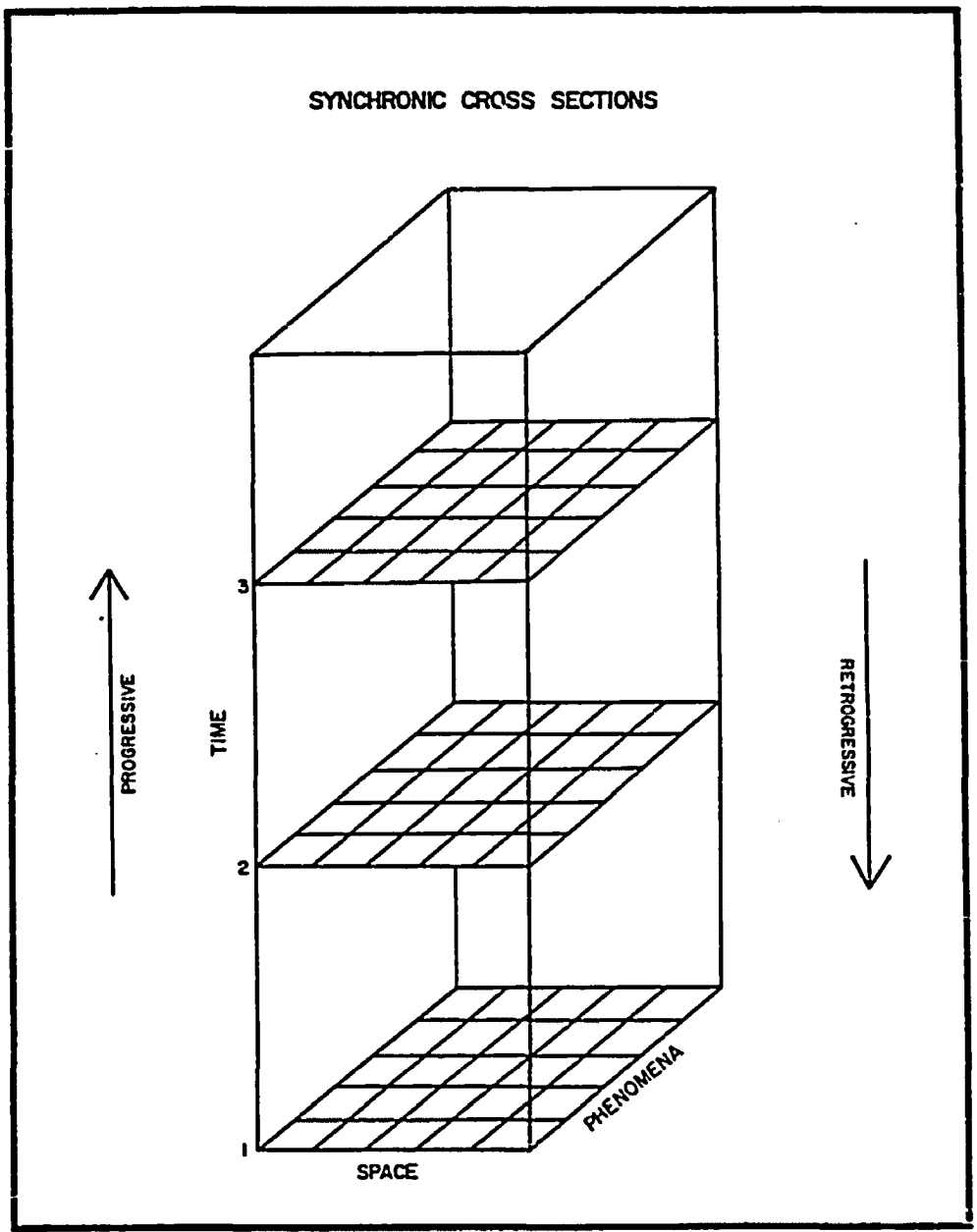


Fig. IV-1. The underlying strength of synchronic cross sections is thorough analysis of spatial relationships at significant points in time.

phenomena under consideration may vary posing difficulties in organization and loss of cross sectional information.[4]

A diachronic subsection(s), also labeled the vertical theme, longitudinal study, or genetic method, is isolated spatial relationships of particular phenomena that are followed from one cardinal moment in a continuous flow through a relatively long period of time to another distinctive instant. Diachronic studies can be organized either progressively or retrogressively (Fig. IV-2). One advantage of the diachronic subsection is outstanding: It affords excellent analysis of process and interaction since the motion picture of reality is shown as an apparent continuum of movement. Major liabilities are five-fold, however: 1) Subscribers claim to portray unbroken chains of events like life itself, when in fact their data are but irregular, discrete points in time requiring much inferential input at times of informational scarcity; 2) because of the myriad of possible phenomena and because of the lengthy time periods involved in observing some process evolutions, the number of phenomena considered must be dramatically reduced and perhaps placed within a ceteris paribus framework; 3) evolutionary rates of the phenomena may fluctuate thus presenting procedural difficulties; 4) relatively rapid movement through time blurs precise and intelligible examination of spatial organization; and 5) diachronic temporal management may

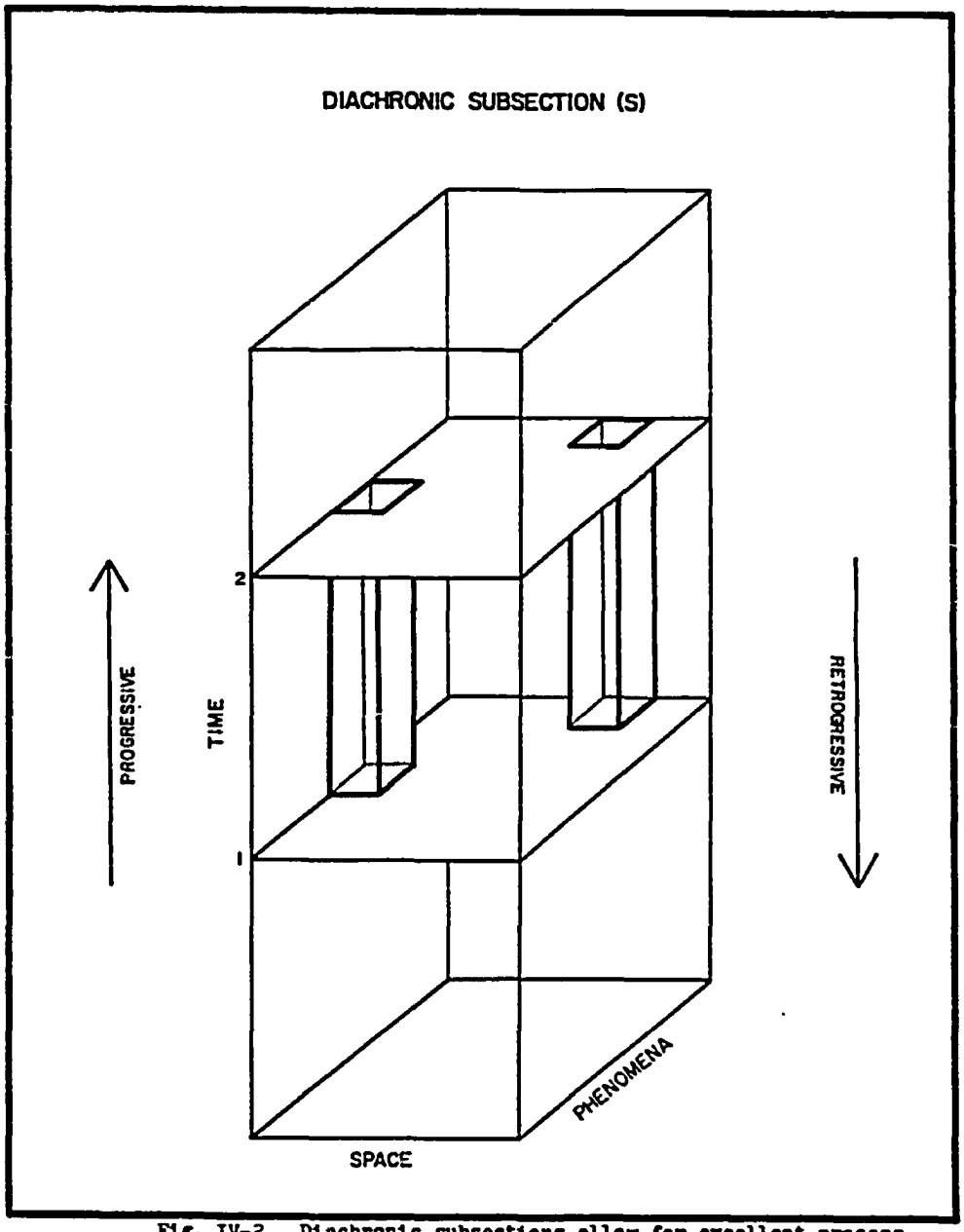


Fig. IV-2. Diachronic subsections allow for excellent process analysis along an apparent continuum of movement.

lead to the criticism: Is this really geography or is it some rubric of history?[5]

Into the synchronic-diachronic critique, Harvey, Baker, and Prince have eagerly introduced the systems perspective and its terminology: comparative statics, equilibrium, inertia, equifinality, and indeterminacy. Baker proposed that it would be unlikely for synchronic cross sections (comparative statics) to be chosen at times of equilibrium (a time of little change) and would therefore be only fleeting glimpses of events that may be far from representative.[6] Yet if it is important to know about these "equilibrium" spatial relationships, they will surely remain enigmatic within diachronic, "other-things-being-equal" inquiries that speed a limited number of phenomena through time, negligibly noting spatial structure. And if such representative "equilibrium" situations are requisites for cross sectional investigations, how do geographers proceed when analyzing the contemporary cross section called the present--well, of course, they assume. Here geographers of the historical bent have a distinct advantage for in preliminary consideration they can carefully choose those times that at least appear to be representative for the purpose at hand.

As he disparaged the synchronic strategy and relied upon Langton's claims, Prince's methodological elucidation of the concept of inertia was equally faulty:

". . . the principle of inertia indicates that the full effects of processes are not to be observed as long as the processes themselves continue to operate."[7] Supporting his questionable reasoning with the example of iron furnace location in Britain in 1800, Prince then declared: "The period picture reveals only a fragment of the whole story."[8] Does this mean that processes presently ongoing should not be examined at the contemporary cross section because the findings will be incomplete and hence erroneous? Or historically, are concluding process outcomes any more salient than interim consequences? Or, moreover, how do researchers, regardless of whether they use synchronic or diachronic approaches, really know the "final" spatial outcome of any given process?

Equifinality, another systems concept, means that different processes can produce similar patterns. Baker and Prince agreed that this interpretive error was a defect of cross sectional studies. Indeterminacy means that similar processes can produce different patterns. Indeterminacy, Baker astutely argued, was therefore a weakness of the diachronic method, but Prince reversed the circularity asserting it was detrimental to the synchronic strategy.[9] Yet if the idea of inertia is brought to full fruition as Baker expressed: ". . . geographical changes are in practice often modifications of existing spatial patterns of human activity rather than the creation of entirely new

patterns,"[10] then patterns--that is, combinations of phenomena at particular moments--evidently initiate, modify, or to some degree affect processes.[11] This relationship may likewise spawn two corresponding diagnostic errors: 1) Like process equifinality, different patterns can initiate similar processes which may be coined "equifunctionality," for example, different European international spatial structures have stimulated similar processes--wars; and 2) like process indeterminacy, so too can similar patterns initiate different processes, for example, similar American urban patterns have spurred different processes of growth and decay.

But underlying this tautological discussion of equifinality, equifunctionality, and indeterminacy is a most major flaw--monocausality. All these conditions assume a simple, singular cause and effect connection. Geographers working within multiple causative frameworks would not be surprised to discover, for instance, that similar processes have generated dissimilar patterns. It is worthwhile to note, however, that such simple <u>post hoc, ergo propter hoc</u> scenarios can result in the foregoing explanatory errors and that they can occur within the synchronic as well as the diachronic methods.

This synchronic-diachronic dichotomy is but nothing more than the old pattern-process debate clothed in new, technical methodological jargon. As such, like patterns

are freeze frames of processes or processes are patterns through time, so too it is with synchronic cross sections and diachronic subsections; for if an infinite number of cross sections could be reconstructed, then they should transcend into the diachronic holism of reality, which, as Hartshorne held, would undoubtedly be an almost impossible venture to research much less comprehend.[12] The paramount idea here, however, is a matter of methodological emphasis: Should geographers punctuate discovery and explanation of spatial patterns created through time by phenomena ("changing geographies") or instead pursue spatial understanding of phenomena through their temporal development ("geographical change")?[13] The answer lies somewhere within what may be methodologically termed the "space-time trade-off:"

1) Decreasing the movement of phenomena through time increases the precision of spatial analysis.

2) Increasing the movement of phenomena through time increases the precision of process analysis.[14]

The first statement of this quid pro quo is certainly a synchronic cross section blueprint searching for spatial patterns, while the latter is the diachronic tactic stressing process development. Although, ontologically, space and time are unalterably united, there is fortunately an adroit methodological compromise that can tap the strengths of both strategies to thoroughly investigate spatial patterns as well as processes.

In his methodological classic, The Santa Clara Valley, California: A Study in Landscape Changes, Broek linked progressive synchronic cross sections with diachronic subsections thereby attempting to mitigate the space-time trade-off by combining the power of synchronic spatial analysis with the strength of diachronic process analysis (Fig. IV-3).[15] Broek's integrative solution was replicated here to investigate the spatial relationships of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French.

Three progressive synchronic cross sections were diachronically linked: 1820, 1860, and 1900. These particular times were selected because 1820 signifies the first census taken after Louisiana statehood in 1812 and represents the early nineteenth century distribution of the Louisiana French; 1860 caps antebellum French locational development and marks the eve of the Civil War's economic, social, and political turmoil; and 1900 signals the close of significant ethnic migration into Louisiana and depicts the pre-twentieth century culmination of the French geographic pattern (Fig. IV-4).

Spatial Organization

Inasmuch as different temporalities mean different spatialities, the three nineteenth-century cross sections--1820, 1860, and 1900--created three variable study areas for the Louisiana French (Figs. IV-5,6,7). To insure complete spatial coverage all Louisiana parishes were

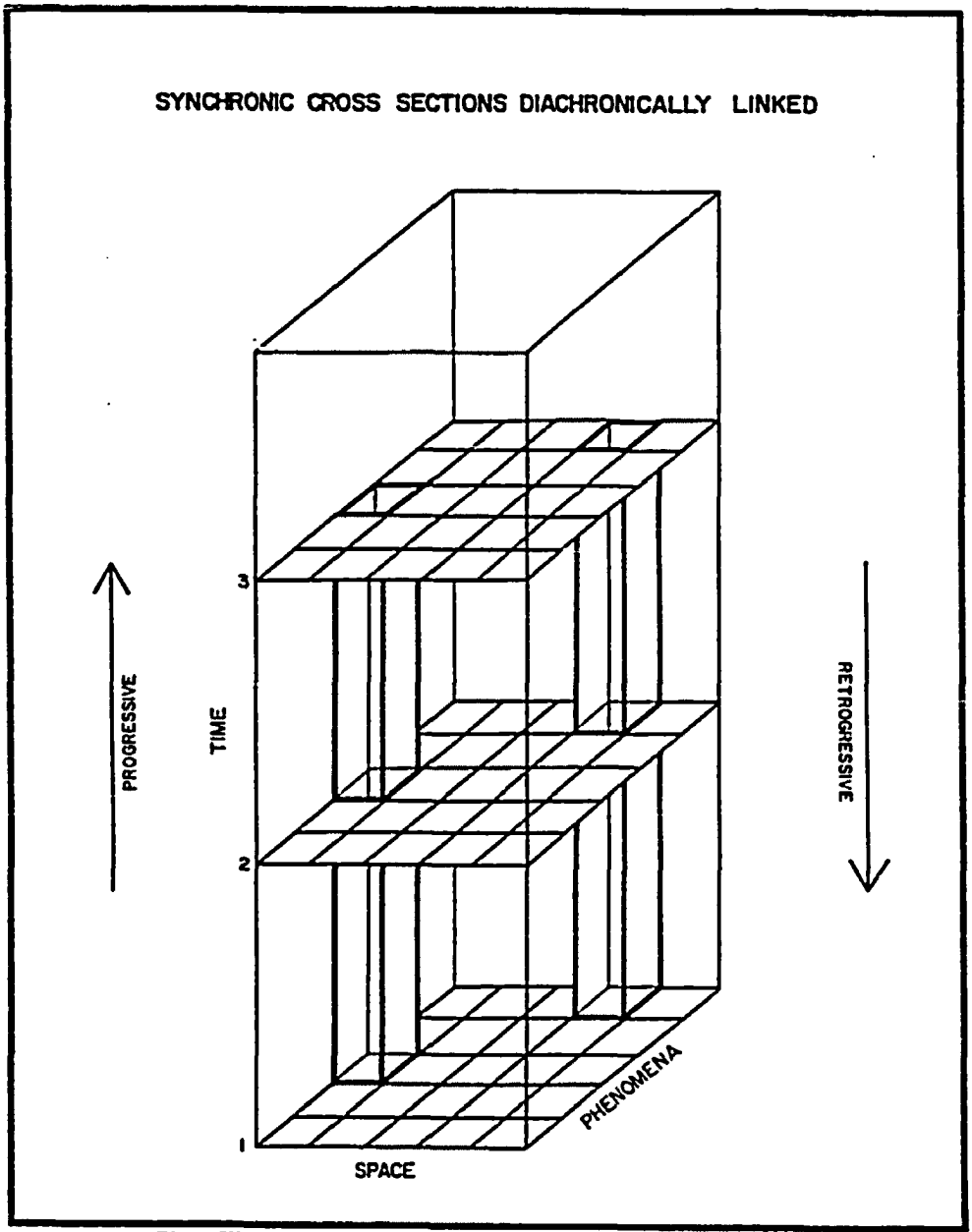


Fig. IV-3. This time management strategy combines the power of synchronic spatial analysis with the strength of diachronic process analysis.

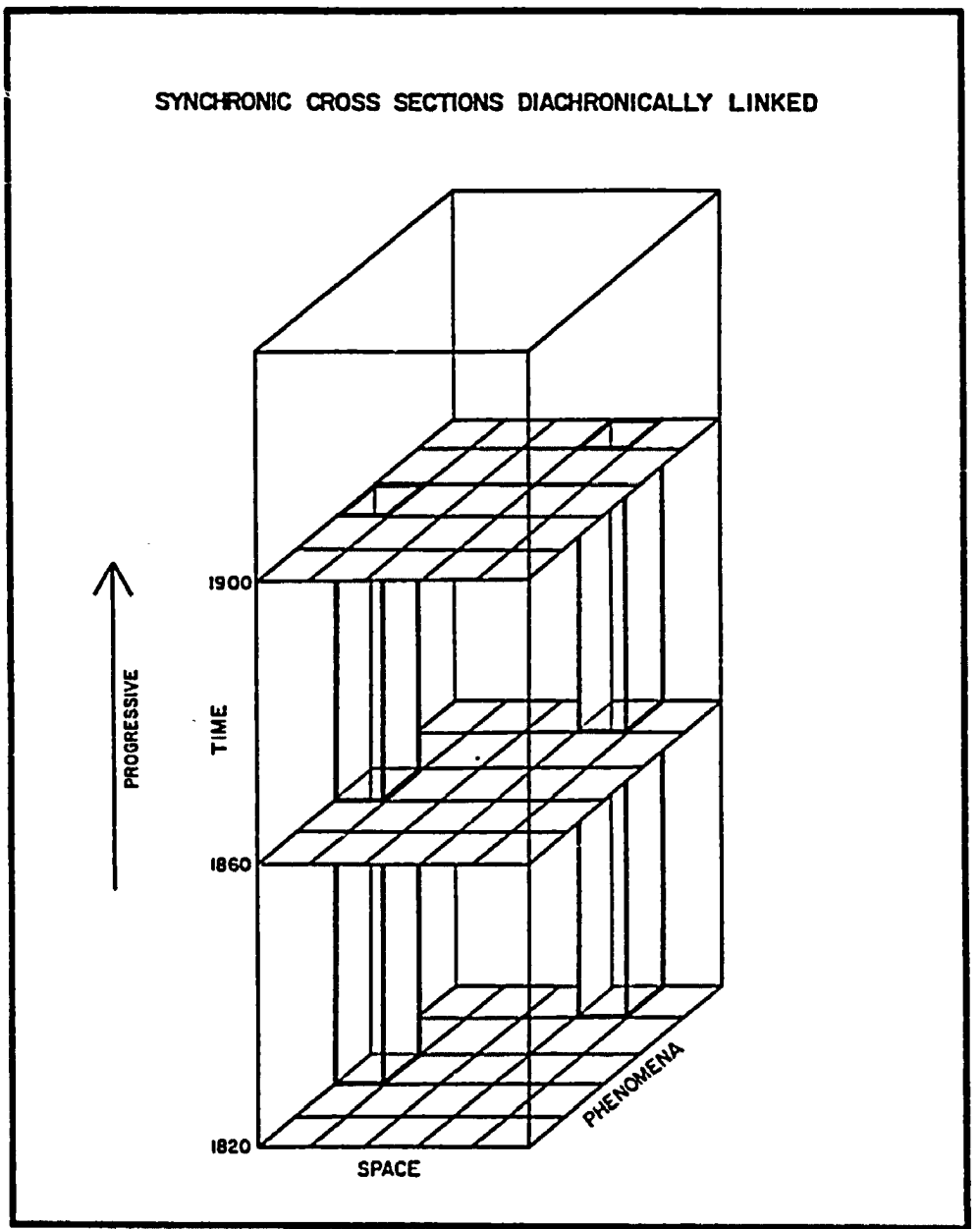


Fig. IV-4. The Louisiana French synchronic cross sections--1820, 1860, and 1900--diachronically linked.

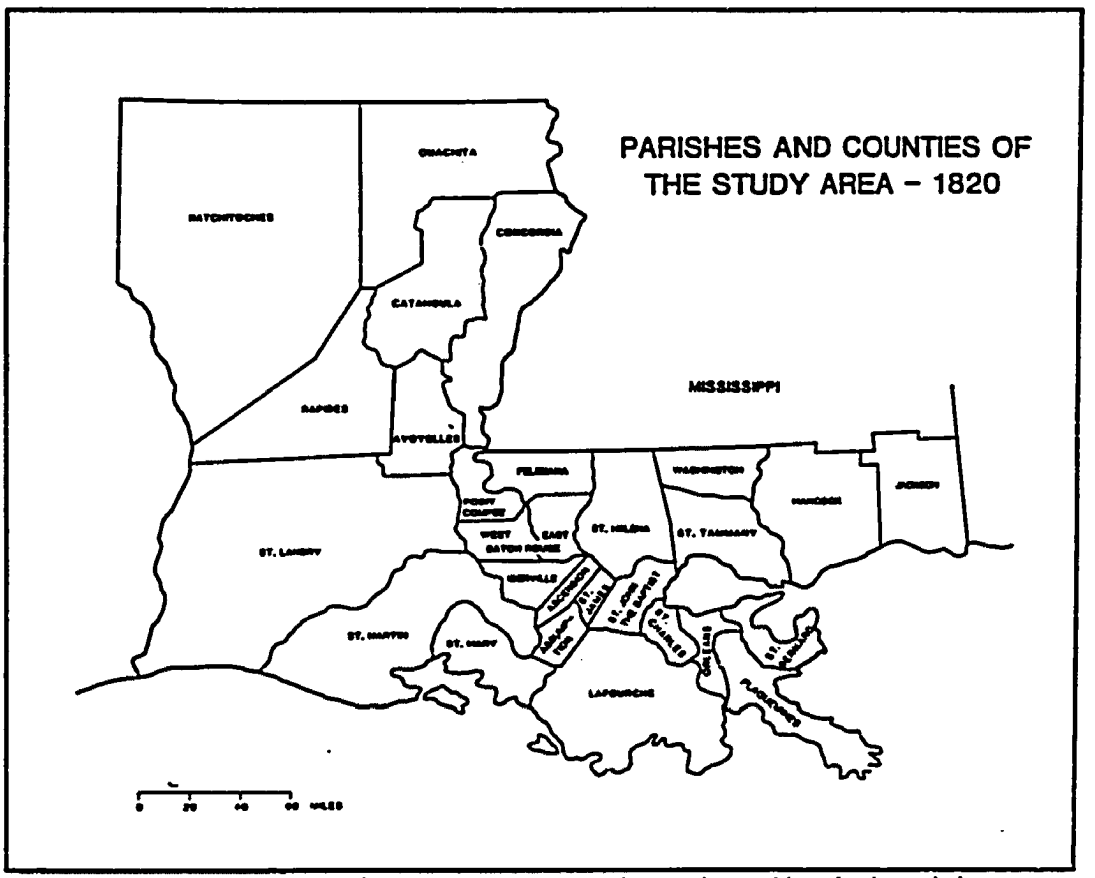


Fig. IV-5. Only twenty-eight parishes and counties in two states comprised the 1820 Louisiana French study area.

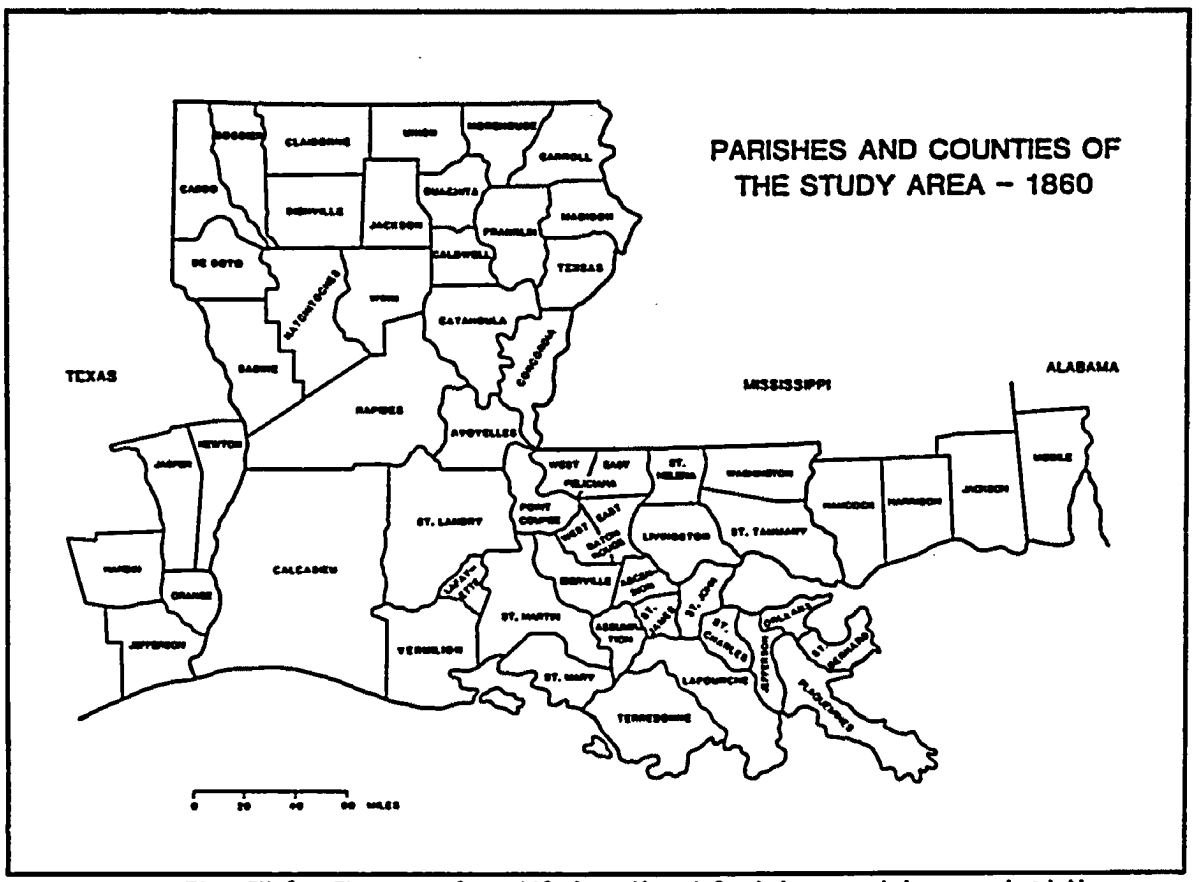


Fig. IV-6. The sparsely settled southwest Louisiana parishes remained the largest areal units within the fifty-five parish/county 1860 Louisiana French study area.

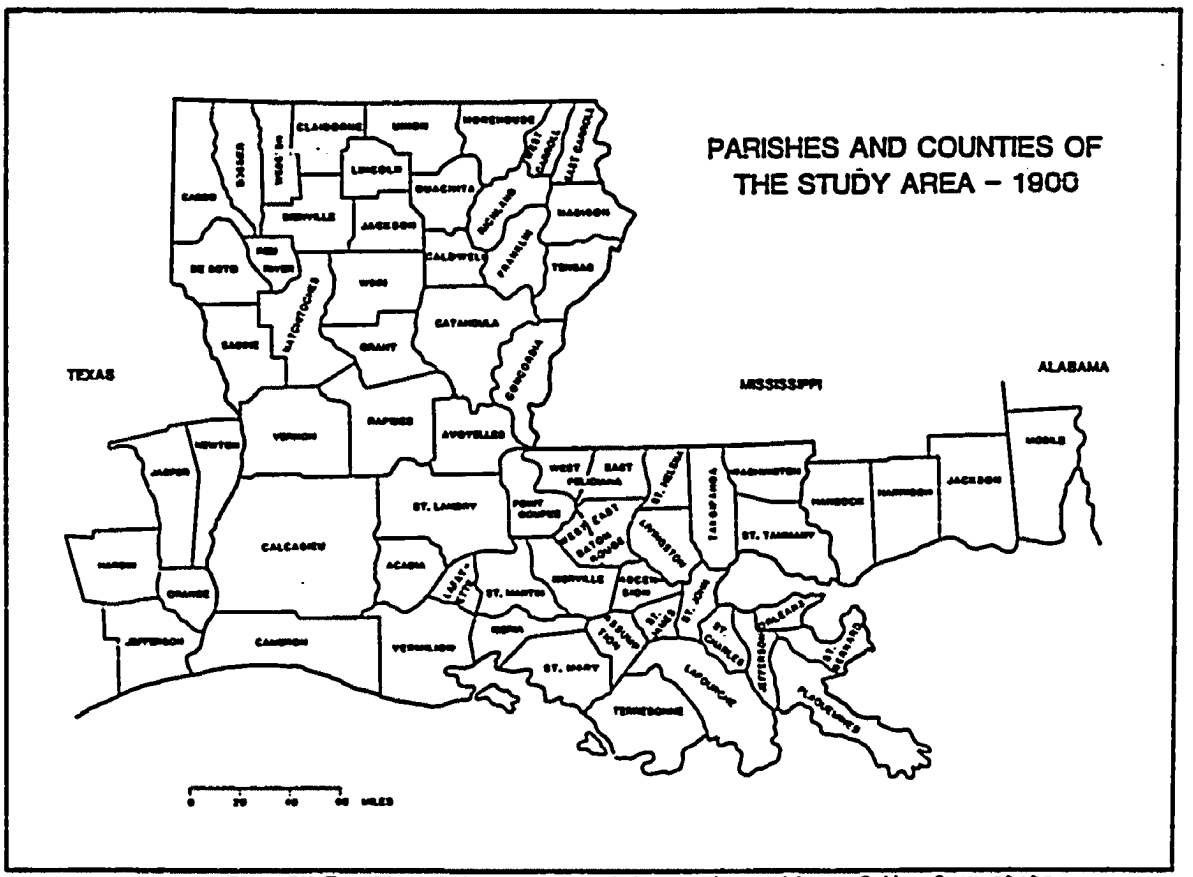


Fig. IV-7. The sixty-seven parishes and counties of the four-state 1900 Louisiana French study area provided the best cartographic refinement.

included in each cross section, and contiguous areas outside Louisiana that were known for their historical French settlement and/or those thought to have notable numbers of contemporary French inhabitants were considered. Because initial French settlement occurred along the Gulf Coast from New Orleans eastward through Biloxi to Mobile and because at least two researchers--Zelinsky and Gastil--believed a substantial French population still resides along the Mississippi and Alabama coasts, these states were incorporated into the successive study areas. Since the French settled in Arkansas during the eighteenth century and since Knipmeyer outlined an area of relic "Creole architecture" along the Mississippi River north of Louisiana, Arkansas also became a part of the study areas. Finally, Texas, after entering the union in 1845, was included in the 1860 and 1900 cross sections since several scholars--Meigs, Fletcher, Spitzer, Louder and LeBlanc, Jordan and Rowntree--suggested that the Louisiana French had migrated into southeastern Texas during this century.[16]

Although the study area of each temporal cross section included every Louisiana parish, for reasonable spatial management it was necessary to delimit the bounds within Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. Following Nostrand's design, county populations that had less than five percent French as determined by samples of

family head surnames from the manuscript census schedules were thus eliminated. No county in Arkansas (1860 and 1900) met the five-percent French criterion, and encompassed were only Mobile county in Alabama (1860 and 1900), two Mississippi counties in 1860 and three in 1900, and two Texas counties in 1860 and one in 1900 (though five Texas counties were used in both years for purposes of follow-up twentieth-century inquiries, insofar as the Louisiana French, according to the foregoing investigators, were apparently migrating westward). The three study areas, all considerably larger than Louisiana's 48,500 square miles, therefore comprised 28 parishes and counties in 1820, 55 in 1860, and 67 in 1900. Nevertheless, in 1820 and 1860 large sections of these study areas were not yet settled by Europeans. Relying on settlement frontier and population distribution maps by Newton, Kyser, and the U. S. Census Office Statistical Atlas, the Symap cartography used herein mapped data only within settled areas. The city of New Orleans, moreover, was not included in any of the study areas because, as today, its large cosmopolitan population was atypical of Louisiana as a whole, its urban socio-economic structure would have distorted the overall statistical analyses, and its relative spatial contribution to the study areas, each more than 50,000 square miles in size, would have been insignificant.[17] Lewis has deftly appraised New Orleans' historical eccentricity:

> From least to greatest, New Orleans is an island in Cajun southern Louisiana, an island in the state of Louisiana, an island in the South, and an island in the nation. . . . If New Orleans is an urban island in rural Cajun Louisiana, she is an armed fortress in the context of Louisiana as a whole. . . . The very fact she is a city, of course, makes New Orleans a foreigner in the South--a region which has been unurban and antiurban in sentiment.[18]

Data, Sources, and Sampling

A kaleidoscope of sources--archival papers, diaries, contemporary newspaper articles, travel accounts, railroad reports, parish histories, governmental documents, and a variety of other historical appraisals, to quickly glance at some of this spectrum of information--was searched to diachronically couple the three nineteenth-century cross sections. To statistically explore the spatial relationships of each cross section, however, most data were drawn exclusively from two independent, five-percent random samples of family heads recorded in the original population manuscript census schedules for 1820 (1,094 cases total), 1860 (5,128 cases total), and 1900 (26,106 cases total) (Figs. IV-8,9,10).

The first independent sample for each year was used to construct zones of Louisiana French ethnic intensities, and the second sample generated a myriad of economic, social, and political variables for testing purposes. These latter test data, as seen in Tables IV-1, 2, and 3, varied in type, quantity, and quality from year to year, the more modern censuses containing greater breadth and

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE--1820

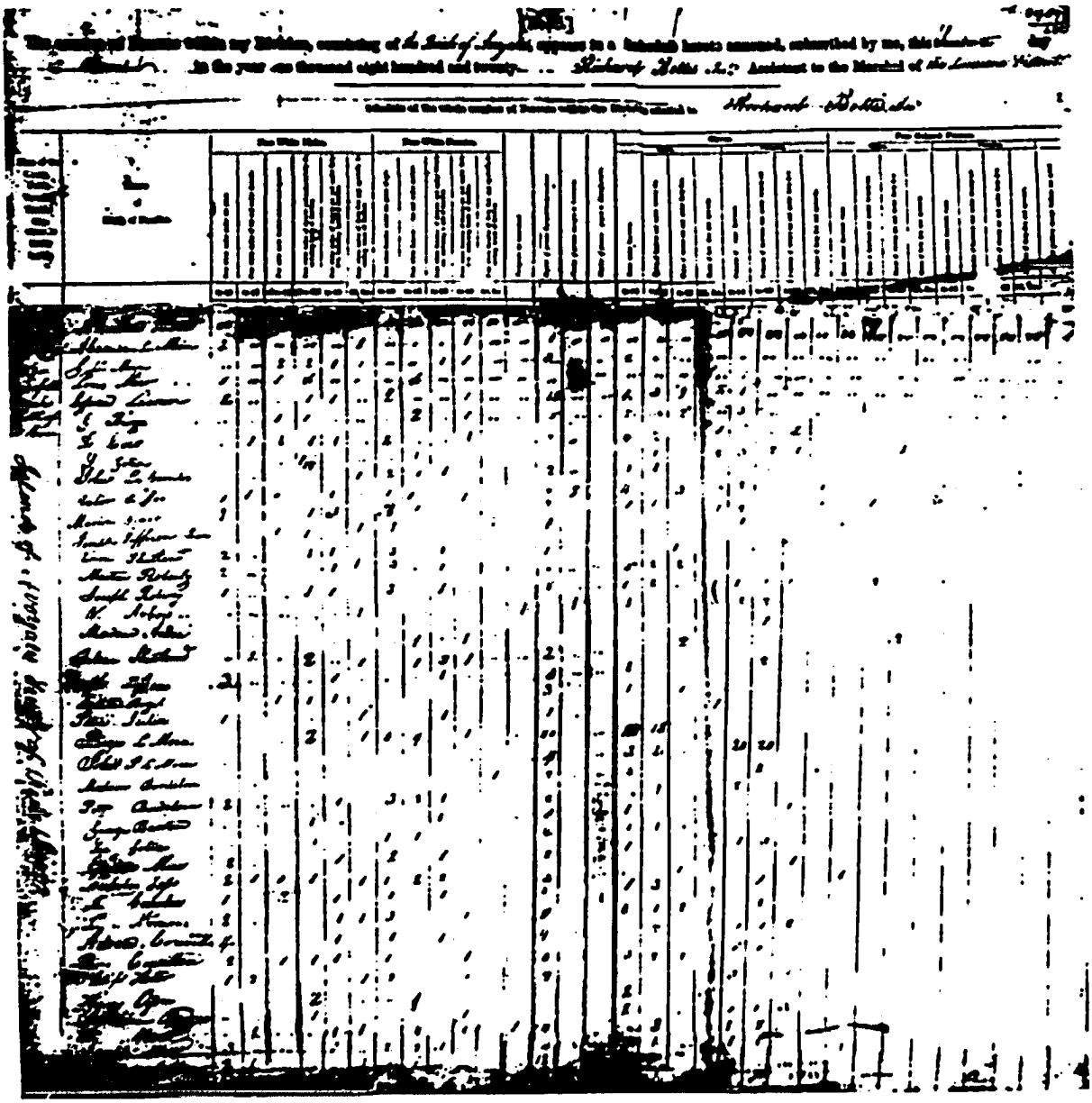


Fig. IV-8. The 1820 manuscript census schedules were relatively crude tallies of the most basic demographic data.

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE--1860

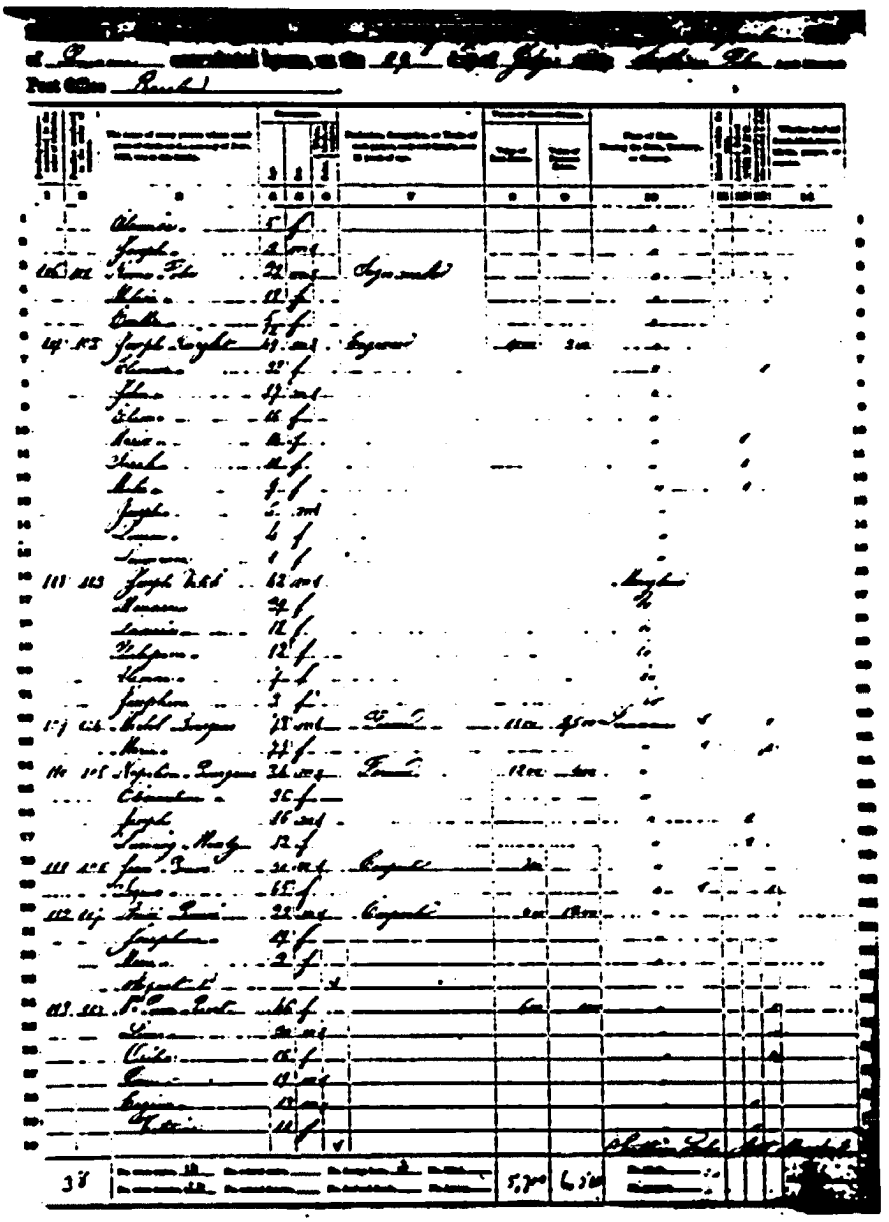
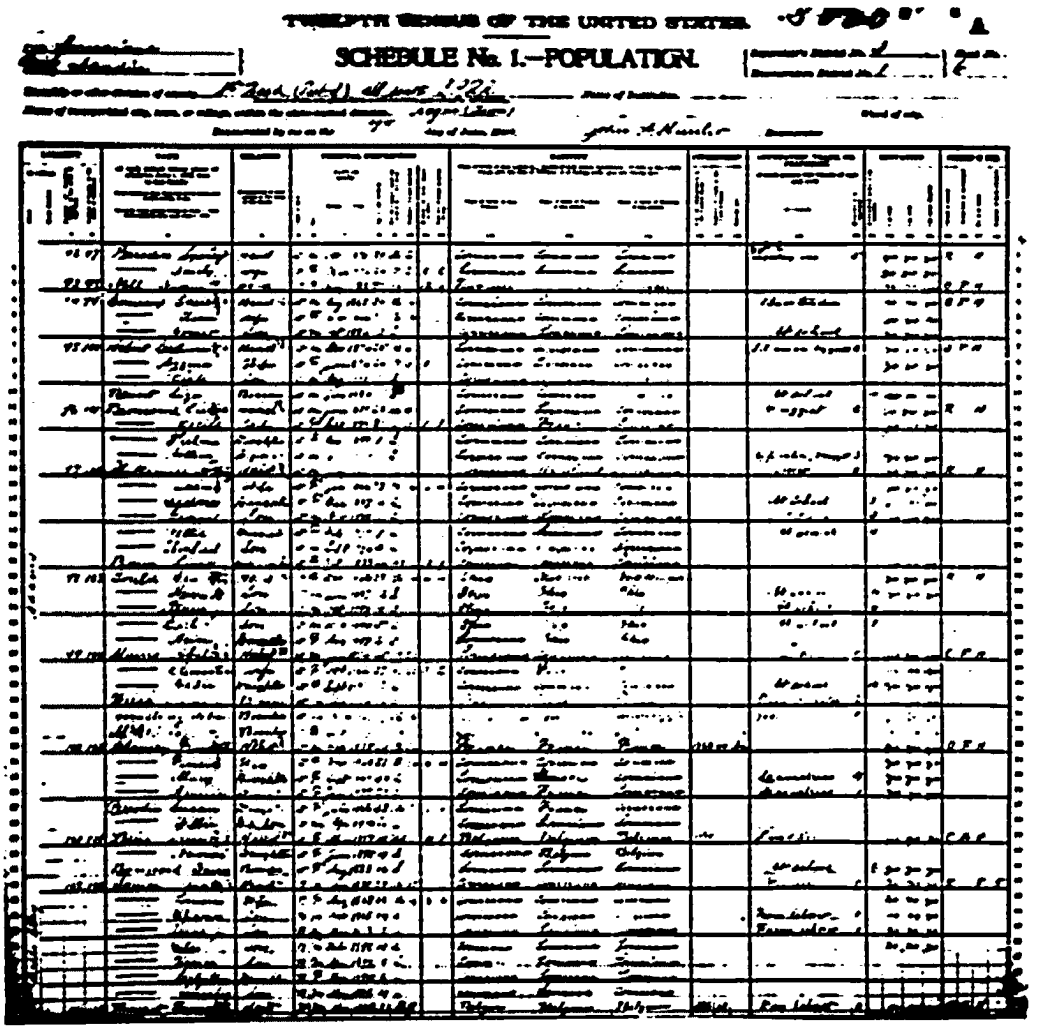


Fig. IV-9. The rococo cursive of many 1860 enumerators stroked the manuscript pages with delicate artistry but interpretive treachery.

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE--1900


TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES

SCHEDULE No. 1.—POPULATION

Fig. IV-10. The 1900 manuscript schedules contained the greatest breadth and substance of information.

TABLE IV-1

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE DATA HEADINGS--1820

Number of Persons in Division
Date
ENUMERATOR (Assistant Marshal)[a]
STATE
COUNTY, PARISH, TOWNSHIP, TOWN, OR CITY
SURNAMES OF FAMILY HEADS
Given Names of Family Heads
FREE WHITE MALES BY AGE GROUPS (Children Separate)
FREE WHITE FEMALES BY AGE GROUPS (Children Separate)
MARITAL STATUS[b]
NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS[c]
FOREIGNERS NOT NATURALIZED
AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS
COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS
MANUFACTURING OCCUPATIONS
MALE SLAVES BY AGE GROUPS
FEMALE SLAVES BY AGE GROUPS
FREE COLORED MALES BY AGE GROUPS
FREE COLORED FEMALES BY AGE GROUPS

[a]Capitalized data headings were sampled for family heads.

[b]Marital status was inferred by the presence or absence of an adult female.

[c]The number of children under 16 years was calculated by combining the two lowest age groups (under 10; 10 and under 16) of both free white males and females for each family.

TABLE IV-2

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE DATA HEADINGS--1860

Page Number
WARD/PRECINCT[a]
CITY/TOWN
PARISH/COUNTY
STATE
Date
ENUMERATOR (Assistant Marshal)
Post Office
Number of Dwelling in Order of Visitation
Number of Family in Order of Visitation
SURNAME OF FAMILY HEAD
Surnames of Family Members
Given Name of Family Head
Given Names of Family Members
NUMBER OF CHILDREN 16 YEARS OR YOUNGER[b]
AGE
SEX
COLOR
OCCUPATION
VALUE OF REAL ESTATE
VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE
PLACE OF BIRTH
MARRIED WITHIN THE YEAR
Attended School Within the Year
PERSONS OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE WHO CANNOT READ AND WRITE WHETHER DEAF AND DUMB, BLIND, INSANE, IDIOTIC, PAUPER, OR CONVICT

[a]Capitalized data headings were sampled for family heads.

[b]A count of each family was taken.

TABLE IV-3

MANUSCRIPT CENSUS SCHEDULE DATA HEADINGS--1900

STATE[a]
PARISH/COUNTY
Supervisor's District Number
ENUMERATION DISTRICT NUMBER
Sheet Number
WARD/PRECINCT
Name of Institution
INCORPORATED CITY/TOWN/VILLAGE
Ward of City
Date
ENUMERATOR
STREET
House Number
Number of Dwelling in Order of Visitation
Number of Family in Order of Visitation
SURNAME OF FAMILY HEAD
Surnames of Family Members
Given Name of Family Head
Given Names of Family Members
RELATIONSHIP TO FAMILY HEAD
COLOR OR RACE
SEX
Date of Birth (Month, Year)
AGE
MARITAL STATUS
NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED
Mother of How Many Children
Number of These Children Living

[a]Capitalized data headings were sampled for family heads.

TABLE IV-3--Continued

NUMBER OF CHILDREN 16 YEARS OR YOUNGER[b]
PLACE OF BIRTH OF THIS PERSON
PLACE OF BIRTH OF PERSON'S FATHER
PLACE OF BIRTH OF PERSON'S MOTHER
Year Immigrated to the U. S.
NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE U. S.
NATURALIZATION STATUS
OCCUPATION
MONTHS UNEMPLOYED
YEARS ATTENDED SCHOOL
READING ABILITY
WRITING ABILITY
ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH
PROPERTY OWNED OR RENTED
PROPERTY OWNED FREE OR MORTGAGED
FARM OR HOUSE
Number of Farm Schedule

[b]A count of each family was taken.

better substance, but included such nonaggregated attributes of interest for family heads as personal wealth, property ownership, a wide range of occupations, unemployment, nativity, naturalization, sex, age, marital status, and literacy; family size and enumerator ethnicity (a political indicator) were also sampled. Additionally, farm size and farm tenancy for each parish/county were taken from agricultural censuses (1860, 1900), while Roman Catholic proportions were computed from religious censuses (1860,

1900). And French sheriffs (1860, 1900) were determined through research of state archival records.[19]

In the manuscript schedules Louisiana French were identified by their "white" race and French surnames. Given names, nativity (1860, 1900), parentage (1900), and English language usage (1900) assisted in classifying some cases.[20] An extensive literature has described the rapid and almost complete assimilation of eighteenth-century German and Spanish settlers into the Louisiana French culture. Taking this early assimilation into account and knowing European in-migration was still underway throughout the nineteenth century,[21] an estimate of the Louisiana French was calculated: The German and Spanish proportions were weighted by the French percent of each parish/county, then this product was added to the French ethnic proportion. For example, if a parish had, say, 70.51 percent French ethnicity, 9.22 percent German, and 1.98 percent Spanish, then the Louisiana French ethnic percent was 78.41. The historical literature also seemed to support the assumption held herein that blacks in Louisiana have followed the dominant white culture (especially in language and religion).[22] Thus their totals did not affect any ethnic percents as they were removed from parish/county aggregates.

All French surnames--Cajun, Creole, and European--were checked against lists of hundreds of French patronyms

compiled from more than three dozen sources.[23] Every surname, moreover, was compared with Smith's voluminous inventory, the New Dictionary of American Family Names (570 pages), to corroborate French origin and to categorize, in conjunction with nativity, parentage, and given names from the schedules, non-French cognate names according to ethnicity.[24]

Louisiana French Gradations

Several methods may be employed to construct zones of spatial intensity: 1) arbitrarily selected geographical distances, 2) arbitrarily selected data breaks, 3) intuitively selected geographical distances and discontinuities or their surrogates, 4) intuitively selected data breaks, and 5) mathematically derived data breaks, to name a few possibilities. Of these, the first two are capricious, and the third and fourth are dependent upon subjectively observed conditions. Yet utilizing mathematically-interpreted data from an independently sampled variable to produce optimum zones of intensity may offer a more objective as well as valid view of past reality. Embracing this rational a cluster analysis (SAS) technique, a distance algorithm that amalgamates cases into classes having the greatest amount of homogeneity within each class and heterogeneity among classes, grouped from a continuous surface all study area parish/county Louisiana

French percents for the three cross sections to produce a standard class structure through time. The consequent class configuration was approximately quartile: The defined groups within the Louisiana French ethnic region became 76-100% (core), 51-75% (domain), and 26-50% (sphere); whereas the 0-25% (outland) class represented the non-Louisiana French areas.[25]

To assure that these gradations were statistically different, the group structure was tested by a one-way analysis of variance (SPSS) incorporating both Duncan's and Scheffe's tests for internal contrasts, a statistical procedure that tests for homogeneity within groups and heterogeneity among groups and performs pairwise tests for internal differences within the class structure.[26] As Table IV-4 shows, this ANOVA yielded an extremely significant F-Ratio indicating a high degree of homogeneity within and heterogeneity among groups, and both Duncan's and Scheffe's contrasts showed all classes differed statistically from each other. Other class structures were tested by ANOVA: arbitrarily chosen distances of 25 and 50-mile intervals, arbitrarily selected 20 and 33 percent data intervals, and both Zelinsky's (45, 70, 95 percent breaks) and Nostrand's (10, 50, 90 percent breaks) class limits. None of these, though, were as significant as the cluster analysis breaks for the nineteenth-century Louisiana French data.

It was noteworthy, however, that some of these cluster values were very similar if not identical to those of other researchers, for example: Meigs arbitrarily selected 5, 25, 50, 75, and 100 percentile data breaks; Zelinsky capriciously chose 45, 70, and 95; and Nostrand made an intuitive preference--10, 50, and 90.[27]

TABLE IV-4

LOUISIANA FRENCH CLASS COMPARISONS (ANOVA)

DATA BREAKS	F-RATIO
Ethnicity Percents	
Cluster - 25, 50, 75	1,044.87
Arbitrary - 20, 40, 60, 80	1,026.72
Arbitrary - 33, 67	915.06
Nostrand - 10, 50, 90	716.11
Zelinsky - 45, 70, 95	364.05
Distance in Miles	
Arbitrary - 50 (to 200)	43.55
Arbitrary - 25 (to 200)	22.17

These cluster breaks--25, 50, and 75--or gradational discontinuities formed the structural basis for statistical analysis throughout this study. Yet to gain a better visual "feel" of the internal morphologies of the Louisiana French ethnic regions and to provide a more intricate class configuration for predictive purposes, cartographic zones

were intuitively generated: Classes of 91-100% (inner core), 76-90% (outer core), 51-75% (domain), and 26-50% (sphere) were within the regions, with the inner core allowing visual examination and comparison of very high intensity areas; the 10-25% (frontier) and 0-9% (outland) classes were outside the regions but offered more precise visual inspection and correlation of the outer transitional areas. Thus in the computer-constructed Symaps, which were chosen to insure accurate, consistent interpolation of data for comparison within and among the nineteenth-century Louisiana French regions,[28] the two innermost--76-90% (⊖) and 91-100% (■)--and the two outermost--0-9% (-) and 10-25% (+)--cartographic zones must be mentally collapsed to produce the statistical test groupings.

The resultant statistical and cartographic gradations, it must be made perfectly clear, were defined by nothing more than Louisiana French ethnic percents. Although a debt is certainly owed to those who have coined some of the foregoing gradational labels--Meinig for domain and sphere and Nostrand for outland, these designations should not evoke denotative equivalencies. Meinig's a posteriori Mormon core, for instance, inherently having the greatest density of occupance, intensity of culture, and degree of nodality within its region could not be claimed for the a priori nineteenth-century Louisiana French ethnic regions. Although it is unknown whether

earlier Mormon morphologies would have buoyed his gradational definitions, indeed one of the findings of this investigation may be that the Louisiana French cores mimicked Meinig's Mormon core qualities.[29]

To thoroughly probe with assurance the compositional and areal changes of the Louisiana French morphology throughout the century, four methodological media were implemented: 1) Analysis of variance compared the parish/county cross sectional Louisiana French data, and an ANOVA with internal contrasts broke the data down into gradational comparisons among the cross sections; 2) maps of parish/county percentage point change were visually inspected; 3) ethnic region and core boundaries were cartographically contrasted; and 4) four constant transects were constructed (Fig. IV-11), and each was temporally compared in two-dimensional graphs: a) to mainly monitor northward Louisiana French expansion and non-Louisiana French southward intrusion, the St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect (E-A) traversed the three ethnic regions south to north through historically important French parishes; b) the west-east Texas-Alabama transect (F-B) checked coastal migrations in those directions; c) the Red River-Mississippi River transect (H-C) considered changes that occurred within the early riparian settlement pattern from Natchitoches Parish through the "Acadian Coast" to Plaquemines Parish; and d) the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche

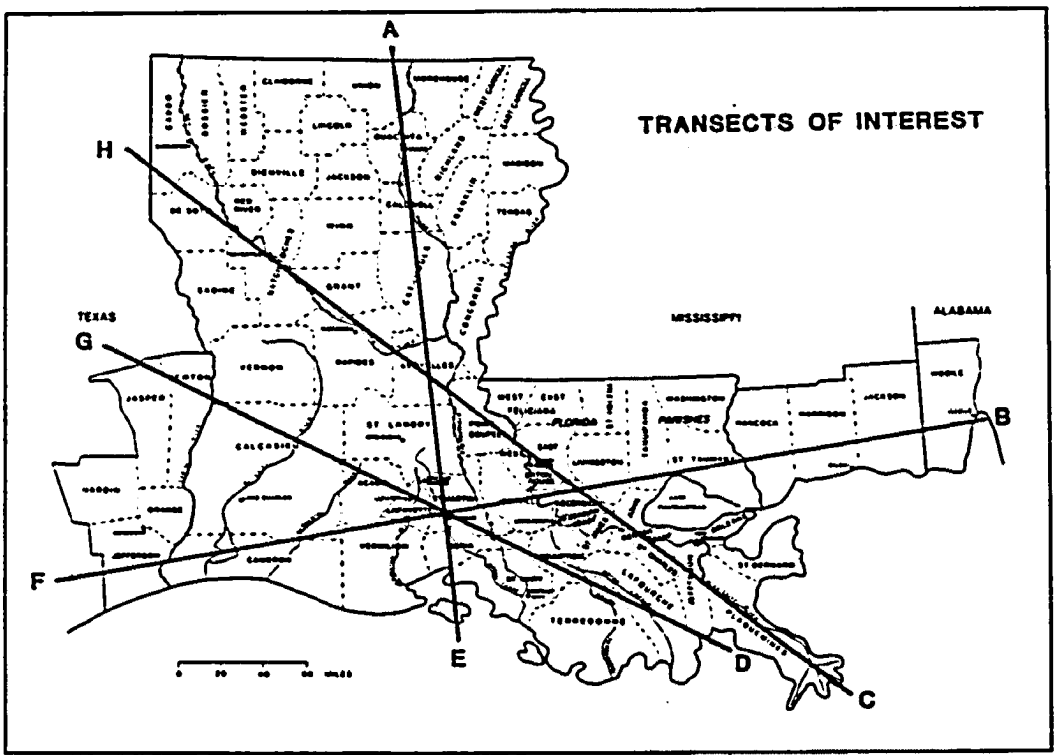


Fig. IV-11. Four constant transects were constructed through important corridors within the Louisiana French morphologies to probe for compositional and areal changes.

transect (G-D) ran northwesterly and southeasterly from St. Martinville to measure movements, mostly westward, from the two notable Cajun natal places.

Questions, Testing, and Postdiction

Having shaped the gradational class structure for the nineteenth-century Louisiana French ethnic regions, the next tasks were to statistically test the independently sampled economic, social, and political variables against the gradational morphology, to compare the three ethnic regions, to fashion more holistic culture regions, and to fabricate a nineteenth-century Louisiana French spatio-temporal model. To accomplish these objectives five questions were formulated:

1) Are there economic, social, and political variables that discriminate between Louisiana French and non-Louisiana French areas at each cross section?

2) Are there economic, social, and political variables that vary with the intensity of Louisiana French at each cross section?

3) Are there prime economic, social, and political variables that, in combination, identify more holistic Louisiana French culture regions for 1820, 1860, and 1900?

4) Are there economic, social, and political variables that vary similarly in the three Louisiana French ethnic regions--1820, 1860, and 1900?

5) Can a nineteenth-century postdictive model be constructed for the Louisiana French ethnic regions?[30]

The first two questions were approached through a four-stage variable selection and analysis procedure. To

enter the analysis each test variable had to have a value of 10 percent or more in at least one parish/county in its respective study area. Of the large number of possible variates (see Appendix A, Tables A-5 and A-7 for hundreds of individual occupations), this ten-percent criterion eliminated all but 19 initial Louisiana French test variables in 1820, 46 in 1860, and 54 in 1900. Variance analysis identified those variables that were significantly different between Louisiana French and non-Louisiana French areas as well as those differing among Louisiana French gradations; correlation matrices then discarded redundant variates having linear correlations greater than ±.90; and discriminant analysis (SPSS) corroborated the selection of the final variable sets. Discriminant analysis is a statistical technique that determines the amount of power a particular variable or variable set possesses in differentiating groups of cases and predicts group membership of given cases from derived classification functions.[31]

Combining prime Louisiana French economic, social, and political variables into more holistic culture regions, cluster analysis tackled the third question. Prime Louisiana French variables were nondichotomous traits statistically significant in both the polar (core-outland) and zone (core-domain-sphere) comparisons in at least one cross section.

The fourth issue was addressed via tabular displays and two-dimensional graphics worked as descriptive tools for comparisons and variance analysis with internal contrasts for statistically testing comparable economic, social, and political variates among the three Louisiana French regions.[32]

The final query was attacked by linear regression modeling, but less than casual difficulties loomed. Many parish/county boundaries had fluctuated, old units subdivided and new ones born, within an areally-expanding settled territory. This meant, of course, that many of the cartographic control points did not correspond from year to year and that the 1820 Louisiana French ethnic region was smaller in area than the 1860, which, in turn, was smaller than the 1900. Moreover, because the number and type of traits clustered to form the Louisiana French culture regions varied considerably from one cross section to the next, these holistic renderings were not statistically comparable and thus could not become the foundation for spatiotemporal modeling. Trying to hurdle such sticky hindrances, a somewhat involved cartographic procedure employing only the Louisiana French ethnic data was undertaken.

Since thirteen parishes/counties maintained very nearly the same centroids throughout the century and many more were identical from 1860 to 1900, the sixty-seven

1900 control points, instead of an arbitrary grid, were drafted to sample data interpolated from the original 1820, 1860, and 1900 ethnic maps. These sample data in turn produced maps called standard Louisiana French ethnic regions from which interpolated values of their sixty-seven control points were extracted. Finally, these standard data were utilized as input for linear regression estimates of several Louisiana French ethnic cross sections--1800, 1820, 1840, 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1940, flipping pages of the nineteenth century and leap-frogging into the next. To determine the degree of validity inherent in these postdicted representations, a residual map was calculated from the original 1900 ethnic region data and their postdicted estimates. Residual maps, furthermore, compared Hackett's 1840 Louisiana French data with the estimated values and Meigs' surname map with the computed estimates for 1940.[33]

Sources of Error: Surrogates, Schedules, Sampling, and Statistics

The key to any investigation is to recognize, understand, and control error, keeping it at reasonable levels to better assure valid findings. This work is no exception, and discussion of several sources of bias and random error found in cross-sectional analysis should be undertaken:
A) Ethnicity and surrogate selection. From the examination

of sixty-five sociological and anthropological studies, Isajiw concluded that in their work most ethnic researchers never explicitly define the meaning of ethnicity. In his inquiry only thirteen had devised operational definitions of the concept. Yet denotations of ethnicity abound. In fact, Isajiw also scrutinized twenty-seven characterizations of ethnicity from other, more theoretical works.[34] Through this latter investigation, he listed, in order of frequency of occurrence, principal attributes of ethnic groups:

Attributes	Frequency
1) Common national or geographic origin or common ancestors	12
2) Same culture or customs	11
3) Religion	10
4) Race or physical characteristics	9
5) Language	6
6) Consciousness of kind: "we feeling," sense of peoplehood, loyalty	4
7) Gemeinschaft /ethnic membership/ relations	4
8) Common values or ethos	3
9) Separate institutions	3
10) Minority or subordinate status or majority or dominant status	2
11) Immigrant group	1
12) Other	5[35]

Isajiw's enumeration was not too unlike the varying combinatorial tally by Thernstrom, Orlov, and Handlin in their 1980 Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups:

1) common geographic origin;
2) migratory status;
3) race;
4) language or dialect;
5) religious faith or faiths;
6) ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries;
7) shared traditions, values, and symbols;
8) literature, folklore, and music;
9) food preferences;
10) settlement and employment patterns;
11) special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and in the United States;
12) institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group;
13) an internal sense of distinctiveness;
14) an external perception of distinctiveness.[36]

These inventories have left little doubt that ethnicity is enormously intricate. In contriving a definition of ethnicity, Isajiw tried to simplify matters by categorizing his twenty-seven examples as either "objective" denotations which encompass an involuntarily socialized group of people possessing common ancestral origin and cultural traits, or "subjective," that is, a group of people with a psychological self-identity or an identity ascribed to it by others.[37] Thus his specific definition of North American ethnicity became:

> an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group.[38]

Although Isajiw's incisive analysis to conceptualize a composite theoretical standard for ethnicity was

admirably provocative, it seemed quite similar to Gordon's and Barth's denotative ideas, and it has not become a magical wand making all other characterizations disappear, obsolete, or non-operational.[39] Indeed Wright, Rossi, and Juravich have since warned of an operational methodological trap that has snared ethnic researchers not only in the predicament of surrogate selection but also in the pragmatic plight of valid variable measurement:

> With no generally agreed-upon definition of ethnicity, survey researchers are free to define this concept more or less as they wish. The operational definition can then be made according to the optimal use of the cases available for analysis. What constitutes optimal use varies considerably from one survey to the next, as does the operational definition of ethnicity. This greatly impedes the comparison of findings between studies and poses a distinct barrier to cumulative knowledge in this field.[40]

Within geography there seems to have been a similar lack of operational definitions of ethnicity. Few ethnogeographers, furthermore, have considered the subjective, internal/external ascriptive method of delimiting ethnic groups. Most geographers have instead equated ethnic groups with Barth's "culture-bearing units" alone, possibly because of geography's proclivity to investigate landscapes filled with reflecting cultural relics. This has not precluded, however, spatially delineating ethnic groups through a subjectively ascriptive approach. Framing a self-referent survey, Nostrand, for one, has done exactly that in an imaginative article titled "'Mexican American' and 'Chicano': Emerging Terms for a People Coming of Age."

Adopting the subjective mode has nevertheless presented manifest restrictions when searching for past ethnic structures and their development. Yet it can be done as was adeptly demonstrated by Lemon's painstakingly-researched but bountifully-fruitful historical analysis gleaned from contemporary accounts concerning the perceptions of European ethnic groups in eighteenth-century southeastern Pennsylvania.[41]

Bennett and Raitz have reviewed the basic themes and major spatial ramifications of ethnic studies within the larger realm of cultural geography.[42] And Chapter II of this dissertation, more specifically, outlined the multifarious geographical work done on the Louisiana French. From this survey an enumeration that was more detailed than those of Isajiw and Thernstrom, Orlov, and Handlin generated tangible and intangible ethnic surrogates and parenthetically provided some Louisiana French examples:

1) Tangible (material relics)
   a) toponyms (bayou, brule, coteau, ecore, French town names)
   b) land survey systems (arpent system)
   c) farm morphology (long lots)
   d) urban morphology (?)
   e) structures/architecture (Creole/Cajun houses, Roman Catholic churches, cypress paling fences)
   f) economic artifacts (French ovens, pirogues, moss gins, crawfish ponds)
   g) folk occupations (fur trapping, moss ginning, crawfishing)
   h) foods/food preparation (file, okra, boudin, etouffe, gumbo, couche couche)

i) clothing (garde-soleil)

j) folk art (?)

k) festivals/social gatherings (Mardi Gras, fais do-do, boucherie, coup de main, le veillee)

l) sports/games (cock fighting, bourre)

m) newspapers (French language)

2) Intangible (written records)

a) written accounts of tangible markers (maps, plats, blueprints, recipes, patterns, music, plans, rules, newspapers, surveys, censuses)

b) folklore (traiteurs, gris gris, feu follet)

c) ethnic perceptions (archival papers, diaries, newspaper reports)

d) political officeholders/election results (French sheriffs, mayors, judges, marshals, census enumerators)

e) language (French and varying patios)

f) nativity/national origin (France)

g) religion (Roman Catholic)

h) race (white)

i) surname (Arceneaux, Decuir, Fontenot, etc.)

Obviously, with the exception of past perceptions drawn from written descriptions, this inventory has been strictly comprised of Isajiw's objective ethnic attributes. To test the foregoing working hypotheses, however, a set of criteria to choose appropriate ethnic surrogates had to be developed: 1) availability of data, 2) highly time-specific data (1820, 1860, 1900), 3) data able to measure relative intensity (ratio level), and 4) spatial indicators universally and continuously associated with the Louisiana French through time. Checking each tangible ethnic marker against the selection criteria suggested no satisfaction.

Economic artifacts like French ovens, for instance, offered data that were neither highly time-specific, measurable at the ratio level, nor associated with all Louisiana French at one time much less through time. French toponyms and French-language newspapers were the most encouraging ethnic diagnostics within the tangible group, yet they could not be quantified to measure relative intensity.

Of the intangible surrogates, written records of tangible reflectors, folklore, and ethnic perceptions met the same fate as those of the tangible nature. On the other hand, political officeholders and election results held promise. But because of the paucity of data for officeholders at the parish/county level before the Civil War and because state-wide French versus Anglo elections took place only in antebellum Louisiana, they were eliminated. Language, an excellent ethnic indicator, could not be counted on for the only record of particular usage was the 1900 manuscript census, and it only enumerated English speakers. Most of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French population was Louisiana-born, thereby negating the importance of foreign nativity as a mirror of ethnicity. Information concerning Roman Catholicism, another outstanding French marker, was discounted since data were available only for 1860 and 1900, and it was also the religion of such other ethnic groups as the Irish, Germans, and Italians, all of whom continued to migrate by

the thousands into Louisiana throughout the nineteenth century.[43]

This elimination procedure left only race and surname, and both met all the demands of the selecting criteria. But because many free blacks and mulattoes were recorded without surnames in the antebellum manuscript schedules and because they followed the dominant white cultures as cited earlier, race was incorporated merely as a first-stage filter in defining the Louisiana French. Surnames of whites then became the critical ethnic surrogate.

Many ethnic researchers, including such geographers as Jakle and Wheeler, Jordan, Lemon, Meigs, Meinig, Nostrand, and Villeneuve, have relied upon family names to examine ethnicity.[44] Yet this predilection has not been without inherent error: 1) Surname is only a singular surrogate of the multivariate manifestation of ethnicity; 2) cognate names could have changed to the prevalent language form, for instance, Johnson to Jeansonne, or Weiss to LeBlanc to White, or Bourque to Bourke; 3) non-English family names have been shortened by in-migrants--Wysynski to Wise or Comeaux to Comau to Como, for example; 4) such French surnames as Bernard, David, Martin, and Richard cannot be distinguished from their English counterparts; 5) with respect to the Louisiana French, Anglo surnames discounted French females who were salient

socializing agents in early mixed Anglo-French marriages; and 6) early assimilation of Anglo family heads into the Louisiana French culture and vice versa as time went on caused some classification confusion.[45]

Surnames judiciously utilized as the prime ethnic surrogate in careful combination with such other clues as given names, nativity (1860, 1900), parentage (1900), and English language usage (1900) from the manuscript census schedules, however, may have resulted in ethnic classification more trustworthy than that of the prestigious American Council of Learned Societies' Committee on Linguistic and National Stock in the Population of the United States that in 1931 depended upon 1790 manuscript census cognate names to determine immigration quotas and that concluded, if prudently analyzed, surnames could supply a reasonably reliable rendering of foreign heritage.[46]

B) Manuscript census schedules. The schedules were littered with observational error from both respondents and enumerators. As with most governmental censuses and surveys since their inception in ancient China and Rome, people, for various reasons, were fearful of divulging information about themselves and their families.[47] Capturing such anxiety in the United States during the nineteenth century was a Saturday Evening Post cartoon on 18 August 1860, titled "The Great Tribulation" and captioned:

> Census Marshal--"I jist want to know how many of yez is deaf, dumb, blind, insane and idiotic--likewise

> how many convicts there is in the family--what all your ages are, especially the old woman and the young ladies--and how many dollars the old gentlemen is worth."[48]

A few residents, though faced with fines,[49] therefore recalcitrantly, and at times vehemently, refused to answer census questions, for instance: In 1900 an enumerator, P. A. B. Warren, in Concordia Parish annotated his count:

> I did not visit the house of L. C. Glasscock. . . on account of his being crazy and forbidding me to come on his premise but furnished information to the best of my knowledge.[50]

And in the same year Joseph Flash, an enumerator in Acadia Parish, rambled uneasily in substandard English about a threat of bodily harm:

> Lavergne, Julien refused permitance into his House he even would not let me come near his house I did repeatedly told him he would put himself liable to a fine of $100 if he insisted to refuse giving me the required information, he replied he knowed me that I had assessed him once too high and he don't care what would happen, then he commenced talking about his Shot gun and whipping me if I would come across the Gulley and I left [probably in haste].[51]

Or the residents were simply not at home at the time of enumeration as was the case recorded by Robert Alleckle of Mobile County: "No information procurable except the names because family away in the swamps."[52]

While some respondents may not have truthfully known the information required, others may have given biased if not totally false answers about age, race, marital status, nativity, naturalization, wealth, employment, property ownership, or literacy. Some of the ages declared, for

example, did not make much sense; blacks trying to "pass" for white has been well documented; some "married" female family heads were obviously widowed or otherwise had no husbands; American citizenship was prized; in 1860 some seemingly inflated the value of their wealth for prestige perhaps, while others may have deflated it for fear of increased levies; some may have said they were employed when they were not; and some could not read, write, or speak English but replied they could. Of course other hypothetical prevarication possibilities existed, some in contradiction to these noted here.[53]

Most enumerators, however, were residents of their districts and knew firsthand many of the respondents, as in the foregoing Flash fiasco, and thus enumerator acquaintance served to suppress severely hyperbolic replies. Although most enumerators were apparently conscientious, blatant racial and ethnic bigotry colored some of their counts. To a few 1900 enumerators, it seemed, all blacks could not read nor write, Italians were not only illiterate but could not speak English, and both groups owned no property. Marcus T. Carpenter, an enumerator in East Baton Rouge Parish, explicitly expressed invidious intolerance: "[Family head] 108 is too ignorant to live. 118 is too ignorant for anything on earth."[54] Other census takers, like J. P. Ratliff of Caddo Parish who reported birthplaces

for all blacks as unknown, would hardly bother with black citizens.[55]

The most heinous crime committed, both figuratively and legally, by enumerators, though, was undercounting. The 1870 census, a notorious exemplar, is known for this iniquitous neglect, particularly of blacks whose congressional representation was directly affected.[56] Contributing to the counting error, besides respondent refusal and enumerator prejudice, were fatigue and even fraud. The deterioration of enumerators' handwriting as the day wore on easily demonstrated weariness that surely created later legibility difficulties, recording mistakes, and more missing data, possibly including "vanishing" families. Inclement weather added to the woes of enumerators' daily treks, and several grumbled surly about the incessant Louisiana rains that perhaps would bring their activities to an abrupt halt or at least cause postponement.[57]

Enumerators were under oath to carefully carry out their instructions, yet some census takers obviously became confused or openly ignored certain directions. Although according to Kirkham enumerators ". . . had nothing to gain by misrepresentation or falsification of the records,"[58] some sort of fraud was bound to have transpired somewhere since they were paid in relation to their entry totals.[59] A United States Senate committee,

as early as 1852, incredously commented about probable discrepancies:

> Such results are incredible as correct statements of facts, and can only be accounted for by a negligence of inquiry, which might perhaps have been anticipated from the minuteness of the information sought, the number of questions to be asked and answered, and the improbability that competent persons would undertake the duties to be performed for the compensation allowed.[60]

The mumbo-jumbo of the 1820 census of manufactures was only one case that could certainly corroborate the senators' concern. And in 1900 enumerator frauds were cited in argument for long overdue reforms of the process appointing census takers. Political patronage had pervasively permeated the selection system, choosing people from a potpourri of positions: farmers, teachers, physicians, merchants, attorneys, judges, real estate agents, cotton buyers, and beekeepers, to list a handful, mostly white, a few blacks, and an infrequent female, all supposedly literate.[61]

Other possible problems exuding from the manuscript schedules were locational error, mainly within the artificially drawn 1900 enumeration districts that subdivided parishes/counties; archaic occupational terminologies like nurse for one who takes care of children instead of the sick, drummer for a traveling salesman, hostler occasionally meaning innkeeper, swamper sometimes denoting a timberman, or ambrotypist, aumonier, box chipper, corker, doger, joiner, or the ambiguous engineer, foreman, grader, officer, and operator; and surname interpretation made treacherous

at times by enumerator handwriting embellished with rococo cursive and antiquated symbols as the "double s" combined with numerous misspellings: Boodro for Boudreaux, Bro for Breaux, Shotland for Chatelain, Fruzia for Fruge, Gedry for Guidry, Abear for Hebert, and Grenze for Granger were not uncommon.[62]

Mental fatigue struck this compiler often during the long months of extracting and processing tens of thousands of bits of available manuscript data--schedules for 1820 Alabama, Bienville Parish in 1860 Louisiana, and Hancock County in 1860 Mississippi were missing.[63] To curb inaccuracies, each surname and occupation spelling and classification were audited at least twice, and every computer entry was verified--double-checked, that is.

Despite all this criticism of population manuscript schedules, the essential conclusion must stand in stark contrast. When any of these foregoing errors of bias occurred, if indeed they did, they were the exception and not the rule for thousands upon thousands of family entries looked perfectly legitimate. Additionally, no other historical sources of economic, social, and political information extant at the parish/county scale in Louisiana can provide more reasonably thorough and consistently reliable population as well as areal coverage. To recognize, understand, and control for error at the manuscript level, furthermore, can instill much more investigative confidence than merely

blind incorporation of published aggregate reports. Finally, Willcox has sagaciously summarized the paradoxical nature of census data validity: "The testing of the accuracy of a census is difficult because there is no standard more trustworthy by which its results can be measured."[64]

C) Sampling error. The two five-percent independent samples from the manuscript schedules for each temporal cross section were randomized at the parish/county level.[65] Incorporating the finite population correction factor, proportion standard errors calculated at 95 percent confidence for the 1820 parishes/counties produced a mean error of $\pm$6.43 with a standard deviation of 5.49, for 1860 a mean of $\pm$3.92 with a standard deviation of 3.41, and for 1900 a mean of $\pm$1.92 with a standard deviation of 1.57. This meant, for example, that of the fifty-five parishes/counties sampled in 1860, on the average, the ethnic proportion obtained for each parish/county could have been in error $\pm$3.92 percentage points of the actual value and that approximately two-thirds of the sampling errors ranged from .51 to 7.33 percent. The relatively large sampling error for the 1820 samples, of course, meant that they became the weakest link in the subsequent statistical analyses. Like its availability, then, the data's sampling reliability improved through time.[66]

D) Statistical error. Every statistical test performed in this study was conducted with an alpha level of .05 thus providing 95 percent confidence of avoiding Type I error, the mistake of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is correct.

E) Cartographic error. As previously mentioned, the number and sizes of parishes/counties changed from one temporal cross section to the next creating differences in map control points and interpolation distances. These mapping obstacles did not allow for direct cartographic standardization through time, but the more contemporary maps reflected greater refinement from the existence of more parish/county centroids. Centroid density for all maps was skewed toward heavily populated southeastern Louisiana along the Mississippi River and away from the sparsely settled southwest sector of the state. To provide as much consistency as possible, Symap interpolation, as noted above, was kept constant throughout the entire investigation with the initial search radius set at 10.0 and the maximum search radius held at 12.0. And using a minimum of four and a maximum of ten data points, each interpolation grid computed values independently at every print location.[67]

Having undertaken this cathartic methodological self-flagellation in an effort to recognize, understand,

and control for error, I now turn to the nineteenth-century geographical evolution of the Louisiana French.

NOTES

[1]Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space, Time, Place: A Humanistic Frame," in Timing Space and Spacing Time, vol. 1: Making Sense of Time, eds. Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes, and Nigel Thrift (New York: John Wiley, 1978), p. 16.

[2]William M. Davis, "The Geographical Cycle," Geographical Journal 14 (1899):481-504; Geographical Essays, ed. Douglas W. Johnson (Boston: Ginn, 1909); Derwent Whittlesey, "Sequent Occupance," Annals, Association of American Geographers 19 (1929):162-65; Richard E. Dodge, "The Interpretation of Sequent Occupance," Annals, Association of American Geographers 28 (1938):233-37; Carl O. Sauer, "Foreward to Historical Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers 31 (1941):1-24; "The Fourth Dimension of Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers 64 (1974): 189-92; H. C. Darby, "On the Relations of Geography and History," Transactions and Papers, Institute of British Geographers 19 (1953):1-11. The esteemed American geographic thinker, Wright, also interpreted the inherent connections of geography and history, but not before Broek had offered his views. Turn to John K. Wright, "Geography and History Cross-Classified," Professional Geographer 12 (1960):7-10; and Jan O. M. Broek, "Relations between History and Geography," Pacific Historical Review 10 (1943):321-25. William Bunge, Theoretical Geography, Lund Studies in Geography, 2nd ed. (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, (1973); Nigel Thrift, An Introduction to Time-Geography, Concepts and Techniques in Modern Geography, No. 13 (Norwich, U. K.: Geo Abstracts, 1977); Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes, and Nigel Thrift, eds., Timing Space and Spacing Time, 3 vols. (New York: John Wiley, 1978), vol. 1: Making Sense of Time, vol. 2: Human Activity and Time Geography, vol. 3: Time and Regional Dynamics; Don Parkes and Nigel Thrift, Times, Spaces, and Places: A Chronogeographic Perspective (New York: John Wiley, 1980).

[3]Darby, pp. 1-11; Andrew H. Clark, "Historical Geography," in American Geography: Inventory and Prospect, eds. Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones

(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1954), pp. 71-105; Richard Hartshorne, Perspective on the Nature of Geography (Chicago: Association of American Geographers and Rand McNally, 1959), pp. 81-84, 98-107; H. C. Darby, "Historical Geography, Twenty Years After," Geographical Journal 126 (1960):147-59; H. C. Darby, "Historical Geography," in Approaches to History, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), pp. 127-56; H. Roy Merrens, "Historical Geography and Early American History," William and Mary Quarterly 22 (1965): 529-48; C. T. Smith, "Historical Geography: Current Trends and Prospects," in Frontiers in Geographical Teaching, eds. Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 118-43; D. Harvey, "Models of the Evolution of Spatial Patterns in Human Geography," in Models in Geography, eds. Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 549-608; David Harvey, Explanation in Geography (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), pp. 407-32; Robert M. Newcomb, "Twelve Working Approaches to Historical Geography," Yearbook, Association of Pacific Coast Geographers 31 (1969):27-50; H. C. Prince, "Progress in Historical Geography," in Trends in Geography: An Introductory Survey, eds. Ronald U. Cooke and James H. Johnson (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), pp. 10-21; John A. Jakle, "Time, Space, and the Geographic Past: A Prospectus for Historical Geography," American Historical Review 76 (1971):1084-1103; Hugh C. Prince, "Real, Imagined and Abstract Worlds of the Past," in Progress in Geography: International Reviews of Current Research, vol. 3, eds., Christopher Board, Richard J. Chorley, Peter Haggett, and David R. Stoddart (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), pp. 1-86; Alan R. H. Baker, "Rethinking Historical Geography," in Progress in Historical Geography, ed. Alan R. H. Baker (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972), pp. 13-17; Andrew H. Clark, "Historical Geography in North America," in Progress in Historical Geography, ed. Alan R. H. Baker (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972), pp. 129-43, 242-50; Alan R. H. Baker, Historical Geography and Geographical Change, Aspects of Geography, eds. T. H. Elkins and Keith Clayton (London: Macmillan Education, 1975); Hugh Prince, "Time and Historical Geography," in Making Sense of Time, eds. Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes, and Nigel Thrift (New York: John Wiley, 1978), pp. 17-37.

[4]Darby, "Relations," pp. 3-7; Clark, "Historical Geography," p. 85; Hartshorne, pp. 82, 101-02; Smith, pp. 128-30; Merrens, pp. 543-44; Harvey, "Models," pp. 563-Harvey, Explanation, pp. 422-23; Newcomb, pp. 30-31; Prince, "Progress," p. 111; Jakle, pp. 1090-91; Prince, "Worlds of the Past," pp. 9-13; Baker, "Rethinking Historical Geography," p. 15; Clark, "Historical Geography in

North America," p. 137; Baker, Historical Geography, pp. 3-6, 21; Prince, "Time," pp. 25-26; H. C. Prince, "Historical Geography," in Congress Proceedings, 20th International Geographical Congress, ed. J. Wreford Watson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967), p. 169; J. L. M. Gulley, "The Retrospective Approach in Historical Geography," Erdkunde 15 (1961):306-09; A. R. H. Baker, "A Note on the Retrogressive and Retrospective Approaches in Historical Geography," Erdkunde 22 (1968):244-245; Wassily Leontiff, "When Should History Be Written Backwards," Economic History Review 16 (1963):3-5; Norman J. W. Thrower, "Animated Cartography," Professional Geographer 11 (1959):10. According to Jakle, Andrew Clark and his students at the University of Wisconsin promoted the synchronic method, for example, Lemon's work on eighteenth-century southeastern Pennsylvania. Refer to Jakle, pp. 1090-91; and James T. Lemon, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," Geographical Review 56 (1966): 467-96. In 1964 Berry, unlike many of his quantitative cohorts, unabashedly diagramed synchronic cross sections as an integral part of his synthesis of regional analysis. See Brian J. L. Berry, "Approaches to Regional Analysis: A Synthesis," Annals, Association of American Geographers 54 (1964):7-8.

[5]Darby, "Relations," pp. 8-9; Clark, "Historical Geography," pp. 85-86; Hartshorne, pp. 98-101, 106-07; Smith, pp. 130-32; Harvey, "Models," pp. 564-70; Harvey, Explanation, p. 429; Newcomb, p. 32; Prince, "Progress," p. 111; Prince, "Worlds of the Past," pp. 21-22; Baker, "Rethinking Historical Geography," pp. 15-17; Baker, Historical Geography, pp. 6-10, 21; Prince, "Time," pp. 25-26; David Ward, "The Debate on Alternative Approaches in Historical Geography," Historical Methods Newsletter 8 (1975):84. Diachronic management was epitomized religiously throughout Carl Sauer's work, for instance: The Early Spanish Main (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966); Northern Mists (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968); and Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971).

[6]Harvey, "Models," pp. 563-64, 593-97; Baker, Historical Geography, pp. 3-6, 18-21; Prince, "Time," pp. 25-26; Baker, "Rethinking Historical Geography," pp. 15-17; Alan R. H. Baker, "Today's Studies of Yesterday's Geographies," Geographical Magazine 43 (1971): 452.

[7]Prince, "Time," p. 25. And another amazing statement by Prince, pp. 20-21:

> The most important difference between the dimensions of space and time is that whereas we can explore space in all directions, going this way or that, returning whenever we wish to our starting point, we pass through a moment in time once and only once.

This Kantian "spaceless time" and "timeless space" absolutism fails to understand that to explore space is to traverse time, as time changes so does space. Since reality is a continuous series of space-time events, as we live through a moment in time only once, we occupy a place in space only once. Such an idiographic ontology, to stress, does not preclude nomothetic research methodologies, however.

[8]Prince, "Time," p. 25.

[9]Baker, Historical Geography, p. 21; Prince, "Time," p. 25.

[10]Baker, Historical Geography, p. 19.

[11]Nostrand has observed: ". . . the relationship between patterns and processes works in two ways, however, because patterns can also be thought of as shaping processes." See Richard L. Nostrand, "A Model for Geography," Journal of Geography 67 (1968):12.

[12]Hartshorne, pp. 103-04. Others too have shied away from studies of spatial gestalts through time. Weiss wrote: "It is impossible to achieve at one time both the comprehensive viewpoint of the whole culture and the spatial outlook." Reprinted in Richard Weiss, "Cultural Boundaries and the Ethnographic Map," in Readings in Cultural Geography, eds. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 66. Harvey heralded: "In most cases such /process/ models are partial analyses of a single set of processes and we are far from possessing a general model of a whole collection of processes at the same time." Harvey, "Models," p. 566. And Berry boasted about his "geographic matrix": "It will be obvious that such an arrangement makes possible examination of rows through time, of columns through time, and of boxes through time." Berry, p. 8. But he made no mention of matrices through time.

[13]In Clark's words perhaps the former could be called "changing geographies" and the latter "geographical change." Clark, "Historical Geography in North America," p. 137.

[14]Obviously this increasingly-faster movement has rational limitations, or process perception will too become nothing but a blur.

[15]J. O. M. Broek, The Santa Clara Valley, California: A Study in Landscape Changes (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1932); Smith, p. 132; Harvey, "Models," p. 551; Newcomb, p. 31; Prince, "Worlds of the Past," p. 15; Clark, "Historical Geography in North America," p. 142. As noted earlier, Meinig in The Great Columbia Plain followed a similar linked synchronic-diachronic methodology. See D. W. Meinig, The Great Columbia Plain, A Historical Geography, 1805-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), p. xiii.

[16]Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, Foundations of Cultural Geography Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 117-23; Raymond D. Gastil, Cultural Regions of the United States (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 174, 190-91; United States History Atlas (Maplewood, NJ: Hammond, 1977), pp. front end paper, U-11; William B. Knipmeyer, "Settlement Succession in Eastern French Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), plate 45; Peveril Meigs, "An Ethno-Telephonic Survey of French Louisiana," Annals, Association of American Geographers 31 (1941):245; Joel L. Fletcher, The Acadians in Louisiana Today (Lafayette, LA: Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1959), n.p.; Nicholas Spitzer, "Cajuns and Creoles: The French Gulf Coast," Southern Exposure 5 (1977):142-44; Dean R. Louder and Michael LeBlanc, "The Cajuns of East Texas," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):317-30; Terry G. Jordon and Lester Rowntree, The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), pp. 9, 270-72.

[17]Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispano Homeland in 1900," Annals, Association of American Geographers 70 (1980):384; Milton B. Newton, Jr., Atlas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), pp. 63-66; John S. Kyser, "The Evolution of Louisiana Parishes in Relation to Population Growth and Movements" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1938), maps 14, 18, 22; U. S., Department of Interior, United States Census Office, Statistical Atlas, prepared under the supervision of Henry Gannett (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1903), plates 5, 9, 13. Parish and county boundaries for the three cross sections were derived from Kyser, maps 1, 6, 10; Newton, Atlas, pp. 99-100; and Stephen S. Birdsall

and John W. Florin, "A Series of County Outline Maps of the Southeastern United States for the Period 1790-1860," Map Study No. 2 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1973) (Mimeographed), maps. Peirce F. Lewis, New Orleans--The Making of an Urban Landscape, Association of American Geographers Comparative Metropolitan Analysis Project (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing, 1976), pp. 1-16; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), passim; John S. Kendall, History of New Orleans (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1922), 1-2:passim. Treat similarly separated New Orleans from the rest of Louisiana in his detailed study of nineteenth-century Louisiana in-migration. See Victor H. Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1967). The changing nineteenth-century ethnic distribution of New Orleans would be a dissertation in itself, especially if undertaken in the manner of Conzen's micro-level dissection of 1850 Milwaukee. Consult Kathleen N. Conzen, "Mapping Manuscript Census Data for Nineteenth Century Cities," Historical Geography Newsletter 4 (1974):1-7.

[18]Lewis, pp. 11, 12, 14.

[19]Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820 (Washington, DC: National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. M33, n.d.); Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 (Washington, DC: National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. M653, n.d.); Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 (Washington, DC: National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. T-623, n.d.); U. S., Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864); U. S., Department of the Interior, United States Census Office, Agriculture, Census Reports, vol. V, pt. I and vol. VI, pt. II, Farms, Live Stock, and Animal Products and Crops and Irrigation (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1902); U. S., Department of the Interior, Statistics of the United States (Including Mortality, Property, etc.) in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns and Being the Final Exhibit of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1866); U. S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1906, Special Reports, pt. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1910); A. W. Bell, comp., The State Register: Comprising an Historical and Statistical Account of Louisiana, from Its

Earliest Settlement as a Territory Down to its Present Period as a State; Together with an Accurate List of All State and Parish Offices (Baton Rouge: T. B. R. Hatch, 1855), pp. 101-11; Louisiana, Report of the Secretary of State to His Excellency W. W. Heard, Governor of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge News Publishing, 1902), pp. 390-437.

[20]In the 1900 census, parentage was an aid in ethnic classification because if either parent of a family head was of French descent, then that head was categorized as French.

[21]See, for example, J. Hanno Deiler, The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and Creoles of German Descent (Philadelphia: 1909; reprinted ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1975), passim; Louis Voss, The German Coast of Louisiana, Historical Bulletin No. 9 (Hoboken, NJ: The Concord Society, 1928), pp. 17-18; Lubin F. Laurent, "History of St. John the Baptist Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 7 (1924):319-20; Lillian C. Bourgeois, Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish (New Orleans, Pelican Publishing, 1957), pp. 70-73; Lauren C. Post, "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 87-88, 181-82; Harley N. Gould, "The Acadian French in Canada and in Louisiana," American Journal of Physical Anthropology 28 (1941):291; Joseph L. Tisch, French in Louisiana: A Study of the Historical Development of the French Language of Louisiana (New Orleans: A. F. Laborde, 1959), pp. 30-33; William A. Read, Louisiana-French, revised edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 110-12, 128-50; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 11, 27-29; Davis, pp. 58, 141, 153; C. C. Robin, Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805, trans. and ed. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1966), p. 95; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 124, 130; Treat, passim.

[22]Taylor, p. 11; Davis, pp. 131-32; Gary B. Mills, The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), xiv, passim; H. E. Sterkx, The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), passim; Geraldine M. Mctigue, "Forms of Racial Interaction in Louisiana, 1860-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1975), passim; Jerah Johnson, "The Louisiana French," Contemporary French

Civilization 1 (1976):19, 25-27, 33; George S. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," Language 10 (1934):324-25; 11 (1935): 5-16; Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 76-120, 196-233; Frances J. Woods, Marginalty and Identity: A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 7-9; Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," Journal of Negro History 1 (1916):361-76; Annie L. W. Stahl, "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 25 (1942):301-96; Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in Colonial Louisiana," Louisiana History 7 (1966):21-50; Joe G. Taylor, Negro Slavery in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association, 1963), p. 133; Alvin L. Bertrand and Calvin L. Beale, The French and Non-French in Rural Louisiana: A Study of the Relevance of Ethnic Factors to Rural Development, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 606 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1965), p. 20; Betty Porter, "The History of Negro Education in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 25 (1942): 728-821; Dolores E. Labbe, Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Catholic Parishes in South Louisiana (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1971), pp. 1-26; Gerald L. Gold, "The French Frontier of Settlement in Louisiana: Some Observations on Culture Change in Mamou Prairie," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):265; Roland J. L. Breton and Dean R. Louder, "La Geographie linguistique de l'Acadiana," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):223. Upon manumission many Louisiana blacks chose surnames of their former masters which of course included French planters. See Howard F. Barker, "The Family Names of American Negroes," American Speech 14 (1939):163-172.

[23]The following sources were used to compile lists of French names: Bona Arsenault, History of the Acadians (Ottawa: Editions Lemeac, 1978), pp. 194-217; Stanley C. Arthur and George C. Hutchet de Kernion, Old Families of Louisiana (New Orleans: Harmanson, 1931), passim; L. R. N. Ashley, "French Surnames and the English," Names 11 (1963):177-81; Vaughan B. Baker, "The Acadians in Ante-bellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 121; Maurine Bergerie, They Tasted Bayou Water: A Brief History of Iberia Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1962), pp. 1-10, 103-56; Antoine Bernard, L'Acadie Vivante: Histoire du peuple

acadien de ses origines a nos jours (Montreal: Edition du Devoir, 1945), pp. 25, 172-73; Bourgeois, pp. 69-73; Katherine Bridges and Winston DeVille, "Natchitoches in 1766," Louisiana History 4 (1963):156-59; R. E. Chandler, "End of an Odyssey: Acadians Arrive in St. Gabriel, Louisiana," Louisiana History 14 (1973):72-73, 80-87; Pierre V. Daigle, Tears, Love and Laughter (Church Pointe, LA: Acadian Publishing Enterprise, 1972), pp. 66-72, 130-35; Donna Darden, "A Study in Louisiana French Onomastics," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1969), appendix B; Albert L. Dart, trans., "Ship Lists of Passengers Leaving France for Louisiana, 1718-1724," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 14 (1931):517-20; 15 (1932):68-77, 453-67; 21 (1938):965-78; Davis, passim; Jewel L. de Grummond, "A Social History of St. Mary Parish, 1845-1860," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 32 (1949):19; Deiler, pp. 80-154, passim; Jay K. Ditchy, Les Acadiens Louisianais et leur parler (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1932), p. 226; Lionel Durel, "Creole Civilization in Donaldsonville," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 31 (1948):982; Gold, p. 265; Mary A. Fontenot and Paul B. Freeland, Acadia Parish, Louisiana, A History to 1900, 2 vols. (Baton Rouge, LA: Claitor's Publishing, 1979), 1:20-21; Antonio Huot, "Les Acadiens de la Louisiane," Revue Canadienne 57 (1909):46-47; E. D. Johnson, "Family Names in French Louisiana," Names 3 (1955):165-68; E. D. Johnson, "First Names in French Louisiana," Names 4 (1956):49-53; Grace King, Creole Families of New Orleans (New York: Macmillan, 1921), passim; Kniffen, pp. 124, 127, 130; Emile Lauvriere, La Tragedie d'Un Peuple: Histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines a nos jours, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Paris: Editions Bossard, 1923), 1:170-77, 2:9, 209, 217; Dudley J. LeBlanc, The Acadian Miracle (Lafayette, LA: Evangeline Publishing, 1966), pp. 334-35, 348, 353, 377-419; Dudley J. LeBlanc, The True Story of the Acadians (Lafayette, LA: By the Author, 1932), pp. 50-52, 65-66, 70, 77, appendices A, B; Mario Mamalakis, "Breaux Bridge and the Telephone," Attakapas Gazette 10 (1975):111; Sidney A. Marchand, Acadian Exiles in the Golden Coast of Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1943), pp. 22-26, 68-92; Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1931), pp. 21-22; Genevieve Massignon, Les Parlers Francais D'Acadie, Tome I (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1962), pp. 31-75; Thomas O'Hagan, "The Acadians in Louisiana," North American Notes and Queries (June 1900):14; Lauren C. Post, "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 81-88, 146; Read, pp. 202-19; Grover Rees, A Narrative History of Breaux Bridge, Once Called

"La Pointe" (Lafayette, LA: 1976), pp. 16-19; William J. Sandoz, "A Brief History of St. Landry Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 8 (1925):225; Corinne L. Saucier, "A Historical Sketch of the Acadians," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 34 (1951):68-69, passim; Lyle Saxon, Old Louisiana (New York: Century, 1929), pp. 99-100; Pearl M. Segura, "Origin or Meaning of Some South Louisiana Personal Names and Surnames," Attakapas Gazette 6 (1972):53-68; Theodore F. Thurmon and Ellen B. DeFraites, "Genetic Studies of the French-Acadians of Louisiana," Birth Defects 10 (1974):203; Tisch, p. 41; Jacqueline Voorhies, trans. and comp., Some Late Eighteenth-Century Louisianans, Census Records 1758-1796, University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1973), pp. 103-05, 114-19, 153-56, 162-63, 421-613; Lyle G. Williams, "Some Effects of Acadian Settlement on the Pattern of Land Occupance in Lafayette Parish," Attakapas Gazette 6 (1971):21-22; Oscar W. Winzerling, Acadian Odyssey (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), pp. 199-206.

[24]Elsdon C. Smith, New Dictionary of American Family Names (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

[25]Statistical Analysis System Institute, SAS User's Guide 1979 Edition (Raleigh, NC: SAS Institute, 1979), pp. 157-61. According to the SAS cluster analysis within-among distance ratio, the next best grouping would have been nine classes, a far too complicated structure. Brian Everitt, Cluster Analysis (New York: John Wiley, 1974), pp. 1-9, 91-97; R. J. Johnston, Classification in Geography, Concepts and Techniques in Modern Geography, No. 6 (Norwich, U.K.: Geo Abstracts, 1976), pp. 1-32; Andrew D. Cliff, et al., Elements of Spatial Structure (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 17-28; David Grigg, "The Logic of Regional Systems," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):465-91; Harvey, Explanation, pp. 326-38; Other researchers who have been concerned with the problems of classification have been listed in Bryn Greer-Wooten, A Bibliography of Statistical Applications in Geography, Association of American Geographers Commission on College Geography Publications, Technical Paper, No. 9 (Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, 1972), pp. 86-88.

[26]Norman H. Nie, et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), pp. 398-433. The power of variance analysis for regional construction has not been squandered by geographers, for example: In 1958 Zobler conceptualized:

> Regions are areal systems based on levels of similarities and differences in spatially distributed traits. Regional boundary lines are conceptual areal frames fitted to the earth's surface within which landscape features are sorted. It is the nonhomogeneous distribution of these features which identifies the peculiar properties of respective regions. Each spatial unit is internally homogeneous but differs from other members of the system.

Almost twenty years later Zelinsky explicitly defined his PCA region in variance analysis terms: ". . . a set of objects within a perceived segment of the space-time continuum whose within-set variability is less than that between it and other sets of similarly defined objects . . . ." Refer to Leonard Zobler, "Decision Making in Regional Construction," Annals, Association of American Geographers 48 (1958):140; and Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account," Geographical Review 67 (1977):138-39; Bunge, pp. 95-100; Peter Haggett, Andrew D. Cliff, and Allan Frey, Locational Analysis in Human Geography, vol. 2: Locational Methods, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1977), pp. 450-53, 472-77. For other citations of variance analysis in geographical research, turn to Greer-Wooten, pp. 42-44.

[27]Zelinsky, p. 143; Nostrand, "Hispano Homeland," pp. 391-92; Meigs, p. 245.

[28]Throughout the Symap series the initial search radius was set at 10.0, and the maximum search radius was held at 12.0. Using a minimum of four and a maximum of ten data points, each interpolation grid computed values independently at every print location. See James A. Dougenik and David E. Sheehan, Symap User's Reference Manual (Cambridge, MA: Laboratory for Computer Graphics and Spatial Analysis, Harvard University, 1976), pp. III, 33-36.

[29]D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals, Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):213-19; Nostrand, "Hispano Homeland," pp. 391-96.

[30]Hopefully these hypotheses can be prescribed as valid tonics for Minshull's frustrations regarding the regional method:

> But in spite of this valuable work [by Brian J. L. Berry], there is still something lacking which will tend to exclude regional work from the main stream of geography for the time being. This is the

difficulty of setting up and testing hypotheses in traditional regional geography; possibly the absence of any worthwhile hypotheses to test.
Roger Minshull, An Introduction to Models in Geography (London: Longman, 1975), p. 49.

[31]Nie, et al., pp. 434-67; Brian J. L. Berry, "A Note Concerning Methods of Classification," Annals, Association of American Geographers 48 (1958):300-03; J. Ross Mackay, "Regional Geography: A Quantitative Approach," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 3 (1959):61; Johnston, p. 40; Harvey, Explanation, pp. 346-48; Leslie J. King, "Discriminant Analysis: A Review of Recent Theoretical Contributions and Applications," Economic Geography 46 (1970):366-78; Greer-Wooten, pp. 89-90.

[32]Nie, et al., pp. 276-86, 398-433, 267-74; Statistical Analysis System Institute, pp. 157-61; Everitt, pp. 1-9, 91-97; Johnston, pp. 1-32; Cliff, et al., pp. 17-28; Grigg, pp. 465-91; Harvey, Explanation, pp. 326-38.

[33]Nie, et al., pp. 320-65. A whole host of geographers have used regression analysis and trend analysis (time as the independent variable), see Greer-Wooten, pp. 67-76; but regarding the late development of formal methods of forecasting, Haggett, Cliff, and Frey, p. 517, have quoted Curry's 1970 paper: "However unlikely it may seem, this statement /paper/ appears to be the first discussion of the forecasting of future maps in the geographical literature." The linear regression projection herein was perhaps not as sophisticated as the Space-Time Autoregressive (STAR) linear model Tobler employed in his "computer movie" of the inter-censal population changes (1930-1960) in Detroit, yet it was similar to the packaged linear regression procedure (Biomedical Computer Programs, 1964, BMD02R) utilized by Cliff, et al. to forecast unemployment. See W. R. Tobler, "A Computer Movie Simulating Urban Growth in the Detroit Region," Economic Geography (Supplement) 46 (1970):234-40; Haggett, Cliff, and Frey, pp. 517-40; and Cliff, et al., pp. 210-16. The involved method of forecasting incorporated in this dissertation, however, was of a highly experimental nature since I was unaware of any other attempt to interpolate or extrapolate ethnic regions through time.

[34]Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," Ethnicity 1 (1974):111-113.

[35]Ibid., p. 117.

[36]Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, "Introduction," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. vi.

[37]Isajiw, pp. 115-21. Also see Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 23-30; and Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 10-15.

[38]Isajiw, p. 122.

[39]Gordon, pp. 27-28; Barth, pp. 10-11.

[40]James D. Wright, Peter H. Rossi, and Thomas F. Juravich, "Survey Research," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 957.

[41]Mikesell has adroitly reiterated the recent proliferation of work on environmental perception within cultural geography, but unfortunately this perceptual movement has apparently neglected the perceptions of groups of people regarding themselves or those identifiers ascribed to them by others. Here may be a most fertile field for spatial analysis. Marvin W. Mikesell, "Tradition and Innovation in Cultural Geography," Annals, Association of American Geographers 68 (1978):6-9; Barth, pp. 11-13; Richard L. Nostrand, "'Mexican American' and 'Chicano': Emerging Terms for a People Coming of Age," Pacific Historical Review 42 (1973):389-406; Lemon, "Agricultural Practices," and for elaboration peruse his The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

[42]Don C. Bennett, "Recent Themes in Ethnic Geography," in Geographical Horizons, eds. John Odland and Robert N. Taaffe (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1977), pp. 174-190; Karl B. Raitz, "Ethnic Maps of North America," Geographical Review 68 (1978):335-50; "Themes in the Cultural Geography of European Ethnic Groups in the United States," Geographical Review 69 (1979):79-94.

[43]Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880"; Jean A. Scarpaci, "Italian Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1880-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane

University, 1972); Frank M. Lovrich, "The Dalmatian Yugoslavs in Louisiana," Louisiana History 8 (1967):149-64.

[44]John A. Jakle and James O. Wheeler, "The Changing Residential Structure of the Dutch Population in Kalamazoo, Michigan," Annals, Association of American Geographers 59 (1969):441-60; Terry G. Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1966); "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," Geographical Review 59 (1969):83-103; Lemon, "Agricultural Practices"; Best Poor Man's Country; Meigs, "An Ethno-Telephonic Survey"; D. W. Meinig, Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1969): Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change 1600-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region," Annals, Association of American Geographers 60 (1970):638-61; "Mexican Americans Circa 1850," Annals, Association of American Geographers 65 (1975):378-90; "Hispano Homeland"; Paul Y. Villeneuve, "Propinquity and Social Mobility Within Surname Groups in a French-Canadian Colony," Proceedings, Association of American Geographers 4 (1972):100-03. See also Mark A. Hornberger's involved surname usage in his unpublished study, "The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Selected Counties in Pennsylvania 1800-1880: A Geographic Interpretation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1974).

[45]Charles A. Price, "Methods of Estimating the Size of Groups," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 1039-42; Johnson, "Family Names in French Louisiana," pp. 166-68; Deiler, pp. 80-154; Lauren C. Post, Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 36-37; Kniffen, p. 124; Taylor, Louisiana, p. 11; Clyde V. Collard, "The Cajun Family: Adjustment to Modern Trends," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), p. 112; Larbi Oukada, "The Territory and Population of French-Speaking Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978): 26.

[46]American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," Annual Report of the

American Historical Association, 1931 1 (Washington, DC: 1932).

[47]T. Lynn Smith, Fundamentals of Population Study (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott, 1960), pp. 19-21; T. H. Hollingsworth, Historical Demography, The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 299-302; and "The Importance of the Quality of the Data in Historical Demography," Daedalus 97 (1968):416-19.

[48]Quoted in the U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twenty Censuses: Population and Housing Questions, 1790-1980, prepared by Frederick G. Bohme (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 6.

[49]Fines for refusing to answer census questions increased throughout the century from $20 in 1790 to $100 in 1900. Read U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Census, The History and Growth of the United States Census, by Carroll D. Wright. S. Rept. 1900, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 14, 44, 136, 926, 955; Carmen Delle Donne, Federal Census Schedules, 1850-80: Primary Sources for Historical Research, National Archives and Records Service Reference Information Paper No. 67 (Washington, DC: General Services Administration, 1973), p. 3.

[50]Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 562, Enumeration District 35.

[51]Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 556, Enumeration District 7. Flash also wrote his supervisor that shortly thereafter he became ill and could not complete his enumeration duties. He was replaced.

[52]Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 31, Enumeration District 90.

[53]For substantiation of such misrepresentations, see American Economic Association, The Federal Census, Critical Essays (New York: Macmillan, 1899), particularly the papers by Walter F. Willcox, "Area, Population, Birthplace, Migration and Conjugal Condition," pp. 8-37; George K. Holmes, "Age, Sex, Dwellings and Families, and Urban Population," pp. 54-67; Davis R. Dewey, "Illiteracy and Educational Statistics," pp. 68-77; and Richard Mayo-Smith, "Statistics of Occupations," pp. 78-107. This collection of twenty critiques analyzed in depth the

weaknesses of the eleventh census (1890) to provide suggestions to strengthen the twelfth census (1900).

[54]Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 563, Enumeration District 36.

[55]Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 560, Enumeration District 36.

[56]Walter F. Willcox, "Census," in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 300; U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Governmental Affairs, The Decennial Census: An Analysis and Review. 96th Cong. 2nd sess., 1980, Committee Print (Washington,DC: Government Printing Office, 1980), pp. 40-42; History and Growth of the United States Census, pp. 14, 25, 43-44, 930, 934, 954; John B. Sharpless and Ray M. Shortridge, "Biased Underenumeration in Census Manuscripts: Methodological Implications," Journal of Urban History 1 (1975):410-11. Sharpless and Shortridge discussed in some detail "differential underenumeration," that is, " ailures in enumeration which are conditioned by particular characteristics either of the population or the enumeration area," p. 412, and the affect it has on subsequent statistical analysis.

[57]Exemplifying complaints about disruptive rains and wet ledgers were those of George H. Lupton and Marcus T. Carpenter, Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 560, Enumeration District 20 and Roll 563, Enumeration District 36, respectively. Mctigue, pp. 197, 201, was also appalled by missing data, especially for occupations, and the carelessness of some enumerators' records.

[58]E. Kay Kirkham, A Survey of American Census Schedules: An Explanation and Description of Our Federal Census Enumerations, 1790-1950 (Salt Lake City,UT: Deseret Book Company, 1959), p. 9.

[59]History and Growth of the United States Census, pp. 21, 25, 43, 52, 137, 926, 930-31, 933; Delle Donne, p. 22.

[60]Quoted in Decennial Census, p. 39.

[61]U. S., Secretary of State, Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States and of their Manufactures (Washington, DC: Gales & Seaton, 1823), p. 24; Decennial Census, p. 153; History and Growth of the United States Census, pp. 20, 25, 42, 135, 927, 932, 952; Interview with Tom Jones, Historian, Data

User's Service Division, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC, 27 January 1981.

[62]David B. Guralnik, ed. in chief, Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, 2nd college ed. (New York: World Publishing Company, 1970), passim; Mctigue, p. 195; Interview with Malcolm L. Comeaux, Associate Professor of Geography, Arizona State University, San Antonio, Texas, 26 April 1982. For more humorous French surname misspellings, look at the wrinkled metamorphoses of Jesse Wilder, James Maund, and Hugh Hutchinson in the Population Schedules, 1900, Roll 556, Enumeration District 8, Roll 560, Enumeration District 24, and Roll 567, Enumeration District 40, in Acadia, Calcasieu, and Lafayette parishes, respectively; D. C. White in the Population Schedules, 1860, Roll 426, Vermilion Parish; and Richard Bettis and William Jenkins in the Population Schedules, 1820, Roll 31, Avoyelles Parish and Roll 30, Lafourche Parish, respectively.

[63]W. Neil Franklin, comp., Federal Population and Mortality Census Schedules, 1790-1890, in the National Archives and the States: Outline of a Lecture on Their Availability, Content, and Use, National Archives and Records Service Special List No. 24 (Washington, DC: General Services Administration, 1971), p. 75; National Archives and Records Service, Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890: A Catalog of Microfilm Copies of the Schedules (Washington, DC: General Services Administration, 1974), pp. 3, 30, 32; Kirkham, pp. 96-97; E. Kay Kirkham, The Counties of the United States and Their Genealogical Value (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1965), pp. 1, 28-30, 36-37.

[64]Willcox, "Census," p. 300. Indeed many scholars have embraced manuscript census data within their research, and more than a quarter of a century ago Lathrop keenly advocated increased usage of what he then termed as a "great neglected source." Refer to Barnes F. Lathrop, "History from the Census Returns," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 51 (1948):293-312. And Stephan Thernstrom has since considered the advantages of using manuscript census schedules in "Reflections on the New Urban History," Daedalus, 100 (1971):359-75.

[65]In the 1820 and 1860 censuses parishes/counties were the basic enumeration districts, but in 1900 parishes/counties were subdivided into smaller, more manageable enumeration districts. To maintain as much spatial consistency as possible, parishes/counties were kept as the sampling units for this study's three temporal cross

sections, although much better spatial refinement could have been reaped from the 1900 enumeration districts.

[66]Frank Yates, Sampling Methods for Censuses and Surveys, 2nd ed. (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1953), pp. 1-21; S. S. Zarkovich, Sampling Methods and Censuses (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1965), pp. 149-80; Decennial Census, pp. 39-56; Hollingsworth, pp. 302-03.

[67]Dougenik and Sheehan, pp. III, 33-36; Arthur H. Robinson and Randall D. Sale, Elements of Cartography, 3rd ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1969), pp. 156-64; Mark S. Monmonier, Computer-Assisted Cartography: Principles and Prospects (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982), pp. 45-66.

CHAPTER V

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND AFTER--1820

The geopolitical events at the turn of the nineteenth century played a cruel trick on the Louisiana French: For only twenty days did the tricolor of the French Republic fly over the Place d'Armes in New Orleans. On 20 December 1803, Louisiana became American territory.[1] Instead of embarking on an era of uninhibited cultural flowering, the established, self-assured French Creole civilization was forced to confront unbroken waves of brash Anglo-Saxons. And the Cajuns, who after experiencing the tragedies of le grand derangement had found their Nouvelle Acadie along the sleepy bayous of South Louisiana, could no longer continue their newly-gained, peaceful existence without interference--they too faced the headstrong Americain charge. So as the American flag was raised that December, it unceremoniously triggered a tempestuous Franco-American cultural clash for dominance on the Mississippi River's deltaic plain that would last for decades.

According to a synthesis of maps by Newton and Detro (Fig. V-1)[2] at the time of the Purchase the

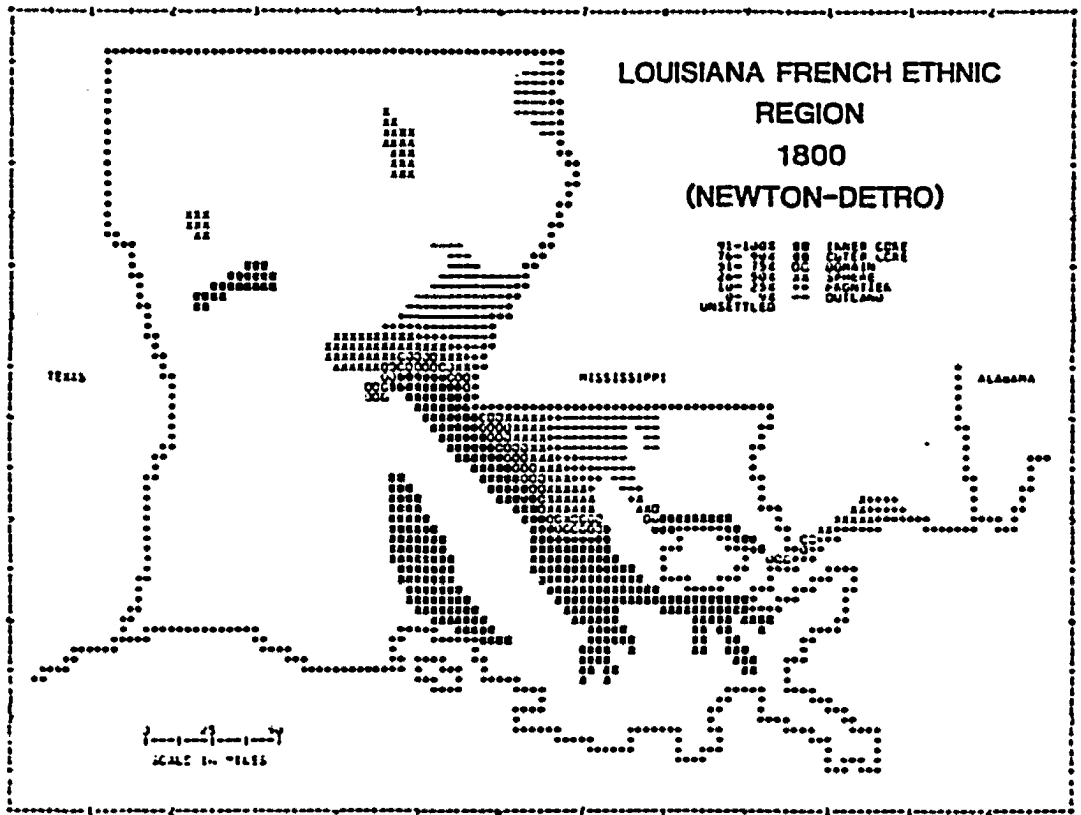


Fig. V-1. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase the highest Louisiana French intensities hugged the principal water courses. After Newton (1972: 71) and Detro (1970: 101-13).

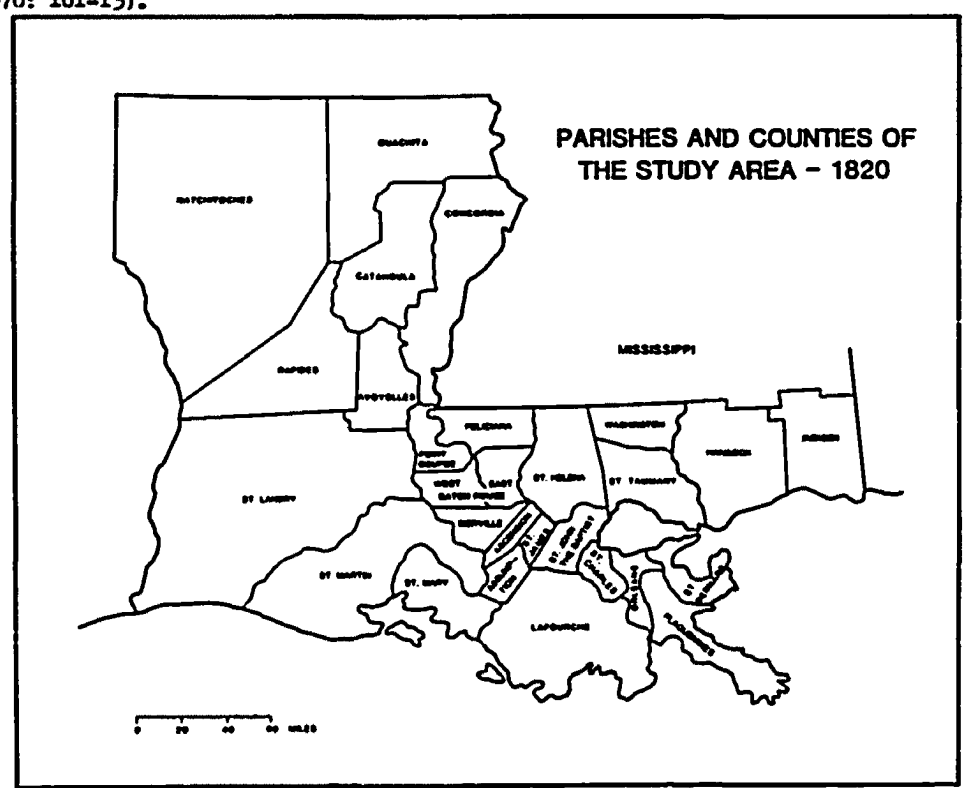


Fig. V-2. More than half of the twenty-eight parishes and counties of the 1820 Louisiana French study area fronted the Mississippi River.

greatest intensities of Louisiana French were located along the lower Mississippi and Red river transportation arteries and on the backslopes of bayous Lafourche and Teche in South Louisiana. French settlement had also concentrated on the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain and trailed off to the east along the Gulf Coast. To a lesser degree French settlers had been attracted to the upper Ouachita River in northeastern Louisiana around present-day Monroe. Anglos had made small inroads in the north adjacent to the Mississippi and in the western "Florida Parishes" northeast of Baton Rouge. Additionally, handfuls of Americans were sprinkled here and there within the traditionally French areas, chiefly west of Bayou Teche on the Opelousas and Attakapas prairies.[3]

Louisiana French Ethnic Region in 1820

To reconstruct the Louisiana French ethnic region for 1820, a random, five-percent sample of family heads in the 1820 manuscript census schedules was drawn from all twenty-six Louisiana parishes and two Mississippi counties (Fig. V-2 and Table V-1), but large parts of Louisiana had yet to be settled by Europeans: almost all of the coastal marsh, most of the southwest prairies and adjacent piney flat woods, the interior of the Atchafalaya Swamp, several swaths of land in the "Florida Parishes," dense swamp-land in the northeast, and much of the northwest hill

TABLE V-1

PARISHES CLASSIFIED BY ZONES--1820

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	INNER CORE (91-100%)	CORE (76-100%)
Plaquemines	100.00	100.00
West Baton Rouge	100.00	100.00
Ascension	95.41	95.41
Assumption	94.83	94.83
Lafourche	94.08	94.08
St. James	93.43	93.43
St. John	91.00	91.00
	OUTER CORE (76-90%)	
St. Charles	88.89	88.89
St. Martin	82.05	82.05
Orleans	78.11	78.11
St. Bernard	77.78	77.78
	DOMAIN (51-75%)	DOMAIN (51-75%)
Pointe Coupee	66.67	66.67
Iberville	63.16	63.16
Avoyelles	62.13	62.13
	SPHERE (26-50%)	SPHERE (26-50%)
Natchitoches	48.36	48.36

TABLE V-1--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	SPHERE (26-50%)	SPHERE (26-50%)
St. Landry	48.30	48.30
Hancock MS	32.23	32.23
St. Mary	29.63	29.63
	FRONTIER (10-25%)	OUTLAND (0-25%)
East Baton Rouge	19.25	19.25
	OUTLAND (0-9%)	
St. Helena	9.09	9.09
Rapides	7.68	7.68
Feliciana	2.18	2.18
Catahoula	0.00	0.00
Concordia	0.00	0.00
Ouachita	0.00	0.00
St. Tammany	0.00	0.00
Washington	0.00	0.00
Jackson MS	0.00	0.00

country. These unsettled places were excluded from the study area (Fig. V-3).

The Louisiana French ethnic region, that is, the area having more than 25 percent Louisiana French which included Creoles, Cajuns, "Foreign French," and weighted proportions of Germans and Spanish (Figs. V-4, 5, 6, 7), remained riverine during the century's first two decades yet expanded in broad bands parallel to the streams with major movements westward through the lower Atchafalaya Swamp's intricate web of waterways and westward from the banks of Bayou Teche deeper into Attakapas country. Residing in the eighteen parishes of the ethnic region in 1820 were nearly 90,000 people, three-quarters of them Louisiana French (Table V-2). In comparison, 58 percent of Louisiana's rural population of 116,000 was French.

The greatest intensities of the Louisiana French (91-100%; ▩ in Fig. V-4) were located along the lower Mississippi River in the "Acadian Coast" parishes of Ascension and St. James and in their sister river parishes of West Baton Rouge, St. John, and Plaquemines and on the alluvium of Bayou Lafourche in Assumption and Lafourche parishes. The region's outer core (76-90%; ⊖) continued along the Mississippi into Orleans and St. Bernard parishes and focused on St. Martinville in the heart of the Teche. The core's 2,750 square miles possessed 49,000 French who

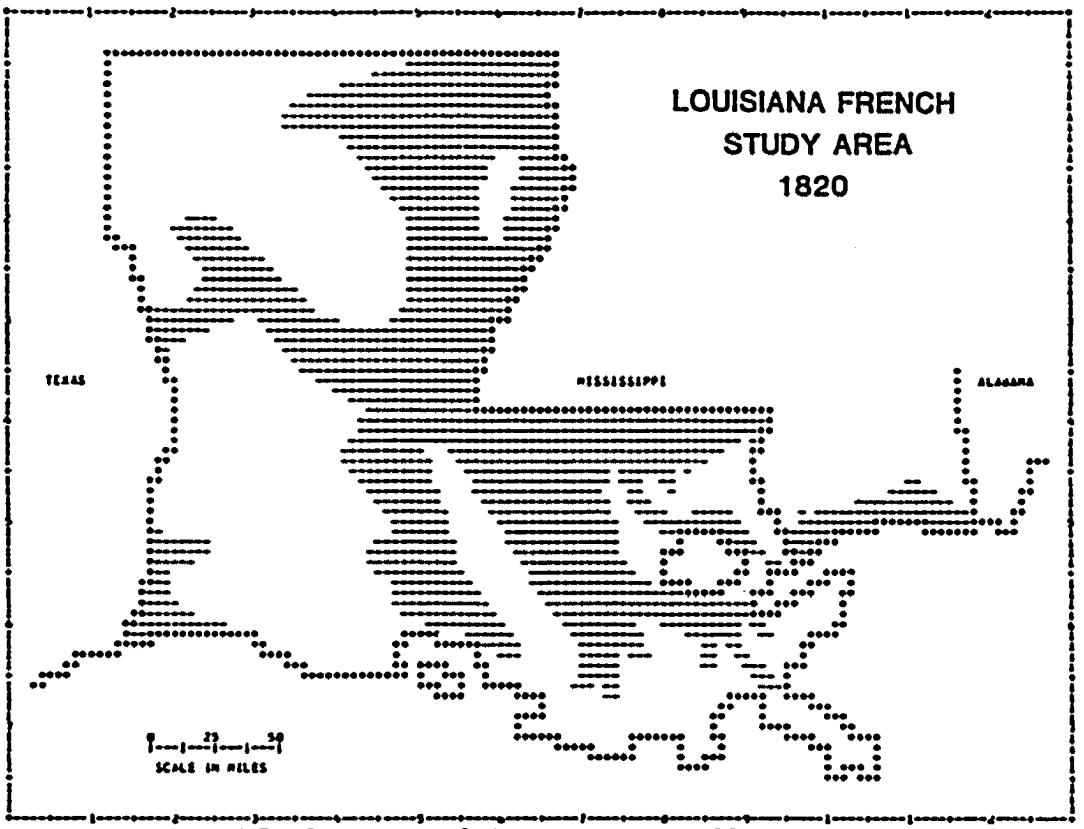


Fig. V-3. Large unsettled areas checkered 1820 Louisiana.

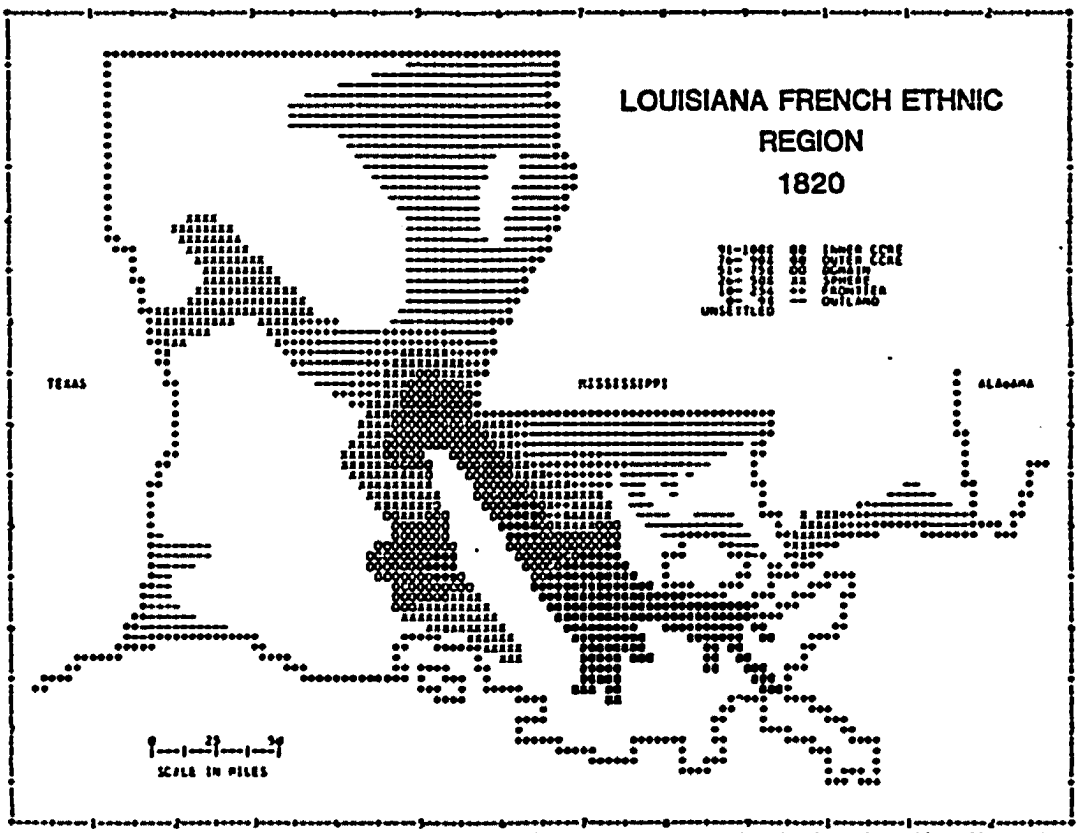


Fig. V-4. The Louisiana French ethnic region remained riverine the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

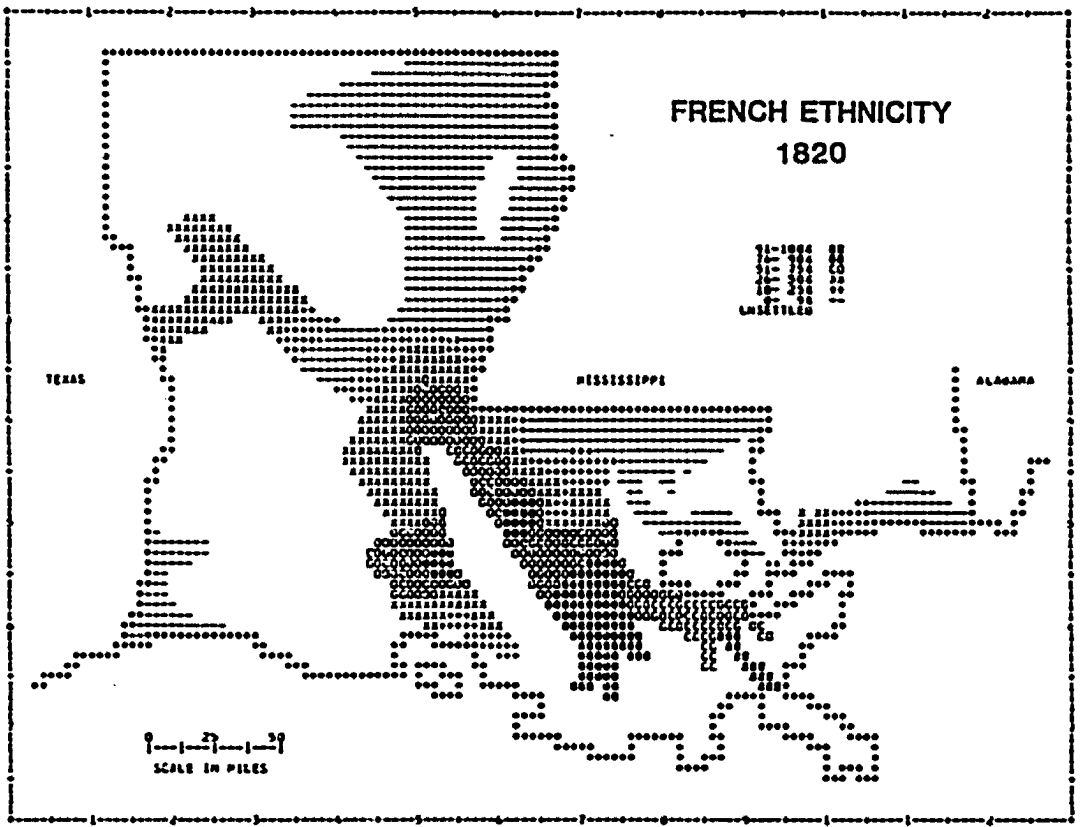


Fig. V-5. French ethnicity in 1820 closely followed the more inclusive Louisiana French ethnic region.

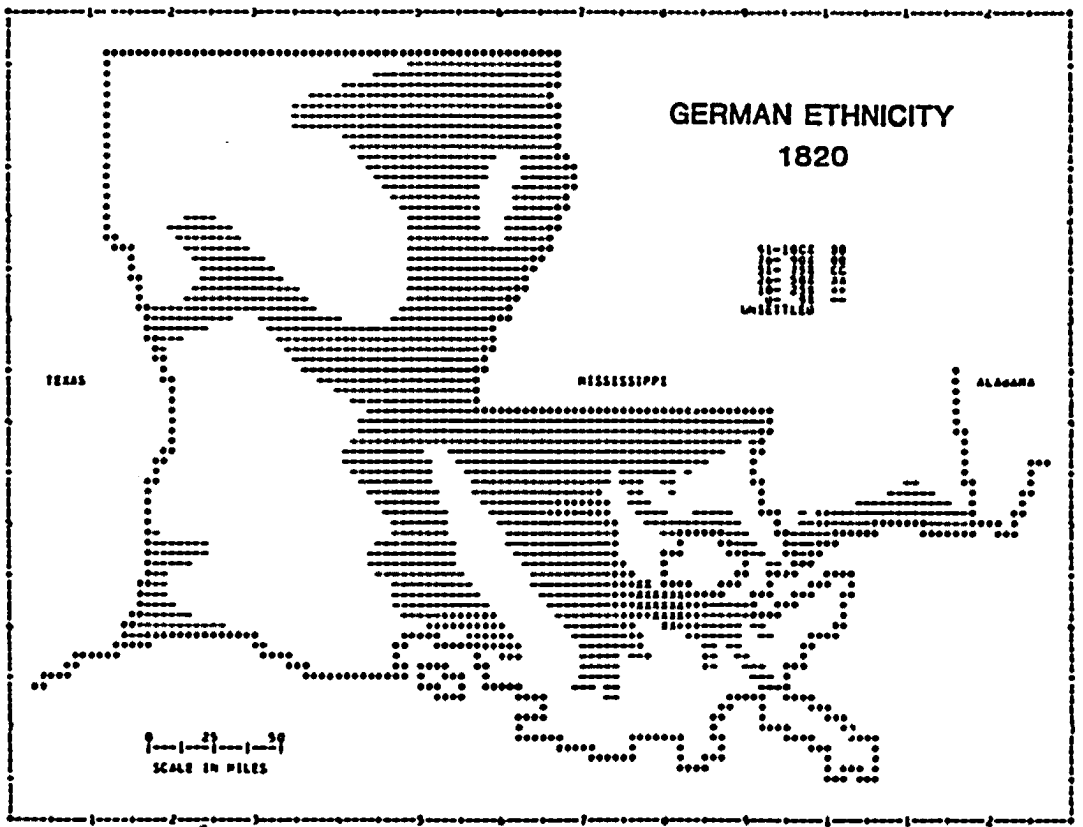


Fig. V-6. To account for eighteenth-century assimilation of Germans into the Louisiana French culture, weighted proportions of German ethnicity were included in the Louisiana French region.

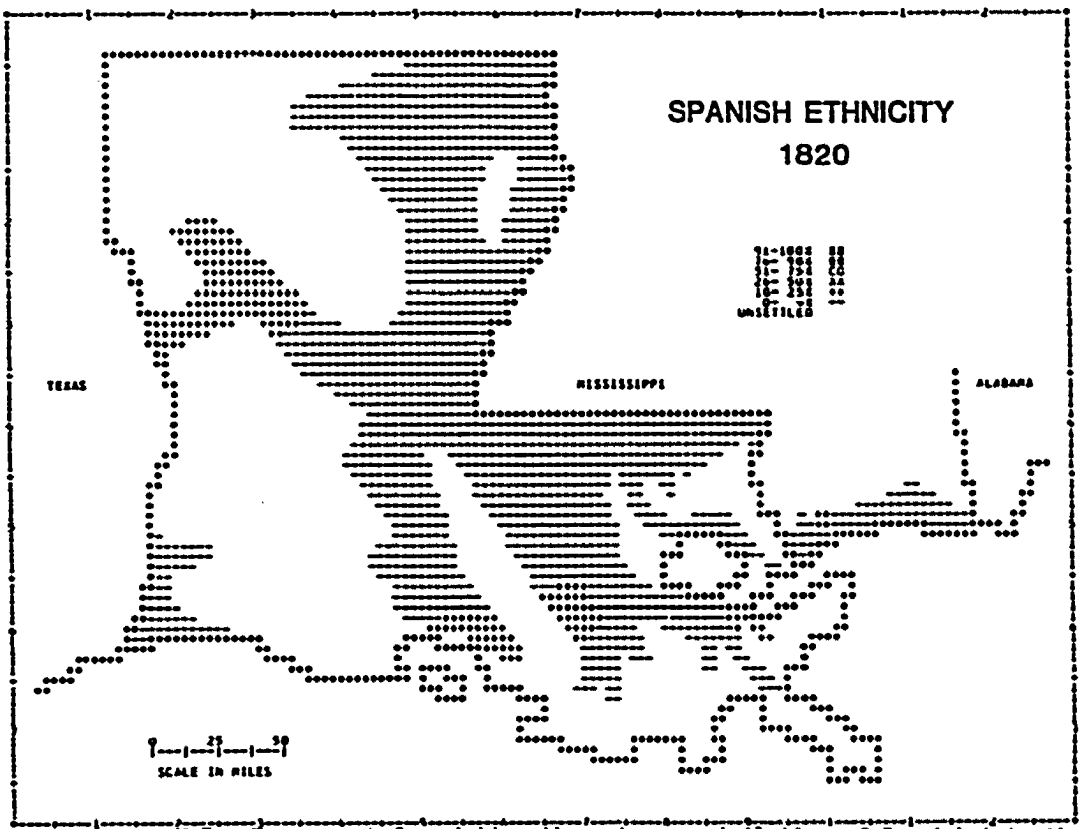


Fig. V-7. To account for eighteenth-century assimilation of Spanish into the Louisiana French culture, weighted proportions of Spanish ethnicity were included in the Louisiana French region.

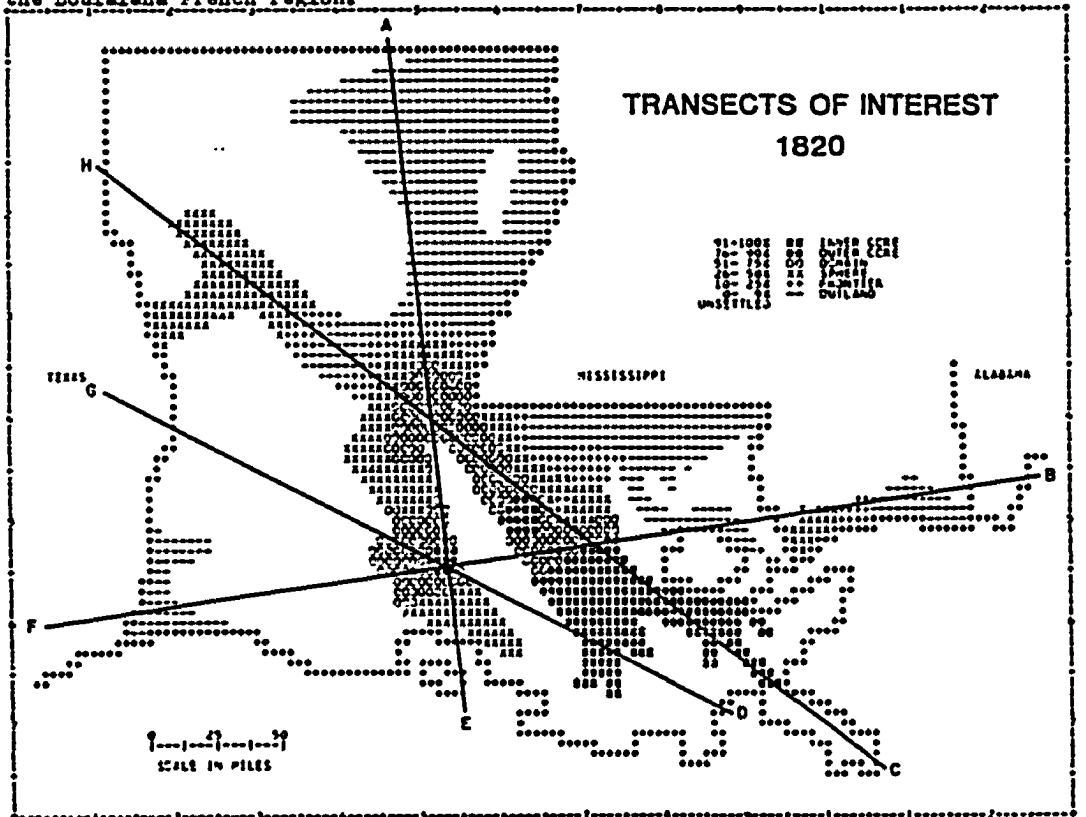


Fig. V-8. To better investigate the internal morphology of the 1820 Louisiana French region, four analytical transects were constructed.

TABLE V-2

LOUISIANA FRENCH ETHNIC REGION--1820

ZONE/AREA	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POPULATION TOTAL POPULATION	FRENCH POPULATION DENSITY NON-FRENCH DENSITY TOTAL DENSITY	NUMBER OF PARISHES
Inner Core	1,428	94.86 24,066 1,303 25,369	16.85 .92 17.77	7
Outer Core	1,318	80.72 24,728 5,908 30,636	18.76 4.48 23.24	4
Total Core	2,746	87.12 48,794 7,211 56,005	17.77 2.63 20.40	11
Domain	2,979	64.45 7,458 4,113 11,571	2.50 1.38 3.88	3

TABLE V-2--continued

ZONE/AREA	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POPULATION TOTAL POPULATION	FRENCH POPULATION DENSITY NON-FRENCH DENSITY TOTAL DENSITY	NUMBER OF PARISHES
Sphere	4,211	45.24	2.29	4
		9,641	2.77	
		11,672	5.06	
		21,313		
Ethnic Region	9,936	74.13	6.63	18
		65,893	2.32	
		22,996	8.95	
		88,889		
Louisiana	48,523	58.03	1.39	26
		67,403	1.00	
		48,743	2.39	
		116,146		

comprised 87 percent of the inhabitants residing in the most densely populated area of the state.

The core's high Louisiana French proportions faded into the less intense but slightly larger domain (51-75%; O) north of the "Acadian Coast" following the meandering Mississippi and protruding into the valley of its Red River tributary. Across the Atchafalaya Swamp the domain also encircled the Teche core. Some 7,500 domain residents, about 65 percent, were of French heritage. The sphere (26-50%; X), in turn, filled out the ethnic region's almost 10,000 square miles by enveloping the domain and encompassing outliers in Natchitoches Parish and on the shores of the Mississippi Gulf Coast. Living in the sphere were almost 12,000 Louisiana French, 45 percent of the zone's population.

Four transects of interest were examined to provide another perspective of the ethnic region's internal morphology. About twenty-five miles north from St. Martinville along the St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect (E-A in Figs. V-8, 9-A) Louisiana French intensity declined twenty points to a 62 percent plateau in Avoyelles Parish but then one hundred miles out dove precipitously to nearly zero in Catahoula Parish never to regain any amplitude. South of St. Martinville the gradient was steep because of the nearby Gulf of Mexico. The Texas-Alabama line (F-B in Figs. V-8, 9-B) cut across two narrow but prominent Louisiana French peaks separated

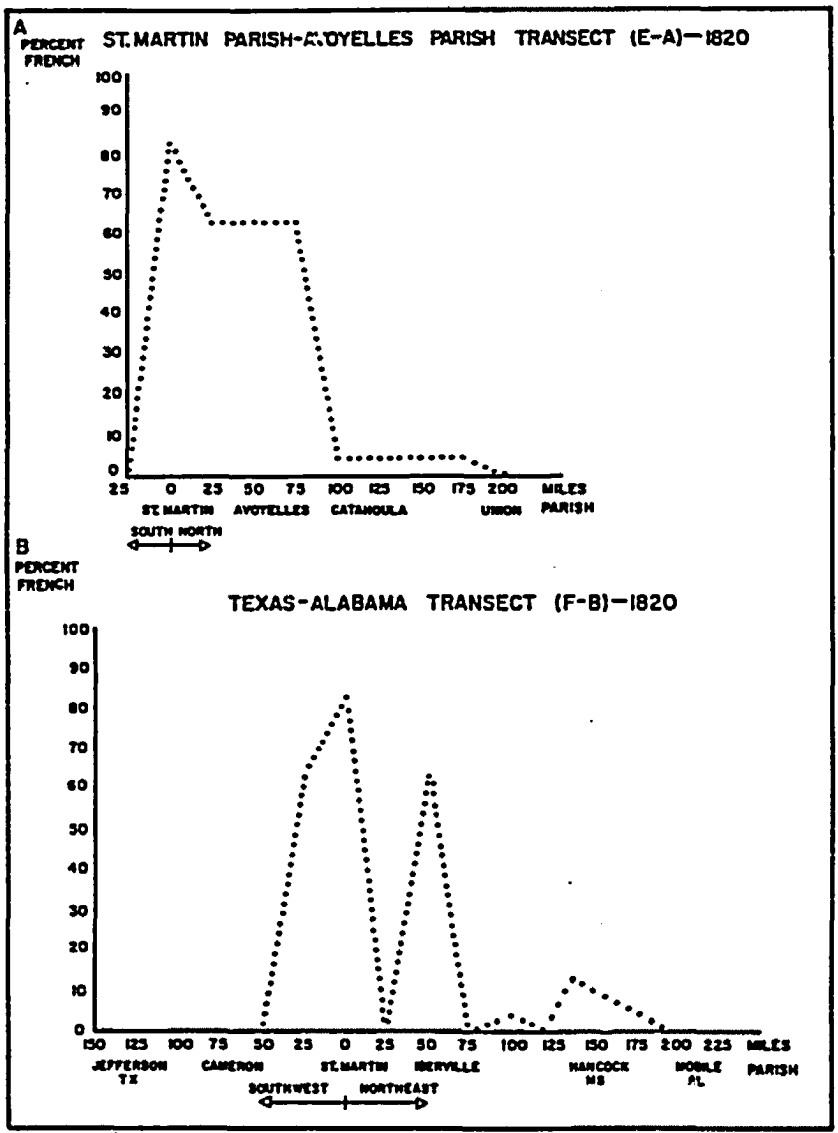


Fig. V-9. The St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect traversed two traditionally-French parishes, while the Texas-Alabama line gauged east-west trends.

by the Atchafalaya Swamp--St. Martin Parish (82%) and Iberville Parish (63%)--and ran eastward to skim the northern edge of the Hancock County outlier that was almost one-third French.

The Red River-Mississippi River transect (A-C in Figs. V-8, 10-A) traversed Louisiana's two most important river valleys and showed that south of Ascension Parish along the extreme lower Mississippi the French heritage persisted vigorously except for a fluctuation in Orleans Parish, while to the north of Ascension French influence generally declined reaching a deep trough 125 miles away in Rapides Parish but rebounded a short distance later to outline the relatively robust Natchitoches French outlier. Like the Texas-Alabama profile, the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect (G-D in Figs. V-8, 10-B) contoured the crests of the region's bifurcated core and graphed the strong Lafourche intensity at 94 percent Louisiana French.

When comparing the foregoing 1800 and 1820 Louisiana French ethnic maps, the rather pronounced dilution of the French region is easily discerned. This erosion can be attributed to the cartographic refinement inherent to the 1820 map and, more importantly, to rapacious Anglo intrusion (Fig. V-11). In the years following the Louisiana Purchase Americans by the thousands voraciously staked claims in the northeastern part of the state, surged up the Red River to challenge French Natchitoches, advanced rapidly throughout the "Florida

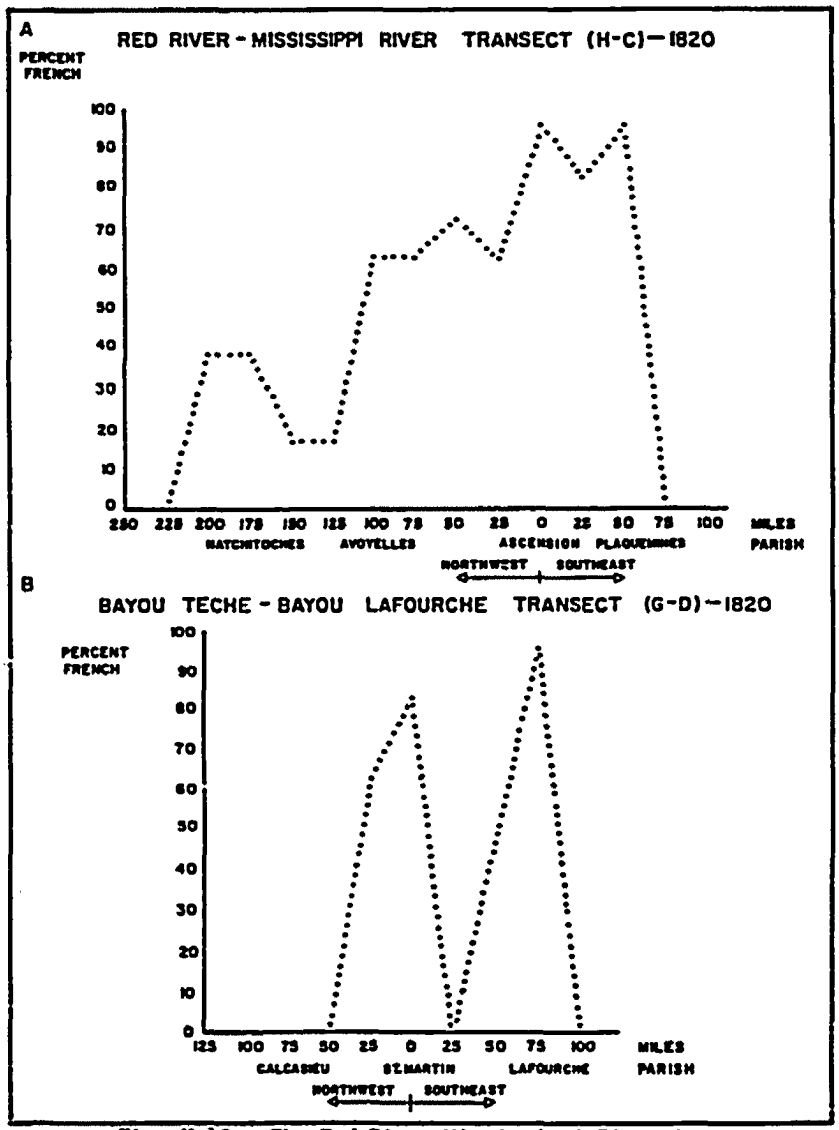


Fig. V-10. The Red River-Mississippi River transect ran through Louisiana's two most important river valleys, and the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect profiled the region's core.

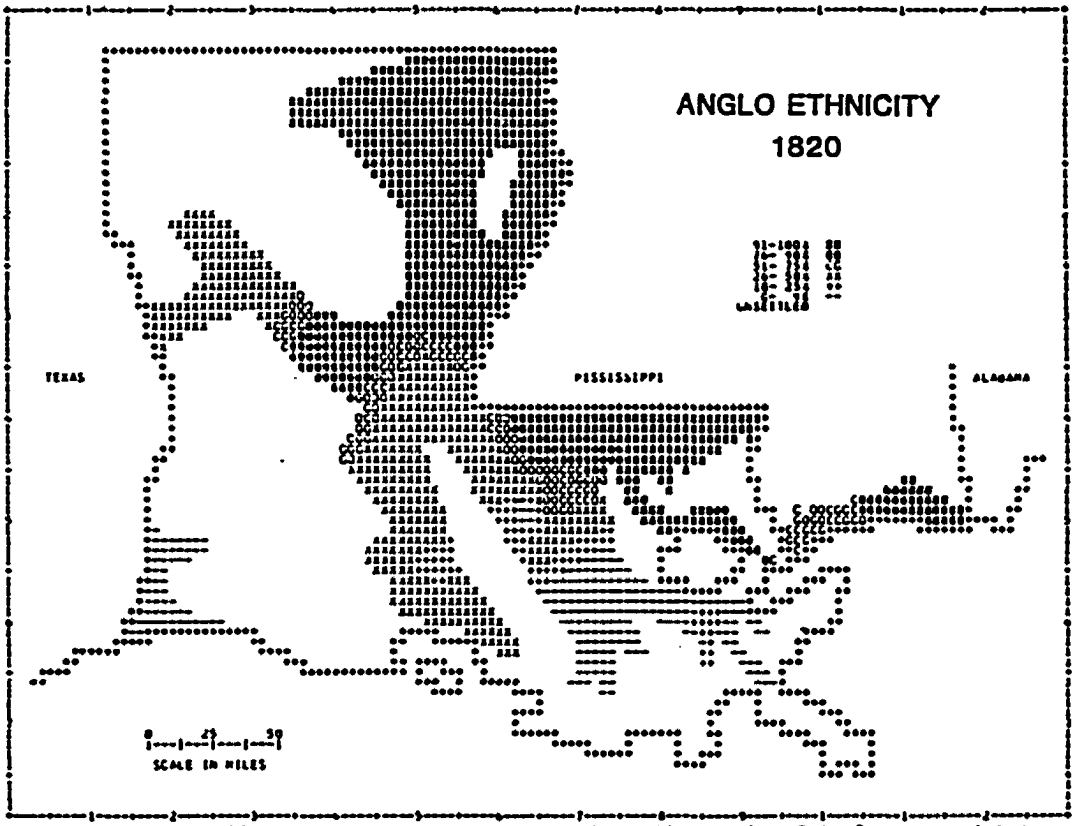


Fig. V-11. After the Louisiana Purchase thousands of Anglos surged into Louisiana.

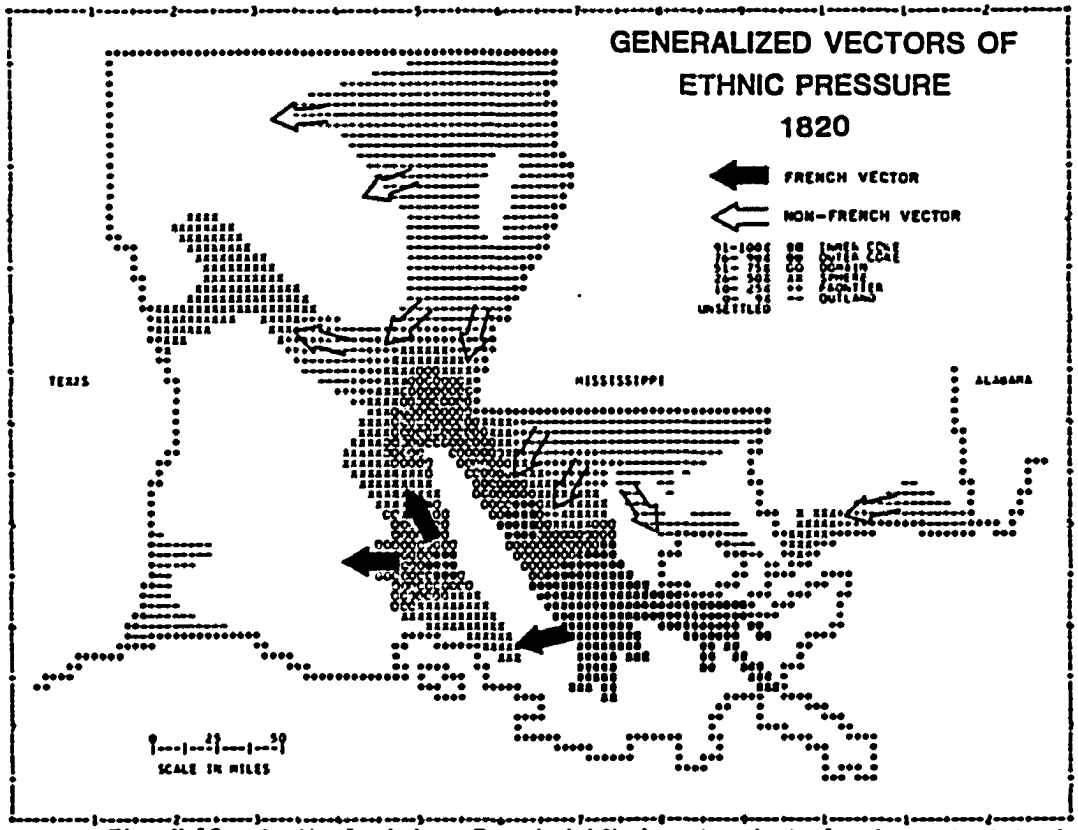


Fig. V-12. As the Louisiana French drifted westward, Anglos began to intrude deep into the ethnic region.

Parishes," brought hundreds of acres of rich levee land in the Mississippi delta under sugar cultivation, branded large herds of cattle on the grasslands of Opelousas and Attakapas, and, with the principal exception of the Lafourche focus, filtered ubiquitously into the French ethnic region, dramatically reducing French population proportions, particularly on the eastern and northern frontiers--a trend which would prevail throughout the century (Fig. V-12).[4] Although still early in the century, the Louisiana French could not cope with what they considered to be hordes of barbaric Americans. The old French strategy of foreign assimilation that had worked so well in Gallicizing smaller German and Spanish populations during the eighteenth century failed. There were simply too many Anglos.

Geographical Isolation

The rural Louisiana French region was no more geographically isolated than any other part of Louisiana; in fact, its well-developed water transport network up and down the lower Mississippi and its distributaries, through the Atchafalaya Basin, and along Bayou Teche was far better than North Louisiana's in 1820.

Louisiana is blessed with many miles of natural waterways (Fig. V-13), yet their navigability, as with all streams, depends upon the type of craft plying their waters. As water transportation in South Louisiana evolved from

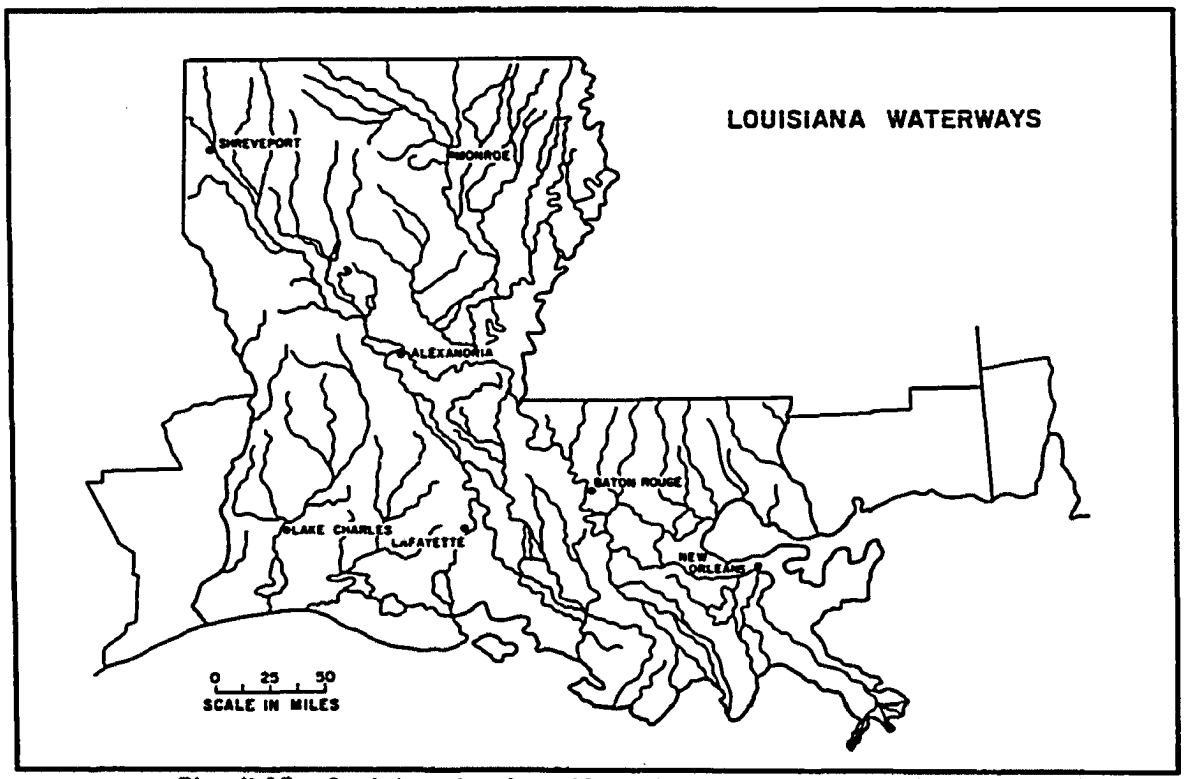


Fig. V-13. Louisiana has been blessed with hundreds of miles of navigable waterways.

small dugout pirogues to large steamboats and barges, fewer routes were available for passage and annual water stages became more crucial. Low water certainly posed difficulties for South Louisiana transportation, principally when larger vessels attempted to exit from the Mississippi into its Plaquemine and Lafourche distributaries.[5] But low water transit became much more acute in the streams cutting across North Louisiana's wolds.

Of utmost concern to North Louisianians throughout the century was navigation on their two largest rivers--the Red and the Ouachita.[6] After publishing similar articles during the 1840s,[7] Shreveport's Caddo Gazette complained on 10 September 1853: "The /Red/ river is low and still falling here, though we hear of a slight rise above. The Texas, which was the last boat up, was five days getting over the Falls. . . . We shall have no other boat over the falls until the river rises."[8] This situation was nothing new. DeBow's Review, while proselytizing railroad construction to Shreveport, castigated capricious Red River transportation that for several months in 1851 had severed Shreveport from mail communication and, more notably, export of its bountiful cotton crop.[9] Other railway enthusiasts likewise amplified the Red River's pitfalls. Wrote the chief engineer of the Louisiana Central Stem, J. B. Moulton, in an attempt to gain legislative support for his proposed rail line: "The Red River, above Alexandria, is navigable but a portion

of the year, and is now, at this date, too low for steamboats of the smallest class."[10] Even the Union Army with all its manpower and machinery shied away from the stream's shoals, particularly after the Banks debacle up the Red River ended in abysmal failure. While planning an attack on Shreveport, Union General Edward Canby, knowing that the river fell after the first of May,[11] cautioned his superiors in 1864: "No new expedition by the line of the Red River should be undertaken. Its navigation has always been treacherous and unreliable. . . ."[12] This lengthy history of condemnation was not restricted to the steamboat era. Years earlier both Pitot, in his observations of colonial Louisiana, and Darby, in his 1817 geographical description of the state, accurately assessed the navigational limitations of the Red River.[13]

When the people of northwestern Louisiana were isolated by the Red River's low water, the residents of the northeast suffered similarly. Lamented a "Letter from Ouachita Parish" in the New Orleans Daily Picayune of 3 July 1861: "The Ouachita River is getting very low and boats are considered a curiosity."[14] Decades before Darby had deftly described the stream's annual variance: "In autumn, when the waters are low, Ouachita river [sic] is not navigable for vessels of any size above common canoes."[15] And in 1846 DeBow's Review noted: "The town of Monroe stands on the side of the Ouachita, and at high

water is approached by large steamboats; but navigation is interrupted during a great part of the year [four to six months] by many shoals and rapids."[16]

Since water transit was the most important means of transportation and communication in Louisiana until well after the Civil War and since many commentators have considered agrarian nineteenth-century Louisiana French, especially the Cajuns, as people living behind the vast Atchafalaya Swamp in severe isolation, then what characterization can be given to the thousands of Anglo-Saxons in North Louisiana imprisoned by walls of river rapids? Geographical isolation is a relative concept dependent upon distance, physical barriers, and technology. Certainly in relation to modern Louisiana, its nineteenth-century citizens were extremely isolated from the currents of the world. Yet to urbane New Orleanians of that century, the hinterland farmers that comprised most of Louisiana's population were those in the state of insularity. And of the agricultural majority, if there was one group more geographically isolated than the rest, it was not the French petits habitants but rather the poor Anglo yeoman farmers of the North Louisiana hill country. Unlike the French Creoles, these Anglo farmers had little commerce to be challenged; unlike the Cajuns, they had no rich soils to be usurped for sugar plantations; and unlike the Louisiana French, they were not only geographically isolated but were also forgotten.

Notwithstanding the relatively convenient access to and easy navigation of the tidal streams of South Louisiana, several nineteenth-century descriptions have stressed the arduous travels by foreigners through the watery environment. For instance, while on her way from New Orleans to establish a convent in the Opelousas district in 1821, Sister Philippine Duchesne cringed: "One can have no idea of what this section of the country is like unless one actually sees it. . . . access to the place is most difficult, there being only one route through the swampy woods and number of bayous and pools . . . /of/ black and smelling water."[17] The sister's perceptions were not beyond reproof, however. "The beautiful regions of the Atakapas and Opelousas . . . /are/ easily reached through the waterway of the river,"[18] assessed Robin in 1805; ". . . this /Attakapas/ district is intersected by small navigable streams, and the inhabitants communicate with the sea and New Orleans with the greatest facility,"[19] was Stoddard's 1812 appraisal; ". . . /Cajuns had/ every facility afforded by the navigation of the bayou and the Mississippi for reaching the best market for all they could produce. . . ."[20] recollected Sparks about the 1820s.

If a few unaccustomed travelers through South Louisiana felt uncomfortable, this was not true of the Louisiana French who were renowned for their river skills and who, apparently lodging no grievances to the contrary, must have considered such swamp trips mundane. Therefore

contrasting current automobile-society images of the Atchafalaya Swamp as an enigmatically-impenetrable barrier, to the Louisiana French of the century past the basin was a highly porous landscape allowing them to roam widely within it and facilitating their constant contact between the Mississippi and the Teche (Fig. V-14).

There was no mystery in traversing the Atchafalaya Swamp. Darby even published in 1818 four different routes westward from New Orleans through the basin--three solely by boat and one mostly by road,[21] for example:

New Orleans to Opelousas, by water

/Mississippi River to/	Miles
Efflux of Bayou Plaquemine	117
Blakes	123
Mouth of Plaquemine into Atchafalaya	132
Outlet into lake Chetimaches	143
Outlet of lower Tensaw	146
Cow-Island lake	149
Lower extremity of Cow-Island	151
Upper end of Cow-Island	156
Lower raft	181
Mouth of Courtableau river	182
Mouth of Bayou Bigras	187
Efflux of Bayou Ferdoche	188
Efflux of Bayou Fusilier	195
Bayou Derbane	196
Barre's first Prairie and settlement	205
Wickoff's Prairie north, and Alabama Prairie south	208
Mouth of Bayou Wauksha	211
Bayou Carron	213

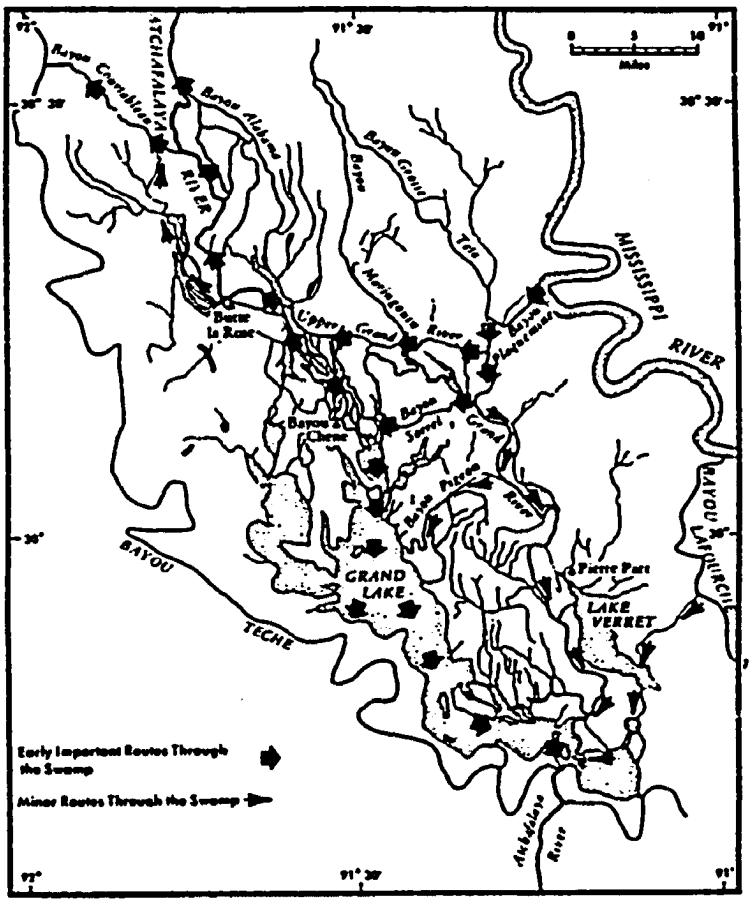


Fig. V-14. Early transportation routes through the Atchafalaya Basin. Reproduced from Comeaux (1972: 10).

	Miles
Opelousas landing	215
Opelousas town	220[22]

If Darby's mileages were correct, then more than half the 220 miles was travel up the Mississippi to Donaldsonville. The remaining one hundred miles of what has been often termed a "circuitous route" through the swamp was not only shorter but much faster than the contemporary road between Donaldsonville and Opelousas. Moreover, information provided by such accounts as Darby's Emigrant's Guide most assuredly encouraged if not specifically directed the flood of Anglos, some of whom floated their families down on flatboats, onto South Louisiana's rich deltaic plain.[23]

The Louisiana French and their Anglo neighbors were not idle in improving South Louisiana's natural waterways. The French had begun removing snags, small rafts, and other impediments the century before, and by the early nineteenth century they had constructed a canal sixteen miles south of Donaldsonville that connected Bayou Lafourche and Lake Verret,[24] enabling a public ferry to transport "men, horses and carriages"[25] and to convey mail on a weekly schedule to the communities along Bayou Teche. By 1825 South Louisianians had paid $1,200 to clear the Teche for steamboat navigation between New Iberia and St. Martinville.[26] Greater projects were unnecessary since the tidal streams maintained adequate

depths almost year around for schooners, keelboats, and barges of more than fifty tons.[27]

Taking advantage of the perennially-deep natural channel at New Iberia in 1817, Francois Maingonnat's thirty-one ton keelboat, the Eliza, which had been built in Tennessee, joined several other boats operating on Bayou Teche before 1820. In addition to passengers, this water transport carried tons of timber, moss, and agricultural commodities--cotton, sugar, cattle, pork, hides, and tallow--destined for the New Orleans market. In return, the caboteurs, or trading boats, manned mostly by adventurous American commercial men, would come to supply the wants of bayou folk which could not be met on their farms. These trading boats became very popular and in time would develop into specialty crafts: fish, fruit, and ice boats; showboats, saloon and restaurant boats; and boats with photographers, doctors, and dentists.[28]

Only a decade after the famed New Orleans arrived in its patron city did the steamboat age burst full-throttle throughout the bayous of South Louisiana. The Attakapas Steamboat Company was chartered in 1821 to serve Bayou Teche, and in 1826 the steamer Louisville was the first to reach St. Martinville. The Anglo-controlled Opelousas Steamboat Company obtained a charter to provide steamboat transportation from Bayou Plaquemine through the Atchafalaya Swamp to a bayou confluence several miles north of Opelousas, and during the latter half of the decade both

large and small steamboats plied the waters of the Lafourche. Large steamers hugging the shores of the Gulf also took the "sea route" to New Orleans. But some wealthy Anglo sugar planters of St. Mary Parish on the lower Teche began bypassing the New Orleans factors to deal directly with northern ports. Washington Jackson evidently inaugurated this streamlined trade by sending his brig Attakapas to Philadelphia in 1825. Within twenty years ships from ports throughout the Atlantic and Caribbean would line the sugar wharves of Franklin, a small lower Teche town.[29]

Rural French Louisiana, in juxaposition to Anglo-American North Louisiana, had then been endowed with an excellent natural water transport network that by 1820 reliably connected for commerce and communication its incipient central places--Opelousas, St. Martinville, New Iberia, and Donaldsonville--and permitted propitious links to New Orleans, the state's only urban center.

Early roads snaking across Louisiana, as elsewhere in America, were notorious. Edward McGehee, a judge in West Feliciana Parish, sardonically slurred that travel over the red quagmires called dirt roads was ". . . easy for a bird, practicable for a mule, but about impossible for anything on wheels."[30] Regarding the atrocious thoroughfares in northeast Louisiana, a contemporary hyperbole circulated: ". . . buzzards flew at their own risk, for their shadows were liable to mire in the mud of

the roads."[31] Most of these rudimentary roads were merely muddy capillaries of the river system that acted as avenues to local landings for trudging ox carts or an occasional bouncy one-horse carriage, the caleche (Fig. V-15).[32]

The Spanish had tied Louisiana with the rest of their empire by way of two east-west Caminos Reales, today called the Old Spanish Trail and the Old Texas Road, and Louisiana law required land owners with river frontages, which then meant most inhabitants, to construct and maintain levee roads providing faster upstream travel during periods of swift currents and an alternate transportation mode at times of emergencies. Like the short rural feeders, these longer routes were little more than trails. Indeed the Old Spanish Trail was mainly used to drive cattle from the prairies of southwestern Louisiana and southeastern Texas to market at New Orleans. Although frequent state and local legislation for road improvement passed during the century, the quality of Louisiana's roads, both north and south, changed almost as little as the dirt from which they were built.[33]

Statistical Testing

An independently drawn, five-percent, random sample of family heads from the 1820 schedules was employed to answer three questions about the Louisiana French gradational morphology:

1) Are there economic, social, and political variables that discriminate between Louisiana French and non-Louisiana French areas?

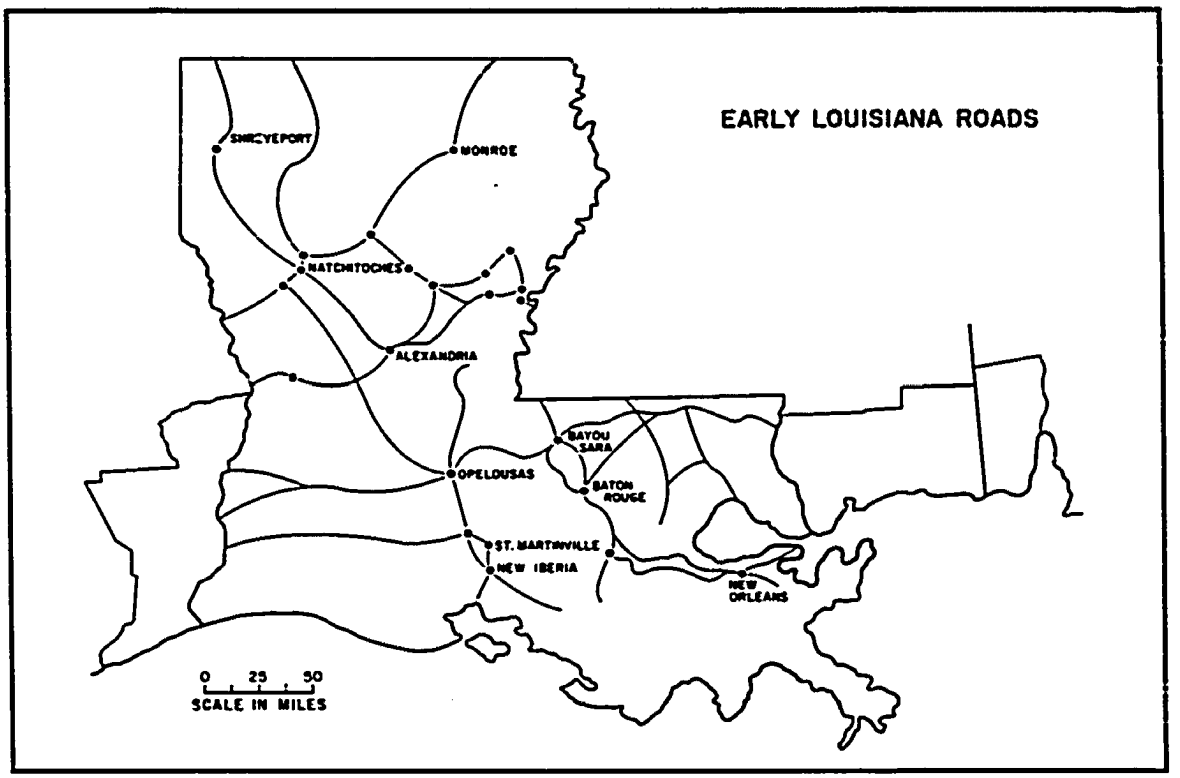


Fig. V-15. Louisiana's early roads were mostly muddy capillaries of the river system. After Newton (1972: 136) and Kniffen (1968: 143).

2) Are there economic, social, and political variables that vary with the intensity of Louisiana French?

3) Are there prime economic, social, and political variables that, in combination, identify a more holistic Louisiana French culture region for 1820?

Through the analytical procedure explained in Chapter IV, variance analysis determined that, of the nineteen initial economic, social, and political variables procured from the schedules in this test sample, only four differed statistically between the polarized French core (76-100%) and non-French outland (0-25%) (Tables V-3, 4 and Fig. V-16).[34] Yet this small four-variate set produced unbiased classification functions (three-fourths of the cases used to classify the other quarter) able to predict with an incredible 100 percent accuracy (the mean of five random runs) French parishes from non-French parishes and counties. This seemingly unfailing predictive capability emphasized the potent discriminating power of the four-variable set and underscored that the two cultures were indeed different, therefore favorably answering the first query.

With fifteen variables unable to distinguish between French and non-French areas, such demographic commonalities are noteworthy. Because Anglos migrated into Louisiana with their families rather than as single males, approximately 80 percent of the households in both the core and outland were of a conjugal nature. The two groups had similar percents of young (25 years or

TABLE V-3

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY STATISTICAL ZONES--1820

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=11)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=3)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=4)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=10)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=28)
Percent Data					
Economic					
Agricultural Occupations	84.04	88.37	61.84	75.08	78.13
Commercial Occupations	3.19	1.75	2.74	2.87	2.86
Manufacturing Occupations	3.40	0.00	15.81	8.90	6.77
Families With Slaves	59.50	72.26	45.02	40.01	51.84
Families With Ten Slaves Or More	19.13	21.72	2.95	8.89	13.44
Social					
Anglo Ethnicity	3.24	31.89	44.29	92.26	43.97
Italian Ethnicity	2.05	0.00	0.74	0.00	0.91
Alien Family Heads	6.85	12.36	1.39	1.46	4.74
Male Family Heads	91.35	86.33	85.35	95.48	91.43
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	9.34	13.77	7.08	12.61	10.66

TABLE V-3--continued

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=11)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=3)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=4)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=10)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=28)
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	33.86	47.32	45.67	26.81	34.47
Families With Adult Male and Female (Married)	84.27	80.25	86.55	79.89	82.60
Families With No Adult Female	9.62	6.07	8.33	15.60	11.19
Families With Less Than Two Children	37.50	44.12	41.32	40.29	39.75
Families With Five Children Or More	25.92	17.27	9.79	29.74	24.05
Political					
French Enumerators	89.28	33.33	7.41	0.00	39.70
Mean Data					
Economic					
Number of Slaves Per Family	8.38	10.37	2.84	3.10	5.92
Social					
Number of Children Per Family	2.84	2.41	2.24	2.83	2.71
Median Data					
Economic					
Number of Slaves Per Family	1.52	3.30	1.70	0.66	1.43

TABLE V-4

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR POLARIZED COMPARISON OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1820

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	OUTLAND MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY
Economic				
Families With Slaves	59.50	40.01	6.759	.0176
Number of Slaves Per Family	8.38	3.10	4.700	.0431
Social				
Anglo Ethnicity	3.24%	92.26%	545.600	.0000
Political				
French Enumerators	89.28%	0.00%	87.580	.0000

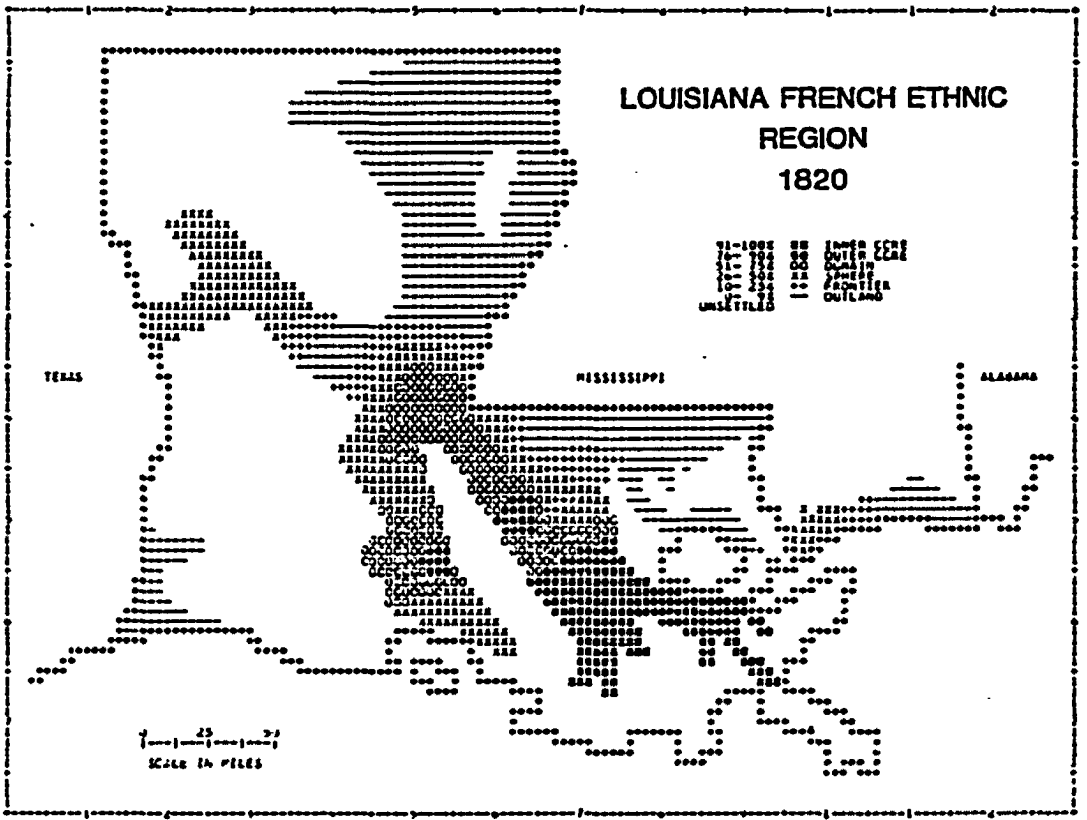


Fig. V-16. The Louisiana French core (76-100%), domain (51-75%), sphere (26-50%), and outland (0-25%).

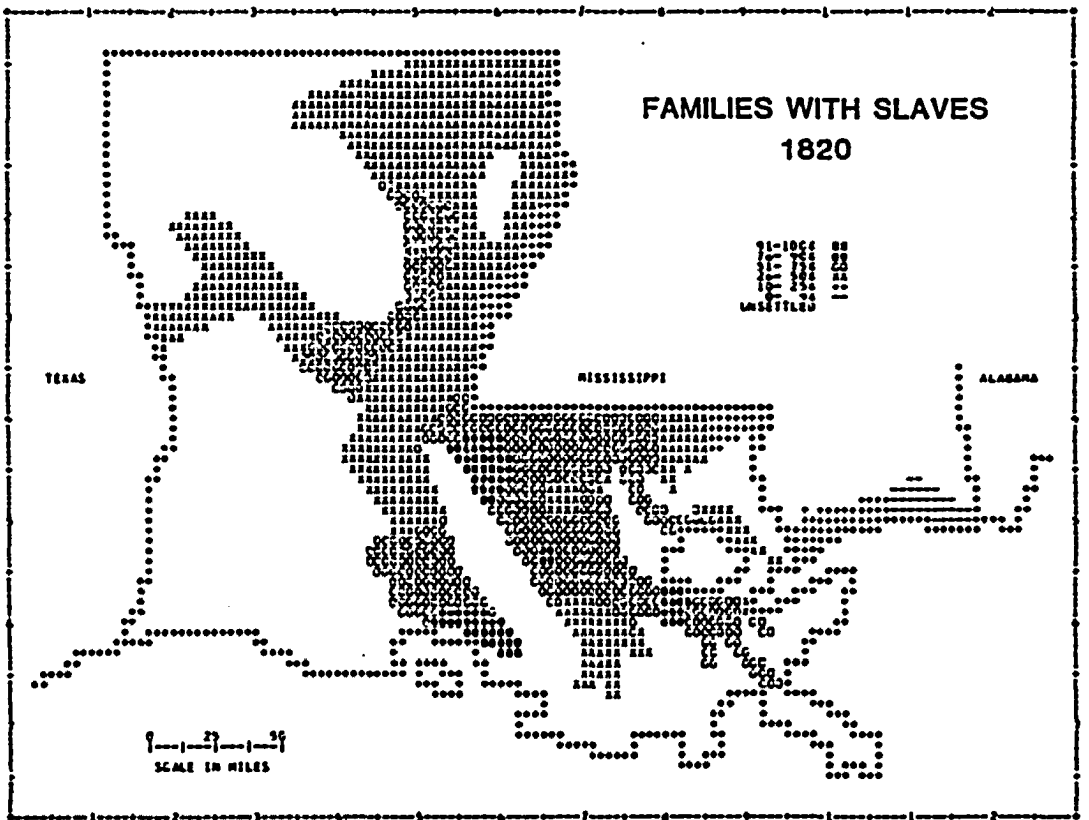


Fig. V-17. The greatest intensities of slaveholding families were in the lower Mississippi River sugar parishes.

less) and old (45 years or more) family heads, indicating that in-migrating Anglos were not just of a young generation. In an agrarian age average family size for both areas was almost the same--slightly more than 2.8 children of less than sixteen years old. About a quarter of French as well as non-French families were large, having five or more children, while roughly 40 percent were small, counting less than two children. The many single-head households of widows or widowers, however, significantly affected the relatively high percent of small families. Finally, of those responding, about 80 percent of French and non-French were agriculturalists; few people were engaged in commerce or manufacturing, primarily timber and agricultural processing.[35]

On the other hand, four variates statistically differed between the French core and the non-French outland: slave ownership, number of slaves, French enumerators, and Anglo ethnicity. Contrary to traditional belief but supporting Baker's recent research into antebellum Cajun slaveholdings,[36] four points can be made about the proportions of slave owners and the size of their holdings (Table V-3, Fig. V-17): First, in 1820 a greater percent of families in the French core (60%) owned slaves than did outland families (40%); and when only Gallic families in the core were examined, 59 percent owned slaves, which of course was almost the same as the overall core figure. The three parishes that had the highest proportions of

slave owners were located along the Mississippi River in the midst of the Louisiana French core--Pointe Coupee (92% slave owners), St. Charles (83%), and Iberville (79%). As a matter of fact, throughout the entire study area the French parishes were positively correlated with slaveholding ($r = .46$), while Anglo parishes/counties were negatively correlated ($r = -.45$). Second, possessing on the average 8.4 slaves (8.3 for only French planters), each core family had almost three times as many slaves as did the outland family (3.1 slaves). And in the core 19 percent of the planters owned more than ten slaves as compared to only 9 percent in the outland. Third, in both French and non-French areas, low slaveholding medians, 1.5 and .7 respectively, inferred that a few families owned large numbers of slaves. Yet when only French families were examined in the core study the slaveholding median rose considerably to 2.9; which meant that with half of the French families owning more than three slaves, there was less ownership disparity. Fourth, as an indicator of wealth, the distribution of slave owners showed that in 1820 families in the French core were more affluent than those of the Anglo outland.

Franco-American cultural discordance was most publicly manifested in the struggle for political control of the state. Because census enumerators were generally appointed through political patronage, their ethnic distribution became a surrogate of political power. Again

a sharp polarity developed--nearly 90 percent of the core's enumerators were French, but not one Gallic census taker was located in the Anglo-dominated outland (Fig. V-18). In 1820 the Louisiana French certainly controlled their core politically, but the battle for state hegemony raged on.

At the time of the Purchase, estimated Newton, there were seven Frenchmen for every one Anglo-American in Louisiana, and at least a three to one ratio at statehood in 1812.[37] But by 1820, outside of New Orleans, an Anglo stronghold, this Latin majority had eroded to a three to two split (Fig. V-19). Fully appreciating the political implications of the swelling Anglo-Saxon ranks, the Louisiana French leadership had not been naively complacent. According to Tregle's perceptive analysis, the French, securing twenty-three of the convention's forty-two delegates, prejudicially contrived the state's first constitution in an arrogant attempt to insure their political dominance for years to come. Gallic constitutional craftsmanship created: 1) perennially French majorities in both legislative houses through blatant gerrymandering and membership limitations; 2) age, residency, and property requirements favoring Louisiana natives in suffrage and office holding; 3) governors, who possessed almost omnipotent appointive authority, winnowed through stiff age, residency, and property qualifications and selected by a Latin legislature; and 4) a constitution

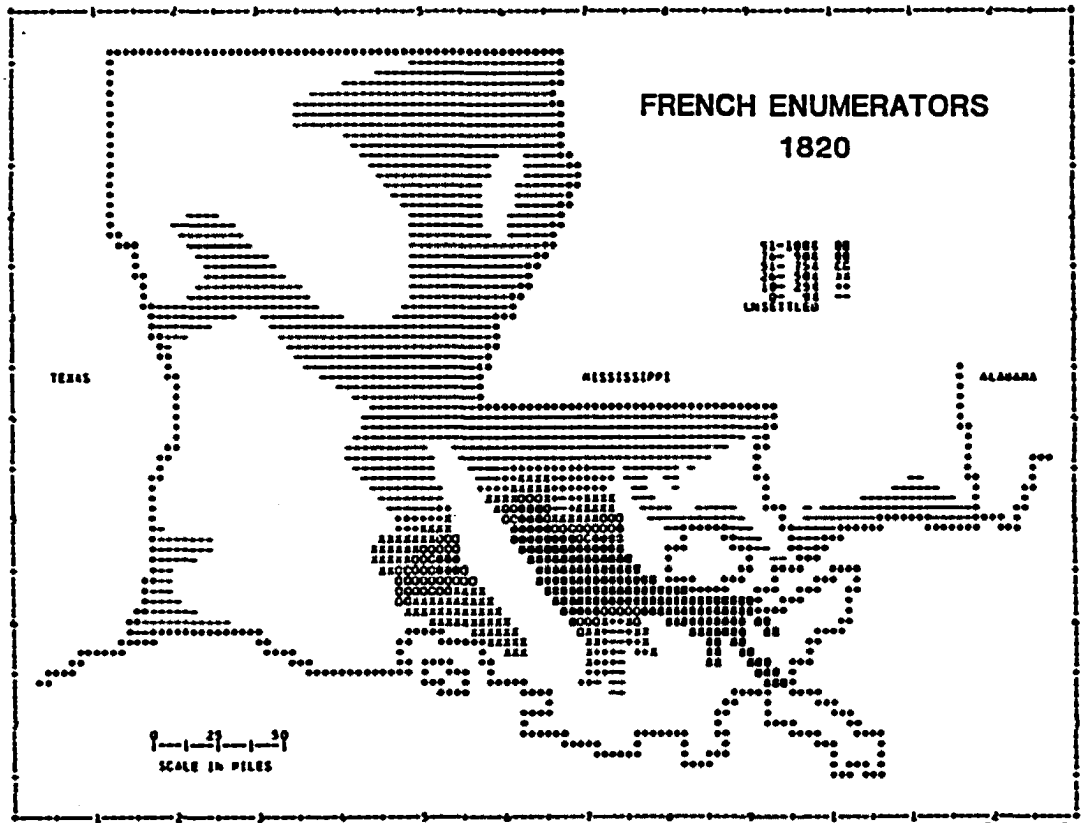


Fig. V-18. As shown by the distribution of French enumerators, a political surrogate, in 1820 the Louisiana French politically controlled their ethnic core.

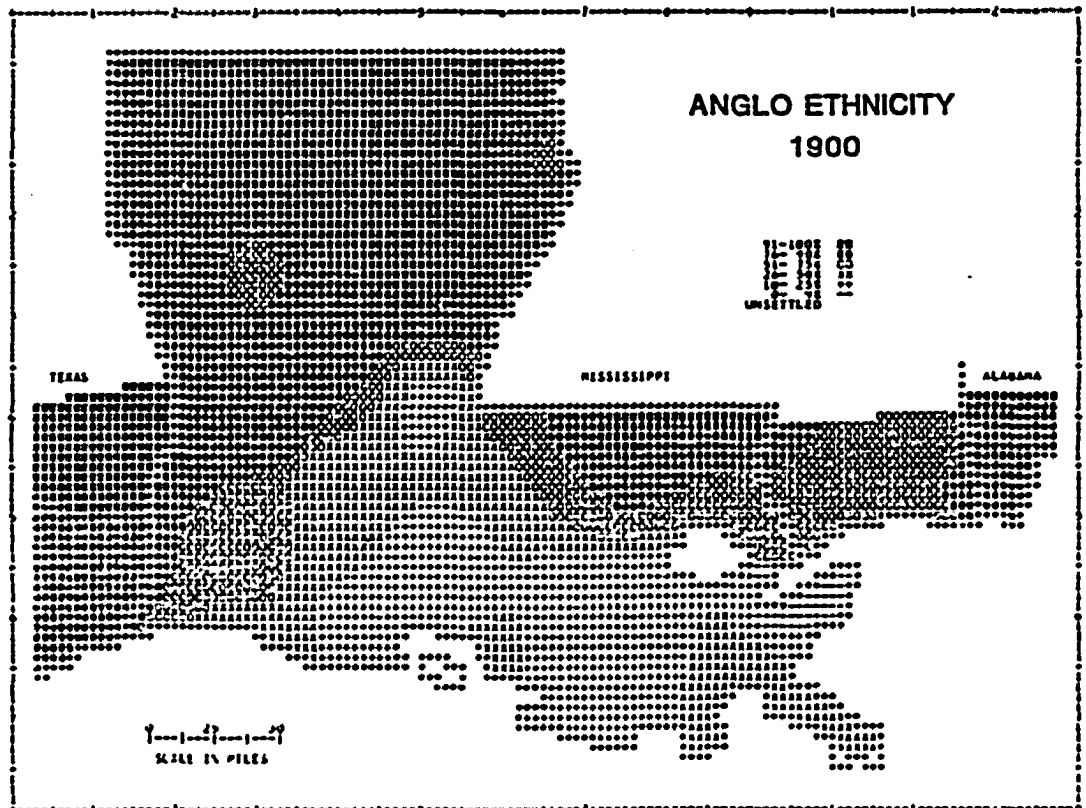


Fig. V-19. After the Louisiana Purchase Anglo-dominated North Louisiana became the antithesis of French Louisiana.

nearly impervious to amendment because of a mind-boggling procedural maze.[38]

Remarkably, despite all these well-planned precautions, three of the state's first five governors--Claiborne, Robertson, and Johnson--were natives of Virginia. But then the next seven governors were of French heritage. This "French Ascendancy" would soon come to an abrupt halt, however. On the crest of an increasingly-massive American wave, Anglos howled for political equity. They would demand and control the Constitutional Convention of 1845 which acidically dissolved the cement of the Gallic political hegemony. Only one other Frenchman, Paul Hebert, a Cajun, would be elected governor during the remainder of the century.[39]

To be sure, many striking differences of this Franco-American dichotomy could not be gleaned from manuscript demographics. Most Anglos did not build "Creole houses," enjoy evening veillees, or speak francais. Creoles of New Orleans read the Moniteur de la Louisiane, while many of the city's Americans got their news from the Louisiana Gazette. The rural French merchant surely gave lagniappe, and just as certainly a gratis for purchasing was foreign to Anglos. Not only did French eat foods like pain-perdu and boudin rouge and Americans, corn pone and salted ham hocks, but the two groups also dined at different hours. The Gallic glass was filled with claret, the Anglo with whiskey. While Creoles whirled to the

waltz and exchanged partners in the lively cotillion, Anglos jumped jerkily to the jig and the Virginia reel. The French were Catholics, and Anglos largely Protestant. And after church frolicking French feeling their famed joie de vivre supposedly shocked scornful, staid Americains with their contrasting philosophy of life.[40]

The second question--cultural attribute intensity varied with French intensity--was likewise affirmed. Of the nineteen initial test variables, three statistically differed among the three internal French zones--core, domain, and sphere. Discriminant analysis corroborated that this three-variate set could differentiate among the three French zones by producing unbiased classification functions able to predict with a relatively high 60 percent accuracy zone membership of the eighteen parishes within the ethnic region (Table V-5).

As intuition would indicate, when French intensity decreased from the core out to the sphere, the percent of French enumerators decreased in unison; simultaneously but inversely, proportions of Anglo ethnicity increased (Figs. V-16, 18, 19). In considering the entire study area, the strong correlations of Louisiana French ethnicity with French enumerators ($r = .83$) and Anglo ethnicity ($r = -.98$) easily supported these zonal trends. The relatively weak variance of manufacturing occupations within the region was much less discernable (Fig. V-20). With neither a directional trend within the region nor an overall

TABLE V-5

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR FRENCH ZONE COMPARISON OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1820

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	DOMAIN MEAN	SPHERE MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY	DIFFERING ZONES
Economic						
Manufacturing Occupations	3.40%	0.00%	15.81%	4.310	.0332	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Social						
Anglo Ethnicity	3.24%	31.89%	44.29%	64.829	.0000	All Zones Differ
Political						
French Enumerators	89.28%	33.33%	7.41%	10.333	.0015	Core Differs From Domain and Sphere

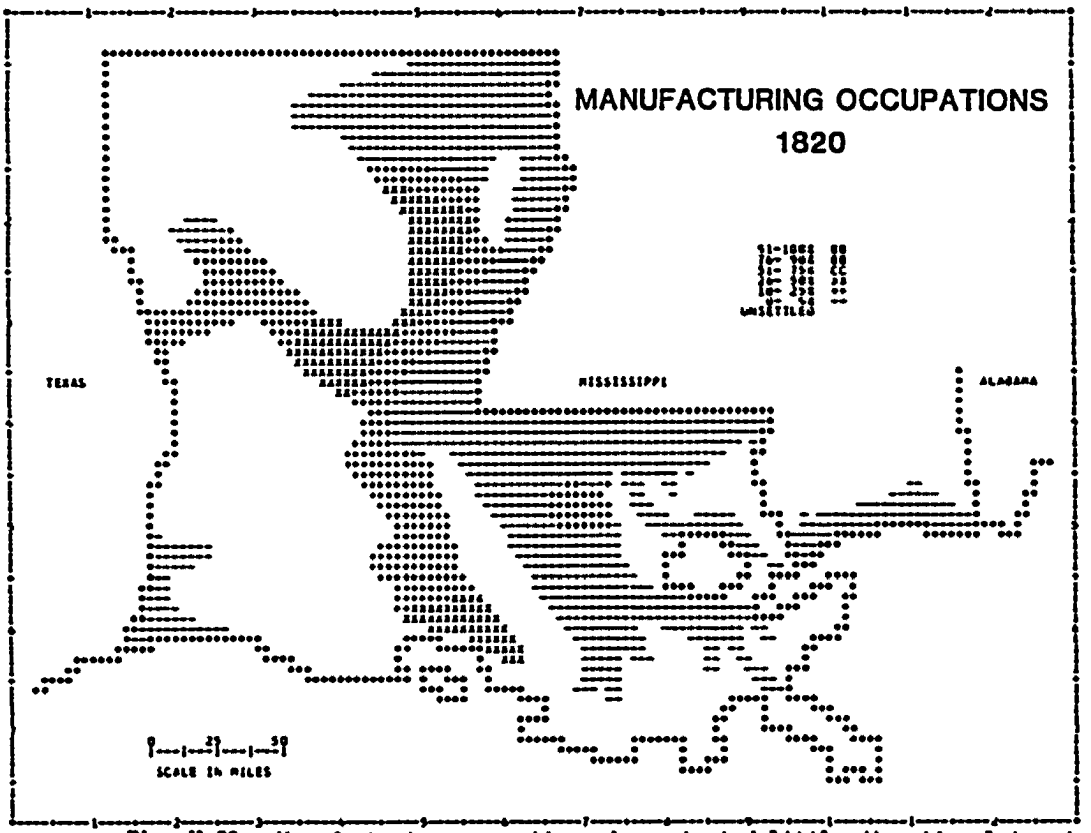


Fig. V-20. Manufacturing occupations demonstrated little directional trend among the ethnic region's zones.

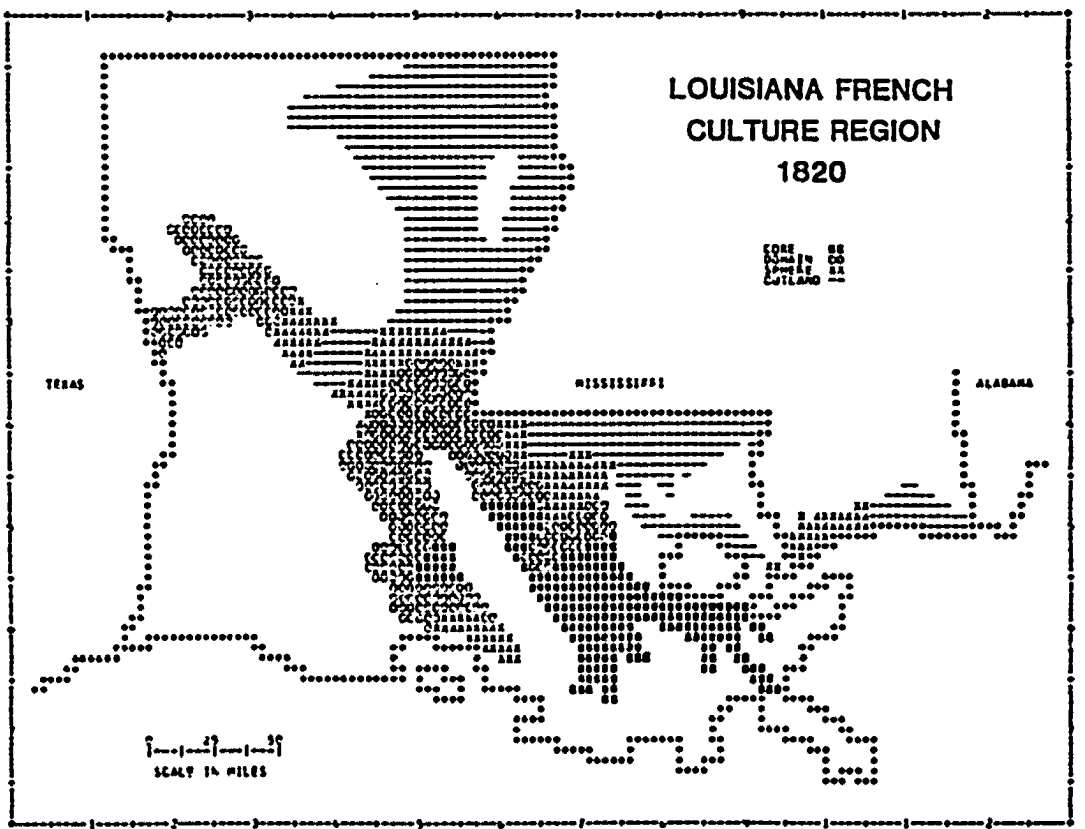


Fig. V-21. Other than the Teche and Natchitoches areas, the more holistic Louisiana French culture region closely reflected the original ethnic region patterns.

association with the French, perhaps the manufacturing differences were due to more timber operations being located in the sphere; but with so few people engaged in manufacturing, sampling error could be another plausible answer. The paucity of economic, social, and political attributes that varied with change in Gallic intensity implied that once within the Louisiana French ethnic region most demographic factors were rather stable.

Prime variables were nondichotomous traits statistically significant in both polar (core-outland) and zone (core-domain-sphere) comparisons. To construct a more holistic Louisiana French culture region as proposed in the third question, only one 1820 prime variable, Anglo ethnicity, was identified. Cluster analysis combined the original Louisiana French parish/county data with that of Anglo ethnicity. Using a collapsed symbolization sequence, the four resultant cluster zones were then mapped by computer. Other than an apparent strengthening of Gallic influence in the trans-Atchafalaya area and in the Natchitoches outlier, the 1820 Louisiana French culture region differed little from the patterns of the original ethnic region (Figs. V-16, 21).

Implications

In an age of water transport, the rural Louisiana French living along the lower Mississippi, its distributaries, and the many other navigable streams of South

Louisiana had relatively easy access to New Orleans, the heart of Louisiana's early nineteenth-century circulatory system, particularly when compared to the more geographically-isolated Anglo yeoman farmers trapped by river rapids in the North Louisiana hills. Although the Louisiana French ethnic region expanded territorially out from its water courses during the two decades after the Louisiana Purchase, it increasingly felt the pressures of burgeoning Anglo-American in-migration which was certainly not limited to the state's northern hill country.

In entering what Meinig called in his evolutionary model the stage of national cultural impact, the Louisiana French could not dam up their easily-traveled bayous to prevent the onslaught of an Anglo flood from inundating the most remote backslope, nor could they assimilate this rising American tide. Perhaps their best strategy in clinging to some pragmatic semblance of cultural integrity, if not the fantasy of predominance, centered on a different kind of isolation--language, religion, and other Gallic customs were accentuated to place social distance and barriers between themselves and the pervasive Anglos. In the 1820s the "French Ascendancy" lifted this Gallic heritage to a pinnacle of political power. But in the long run, though they possessed much of the state's wealth in 1820 as reflected in their slaveholdings, the Louisiana French would be no match for American economic prowess; though they overwhelmingly controlled the politics within

their 1820 core area, the French would soon be decimated in the state political arena by an alien conspiracy; and though they would convince themselves as well as outsiders otherwise, their social shield against Anglicization was merely an illusion that would inevitably become as porous as a sponge--a sponge soaking up American ways.

NOTES

[1]Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp. 159-64; Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana, 4 vols. (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1903), 3:621-28; Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of Louisiana (New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1882; reprint ed. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1963), pp. 280-87; Alcee Fortier, A History of Louisiana, 4 vols. (New York: Goupil, 1904), 2:269-303; Charles L. Dufour, Ten Flags in the Wind: The Story of Louisiana (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 122-31.

[2]Milton B. Newton, Jr., Atlas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1872), p. 71; Randall A. Detro, "Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana, An Index to the Cultural Landscape" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970), pp. 101-13.

[3]Corroborating pieces of this pattern have been U.S., Congress, Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States with an Appendix, Containing Important State Papers and Public Documents, and All the Laws of a Public Nature; with a Copious Index, 8th Cong., 2nd sess. in Annals of the Congress of the United States (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1852), pp. 1500, 1505-06; James Pitot, Observations on the Colony of Louisiana from 1796 to 1802 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 119, 126, 133, 136; C. C. Robin, Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805, trans. and ed. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1966), pp. 114-16, 160-62; Martin, pp. 224-26; Alcee Fortier, ed., Louisiana, Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form, 3 vols. (Madison, WI: Century Historical Association, 1914), 1:421; Alcee Fortier, Louisiana Studies: Literature, Customs and Dialects, History and Education (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1894), p. 173; Caroline M. Burson, The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miro, 1782-1792 (New Orleans: American Printing, 1940), p. 127; Norman E. Gillis, Early Inhabitants of the Natchez District (Baton Rouge: By the Author, 1963),

pp. 1-3; Edna R. Campbell, "New Orleans at the Time of the Louisiana Purchase," Geographical Review 11 (1921):415-16; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 126-27, 146, 177; Lewis W. Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment Between the French and the Anglo-American Populations of Louisiana, 1803-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929), pp. 10-16, 23-35; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr. "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Study in Ego-Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954), pp. 62-67; T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 293 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937), pp. 9-11; Donald J. Millet, "The Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1964), pp. 42-43, 50-52; Gabriel Debien, "The Acadians in Santo Domingo: 1764-1789," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 111; Philip D. Uzee, "Bayou Lafourche," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Recearch Association, 1968), p. 122; Davis, pp. 131, 165-66; V. Alton Moody, "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 7(1924):192-96; Henry E. Chambers, Mississippi Valley Beginnings: An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), p. 243; Lauren C. Post, Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), p. 33; William B. Knipmeyer, "Settlement Succession in Eastern French Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), pp. 25-28; Robert Gahn, A History of Evangeline: Its Land, Its Men and Its Women Who Made It a Beautiful Place to Live (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1972), pp. 2-3; John J. Guilbeau, "The French Spoken in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1950), pp. 10-11, 18-19.

[4]For substantiation, see William Darby, A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana, The Southern Part of the State of Mississippi and Territory of Alabama, 2nd ed. (New York: James Olmstead, 1817), pp. 143; and The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1818), pp. 63, 76; Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812; reprint ed., Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1974), pp. 161, 185, 187; W. H. Sparks, The Memories of Fifty Years: Containing Brief Biographical Notices of Distinguished Americans, and Anecdotes of Remarkable Men (Philadelphia:

Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1870), pp. 372-90; Walter Prichard, Fred B. Kniffen, and Clair A. Brown, eds. "Southern Louisiana and Southern Alabama in 1819: The Journal of James Leander Cathcart," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 28 (1945):754-845; Newton, p. 98; Tregle, pp. 42-43, 62-67; and "Political Reinforcement of Ethnic Dominance in Louisiana, 1812-1845," in The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850, Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, III (Pensacola, FL: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1972), p. 80; Smith, pp. 9-11; Moody, pp. 192-96; William H. Perrin, ed., Southwest Louisiana, Biographical and Historical (New Orleans: Gulf Publishing, 1891), pp. 123-24; Gayarre, 4:586; Campbell, p. 416; Millet, p. 52; Uzee, p. 122; Detro, p. 110; Davis, p. 201; Post, p. 33; Lauren C. Post, "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 143-44; Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 16-19; Robert Gahn, "Economic Development of Evangeline Parish from its Early Beginning to 1940," McNeese Review 10 (1958):32; Walter Prichard, "Some Interesting Glimpses of Louisiana a Century Ago," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24 (1941):36, 39; Maurine Bergerie, They Tasted Bayou Water: A Brief History of Iberia Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1962), p. 11; Ione Weiland, "Typical Household: Lafayette Parish, 1825-1835," Attakapas Gazette 9 (1974):8; Corinne L. Saucier, History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1943), p. 108. For maps of the individual ethnics--English, Irish, and Scottish--that comprised the more general Anglo group, see Appendix B, Maps B-1, 2, and 3.

[5]Kniffen, pp. 65-66, 125-26, 141-42, 145-46; Fred Kniffen, "Geography and the Past," Journal of Geography 50 (1951):127; Davis, pp. 75, 205-06; Campbell, p. 420; U.S., National Waterways Commission, A Traffic History of the Mississippi River System, Document No. 11, by Frank H. Dixon (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 9-16; Gahn, "Economic Development," p. 38; Millet, pp. 86-88; Darby, State of Louisiana, pp. 49-50, 62, 68-69, 83, 86, 125, 127, 132, 145, 155; Emigrant's Guide, pp. 52-61, 72, 124; Sparks, pp. 373-74, 378-79; Pitot, pp. 166-67, 178-79; Robert M. Crisler, "Bayou Teche," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), pp. 107-08; Uzee, pp. 123-24; Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1931), pp. 49-50; Harry L. Griffin, The Attakapas Country: A

History of Lafayette Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1959), pp. 85-88; During times the Mississippi was very low, oxen were used to pull boats from the river across the shoal six or seven miles to Bayou Plaquemine. See Prichard, et al., pp. 758-59.

[6]Walter M. Lowery, "The Red," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), pp. 53-60; John D. Winters, "The Ouachita-Black," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), p. 26; Nollie W. Hickman, "The Tensas-Bayou Macon," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), pp. 15-20; Prichard, et al., p. 845; Prichard, p. 38.

[7]See, for example, the Caddo Gazette, 7, 11, 14 February 1844, and 24 October 1849.

[8]Caddo Gazette, 10 September 1853, p. 2.

[9]DeBow's Review 12 (March 1852):319. Suarez has stated the consequences of low water in even stronger terms: "The stopping of steamboats. . . caused the poorer agriculturalists to endure not only hardships, but also absolute suffering." See Raleigh A. Suarez, "Louisiana's Struggling Majority: The Ante-Bellum Farmer," McNeese Review 14 (1963):19.

[10]Louisiana Central Stem of the Mississippi and Pacific Railroad Company Report to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Tom Bynum, 1862), p. 10. Also argued J. V. Duralde, President of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete and Opelousas Railroad Company:

> Connecting with the great Central Stem Road at the Atchafalaya, will bring us into speedy and always reliable communication with the northwestern part of our State. . . . The difficulties attending navigation upon the Red River will compel a quicker and cheaper route to market.

Report of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete and Opelousas Railroad Company to the Governor of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Tom Bynum, 1861), p. 6.

[11]John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 317-19; Davis, pp. 257-58; The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1902), ser, 1, vol. 34, pt. 4, pp. 15-17, 73-74, pt. 3, pp. 490-91.

[12]Official Records of the Armies, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 16. Canby later reemphasized: "I put the rivers out of question, for they cannot be relied on, and were not before the commencement of the rebellion." Official Records of the Armies, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 498. In fact, before his fiasco up the Red River hardheaded General Nathaniel Banks was warned by his chief engineer, Major D. C. Houston, not to depend upon North Louisiana water transport. Banks did not heed the advice, and his obstinacy cost him dearly. See Official Records of the Armies, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 2, pp. 125-28.

[13]Pitot, p. 136; Darby, State of Louisiana, p. 197. The next year Darby reiterated about the Red River's low water. See Darby, Emigrant's Guide, p. 102. Read also the postbellum appraisal of North Louisiana navigation in Samuel H. Lockett, Louisiana As It Is: A Geographical and Topographical Description of the State, 1873, ed., Lauren C. Post (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), pp. 122-23.

[14]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 3 July 1861, p. 1.

[15]Darby, State of Louisiana, p. 202.

[16]DeBow's Review 3 (March 1847):230.

[17]Quoted in Vaughan Baker, "The Acadians in Antebellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 123-24. For other tales of trying physical or psychological travels by the inexperienced through the Atchafalaya Basin, read Walter Prichard, ed., "Southern Louisiana and Southern Alabama in 1819: The Journal of James Leander Cathcart," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 27 (1945):835; A. R. Waud, "Cypress Swamp on the Opelousas Railroad, Louisiana," Harper's Weekly 10 (1866):781; Darby, Emigrant's Guide, p. 72; Post, Cajun Sketches, p. 10; Tregle, p. 84, Malcolm L. Comeaux, Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations, Geoscience and Man, II, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), pp. 7, 9; "A Trip to the Attakapas in Olden Times," reprinted from Louisiana Sugar Bowl, 15 April 1880, Attakapas Gazette 8 (1973):21-23.

[18]Robin, p. 188.

[19]Stoddard, p. 180.

[20]Sparks, p. 373.

[21]Darby, Emigrant's Guide, pp. 44-48. In Prichard, et al., pp. 754-845, read also about Cathcart's 1819 timber survey that crisscrossed the Atchafalaya Basin.

[22]Darby, Emigrant's Guide, p. 47.

[23]Ibid,; Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana, comps., Louisiana: A Guide to the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 80; Gladys C. Case, The Bayou Chene Story: A History of the Atchafalaya Basin and Its People (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1973), p. 93; Grover Rees, A Narrative History of Breaux Bridge Once Called "La Pointe" (Lafayette, LA: By the Author, 1976), p. 16.

[24]Pitot, pp. 118-89; Darby, Emigrant's Guide, p. 53; pp. 49-50; Griffin, pp. 85-86; Darby, State of Louisiana, p. 84; Sparks, p. 416; Comeaux, p. 9; Prichard, et al., pp. 754-55, 781, 789.

[25]Darby, State of Louisiana, p. 84.

[26]Most of these steamboat navigational impediments on the Teche were probably removed by the Anglo-dominated Attakapas Steam Company incorporated in 1819 by William L. Brant, John Duhamel, Alexander Porter, Jr., Thomas B. Brashear, Willis J. Powell, Octave Delahoussaye, John Muggah, Merial ?, Jacob Clements, Peltier Delahoussaye, William Armstrong, and William Gregg. See Prichard, et al., p. 823.

[27]Ibid.; Jewel L. de Grummond, "A Social History of St. Mary Parish, 1845-1860," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 32 (1949):22; Darby, Emigrant's Guide, p. 52; Prichard, et al., pp. 768-842; Pitot, p. 118; Stoddard, p. 180; Sparks, p. 374; Foresighted individuals in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries proposed, however, grander schemes to improve South Louisiana navigation, some of which would be undertaken later in the nineteenth century and others in the twentieth, for example: deepening the Mississippi River outlets to bayous Plaquemine and Lafourche, removing the huge raft on the upper Atchafalaya, and even constructing an east-west canal to connect several southward-flowing bayous. See Pitot, pp. 118-25; Darby, State of Louisiana, pp. 125-58; Emigrant's Guide, pp. 52-75; Prichard, et al., p. 769; Marchand, pp. 49-50.

[28]Bergerie, p. 68; Darby, Emigrant's Guide, pp. 52-75; State of Louisiana, pp. 75-88, 106; Robin, pp. 190-95; Stoddard, pp. 182-83; Campbell, pp. 418-19, 422; Post, Cultural Geography, pp. 92, 152; Lauren C. Post, "The Old

Cattle Industry of Southwest Louisiana," McNeese Review 9 (1957):50-51; and "Cattle Branding in Southwest Louisiana," McNeese Review 10 (1958):101-07; Gahn, "Economic Development," p. 32; F. D. Richardson, "The Teche Country Fifty Years Ago," Southern Bivouac, New Series, 1 (1885):593-94; Millet, p. 164; Fred B. Kniffen and Malcolm L. Comeaux, The Spanish Moss Industry of Louisiana, Melanges, 12 (1979), School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, p. 5; Uzee, pp. 123-24; Griffin, p. 85; Sue L. Eakin, "The Atchafalaya," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), p. 118; Shugg, p. 50; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, The Pelican State (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), p. 253; Raleigh A. Suarez, "Bargains, Bills, and Bankruptcies: Business Activity in Rural Antebellum Louisiana," Louisiana History 7 (1966):192.

[29]Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 205; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 70; Kniffen, pp. 145-46; Uzee, p. 123; Crisler, p. 108; Sparks, p. 379; Millet, p. 91; William Sandoz, "A Brief History of St. Landry Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 8 (1925):227; Debates and Proceedings in the Congress, p. 1525; de Grummond, pp. 22, 52; Comeaux, p. 9.

[30]Typed Journal, I, McGehee (James Stewart) Papers (1724-1929), Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University, pp. 34-35.

[31]Frederick W. Williamson, Northeast Louisiana: A Narrative of the Ouachita River Valley and the Concordia Country (Monroe, LA: Historical Record Association, 1939). p. 234.

[32]Darby, Emigrant's Guide, pp. 44-49; State of Louisiana, pp. 84, 200; Kniffen, pp. 142-44; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 144; Taylor, p. 69; Sandoz, p. 227; Griffin, p. 86; Williamson, p. 182; D. A. Creed, "An Economic and Social History of Madison Parish, Louisiana" (M. A. thesis, Northeastern Louisiana State University, 1969), pp. 18-19; Weiland, p. 7; Bergerie, p. 17; Richardson, p. 593; Post, Cajun Sketches, p. 105.

[33]Kniffen, pp. 126, 142-44; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 135, 207; Taylor, p. 69; Leon Sugar, "Following the Spanish Trail Across the 'Neutral Territory' in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 10 (1927):90-92; Grace Ulmer, "Economic and Social Development of Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, 1840-1912," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 32 (1949):539-41; Gahn, History of

Evangeline, p. 103; "Economic Development," pp. 32, 38; Sandoz, pp. 226-27; C. M. Kerr, "Highway Progress in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 2 (1918):62, 64; Prichard, et. al. p. 826; Prichard, pp. 36, 39; Post, Cajun Sketches, p. 105; "Old Cattle Industry," pp. 50-51; Millet, pp. 110-32; Writers' Program, p. 79. The Old Texas Road has been also known as the Old San Antonio Road and the Natchitoches-Nacogdoches Road. See Newton, p. 136; and Kniffen, p. 143.

[34]For initial test data by cartographic zones, see Appendix A, Table A-2; and for maps of variables that were not statistically different in the polarized comparison, see Appendix B.

[35]Debates and Proceedings in the Congress, p. 1524; Gayarre, 3:439; Darby, State of Louisiana, pp. 73-88; Darby, Emigrant's Guide, pp. 52-77; Stoddard, pp. 168, 181; Robin, pp. 190-95; James A. Robertson, Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807, 2 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1911), 1:154, 170, 180, 237; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 204, 209; Taylor, pp. 63-68.

[36]This conventional belief that the Louisiana French, other than wealthy Creole planters, possessed relatively few slaves has been exemplified in such diverse works as DeBow's Review 11 (1851): 606; Shugg, pp. 8, 98; Smith, p. 11; Moody, p. 195; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York: Harper, 1963), pp. 128, 143; and Dorice Tentchoff, "Speech in a Louisiana Cajun Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1977), p. 15. Baker's review, p. 118, of a variety of antebellum public records counted most Cajuns as slaveholders with many Cajuns owning large numbers of slaves by 1860. For more details, turn to her article "Patterns of Acadian Slave Ownership in Lafayette, Louisiana," Attakapas Gazette 10 (1974):144-48; and see Weiland's slave enumeration in Lafayette Parish, p. 4.

[37]Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans," p. 33.

[38]Tregle, "Age of Jackson," pp. 85, 88-127; "Political Reinforcement," pp. 80-83. See also Perry H. Howard, Political Tendencies in Louisiana, Revised and Expanded Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), pp. 19-20; and Roger W. Shugg, "Suffrage and Representation in Ante-Bellum Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 19 (1936):390-92.

[39]Tommy W. Rogers, "Origins and Cultural Assimilation of the Population of Louisiana," Mississippi Quarterly 25

(1971-72):49; Louisiana Legislative Council, The History and the Government of Louisiana, Research Study No. 17 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Legislative Council, 1964), pp. 53, 273-74; Tregle, "Political Reinforcement," pp. 83-85; Shugg, "Suffrage and Representation," pp. 393-96; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 93. Both Tregle's commentary and Shugg's computations suggested that the underlying reasons for the early victories of Anglo gubernatorial candidates after statehood were French inexperience in political organization and a Gallic lack of understanding of and general apathy toward a democratic system. See Tregle, "Age of Jackson," pp. 113-14; and Shugg, pp. 325-26. For more depth into this Franco-American animosity, political and non-political, refer to Marigny, pp. 62-85; Robin, pp. 262-64; Chambers, p. 241; Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans," pp. 31-48; "Americanization of French Louisiana"; Tregle, "Political Reinforcement," pp. 78-87; "Age of Jackson"; "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952):20-36; Rogers, pp. 45-67; Baker, pp. 115-128; Everett S. Brown, ed., "Letters from Louisiana, 1813-1814," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 11 (1925):570-79.

[40]Milton B. Newton, Jr. "Blurring the North-South Contrast," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 43-48; Knipmeyer, pp. 88-93; George F. Reinecke, trans., "Early Louisiana French Life and Folklore from the Anonymous Breaux Manuscript as Edited by Professor Jay K. Ditchy," Louisiana Folklore Miscellany 2 (1966):47; Newton, pp. 208-25; Lewis W. Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana--A Study in Cultural Conflicts," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 14 (1933): 34-44; Edward L. Tinker, "Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, 42 (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1933), pp. 250-55; Lillian C. Bourgeois, Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1957), pp. 100, 129-38; Suarez, pp. 17-18; Patricia Harris, "Cuisine in Acadiana," in The Culture of Acadiana: Tradition and Change in South Louisiana, eds. Steven L. Del Sesto and Jon L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 79-85; Chambers, p. 142; Bernard Marigny, "Reflections on the Campaign of General Andrew Jackson in Louisiana in 1814 and '15," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 6 (1923):78; Sam B. Hilliard, Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), pp. 92-111, 150-71; Robin, pp. 262-63; Tregle, "Political Reinforcement," p. 79; "Age of Jackson," pp. 66, 83; Shugg, p. 36; Robin, p. 115; Richardson, p. 596.

CHAPTER VI

ANTEBELLUM DENOUEMENT--1860

Geographic perceptions of a place can cut across a wide spectrum and can be as capricious as the prejudices and fears within the folds of the mind. Through time, furthermore, past perceptions can become surrealistically twisted, embellished to the rococo, or foolishly forgotten. Perceptions of nineteenth-century French Louisiana have surely been caught up in their own confusion, hyperbole, and neglect, perhaps even more so than other places inasmuch as South Louisiana's physical environment has been frequently portrayed as a land of either sinister swamps filled with serpents or beautiful bayous delicately draped with moss and magnolias. These biased landscape images have paralleled the distorted views of Louisiana's Latin culture and analogously illustrate how easy it must have been for myopic myths to develop about "intriguingly-French Creole aristocrats" or "colorfully-vivacious Cajun peasants."

At the time of the Civil War several reluctant northern visitors vividly described the landscapes along bayous Lafourche and Terrebonne deep into French Louisiana. James Hosmer, Harvard graduate, Unitarian minister, and

corporal in a Massachusetts regiment, jotted down his impressions in the spring of 1863 as he marched from Donaldsonville south along Bayou Lafourche, favorably picturing the countryside to

> . . . be very like Holland. The tents are pitched in a perfectly level field--stretching, without a fence, far and wide, with only here and there a tree. Along one side of the field runs the bayou, behind its Levee. The water now brims up nearly to the edge of this Levee, though on the land side there must be a slope of six or eight feet from the top of the bank to the surface of the land. If an opening were made in the Levee, our camp would be instantly drowned by the rush of waters. Sloops and schooners of considerable tonnage sail up and down the bayou, and one full-sized clipper-ship lies at anchor just opposite us. To see these craft, we are obliged to look up. The water-line of the bayou is about on a level with our eyes; so that the hulls and rigging of the vessels are in the air, over our heads. . . .[1]

Only a few weeks later Charles Nott, a New York City attorney and colonel of the 176th New York Volunteers, in contrast to Hosmer's comments, scornfully painted the scene on the banks of Bayou Terrebonne, a distributary of Bayou Lafourche:

> It is not a pleasant ride to Houma; the road runs along a bayou, as straight and stagnant as a canal. Occasionally there comes a boat, freighted with a dozen barrels of molasses or a few hogsheads of sugar, furrowing its way through the green scum that covers the water, and breaking down the rank-growing weeds that choke the channel. The vagabond-looking ponies that drag it along, travel on the "levee," which has the appearance of a towpath, and makes the bayou look more than ever like a canal. This bayou is a hideous frog-pond, long drawn out, filled with black, slimy mud, and teeming with hideous reptiles. My horse starts as I ride beside it, and snuffs the tainted air nervously, for two turkey-buzzards fly up from the huge carcass of an alligator, and alight close beside me on a fence. Two more remain on the alligator, gorged so that they cannot rise. Their rough, dirty feathers remind one of the uncombed locks of a city

> scavenger. No one ever shoots them, but draws back and says, with unconcealed disgust, "What a foul bird that is."[2]

Nott, nevertheless, was also struck by the agricultural fertility of Bayou Terrebonne's backslope:

> Yet on the other side of the road, spreading back to the poisonous swamps in the rear, lie some of the rich plantations of Louisiana. There are the sugar-houses, with their heavy brick chimneys, as large and clumsy as those of a foundry; and near by stand the planter's house, the overseer's house, the engineer's house, and a little village of contraband cabins. The vast fields are cut up into square blocks by ditches, sometimes ten feet deep, reminding one of the graded lots in the outskirts of a city. On one side of each range of these blocks is a raised plantation road, which crosses the ditches on substantial bridges, and runs, perhaps for miles, arrow-like, as a railroad. It is probable that the plantation is surrounded by a levee, to keep the water out. The large ditches then empty into a canal, and at the end of this canal will be found a "pumping machine," driven by a steam engine, which pumps the plantation dry and keeps it above water. Such wealthful agriculture we have nowhere in the North.[3]

That same spring, Yankee Frank Flinn, while campaigning with General Nathaniel Banks in South Louisiana, anxiously recorded the foreign sights along the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad as his troop train traversed the Lafourche district from the "Crescent City" to the railway's western terminous at Brashear City (present-day Morgan City) on the Atchafalaya River:

> . . . Tents were struck and by 7 o'clock the regiment was on board of [sic] the cars bound for the interior of Louisiana. For eighty miles we rode on platform and baggage cars, through the lowlands of Louisiana. For a long distance we ran through a dense cyprus [sic] swamp, such a one as we had not seen before. It was like a wall of vegetation, almost, on each side, and through the leaves we could see dark bayous and black pools. Alligators several feet long lay on logs or in water. Snakes, single or in coils, lay basking in the

> sun. There were turtles and lizards by the barrel, and trees were draped with the peculiar Southern moss. The road was guarded by the New York and Connecticut Regiments, and we did not envy them their pleasant job. A little after noon the train arrived at Brashear City. For fear the readers may dwell on the idea that Brashear City is a large one, I say at once that it is not. It consists of a few houses, a dilapidated wharf, and lots of mud.[4]

Yet, before the war and its devastation, the Southern eye of Reverend H. B. Price, writing for DeBow's Review in February 1850, sketched a quite different vignette of the country along Bayou Terrebonne to Houma:

> Commencing with the plantation of Col. Windu, on the Terrebonne bayou, the first nearest the parish line, which is a mile and a half from the town of Thibodeaux, on the Lafourche, to some distance below the plantations of Wm. Bisland, deceased, a distance of thirty miles or more, there is a continuous line of plantations and French agricultural villages--fence joins to fence and plantation to plantation. In passing this road during fine weather, scenes of lively interest present themselves continually to the eye and mind, either among the Americans or French, all busily performing their allotted duties, and joining in the bustle of life. The houses are neatly built and with respect to comfort, and the orange and oak, and various kinds of evergreen foliage, set off the yards and present an air of comfort and tranquillity to all around. The quarters manifest comfort in their arrangement, and bespeak the kind feelings of the proprietor for his slaves. The sugar-houses are commodious, and the ground is under that cultivation which is most practicable to yield the richest returns. On the route down the Terrebonne lies the neat village of Houma, the seat of the courts of the parish, and which contains all the requisite buildings, which are of brick, for the administration of justice. The town contains several stores, and is the residence of ten or fifteen families.[5]

And in stark contradiction to Flinn's fears, in November 1861, a reporter for the New Orleans Daily Picayune caught a different view of the land along the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad:

> Almost immediately after leaving the depot, the fields of corn, in most luxuriant growth, begin to show themselves, and then, along the route, it is cane, cane, hardly anything else than cane. For acres, and even miles together, on both sides of the road, and sometimes as far as the eye can reach, the green expanse of high and vigorous cane stretched away in rich profusion. . . . From what we saw, we should say that there will be no lack of a good crop of our important staple, this year, in the parishes through which the Opelousas Railroad runs.[6]

Antebellum Agriculture

Despite conflicting perceptions antebellum South Louisiana was indeed sugar country (Fig. VI-1). With the exception of Rapides Parish on the Red River, the "Sugar Bowl" consisted of those traditionally-French parishes along the lower Mississippi and its Lafourche distributary. Yet producing more than 15,000 tons of sugar in 1860, St. Mary Parish on the lower reaches of Bayou Teche led the state. Although rich alluvium continued up the Mississippi and Red rivers, because of a shorter growing season Louisiana's exotic sugar cane gave way to vast carpets of snowy-white cotton tufts (Fig. VI-2). The "Delta" parishes fronting the Mississippi--Tensas, Carroll, and Concordia--were the state's wealthiest cotton lands, and Tensas' more than 28,000 tons stood at the acme.

Such a north-south, cotton-sugar split was not clear cut for cotton was grown in substantial quantities in Vermilion Parish on the Gulf Coast. Although generally the more profitable sugar plantations preempted the South Louisiana landscape, other cash crops were also developed.

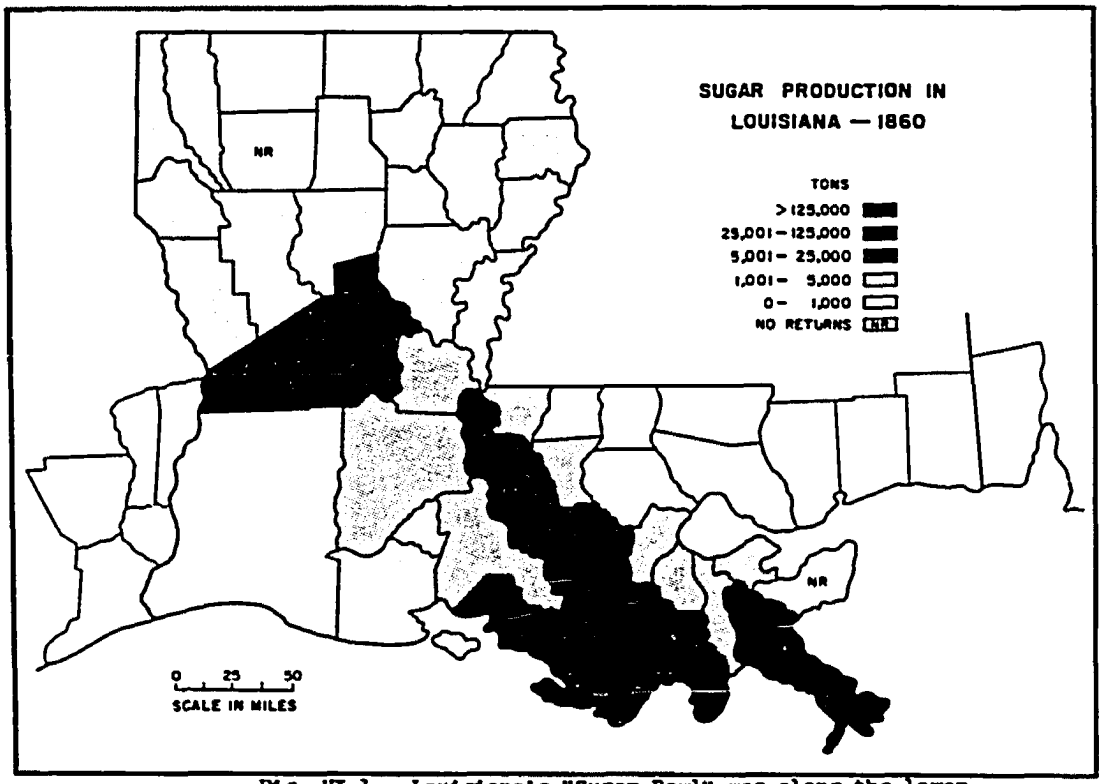


Fig. VI-1. Louisiana's "Sugar Bowl" was along the lower Mississippi in French Louisiana.

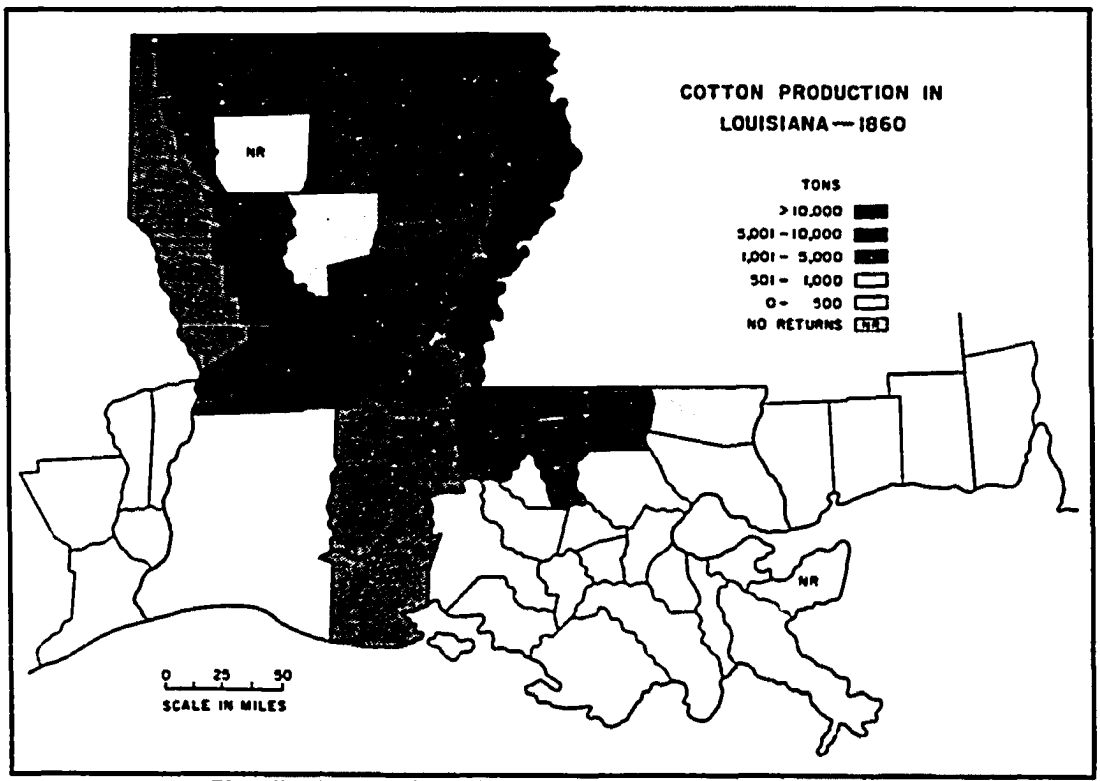


Fig. VI-2. North Louisiana was cotton country with the "Delta" parishes fronting the Mississippi River at the zenith of production.

Besides the famous black perique tobacco of St. James Parish and the verdant truck farms outside New Orleans, rice had assumed some commercial importance. River rice had been cultivated in the backswamps since the eighteenth century, and by 1860 three-quarters of the crop was grown in Plaquemines Parish at the mouth of the Mississippi (Fig. VI-3).[7]

Before the Civil War these fertile sugar and cotton soils had pulled thousands of Southerners into Louisiana, and by 1900 a different kind of rice cultivation would attract hundreds of Midwestern families onto the cattle ranges of southwestern Louisiana.[8]

Transportation Revolutions

The ubiquitous steamboat unmistakably improved the transport of antebellum agricultural commodities and other commerce and revolutionized the movement of people and their ideas. By 1840 Captain Henry Shreve had cleared most of the Red River's "Great Raft," a huge log jam that clogged nearly 150 miles of the river above Natchitoches, permitting water transport almost to the Texas border, though the construction of bigger steamboats exacerbated North Louisiana's annual low water trauma. Steamboats navigated throughout South Louisiana's water network without much difficulty. In fact, to better facilitate east-west connection of their southward-flowing streams, South Louisianians had dug thirty-six miles of canals, the longest of which was

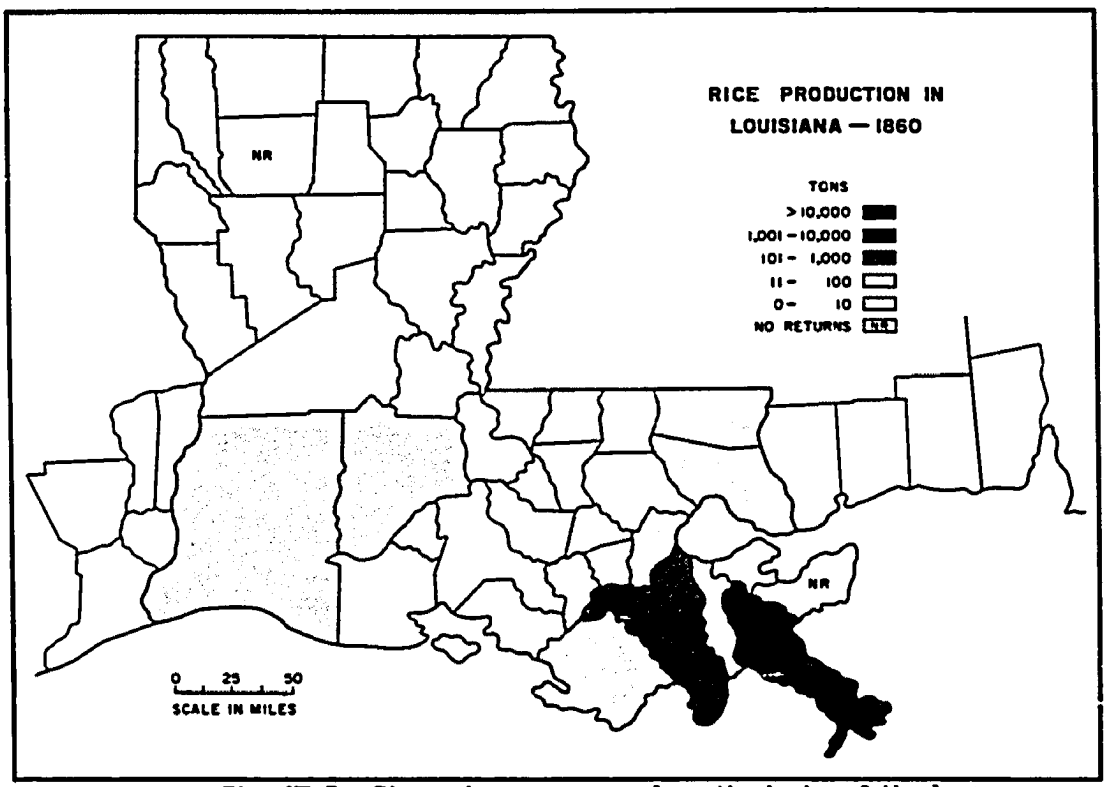


Fig. VI-3. River rice was grown along the banks of the lower Mississippi and its distributaries.

the twenty-two-mile link from the lower Mississippi near New Orleans through Lake Barataria to Bayou Lafourche at Lockport.[9]

Propinquity to New Orleans, ranked by Hunt's Merchant's Magazine as ". . . the only city in America that can run a close race with New York,"[10] decidedly stimulated local commerce and communication within French Louisiana. Massive loads steamed into the "Crescent City"; for example, in 1858 the Philadelphia bulged with 2,000 barrels of flour, 1,990 sacks of corn, 250 bales of hemp and cotton, 400 barrels of pork, 1,000 sheep, 180 hogs, 1,000 chickens, 400 turkeys, and a "load" of wood and coal.[11] Much of this Mississippi River commerce was transshipped to eastern ports and elsewhere, but tons of goods were also destined for the city and its hinterland.

Landings throughout French Louisiana likewise contributed to commerce at the nation's second largest port. Washington, a small community strategically located on Bayou Courtableau about six miles north of Opelousas, boomed as the antebellum entrepot for giant St. Landry Parish and beyond.[12] Even the smaller inland steamboats that called on Washington carried considerable cargo as exemplied by the Lulu D.'s manifest which listed for the 339-mile, 37-hour trip to New Orleans: 249 bales of cotton, 401 sacks of cotton seed, 6 sacks of seed corn, 61 barrels of molasses, 7 barrels of pecans, 63 head of cattle, 184 hides, 39 bundles of hides, 8 rolls of leather, 3 packages of tallow,

and "a lot of sundries."[13] Specialized cattle steamboats also hauled three to four hundred head of prairie cattle at a time to New Orleans, though some would be peddled to planters along the way.[14]

Port Barre, a nearby landing on the Teche, shipped mostly cotton from its busy wharves to New Orleans. Other Teche towns thrived too. By 1850 four boats regularly steamed the two days from New Orleans up the bayou delivering and boarding freight and passengers at Franklin, New Iberia, and St. Martinville and stopping for commerce at all intermediate landings. Having eluded the New Orleans magnet to deal directly with northern ports as early as 1825, the lower Teche port of Franklin veritably buzzed with commercial activity.[15] A dozen years before the Civil War, Franklin, a community of less than one thousand inhabitants including slaves, serviced in one year 32 foreign ships and 125 coastal vessels and exported 18,500 tons of cargo consisting of 16,600 hogsheads and 14 barrels of sugar, 2,742 hogsheads and 19,644 barrels of molasses, and 55,900 feet of live oak timber.[16] New York, Richmond, Baltimore, Mobile, and Philadelphia each imported more of Franklin's shipments than did New Orleans.

This coastal trade with the Teche was not a one-way affair. During the same year, 1848, Franklin's imports exceeded exports by 1,400 tons.[17] The local newspaper, the reputable Planter's Banner, published the proud advertisements of Franklin's merchants as well as those of nearby

hamlets like Centerville whose storekeepers in 1853 sold the "best kind of Boston ice" more cheaply than it could be bought in New Orleans, "refrigerators of a sort," and "a newly invented Yankee contrivance for washing clothes."[18] And merchants and peddlers of French Louisiana even carried staples and luxuries from Europe: Spanish shawls, English shaving soaps, French perfumes and liquors, Westphalian hams, and the "very best Hungarian leeches."[19] Thus, the antebellum Teche trading sphere was evidently far less provincial than some have proposed, and its influence and vitality was underscored by Richardson's perceptive recollection: ". . . /sugar/ certainly did raise the Teche country to a commercial importance beyond any other portion of the State outside the Parish/es/ of Orleans and Jefferson."[20] But because of another transportation invention, Franklin's important Gulf coastwise trade that stretched from Florida to Mexico was soon gravely threatened by Brashear City, a railroad terminous near the mouth of the Atchafalaya River.[21]

Although antebellum Louisiana's road system had become quite extensive connecting most towns and villages for carts, three-yoke wagons, and stagecoaches, travel was still slow and tedious and at times of wet weather all but impossible.[22] As it had been with steamboat innovations, however, Louisiana was at the forefront of a land transportation revolution. Only one year after the first public railroad began operations in the United States, in

1831 the short Pontchartrain Railroad was opened for traffic from New Orleans to the lake's southern shore. By the Civil War Louisiana rail companies had laid 387 miles of track. Most of the state's railways specifically reached out for the enthusiastic commercial support of rural French Louisiana (Fig. VI-4).[23]

The Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete, and Opelousas Railroad snaked westward twenty-eight miles from the state capital almost to the eastern bank of the Atchafalaya River and dared dream of crossing Louisiana diagonally to provide Shreveport an alternative to the erratic waters of the Red River. Running southward from Alexandria for sixteen miles to Bayou Boeuf, a tributary of the Atchafalaya water web, the Red River Railroad, the first railway west of the Mississippi, hoped to reach Cheneyville and perhaps beyond to tap the wealth of the Opelousas prairie. The most important of the rail lines eagerly laying track in French Louisiana was the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western, the state's second longest railroad, which traversed the entire Lafourche district linking New Orleans with Brashear City eighty miles away. The Opelousas Railroad, as it was called, also embraced a grand scheme to inch sinuously all the way to the Pacific Ocean, but these "great western" aspirations, much less reaching Opelousas, had to wait until after the devastations of the Civil War.

Before hostilities hit the Lafourche, however, the Opelousas Railroad's dozen locomotives, some of which were

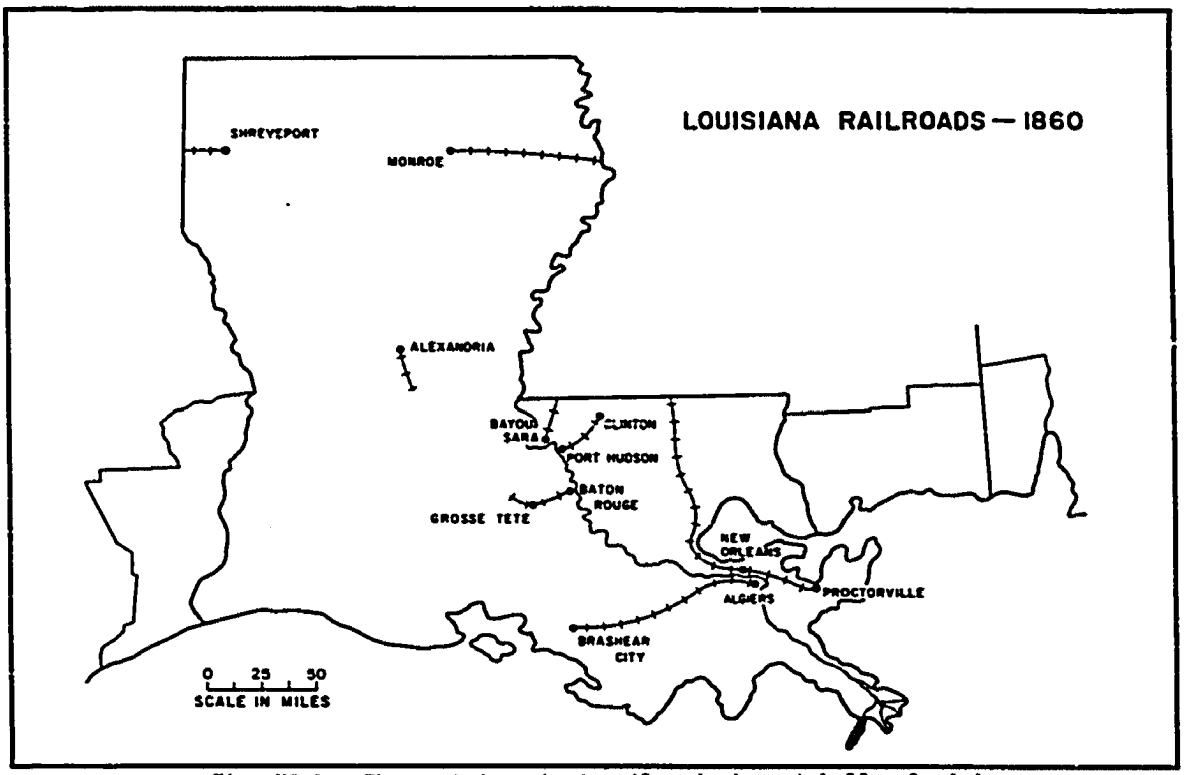


Fig. VI-4. The most important railroads in antebellum Louisiana ran through French Louisiana. After Estaville (1977: 90).

capable of racing more than sixty miles an hour, carried tons of freight and hundreds of passengers.[24] On 17 March 1862, for instance, a train bound for New Orleans hauled 85 hogsheads of sugar, 151 barrels of molasses, 225 sacks of corn, 20 hides, 5 bales of hay, 129 hogs, and 466 head of cattle and horses.[25] In the opposite direction passengers and merchandise from New Orleans were transferred at Brashear City onto the company's steamboats destined for the Teche country or Texas ports.[26]

During the Confederate mobilization the Opelousas Railroad pulled trains packed with troops, both French and Anglo, and materiel destined for New Orleans training camps and ultimately the eastern fighting fronts. So strategic did the railway become after the fall of New Orleans in 1862 that some of the most intense battles in the state took place near its right of way through French Louisiana.

When Union soldiers finally captured the entire rail line, their commanders used it to ship westward thousands of troops, armaments, and supplies for raids into the Teche country. In return the Yankees hauled off to New Orleans the overflowing piles of contraband they had stripped from South Louisiana.[27] After his Teche campaign of 1863, Union General Nathaniel Banks boasted that "20,000 beeves, mules, and horses have been forwarded to Brashear City. . . ."[28] It was estimated that this military thrust raped the Teche and lower Red River areas of what the Yankees termed

"legitimate forage" worth more than ten million dollars. Much of these spoils of war were carried over the Opelousas Railroad to New Orleans auction blocks.[29]

The railway revolution was also a communication revolution. Mail between New Orleans and Franklin was delivered every third day in 1848, but six years later the Opelousas Railroad's mail runs made it possible for Franklin's residents to read New Orleans morning newspapers that night. Traveling on the train part of the way, moreover, cut in half to about $5.00 the cost of passenger tickets from the Teche to New Orleans, a trip made at least three times faster by the rail link. But perhaps of even greater significance was that before the Civil War the railroad had introduced French Louisiana to the precursor of today's electronic age--the telegraph.[30]

Thus antebellum South Louisianians found themselves on the cutting edge of not one but two transportation revolutions which would also radically change communications over a shrinking landscape. Steamboats ventured into the most remote Atchafalaya channel for commerce and industry and made towns such as Washington, Port Barre, and Franklin into bustling entrepots. Railroads cut transportation time and cost dramatically and began to build their own towns, Morgan City and Westwego, for example, that would flourish until today. And the Louisiana French, like their Anglo neighbors, felt the profound effects of the revolutions that were rapidly piercing whatever barriers of geographical

isolation that remained in South Louisiana as well as those within the whole nation. Louisiana French communities were no exception; they too were transformed by the steamboat and the railroad.

Louisiana French Ethnic Region in 1860

By the Civil War the Louisiana French ethnic region (> 25% French plus weighted German and Spanish ethnicities) had grown to 14,257 square miles, about 4,300 more than in 1820, and no longer possessed its riparian linearity but instead began to contour the huge, if irregular, isoceles triangle of present-day French Louisiana, though in 1860 the triangle was broken by the still unsettled southwestern prairies (Figs. VI-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and Table VI-1). The greatest French territorial gains in the antebellum period were westward onto the prairies from St. Martinville and Opelousas and a retreat from the lower Mississippi River onto small natural levees called brules in the Atchafalaya Swamp (Figs. VI-12, 13).[31] Of Louisiana's forty-eight parishes, less than half, twenty-one, comprised the ethnic region, a situation that had pungently affected French political standing in the state. Moreover, by the Civil War the 160,000 Louisiana French comprised only 30 percent of the state's population (Tables VI-2, 4).[32]

Although the Lafourche and Teche cores remained more than three-quarters French and the most densely populated areas in rural Louisiana, only one parish, St. James,

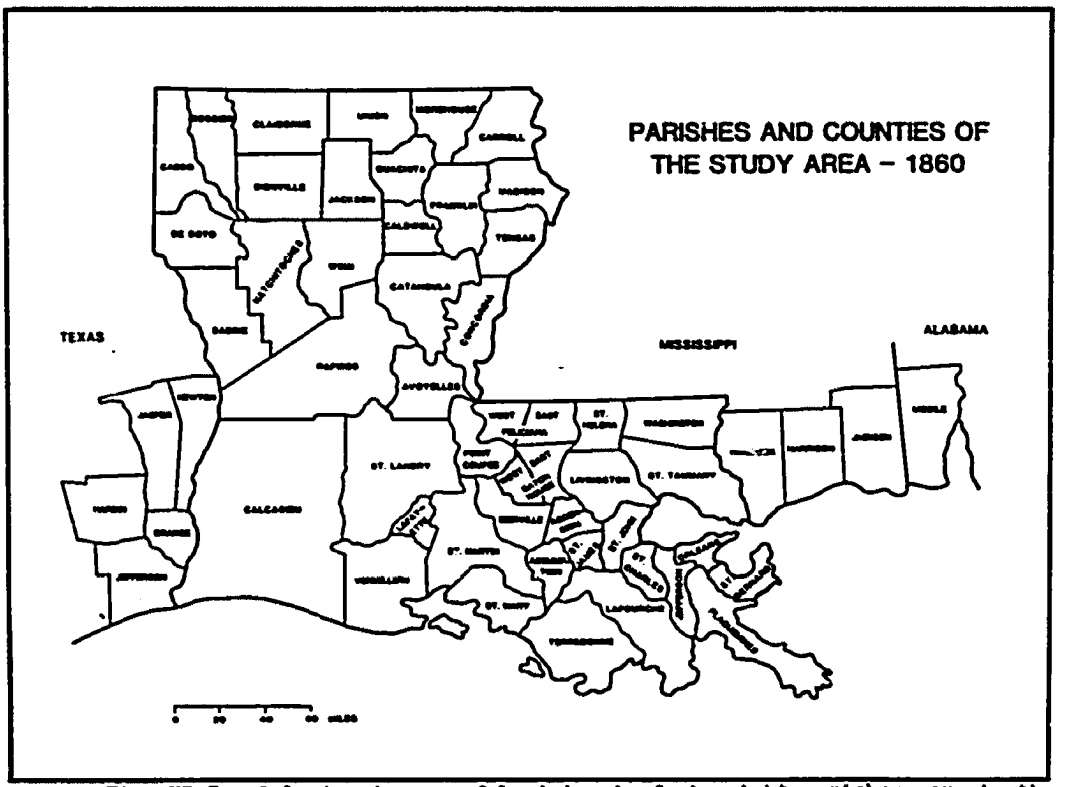


Fig. VI-5. Only twenty-one of Louisiana's forty-eight parishes were in the 1860 Louisiana French ethnic region.

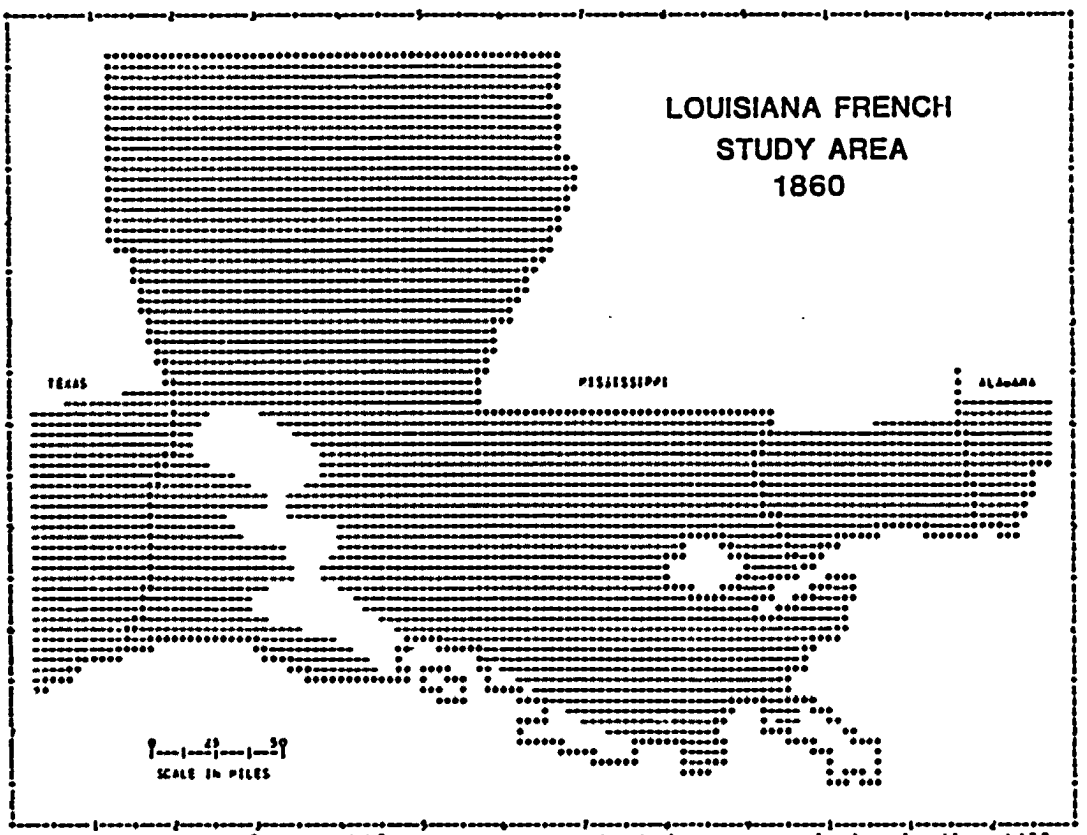


Fig. VI-6. The 1860 Louisiana French study area was broken by the still unsettled southwest prairies.

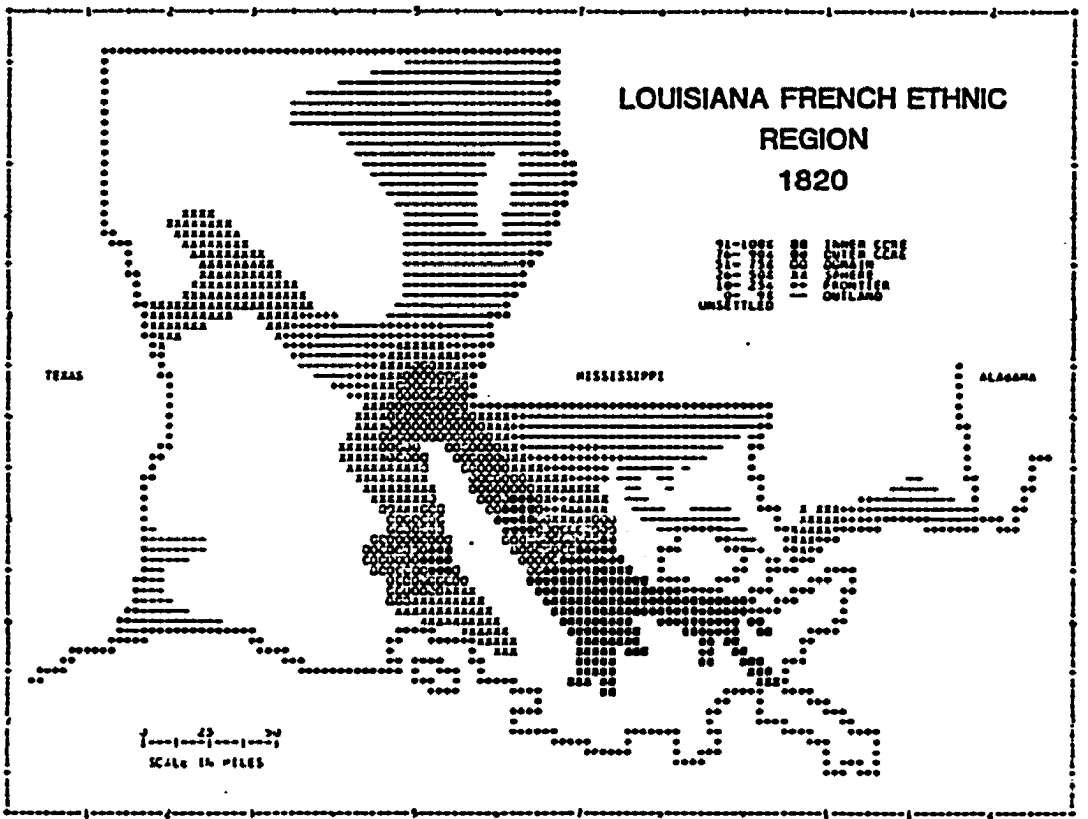


Fig. VI-7. The 1820 Louisiana French ethnic region demonstrated a distinct riparian linearity.

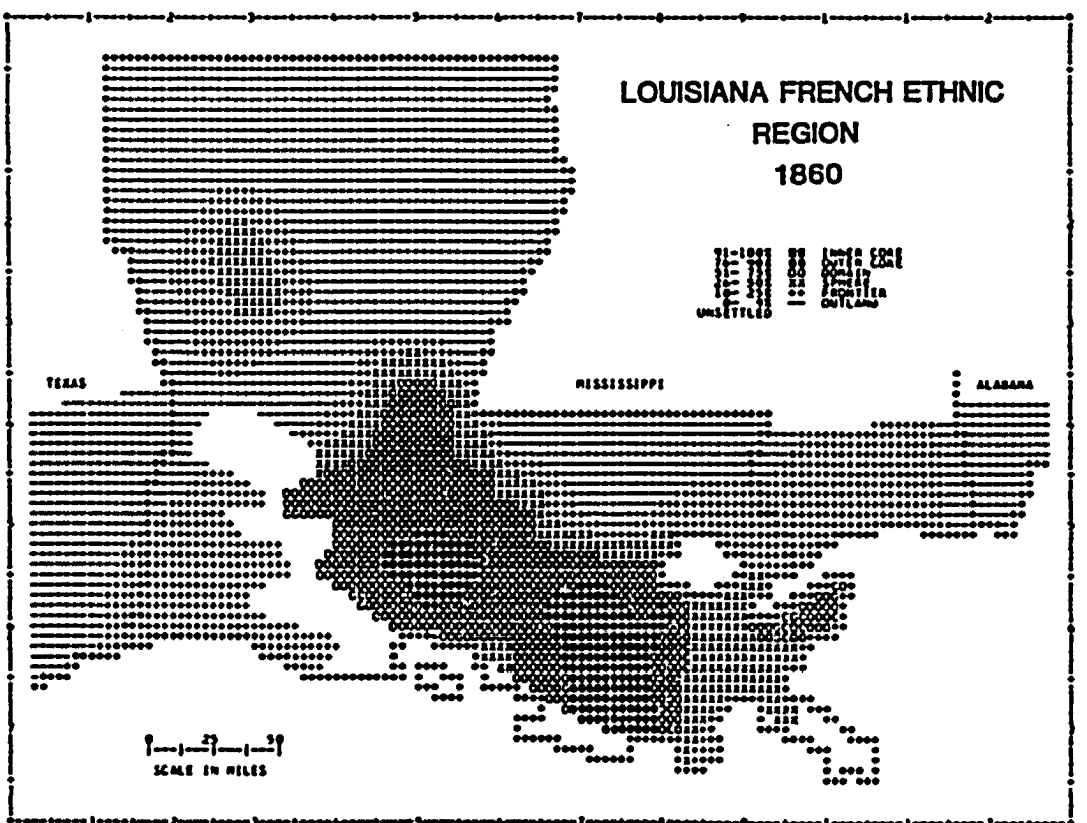


Fig. VI-8. By 1860 the Louisiana French ethnic region had grown mainly into the Atchafalaya Swamp and westward onto the prairie land.

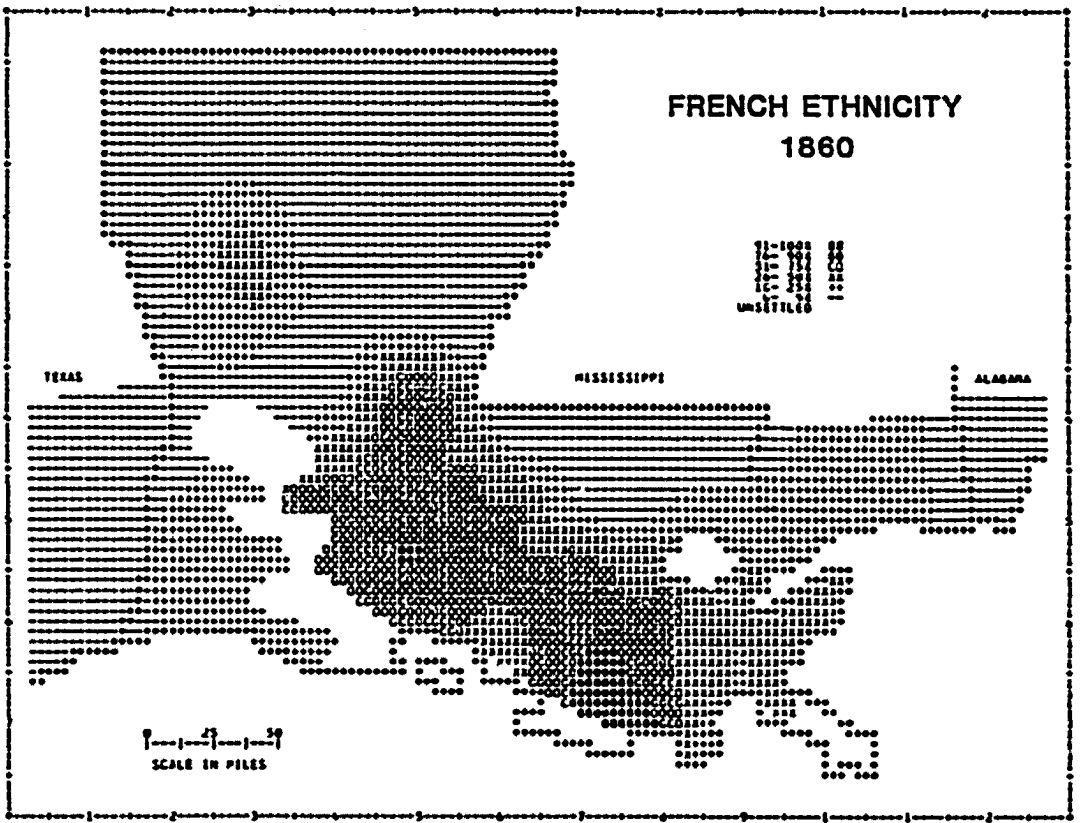


Fig. VI-9. French ethnicity followed closely the more general Louisiana French distribution.

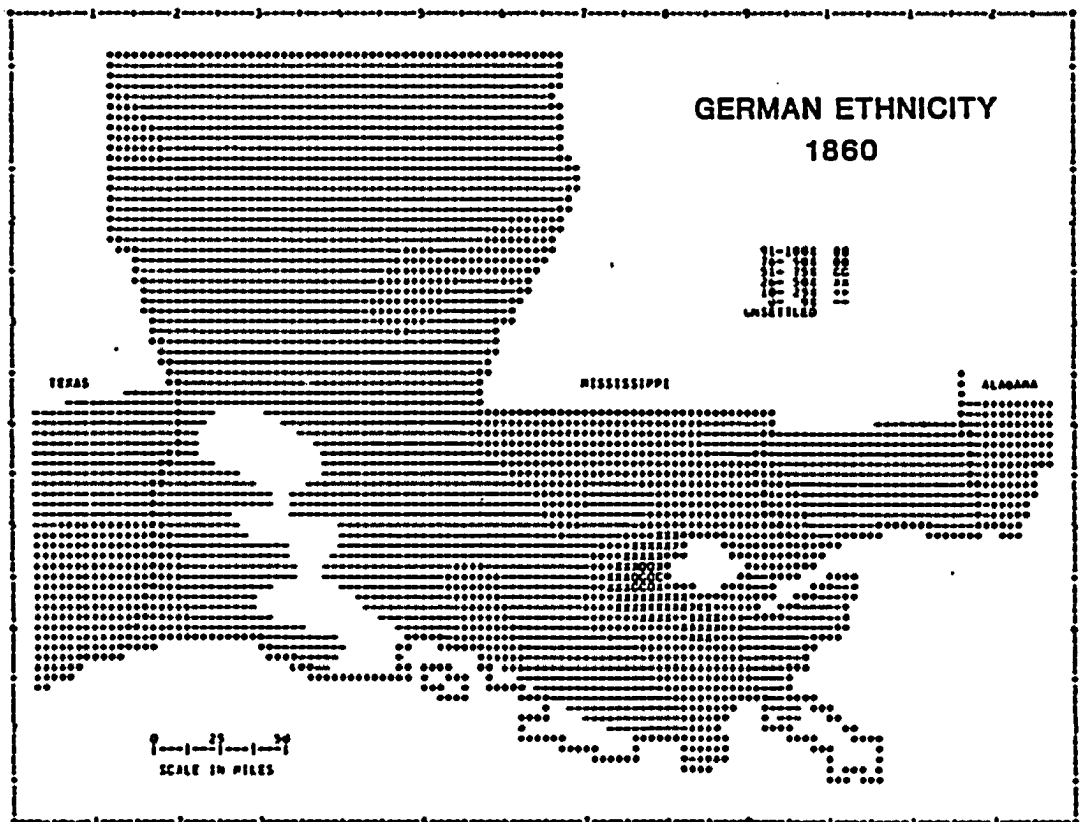


Fig. VI-10. The greatest intensity of Germans was still in the old "German Coast" upstream from New Orleans.

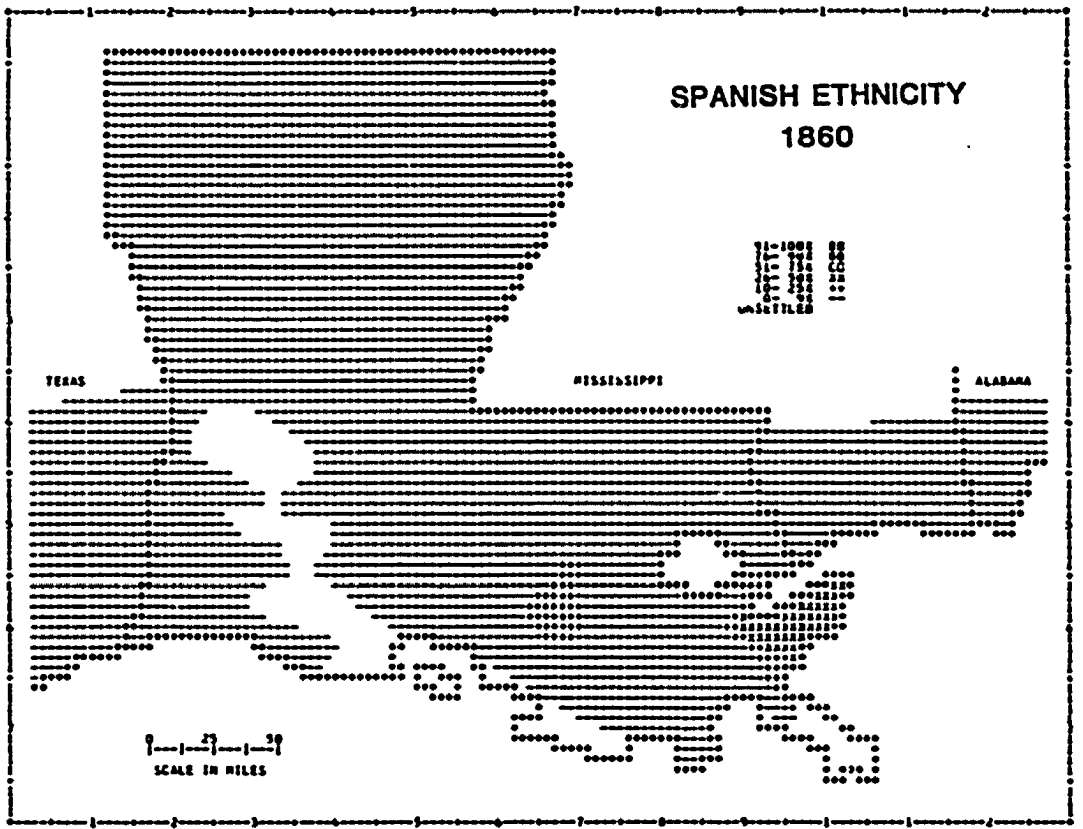


Fig. VI-11. In 1860 remnants of Spanish ethnicity persisted, especially in St. Bernard Parish, old Delacroix Island.

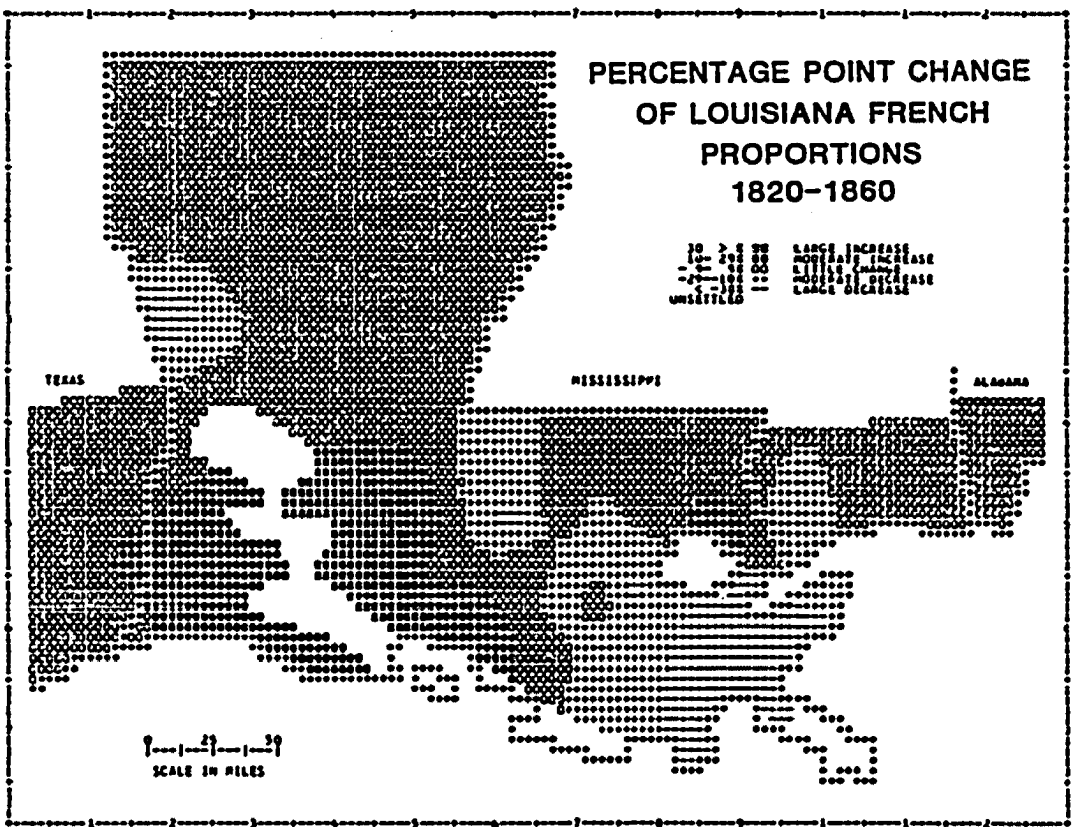


Fig. VI-12. Changing Louisiana French proportions showed the "second expulsion" along the lower Mississippi and the westward movement onto the prairies.

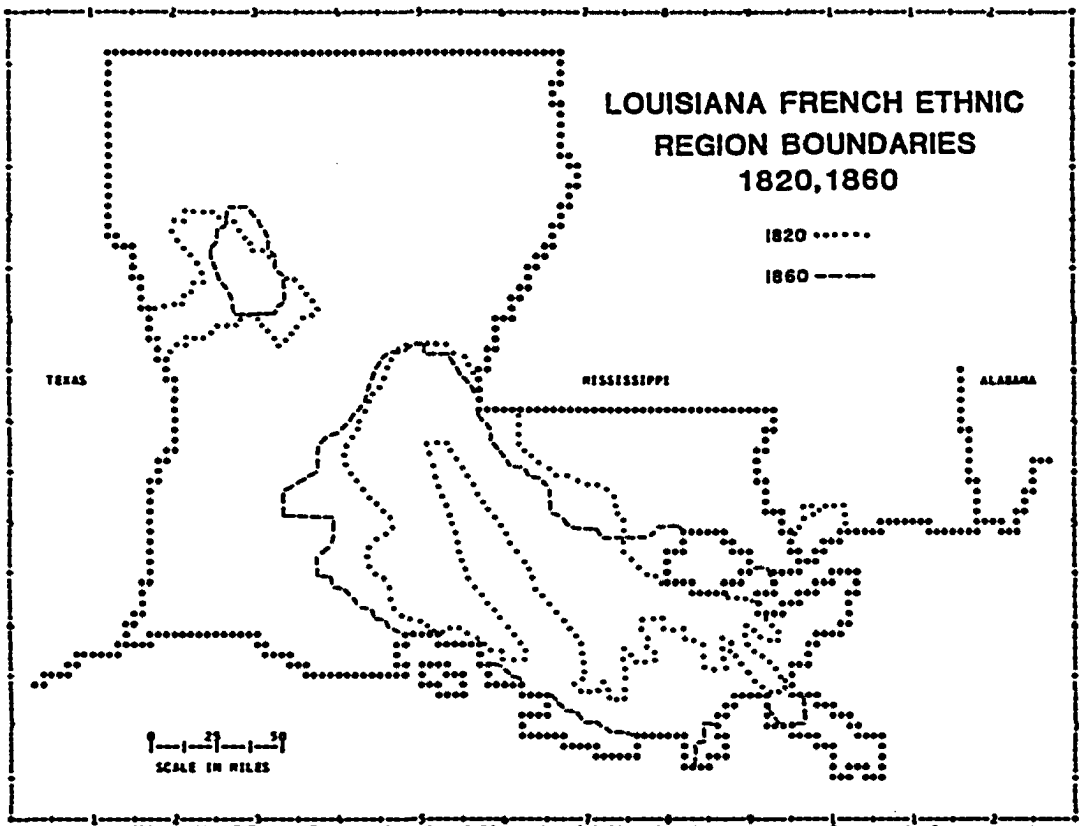


Fig. VI-13. Although significant shifts in its internal morphology took place, the ethnic region's total area remained essentially unchanged between 1820 and 1860.

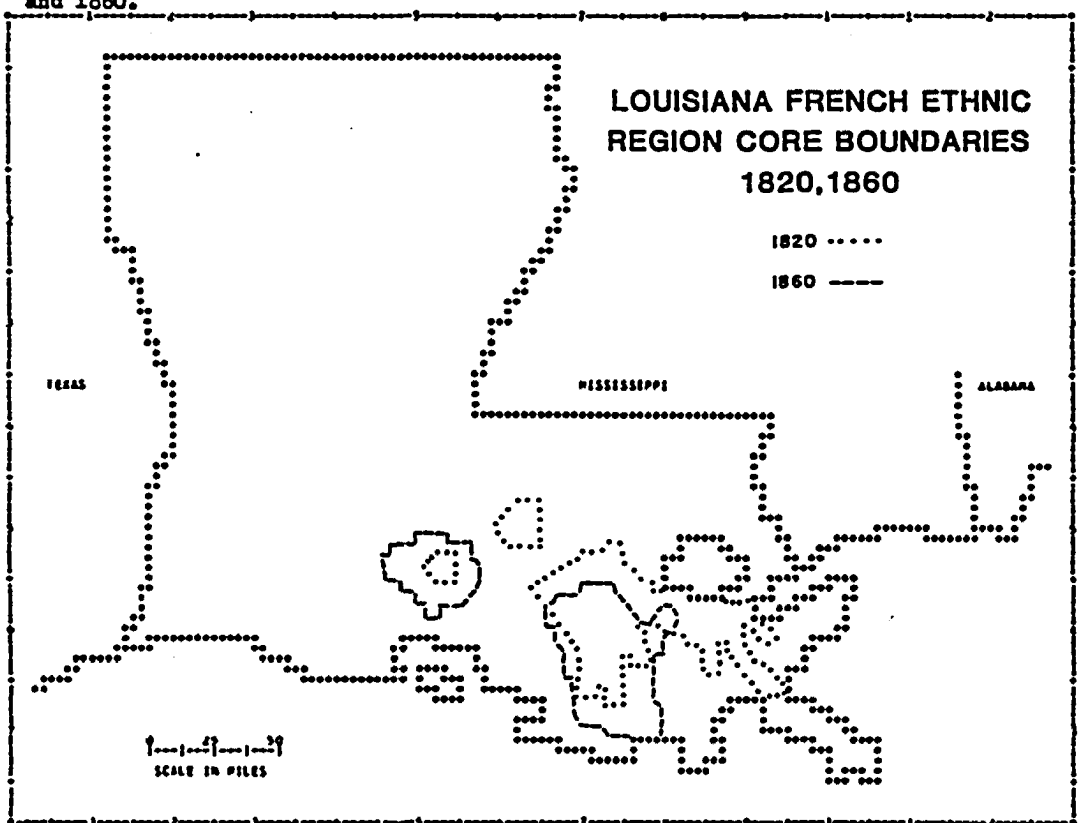


Fig. VI-14. During the four decades the Lafourche core declined dramatically, while the Teche grew steadily.

TABLE VI-1

AREAS OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860

ZONE/AREA	1820 SQUARE MILES	1860 SQUARE MILES	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	1,428	12	-1,416 (-99.16)
Outer Core	1,318	2,673	1,355 (102.81)
Total Core	2,746	2,685	-61 (-2.22)
Domain	2,979	7,483	4,504 (151.19)
Sphere	4,211	4,089	-122 (-2.90)
Ethnic Region	9,936	14,257	4,321 (43.49)

TABLE VI-2

PERCENTS AND POPULATIONS OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	94.86	91.56	-3.30
	24,066	10,528	-13,538 (-56.25)
	1,303	971	-332 (-25.48)
	25,369	11,499	-13,870 (-54.67)
Outer Core	80.72	80.57	-0.15
	24,728	55,178	30,450 (123.14)
	5,908	13,310	7,402 (125.29)
	30,636	68,488	37,852 (123.55)

TABLE VI-2--continued

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Total Core	87.12	82.15	-4.97
	48,794	65,706	16,912 (34.66)
	7,211	14,281	7,070 (98.04)
	56,005	79,987	23,982 (42.82)
Domain	64.45	59.96	-4.49
	7,458	62,220	54,762 (734.27)
	4,113	41,556	37,443 (910.36)
	11,571	103,776	92,205 (796.86)
Sphere	45.24	36.65	-8.59
	9,641	23,160	13,519 (140.22)
	11,672	40,037	28,365 (243.02)
	21,313	63,197	41,884 (196.52)
Ethnic Region	74.13	61.18	-12.95
	65,893	151,086	85,193 (129.29)
	22,996	95,874	72,878 (316.92)
	88,889	246,960	158,071 (177.83)
Louisiana	58.03	29.67	-28.36
	67,403	159,993	92,590 (137.37)
	48,743	379,334	330,591 (678.23)
	116,146	539,327	423,181 (364.35)

TABLE VI-3

POPULATION DENSITIES OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--

1820, 1860

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	1860 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	16.85	877.33	860.48 (5,106.71)
	.92	80.92	80.00 (8,695.65)
	17.77	958.25	940.48 (5,292.52)
Outer Core	18.76	20.64	1.88 (10.02)
	4.48	4.98	.50 (11.16)
	23.24	25.62	2.38 (10.24)
Total Core	17.77	24.47	6.70 (37.70)
	2.63	5.32	2.69 (102.28)
	20.40	29.79	9.39 (46.03)
Domain	2.50	8.31	5.81 (232.40
	1.38	5.56	4.18 (302.90)
	3.88	13.87	9.99 (257.47)
Sphere	2.29	5.66	3.37 (147.16)
	2.77	9.80	7.03 (253.79)
	5.06	15.46	10.40 (205.53)
Ethnic Region	6.63	10.60	3.97 (59.88)
	2.32	6.72	4.40 (189.66)
	8.95	17.32	8.37 (93.52)
Louisiana	1.39	3.30	1.91 (137.41)
	1.00	7.81	6.81 (681.00)
	2.39	11.11	8.72 (364.85)

TABLE VI-4

NUMBER OF PARISHES OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860

ZONE/AREA	1820 NUMBER OF PARISHES	1860 NUMBER OF PARISHES	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	7	1	-6 (-85.71)
Outer Core	4	6	2 (50.00)
Total Core	11	7	-4 (-36.36)
Domain	3	9	6 (200.00)
Sphere	4	5	1 (25.00)
Ethnic Region	18	21	3 (16.67)
French Louisiana	17	21	4 (23.53)
Non-French Louisiana	9	27	18 (200.00)
Total Louisiana	26	48	22 (84.61)

TABLE VI-5

PARISHES CLASSIFIED BY ZONES--1860

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	INNER CORE (91-100%)	CORE (76-100%)
St. James	91.56	91.56
	OUTER CORE (76-90%)	
Assumption	82.64	82.64
Lafayette	82.54	82.54
Lafourche	80.64	80.64
St. Martin	80.24	80.24
St. Charles	78.13	78.13
Terrebonne	77.78	77.78

TABLE VI-5--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	DOMAIN (51-75%)	DOMAIN (51-75%)
Avoyelles	70.49	70.49
Vermilion	69.70	69.70
Ascension	68.02	68.02
Iberville	59.33	59.33
St. Bernard	58.67	58.67
St. Landry	57.56	57.56
West Baton Rouge	56.71	56.71
St. John	56.05	56.05
Pointe Coupee	51.55	51.55
	SPHERE (26-50%)	SPHERE (26-50%)
St. Mary	49.08	49.08
Jefferson	34.66	34.66
Natchitoches	33.53	33.53
Plaquemines	28.55	28.55
Orleans	26.74	26.74
	FRONTIER (10-25%)	OUTLAND (0-25%)
Calcasieu	21.42	21.42
Harrison MS	18.12	18.12
St. Tammany	17.56	17.56
East Baton Rouge	17.22	17.22
Jackson MS	10.62	10.62
Orange TX	10.41	10.41
	OUTLAND (0-9%)	
Jefferson TX	9.46	9.46
Sabine	8.33	8.33
St. Helena	5.95	5.95
Caddo	5.17	5.17
Rapides	4.89	4.89
Mobile AL	4.75	4.75
DeSoto	4.35	4.35

TABLE VI-5--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	OUTLAND (0-9%)	
Caldwell	4.29	4.29
Livingston	2.49	2.49
Winn	2.18	2.18
Bossier	0.00	0.00
Carroll	0.00	0.00
Catahoula	0.00	0.00
Claiborne	0.00	0.00
Concordia	0.00	0.00
East Feliciana	0.00	0.00
Franklin	0.00	0.00
Jackson	0.00	0.00
Madison	0.00	0.00
Morehouse	0.00	0.00
Ouachita	0.00	0.00
Tensas	0.00	0.00
Union	0.00	0.00
Washington	0.00	0.00
West Feliciana	0.00	0.00
Hardin TX	0.00	0.00
Jasper TX	0.00	0.00
Newton TX	0.00	0.00

steadfastly maintained a population of more than 90 percent French, a decrease of six inner core parishes from 1820. Contrasting social forces, furthermore, were at work on the 66,000 Frenchmen living in the bifurcated core. Discounting St. James, the four parishes clustered in the Lafourche focus dramatically declined in percent of French inhabitants, and five lower Mississippi River parishes--West Baton Rouge, St. John, Orleans, St. Bernard, and Plaquemines--dropped entirely out of the core, underscoring that the "second expulsion" was well underway. The Teche core, on the other hand, gained one parish through the subdivision of St. Martin and resolutely remained a stronghold of French heritage.[33] Considering both the Lafourche erosion and the Teche growth, the eleven-parish 1820 core had lost four parishes by 1860, even though its area of nearly 2,700 square miles was essentially unchanged (Figs. VI-5, 7, 8, 12, 14, and Tables VI-1-5).

All the French territorial gains made between 1820 and 1860 occurred in the domain (51-75% French). Encircling the two French cores, a combined area of only one-third its size, the domain had expanded 4,500 square miles and encompassed nine parishes in 1860. St. Bernard Parish east of New Orleans was the single domain outlier. Of the 104,000 domain residents, 60 percent were French. The 4,100 square miles of the less intense, transitional sphere (26-50%) bordered the domain as a narrow strip that flared out south of New Orleans and leaped up the Red River to create its

Natchitoches outlier. Slightly more than a third of the sphere's 63,000 citizens were French.

Causing the continued westward displacement of the Louisiana French was intense pressure from land-hungry Anglo planters who made their most pronounced incursions near Baton Rouge and downstream from New Orleans, producing a precipitous dive of more than thirty points in the French proportions of those parish populations. Anglos meanwhile engulfed the rather strong 1820 French exclave along the Mississippi Coast, confining the 1860 French region solely to Louisiana. Anglo settlement also raced across North Louisiana into Texas, surrounded and seriously eroded the Natchitoches outlier, and formed an incipient barrier to French Texas migration, particularly for those southwestern Louisiana ranchers who began to be pinched out by crowded ranges. And Anglos even thrust throughout the Atchafalaya Basin establishing commercial river landings and brule settlements (Figs. VI-15, 16).[34] The antebellum Anglo population had grown five times faster than the Gallic and comprised 70 percent of the state's 540,000 rural people in 1860. In twenty years Anglos had tripled their control of parishes to twenty-seven, thereby politically dominating Louisiana. Most critical, however, was that the deep Anglo encroachment had diluted the French ethnic region from 75 percent French in 1820 to 60 percent by mid-century (Tables VI-2, 4).

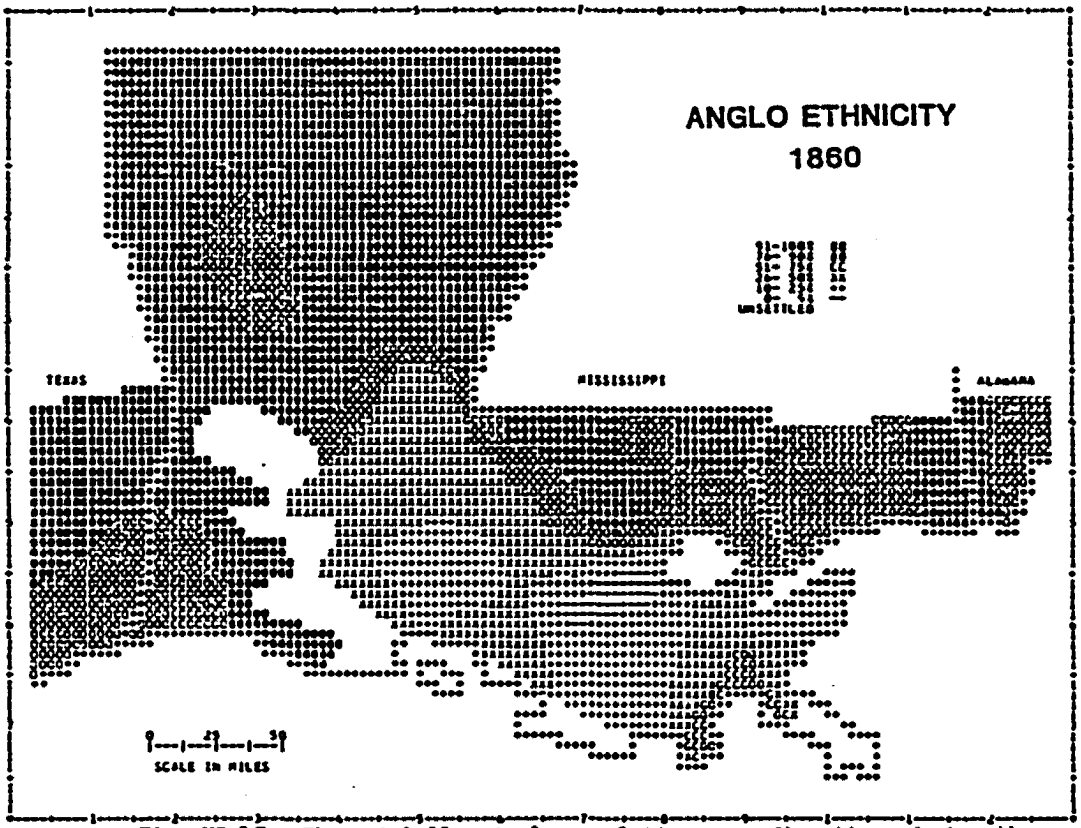


Fig. VI-15. The antebellum Anglo population grew five times faster than the Gallic.

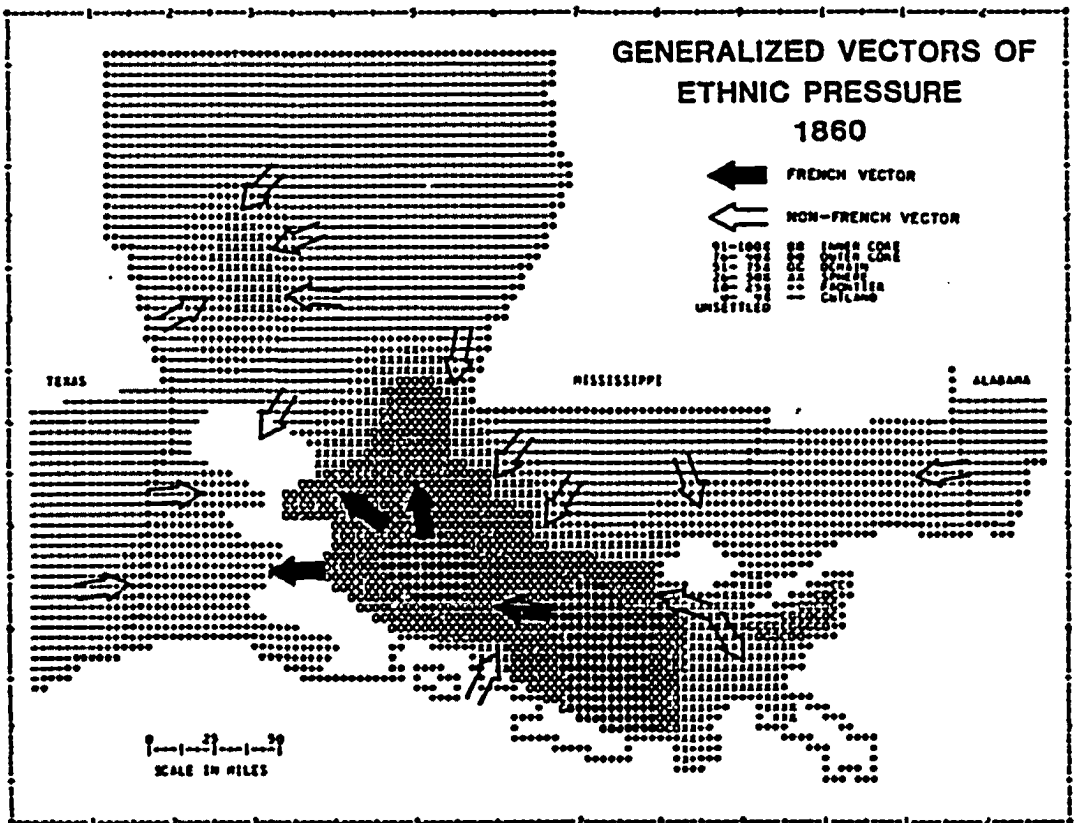


Fig. VI-16. From all directions Anglos had thrust into the Louisiana French region.

Four transect profiles provided another perspective of the changing Louisiana French region. Along the St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect (E-A in Figs. VI-17, 18-A) Louisiana French intensity increased south of St. Martinville, but to the north it melted away at the outer edge of the 1820 Avoyelles plateau. The Texas-Alabama line (F-B in Figs. VI-17, 18-B) reflected French expansionary vigor moving onto unsettled lands west of Lake Pontchartrain, invading the Atchafalaya brules, spreading westward onto the southwest prairies, and jumping over them to create the diminutive Calcasieu ridge near the Texas border. Nevertheless, this east-west transect also outlined the erosion of the Mississippi Gulf Coast outlier and cut sharply through French Iberville Parish on the Mississippi River.

The displacement of the Louisiana French along the banks of the lower Mississippi was strikingly expressed in the Red River-Mississippi River transect (H-C in Figs. VI-17, 19-A). Up the Red River French proportions fell into a Rapides Parish abyss but staggered back to a weathered Natchitoches silhouette. As it contoured the crests of the region's bifurcated core separated by the Atchafalaya Basin, the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect (G-D in Figs. VI-17, 19-B) depicted best the French drift westward. Although the Lafourche core slid fifteen percentage points over the four decades, the Teche core vigorously grew westward onto the prairies.

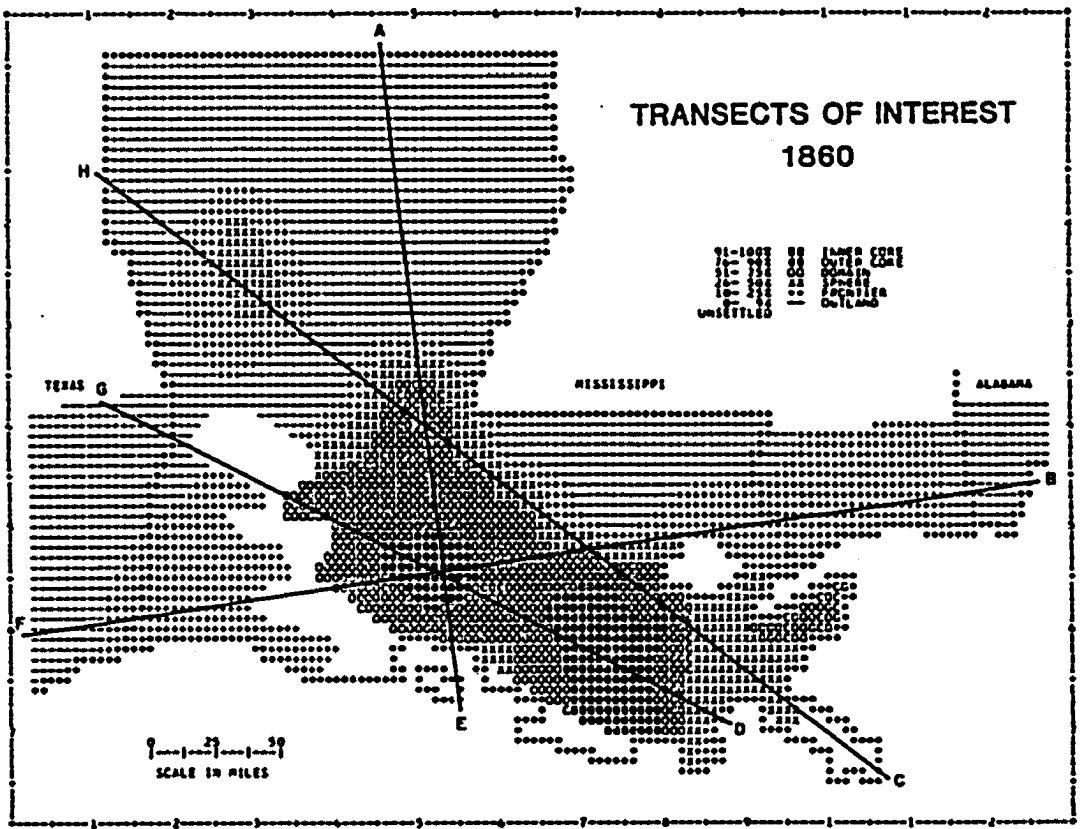


Fig. VI-17. To better investigate the internal morphology of the 1860 Louisiana French region, four analytical transects were constructed.

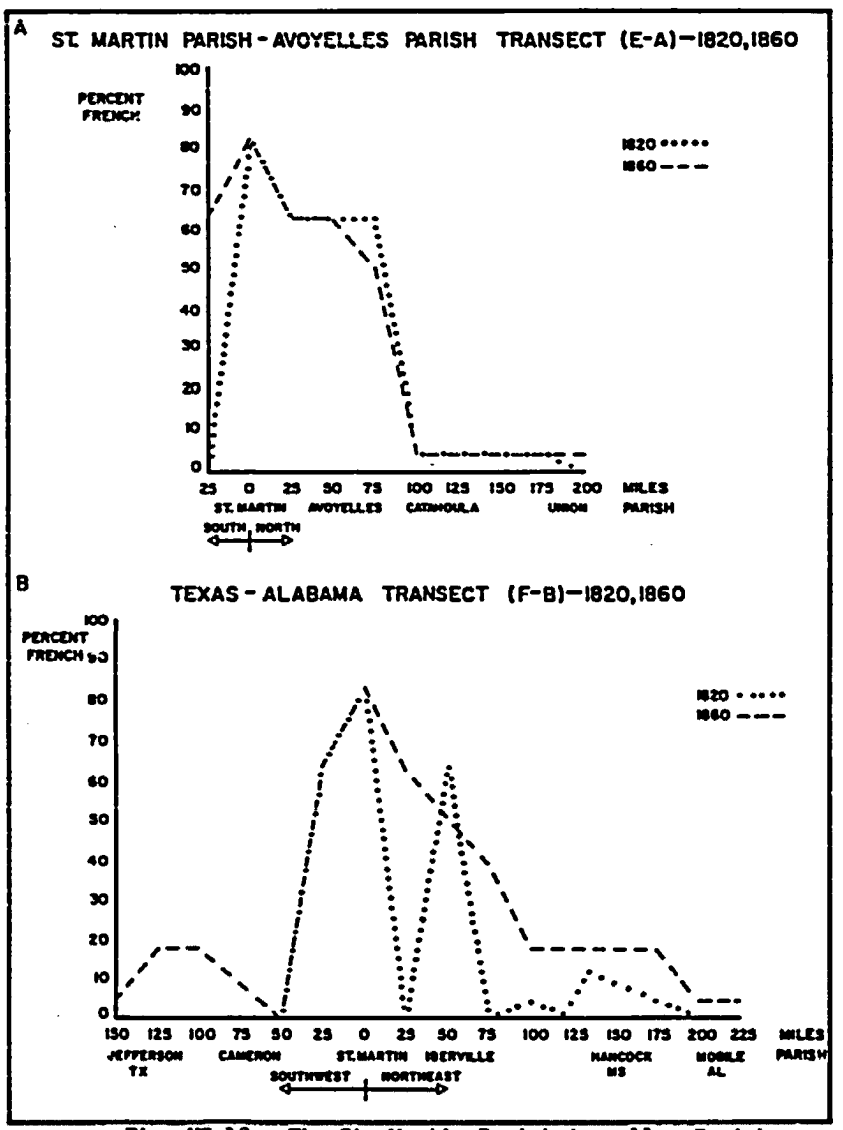


Fig. VI-18. The St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect traversed two traditionally-French parishes, while the Texas-Alabama line gauged east-west trends.

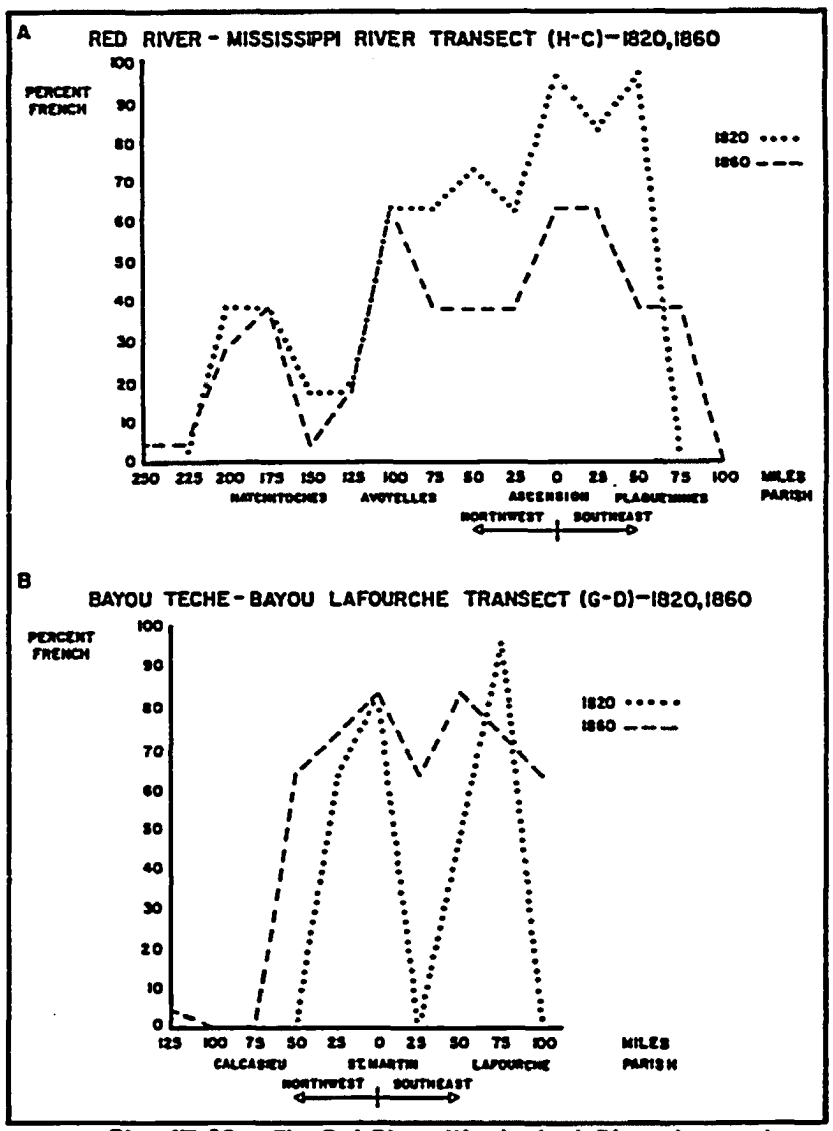


Fig. VI-19. The Red River-Mississippi River transect ran through Louisiana's two most important river valleys, and the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect profiled the region's core.

Statistical Testing

The 1860 Louisiana French gradational morphology was tested through three questions:

1) Are there economic, social, and political variables that discriminate between Louisiana French and non-Louisiana French areas?

2) Are there economic, social, and political variables that vary with the intensity of Louisiana French?

3) Are there prime economic, social, and political variables that, in combination, identify a more holistic Louisiana French culture region for 1860?

Variance analysis determined that, of the forty-six initial economic, social, and political test variables, only ten differed statistically between the polarized comparison of the French core (76-100%) and the non-French outland (0-25%) (Tables VI-6, 7, and Fig. VI-20). This ten-variate set produced unbiased classification functions (three-fourths of the cases used to classify the other quarter) able to predict with an amazing 100 percent accuracy (the mean of five random runs) French parishes from non-French parishes and counties. This incredible predictive capability stressed the strong discriminating power of the ten-variable set and unequivocally emphasized that the two cultures were indeed different, thus favorably answering the first query.

That thirty-six variables did not distinguish between predominantly French and Anglo areas, suggests that the two cultures were more similar than previously thought. In fact, as intuitively shown in Table VI-6, French and Anglo family heads had much in common. A typical family head in the core,

TABLE VI-6

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY STATISTICAL ZONES--1860

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=7)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=34)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Percent Data					
Economic					
Family Heads With Real Property of $100 Or Less	44.50	42.13	51.01	39.06	41.34
Family Heads With Real Property of $5,000 Or More	17.86	19.29	18.07	17.61	17.96
Family Heads With Personal Property of $100 Or Less	35.95	39.28	47.64	24.03	30.19
Family Heads With Personal Property of $5,000 Or More	17.55	9.94	17.08	20.21	17.91
Farms With 50 Acres Or Less	46.52	41.92	45.16	51.13	48.49
Farms With 500 Acres Or More	13.49	11.86	13.87	8.91	10.43
Slaves In The Total Population	58.75	58.92	47.83	47.80	51.02
Agricultural Occupations	51.55	47.87	28.10	61.82	55.17
Farmers and Planters	44.79	40.71	18.72	52.92	46.78
Hunting and Fishing Occupations	0.37	1.03	2.04	0.11	0.47
Fishermen	0.00	0.74	2.04	0.11	0.37
Timber and Lumber Occupations	0.26	0.00	1.18	0.85	0.66
Construction Occupations	3.39	4.28	10.46	4.10	4.62
Fabrication Occupations	4.76	4.04	3.27	2.85	3.33
Clothing Making Occupations	2.42	3.70	1.31	2.01	2.28
Transportation Occupations	0.32	0.44	6.43	1.74	1.77
Service Occupations	0.32	0.74	3.09	0.69	0.87

TABLE VI-6--continued

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=7)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=34)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Commercial Occupations	3.73	4.29	12.68	6.67	6.45
Merchants	1.81	2.43	4.95	2.95	2.90
Laborer Occupations	5.02	6.38	10.91	6.22	6.52
Common Laborers	4.39	6.38	9.26	5.65	5.94
Farm Laborers	0.98	1.26	3.19	2.78	2.34
Attorneys	0.19	0.17	0.54	1.05	0.75
Social					
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	81.37	62.24	42.83	10.75	31.08
Anglo Ethnicity	12.23	28.55	47.37	85.55	63.42
Louisiana Nativity	74.17	72.11	34.03	20.05	36.73
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	5.13	7.29	16.08	61.45	41.30
Midland Nativity	1.78	2.10	4.70	3.25	3.00
Midwest Nativity	0.81	0.46	0.79	2.79	1.98
New England Nativity	0.00	0.72	4.35	0.76	0.98
European Nativity	16.21	16.11	39.38	10.99	15.07
French Nativity	9.70	9.61	10.41	2.44	5.26
German Nativity	2.13	2.29	12.78	3.15	3.76
Male Family Heads	79.57	88.11	89.94	89.51	88.05
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	10.33	10.81	6.76	11.80	10.99

TABLE VI-6--continued

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=7)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=34)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	39.70	29.36	31.90	34.17	33.88
Families With Adult Male and Female (Married)	65.29	73.11	68.94	77.51	74.45
Families With No Adult Female	14.61	13.16	21.88	12.19	13.53
Families With Less Than Two Children	42.81	41.04	53.14	39.25	41.26
Families With Five Children Or More	20.42	19.66	11.22	19.94	19.16
Political					
French Enumerators	57.14	46.08	45.71	3.35	21.04
French Sheriffs	85.71	55.56	40.00	2.94	25.45
Mean Data					
Social					
Age of Family Heads	41.13	38.73	39.89	39.61	39.69
Number of Children Per Family	2.43	2.40	1.88	2.53	2.44
Median Data					
Economic					
Median Real Property In Hundreds of Dollars Per Family	5.99	7.70	5.52	7.69	7.27
Median Personal Property In Hundreds of Dollars Per Family	4.27	3.91	7.52	10.69	8.47

TABLE VI-7

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR POLARIZED COMPARISON OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1860

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	OUTLAND MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY
Economic				
Family Heads With Personal Property of $100 Or Less	35.95%	24.03%	4.312	.0445
Social				
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	81.37%	10.75%	86.260	.0000
Anglo Ethnicity	12.23%	85.55%	217.000	.0000
Louisiana Nativity	74.17%	20.05%	83.530	.0000
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	5.13%	61.45%	47.270	.0000
French Nativity	9.70%	2.44%	15.260	.0004
Male Family Heads	79.57%	89.51%	10.710	.0022
Families With Adult Male And Female (Married)	65.29%	77.51%	4.881	.0331
Political				
French Enumerators	57.14%	3.35%	24.310	.0000
French Sheriffs	85.71%	2.94%	84.860	.0000

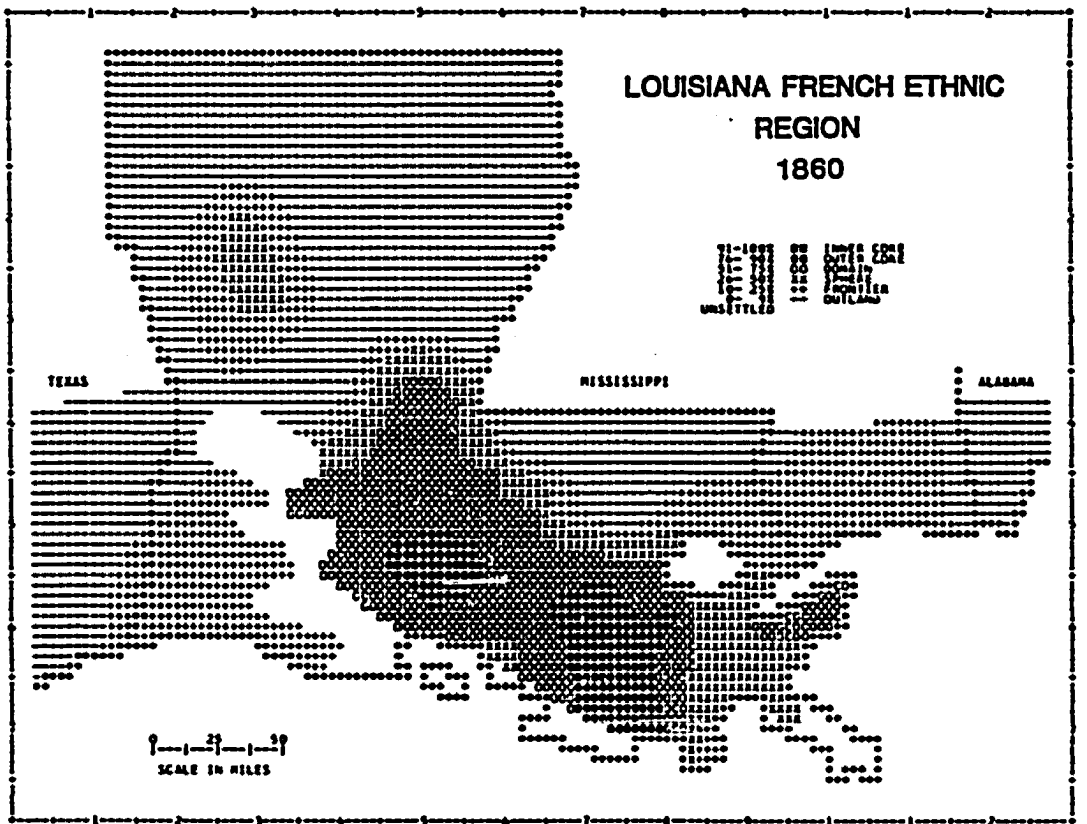


Fig. VI-20. The Louisiana French core (76-100%), domain (51-75%), sphere (26-50%), and outland (0-25%).

which was 82 percent French, was a forty-year-old married male agriculturalist who more than likely worked a farm of less than one hundred acres that was valued roughly at $600. He was also a Louisiana-born Roman Catholic who possessed personal property worth more than $400 and who belonged to the core's politically-dominant French ethnic group. In juxtaposition, a representative family head in the outland, which was 86 percent Anglo, was a forty-year-old married male agriculturalist who probably owned a farm of less than one hundred acres that was valued at more than $700. He was also a Protestant who was born in the South but not in Louisiana, who had personal property worth about $1,000, and who was a member of the outland's politically-prevailing Anglo ethnic group.[35]

Further, the French and Anglo small farmers lived in dwellings of similar crudeness. Frederick Law Olmsted, renowned New York landscape architect, traveler extraordinaire, and keen critic of the antebellum South, painted discerning portraits of a French farm house near Opelousas as well as a plantation home of an Anglo small planter in the Red River Valley. Though not owning slaves, the prosperous French family lived in a small, low cottage of timber and mud with a primitive chimney that broke the outline of a high roof sloping in all directions. The house centered on a long, wooden-floored living room that connected at one end to a kitchen and at the other to a bedroom, both of but dirt floors. The only relief on the

grim mud walls of the sparsely-furnished dwelling--Olmsted mentioned a supper table, a feather bed, and some flea-infested deerskin chairs--was a mantel cluttered with a Connecticut clock, two mirrors, a few cups and saucers, all probably purchased from a Yankee peddler, and a homemade cross. The French wife served Olmsted and his brother a supper of fried eggs, bacon, sweet potatoes, molasses, bread, and milk, and a breakfast of bacon and potatoes.[36]

The wealthier, slaveholding Anglo planter resided in a small, one-room log cabin about twenty by sixteen feet with a broad open porch hanging across its front and a crude chimney of sticks and mud leaning against one end. Detached twenty feet to the rear was a smaller structure used for cooking. The dark, dank house with only one door and no windows was furnished with a table, a bureau, a "kind of a dresser," a compact "camp bed," a Connecticut-made rocker, and two deerskin chairs. Not only did the planter's slaves roam freely throughout the cabin but so did his cats, dogs, and chickens.[37] His wife charged a dismayed Olmsted one dollar for two supper plates of ". . . cold, salt pork; a cup of what to both eye and tongue seemed lard, but which she termed butter; a plate of very stale, dry, flaky micaceous corn-bread; a jug of molasses, and a pitcher of milk."[38]

As in 1820, the French and Anglo zones in 1860 had similar proportions of young and old family heads who had a combined mean age of about forty years; of small and large

families whose combined average size was roughly 2.5 children sixteen years old or younger, a decrease from 1820; and of family heads engaged in commerce and manufacturing. Additionally, in 1860 a similar proportion of French and Anglos worked in the laborer, transportation, service, and professional occupations. The myth that the Louisiana French, especially the Cajuns, were mostly hunters and fishermen was discredited, for few French or Anglos called themselves hunters, and not one sampled Frenchman considered fishing his full-time occupation; like the Anglos, the French were farmers who merely supplemented their food crops and livestock with game from forest and stream. Indeed, the Louisiana French had borrowed agricultural improvements from their new Anglo neighbors.[39]

Both ethnic groups possessed similar amounts of real property and had similar proportions of poor farmers who owned less than fifty acres. As indicated by large ($5,000 or more) real and personal property holdings, almost exactly the same proportions of wealthy planters were found in the French core as in the Anglo outland,[40] and each area had similar percents of slaves with relation to their respective total populations. Nevertheless, of the core's 211 rich planters, those owning fifty or more slaves, according to Menn's compilation, 117, or 55 percent, were Anglos who had migrated into the state, again emphasizing pervasive antebellum Anglo intrusion. By buying up and then consolidating small holdings, Anglos had even usurped agricultural

leadership in the very heart of the French region. Gallic farms in the "Sugar Bowl" parishes were highly susceptible to such Anglo takeover. According to Moody's computations for 1853, in the ten leading sugar-producing parishes of French Louisiana 48 percent of the sugar plantations were owned by Anglos. Moreover, a count of Menn's ninety-four French large slaveholders living in the core showed that at least forty-two (46%) of them had Cajun surnames which refuted the longstanding idea that Cajuns were only poor petits habitants. And two traditionally-Cajun parishes, Lafayette (83% French) and St. James (76%), both located in the core, had the highest proportions of French large slaveholders (Fig. VI-21).[41]

Focusing the blame on wealthy planters who could afford private tutors for their children and who therefore opposed property levies for public schools and on the anti-intellectual attitude of an agrarian populous that considered formal schooling as having little practical use, Saurez carefully chronicled the general failure of antebellum public education in both Anglo and Gallic Louisiana.[42] About the distressing state-wide illiteracy in the 1830s, Tregle caustically analyzed:

> Those [Anglos] who occupied the piney woods areas of St. Helena, Washington, and St. Tammany parishes were generally as unlettered as the more backward cajun or Latin creole. . . . In one parish with two hundred educables, only ten were in attendance at public schools. . . .[43]

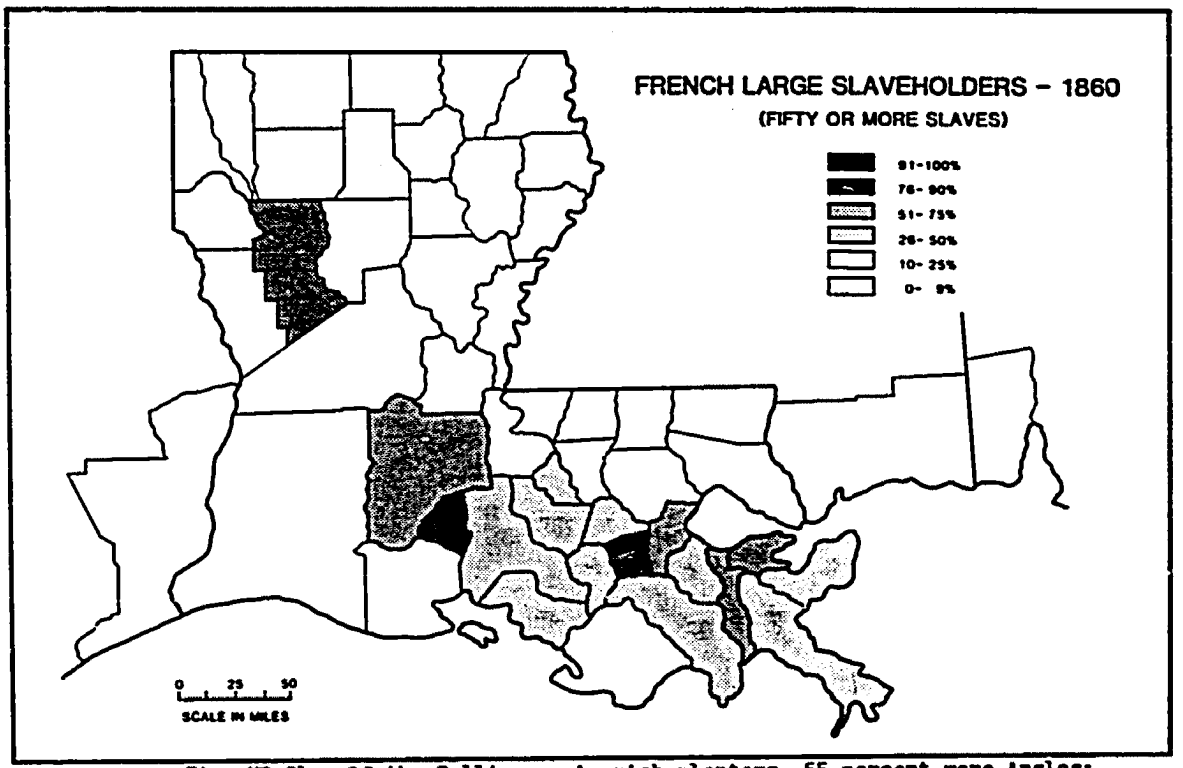


Fig. VI-21. Of the Gallic core's rich planters, 55 percent were Anglos; but of those who were French, almost half were Cajuns.

But by 1850, as exemplified by Ascension Parish, which in that year had 1,200 of its 1,500 educables in schools, at least some French parishes were at the forefront in promoting educational opportunities.[44]

Such Gallic concern for education was also reflected in a flourishing French press which had blossomed from four solely French-language newspapers, three of which were published in New Orleans, in 1820 to thirty-three distributed widely throughout French Louisiana by the Civil War. Further, twenty-six bilingual newspapers, a six-fold increase from the four in 1820, brought the usual vociferous editorials, standard national and state news reports, agricultural information, reprints and letters from other newspapers, a potpourri of advertisements, and literary items from novels to poetry to their hundreds of readers in the French parishes in 1860 (Figs. VI-22, 23).[45]

Ten economic, social, and political variables did nonetheless polarize the French and Anglo zones: economic--personal property of $100 or less; social--Roman Catholic church accommodations (proportions of total parish seating capacities), Anglo ethnicity, Louisiana nativity, Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana), French nativity, male family heads, and families with an adult male and female (married); political--French enumerators and French sheriffs (Table VI-7). Barely falling below the .05 critical value of acceptance, the lone economic surrogate was the weakest of the ten dichotomies (Fig. VI-24). More than one-third of family

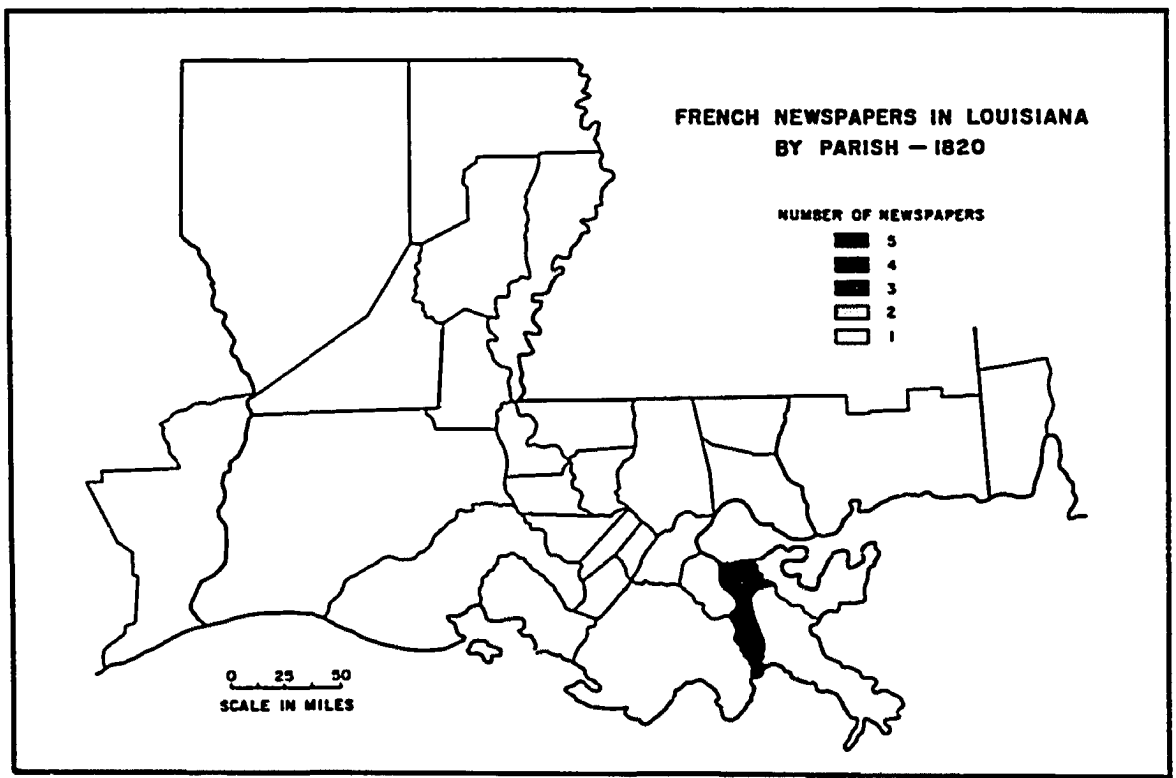


Fig. VI-22. In 1820 only four solely French-language newspapers were published, three of them in New Orleans.

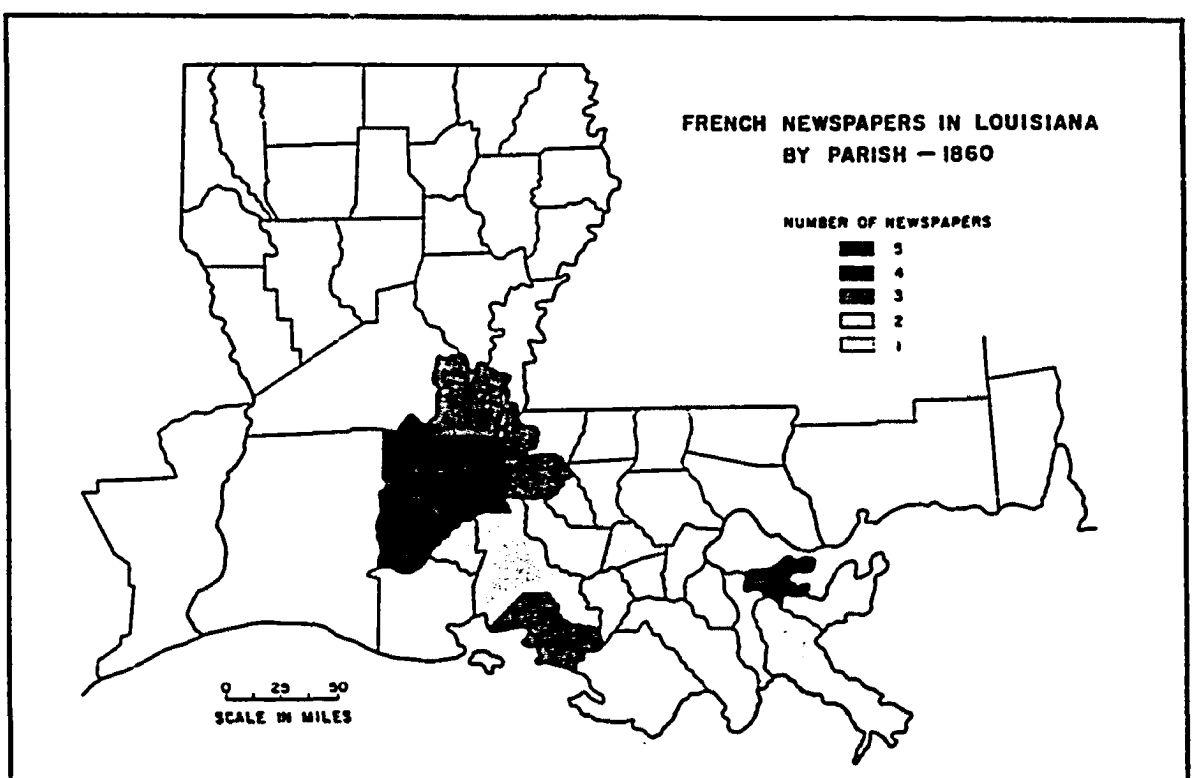


Fig. VI-23. By 1860 a flourishing French press published thrity-three French-language newspapers throughout the ethnic region.

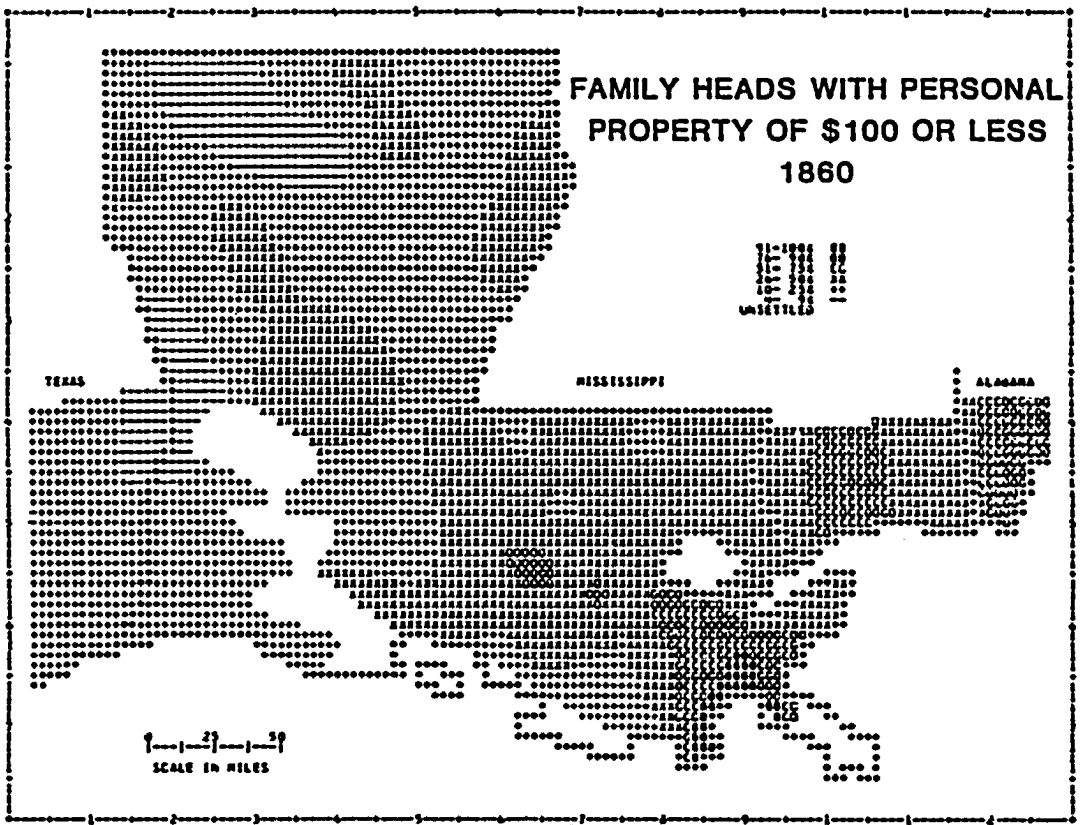


Fig. VI-24. The proportions of family heads who possessed personal property worth $100 or less differed only slightly between the French core and Anglo outland.

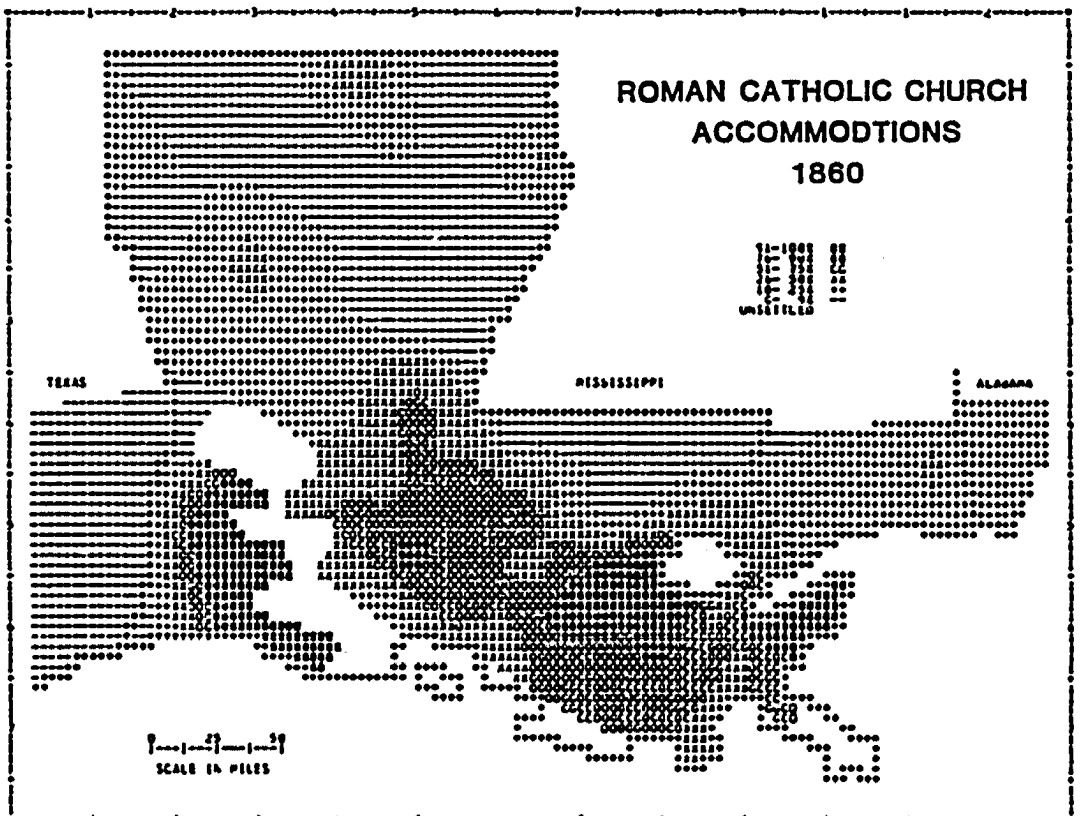


Fig. VI-25. By 1860 less than one-third of the state's church seats were Roman Catholic, almost all of them within the ethnic region.

heads in the Gallic core possessed personal property worth $100 or less, while roughly a quarter of them fell within this category in the Anglo outland. But the statistical difference was unimpressive especially since sampling error could have caused the disparity.

The proportions of Roman Catholic church accommodations, a rather conservative estimator of the Roman Catholic population, painted a stark contrast: 81 percent Roman Catholic in the French core versus a mere 11 percent in the Anglo outland (Fig. VI-25). Yet, almost matching exactly the state's 30 percent French population, only 28 percent of Louisiana's total 206,196 church seats were in Roman Catholic churches in 1860, which again pointed to significant Gallic cultural erosion before the Civil War. As a case in point, the three most vigorous Protestant denominations in antebellum Louisiana--Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopal--more than doubled their combined rural church seating capacity from 49,800 in 1850 to 102,500 in 1860, while during the same time overall Catholic church capacity outside New Orleans rose only 29 percent from 25,100 to 32,300 seats.[46]

Of all ten attributes, Anglo ethnicity, the intrinsic antithesis of the Louisiana French (overall study area linear correlation; r= -.95), was by far the strongest discriminator between core and outland (Fig. VI-26). Two other significant social surrogates--Louisiana nativity and Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana)--likewise mirrored each other (Figs. VI-27, 28). Demonstrating a great degree of spatial

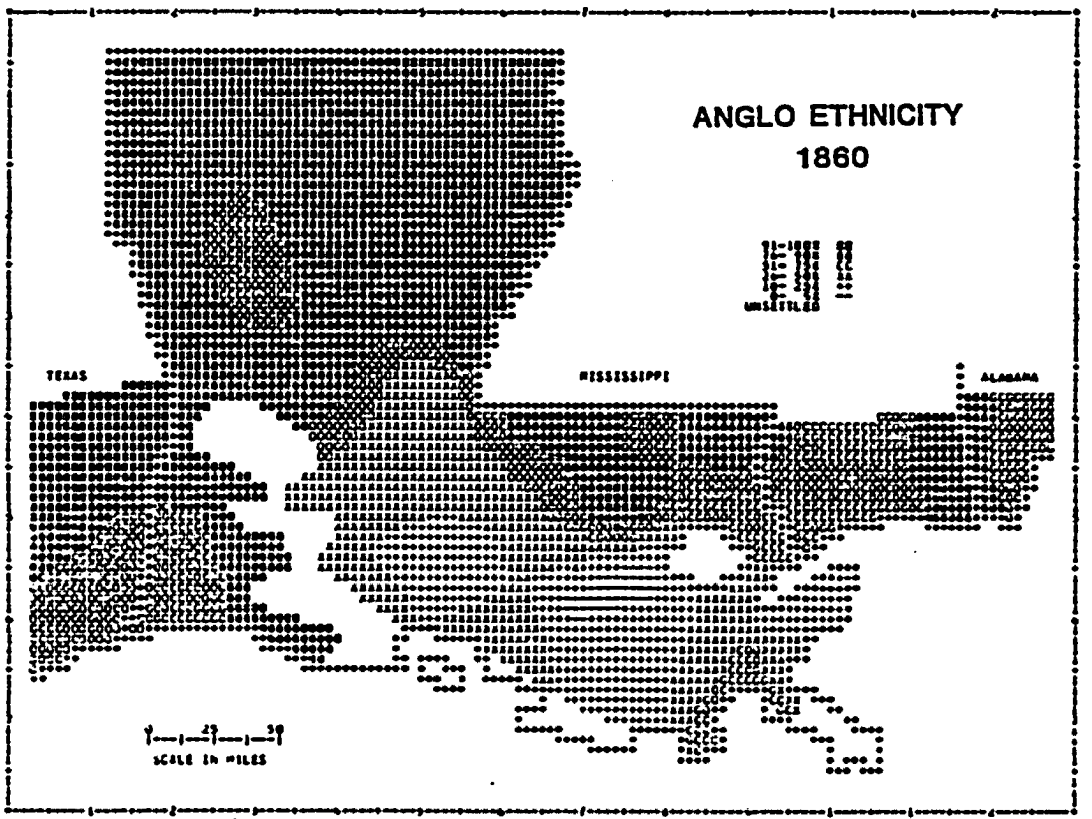


Fig. VI-26. Anglo ethnicity was the antithesis of the Louisiana French.

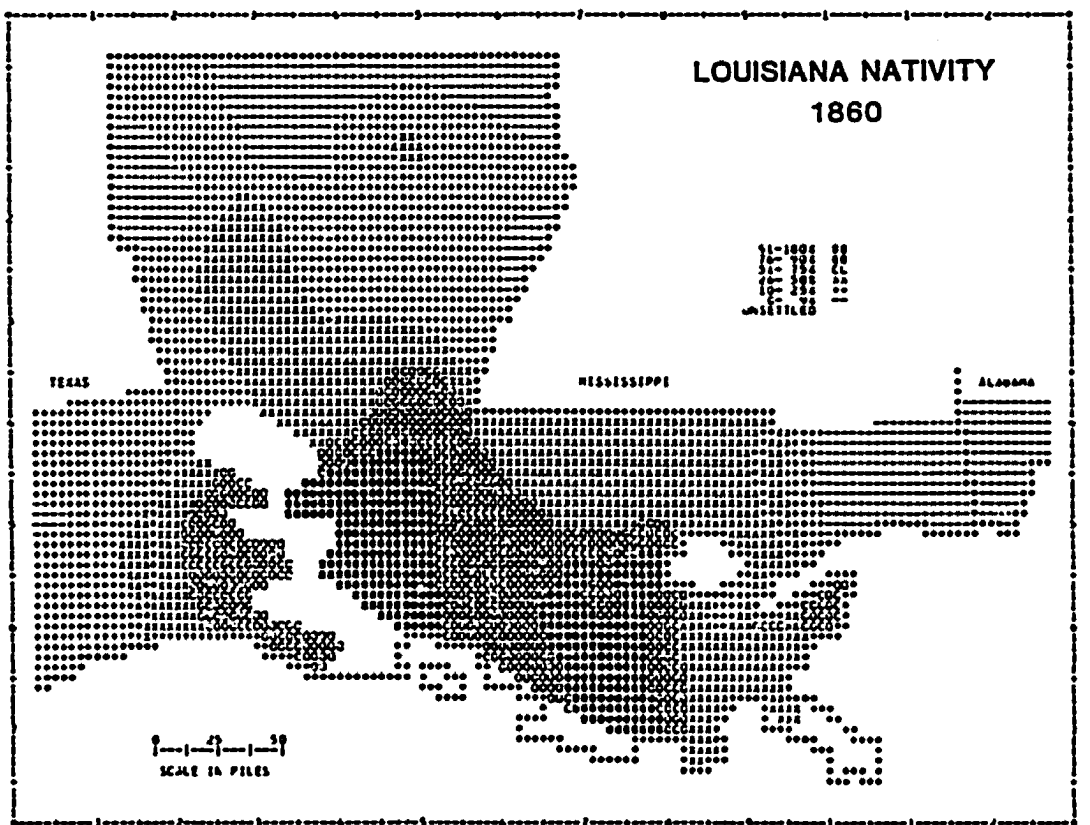


Fig. VI-27. The Louisiana French were spatially endogamous.

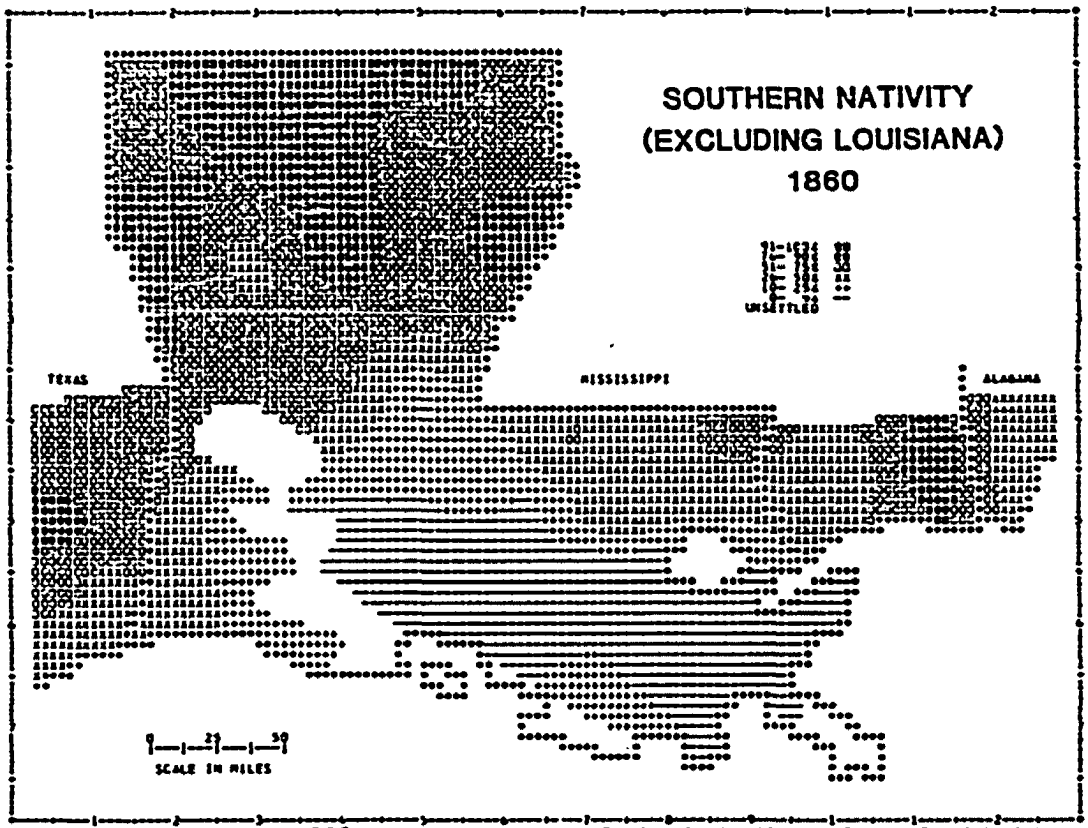


Fig. VI-28. In 1860 a majority of family heads in the Anglo outland had been born in other Southern states, mainly Mississippi and Alabama.

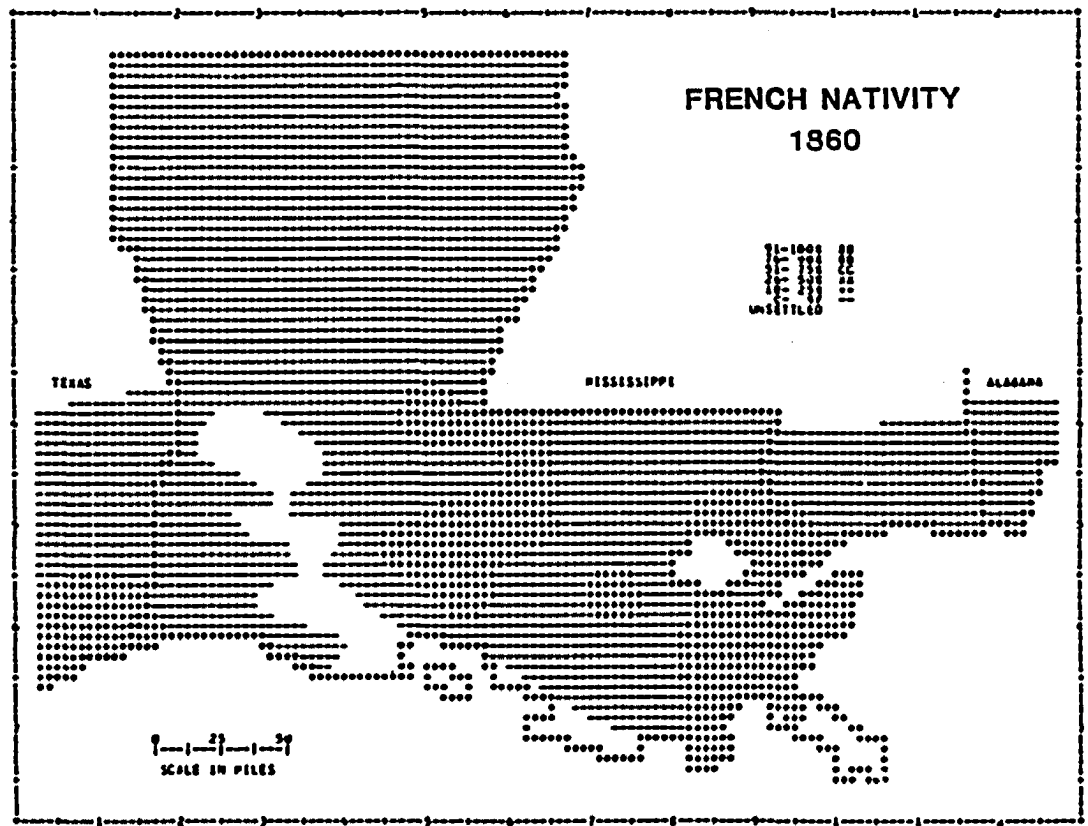


Fig. VI-29. In-migrating Frenchmen developed a distinct taste for Louisiana's Gallic region.

stability, almost three-quarters of the core's residents were Louisiana natives (overall r= .87); whereas more than 60 percent of the outland's inhabitants had been born in other Southern states, mainly Mississippi and Alabama (overall r= .87), and they had joined the continuous stream of homesteaders moving westward.[47]

Next to New York, New Orleans was the largest ante-bellum immigrant entry point into the United States. From 1840 to 1860 more than one-half million immigrants poured into the port of New Orleans. In 1860 half the city's residents had been born abroad; and, like an inverted funnel, thousands of other new arrivals spilled out from New Orleans over the Louisiana countryside.[48] Total European nativity differed little between the core and outland, but in-migrating Frenchmen developed a distinct preference for Louisiana's Gallic core (Fig. VI-29).

It was no surprise that the outland had a larger proportion of male family heads since Southern migration was carried on mostly by family units. Relatively few single males were found in the outland, and even fewer females, especially widows, headed families that had recently migrated (Figs. VI-30, 31). On the other hand, the core's lower proportions of male and married family heads were surely affected by its more stable settlement pattern which included a population with a greater number of widows and widowers as well as many more young single males and females.

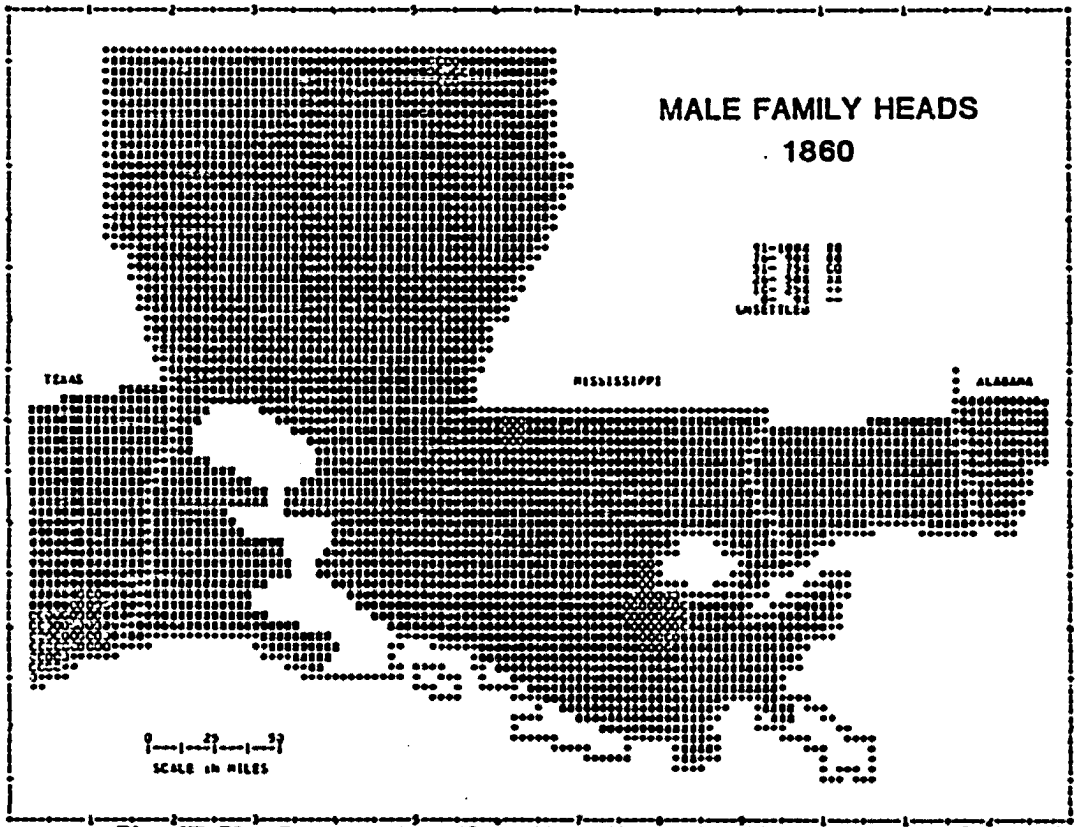


Fig. VI-30. Because of family-unit Southern migration into the outland and because of more widows in the French core, the outland had a higher percent of male family heads than the core.

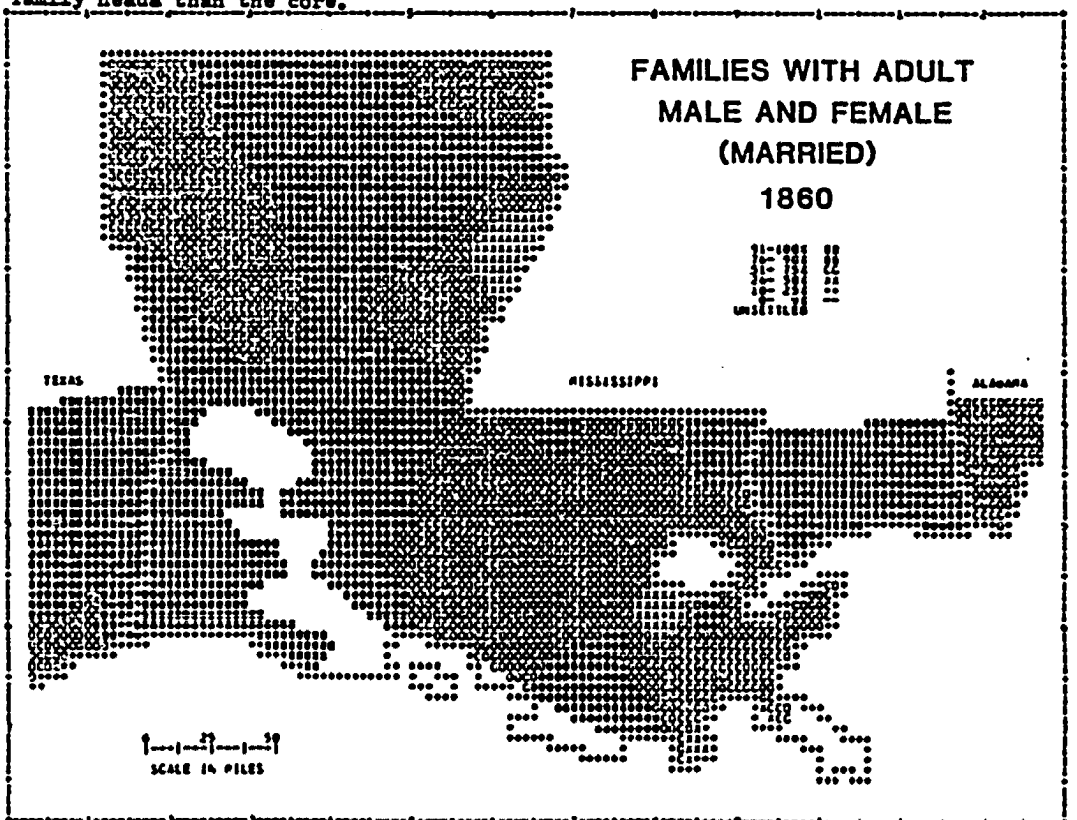


Fig. VI-31. Explanation of the higher percent of married family heads in the outland paralleled that for male family heads.

The 1834 distribution of the Creole Party gubernatorial vote reflected the peak of the "French Ascendancy" (Fig. VI-32).[49] This political preeminence was short-lived, however. Within the French ethnic region in 1820 was 65 percent of Louisiana's parishes, but by 1860 this Gallic umbrella embraced only 44 percent of all parishes. The long-building pressure from in-migrating Anglos for changes in the state's original constitution erupted, ironically, during the administration of Alexandre Mouton, Louisiana's first elected Cajun governor. The Constitutional Convention of 1845, controlled by Anglos, dismantled the guarantees of French political prevalence inherent in the Constitution of 1812. The last gasp of Gallic gubernatorial power for the remainder of the nineteenth century came with the election of Paul Hebert in 1853, the same year still another state constitution was drafted by a convention composed of 113 delegates, of whom 89 bore Anglo names.[50]

Acute French political erosion also penetrated throughout parish and local governments. Only fourteen French-surnamed sheriffs held office in the state during 1860, and five traditionally-Gallic parishes along the lower Mississippi, all located within the 1860 French core and domain, had sheriffs with non-French cognate names: Ascension--J. L. Comstock; Assumption--A. F. Hickman; Iberville--Joseph A. Erwin; Pointe Coupee--James A. Morgan; and West Baton Rouge--N. W. Pope (Fig. VI-33).[51] This reduced Gallic political control within parish government

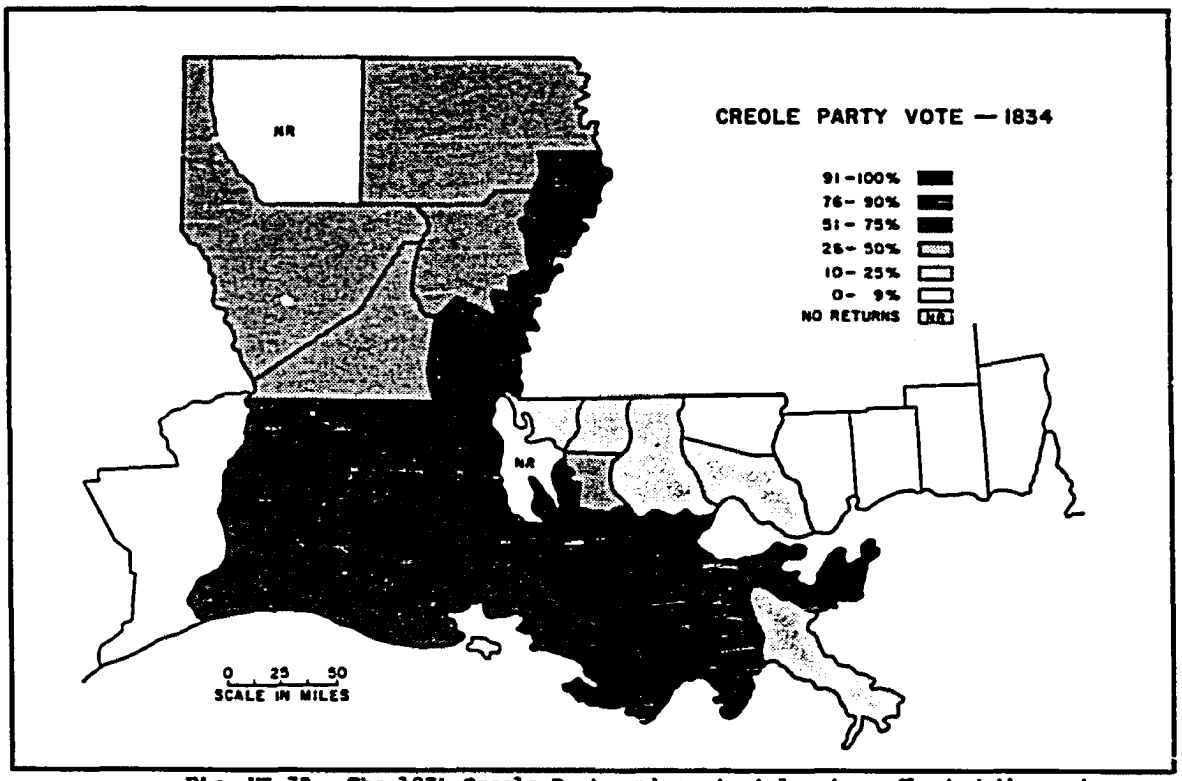


Fig. VI-32. The 1834 Creole Party gubernatorial vote reflected the peak of the "French Ascendancy."

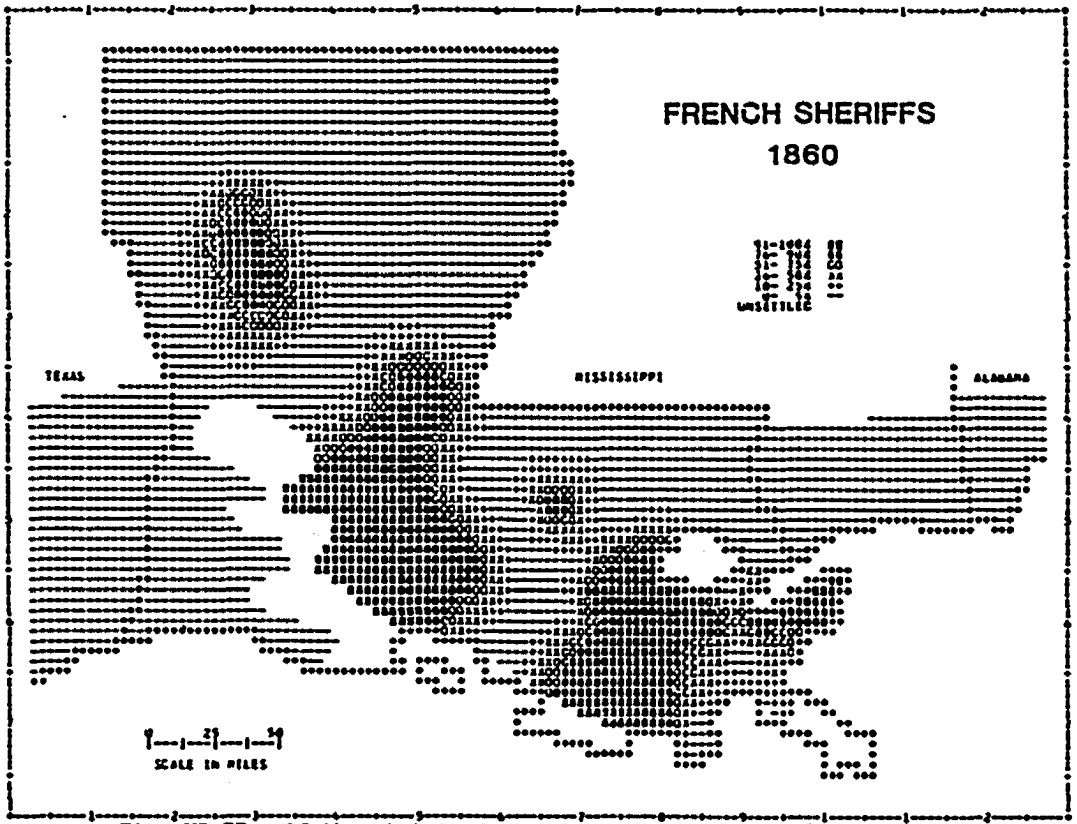


Fig. VI-33. Of the state's forty-eight sheriffs in 1860, only fourteen had French surnames.

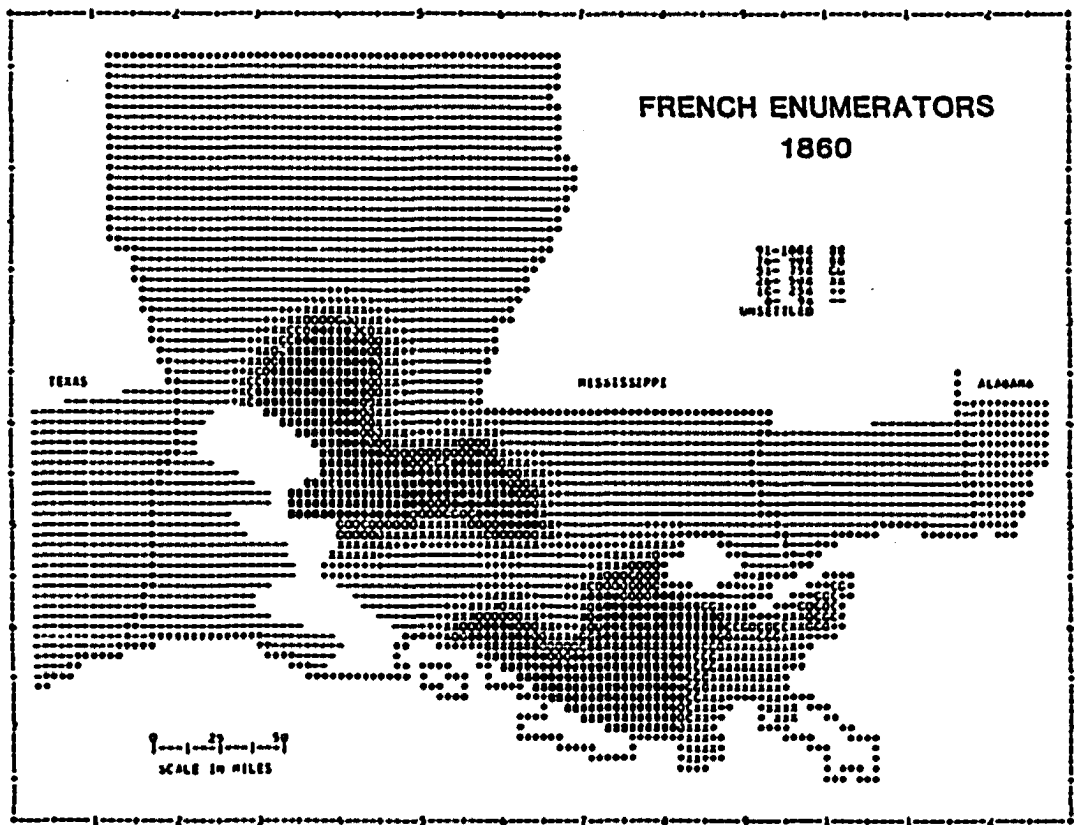


Fig. VI-34. The 1860 distribution of politically-appointed census enumerators with Gallic family names again underscored serious French political erosion.

was certainly associated with the rapid Anglo arrogation of the state's legal profession. All five of the Mississippi River parishes listed above had more non-French lawyers than French in 1853. Two other core parishes, Lafourche and Terrebonne, counted thirteen practicing attorneys total, of whom only one had a Gallic family name.[52]

Additionally, the distribution of 1860 census enumerators well depicted the French political demise (Fig. VI-34). Two core parishes--Lafayette and St. Martin--and three domain parishes--Ascension, Vermilion, and Avoyelles--each appointed, through political patronage, one census taker, and every one of them had Anglo surnames: Stokes, Miner, Bennett, White, and Cochrane, respectively. Underscoring both the political polarization between the core and outland and the pervasive antebellum Anglo intrusion which rapidly expanded the outland, leaving merely vestiges of French heritage in many areas of Louisiana, only one French-surnamed sheriff lived in the outland (East Baton Rouge Parish), and only one enumerator with a Gallic family name was employed in this Anglo stronghold (Rapides Parish).

In-migrating Anglos likewise usurped other French parish political offices. The members of the Avoyelles Parish police jury (county commission), for instance, were all Frenchmen in 1821, but by 1858 only half were Gallic. Anglo police jury presidents presided in the 1860 French core parishes of St. Charles and St. James and in West Baton Rouge Parish, which was located in the domain. In

antebellum Lafayette Parish, 83 percent French in 1860, only half of its district attorneys had Gallic surnames and, of its eleven postmasters, just two were French. Before the Civil War, of Ascension Parish's eight clerks of court, seven were Anglos. And in Plaquemine, the governmental seat and major central place for French Iberville Parish, P. E. Jenkins, publisher of one of the town's two newspapers, was also the mayor and postmaster.[53] Without question, then, not only had Anglos won the antebellum battle for state political hegemony, but they had successfully grabbed political power at every level of government deep within the Gallic core.

Although the French core sharply contrasted the Anglo outland in matters of religion, nativity, and political influence, the Anglo invasion was taking its toll on the outer zone of the Louisiana French ethnic region (Fig. VI-26). While searching for the outcome of the second question--cultural attribute intensity varied with French intensity--analysis of variance determined that, of the forty-seven initial test variables, ten statistically differed among the three internal French zones--core, domain, and sphere. Discriminant analysis corroborated that this ten-variate set could differentiate among the three French zones by producing unbiased classification functions able to predict with a relatively high 68 percent accuracy zone membership of the twenty-one parishes within the ethnic region (Table VI-8).

TABLE VI-8

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR FRENCH ZONE COMPARISON

OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1860

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	DOMAIN MEAN	SPHERE MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY	DIFFERING ZONES
Economic						
Construction Occupations	3.39%	4.28%	10.46%	5.448	.0141	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Transportation Occupations	0.32%	0.44%	6.43%	8.028	.0032	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Commercial Occupations	3.73%	4.29%	12.68%	4.719	.0225	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Social						
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	81.37%	62.24%	42.83%	5.032	.0184	Sphere Differs From Core
Anglo Ethnicity	12.23%	28.55%	47.37%	18.820	.0000	All Zones Differ
Louisiana Nativity	74.17%	72.11%	34.03%	13.597	.0003	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
New England Nativity	0.00%	0.72%	4.35%	8.737	.0022	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
European Nativity	16.21%	16.11%	39.38%	4.040	.0355	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
German Nativity	2.13%	2.29%	12.78%	3.481	.0527	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Families With Five Children Or More	20.42%	19.66%	11.22%	5.014	.0186	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain

Other than Anglo ethnicity, which, as expected, increased out from the core in an inverse relation to Louisiana French ethnicity (Fig. VI-20), a distinct difference developed between the core and domain on one hand and the sphere on the other when examining the remaining nine variables: economic--commercial, construction, and transportation occupations; and social--Roman Catholic church accommodations, Louisiana, New England, European, and German nativities, and families with five children or more.

The driving factor of this internal schism within the Louisiana French region was the paucity of Louisiana nativity in the sphere (Fig. VI-27). In the core and domain almost three-quarters of the people were Louisiana natives, but the sphere possessed little more than one-third, certainly a significant dichotomy. Although Anglos (47%) were paramount in the ethnic manifold of the sphere's five parishes--Jefferson, Natchitoches, Orleans (outside the city), Plaquemines, and St. Mary, continued heavy in-migration of Europeans, especially into Jefferson (66% European-born), Orleans (67%), and Plaquemines (39%) parishes, all near New Orleans, reinforced another dimension of the cultural instability in South Louisiana (Fig. VI-35). The largest group of these European natives consisted of Germans who concentrated in Jefferson (36% German nativity) and Orleans (21%) parishes (Fig. VI-36). Concomitantly, a number of Yankees from New England had taken up recent residence in the sphere; their greatest intensity was in

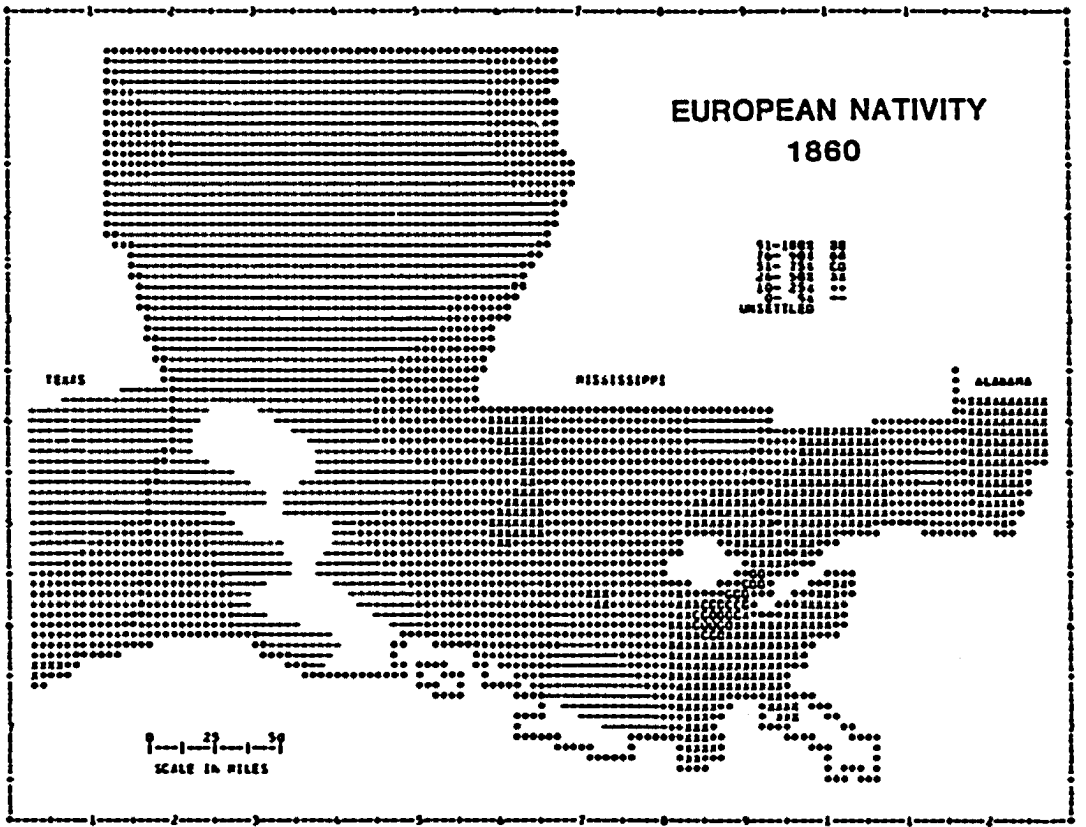


Fig. VI-35. Substantial European in-migration into the ethnic region's sphere added another dimension to its cultural instability.

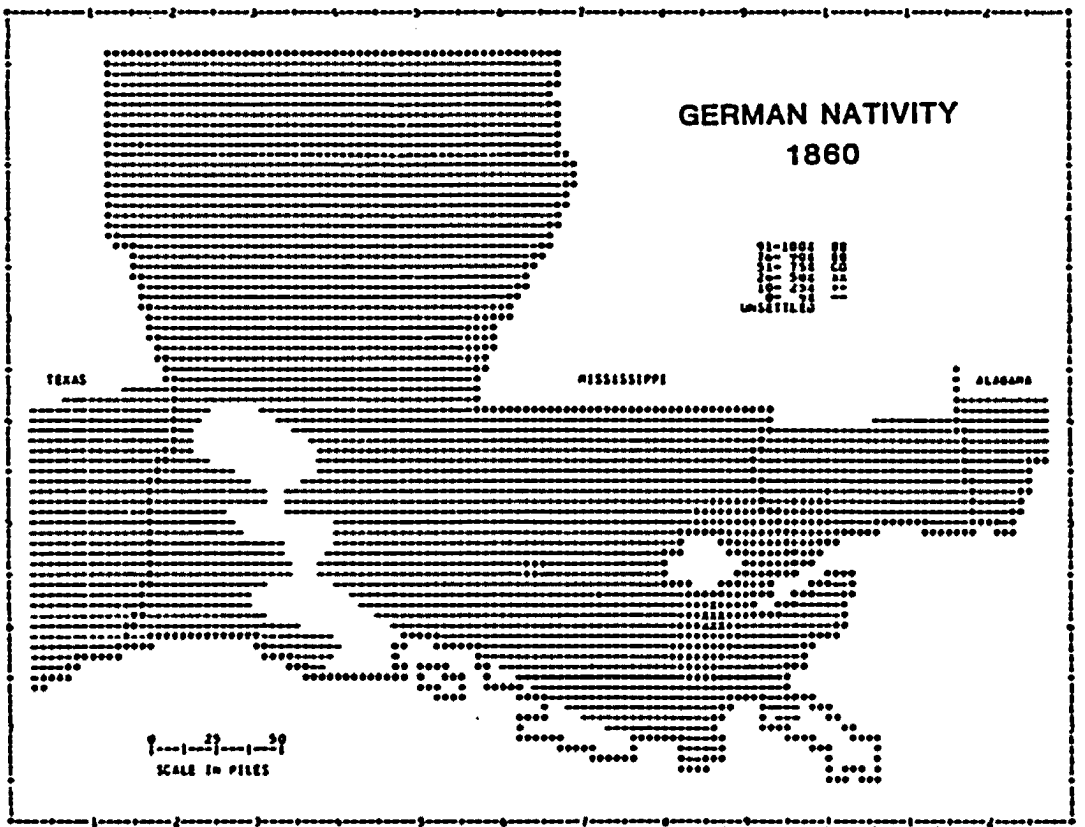


Fig. VI-36. The largest group of European immigrants in the sphere were Germans who settled mostly in Jefferson and Orleans parishes.

Plaquemines Parish downstream from New Orleans (Fig. VI-37).[54]

Many of these European and Anglo newcomers brought with them a variety of nonagricultural skills that contributed to the relatively high proportions of commercial, construction, and transportation occupations in the sphere parishes on the fringe of the city of New Orleans (Fig. VI-38, 39, 40). Conversely, however, with so many new migrants living in a more urban environment, only 11 percent of sphere families were large (five children or more), about half the intensity as those in the core and domain (Fig. VI-41). The proportion of Roman Catholic church accommodations was likewise only half as great in the sphere as in the core (Fig. VI-25). Interestingly, though, large families and Roman Catholicism had little association ($r = -.14$) in an agrarian age. The sphere had indeed become an ethnic polyglot where in-migrating Europeans were caught up in the rising wave of Anglos that had submerged the shore of the Louisiana French ethnic region.

Anglo ethnicity, Roman Catholic church accommodations, Louisiana nativity, and Southern (excluding Louisiana) nativity, were identified as the only nondichotomous traits statistically significant in both polar (core-outland) and zone (core-domain-sphere) comparisons. Cluster analysis combined the parish data of these prime variables with that of the original Louisiana French ethnicity to successfully delimit, as proposed in the third question, a more holistic

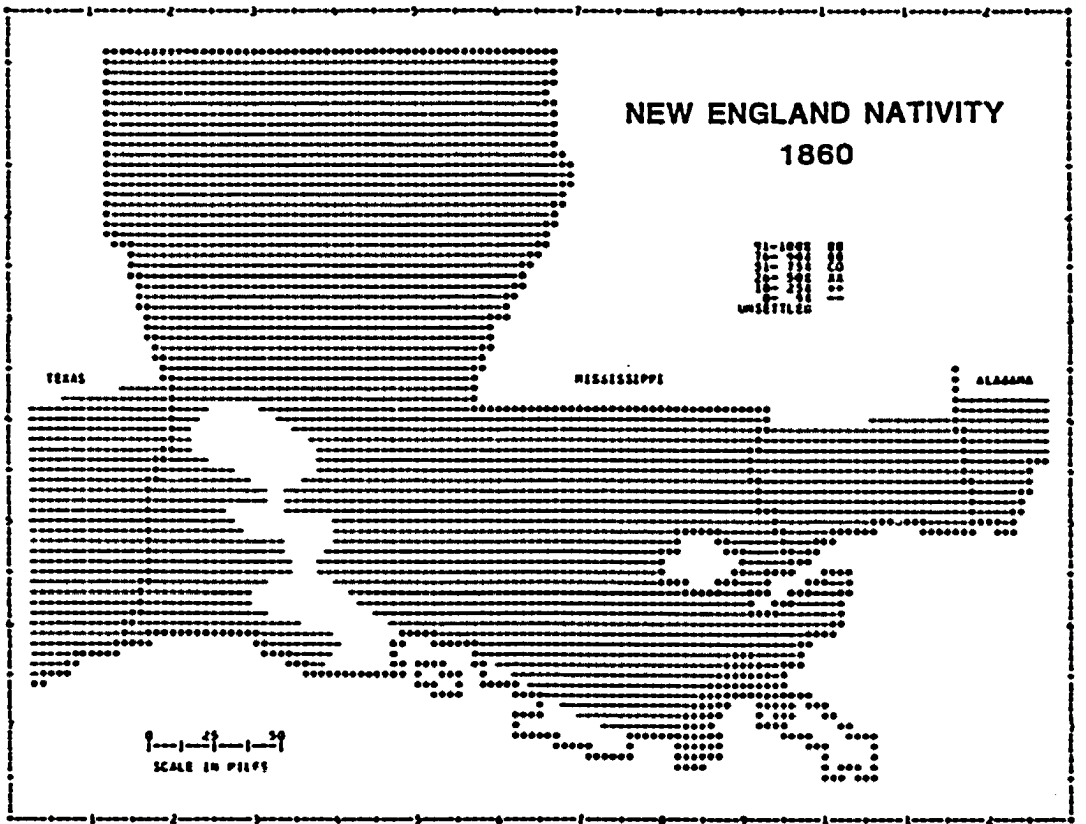


Fig. VI-37. With marked intensity in Plaquemines Parish, New Englanders had purchased land in the sphere.

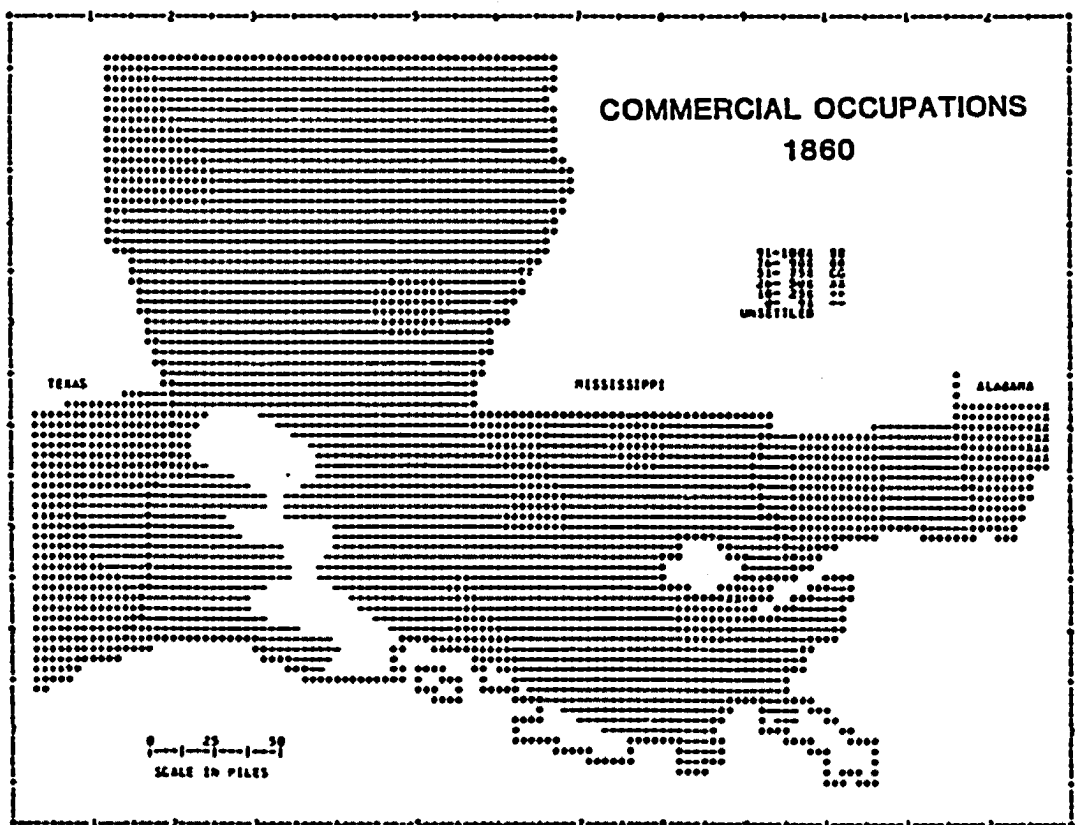


Fig. VI-38. Most of the higher proportions of commercial occupations were associated with urban development, particularly near New Orleans.

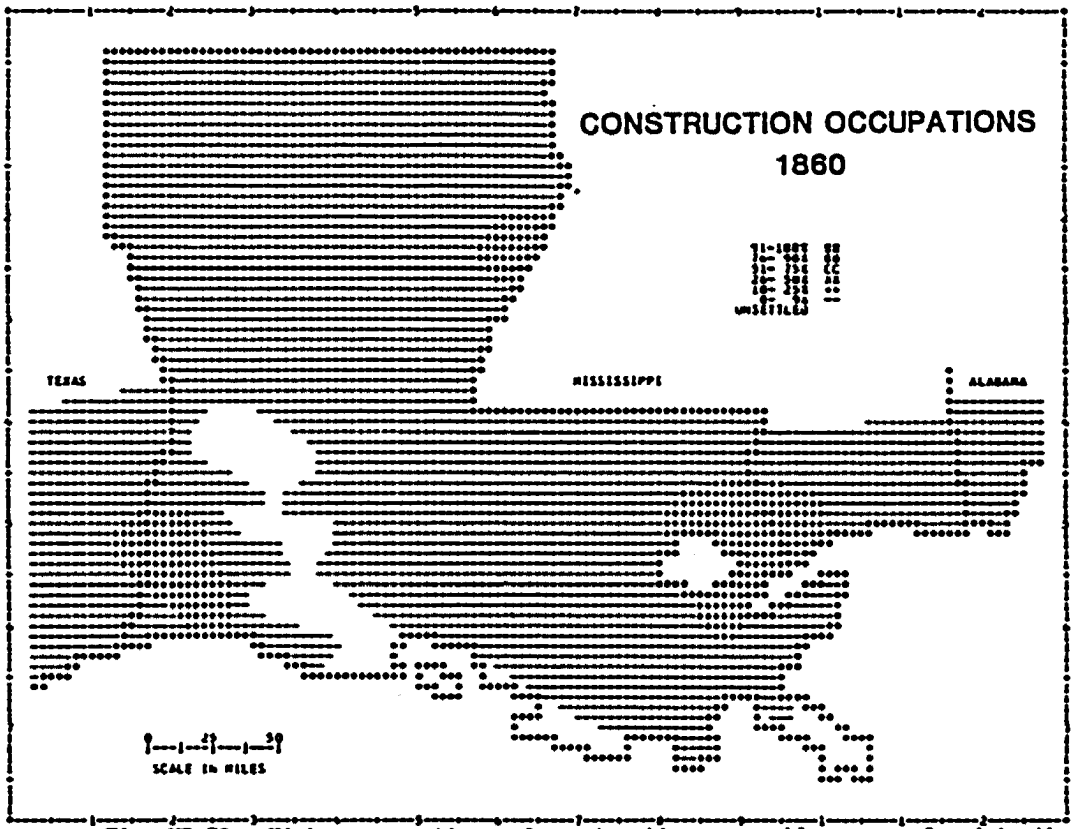


Fig. VI-39. Higher proportions of construction occupations were found in the sphere than in the core and domain.

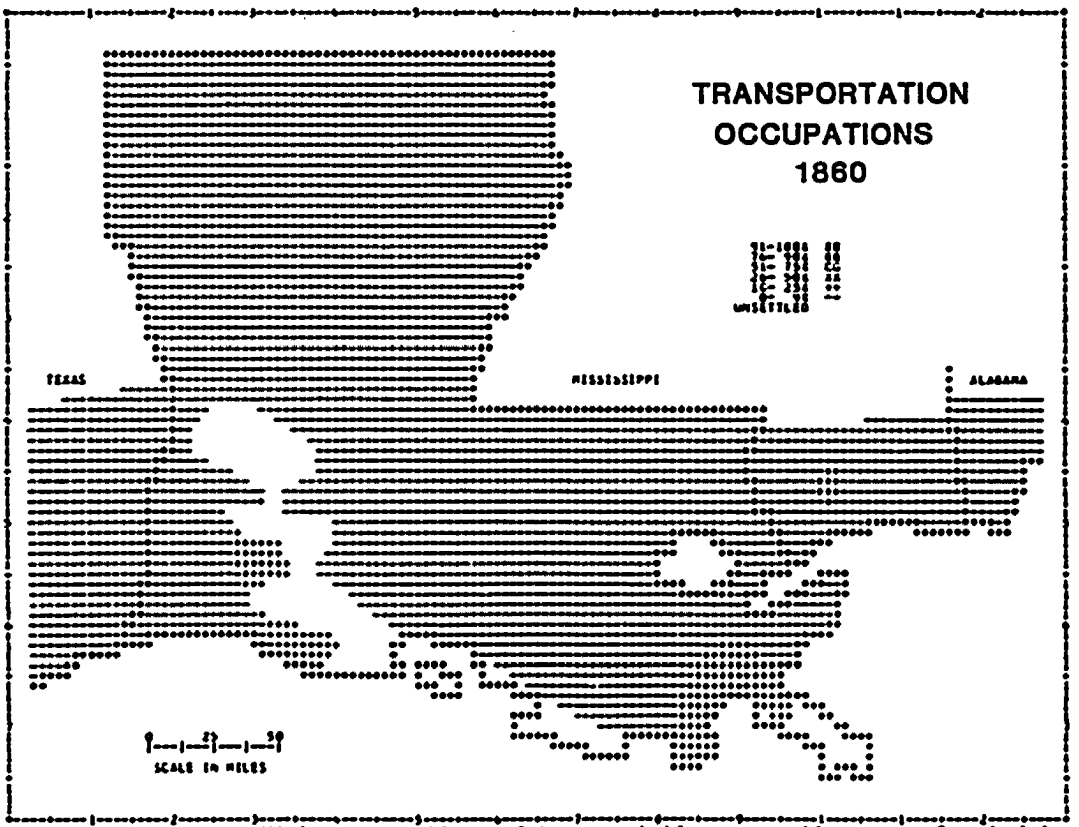


Fig. VI-40. Higher proportions of transportation occupations were located in the sphere, especially in Plaquemines and Orleans parishes, than in the core and domain.

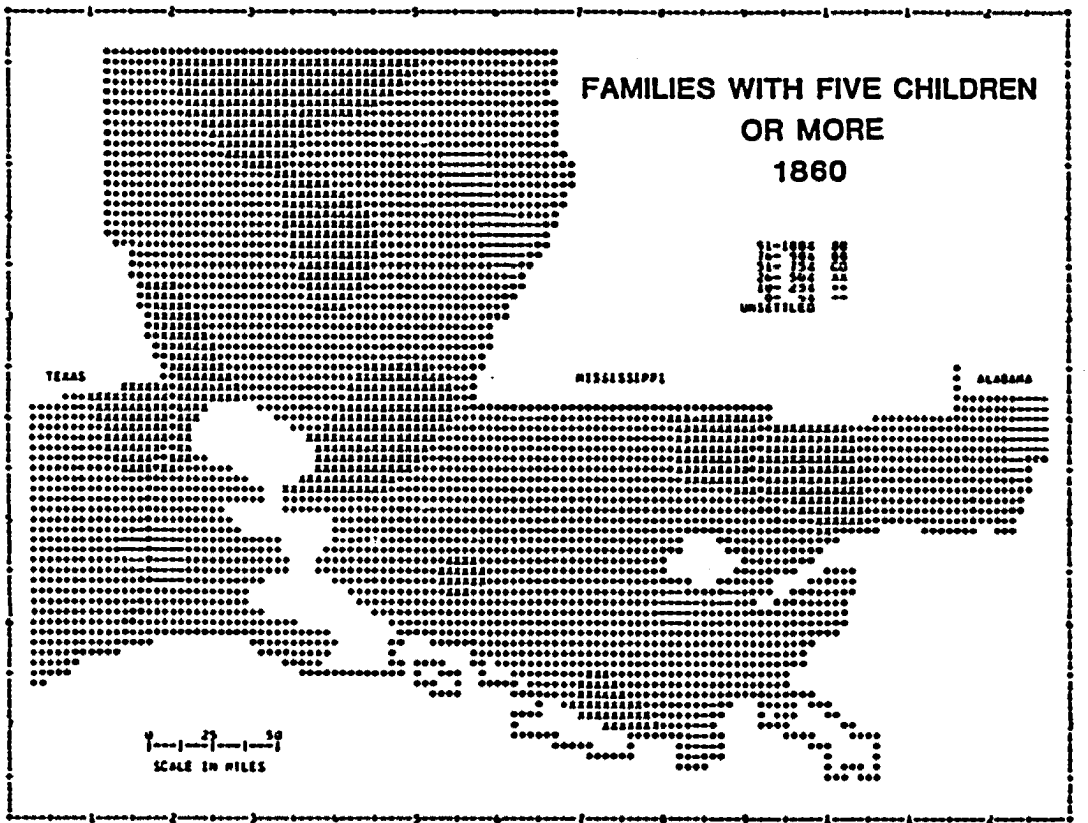


Fig. VI-41. Only 11 percent of sphere families had five children or more, about half that of the core and domain.

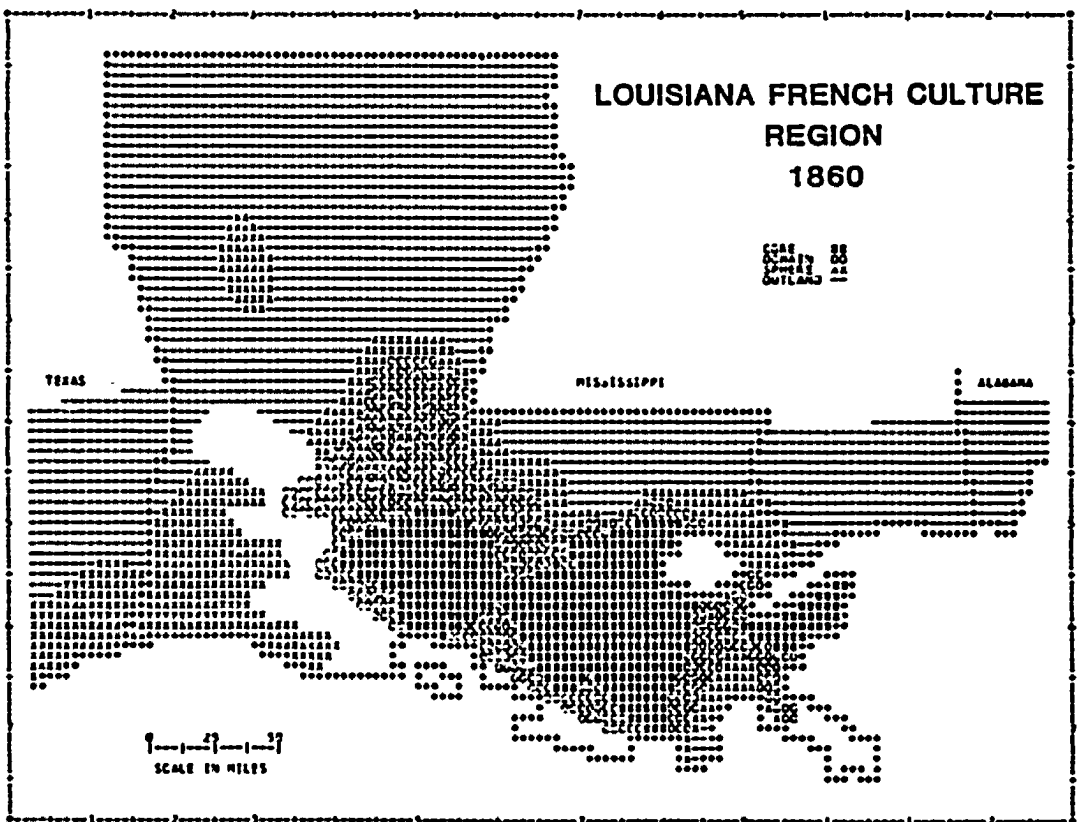


Fig. VI-42. A conspicuous expansion of the Gallic core occurred when five cultural surrogates were combined to delimit a more holistic 1860 Louisiana French culture region.

1860 Louisiana French culture region. Using a collapsed symbolization scheme, the four resultant cluster zones were then mapped by computer.

Inherent to this holistic Louisiana French culture region was a startling restructuring of the internal morphology of the original ethnic region (Figs. VI-42, 20). The bifurcated core of the ethnic region had now become narrowly bridged as the core had conspicuously expanded, sweeping across much of South Louisiana to the northern shores of Lake Pontchartrain and leaping eastward over New Orleans to land squarely in St. Bernard Parish. The domain had also spread outward, engulfing the St. Mary enclave of the ethnic region, grasping much of the shoreline of Lake Pontchartrain, and thrusting broadly downstream from New Orleans. Like the core and domain, the culture region's sphere bulged externally to complete the encirclement of Lake Pontchartrain, to encompass much of adjacent St. Tammany Parish, and, with the Roman Catholic component providing the impetus, to include not only extreme southwest Louisiana across the unsettled prairie lands but also a coastal corner of southeast Texas. The Natchitoches outlier, however, had shrunk slightly. Other than the somewhat questionable incorporation of a part of southeast Texas into the sphere, and realizing that vigorous in-migration of European Roman Catholics into the parishes along the lower Mississippi had occurred, this more holistic view, employing five cultural surrogates, should

have more validly depicted the 1860 Louisiana French region.

Implications

The myth that the Louisiana French, particularly the Cajuns, were geographically isolated was again disproved. Steamboats, railroads, and telegraph lines linked French Louisiana with the nation and brought to this Gallic land new settlers, material innovations, and the latest ideas. The Louisiana French were less provincial than most have previously thought.

The Civil War became the tragic catalyst that heightened cultural contact between Frenchmen and Anglos when Louisiana French troops crisscrossed the Confederacy from Shiloh to Manassas, when battles between Yankee and Rebel raged along the most remote French Louisiana bayous, and when the Northern army occupied the towns and villages of Louisiana for three years before Appomattox as well as a dozen years thereafter, during which time its commanders controlled and directed the political, economic, and, to a large degree, social life of Louisiana.[55]

From 1820 to 1860 the Louisiana French ethnic region expanded areally, but pushing it westward onto the prairies were land-hungry Anglos who, in the "second expulsion," voraciously overran the French natal parishes along the lower Mississippi. By 1860 Meinig's evolutionary stage of national cultural impact was in full swing in French Louisiana.

Indeed, much homogeneity already existed: similar occupational structures focused on agriculture, relative equity in personal and real wealth, living conditions rather alike, and nearly universal illiteracy created by few educational opportunities.

The three most striking Franco-American differences were political influence, religion, and language. The Anglos had unequivocally won the battle for state political supremacy and had aggressively grabbed political power at every governmental level deep within the Gallic core. Ranging over the Louisiana countryside, Protestant missionaries had more than doubled their congregations and began to challenge the Roman Catholic monolith in French Louisiana. The French could only muster their language to shield them from the onslaught of Anglicization. Yet portending the panoramic changes that would occur in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Louisiana Constitution of 1864 stridently required that the ". . . general exercises in the public schools were to be henceforth conducted in the English language,"[56] and four years later the infamous "Carpetbagger Constitution" categorically declared that ". . . no law shall . . . be issued in any other language than the English language."[57] Like it or not, the Louisiana French, both Creoles and Cajuns, were becoming Americans. The Anglo-Saxons would see to it.

NOTES

[1]James K. Hosmer, The Color Guard: A Corporal's Notes of Military Service in the Nineteenth Army Corps (Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 1864), pp. 110-11. After the war Hosmer became a college professor, historian, and librarian. See Barnes F. Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense," Louisiana History 1 (1960):103.

[2]Charles C. Nott, Sketches in Prison Camps: A Continuation on Sketches of the War, 3rd ed. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1865), pp. 26-27. See also Lathrop, pp. 105-06.

[3]Nott, pp. 27-28; Lathrop, p. 106.

[4]Frank M. Flinn, Campaigning with Banks in Louisiana, '63 and '64 and with Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley in '64 and '65 (Lynn, MA: T. P. Nichols, 1887), pp. 29-30. For perhaps the most extensive description of the Lafourche area by a Union soldier, read New York poet, novelist, and lieutenant colonel A. J. H. Duganne's account in Camps and Prisons: Twenty Months in the Department on the Gulf, 3rd ed. (New York: J. P. Robens, 1865).

[5]DeBow's Review 8 (February 1850):147-48.

[6]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 12 November 1861, p. 1.

[7]U. S., Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 66-69; DeBow's Review 3 (March 1847): 257-59; (May 1847):412-19; 4 (October 1847):229-31; 5 (February 1848):135-39; 6 (July 1848):53-57; 8 January 1850): 32-39; Walter Prichard, "A Tourist's Description of Louisiana in 1869," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 21 (1938): 1110-214; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp. 71-72, 76, 87-88, 133, 204, 296-97; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 62-68, 129-30; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land and People

(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 124-25, 136-40, 157-60; J. Carlyle Sitterson, Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950 (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), pp. 45-56; Donald J. Millet, "The Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1964), pp. 216-58, 318-56; Lauren C. Post, Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 38-82; Lillian C. Bourgeois, Cabanocy: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1957), pp. 113-15; Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 23 (1940):548-50; Garnault Agassiz, "The Untold Treasures of Louisiana," National Magazine 35 (1912):631-39.

[8]Millet, pp. 63-84; Victor H. Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1967), pp. 36-169; James W. Taylor, "The Agricultural Settlement Succession in the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), pp. 133-34; Lauren C. Post, "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 143-47, 187-92; Ginn, pp. 559-60; F. D. Richardson, "The Teche Country Fifty Years Ago," Southern Bivouac, New Series, 1 (1885):593.

[9]Davis, pp. 205-06; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 70-71; Kniffen, pp. 145-46; Carl N. Tyson, The Red River in Southwestern History (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), pp. 90-96; Merl E. Reed, New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), pp. 109-10; Merl Reed, "Boom or Bust--Louisiana's Economy During the 1830's," Louisiana History 4 (1963):36-38; W. H. Sparks, The Memories of Fifty Years: Containing Brief Biographical Notices of Distinguished Americans, and Anecdotes of Remarkable Men (Philadelphia: Claxton, Ramsen & Haffelfinger, 1870), pp. 373, 374, 379; Edwin A. Davis, Heritage of Valor, The Picture Story of Louisiana in the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission, 1964), maps; Robert Gahn, "Economic Development of Evangeline Parish From its Early Beginning to 1940," McNeese Review 10 (1958):37-38, 40, 42.

[10]Quoted in Davis, Louisiana, p. 208.

[11]Ibid. A hogshead was a large barrel which held from 63 to 140 gallons, but usually a hogshead of sugar weighed one thousand pounds. See Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 65.

[12]National Waterways Commission, A Traffic History of the Mississippi River System, Document No. 11, by Frank H. Dixon (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 15; Davis, Louisiana, p. 208; Millet, pp. 91-95; Sparks, pp. 373, 374, 379; William J. Sandoz, "A Brief History of St. Landry Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 8 (1925): 227; Robert M. Crisler, "Bayou Teche," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), pp. 107-08; Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 9-10; "Cultural Geography," p. 75; J. Philip Dismukes, The Center: A History of the Development of Lafayette, Louisiana (Lafayette, LA: City of Lafayette, 1972), p. 10; Harry L. Griffin, The Attakapas Country: A History of Lafayette Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1959), p. 87; Raleigh A. Suarez, "Bargains, Bills and Bankruptcies: Business Activity in Rural Antebellum Louisiana," Louisiana History 7 (1966):195; Gahn, p. 40.

[13]Millet, pp. 93-94.

[14]Post, Cajun Sketches, p. 43; Lauren C. Post, "The Old Cattle Industry of Southwest Louisiana," McNeese Review 9 (1957):51.

[15]Millet, p. 95; Post, "Cultural Geography," pp. 70-77; Cajun Sketches, pp. 10-11; Jewel L. de Grummond, "A Social History of St. Mary Parish, 1845-1860," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 32 (1949):46, 52-54; Maurine Bergerie, They Tasted Bayou Water: A Brief History of Iberia Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1962), p. 68.

[16]de Grummond, p. 53.

[17]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[18]Quoted in Ibid. p. 51. During the summer months the ice business became as torrid as the temperatures. One anxious Louisianian while awaiting the next ice ship compared ten summer days in South Louisiana without ice to "Ten Days in Purgatory." Suarez, p. 205.

[19]Suarez, pp. 205-06.

[20]Richardson, p. 595. For descriptions of other bustling antebellum Louisiana French towns, turn to Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 1123-27; "Some Interesting Glimpses of Louisiana a Century Ago," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24 (1941):40-41; Duganne, p. 53; Suarez, pp. 189-206; "Rural Life in Louisiana, 1850-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1954), pp. 326-97; Davis, Louisiana, pp. 202-03.

[21]Southern Pacific Company, A Century of Progress in Louisiana, 1852-1952; Souvenir Reprint (Houston: the Company, 1952), pp. 37-39; James P. Baughman, Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), pp. 101-03; Morgan City Historical Society, A History of Morgan City, Louisiana (Morgan City, LA: King-Hannaford, 1960), pp. 16-17; Report of the President and Directors of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company to the Stockholders (New Orleans, the Company, 1866), pp. 39-40.

[22]Davis, Louisiana, p. 207; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 69; de Grummond, p. 46; Griffin, pp. 86-87.

[23]Davis, Louisiana, p. 206; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Louisiana Railroads in the Civil War" (M.A. thesis, McNeese State University, 1970), pp. 1-2; Reed, p. 39. Regarding Louisiana's pioneering railroad building, Davis, p. 206, relished with some pride:

> When it is considered that George Stephenson built his Stockton and Darlington Railroad in England in 1825, that Belgium's first road was completed in 1833, that France did not even plan a railway until 1833, that Germany's first was opened in 1835, and that Russia did not have a road until 1850, Louisiana's feats in early railroad building became all the more remarkable.

[24]Report of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete and Opelousas Railroad Company to the Governor of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans: Tom Bynum, 1861), pp. 3-6; Report of the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tete and Opelousas Railroad Company to the Governor of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans: J. O. Nixon, 1866), pp. 5, 7; Annual Report of the Louisiana Central Stem of the Mississippi and Pacific Railroad Company to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, J. O. Nixon, 1867), pp. 3-4; Walter Prichard, ed., "A Forgotten Engineer: G. W. R. Bayley and his 'History of the Railroads of Louisiana'," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 30 (1947):1128; Reed, pp. 54-55, 105-20; G. P. Whittington, "Rapides Parish, Louisiana, A History," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 27 (1934):540; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "A Small Contribution: Louisiana's Short Rural Railroads in the Civil War," Louisiana History 18 (1977):88-100; "Louisiana Railroads," pp. 48-51, 65-68; Southern Pacific Company, pp. 27-39; American Railroad Journal 34 (March 23, 1861):241-42; Report of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, p. 39.

[25]New Orleans Daily Picayune, 18 March 1862, p. 4.

[26]Report of the New Orleans, Great Western and Opelousas Railroad, pp. 39, 42; Southern Pacific Company, pp. 41, 49-50; Baughman, p. 127; Estaville, "Louisiana Railroads," pp. 53-54, 67.

[27]Report of the Joint Committee Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of the Railroads in which the State is a Stockholder to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, Tom Bynum, 1862), pp. 4-6; Conway D. Thornburgh, "The History of the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, 1851-1861" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1950), pp. 98-99; Southern Pacific Company, pp. 41-42; Morgan City Historical Society, p. 17; Lathrop, pp. 107-08; Bourgeois, Cabanocy, pp. 198-99; Sandoz, p. 238; William H. Perrin, ed., Southwest Louisiana, Biographical and Historical (New Orleans: Gulf Publishing, 1891), pp. 58-66, 193, 250; Griffin, p. 143; Estaville, "Louisiana Railroads," pp. 51-68. The Opelousas Railroad carried, for example, the Grivot Guards from Terrebonne Parish and the St. Martinville Volunteers commanded by a captain DeBlanc to New Orleans during the Confederate mobilization. See Report of the Joint Committee, pp. 4-5; Southern Pacific Company, p. 41; and New Orleans Daily Picayune, 6 June 1861, p. 1. From a military point of view the completion of the Opelousas Railroad through French Louisiana was highly critical if troops, military armaments, and food were to be procured from Texas. For examples of Confederate exhortations promoting this Texas rail link, read the Opelousas Courier 11 January, 22 March 1862; New Orleans Daily Picayune, 2 February, 23 March, 30 March 1862; The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1902), ser. 4, vol. 1, pp. 1013-14; and the Annual Report of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company to the Governor of the State of Louisiana, November, 1861 (Baton Rouge: J. M. Taylor, 1861), pp. 6-10. This railroad document was misentitled and actually reported on the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad. Moreover, the Yankee invasion of South Louisiana forced the movement of Louisiana's state capital, state officials, and government operations to Opelousas, well into French Louisiana, from May 1862 to January 1863. See Sandoz, p. 229; Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction (New York: 1879; reprint ed., New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1955), p. 47; Davis, Louisiana, p. 261; and Louisiana Legislative Council, The History and the Government of Louisiana, Research Study No. 17 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Legislative Council, 1964), p. 9.

[28]Quoted in John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. 237.

[29]Ibid.; Flinn, p. 71. On the almost constant fighting along the Teche during the Civil War, Roland quoted a Yankee soldier:

> The Teche country was a sort of back alley, parallel to the main street wherein the heavy fighting must go on; and one side or the other was always running up and down the Teche with the other in full chase after it.

Charles P. Roland, Louisiana Sugar Plantations During the American Civil War (Leiden, Holland: E. J. Brill, 1957), p. 57. In addition to the regimental histories of Northern units, several studies have examined the Civil War and its consequences in French Louisiana: Edwin C. Bearss, "The Civil War Comes to the Lafourche," Louisiana Studies 5 (1966):97-155; Lathrop, pp. 99-129; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction; William Arceneaux, Acadian General Alfred Mouton and the Civil War, University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series, No. 5, 2nd ed. (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1981); John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963); Jefferson D. Bragg, Louisiana in the Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941); Fred H. Harrington, Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948); and, of course, the Official Records of the Armies, ser. 1, vol. 15, particularly pp. 167-80; vol. 36, pt. 1., especially pp. 186-232.

[30]de Grummond, pp. 46-47, 61-62; Lathrop, p. 118; Estaville, "Louisiana Railroads," p. 62; Bergerie, p. 73; Eleanor B. Carleton, "The Establishment of the Electric Telegraph in Louisiana and Mississippi," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 31 (1948):20-21, 52-53; Suarez, "Rural Life in Louisiana," pp. 132-33.

[31]Malcolm L. Comeaux, Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations, Geoscience and Man, II, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), pp. 14-15; "Louisiana's Acadians: The Environmental Impact," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 151. For firsthand corroboration of some of the 1860 French distribution, refer to Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 1112-79. See also Dismukes, pp. 7-8; and Lathrop, pp. 99-100.

[32]John S. Kyser, "The Evolution of Louisiana Parishes in Relation to Population Growth and Movements" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1938), map 6.

[33]William F. Rushton, The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), pp. 81-83; Roger W. Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), pp. 18-19; Comeaux, p. 146; T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 293 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937), pp. 10-11; John J. Guilbeau, "The French Spoken in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1950), p. 19; Kyser, maps 1, 6.

[34]Shugg, pp. 18-19; Frederick L. Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas or, A Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier with a Statistical Appendix, Burt Franklin: Research & Source Works Series 348 (Reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), p. 404; Sparks, pp. 386-89; Lathrop, pp. 99-100; Raleigh A. Suarez, "Louisiana's Struggling Majority: The Ante-Bellum Farmer," McNeese Review 14 (1963): 25-26, 29; William Darby, The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1818), pp. 76-77; Richardson, p. 593; Lewis W. Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment between the French and the Anglo-American Population of Louisiana, 1803-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929), p. 202; "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana--A Study in Cultural Conflicts," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 14 (June 1933):33, 47-48; D. L. A. Hackett, "The Social Structure of Jacksonian Louisiana," Louisiana Studies 12 (1973):350; Comeaux, Swamp Life, pp. 14-15; "Louisiana's Acadians," p. 146; Gladys C. Case, The Bayou Chene Story: A History of the Atchafalaya Basin and Its People (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1973), pp. 38-78; Randall A. Detro, "Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana, An Index to the Cultural Landscape" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970), pp. 334-38; Prichard, "Some Interesting Glimpses," p. 42; Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," Journal of Southern History 11 (1945):152-53, 174-75. For maps of the individual ethnics--English, Irish, and Scottish--that comprised the more general Anglo group, see Appendix C, Maps C-1, 2, and 3.

[35]A more accurate estimate of farm size was obtained from U. S., Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 202. See Appendix A, Table A-4 for initial test data by cartographic zones; and for maps of

variables that were not statistically different in the polarized comparison, see Appendix C.

[36]Olmsted, pp. 402-05; Suarez, "Struggling Majority," pp. 16-17. A more complete inventory of furnishings in a "typical household" in French Lafayette Parish between 1825 and 1835 has been compiled by Ione Weiland, "Typical Household: Lafayette Parish, 1825-1835," Attakapas Gazette 9 (1974):5-7.

[37]Olmsted, pp. 47-52; Suarez, "Struggling Majority," p. 17.

[38]Olmsted, p. 49.

[39]Comeaux, Swamp Life, p. 10; Richardson, pp. 593-94. Occupational classifications for 1860 are found in Appendix A, Table A-5.

[40]Drawing from tax assessment data from 1835 to 1839, relative equity in wealth between French and Anglo parishes was likewise shown in Hackett, pp. 336-37.

[41]Joseph K. Menn, The Large Slaveholders of Louisiana--1860 (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1964), pp. 82-91, 120-37, 143-50, 164-66, 237-49, 253-69, 294-335, 340-47, 351-89, 413-19, 423-25. Rushton, pp. 82-83; Comeaux, pp. 14-15; V. Alton Moody, "Slavery on Louisiana Plantations," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 7 (1924):201. For corroboration of Cajun slaveholding, turn to Weiland, p. 4; Vaughan Baker, "Patterns of Acadian Slave Ownership in Lafayette Parish, 1850," Attakapas Gazette 9 (1974): 144-48; "The Acadians in Antebellum Louisiana: A Study of Acculturation," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 118. See also the compilation of percent of slaveholders by parish in 1840 in Hackett, p. 344. Look, furthermore, at the lists of "heavy planters" in several French parishes generated in Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 1114-15, 1117, 1120, 1124-25, 1129, 1132, 1151. Finally, Dismukes, p. 9, has suggested that in the 1820s and 1830s in Cajun Lafayette Parish 50 percent of the whites were slaveholders, while the state-wide level was less than one-third.

[42]Raleigh A. Suarez, "Chronicle of Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana," Louisiana History 12 (1971):109-22. See also Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Study in Ego-Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954), pp. 72-75; Olive A. Arceneaux, "A Brief History of Public School Education in Louisiana, 1805-1845" (M.A. thesis, Tulane

University, 1938), pp. 2-77; Marie L. Renaud, "The History of the Public Schools in St. Bernard Parish to 1877" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1946), pp. 14-60; Davis, Louisiana, pp. 214-19; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 81-82; de Grummond, pp. 77-81; Griffin, pp. 93-96; Bergerie, p. 81; Bourgeois, pp. 78-85; Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1931), pp. 84-87; Robert Gahn, A History of Evangeline: Its Land, Its Men and Its Women Who Made It a Beautiful Place to Live (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1972), pp. 68-69.

[43]Tregle, pp. 67-72.

[44]Lionel C. Durel, "Creole Civilization in Donaldsonville, 1850, According to 'Le Vigilant'," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 31 (1948):985. And in 1854 Lafayette Parish had twelve public and three private schools, all of which were opened for an eleven-month term. See Dismukes, p. 11. Some of French Louisiana's Roman Catholic schools were of notable quality, for example, the Academy of the Sacred Heart for girls and St. Charles College for boys at Grand Coteau. Refer to Griffin, p. 93; Sandoz, p. 223; Davis, Louisiana, p. 218; Rushton, p. 323; and Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana, comps., Louisiana: A Guide to the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), pp. 120, 122.

[45]Edward L. Tinker, "Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, 42 (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1933), pp. 251-62; Durel, pp. 981-86, 990-94; Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 1112-69; Tregle, pp. 122-24; Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana," pp. 208-14; Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana," pp. 43-46; Davis, Louisiana, pp. 221-22; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 82; Raleigh A. Suarez, "Rural Life in Louisiana, 1850-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1954), pp. 459-67; de Grummond, pp. 89-94; Guilbeau, p. 35; Sandoz, pp. 237-38; Griffin, pp. 116-17; Bourgeois, pp. 119-22; Dismukes, pp. 11-12; Marchand, pp. 89-90.

[46]U. S., Department of the Interior, Statistics of the United States (Including Mortality, Property, etc.) in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns and being the Final Exhibit of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 401-03; U. S., The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850; Embracing a Statistical View of each of the States and Territories, Arranged by Counties, Towns, Etc. . . . (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), pp. 488-91. For more

details about religion in antebellum Louisiana, read Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (New Orleans, By the Author, 1939), pp. 359-424; John K. Bettersworth, "Protestant Beginnings in New Orleans," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 21 (1938):823-45; Suarez, "Rural Life," pp. 423-33; Tregle, pp. 77-83; Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana," pp. 172-73; "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana," pp. 35-41; Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 1112-69; Davis, Louisiana, pp. 219-21; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 79-81; de Grummond, pp. 73-76; Sandoz, p. 232; Dismukes, pp. 8, 11-12; Marchand, pp. 29-31; Gahn, History of Evangeline, pp. 81-88.

[47]Treat, pp. 36-37; Shugg, p. 18; William O. Lynch, "The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists before 1861," Journal of Southern History 9 (1943):299-327; Owsley, pp. 143-76. Nativity classifications for 1860 are given in Appendix A, Table A-7.

[48]Shugg, p. 39; Tommy W. Rogers, "Origins and Cultural Assimilation of the Population of Louisiana," Mississippi Quarterly 25 (1971-72):58; Treat, pp. 36-60.

[49]Data for the Creole Party gubernatorial vote was taken from Perry H. Howard, Political Tendencies in Louisiana, Revised and Expanded Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), pp. 441-42. For a rather extensive analysis of antebellum voting patterns, see D. L. A. Hackett, "Slavery, Ethnicity, and Sugar: An Analysis of Voting Behaviour in Louisiana, 1828-1844," Louisiana Studies 13 (1974):73-118.

[50]Hackett, "Social Structure," pp. 327-28, 348-50; Howard, pp. 18-35; Rogers, pp. 45-67; Newton, "Americanization of French Louisiana," passim; "Creoles and Anglo-Americans," pp. 31-48; Tregle, pp. 89-158; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Political Reinforcement of Ethnic Dominance in Louisiana, 1812-1845," in The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850, Proceedings of Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, III (Pensacola, FL: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1972), pp. 78-85; Shugg, pp. 18-19; Roger W. Shugg, "Suffrage and Representation in Ante-Bellum Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 19 (1936):390-406; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, 3 vols. (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing, 1892; reprint ed., Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1975), 1:51.

[51]A. W. Bell, comp., The State Register: Comprising an Historical and Statistical Account of Louisiana, from Its Earliest Settlement as a Territory Down to Its Present Period as a State; Together with an Accurate List of All

State and Parish Officers (Baton Rouge: T. B. R. Hatch, 1855), pp. 101-111.

[52]John Livingston, comp., Livingston's Law Register, For 1853; Containing the Post-Office Address of Every Lawyer in the United States (New York: Office of the Law Magazine, 1853), pp. 108-12.

[53]Corinne L. Saucier, History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1843), p. 355; Marchand, p. 177; Griffin, pp. 115, 245; Prichard, "Tourist's Description," pp. 114, 1121, 1127, 1131. And according to Weiland, p. 8, as early as 1825 non-French merchants and craftsmen were eagerly setting up shop in Lafayette Parish. See specifically Dismukes, pp. 7-8, who lists for about 1840 in Vermilionville (Lafayette) F. S. Mudd as one of the area's prominent physicians, William Bailey as a partner in the community's only newspaper, and John Campbell as the most sought-after surveyor in the parish.

[54]See DeBow's Review 3 (March 1847):257-58 for names of Anglo planters in Plaquemines Parish. Regarding Louisiana nativity, Hackett, "Social Structure," pp. 328, 333-34, compiled similar data for 1850.

[55]Davis, Louisiana, pp. 266-79; Taylor, Louisiana, pp. 103-06.

[56]Quoted in Larbi Oukada, "The Territory and Population of French-Speaking Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978):20.

[57]Quoted in Ibid., p. 9.

CHAPTER VII

NINETEENTH-CENTURY CULMINATION--1900

The sweeping transformations of Louisiana's societal fabric brought about by the Civil War and Reconstruction were irreversible. But the end of these turbulent times did not halt the socioeconomic revolutions that continued to race across Louisiana.[1] At the forefront of these changes was the railroad. The extensive expansion of dependable, rapid overland transportation conspicuously altered the lifestyles of all Louisianians before the close of the century.[2]

Despite state legislation, parish tax monies, "Good Road" movements, citizen road maintenance duty, convict labor, and a constant barrage of vehement editorial complaints,[3] the terrible condition of Louisiana's late-nineteenth-century dirt roads was scornfully reiterated in an 1883 edition of the Abbeville Meridional:

> We have often heard it said and often so proclaimed ourselves that the condition of the public roads in a community marked its degree of progress and civilization. If we of the parish of Vermilion are to be reckoned by the road from Abbeville to New Iberia, . . . we would be rated mighty low in the way of advancement and enlightment.[4]

Water transportation remained the predominant mode throughout Louisiana in the two decades after the Civil War. The ubiquitous steamboat again skimmed into the most remote locations within South Louisiana's water web, towing huge rafts of cypress logs out of the Atchafalaya Basin and bringing to its residents commerce--store boats filled with groceries, dry goods, hardware, notions, and other merchandise; fish, fruit, and ice boats; saloon and restaurant boats--services--doctors, dentists, and photographers--and entertainment--showboats with musicians, dancers, magicians, gambling, zoos, and later even silent movies. Inland port towns like Washington and Port Barre in the heart of French Louisiana again became thriving entrepots. Again schooners sailed up the Lafourche, Teche, Vermilion, Mermentau, and Calcasieu to engage in lucrative extra-regional commerce based upon South Louisiana's agricultural and timber production. And Morgan's fleet of iron steamships carried passengers, freight, and mail to several destinations along the Texas coast. Although state and federal funding improved Louisiana's waterways during the last years of the century, the postbellum construction of a state-wide rail system not only postponed serious implementation of innovations in highway construction for another half a century but also caused the demise of the steamboat era and the small communities symbiotically tied with it.[5]

The density of the Louisiana rail net increased exponentially from less than 400 miles in 1860 to more than

2,000 in 1900 (Fig. VII-1), and 1883 marked the first through-train service between New Orleans and San Francisco, an advantageous link which traversed the breadth of French Louisiana. Beyond connecting the principal urban centers by century's end, railways had become the raison d'etre for many bustling small towns--Crowley, Jennings, Rayne, and Bunkie, for example. Several of these communities were located on the previously unsettled prairies of southwest Louisiana which had been opened up in 1880 by the Louisiana Western Railroad. Enticed by enthusiastic advertisements from railroaders who had settled down along their lines, hundreds of Midwestern families traveled via rail to southwestern Louisiana to transfer their wheat and corn farming methods and technology to a nascent rice agriculture. Their imprint on the landscape left towns named Oberlin after the town in Ohio; Vinton for Vinton, Iowa; and Iowa in remembrance of the state.[6]

As railroads began to track across the prairies, French Louisianians, taking advantage of new crop lands, also began to migrate westward along the lines. Several French prairie town names--Basile, Duson, Evangeline and Gueydan, for instance--attest to this late-nineteenth-century movement westward that would continue to reshape the Louisiana French ethnic region.[7]

The excitement and change brought by the coming of the railroad to Louisiana's communities, both Gallic and

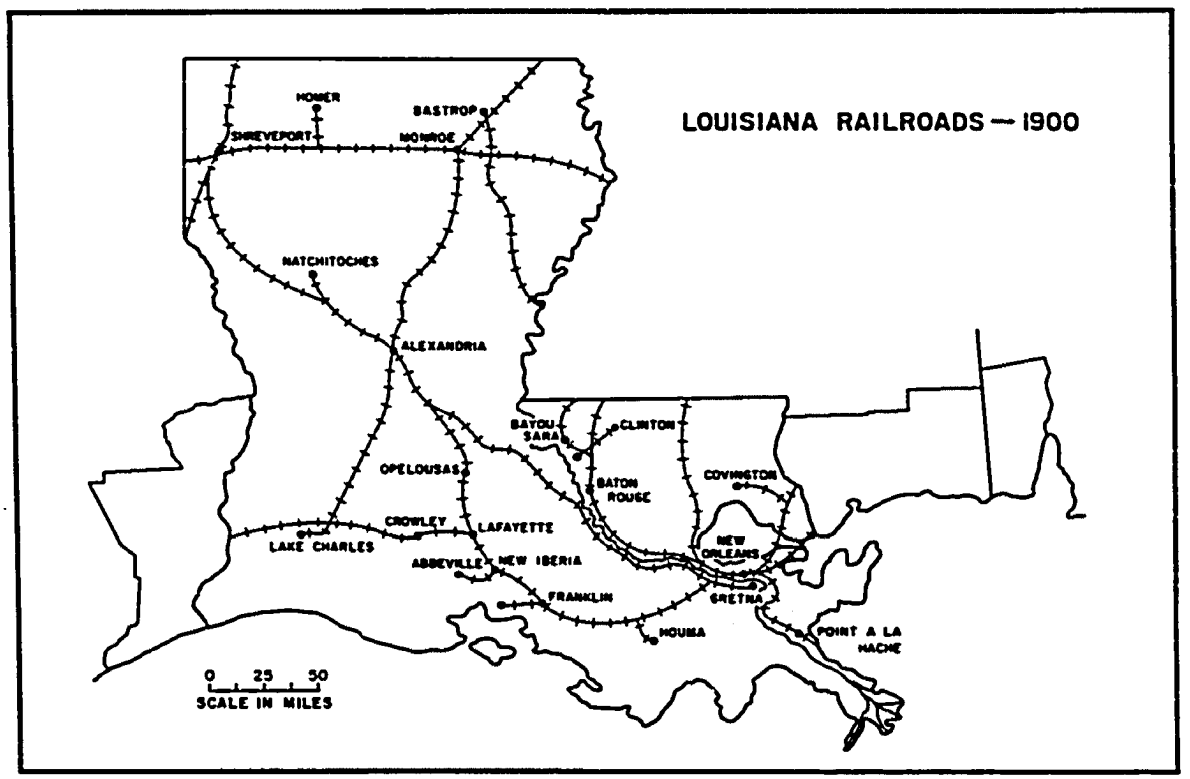


Fig. VII-1. By 1900 railroads had become the predominant mode of overland transportation in Louisiana. After Davis (1976: 250).

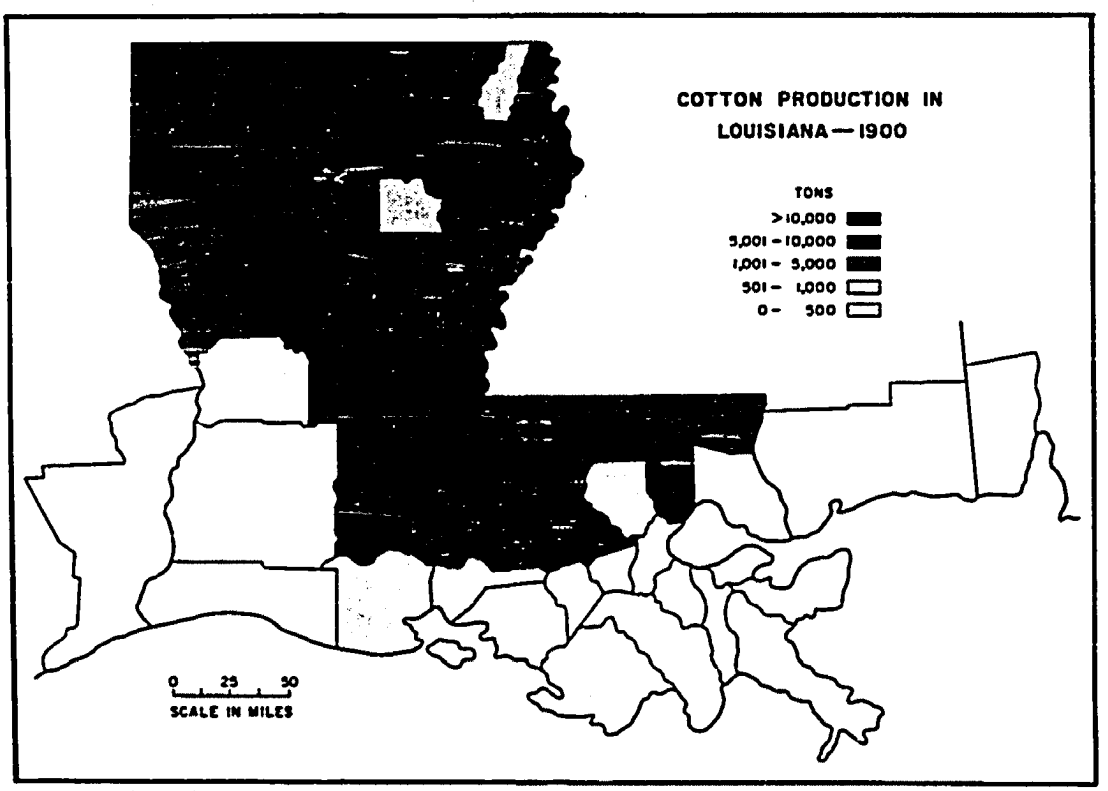


Fig. VII-2. By the turn of the century prime cotton cultivation had shifted southward into three French Louisiana parishes.

Anglo, were ebulliently echoed in an 1882 St. Landry Democrat editorial:

> Things have brightened up wonderfully since the completion of the railroad [from Vermilionville (Lafayette) to Opelousas]. Now that the passenger train is making regular daily trips, the landing place of the road is crowded every evening by the people of the town. No one ever thinks of taking a walk in any other direction from that leading to the railroad tracks. . . . A very great change is taking place with our people. They are rapidly casting aside their old rustic country ways, and are becoming metropolitan-like in appearance and deportment. Old Opelousas is fast fading away. New Opelousas is now "the boom."[8]

Postbellum Agriculture

As it did throughout the South, the Civil War left Louisiana agriculture in shambles. In 1870 Louisiana's farmers produced less than half as much corn, the staff of life for both man and beast, and less than half as much cotton, the antebellum "king" of cash crops, as they had in 1860. And only about one-third as much sugar cane was harvested in 1870 as ten years earlier. The last years of Reconstruction were no better. Although 1870 was the nadir for the production of corn, cotton, and sugar, it took another decade for three other agricultural indicators to bottom out: In 1880 both farms and farm equipment in the state were valued at less than one-third their antebellum assessment, while livestock was worth only half as much. Concomitantly, mean farm size plummeted from 537 acres at the outbreak of the Civil War to 171 in 1880, and the tenacles of farm tenancy had firmly gripped Louisiana agriculture. Perhaps the single bright spot in these two

dismal decades of agricultural pursuits was the continued increase in rice yields, up by almost 50 percent.[9]

By the turn of the century "King Cotton" had been dethroned. State production had increased only 12 percent during forty years, and harvests in every one of the old "Delta" parishes fronting the Mississippi River in northeast Louisiana plunged precipitously (Fig. VII-2). Prime cotton cultivation shifted southward into three French Louisiana parishes--Pointe Coupee, St. Landry, and Avoyelles, which together more than doubled their antebellum harvest. Because of improved farming methods, equipment, and plants and because of sporadic Federal legislation that encouraged growth of the domestic sugar industry, sugar tonnage, in sharp contrast to cotton, meteorically shot up twenty-seven fold from 110,872 in 1860 to 3,113,054 in 1900. Still led by St. Mary Parish, the traditional "Sugar Bowl" parishes held their hegemony (Fig. VII-3).[10]

Louisiana's late-nineteenth-century agricultural surprise, however, was the fortuitous development and rocket-like rise of rice agriculture on the newly-opened prairie land of southwest Louisiana which would quickly usurp production leadership from the parishes along the extreme lower Mississippi (Fig. VII-4). Although Cajuns had long grown "providence rice" in the small natural ponds called marais that dot the eastern prairies, and Fabacher's German settlers in present-day Acadia and Evangeline parishes had initiated rice cultivation on a

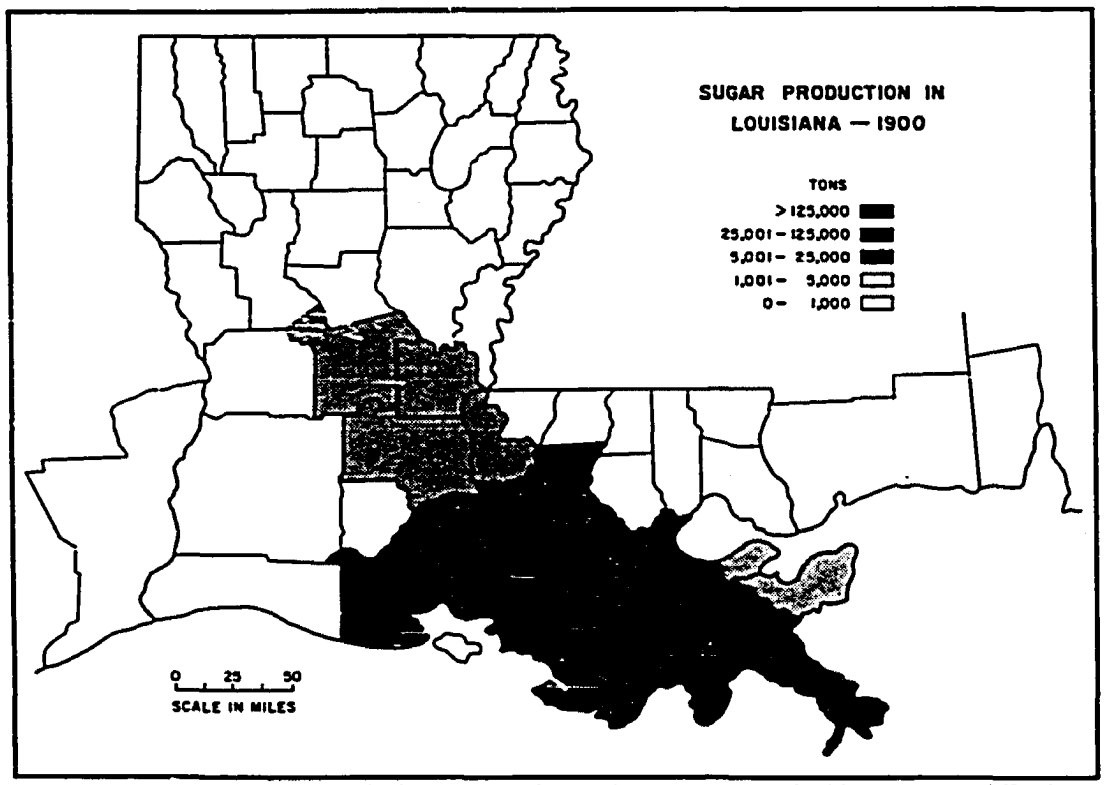


Fig. VII-3. Toward the end of the century sugar production rose rapidly but was still centered in the traditional "Sugar Bowl."

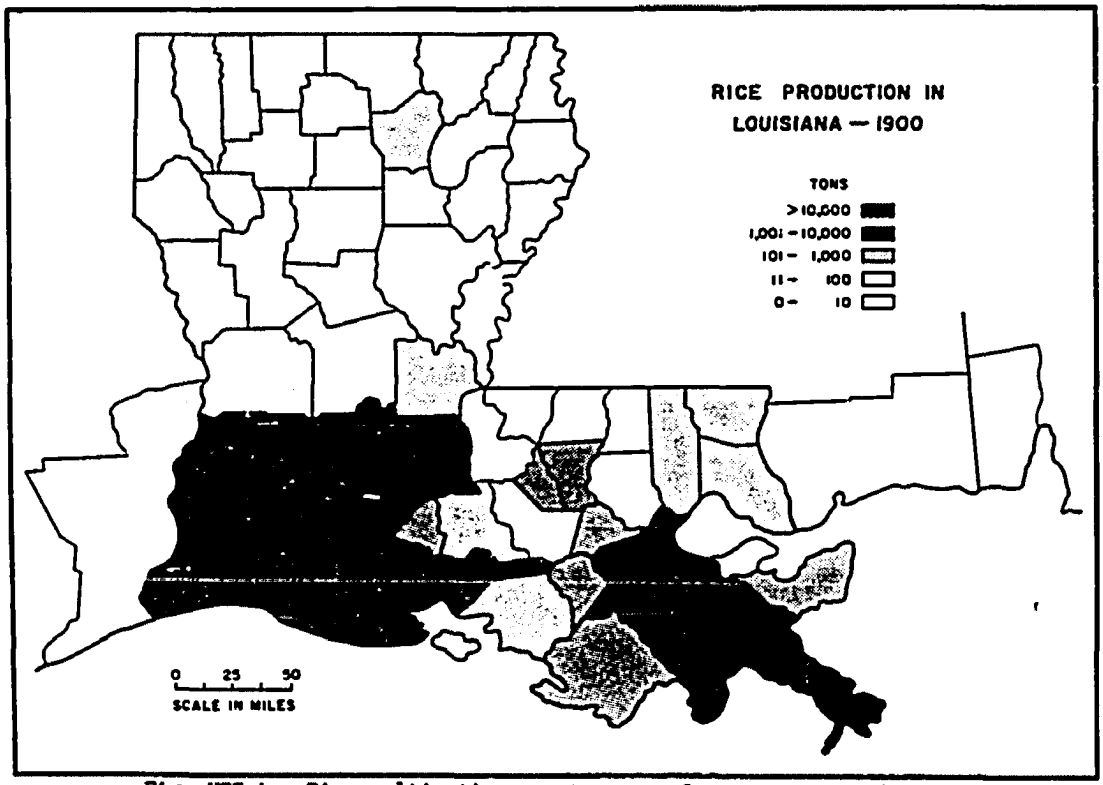


Fig. VII-4. Rice cultivation swept across Louisiana's southwest prairies during the last two decades of the century.

commercial scale during the 1870s, it was the hundreds of Midwesterners, brought via rail to southwest Louisiana, who became the prime movers in transforming the cattle ranges of the western prairies into the nation's greatest area of rice agriculture. Innovation ran rampant: twine binders were introduced in 1884, steam vacuum irrigation pumps in 1885, Osborn harvesters in 1890, Engellery hullers and polishers in 1891, Randolph rice headers and combines in 1892, canal system irrigation in 1893, improved harvesters in 1894, centrifugal pumps and well irrigation in 1895. Meanwhile steam plows, cultivation machinery, and elevators for loading bulk rice into railroad cars were developed. All this activity consummated in the organization of the Rice Association of America in 1901 to promote the production, marketing, and consumption of rice.[11] Perhaps nowhere else in America has there been such an agricultural revolution that in a dozen years transformed sparsely settled cattle ranges into an area of highly mechanized industry that saw its product exported throughout the world. Rice agriculture, its twenty-six fold postbellum increase,[12] its modern mechanical methods, and its Midwestern progenitors, radically changed southwest Louisiana, and with it the Louisiana French.

Louisiana French Ethnic Region in 1900

The culminating geographical pattern of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French ethnic region (> 25%

French plus weighted German and Spanish ethnicities) had grown to 17,102 square miles, about 3,100 more than in 1860, and raggedly contoured the enormous isosceles triangle of present-day French Louisiana first described by Smith in 1937 (Figs. VII-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and Table VII-1).[13] Bounding an area one third the size of Louisiana, the triangle's eastern leg stretched in straight-line terms from the Red River in Avoyelles Parish 225 miles to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the western side ran roughly from the Avoyelles apex 150 miles just about to the mouth of the Sabine River at the Texas border. Almost all the French territorial gains followed the railroads and rice agriculture onto the western prairies, but the time-honored Natchitoches outlier had faded from the ethnic region (Figs. VII-12, 13). Although the proportion of French parishes slid to little more than one-third of the state's fifty-nine, during the final four decades of the century the Louisiana French population developed a significant stablizing trend: Matching the growth rate of the state as a whole, the Gallic population doubled to 319,000[14] and maintained its 30 percent share of the state total, the same as in 1860 (Tables VII-2, 4).

The region's bifurcated core (76-100% French), the most densely populated area in Louisiana, continued to be torn by opposing cultural forces--a decaying Lafourche and a growing Teche. Caused by heavy late-nineteenth-century in-migration of Anglos and Europeans, mostly Italians,

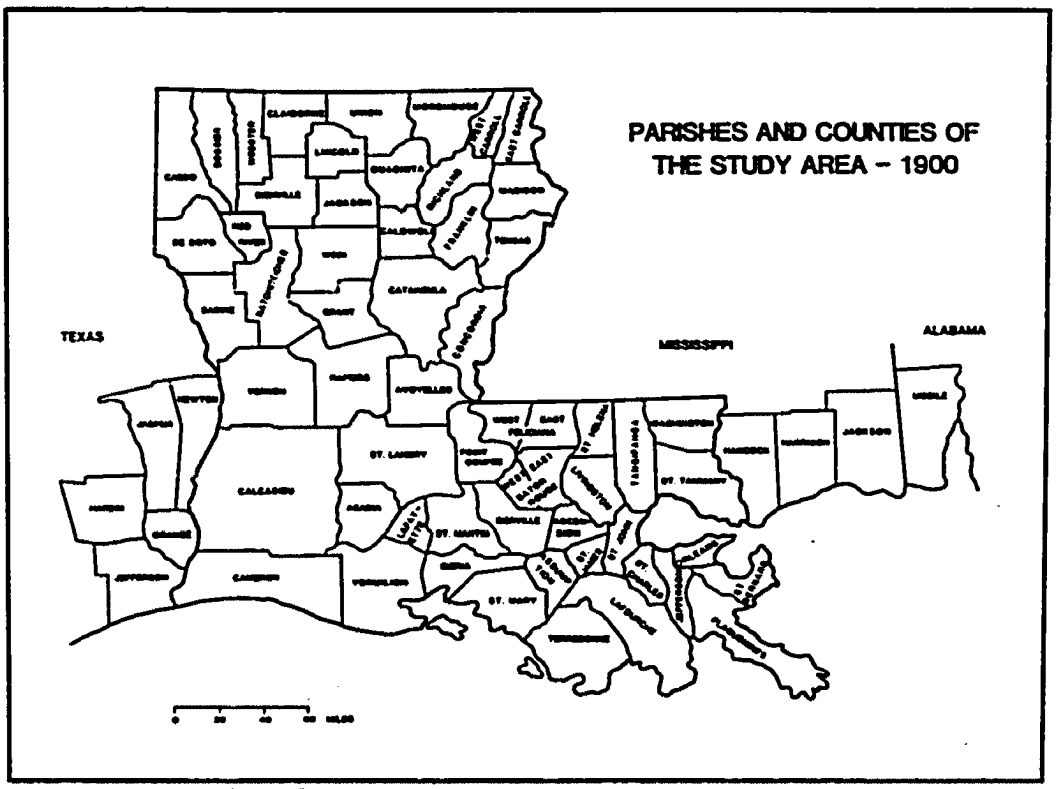


Fig. VII-5. Only twenty-two of Louisiana's fifty-nine parishes were in the 1900 Louisiana French ethnic region.

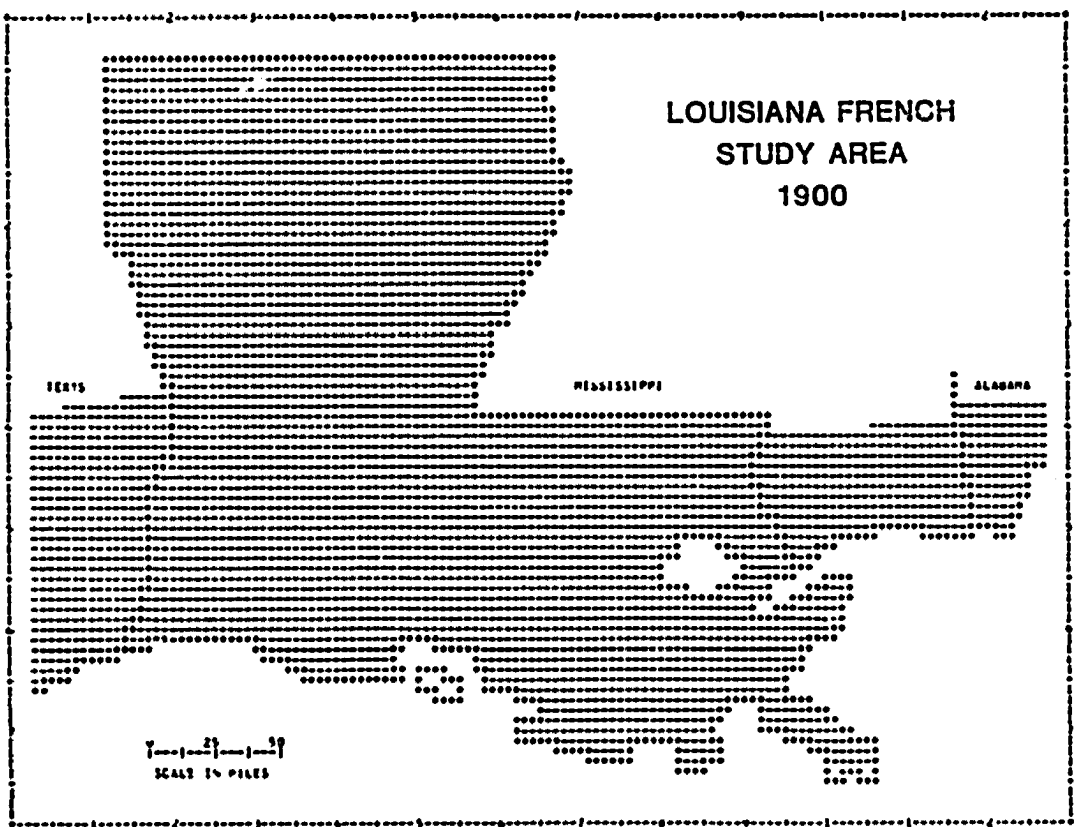


Fig. VII-6. The Louisiana French study area encompassed all of Louisiana and parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.

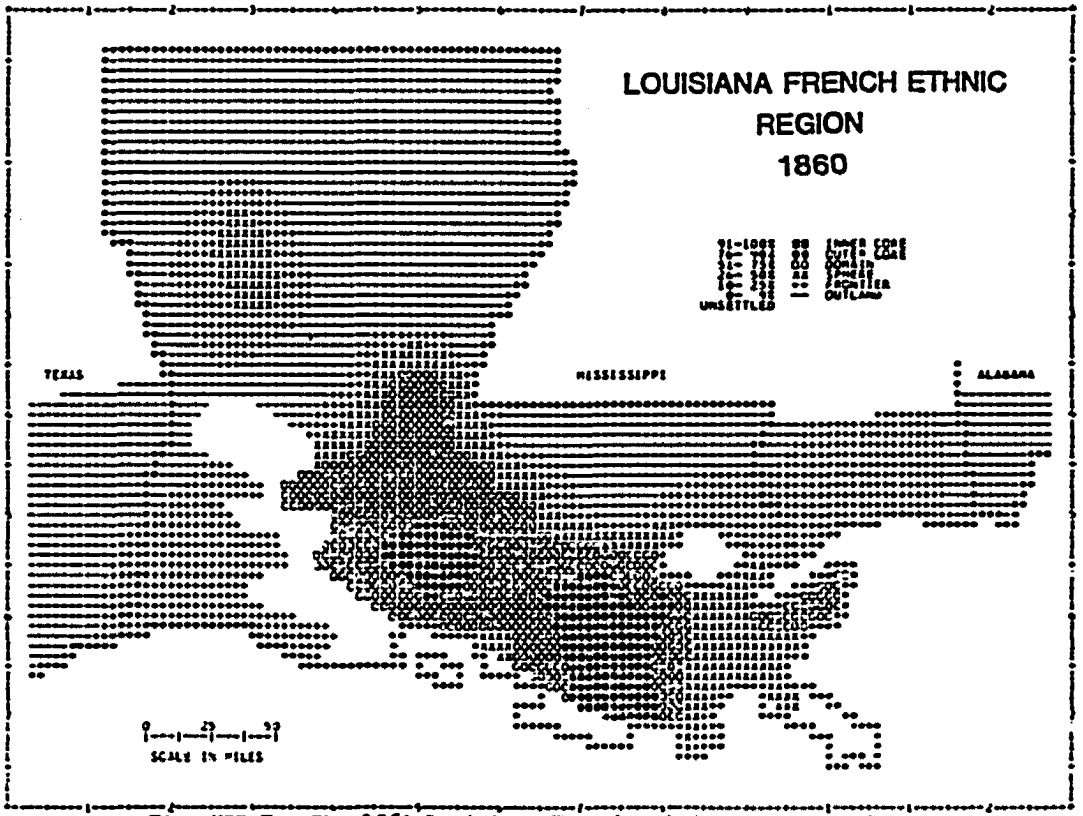


Fig. VII-7. The 1860 Louisiana French ethnic region was broken by the unsettled southwest prairies.

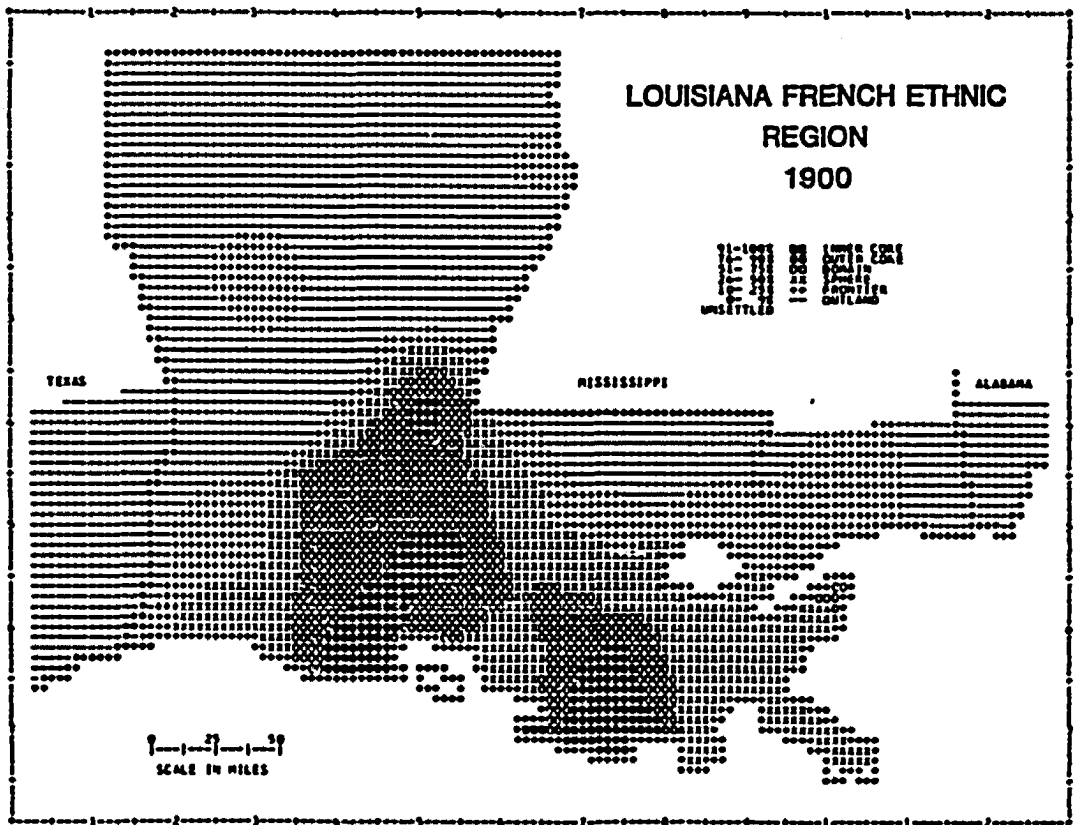


Fig. VII-8. In a huge triangular pattern the 1900 Louisiana French ethnic region covered one-third of the state.

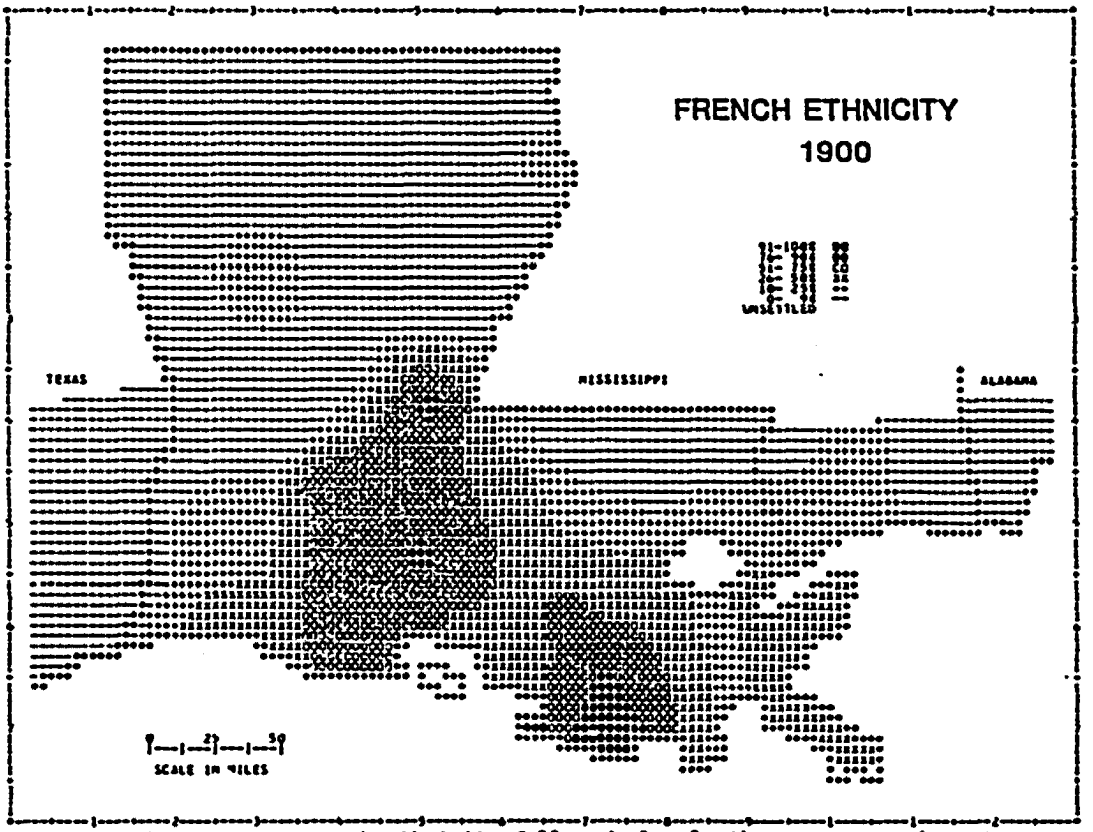


Fig. VII-9. French ethnicity followed closely the more general Louisiana French distribution.

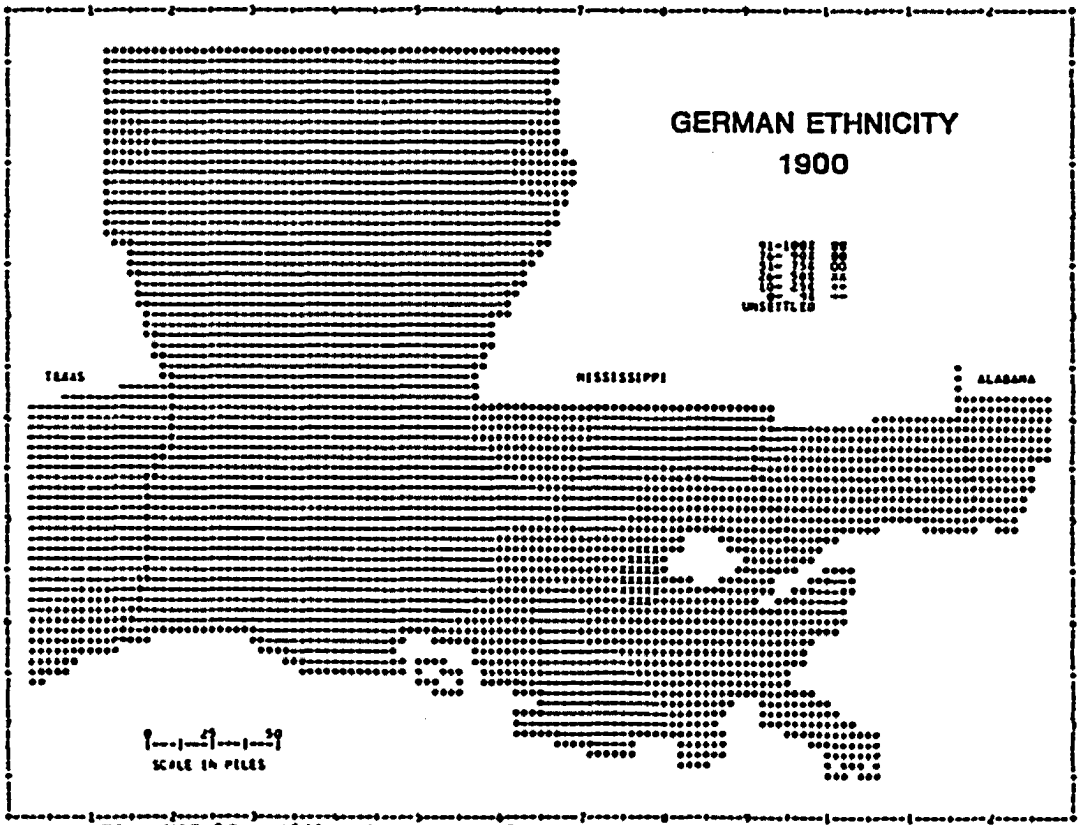


Fig. VII-10. Although more widely distributed by 1900, the greatest intensity of Germans was still in the old "German Coast" upstream from New Orleans.

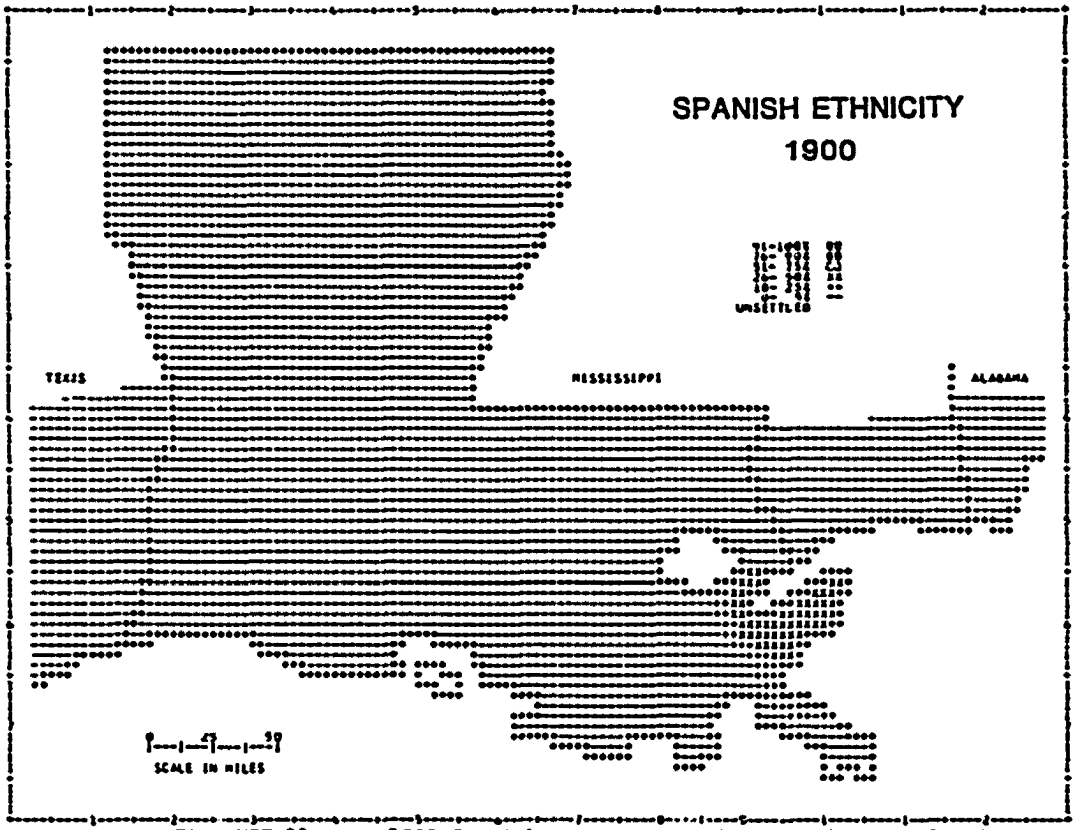


Fig. VII-11. In 1900 Spanish surnames persisted rather resolutely in St. Bernard Parish.

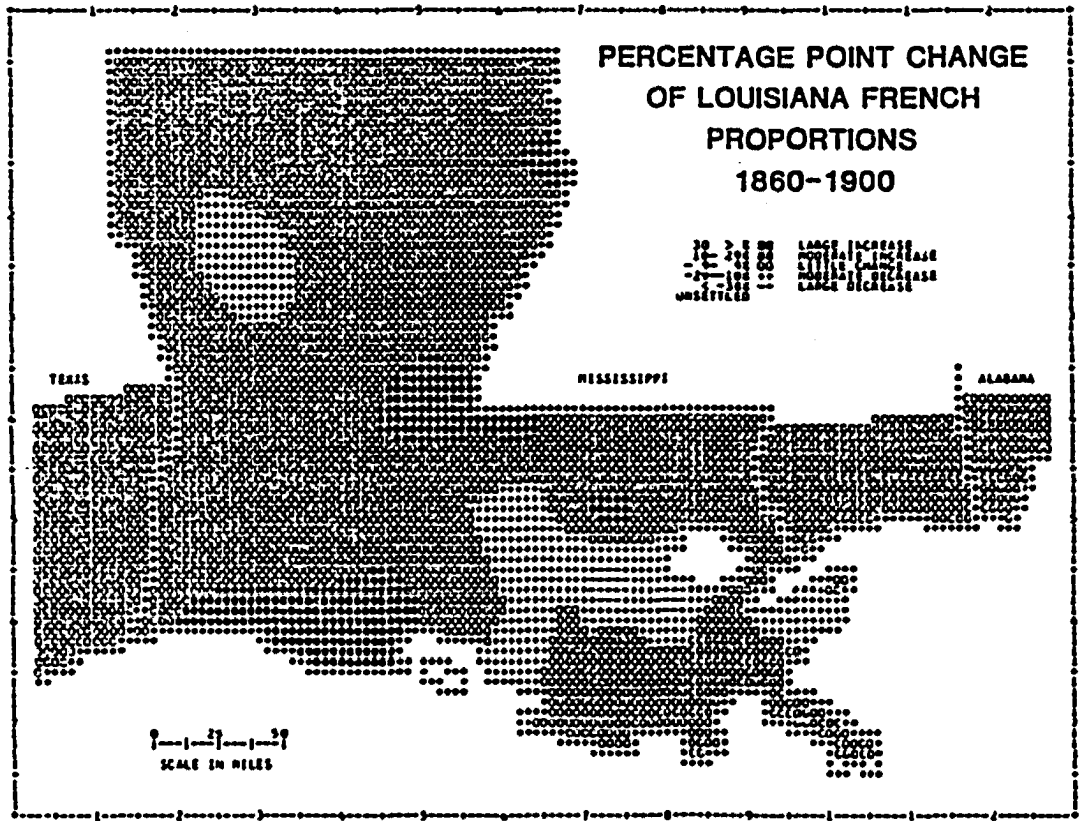


Fig. VII-12. Changing Louisiana French proportions unmistakably showed the continuation of the "second expulsion" along the lower Mississippi and the demise of the Natchitoches outlier.

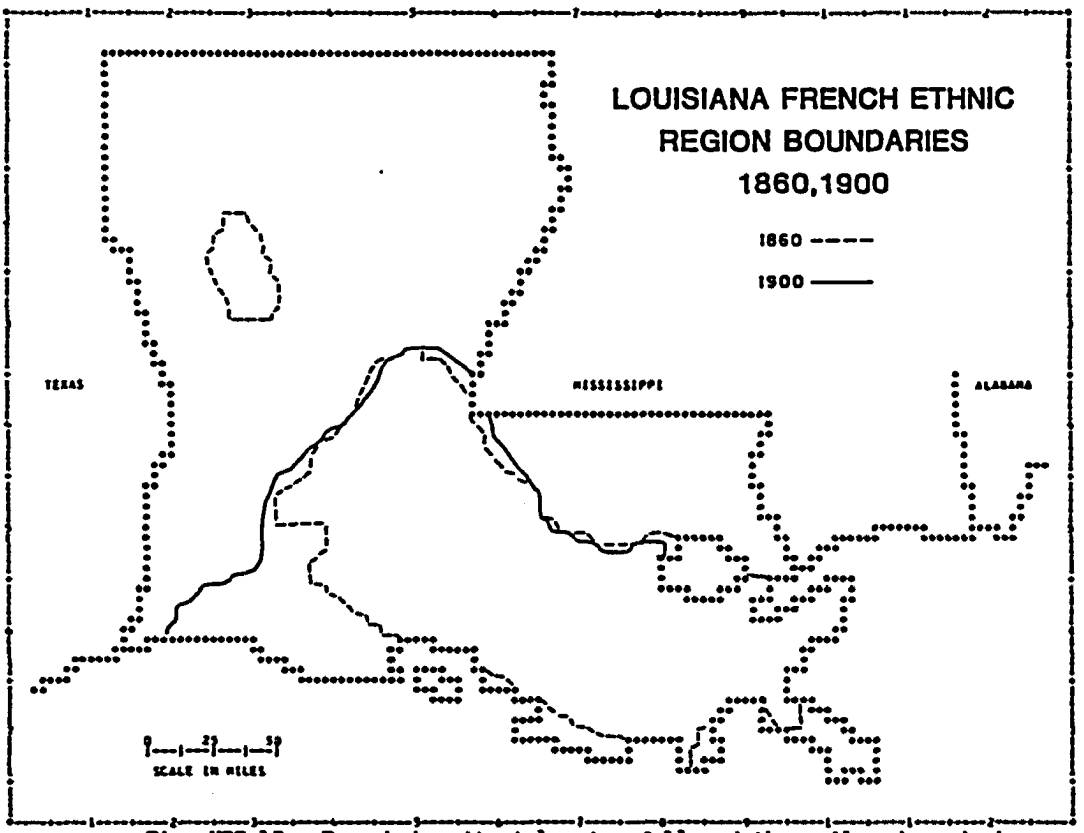


Fig. VII-13. French territorial gains followed the railroads and rice agriculture onto the western prairies.

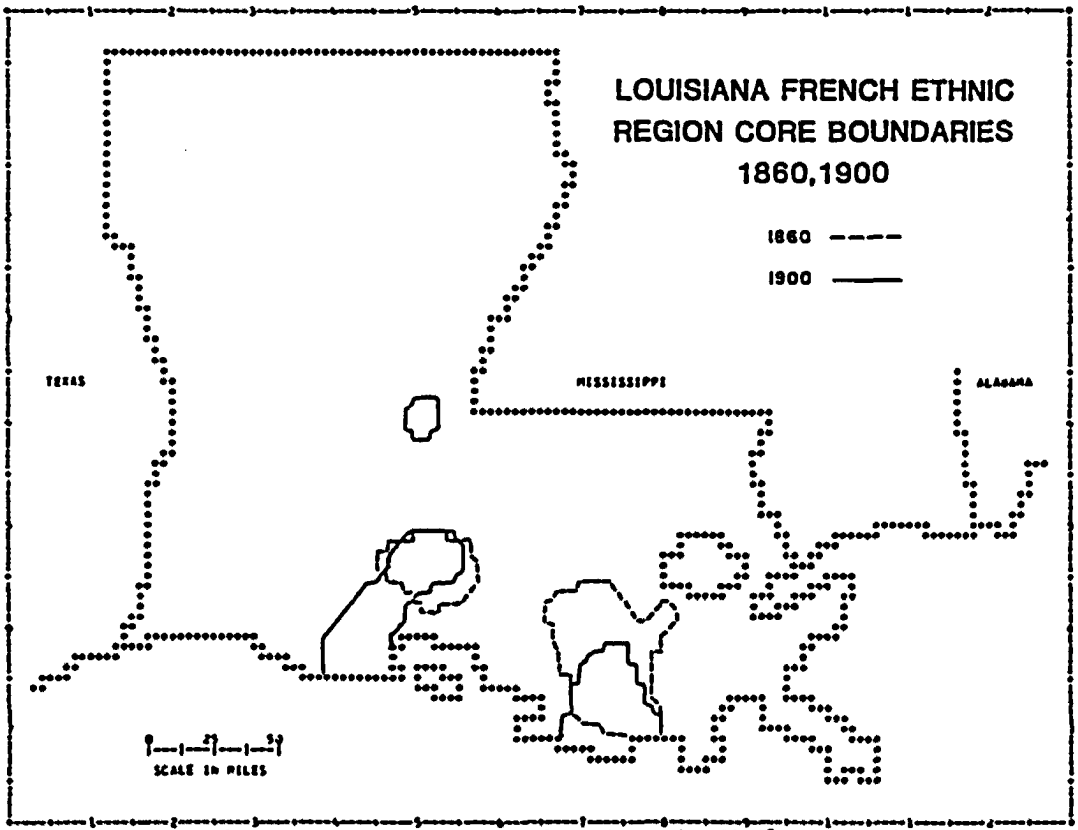


Fig. VII-14. During the four decades after the Civil War the Lafourche core continued to shrink southward, while the Teche core added Vermilion Parish.

TABLE VII-1

AREAS OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1860 SQUARE MILES	1900 SQUARE MILES	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	12	0	-12 (-100.00)
Outer Core	2,673	2,612	-61 (-2.28)
Total Core	2,685	2,612	-73 (-2.27)
Domain	7,483	6,897	-586 (-7.83)
Sphere	4,089	7,593	3,504 (85.69)
Ethnic Region	14,257	17,102	2,845 (19.96)

TABLE VII-2

PERCENTS AND POPULATIONS OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	1900 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	91.56	0	-91.56
	10,528	0	-10,528 (-100.00)
	971	0	-971 (-100.00)
	11,499	0	-11,499 (-100.00)
Outer Core	80.57	79.40	-1.17
	55,178	115,536	60,358 (109.39)
	13,310	29,981	16,671 (125.25)
	68,488	145,517	77,029 (112.47)

TABLE VII-2--continued

ZONE/AREA	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	1900 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Total Core	82.15	79.40	-2.75
	65,706	115,536	49,830 (75.84)
	14,281	29,981	15,700 (109.94)
	79,987	145,517	65,530 (81.93)
Domain	59.96	65.71	5.75
	62,220	83,463	21,243 (34.14)
	41,556	43,561	2,005 (4.82)
	103,776	127,024	23,248 (22.40)
Sphere	36.65	41.03	4.38
	23,160	82,189	59,029 (254.87)
	40,037	118,108	78,071 (195.00)
	63,197	200,297	137,100 (216.94)
Ethnic Region	61.18	59.47	-1.71
	151,086	281,188	130,102 (86.11)
	95,874	191,650	95,776 (99.90)
	246,960	472,838	225,878 (91.46)
Louisiana	29.67	29.12	-0.55
	159,993	318,677	158,684 (99.18)
	379,334	775,844	396,510 (104.53)
	539,327	1,094,521	555,194 (102.94)

TABLE VII-3

POPULATION DENSITIES OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--

1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1860 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	1900 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	877.33	0.00	-877.33 (-100.00)
	80.92	0.00	-80.92 (-100.00)
	958.25	0.00	-958.25 (-100.00)
Outer Core	20.64	44.23	23.59 (114.29)
	4.98	11.48	6.50 (130.52)
	25.62	55.71	30.09 (117.45)
Total Core	24.47	44.23	19.76 (80.75)
	5.32	11.48	6.16 (115.79)
	29.79	55.71	25.92 (87.01)
Domain	8.31	12.10	3.79 (45.61)
	5.56	6.32	.76 (13.67)
	13.87	18.42	4.55 (32.80)
Sphere	5.66	10.82	5.16 (91.17)
	9.80	15.56	5.76 (58.78)
	15.46	26.38	10.92 (70.63)
Ethnic Region	10.60	16.44	5.84 (55.09)
	6.72	11.21	4.49 (66.82)
	17.32	27.65	10.33 (59.64)
Louisiana	3.30	6.57	3.27 (99.09)
	7.81	16.00	8.19 (104.87)
	11.11	22.57	11.46 (103.15)

TABLE VII-4

NUMBER OF PARISHES OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1860 NUMBER OF PARISHES	1900 NUMBER OF PARISHES	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)
Innor Core	1	0	-1 (-100.00)
Outer Core	6	6	0 (0.00)
Total Core	7	6	-1 (-14.29)
Domain	9	4	-5 (-55.55)
Sphere	5	12	7 (140.00)
Ethnic Region	21	22	1 (4.76)
French Louisiana	21	22	1 (4.76)
Non-French Louisiana	27	37	10 (37.04)
Total Louisiana	48	59	11 (22.92)

TABLE VII-5

PARISHES CLASSIFIED BY ZONES--1900

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	INNER CORE (91-100%)	CORE (76-100%)
None		
	OUTER CORE (76-90%)	
Lafayette	83.84	83.84
Terrebonne	81.31	81.31
Vermilion	78.62	78.62
Avoyelles	78.51	78.51
St. Martin	78.37	78.37
Lafourche	76.41	76.41

TABLE VII-5--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	DOMAIN (51-75%)	DOMAIN (51-75%)
Assumption	75.33	75.33
St. Landry	67.20	67.20
Acadia	60.36	60.36
Iberia	60.14	60.14
	SPHERE (26-50%)	SPHERE (26-50%)
Pointe Coupee	49.85	49.85
St. Bernard	48.52	48.52
St. John	45.68	45.68
	SPHERE (26-50%)	SPHERE (26-50%)
Iberville	44.97	44.97
West Baton Rouge	44.80	44.80
St. James	44.58	44.58
Cameron	43.51	43.51
Ascension	41.14	41.14
St. Mary	36.78	36.78
St. Charles	34.69	34.69
Plaquemines	30.54	30.54
Jefferson	27.21	27.21
	FRONTIER (10-25%)	OUTLAND (0-25%)
Natchitoches	21.00	21.00
Calcasieu	20.28	20.28
St. Tammany	20.24	20.24
West Feliciana	18.00	18.00
Harrison MS	17.73	17.73
East Baton Rouge	16.98	16.98
Madison	15.11	15.11
Livingston	14.21	14.21
Hancock MS	12.60	12.60

TABLE VII-5--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	OUTLAND (0-9%)	
Tangipahoa	8.02	8.02
Jefferson TX	6.83	6.83
Concordia	6.64	6.64
Grant	5.87	5.87
DeSoto	5.78	5.78
Mobile AL	4.69	4.69
Caddo	4.49	4.49
Rapides	4.28	4.28
Winn	3.84	3.84
Richland	3.70	3.70
Jackson MS	3.11	3.11
Hardin TX	3.02	3.02
Caldwell	2.56	2.56
Franklin	2.49	2.49
Orange TX	2.25	2.25
Catahoula	2.12	2.12
Newton TX	2.08	2.08
Webster	1.67	1.67
Vernon	1.18	1.18
Bienville	1.11	1.11
Sabine	1.00	1.00
Bossier	0.00	0.00
Claiborne	0.00	0.00

TABLE VII-5--continued

PARISH	CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES	STATISTICAL ZONES
	OUTLAND (0-9%)	
East Carroll	0.00	0.00
East Feliciana	0.00	0.00
Jackson	0.00	0.00
Lincoln	0.00	0.00
Morehouse	0.00	0.00
Ouachita	0.00	0.00
Red River	0.00	0.00
St. Helena	0.00	0.00
Tensas	0.00	0.00
Union	0.00	0.00
Washington	0.00	0.00
West Carroll	0.00	0.00
Jasper TX	0.00	0.00

three lower Mississippi River parishes dropped out of the Lafourche focus: Assumption just barely slipped down to the domain, while St. James and St. Charles tumbled all the way into the sphere (Figs. VII-15, 16). The Teche core, on the other hand, gained one parish, Vermilion, and resolutely remained a stronghold of French heritage. The surprising vigor of the Louisiana French in Avoyelles Parish etched an emerging core outlier at the peak of the triangular region. Nevertheless, unlike 1820 and 1860, no 1900 Gallic parish broke the 90 percentile mark of the inner core. Considering both the Lafourche erosion and the Teche growth, over forty years the core nearly doubled in population to 115,536, sustained an 80 percent French intensity, showed little shrinkage in its 2,600 square-mile area, and had a net loss of only one parish (Figs. VII-5, 7, 8, 12, 14, and Tables VII-1-5).

Although still more than two and a half times the size of the core, after 1860, in a full reversal of its energetic antebellum expansion, the domain (51-75% French) had lost five parishes and almost 600 square miles of territory. Its 6,900 square miles enveloped the core areas, yet, unlike its mid-century pattern, the domain was broken by a widening rift into distinct Lafourche and Teche lobes. Compensating for its areal diminution was an increase in the domain's Gallic intensity; nearly two-thirds of its 127,024 residents were French.

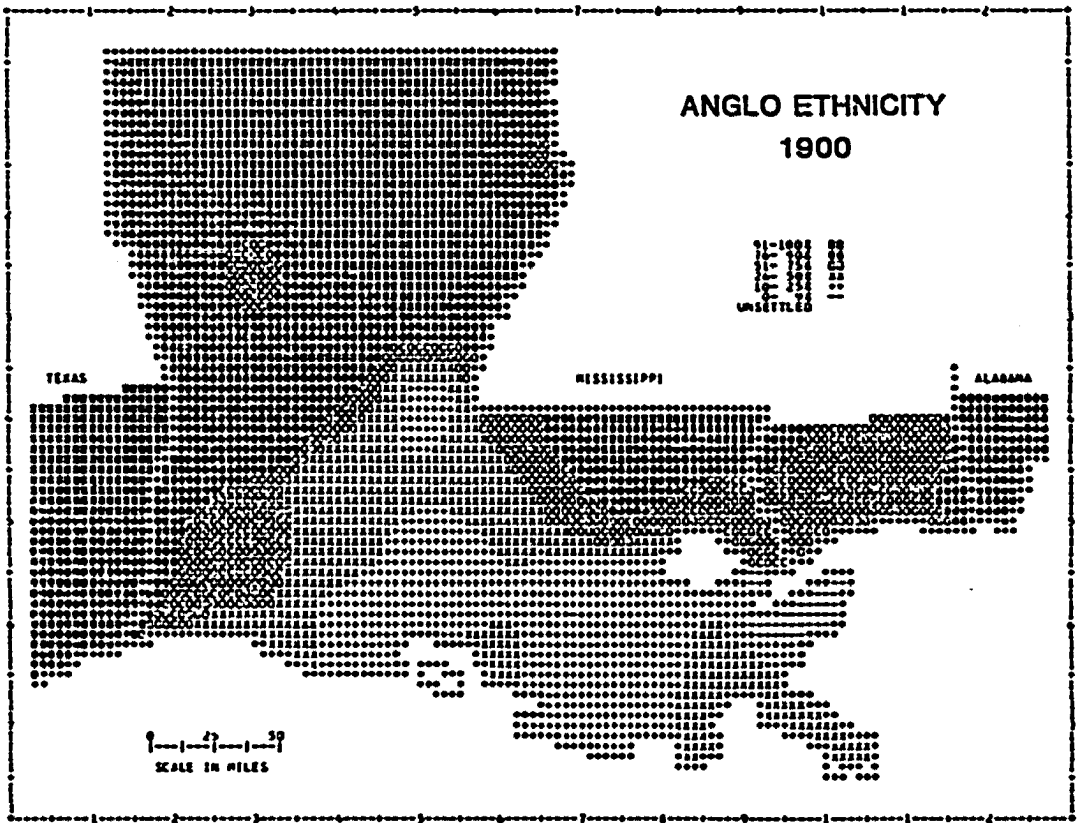


Fig. VII-15. The seemingly insatiable appetite of Anglos for Louisiana French territory was certainly not satisfied after the Civil War.

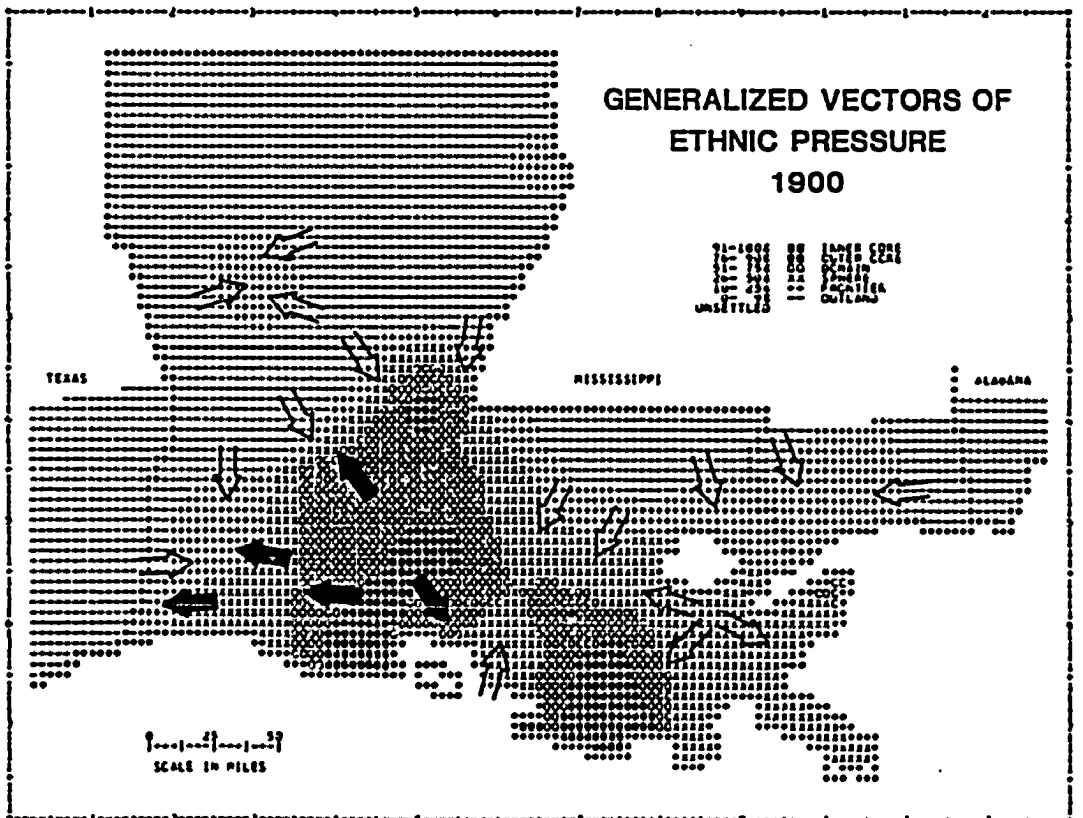


Fig. VII-16. From all directions Anglos continued to vigorously thrust into the Louisiana French region.

The most dynamic of the postbellum Louisiana French ethnic zones was the sphere (26-50% French) which nearly doubled in area to 7,600 square miles, increased in population by two and a half times to 82,189, and added seven parishes--all having fallen from the core or domain, however. The sphere, with an area almost three times that of the core, filled in the ethnic region's interstices and formed its contiguous triangular shape. Only 41 percent of the sphere's people were French, just about half the intensity of the core.

Four transect profiles provided another perspective of the changing Louisiana French region. Except for the unexpected revitalization of Gallic intensity in Avoyelles Parish, little change occurred along the St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect (E-A in Figs. VII-17, 18-A) that traversed two traditionally-French parishes. The Texas-Alabama axis (F-B in Figs. VII-17, 18-B) undeniably portrayed the east-west dichotomy of decay and growth within the ethnic region. Eastward from St. Martin Parish serious erosion had clearly continued along the lower Mississippi River, and, as in 1860, no Mississippi or Alabama county was included within the region. Westward from St. Martin the surging settlement onto the prairies was vividly depicted.

Running through Louisiana's two most important river valleys, the Red River-Mississippi River transect (H-C in Figs. VII-17, 19-A) again underscored the Gallic demise along the lower Mississippi, the emergence of the

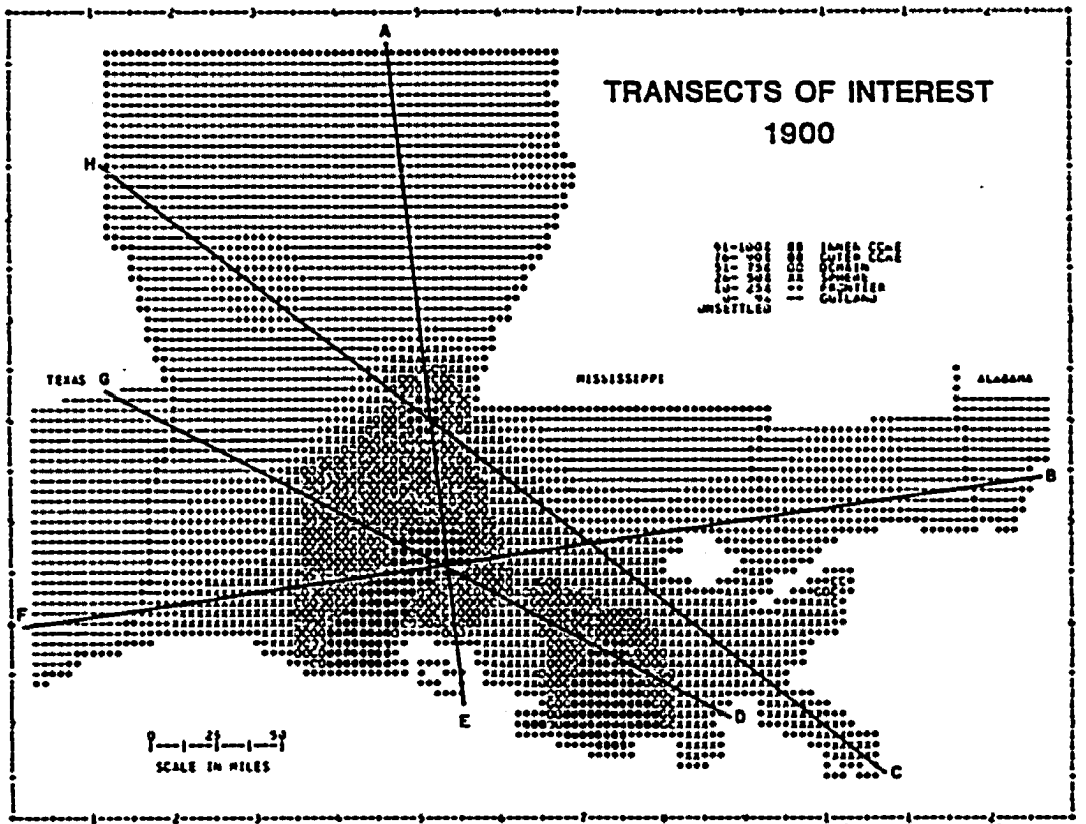


Fig. VII-17. To better investigate the internal morphology of the 1900 Louisiana French region, four analytical transects were constructed.

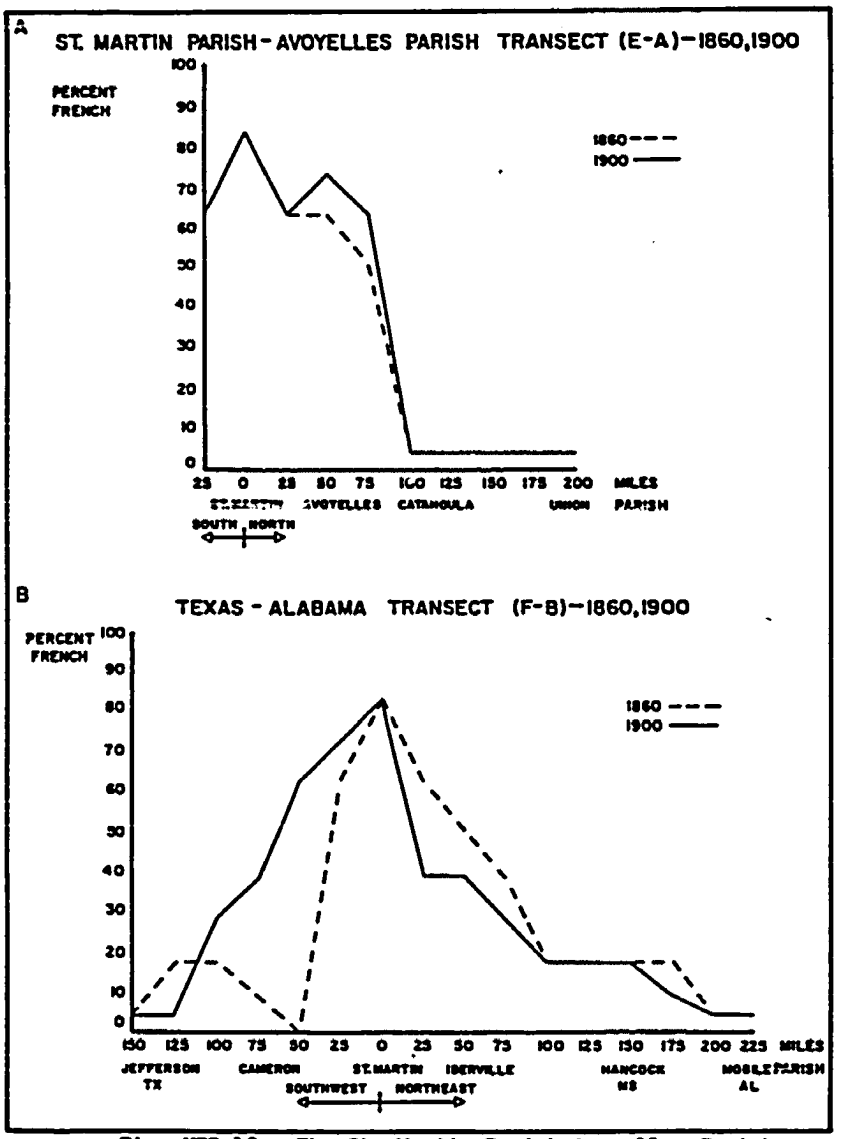


Fig. VII-18. The St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect traversed two traditionally-French parishes, while the Texas-Alabama line gauged east-west trends.

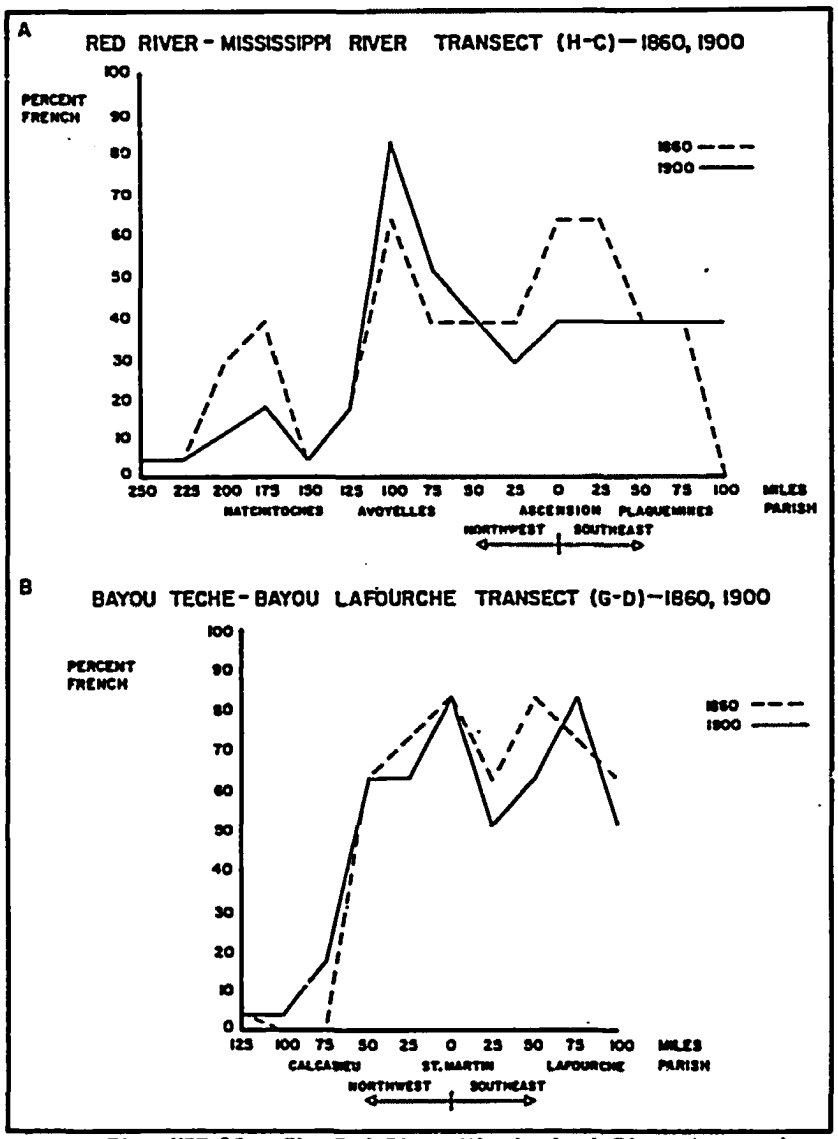


Fig. VII-19. The Red River-Mississippi River transect ran through Louisiana's two most important river valleys, and the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect profiled the region's core.

Avoyelles core outlier, and the lifeless exit of Natchitoches Parish from French Louisiana. After forty years the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche line (G-D in Figs. VII-17, 19-B) silhouetted a retreating Lafourche focus and a deepening chasm cutting across the French core.

French Louisiana Urban System and Innovations

Until recently the South, in comparison with the Northern states, has been considered unurban, and by some commentators even antiurban.[15] Yet throughout the nineteenth century, Louisiana, possessing the South's largest metropolis, was the most urban Southern state. During the last forty years of the century, the number of Louisiana urban places with at least 2,500 people increased from two to fifteen, and 27 percent of its 1,381,625 citizens were urban in 1900. Of course the residents of New Orleans comprised most of these 366,288 urbanites, but after 1860 the fourteen other cities and towns had grown far faster then New Orleans, 1,359 percent to only 70 percent. Most of this state-wide urbanization came after Reconstruction between 1880 and 1900 when almost 127,000 urbanites were added (Figs. VII-20, 21, and Table VII-6).[16]

Discounting New Orleans with its important Gallic heritage and contrary to convention that has characterized the French, especially the Cajuns, as basically rural country folk, nine of the state's fourteen urban places were located in 1900 French Louisiana. After 1880 these

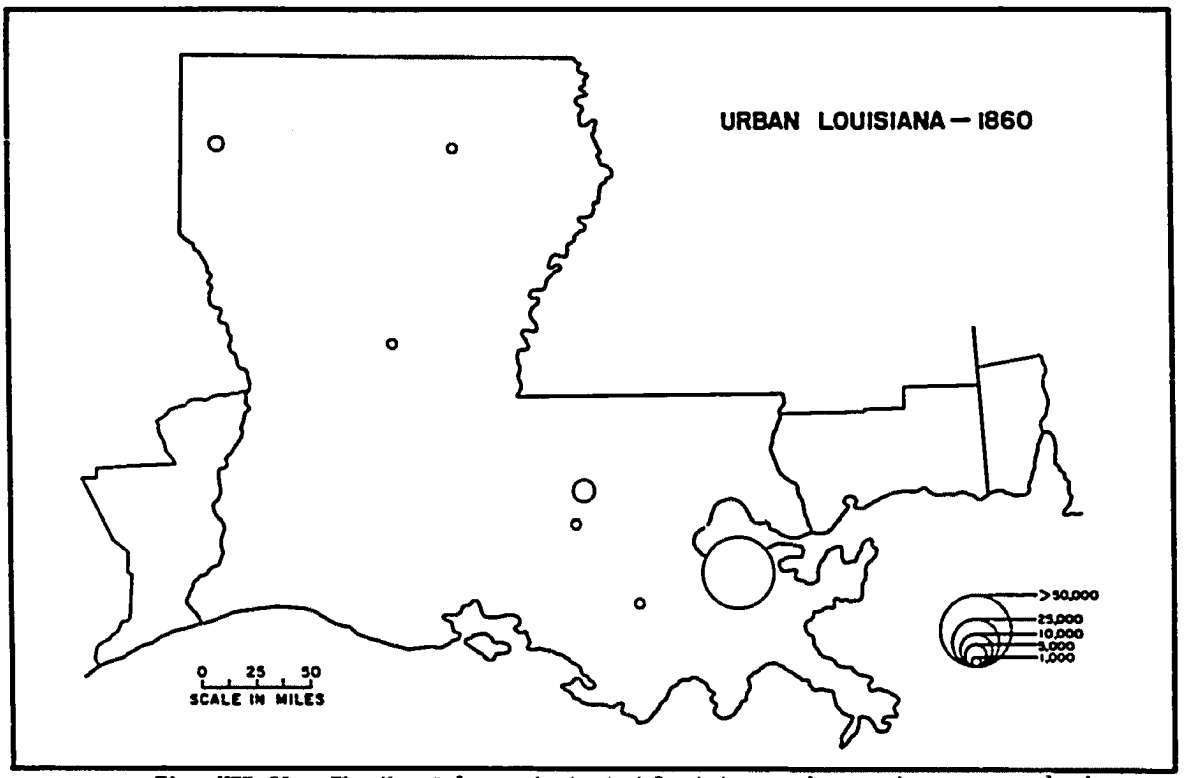


Fig. VII-20. The New Orleans-dominated Louisiana urban system was merely in its embryonic stage in 1860.

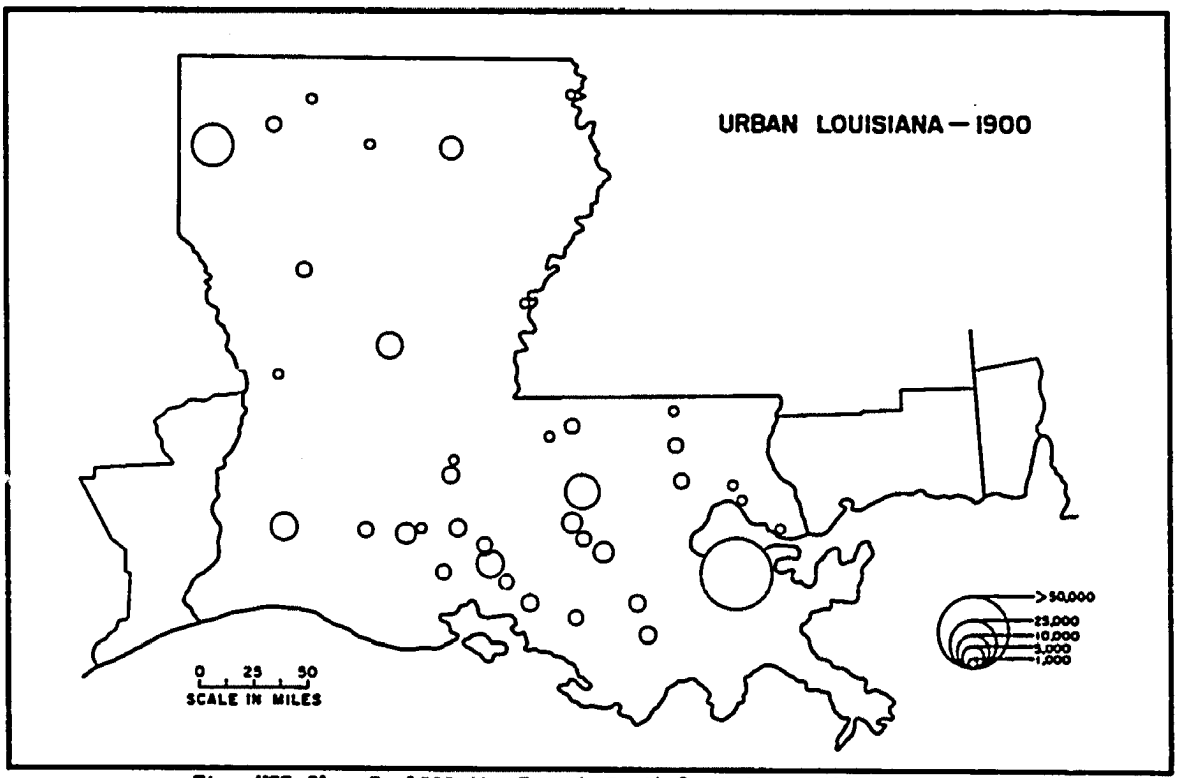


Fig. VII-21. In 1900 the French South Louisiana urban system was more sophisticated than the urban skeleton of Anglo North Louisiana.

TABLE VII-6

LOUISIANA'S URBAN GROWTH, 1860-1900

RANK 1900	URBAN PLACE	ETHNIC REGION	POPULATION 1860	1880	1900	INCREASE 1880-1900
1	New Orleans	—	168,675	216,090	287,104	33%
2	Shreveport	Anglo	2,190	8,009	16,013	100%
3	Baton Rouge	Anglo	5,428	7,197	11,269	57%
4	New Iberia	French	—	2,709	6,815	152%
5	Lake Charles	Anglo	—	838	6,680	697%
6	Alexandria	Anglo	1,461	1,800	5,648	214%
7	Monroe	Anglo	—	2,070	5,428	162%
8	Crowley	French	—	—	4,214	—
9	Donaldsonville	French	—	2,600	4.105	58%
10	Plaquemine	French	1,025	2,061	3,590	74%
11	Lafayette	French	—	—	3,314	—
12	Thibodaux	French	1,039	1,515	3,253	115%
13	Houma	French	—	1,084	3,212	196%
14	Opelousas	French	623	1,676	2,951	76%
15	Franklin	French	—	1,702	2,692	58%
	Total	Anglo		19,914	45,038	126%
	Total	French		13,347	34,146	156%

French towns had grown more rapidly than the Anglo, 156 percent to 126 percent. During the century's last decade, Crowley, the prairie "rice capital," became Louisiana's fastest-growing town, zooming from 240 to 4,214 people.[17] Of the five Anglo-dominated cities, further, three--Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and Alexandria--superimposed their own isosceles triangle of contact and commerce along the edges of French Louisiana. Although containing less than half of the non-New Orleans urban population, the urban system of French South Louisiana, which centered on New Iberia, its largest city, was more sophisticated and more dynamic than the urban skeleton of Anglo North Louisiana.[18] Certainly Anglos had made their most serious intrusion into French Louisiana by way of its urban structure, but so too did the Louisiana French have access to urban places and participate in their development.

Like the towns and cities throughout the United States, those of French Louisiana were swept up in the wave of late-nineteenth-century innovation. Three years after Bell invented the telephone, in 1879 a "talking telegraph" company was incorporated in New Orleans. Just two years later, Donaldsonville, eighty miles upstream from the "Crescent City," inaugurated a local telephone exchange of its own, and by 1883 it had been connected with New Orleans. In 1893 construction of an ambitious telephone system was initiated that linked most towns and villages in or near the Teche country: Jeanerette, Olivier, New Iberia,

Loreauville, St. Martinville, Lafayette, Breaux Bridge, Arnaudville, Sunset, Grand Coteau, Opelousas, Washington, and others. By 1900 an extensive telephone network blanketed French Louisiana. And as the pace of settlement onto the western prairie lands quickened at the turn of the century, so did the invasion of innovation: In 1903 the Duson brothers, shrewd real estate speculators and town developers, laid out on the grasslands of Evangeline Parish the town of Mamou; in 1910, a year before it was incorporated, the town had telephone service.[19]

In 1887 New Orleans installed its first electric lights. Within little more than a decade, New Iberia, Lafayette, Crowley, and Opelousas did likewise. In 1902 a New Iberian physician purchased one of the first automobiles in Louisiana. By 1910 Donaldsonville and Marksville, surely as many other American communities, had begun to enforce automobile speed ordinances.[20] The French Louisiana urban system, then, enjoyed the conveniences of the latest inventions and at times stood at the launching site of new ideas that would have national consequence: In the vicinity of Thibodaux, a Gallic community on Bayou Lafourche, for example, began Louisiana's first free rural mail delivery, only one other had preceded it in the entire nation.[21] And to squarely challenge the distorted perceptions of an unchanging French Louisiana trapped by geographical isolation and permeated with backwardness, if poor agrarian Cajuns did not have access to or could not afford such

newfangled things as telephones, electric lights, or automobiles, they were no different in this respect from the poor Anglo farmers of North Louisiana, throughout the South,[22] or in other parts of the country.

Statistical Testing

The 1900 Louisiana French gradational morphology was tested through three questions:

1) Are there economic, social, and political variables that discriminate between Louisiana French and non-Louisiana French areas?

2) Are there economic, social, and political variables that vary with the intensity of Louisiana French?

3) Are there prime economic, social, and political variables that, in combination, identify a more holistic Louisiana French culture region for 1900?

Variance analysis determined that of the fifty-four initial economic, social, and political test variables only sixteen differed statistically between the polarized comparison of the French core (76-100%) and the non-French outland (0-25%) (Tables VII-7, 8, and Fig. VII-22). As explained in the methodological discussion in Chapter IV, the test attributes Louisiana nativity, Italian nativity, and writing ability were not included in the subsequent discriminant analysis because they had linear correlations greater than ± .90 with Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana) (r= -.96), Italian ethnicity (r= .91), and reading ability (r= .96), respectively. Thus, the resultant thirteen-variate set produced unbiased classification functions (three-fourths of the cases used to classify the other quarter) able to predict

TABLE VII-7

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY STATISTICAL ZONES--1900

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=45)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Economic					
Property Owners	39.67	35.42	28.85	38.73	36.85
Property Renters	59.52	63.75	70.87	59.14	61.55
Property Owners Mortgaging Property	6.30	6.82	2.92	4.36	4.42
Property Owners Owning Property Free	29.39	28.06	24.58	32.43	30.49
Property Owners Owning Houses	48.46	53.61	74.91	40.84	48.39
Property Owners Owning Farms	51.54	46.28	25.06	58.85	51.39
Farm Tenancy	45.67	43.60	41.43	47.50	46.02
Farms With 50 Acres Or Less	60.76	53.61	61.24	52.03	54.56
Farms With 500 Acres Or More	3.09	4.22	6.31	3.07	3.72
Farmers and Planters	49.94	44.55	22.87	56.04	48.87
Agricultural Occupations	69.09	66.11	52.28	65.16	63.26
Hunting and Fishing Occupations	2.60	0.57	2.52	0.23	0.87
Timber and Lumber Occupations	0.51	1.38	2.75	4.99	3.97
Construction Occupations	2.19	3.45	3.83	3.23	3.26
Fabrication Occupations	1.17	1.67	1.55	1.24	1.32
Transportation Occupations	1.65	1.36	2.26	2.44	2.27
Commercial Occupations	4.55	4.11	4.52	3.65	3.92
Laborer Occupations	10.33	10.67	18.28	9.51	11.22
Common Laborers	8.96	9.24	15.99	7.42	9.20

TABLE VII-7--continued

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=45)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Farm Laborers	17.93	20.53	27.03	8.71	13.52
Family Heads Fully Employed During The Previous Year	79.23	78.75	70.28	84.35	81.04
Family Heads Unemployed Six Months Or More During The Previous Year	3.08	2.07	4.28	1.60	2.24
Social					
Roman Catholics	87.94	86.05	75.99	14.07	36.08
Black Farmers	26.58	25.55	39.45	44.21	40.67
Anglo Ethnicity	14.22	23.96	25.65	85.23	64.54
Italian Ethnicity	3.01	4.12	16.57	0.72	3.97
Louisiana Nativity	89.54	85.36	76.31	53.11	62.45
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	4.40	7.28	11.37	40.15	29.84
Midwest Nativity	0.92	1.75	1.25	2.21	1.90
European Nativity	4.08	4.43	9.55	2.78	4.21
Italian Nativity	2.44	1.58	5.70	0.22	1.48
Naturalized Family Heads	1.41	2.12	3.15	1.51	1.83
Alien Family Heads	2.16	1.88	5.39	0.55	1.64
Male Family Heads	90.92	89.89	88.24	87.08	87.80
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	15.39	14.74	12.62	13.91	13.86
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	35.30	34.78	37.19	36.88	36.67
Married Family Heads	80.57	82.01	74.81	77.20	77.36
Family Heads Married Five Years Or Less	19.44	18.98	18.71	19.25	19.15

TABLE VII-7--continued

VARIABLE	CORE 76-100% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	OUTLAND 0-25% (N=45)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Family Heads Married 20 Years Or More	38.34	35.51	36.58	38.45	37.93
Single Family Heads	6.62	7.15	9.52	7.51	7.77
Widowed Family Heads	11.76	10.38	15.15	14.74	14.29
Families With Less Than Two Children	44.28	44.52	55.55	49.42	49.77
Families With Five Children Or More	20.38	19.24	14.49	17.05	17.02
Family Heads Who Read	36.92	42.10	48.71	62.16	56.29
Family Heads Who Write	39.44	40.67	45.98	59.05	53.86
Family Heads Who Speak English	72.15	85.28	94.65	99.23	95.15
Political					
French Enumerators	69.81	46.93	25.29	2.94	15.56
French Sheriffs	66.67	25.00	50.00	0.00	16.42
Mean Data					
Economic					
Farm Size	116.30	125.15	187.26	121.36	132.93
Months Family Heads Unemployed	1.77	2.22	2.68	1.50	1.78
Social					
Age of Family Heads	40.38	39.95	40.82	40.76	40.69
Years Family Heads Married	23.29	21.39	24.04	24.37	24.04
Number of Children Per Family	2.49	2.38	1.91	2.21	2.19
Years Alien Family Heads Lived In U.S.	1.13	1.27	1.99	1.16	1.31

TABLE VII-8

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR POLARIZED COMPARISON OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1900

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	OUTLAND MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY
Economic				
Hunting And Fishing Occupations	2.60%	0.23%	16.740	.0002
Farm Laborers	17.93%	8.71%	5.431	.0239
Family Heads Unemplyed Six Months Or More During The Previous Year	3.08%	1.60%	3.993	.0513
Social				
Roman Catholics	87.94%	14.07%	78.690	.0000
Anglo Ethnicity	14.22%	85.23%	225.100	.0000
Italian Ethnicity	3.01%	0.72%	7.377	.0091
Louisiana Nativity	89.54%	53.11%	14.020	.0005
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	4.40%	40.15%	18.310	.0001
Italian Nativity	2.44%	0.22%	27.550	.0000
Alien Family Heads	2.16%	0.55%	8.697	.0049
Male Family Heads	90.92%	87.08%	6.032	.0176
Family Heads Who Read	36.92%	62.16%	17.420	.0001
Family Heads Who Write	39.44%	59.05%	10.440	.0022
Family Heads Who Speak English	72.15%	99.23%	223.100	.0000
Political				
French Enumerators	69.81%	2.94%	399.600	.0000
French Sheriffs	66.67%	0.00%	86.470	.0000

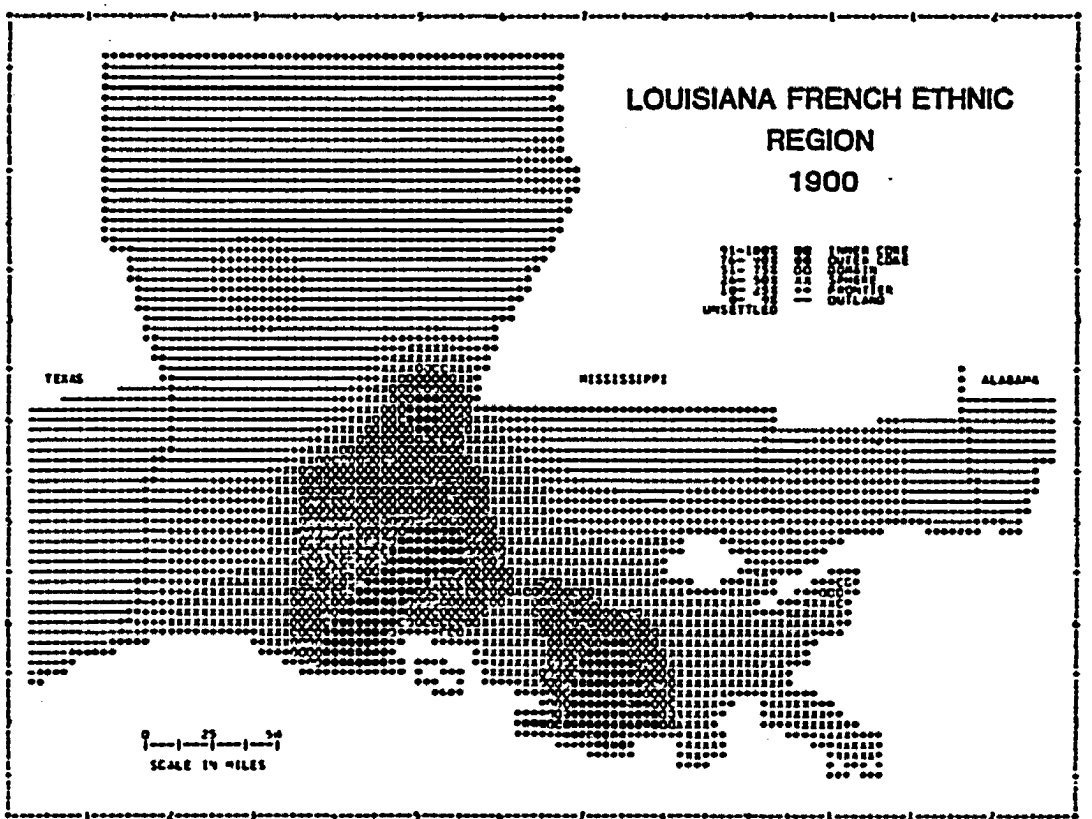


Fig. VII-22. The Louisiana French core (76-100%), domain (51-75%), sphere (26-50%), and outland (0-25%).

with a remarkable 94 percent accuracy French parishes from non-French parishes and counties. This almost unfailing predictive capability punctuated the potent discriminating power of the thirteen-variable set and unequivocally emphasized that the two cultures were indeed different, thereby favorably answering the first question.

Yet because thirty-eight variables did not differentiate between the predominantly French and Anglo areas, the two cultures possessed many commonalities that may have been previously considered uncommon, particularly for 1900. As intuitively shown in Table VII-7, a typical family head in the core, which was 79 percent French, was a married male agriculturalist who more than likely was fully employed on a rented small farm of less than fifty acres and who headed a family with fewer than three children. He was also a Louisiana-born Roman Catholic who could neither read nor write but could speak English and who belonged to the core's politically-dominant French ethnic group. In juxtaposition, a representative family head in the outland, which was 85 percent Anglo, was a married male agriculturalist who was fully employed on a rented small farm of less than fifty acres and who had a family of fewer than three children. He was also a literate, English-speaking Protestant who had a slightly better than equal chance of being Louisiana-born and who belonged to the outland's politically-prevailing Anglo ethnic group.

Probing such similarities a bit deeper, the majority of Gallic farmers differed little from the majority of Anglo farmers. Both were locked into the financially-dibilitating small farm tenancy-crop lien system.[23] Of those who did own property--about 39 percent in both groups--slightly more than half owned farms and roughly 30 percent owned their property free of mortgage. Only 3 percent of farmers in either the core or outland owned farms with five hundred acres or more. Similar proportions of French and Anglos worked in timber and lumber, construction, fabrication, transportation, commercial, and laborer occupations. About 80 percent of both ethnic groups had been fully employed during the previous year.

Gallic and Anglo families, moreover, had similar proportions of married, single, and widowed family heads whose combined average age was forty, the same as in 1860. Mean family size differed little, religious preferences notwithstanding; and married family heads of both ethnic groups had been in wedlock for an average of twenty-four years.

Sixteen economic, social, and political variables did polarize nonetheless the French core and Anglo outland: economic--hunting and fishing occupations, farm laborers, and long-term unemployment; social--Roman Catholicism, Anglo and Italian ethnicities, Louisiana, Southern (excluding Louisiana), and Italian nativities, alien family heads, male family heads, reading and writing competencies, and

English-speaking ability; political--French enumerators and French sheriffs.

Although the French living along the bayous of South Louisiana have often been perceived as being hunters, trappers, and fishermen, less than 3 percent of the core's inhabitants called themselves such; they were agriculturalists who simply supplemented their diet and income with the bounty of forest and stream. Yet, in a relative sense, the core's proportion of hunters, trappers, and fishermen was more than ten times that of the outland (Fig. VII-23). During the last two decades of the century thousands of Italians migrated into South Louisiana, overwhelming the old German and Acadian "Coasts" between New Orleans and Baton Rouge and sweeping out over the other "Sugar Bowl" parishes. By 1900 the populations of St. Charles and St. James parishes were almost one-third Italian, and five nearby parishes were one-fifth Italian. Most of these Italians were farm workers recruited to fill the labor shortages in a booming, but labor-intense, sugar industry which was trying to rid itself of its longstanding dependence upon black workers.[24] Thus few Italians settled in yeoman-farming North Louisiana, which explained the core-outland dichotomy for Italian ethnicity as well as that for farm laborers (Figs. VII-24, 25). Right at the critical value of statistical acceptance, long-term unemployment--that is, family heads unemployed six months or more during the previous year, was certainly a weak discriminator; but if indeed long-term unemployment

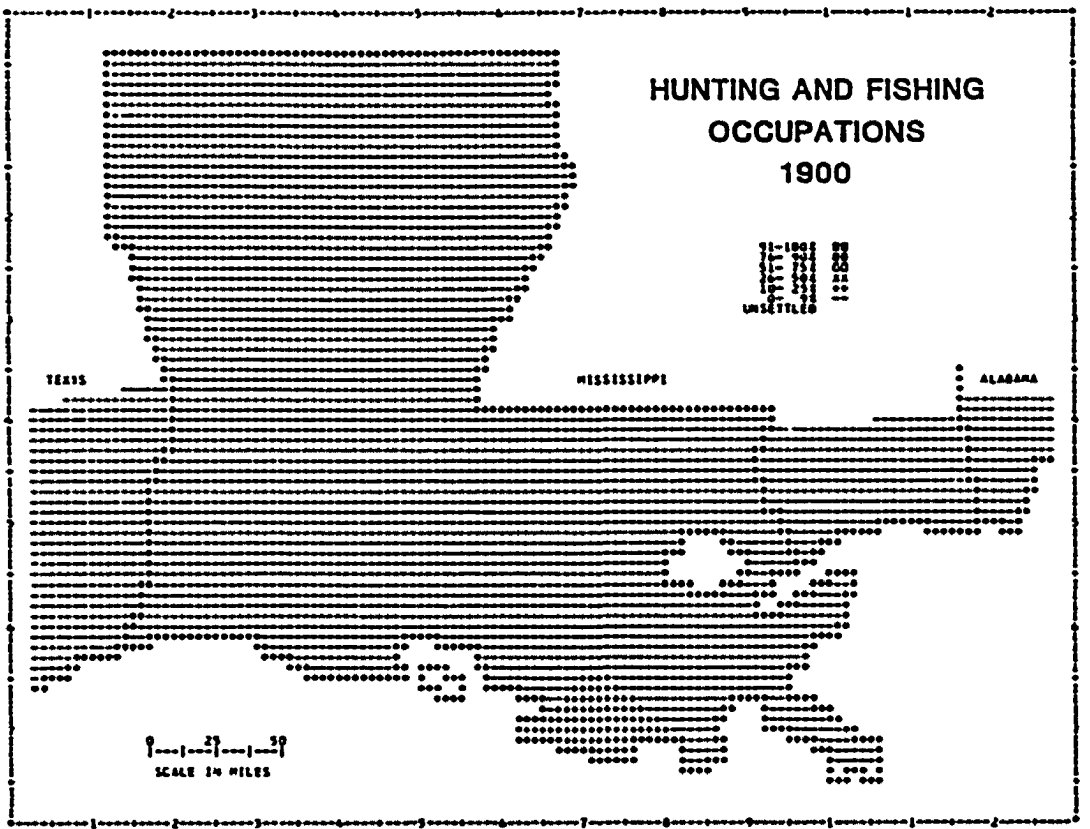


Fig. VII-23. Proportions of full-time hunters, trappers, and fishermen in the French region were far less than expected.

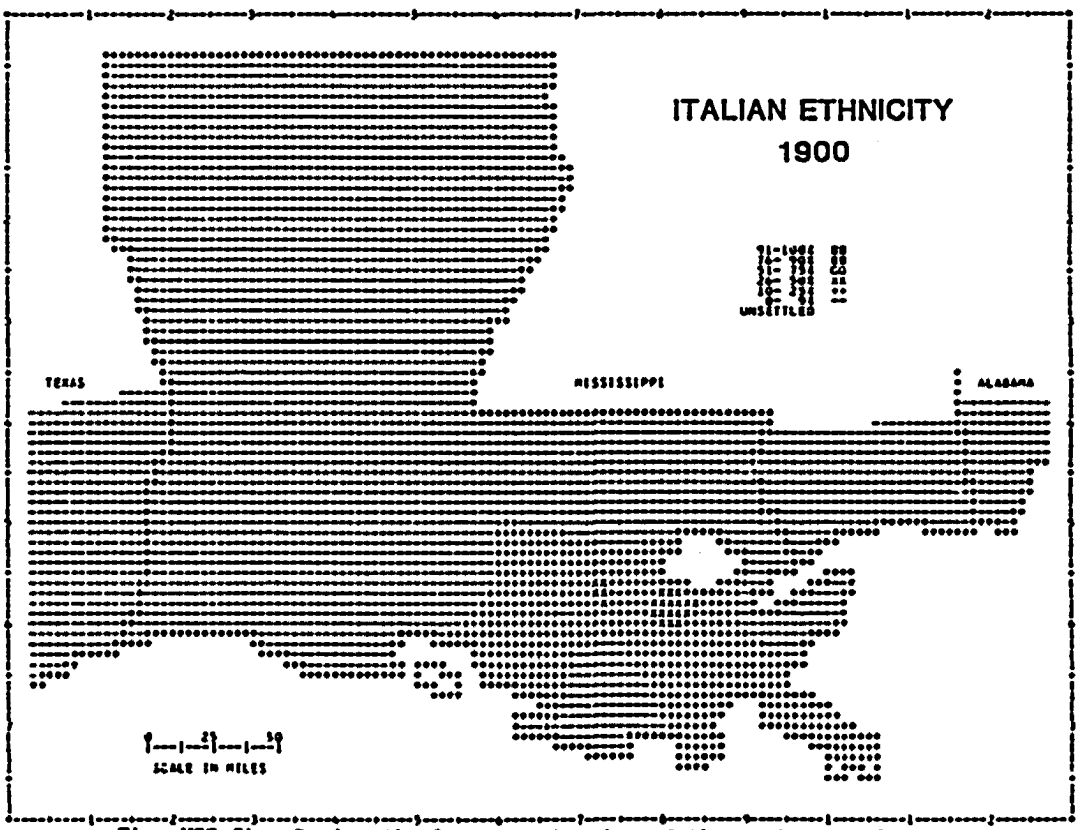


Fig. VII-24. During the last two decades of the century Italians inundated the old German and Acadian "Coasts."

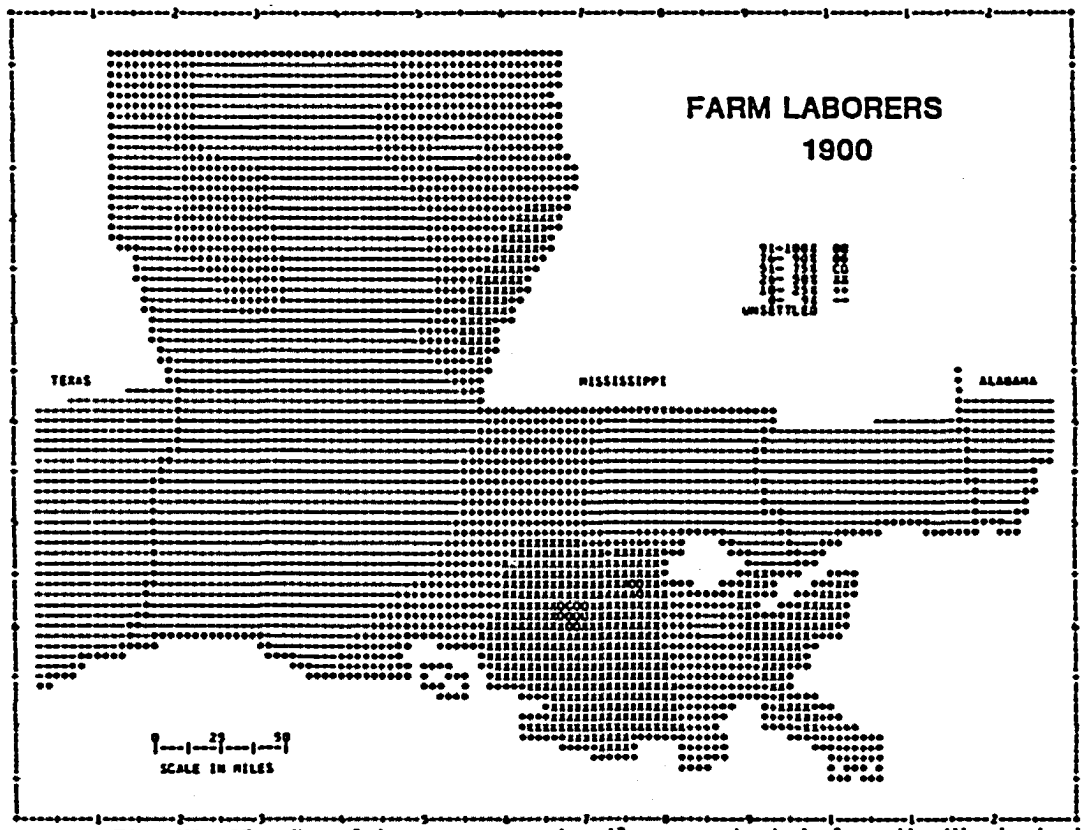


Fig. VII-25. Farm laborers were primarily concentrated along the Mississippi River with the highest intensities in French Louisiana's "Sugar Bowl."

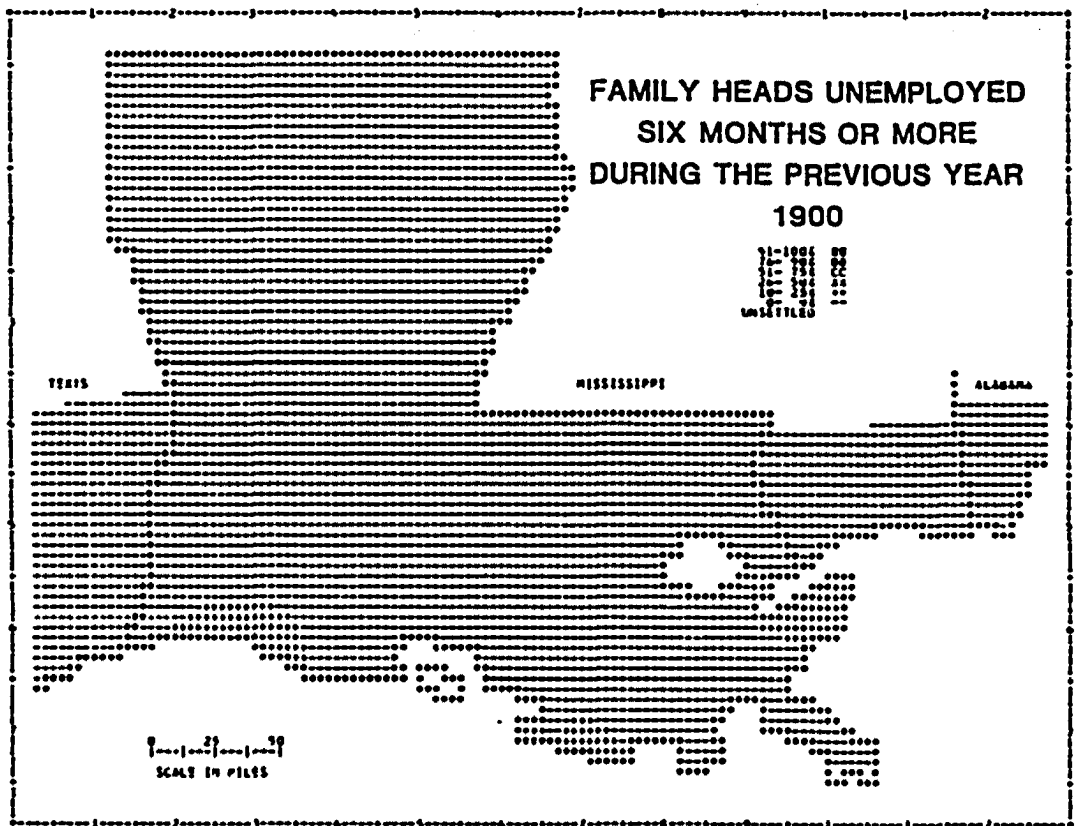


Fig. VII-26. Long-term unemployment was a weak discriminator between the Gallic core and Anglo outland.

was greater in the core (3%), it was probably linked to the vagaries of a transforming labor force within the sugar industry (Fig. VII-26).

The Louisiana French have always been Roman Catholic. Having a linear correlation of .89 between the French intensities of all study area parishes and counties and their Roman Catholic proportions, this strong relationship was no different in 1900. Within the core, 88 percent of the people were Roman Catholics, in contrast to only 14 percent of the outland's inhabitants (Fig. VII-27). After the Civil War, however, blacks, as an explicit expression of their unqualified emancipation and because they preferred the emotional enthusiasm of Protestant services, especially the Baptist, fled the Catholic Church of their former masters and fueled the Protestant contagion across French Louisiana.[25]

Anglo ethnicity, the inherent antipode of the Louisiana French (overall study area linear correlation; r= -.93), was undoubtedly the most powerful discriminator between core (14% Anglo) and outland (85%) (Fig. VII-28). Of the French core's family heads, 90 percent had been born in Louisiana, while only 4 percent had migrated from other Southern states. Of the outland's family heads, in comparison, only 53 percent were Louisiana natives, while 40 percent had moved from other Southern states, mainly Mississippi, Texas, and Alabama (Figs. VII-29, 30).[26] Quite obviously the core-outland polarization of Italian ethnicity explained earlier was strongly associated with similar dichotomies for

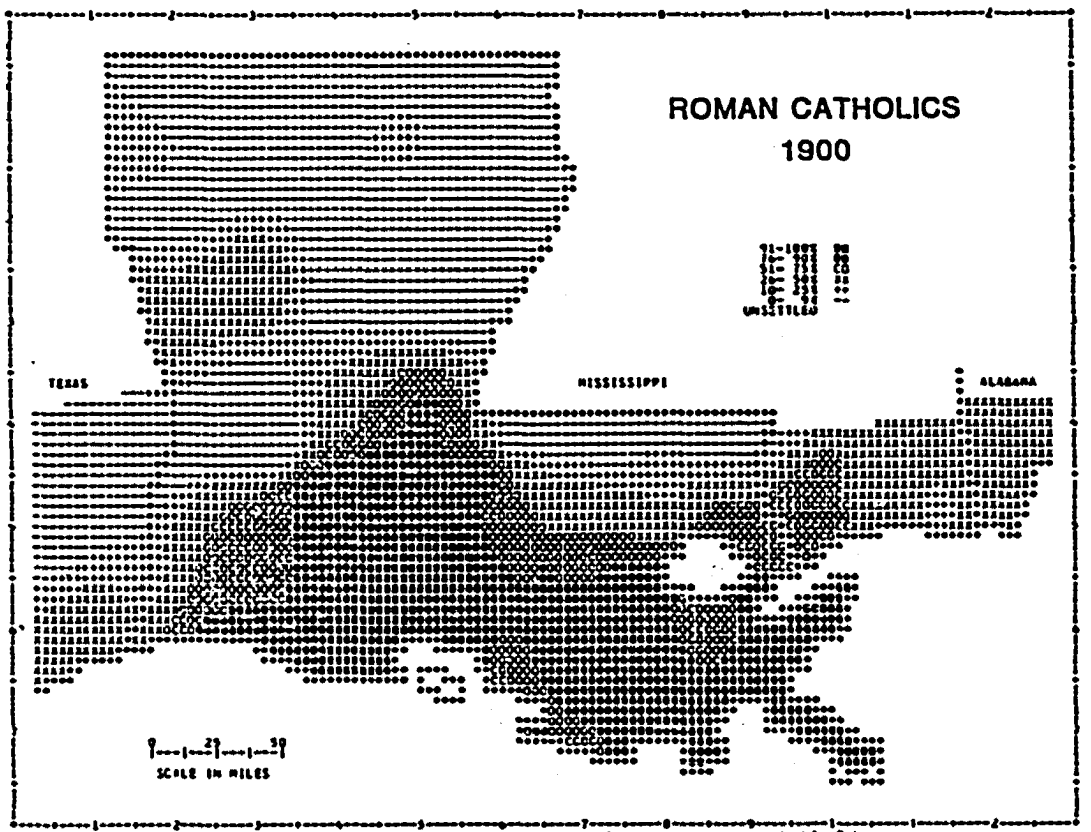


Fig. VII-27. The Louisiana French were Roman Catholics.

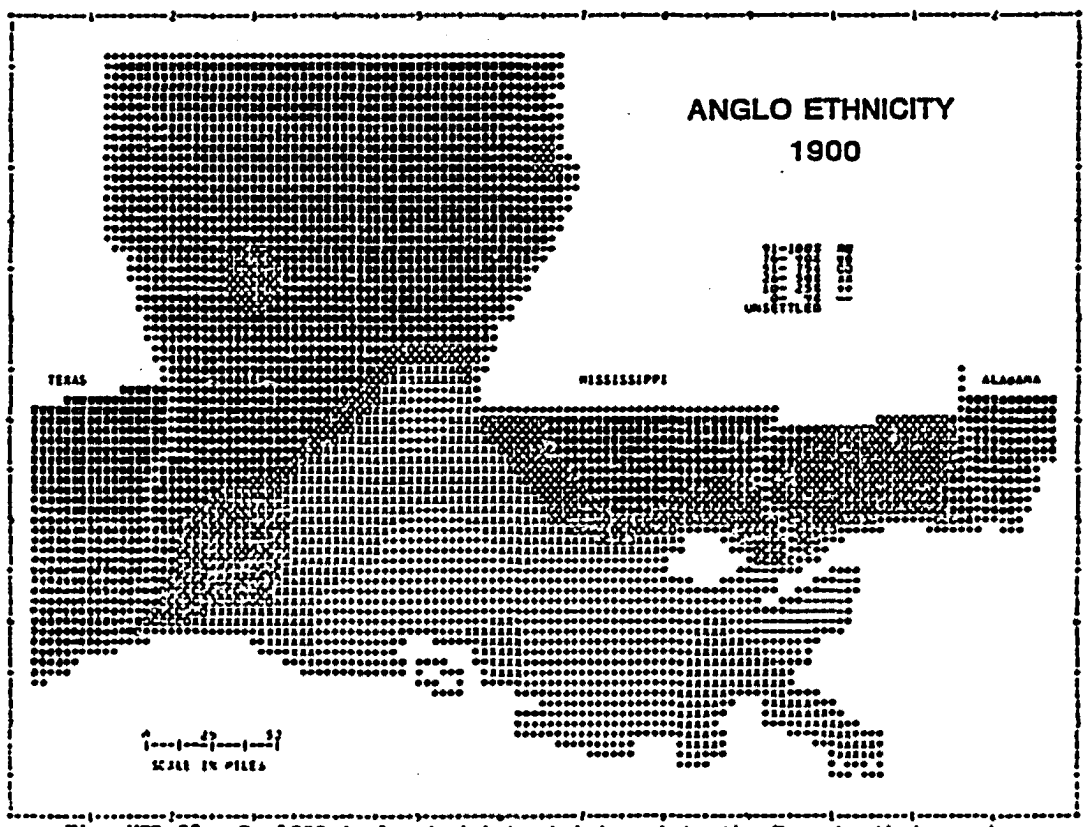


Fig. VII-28. By 1900 Anglos had intruded deep into the French ethnic region.

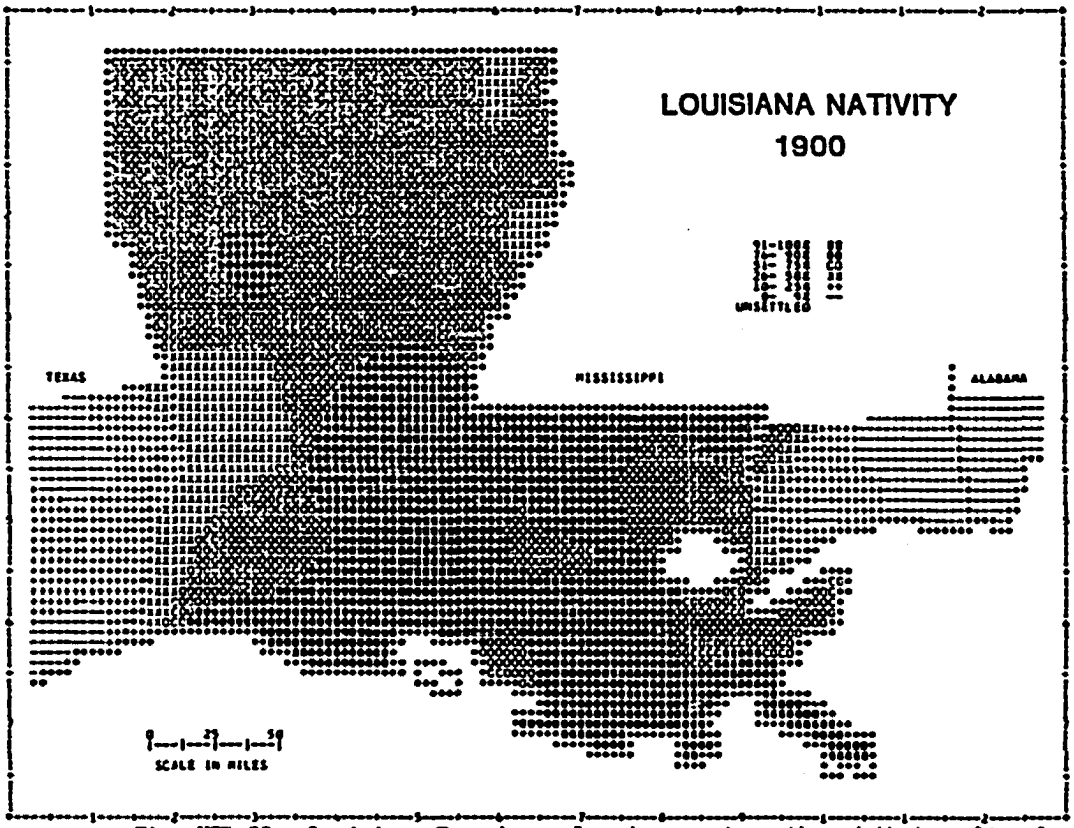


Fig. VII-29. Louisiana French areal endogamy strengthened their cultural heritage.

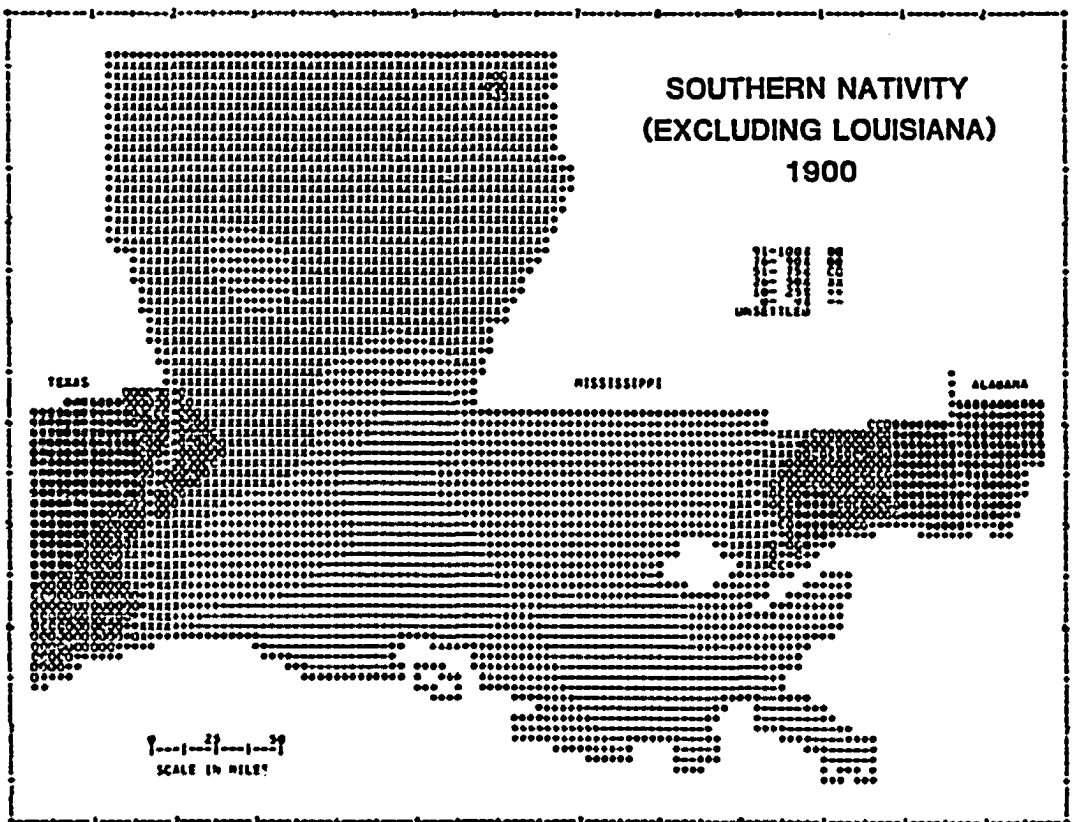


Fig. VII-30. Southerners largely from Mississippi, Texas, and Alabama, continued to invade Louisiana late in the nineteenth century.

Italian nativity (overall r= .91) and alien family heads (overall r= .82) (Figs. VII-31, 32). On the other hand, why the core had a higher proportion of male family heads than the outland remained rather enigmatic; though, the core's lower proportion of widowed family heads may have played a role (Fig. VII-33).

During Reconstruction, despite state support for public schools, educational progress in Louisiana, as throughout the South, was thwarted not only by rampant corruption but also by the refusal of whites to send their children to integrated schools. In the last decades of the century the ruling "Bourbon" politicians spent but a pittance on public education. Within French Louisiana such disdain for public educational expenditures was heightened by the belief that formal education was a function of the Catholic Church--not the government.[27] Thus according to Taylor, Louisiana was the only state in the nation in which white literacy declined between 1880 and 1890.[28]

The U. S. Census of 1900 estimated that approximately 62 percent of Louisiana's population of ten years old or more was literate. About 83 percent of the white population could read and write, but only 39 percent of the black could do so.[29] When combining reading and writing abilities, the five percent sample of the present study estimated that about 54 percent of Louisiana family heads were literate. However, in statistically comparing literacy of core residents with that of the outland, the proportion

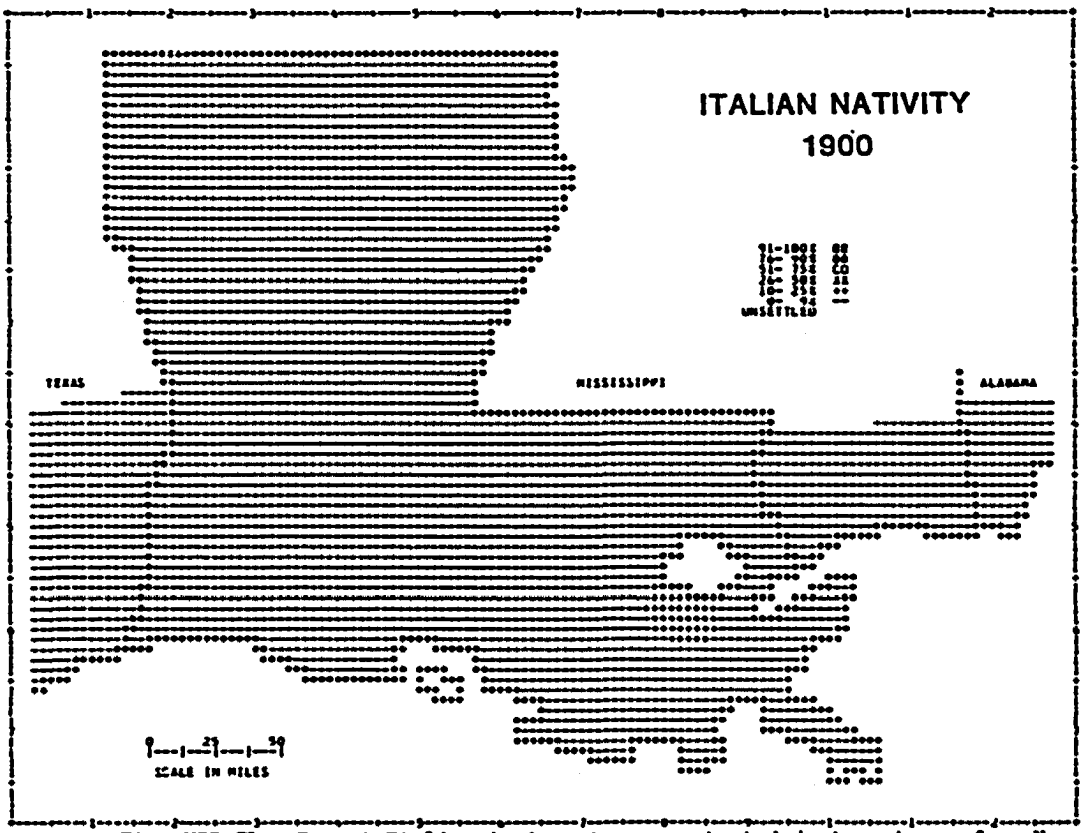


Fig. VII-31. Recent Italian immigrants concentrated just upstream from New Orleans in Jefferson and St. Charles parishes.

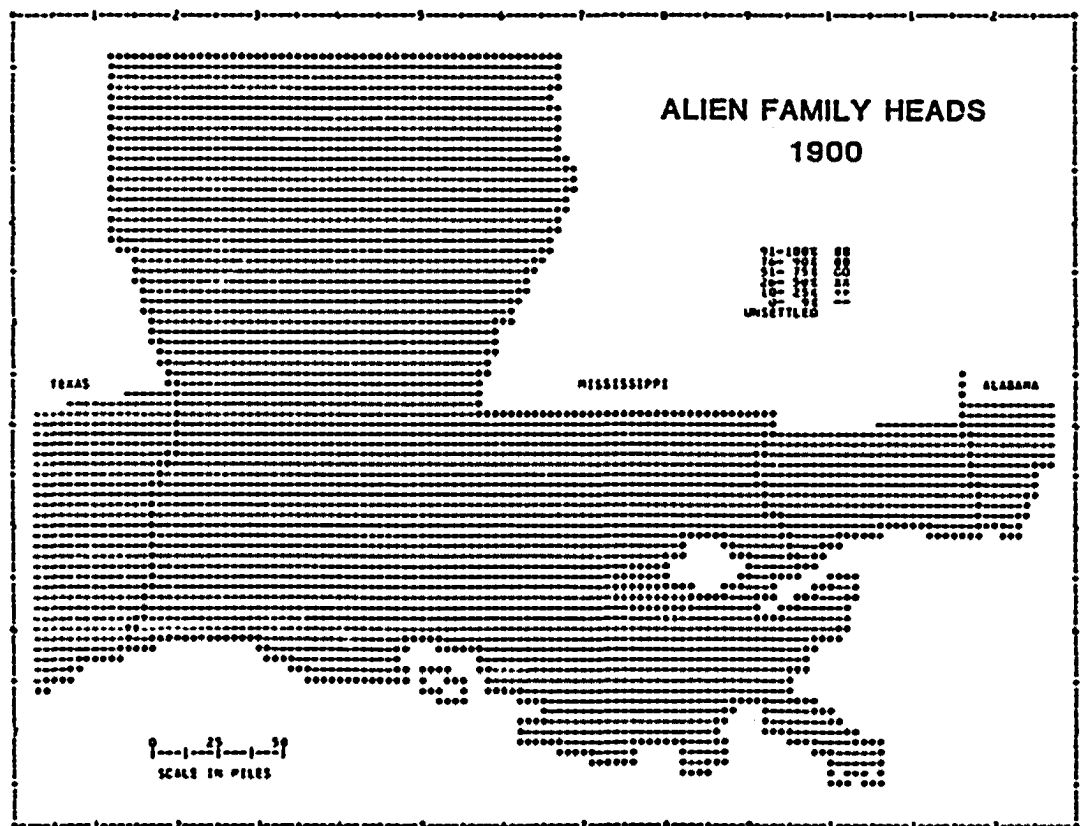


Fig. VII-32. Alien family heads were mostly Italians.

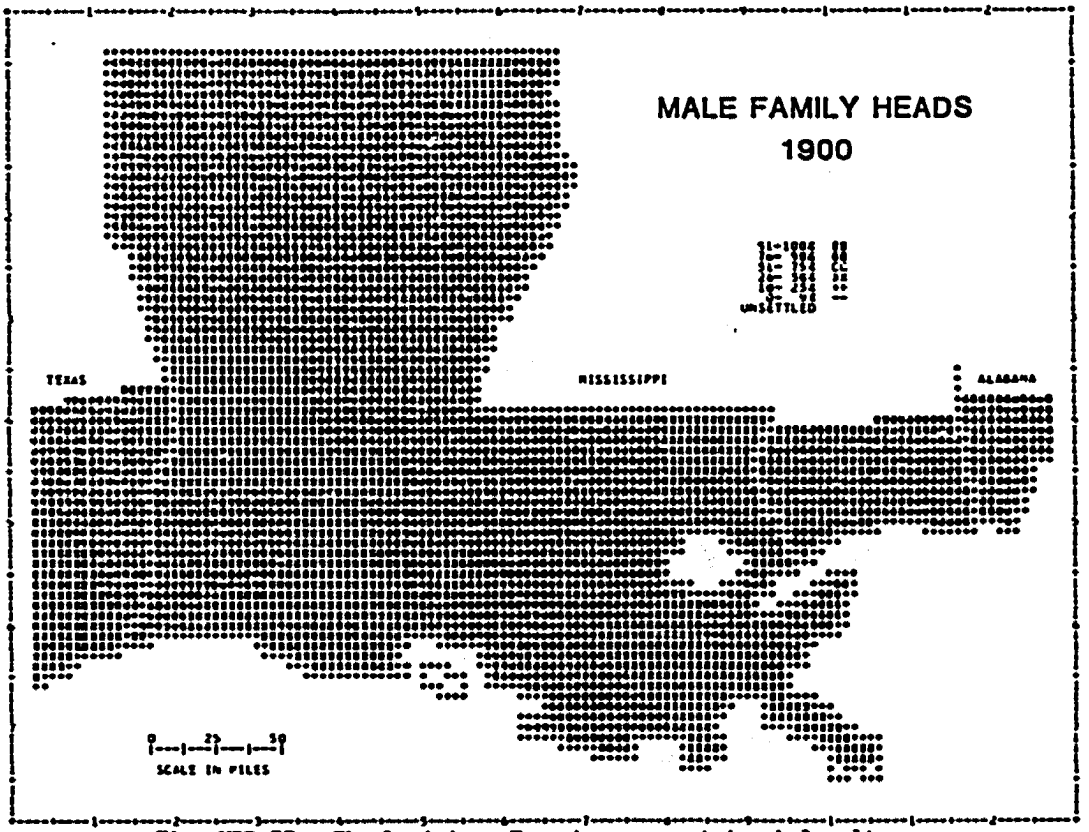


Fig. VII-33. The Louisiana French was a patriarchal culture.

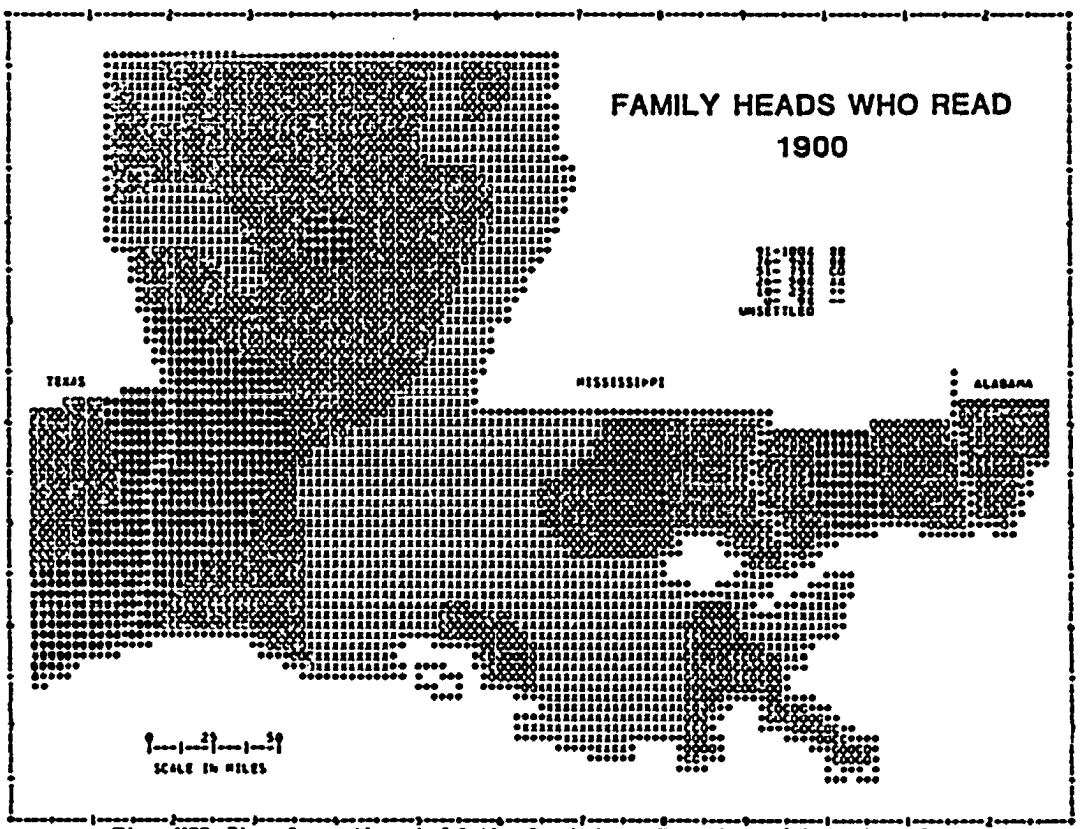


Fig. VII-34. Less than half the Louisiana French could read in 1900.

of Anglo-parish populations, 59 percent, was significantly greater than the 38 percent for French parishes (Figs. VII-34, 35). Of course some of this difference could be attributed to poor, conservative Cajun families who could not afford to send their children to parochial schools or who, appreciating few pragmatic applications, shunned formal public education that was taught mostly in English.[30] Yet it is impossible to know how many of the twenty-three Anglo enumerators in the core suffered from what Brasseaux might have termed the "addlepated Cajun perceptual syndrome"[31]--that is, unable to spell Gallic names correctly in their journals, much less speak French, did some of these Anglo enumerators, because of communication difficulties or merely because of blatant ethnocentrism, quickly and conveniently check that, since some Louisiana French could not speak English, they also could neither read nor write, thereby distorting the subsequent calculations for literacy. Although throughout the entire study area the Louisiana French parishes were negatively correlated with reading ($r = -.58$) and writing ($r = -.52$) abilities, the parishes with the state's lowest proportions of literate family heads, for some consolation, were not in French Louisiana but were three "Delta" parishes in northeastern Louisiana heavily populated by blacks--Concordia (26% literate), Tensas (33%), and East Carroll (33%).

French Louisianians were nevertheless making strides, at times of highly innovative quality, to improve their

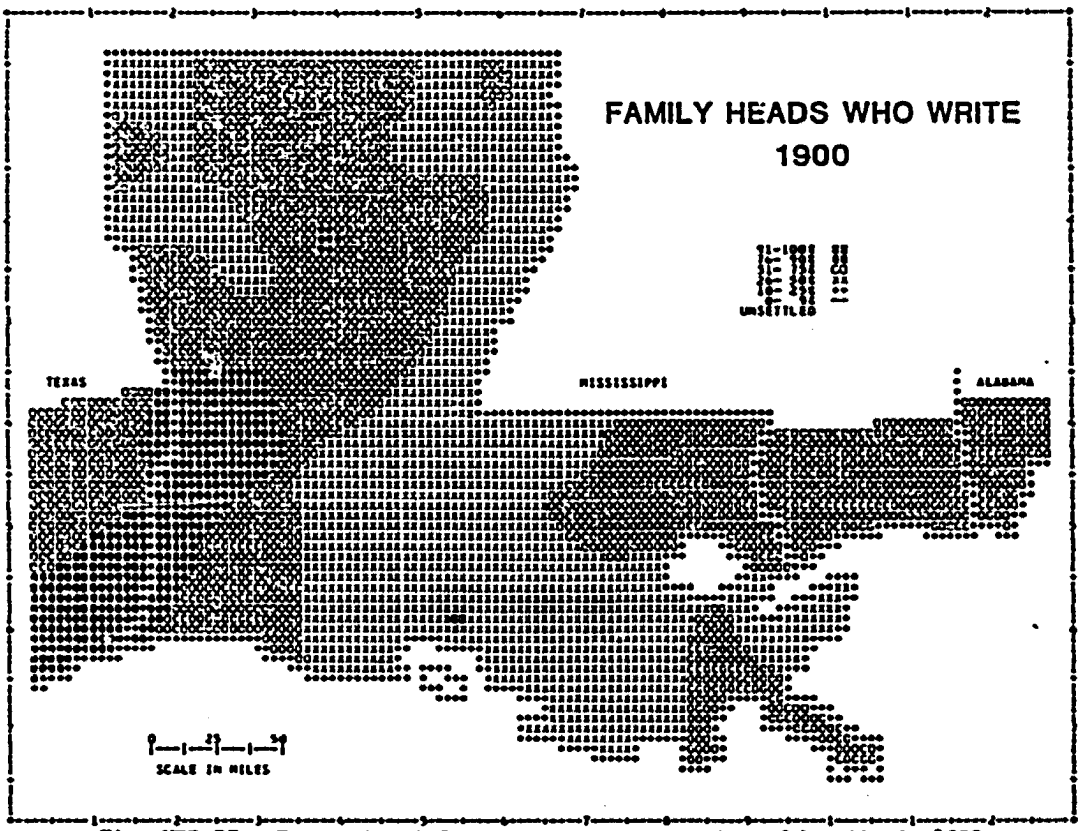


Fig. VII-35. Fewer than half the Louisiana French could write in 1900.

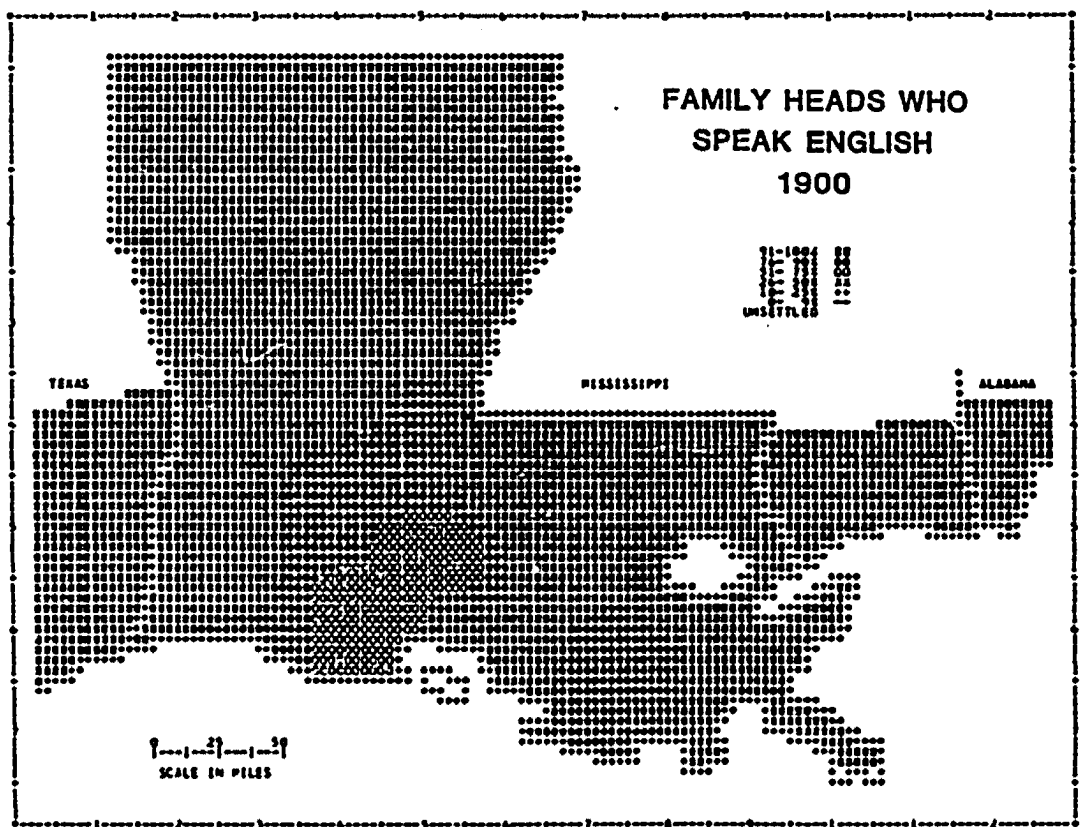


Fig. VII-36. Only in the Teche core did more than a quarter of the people tenaciously refuse to speak anything other than their local French patois.

educational opportunities, for example: Avoyelles and Lafayette parishes were two of the first in the state to begin to consolidate their small, rural schoolhouses into larger, more efficient operations; two of Louisiana's first teacher institutes were held in Lafayette and Thibodaux; in 1896 New Iberia opened its new high school, the only brick one outside New Orleans, and its modern facilities and curriculum became a model for the state; Lafayette Parish residents who in 1890 had organized the Lafayette Educational Dramatic Association to raise money through theatrical performances for a new graded public high school, nine years later taxed themselves substantially to attract the establishment of what today is the University of Southwestern Louisiana;[32] and out of the twenty-seven high schools outside New Orleans, one-third of which were in French Louisiana, Stephens offered at the close of his frequently-cited paper on late-nineteenth-century Louisiana education examples of 1900 course curricula from six "representative" secondary schools, all having outstanding leadership and four of which were located in French Louisiana--Franklin, whose principal, Alexis Brian, later became a prominent New Orleans attorney; Opelousas, whose principal, T. H. Harris, subsequently became State Superintendent of Education; Marksville, whose principal, V. J. Roy, later became president of the State Normal College in Natchitoches; and New Iberia, whose principal, J. E. Keeney, subsequently became president of the Louisiana Polytechnic

Institute in Ruston.[33] Maybe Thomas A. Badeaux, School Superintendent of Lafourche Parish, was not too far off the mark about French Louisiana when he reported in 1888: "The people are thoroughly awakened to the importance of education with some exceptions."[34]

Some Louisiana French feared, however, that mass education molded by Anglo-Saxon minds and twisted by English tongues would devastate the essence of the Gallic culture--its language. Fortier, celebrated Creole member of Louisiana's literati, lamented about some rural Cajuns he visited in 1891: "Education will, of course, destroy their dialect, so that the work of studying their peculiar customs and language must not be delayed long."[35] Such anxiety was not undue. By 1900 more than three-quarters of the residents of all but three Louisiana parishes claimed they could speak English (Fig. VII-36).[36] Only in the Teche-core parishes of St. Martin (60% English-speaking), Lafayette (61%), and Vermilion (62%) did more than a quarter of the population tenaciously refuse to speak anything other than their local French patois. Although the core (72%) differed statistically from the outland (99%) in 1900 English language usage, the moribund condition of the French language was clearly replicated by the death throes of French-language newspapers. From the flowering of thirty-three newspapers in 1860, the French-language press had distressingly withered to but seven by 1900 (Figs. VII-37, 38). Moreover, of the

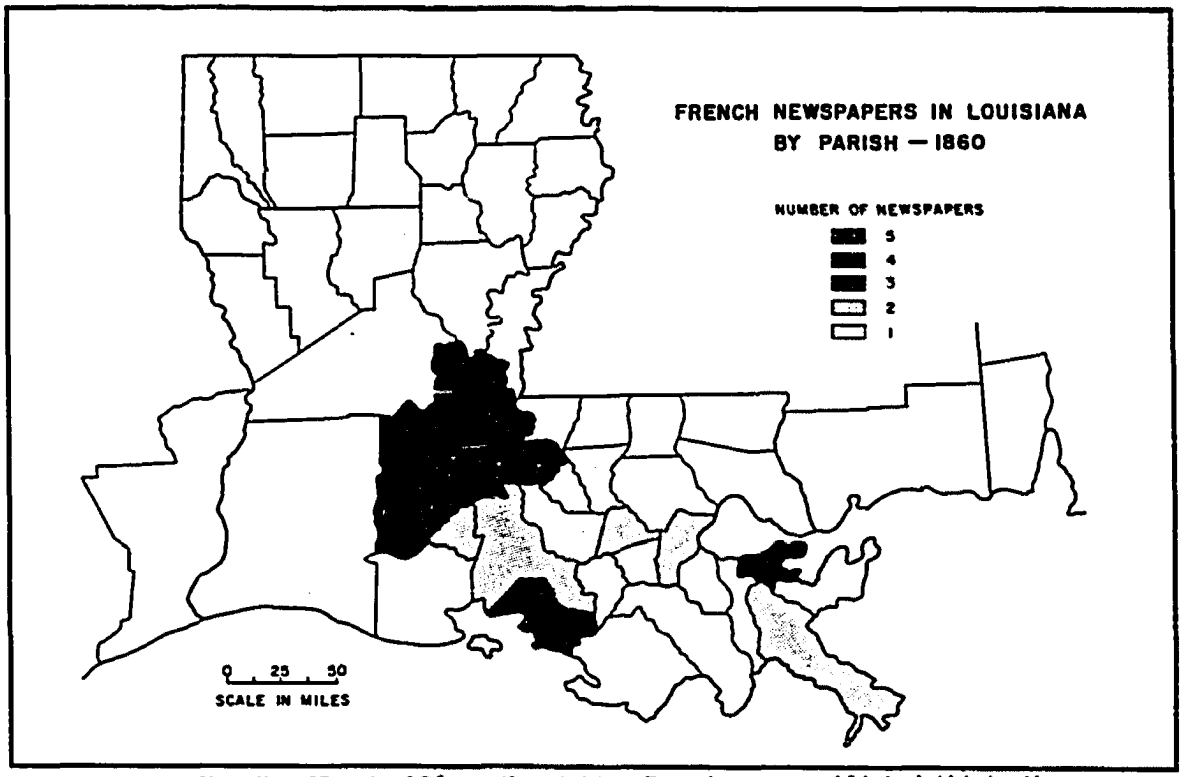


Fig. VII-37. In 1860 a flourishing French press published thirty-three French-language newspapers throughout the ethnic region.

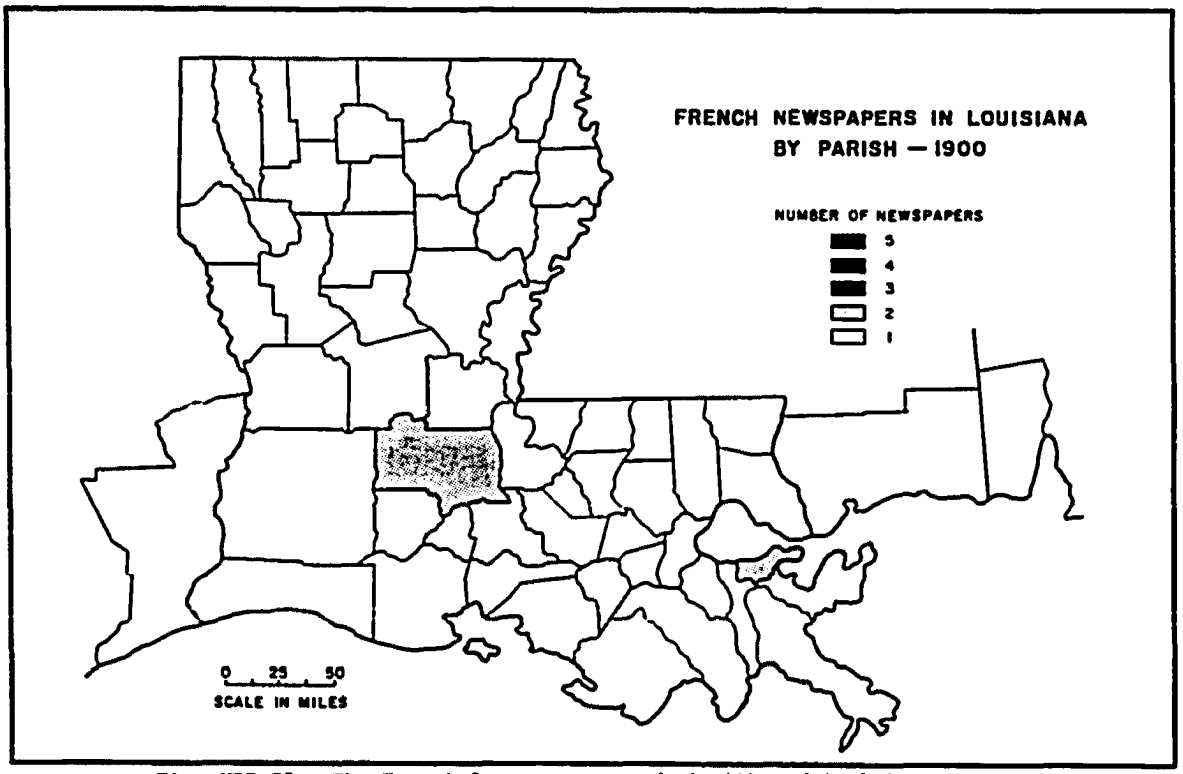


Fig. VII-38. The French-language press had withered to but seven newspapers by 1900.

twenty-six mid-century bilingual newspapers, only five had survived to century's end.[37]

A handful of late-nineteenth-century organizations, headquartered mainly in New Orleans, nevertheless attempted to revive and promote Louisiana's Gallic heritage, especially its language: L'Union Francaise, a fraternal link with France established in 1872; L'Athenee Louisianais, a literary society founded in 1875; The Creole Association, a group committed to cultural preservation formed in 1886; and L'Association Auxiliaire d'Education Des Dames, a female educational society organized in 1891. Unfortunately, these precursors of today's CODOFIL were short-lived.[38]

While analyzing what he called the "lingering death" of Louisiana French literature, most specifically newspapers and magazines of the nineteenth-century Creoles, Tinker reached a conclusion that would be difficult to deny: ". . . by 1900 the use of French in Louisiana had become, not a necessity, but a mere sentimental addiction, indulged in by a rapidly decreasing few."[39] So then did Robin's (1803-05) impassioned, one-hundred-year-old plea go unheeded by the Louisiana French:

> . . . the retention of your native language, which if you obtain it, will give you the means of obtaining everything else you desire, since it will give you the right to be governed by leaders of your choice. If you do not obtain it, all other gains that you may obtain will be illusory.[40]

Howard calculated: "Of the thirteen elected governors before 1860, three were of French background, two were

Acadians, and one had a French mother."[41] No Gallic governor was elected in postbellum Louisiana. And in 1900, of the state's fifty-nine sheriffs, only eleven (19%) had French surnames, a ten percentage-point decline from 1860 (Fig. VII-39). These French-surnamed sheriffs were elected to office in but half of the twenty-two parishes within the Louisiana French ethnic region; and, of the ten core and domain sheriffs, half were non-French: Terrebonne--A. W. Connelly; Lafourche--J. Beary; St. Landry--Marion L. Swords; Acadia--J. L. Murrell; and Iberia--George Henderson.[42]

No French-surnamed sheriff lived in the outland, but a handful of census enumerators with Gallic cognomens did so (Fig. VII-40). Although more widely distributed than French sheriffs, the pattern of Gallic enumerators, who, like their Anglo colleagues, were appointed through political patronage, painted a similar dichotomous picture of political influence at the grass-roots level between the core and the outland. In the core (79% French) 67 percent of the sheriffs were Gallic as were 70 percent of the enumerators. As was amply demonstrated in Avoyelles Parish by the postbellum predominance of French officials in a variety of positions--state representatives, sheriffs, district attorneys, mayors, parish assessors, clerks of court, and coroners,[43] the overall political strength of the six-parish core was not too different than that of mid-century.

Yet French political erosion throughout the ethnic region had indeed transpired. From 1869 to 1900, for

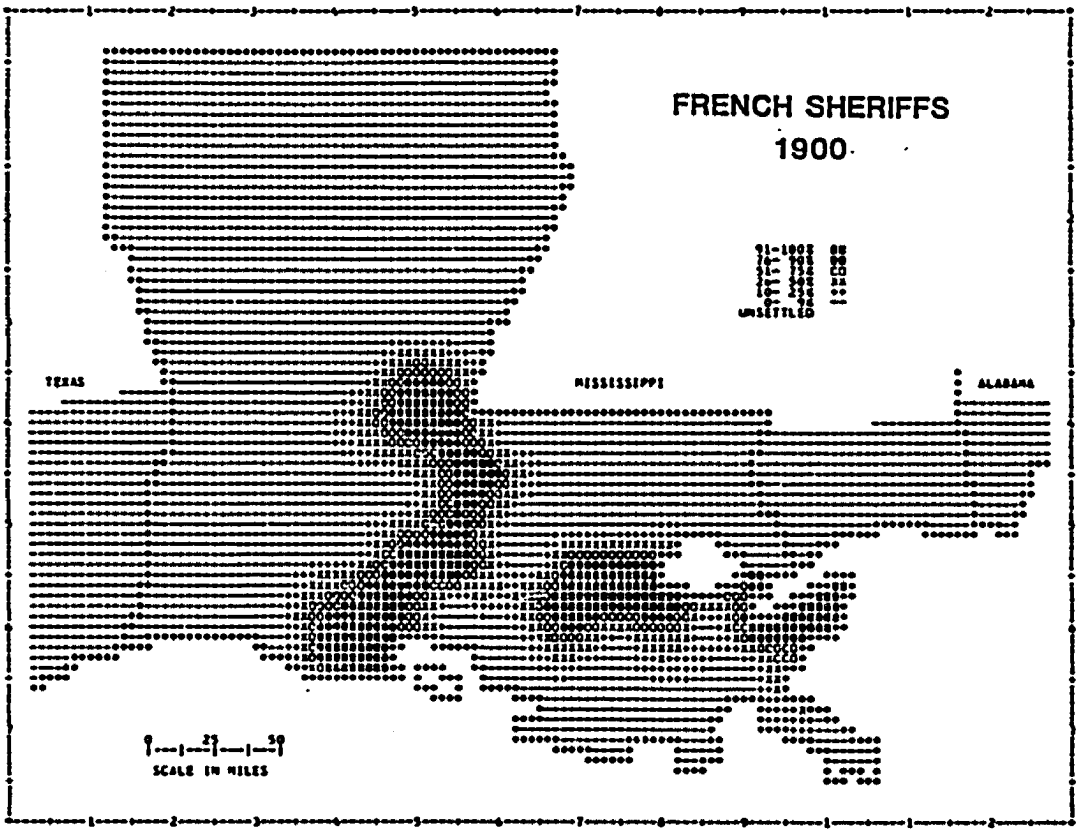


Fig. VII-39. Sheriffs with French surnames controlled only eleven parishes.

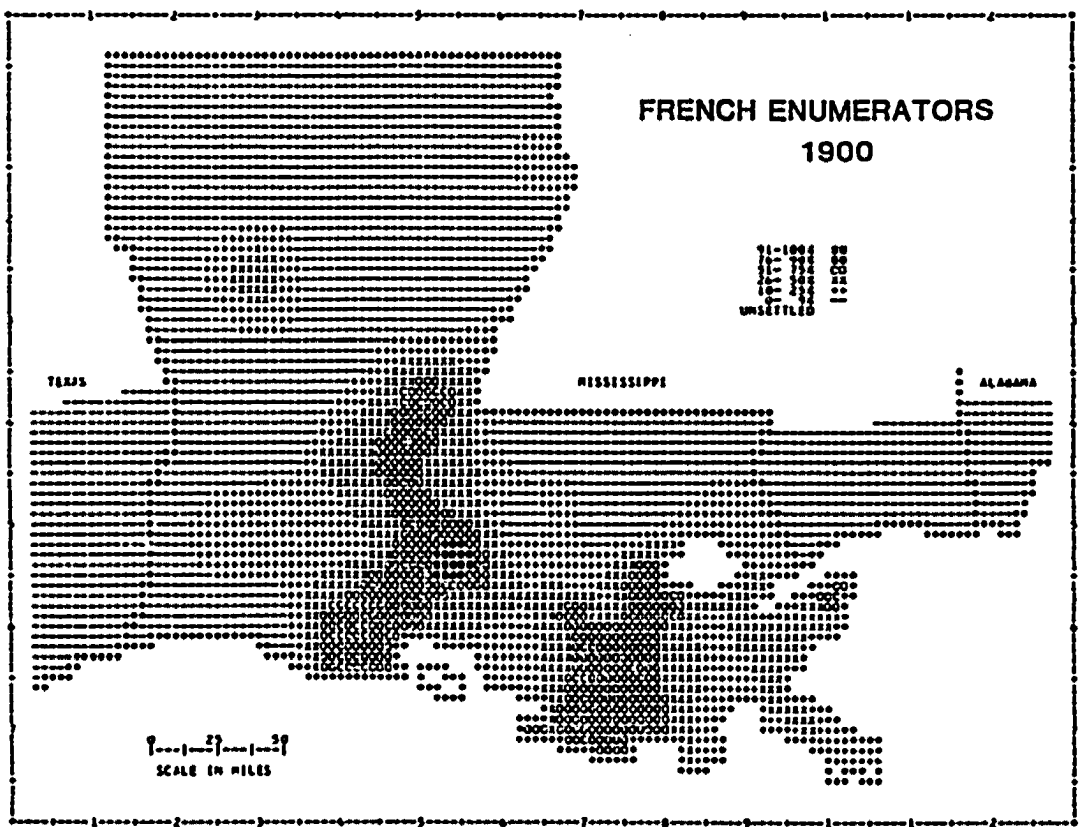


Fig. VII-40. The distribution of the politically-appointed census enumerators reflected grass-roots political influence.

example, of Lafayette's first sixteen mayors, eleven were Anglos; even though Lafayette (Vermilionville until 1884) was the parish seat of the state's most intensely-Gallic parish in 1900. In the domain, seven of New Iberia's first ten mayors between 1876 and 1900 were Anglos. In Ascension Parish, which had slid from the domain into the sphere, twelve of its nineteen postbellum state senators were Anglos, as were fifteen of its twenty-four state representatives, eleven of its fifteen parish clerks of court, and seven of its thirteen coroners.[44]

So then sixteen economic, social, and political variables clearly contrasted the French core and Anglo outland. Among the three zones--core, domain, and sphere--within the Louisiana French ethnic region a similar polarization prevailed, though once within the ethnic region half the variables that had separated the core and outland were no longer statistically significant. When addressing the second question--cultural attribute intensity varied with French intensity--the selection and analysis procedure ascertained that, of the fifty-four initial test variables, only twelve statistically differed among the three internal French zones. But because Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana) mirrored closely, though inversely, Louisiana nativity (overall r= -.96), the Louisiana nativity attribute was removed from the subsequent discriminant analysis. Discriminant analysis corroborated that this resultant eleven-variate set could differentiate among the three French

zones by producing unbiased classification functions able to predict with a relatively high 75 percent accuracy zone membership of the twenty-two parishes within the ethnic region (Table VII-9).

Only one of the original twelve variables, English-speaking family heads, differed in all French zones. As French intensity decreased from the core out to the sphere, the proportion of English-speakers increased in unison (Fig. VII-36). Of some importance, moreover, was the fact that although in 1820 and 1860 a similar stepwise inverse relationship had developed for Anglo ethnicity, such a zonal association did not occur in 1900 because Anglo proportions had become more areally smoothed by continued Anglo intrusion throughout the French region and Italian in-migration that diluted Anglo strength in the sphere.

Eight variates were homogeneous between the core and domain but formed a series of dichotomies between these inner zones on the one hand and the sphere on the other. The intensities of four attributes did not differ between the core and domain, yet <u>increased</u> significantly in the sphere. Of these, Italian ethnicity and European nativity were closely associated (overall r= .65), and being 17 percent Italian, the sphere had the largest proportion of Italians in all the study area (Figs. VII-24, 41). The Italians had evidently migrated into a "cultural seam" between two clashing cultures, a transitional area of considerable flux, chiefly displacement of the Louisiana French. The sphere's

TABLE VII-9

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR FRENCH ZONE COMPARISON

OF STATISTICAL ZONES--1900

VARIABLE	CORE MEAN	DOMAIN MEAN	SPHERE MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY	DIFFERING ZONES
Economic						
Property Owners Mortgaging	6.30%	6.82%	2.92%	8.639	.0021	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Social						
Roman Catholics	87.94%	86.05%	75.99%	5.198	.0158	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Italian Ethnicity	3.01%	4.12%	16.57%	6.811	.0059	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Louisiana Nativity	89.54%	85.36%	76.31%	13.45	.0002	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	4.40%	7.28%	11.37%	7.342	.0043	Sphere Differs From Core
European Nativity	4.08%	4.43%	9.55%	5.372	.0142	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Married Family Heads	80.57%	82.01%	74.81%	5.593	.0123	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Widowed Family Heads	11.76%	10.38%	15.15%	5.567	.0125	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Families With Less Than Two Children	44.28%	44.52%	55.55%	8.030	.0030	Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Family Heads Wo Read	36.92%	42.10%	48.71%	5.045	.0175	Sphere Differs From Core
Family Heads Who Speak English	72.15%	85.28%	94.65%	18.008	.0000	All Zones Differ
Political						
French Enumerators	69.81%	46.93%	25.29%	11.712	.0005	Sphere Differs From Core

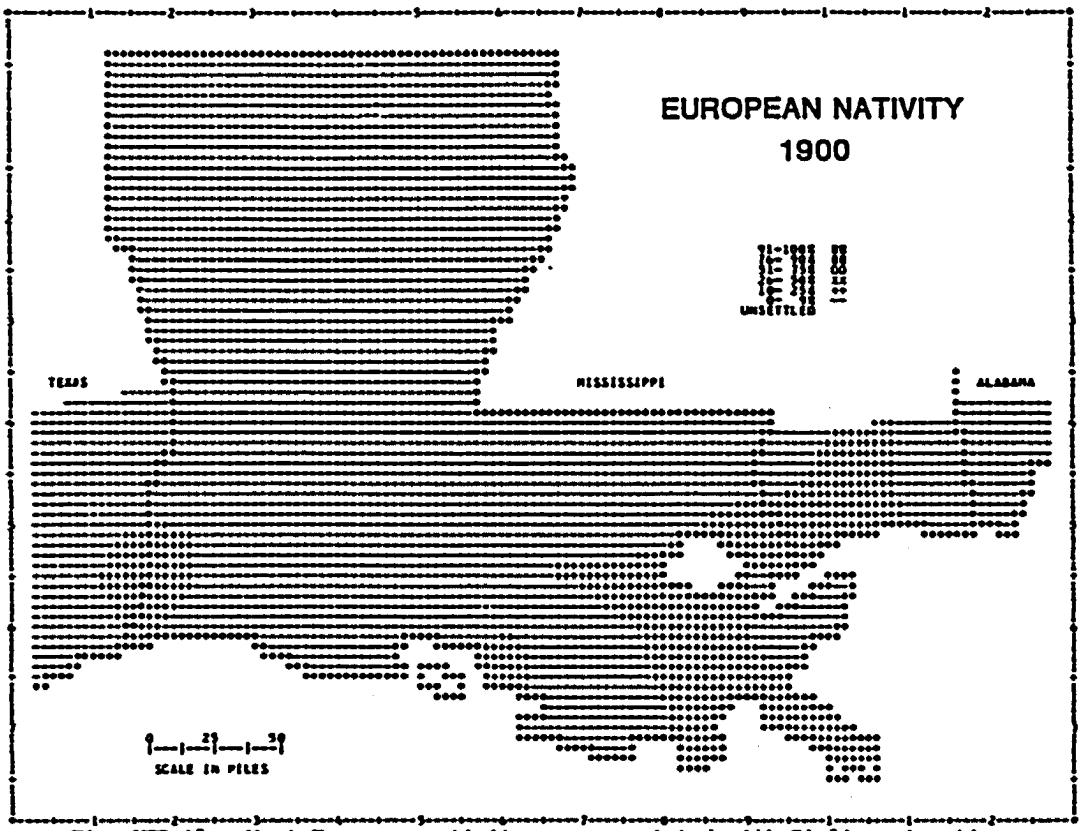


Fig. VII-41. Most European nativity was associated with Italian migration.

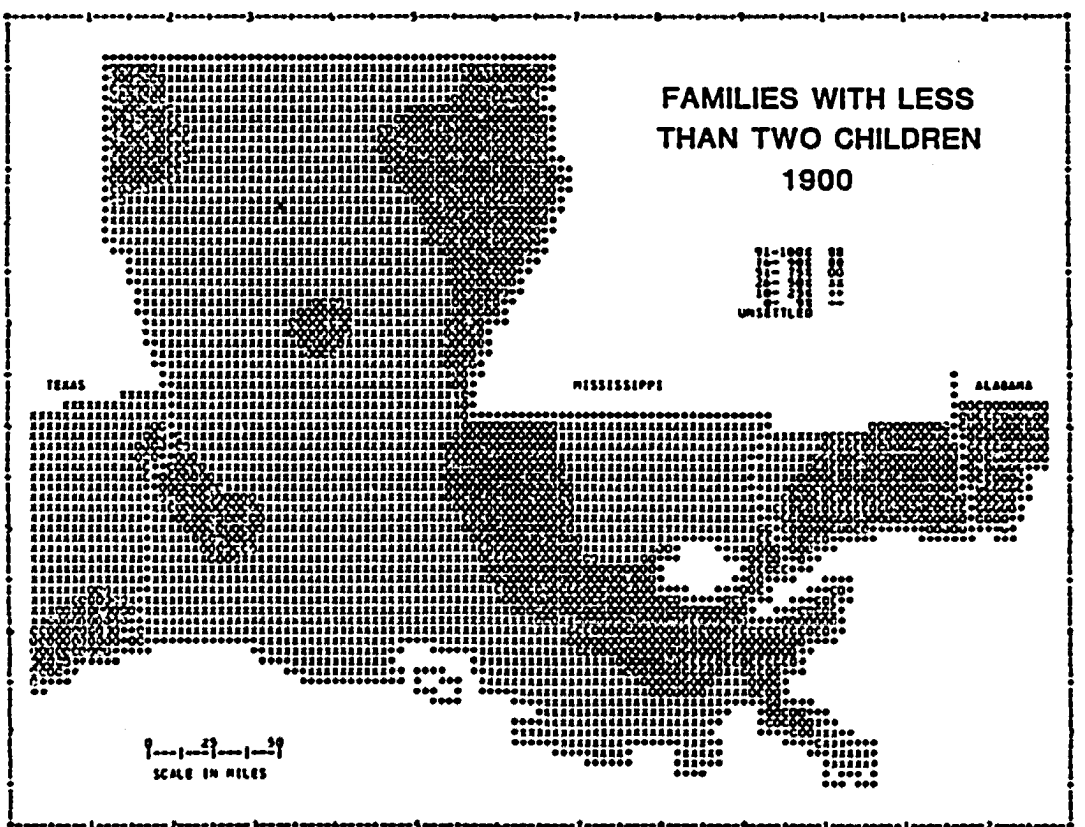


Fig. VII-42. Higher intensities of small families were associated with Mississippi River parishes and perhaps more urban areas.

many European immigrants and single black family heads combined with a greater urbanization near New Orleans to provide the most plausible answer to the zone's smaller family size (Fig. VII-42). Interestingly, on the other hand, throughout the entire study area large families and Roman Catholicism had little association (r= -.04) in an agrarian age. The reasons for a larger proportion of widowed family heads in the sphere remain obfuscate (Fig. VII-43).

Conversely, four test variables did not differ between the core and domain but declined abruptly in the sphere. As previously noted, Roman Catholicism and Louisiana nativity were conspicuous indicators of the Louisiana French culture, and their absence in the sphere once again emphasized serious French erosion (Figs. VII-27, 29). The lack of married family heads in the sphere may have been due to the vigorous late-nineteenth-century in-migration and to the greater number of black tenant farmers along the Mississippi River who seemingly showed little affinity for marriage (overall r= -.45) (Fig. VII-44). Property mortgaging and property renting were inversely related (overall r= -.41), and the somewhat larger proportion of European immigrant renters who could not afford to purchase property in the sphere may have contributed to the decrease in the percent of mortgaged property (Fig. VII-45).[45]

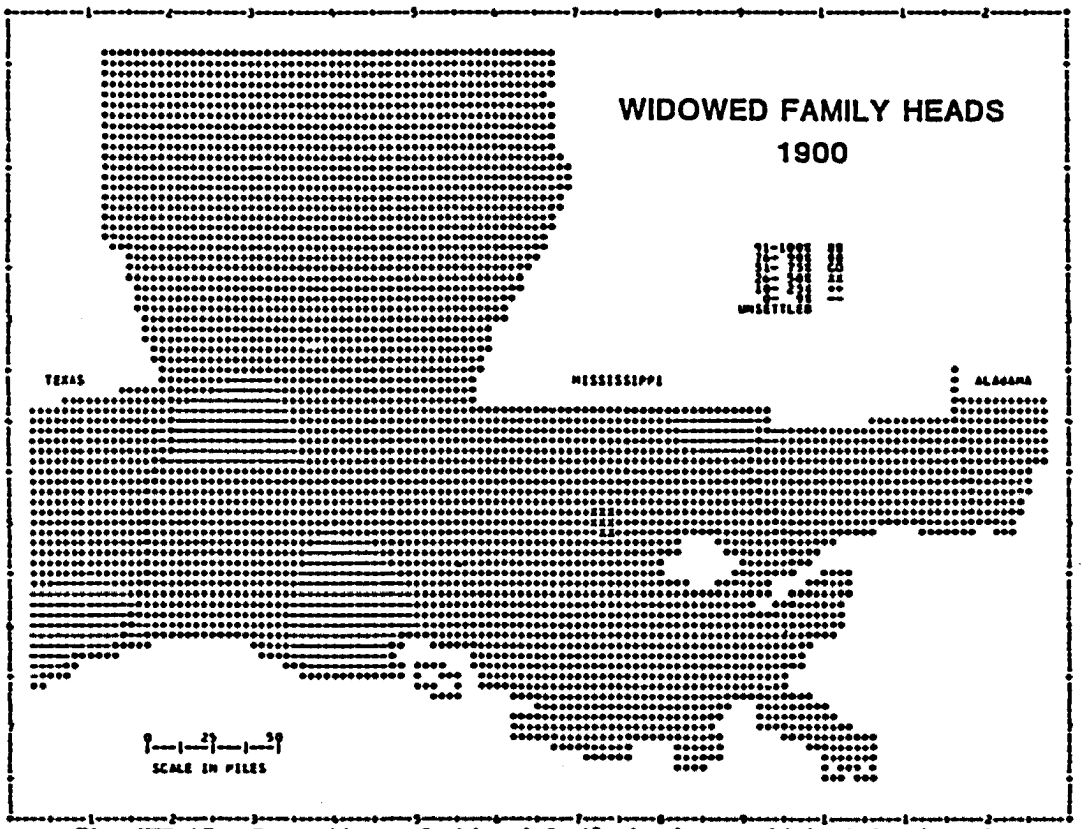


Fig. VII-43. Proportions of widowed family heads were highest in the sphere.

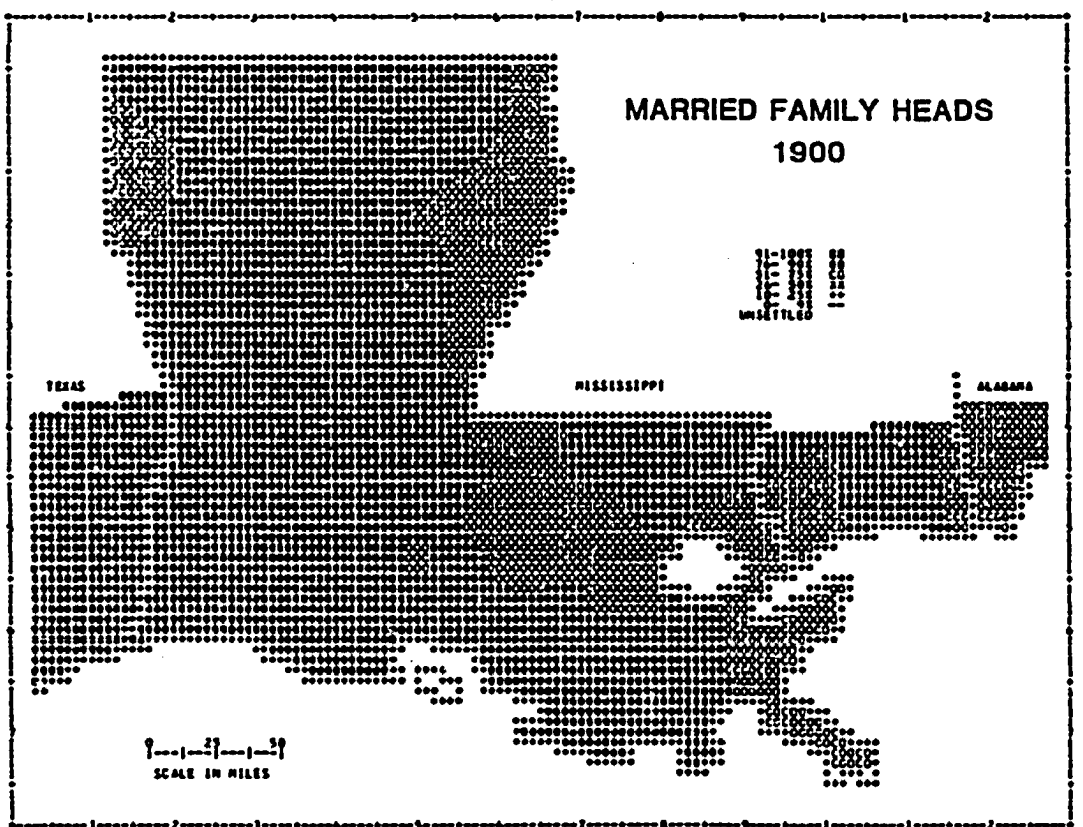


Fig. VII-44. Black-dominated parishes along the Mississippi River had fewer married family heads.

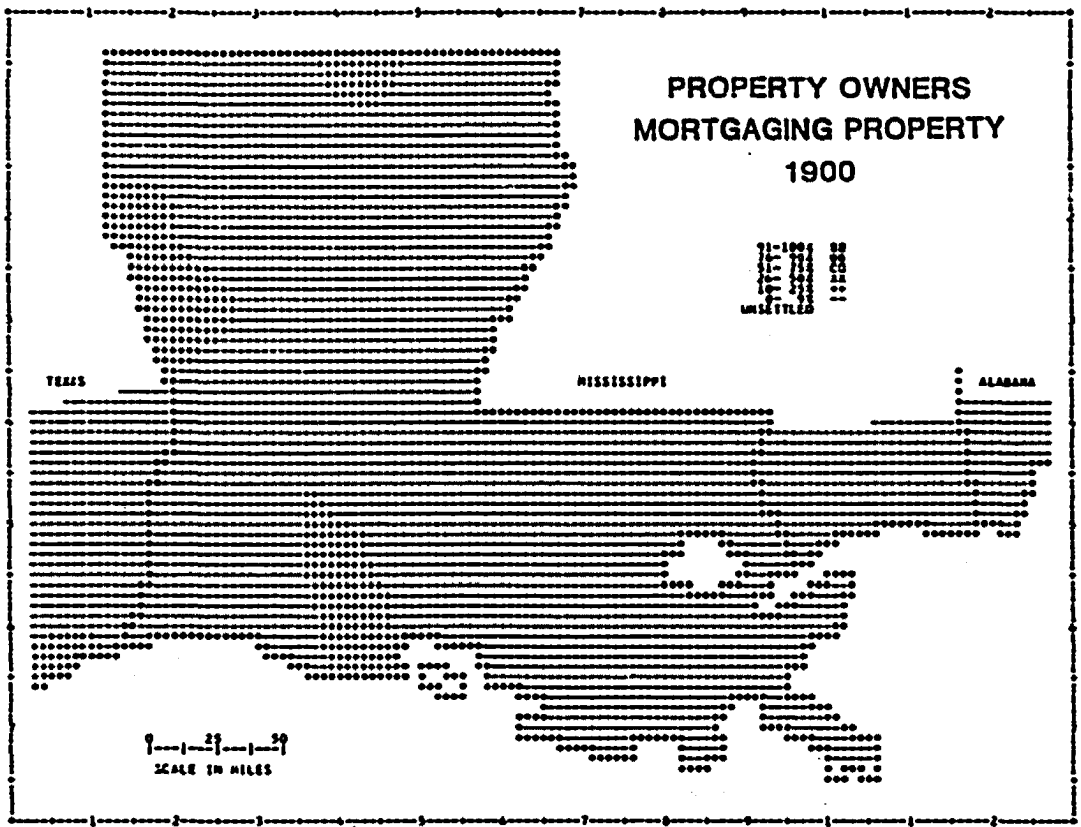


Fig. VII-45. The lower proportion of mortgaged property in the sphere was probably caused by the larger number of European immigrant renters.

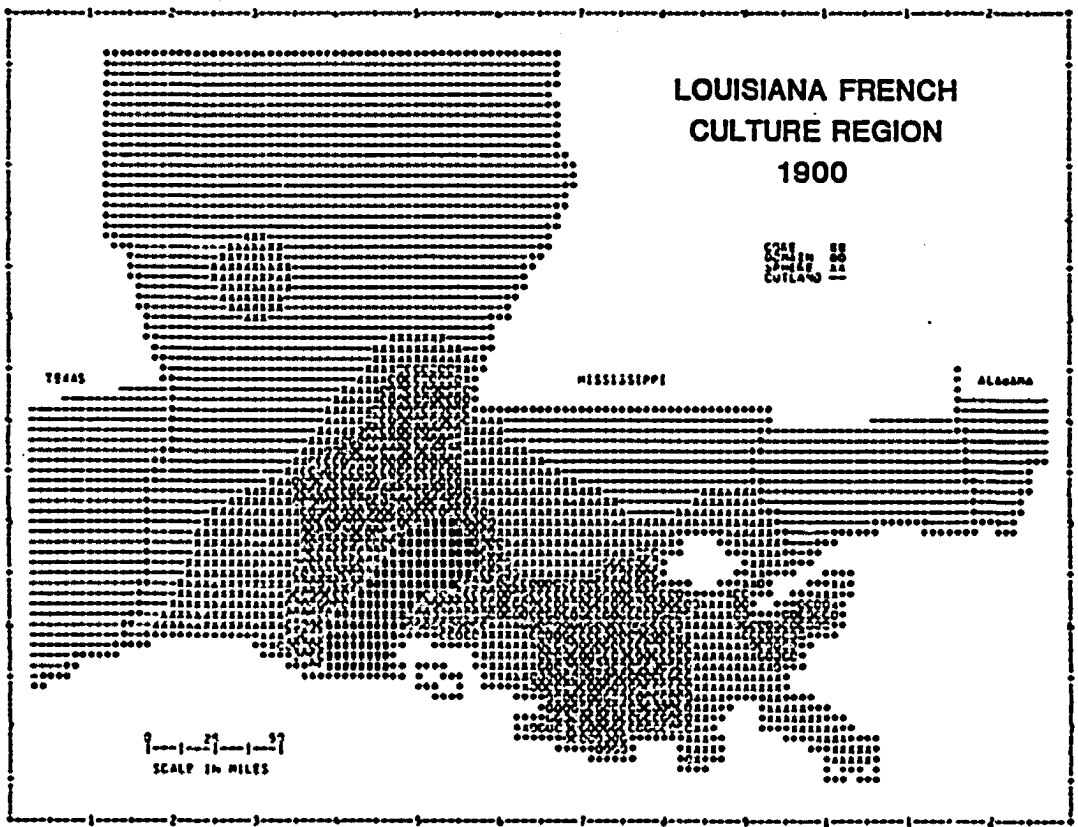


Fig. VII-46. A triangular pattern remained when seven cultural surrogates were combined to delimit a more holistic 1900 Louisiana French culture region.

The remaining three zone variates formed a core-sphere dichotomy in which substantial Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana) and reading competency plus a paucity of French enumerators in the sphere accentuated its history of pervasive Anglo encroachment (Figs. VII-30, 34, 40). The Gallic heritage and presence were certainly felt in the sphere but with the waning ardor of a minority culture.

Cluster analysis combined parish data for the selected prime variables--Anglo ethnicity, Roman Catholicism, Louisiana nativity, Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana), English-speakers, and French enumerators--with that of the original Louisiana French ethnicity to successfully delimit, as proposed in the third question, a more holistic 1900 Louisiana French cultural region. Although somewhat larger, this seven-variable culture region retained the ethnic region's triangular shape (Figs. VII-46, 22). The culture region's sphere had expanded by pushing eastward along the lower Mississippi, encircling Lake Pontchartrain to the Pearl River at the Mississippi state border, sweeping westward over the southwestern prairies almost to Texas, and leaping up the Red River to sketch a rejuvenated Natchitoches outlier. The domain meanwhile had swallowed up the Lafourche core and Avoyelles Parish core outlier, bridged its bifurcated lobes across the lower Atchafalaya Basin, and jumped across New Orleans to silhouette the St. Bernard Parish peninsula. The three Teche-core parishes--St. Martin, Lafayette, and Vermilion--were almost unchanged, except

that St. Martin had replaced Lafayette as the most intensely-French parish.

Implications

The perspicacious narrator of the 1901 Breaux manuscript encapsulated quite well the Louisiana French experience during the last four decades of the nineteenth century:

> Times have changed. Many of the old family-heads have died, and others have taken their place, people coming from neighboring parishes or states. It is not uncommon, here as elsewhere, for the children not to resemble their parents. . . .
>
> Things that have happened since the Civil War, things aimed at civilizing and enlightening the people, have not been without influence on the younger generation. The increase in human contacts over the past forty years has been great. There is less peasant rusticity and coarseness; it yields to a sort of pride, strongly marked in some which is quite the opposite of the early character. . . . For good or evil, the new ideas and ethics must be adopted. Young folk who tried to revive the sociability of the earlier epoch would soon be the dupes of their own simple honesty. The more one examines the new centers of population, the more one finds the new character accentuated, whereas the old Acadian mores are now to be found only in out-of-the-way places, and especially among the elderly.[46]

The Louisiana French region had continued its drift westward--from the east, pushed by an insatiable Anglo appetite and a billow of Italians that had broken across the South Louisiana "Sugar Bowl"; and, from the west, pulled along railroad tracks by an embryonic rice agriculture that a cascade of Midwesterners had splashed over the prairies of southwestern Louisiana.[47]

By century's close the "Railroad Age" had linked French Louisiana's traditional central places, built bustling

towns of its own, and securely tied the region with the entire nation. Technological innovation had sparked like electricity throughout the blossoming French Louisiana urban system. A New Iberian, for instance, could take a train to San Francisco, telegraph New Orleans, telephone Lafayette, or simply tour the town in a new automobile. Certainly turn-of-the-century French Louisiana was not isolated. Unfortunately for its beautiful cultural heritage, it had, in fact, already entered Meinig's final stage of cultural evolution--dissolution of the historic regional culture. And uncanningly symbolic of such a catastrophic conclusion of the century-long cultural clash was a catalytic event in 1901--oil was struck in Jennings, the same year as Beaumont's Spindletop gusher. Despite the Gallic oasis of the Teche core, by the beginning of the twentieth century Louisiana's Creoles and Cajuns, speaking English, drinking beer, and playing baseball like their Anglo countrymen,[48] had become Americans.

NOTES

[1]John D. Winters, The Civil War in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963); Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974); Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, A Narrative History (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965), pp. 243-330; Joe G. Taylor, Louisiana, A Bicentennial History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 87-144; Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, eds., A History of the South, 10 vols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), vol. 9: Origins of the New South, 1877-1913, by C. Vann Woodward, p. 110.

[2]Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 337-42; Davis, p. 301; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 123; Donald J. Millet, "The Economic Development of Southwest Louisiana, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1964), pp. 133-62; Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana, comps., Louisiana: A Guide to the State, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 83.

[3]Millet, pp. 110-32; Davis, pp. 301-02; Samuel H. Lockett, Louisiana As It Is: A Geographical and Topographical Description of the State, 1873, ed., Lauren C. Post (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 134; Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, p. 338; Maurine Bergerie, They Tasted Bayou Water: A Brief History of Iberia Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1962), pp. 70-71; Grace Ulmer, "Economic and Social Development of Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, 1840-1912," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 32 (1949):541-42; Robert Gahn, A History of Evangeline: Its Land, Its Men and Its Women Who Made It a Beautiful Place to Live (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1972), pp. 103-05.

[4]Quoted in Millet, p. 119.

[5]Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, p. 337; Davis, pp. 299-301,303; Fred B. Kniffen, Louisiana: Its Land

and People (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 146, 149; "A Trip to the Attakapas in Olden Times," reprinted from Louisiana Sugar Bowl, 15 April 1880, Attakapas Gazette 8 (1973):21-25; Gladys C. Case, The Bayou Chene Story: A History of the Atchafalays Basin and its People (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1973), pp. 99-100; Philip D. Uzee, "Bayou Lafourche," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), pp. 123-24; Sue L. Eakin, "The Atchafalaya," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), p. 118; A. Otis Hebert, Jr., "The Calcasieu," in The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana, ed. Edwin A. Davis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), p. 91; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 316; Millet, pp. 92-103, 357; Lockett, pp. 124, 130-31; Daniel Dennett, Louisiana As It Is: Its Topography and Material Resources. . . Reliable Information for. . . Any Who May Desire to Settle or Purchase Lands in the Gulf States (New Orleans: Eureka Press, 1876), pp. 38-119, 273; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, 3 vols., Louisiana Classic Series (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing, 1892; reprint ed., Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1975), 2:42-48; Ulmer, pp. 545-46; Southern Pacific Company, A Century of Progress in Louisiana, 1852-1952; Souvenir Reprint (Houston: the Company, 1952), pp. 51-55; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 123; Velma L. Hair, "The History of Crowley, Louisiana," reprinted from Louisiana Historical Quarterly 27 (1944):3-4.

[6]Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "Louisiana Railroads in the Civil War" (M.A. thesis, McNeese State University, 1970), p. 2; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana, The Pelican State (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 250-51; Writers' Program, pp. 62, 83; Millet, pp. 145-48, 358-59, 362-63, 370-93; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 301; Woodward, pp. 120-21; J. Philip Dismukes, The Center: A History of the Development of Lafayette, Louisiana (Lafayette, LA: City of Lafayette, 1972), pp. 27-30; Hair, pp. 5-10, 41-42; Mary A. Fontenot, Acadia Parish, Louisiana: A History to 1920, 2 vols. (Lafayette, LA: Acadiana Press, 1979), 2:8, 14, 97, 151; Harry L. Griffin, The Attakapas Country: A History of Lafayette Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1959), pp. 72-74, 88-89; Bergerie, pp. 69-70; Sidney A. Marchand, The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana (Donaldsonville, LA: By the Author, 1931), pp. 184-86; Ulmer, pp. 533-35, 543-44; Gahn, pp. 41-52; Malcolm Comeaux, "Louisiana Acadians: The Environmental Impact," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 154-55; James W. Taylor, "The Agricultural Settlement Succession in the Prairies of Southwest

Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1956), pp. 133-34; William J. Sandoz, "A Brief History of St. Landry Parish," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 8 (1925): 232; Kniffen, pp. 156-60; Lauren C. Post, Cajun Sketches From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 78-82; "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), pp. 187-92.

[7]Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 79, 82; Kniffen, p. 160.

[8]Quoted in Millet, p. 149.

[9]G. W. McGinty, "Changes in Louisiana Agriculture, 1860-1880," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 18 (1935):407-28; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 295-96; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 68, 116; Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 364-406; Woodward, pp. 175-81.

[10]U. S., Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 66-69, 202; U. S., Department of the Interior, United States Census Office, Agriculture, Census Reports, vol. V, pt. I, Farms, Live Stock, and Animal Products (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1902), pp. 88-89; U. S., Department of the Interior, United States Census Office, Agriculture, Census Reports, Crops and Irrigation, vol. VI, pt. II (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1902), pp. 432-67; J. Carlyle Sitterson, Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950 (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), pp. 252-90, 324-42; Garnault Agassiz, "The Untold Treasures of Louisiana," National Magazine 35 (1912):611-15; Biographical and Historical Memoirs, 1: 128-31.

[11]Mildred K. Ginn, "A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 23 (1940):548-75; Millet, pp. 216-58; Post, Cajun Sketches, pp. 78-82; "Cultural Geography," pp. 187-94; William H. Perrin, ed., Southwest Louisiana, Biographical and Historical (New Orleans: Gulf Publishing, 1891), pp. 50, 128, 139-40, 228-31, 262-63; Comeaux, pp. 154-55; Agassiz, pp. 630-34; U. S., Crops and Irrigation, pp. 53-95; Lauren C. Post, "The Rice Country of Southwest Louisiana," Geographical Review 30 (1940):574-81; Lockett, p. 97; Dennett, pp. 135-40; Biographical and Historical Memoirs, 1:131; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 296-97; Kniffen, pp. 156-160; Fontenot, 2:14-85, 227-30; Mary A. Fontenot and Paul B. Freeland, Acadia Parish, Louisiana, 2 vols.

(Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing, 1979), 1:177-87, 324-28; Woodward, pp. 119-20; Ulmer, pp. 530-37; Hair, pp. 41-46.

[12]U. S., Agriculture of the United States in 1860, p. 67; U. S., Crops and Irrigation, pp. 94, 192.

[13]T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 293 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937), p. 17.

[14]Griffin estimated the 1900 Cajun population to have been between 40,000 and 50,000, an extremely conservative calculation. See Harry L. Griffin, A Brief History of the Acadians (Grand Coteau, LA: College of the Sacred Heart, 1952), p. 20. Assuming that the Louisiana French population again doubled in the next forty years, its 1940 total should have been about 638,000, a figure not too different from the Smith and Hitt estimate of 660,000. See T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 49.

[15]See, for example, Peirce F. Lewis, New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing, 1976), p. 14.

[16]Writers' Program, p. 317; Matthew J. Schott, "Class Conflict in Louisiana Voting Since 1877: Some New Perspectives," Louisiana History 12 (1971):156; James Calhoun, ed., Louisiana Almanac, 1979-1980 (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1979), pp. 114-24.

[17]Calhoun, pp. 114-21; Hair, pp. 5-19; Fontenot, pp. 97-110; Perrin, p. 237.

[18]North Louisiana's spare urban system did not start to fill out until after the turn of the twentieth century. Examine T. Lynn Smith, Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-1931, Louisiana State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 234 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1933), pp. 14-18.

[19]Marchand, pp. 142-43; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 323; Millet, pp. 363-64, 366-67; Ulmer, pp. 546-47; Hair, pp. 5-7, 37; Dismukes, p. 34; Griffin, Attakapas Country, p. 120; Bergerie, p. 75; Gahn, pp. 48, 107; Fontenot, pp. 3-4, 107; Fontenot and Freeland, 212-29.

[20]Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 322; Millet, pp. 363-64, 367-68; Hair, p. 30; Dismukes, pp. 27, 30; Griffin, Attakapas Country, p. 61; Bergerie, p. 95; Marchand, p. 154; Jean M. Eyraud and Donald J. Millet,

A History of St. John the Baptist Parish with Biographical Sketches (Marrero, LA: Hope Haven Press, 1939), p. 42.

[21]Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 323; Calhoun, p. 313; Writers' Program, p. 701.

[22]Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 117, 127-29; Woodward, pp. 109-10, 177-78.

[23]McGinty, pp. 407-13, 427; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 296; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 116; Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 364-406. Blacks in particular suffered under the farm tenancy system. An astonishingly intense .91 correlation between parish/county proportions of black farmers and farm tenancy had developed by 1900. See Appendix A, Table A-6 for initial test data by cartographic zones; and for maps of variables that were not statistically different in the polarized comparison, see Appendix D.

[24]Jean A. Scarpaci, "Italian Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes: Recruitment, Labor Conditions, and Community Relations, 1880-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1972), pp. 1-96; Sitterson, pp. 315-17; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 296-97. Occupational classifications for 1900 are found in Appendix A, Table A-7.

[25]Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 277, 316; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 81; Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 440-54; Biographical and Historical Memoirs, 2:137-52; Perrin, pp. 115, 118, 146; Fontenot, pp. 118-20, 170-72, 188, 258-59, 288-89, 322-24.

[26]For maps of the individual ethnics--English, Irish, and Scottish--that comprised the more general Anglo group, see Appendix D, Maps D-1, 2, and 3. Victor H. Treat, "Migration Into Louisiana, 1834-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1967), p. 42; Woodward, pp. 298-99.

[27]Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, pp. 273-76, 306-09; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, pp. 120, 143; Louisiana Reconstructed, pp. 461-74; Leon O. Beasley, "A History of Education in Louisiana During the Reconstruction Period, 1862-1877" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1957), passim; Marie L. Renaud, "The History of the Public Schools in St. Bernard Parish to 1877" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1946), pp. 43-58; Woodward, pp. 61-63; Carl A. Brasseaux, "Acadian Education: From Cultural Isolation to Mainstream America," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for

Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 213, 216; Edwin L. Stephens, "Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 16 (1933):47.

[28]Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 121.

[29]Stephens, p. 55; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 308.

[30]Brasseaux, pp. 213-18; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 306; Larbi Oukada, "The Territory and Population of French-Speaking Louisiana," Revue de Louisiane 7 (1978):9; George F. Reineche, trans., "Early Louisiana French Life and Folklore from the Anonymous Breaux Manuscript as Edited by Professor Jay K. Ditchy," Louisiana Folklore Miscellany 2 (1966):18-19; Lillian C. Bourgeois, Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1957), pp. 85-86; Corinne L. Saucier, History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1943), pp. 74-77; John J. Guilbeau, "The French Spoken in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1950), pp. 34-35. When whites with French surnames were isolated in the six-parish core, only 41 percent said they could read, a slight improvement over the core's general population.

[31]Brasseaux, pp. 212-13.

[32]Edwin L. Stephens, "The Story of Acadian Education in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 18 (1935):398-402; Perrin, p. 110; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 309; Dismukes, pp. 31, 37-38; Griffin, Attakapas Country, pp. 97-99; Saucier, p. 77; William H. Miller, "The History of Public Education in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1933), p. 50; Bergerie, pp. 81-82; John W. Faulk, "The History of Education in Lafayette Parish Louisiana" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1933), pp. 12-13.

[33]Stephens, "Education in Louisiana," pp. 50-53; U. S., Commissioner of Education, pp. 2229-30.

[34]Quoted in Miller, p. 47.

[35]Alcee Fortier, "The Acadians and Their Dialect," Modern Language Association of America Publications 6 (1891): 85.

[36]When only whites with French surnames were isolated in the six-parish core, 58 percent reported they could speak English. Moreover, when Italians were

removed from the computations, English language usage rose about 2-4 percent in the parishes between New Orleans and Baton Rouge but was not at all affected in the six French-core parishes.

[37]Edward L. Tinker, "Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, 42 (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1933), pp. 251-62; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 311; Bourgeois, pp. 120-22; Marchand, pp. 90-91; Dismukes, p. 32; Griffin, Attakapas Country, pp. 117-18; Sandoz, pp. 237-38; Guilbeau, p. 35.

[38]Biographical and Historical Memoirs, 2:178-90; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 320.

[39]Tinker, p. 279.

[40]C. C. Robin, Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805, trans. and ed. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1966), p. 175.

[41]Perry H. Howard, "The Politics of the Acadian Parishes," in The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 227.

[42]Louisiana, Report of the Secretary of the State to His Excellency W. W. Heard, Governor of the State of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge News Publishing, 1902), pp. 390-437.

[43]Saucier, pp. 356-97.

[44]Griffin, Attakapas Country, p. 244; Dismukes, p. 30; Bergerie, p. 101; Marchand, pp. 171-82.

[45]Scarpaci, pp. 243-316.

[46]Reineche, pp. 9-10.

[47]For information about migration into East Texas from Louisiana between 1860 and 1880 refer to Homer L. Kerr, "Migration Into Texas, 1860-1880," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 70 (1966):189, 191, 203; and, more specifically, for a discussion of Cajun migration into East Texas after 1900, read Michael J. LeBlanc and Dean R. Louder, "Coonasses: The Cajuns of East Texas," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1 June 1979, pp. 1-16; and Dean R. Louder and Michael LeBlanc, "The

Cajuns of East Texas," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 23 (1979):317-30.

[48]Kniffen, p. 166; Davis, Louisiana, Narrative, p. 298; Taylor, Louisiana, Bicentennial, p. 147; Writers' Program, pp. 71, 701; Calhoun, p. 312; Woodward, p. 302; Comeaux, p. 145; Uzee, p. 126.

CHAPTER VIII

TOWARD A LOUISIANA FRENCH REGIONAL MODEL

During the nineteenth century the Louisiana French changed, and with them the Louisiana French region changed. Most Louisiana French had not been aristocratically-wealthy planters, nor had they been bucolically-backward swamp folk. In the main they were farmers who during the century had been assimilated into Southern agricultural society if not the American mainstream. Likewise the Louisiana French region had not been frozen in time nor isolated in space--it had expanded, intensified, and flourished; and it had been invaded, diluted, and emasculated.

Discriminators Through Time

In an attempt to analyze some of these changes, this study asked a fourth question: Are there economic, social, and political variables that varied similarly in the three Louisiana French ethnic regions--1820, 1860, and 1900? In the three temporal cross sections seventy-five variables, without duplication, were statistically tested in both polar (core-outland) and zone (core, domain, and sphere) comparisons (Table VIII-1). Of these, twenty-three--

TABLE VIII-1

NUMBER OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

YEAR	INITIALLY TESTED	POLAR SIGNIFICANT	ZONE SIGNIFICANT
1820	19	4	3
1860	46	10	10
1900	54	16	12
Total with duplication	119	30	25
Total without duplication	75	21	20

TABLE VIII-2

BEST POLAR DISCRIMINATORS THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

RANK	VARIABLE	CROSS SECTION	CORE MEAN	OUTLAND MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY
1	Anglo Ethnicity	1820	3.24%	92.26%	545.600	.0000
		1860	12.23%	85.55%	217.000	.0000
		1900	14.22%	85.23%	225.100	.0000
2	French Enumerators	1820	89.28%	0.00%	87.580	.0000
		1860	57.14%	3.35%	24.310	.0000
		1900	69.81%	2.94%	399.600	.0000
3	French Sheriffs	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--
		1860	85.71%	2.94%	84.860	.0000
		1900	66.67%	0.00%	86.470	.0000
4	Roman Catholics/ Church Accommodations	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--
		1860	81.37%	10.75%	86.260	.0000
		1900	87.94%	14.07%	78.690	.0000
5	Louisiana Nativity	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--
		1860	74.17%	20.05%	83.530	.0000
		1900	89.54%	53.11%	14.020	.0005
6	Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--
		1860	5.13%	61.45%	47.270	.0000
		1900	4.40%	40.15%	18.310	.0001

[nd]No Data

six economic, fifteen social, and two political--were statistically different in the polar contrasts, while twenty--five economic, fourteen social, and one political--differed among the internal French zones (Fig. VIII-1).[1]

Affirming the foregoing query, seven of the polar variables were statistically different in more than one cross section, and eliminating the erratic male family head attribute, the remaining six became the best polar discriminators through time: Anglo ethnicity, French enumerators, French sheriffs, Roman Catholics/Church accommodations, Louisiana nativity, and Southern nativity (excluding Louisiana), in order of their discriminating power (Table VIII-2). Because of the absence of data in 1820, only two of the six--Anglo ethnicity and French enumerators--differed in all the cross sections. Variance analysis discerned that in the core a distinct temporal dichotomy developed for both of these attributes: Anglo ethnicity increased sharply from 3 percent in 1820 to level off at 12 percent in 1860, and the proportion of French enumerators declined abruptly from 89 percent in 1820 to but 57 percent by the Civil War. Both of these trends emphasized that the Anglo advance into the very heart of the French region was far more vigorous during the antebellum years, 1820-1860, than in the postbellum decades. The thirty-three percentage-point rise in the outland's postbellum proportion of Louisiana nativity and the corresponding twenty-one percentage-point drop in its Southern

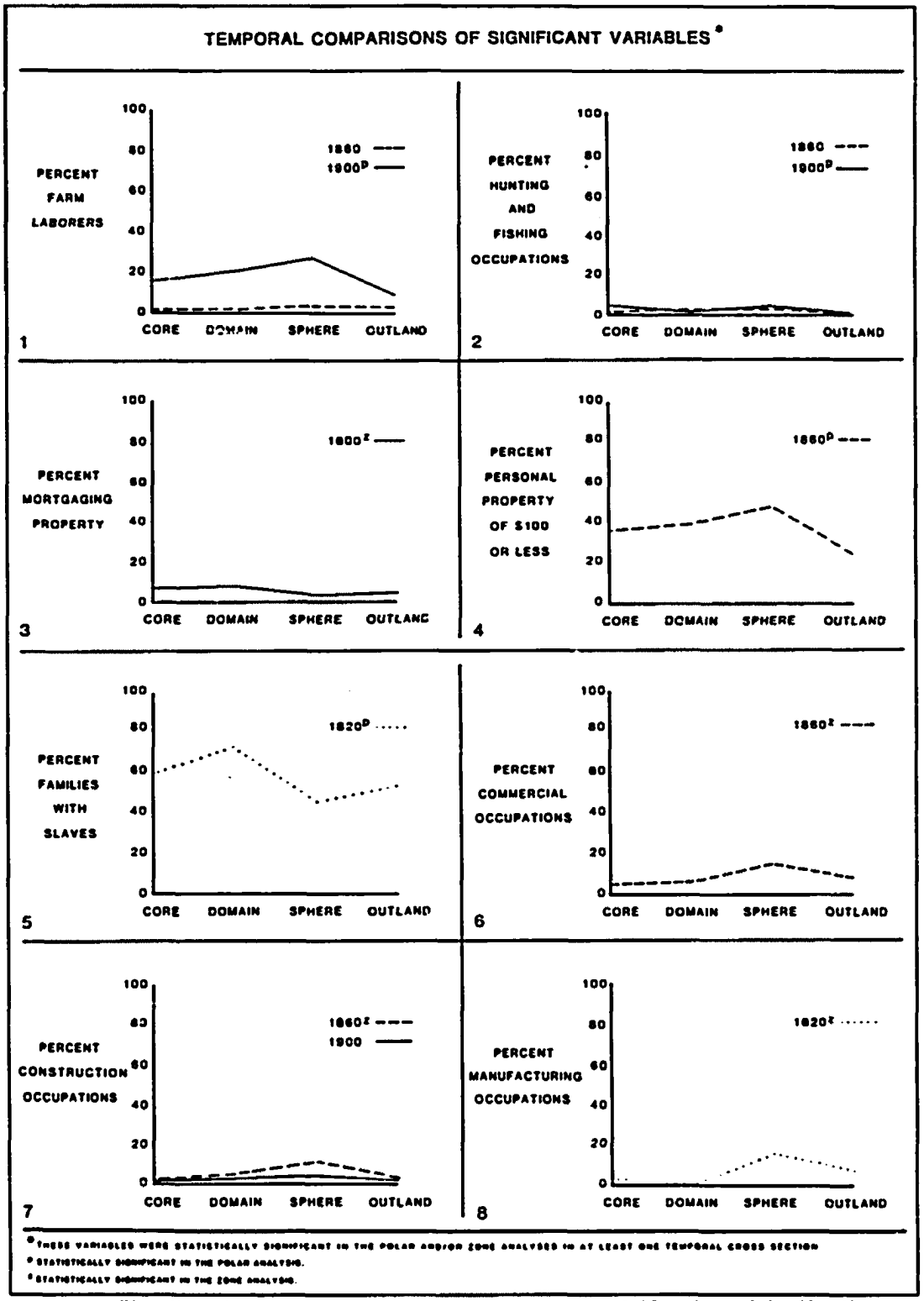
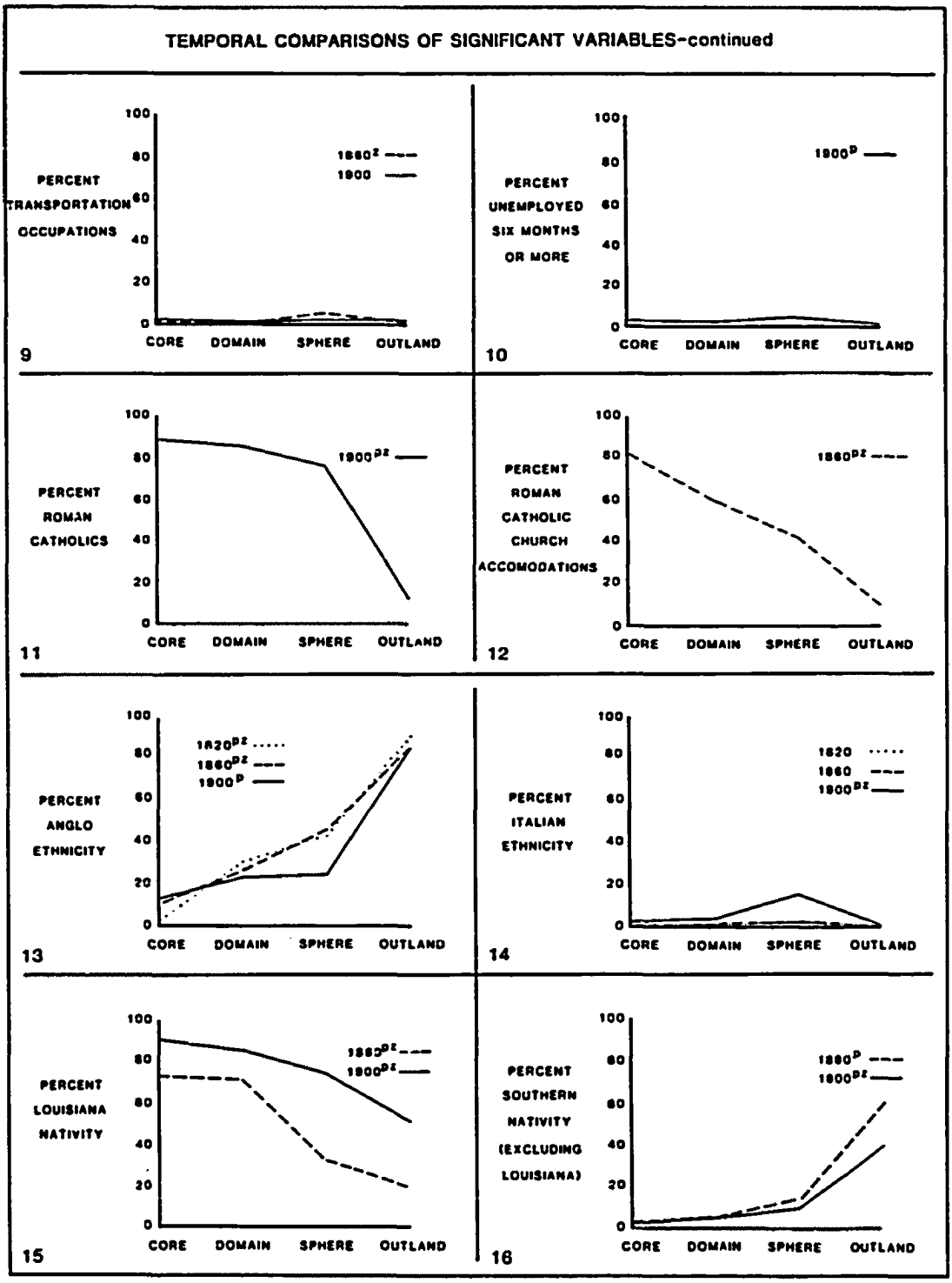
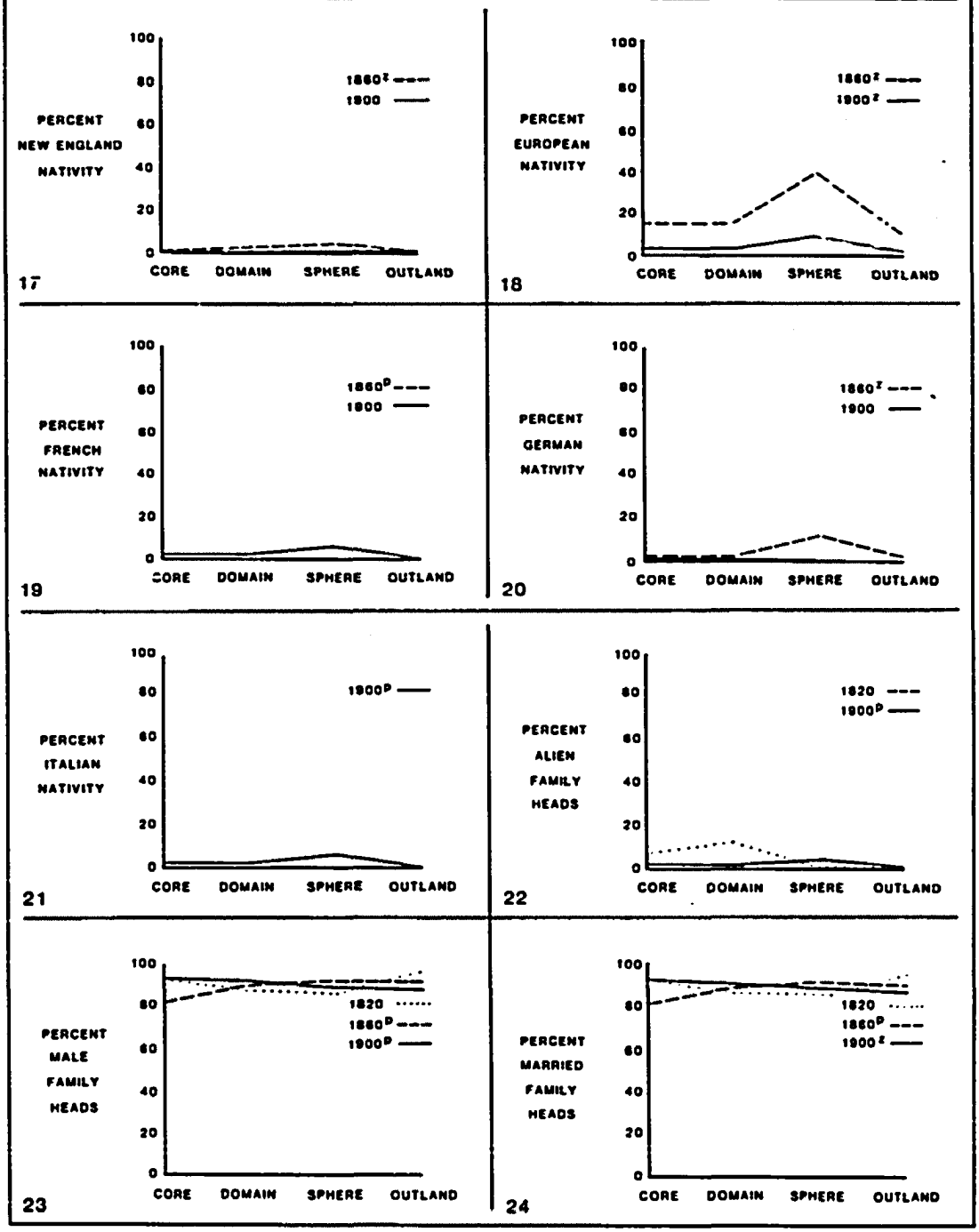


Fig. VIII-1. Of seventy-five, nonduplicated variables tested in the three cross sections, thirty-two were statistically significant in the polar and/or zone comparisons.

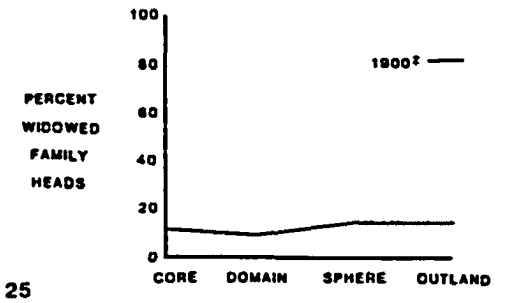
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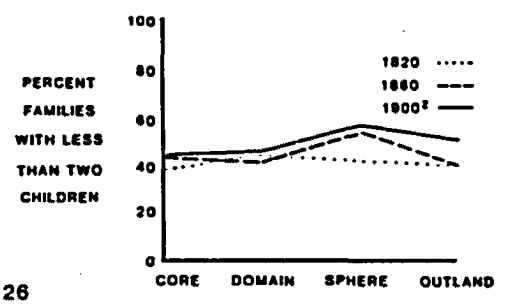
TEMPORAL COMPARISONS OF SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES–continued



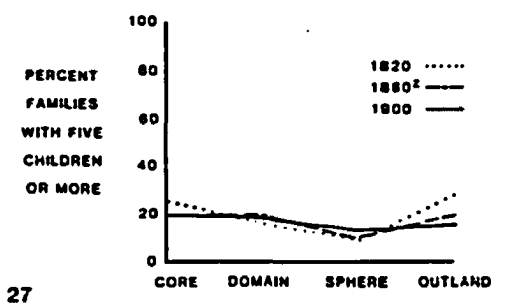
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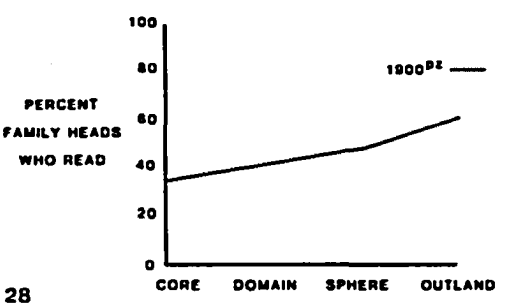
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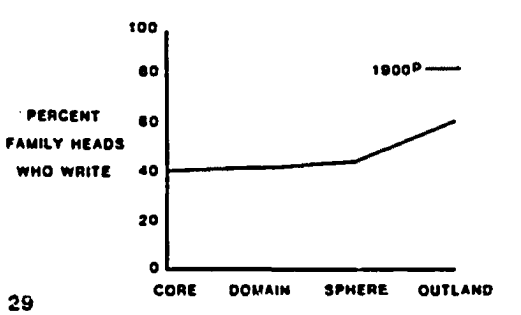
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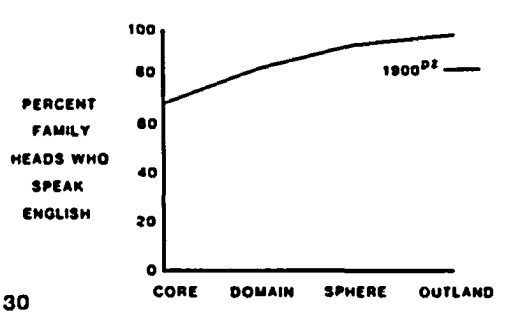
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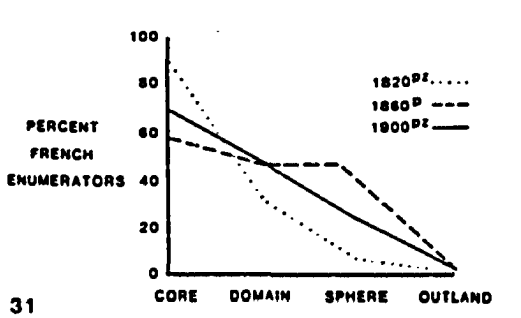
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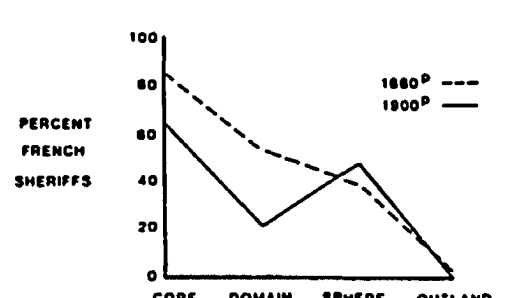
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nativity (excluding Louisiana) underscored that the great surge of Anglos into Louisiana had taken place before the Civil War. Although no data were available for French sheriffs and Roman Catholicism in 1820, their relatively stable 1860 and 1900 intensities made them highly reliable polar discriminators.

Four of the French zone variables differed statistically in more than one cross section and became the best zone discriminators through time: Anglo ethnicity, Louisiana nativity, French enumerators, and European nativity (Table VIII-3). Because of the lack of data or statistical insignificance, none of these discriminators differed in all cross sections. An increase from 1820 to 1860 in core Anglo ethnicity was again shown. However, the inability of Anglo ethnicity to distinguish among the 1900 internal zones was not only a function of continued Anglo intrusion throughout the French region but was also caused by Italian immigrants who diluted Anglo strength in the sphere. Although proportions of French enumerators did not discriminate among the 1860 internal zones, their core intensities diminished considerably in the course of the century; yet because of regional restructuring their domain and sphere potencies actually heightened after 1820. Following the Civil War Louisiana nativity more than doubled in the sphere, while European nativity plunged steeply in every French zone, notwithstanding the Italian immigration into the sphere before 1900.

TABLE VIII-3

BEST FRENCH ZONE DISCRIMINATORS THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

RANK	VARIABLE	CROSS SECTION	CORE MEAN	DOMAIN MEAN	SPHERE MEAN	F-RATIO	F-PROBABILITY
1	Anglo Ethnicity	1820	3.24%	31.89%	44.29%	64.829	.0000
		1860	12.23%	28.55%	47.37%	18.829	.0000
		1900[ns]	14.22%	23.96%	25.65%	2.157	.1432
2	Louisiana Nativity	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--	--
		1860	74.17%	72.11%	34.03%	13.597	.0003
		1900	89.54%	85.36%	76.31%	13.450	.0002
3	French Enumerators	1820	89.28%	33.33%	7.41%	10.333	.0015
		1860[ns]	57.14%	46.08%	45.71%	.117	.8902
		1900	69.81%	46.93%	25.29%	11.712	.0005
4	European Nativity	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--	--
		1860	16.21%	16.11%	39.38%	4.040	.0355
		1900	4.08%	4.43%	9.55%	5.372	.0142

[nd]No Data

[ns]Not Statistically Significant

TABLE VIII-4

BEST GRADATIONAL DISCRIMINATORS THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

VARIABLE	YEAR	CORE	DOMAIN	SPHERE	OUTLAND	TOTAL
Anglo Ethnicity	1820[pz]	3.24%	31.89%	44.29%	92.26%	43.97%
	1860[pz]	12.23%	28.55%	47.37%	85.55%	63.42%
	1900[p]	14.22%	23.96%	25.65%	85.23%	64.54%
French Enumerators	1820[pz]	89.28%	33.33%	7.41%	0.00%	39.70%
	1860[p]	57.14%	46.08%	45.71%	3.35%	21.04%
	1900[pz]	69.81%	46.93%	25.25%	2.94%	15.56%
Louisiana Nativity	1820[nd]	--	--	--	--	--
	1860[pz]	74.17%	72.11%	34.03%	20.05%	36.73%
	1900[pz]	89.54%	85.36%	76.31%	53.11%	62.45%

[p]Statistically significant in the polar (core-outland) analysis

[z]Statistically significant in the zone (core-domain-sphore) analysis

[nd]No Data

Only three variables differed statistically in either the polar or zone comparisons in all the cross sections, and they thus became the best overall gradational discriminators through time: Anglo ethnicity, Louisiana nativity, and French enumerators (Table VIII-4). Anglo ethnicity, the inherent antithesis of the Louisiana French, was the most powerful of all discriminators (Figs. VIII-2, 3, 4). Other than the internal zone contrasts of 1900, Anglo ethnicity increased out from the core to the outland in an exact inverse relationship to the decrease in French ethnicity. After a twenty percentage-point jump from 1820 to 1860, the postbellum proportion of Anglo ethnicity stablized at a little less than two-thirds of the entire study area population. Despite having been statistically similar among the 1860 French zones, the intensities of French enumerators in all three cross sections weakened out from the core to the outland where they dropped to almost nil (Figs. VIII-5, 6, 7). Over the century, like Gallic political influence within Louisiana, the intensity of French enumerators throughout the study area had eroded from 40 percent to a mere 16 percent. Louisiana nativity proportions for both 1860 and 1900 did not differ between the core and outland but declined in the sphere, thereby stressing its continued transitional nature (Figs. VIII-8, 9). Although Louisiana nativity data were not available for 1820, they almost certainly would have maintained these trends. Marking a cooling of the torrid antebellum

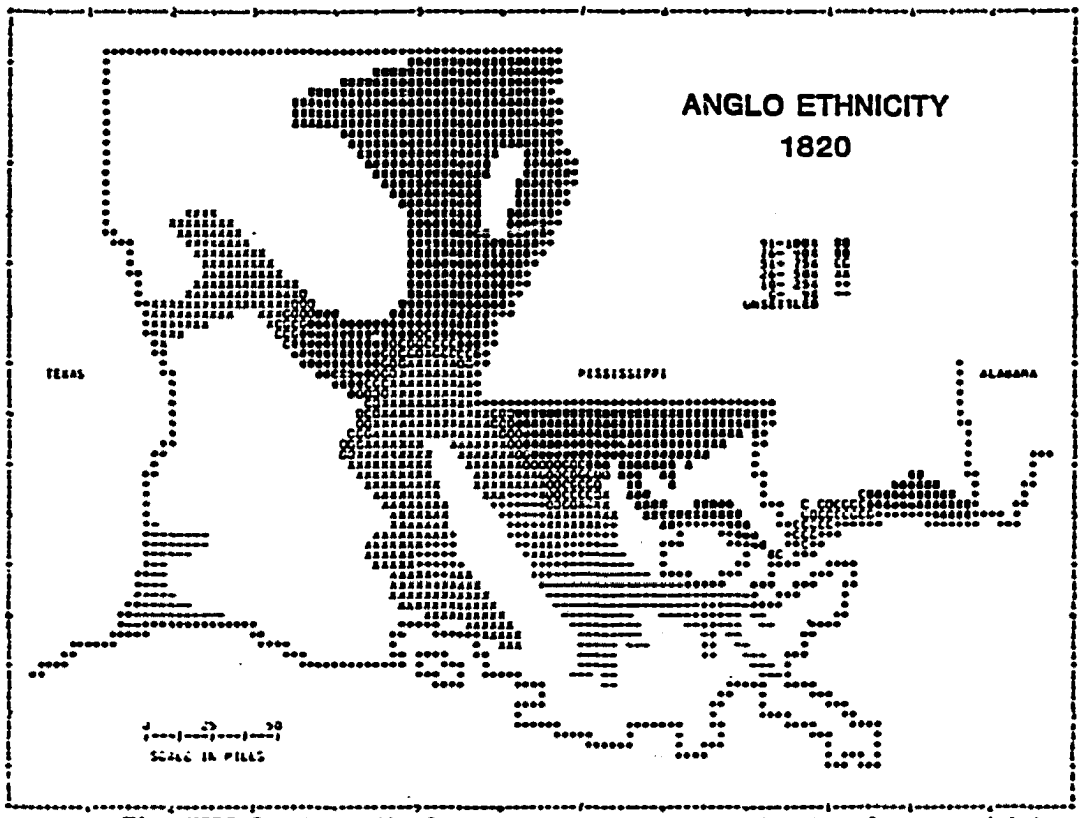


Fig. VIII-2. After the Louisiana Purchase thousands of Anglos surged into Louisiana.

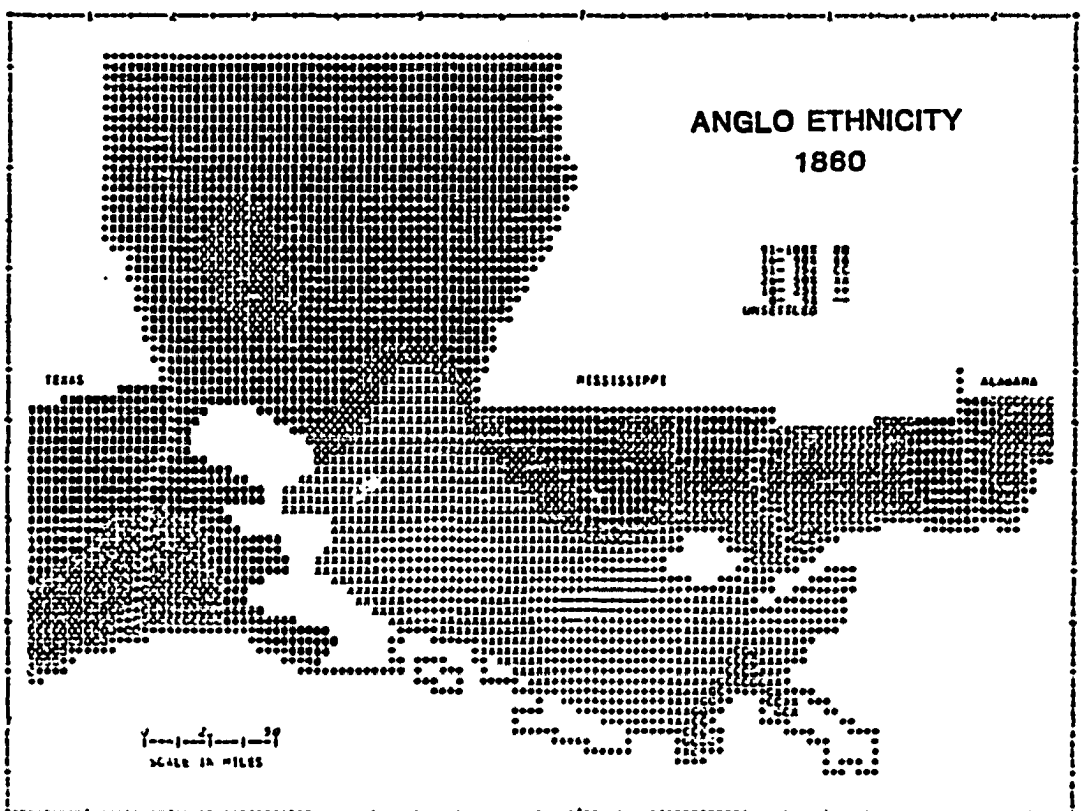


Fig. VIII-3. The antebellum Anglo population grew five times faster than the Gallic.

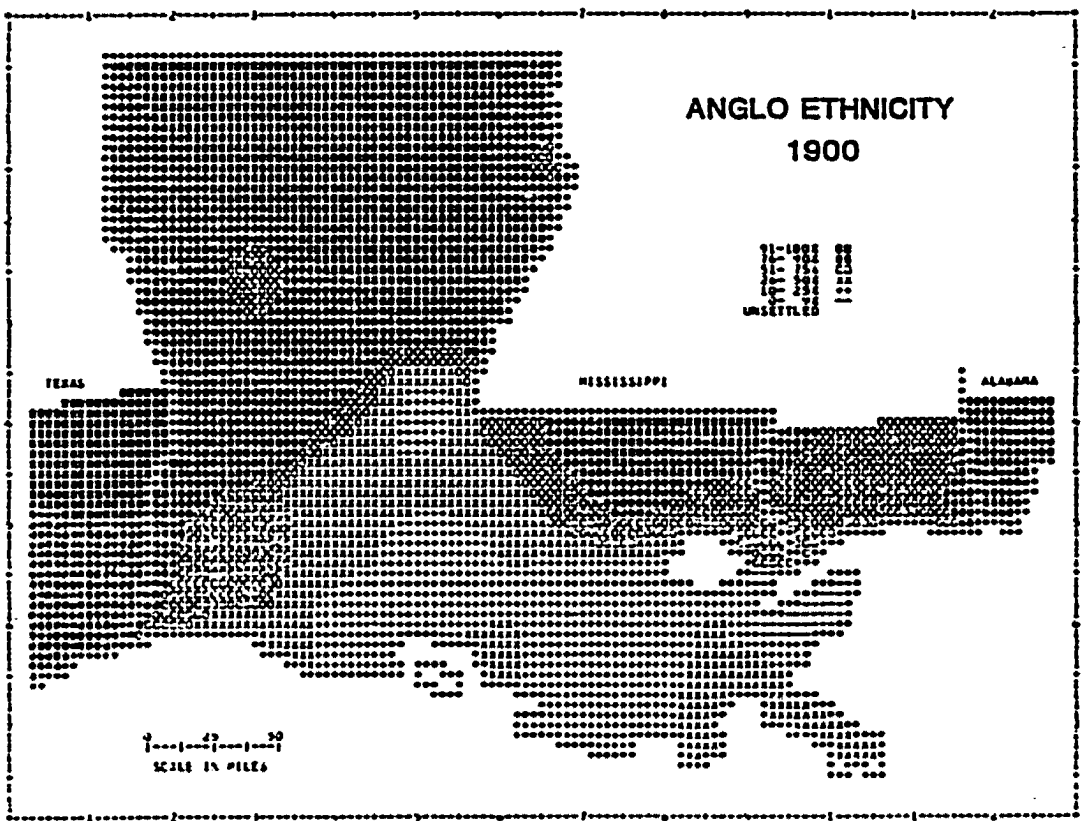


Fig. VIII-4. The seemingly insatiable appetite of Anglos for Louisiana French territory was certainly not satisfied after the Civil War.

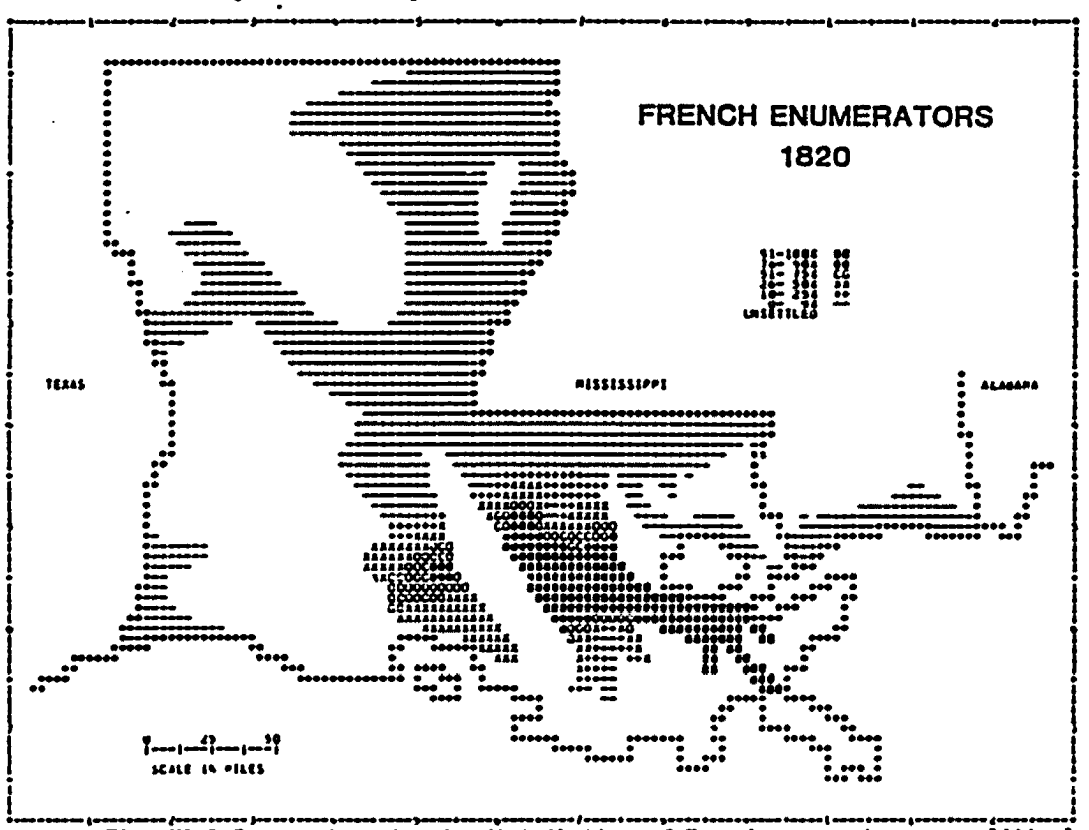


Fig. VIII-5. As shown by the distribution of French enumerators, a political surrogate, in 1820 the Louisiana French politically controlled their ethnic core.

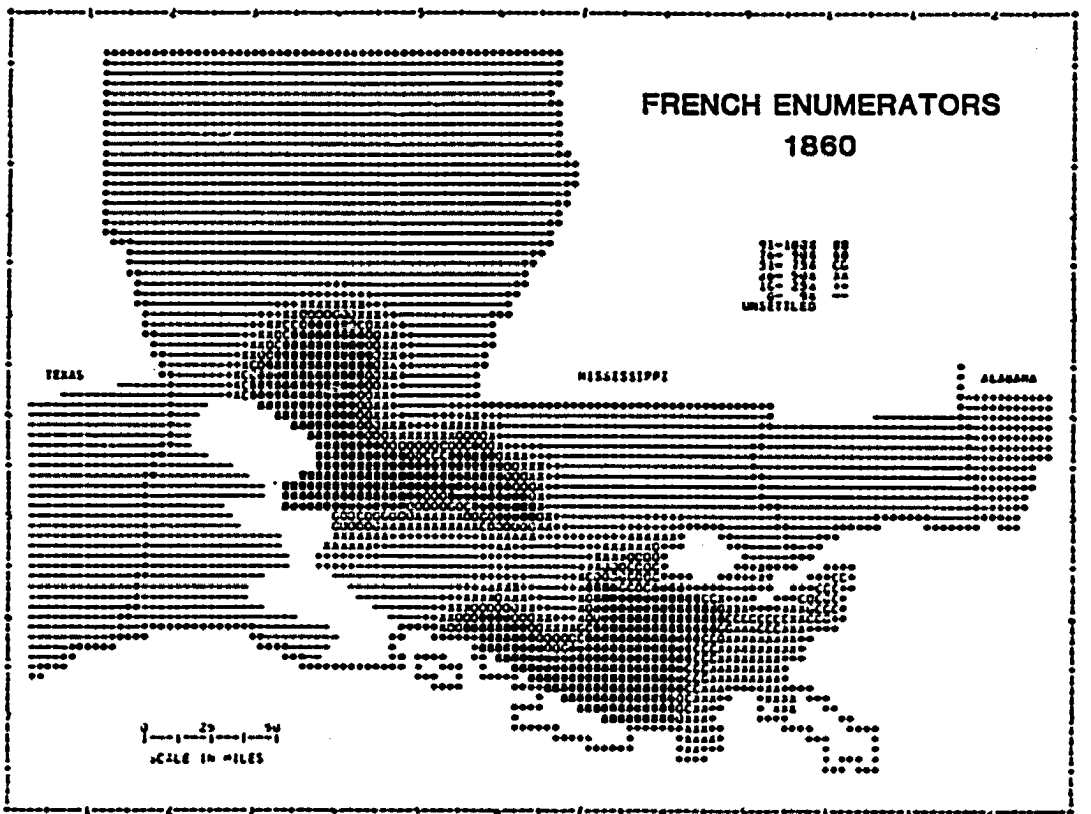


Fig. VIII-6. The 1860 distribution of politically-appointed census enumerators with Gallic family names again underscored serious French political erosion.

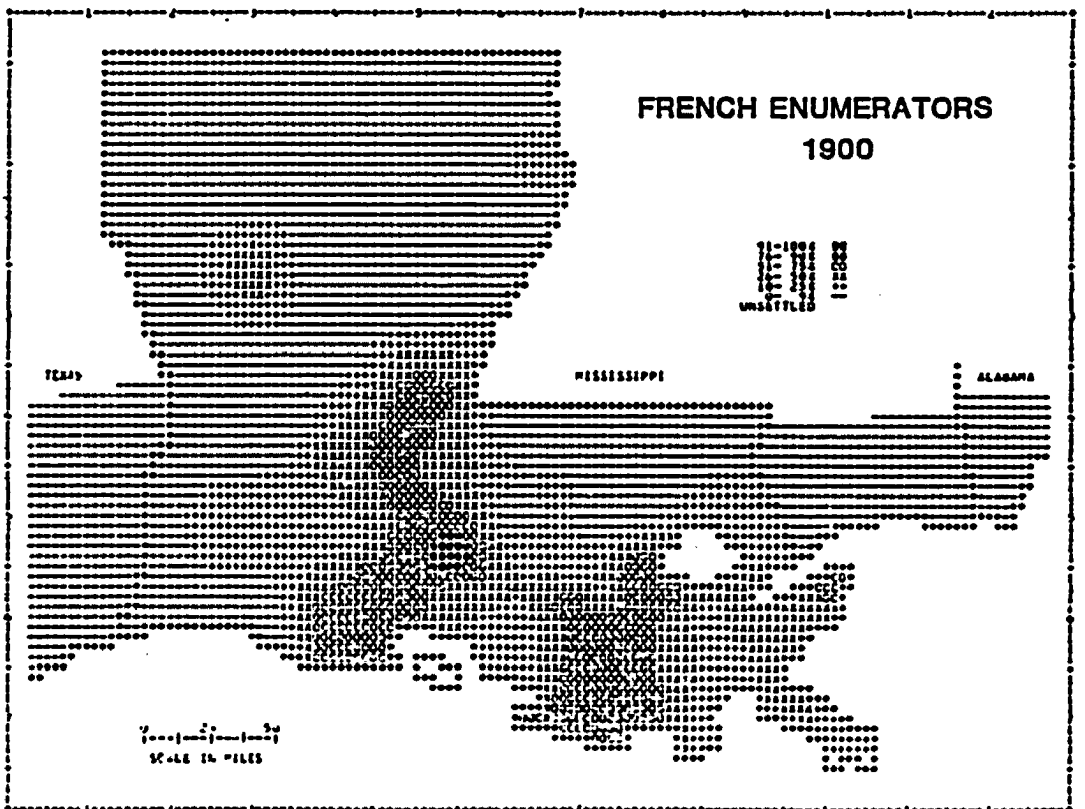


Fig. VIII-7. The distribution of the politically-appointed census enumerators reflected grass-roots political influence.

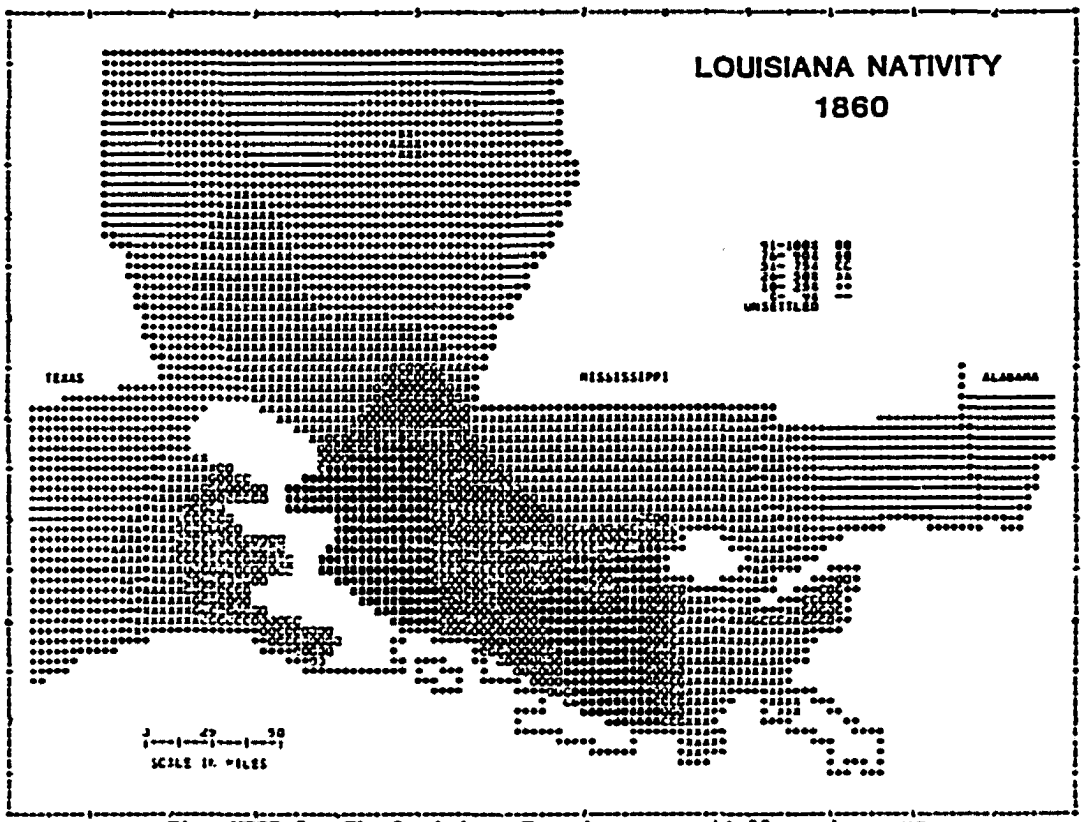


Fig. VIII-8. The Louisiana French were spatially endogamous.

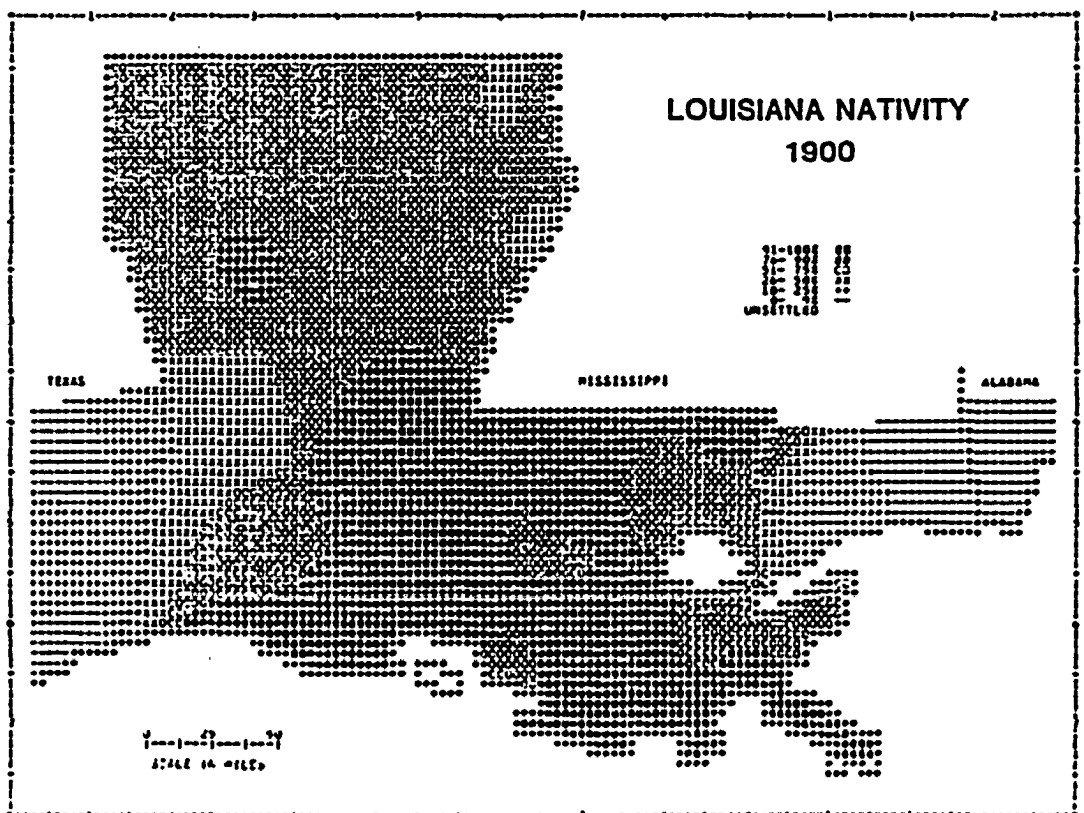


Fig. VIII-9. Louisiana French areal endogamy strengthened their cultural heritage.

in-migration, between the Civil War and century's end Louisiana nativity had almost doubled in the study area.

During the nineteenth century, then, the analysis of the foregoing seventy-five variables clearly showed that the Louisiana French were different from their Anglo-Saxon neighbors (Table VIII-5). The Louisiana French were natives of their state; while Anglos were largely in-migrating Southerners mainly from Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas, though their invasion began to subside after the Civil War. Although the French possessed much of the state's wealth in 1820 as reflected in their slaveholdings, they were no match for Anglo economic prowess that gradually turned the tables over the decades. Despite an antebellum "French Ascendancy" that controlled state politics through the premeditated insurances of the Constitution of 1812, the French were soon decimated in the state political arena by an alien conspiracy. The French press had flourished in antebellum Louisiana, but by the twentieth century it had withered to only a handful of newspapers. In 1900 Anglos were more literate than the French, yet an educational system created in the image of the Anglo-Saxon mind had contorted the Gallic tongue evermore toward English syllables. However, the Louisiana French never faltered in their Roman Catholic fervor. Of course such a demographic analysis could not verify, other than through inference, any dissolution of the nineteenth-century differences in food, clothing, architecture, economic artifacts, social events, music,

TABLE VIII-5

FRANCO-AMERICAN DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

VARIABLE CLASS	1820 VARIABLES	1860 VARIABLES	1900 VARIABLES
Economic	Families with Slaves (C) Number of Slaves (C)	Personal Property of $100 or less (C)	Hunting and Fishing Occupations (C) Farm Laborers (C) Family Heads Unemployed Six Months or More During the Previous Year (C)
Social	Anglo Ethnicity (O)	Roman Catholic Church Accommodations (C) Anglo Ethnicity (O) Louisiana Nativity (C) Southern Nativity (excluding Louisiana) (O) French Nativity (C) Male Family Heads (O) Married Family Heads (O)	Roman Catholics (C) Anglo Ethnicity (O) Italian Ethnicity (C) Louisiana Nativity (C) Southern Nativity (excluding Louisiana) (O) Italian Nativity (C) Alien Family Heads (C) Male Family Heads (C) Family Heads Who Read (O) Family Heads Who Write (O) Family Heads Who Speak English (O)
Political	French Enumerators (C)	French Enumerators (C) French Sheriffs (C)	French Enumerators (C) French Sheriffs (C)

(C) = Higher core proportion

(O) = Higher outland proportion

dance, sports, or folklore, but the written record unequivocally suggested that these cultural discriminators had likewise evolved under pressure from the Anglo majority.

Yet because forty-three attributes, without duplication, did not differ during the century, the variable analysis definitely demonstrated that the two ethnic groups also had much in common. Generally speaking, a typical nineteenth-century French core family head was a forty-year-old married male agriculturalist who more than likely was fully employed on a farm of less than one hundred acres and who headed a family with fewer than three children. He was also a Louisiana-born Roman Catholic who could neither read nor write but could speak some English and who belonged to the core's politically-dominant French ethnic group. In juxtaposition, a representative nineteenth-century family head in the Anglo outland was a forty-year-old married male agriculturalist who was fully employed on a farm of less than one hundred acres and who had a family of fewer than three children. He was also an English-speaking Protestant of varying literacy who was born in another Southern state and who belonged to the outland's politically-prevailing Anglo ethnic group. Moreover, during the nineteenth century there were similar proportions of people in both the core and outland employed in such nonagricultural work as commercial, construction, fabrication, laborer, timber, transportation, service, and professional occupations.

In the course of the variable analysis, further, the murky fog surrounding some time-honored myths was blown away: 1) Few Louisiana French called themselves full-time hunters, trappers, or fishermen; by far most Frenchmen, including the Cajuns, were agriculturalists who merely supplemented their crops and livestock with game from forest and stream. 2) The Louisiana French farmers were no more backward than the Anglo-Saxon yeomen of North Louisiana who lived on farmsteads of similar crudeness. In fact, those Cajuns who got caught up in the late-nineteenth-century revolution of mechanized rice production on the southwest prairies were far more advanced in agricultural technology than the small cotton farmers of Anglo North Louisiana. 3) With French core families owning on the average almost three times as many slaves as Anglo outland families in 1820 and with Cajuns comprising almost half of the large slaveholders in the 1860 core, the longstanding idea that Cajuns were only poor petits habitants was unquestionably refuted. 4) In an agrarian age Roman Catholic French families were no larger than those of Protestant Anglos. 5) The demise of the French language in Louisiana was not just a twentieth century phenomenon since its greatest erosion came during the century before. 6) And this language loss was the single most important indicator showing that, although the Louisiana French had easily assimilated small groups of Germans and Spanish in the eighteenth century, and although a few Anglo men had been acculturated

under the influence of their French wives, during the nineteenth century it was the Louisiana French who had been dizzily drawn into the web of an increasingly-dominant Anglo culture.

The Louisiana French Ethnic Region Through Time

Despite the decline in French proportions in Louisiana from 58 percent in 1820 to 29 percent in 1900, virtually all of which occurred before the Civil War, and despite the decrease in the proportion of French parishes from 65 percent to 37 percent, again the greater erosion coming during the antebellum period, Louisiana French total population multiplied almost five times from 67,000 to 320,000, the postbellum decades having been much more prolific (Tables VIII-7, 9). And the Louisiana French ethnic region almost doubled in area during the century from 9,900 square miles in 1820, to 14,300 in 1860, to 17,100 in 1900 (Table VIII-6 and Figs. VIII-10, 11, 12). These territorial gains followed a frontier of expansion that before the Civil War had moved in broad bands out from the region's riparian hearths along the lower Mississippi and Bayou Teche, weaving through the intricate water lace of the Atchafalaya Basin and beginning to roughly contour across a third of Louisiana a huge isoceles triangle that was not closed until the postbellum land rush onto the southwest prairies. Yet at the same time territory was lost along a frontier of contraction that felt the brunt of the

TABLE VIII-6

AREAS OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1820 SQUARE MILES	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1860 SQUARE MILES	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1900 SQUARE MILES	TOTAL CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	1,428	-1,416 (-99.16)	12	-12 (-100.00)	0	-1,428 (-100.00)
Outer Core	1,318	1,355 (102.81)	2,673	-61 (-2.28)	2,612	1,294 (98.18)
Total Core	2,746	-61 (-2.22)	2,685	-73 (-2.72)	2,612	-134 (-4.88)
Domain	2,979	4,504 (151.19)	7,483	-586 (-7.83)	6,897	3,918 (131.52)
Sphere	4,211	-122 (-2.90)	4,089	3,504 (85.69)	7,593	3,382 (80.31)
Ethnic Region	9,936	4,321 (43.49)	14,257	2,845 (19.96)	17,102	7,166 (72.12)

TABLE VIII-7

PERCENTS AND POPULATIONS OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1900 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	94.86	-3.30	91.56	-91.56	0	-94.86
	24,066	-13,538 (-56.25)	10,528	-10,528 (-100.00)	0	-24,066 (-100.00)
	1,303	-332 (-25.48)	971	-971 (-100.00)	0	-332 (-100.00)
	25,369	-13,870 (-54.67)	11,499	-11,499 (-100.00)	0	-25,369 (-100.00)
Outer Core	80.72	-0.15	80.57	-1.17	79.40	-1.32
	24,728	30,450 (123.14)	55,178	60,358 (109.39)	115,536	90,808 (367.23)
	5,908	7,402 (125.29)	13,310	16,671 (125.25)	29,981	24,073 (407.46)
	30,636	37,852 (123.55)	68,488	77,029 (112.47)	145,517	114,881 (374.99)
Total Core	87.12	-4.97	82.15	-2.15	79.40	-7.72
	48,794	16,912 (34.66)	65,706	49,830 (75.84)	115,536	66,742 (136.78)
	7,211	7,070 (98.04)	14,281	15,700 (109.94)	29,981	22,770 (315.77)
	56,005	23,982 (42.82)	79,987	65,530 (81.93)	145,517	89,512 (159.83)
Domain	64.45	-4.49	59.96	5.75	65.71	1.26
	7,458	54,762 (734.27)	62,220	21,243 (34.14)	83,463	76,005 (1,019.11)
	4,113	37,443 (910.36)	41,556	2,005 (4.82)	43,561	39,448 (959.11)
	11,571	92,205 (796.86)	103,776	23,248 (22.40)	127,024	115,453 (997.78)

TABLE VIII-7--continued

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1860 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1900 FRENCH PERCENT FRENCH POPULATION NON-FRENCH POP. TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL CHANGE (PERCENT)
Sphere	45.24	-8.59	36.65	4.38	41.03	-4.21
	9,641	13,519 (140.22)	23,160	59,029 (254.87)	82,189	72,548 (752.49)
	11,672	28,365 (243.02)	40,037	78,071 (195.00)	118,108	106,436 (911.89)
	21,313	41,884 (196.52)	63,197	137,100 (216.94)	200,297	178,984 (839.79)
Ethnic Region	74.13	-12.95	61.18	-1.71	59.47	-14.66
	65,893	85,193 (129.29)	151,086	130,102 (86.11)	281,188	215,295 (326.73)
	22,996	72,878 (316.92)	95,874	95,776 (99.90)	191,650	168,654 (733.41)
	88,889	158,071 (177.83)	246,960	225,878 (91.46)	472,838	383,949 (431.94)
Louisiana	58.03	-28.36	29.67	-0.55	29.12	-28.91
	67,403	92,590 (137.37)	159,993	158,684 (99.18)	319,677	251,274 (372.79)
	48,743	330,591 (678.23)	379,334	396,510 (104.53)	775,844	727,101 (1,491.70)
	116,146	423,181 (364.35)	539,327	555,194 (102.94)	1,094,521	978,375 (842.37)

TABLE VIII-8

POPULATION DENSITIES OF FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME--

1820, 1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1820 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1860 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1900 FRENCH NON-FRENCH TOTAL	TOTAL CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	16.85	860.48 (5,106.71)	877.33	-877.33 (-100.00)	0	-16.85 (-100.00)
	.92	80.00 (8,695.65)	80.92	-80.92 (-100.00)	0	-.92 (-100.00)
	17.77	940.48 (5,292.52)	958.25	-958.25 (-100.00)	0	-17.77 (-100.00)
Outer Core	18.76	1.88 (10.02)	20.64	23.59 (114.29)	44.23	25.47 (135.77)
	4.48	.50 (11.16)	4.98	6.50 (130.52)	11.48	7.00 (156.25)
	23.24	2.38 (10.24)	25.62	30.09 (117.45)	55.71	32.47 (139.72)
Total Core	17.77	6.70 (37.70)	24.47	19.76 (80.75)	44.23	26.46 (148.90)
	2.63	2.69 (102.28)	5.32	6.16 (115.79)	11.48	8.85 (336.50)
	20.40	9.39 (46.03)	29.79	25.92 (87.01)	55.71	35.31 (173.09)
Domain	2.50	5.81 (232.40)	8.31	3.79 (45.61)	12.10	9.60 (384.00)
	1.38	4.18 (302.90)	5.56	.76 (13.67)	6.32	4.94 (357.97)
	3.88	9.99 (257.47)	13.87	4.55 (32.80)	18.42	14.54 (374.74)
Sphere	2.29	3.37 (147.16)	5.66	5.16 (91.17)	10.82	8.53 (372.49)
	2.77	7.03 (253.79)	9.80	5.76 (58.78)	15.56	12.79 (461.73)
	5.06	10.40 (205.53)	15.46	10.92 (70.63)	26.38	21.32 (421.34)
Ethnic Region	6.63	3.97 (59.88)	10.60	5.84 (55.09)	16.44	9.81 (147.96)
	2.32	4.40 (189.66)	6.72	4.49 (66.82)	11.21	8.89 (383.19)
	8.95	8.37 (93.52)	17.32	10.33 (59.64)	27.65	18.70 (208.94)
Louisiana	1.39	1.91 (137.41)	3.30	3.27 (99.09)	6.57	5.18 (372.66)
	1.00	6.81 (681.00)	7.81	8.19 (104.87)	16.00	15.00 (1500.00)
	2.39	8.72 (364.85)	11.11	11.46 (103.15)	22.57	20.18 (844.35)

TABLE VIII-9

NUMBER OF PARISHES OF LOUISIANA FRENCH ZONES THROUGH TIME—

1820, 1860, 1900

ZONE/AREA	1820 NUMBER OF PARISHES	ANTE-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1860 NUMBER OF PARISHES	POST-BELLUM CHANGE (PERCENT)	1900 NUMBER OF PARISHES	TOTAL CHANGE (PERCENT)
Inner Core	7	-6 (-85.71)	1	-1 (-100.00)	0	-7 (-100.00)
Outer Core	4	2 (50.00)	6	0 (0.00)	6	2 (50.00)
Total Core	11	-4 (-36.36)	7	-1 (-14.29)	6	-5 (-45.45)
Domain	3	6 (200.00)	9	-5 (-55.55)	4	1 (33.33)
Sphere	4	1 (25.00)	5	7 (140.00)	12	8 (200.00)
Ethnic Region	18	3 (16.67)	21	1 (4.76)	22	4 (22.22)
French Louisiana	17	4 (23.53)	21	1 (4.76)	22	5 (29.41)
Non-French Louisiana	9	18 (200.00)	27	10 (37.04)	37	28 (311.11)
Total Louisiana	26	22 (84.61)	48	11 (22.92)	59	33 (126.92)

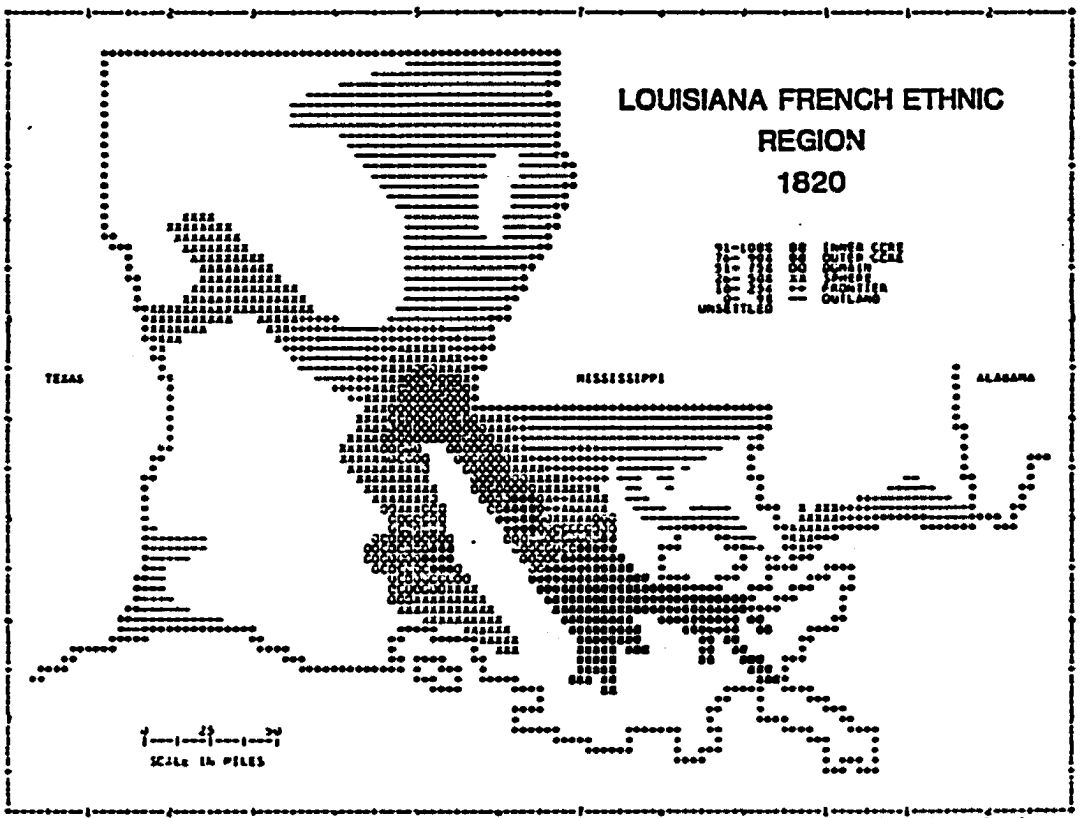


Fig. VIII-10. The Louisiana French ethnic region remained riverine during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

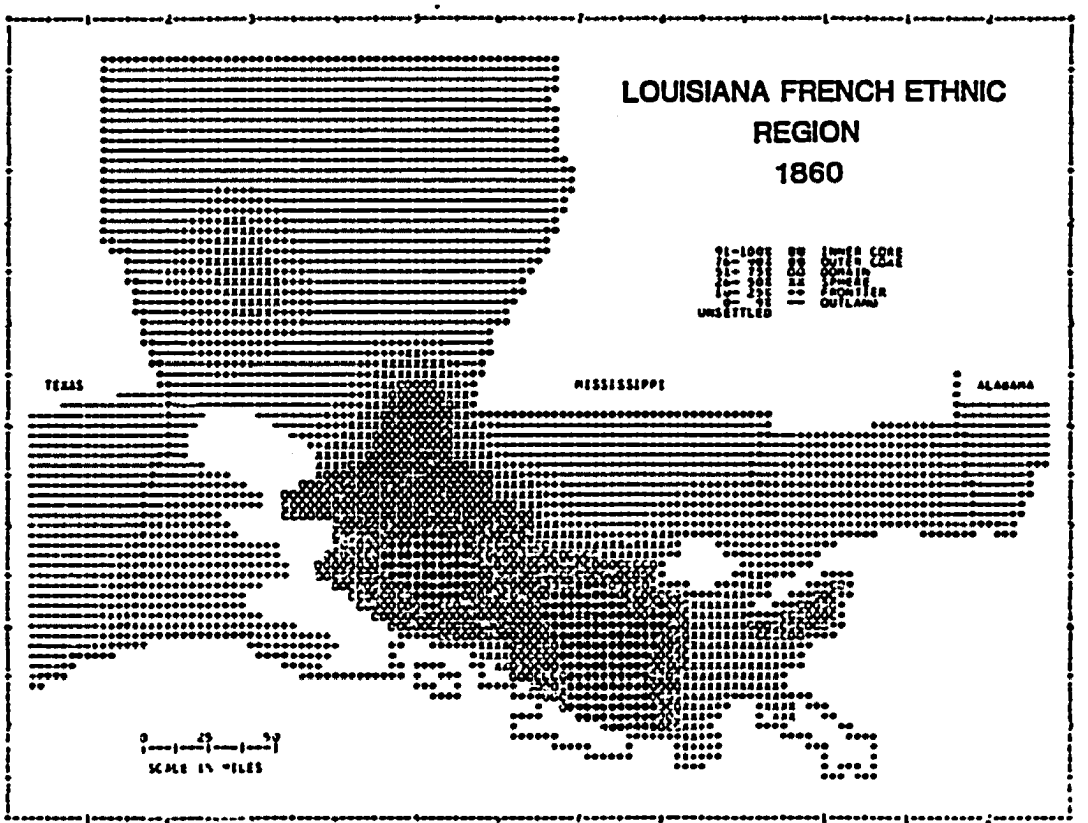


Fig. VIII-11. By 1860 the Louisiana French ethnic region had grown mainly into the Atchafalaya Swamp and westward onto the prairie land.

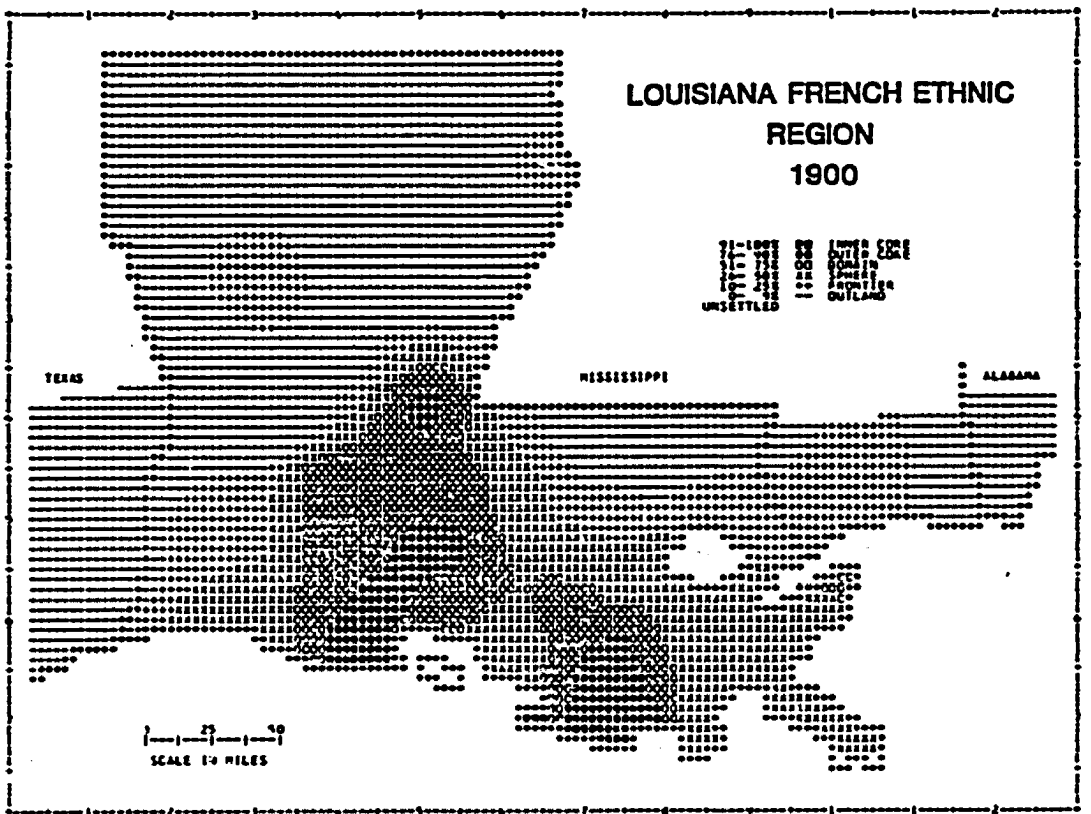


Fig. VIII-12. In a huge triangular pattern the 1900 Louisiana French ethnic region covered one-third of the state.

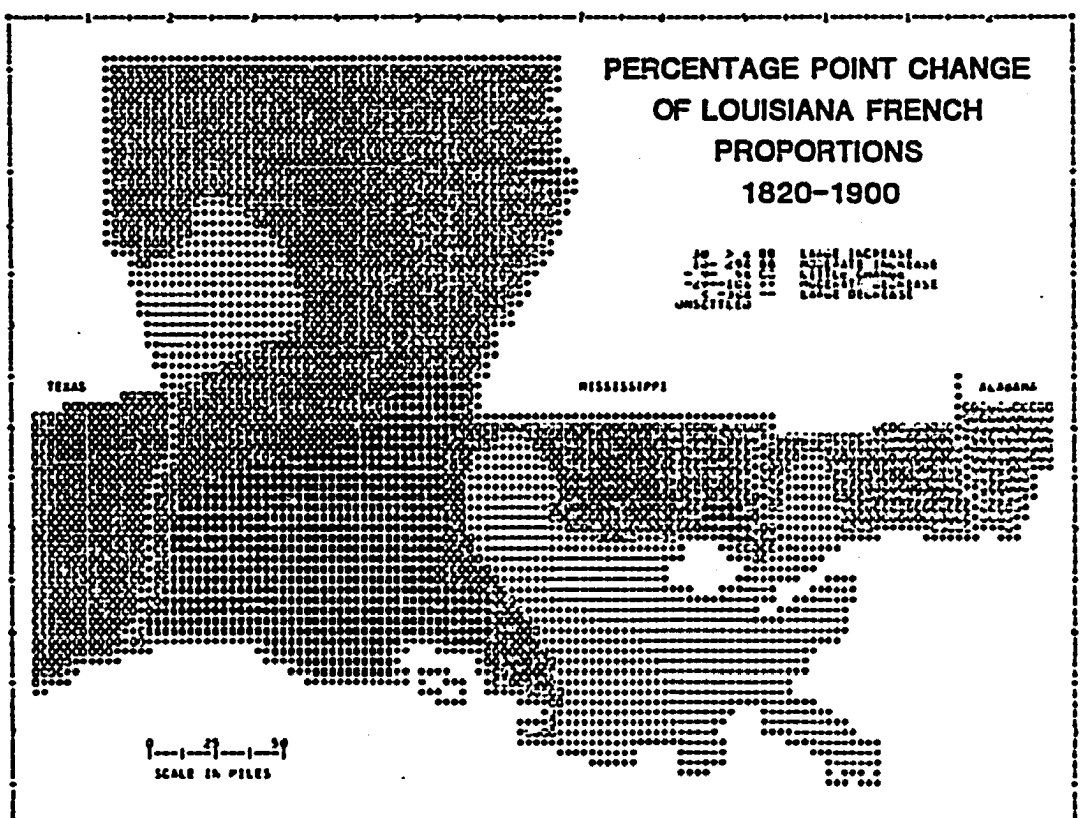


Fig. VIII-13. Anglos aggressively pushed the Louisiana French westward from the lower Mississippi, and Anglo rice agriculture pulled Gallic families onto the southwest prairies.

Anglo invasion--southern Mississippi, the western "Florida Parishes," and Natchitoches Parish. Such frontiers of expansion and contraction were certainly spatial expressions of the processes of intrusion and attraction: Vigorous Anglo intrusion from the east not only caustically diluted French intensities along the lower Mississippi but also aggressively pushed Louisiana French families westward in the "second expulsion" (Figs. VIII-13, 14). Anglos from Texas and the Midwest after the Civil War intruded into the western margins of the French region; but, simultaneously, the Louisiana French were attracted to the commercial-scale, mechanized rice agriculture inaugurated by Midwesterners in the 1880s and thus were pulled along railway tracks onto the newly-opened prairie land. Although the frontier of contraction ran mainly along the eastern leg of the "French Triangle" and the frontier of expansion outlined the edge of its western side, the processes of intrusion and attraction were not mutually-exclusive as the collapse and dissolution of the French microcosm in Natchitoches Parish surely confirmed.

The internal morphology of the Louisiana French region also changed. Over the years the bifurcation of its core (76-100% French) became more pronounced, having been continuously torn by opposing processes--a Teche expansion and a Lafourche contraction. This core growth and decay, however, maintained a rather neat areal equilibrium throughout the century since the region lost only 134 square miles

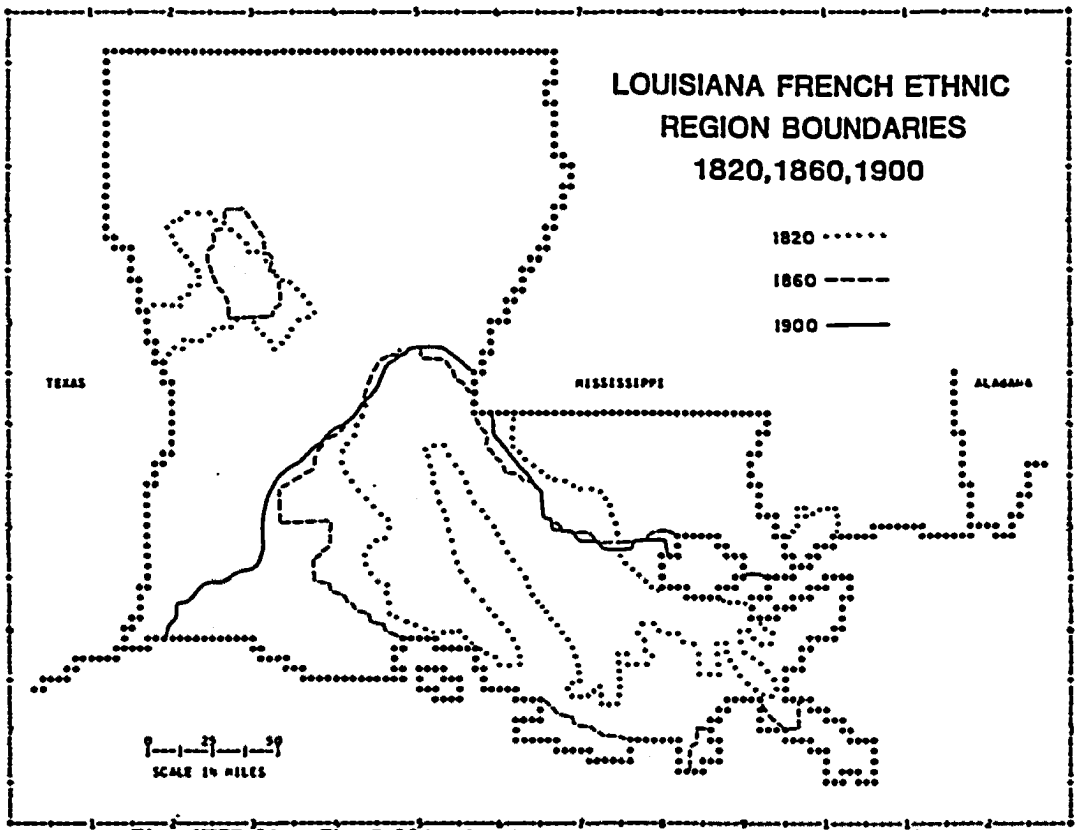


Fig. VIII-14. The Gallic frontier of contraction ran mainly along the eastern leg of the "French Triangle," and the frontier of expansion outlined the edge of its western side.

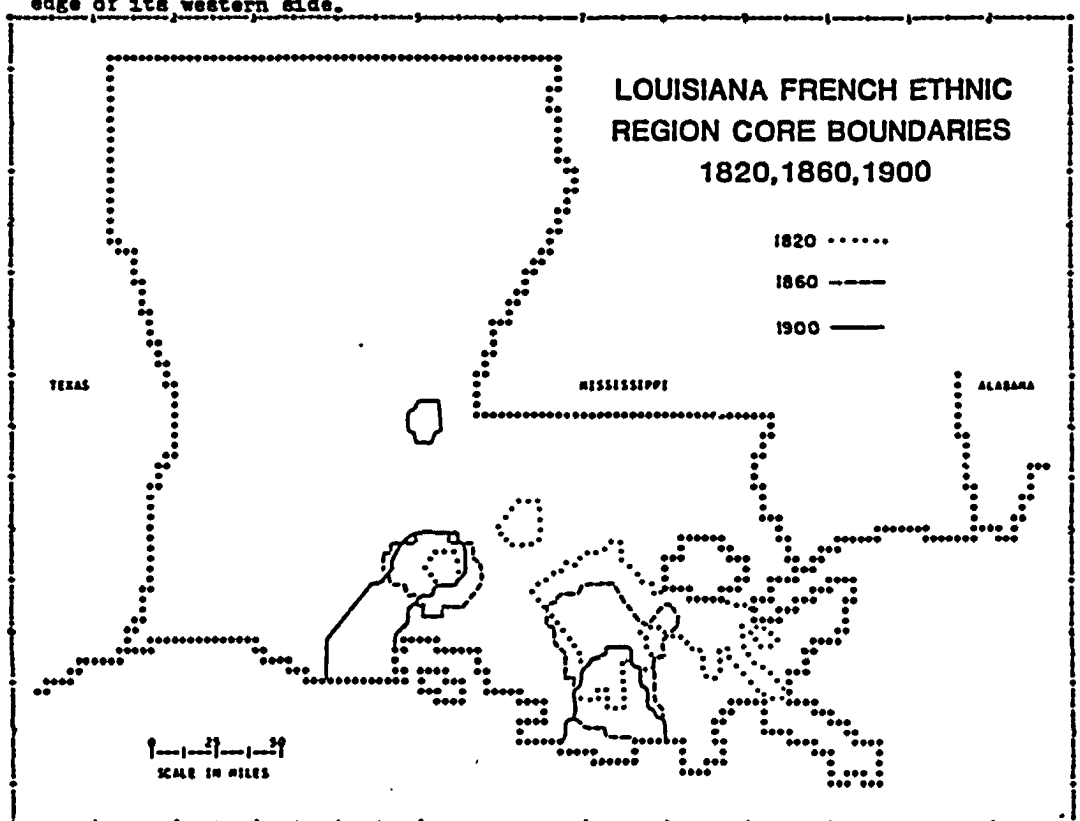


Fig. VIII-15. Over the century the bifurcation of the French core became more pronounced, contrasted by a contracting Lafourche and an expanding Teche.

from 2,746 in 1820 to 2,612 in 1900. Although the Gallic core was the most densely populated area in Louisiana during the century, having more than doubled in population from 49,000 to 116,000, it declined, mainly because of antebellum Anglo pressure, from 87 percent French in 1820 to 79 percent in 1900 (Tables VIII-6, 7, 8). Reflecting the French dilution at the vary marrow of the region was the loss of five parishes, four before the Civil War, from the eleven-parish 1820 core (Table VIII-9). By the turn of the century only Lafayette (84% French), Terrebonne (81%), Vermilion (79%), Avoyelles (79%), St. Martin (78%), and Lafourche (77%) remained in the core. Concomitantly, the seven 1820 high-intensity inner core parishes, which had a combined French intensity of 95 percent, waned to but one in 1860--St. James with 92 percent French--before they all disappeared in 1900.

All antebellum French territorial gains were made in the domain (51-75% French), but between the Civil War and century's close it gave up 600 square miles. The domain, nevertheless, had a net gain of 3,900 square miles, more than each of the two other French zones. In 1860 and 1900 the domain enveloped the core areas, yet, unlike its mid-century pattern, in 1900 it was broken by a widening rift into distinct Lafourche and Teche lobes. At 66 percent, the 1900 French intensity within the domain was only slightly higher than eight decades earlier, even though its

total population multiplied more than ten times to 83,500 in 1900.

The less intense transitional sphere (26-50% French) hugged the fringes of the domain, later forming the region's triangular shape, but did not expand until after the war when it nearly doubled its area to 7,600 square miles and added seven parishes--all having tumbled from the core or domain, however. While the sphere's French proportions fluctuated around the 40 percentile, its total population increased seven and a half times from 1820 to 1900. As an ethnic polyglot where in-migrating Europeans were caught up in a rising wave of Anglos, the sphere was indeed a "cultural seam" between two clashing cultures, a transitional area of considerable flux, chiefly displacement of the Louisiana French.

As the French region areally expanded during the century's cavalcade, an interesting trend developed in the structural evolution of its internal zones. Perhaps because it had reached its culminating size by 1820, the core's area remained rather unwavering--2,746 square miles in 1820, 2,685 in 1860, and 2,612 in 1900. The domain, in contrast, grew two and a half fold from 1820 to 1860, but then somewhat stabilized by century's end--2,979 square miles in 1820, 7,483 in 1860, and 6,897 in 1900. The size of the sphere, on the other hand, changed little before the Civil War, yet nearly doubled during the postbellum years--4,211 square miles in 1820, 4,089 in 1860, and 7,593 in 1900.

This structural evolution of the region's internal zones may lend support to the wave theory of geographical expansion in which ethnic intensity ripples outward from its core in a series of gradations that areally stabilize in a stepwise progression: first the core reaches climax size, then the domain, and finally the sphere. For the Louisiana French ethnic region, then, perhaps the core climaxed by 1820, the domain by 1860, and the sphere by 1900. This simple wave scheme, however, was complicated in the Louisiana French case by the fact that not one but two pebbles were cast into the pond, so to speak--the Lafourche core and the Teche core. French intensity rippled out from each but in two distinct stages--first the Lafourche expanded, then the Teche. The Lafourche core, further, reached maturity earlier than the Teche and thus began to decline earlier. Yet as Anglo intrusion sharply eroded the Lafourche, Teche growth onto the prairies kept the overall core area in equilibrium. Of course, had there been no Anglo pressure to constrain the limits and intensities of the Louisiana French region, then it would surely have evolved into a different size and shape and its internal gradations would have reached their climax sizes and shapes at different times. To apply such a model to a later time, a 1940 cross section, for instance, should hypothetically delimit a French region with internal gradations of areas similar to 1900, thereby denoting a lasting equilibrium, or

areas that have begun to collapse because of continued intrusion.

Analyzing four transect profiles also underscored the changes that took place in the Louisiana French region. Along the St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect (E-A in Figs. VIII-16, 17-A) French intensity and area actually grew. After declining somewhat before the Civil War, the unexpected revitalization of Gallic intensity in Avoyelles Parish etched a postbellum core outlier, and French territory expanded coastward south of a stable, high-intensity St. Martin Parish. The Texas-Alabama axis (F-B in Figs. VIII-16, 17-B) clearly portrayed, other than the antebellum French settlement of Atchafalaya Swamp brules and places in the low-lying area west of Lake Pontchartrain, a century-long frontier of contraction east of St. Martin Parish along the lower Mississippi, and in the west a largely postbellum frontier of expansion almost to Texas.

The Red River-Mississippi River transect (H-C in Figs. VIII-16, 18-A) strikingly sketched the massive antebellum French "second expulsion" along the lower Mississippi that continued well after the Civil War and a postbellum ethnic trade-off--the surprising emergence of the Avoyelles core outlier and the exit of Natchitoches Parish from French Louisiana. Besides silhouetting the lower Atchafalaya Basin's antebellum French settlement and its postbellum decline, the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect (G-D in Figs. VIII-16, 18-B) contrasted the French core areas,

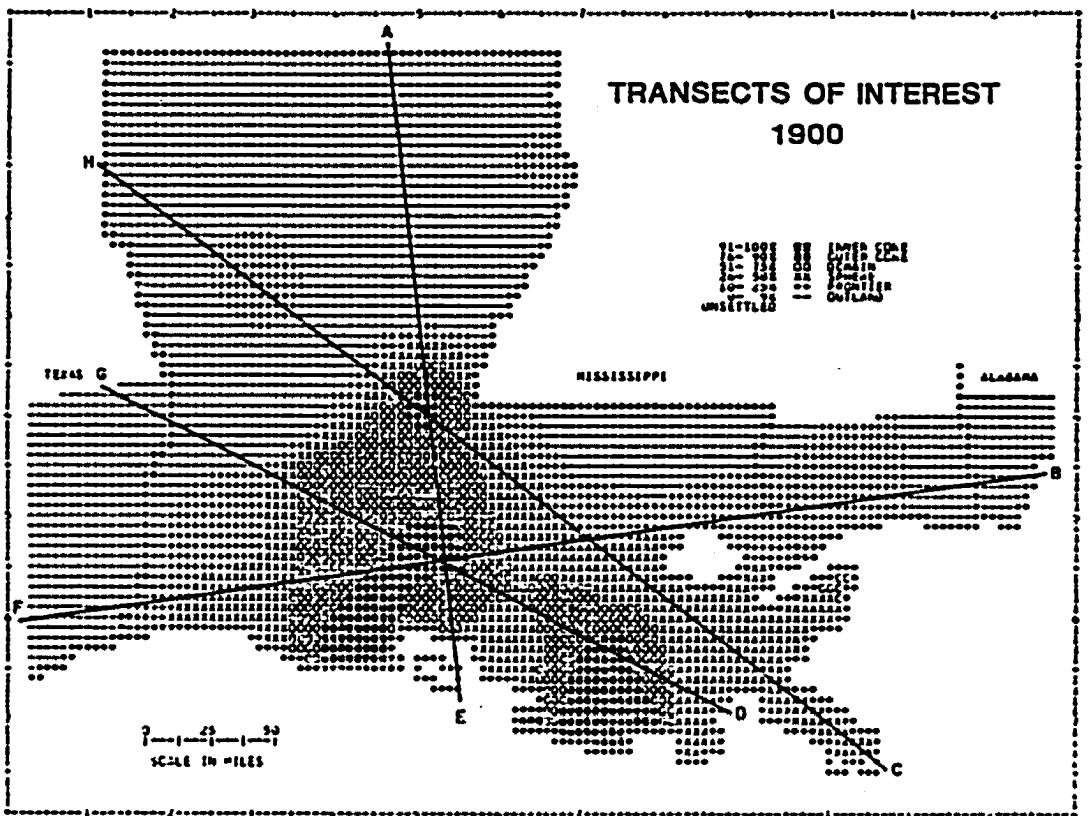


Fig. VIII-16. To better investigate the internal morphology of the Louisiana French region during the century, four analytical transects were constructed.

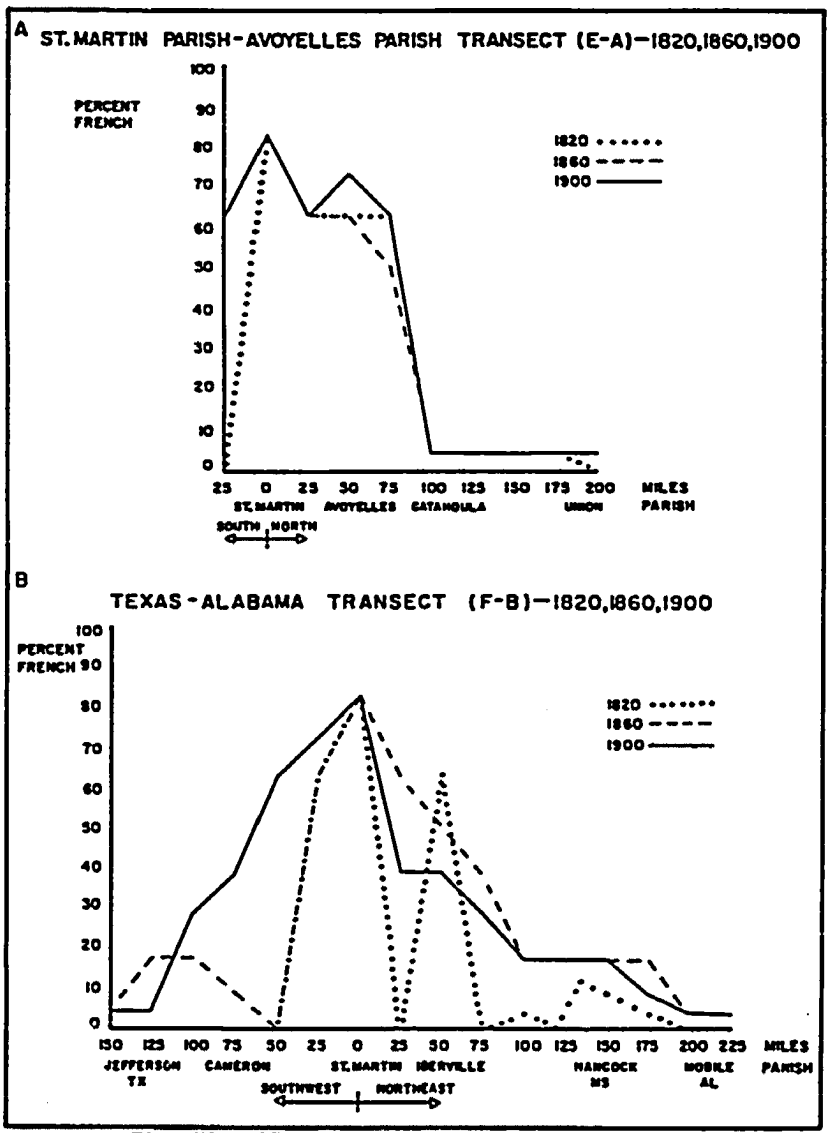


Fig. VIII-17. The St. Martin Parish-Avoyelles Parish transect traversed two traditionally-French parishes, while the Texas-Alabama line gauged east-west trends.

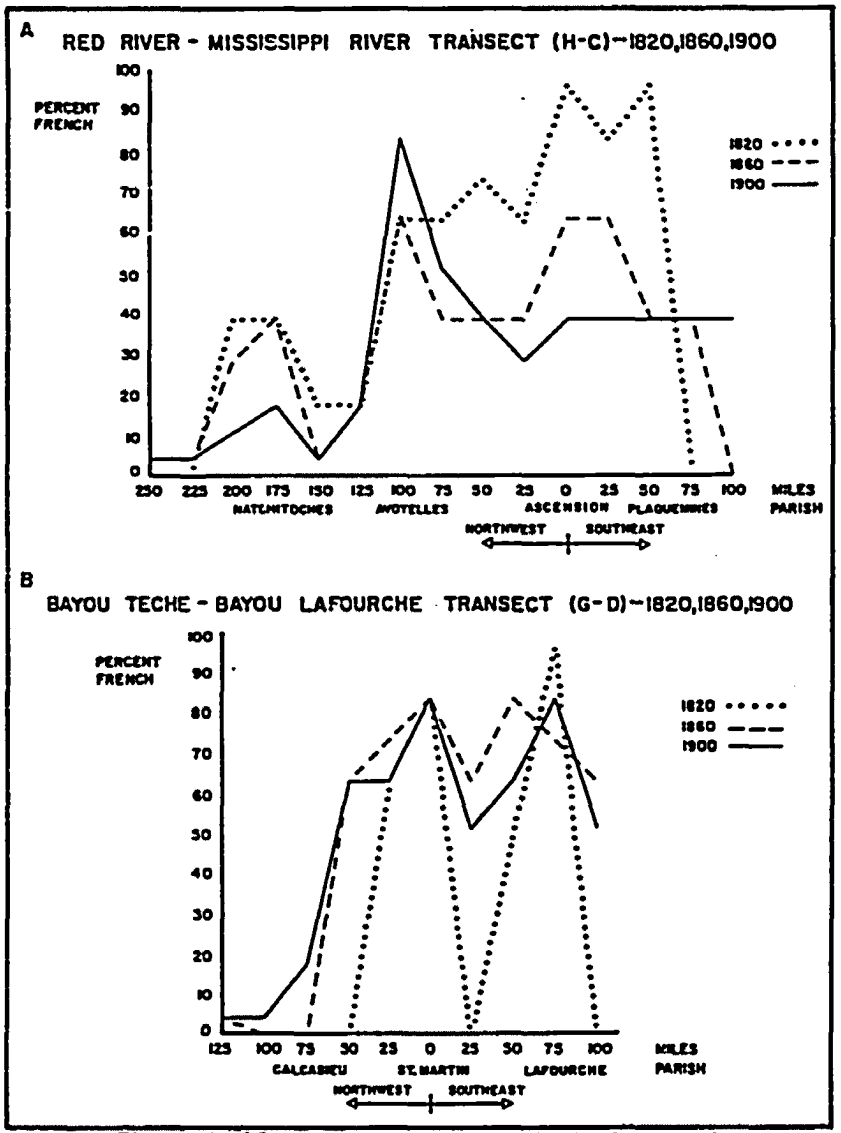


Fig. VIII-18. The Red River-Mississippi River transect ran through Louisiana's two most important river valleys, and the Bayou Teche-Bayou Lafourche transect profiled the region's core.

profiling a prolonged Lafourche retreat and depicting a dynamic Teche amplification.

The myth that French Louisiana was geographically isolated was exploded. In an age of water transport, the Louisiana French living along the lower Mississippi, its distributaries, and the many other navigable streams of South Louisiana had been endowed with an excellent natural water transport system that by 1820 reliably connected for commerce and communication their incipient central places--Opelousas, St. Martinville, New Iberia, and Donaldsonville--and permitted propitious links to New Orleans, the state's only urban center. By the Civil War Louisiana French communities had been transformed not by one but by two transportation revolutions--the steamboat and the railroad. Steamboats ventured into the most remote Atchafalaya channel for commerce and industry and made towns such as Washington, Port Barre, and Franklin into bustling entrepots. Railroads cut transportation time and cost over a shrinking landscape and began to build towns like Morgan City and Westwego that would flourish until today. A flowering French press and the introduction of the telegraph further promoted the dissemination of the latest ideas throughout antebellum French Louisiana. By century's close an extensive rail net linked French Louisiana's traditional central places, founded a number of new towns, and securely tied the region with the entire nation. Not only did rapid overland transportation conspicuously alter the lifestyles of French

Louisianians, but technological innovation--electricity, telegraphs, telephones, and automobiles--had dazzled their blossoming urban system by the turn of the twentieth century. And, as a matter of fact, the Louisiana French had not been very successful in sustaining a cultural isolation since they continuously came into contact with other peoples, sometimes during such tragic events as the Civil War: Indians, Africans, Germans, and Spanish in the eighteenth century and in the next a potpourri of Europeans--"foreign French," Germans, Italians, Dalmatians, and Dutch, to mention a few groups--and, of course, the pervasive and dominating Anglos--English, Irish, and Scotch.

If any one group of people was more geographically isolated in nineteenth-century Louisiana, it was the Anglo yeoman farmers of the North Louisiana hill country: For several months a year river shoals interrupted their steamboat navigation; living in an area less densely populated than South Louisiana, they lagged behind in early construction of an extensive railroad network; and their late-nineteenth-century urban skeleton was less sophisticated and less dynamic than that of French Louisiana. Unlike the French Creoles these Anglo farmers had little commerce to be challenged; unlike the Cajuns, they had no rich soils to be usurped for sugar plantations; and unlike the Louisiana French, they were not only imprisoned by walls of river rapids, but they were indeed forgotten.

Postdicting the Louisiana French Ethnic Region

Spatial postdiction is the employment of forecasting methods like trend analysis to interpolate or extrapolate, either progressively or retrogressively, areal data for past times. In an effort to explore more thoroughly the spatial evolution of the Louisiana French ethnic region during the nineteenth century, to provide take-off points for further geographic investigation of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French, and to offer better transition into extra-nineteenth-century inquiries of the Louisiana French culture region, a final question was pursued: Can a nineteenth-century postdictive model be constructed for the Louisiana French ethnic regions?

Less than casual difficulties materialized when answering this final query. Many parish/county boundaries had fluctuated, old units subdivided and new ones born, within an areally-expanding territory. This meant, of course, that many of the cartographic control points did not correspond from year to year and that the 1820 Louisiana French ethnic region was smaller in area than the 1860, which, in turn, was smaller than the 1900. Trying to overcome such methodological impediments, a rather involved cartographic procedure was developed: Since thirteen parishes/counties maintained very nearly the same centroids throughout the century, and since many more were identical from 1860 to 1900, the sixty-seven 1900 control points, instead of an arbitrary grid, were drafted to sample data

interpolated from the original 1820, 1860, and 1900 ethnic maps (Figs. VIII-10, 11, 12). From these sample data were cloned maps called standard Louisiana French ethnic regions that were amazingly similar to the original 1820, 1860, and 1900 ethnic maps (Figs. VIII-19, 20, 21). Finally, sixty-seven interpolated values from each of the three standard ethnic maps were utilized as input for linear regression estimates of several Louisiana French ethnic cross sections--1800, 1820, 1840, 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1940, bounding through the nineteenth century and vaulting into the next (Figs. VIII-22-28). Mere cursory visual examination of the postdicted nineteenth-century map series answered the final question by revealing that the postdicted maps followed the original 1820, 1860, and 1900 evolution of the Louisiana French ethnic region. To investigate further the validity of these estimated maps, two interpolations, 1840 and 1900, and two extrapolations, 1800 and 1940, were compared with other Louisiana French delimitations at the same temporal cross sections.

In 1973 Hackett classified every family head surname in the 1840 Louisiana manuscript census schedules according to "French," "English," or "other" ethnicities.[2] However, since most of his "other" category was Spanish and German cognomens, he did not take into account the eighteenth-century assimilation of German and Spanish settlers into the Gallic culture. Although Hackett calculated the proportion of each of his categories for all

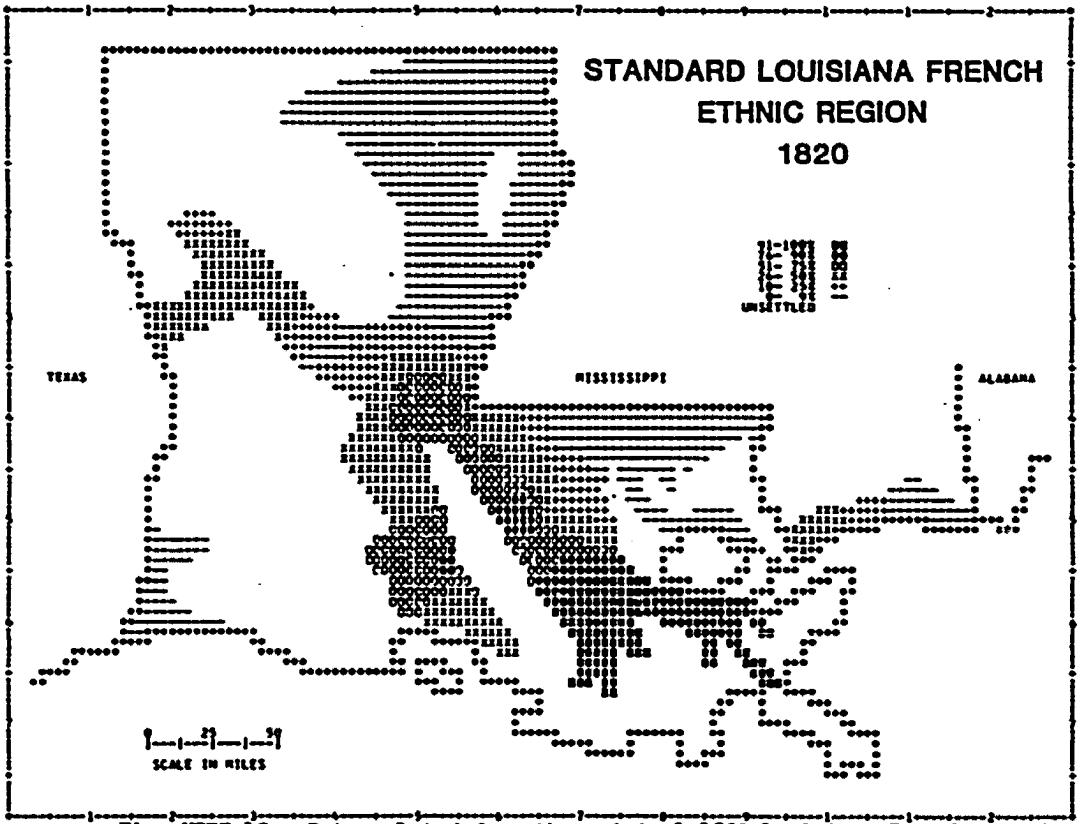


Fig. VIII-19. Interpolated from the original 1820 Louisiana French map via 1900 control points, the standard map provided data for constructing the postdicted map series.

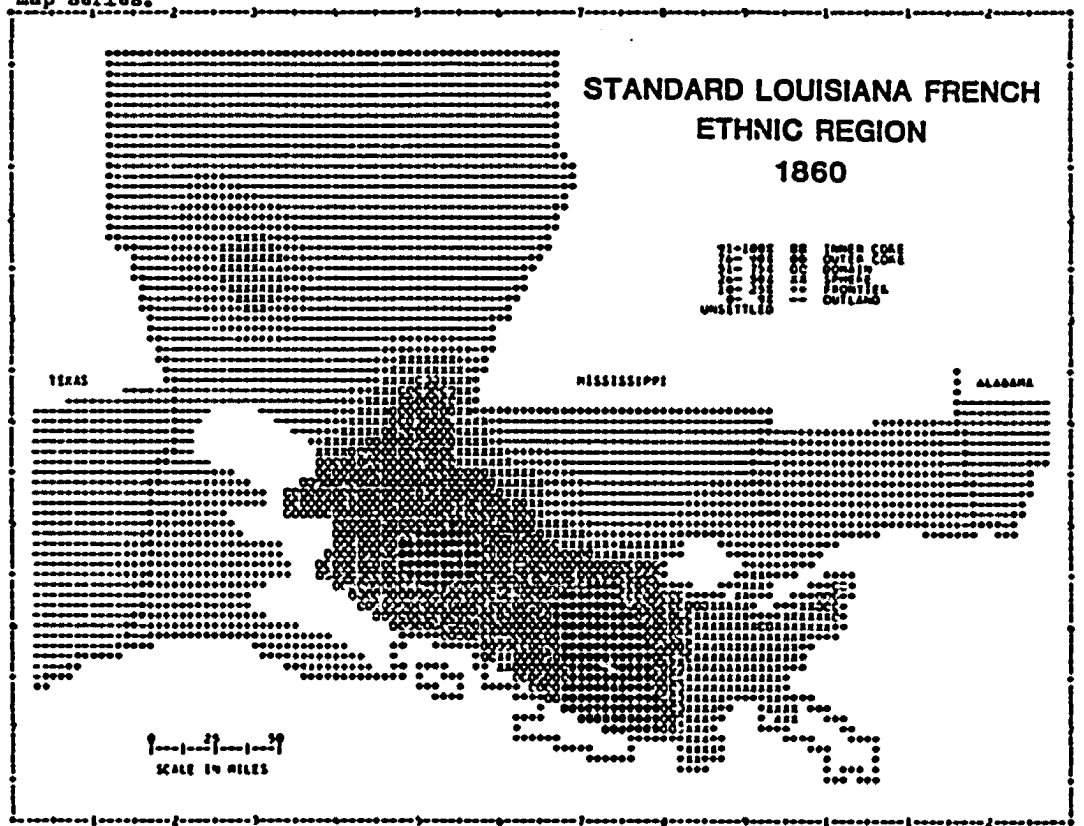


Fig. VIII-20. Interpolated from the original 1860 Louisiana French map via 1900 control points, the standard map provided data for constructing the postdicted map series.

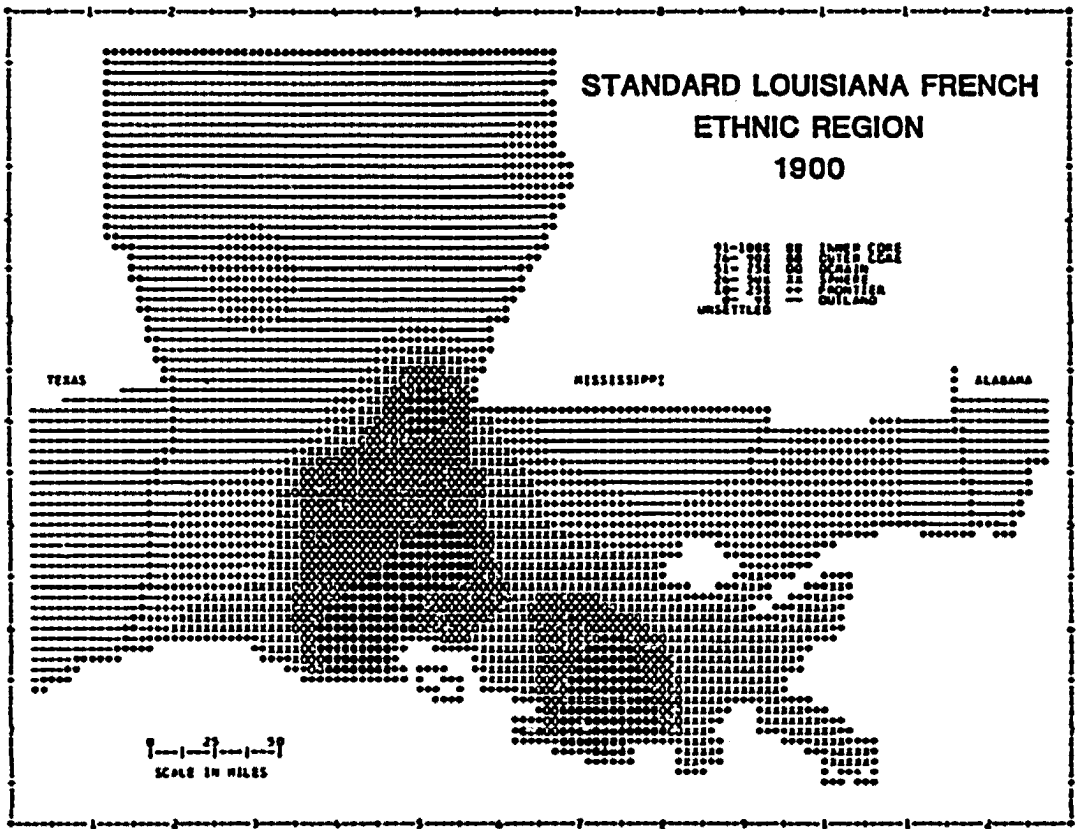


Fig. VIII-21. Interpolated from the original 1900 Louisiana French map via 1900 control points, the standard map provided data for constructing the postdicted map series.

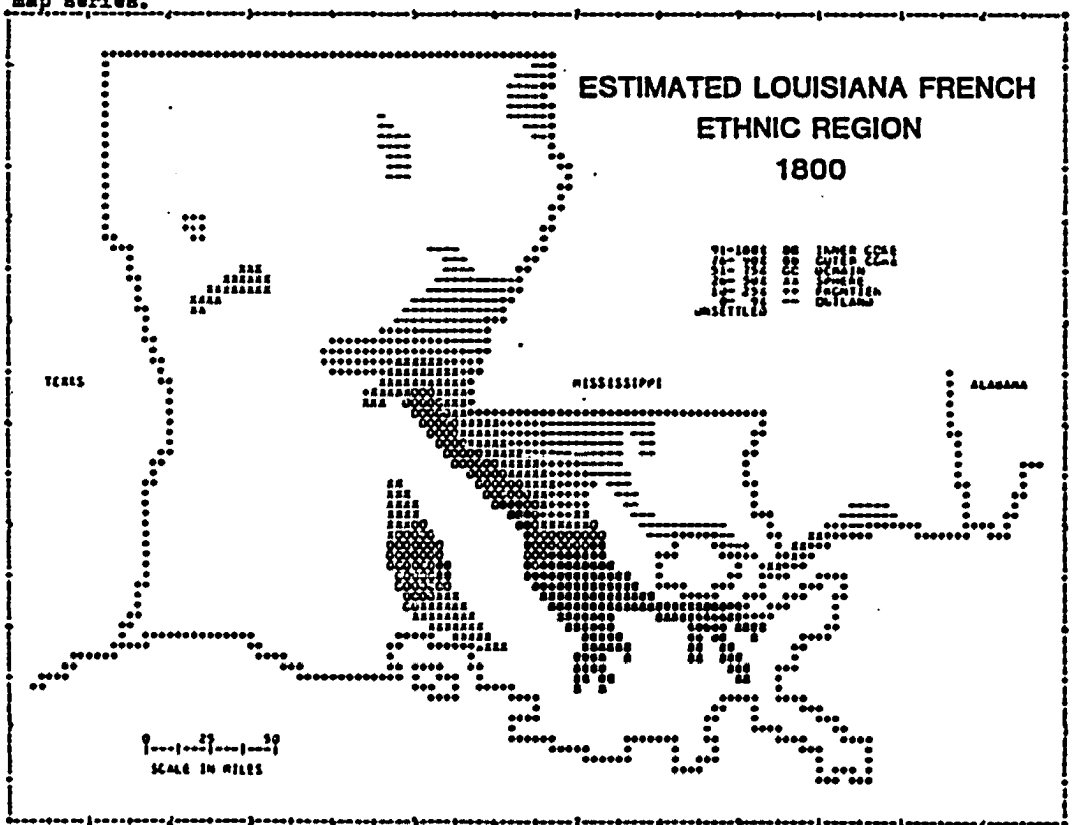


Fig. VIII-22. The linearly-postdicted 1800 Louisiana French ethnic region.

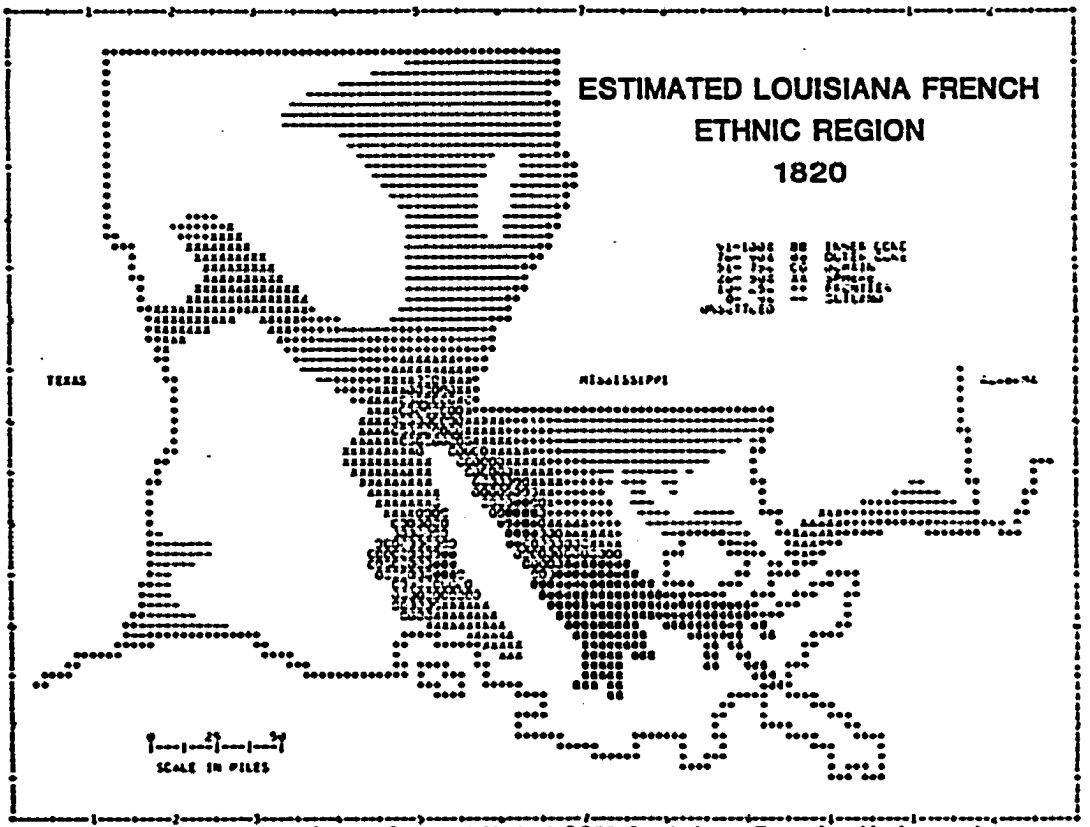


Fig. VIII-23. The linearly-postdicted 1820 Louisiana French ethnic region.

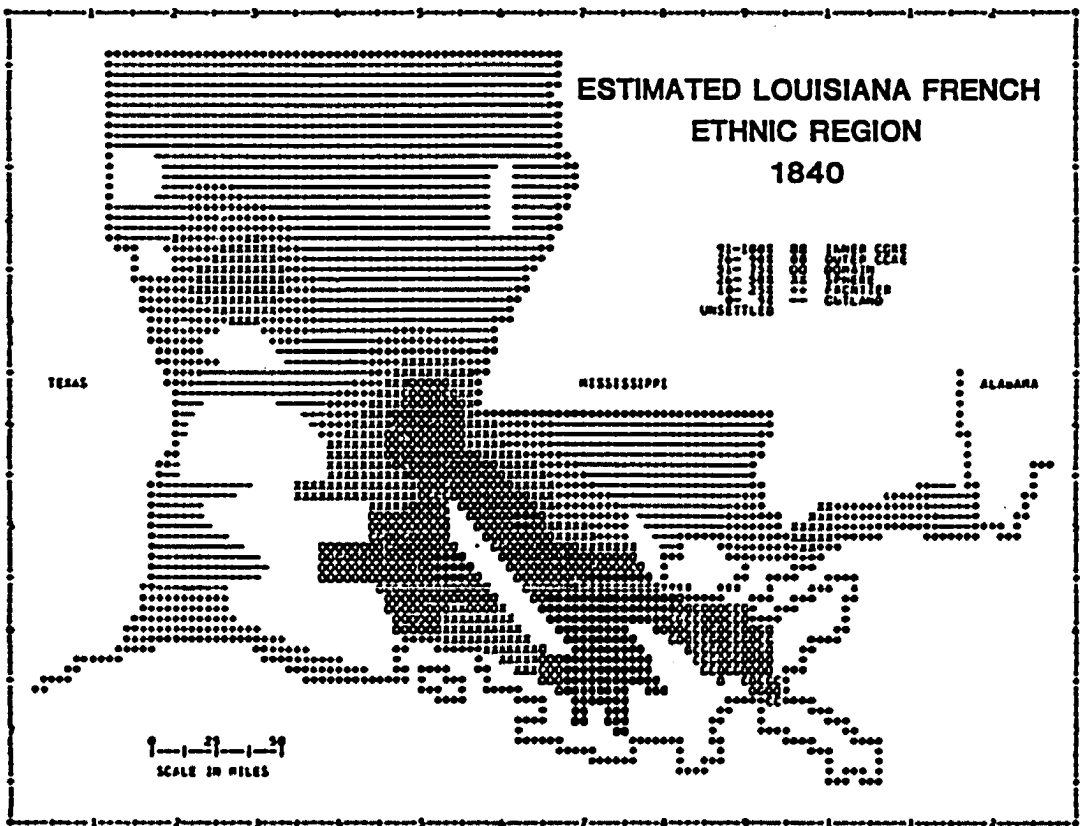


Fig. VIII-24. The linearly-postdicted 1840 Louisiana French ethnic region.

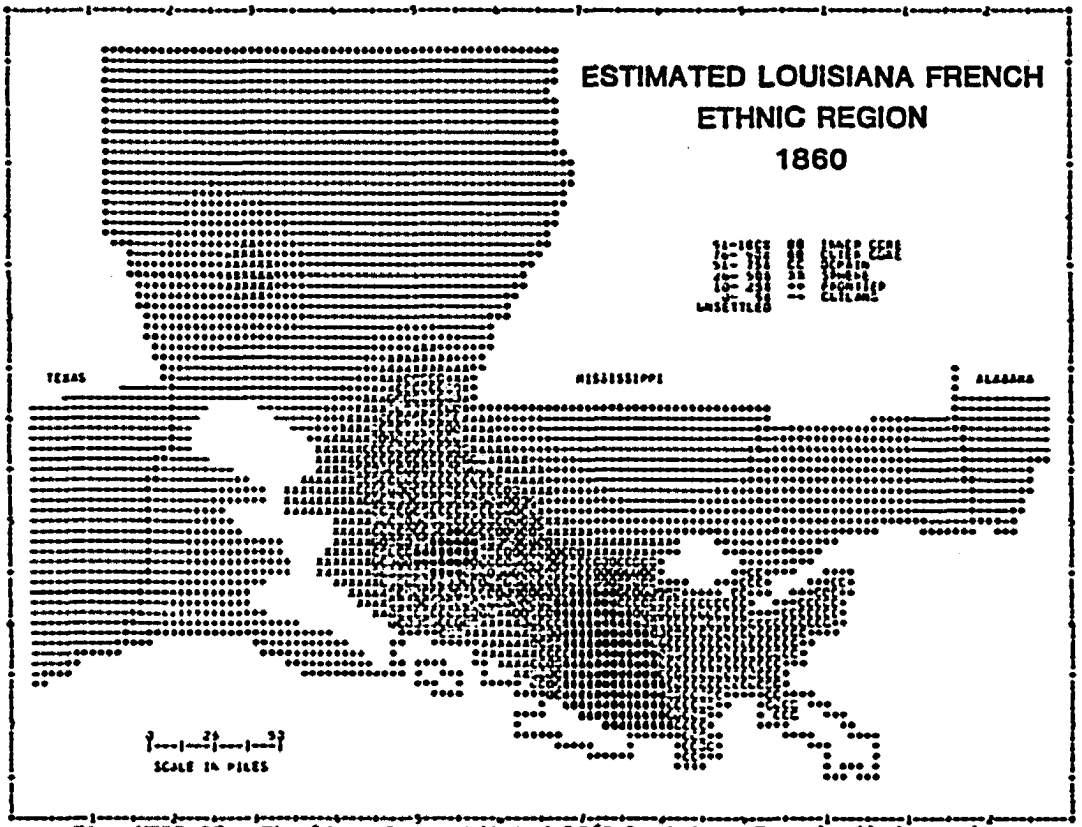


Fig. VIII-25. The linearly-postdicted 1860 Louisiana French ethnic region.

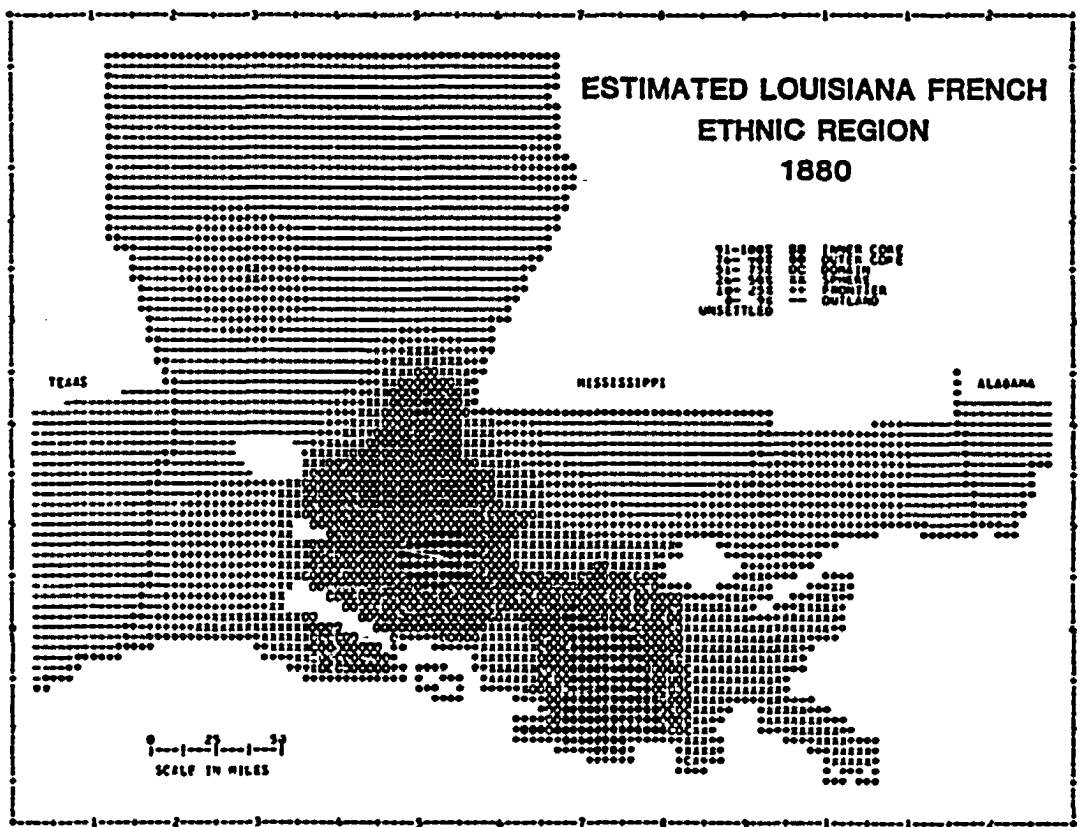


Fig. VIII-26. The linearly-postdicted 1880 Louisiana French ethnic region.

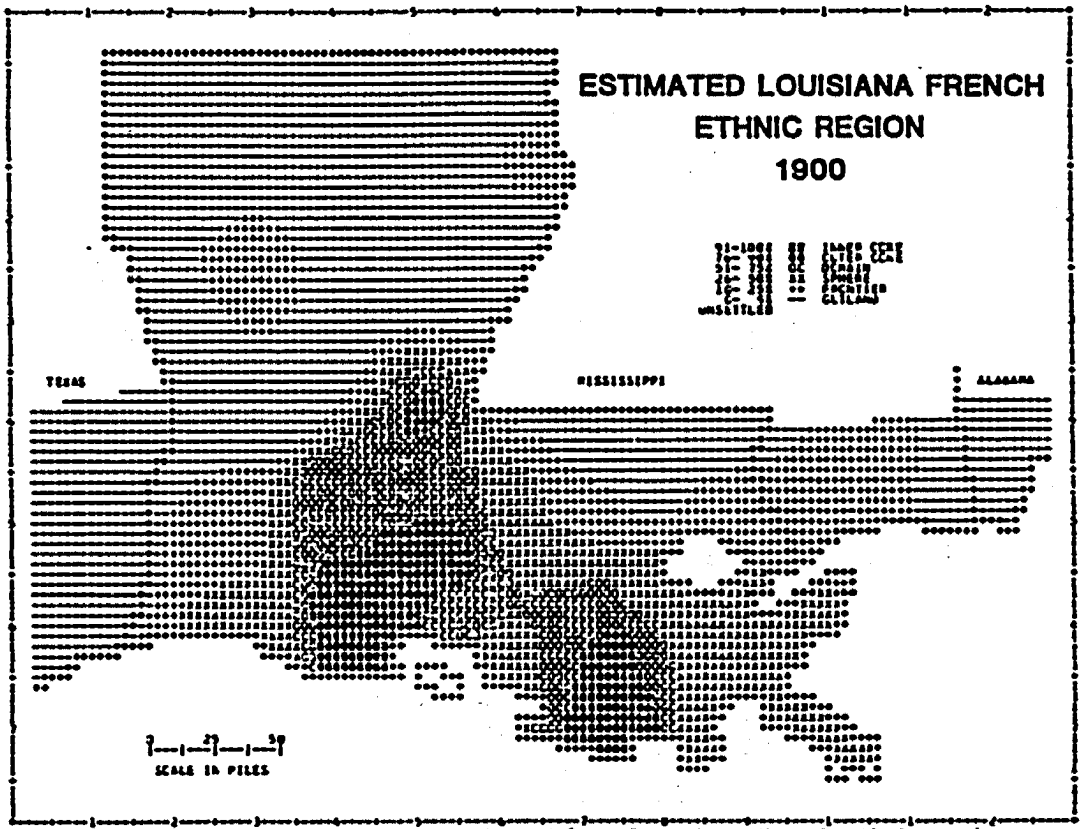


Fig. VIII-27. The linearly-postdicted 1900 Louisiana French ethnic region.

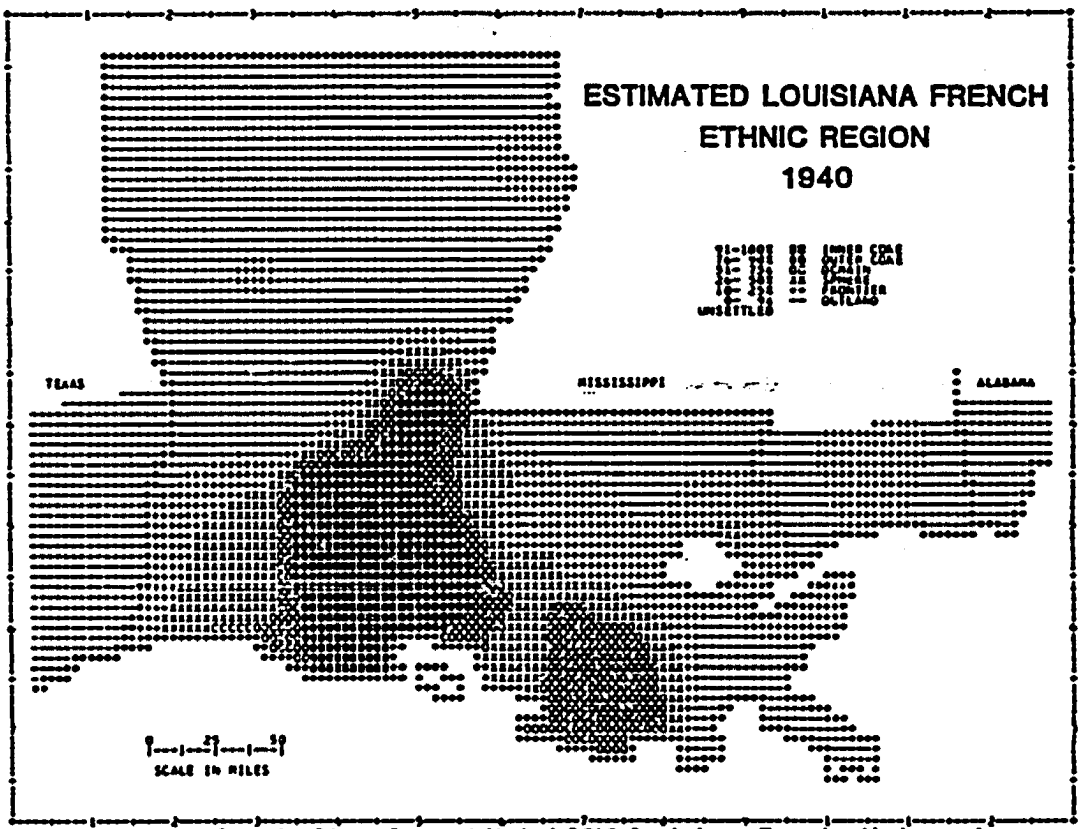


Fig. VIII-28. The linearly-postdicted 1940 Louisiana French ethnic region.

Louisiana parishes, he did not construct any ethnic maps. Using his French ethnic data and, consistent with the procedure employed in the present study, incorporating weighted proportions of his "other" data to correct for Spanish and German assimilation, a map of Hackett's 1840 Louisiana French ethnic region was constructed (Fig. VIII-29). The residuals between the Hackett map and the postdicted 1840 map in the foregoing series were then examined (Fig. VIII-24, 30). The two maps were generally congruous with only a handful of differences: postdicted proportions were higher than Hackett's for Natchitoches, Terrebonne, Jefferson, and St. Bernard parishes; and estimated proportions were lower than Hackett's for the "German Coast" parishes of St. Charles and St. John, for Pointe Coupee Parish upstream from Baton Rouge, and for the trans-Teche parishes of Lafayette and Calcasieu. The higher estimates could be attributed to Hackett's conservative counts. He calculated, for example, that Natchitoches Parish was only 11.5 percent French in 1840, yet the three original samples--1820, 1860, and 1900--in this dissertation computed no less than 21 percent, and that in 1900. The four underestimates were probably because of weakened 1860 French intensities, affected by massive Anglo intrusion into St. Charles and St. John parishes between 1840 and 1860, smoothed downward the linear postdictions; and because in 1820 Lafayette and Calcasieu parishes were only parts of two other huge parishes, St. Martin and St. Landry, their

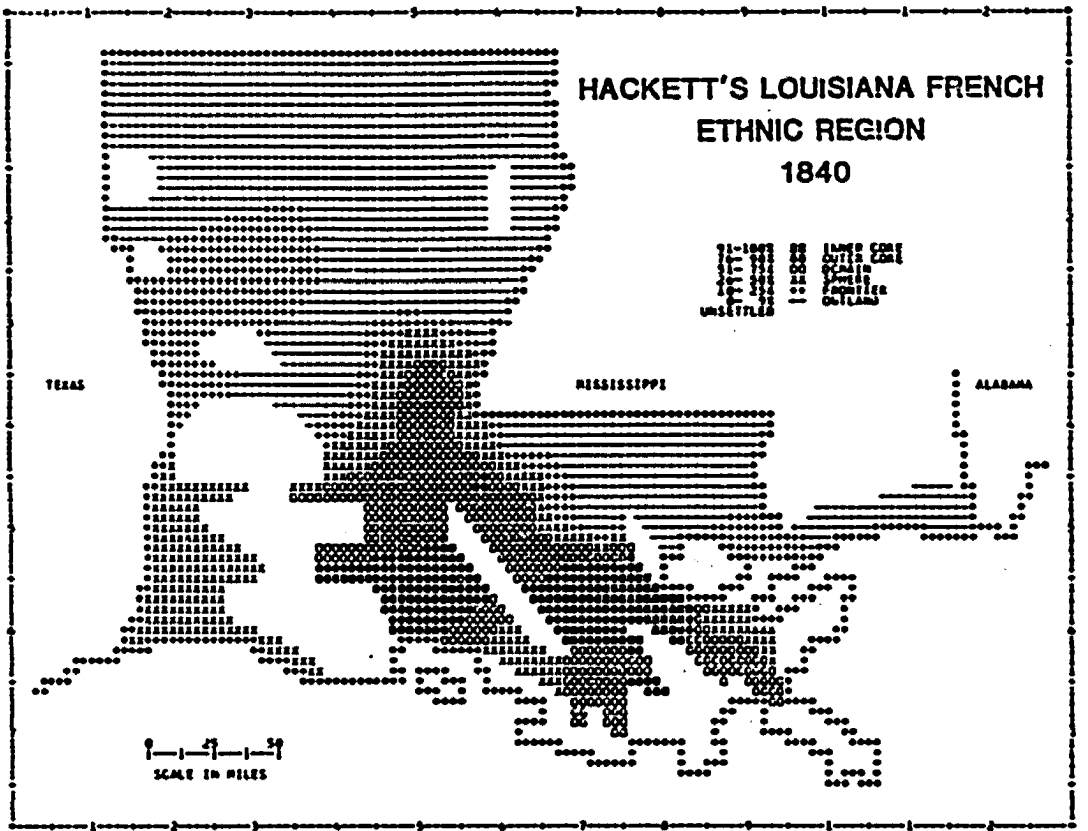


Fig. VIII-29. Hackett's computations were used to map an 1840 Louisiana French ethnic region (Hackett, 1973: 328-29).

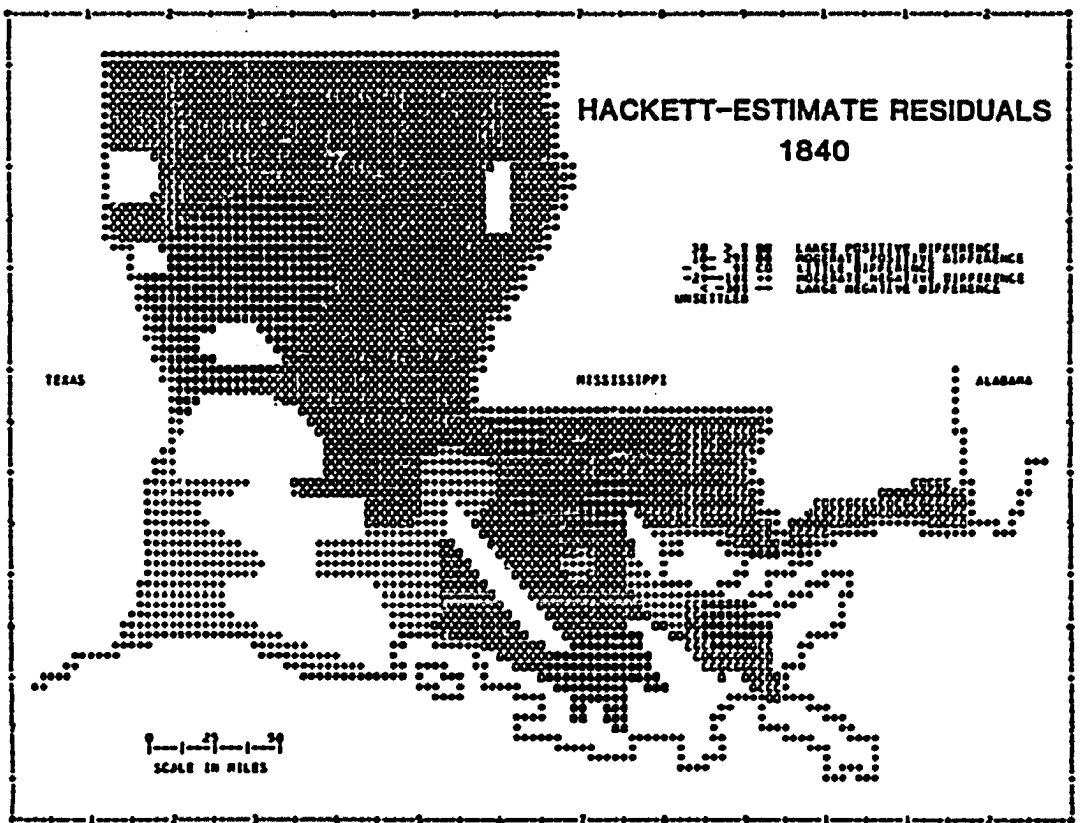


Fig. VIII-30. The Hackett and postdicted 1840 maps were generally congruous with only a handful of differences.

proportions were somewhat diluted, thereby similarly affecting the strengths of the postdictions. Hackett's 76 percent French calculation for 1840 Pointe Coupee Parish was higher than the highest of the three original cross-sectional samples herein, 67 percent in 1820. Despite the few specific anomalies, the estimated 1840 Louisiana French ethnic region is probably as valid a reconstruction of past geographic reality as Hackett's computations are.

A second example of postdictive interpolation within the study period was 1900, and, as expected, it followed closely the original 1900 Louisiana French map. As a result of the interpolation of map values when creating the three standard ethnic maps and due to the linear smoothing during postdiction, Acadia, St. James, and Vermilion parishes were overestimated, while St. Bernard was underestimated (Fig. VIII-31). The postdicted 1900 map, then, was certainly a valid estimate of the original 1900 ethnic delimitation.

To attempt to postdict a cross-sectional delimitation for a date twenty years before the first of only three trend analysis data points was undoubtedly walking on thin ice, but to try to do so for a time forty years after the last data point was approaching the absurd. Yet these two postdictions were made because they could be compared, albeit in a somewhat injudicious way, with independent reconstructions of the same temporal cross sections, and because more such extrapolative postdictions as well as

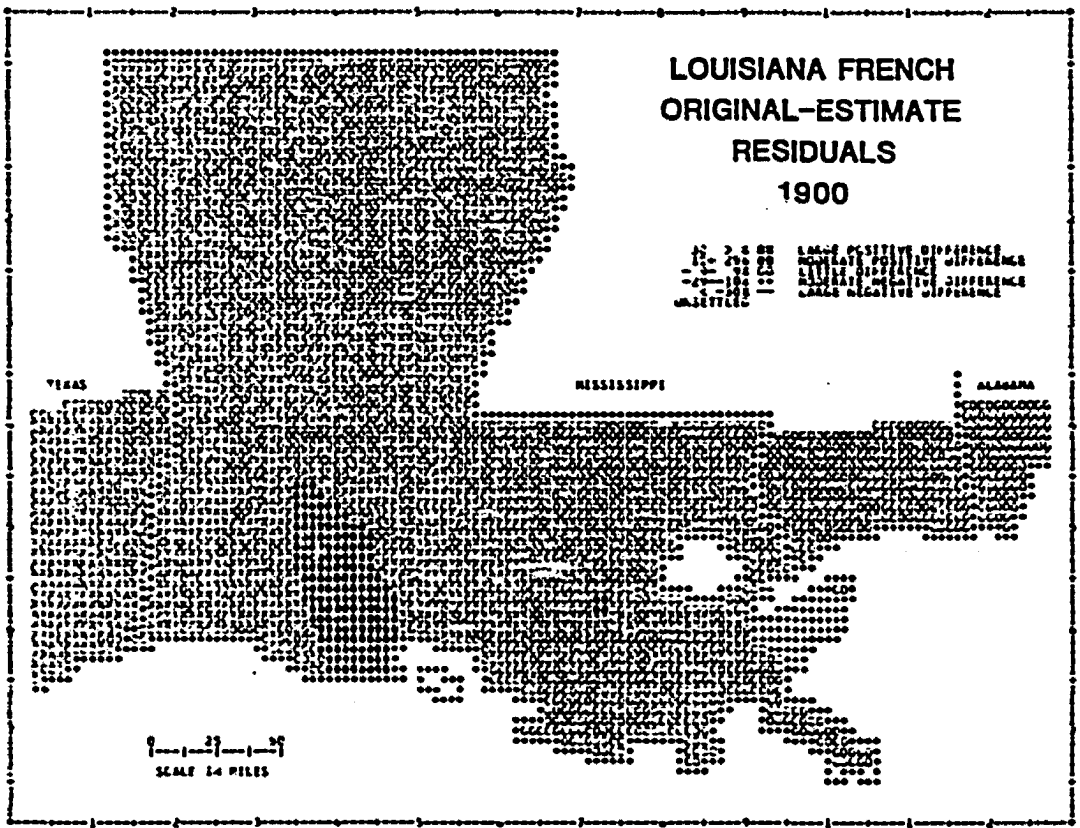


Fig. VIII-31. The postdicted 1900 map was certainly a valid estimate of the original 1900 ethnic delimitation.

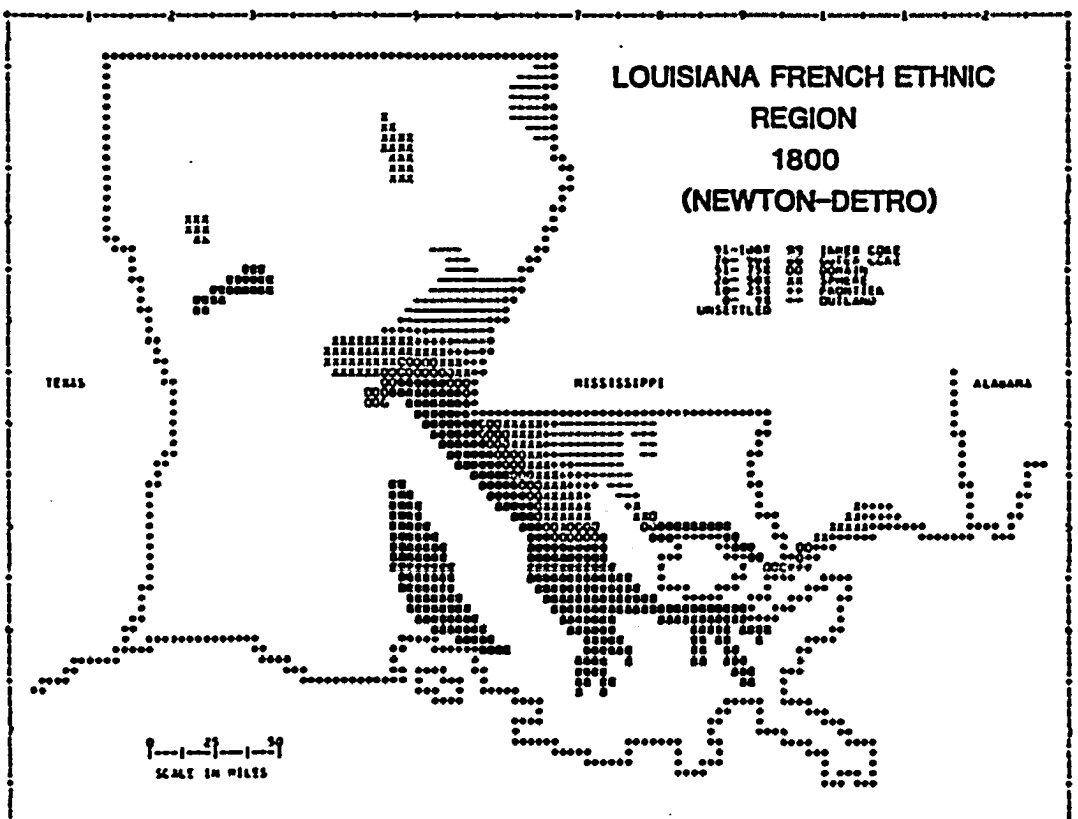


Fig. VIII-32. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase the highest Louisiana French intensities hugged the principal water courses. After Newton (1972: 71) and Detro (1970: 101-13).

predictions, maybe less boldly done, need to be undertaken to better understand the spatial evolution of ethnic groups. Since the Newton-Detro synthesis for the 1800 Louisiana French ethnic region was very qualitative, the first of the two extrapolated postdictions could not provide for quantified residual comparisons (Fig. VIII-32).[3] More than likely, however, past spatial reality was somewhere in between the high French intensities of the Newton-Detro map and the relatively lower retrogressive postdiction, especially along the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, north of Baton Rouge along the Mississippi, and in the Teche country.

In 1939 Meigs constructed a seminal isopleth map of French surname proportions which, to secure comparable spatial interpolations, was coarsely transformed by averaging data values across each parish for input into a computer map (Fig. VIII-33).[4] The residuals then generated between this rough rendering of Meigs' French ethnic region and the progressive 1940 postdiction drew a sharp contrast: the postdicted map had grossly underestimated the French proportions along the lower Mississippi and around the Lafourche core and had glaringly inflated French proportions in the prairie parishes (Fig. VIII-34). Too, the estimated proportions were low in Natchitoches Parish and coastal Texas, while they were high in St. Tammany Parish and coastal Mississippi. Perhaps the major reason for these discrepancies was the forty-year linear extrapolation

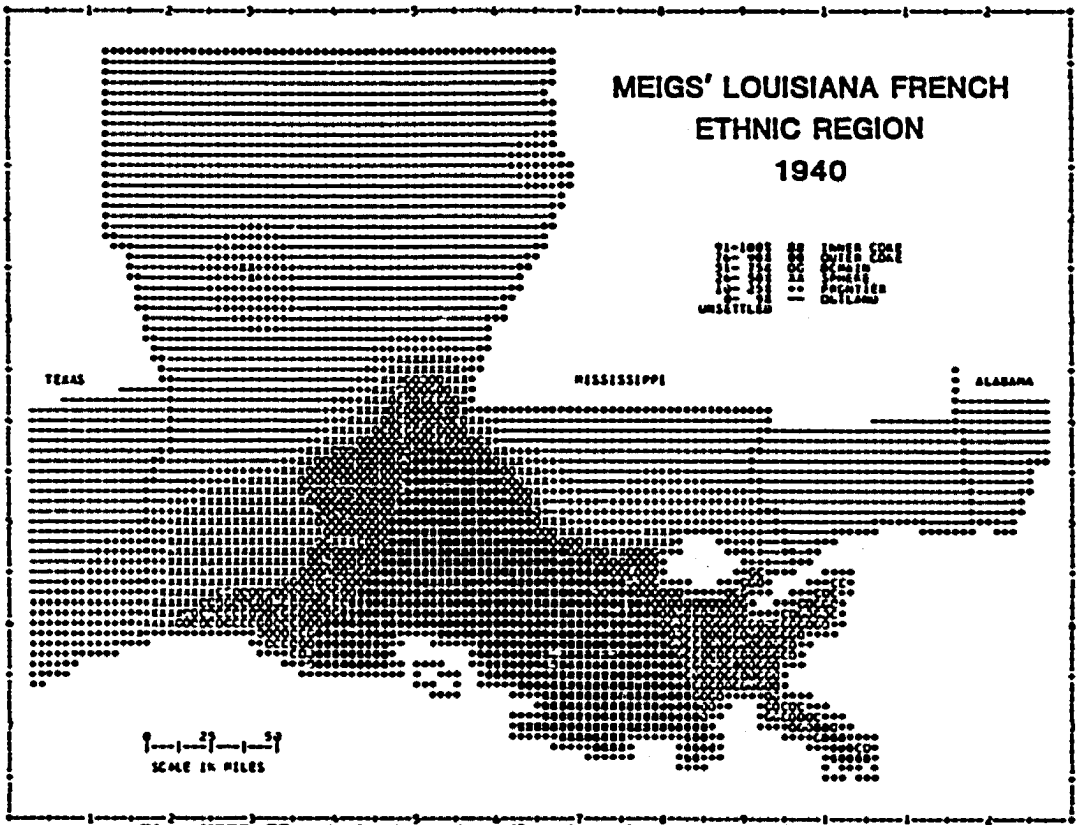


Fig. VIII-33. Meigs' eastwardly-skewed map of the 1940 Louisiana French ethnic region was coarsely transformed into a computer map. After Meigs (1939: 245).

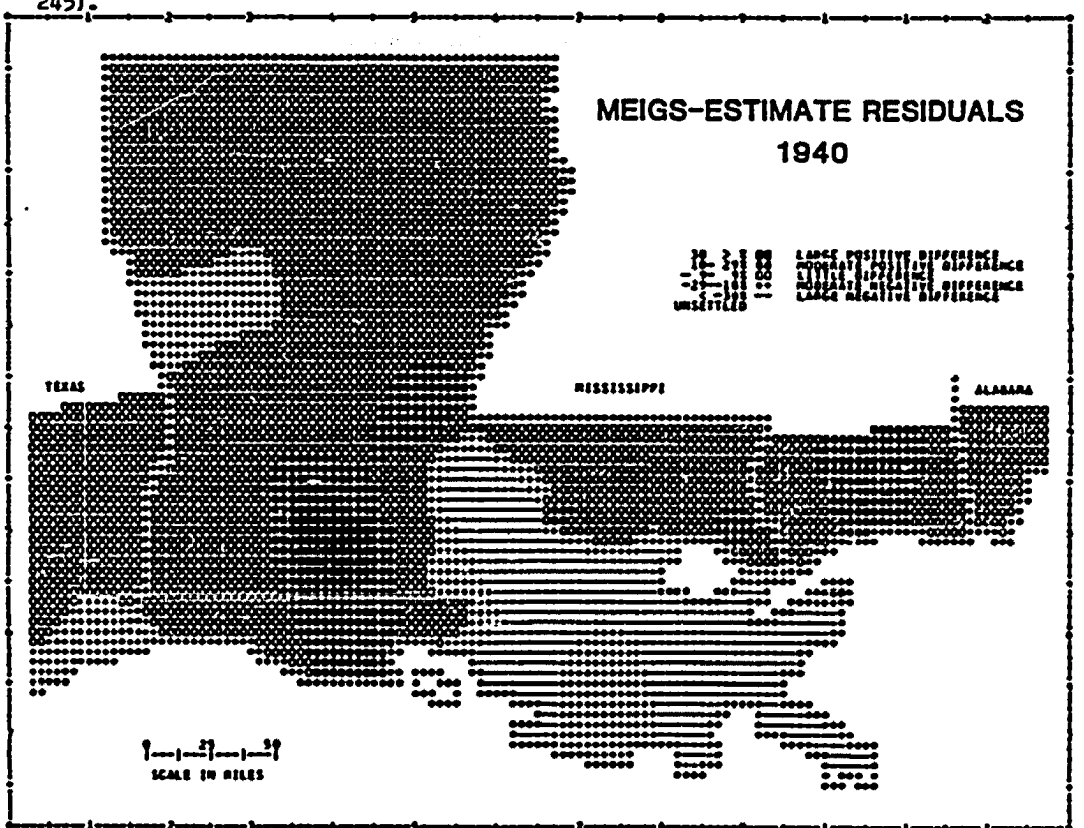


Fig. VIII-34. Some serious differences developed between Meigs' Louisiana French region and the linearly-extrapolated 1940 postdiction.

into the mid-twentieth century using only three nineteenth-century data points, which surely made the postdiction tenuous to say the least. Yet flaws in Meigs' methodology may have also been cupable: In combination with an irregular mailbox survey for those areas without telephone service, Meigs calculated parish/county French proportions by the percent of French patronyms in lists of the ten-most-common surnames extracted from 115 Louisiana and Texas telephone directories. Meigs' strategy was obviously an attempt to extricate himself from counting thousands of family names, but he never explained just how he actually determined the ten-most-common surnames for each directory. Moreover, because of a notable degree of endogamy in the eighteenth century, the number of Cajun patronyms are relatively few, thereby biasing the ten-most-common-surname criterion in favor of the French. Employing Meigs' method, it was therefore quite possible for a parish to have been predominately Anglo yet classified as French because no Anglo family name broke into the top-ten surname list. And it is, of course, most difficult to swallow the idea that as late as 1940 a huge swath on Meigs' original map from Avoyelles Parish through the Atchafalaya Basin to Terrebonne Parish was 100 percent French. St. Martin Parish, for example, was shown as totally French and Terrebonne Parish as almost all French, yet in the 1900 sample of the present study they were 78 percent and 81 percent, respectively (standard errors were ± 3.00 and ± 2.39). It is indeed

unfortunate that Meigs did not randomize his samples since his map depicted great French ethnic strength where deep and constant erosion had taken place during the nineteenth century.

Just as assuredly as Meigs' 100-percent parishes were overestimates, the linear postdictions for the prairie parishes were inflated. Although the continued areal diminution of both the domain and sphere as delineated in the 1940 postdiction supported the wave theory of geographical expansion noted earlier for the Louisiana French, the overzealous linear projection of a supposedly stabilized core did not conform to such thinking. The 1936 Roman Catholic distribution nevertheless corresponded fairly well to the high French intensities of the westwardly-distended Teche core. The Roman Catholic map likewise had high intensities for the Lafourche core, yet its two-lobed shape--the Teche and Lafourche--followed more closely the 1940 postdicted map rather than Meigs' eastwardly-skewed French region (Fig. VIII-35).[5] Finally, if the French intensities were toned down in the 1940 postdiction, then, with a remarkable resemblance in shape and size, it would be a good reflection of the 1970 French mother tongue map (Fig. VIII-36).[6]

A Louisiana French Regional Model

For almost three centuries after leaving their European homeland the Louisiana French were hounded by change: in the eighteenth century they were becoming

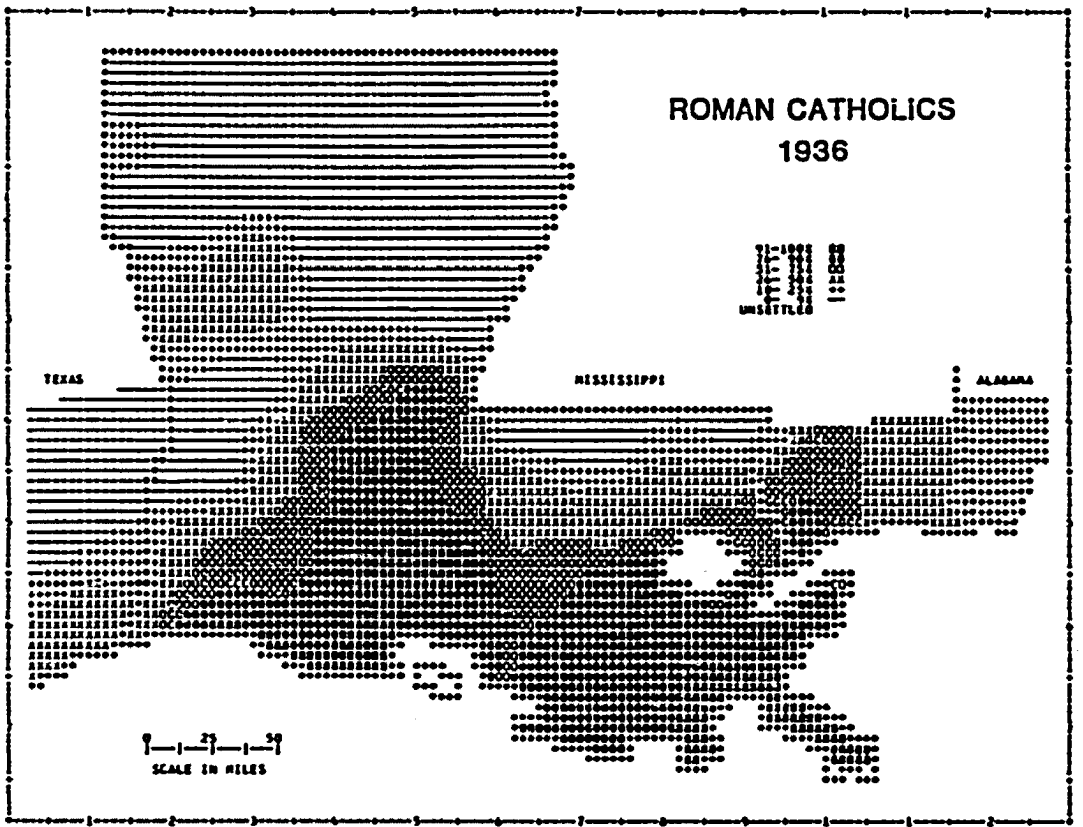


Fig. VIII-35. The 1936 Roman Catholic distribution contoured a two-lobed shape—the Teche and Lafourche.

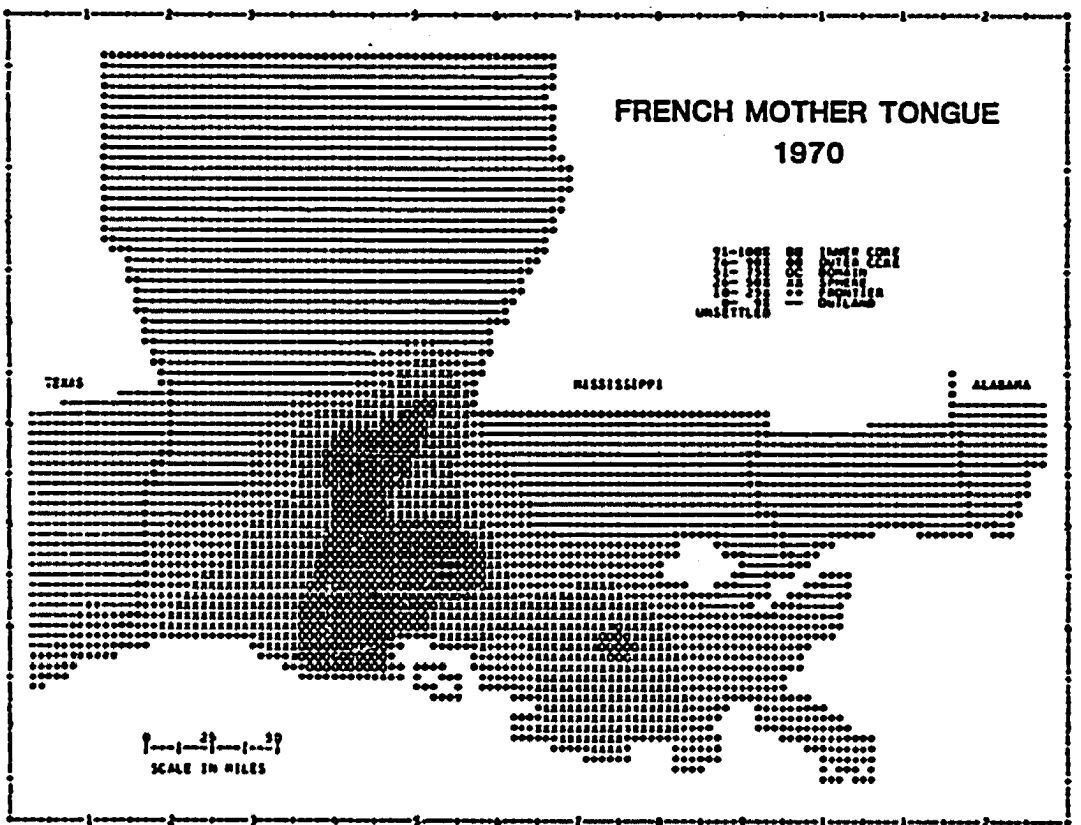


Fig. VIII-36. With a remarkable resemblance in shape and size, the 1970 French mother tongue distribution faintly reflected the 1940 Louisiana French post-diction.

Creoles and Cajuns; in the nineteenth century they were becoming Americans; and in the twentieth century they were anguishing about their hemorrhaged heritage that they had told themselves was immutable while at the same time ironically revelling in the latest inventions of modern America. And this study of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French region has focused on these irrevocable changes. Not only has Meinig's gradational model been applied at the three geographical reconstructions--1820, 1860, and 1900, but so too has his evolutionary generics been borrowed to signal the cultural evolutionary stage of the Louisiana French at each temporal cross section.[7]

Fitting the Louisiana French evolution over almost three hundred years into Meinig's cultural stages, even in general terms, was no easy task (Fig. VIII-37). For the Louisiana French, perhaps Meinig's transplant stage took place between 1700 and 1760 when a small nucleus of Frenchmen colonized a geographically-isolated Louisiana; from 1760 to 1800 a regional culture expanded around New Orleans, its colonial capital and center of a thriving commerce that stretched into its hinterland by an excellent system of natural waterways; the disastrous decades between 1800 and 1880 marked the impact of the national culture when after the Louisiana Purchase thousands of brash, headstrong Anglos, encouraged by the emergence of an interregional network of steamboat and railroad transportation, competed for and subsequently won control of the state's

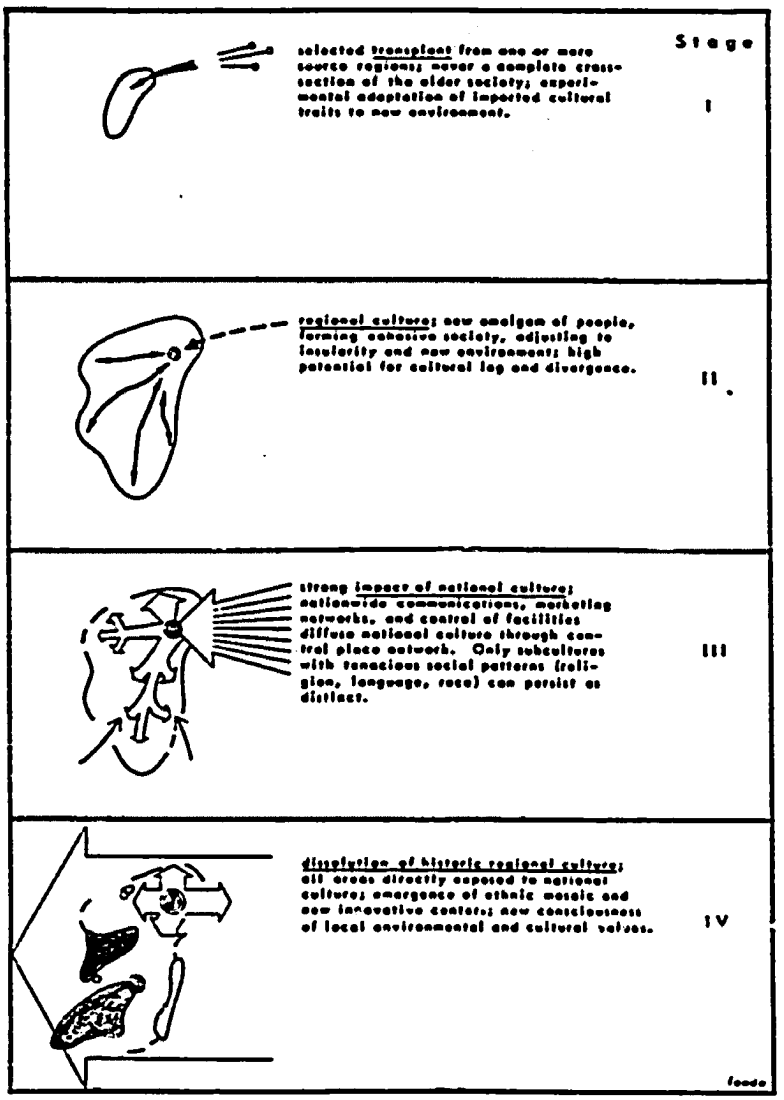


Fig. VIII-37. Meinig's evolutionary model: culture. Reproduced from Meinig (1972: 163).

societal patterns; and the years since 1880 that have seen a dissolution of the historic regional culture in which an overpowering Anglo lifestyle penetrated into the soul of the Louisiana French culture by way of a hierarchy of burgeoning urban places filled with highly mobile people and linked by modern transportation and communication systems and through a federal government evermore interested in administratively influencing the welfare of its citizens.

Although certainly valid and workable for the Louisiana French region, Meinig's generic stages of cultural evolution, developed from his research regarding the settlement of the American West, missed some of the subtleties of the Louisiana French experience. To magnify somewhat several of these cultural nuances, a seven-stage evolution, incorporating pell mell some of Meinig's labels for his cultural as well as population stages and adding new ones, was proposed specifically for the French in Louisiana. Except for the first and last stages, each was about forty years long, and, after evaluating the evolutionary findings of this dissertation and its supporting literature, the three temporal cross sections--1820, 1860, and 1900--were turned from consummating gradational morphologies constructed to spatially analyze each preceding period into medial reconstructions for the three nineteenth-century cultural stages. Further, these seven Louisiana French stages were broken into two divisions--three stages culturally dominated by the French, and four dominated by the Anglo-Saxons.

Transplantation, the first of the three French-dominated stages, occurred between 1700 and 1760 when French settlers along the geographically-isolated lower Mississippi River were joined by Law's colonists whose agricultural cornucopia upstream from New Orleans became known as the "German Coast" (Fig. VIII-38). Having founded Natchitoches and New Orleans and in the wake of expansion throughout their lower Mississippi River hearth, the French domination of the Indians and assimilation of the Germans were well underway by the end of Gallic colonial government.

The four decades between 1760 and 1800 marked the second Louisiana French cultural stage, unrestrained expansion. Although the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau signed in 1762 ceded Louisiana to Spanish colonial control, the French vigorously spread throughout the Mississippi River distributary system, an excellent natural water web, to create their Lafourche cultural core and to link their thriving commercial node, New Orleans, with its hinterland. The Acadian grand derangement finally came to an end along the "Acadian Coast" of the lower Mississippi and on the backslopes of Bayou Teche, forming an incipient Gallic hearth geographically-isolated west of the Atchafalaya Swamp. The gregarious Gallic culture meanwhile completed its inundation of the smaller German population and, in a remarkably quick leveling between Latins, diluted Spanish transplants settled at such places as Terre aux Boeufs on Delacroix Island southeast of New Orleans, Galveztown at

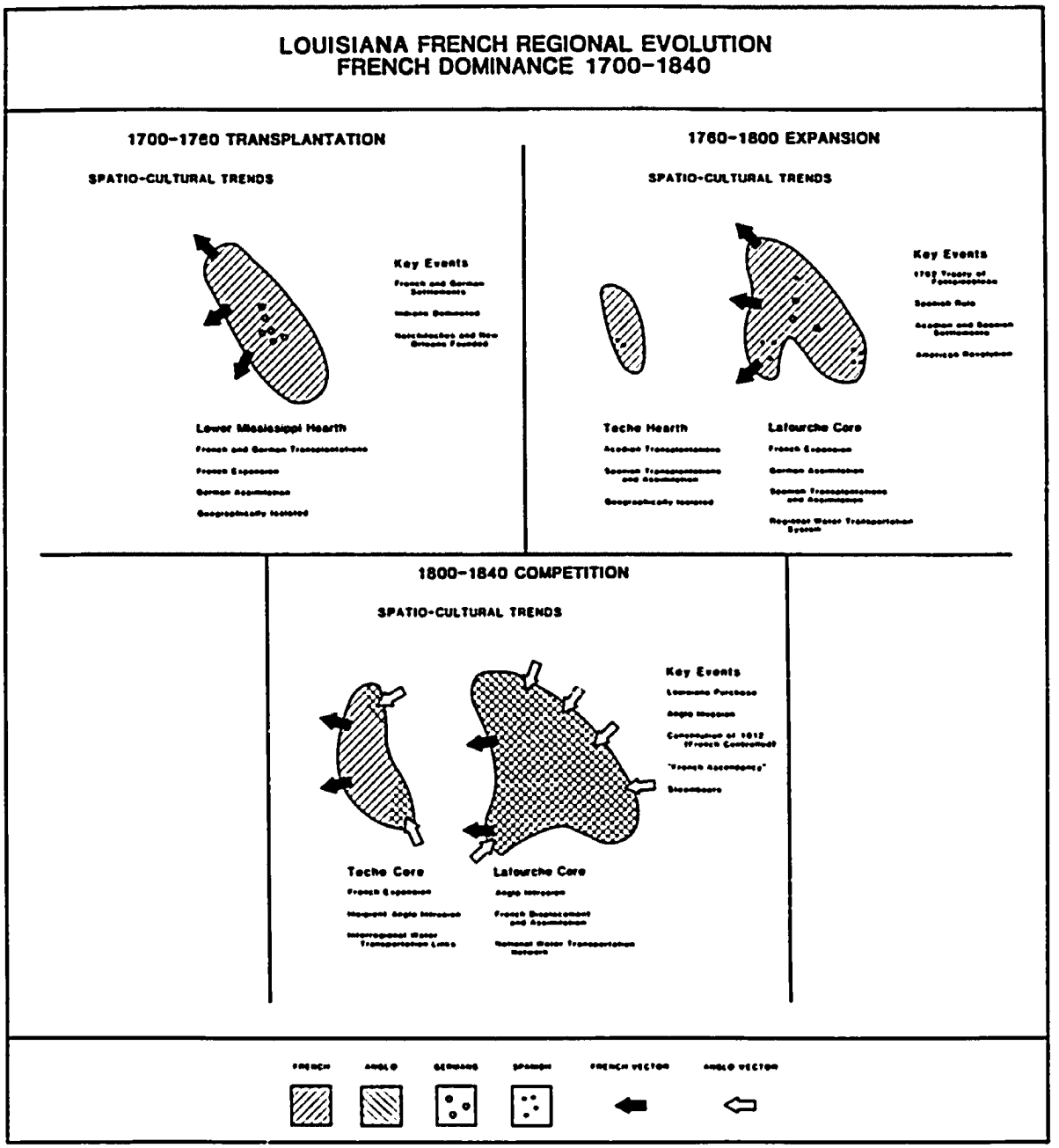


Fig. VIII-38. In the Louisiana French regional evolution, three Gallic-dominated stages were transplantation, expansion, and competition.

the confluence of Bayou Manchac and the Amite River, Valenzuela on Bayou Lafourche, and New Iberia on the lower Teche. Yet, far to the east, the success of the American Revolution presaged the spirit of an Anglo nation that would search resolutely for its destiny across an entire continent.

The final stage of French domination, 1800-1840, was one of acrimonious competition. After the initial shock of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and subsequent encounter with the Anglo disease febrilly infecting their culture region, a gallant Gallic ploy to reinforce their supremacy was cleverly inscribed into the state's first constitution in 1812. Despite rudimentary Anglo intrusion, the Teche core, generally a step behind the Lafourche, began to distend westwardly onto the Attakapas and Opelousas prairies and to develop an interregional transportation infrastructure connecting it with the lower Mississippi River settlements. Steamboats skimming over a national waterway network not only brought a seemingly endless bounty of commerce into the "Queen of the Mississippi" but also encouraged an equally endless stream of Anglos onto the deltaic plain of the Lafourche core, displacing westward the French in the "second expulsion" and beginning to assimilate those who remained.

Anglos, after years of howling for equity, captured control of the state government through their majority in the Constitutional Convention of 1845. The "French

Ascendancy" was all but dead. The gubernatorial election of Paul Hebert in 1853 was its last breath; the Anglo-Saxons were politically supreme. The steamboat and railroad transportation revolutions, like the tragedies of the Civil War and Reconstruction, became catalytic points of contact in which the French entered the stage of attraction, 1840-1880 (Fig. VIII-39). Via water and rail, Anglos continued their incursions deep into French territory, but now the French began to be increasingly attracted to Anglo ways, making Gallic assimilation almost a fait accompli in the Lafourche core and tracking the Cajuns in the more conservative Teche core closer to the cultural dynamite ready to explode over the rice fields of the southwest prairies.

During the decades between 1880 and 1920 the processes of intrusion and attraction coalesced into a stage of unmitigated assimilation. The most sacrosanct icons of the Louisiana French culture were badly blurred by times of swirling innovation: mechanized agriculture, oil and sulphur booms, electricity, telephones, and automobiles. Like the inventions that scintillated through their streets, the "bright lights" of French Louisiana cities began to beckon to rural folk to forsake their supposedly bucolic bliss. Educational opportunities contorted in the English tongue, communications over national water, rail, and highway nets, and foreign contact during World War I only served to spur French attraction to alien ways and, in the Lafourche core, to ominously usher

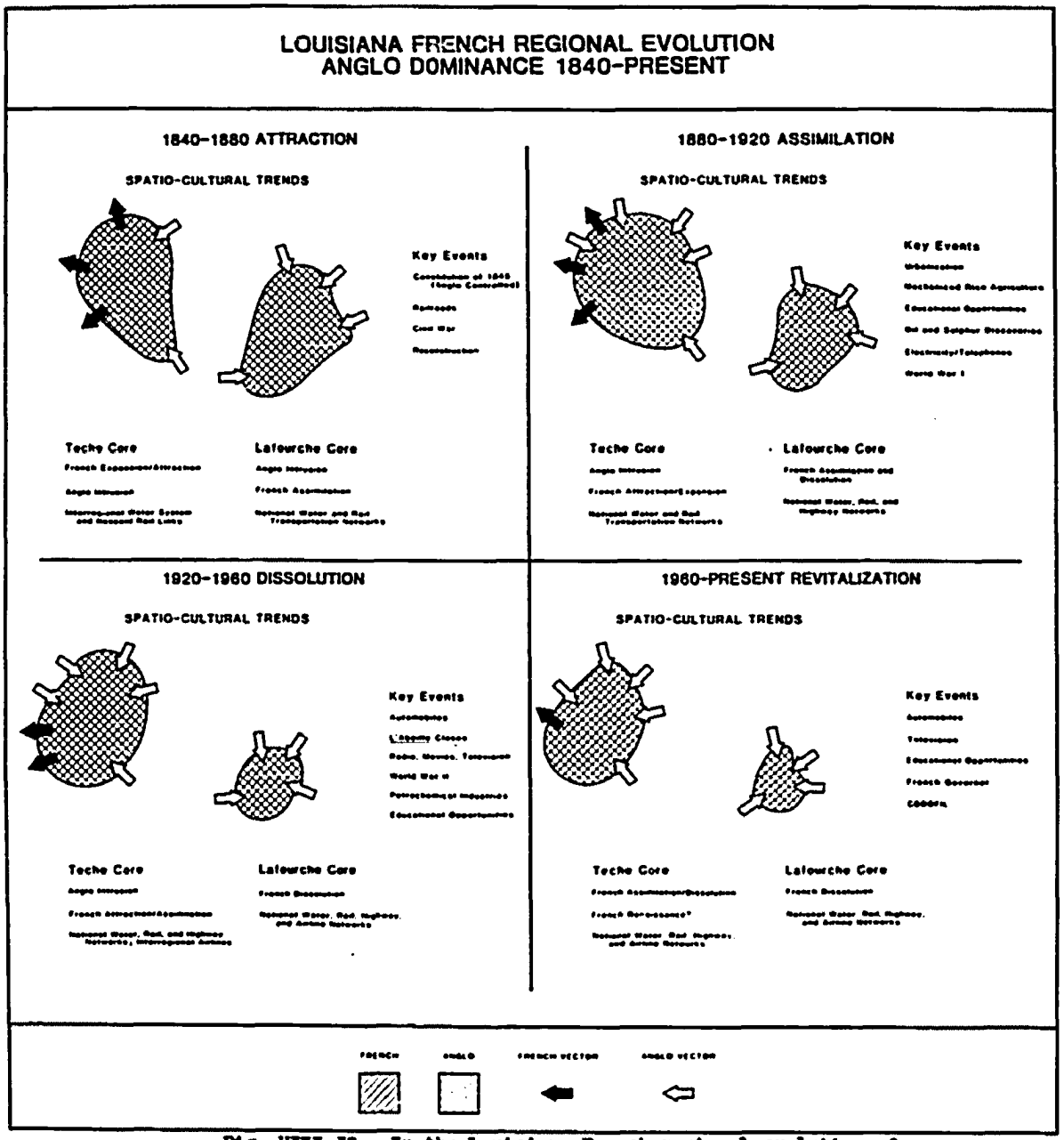


Fig. VIII-39. In the Louisiana French regional evolution, four Anglo-dominated stages were attraction, assimilation, dissolution, and revitalization.

in the third stage of Anglo cultural domination--dissolution.

Between 1920 and 1960 the freedom brought by the automobile and the information beamed by radio, movies, and television thrilled and mesmerized the Louisiana French, yet these same twentieth-century marvels fired the Gallic cultural dissolution. Epitomizing such disintegration, in 1923 L'Abeille, Louisiana's most important French-language newspaper, suspended publication. And later the construction of huge petroleum refineries at Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and Port Arthur, Texas, lured many better-educated Louisiana French to higher-paying jobs. These French plant workers, at first, commuted by auto to their work, then moved closer to the refineries; however, when the famous "Oil Center" was located at the heart of the Teche core in the city of Lafayette, the "Hub of Acadiana," Anglo professionals joined the gangs of construction workers and "roughnecks" who had come to service a veritable forest of offshore oil rigs being erected in the Gulf of Mexico. Meanwhile, Louisiana French families felt the personal agonies of World War II, took advantage of continued educational opportunities, and traveled throughout the nation via railroads, superhighways, and airlines.

Since 1960 a Louisiana French resurgence in their pride of a beautiful Gallic legacy may have heralded a stage of revitalization. They are still married to their automobiles and televisions, and they still relish their

mobility and educational achievements. But along side of McDonald hamburger emporiums have sprung up Boudin Kings; French festivals--from the simple boucherie to the ostentatious Mardi Gras--seem to have become more effervescent, filled with the gusto of "laissez les bons temps rouler"; "Rajin' Cajun" athletes of the University of Southwestern Louisiana have gained national prominence; from Crowley has come a popular, colorful French governor; and serious concern in reviving the everyday usage of the French language has emanated from the minds who organized CODOFIL, Council for the Development of French in Louisiana. Apparently centered in the Teche corc, this nascent French renaissance still faces the test of time. Ironically, however, as some Louisiana French, in what they perceive as being perhaps the last chance, anxiously strive to become Gallic again, they will never be able, as hard as they may struggle, to escape a twist of fate--their American heritage.

NOTES

[1]See Appendix A, Tables A-8 and A-9 for listings of statistically significant variables in the three temporal cross sections for the polar and zone comparisons.

[2]D. L. A. Hackett, "The Social Structure of Jacksonian Louisiana," Louisiana Studies 12 (1973):327-31.

[3]Milton B. Newton, Jr., Atlas of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1872), p. 71; Randall A. Detro, "Generic Terms in the Place Names of Louisiana, An Index to the Cultural Landscape" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970), pp. 101-13.

[4]Peveril Meigs, "An Ethno-Telephonic Survey of French Louisiana," Annals, Association of American Geographers 31 (1941):243-46.

[5]U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1936, vol. 1, Summary and Detailed Tables, pp. 763-64.

[6]U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 20, Louisiana.

[7]D. W. Meinig, "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation," Annals, Association of American Geographers 62 (1972):159-84.

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE A-1

PLACES OF NATIVITY

- United States
  - Middle West
    - Illinois
    - Indiana
    - Iowa
    - Kansas
    - Michigan
    - Minnesota
    - Missouri
    - Nebraska
    - North Dakota
    - Ohio
    - South Dakota
    - Wisconsin
  - Midland
    - Delaware
    - Maryland
    - New Jersey
    - New York
    - Pennsylvania
  - New England
    - Connecticut
    - Maine
    - Massachusetts
    - New Hampshire
    - Rhode Island
    - Vermont
  - South
    - Alabama
    - Arkansas
    - Florida
    - Georgia
    - Kentucky
    - Louisiana
    - Mississippi
    - North Carolina
    - Oklahoma
    - South Carolina
    - Tennessee
    - Texas
    - Virginia
    - West Virginia
    - Washington, D.C.
  - West
    - Alaska
    - Arizona
    - California
    - Colorado
    - Hawaii
    - Idaho
    - Montana
    - Nevada
    - New Mexico
    - Oregon
    - Utah
    - Washington
    - Wyoming
- North America
  - Canada

TABLE A-1--continued

- Mexico
- Caribbean
  - Cuba
  - Haiti
  - Santo Domingo
  - Martinique
  - West Indies
- Central And South America
  - Argentina
  - Brazil
  - Chile
  - Columbia
  - Honduras
  - Peru
  - South America
- Europe
  - Central
    - Austria
    - Czechoslovakia
    - Hungary
    - Switzerland
  - Eastern
    - Poland
    - Romania
    - Russia
  - Mediterranean
    - Greece
    - Italy
    - Portugal
    - Spain
  - Northern
    - Denmark
    - Finland
    - Norway
    - Sweden
  - Northwest
    - Belgium
    - England (U.K.)
    - France
    - Germany
    - Ireland
    - Netherlands
    - Scotland
- Africa
- Middle East
  - Egypt
  - Turkey
  - Syria
- Orient
  - China
  - India
- At Sea

TABLE A-2

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES--1820

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=7)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=4)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=3)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=4)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=1)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=9)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=28)
Percent Data							
Economic							
Agricultural Occupations	87.23	78.45	88.37	61.84	53.13	77.52	78.13
Commercial Occupations	1.86	5.52	1.75	2.74	9.38	2.15	2.86
Manufacturing Occupations	1.41	6.87	0.00	15.81	15.63	8.15	6.77
Families With Slaves	57.14	63.62	72.26	45.02	43.25	39.59	51.84
Families With Ten Slaves Or More	16.30	24.07	21.72	2.95	21.88	7.44	13.44
Social							
Anglo Ethnicity	0.57	7.90	31.89	44.29	64.52	95.35	43.97
Italian Ethnicity	0.84	4.17	0.00	0.74	0.00	0.00	0.91
Alien Family Heads	5.46	9.30	12.36	1.39	6.25	0.93	4.74
Male Family Heads	93.57	87.45	86.33	85.35	93.75	95.67	91.43
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	12.97	2.98	13.77	7.08	12.50	12.62	10.66

TABLE A-2--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=7)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=4)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=3)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=4)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=1)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=9)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=28)
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	37.29	27.86	47.32	45.67	31.25	26.32	34.47
Families With Adult Male and Female (Married)	82.56	87.26	80.25	86.55	71.88	80.78	82.60
Families With No Adult Female	10.95	7.31	6.07	8.33	21.88	14.90	11.19
Families With Less Than Two Children	41.10	31.21	44.12	41.32	31.25	41.30	39.75
Families With Five Children Or More	22.04	32.71	17.27	9.79	9.38	32.01	24.05
Political							
French Enumerators	100.00	70.51	33.33	7.41	0.00	0.00	39.70
Mean Data							
Economic							
Number of Slaves Per Family	5.40	13.62	10.37	2.84	5.75	2.81	5.92
Social							
Number of Children Per Family	2.66	3.17	2.41	2.24	2.34	2.89	2.71
Median Data							
Economic							
Number of Slaves Per Family	1.76	1.10	3.30	1.70	0.40	0.69	1.43

TABLE A-3

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS--1820

AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

MANUFACTURING OCCUPATIONS

TABLE A-4

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES--1860

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=1)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=6)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=28)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Percent Data							
Economic							
Family Heads With Real Property of $100 Or Less	86.67	37.47	42.13	51.01	50.50	36.61	41.34
Family Heads With Real Property of $5,000 Or More	6.67	19.73	19.29	18.07	5.22	20.26	17.96
Family Heads With Personal Property of $100 Or Less	53.33	33.06	39.28	47.64	33.21	22.06	30.19
Family Heads With Personal Property of $5,000 Or More	10.00	18.80	9.94	17.08	13.93	21.56	17.91
Farms With 50 Acres Or Less	47.28	46.40	41.92	45.16	77.18	45.54	48.49
Farms With 500 Acres Or More	19.02	12.57	11.86	13.87	1.96	10.40	10.43
Slaves In The Total Population	70.35	56.81	58.92	47.83	29.18	51.79	51.02
Agricultural Occupations	30.00	55.14	47.87	28.10	34.59	67.66	55.17
Farmers and Planters	13.33	50.04	40.71	18.72	24.87	58.93	46.78

TABLE A-4--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=1)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=6)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=28)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Hunting and Fishing Occupations	0.00	0.43	1.03	2.04	0.00	0.13	0.47
Fishermen	0.00	0.00	0.74	2.04	0.00	0.13	0.37
Timber and Lumber Occupations	0.00	0.30	0.00	1.18	3.68	0.24	0.66
Construction Occupations	3.33	3.40	4.28	10.46	10.75	2.68	4.62
Fabrication Occupations	6.67	4.44	4.04	3.27	3.83	2.64	3.33
Clothing Making Occupations	6.67	1.72	3.70	1.31	2.42	1.93	2.28
Transportation Occupations	0.00	0.38	0.44	6.43	4.95	1.05	1.77
Service Occupations	0.00	0.38	0.74	3.09	2.54	0.30	0.87
Commercial Occupations	3.33	3.80	4.29	12.68	5.99	6.81	6.45
Merchants	3.33	1.56	2.43	4.95	2.74	3.00	2.90
Laborer Occupations	3.33	5.31	6.38	10.91	16.31	4.06	6.52
Common Laborers	3.33	4.57	6.38	9.26	14.76	3.70	5.94
Farm Laborers	0.00	1.14	1.26	3.19	7.99	1.66	2.34
Attorneys	0.00	0.22	0.17	0.54	0.24	1.23	0.75

TABLE A-4--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=1)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=6)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=28)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Social							
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	100.00	78.26	62.24	42.83	32.51	6.09	31.08
Anglo Ethnicity	3.45	13.69	28.55	47.37	67.30	89.46	63.42
Louisiana Nativity	66.67	75.42	72.11	34.03	30.77	17.75	36.73
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana	0.00	5.99	7.29	16.08	42.97	65.41	41.30
Midland Nativity	3.33	1.52	2.10	4.70	4.32	3.02	3.00
Midwest Nativity	0.00	0.95	0.46	0.79	0.48	3.29	1.98
New England Nativity	0.00	0.00	0.72	4.35	0.63	0.79	0.98
European Nativity	30.00	13.92	16.11	39.38	20.36	8.98	15.07
French Nativity	16.67	8.53	9.61	10.41	4.78	1.94	5.26
German Nativity	10.00	0.82	2.29	12.78	6.24	2.49	3.76
Male Family Heads	83.33	78.95	88.11	89.94	94.24	88.49	88.05
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	10.00	10.39	10.81	6.76	16.49	10.79	10.99

TABLE A-4--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=1)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=9)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=5)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=6)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=28)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=55)
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	30.00	41.32	29.36	31.90	38.29	33.29	33.88
Families With Adult Male and Female (Married)	66.67	65.06	73.11	68.94	83.01	76.33	74.45
Families With No Adult Female	16.67	14.27	13.16	21.88	10.70	12.51	13.54
Families With Less Than Two Children	50.00	41.61	41.04	53.14	46.26	37.74	41.26
Families With Five Children Or More	20.00	20.49	19.66	11.22	16.24	20.73	19.16
Political							
French Enumerators	100.00	50.00	46.08	45.71	0.00	4.06	21.04
French Sheriffs	100.00	83.33	55.56	40.00	16.67	0.00	25.45
Mean Data							
Economic							
Farm Size	245.50	187.62	210.48	190.04	72.53	166.28	169.21
Social							
Age of Family Heads	39.30	41.43	38.73	39.88	40.35	39.46	39.69
Number of Children Per Family	2.17	2.48	2.40	1.88	2.29	2.58	2.44
Median Data							
Economic							
Median Real Property In Hundreds of Dollars Per Family	0.10	6.97	7.70	5.52	1.88	8.93	7.27
Median Personal Property In Hundreds of Dollars Per Family	0.40	4.92	3.91	7.52	3.50	12.23	8.47

TABLE A-5

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS--1860

AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Dairyman
Dairy Woman
Driver, Beef
Farmer
Ginner
Keeper, Stable
Laborer, Farm
Manager, Farm
Minder, Stock
Overseer
Owner, Cotton Press
Piler, Cotton
Planter
Raiser, Stock
Sampler, Cotton

TIMBER AND LUMBER OCCUPATIONS

Burner, Coal
Chopper, Log
Chopper, Wood
Getter, Timber
Getter, Wood
Laborer, Sawmill
Laborer, Wood Yard
Lumberman
Owner, Sawmill
Sawyer

HUNTING AND FISHING OCCUPATIONS

Bayman
Fisherman
Hunter
Hunter, Bee
Oysterman

FABRICATION OCCUPATIONS

Blacksmith
Boilermaker
Cooper
Coopersmith
Cutter, Marble
Distiller, Turpentine
Finisher
Ginwright
Gunsmith
Hand, Factory
Jeweler
Machinist

TABLE A-5--continued

FABRICATION OCCUPATIONS

Maker, Brick
Maker, Cabinet
Maker, Carriage
Maker, Chair
Maker, Harness
Maker, Instrument
Maker, Jewelry
Maker, Mattress
Maker, Sail
Maker, Shingle
Maker, Wheel
Millwright
Moulder
Owner, Brickyard
Pressman
Saddler
Shipsmith
Tinner
Tinsmith
Watchmaker
Wheelwright

FOOD PROCESSING OCCUPATIONS

Baker
Brewer
Butcher
Confectioner
Laborer, Beermaking
Maker, Sausage
Maker, Sugar
Miller

CLOTHING MAKING OCCUPATIONS

Bootmaker
Dressmaker
Knitter
Lady of Fashion
Lea Man
Maker, Hat
Maker, Pattern
Milliner
Seamstress
Sewing
Shoemaker
Tailor
Tanner
Weaver

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS

Bricklayer
Builder, House
Carpenter
Carpenter, Ship

TABLE A-5--continued

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS

Caulker
Contractor, Mill
Digger, Canal
Ditcher
Hanger, Paper
Joiner
Joiner, Ship
Mason, Brick
Painter
Plasterer
Shipwright

LABORER OCCUPATIONS

Collier
Laborer
Laborer, Common
Laborer, Day
Servant
Waiter
Washerwoman

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Ambrotypist
Artist, Photographic
Barber
Cook
Gardener
Mechanic

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Agent
Agent, Land
Agent, Sewing Machine
Auctioneer
Barkeeper
Barterer
Broker, Cotton
Clerk
Dealer, Boats
Factor, Cotton
Fruitner
Fruitor
Grocer
Innkeeper
Keeper, Boarding House
Keeper, Coffee House
Keeper, Grocery
Keeper, Hotel
Keeper, Saloon
Keeper, Tavern
Landlady, Boarding House
Landlord

TABLE A-5--continued

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Landlord, Boarding House
Merchant
Merchant, Commission
Merchant, Cow
Merchant, Dry Goods and Grocery
Merchant, Forwarding
Merchant, Fruit
Merchant, Grocery
Merchant, Hardware
Merchant, Liquor
Merchant, Saddle
Milkman
Owner, Coffee House
Owner, Hotel
Owner, Restaurant
Owner, Tavern
Peddler
Seller, Book
Seller, Fruit
Seller, Wood
Shopkeeper
Speculator
Store, Cigar
Storekeeper
Trader
Trader, Cow
Trader, Mule
Trader, Slave

TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

Agent, Railroad
Agent, Stage
Boatman
Brakeman, Railroad
Captain, Lake
Captain, Sea
Captain, Steamboat
Cartman
Conductor
Conductor, Railroad
Drayman
Driver, Cab
Driver, Carriage
Driver, Cart
Driver, Omnibus
Driver, Stage
Employee, Railroad
Inspector, Railroad
Keeper, Boat
Keeper, Lighthouse
Laborer, Railroad
Mariner
Master, Baggage
Mate, Steamboat
Pilot
Pilot, Bay
Pilot, River
Pilot, Steamboat
Rafter
Rigger, Ship

TABLE A-5--continued

TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

Riverman
Roadmaster
Sailor
Seaman
Stable, Livery
Steamboatman
Stevedore
Steward
Storer, Ship
Teamster
Wagoner
Wharfager
Wharfinger
Worker, Storage Warehouse

COMMUNICATION OCCUPATIONS

Carrier, Mail
Clerk, Postal
Editor
Lithographer
Manager, Telegraph Office
Operator, Telegraph
Printer

GOVERNMENTAL OCCUPATIONS

Agent, Collecting
Assessor
Clerk, District Court
Collector
Collector, Constable
Consul, Sardinian
Fireman
Governor of Louisiana
Jailor
Judge, District
Justice of the Peace
Mayor
Notary Public
Officer, Custom House
Policeman
Postmaster
Sheriff
Sheriff, Deputy
Surveyor
Taker, Census
Treasurer, City

EDUCATIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Matron of Catholic Asylum
Principal, School
Professor
Professor, Language

TABLE A-5--continued

EDUCATIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Professor, Music	Teacher
Schoolmaster	Teacher, Music
Student	Teacher, School
Superintendent of Education	

FINANCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Accountant	Cashier
Banker	Officer, Bank
Bookkeeper	Secretary, Insurance Company
Broker, Money	Speculator
Broker, Stock	

MEDICAL OCCUPATIONS

Dentist	Physician
Druggist	Physician, Retired
Midwife	

LEGAL OCCUPATIONS

Attorney	Lawyer

MILITARY OCCUPATIONS

None

RELIGIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Aumonier of Convent	Priest
Clergyman	Rabbi
Minister	Rector
Preacher	

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

Artist	Holder, Mill
Beggar	Housekeeper
Domestic	Lady
Drunkard	Loafer
Engineer	M. S. Inspector
Gentleman	Watchman

TABLE A-6

INITIAL TEST VARIABLE MEANS BY CARTOGRAPHIC ZONES--1900

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=0)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=9)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=36)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Percent Data							
Economic							
Property Owners	0.00	39.67	35.42	28.85	40.89	38.19	36.85
Property Renters	0.00	59.52	63.75	70.87	56.98	59.67	61.55
Property Owners Mortgaging Property	0.00	6.30	6.82	2.92	3.91	4.47	4.42
Property Owners Owning Property Free	0.00	29.39	28.06	24.58	36.98	31.28	30.49
Property Owners Owning Houses	0.00	48.46	53.61	74.91	52.46	37.93	48.39
Property Owners Owning Farms	0.00	51.54	46.28	25.06	47.44	61.70	51.39
Farm Tenancy	0.00	45.67	43.60	41.43	42.12	48.84	46.02
Farms With 50 Acres Or Less	0.00	60.76	53.61	61.24	53.09	51.77	54.56
Farms With 500 Acres Or More	0.00	3.09	4.22	6.31	3.11	3.07	3.72
Farmers and Planters	0.00	49.94	44.55	22.87	44.23	58.99	48.87

TABLE A-6--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=0)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=9)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=36)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Agricultural Occupations	0.00	69.09	66.11	52.28	53.09	68.18	63.26
Hunting and Fishing Occupations	0.00	2.60	0.57	2.52	0.64	0.13	0.87
Timber and Lumber Occupations	0.00	0.51	1.38	2.75	5.75	4.79	3.97
Construction Occupations	0.00	2.19	3.45	3.83	4.15	3.00	3.26
Fabrication Occupations	0.00	1.17	1.67	1.55	2.17	1.01	1.32
Transportation Occupations	0.00	1.65	1.36	2.26	3.82	2.09	2.27
Commercial Occupations	0.00	4.55	4.11	4.52	5.62	3.16	3.92
Laborer Occupations	0.00	10.33	10.67	18.28	12.76	8.70	11.22
Common Laborers	0.00	8.96	9.24	15.99	10.26	6.71	9.20
Farm Laborers	0.00	17.93	20.53	27.03	8.45	8.77	13.52
Family Heads Fully Employed During The Previous Year	0.00	79.23	78.75	70.28	74.81	86.74	81.04
Family Heads Unemployed Six Months Or More During The Previous Year	0.00	3.08	2.07	4.28	2.09	1.48	2.24
Social							
Roman Catholics	0.00	87.94	86.05	75.99	39.85	7.63	36.08

TABLE A-6--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=0)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=9)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=36)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Black Farmers	0.00	26.58	25.55	39.45	40.29	45.19	40.67
Anglo Ethnicity	0.00	14.22	23.96	25.65	66.45	89.93	64.54
Italian Ethnicity	0.00	3.01	4.12	16.57	1.45	0.53	3.97
Louisiana Nativity	0.00	89.54	85.36	76.31	56.72	52.20	62.45
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	0.00	4.40	7.28	11.37	33.08	41.92	29.84
Midwest Nativity	0.00	0.92	1.75	1.25	2.83	2.06	1.90
European Nativity	0.00	4.08	4.43	9.55	5.47	2.11	4.21
Italian Nativity	0.00	2.44	1.58	5.70	0.60	0.12	1.48
Naturalized Family Heads	0.00	1.41	2.12	3.15	2.97	1.14	1.83
Alien Family Heads	0.00	2.16	1.88	5.39	1.20	0.39	1.64
Male Family Heads	0.00	90.92	89.89	88.24	85.12	87.57	87.80
Family Heads 25 Years Or Younger	0.00	15.39	14.74	12.62	11.70	14.46	13.86
Family Heads 45 Years Or Older	0.00	35.30	34.78	37.19	39.84	36.14	36.67
Married Family Heads	0.00	80.57	82.01	74.81	73.35	78.16	77.36

TABLE A-6--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=0)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=9)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=36)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Family Heads Married Five Years Or Less	0.00	19.44	18.98	18.71	17.61	19.66	19.15
Family Heads Married 20 Years Or More	0.00	38.34	35.51	36.58	41.20	37.76	37.93
Single Family Heads	0.00	6.62	7.15	9.52	8.05	7.37	7.77
Widowed Family Heads	0.00	11.76	10.38	15.15	17.95	13.94	14.29
Families With Less Than Two Children	0.00	44.28	44.52	55.55	53.67	48.36	49.77
Families With Five Children Or More	0.00	20.38	19.24	14.49	15.51	17.43	17.02
Family Heads Who Read	0.00	36.92	42.10	48.71	62.19	62.15	56.29
Family Heads Who Write	0.00	39.44	40.67	45.98	58.83	59.11	53.86
Family Heads Who Speak English	0.00	72.15	85.28	94.65	99.20	99.23	95.15
Political							
French Enumerators	0.00	69.81	46.93	25.29	11.61	0.78	15.56
French Sheriffs	0.00	66.67	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	16.42

TABLE A-6--continued

VARIABLE	INNER CORE 91-100% (N=0)	OUTER CORE 76-90% (N=6)	DOMAIN 51-75% (N=4)	SPHERE 26-50% (N=12)	FRONTIER 10-25% (N=9)	OUTLAND 0-9% (N=36)	TOTAL 0-100% (N=67)
Mean Data							
Economic							
Farm Size	0.00	116.30	125.15	187.26	118.96	121.96	132.93
Months Family Heads Unemployed	0.00	1.77	2.22	2.68	2.52	1.24	1.78
Social							
Age of Family Heads	0.00	40.38	39.95	40.82	41.72	40.53	40.69
Years Family Heads Married	0.00	23.29	21.39	24.04	25.76	24.03	24.04
Number of Children Per Family	0.00	2.49	2.38	1.91	2.03	2.25	2.19
Years Alien Family Heads Lived In U.S.	0.00	1.13	1.27	1.99	2.15	0.91	1.31

TABLE A-7

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS--1900

AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Cattleman
Clerk, Sugar Plantation
Cowboy
Dairyman
Ditcher, Farm
Driver
Drover, Cattle
Drover, Stock
Engineer, Farm
Engineer, Irrigation
Farmer
Farmer, Cattle
Farmer, Dairy
Farmer, Retired
Farmer, Rice
Farmer, Stock
Farmer, Sugar
Farmer, Tenant
Farmer, Truck
Feeder, Steer
Foreman, Farm
Foreman, Plantation
Foreman, Stable
Gardener, Truck
Gardener, Vegetable
Gardening, Truck
Ginner
Ginner, Cotton
Guardian, Pasture
Hand, Farm
Hand, Field
Hand, Plantation
Hand, Ranch
Herder
Herder, Stock
Herdsman, Transfer
Inspector, Dairy Livestock
Laborer, Cotton
Laborer, Farm
Laborer, Field
Laborer, Plantation
Manager, Assistant Plantation
Manager, Farm
Manager, Irrigation
Manager, Sugar Farm
Manager, Sugar Plantation
Nurseryman
Overseer
Overseer, Sugar Farm
Picker, Cotton
Picker, Fruit
Planter
Planter, Retired
Planter, Rice
Planter, Sugar
Plowman, Field
Porter, Nursery
Raiser, Poultry
Shoer, Horse
Stablekeeper, Assistant

TABLE A-7—continued

AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Stablekeeper, Feed & Seed
Stableman
Stableminder
Stabler
Stablewaiter
Stockman
Surgeon, Veterinarian
Trainer, Horse
Tier, Cotton
Waterboy

TIMBER AND LUMBER OCCUPATIONS

Box Chipper, Turpentine
Bucker, Lumber
Burner, Charcoal
Burner, Coal
Burner, Wood
Business, Timber
Business Owner, Naval Stores
Carriages, Log
Checker, Lumber
Chopper, Logging
Chopper, Wood
Contractor, Logging
Contractor, Railroad Ties
Contractor, Timber
Cutter, Tie
Cutter, Wood
Distiller, Turpentine
Driver, Log
Edger, Sawmill
Edgerman, Sawmill
Engineer, Sawmill
Exporter, Lumber
Faller, Timber
Filer, Mill Saw
Filer, Saw
Fireman, Sawmill
Firing, Kilns
Foreman, Logging
Foreman, Logging Camp
Foreman, Lumber Yard
Foreman, Planing Mill
Foreman, Sawmill
Foreman, Tie Camp
Foreman, Turpentine Works
Foreman, Sawmill Yard
Foreman, Woods
Getter, Railroad Tie
Grader, Lumber
Hand, Sawmill
Hand, Turpentine Mill
Hacker, Lumber
Hauler, Log
Hewer, Tie
Hewer, Timber
Inspector, Lumber
Inspector, Timber

TABLE A-7--continued

TIMBER AND LUMBER OCCUPATIONS

Laborer Creosote Works	Sawmillman
Laborer, Logging	Sawyer
Laborer, Planing	Sawyer, Circular
Laborer, Sawmill	Sawyer, Wood
Laborer, Timber	Scaler, Log
Laborer, Turpentine	Scaler, Sawmill
Laborer, Turpentine Distillery	Secretary, Sawmill
Laborer, Wood Yard	Skidderman
Loader, Lumber	Stacker, Lumber
Logger	Stovemaker, Cypress
Logroller	Stock Cutter, Sawmill
Lumberman	Superintendent, Sawmill
Machinist, Sawmill	Supervisor, Sawmill
Maker, Tie	Swamper
Mechanic, Sawmill	Teamster, Sawmill
Millwright, Sawmill	Timberman
Manager, Log Company	Treasurer, Sawmill
Manager, Sawmill	Trimmer, Sawmill
Manufacturer, Charcoal	Trusser, Lumber
Manufacturer, Lumber	Turner, Wood
Operator, Sawing Machine	Watchman, Mill
Operator, Sawmill	Watchman, Sawmill
Owner, Sawmill	Woodman
Owner, Turpentine Works	Woodsman
Piler, Lumber	Worker, Sawmill
Planer, Sawmill	Worker, Wood

HUNTING AND FISHING OCCUPATIONS

Bayman	Fisherman
Captain, Schooner	Fisherman, Oyster

TABLE A-7--continued

HUNTING AND FISHING OCCUPATIONS

Fishing
Foreman, Fish & Oyster House
Hunter
Hunter, Alligator
Hunter, Duck
Manager, Swamp Boat
Opener, Oyster
Owner, Schooner
Oysterman
Picker, Moss
Trapper

FABRICATION OCCUPATIONS

Blacksmith
Boilermaker
Builder, Boat
Builder, Cistern
Builder, Railroad Car
Burner, Brick
Calker
Carpenter, Carriage
Chandler, Ship
Cooper
Coppersmith
Engineer, Factory
Engineer, Ice Factory
Engineer, Ice Mill
Engineer, Ice Works
Engineer, Mechanical
Engineer, Shingle Mill
Executive, Factory
Filler, Sash & Door
Finisher, Oar
Fireman, Factory
Fireman, Ice Plant
Firer, Kiln
Foreman, Brickyard
Foreman, Factory
Foreman, Sash Factory
Foundryman
Gun/Locksmith
Gunsmith
Hand, Factory Machine
Hand, Mattress Company
Hand, Sash & Blind Factory
Helper, Blacksmith
Inspector, Machinery
Inspector, Railroad Car
Laborer, Brickyard
Laborer, Die Factory
Laborer, Foundry
Laborer, Ice House
Laborer, Ice Packer
Laborer, Ice Works
Laborer, Shingle Factory
Laborer, Shingle Mill
Machinist

TABLE A-7--continued

FABRICATION OCCUPATIONS

Machinist, Railroad
Maker, Barrel Stave
Maker, Basket
Maker, Brick
Maker, Broom
Maker, Cabinet
Maker, Cigar
Maker, Cistern
Maker, Collar
Maker, Harness
Maker, Mattress
Maker, Moss Collar
Maker, Shingle
Maker, Stove
Maker, Sail
Maker, Tin
Manager, Assistant Shingle Mill
Manager, Bottle Works
Manager, Factory
Manufacturer
Manufacturer, Boiler
Manufacturer, Brick
Manufacturer, Ice
Manufacturer, Shingle
Manufacturer, Woodstove
Millwright
Moulder, Brick
Moulder, Iron
Owner, Bottle Works
Packer, Shingle
Refiner, Oil
Repairer, Railroad Car
Saddler
Silversmith
Sorter, Shingle
Stacker, Shingle
Stuffer, Mattress
Tinner
Tinsmith
Upholsterer
Watchmaker
Waxman
Weaver, Shingle
Wheelwright
Worker, Sheet Iron

FOOD PROCESSING OCCUPATIONS

Baker
Boiler, Sugar
Butcher
Confectioner
Dealer, Confection
Drier, Sugar
Driller, Salt
Engineer, Sugar Factory
Engineer, Sugar House
Engineer, Sugar Mill
Engineer, Sugar Refinery
Fireman, Rice Mill

TABLE A-7--continued

FOOD PROCESSING OCCUPATIONS

Foreman, Molasses House
Hand, Grain
Laborer, Bakery
Laborer, Corn Mill
Laborer, Rice Mill
Laborer, Sugar House
Laborer, Sugar Mill
Maker, Candy
Maker, Confection
Maker, Sugar
Manufacturer, Pop
Mechanic, Rice Mill
Miller
Miller, Rice
Owner, Canning Business
Proprietor, Bakery

CLOTHING MAKING OCCUPATIONS

Clerk, Cotton Factory
Dressmaker
Dyer
Dyer, Clothes
Embroiderer
Hatter
Maker, Palmetto Hat
Maker, Pattern
Maker, Shirt
Milliner
Pressman, Cotton
Repairman, Shoe
Seamstress
Sewer, Sock
Shoemaker
Tailor
Tanner

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS

Borer, Well
Boss, Railroad Section
Bricklayer
Builder
Captain, Dredge Boat
Carpenter
Carpenter, Railroad
Carpenter, Ship
Carpenter, Shipyard
Caulker
Contractor
Contractor, Building
Contractor, Levee
Contractor, Lodging
Corker, Ship
Digger, Well
Ditcher
Ditcher, Day

TABLE A-7--continued

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS

Ditcher, Form
Ditching
Draftsman, Civil
Electrician
Engineer, Civil
Engineer, Dredge
Finisher
Foreman, Railroad Bridge
Foreman, Railroad Section
Foreman, Sewer Contractor
Glazier
Hand, Levee
Hand, Section
Hand, Shop
Hand, Street
Hanger, Paper
Hod Carrier
Inspector, Construction
Inspector, Stair
Laborer, Levee
Laborer, Railroad
Leveler
Maker, Mortar
Manager, Dredge Company
Mason, Brick
Moulder
Painter, House
Painter, Smoke Stack
Pipelayer, Sewer
Plasterer
Plumber
Superintendent, Assistant Bridge
Supervisor, Roads
Surveyor
Weaver, Shingle
Whitewasher

LABORER OCCUPATIONS

Chambermaid
Ironer
Janitor
Jobber
Laundress
Laundryman
Laborer
Laborer, City
Laborer, Coal
Laborer, Coal Yard
Laborer, Common
Laborer, Day
Laborer, Day Hand
Laborer, General
Laborer, House Moving
Laborer, Job
Laborer, Monthly
Laborer, Rock
Laborer, Swamp
Odd Jobs
Porter
Roller, Coal

TABLE A-7--continued

LABORER OCCUPATIONS

Servant
Servant, Domestic
Servant, House
Servant, Yard
Washer, Bottle
Waiter
Washerwoman
Washwoman
Wheeler, Coal
Yardman

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Agent, Photo
Barber
Boy, Barber Shop
Boy, Office
Business, Laundry
Cleaner, Furniture
Cook
Cook, Boarding House
Cook, Family
Cook, House
Cook, Restaurant
Decorator
Gardener
Gardener, Journeyman
Gardener, Plantation
Hairdresser
Keeper, Cemetery
Laborer, Electric
Laborer, Garden
Mechanic
Oiler, Electric Company
Owner, Laundry
Photographer
Porter, Barber Shop
Proprietor, Electric Light Company
Repairer, Bicycle
Repairer, Furniture
Repairer, Watch
Tuner, Piano
Undertaker

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Agent
Agent, Book
Agent, Commercial
Agent, Commission
Agent, Oil
Agent, Patent Medicine
Agent, Real Estate
Agent, Sewing Machine
Baker, Hotel
Bartender
Bellboy
Broker, Cotton

TABLE A-7--continued

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Broker, Turpentine
Businessman
Buyer, Cotton
Chambermaid, Hotel
Clerk
Clerk, Cotton
Clerk, Dry Goods
Clerk, General Merchandise
Clerk, Grocery
Clerk, Grocery Shipping
Clerk, Hardware
Clerk, Hotel
Clerk, Lumber
Clerk, Restaurant
Collector
Cook, Hotel
Dealer, Cattle
Dealer, Clothing
Dealer, Cordwood
Dealer, Fish
Dealer, Fruit
Dealer, Furniture
Dealer, Grocery
Dealer, Grocery Retail
Dealer, Hardware/Dry Goods
Dealer, Horse
Dealer, Ice House
Dealer, Junk
Dealer, Liquor
Dealer, Livestock
Dealer, Lumber
Dealer, Moss
Dealer, Oyster
Dealer, Provision
Dealer, Timber
Dealer, Wood
Driver, Grocery
Drummer
Drummer, Tobacco
Drummer, Whiskey
Exchanger
Factor, Cotton
Florist
Grocer
Groceryman
Grocerywoman
Huckster
Huckster, Market
Jeweller
Keeper, Billiard Room
Keeper, Boarding House
Keeper, Hotel
Keeper, Ice House
Keeper, Lodging House
Keeper, Restaurant
Keeper, Saloon
Landlady
Landlord
Landowner
Manager
Manager, Carriage House
Manager, Hotel

TABLE A-7--continued

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Manager, Store
Marker, Cotton
Marketwoman
Merchant, Clothing
Merchant, Commission
Merchant, Country Warehouse
Merchant, Dry Goods
Merchant, Fruit
Merchant, Fruit Peddler
Merchant, Furniture
Merchant, General
Merchant, General Country Store
Merchant, Grocery Retail
Merchant, Hardware/Dry Goods
Merchant, Livestock
Merchant, Lumber
Merchant, Oil
Merchant, Retail
Merchant, Retired
Merchant, Timber
Mixerologist
Owner, Barroom
Owner, Boarding House
Owner, Drug Store
Owner, Feed Store
Owner, Furniture Store
Owner, Ice Cream Stand
Owner, Lodging House
Owner, Real Estate
Owner, Restaurant
Owner, Rooming House
Peddler
Peddler, Hardware/Dry Goods
Peddler, Meat
Peddler, Medicine
Peddler, Oil
Peddler, Tamale
Peddler, Vegetable
Porter, Dry Goods Store
Porter, Grocery
Porter, Grocery Store
Porter, Hardware
Porter, Hotel
Porter, Meat Shop
Porter, Saloon
Porter, Warehouse
Proprietor, Boarding House
Proprietor, Candy Store
Proprietor, Hotel
Proprietor, Restaurant
Proprietor, Saloon
Salesman
Salesman, Cigars
Salesman, Clothing
Salesman, Drug
Salesman, Dry Goods
Salesman, Fruit
Salesman, General Merchandise
Salesman, Grocery
Salesman, Lumber
Salesman, Meat
Salesman, Picture

TABLE A-7--continued

COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Salesman, Shoe Store
Salesman, Traveling
Sampler, Cotton
Seller, Jewelry
Speculator, Cattle
Trader, Horse
Trader, Stock
Traveler, Commercial Flour
Traveler, Commercial Soup
Vendor, Fruit
Waiter, Hotel
Waiter, Restaurant
Waiter, Saloon
Weigher, Cotton

TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

Agent, Railroad
Agent, Railroad Station
Assistant, Freightman
Blacksmith, Railroad
Boatman
Boatman, Steam
Brakeman, Railroad
Captain, Barge
Captain, Pull
Captain, Sailing Vessel
Captain, Steamboat
Captain, Towboat
Captain, Tugboat
Carpenter, Railroad
Clerk, Car
Clerk, Marine
Clerk, Railroad Office
Clerk, Railroad Shipping
Clerk, Shipping
Clerk, Steamboat
Coachman
Conductor, Electric Railroad
Conductor, Freight Train
Conductor, Motorman
Conductor, Passenger Railroad
Conductor, Railroad
Conductor, Street Railway
Cook, Flatboat
Cook, Railroad Eating House
Cook, Steamboat
Cook, Tugboat
Drayman
Driver, Cab
Driver, Carriage
Driver, Delivery Wagon
Driver, Dray
Driver, Hack
Driver, Icc Wagon
Driver, Public
Driver, Wagon
Engineer, Boat
Engineer, Locomotive
Engineer, Marine
Engineer, Railroad

TABLE A-7--continued

TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

Engineer, River
Engineer, Station
Engineer, Steamboat
Engineer, Vessel
Ferryman
Fireman, Engine
Fireman, Locomotive
Fireman, Railroad
Fireman, Steamship
Fireman, Tugboat
Flagman
Foreman, Railroad Yard
Foreman, Station
Hand, Deck
Hand, Raft
Hostler
Inspector, Car
Inspector, Railroad
Inspector, U. S. Harbor
Ironworker, Railroad
Keeper, Bridge
Keeper, Lighthouse
Keeper, Livery Stable
Keeper, Railroad Storeroom
Keeper, Tool
Laborer, Boat
Laborer, Flatboat
Laborer, Flatboatman
Laborer, Livery Stable
Laborer, Pullboat
Laborer, Railroad Gang
Laborer, Ship
Laborer, Steamboat
Laborer, Transfer
Liveryman
Loader, Ship
Longshoreman
Manager, Transfer Line
Mariner
Master, Harbor
Master, Railroad Baggage
Master, Railroad Yard
Master, Sailing Vessel
Master, Vessel
Mate, Steamboat
Mechanic, Master Railroad
Mechanic, Wagon
Mover, Furniture
Pilot, Bay
Pilot, Ocean Vessel
Pilot, River
Pilot, Sea
Pilot, Ship
Pilot, Steamboat
Porter, Depot
Porter, Railroad
President, Railroad
Proprietor, Livery Stable
Proprietor, Transfer Line
Raftsman
Raftsman, Timber
Sailor

TABLE A-7--continued

TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

Secretary, Railroad
Shipper
Stevedore
Steward, Boat
Steward, Steamship
Steward, Vessel
Superintendent, Coal Fleet
Superintendent, Transportation
Switchman, Railroad
Teamster
Tender, Bridge
Trackman, Railroad
Wagoner
Watchman, Railroad
Watchman, Railroad Bridge
Worker, Railroad Eating House

COMMUNICATION OCCUPATIONS

Carrier, Mail
Clerk, Bell Telephone
Compositor
Correspondent, Newspaper
Editor
Laborer, U. S. Mail
Lineman, Telephone Company
Manager, Newspaper
Manager, Telegraph Line
Operator, Telegraph
Porter, Telegraph Office
Postmaster
Postmistress
Printer
Publisher
Telegrapher

GOVERNMENTAL OCCUPATIONS

Administrator, Public
Assessor, Deputy
Assessor, Parish
Assessor, Tax
Chief, Police
Clerk, Court
Clerk, District Court
Clerk, Police Jury
Commissioner
Constable
Crier, U. S. Court
Enumerator
Fireman
Fireman, City
Fireman, Stationary
Guard
Guard, Convict
Guard, State Prison
Inspector, U. S. of Furs
Jailor

TABLE A-7--continued

GOVERNMENTAL OCCUPATIONS

Judge
Judge, County
Judge, District
Justice of the Peace
Keeper, Pound
Marshall, City
Marshall, Town
Marshall, U. S.
Notary Public
Officer, Custom House
Oversecr, U. S. Boat
Policeman
Policeman, City
Secretary, Police Jury
Sergeant, Police
Sheriff
Sheriff, Deputy
Superintendent, National Cemetery
Surveyor, City
Treasurer, Parish
Watchman, Jail
Worker, Sewer

EDUCATIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Professor
Secretary, Parish Public School
Student, Law
Superintendent, Education
Superintendent, School
Teacher
Teacher, Music
Teacher, School

FINANCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Agent, Fire Insurance
Agent, Insurance
Agent, Life Insurance
Auditor, Railroad
Banker
Bookkeeper
Bookkeeper, Bank
Bookkeeper, Grocery
Bookkeeper, Railroad
Broker
Capitalist
Cashier, Assistant
Cashier, Bank
Cashier, Railroad
Clerk, Bank
Collector
Manager, Bank
Manager, Trust Company
Paymaster, Railroad
Speculator

TABLE A-7--continued

MEDICAL OCCUPATIONS

Clerk, Prescription
Compounder, Medicine
Dentist
Doctor
Druggist
Druggist, Wholesale
Employee, Asylum
Midwife
Nurse
Nurse, Family
Nurse, Sick
Officer, Health
Optician
Pharmacist
Physician
Physician, Retired

LEGAL OCCUPATIONS

Attorney
Attorney, Railroad
Lawyer

MILITARY OCCUPATIONS

Sailor, Military
Sniper
Soldier

RELIGIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Bishop, Catholic
Clergyman
Deaconess
Minister
Mother Superior, Convent
Preacher
Priest
Rabbi, Jewish
Sexton
Teacher, Religious

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

Artist
Author
Beggar
Breeder, Primate
Brimmer
Chemist
Courtesan
Dependent

TABLE A-7--continued

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

Doger	Owner, Rendering Establishment
Engineer, Pumps	Pauper
Engineer, Running	Pensioner
Engineer, Stationary	Pensioner, Retired
Engineer, Steam	Pressman, Mill
Foreman	Prostitute
Grader	Scavenger
Gambler	Setter, Head Block
Housekeeper	Showman
Housewoman	Stenographer
Invalid	Superintendent, Oil Mill
Keeper, Club House	Wagerer
Laborer, Oil Mill	Watchman
Manager, Oil Mill	Watchman, Bridge
Matron, Orphan Home	Watchman, Night
Musician	Woman, Loose
Musician, Street	Work, Housewife
Nurse, Children	Worker, Flying Horses
Officer	Zoologist
Operator	

TABLE A-8

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR POLARIZED COMPARISONS

OF STATISTICAL ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Economic			
Family Heads With Personal Property of $100 Or Less	NA	F-Ratio = 4.312 F-Probability= .0445 Core Mean = 35.95% Outland Mean = 24.03%	NA
Hunting and Fishing Occupations	NA	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.37% Outland Mean = 0.11%	F-Ratio = 16.740 F-Probability= .0002 Core Mean = 2.60% Outland Mean = 0.23%
Farm Laborers	NA	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.98% Outland Mean = 2.78%	F-Ratio = 5.431 F-Probability= .0239 Core Mean = 17.93% Outland Mean = 8.71%
Family Heads Unemployed Six Months Or More During The Previous Year	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 3.993 F-Probability= .0513 Core Mean = 3.08% Outland Mean = 1.60%
Families With Slaves	F-Ratio = 6.759 F-Probability= .0176 Core Mean = 59.50% Outland Mean = 40.01%	NA	NA

TABLE A-8--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Number of Slaves Per Family	F-Ratio = 4.700 F-Probability= .0431 Core Mean = 8.38 Outland Mean = 3.10	NA	NA
Social			
Roman Catholics	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 78.690 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 87.94% Outland Mean = 14.07%
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	NA	F-Ratio = 86.260 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 81.37% Outland Mean = 10.75%	NA
Anglo Ethnicity	F-Ratio =545.000 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 3.24% Outland Mean = 92.26%	F-Ratio =217.000 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 12.23% Outland Mean = 85.55%	F-Ratio =225.100 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 14.22% Outland Mean = 85.23%
Italian Ethnicity	Not Significant Core Mean = 2.05% Outland Mean = 0.00%	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.19% Outland Mean = 0.27%	F-Ratio = 7.377 F-Probability= .0091 Core Mean = 3.01% Outland Mean = 0.72%
Louisiana Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 83.530 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 74.17% Outland Mean = 20.05%	F-Ratio = 14.020 F-Probability= .0005 Core Mean = 89.54% Outland Mean = 53.11%

TABLE A-8--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	NA	F-Ratio = 47.270 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 5.13% Outland Mean = 61.45%	F-Ratio = 18.310 F-Probability= .0001 Core Mean = 4.40% Outland Mean = 40.15%
French Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 15.260 F-Probability= .0004 Core Mean = 9.70% Outland Mean = 2.44%	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.86% Outland Mean = 0.23%
Italian Nativity	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 27.550 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 2.44% Outland Mean = 0.22%
Alien Family Heads	Not Significant Core Mean = 6.85% Outland Mean = 1.46%	NA	F-Ratio = 8.697 F-Probability= .0049 Core Mean = 2.16% Outland Mean = 0.55%
Male Family Heads	Not Significant Core Mean = 91.35% Outland Mean = 95.48%	F-Ratio = 10.710 F-Probability= .0022 Core Mean = 79.57% Outland Mean = 89.51%	F-Ratio = 6.032 F-Probability= .0176 Core Mean = 90.92% Outland Mean = 87.08%
Married Family Heads	Not Significant Core Mean = 84.27% Outland Mean = 79.89%	F-Ratio = 4.881 F-Probability= .0331 Core Mean = 65.29% Outland Mean = 77.51%	Not Significant Core Mean = 80.57% Outland Mean = 77.20%

TABLE A-8--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Family Heads Who Read	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 17.420 F-Probability= .0001 Core Mean = 36.92% Outland Mean = 62.16%
Family Heads Who Write	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 10.440 F-Probability= .0022 Core Mean = 39.44% Outland Mean = 59.05%
Family Heads Who Speak English	NA	NA	F-Ratio =223.100 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 72.15% Outland Mean = 99.23%
Political			
French Enumerators	F-Ratio = 87.580 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 89.28% Outland Mean = 0.00%	F-Ratio = 24.310 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 57.14% Outland Mean = 3.35%	F-Ratio =399.600 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 69.81% Outland Mean = 2.94%
French Sheriffs	NA	F-Ratio = 84.860 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 85.71% Outland Mean = 2.94%	F-Ratio = 86.470 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 66.67% Outland Mean = 0.00%

TABLE A-9

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FOR FRENCH ZONE COMPARISONS

OF STATISTICAL ZONES THROUGH TIME--1820, 1860, 1900

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Economic			
Commercial Occupations	Not Significant Core Mean = 3.19% Domain Mean = 1.75% Sphere Mean = 2.74%	F-Ratio = 4.719 F-Probability= .0225 Core Mean = 3.73% Domain Mean = 4.29% Sphere Mean = 12.68% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 4.55% Domain Mean = 4.11% Sphere Mean = 4.52%
Construction Occupations	NA	F-Ratio = 5.448 F-Probability= .0141 Core Mean = 3.39% Domain Mean = 4.28% Sphere Mean = 10.46% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 2.19% Domain Mean = 3.45% Sphere Mean = 3.83%
Manufacturing Occupations	F-Ratio = 4.310 F-Probability= .0332 Core Mean = 3.40% Domain Mean = 0.00% Sphere Mean = 15.81% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	NA	NA
Transportation Occupations	NA	F-Ratio = 8.028 F-Probability= .0032 Core Mean = 0.32% Domain Mean = 0.44% Sphere Mean = 6.43% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 1.65% Domain Mean = 1.36% Sphere Mean = 2.26%

TABLE A-9--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Property Owners Mortgaging Property	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 8.639 F-Probability= .0021 Core Mean = 6.30% Domain Mean = 6.82% Sphere Mean = 2.92% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Social			
Roman Catholics	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 5.198 F-Probability= .0158 Core Mean = 87.94% Domain Mean = 86.05% Sphere Mean = 75.99% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Roman Catholic Church Accommodations	NA	F-Ratio = 5.032 F-Probability= .0184 Core Mean = 81.37% Domain Mean = 62.24% Sphere Mean = 42.83% Core Differs From Sphere	NA

TABLE A-9--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Anglo Ethnicity	F-Ratio = 64.829 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 3.24% Domain Mean = 31.89% Sphere Mean = 44.29% All Zones Differ	F-Ratio = 18.820 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 12.23% Domain Mean = 28.55% Sphere Mean = 47.37% All Zones Differ	Not Significant Core Mean = 14.22% Domain Mean = 23.96% Sphere Mean = 25.65%
Italian Ethnicity	Not Significant Core Mean = 2.05% Domain Mean = 0.00% Sphere Mean = 0.74%	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.19% Domain Mean = 0.34% Sphere Mean = 1.30%	F-Ratio = 6.811 F-Probability= .0059 Core Mean = 3.01% Domain Mean = 4.12% Sphere Mean = 16.57% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Louisiana Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 13.597 F-Probability= .0003 Core Mean = 74.17% Domain Mean = 72.11% Sphere Mean = 34.03% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	F-Ratio = 13.452 F-Probability= .0002 Core Mean = 89.54% Domain Mean = 85.36% Sphere Mean = 76.31% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Southern Nativity (Excluding Louisiana)	NA	Not Significant Core Mean = 5.13% Domain Mean = 7.29% Sphere Mean = 16.08%	F-Ratio = 7.342 F-Probability= .0043 Core Mean = 4.40% Domain Mean = 7.28% Sphere Mean = 11.37% Sphere Differs From Core

TABLE A-9--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
New England Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 8.737 F-Probability= .0022 Core Mean = 0.00% Domain Mean = 0.72% Sphere Mean = 4.35% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.09% Domain Mean = 0.00% Sphere Mean = 0.12%
European Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 4.040 F-Probability= .0355 Core Mean = 16.21% Domain Mean = 16.11% Sphere Mean = 39.38% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	F-Ratio = 5.372 F-Probability= .0142 Core Mean = 4.08% Domain Mean = 4.43% Sphere Mean = 9.55% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
German Nativity	NA	F-Ratio = 3.481 F-Probability= .0527 Core Mean = 2.13% Domain Mean = 2.29% Sphere Mean = 12.78% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 0.25% Domain Mean = 0.97% Sphere Mean = 1.07%
Married Family Heads	Not Significant Core Mean = 84.27% Domain Mean = 80.25% Sphere Mean = 86.55%	Not Significant Core Mean = 65.29% Domain Mean = 73.11% Sphere Mean = 68.94%	F-Ratio = 5.593 F-Probability= .0123 Core Mean = 80.57% Domain Mean = 82.01% Sphere Mean = 74.81% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain

TABLE A-9--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Widowed Family Heads	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 5.567 F-Probability= .0125 Core Mean = 11.76% Domain Mean = 10.38% Sphere Mean = 15.15% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Families With Less Than Two Children	Not Significant Core Mean = 37.50% Domain Mean = 44.12% Sphere Mean = 41.32%	Not Significant Core Mean = 42.81% Domain Mean = 41.04% Sphere Mean = 53.14%	F-Ratio = 8.030 F-Probability= .0030 Core Mean = 44.28% Domain Mean = 44.52% Sphere Mean = 55.55% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain
Families With Five Children Or More	Not Significant Core Mean = 25.92% Domain Mean = 17.27% Sphere Mean = 9.79%	F-Ratio = 5.014 F-Probability= .0186 Core Mean = 20.42% Domain Mean = 19.66% Sphere Mean = 11.22% Sphere Differs From Core and Domain	Not Significant Core Mean = 20.38% Domain Mean = 19.24% Sphere Mean = 14.49%
Family Heads Who Read	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 5.045 F-Probability= .0175 Core Mean = 36.92% Domain Mean = 42.10% Sphere Mean = 48.71% Sphere Differs From Core

TABLE A-9--continued

VARIABLE	1820	1860	1900
Family Heads Who Speak English	NA	NA	F-Ratio = 18.008 F-Probability= .0000 Core Mean = 72.15% Domain Mean = 85.28% Sphere Mean = 94.65% All Zones Differ
Political			
French Enumerators	F-Ratio = 10.333 F-Probability= .0015 Core Mean = 89.28% Domain Mean = 33.33% Sphere Mean = 7.41% Core Differs From Domain and Sphere	Not Significant Core Mean = 57.14% Domain Mean = 46.08% Sphere Mean = 45.71%	F-Ratio = 11.712 F-Probability= .0005 Core Mean = 69.81% Domain Mean = 46.93% Sphere Mean = 25.29% Sphere Differs From Core

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL MAPS--1820

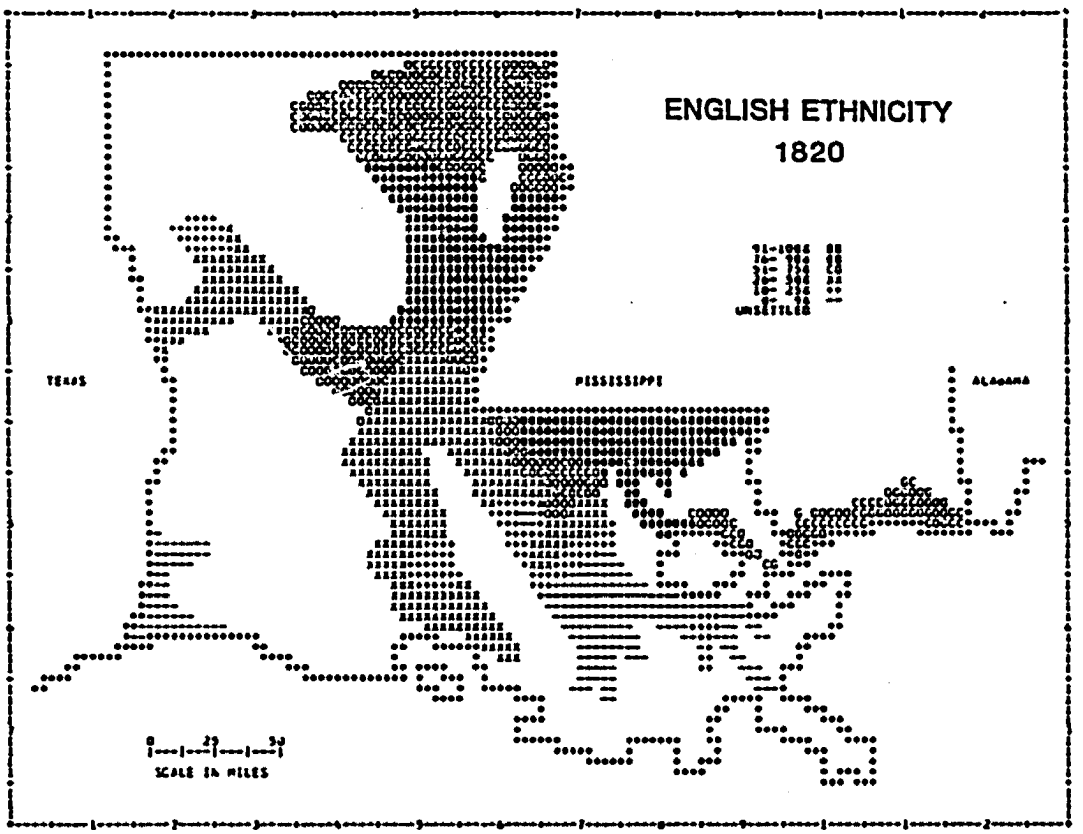


Fig. B-1. English Ethnicity--1820

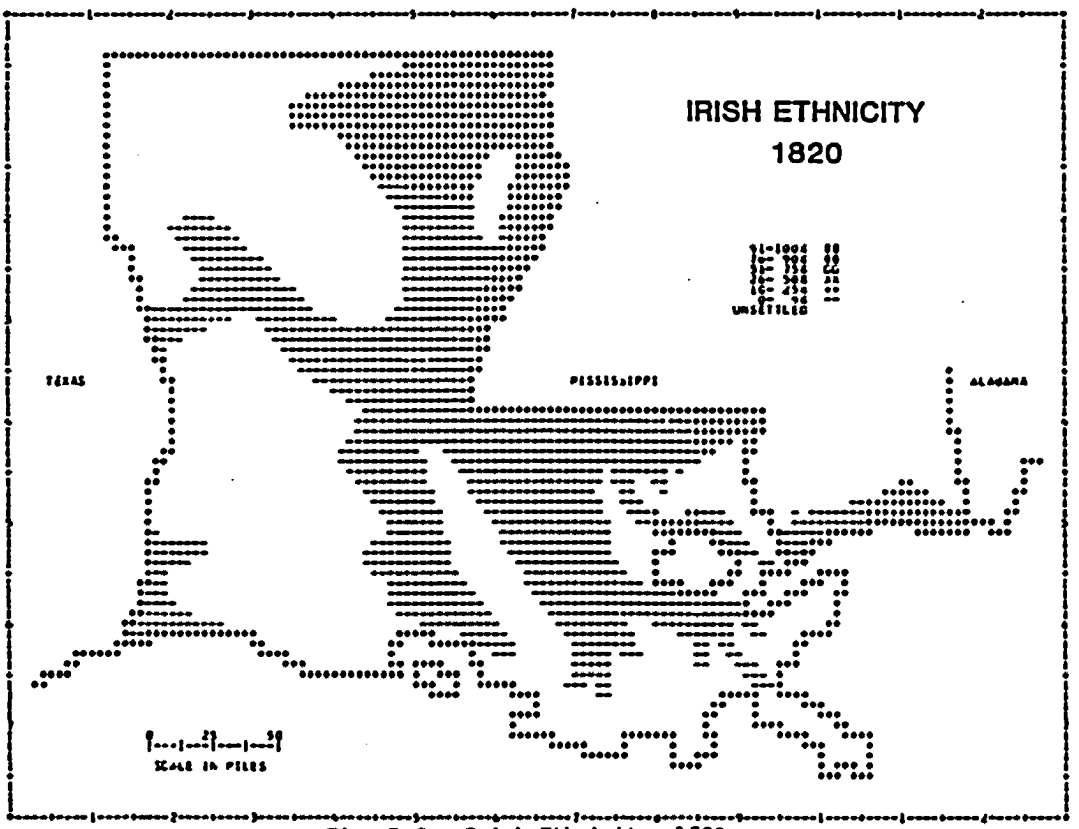


Fig. B-2. Irish Ethnicity--1820

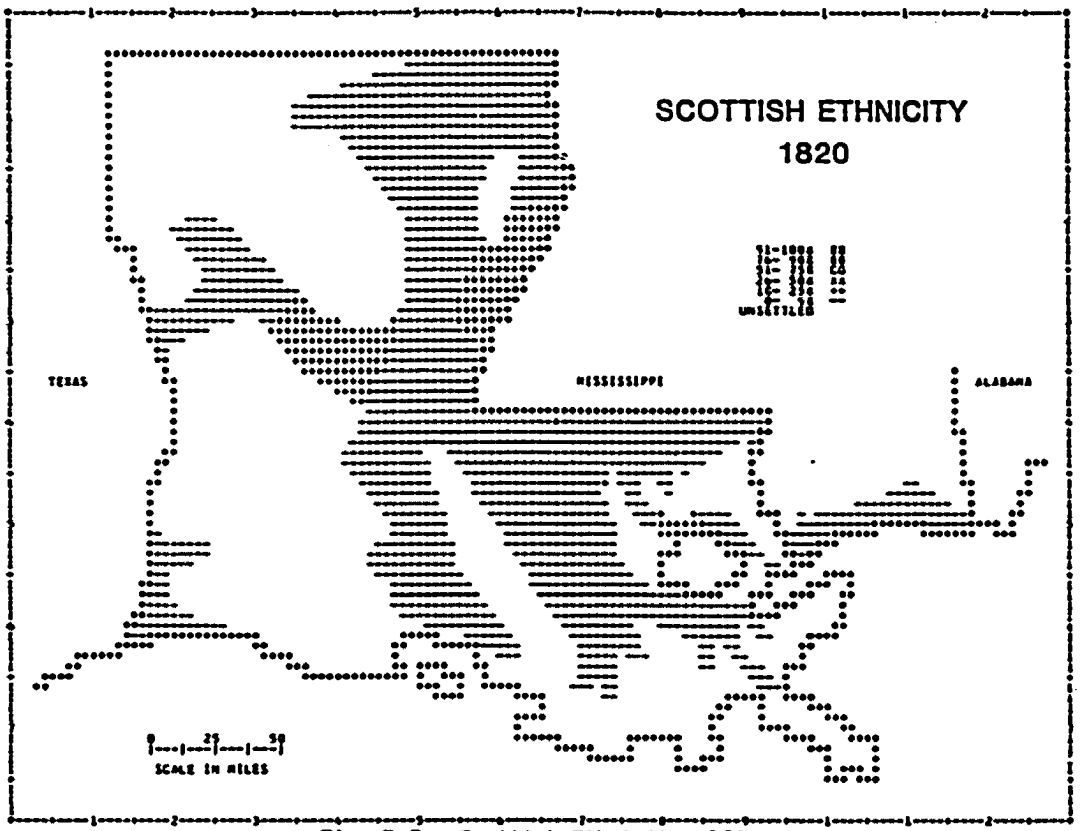


Fig. B-3. Scottish Ethnicity--1820

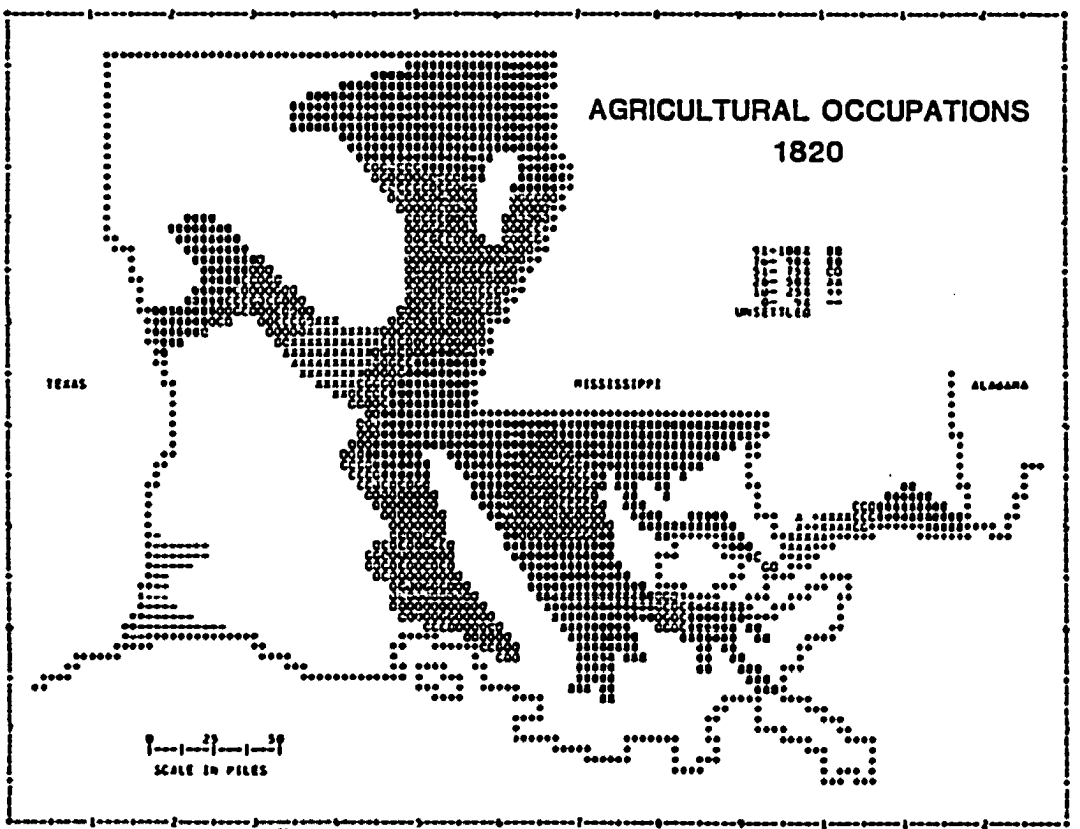


Fig. B-4. Agricultural Occupations--1820

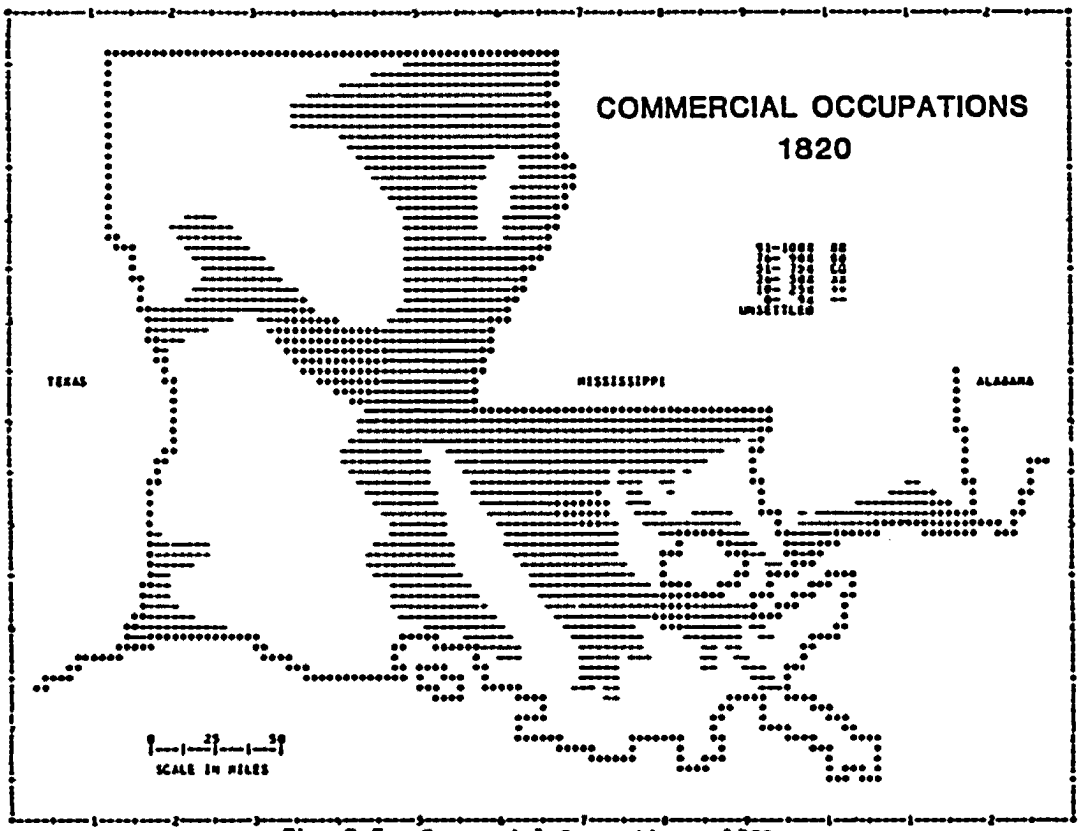


Fig. B-5. Commercial Occupations--1820

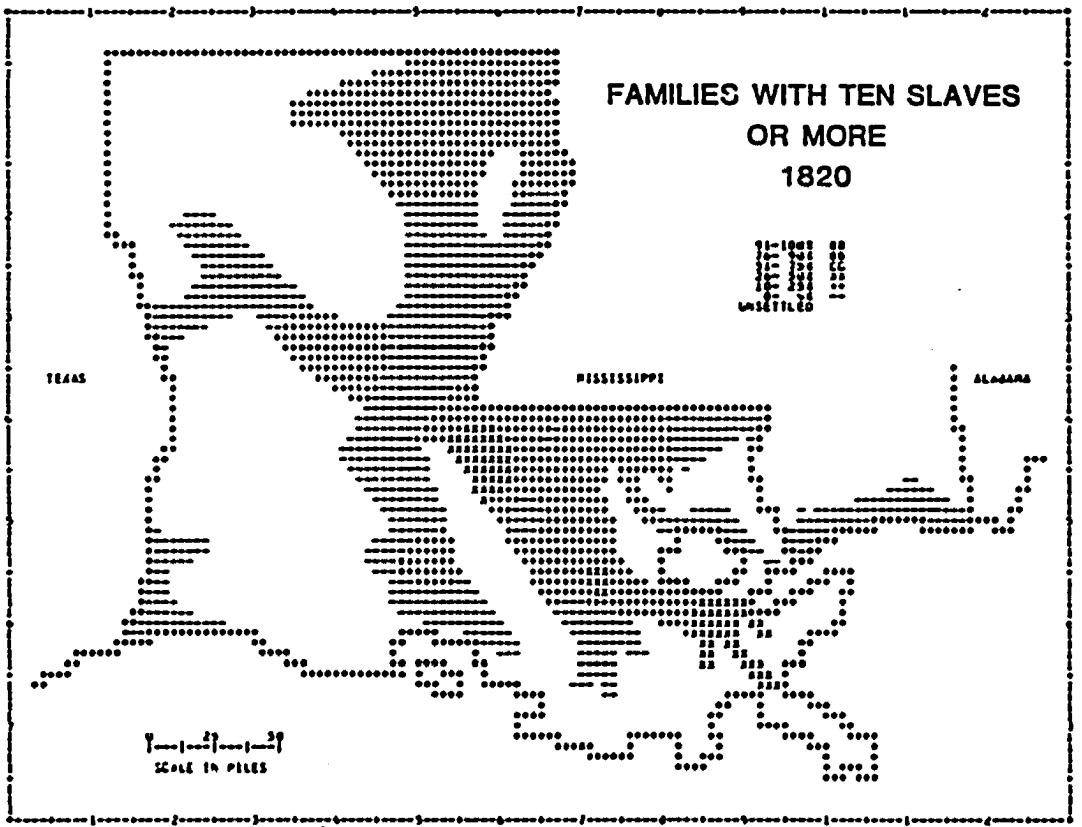


Fig. B-6. Families with Ten Slaves or More--1820

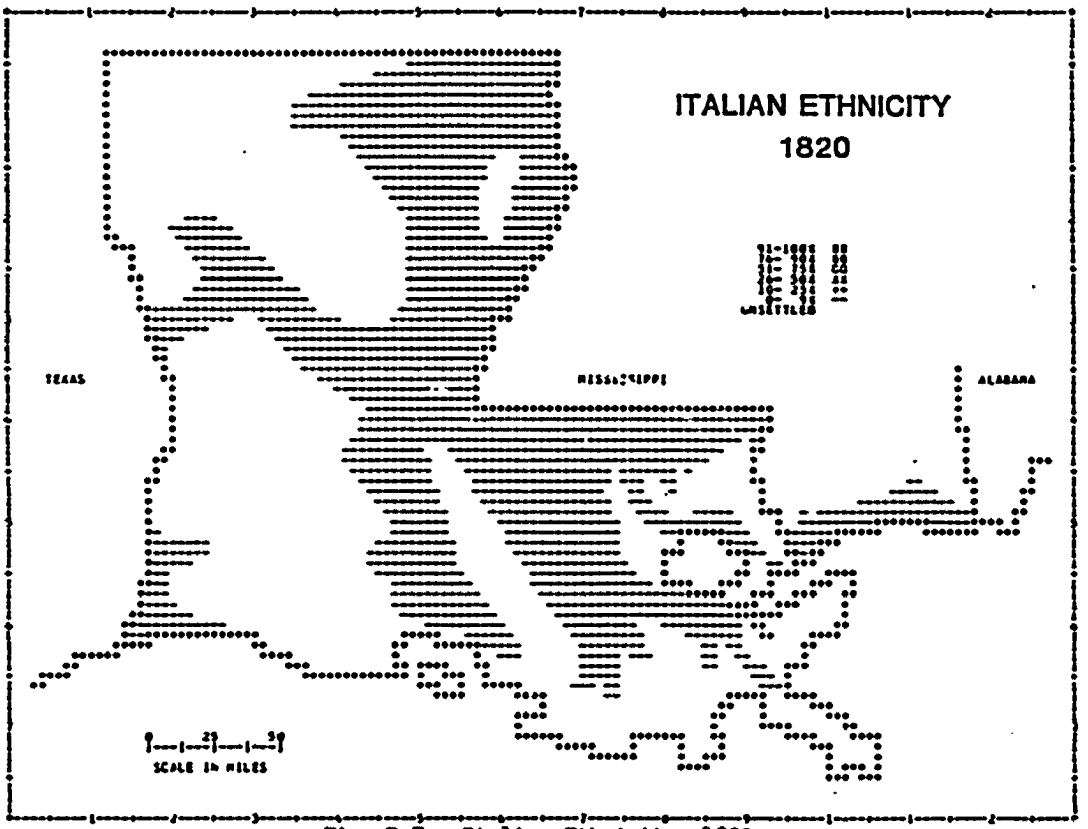


Fig. B-7. Italian Ethnicity--1820

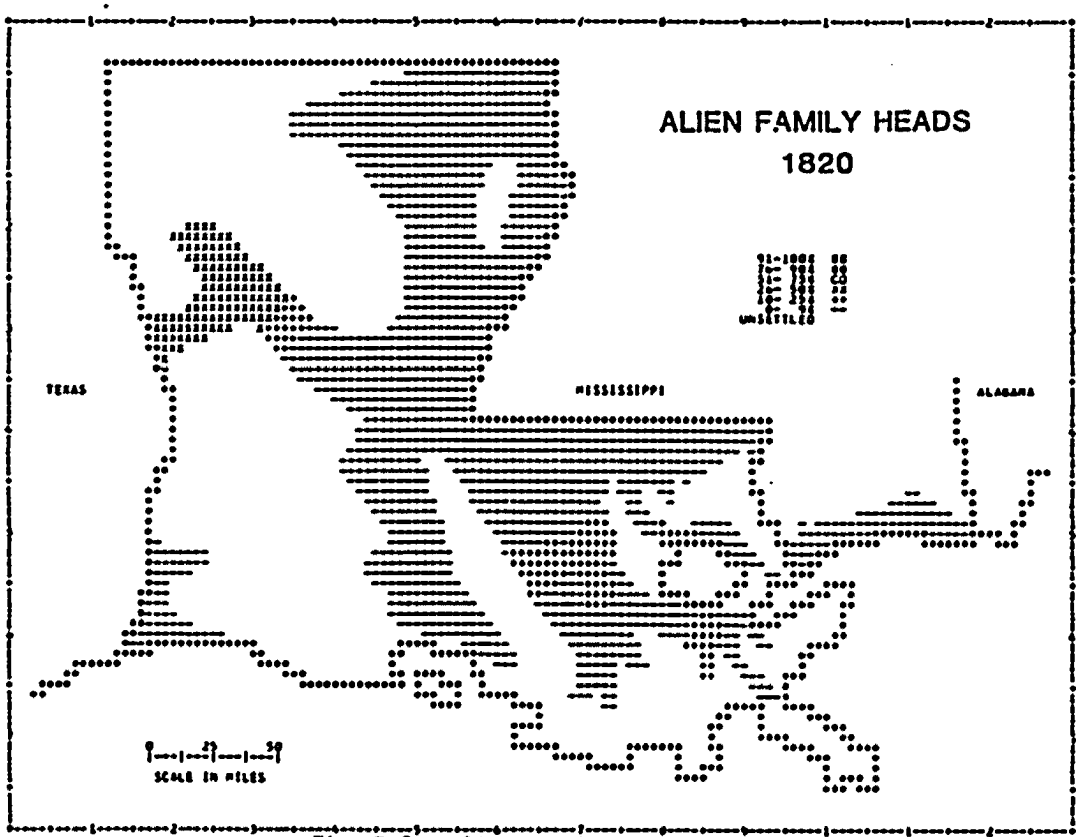


Fig. B-8. Alien Family Heads--1820

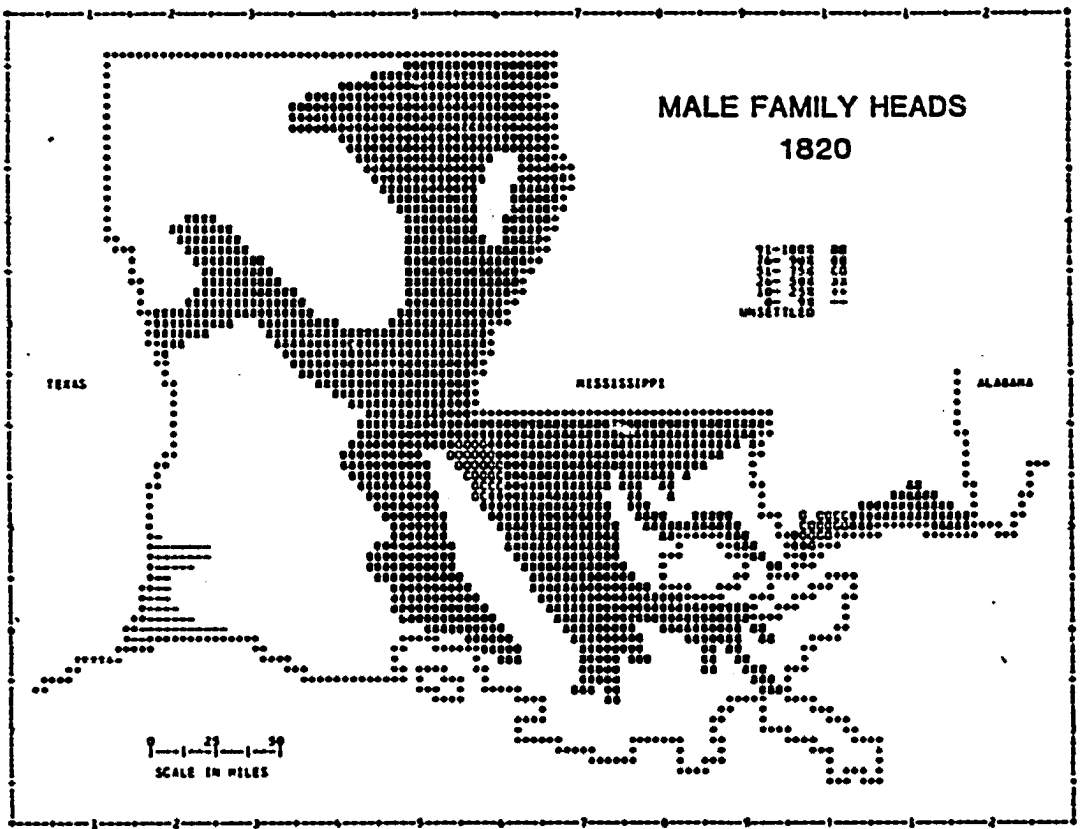


Fig. B-9. Male Family Heads--1820

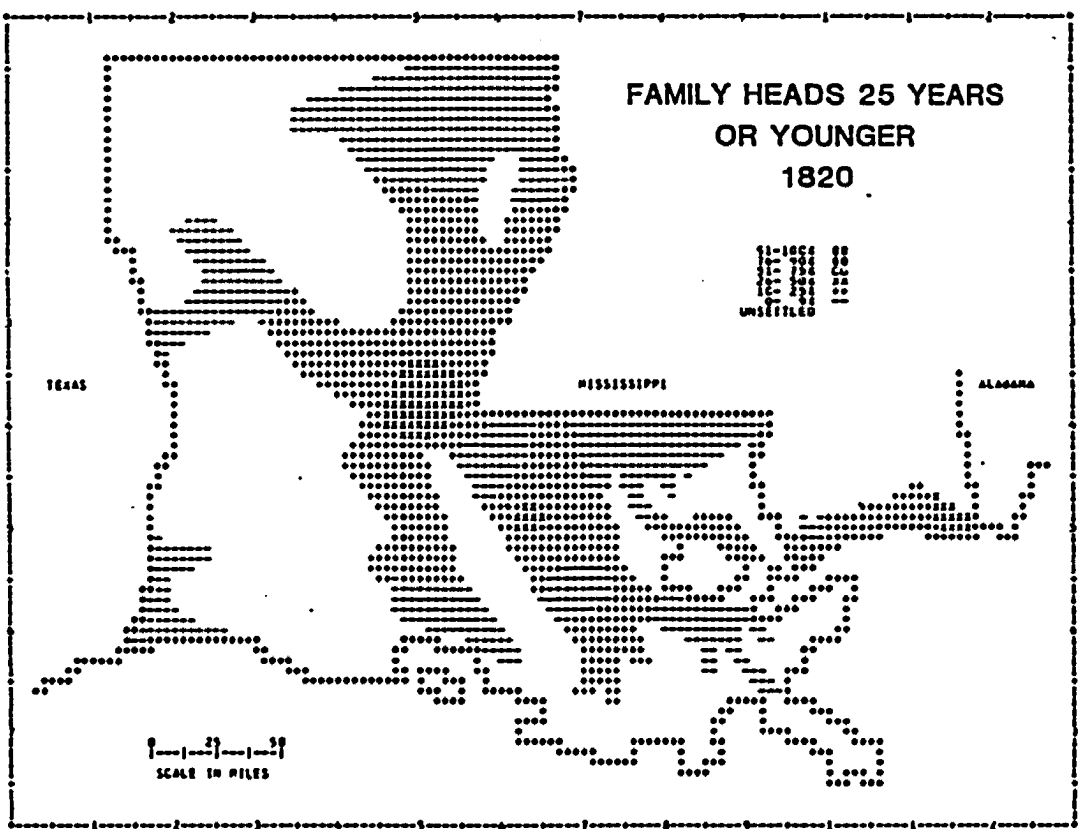


Fig. B-10. Family Heads Twenty-five Years or Younger--1820

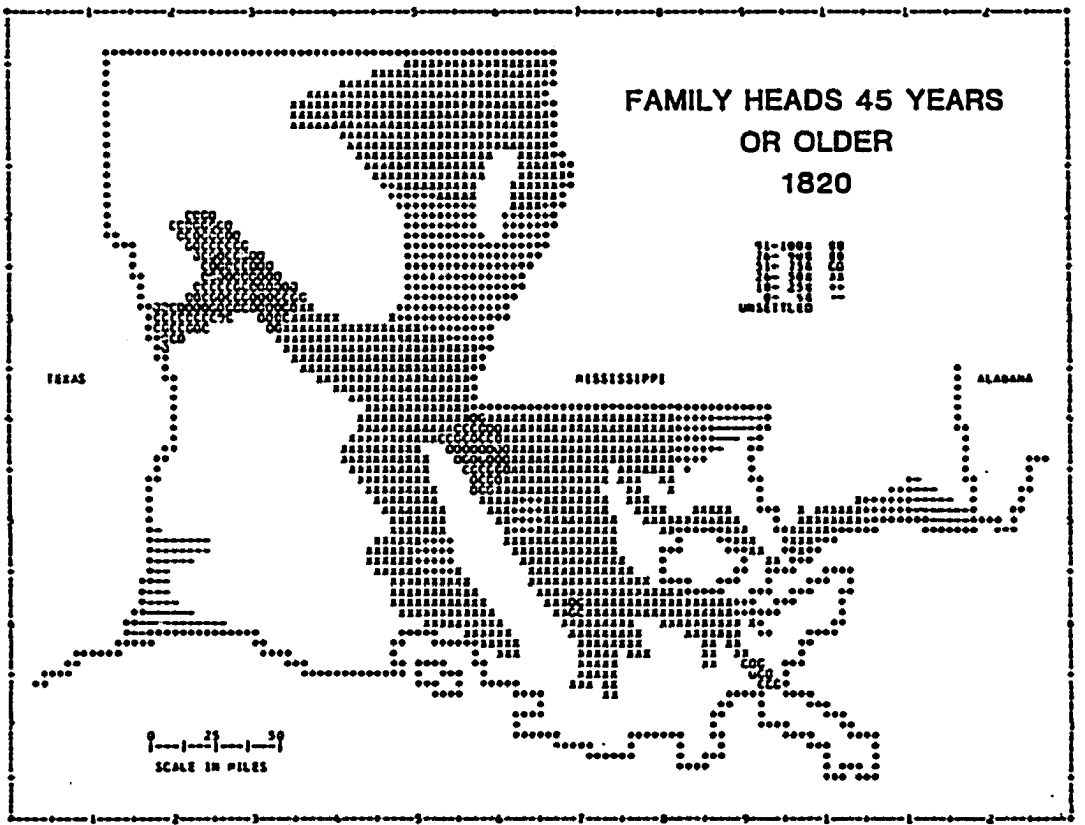


Fig. B-11. Family Heads Forty-five Years or Older--1820

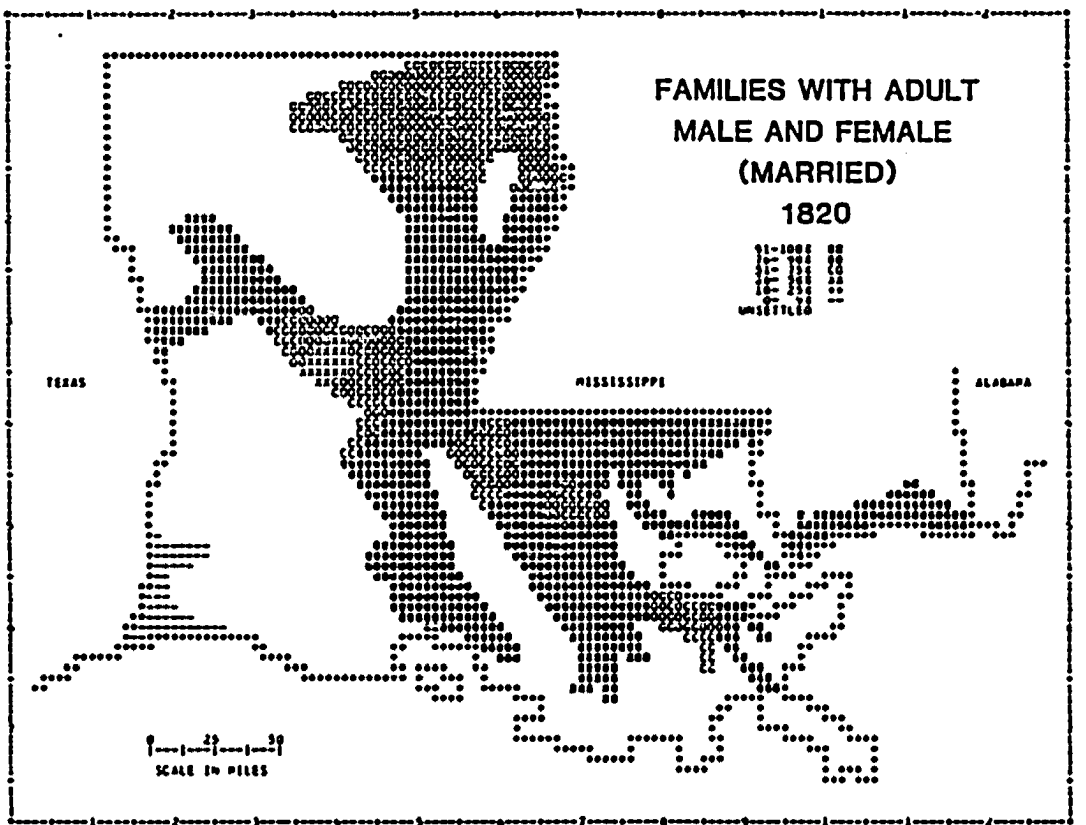


Fig. B-12. Families with Adult Male and Female (Married)--1820

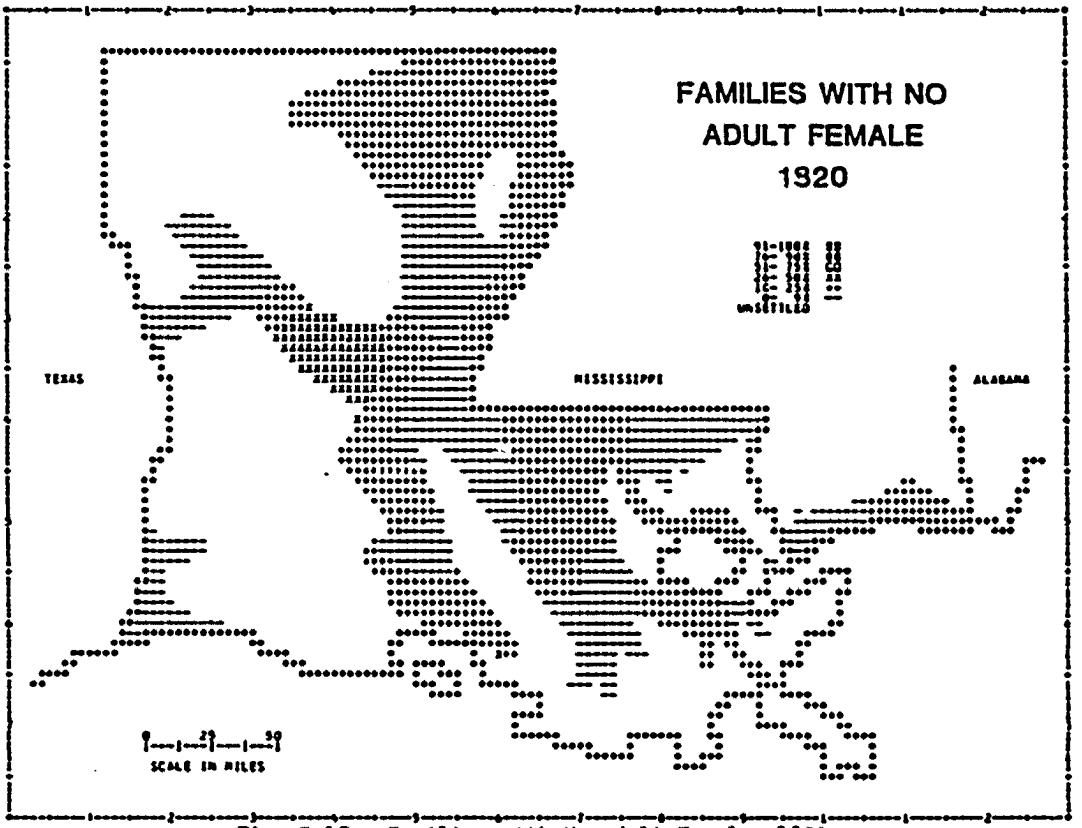


Fig. B-13. Families with No Adult Female--1820

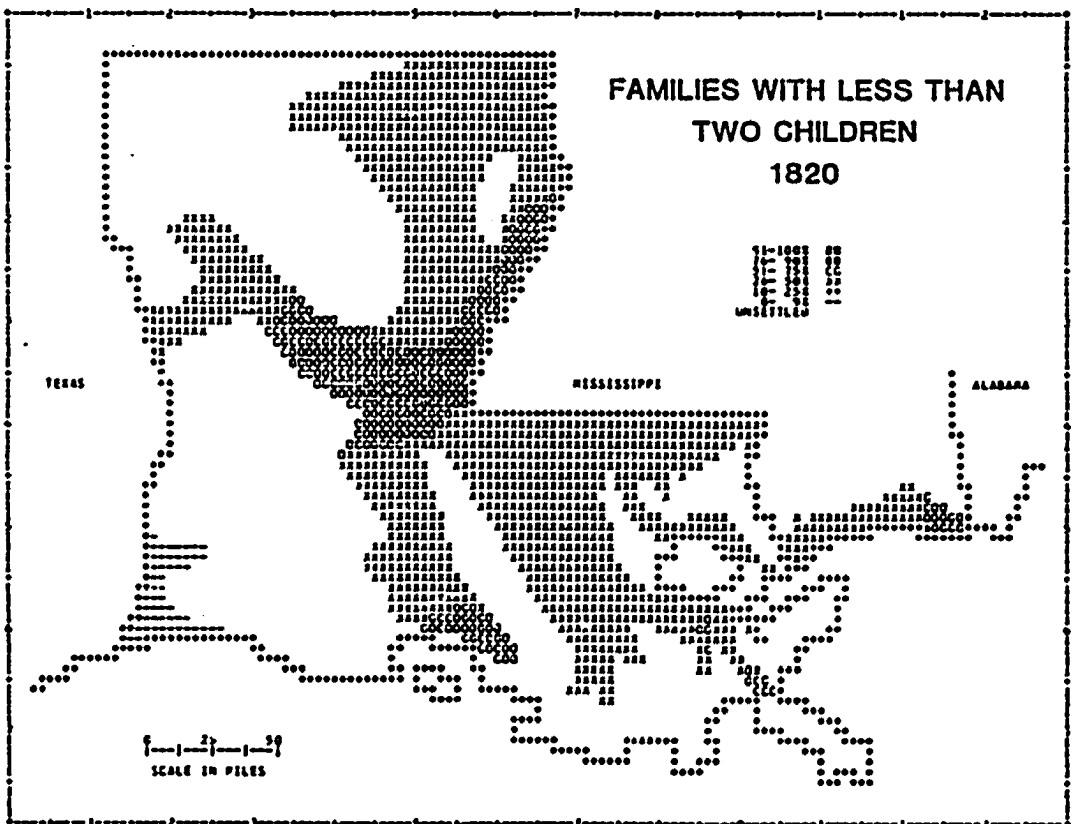


Fig. B-14. Families with Less than Two Children--1820

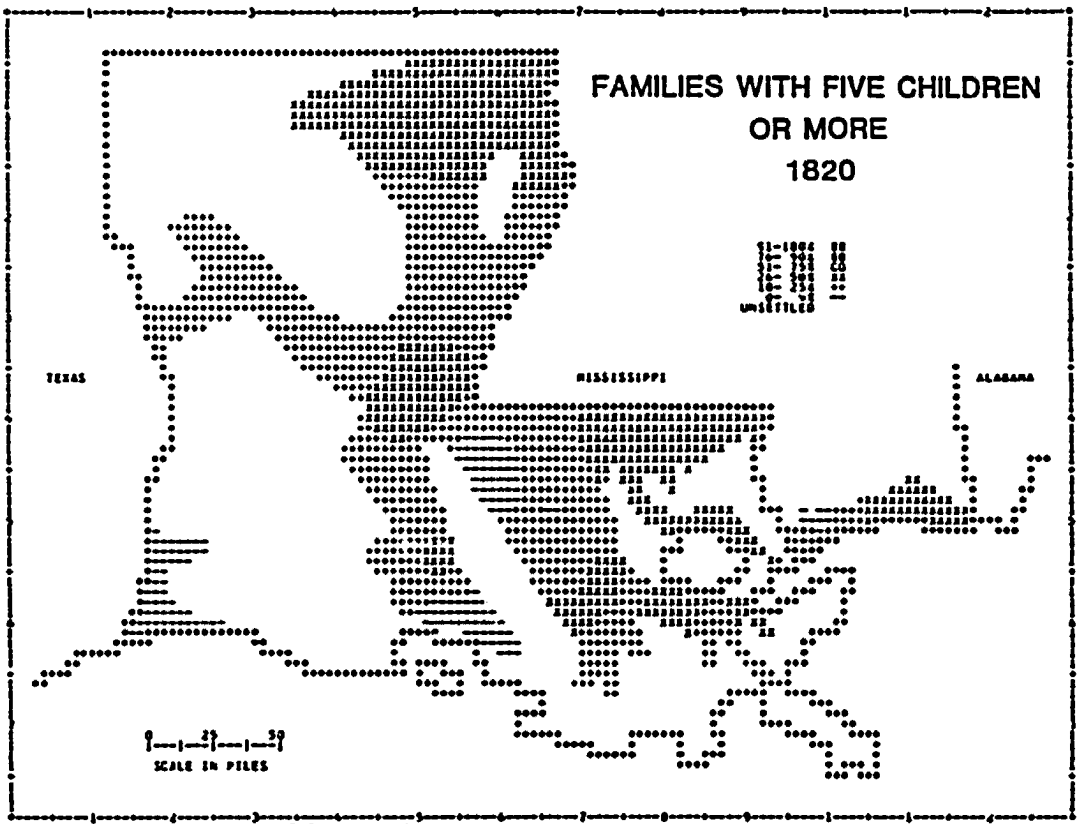


Fig. B-15. Families with Five Children or More—1820

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL MAPS--1860

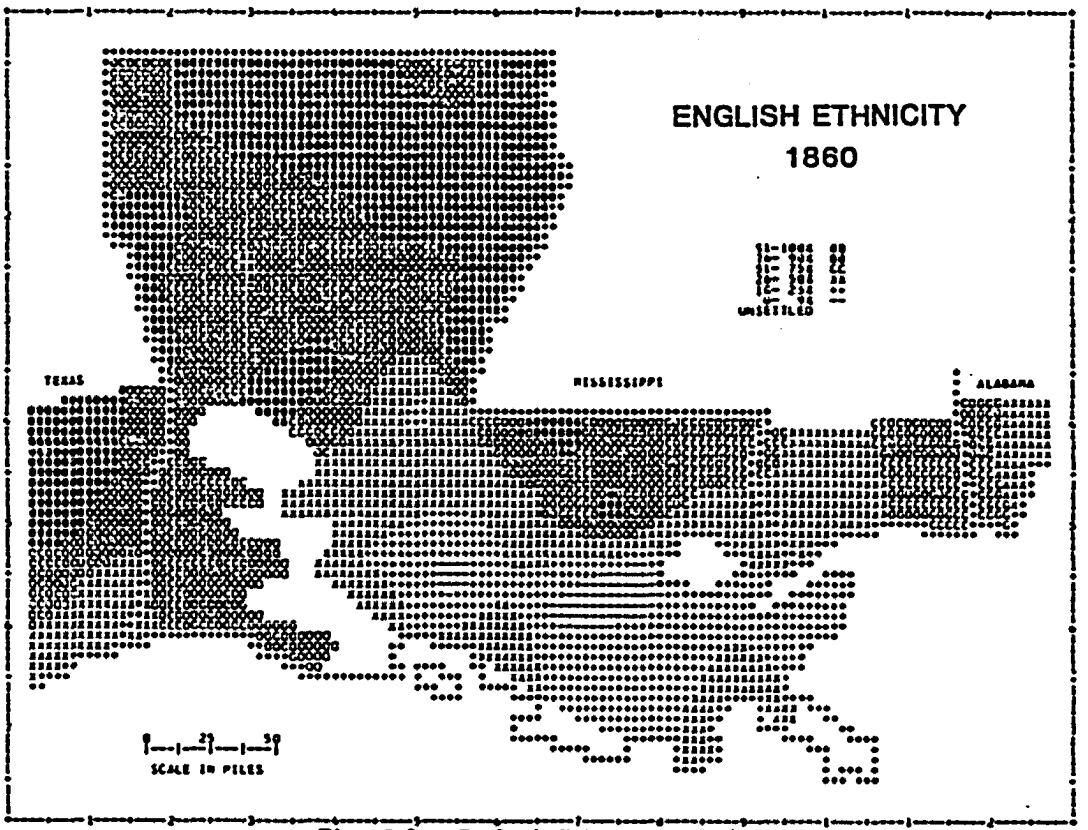


Fig. C-1. English Ethnicity--1860

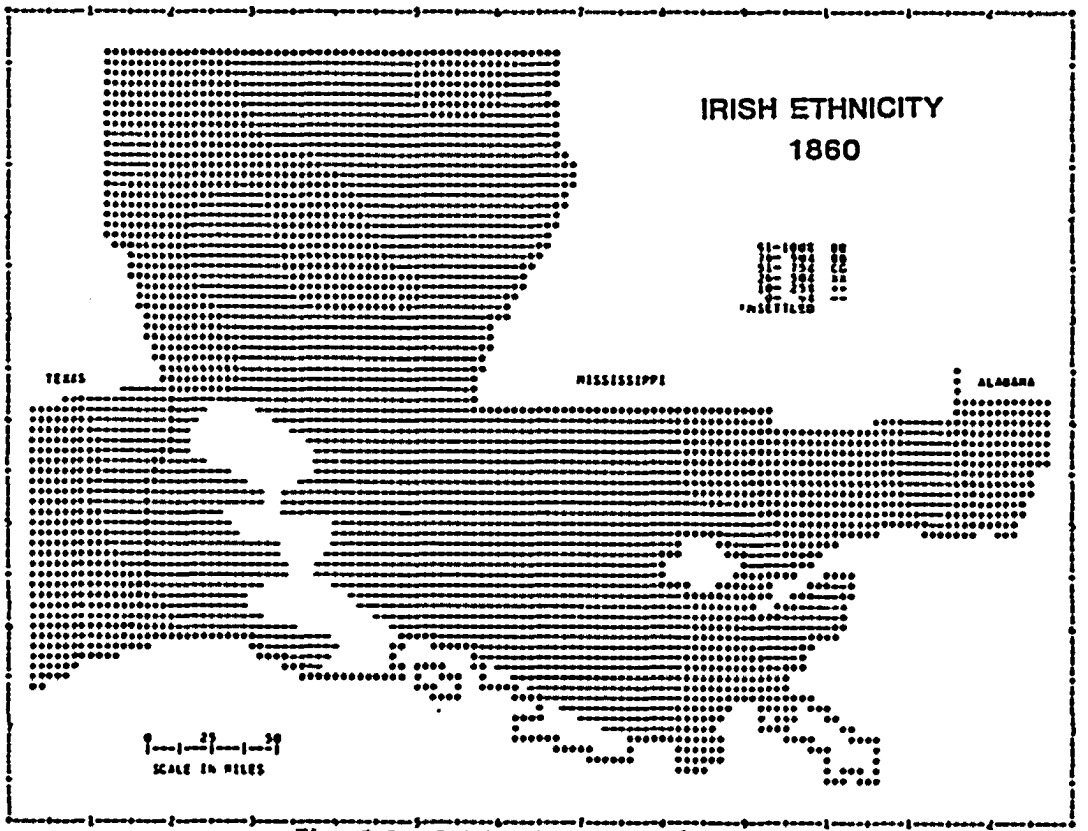


Fig. C-2. Irish Ethnicity--1860

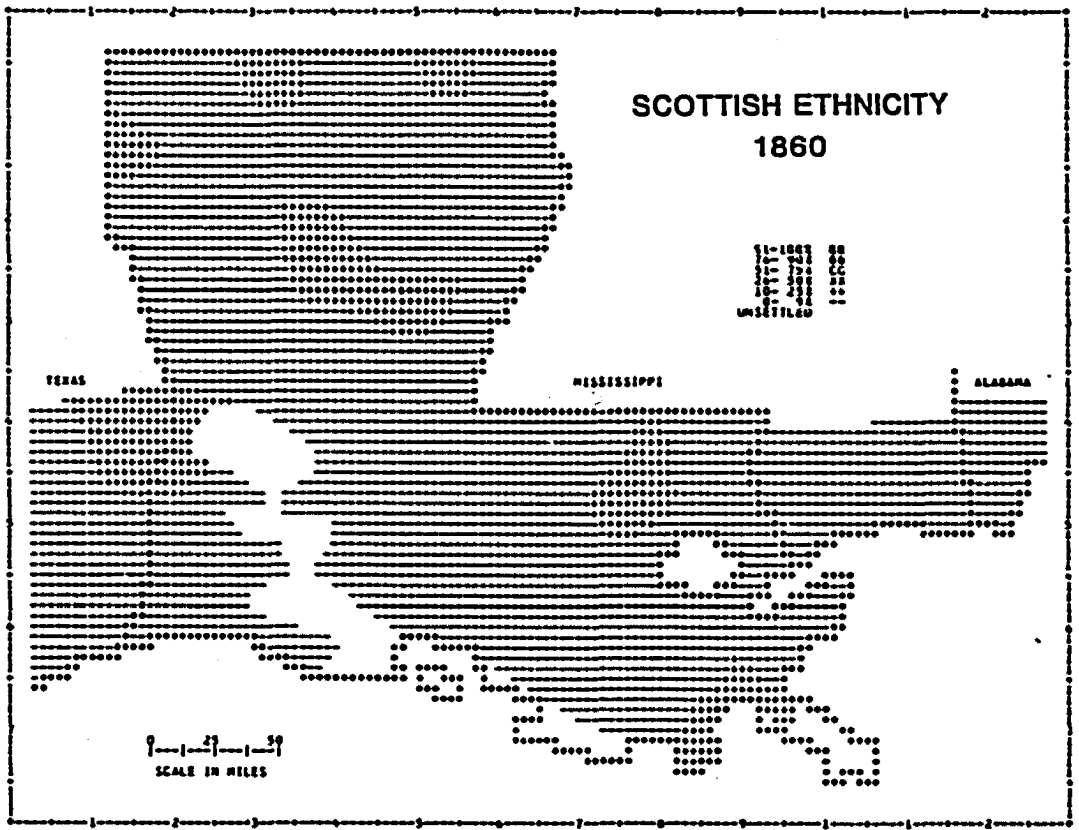


Fig. C-3. Scottish Ethnicity--1860

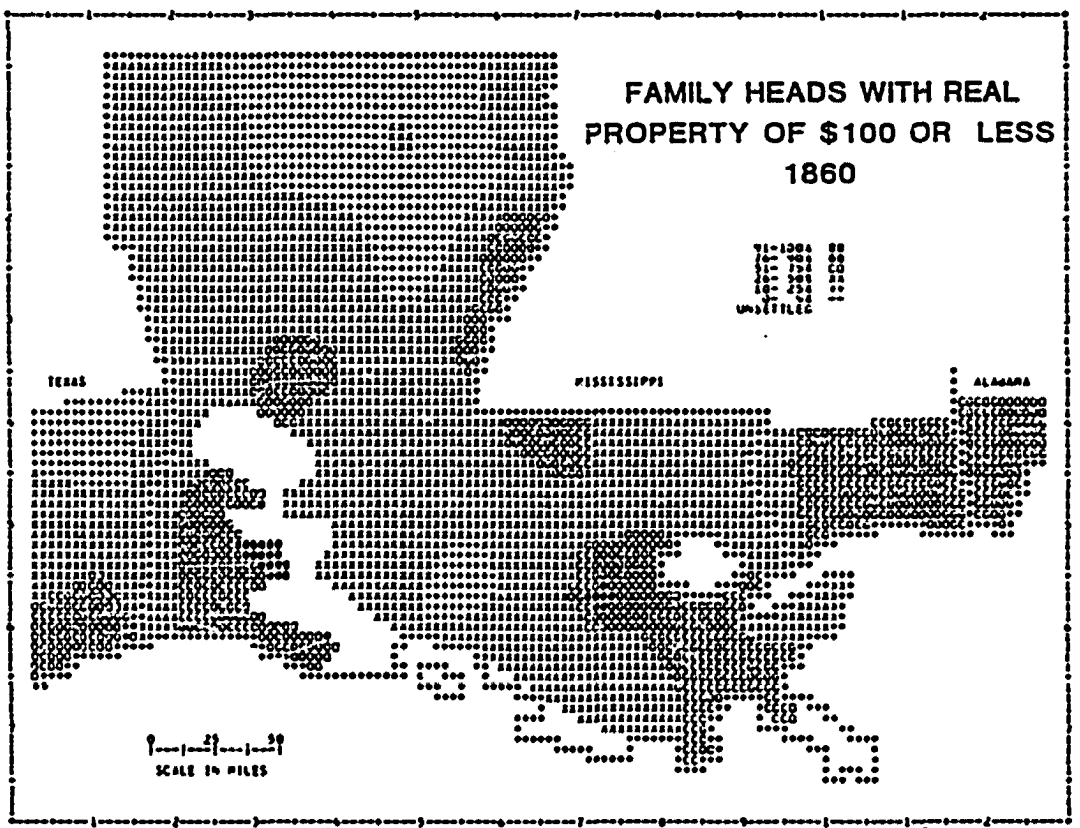


Fig. C-4. Family Heads with Real Property of $100 or Less--1860

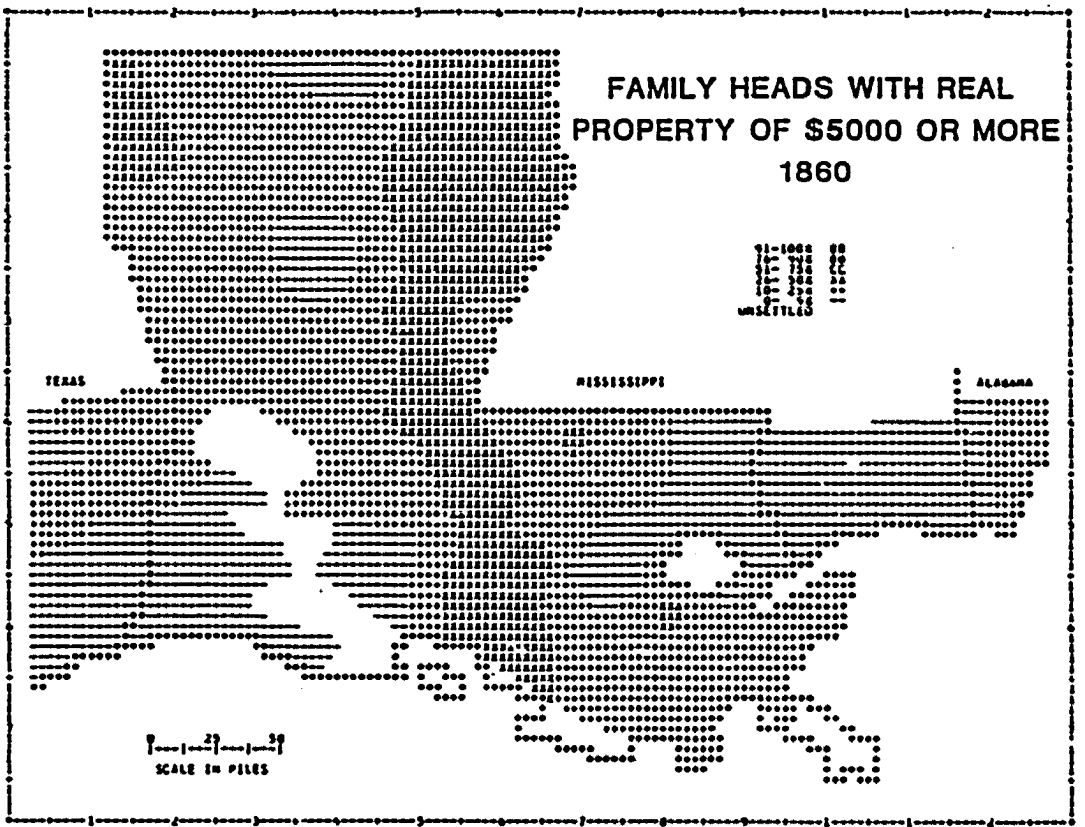


Fig. C-5. Family Heads with Real Property of $5,000 or More--1860

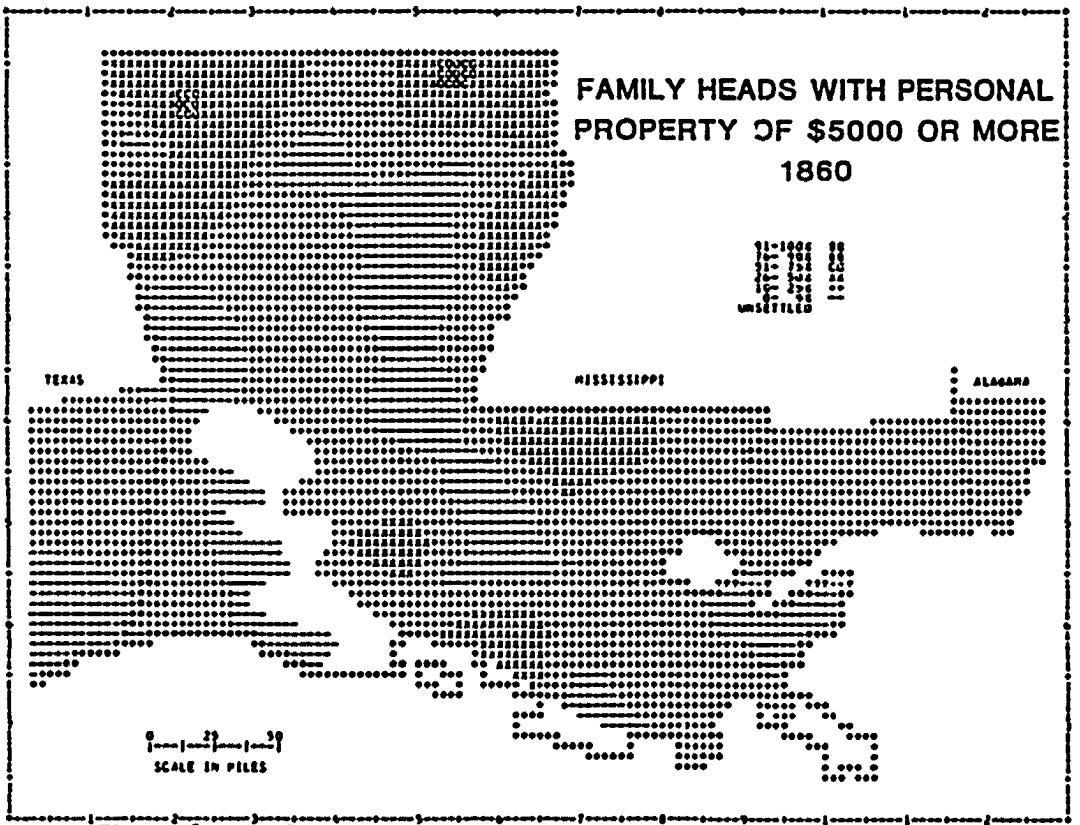


Fig. C-6. Family Heads with Personal Property of $5,000 or More--1860

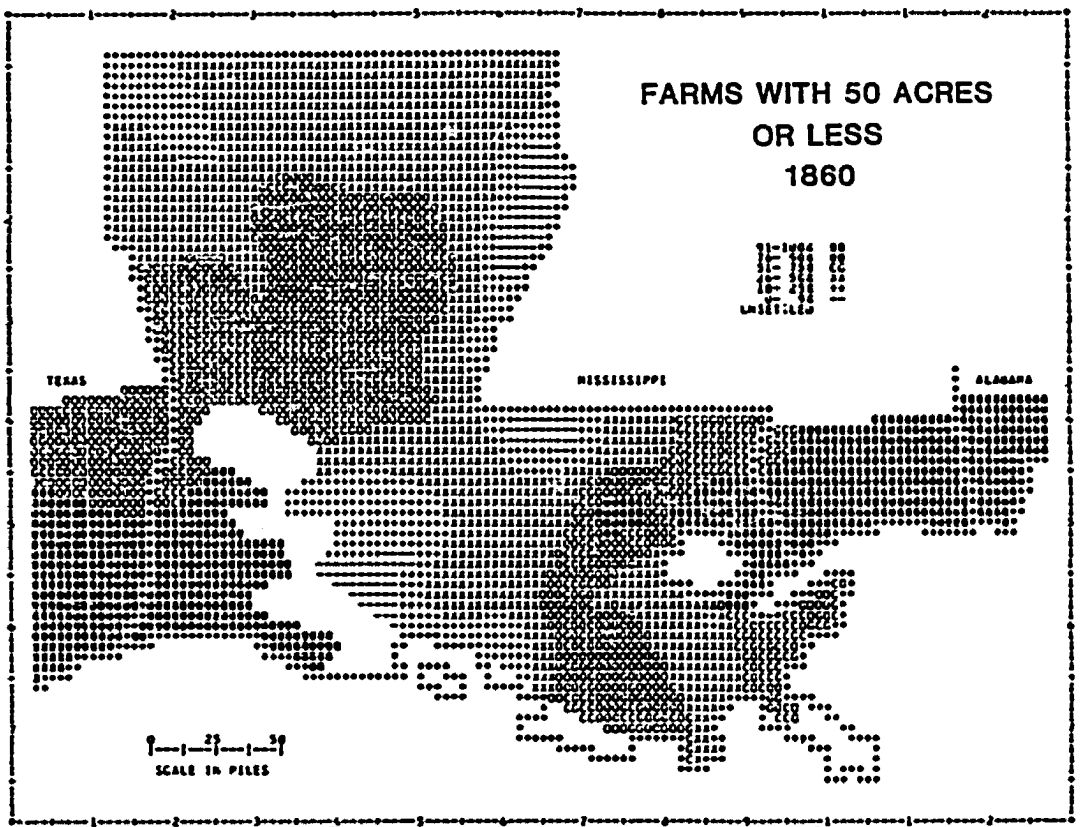


Fig. C-7. Farms with Fifty Acres or Less--1860

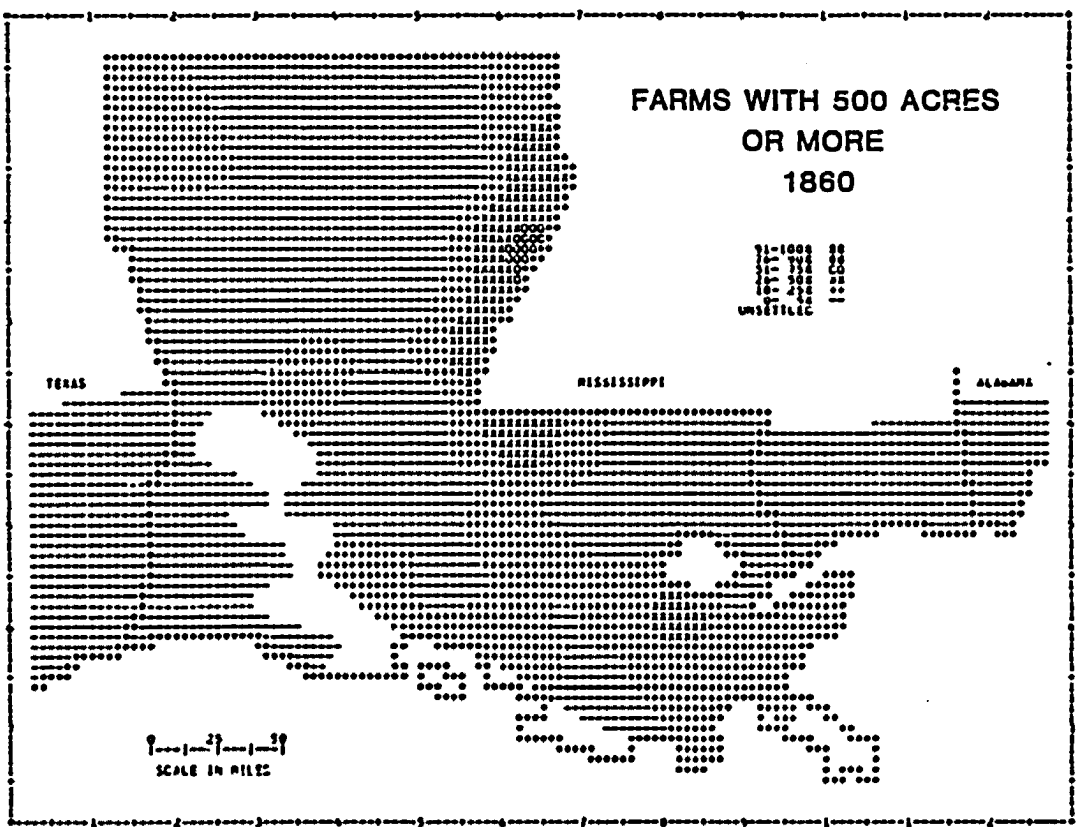


Fig. C-8. Farms with 500 Acres or More--1860

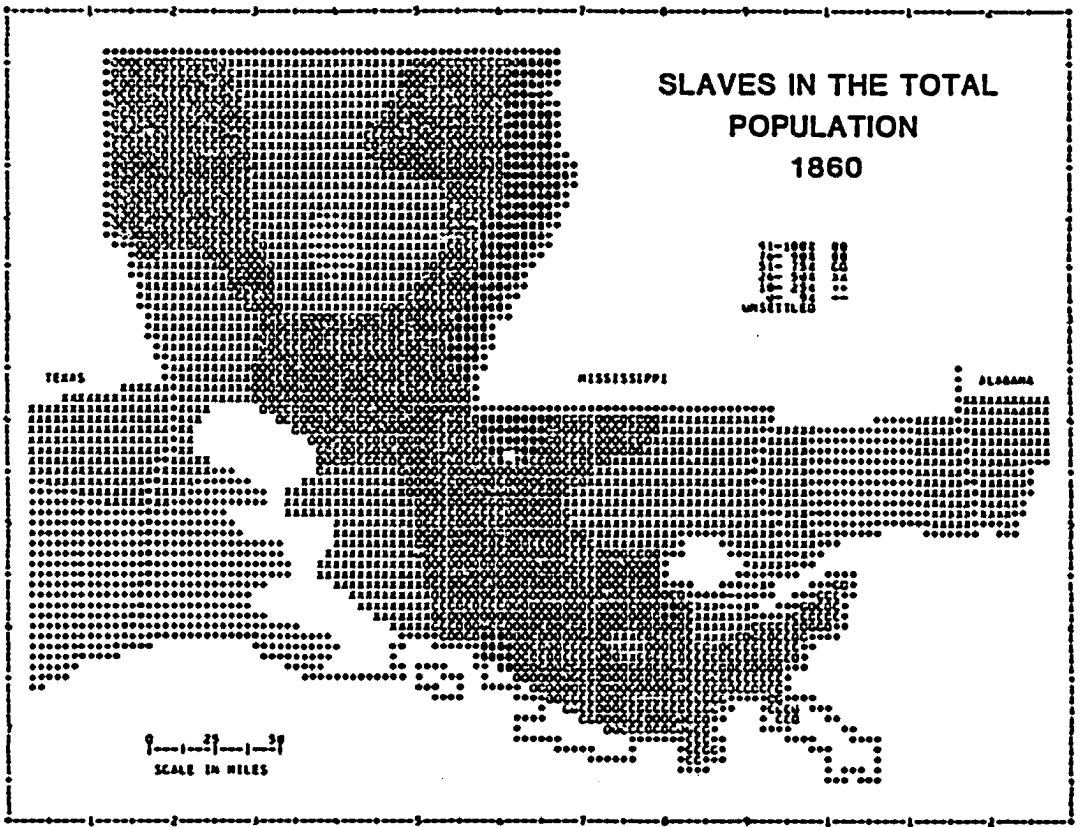


Fig. C-9. Slaves in the Total Population--1860

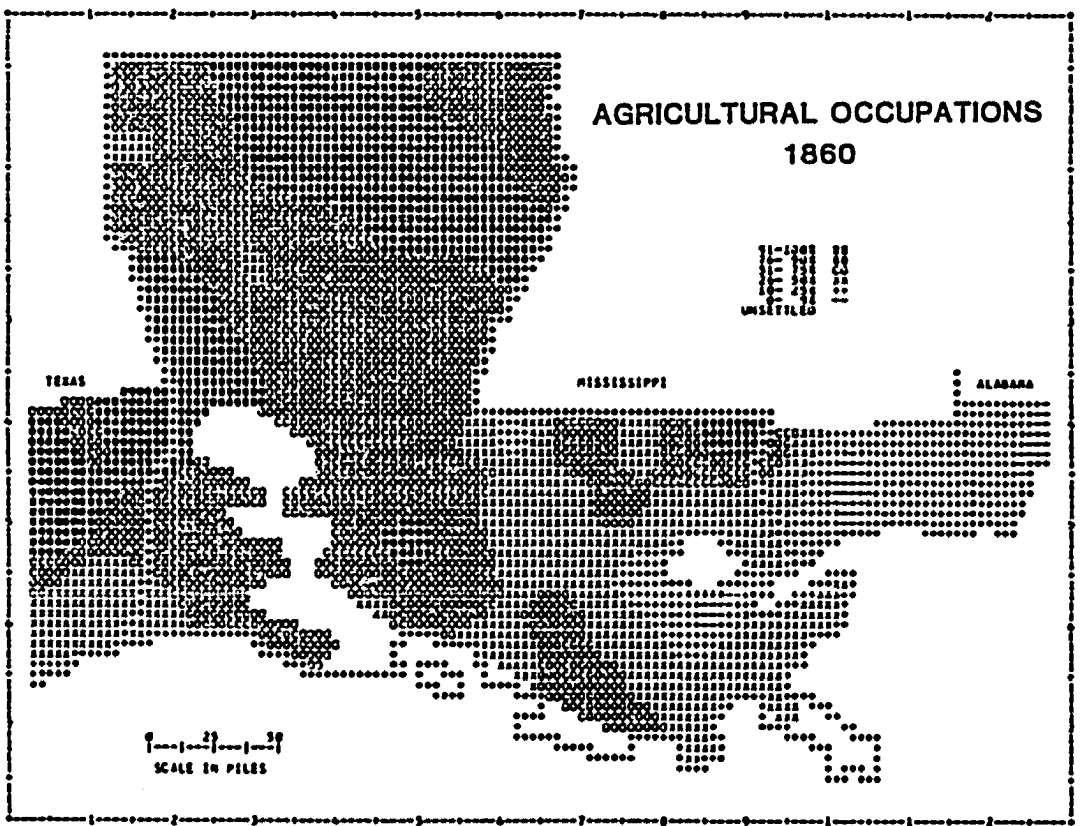


Fig. C-10. Agricultural Occupations--1860

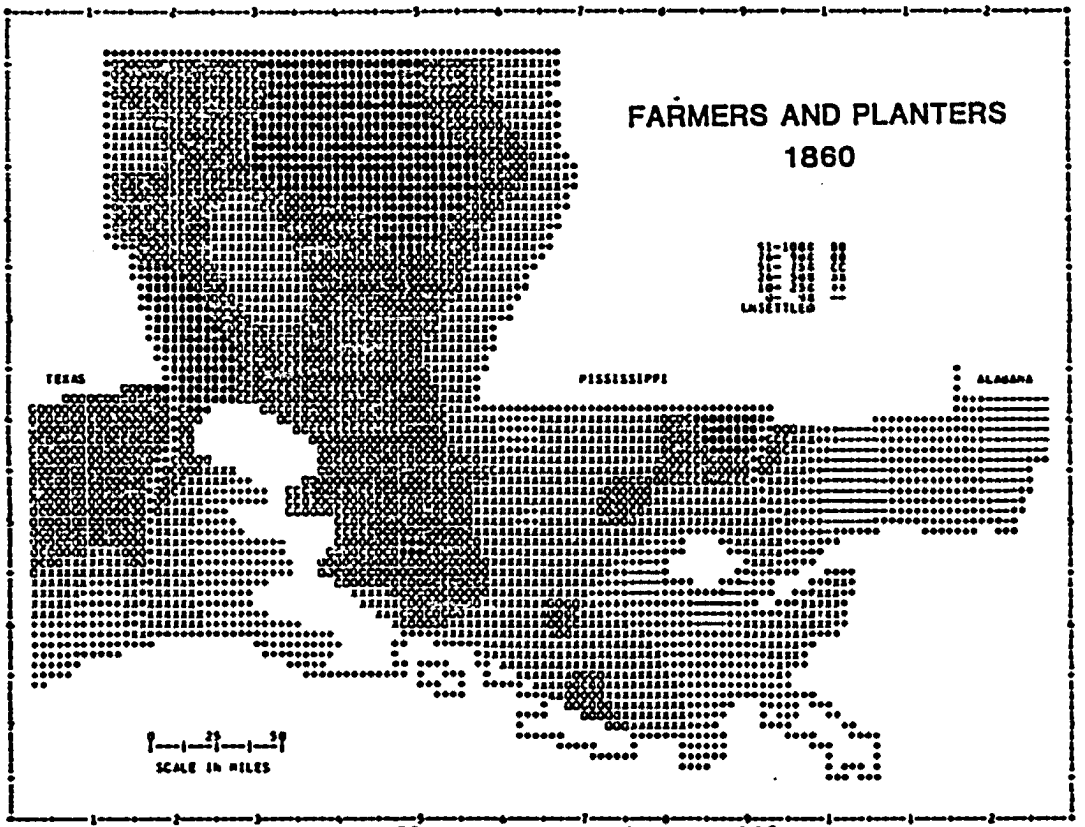


Fig. C-11. Farmers and Planters--1860

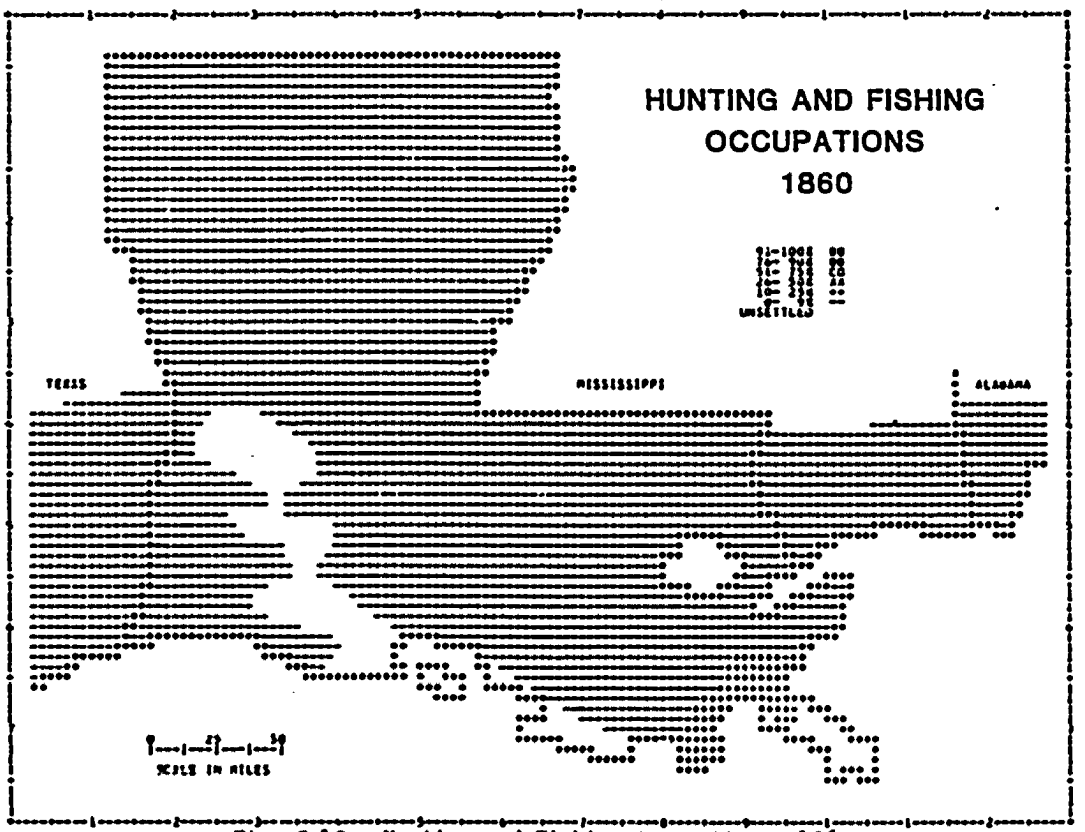


Fig. C-12. Hunting and Fishing Occupations--1860

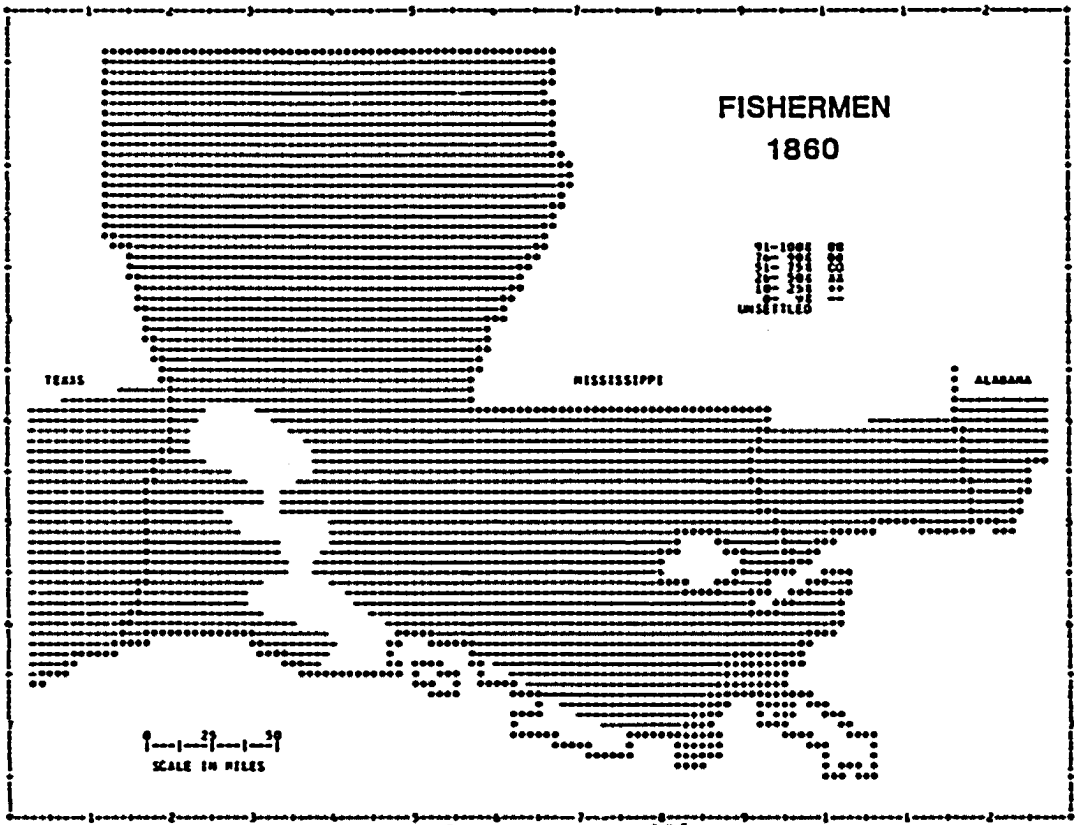


Fig. C-13. Fishermen--1860

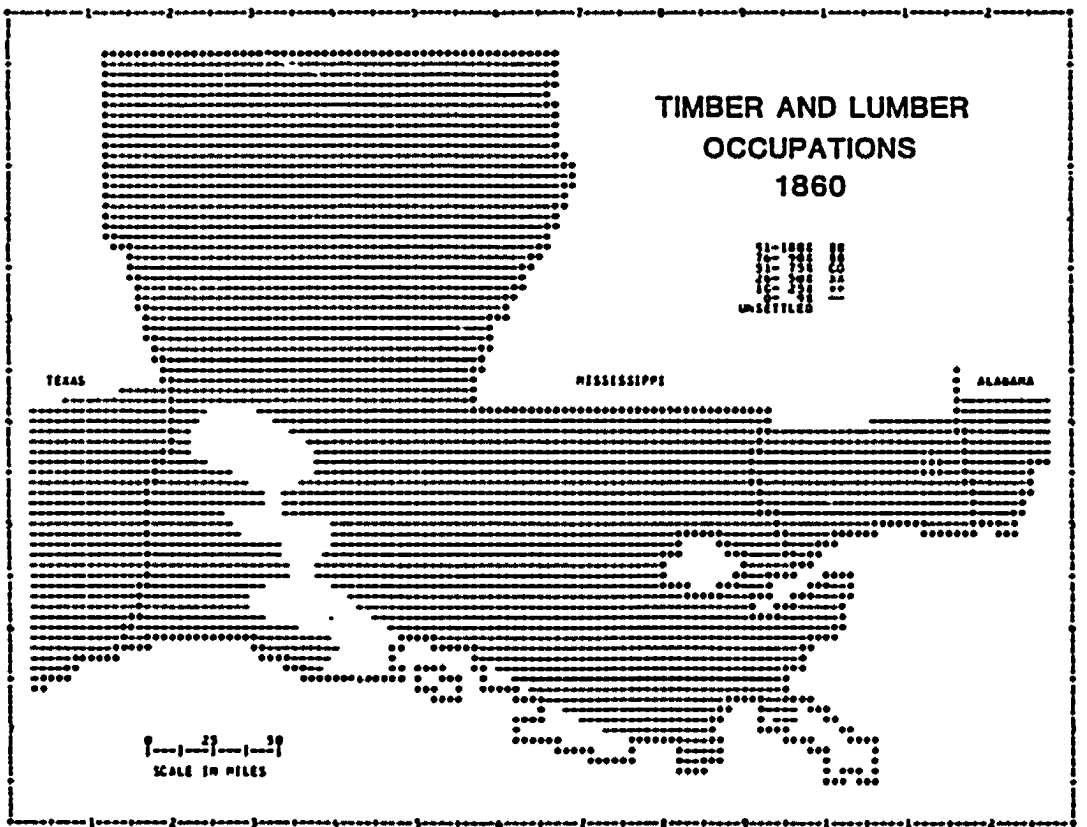


Fig. C-14. Timber and Lumber Occupations--1860

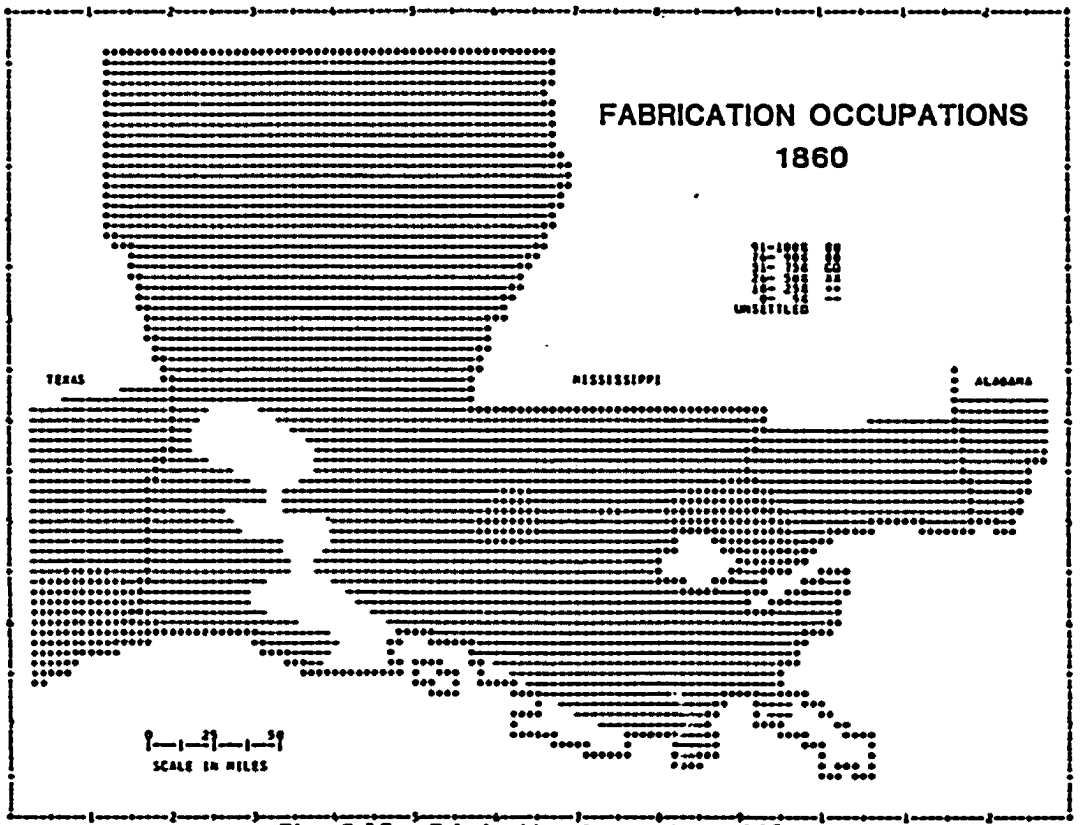


Fig. C-15. Fabrication Occupations--1860

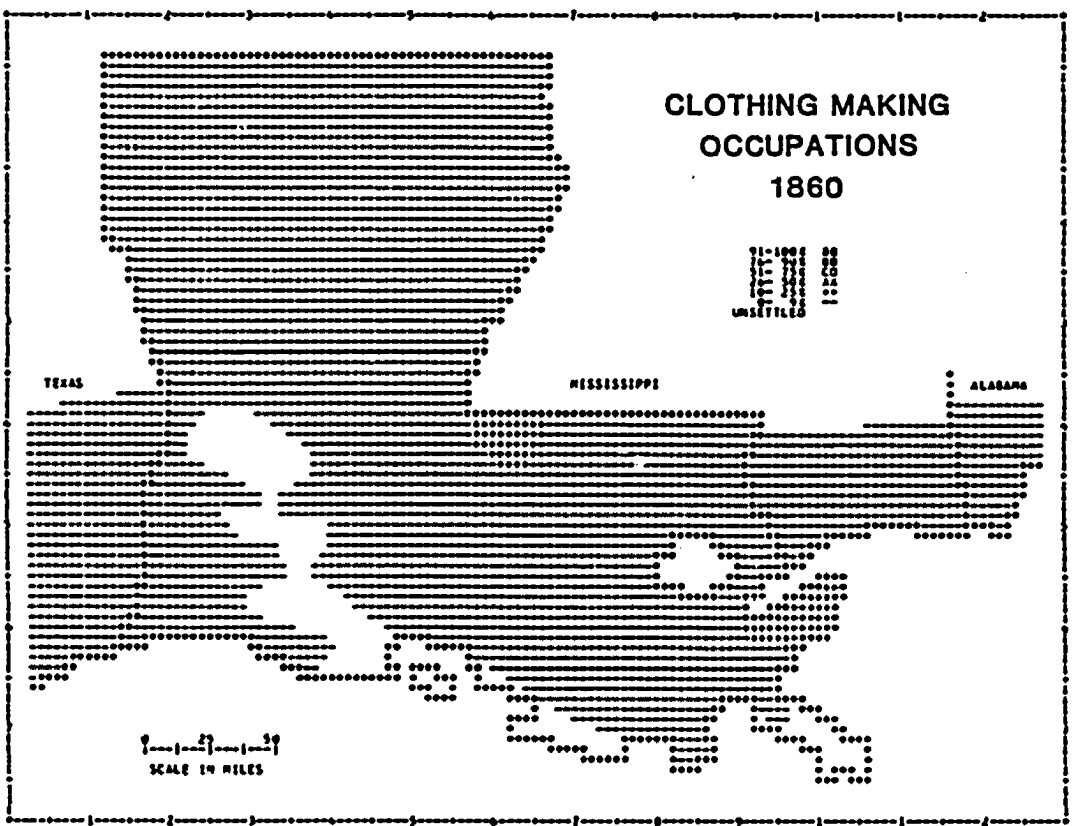


Fig. C-16. Clothing Making Occupations--1860

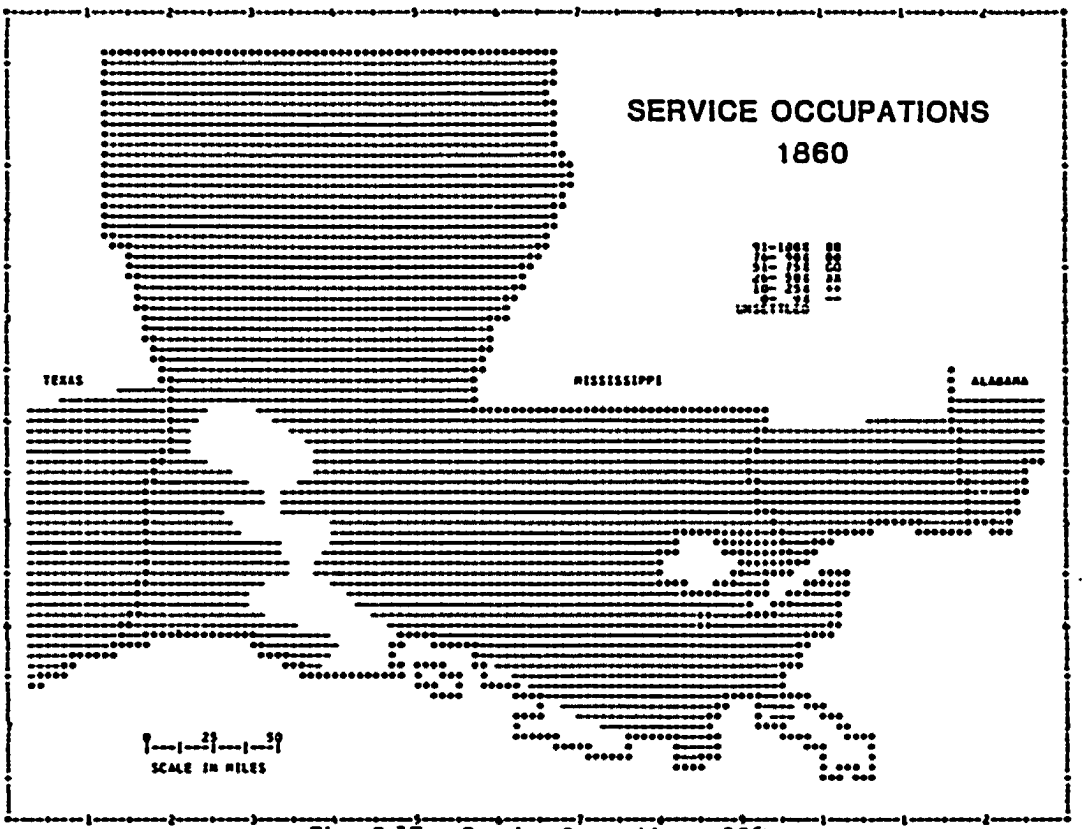


Fig. C-17. Service Occupations--1860

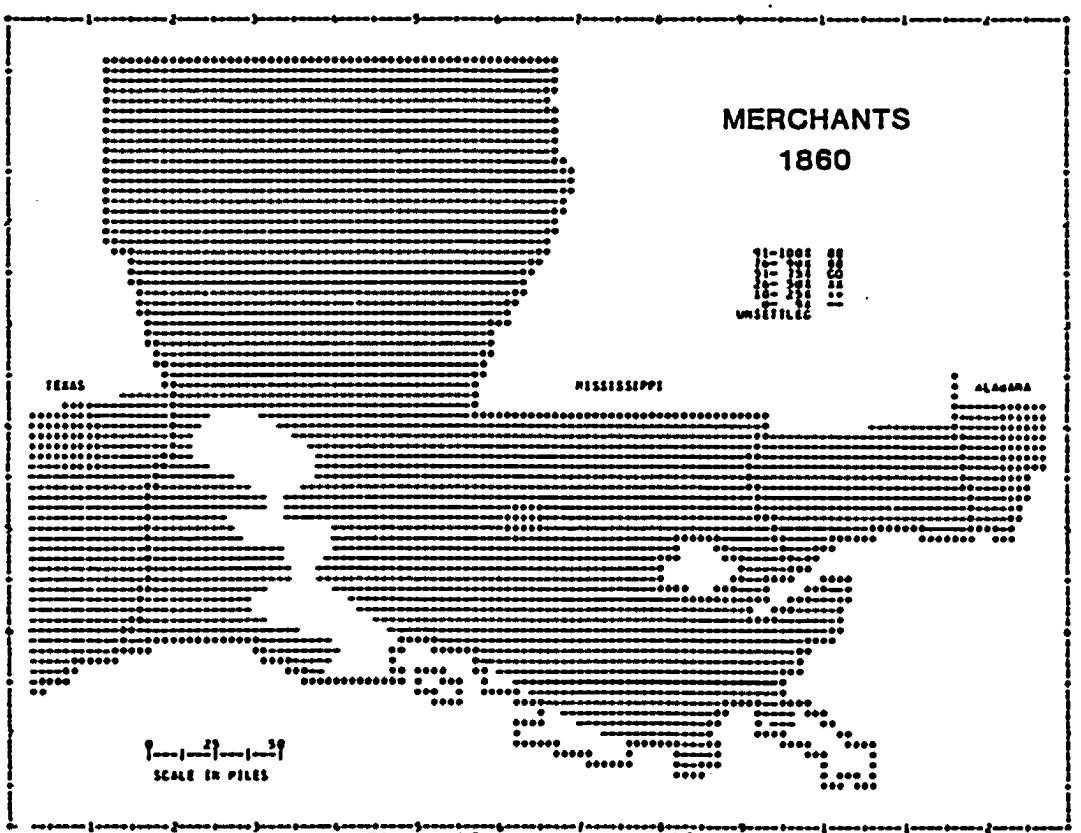


Fig. C-18. Merchants--1860

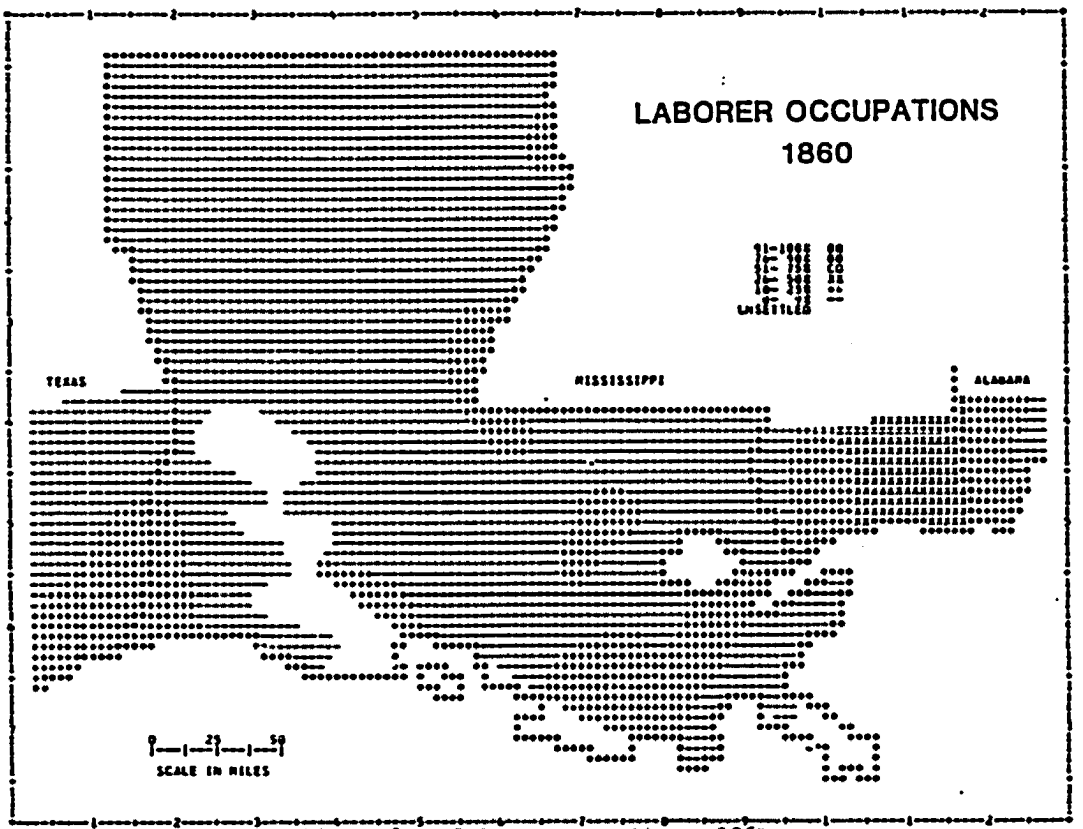


Fig. C-19. Laborer Occupations--1860

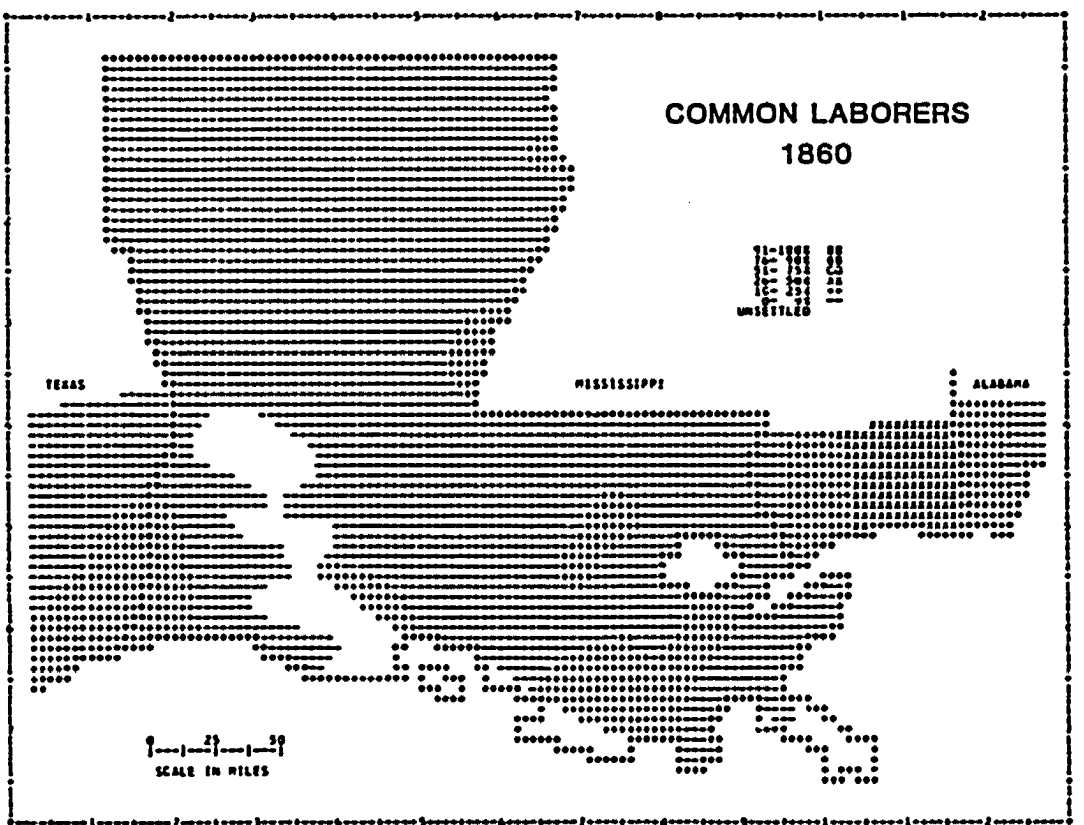


Fig. C-20. Common Laborers--1860

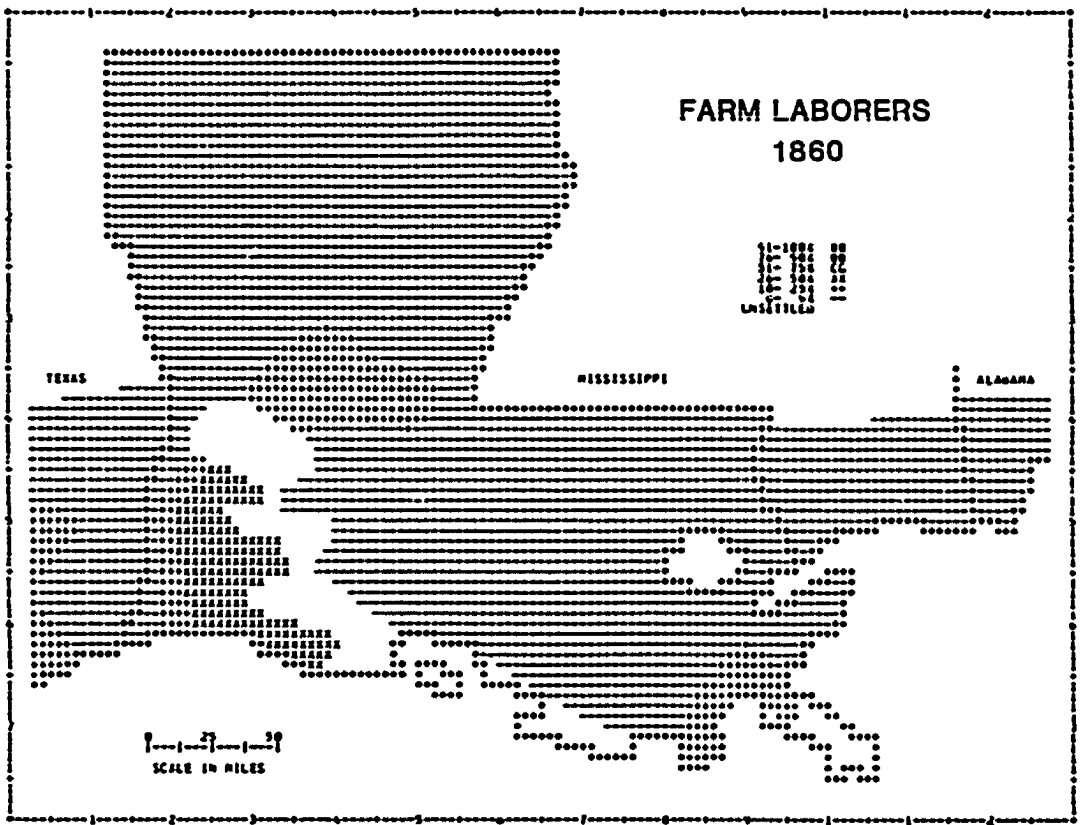


Fig. C-21. Farm Laborers--1860

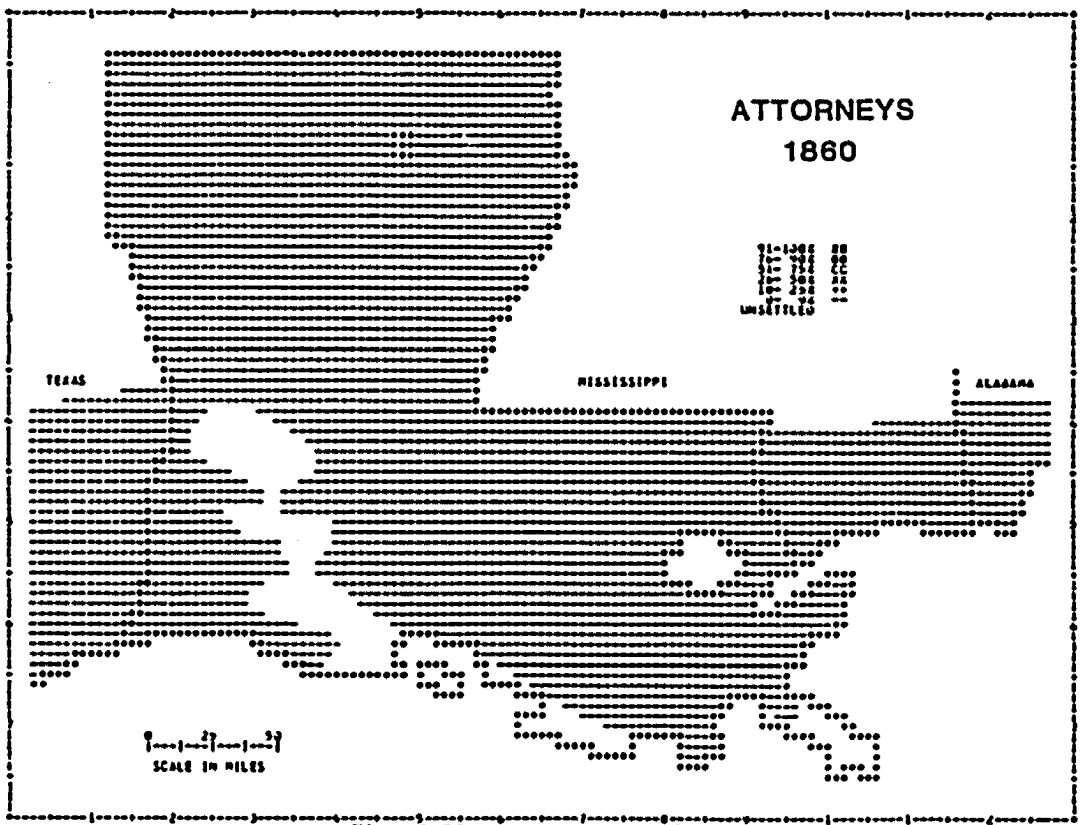


Fig. C-22. Attorneys--1860

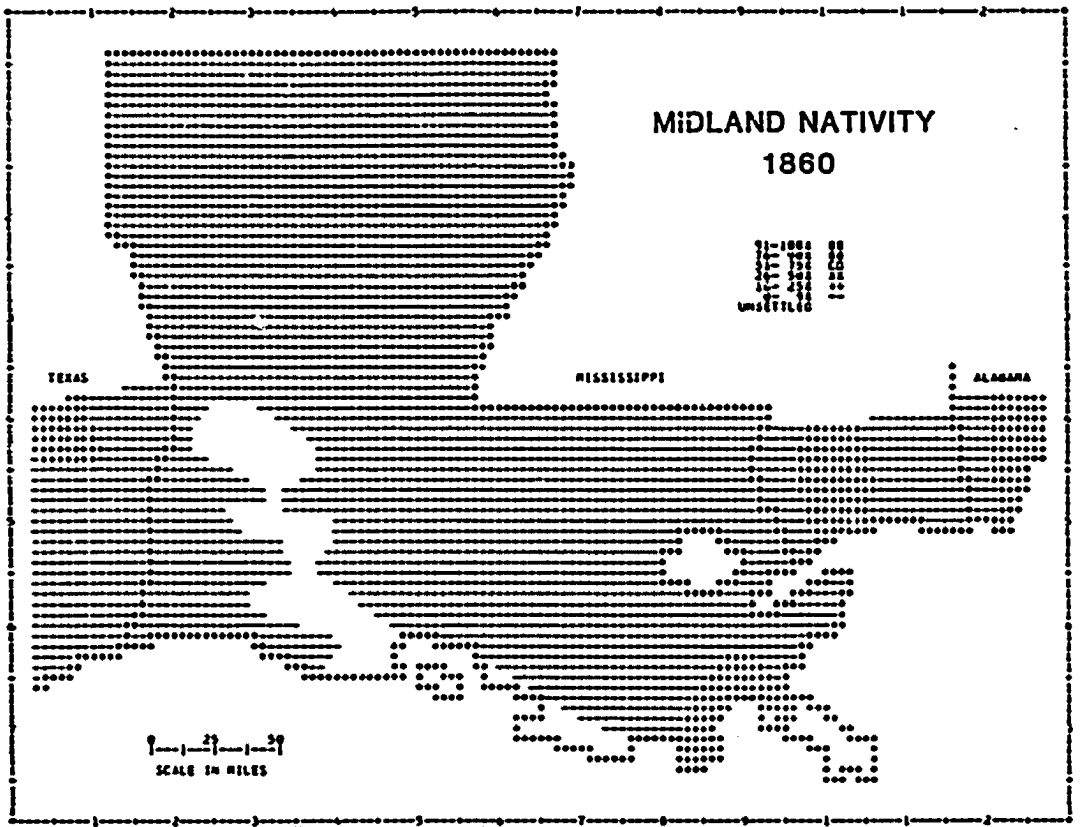


Fig. C-23. Midland Nativity--1860

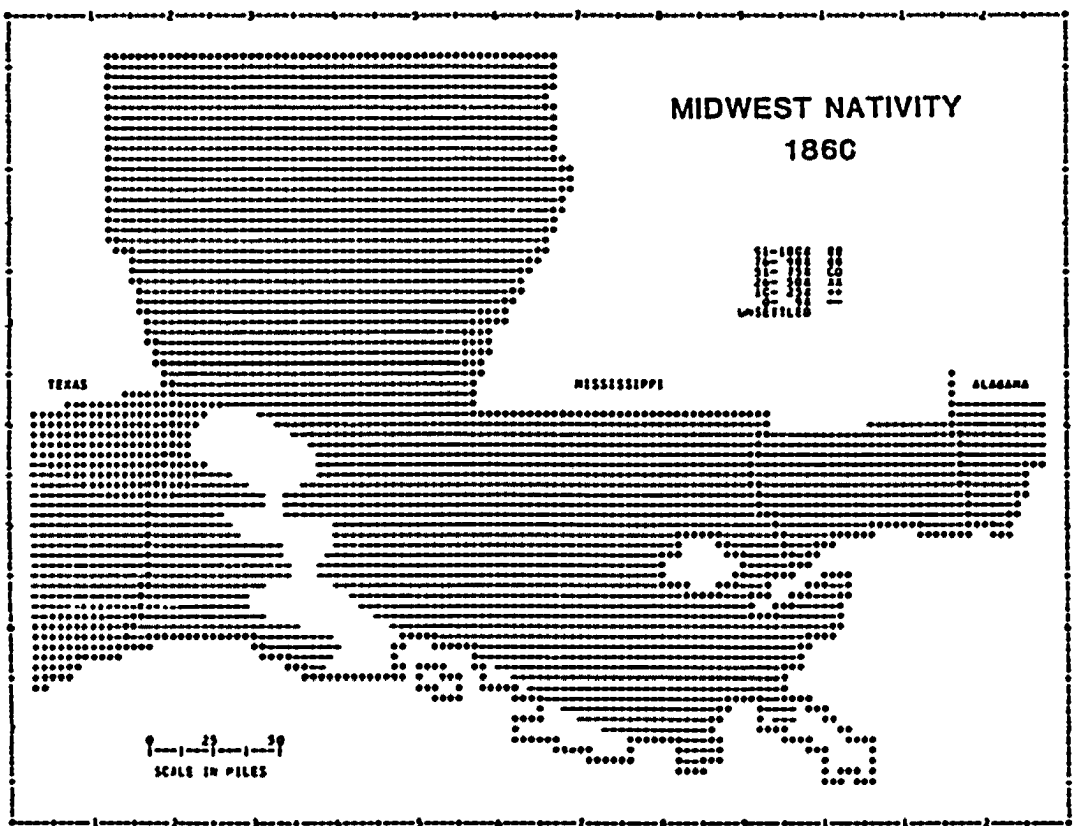


Fig. C-24. Midwest Nativity--1860

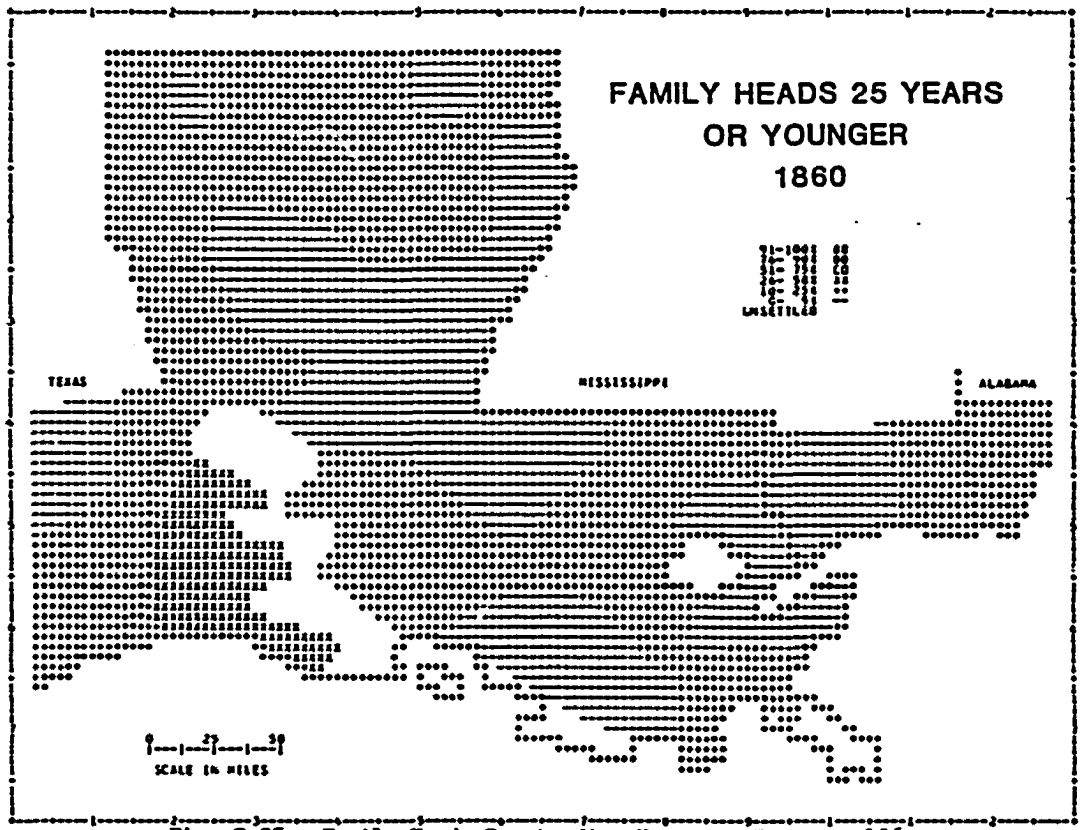


Fig. C-25. Family Heads Twenty-five Years or Younger—1860

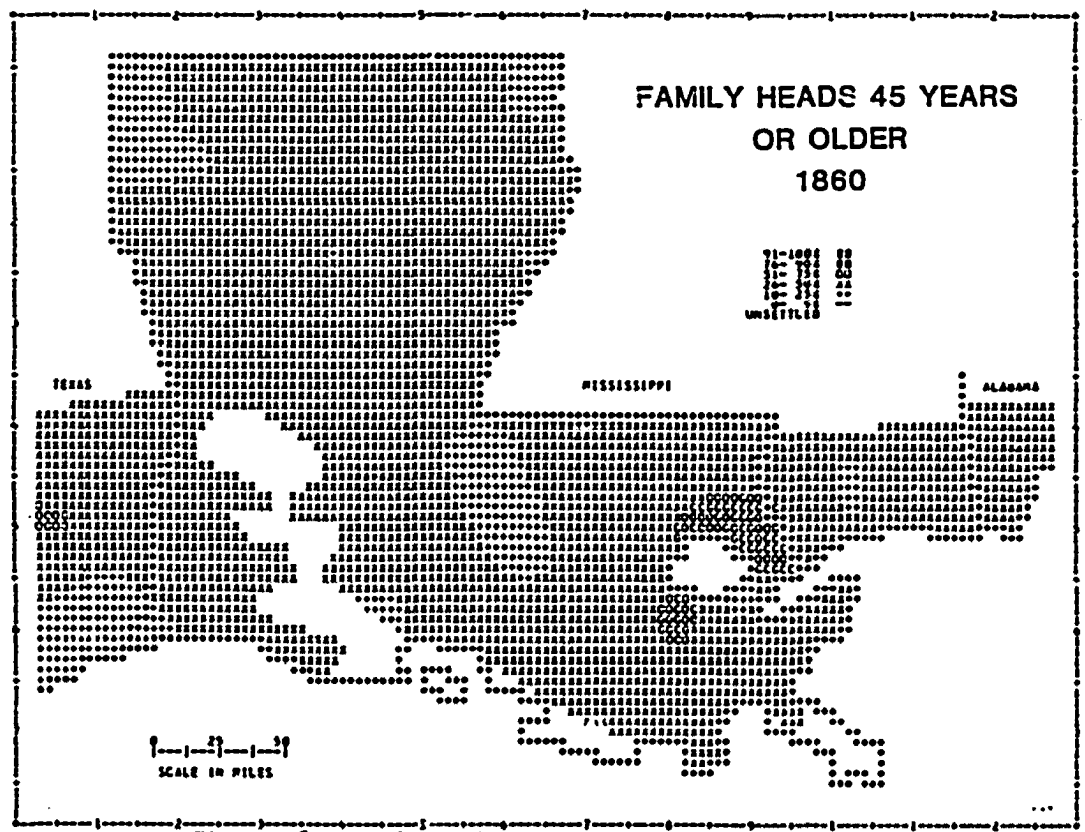


Fig. C-26. Family Heads Forty-five Years or Older—1860

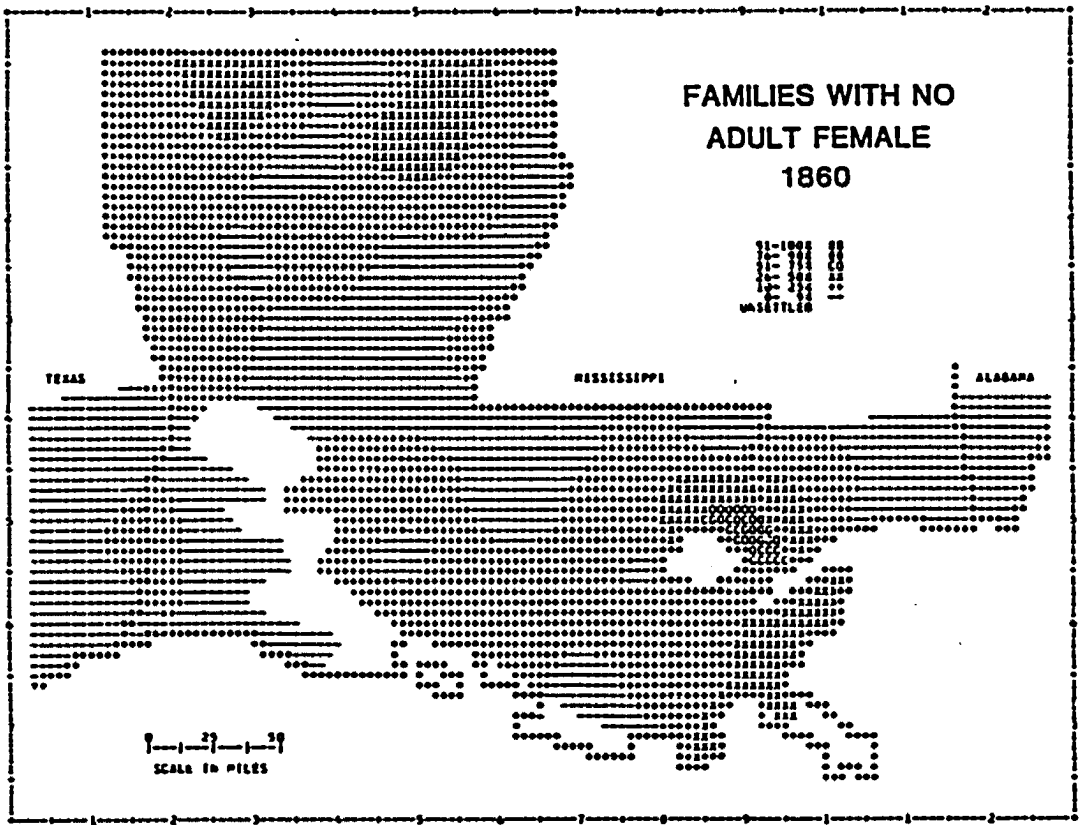


Fig. C-27. Families with No Adult Female--1860

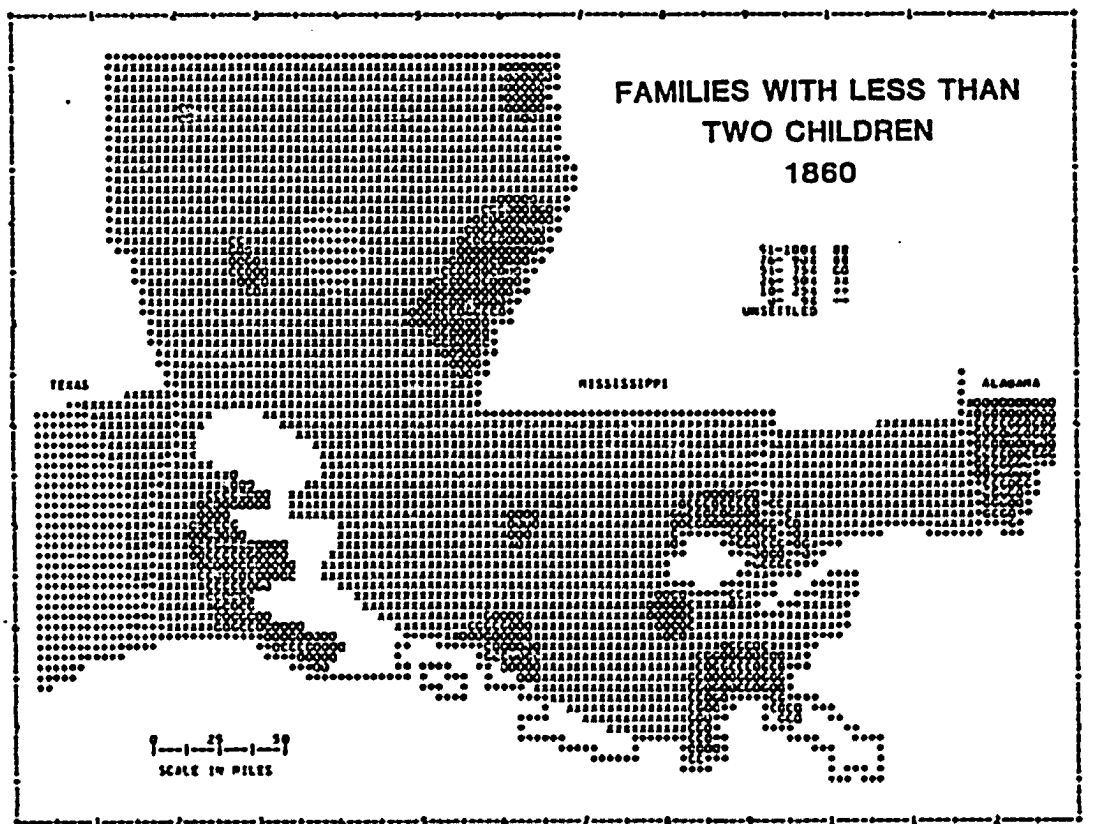


Fig. C-28. Families with Less than Two Children--1860

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL MAPS--1900

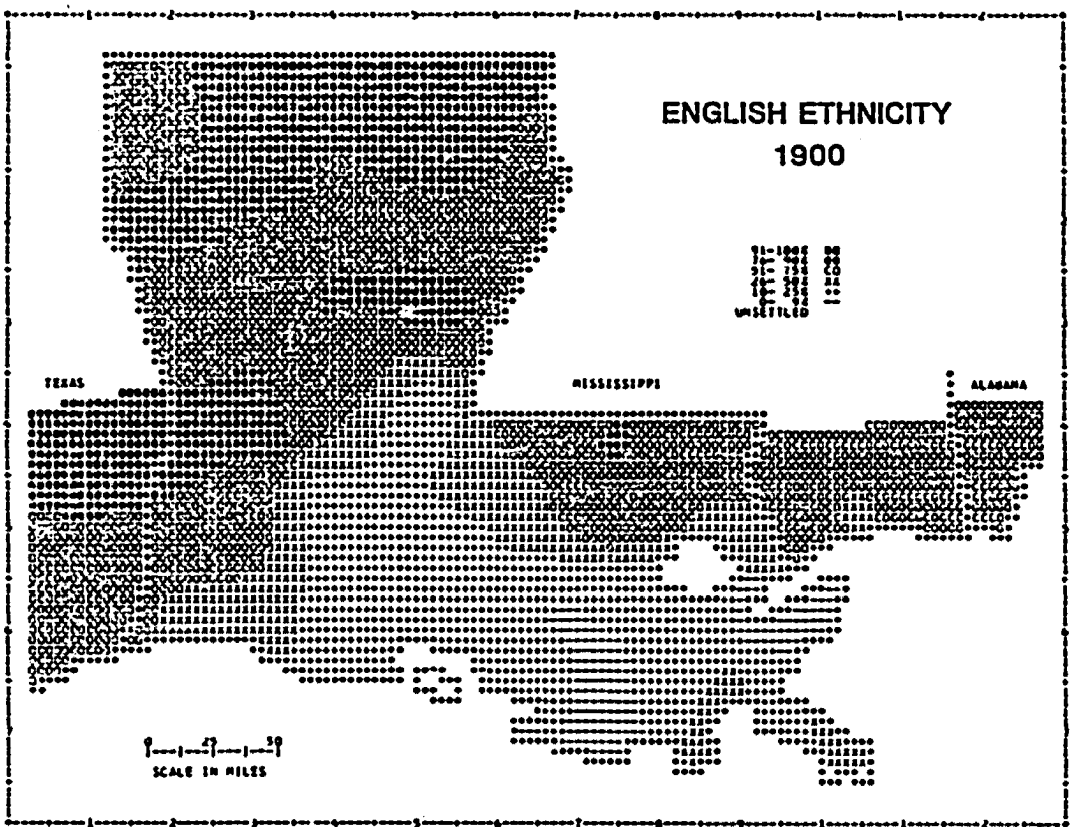


Fig. D-1. English Ethnicity--1900

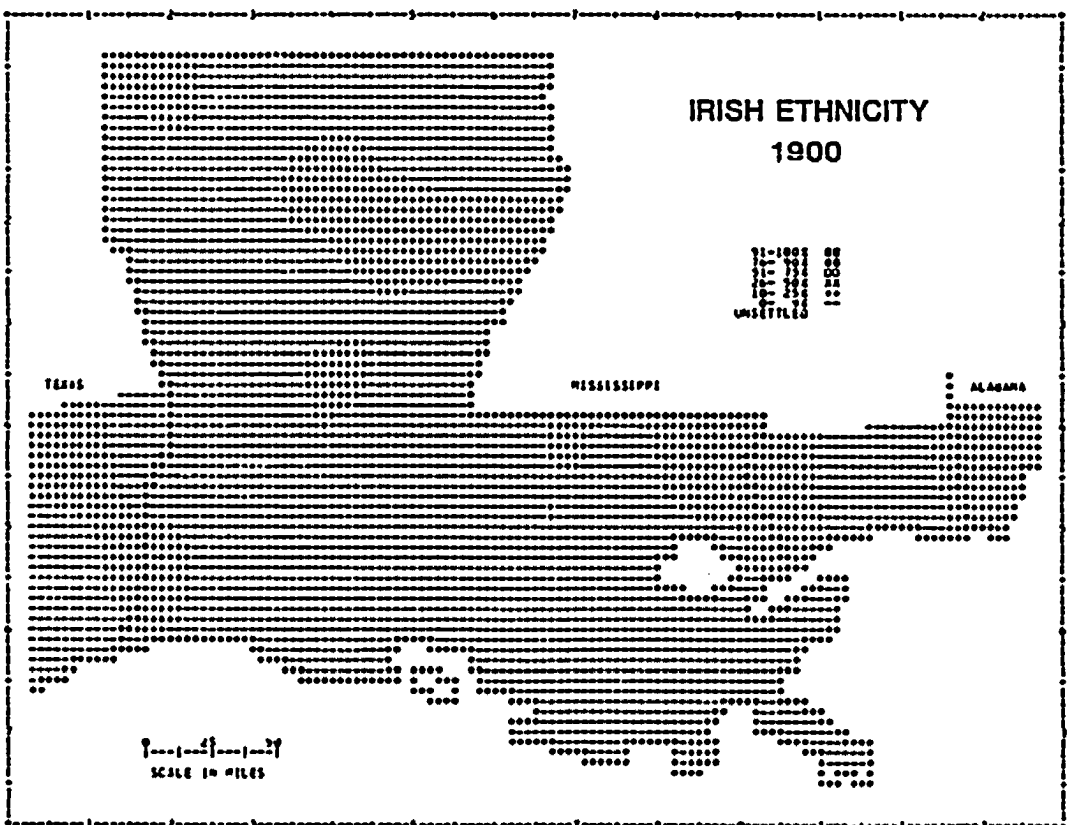


Fig. D-2. Irish Ethnicity--1900

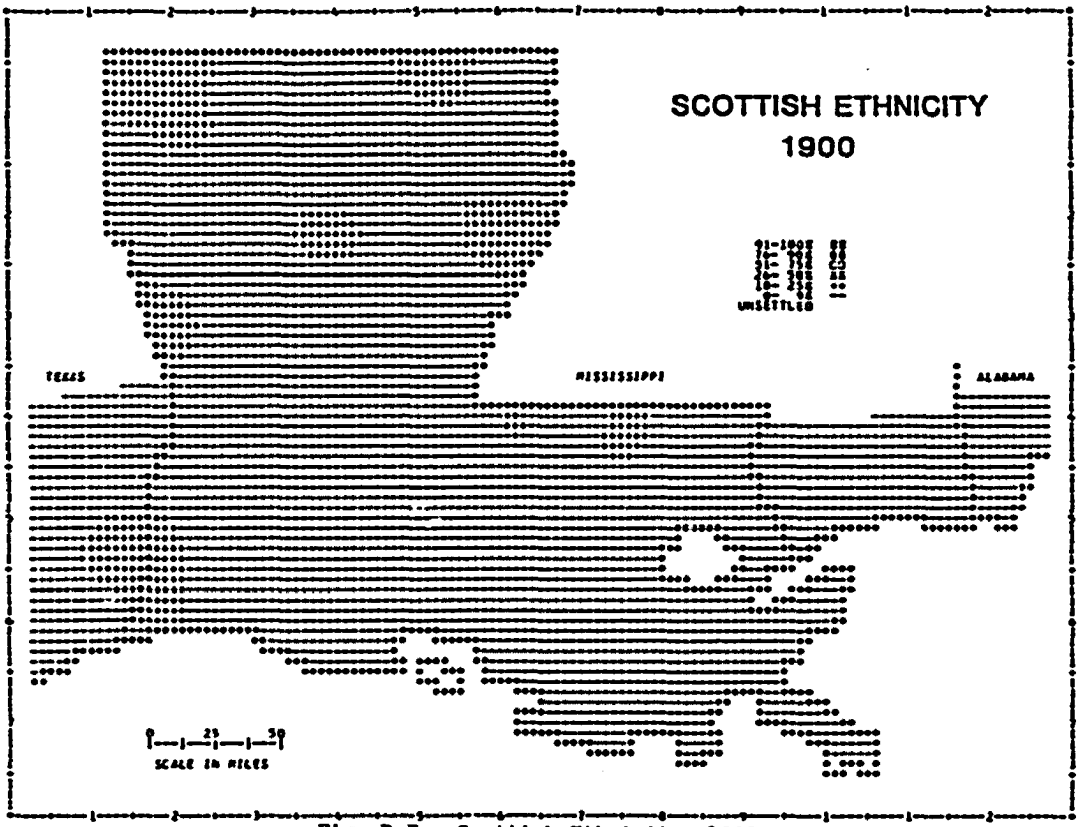


Fig. D-3. Scottish Ethnicity--1900

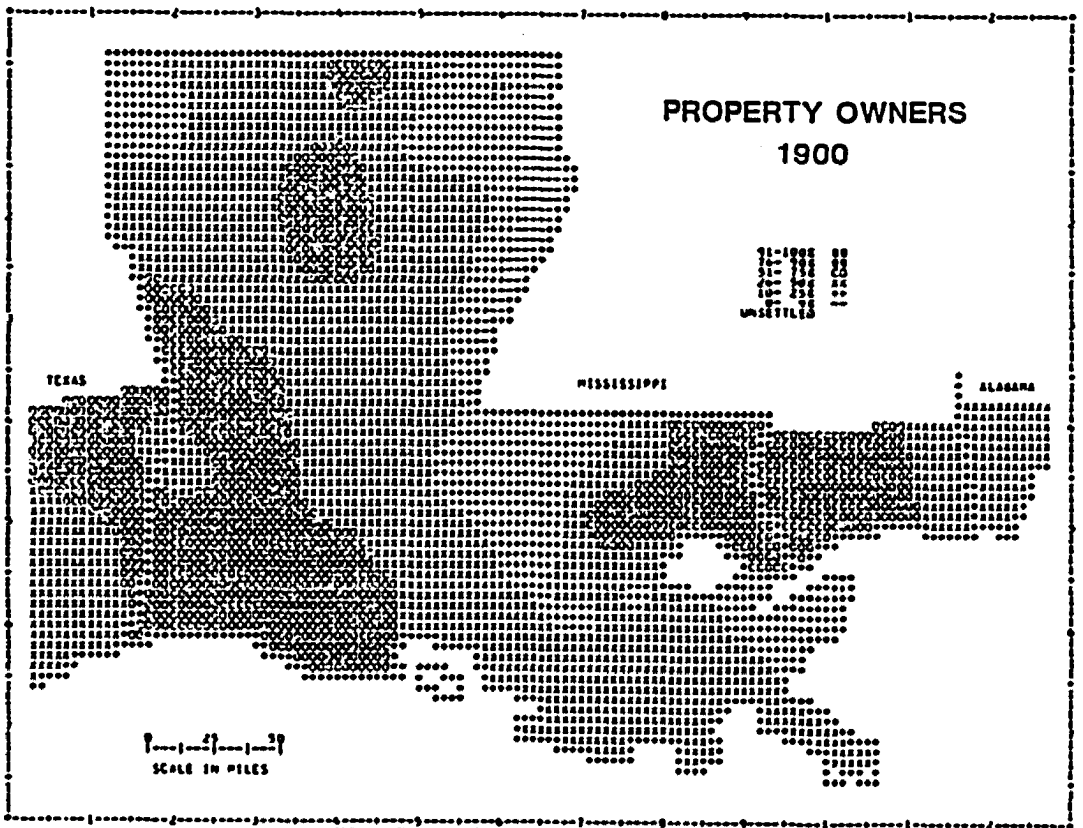


Fig. D-4. Property Owners--1900

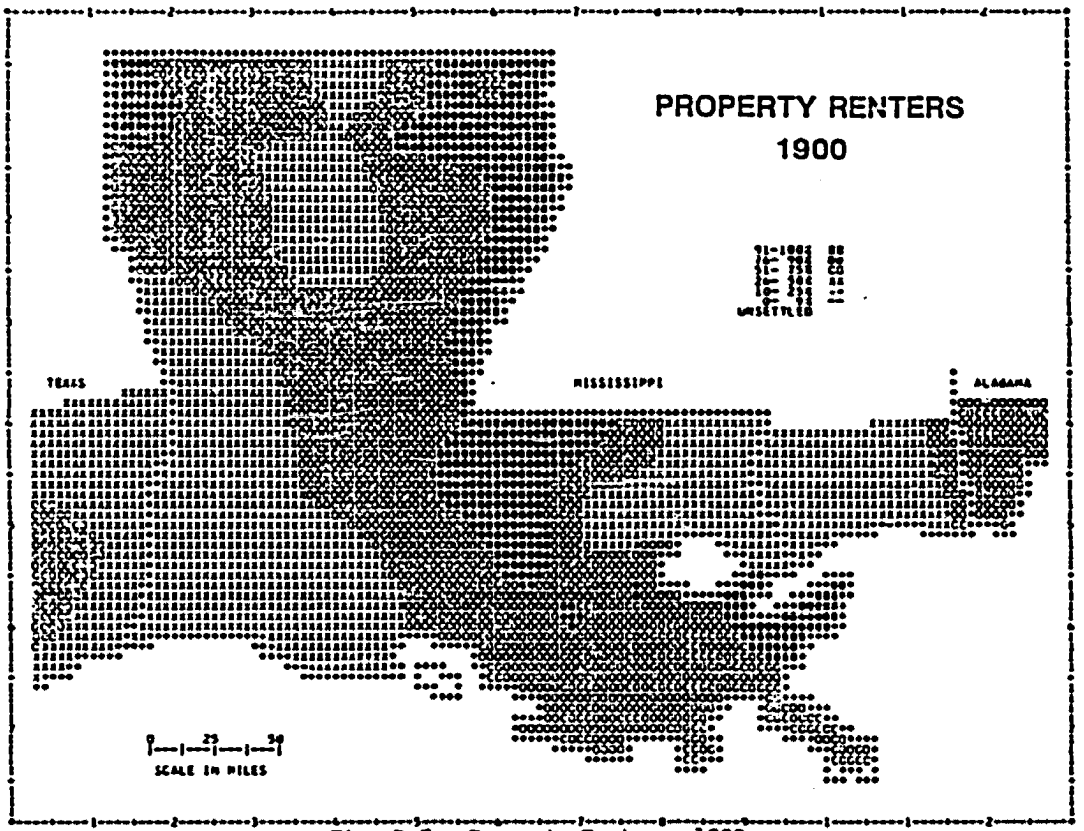


Fig. D-5. Property Renters—1900

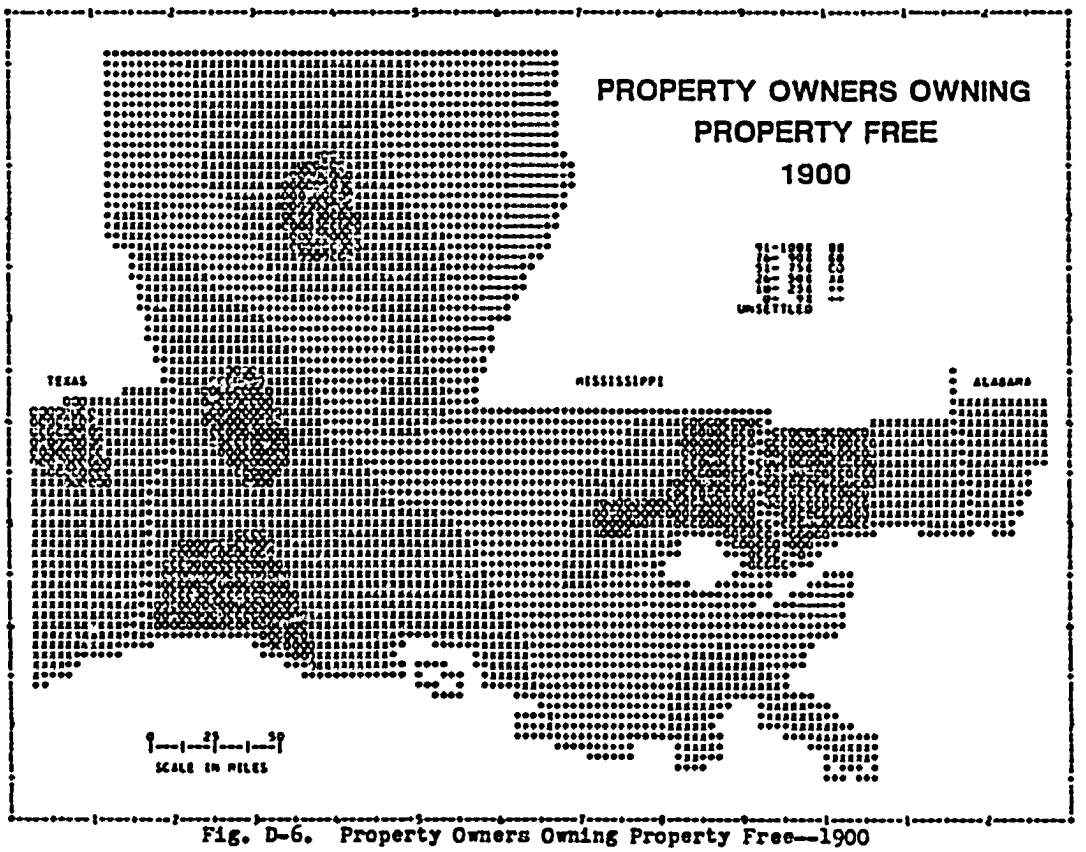


Fig. D-6. Property Owners Owning Property Free—1900

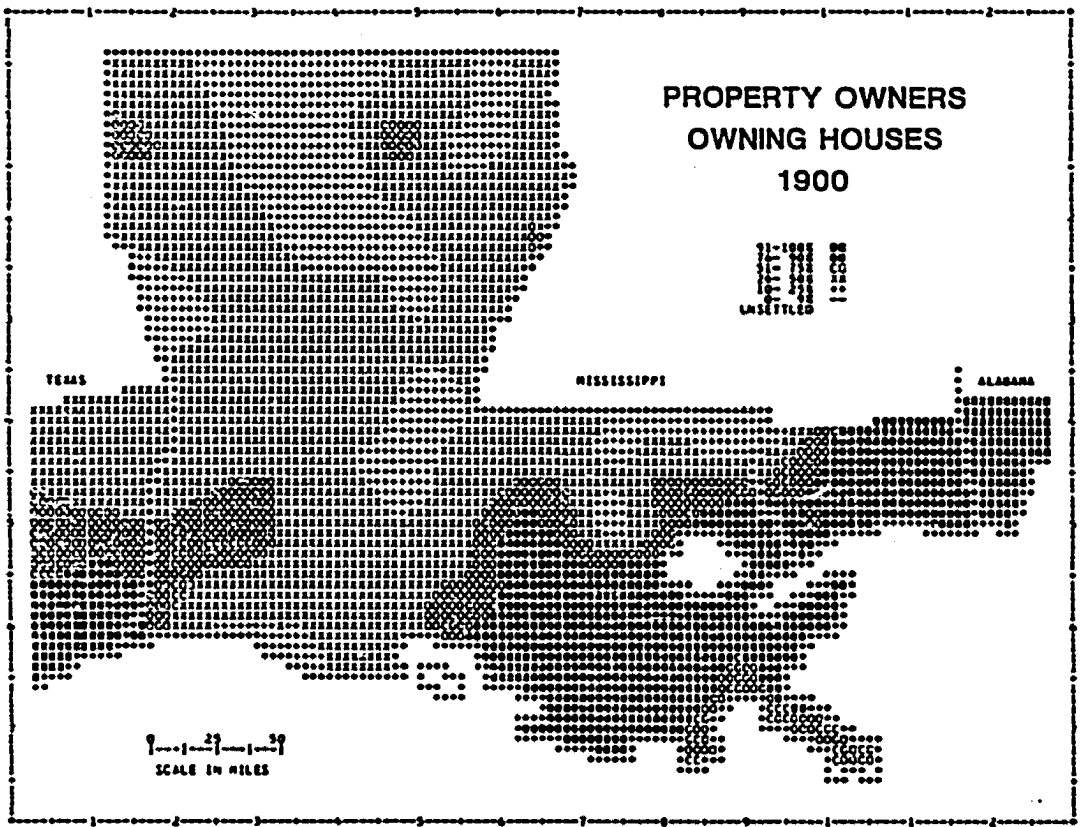


Fig. D-7. Property Owners Owning Houses—1900

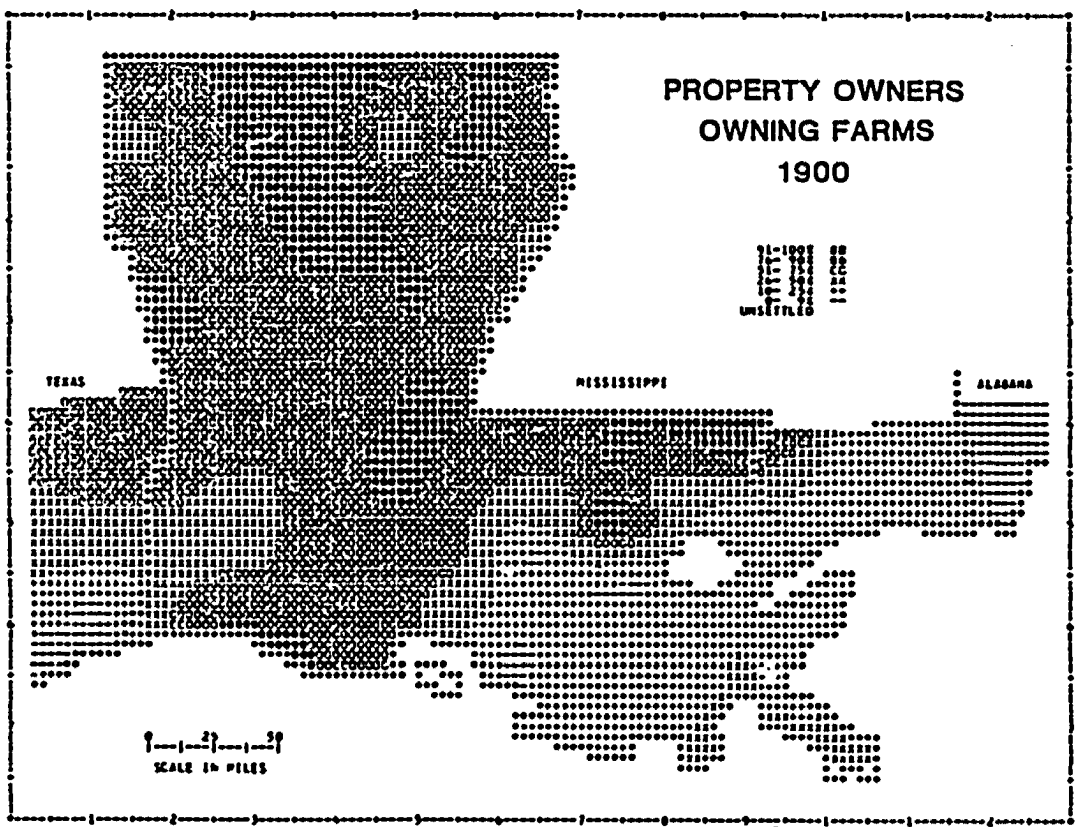


Fig. D-8. Property Owners Owning Farms—1900

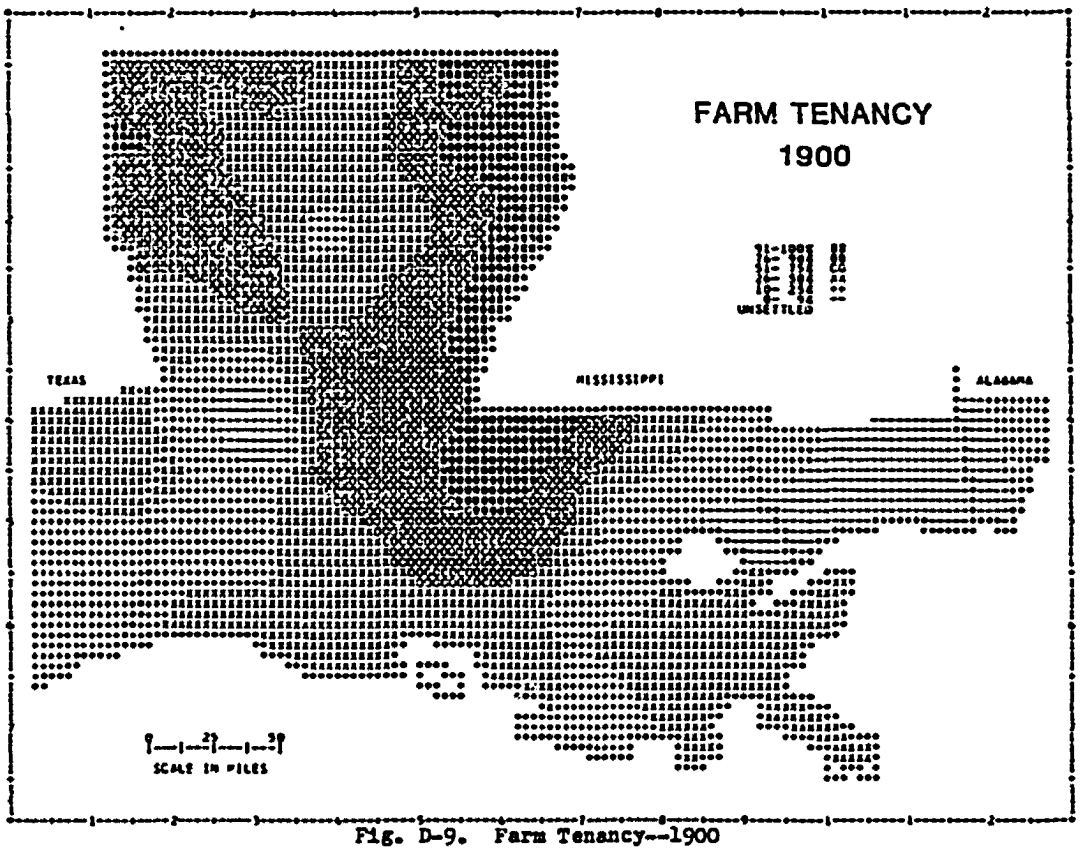


Fig. D-9. Farm Tenancy--1900

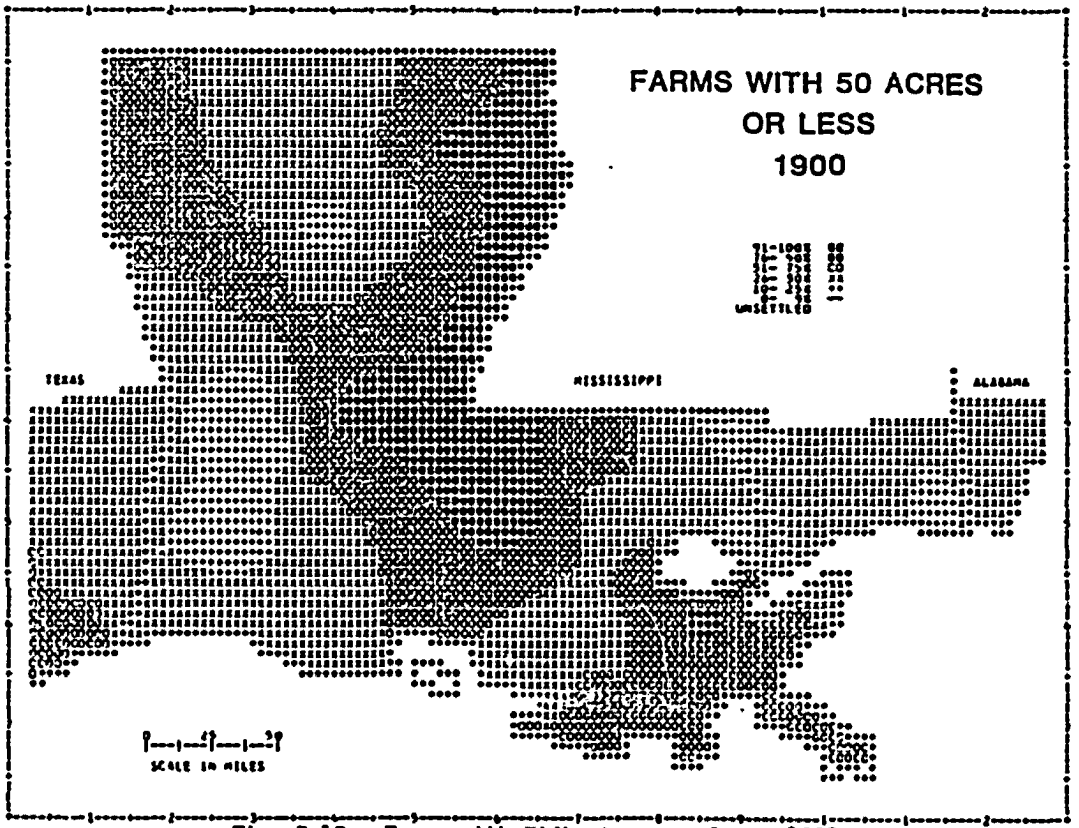


Fig. D-10. Farms with Fifty Acres or Less--1900

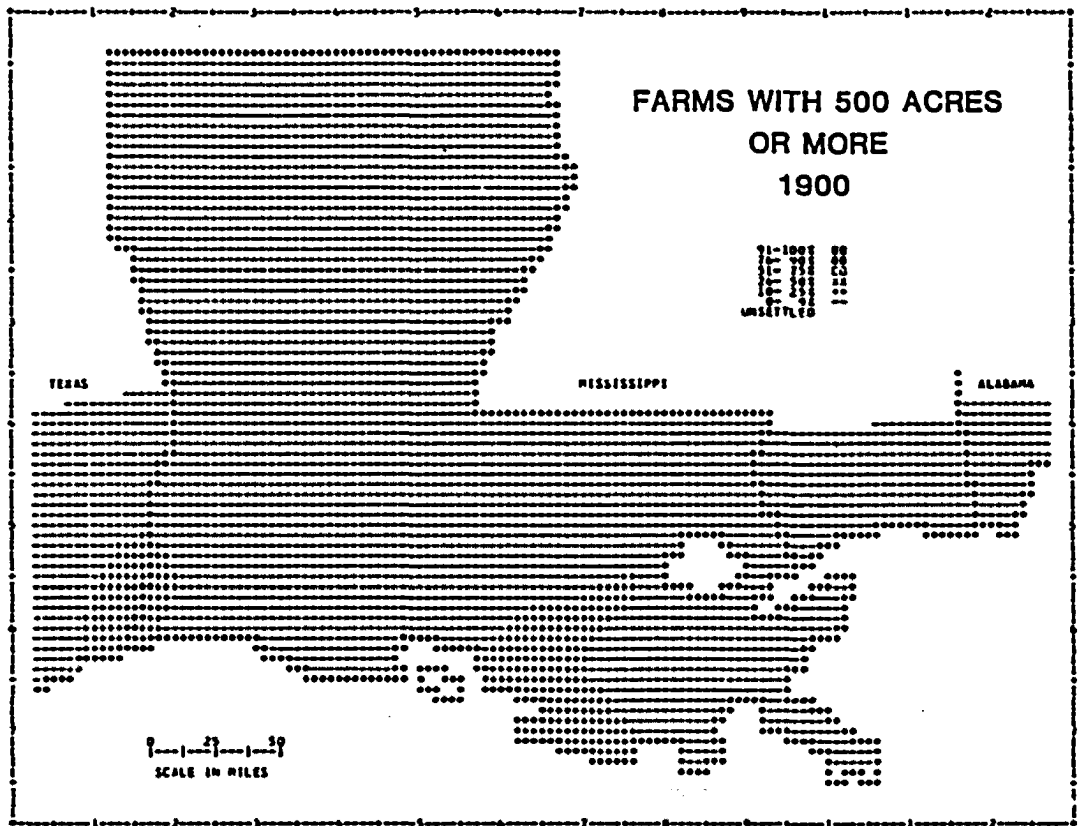


Fig. D-11. Farms with 500 Acres or More--1900

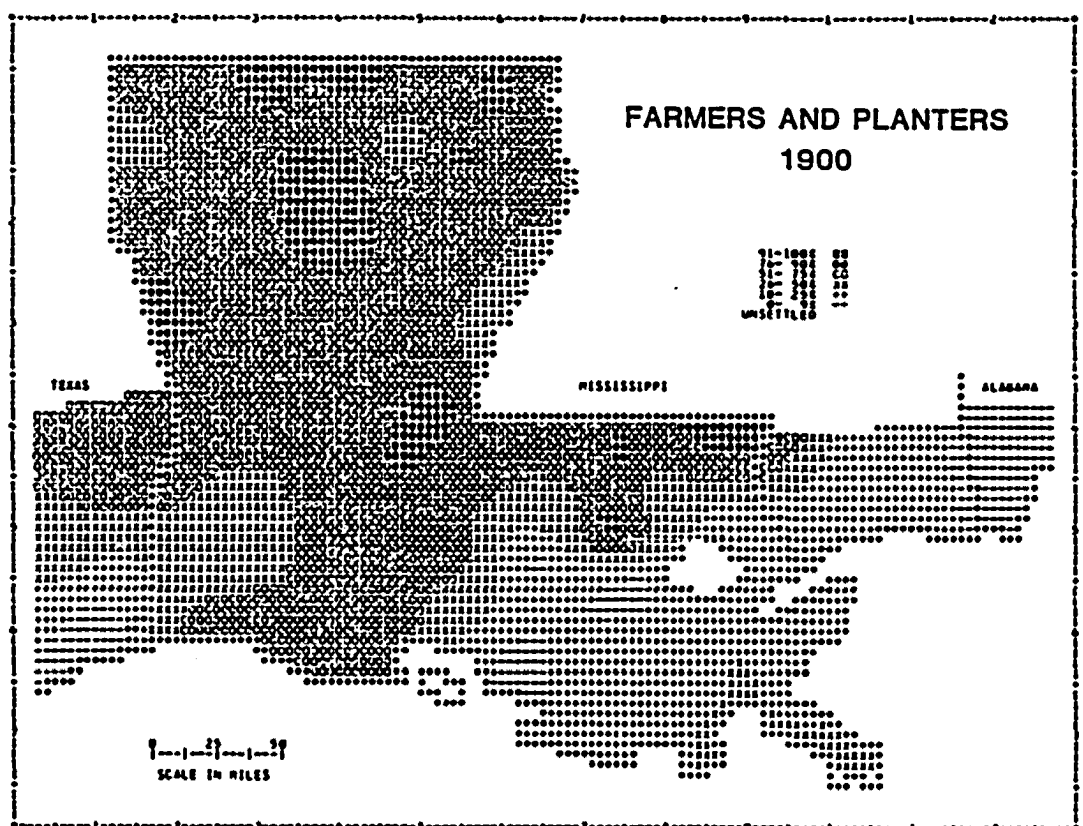


Fig. D-12. Farmers and Planters--1900

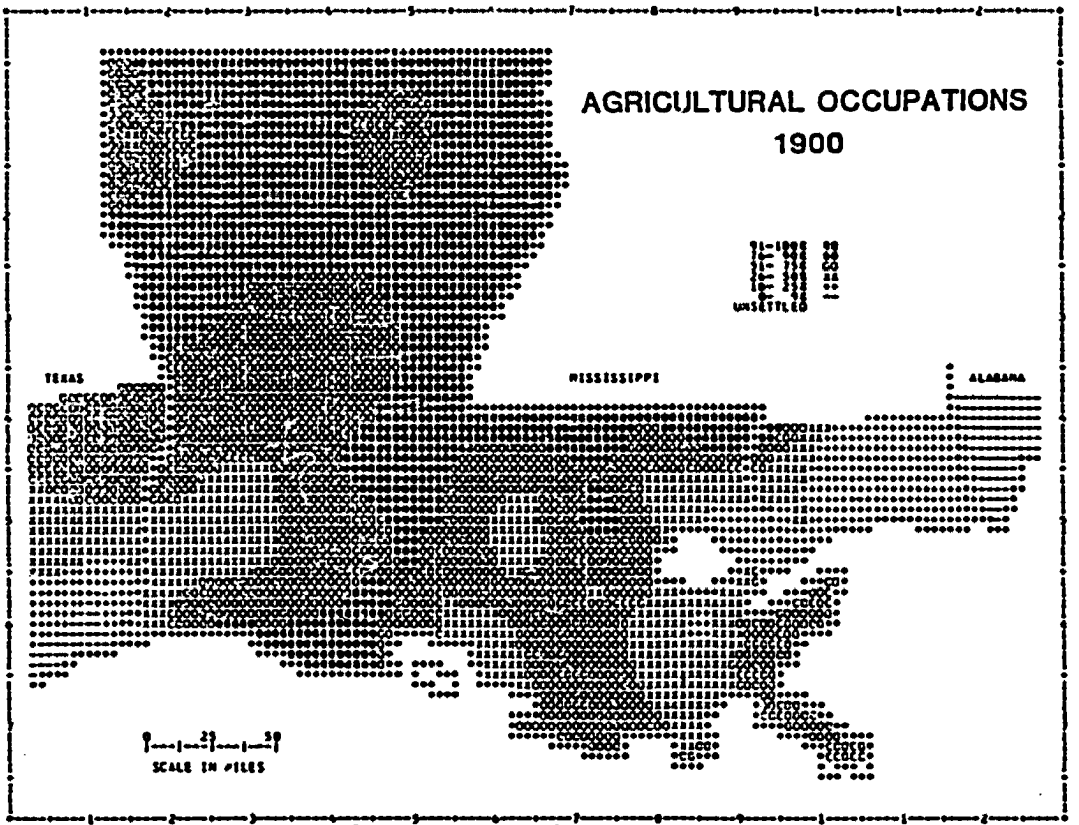


Fig. D-13. Agricultural Occupations—1900

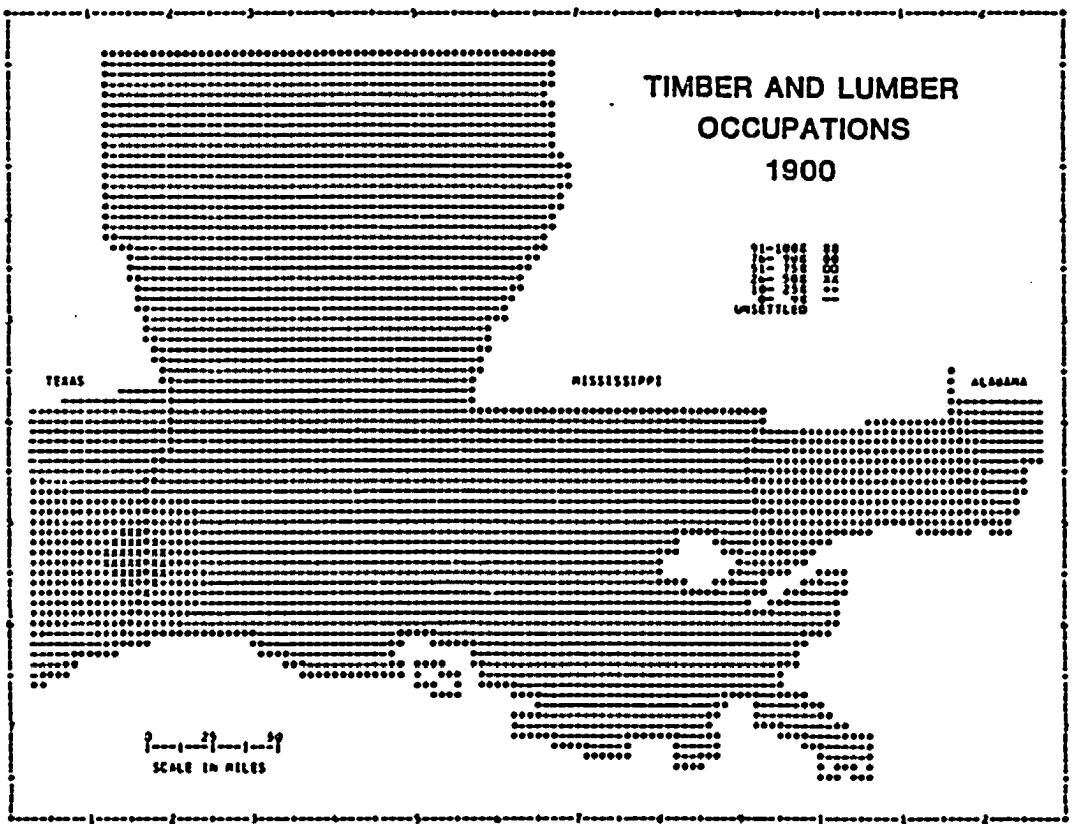


Fig. D-14. Timber and Lumber Occupations—1900

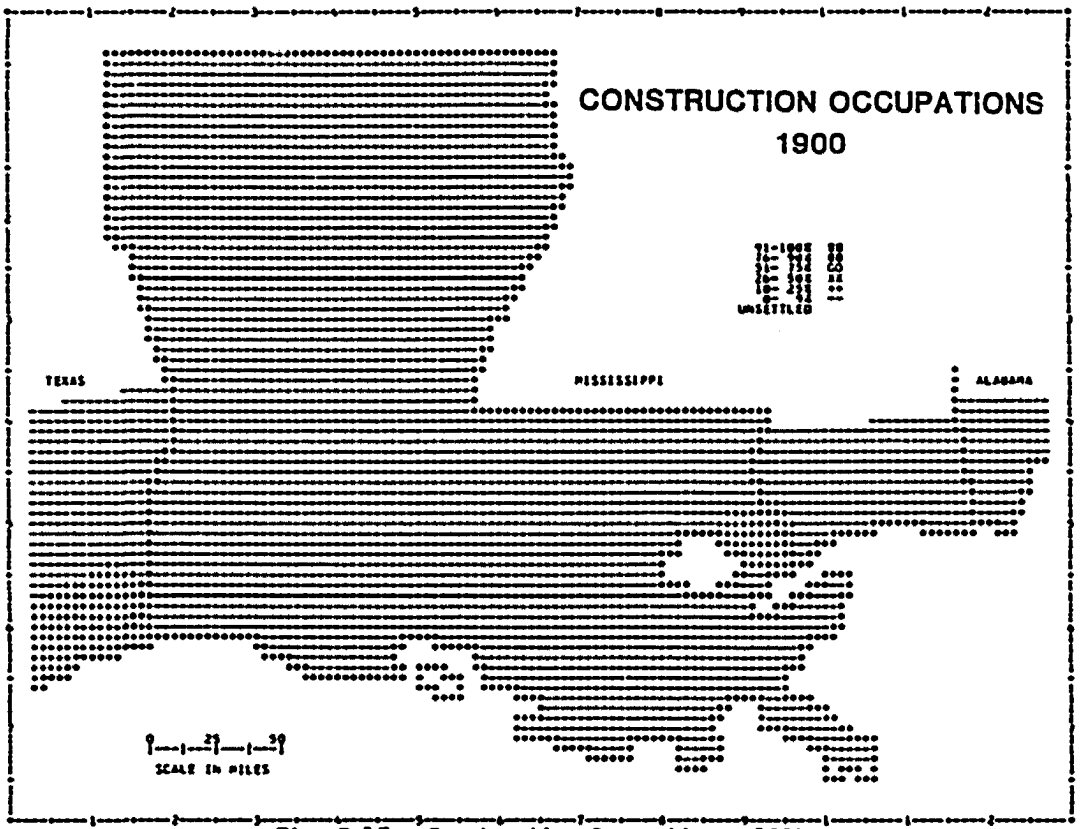


Fig. D-15. Construction Occupations--1900

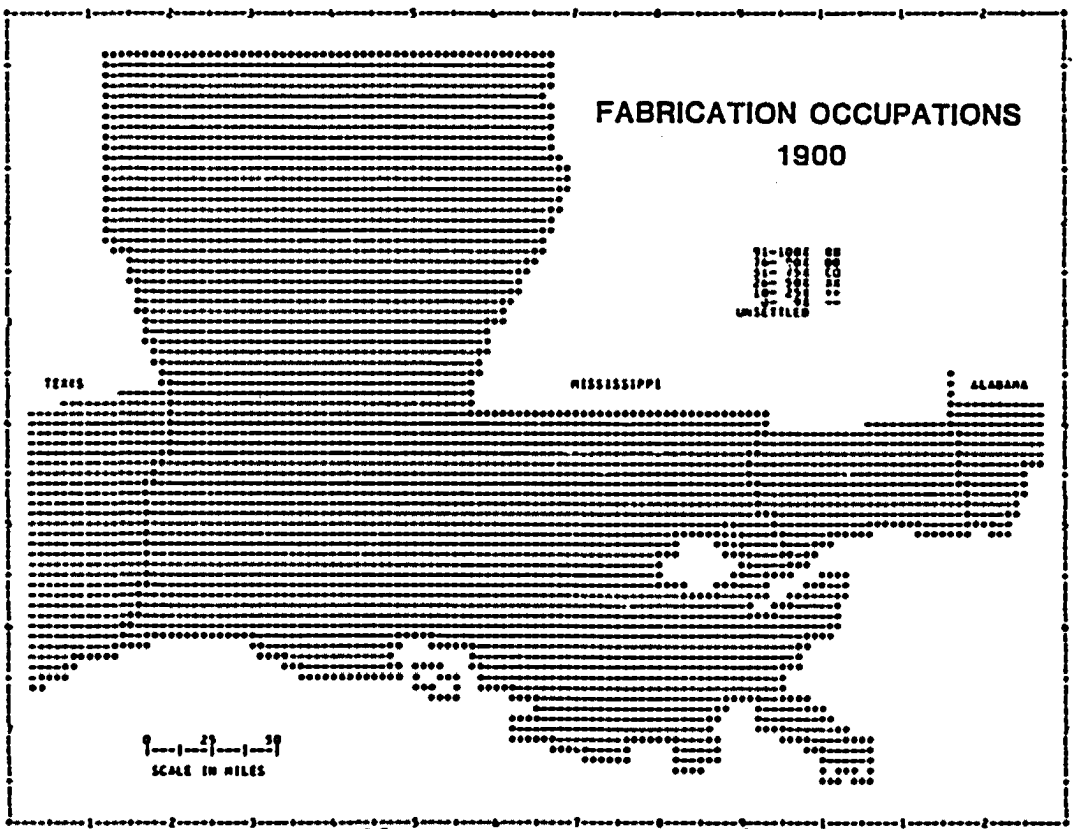


Fig. D-16. Fabrication Occupations--1900

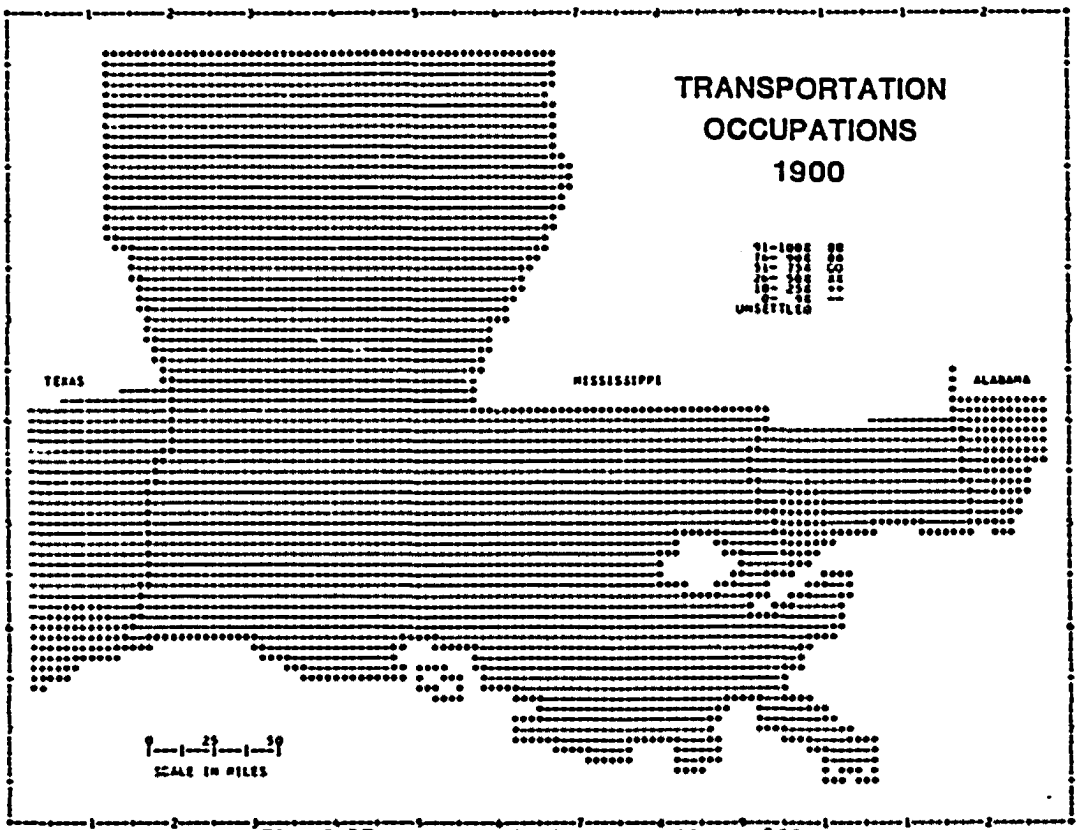


Fig. D-17. Transportation Occupations—1900

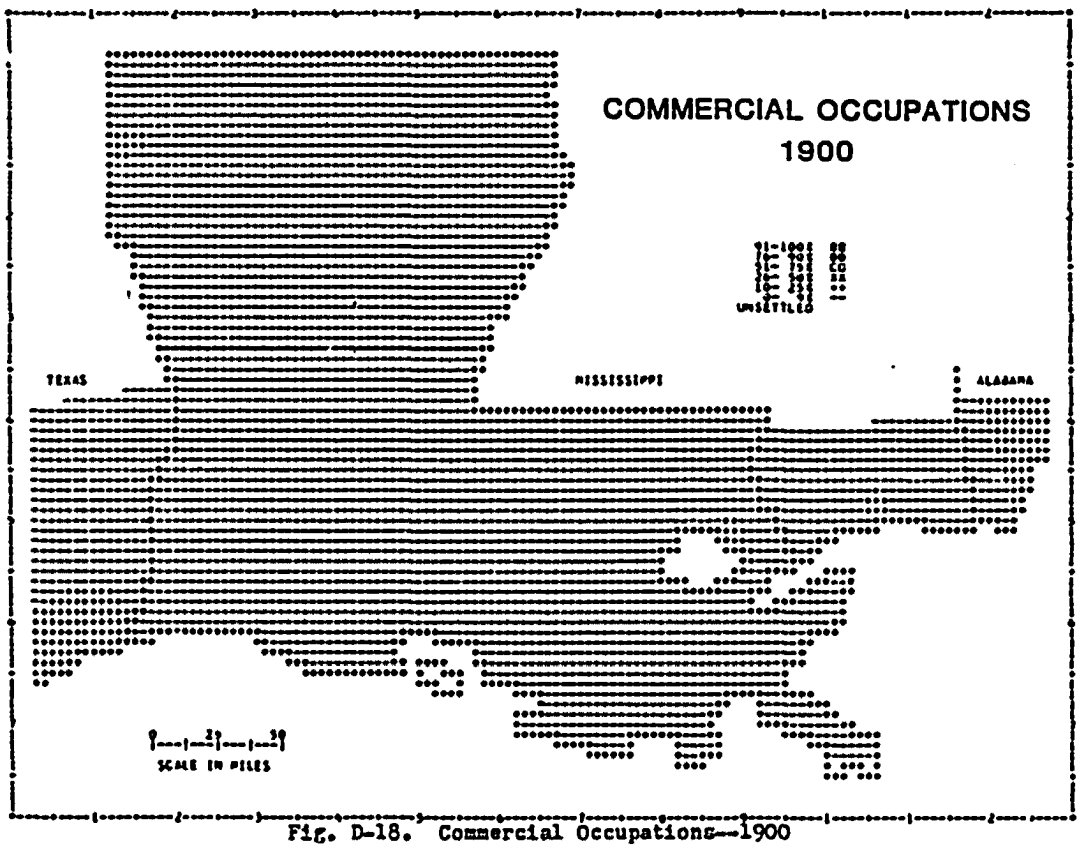


Fig. D-18. Commercial Occupations—1900

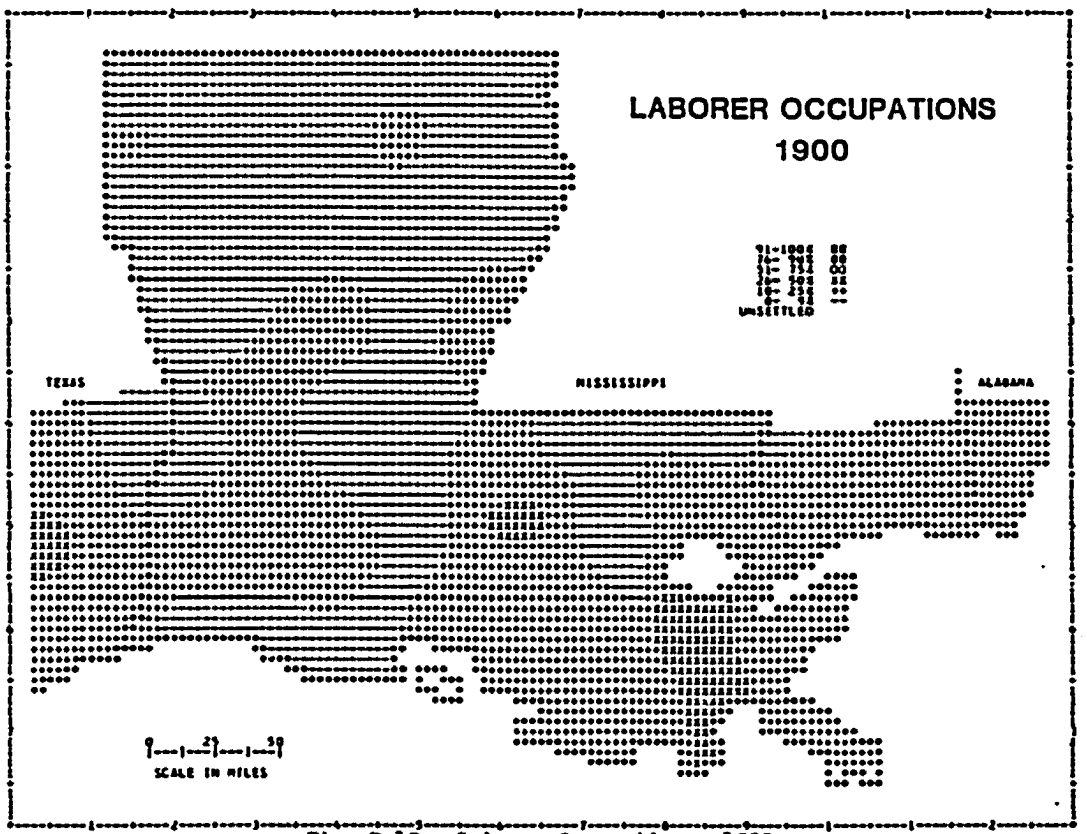


Fig. D-19. Laborer Occupations--1900

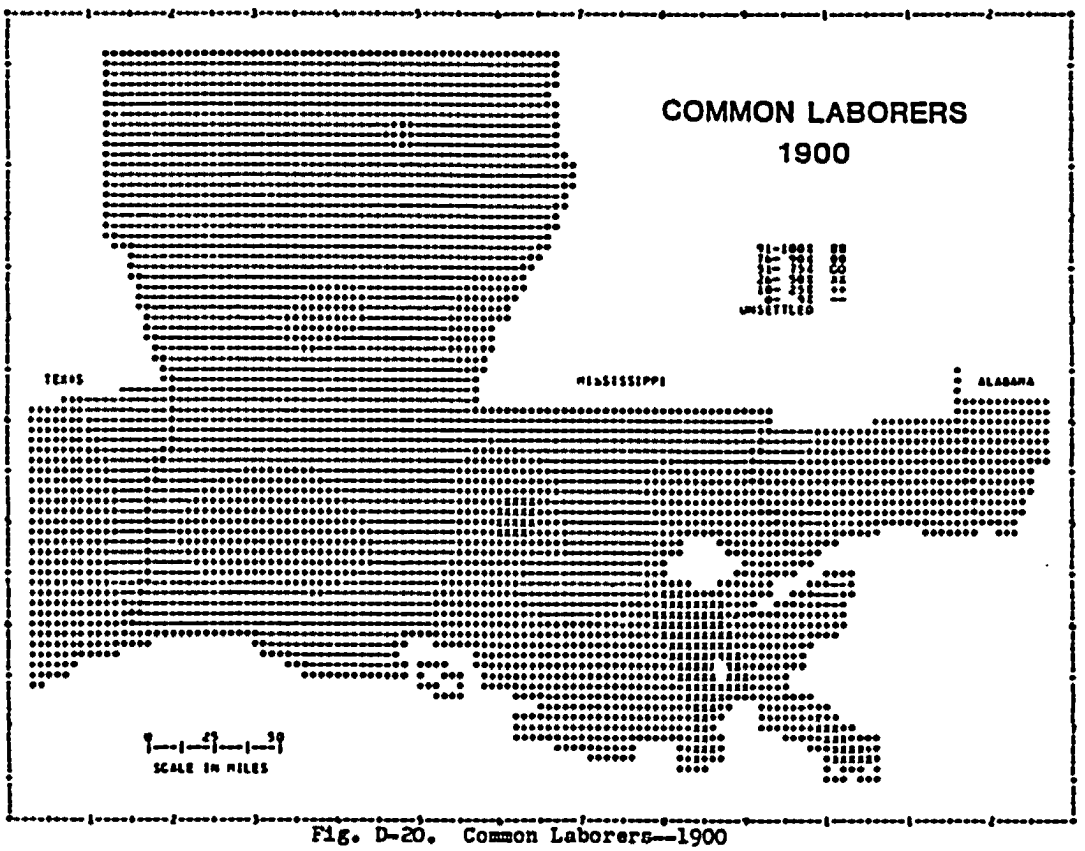


Fig. D-20. Common Laborers--1900

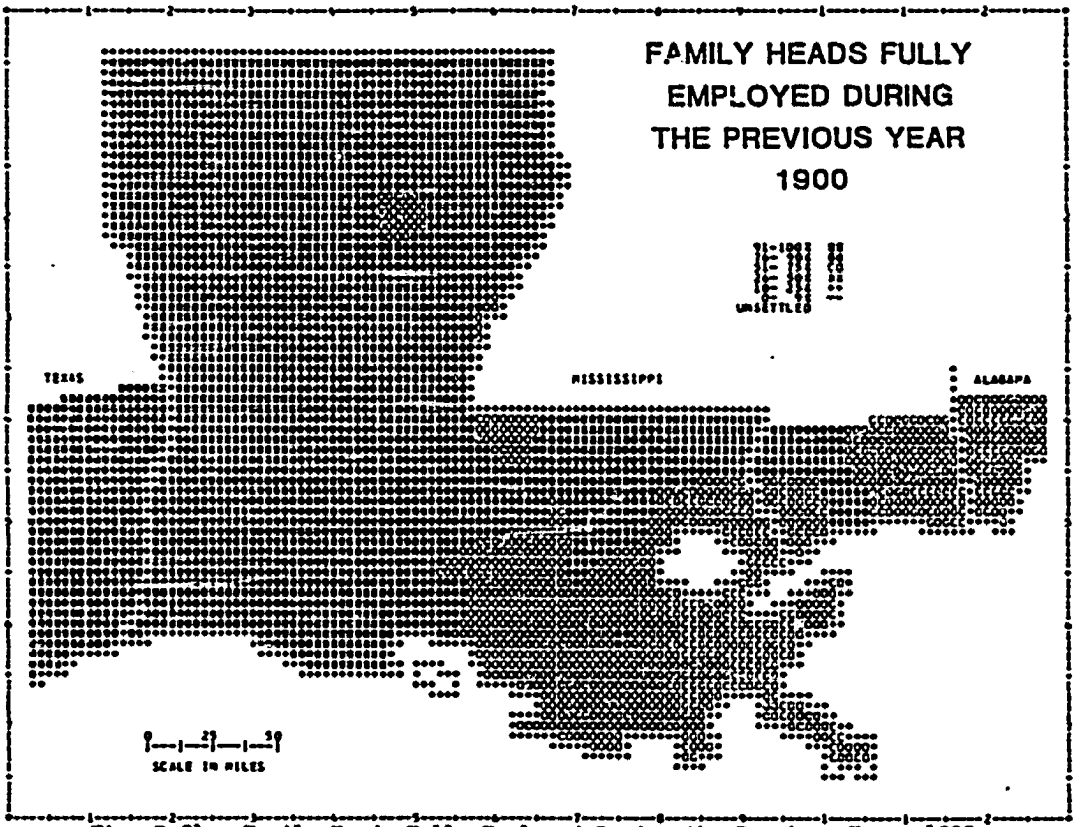


Fig. D-21. Family Heads Fully Employed During the Previous Year--1900

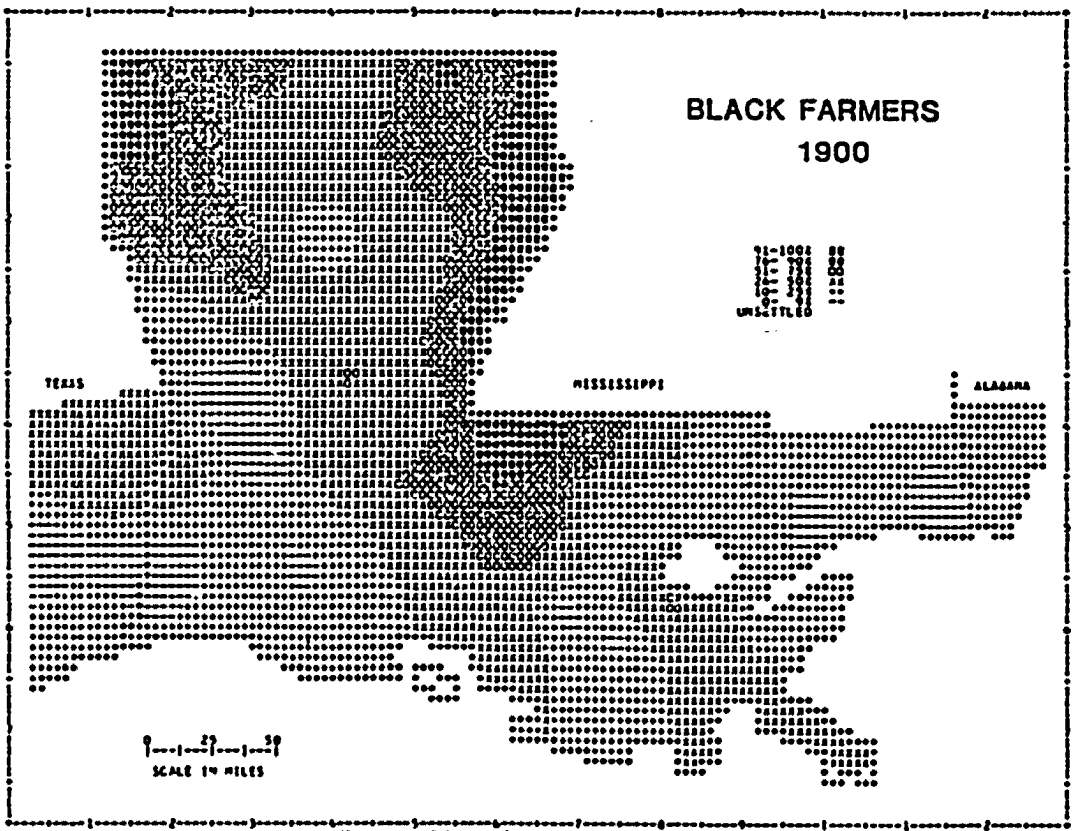


Fig. D-22. Black Farmers--1900

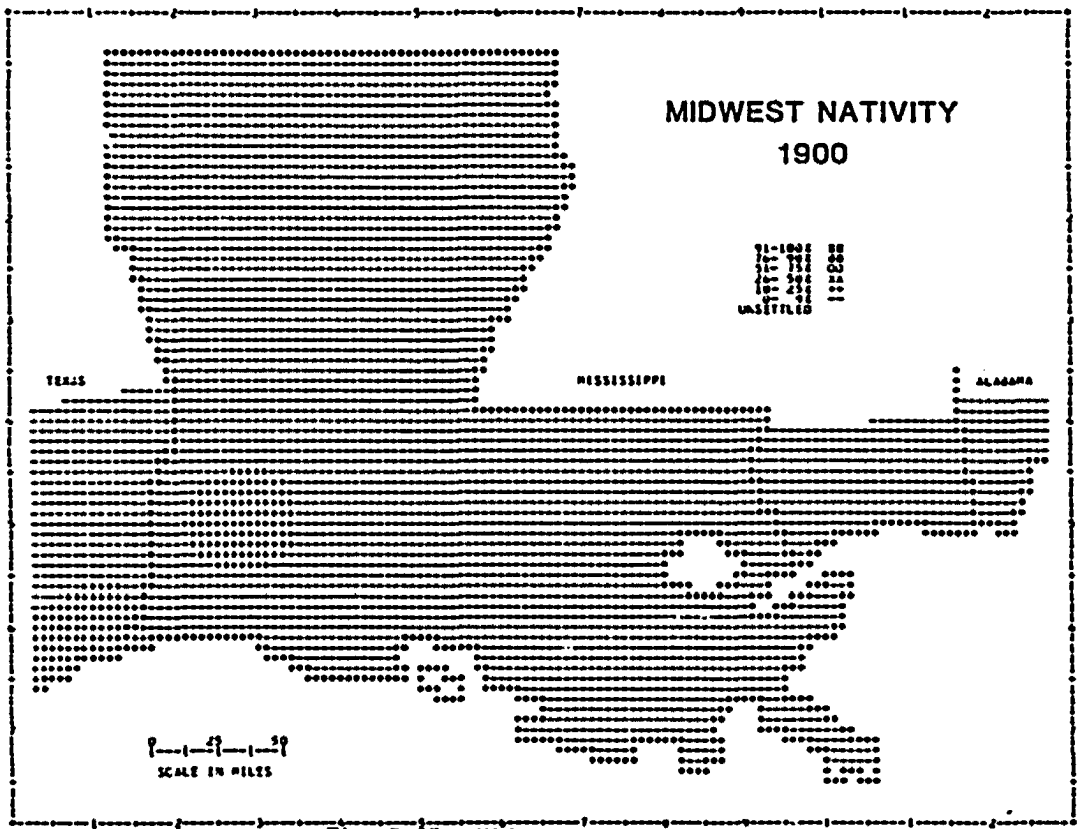


Fig. D-23. Midwest Nativity--1900

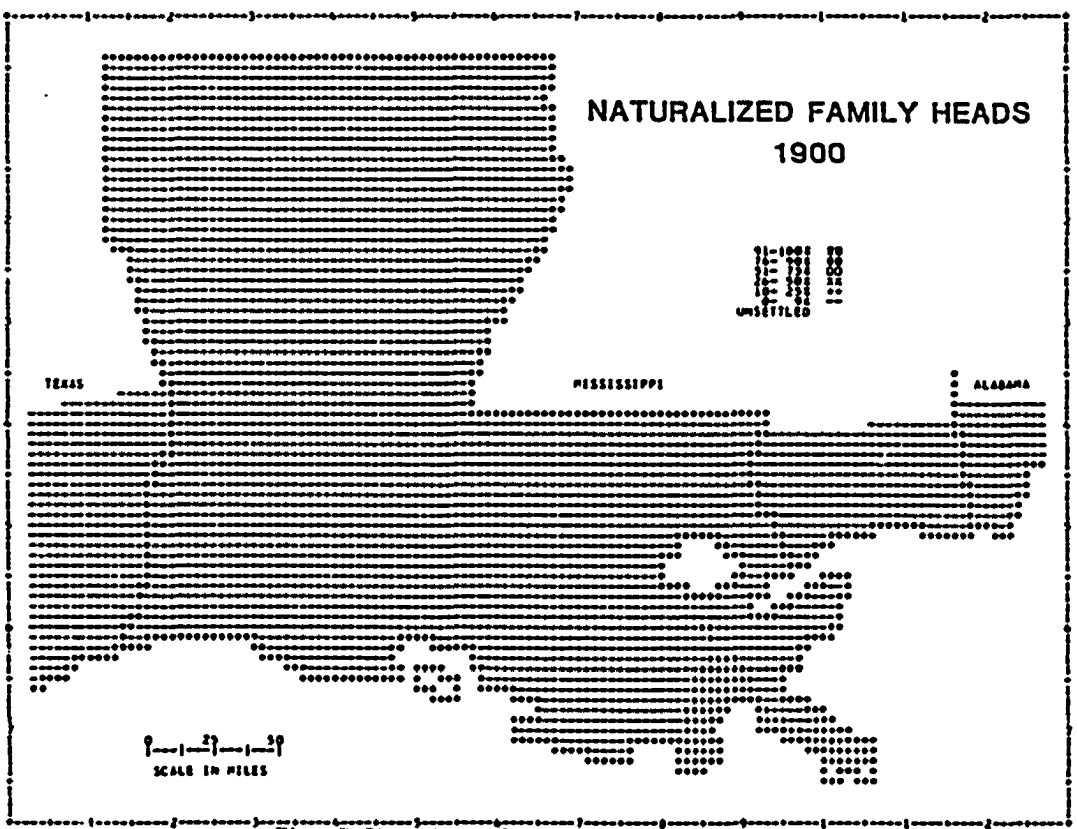


Fig. D-24. Naturalized Family Heads--1900

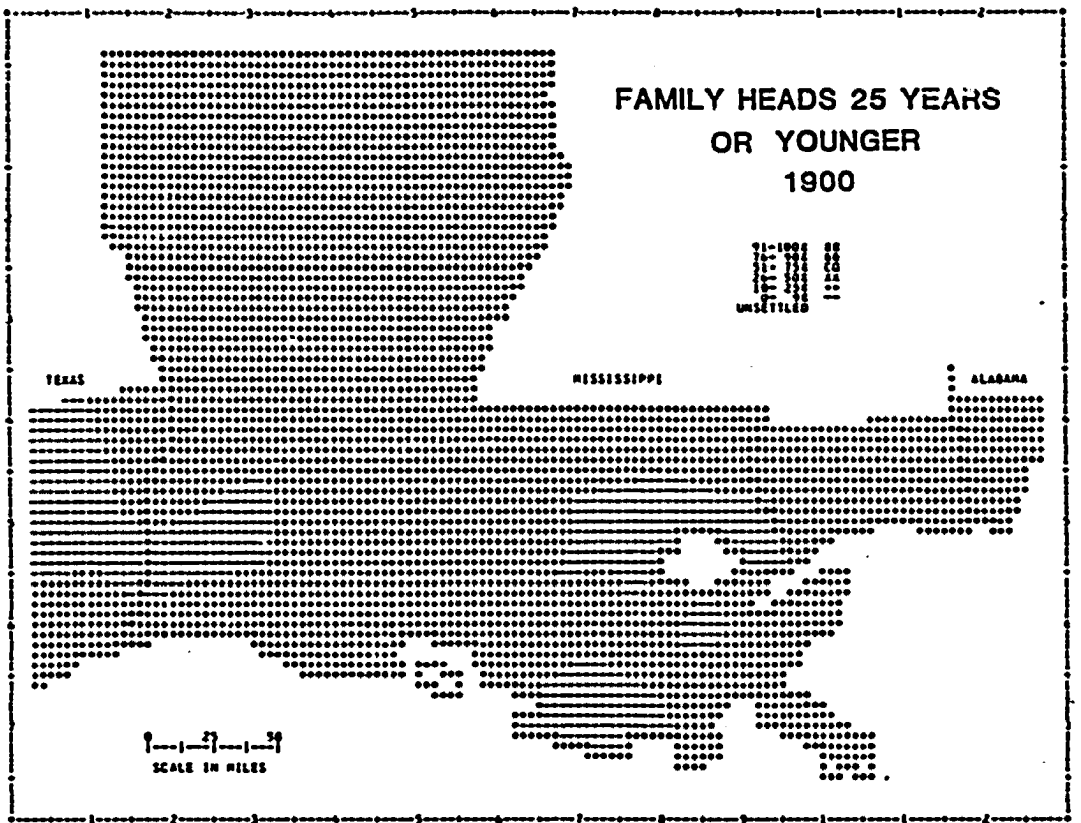


Fig. D-25. Family Heads Twenty-five Years or Younger--1900

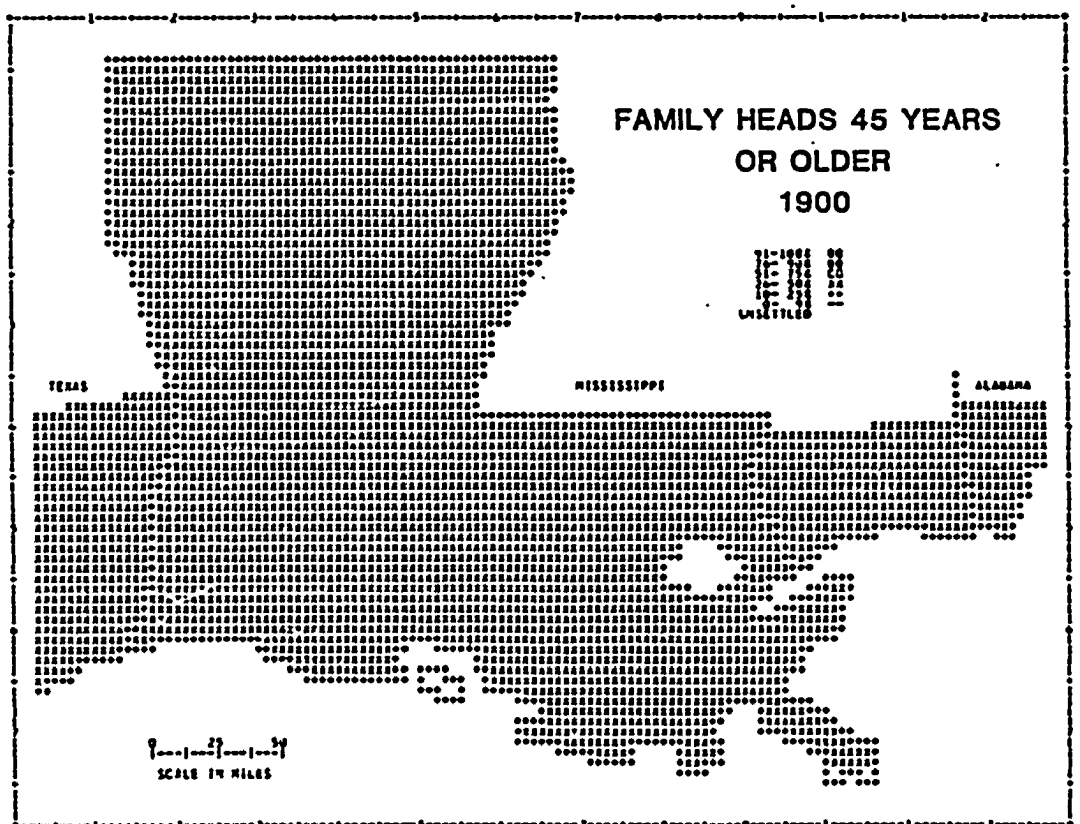


Fig. D-26. Family Heads Forty-five Years or Older--1900

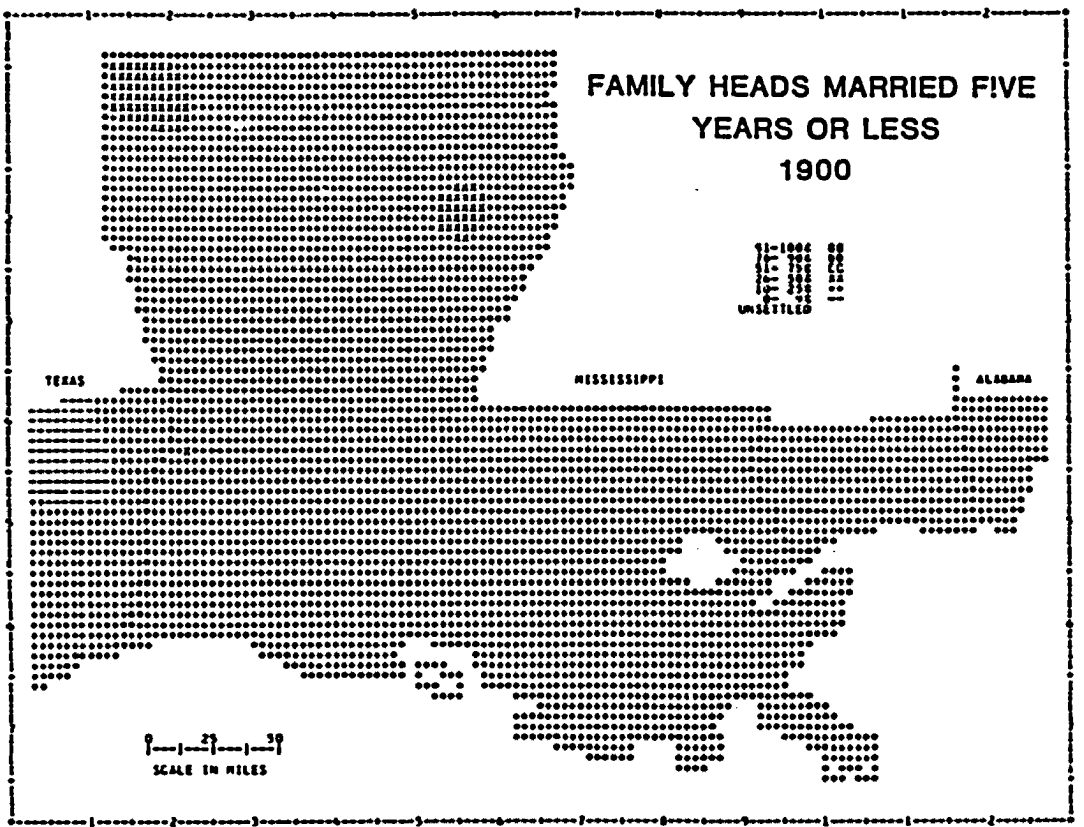


Fig. D-27. Family Heads Married Five Years or Less--1900

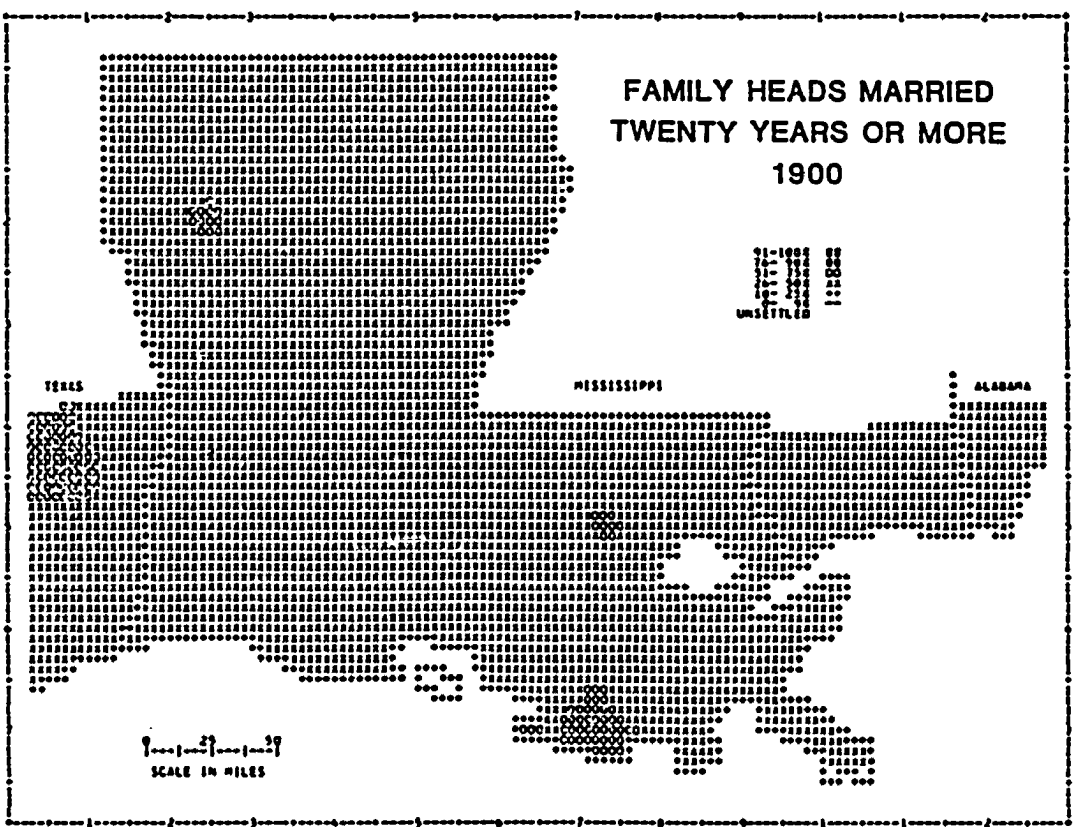


Fig. D-28. Family Heads Married Twenty Years or More--1900

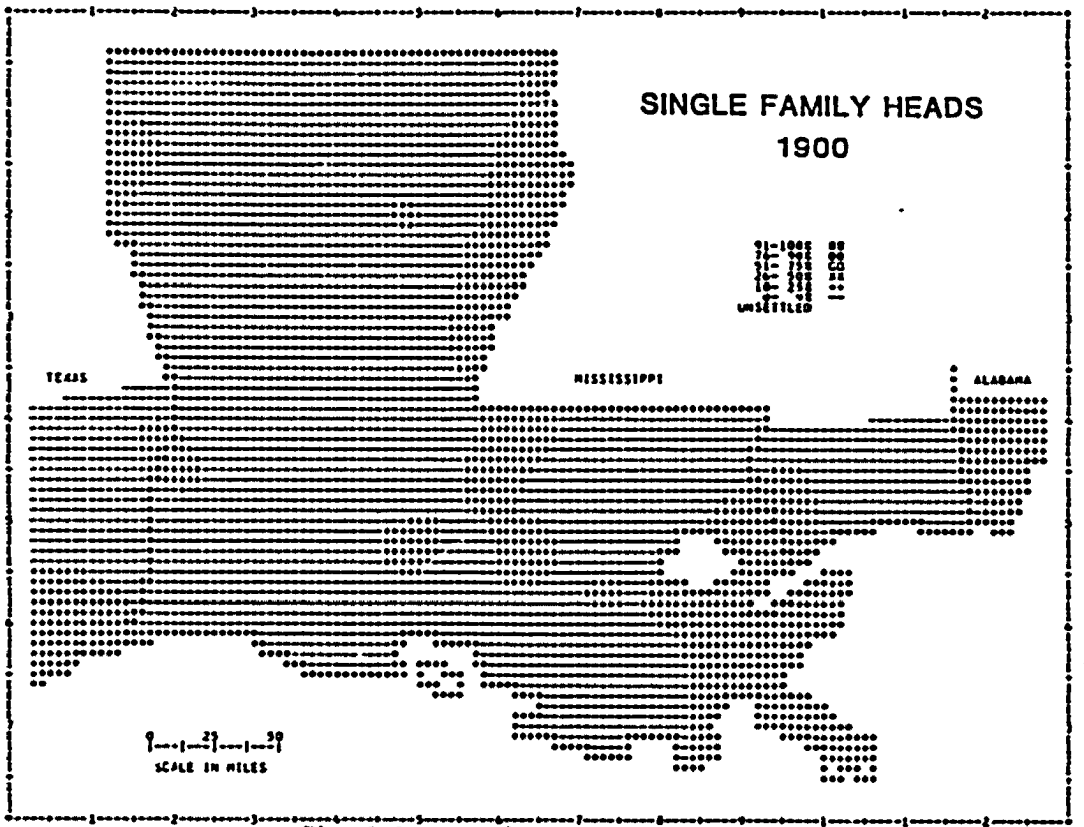


Fig. D-29. Single Family Heads--1900

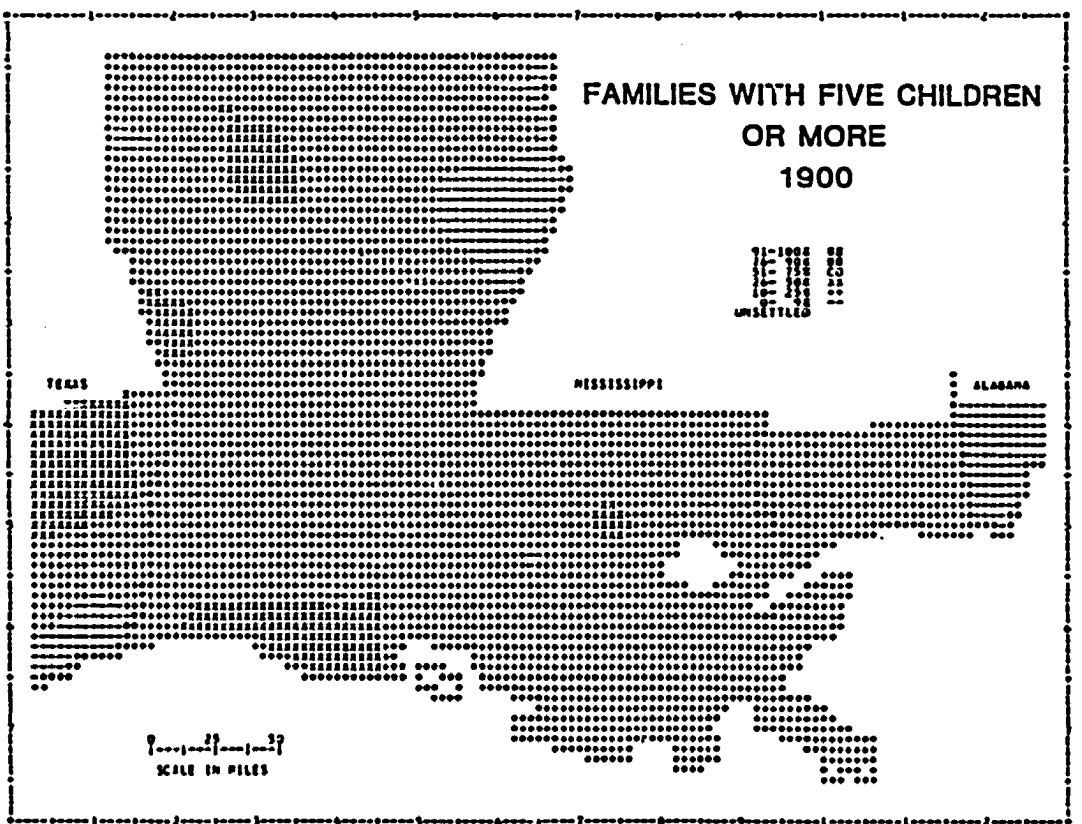


Fig. D-30. Families with Five Children or More--1900

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