

PRESERVING SPORTSMAN'S PARADISE:
PRESERVATION TAKES FLIGHT AT SOUTH LOUISIANA'S DUCK HUNTING CAMPS

by

MARIA RACHAL

(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

Since their arrival in Louisiana, the Cajuns have had a unique connection to the landscape. Despite shifts in culture over the years, the Cajuns have always held on to this connection. One of the places where this connection is most obvious today is the duck hunting camp in the Acadiana region of South Louisiana. This thesis examines whether these camps could be considered historical resources and the implications for the preservation of intangible Cajun culture if these camps are to be recognized.

INDEX WORDS: Louisiana, Acadiana, Cajuns, Historic Preservation, Intangible Cultural Heritage, Hunting, Ducks, Camps

PRESERVING SPORTSMAN'S PARADISE:
PRESERVATION TAKES FLIGHT AT SOUTH LOUISIANA'S DUCK HUNTING CAMPS

by

MARIA RACHAL

B.A., University of Louisiana, 2014

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2018

© 2018

Maria Rachal

All Rights Reserved

PRESERVING SPORTSMAN'S PARADISE:
PRESERVATION TAKES FLIGHT AT SOUTH LOUISIANA'S DUCK HUNTING CAMPS

by

MARIA RACHAL

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Major Professor: | Cari Goetcheus |
| Committee: | Mark Reinberger |
| | Virginia Nazarea |
| | Jessica Richardson |

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2018

DEDICATION

Pour mon grandpère, Papa Oscar. They say you have to be crazy to be a duck hunter.
You might just be the craziest of them all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to all the camp owners and camp members of Tropical Gardens Gun Club, The Red Camp, Hard Times Camp, and the Delacroix Hilton who let me visit their camps and who shared their love of these places with me. A special thanks to Taylor and Randy McCaulley, Kerryn Liebkeman, and Steve Fourrier for sharing their stories with me through interviews. This thesis could not have been done without the help of my terrific advisor, Cari Goetcheus. Thanks for all of your help, suggestions, and advice along the way. I also must thank my committee, Dr. Reinberger, Dr. Nazarea, and Jessica Richardson, for lending their expertise to the project. Lastly, thanks to my parents for supporting me throughout graduate school. And a special thanks to my dad, Paul, for helping to make my dreams of researching duck hunting camps a reality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| LIST OF FIGURES | viii |
| CHAPTER | |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Methodology | 3 |
| Limitations/Delimitation | 5 |
| Organization of Thesis | 6 |
| 2 BACKGROUND RESEARCH | 7 |
| Louisiana and the Cajuns | 7 |
| Recognizing Historic Resources | 31 |
| Duck Hunting Camps in Louisiana | 42 |
| 3 ACADIANA DUCK HUNTING CAMP CASE STUDY SITES | 64 |
| Criteria for Choosing the Case Study Sites | 64 |
| Case Study Data Collection Methodology | 66 |
| Case Study Site Descriptions | 68 |
| Tropical Gardens Gun Club | 68 |
| The Red Camp | 88 |
| Hard Times Camp | 105 |
| The Delacroix Hilton | 123 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 4 | ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS | 137 |
| | Examples of Camp Nominations on the National Register | 138 |
| | Acadiana’s Duck Hunting Camps Significance..... | 142 |
| | Integrity of Acadiana’s Duck Hunting Camps..... | 148 |
| | Challenges of Nominating these Properties to the National Register..... | 157 |
| | Challenges of Preserving these Camps Long Term..... | 158 |
| | Answering the Research Question | 161 |
| 5 | CONCLUSION..... | 163 |
| | REFERENCES | 168 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Figure 1: The North-South Boundary line on the map forms northern boundary of the French Triangle in South Louisiana which includes the cities of Lafayette and New Orleans (http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/creole_maps.html) | 9 |
| Figure 2: Pie Chart of Race and Population in Louisiana. Data taken from the 2010 Census Data (https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/guidestloc/st22_la.html) | 10 |
| Figure 3: A traditional Cajun Cottage with an exterior stairway leading to a garçonnaire (http://www.lettersfromabus.com/114CajunCreoleCountry/Images114/32BeauBassin_sm.jpg) | 17 |
| Figure 4: The Acadiana Region encompasses 22 parishes in Southern Louisiana (https://louisianastudies.louisiana.edu/node/164) | 24 |
| Figure 5: The Flag of Acadiana represents the vast influences - French, Spanish, and Catholic - on Acadiana culture. (https://library.louisiana.edu/news-events/news/20151119/did-you-know-ul-lafayette-and-acadiana-flag) | 24 |
| Figure 6: The five tourism regions of Louisiana (https://www.crt.state.la.us/louisiana-state-parks/news-activities/calendar-of-events/index) | 26 |
| Figure 7: The Cross at the Acadian Memorial in St. Martinville, LA is a replica of the Deportation Cross at Grand Pre in Nova Scotia (http://www.acadianmemorial.org/the-deportation-cross.php) | 28 |
| Figure 8: The image of a cross between the antlers of a deer was first seen by St. Hubert in Germany and subsequently became the logo of Jagermeister. (https://www.jagermeister.com/en/) | 44 |
| Figure 9: The 2017-2018 Migratory Bird Hunting and Conservation stamp continues to fund protection of wildlife habitat (https://www.fws.gov/birds/get-involved/duck-stamp.php) 50 | |
| Figure 10: A duck blind on Miller's Lake in Vidrine, LA, is made to blend in with the natural environment (photo by author) | 56 |
| Figure 11: Location of the four case study sites in relation to each other (map generated by author using Google Maps)..... | 65 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 12: Map of Tropical Gardens Gun Club in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps) | 69 |
| Figure 13: A satellite view of Tropical Gardens shows the main camp building under tree cover with the duck plucking and storage shed to its north (Google Maps)..... | 70 |
| Figure 14: The large semi-circle driveway provides parking for the many pickup trucks (photo by author) | 70 |
| Figure 15: Tropical Gardens is surrounded by flat agricultural fields to its north (photo by author) | 71 |
| Figure 16: The south elevation of the main camp building (photo by author) | 72 |
| Figure 17: The bunk room of Tropical Gardens (photo by author) | 74 |
| Figure 18: The dormitory style bathroom of Tropical Gardens (photo by author)..... | 74 |
| Figure 19: The duck plucking and storage shed at Tropical Gardens (photo by author)..... | 75 |
| Figure 20: The duck plucker machine (photo by author) | 76 |
| Figure 21: The southwest elevation of the boathouse (photo by author)..... | 77 |
| Figure 22: The interior of the boathouse looking northeast (photo by author)..... | 77 |
| Figure 23: The original cleaning table is still attached to the wall on the east side of the primary camp building | 79 |
| Figure 24: The primary outdoor area of the camp is the front yard, south of the main camp building (photo by author) | 79 |
| Figure 25: Scattered about the landscape are remnants of old farming equipment (photo by author)..... | 80 |
| Figure 26: The founding charter of Tropical Gardens Gun Club | 81 |
| Figure 27: An image by artist Carol Hurst of the Tropical Gardens Bar in New Roads, LA, the namesake for Tropical Gardens Gun Club (https://www.redbubble.com/people/carolhurst/works/6544985-tropical-gardens-1930s-1978) | 82 |
| Figure 28: The blind rotation schedule for the 2017-2018 hunting season (photo by author) | 84 |
| Figure 29: A map of the duck blinds used by Tropical Gardens (photo by author) | 85 |
| Figure 30: The kitchen has a large stove and many seasonings because cooking and eating well are a large part of camp life (photo by author) | 86 |

Figure 31: More than anything, the camp is about camaraderie. Here members of Tropical Gardens pose with their kill after a hunt (photo courtesy of Tropical Gardens Gun Club)87

Figure 32: Map of The Red Camp in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps) ...88

Figure 33: The Red Camp as seen from satellite view (Google Maps)89

Figure 34: The Red Camp is accessed by a set of stairs going up the levee (photo by author).....90

Figure 35: The Red Camp is located near many other duck hunting camps on the south edge of Millers Lake (photo by author).....90

Figure 36: The Red Camp as seen from the east looking west (photo by author).....92

Figure 37: The interior as seen in the bunkroom is wood paneled with linoleum floors (photo by author).....93

Figure 38: The south elevation of the boathouse at The Red Camp (photo by author).....94

Figure 39: The interior of the boathouse at The Red Camp (photo by author)94

Figure 40: The porch wraps around the east and north elevation (photo by author)95

Figure 41: The cleaning sink on the porch is used for ducks, fish, frogs, etc. (photo by author)..96

Figure 42: Large trees grow within Millers Lake (photo by author)97

Figure 43: Archaeological resources found on site may be from the Attakapa Tribe (photo by author).....97

Figure 44: Looking north from the deck are views of Milers Lake (photo by author).....98

Figure 45: La Butte was the first camp built on Millers Lake. It still exists but is very difficult to access (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)99

Figure 46: An image of JS Gus Miller, creator Millers Lake and ancestor of the McCaulley family (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)99

Figure 47: An artistic rendering of The Red Camp of what it looked like when it was still red (artwork by Taylor McCaulley)100

Figure 48: The "red" of The Red Camp still exists on the porch ceiling (photo by author).....101

Figure 49: Hunting runs in the family. Here, Taylor McCaulley and her grandmother, Mama Jo, chat on the porch (photo by author)102

Figure 50: Coming to the camp is a tradition passed down through the generations. Here, a young Taylor McCaulley poses with her fishing gear on the porch (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)103

Figure 51: Hunters pose with the different animals they killed in front of La Butte proving that "if it moves, we'll kill it" (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)104

Figure 52: Map of Hard Times Camp in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)...105

Figure 53: Accessing Hard Times Camp can only be done by going down a series of dirt roads (photo by author).....106

Figure 54: Hard Times Camp is located in a heavily forested flood plain (photo by author)107

Figure 55: Hard Times Camp as seen from the northwest looking southeast. The bathroom of the 1980 camp is visible in the foreground. (photo by author).....108

Figure 56: The kitchen is along the north and west wall of the interior (photo by author)109

Figure 57: The bunkbeds come from the previous version of the camp and were purchased at the army surplus store (photo by author)110

Figure 58: The stove/fireplace of the former camp still stands in place along with its west wall and bathroom (photo by author).....111

Figure 59: The porch on the north elevation is the primary outdoor space (photo by author)112

Figure 60: There are many lakes and bayous within walking distance of Hard Times Camp (photo by author).....113

Figure 61: The original refrigeration system was a screened in box nailed to a tree (photo by author).....114

Figure 62: The 1981 camp was of an ephemeral nature, made of cardboard, cypress, and tin (photo courtesy of Rachal family)115

Figure 63: Figure 63: The interior of the 1981 camp (photo courtesy of Rachal family)116

Figure 64: Until 1995, there was no interior bathroom at Hard Times Camp so this outdoor toilet made do (photo courtesy of Rachal family)117

Figure 65: Setting out decoys is part of the hunt (photo courtesy of Rachal family)118

Figure 66: The blinds at Hard Times Camp are made to provide an additional layer of camouflage (photo courtesy of Rachal family).....119

Figure 67: Paul Rachal shows off his kill to his father Oscar Rachal visit after a hunt in December 2017 (photo by author)120

Figure 68: Hunting runs in the Rachal blood with newer generations such as Brad Rachal, Paul’s son, taking up the sport (photo courtesy of Rachal family).....120

Figure 69: One of the best parts of going to Hard Times Camp is getting to be outdoors where you might not see someone else for days (photo courtesy of Rachal family).....121

Figure 70: Map of The Delacroix Hilton in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)..123

Figure 71: The Delacroix Hilton as seen from satellite view (Google Maps)124

Figure 72: The Delacroix Hilton as seen from the water looking southwest (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....125

Figure 73: The bunkbeds are built in to the wall at all four corners of the main building (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....126

Figure 74: The kitchen is in the center of the main building (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman)126

Figure 75: There has always been an outhouse at The Delacroix Hilton (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....127

Figure 76: The grill on the porch is where many good meals are cooked (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....128

Figure 77: The flat marsh landscape surrounds The Delacroix Hilton, seen here after a storm (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....129

Figure 78: "Da Camp" as seen in a family photo album dates to the 1950s.....130

Figure 79: Bobby Liebkeman and his brother, seen here on the porch, founded the camp in 1955 (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....131

Figure 80: The camp under construction in 1955 (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman)131

Figure 81: The camp has been rebuilt many times over the years but always in the same spot (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman).....132

Figure 82: Despite changes in technology throughout the years, duck hunting remains a constant at The Delacroix Hilton (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)133

Figure 83: Coming to the camp is about more than hunting; it's about camaraderie and doing what you enjoy (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman).....135

Figure 84: Coming to the camp is a family affair. Generations of the Liebkeman family have come to the camp. Here Bobby poses with his kids and grandkids on the deck (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)136

Figure 85: Indian Fields unique layout reflects its use as a religious campground (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail/8e4cee3b-887d-4e18-944b-6def298c0670?branding=NRHP>)139

Figure 86: Tansy Island Hunting Club has long played a role in Mississippi's hunting culture. Here hunters pose on the porch in the 1920s (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/9af145f7-a2c7-489d-afe2-a8b7571b29b9?branding=NRHP>).....140

Figure 87: A photos of duck hunters at La Butte in 1942. Duck hunting has been an important form of recreation in Louisiana's history (Photo courtesy of McCaulley family)143

Figure 88: In addition to primary camp buildings, the landscape including the duck blinds also contribute to the significance of Acadiana's duck hunting camps (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman).....144

Figure 89: The duck hunting camp is an institution in Cajun Culture. Here, people relax after a hunt at La Butte in the 1940s (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)145

Figure 90: The Red Camp's setting on Miller's Lake has remained relatively unchanged since the 1950s when this aerial image was taken (photo courtesy of the McCaulley family) 149

Figure 91: The Liebkeman has always constructed, and reconstructed, The Delacroix Hilton themselves (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman).....151

Figure 92: Technology has made it possible for those at The Delacroix Hilton to go for a hunt in the morning and catch the game that night on their satellite television which has changed the overall feeling of the camp (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)....152

Figure 93: The intangible tradition of duck hunting is constantly recreated and passed from generation to generation at Acadiana's duck hunting camps (photo courtesy of Tropical Gardens Gun Club).....154

Figure 94: Despite all the changes that have occurred over the years, Acadiana's duck hunting camps keep traditions alive. Here, hunters pose at a camp on Millers Lake in the 1980s (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)156

Figure 95: Threats to preservation come from storms, flooding, and coastal erosion. Here The Delacroix Hilton is seen after being washed away by a storm (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebke)159

Figure 96: Despite changes in the culture, duck hunting is still being picked up by younger generations. At The Red Camp, a photo collage on the wall recognizes the newest member of the camp (photo courtesy of McCaulley family).....161

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In South Louisiana, the distinctive effects of a primarily French colonization have left lasting impressions on society. The remnants of this colonization remain in the language, the music, the food, the lifestyle of the people, the landscape, and the architecture. With so much to be proud of, Louisiana must work hard to preserve all that makes it unique.

The superstar of preservation success in Louisiana is New Orleans and it is easy to see why. From jazz music being played on the street corners to the smell of hot beignets wafting through the air, New Orleans rich culture seems to ooze through the very fabric of the city. The movement in New Orleans to save the French Quarter was one of the first historic preservation actions and ordinances in the United States.¹ While New Orleans continues to be a culturally rich city worthy of preservation, it does not contain the only unique culture in Louisiana. Creole culture is put on center stage in the city, while the rural areas of South Louisiana are better known for their Cajun culture.

Cajun culture could be considered the lesser known, yet equally important, little sister of Creole culture. Cajun culture in Louisiana dates to 1764 when groups of Acadians, settlers of French descent, began to arrive after having been expelled from Nova Scotia by the British in 1755.² Since their initial arrival in Louisiana, Cajuns have had a unique connection to the land

¹ “History of the Vieux Carré Commission,” City of New Orleans, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.nola.gov/vcc/about-us/>.

² Barry Jean Ancelet, Jay D. Edwards, and Glen Pitre, *Cajun Country* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 11.

which has greatly influenced aspects of their culture including their lifestyle and traditions. Cajun Culture thrived for many years in isolated, rural regions of the state but experienced a decline in the twentieth century as Americanization, caused in part by nationalist sentiments from the World Wars and the emergence of an American pop culture, led to a loss of the culture.³ By the end of the twentieth century, however, the culture began to experience a renaissance as Cajun people once again began to take pride in their culture and traditions.

The landscape of Louisiana is integral to Cajun culture. The origins of the Cajuns might be French by the way of Nova Scotia but in South Louisiana, the people adapted to the new landscape and therefore adapted their culture too. The intangible aspects of Cajun culture such as foodways, traditions, and music then are intrinsically linked to the swamp and marsh landscapes of South Louisiana. Rapid urbanization and commercialization of the cities and towns of the area in South Louisiana known as Cajun Country reveal that the rich cultural heritage is growing far from the land. Within the resurgence of the Cajun culture, there are steps that need to be taken to reestablish the connection of Cajun culture to the landscape which formed it. Not so far away from the suburbs and fast food chains taking over the region, the woods and marshes of South Louisiana remain virtually untouched by modernization. In these places off the beaten path, hunting and fishing remain an integral part of the lifestyle of the Cajun people.

In the recent resurgence of Cajun Culture, some major steps have been taken to preserve the lifestyle of the people. Most notably was the creation of the Council on the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) in the 1960s which has worked to preserve the French language. Another important aspect of the culture, the food, has thrived both in the state and

³ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xvi.

across the country and world though such companies as Tabasco and Popeyes. Yet when it comes to the landscapes and built environment, preservation seems to be lacking. While there are sites associated with Cajuns on the National Register of Historic Places, there has yet to be a context study done on this culture and the physical resources that represent it. And surprisingly in a state known as Sportsman's Paradise, there are no hunting or fishing camps listed on the National Register despite their historic and continued importance for the people of Louisiana. The preservation of these remote places, which still play a key role in the lives of Cajuns, could be a major step in the preservation of Cajun culture itself. All of these thoughts and concerns led to my research question:

Would recognizing South Louisiana's duck hunting camps as historic resources and physically preserving them as such assist in preserving intangible aspects of Cajun Culture?

Methodology

In order to answer the research question, a particular methodology will be used. This methodology will begin with background research on relevant topics and will be followed by identification of and visits to case study sites. The information gathered from the research and sites visits will then be analyzed into findings and conclusions. Topics that will be included in the background research include Louisiana (specifically South Louisiana and Acadiana), Cajun culture, intangible cultural heritage, preservation processes, and the history and traditions of hunting.

Beginning with the topics of Louisiana and the specifically South Louisiana, information such as geography, climate, population, etc. will be researched through government websites

such as Louisiana.gov as well as the website of the Lieutenant Governor who oversees the Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism. The history of Acadiana will be researched through works such as “From ‘Grand Derangement’ to Acadiana: History and Identity in the Landscape of South Louisiana” by Mark Rees. This article and others, as well as books on Cajun culture such as *Cajun Country* by Barry Ancelet, will provide further insight into the culture and history of the Cajun people.

Research on intangible cultural heritage begins with a study of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In addition to the text of the convention, works such as *Why Preservation Matters* by Max Page provide additional information that will be useful in understanding integrity and authenticity as it relates to intangible cultural heritage. Preservation processes for buildings and landscapes in the United States can best be understood through research on the National Historic Preservation Act as well as through a number of bulletins produced by the National Park Service including ones on the National Register of Historic Places and Cultural Landscapes.

The history and traditions of hunting will first be researched at a broad level studying works such as *Hunting and the American Imagination* by Daniel Herman. Research on the more specific category of duck hunting in Louisiana has yet to be done by academics. However, numerous “coffee table” type books have been published on the subject and contain important first hand narratives as well as photo documentation of these traditions. These books include *Wild Abundance* and *A Million Wings* by Susan Schadt and *Vanishing Paradise: Duck Hunting in the Louisiana Marsh* by Julia Sims. Cook books including Chef John Folse’s *After the Hunt* also provide valuable insight into the hunting tradition of Louisiana.

After a thorough research of these topics, four case study sites in Acadiana will be identified for study. Using case study sites is a valid research method used in fields from law and business to sociology and landscape architecture; a case study approach can help to describe and evaluate a place or a process.⁴ The criteria for choosing these sites will include the age of the hunting camps and their locations relative to each other as well as general accessibility to the researcher. As no other research has been done on duck camps in Louisiana, the hope is that by studying four different sites, the representative form of an Acadian duck camp can be identified. Once chosen, these sites will be visited and surveyed using the Louisiana Historic Resource inventory survey for architectural features. To understand the camps' landscape features, the National Park Service's cultural landscape methodology of identifying cultural landscape characteristics will be used. The camps' members will also be spoken with to gain a better understanding of the history and traditions associated with the site. After visiting the sites, the information gathered through the surveys and interviews will be analyzed in light of the background research in order to work towards an answer to the research question. This analysis will be aided by reviewing similar camp resources in other states that have been successfully recognized and preserved. Finally, conclusions will be drawn based on these analyses.

Limitation/Delimitations

This research will involve duck hunting camps of Acadiana. While other activities such as deer hunting or fishing may occur at these camps, the sites are primarily chosen for their association with duck hunting. A camp will be defined as a secondary home associated with hunting and not used as a primary residence. Acadiana is a twenty-two-parish region in the state

⁴ Mark Francis, "A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture," Landscape Architecture Foundation, last edited July 16, 1999, accessed March 9, 2018, <https://lafoundation.org/myos/my-uploads/2010/08/19/casestudymethod.pdf>.

of Louisiana; all camps chosen will be in or very close to this region. This research will also focus on Cajun culture which is different from Creole culture and other cultures in Louisiana due to its association with the Acadians of Nova Scotia.

Organization of Thesis

The thesis will be organized into five chapters beginning with this introductory chapter. The second chapter will focus on background research including an introduction to Louisiana, Acadiana, and Cajun Culture. The chapter will also include research on the ways in which historic resources are preserved and information on the history of hunting as well as traditions associated with duck hunting in Louisiana. The third chapter will focus on the case study sites chosen including the history and description of each site. The fourth chapter will analyze these case study sites identifying key tangible and intangible elements of these sites and comparing these sites to other comparable sites on the National Register. The closing chapter will be a conclusion reflecting on the findings of the previous chapter as well as making suggestions for future researchers.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

In this chapter, background research necessary for understanding how the research question will be answered is presented. The first part delves into necessary information concerning the state of Louisiana as well as background information about the Cajuns including their history, relation to the environment, distinctive aspects of their culture, the Cajuns in the 20th century, and the effect of tourism on this culture. This section concludes with what it means to be and who are the Cajuns today. The second section of this chapter focuses on historic resources, both tangible and intangible, as well as ways to preserve them and the challenges they face. The section also notes actions taken in Louisiana to preserve both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The last section of this chapter provides an overview of the history of hunting, including duck hunting in Louisiana, features of duck hunting camps in Louisiana, the importance of conservation at these camps, and the traditions associated with them.

Louisiana and the Cajuns

Louisiana

Native Americans have lived in the area that encompasses the present-day state of Louisiana for thousands of years. But it was not until 1682 that the colony of Louisiana was founded by the French when Robert Cavalier de la Salle claimed all the lands drained by the

Mississippi River for France.⁵ The French began to occupy that huge land mass with their first outpost in Natchitoches before subsequently establishing themselves at New Orleans.⁶

Developing the large territory proved difficult. Despite establishing settlements in places like Detroit and St. Louis, the critical mass of French colonists made the southernmost part of the Louisiana Territory home.⁷ French settlers arriving in Louisiana in the early eighteenth century complained of humidity, heat, and bugs, problems that still plague the state today.⁸ Those colonists officially became Americans in 1803 when Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States Government in a deal known as the Louisiana Purchase. The southernmost piece of the territory became the state of Louisiana in 1812.⁹

The descendants of the original French settlers called themselves Creoles meaning “local, home grown.”¹⁰ Creoles came to inhabit both rural plantations and urban areas, especially New Orleans.¹¹ Creoles were joined in Louisiana by other settlers, notably the Cajuns from Nova Scotia. Together the two groups, along with slaves from Africa and the West Indies, settled an area known as the French Triangle, an area that covers most of south Louisiana.¹² While the culture of south Louisiana was generally French, it was not a homogenous region as three sub regional groups developed unique cultures and languages including the Colonial French, Black Creoles, and Cajuns.¹³ Today though, there is very little pure linguistic or cultural stock as the

⁵ Barry Jean Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream: The Creoles and Cajuns in Louisiana,” *The French Review* 80, no. 6 (2007), 1236.

⁶ Philippe Oszuscik, “French Creoles on the Gulf Coast,” in *To Build in a New Land*, ed. Allen G. Noble (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 139.

⁷ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1236.

⁸ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xiii.

⁹ *Ibid*, xvi.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, xiv.

¹¹ Megan Farrell, “French Vernacular Homes of Acadiana: An Overview,” *Material Culture* 23, no. 3 (1991), 48.

¹² Oszuscik, “French Creoles on the Gulf Coast,” 139.

¹³ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1237.

groups have intermarried and blended over generations. These diverse groups make the cultural history of Louisiana as complex as the people who settled it.¹⁴

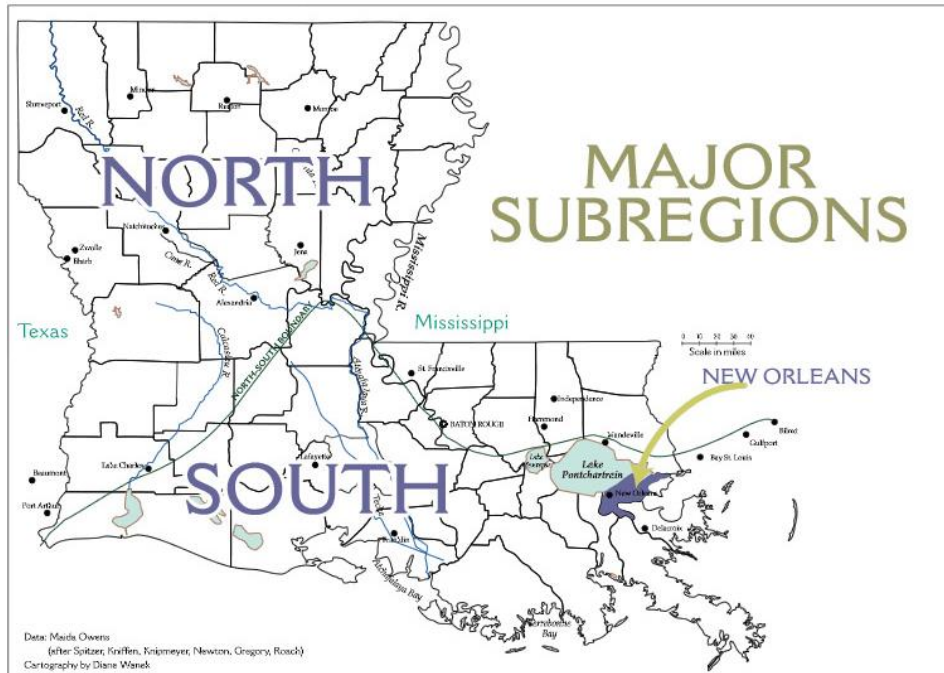


Figure 1: The North-South Boundary line on the map forms northern boundary of the French Triangle in South Louisiana which includes the cities of Lafayette and New Orleans (http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/creole_maps.html)

Today, the population of Louisiana includes over 4.5 million people.¹⁵ Despite being a largely agrarian state for most of its history, by 1950 much of the rural population had moved to urban areas for job opportunities, hence Louisiana became predominantly urban. Most of the urban population today lives in the greater New Orleans area along the Gulf Coast and in the capital of Baton Rouge, about sixty miles northwest of New Orleans. The current population is

¹⁴ Rocky L. Sexton, “Cajun Mardi Gras: Cultural Objectification and Symbolic Appropriation in a French Tradition,” *Ethology* 38, no. 4 (1999), 310.

¹⁵ “Guide to 2010 Census State and Local Geography – Louisiana,” Census.gov, Accessed January 22, 2018, https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/guidestloc/st22_la.html

fifty-nine percent white and thirty-two percent black with a small fraction of Asian and Hispanic residents.¹⁶

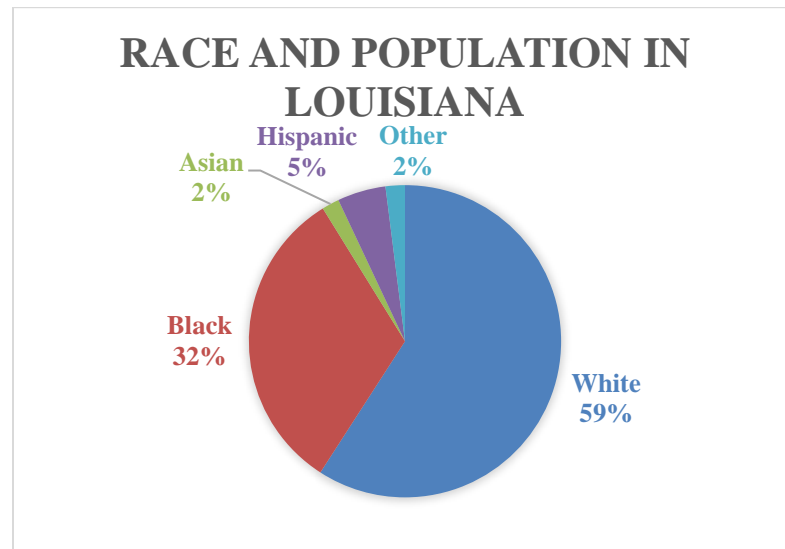


Figure 2: Pie Chart of Race and Population in Louisiana. Data taken from the 2010 Census Data (https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/guidestloc/st22_la.html)

Louisiana’s geography contributes to its unique landscape. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Louisiana is one of the southernmost states in the U.S, and its largest city, New Orleans, lies roughly on the same parallel as Cairo, Egypt and New Delhi, India. Louisiana’s subtropical climate is a result of its location on the Gulf of Mexico. Summers are hot and humid with frequent afternoon thunderstorms while winters are mild. Louisiana’s geographic location combined with its climate makes it subject to tropical storms and hurricanes; these storms in turn contribute to the erosion of Louisiana’s coastland. The erosion is a major problem with an area of coast the size of a football field being lost every hour.¹⁷ Storms are not the only cause of

¹⁶ “Quick Facts – Louisiana,” Census.gov, accessed January 29, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/LA>.

¹⁷ “Rising water is swallowing up the Louisiana coastline,” CBS News, last modified January 18, 2018, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/louisiana-coastline-disappearing-50-billion-dollars-to-save-climate-change-erosion/>.

erosion though; the system of levees constructed to control the flow of the Mississippi River protect the state from major floods but also prevent natural sediment deposition. The Atchafalaya River, and its flood basin to the west of the Mississippi River, continue to deposit sediments along the coast as it receives nearly twenty-five percent of the Mississippi's flow.¹⁸

Louisiana's physiography consists of three regions: lowlands, terraces, and hills. Most of south Louisiana is in the lowland region including coastal marshes and the Mississippi Floodplain. The soil in this region is from alluvium deposited by the overflowing of rivers and bayous. That fertile soil made Louisiana a rich agricultural area known especially for sugarcane and cotton. The natural vegetation that grows out of the rich soil includes hardwoods, such as bald cypress and live oaks with their characteristic Spanish moss, as well as grasslands wet in the marshes and dry in the prairies.

Louisiana's contemporary economy still depends heavily on its natural resources. Agriculture, including the production of cotton, sugarcane, rice, and soybeans, continues to be a part of the economy. Another natural resource in abundance in Louisiana is timber whose harvesting contributes heavily to the economy. Louisiana also has a large commercial fishing operation and its seafood industry generates nearly two billion dollars a year for the state.¹⁹ Petroleum and natural gas are other resources abundant in the state. They can be found underneath the muck and peat soils of the coastal marshes; their extraction has also become a major industry in the state.²⁰ In more recent years, industries that do not depend on natural

¹⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Atchafalaya River," accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Atchafalaya-River>

¹⁹ Diego Herrera Garcia, "What does the Economy Stand to Lose if We Don't Restore Louisiana's Coast?" Delta Dispatches, last modified July 31, 2017, accessed January 29, 2018, <http://mississippiriverdelta.org/economy-stand-lose-dont-restore-louisianas-coast/>.

²⁰ "Economy Split in Louisiana Cities in 2016," US News, last modified September 21, 2017, accessed January 29, 2018, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/louisiana/articles/2017-09-21/economy-split-in-louisiana-cities-in-2016>.

resources, such as the service industries including tourism, have become a major part of Louisiana's economy. Unfortunately for many of these industries including fishing, oil and gas, and tourism that depend on a healthy Gulf ecosystem, the loss of coastal wetlands poses an immediate threat.²¹

The Origins of the Cajuns in Louisiana

The Cajuns in Louisiana are descendants of the Acadians expelled from Nova Scotia. The Acadians arrived in the New World from France in 1632 and settled an area found by Samuel Champlain in present day Nova Scotia.²² This area had come to be known as L'Acadie (Acadia) which came from the Micmac's, a local native tribe, word for land of plenty and the word Arcadia which was the Greek land of milk and honey.²³ Many of the French settlers who moved to Nova Scotia were peasants from the labourer caste; this background would influence the course of Acadian cultural development.²⁴ When they arrived in Nova Scotia, the settlers transformed the marsh landscape into fertile fields by building dikes using primitive tools and cooperative efforts.²⁵ The landscape they created in Acadia was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2012 as the Landscape of Grand Pré, recognized for being an "exceptional example of the adaptation of the first European settlers to the conditions of the North American Atlantic coast."²⁶ The people who lived in Acadia were unique in that they began calling themselves Acadiens (Acadians). The Acadians "were among the first European colonists to

²¹ Garcia, "What Does the Economy Stand to Lose."

²² Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xiv.

²³ *Ibid*, xiv.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 5-6.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁶ "Landscape of Grand Pré," UNESCO World Heritage List, last accessed January 13, 2018, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1404>. The site also serves to commemorate the Acadian way of life and eventual deportation

develop a sense of identity apart from that of the old country” evidenced in their adoption of a name for themselves.²⁷ According to Cajun folklorist Barry Ancelet, this identity was the result of a sense of community, the frontier experience, and the unique blending of cultures.²⁸

As France and England warred throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Acadia changed hands numerous times. Eventually the British ordered the Acadians to take an oath of allegiance to the British crown or be exiled.²⁹ The Acadians refused. Deportation was officially enacted in July 1755 although it represented the culmination of more than a century’s worth of conflict in the colony.³⁰ The Grand Dérangement, or great upheaval, resulted in the removal of 6,000 Acadians over a five-year period in an attempt of ethnic cleansing by the British.³¹ The Grand Dérangement is now seen as one of the “most poignant episodes in North American colonial history.”³²

At the time they were deported, there was no indication for the Acadians that Louisiana was to become their new home. Acadians were not sent directly to Louisiana from Nova Scotia. Many were scattered amongst the English colonies along the coast where they were persecuted, imprisoned, and forced to assimilate.³³ Others were sent to French Canada, France, and Saint Domingue (Haiti); some hid in the woods of Nova Scotia or scattered to the edges of Acadia in nearby New Brunswick and Cape Breton.³⁴ It wasn’t until 1764, nearly ten years after le Grand Dérangement, that the first group of Acadians arrived by boat in New Orleans.³⁵ Over the next

²⁷ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xv.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁰ Mark A. Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana: History and Identity in the Landscapes of South Louisiana,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 12, no. 4 (2008), 341.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 339.

³³ *Ibid.*, 341.

³⁴ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

twenty years, many others followed with the large influx of Acadian immigrants contributing their own piece to Louisiana's multiethnic heritage and culture.³⁶

At the time of their arrival in the mid-eighteenth century, France had transferred Louisiana to Spain. The Spanish government welcomed the Acadians and gave the first group who arrived land on the Mississippi River in present-day St. James and St. John the Baptist Parishes to settle, an area now known as the Acadian Coast.³⁷ Their first settlement there was called Cabahanocer, coming from a Choctaw word meaning "clearing where mallard ducks roost."³⁸ Later Acadians were given land further west along Bayou Teche. Acadians led by Joseph "Beausoleil" Broussard established themselves near present-day Loreauville at a place called Le Dernier Camp d'en Bas in Spring 1765; this group spread out and also settled at La Pointe de Repos near present-day Parks.³⁹ The Acadians moved northward and westward from Bayou Teche into the parishes of South Central Louisiana establishing farms and vacheries (ranches).⁴⁰ The principle communities of the Acadians were along the Mississippi River, Bayou Lafourche, and Bayou Teche in an area that roughly corresponds to Louisiana's French Triangle.⁴¹

The Acadians in Louisiana were not alone. They encountered the Creoles who had previously arrived in Louisiana and formed their own identity. The two groups remained relatively distinct with "the French Creoles [considering] the Acadians to be peasants" and the Acadians considering "the Creoles aristocratic snobs."⁴² Despite these feelings, the Acadians interacted and intermarried with the French Creoles as well as other ethnic groups in Louisiana

³⁶ Rees, "From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana," 341.

³⁷ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 12.

³⁸ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 73.

³⁹ Rees, "From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana," 342.

⁴⁰ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 12.

⁴¹ Megan Farrell, "French Vernacular Homes of Acadiana," 48.

⁴² Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xv.

including Native Americans, Germans, and others, eventually forming a new identity as Cajuns.⁴³ Despite everything that they had been through—hardship, separation, and suffering—the Cajuns managed to persevere, retaining a sense of who they were and by 1785, it was evident that they were establishing a new homeland and creating a new culture in the lowlands of South Louisiana.⁴⁴

Cajuns and the Environment

The transition from Acadian to Cajun came not only through interactions with other cultures but also from a stark change in environment. The hot and humid climate of South Louisiana was drastically different from the cold, damp environment of Nova Scotia. In addition to climate, the topography and vegetation also differed dramatically. For the early settlers, the most distinctive portion of the landscape was the coastal plain whose topography, climate, and vegetation produced “an environment dramatically unlike anything in the experience of settlers from Europe and Canada.”⁴⁵ In order to survive in this environment, the Acadians had to adapt producing new crops, eating new foods, making new clothing styles, and building new types of buildings.⁴⁶

The relationship between Cajun culture and the environment has since become inseparable. Construction of landscape and construction of identity are inseparable parts of one process and through their new landscape, Cajuns developed a new identity.⁴⁷ When developing

⁴³ Ibid. Cajun comes from the French *Cadien* derived from *Acadien*.

⁴⁴ Gay M. Gomez, *A Wetland Biography: Seasons on Louisiana's Chenier Plain* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), 164.

⁴⁵ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 28.

⁴⁶ Malcolm L. Comeaux, “Cajuns in Louisiana,” in *To Build in a New Land*, ed. Allen G. Noble (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 179.

⁴⁷ Slawomir Kapralski, “Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations,” *History and Memory* 13, no. 2 (2001), 35.

the Atchafalaya National Heritage Area, the community recognized that it would be foolish to only focus on the Cajun people or to only focus on the environment because the two are attached.⁴⁸ In his article “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana: History and Identity in the Landscapes of South Louisiana,” anthropologist Mark Rees argues that Cajun identity is part of an ongoing process and that being Cajun is “actively perceived, experienced, and constructed through a sensuous landscape of topographic features and built environment.”⁴⁹

The built environment is one element of their culture that Acadians had to adapt to in their new landscape. When they first arrived, they built using the same designs which they had used in Canada which were ill-suited for the Louisiana landscape and climate.⁵⁰ Many of these houses were translations of stone structures from France into wood. Some of these structures had Norman truss systems which were capable of handling large loads of snow, a feature unnecessary in Louisiana’s warm climate.⁵¹ The built environment they eventually created was influenced by the Creoles, Anglo-Americans, and free people of color already in the area.⁵² The result was a house in the form of a small side gabled cottage with one gallery in the front; this Cajun cottage was distinguished from the Creole cottage by its exterior stairway which generally led to the *garçonnière*, an area where unmarried men slept.⁵³

⁴⁸ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 519.

⁴⁹ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 354.

⁵⁰ Farrell, “French Vernacular Homes of Acadiana,” 48.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵² *Ibid*, 48.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 55.



Figure 3: A traditional Cajun Cottage with an exterior stairway leading to a garçonnère (http://www.lettersfromabus.com/114CajunCreoleCountry/Images114/32BeauBassin_sm.jpg)

Cajuns also adapted to new, local materials for construction. These changes included using cypress wood which was durable, less flammable than other woods, readily available in the area, and resistant to rot – a necessity in the humid climate.⁵⁴ The Cajuns also used the bousillage method of wattle and daub which involved filling half-timbered walls with a mixture of mud and Spanish moss, a material easily found in South Louisiana.⁵⁵ These cottages were often built on small, independent farms platted by arpents, a French land surveying method, laid out in long, narrow strips with a small frontage on a waterway.⁵⁶ The Cajuns being a largely rural people developed a unique farmstead whose form and function give insight to understanding not only the landscape but also the economy.⁵⁷ In the twentieth century, many of these cottages were abandoned because they were seen as old fashioned and impractical.

⁵⁴ Comeaux, “Cajuns in Louisiana,” 180.

⁵⁵ Farrell, “French Vernacular Homes of Louisiana,” 56.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Comeaux, “Cajuns in Louisiana,” 179.

However, a recent surge in Cajun culture has led to a renewed interest in these places seen as “a tangible symbol of the fortitude and cohesiveness” of the Cajun people.⁵⁸

The landscape of Acadiana in many ways helped to shape who the Cajuns are to this day. The geographic isolation provided by Louisiana’s swamps played a vital role in helping Cajuns to maintain a sense of identity over the years; isolation helped the Cajuns to flourish. Physical regions such as the Deltaic and Chenier Plains helped to impart a keen sense of place and identity to their residents.⁵⁹ Cajuns were “quite adept at meeting their survival needs through the natural environment.”⁶⁰ In the Atchafalaya Swamp, Cajuns survived off a diet of wild game and fish and seafood.⁶¹ They adapted the pirogue, a small canoe like boat which is still used to this day, from Native American dugouts in order to better suit their needs in the wetland environment.⁶² Many Cajun traditions are defined by the prairies, bayous, and coastal wetlands of South Louisiana. Activities regarded as distinctly Cajun such as “hunting, trapping, fishing, crawfishing, shrimping, [and] sugarcane farming” which occur in these landscapes influenced unique Cajun food ways, festivals, music, and oral traditions.⁶³

For Cajuns, the relationship between identity and environment “consists of representational knowledge, values, and beliefs that comprise a fully symbolic and historical ecology.”⁶⁴ These influential environments, which have shaped and in turn been shaped by the Cajuns, are cultural landscapes. It is in these places that actions and experience produce collective memories which are in turn “encoded, embodied, and retrieved through landscapes.”⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Farrell, “French Vernacular Homes of Louisiana,” 57.

⁵⁹ Gay M. Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 7-8.

⁶⁰ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 513.

⁶¹ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 112.

⁶² Ancelet, “Cajun Country,” 30.

⁶³ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 345.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 339.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 343.

Today, monuments, memorials, historic sites, and parks in Acadiana continue to reaffirm and reproduce a Cajun identity.⁶⁶ Yet in choosing which places to name and manage as historic, Cajuns have legitimized and encouraged certain views of the past while silencing other narratives.⁶⁷ Even more problematic has been the separation of historic buildings from their landscapes in order to move them to living history museums which creates “the commodification of invented heritage landscapes for cultural tourism.”⁶⁸ In his article, “Reliving off the Swamp: A Cajun Tourism Commodity,” Adam Keul saw this problem in the narrative of swamp tours in Louisiana as well which leads to the production of place and culture solely for tourists that “reiterates a static vision of [Cajun] people and their habitats.”⁶⁹

Creating a static and commodified vision of Cajun culture is problematic. The transition of identity from Acadian to Cajun was and is a generative process; Cajun culture today continues to be transformed.⁷⁰ Rees suggests that previously overlooked narratives and sites in the landscape need to be introduced to expand the narrative of the Cajuns. Doing so perhaps would give landscapes associated with authentic and still popular Cajun traditions like hunting, fishing, and crawfishing the opportunity to be explored.⁷¹ The Cajun narrative of self-sufficiency, living off the swamp, and being one with the environment is still true today. The places where this occurs though is not the living history museum or a commercialized swamp tour, it is somewhere else—like the duck hunting camp.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 344.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 352.

⁶⁹ Adam Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp: A Cajun Tourism Commodity,” *Geographical Review* 104, no. 4 (2014), 509.

⁷⁰ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 340.

⁷¹ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 516.

Distinctive Aspects of Cajun Culture

In addition to a unique ancestry and connection to the landscape, there are many other distinctive aspects of Cajun Culture. Cajun culture, like many ethnic cultures, can be differentiated by its humanistic aspects such as language, music, food, and histories.⁷² One aspect of the culture which has been extensively studied is the language. Into the 19th century, French was the language of both government and everyday life in South Louisiana. Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and statehood in 1812, the language began to shift. However, it was not until after the Civil War that white Creoles fully began to switch to English; Cajuns though were isolated and did not get the message.⁷³ In 1916, they got the message when free public education in Louisiana began mandating that English be spoken in schools, punishing Cajun children and stigmatizing their language.⁷⁴ Speaking French “was something well-raised people did not do in public.”⁷⁵ Today, the language is valued with French immersion being taught in schools and local businesses advertising “on parle” (we speak). For many, the language is very much connected to the culture; there is a fear that if the language is lost, the culture will go with it.⁷⁶ Aggressive efforts have been made to preserve this aspect of Cajun culture for generations to come but only time will tell if these efforts are successful.

Another element of Cajun culture once under threat but now popular again is Cajun music. Cajun music, like everything Cajun, is a blend of diverse cultural influences. The instruments used represent this diversity with the accordion coming from Germans in Louisiana, the violin coming from France, and the guitar coming from Spain.⁷⁷ The songs and lyrics too

⁷² Ibid, 509.

⁷³ Barry Jean Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1237.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 1240.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 1244.

⁷⁷ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 149.

seem to be influenced by popular English and French folk songs. African Americans added a distinctive bluesy element to the music. By the 1960s, Cajun music was threatened by popular music and was considered by some to be “nothing but chanky-chank.”⁷⁸ Cajun music has seen a renaissance with musicians being recognized on the national scene including several who have received Grammy awards.⁷⁹ Music festivals such as Festival Acadiens and Creoles and radio broadcasts continue to appeal to both locals and those from around the world.⁸⁰

Festivals in general are an important aspect of Cajun culture with the most important being Mardi Gras. There are two types of Mardi Gras in Louisiana: city and country.⁸¹ Most people think of the city Mardi Gras that occurs in New Orleans. However, the Cajun, country Mardi Gras is drastically different with costumed revelers traveling through the countryside looking to procure ingredients for a gumbo and famously chasing chickens in order to do so. Rural Mardi Gras in Acadiana is a cultural institution infused with complex cultural elements.⁸²

Cajun food might be the most recognizable of the cultural aspects. Restaurants in many cities, as well as popular fast food chains, have used the Cajun brand because it sells.⁸³ Real Cajun food though came from the resources available to the Cajuns. The Cajuns hunted the swamps and coastal wetlands finding waterfowl, alligators, frogs, and crawfish. According to an old saying, “if it walks, crawls, swims or flies, it ends up in the Cajun’s pot.”⁸⁴ One Cajun dish that is indicative of the culture and its diverse influences is the gumbo. Gumbo begins with a

⁷⁸ Ibid, 161.

⁷⁹ As recently as January 2018, Lost Bayou Ramblers, a Cajun band, took home a Grammy Award for Best Regional Roots Music. Chelsea Brasted, “Eyeing hiatus after nearly 2 decades, Lost Bayou Ramblers win 1st Grammy,” Nola.com, last modified January 28, 2018, accessed January 29, 2018, http://www.nola.com/music/index.ssf/2018/01/lost_bayou_ramblers_grammy.html.

⁸⁰ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1251.

⁸¹ Rocky L. Sexton, “Cajun Mardi Gras: Cultural Objectification and Symbolic Appropriation in a French Tradition,” *Ethnology* 38, no. 4 (1999), 297.

⁸² Sexton, “Cajun Mardi Gras,” 297.

⁸³ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1243.

⁸⁴ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 30.

roux of French origin and includes okra, an African vegetable. Cayenne pepper comes from Spain, filé from the Native Americans, and the rice could be grown in Louisiana.⁸⁵

Hunting too is an important tradition as it contributes to the Cajun diet and is now a popular recreational activity. Cajuns quickly learned to identify and capture the animals that call the swamps, marshes, tidal estuaries, and freshwater bayous home.⁸⁶ Many folk practices such as blind building, decoy making, and handling, calling, and driving packs of dogs are associated with hunting.⁸⁷ From colonial settlement of the Cajuns to the twenty-first century, hunting has helped to define the people, the culture, and the food.⁸⁸ Hunting continues today and cannot be forgotten as an important aspect of Cajun culture.⁸⁹

Cajun Culture in the 20th Century

After the Civil War, it was clear to some French speaking groups in Louisiana that they would have to adapt to American culture but not the Cajuns. They managed to remain on the fringes of society well into the twentieth century.⁹⁰ World Wars, the discovery of oil in South Louisiana, improvements in transportation, the radio, and the Education Act of 1916 mandating English be spoken in schools all led to the Americanization of the Cajuns.⁹¹ With the nationalistic fervor that swept the country in the twentieth century, French in Louisiana was under attack; the effect of this attack has been difficult to reverse.⁹² The Flood of 1927 changed not only the Louisiana landscape but also the lifestyle of many Cajuns who were forced to

⁸⁵ Philippe Ozuscik, "French Creoles on the Gulf Coast," 143-144.

⁸⁶ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 29.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 58.

⁸⁸ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 93.

⁸⁹ See later section for more information about the tradition of hunting in Acadiana.

⁹⁰ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xvi.

⁹¹ *Ibid*

⁹² Ancelet, "Negotiating the Mainstream," 1238.

abandon their swamps.⁹³ Yet during World War II, many Cajuns fought for their country and found that their French language skills that they had been told to forget made them valuable as interpreters.⁹⁴ It was also commented on that Cajuns made excellent soldiers and marksmen because they had spent so much of their time outdoors farming, fishing, and hunting.⁹⁵

Cajun culture survived the first half of the twentieth century and Americanization but not without some changes. In the late twentieth century, Cajun culture went from being backwards to being trendy. Cajun culture had gone from being a customary way of life to a leisure time activity.⁹⁶ While this trendiness had its benefits, it also meant that the culture began to be commercialized and exploited.⁹⁷ Cajun culture was “spiced up,” reinterpreted, and mass marketed to stimulate tourism and profits. At the same time, steps were taken to revitalize the culture through language restoration, ethnic empowerment, Cajun music promotion, and commemorations, festivals, monuments, and museums.⁹⁸

Louisiana Tourism and Cajun Culture

In 1971, the Louisiana State Legislature designated a twenty-two parish area of the state as Acadiana. Acadiana recognizes the homeland of the Cajuns and is bound loosely by the Mississippi River to the East, the Gulf of Mexico to the South, Texas to the West, and the pine forests of central Louisiana to the North.⁹⁹ The creation of Acadiana promotes the idea of a heritage landscape that authenticates the Cajun homeland and culture.¹⁰⁰ This area is now

⁹³ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 116.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 1241.

⁹⁵ Shane K. Bernard, *The Cajuns: Americanization of a People*, (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), 7.

⁹⁶ Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 149.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 113.

⁹⁸ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 345.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 345.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 348.

designated on state maps and has been awarded its own flag. The many memorials, monuments, replicas, parks, reenactments, and commemorations within Acadiana help to create a sense of place, albeit a sometimes intentionally constructed one.¹⁰¹ Architectural reproductions of Acadian-style houses and advertisements promoting “authentic Cajun Cuisine” and live Cajun music are a manifestation of the idea of a Cajun homeland.¹⁰² At the same time, the Atchafalaya basin and prairie escarpments are natural features of Acadiana that also contribute to a sense of place.¹⁰³

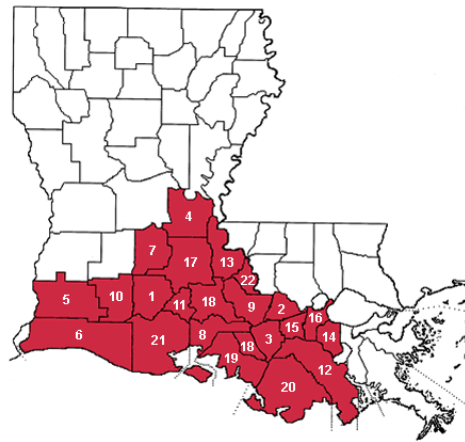


Figure 4: The Acadiana Region encompasses 22 parishes in Southern Louisiana (<https://louisianastudies.louisiana.edu/node/164>)

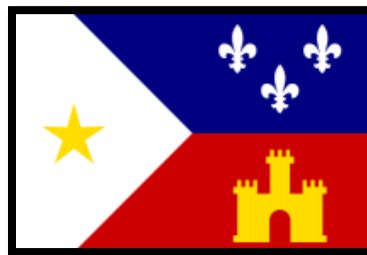


Figure 5: The Flag of Acadiana represents the vast influences - French, Spanish, and Catholic - on Acadiana culture. (<https://library.louisiana.edu/news-events/news/20151119/did-you-know-ul-lafayette-and-acadiana-flag>)

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid, 346.

¹⁰³ Ibid

The creation of this region not only helped to define an area as the Cajun homeland; many also see it as a move to promote tourism. In Louisiana, tourism falls under the Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism showing the direct link between culture and tourism in the state. For geographer Adam Keul, this connection shows that in the state of Louisiana “culture is for sale and tourists are often the buyers.”¹⁰⁴ Strictly speaking though, Acadiana was not created for tourism but rather was created during the Cajun Renaissance in the later part of the twentieth century around the same time of the creation of the Council on the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) in 1968 and Festivals Acadiens et Creoles in 1978. The twenty-two parishes chosen were those thought to have the most Cajun residents and roughly follows the same area as the French triangle although noticeably excludes several parishes in South Louisiana that may have Cajun residents including St. Bernard Parish.¹⁰⁵ Acadiana is also frequently referred to as Cajun Country by both tourism commissions as well as in travel writing such as *Lonely Planet* and the *New York Times*.

Currently Louisiana is divided into sixty-four parishes.¹⁰⁶ These sixty-four parishes are grouped into five tourism regions based on their cultural influences: Greater New Orleans, Plantation Country, Cajun Country, Crossroads, and Sportsman’s Paradise. The different tourism regions help those looking to visit to find what suits their interests, going along with the theme of the Louisiana Tourism office, “LOU!S!ANA: Pick your Passion.” The Cajun Country tourism

¹⁰⁴ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 511.

¹⁰⁵ St. Bernard Parish located south of New Orleans was home to the “Spanish Cajuns,” the Islenos who came from the Canary Islands. Currently the parish is home to sites in the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve which shares the stories of the Acadians in Louisiana.

¹⁰⁶ A parish in Louisiana is equivalent to a county

region was created to mimic the region of Acadiana. Despite including fewer parishes, it captures most of the Acadiana heartland.

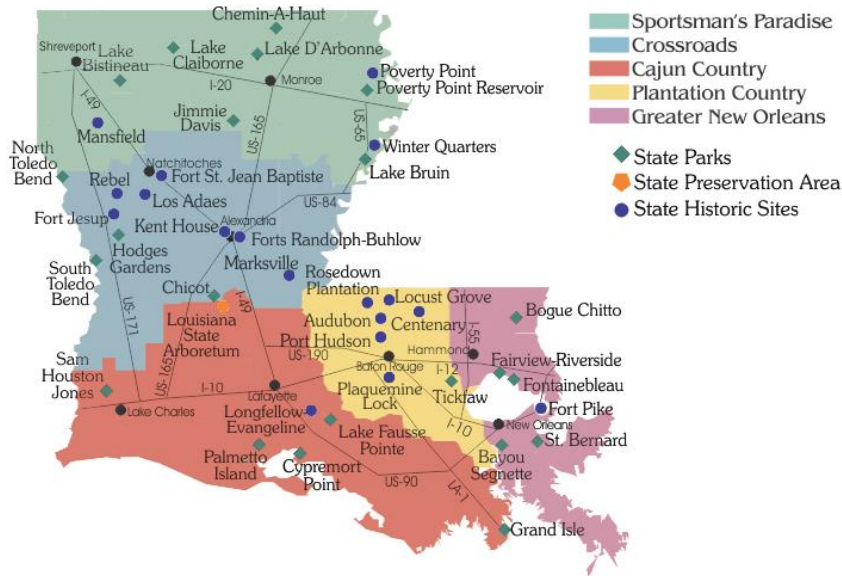


Figure 6: The five tourism regions of Louisiana (<https://www.crt.state.la.us/louisiana-state-parks/news-activities/calendar-of-events/index>)

Tourism in Acadiana has been the source of many additional problems for Cajun culture. Tourists themselves endanger the culture by disrupting the traditional folk practices.¹⁰⁷ Tourists visiting authentic sites by the busload damage the feel of the sites for locals.¹⁰⁸ In his article, “Reliving off the Swamp: A Cajun Tourism Commodity,” Keul argues that the idea of living off the swamp and depending on the swamp for subsistence is commodified and sold as Cajun swamp culture for tourists.¹⁰⁹ In reality, Cajuns no longer depend on the swamp for subsistence. Even if duck hunters and recreational fishers do procure food from the swamp, they do so more for recreation than subsistence. Yet this narrative of “swamp people,” is sold and used to

¹⁰⁷ Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 119.

¹⁰⁸ Barry Jean Ancelet, “Cultural Tourism in Cajun Country: Shotgun Wedding or Marriage Made in Heaven?” *Southern Folklore* 49, no. 3 (1992), 258.

¹⁰⁹ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 506.

romanticize the image of the poor, backwoods Cajuns who lives off the swamp despite the fact that even those who do work in the swamps have almost always produced commodities for external markets.¹¹⁰ Swamp tours are not the only ethnic commodity sold in Louisiana. Everything from t-shirts to spices are marked with the Cajun brand. Experiences marketed as “authentic” to tourists at dancehalls, restaurants, and festivals also show that the Cajun cultural experiences is for sale.¹¹¹

Tourists and marketers are not the only ones manipulating Cajun culture in Acadiana. Cajuns have discovered themselves as well and have begun to commodify their culture to empower themselves and preserve ethnic power despite being marginalized.¹¹² Cajuns have begun to construct places to reclaim their identity. This fabrication of sense of place is most evident at commemorative sites and historical monuments placed in the landscape of Acadiana since the 1970s including the Acadian Memorial in St. Martinville which houses a mural, wall of names (of those deported from Nova Scotia), an eternal flame inscribed with “un peuple sans passé est un peuple sans future” (a people without a past are a people without a future), and a replica of the deportation cross at Grand Pré in Nova Scotia.¹¹³ This fabrication perhaps reflects the need for geographical lieux de memoire, sites within which memory has been cached, as has happened in Nova Scotia.¹¹⁴ These sites help to define and rediscover the nation even if they are not the most authentic. The production of these heritage landscapes in Acadiana since the 1970s

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 512.

¹¹² Ibid, 507.

¹¹³ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 347-348.

¹¹⁴ Wayde Brown, “‘Left-behind’ places of memory: The pattern of Grand Pré and New Echota,” in *Imagining Home: Migrants and the search for a new beginning*, ed. Diana Glenn, Eric Bouvet and Sonia Floriani, (Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press, 2011), 32.

will have an effect on the historical narratives told by the next generations but what these effects will be remains to be seen.¹¹⁵



Figure 7: The Cross at the Acadian Memorial in St. Martinville, LA is a replica of the Deportation Cross at Grand Pre in Nova Scotia (<http://www.acadianmemorial.org/the-deportation-cross.php>)

The State of Cajun Culture Today

In 2018, Cajun culture finds itself at a crossroads. While the Cajuns have flourished in the modern world, many of their folk traditions have been lost or are on the verge of disappearing.¹¹⁶ Television, internet, globalization, and commercialization all threaten the culture. In the 1980s and 1990s, outside influence such as fast food, cookie cutter neighborhoods, and suburban sprawl continued to invade South Louisiana.¹¹⁷ Looking at Lafayette, the self-proclaimed capital of Acadiana, for example shows the threats of the modern

¹¹⁵ Rees, "From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana," 354.

¹¹⁶ Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 148.

¹¹⁷ Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 124.

world. Standing in front of the Mall of Acadiana and looking in any direction, one sees suburbia, chain restaurants, and stores such as Old Navy that “betray no hint that this is the center of Cajun culture.”¹¹⁸

Yet what is Cajun culture continues to change; the transition from Acadian to Cajun is a generative process.¹¹⁹ In fact one of the most consistent elements in Cajun culture is adaptability. Cajuns have had to adapt to survive in the modern world. This change though is “not necessarily a sign of decay, as was first thought; [such change] may even be a sign of vitality.”¹²⁰ The ability to swim in the mainstream at any given time shows that Cajuns “have an innate understanding that culture is an ongoing process, and appear willing to constantly reinvent and renegotiate their cultural affairs.”¹²¹ This adaptability is what has allowed Cajun culture to survive. Four hundred years of history show that Cajuns are survivors. This characteristic was first demonstrated by their ancestors who endured genocide, withstood disease, starvation and exposure all while adopting a new life on the semi-tropical frontier.¹²² Today’s Cajuns continue to demonstrate that they are adaptable, and that their culture will survive. As Cajun folklorist Barry Ancelet said, “the cooks of South Louisiana have regained control of their own kitchen and continue to simmer a gumbo of rich and diverse ingredients.”¹²³

So who are the Cajuns today? While they are immediately recognizable as a people, they are more difficult to define.¹²⁴ The image of a swamp dweller comes to mind, but a multimillionaire businessman can be equally Cajun. Being Cajun is not only about ancestry but

¹¹⁸ Dean Jobb, *The Cajuns: A People’s Story of Exile and Triumph*, (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing, 2005), 224.

¹¹⁹ Rees, “From Grand Dérangement to Acadiana,” 340.

¹²⁰ Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, xviii.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 127.

¹²³ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1253.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 1243.

also a state of mind, a zest for life, and a culture.¹²⁵ There are few “pure” Cajuns. Generally, a Cajun is anyone who identifies themselves as such and is also perceived by others to be one.¹²⁶ Cajuns tend to be predominantly Catholic, family oriented, of French ancestry, and rural but those are not always true.¹²⁷ Many Cajuns today have English last names, but they are equally Cajun. For those who are not born a Cajun, they can still become one for there are three ways to become Cajun: “by the blood, by the ring, or by the backdoor.”¹²⁸

The Cajuns confuse outsiders because they are the products of so many influences. Cajuns can be French speaking cowboys in pickup trucks. Cajuns like fried chicken and iced tea; they are southerners after all. Like those in the West Indies, they love their cayenne pepper and cold beer and they retain many linguistic and cultural ties to the Antilles.¹²⁹ Part of being Cajun is the association with the swamp landscape.¹³⁰ While being Cajun does stem from a mass of stubborn French settlers who refused to let go of their language and culture, today’s Cajun cannot be defined by simple lineage.¹³¹ The twenty-first century Cajun has been influenced by the landscape and other ethnic groups of South Louisiana and continues to adapt their culture in order to survive.

As much as their survival is about adaptability, it is also about the Cajun’s ability to preserve what matters most to them. Their food, music, language, and traditions matter to the Cajuns. Steps have been taken to preserve these intangible aspects of the culture. The Cajuns also have created spaces that are quintessentially Cajun that need to be preserved. The next section of this chapter will look at the various means of preservation.

¹²⁵ Jobb, *The Cajuns*, 223-224.

¹²⁶ Comeaux, “Cajuns in Louisiana,” 177.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Jobb, *The Cajuns*, 223.

¹²⁹ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1237, 1242.

¹³⁰ Keul, “Reliving off the Swamp,” 512.

¹³¹ Ancelet, “Negotiating the Mainstream,” 1237.

Recognizing Historic Resources

Types of Historic Resources

Historic resources that represent cultural heritage come in two forms, tangible and intangible. Tangible resources are physical, like buildings, landscapes, and artifacts. These are objects that we can touch, contrary to intangible resources, like stories and songs, which we experience in the moment.¹³² The two are often deeply intertwined and cannot easily be separated from each other. Louisiana has both physical and intangible cultural resources that have been preserved by different means.

Processes for Preservation of Tangible Resources

In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was signed into law in the United States. The NHPA recognized that “the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people.”¹³³ To preserve these places, the NHPA created the National Register of Historic Places, an honorific list of places significant in American history, architecture, engineering, and culture.¹³⁴ The National Register Program affords the preservation community in the United States the opportunity to identify places worthy of preservation and then to keep an inventory of these items on a national list.¹³⁵

¹³² “Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” National Park Service, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

¹³³ “National Historic Preservation Act of 1966,” 16 USC § 470, <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>

¹³⁴ “National Historic Preservation Act of 1966,” 16 USC § 470a, <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>

¹³⁵ “Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

The emphasis of the list is places on physical resources including sites, buildings, structures, objects, and districts. It does not include intangible values, cultural events, or individuals.¹³⁶ Properties on the list may be significant at a local, state, or national level. When evaluated in light of its historic context, a property must be shown to be significant in one or more of the four National Register Criteria for Evaluation. The first of these criteria is Criterion A in which is significance because of association with one or more events or a pattern of events in the property's historic context.¹³⁷ Criterion B includes properties significant for their association with the lives of persons significant in the past. Properties significant due to their embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction fall under Criterion C. Lastly, Criterion D includes properties that have yielded or are likely to yield information important to history or prehistory.¹³⁸ Certain types of properties such as religious properties, moved properties, reconstructed properties, and properties less than fifty years old are not usually considered for listing in the National Register unless they meet special criteria considerations in addition to the regular requirements.¹³⁹

In addition to meeting one of the criterion in relation to its historic context, a property must also have integrity in order to convey its significance. There are seven aspects that define integrity and to retain historic integrity, a property must possess several of the aspects.¹⁴⁰ These aspects are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

¹³⁶ "National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_4.htm.

¹³⁷ "National Register Bulletin: How to Identify the Type of Significance of a Property," National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_6.htm.

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ "National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the Criteria Considerations," National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_7.htm.

¹⁴⁰ "National Register Bulletin: How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property," National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm.

According to the National Park Service’s National Register Bulletin 15 which relates to How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, the aspects are defined as follows:

1. Location – the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred
2. Design – the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property
3. Setting – the physical environment of a historic property
4. Materials – the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property
5. Workmanship - the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory
6. Feeling - a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time
7. Association - the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property¹⁴¹

While the most prominent form of recognizing historic properties is through the National Historic Preservation Act, there are also other strategies that can be used to protect significant places. One technique that can be used by individual properties are historic preservation easements. An easement protects a property in perpetuity while also potentially benefitting the owner with tax deductions.¹⁴² An easement occurs when “a property owner places restrictions on the development of, or changes to, the property and transfers these restrictions (usually in the form of a deed) to a nonprofit or government agency.”¹⁴³ These restrictions are then enforced by the qualified easement holder guaranteeing the preservation of the property into the future.

Physical Preservation Standards and Challenges

When it comes to the actual techniques and practices used to preserve historic properties, the Secretary of the Interior recognizes four treatment standards. These standards are

¹⁴¹ Ibid

¹⁴² Charles Fisher, “Easement to Protect Historic Properties,” National Park Service, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives/taxdocs/easements-historic-properties.pdf>.

¹⁴³ Sara C. Bronin and Ryan Rowberry, *Historic Preservation Law in a Nutshell*, (St. Paul, MN: West Academic Publishing, 2014), 412.

preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction.¹⁴⁴ Preservation refers to the process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form of the building.¹⁴⁵ Rehabilitation involves repairs, alterations, and additions necessary to make possible a compatible use of the building while maintaining the significant portions and features.¹⁴⁶ The standard of Restoration is used to accurately depict the property at a particular period of time. Lastly, reconstruction involves new construction to accurately depict a non-surviving property.¹⁴⁷ The goal of the standards are to ensure that character-defining features are retained no matter what treatment is chosen.¹⁴⁸

The largest threat to the physical preservation of buildings is moisture. According to the National Park Service, “uncontrolled moisture is the most prevalent cause of deterioration in older and historic buildings.”¹⁴⁹ Moisture issues in wood can cause “rot due to fungi, stains due to mold, and damage caused by insects and other animals attracted by moisture.”¹⁵⁰ Moisture can also be a problem for masonry as the porous materials will absorb water causing untold amounts of damage.¹⁵¹ In South Louisiana where the environment is always humid, moisture continues to be a force that threatens historic structures. The other main challenge faced by buildings in South Louisiana, especially duck hunting camps, is that they are ephemeral in nature; they were never intended to last forever.¹⁵² They are often subject to other moisture issues too – namely

¹⁴⁴ Robert E. Young, *Historic Preservation Technology*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 5.

¹⁴⁵ Young, *Historic Preservation Technology*, 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 7.

¹⁴⁹ “Preservation Brief 39 - Holding the Line: Controlling Unwanted Moisture in Historic Buildings,” National Park Service, accessed January 29, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/39-control-unwanted-moisture.htm>

¹⁵⁰ Young, *Historic Preservation Technology*, 62.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 99.

¹⁵² Laura Blokker, a preservation consultant in Louisiana and professor in the Preservation Studies Program at Tulane University, has done research on hunting and fishing camps in Louisiana. According to email correspondence with her in August 2017, the hindrances of researching these camps is that they are ephemeral in nature, often constructed with salvaged bits of other buildings, and often rebuilt and replaced after storms.

large storms and hurricanes which may wipe them out causing them to be substantially rebuilt or replaced. The ephemeral nature of the construction combined with problems of moisture provide challenges to the preservation of these properties.

The Preservation of Physical Resources in Louisiana

The preservation of physical resources is undertaken by the work of private, non-profits and state organizations and individuals. At the state level, the leading agency is the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). Like other SHPOs, the Louisiana SHPO plays a critical role in carrying out historic preservation by surveying, evaluating, and nominating significant places in Louisiana to the National Register of Historic Places and dispersing monies to private firms to do the work.¹⁵³ In Louisiana, the Division of Historic Preservation falls under the Office of Cultural Development which also includes the Division of the Arts, Division of Archaeology, and the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana.¹⁵⁴ The Louisiana SHPO works to not only preserve the best examples of architecture but also has focused its attention upon the places that represent the forces that shaped Louisiana's history and culture.¹⁵⁵

In a conversation with Louisiana's National Register Coordinator, Jessica Richardson, insight was given into the current foci of the SHPO.¹⁵⁶ For instance, in the past many of the physical properties recognized on the National Register were not thoroughly researched. Those physical resources that were recognized were predominantly plantation homes and buildings in

¹⁵³ "State Historic Preservation Officers," National Park Service, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/shpolist.htm>.

¹⁵⁴ "Louisiana Office of Cultural Development," Louisiana Office of Cultural Development, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/index>.

¹⁵⁵ "Division of Historic Preservation," Louisiana Office of Cultural Development, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/>

¹⁵⁶ On November 13, 2017, Louisiana SHPO's National Register coordinator, Jessica Richardson, was interviewed to gain further insight into the process of preserving places in Louisiana.

New Orleans. However, this is no longer the case. While plantations and buildings in New Orleans and other urban areas, especially those using tax credits for economic revitalization, continue to be important resources, there has been an increase in the interest of preserving more vernacular sites. Also, the research being done is more thorough and well documented. While places such as home sites associated with Cajun culture in Louisiana are on the National Register, there has yet to be a historic context written on these sites which would summarize the theme that relates them to each other.¹⁵⁷

Placing a property on the National Register of Historic Places is a multi-step process that varies by state. Individuals looking to put a property on the National Register begin by working with their respective SHPO. In Louisiana, the process begins with a Determination of Eligibility which helps to determine if properties are eligible by the completion of an Eligibility Questionnaire.¹⁵⁸ If the SHPO staff determine that a property is potentially eligible, they will arrange a site visit. If after the site visit the staff determines that the property is eligible, a nomination form must be completed by the individual. After the nomination is complete, the individual presents the property to the Louisiana National Register Review Committee. If the Review Committee approves the nomination, it forwards the nomination to the National Register Office of the National Park Service who make an official determination.¹⁵⁹ After the final determination, the property is officially on the National Register of Historic Places.

¹⁵⁷ "Historic Contexts," Louisiana Office of Cultural Development, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/national-register/historic-contexts/index>.

¹⁵⁸ "National Register: Process and Forms," Louisiana Office of Cultural Development, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/national-register/process-and-forms/index>.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

Intangible Cultural Heritage

In 2003, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Convention which was adopted by 174 member countries defines intangible cultural heritage as “the practices, representation, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.”¹⁶⁰ This intangible culture is manifested in forms such as language, performing arts, social practices, traditional craftsmanship, and others.¹⁶¹

Safeguarding intangible culture heritage cannot be done in the same way as preserving tangible culture. One of the main concerns of preserving intangible cultural heritage is to safeguard the culture without freezing it. Therefore, safeguarding the culture must be done through involvement with the community that created it in order that the knowledge, skills, and meanings can continue to be transmitted from generation to generation.¹⁶² The Convention suggests that inventories are integral to the preservation of intangible cultural heritage because they can raise awareness and provide a basis for formulating concrete plans to preserve the cultural heritage concerned.¹⁶³ The convention also created the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity which demonstrate the diversity of the cultural heritage of humanity and raises awareness about its importance and the Register of Good Safeguarding

¹⁶⁰ While there are 173 state parties that are member to this convention, the United States is not one of them. “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,” UNESCO, October 17, 2003, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>, 2.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² “Safeguarding without Freezing,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/safeguarding-00012>.

¹⁶³ “Inventories: Identifying for Safeguarding,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/inventorying-intangible-heritage-00080>.

Practices which recognizes those practices which best reflect the principles and objectives of the Convention.¹⁶⁴

While the Convention works to protect intangible cultural heritage, other research has been done to study the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage and evaluating authenticity. In an article written by Robert Garland Thompson titled “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites,” Thompson introduces aspects of authenticity that can help to evaluate intangible elements at sites. While the National Register’s aspects of integrity all relate to the physical elements, his aspects of authenticity can help to better judge the way that physical places keep the intangible integrity of the culture in which they exist. He suggests three types of authenticity: authenticity of connection, authenticity of renewal, and authenticity of experience.¹⁶⁵ Authenticity of connection exists when a reconstructed place is “faithfully and precisely recreated as an expression of continuity” with the conditions that existed before it was lost.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, authenticity of renewal relates to a site that has none of its original designs and a totally new structure is put in its place. Authenticity of experience is expressed in buildings which reflect the damage that they have experienced in the past.¹⁶⁷ While his three types of authenticity most directly relate to buildings that have been in war zones, this criteria could also apply to other buildings, especially those that have been rebuilt or undergone significant changes, in order to evaluate their integrity.

Others have also argued for a new kind of integrity and authenticity. In *Why Preservation Matters*, author Max Page critiques the current standards in the United States for

¹⁶⁴ “Purpose of the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/purpose-of-the-lists-00807>.

¹⁶⁵ Robert Garland Thompson, “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 5, no. 1 (2008), <https://www.nps.gov/crmjournal/Winter2008/article4.html>.

¹⁶⁶ Thompson, “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites.”

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

authenticity. He argues that architectural authenticity is a mirage, a chimera, a delusion.¹⁶⁸ There is no building in its original state, perfectly preserved; to demand integrity of historic buildings is irrational.¹⁶⁹ Page instead believes that buildings have multiple layers of history with multiple stories to tell; he calls for preservationist to be more flexible in their definitions of authenticity and integrity.¹⁷⁰ The Nara Document also calls for a different view of authenticity. It states that there cannot be a fixed criteria for judging authenticity but rather the judgement of the authenticity of cultural heritage should be determined by the cultural context in which it exists.¹⁷¹ It argues that intangible values including traditions, techniques, spirit, and feeling can also be authentic.

Although the United States did not sign the Intangible Cultural Heritage convention and it does not address intangible integrity in the National Register, there are organizations within the United States that do address certain issues of intangible heritage. One of the more prominent ones is the Smithsonian Folklife Festival which celebrates “living traditions of, by, and for the people.”¹⁷² The goal of the festival is to strengthen and preserve different cultures from around the world by presenting their music, dance, crafts, foodways, and other living traditions on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.¹⁷³ The National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities is a governmental organization which helps to fund the practice of art and the study of humanities which “reflect the high place accorded by the American people to the nation’s rich cultural heritage.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ Max Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 33.

¹⁶⁹ Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, 34.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 17.

¹⁷¹ “The Nara Document on Authenticity,” UNESCO, last modified November 1993, accessed February 26, 2018, whc.unesco.org/document/116018.

¹⁷² “Smithsonian Folklife Festival,” Smithsonian Institute, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://festival.si.edu/>.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁴ “National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965,” About NEH, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.neh.gov/about/history/national-foundation-arts-and-humanities-act-1965-pl-89-209>.

Nonprofit groups are also leading the way to preserve America's rich and diverse intangible heritage. Organizations, such as the Foxfire in Georgia, Appalachian Memory Keepers in North Carolina, and the National Cowboy Symposium in Texas, are all nonprofits striving to preserve the heritage of their respective area and introduce it to younger generations. In Louisiana one of these groups is the Cajun French Music Association which is dedicated to promoting and preserving Cajun music and culture.¹⁷⁵ The Cajun French Music Association is not the only group working to preserve intangible elements of Cajun culture; other groups have also taken steps to do the same.

Preservation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Cajuns

As noted previously, there are many distinctive aspects of Cajun culture worthy of preservation including their language, food, music, and festivals. Because the United States is not a member party to the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, there are no aspects of American culture, including aspects of Cajun culture, that are inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. One of the main steps taken to preserve their culture has been the preservation of their language through the creation of the Council on the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) in 1968. CODOFIL is tasked with not only preserving the French language in Louisiana but also with its development, namely the task of creating a French language education program in Louisiana schools.¹⁷⁶ The safeguarding of Louisiana's French language has also been aided by the creation of the *Dictionary of Louisiana French: As Spoken in Cajun, Creole, and American Indian Communities*

¹⁷⁵ "Cajun French Music Association," Cajun French Music, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.cajunfrenchmusic.org/>.

¹⁷⁶ Ancelet, "Negotiating the Mainstream," 1242.

in 2010. This dictionary provides the richest inventory of French vocabulary in Louisiana and reflects the current use of the language since the 1930s.¹⁷⁷

Other measures to preserve Cajun culture include the celebration of the culture via festivals such as Festivals Acadiens et Creoles. The predecessor to this festival was the Tribute to Cajun Music Festival organized by CODOFIL in 1974. The goal of this festival was to attract and educate younger generations to the sounds of Cajun Music.¹⁷⁸ As the festival evolved over the years, it began to incorporate other elements such as the Louisiana Native Crafts Festival, the Bayou Food Festival, and the Louisiana Crafts Guild.¹⁷⁹ The festival allows for those musicians, cooks, craftsmen, and attendees to invest in a self-celebration of their culture.¹⁸⁰ Other festivals which celebrate and help to preserve Cajun culture include the Breaux Bridge Crawfish Festival, the Scott Boudin Festival, the Gueydan Duck Festival, and multiple Courir de Mardi Gras (traditional Cajun Mardi Gras).

It is evident that steps have been taken to preserve the intangible cultural heritage of the Cajuns. One aspect of this heritage that needs to be further researched is the tie of the intangible cultural heritage to tangible resources and places. The focus of this thesis is to understand this relationship in the specific context of one place, the duck hunting camp. In order to do this, one must first understand the history of hunting generally and the role it has played in the history of the Cajuns.

¹⁷⁷ Albert Valdman, Kevin J. Rottet, and Barry Jean Ancelet, *Dictionary of Louisiana French: As Spoken in Cajun, Creole, and American Indian Communities* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2010).

¹⁷⁸ "History," Festivals Acadiens et Creoles, accessed January 27, 2018, <http://www.festivalsacadiens.com/info/history.html>.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

Duck Hunting Camps in Louisiana

There are a range of sources that relate to the history of hunting, both around the world, in the United States, and in South Louisiana. However, this range of sources are not comprehensive and includes information taken from both traditional academic sources such as journal as well as nonacademic sources such as coffee table type books and cook books. Hunting history ranges from embracing the primitive culture of it where it is truly democratic, to it becoming only accessible to the wealthy so not just anyone could go hunting wherever they wanted. This cycle of hunting from democratic to elite continues today as it becomes more difficult for average people to access hunting lands and the sport becomes cost prohibitive again.

The History of Hunting

Some would argue that humans have hunted for as long as we have existed. Hunting and thoughts of hunting dominated early man's life. While the earliest humans certainly ate vegetation, they were known as "hunter gatherers" for a reason.¹⁸¹ In *The Hunting Hypothesis*, Robert Ardrey argues that "man is man, and not a chimpanzee, because for millions upon millions of evolving years we killed for a living."¹⁸² He argues that what makes humans unique from other primates is that man alone was continuously dependent on killing to survive.¹⁸³ Quoting anthropologist S.L. Washburn, Ardrey supports his hypothesis with the idea that hunting helped man to become different from other primates because hunting required new kinds of cooperation for new types of activities. It also resulted in males sharing food, an activity

¹⁸¹ John D. Folse, *After the Hunt* (Gonzales, LA: Chef John Folse & Company Publishing, 2007), 4.

¹⁸² Robert Ardrey, *The Hunting Hypothesis: A Personal Conclusion Concerning the Evolutionary Nature of Man* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1976), 10.

¹⁸³ Ardrey, *The Hunting Hypothesis*, 11.

common in carnivores but not vegetarian primates. Hunting led to food-sharing, cooperation, and economic interdependence.¹⁸⁴

Hunting became more than just a food source for the earliest humans; it was a whole way of life. Capturing game meant not only food but also clothes, tools, cooking fat, ornaments, and the creation of art in the form of carved bones.¹⁸⁵ Most of the earliest possessions of man related to hunting including carved rocks, bashers, clubs, cleavers, chopping tools, heavy picks, and scrapers.¹⁸⁶ One of the only remaining forms of art that we have from the Paleolithic period is cave paintings and carvings. It is logical that hunting became the main theme of this art because hunting dominated life. The art reflected early man's "desire for a successful hunt and his need for food and clothing."¹⁸⁷

It took thousands of years for humans to evolve from hunter gatherers to a more stationary people. Around the tenth century BC, animal breeding and agriculture began to replace hunting as the main sources of food.¹⁸⁸ Despite being replaced, hunting was not forgotten. In the ancient civilizations of Egypt, China, Greece, Rome, and Persia hunting remained an activity.¹⁸⁹ The ancient Greeks even had a goddess of the chase, Artemis, for whom many temples were built; she existed in Roman mythology as Diana and Persian mythology as Anahita.¹⁹⁰ Several books of the Old Testament including Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus also allude to hunting.¹⁹¹ While agriculture and animal husbandry became the primary food sources for humans, hunting was still practiced.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 13.

¹⁸⁵ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 6.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 8.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 16.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 20.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 11.

By the time of the Middle Ages in Europe, hunting still remained an important aspect of life. It was in this period that St. Hubert became the patron saint of hunters and hunting. His conversion occurred after having been confronted by a white stag bearing the crucifix between its antlers while hunting on Good Friday.¹⁹² This same period though did see hunting move away from commoners and in to the hands of aristocrats as Royal Forests, areas where only the kings and royals could hunt, began to grow.¹⁹³



Figure 8: The image of a cross between the antlers of a deer was first seen by St. Hubert in Germany and subsequently became the logo of Jagermeister. (<https://www.jagermeister.com/en/>)

By the time of the Renaissance in Europe, hunting had become an activity for the upper class. Throughout Europe, only the elite had the right to hunt. Hunting was no longer the democratic practice it had been in the early Middle Ages.¹⁹⁴ Peasants were not allowed to kill game even when wild animals were negatively affecting their crops. To make matters worse,

¹⁹² This image incidentally later became the logo of Jagermeister. Folse, *After the Hunt*, 34 and “History,” Jagermeister, accessed October 26, 2017, <https://www.jagermeister.com/en/history>.

¹⁹³ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 34.

¹⁹⁴ Daniel Justin Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 18.

poaching was severely punished.¹⁹⁵ The Royal Forests first seen in the Middle Ages continued to grow and were stocked with game by the nobility for their hunts.¹⁹⁶ Elaborate hunting castles, the earliest hunting “camps,” were built by royals on their hunting grounds; the Chateau de Chambord built as a hunting retreat by King Francois I in France in the sixteenth century has over four hundred rooms and three hundred fireplaces.¹⁹⁷ By the time European settlers came to the New World, there was virtually no hunting for commoners allowed in the Old World.

Hunting in America

By the time the first Europeans arrived in America, there were already many hunters here. The first hunters to enter America came many years before them between 25,000 BC and 9,000 BC when the first settlers entered the continent via a land bridge at what is now the Bering Strait.¹⁹⁸ By the Archaic period, between 2,000 BC and 700 BC, a thriving hunting and trading culture existed at Poverty Point, Louisiana. This area teemed with wild game and fish. Archaeology done at this UNESCO World Heritage Site includes findings of javelins, atlatls, and plummets all used for hunting.¹⁹⁹

Before European arrival, North America was a place of natural abundance. Native Americans took advantage of this abundance and were legendary hunters. Hunting became part of their culture as “rituals and superstitions defined how they hunted, killed, and ate wild game.”²⁰⁰ It is known that Native Americans built duck decoys for hunting using the skin,

¹⁹⁵ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 47.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 45.

¹⁹⁷ Jeffrey T. Iverson, “A Work of Genius... We revisit the Renaissance Palace of King Francis I, The Builder King,” *France Today* 30, no.3 (2015): 28.

¹⁹⁸ Waterman, Charles F, *Hunting in America*, (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., Publishers, 1973), 17.

¹⁹⁹ Carl P. Lipo, Timothy D. Hunt, and Robert C. Dunnell, “Formal analyses and functional accounts of groundstone ‘plummets’ from Poverty Point, Louisiana,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, no. 1 (2012): 84-85.

²⁰⁰ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 69.

feathers, and/or heads of real waterfowl. They would fill this with reeds or grasses to keep the decoys afloat.²⁰¹ Native Americans were the first innovative and successful hunters on the continent.

Compared to the Old World, North America's resources were still in near pristine condition when the first Europeans arrived. North America had not been lumbered, mined, plowed, fenced, or divided. The first people from Europe to arrive in North America in the sixteenth century were explorers who were better equipped for hunting men with their swords, lances, and crossbows than for hunting game.²⁰² By the early seventeenth century settlers were arriving mainly in the form of fur traders ready to hunt. For example in 1605, Port Royal in Nova Scotia, the ancestral home of the Cajuns, was founded and became a major distribution center for the fur industry booming in Europe at the time due to fur fashion.²⁰³ Reports back to Europe of a hunter's paradise appealed to commoners who had been prohibited from hunting in their homeland since the Middle Ages.²⁰⁴

More colonists continued to arrive in North America from various parts of Europe. They hunted "for food, for market, for bounties, and for an escape from the drudgery of farming."²⁰⁵ Few of them hunted as a way to create or renew the social hierarchy associated with hunting in Europe; they hunted to survive.²⁰⁶ In the colonies and later on the frontier, hunting was a common activity that could mean the difference between survival and starvation.²⁰⁷ To early Americans it seemed obvious that they were destined to be a hunting people.

²⁰¹ Waterman, *Hunting in America*, 40.

²⁰² *Ibid*, 61.

²⁰³ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 61.

²⁰⁴ Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination*, 14.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 4.

In the new republic, every man had the right to hunt. In his article “Hunting Democracy,” Daniel Herman argues that for many Americans, the right to hunt was inseparable from republican citizenship. Americans created a hunting democracy filled with hunter heroes like Daniel Boone who represented egalitarianism, manly self-assertion, and go-it-alone independence.²⁰⁸ In nineteenth century America, every citizen had political and legal rights that only aristocrats had in their home countries during earlier centuries including among them the right to hunt. Herman argues that “the right to hunt and the right to make political choices emerged simultaneously in the US.”²⁰⁹ Between the mid eighteenth and mid nineteenth century, the backwoods hunter of old transformed in the American mindset to hardy individualists; hunting offered hope of a life beyond the toils of farming.²¹⁰ The frontier hunter knew the land and how to live from it. By the age of Jackson in the early nineteenth century, frontier hunters were seen as “courageous men who, like Indians, had sprung from the American soil.”²¹¹

While the farmer represented the model American citizen, the hunter sought to elevate his status. Farmers were associated with values such as virtue, piety, and self-sufficiency; hunters of the nineteenth century sought to share these values.²¹² The main difference between these two groups who both lived off the land was that the hunters thrived in the wilderness while the farmer depended on the cultivated fields.²¹³ Hunting became a respectable sport as hunter heroes such as Boone and Davey Crocket emerged.²¹⁴ Boone became a middle class hero who helped to

²⁰⁸ Daniel Justin Herman, “Hunting Democracy,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 55, no. 3 (24).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*

²¹⁰ Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination*, 48.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 7.

²¹² *Ibid*, 10.

²¹³ *Ibid*.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

make hunting the most popular participatory sport in America.²¹⁵ Hunting remained a democratic sport throughout early American History.

As the nineteenth century came to an end, hunting practices changed in the US. For some, the previous thirty years of the nineteenth century were the “golden age of hunting” due to the abundance of game and the prominence of hunters.²¹⁶ For others though, the late 1800s represented the worst time for hunting in America as the sport transitioned from democratic to aristocratic at a time when the country itself was undergoing rapid urbanization, recession, and true class division. Hunting came to symbolize the chicanery and plunder ethos of the elite class of Americans who saw themselves like European aristocracy and began creating private game parks.²¹⁷ In the Adirondacks of New York state, for example, sixty privately owned game parks encompassed nearly 800,000 acres of land.²¹⁸ The Adirondack property of the Pruyn family of Albany—Camp Santanoni—was in fact modeled after the idea of the country houses of British aristocracy complete with a grand home surrounded by a large hunting park of 13,000 acres.²¹⁹ The poorer classes were nearly excluded from hunting by the end of the nineteenth century because they could not afford private parks or memberships to private clubs. This led *Forest and Stream* magazine to announce in 1897 that “game preserves are now as thoroughly established in this country as they are in the old world.”²²⁰

Yet before it became too late for the future of democratic hunting, Theodore Roosevelt was elected president at the turn of the century. He and his fellow progressives halted the growth of the new aristocrats not only by regulating businesses and breaking up trusts; he also

²¹⁵Ibid, 113.

²¹⁶ Waterman, *Hunting in America*, 154.

²¹⁷ Herman, “Hunting Democracy,” 25.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Robert Engel, Howard Kirschenbaum, and Paul Malo, *Santanoni: From Japanese Temple to Life at an Adirondack Great Camp*, (Keeseville, NY: Adirondack Architectural Heritage, 2009), 23.

²²⁰ Herman, “Hunting Democracy,” 26.

campaigns for public preserves and game laws.²²¹ Roosevelt was an avid hunter himself and remembered that the right to hunt was a symbol of political rights. He worked to save hunting for Americans from every walk of life by launching conservation campaigns.²²² He reclaimed the sport on behalf of the common man assuring that hunting would remain the right of many.²²³

The effects of Roosevelt's new policies took time to reach all Americans. While the immediate effects of his conservation efforts benefitted only the wealthy, after several years they benefitted all. Daniel Herman argues that in the long run "conservation democratized sport hunting by transforming every hunter into a 'sportsman,' a term that in the nineteenth century referred only to elite men."²²⁴ After a few decades, the long-term effect of these policies was evident. By the end of World War II, one out of four American males held a hunting license and outdoor magazines made efforts to shift their appeal from the wealthy to the everyday hunter.²²⁵

Conservation efforts continue to make hunting possible today. Conservation measures help to protect both the animal population and their habitats. The 1934 Migratory Bird Hunting and Stamp Act signed by Franklin Roosevelt, for instance, helps to fund conservation measures by requiring that hunters purchase and carry a stamp.²²⁶ Other measures include the creation of wildlife refuges and sanctuaries, bag limits, and the work of nonprofits such as Ducks Unlimited. People have come to recognize that hunting helps to protect wildlife around the globe; hunters are conservationists who are more and more concerned about the protection of wildlife.²²⁷ By the 1980s there existed a trend worldwide to specialize in diverse ways of hunting in order to make

²²¹ Ibid, 29.

²²² Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination*, 12.

²²³ Herman, "Hunting Democracy," 29.

²²⁴ Ibid, 30.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 143.

²²⁷ Erich Hobusch, *Fair Game: A History of Hunting, Shooting, and Animal Conservation* (New York, NY: Acro Publishing Inc, 1980), 263-264.

sure the outlook for the general protection of wildlife was bright.²²⁸ Erich Hobusch argues in his book *Fair Game: A History of Hunting, Shooting, and Animal Conservation* that not only are the wildlife conserved by hunters but cultural heritage is too; future generations will also want to study hunting history and carry the tradition on into the future.²²⁹ Because of conservation efforts worldwide, the tradition of hunting will hopefully continue to be accessible to everyone.



Figure 9: The 2017-2018 Migratory Bird Hunting and Conservation stamp continues to fund protection of wildlife habitat (<https://www.fws.gov/birds/get-involved/duck-stamp.php>)

Duck Hunting in Louisiana

“The Creator blessed Louisiana perhaps more than any other of the United States with an abundance of game birds and migratory fowl.” – Chef John Folse²³⁰

Since the beginning of European settlement in Louisiana, ducks have been a part of Louisiana’s culture and cuisine. From the arrival of the Cajuns in Louisiana, they hunted to supplement their diets, learning new techniques for the new climate; the Spanish government

²²⁸ Hobusch, *Fair Game*, 262.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 264.

²³⁰ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 93.

even provided each head of household with a shotgun.²³¹ The first settlers to arrive in Louisiana in the early eighteenth century remarked that the ducks there were remarkably better in taste and in quantity than the ducks in France.²³² Over the following three hundred plus years, the residents of Acadiana continued to enjoy the ducks and the sport of duck hunting. The Cajuns in Acadiana have carved out of the semitropical wilderness what some writers have referred to as a “Garden of Eden” and partake in the bounty with their particularly good hunting and fishing skills.²³³

South Louisiana is “a cultural and ecological treasure” where hunting is a revered part of the culture; duck hunting is not only in the water but it also courses through the veins of the locals.²³⁴ Ducks entered the culture not only through the cuisine but also through the language. In Acadiana, Cajun French words were used to name breeds of ducks from the *soups dos gris* to the *poule d’eaus*.²³⁵ Though laws make it illegal, many Louisianans also continue to hunt *gros-becs* (Cajun French for big beak); its delicate white flesh makes for a good gumbo.²³⁶ Duck hunting continues to be both economically and socially important in Louisiana. Although it has changed over the years from subsistence-based to recreational in nature, it continues to play a role in the lives of Louisianans and continues to serve as “a driving force in wetland conservation, enhancement, and appreciation.”²³⁷

The vast marshes of South Louisiana are the last part of the route on the Mississippi Flyway, an important migration route for waterfowl traveling from their breeding grounds

²³¹ Ancelet, *The Cajuns*, 14-15, 57.

²³² John R. Kemp and Julia Sims, *Vanishing Paradise: Duck Hunting in the Louisiana Marsh* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2010), 19.

²³³ Fielding Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter* (New York, NY: Vantage Press, 1998), 1.

²³⁴ Susan Schadt, *A Million Wings* (Memphis, TN: Wild Abundance Publishing, 2012), 238.

²³⁵ The *dos gris* is known as a bluebill in English and the *poule d’eaus* is a Moorhen or American Coot. Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 3-4.

²³⁶ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 113.

²³⁷ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 105.

further north in Canada to their wintering grounds further south.²³⁸ Amongst the waterfowl that migrates through these marshes are eighteen species of ducks and three species of geese.²³⁹ The migration begins in September with the arrival of the blue-winged teal and continues into October with the arrival of the green-winged teal, the American wigeon, and others; by November, the geese arrive. The migration peaks in December and/or January and ends by March as warmer temperatures usher in Spring.²⁴⁰ Millions of ducks and other waterfowl will fly through Louisiana during a season and will be hunted by nearly 100,000 registered waterfowl hunters.²⁴¹

Duck Hunting Camps

Originally camps were temporary structures used by Cajuns for remote work but came to develop a permanency and be appreciated for their recreational values associated with duck hunting. In *The Cajuns*, the camp is called “a Louisiana Institution” used to both get away from civilization and for recreation and sport.²⁴² Today’s duck hunting camps in Acadiana are used primarily by groups of men who enjoy bonding together and taking advantage of the isolation of camp life.²⁴³ Women sometimes use the camp but usually with men; an all-female group is a rarity in the Cajun duck hunting world.²⁴⁴

Hunting camps in Acadiana are often owned by hunting clubs. Joining a hunting club is almost essential for hunting in South Louisiana because most of the land is privately owned and

²³⁸ “Mississippi Flyway,” National Audubon Society Website, accessed October 19, 2017, <http://www.audubon.org/mississippi-flyway>.

²³⁹ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 105.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 108.

²⁴¹ Kemp, *Vanishing Paradise*, 19.

²⁴² Ancelet, *Cajun Country*, 31.

²⁴³ *Ibid*.

²⁴⁴ Susan Schadt, *Wild Abundance: Ritual, Revelry, and Recipes of the South’s Finest Hunting Clubs*, (Memphis, TN: Art Memphis, 2010), 272.

leased to clubs; without being a member of a club, there are limited opportunities to hunt.²⁴⁵ Ensuring the lease from a private landowner is part of the preseason ritual. In 1999, a typical hunting lease allowed hunters to use six hundred acres of land at a cost of two thousand dollars per season.²⁴⁶ As a result of the high price incurred for leasing thousands of acres of land for hunting, groups of hunters join to form clubs with each member paying dues which contributes to the cost of the lease.²⁴⁷ Leasing land for a hunting club is not a new aspect of camp life in Louisiana. In *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter* by Fielding Lewis, Lewis recounts the story of a company which had participated in a marsh lease in order to establish a company camp nearly sixty years ago in 1960.²⁴⁸

Not all hunting camps are run on the club model. In addition to private clubs in which shareholding members of the corporation vote new members in, some camps are commercial business ventures; many are family owned; others are used to entertain business clients; and one, the White Lake Hunting Club, is owned by the State of Louisiana.²⁴⁹ Where the club model is in effect, club memberships can range in size from very long lists, to a dozen names, to no names at all in the case of clubs who only have invited guests instead of members.²⁵⁰ For instance, at Avoca Hunting Club near Morgan City, LA, membership is limited to fifty members with several of the members being legacies following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers.²⁵¹ Other hunting camps also follow the trend of membership being passed down through

²⁴⁵ Kemp, *Vanishing Paradise*, 9.

²⁴⁶ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 136.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 137.

²⁴⁸ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 55.

²⁴⁹ Kemp, *Vanishing Paradise*, 10.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 215.

generations of family. At The Coastal Club, club president Dick Crowwell's grandfather was a founding member, his father was a member, and now his son is too.²⁵²

Camps built by hunting clubs began to be constructed by the beginning of the twentieth century. The first neighborhood of hunting clubs in Louisiana began in 1922 with the founding of Lake Arthur Club joined by The Coastal Hunting and Fishing Club in 1923.²⁵³ Many more camps were built by clubs throughout the twentieth century some of which have closed and others of which have remained open including The Coastal Club.²⁵⁴ The Coastal Club's main lodge was built in 1939 and is one of the oldest surviving hunting lodges which continues to be used in Acadiana.²⁵⁵ At Avoca Island, the 1938 lodge of the hunting club burned down in 1999 but the land of the camp has been in continuous use since 1937.²⁵⁶

In addition to different types of camp models, there are also class divisions within these models. For instance, many camps are still used by average, middle-class Cajuns. These camps, both family and club owned, provide the essentials and lack luxuries. On the other side, many camps are owned by wealthier people or private companies who may or may not identify as Cajun. For example, Grand View Camp is owned by the owner of Acadian Ambulance and is frequently used to entertain guests and company employees.²⁵⁷ The luxuries and amenities at these wealthier camps differ greatly from those of the average Cajun duck hunting camp.

²⁵² Kemp, *Vanishing Paradise*, 15.

²⁵³ Richard B. Crowell, *Chenier Plain*, (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2015), 73.

²⁵⁴ Crowell, *Chenier Plain*, 137.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 214.

²⁵⁷ Schadt, *Wild Abundance*, 125.

Features of Duck Hunting Camps

The camp consists not only of the lodge building but also the blinds and the land used for the hunt. The buildings of the hunting camps range in size and in amenities with some being more luxurious and elaborate in nature and others being modest affairs.²⁵⁸ Before the season begins, work crews formed by members arrive to prepare the camp.²⁵⁹ Camps take on a variety of forms but there is typically a main lodge where members sleep and eat. Luxurious camps may come with private bedrooms and chefs. More modest camps tend to have bunkrooms and simpler amenities. A duck camp lodge built on Jackson Bayou in the 1950s for example had a large bunk room, a kitchen, and two open porches with a makeshift bathroom.²⁶⁰ This camp, like many others, had more rooms added over time and only the basic necessities; the butane tank, which fueled the heater and the stove, was considered a luxury.²⁶¹ Even the Bayou Club in Intercoastal City, LA, which dates to 1927 and is considered one of the finest hunting camps in the South is “by far not the fanciest group of buildings” yet the setting and romance of hunting there is priceless.²⁶²

In discussions with avid hunters in Louisiana, a list of key camp components for more modest club camps and family owned camps was put together. Inside the main lodge, there is typically a large table for playing cards, somewhere to store guns, and bunkbeds. Outside, there may be a devoted area for cleaning ducks, a place for dog kennels, and somewhere to store boats. Water access is important to a camp too because most blinds are only accessible by water.²⁶³

²⁵⁸ Ancelet, *The Cajuns*, 32.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 133.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Schadt, *Wild Abundance*, 14.

²⁶³ In a phone conversation with avid duck hunter, Paul Rachal, he outlined the typical camp features from his experience. These were confirmed through site visits to hunting camps.

The blinds themselves are one of the key features of a duck hunting camp since they are where the actual hunting occurs. A duck blind is a structure designed by the hunter to reduce the likelihood of detection by the ducks; they “provide an external layer of camouflage in addition to clothing.”²⁶⁴ Blinds were originally more natural and became more constructed as the sport evolved. In 1943 for instance, Fielding Lewis remembers the blind being “nothing more than a small clearing in the thick marsh grass,” but it did the job and hid him completely and blended in with the surroundings.²⁶⁵ More modern duck blinds are constructed using a variety of materials. At the Bayou Club, blinds are constructed using old Tabasco barrels as a place for the hunters to stand and are covered with wild Roseau cane.²⁶⁶



Figure 10: A duck blind on Miller's Lake in Vidrine, LA, is made to blend in with the natural environment (photo by author)

²⁶⁴ Folse, *After the Hunt*, 149.

²⁶⁵ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 8.

²⁶⁶ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 239.

Duck Hunting and Landscape Conservation

The landscape is another vital component necessary to the duck camp. The landscape is the feature that attracts the ducks in the first place so hunters take time to get to know the land. The hunters appreciate the landscape; its management matters so much to them because they depend on it for their sport.²⁶⁷ At Avoca Duck Club, the marshes and land around the island look much as they did in 1937 when the club was founded and retain their timeless, haunting beauty.²⁶⁸ Around the island at Avoca, the club members have named places very obviously based on the physical features of the landscape including Pipe Bean Field, so named because there is a pipe in the beanfield, as well as Log Pond, Oak Tree Bean Field, and Gray Duck Hole.²⁶⁹ An important aspect of hunting is the skill of wayfinding which requires a deep knowledge of the landscape. A former duck hunting guide once said that you begin to recognize everything and “you know your bushes and your little ponds.”²⁷⁰ The guides of the hunting clubs often know the property best because they have been working the landscape for years sometimes following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers.²⁷¹

Any changes to the landscape then affect the duck population and also the sport of duck hunting. Unfortunately in Acadiana, hunting camps face challenges due to the fragile coastal wetlands which are constantly threatened by hurricanes, erosion, and salt water intrusion which in turn threatens the ducks.²⁷² Oil extraction also threatens the coast as the Louisiana coast accounts for the movement of more than twenty-six percent of the country’s crude oil and natural

²⁶⁷ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 246.

²⁶⁸ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 214.

²⁶⁹ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 215.

²⁷⁰ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 125.

²⁷¹ Schadt, *Wild Abundance*, 140.

²⁷² Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 238.

gas supply.²⁷³ In Fielding Lewis's fifty years of hunting the area, he saw many changes in wildlife including the invasion of the nutria which destroyed wetlands.²⁷⁴

The threat to Louisiana's coast threatens the Cajuns way of life. Insurance coverage becomes harder to acquire and more expensive while building codes are stricter which adds more costs.²⁷⁵ The Cajun culture and economy which have deep roots in the wetlands "will likely share the same fate as those ecosystems."²⁷⁶ As the wetlands lose acreage, activities such as hunting along with the culture linked to it will become increasingly vulnerable; if duck hunting in South Louisiana is to survive, "so too must the habitats and resources on which [it] depends."²⁷⁷

Another major change in wetland wildlife has been the decrease in the amount of ducks. Ducks and waterfowl used to "blacken the skies" of Louisiana with so many of them quacking that the noise would turn into a roar.²⁷⁸ Night hunts were common and there were no restrictions such as bag limits; yet, the abundant waterfowl population more than offset what was being killed.²⁷⁹ Today that is no longer the case with Rockefeller Refuge Game Warden James Nunez remarking as early as 1999 that there were not as many ducks around.²⁸⁰ These remarks have been proven correct with scientific studies showing that since the 1970s, the Northern Pintail has reached unprecedented low levels; this is especially concerning because Louisiana's Gulf Coasts hosts one of "the largest concentrations of pintails wintering in the... Mississippi Flyway."²⁸¹

²⁷³ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 3.

²⁷⁴ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 228.

²⁷⁵ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 164.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁸¹ Robert R. Cox, Alan D. Afton, and Richard M. Pace III, "Survival of Female Northern Pintails Wintering in Southwestern Louisiana," *The Journal of Wildlife Management* 62, no. 4 (1998), 1512.

Beginning in the 1930s, the government began to work to regulate waterfowl hunting through the three “R’s” of waterfowl conservation: regulations, research, and refuges.²⁸² Yet the duck hunters of South Louisiana initially only saw one kind of “R,” restriction.²⁸³ The US Fish and Wildlife Service has consistently adopted a liberal package for managing duck hunting in the Mississippi flyway meaning a sixty day season and six duck bag limit; these restraints, however disliked by duck hunters, help to preserve the species and the sport.²⁸⁴

The work to conserve the wetlands though is essential. The rapid loss of Louisiana’s coastal wetlands threatens not only ducks and hunting but a way of life and the people who live there.²⁸⁵ Despite containing the largest expanse of coastal wetlands in North America, Louisiana’s waterfowl habitats are under critical threat of deterioration.²⁸⁶ Rising sea levels, saltwater intrusion, problems caused by nutria, petroleum exploration, and levee construction have all contributed to the vanishing of Louisiana’s coastal marshland.²⁸⁷

More recently the state, and other organizations including Ducks Unlimited, have taken steps to restore the coast and duck habitat. The state oversees at least forty-nine wildlife management areas many of which are for waterfowl and also operates wildlife refuges including ones in Acadiana.²⁸⁸ Ducks Unlimited is a major player that to some, represents “the future of duck hunting in America.”²⁸⁹ Ducks Unlimited has given grants to places such as Avoca Hunting Club which allowed them to recapture habitat which in turn attracts more ducks.²⁹⁰ Many duck hunters in Acadiana are members of Ducks Unlimited and act as stewards of their

²⁸² Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 120.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Crowell, *Chenier Plain*, 208.

²⁸⁵ Kemp, *Vanishing Paradise*, 7.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 25.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 26.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 20.

²⁸⁹ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 262.

²⁹⁰ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 215.

hunting land.²⁹¹ These outdoorsmen and hunters “work together to make a difference for wildlife and embrace the preservation of precious habitat.”²⁹² While hunting does take a toll on the wildlife, it also contributes to the local economy and wetland conservation.²⁹³ The threats to the landscape also affect the hunting lodges themselves. For example at The Bayou Club, the main lodge had to be raised twelve feet for insurance purposes: the Club’s ability to adapt shows its “tenacity in the face of formidable environmental odds.”²⁹⁴ The sport of duck hunting in Louisiana is intrinsically linked to conservation efforts to restore and protect habitats for migrant waterfowl; the unique culture and tradition of Acadiana’s duck hunters depends on it.

Camp Traditions

The unique culture and traditions of Acadiana’s duck hunting camps begin with the hunt itself but extend to the meals, activities, and general social life of the camp. The hunt has its own rituals beginning with an early morning wakeup call followed by a boat trip through the marshes to the duck blind.²⁹⁵ The hunters spend their day together in the blind looking for birds, shooting, and enjoying the camaraderie for “duck hunting is a decidedly social pursuit.”²⁹⁶ Duck hunting brings the hunter into varied and unexpected contacts with animal life and nature.²⁹⁷

Duck hunting involves more than just shooting; duck hunters have to master the duck call, set up decoys, and develop specific strategies taking into account multiple variables.²⁹⁸

Like the Native Americans who made duck decoys out of natural materials, for the majority of

²⁹¹ Ibid, 7.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 105.

²⁹⁴ Schadt, *A Million Wings*, 238.

²⁹⁵ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 124.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 125.

²⁹⁷ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, VIII.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 188.

the early twentieth century, South Louisiana's duck hunters used wooden decoy rigs carved from cypress wood and hand painted.²⁹⁹ The carving tradition is still prominent in the south central and south east regions of the state although many decoys used by Cajun hunters today are made of molded plastic.³⁰⁰ Setting the decoys is an important skill for hunters as the decoys help to lure waterfowl within range of shooting as ducks will often fly into areas where other ducks are already resting and feeding.³⁰¹ The duck call is the sound equivalent of the duck decoy as it lures waterfowl in to inspect the sound.³⁰² The mastery of these skills are important aspects of duck hunting.

In Louisiana, duck hunters traditionally used a type of boat called the pirogue to navigate the marsh. Pirogues are a type of boat derived from dugouts carved from cypress logs first by Native Americans and later by Cajun settlers; pirogues are still used for hunting in the marshes and bayous of South Louisiana.³⁰³ After returning to camp by pirogue or other means after the hunt, the hunters unload the equipment, clean guns, and dress ducks.³⁰⁴

After hunting, the other top priority and tradition associated with hunting camps in Acadiana is food. Most conversations at the camp always come down to food.³⁰⁵ Preparing and cooking certain foods, including those made with wild game, is a ritual at many clubs in Louisiana with cookbooks such as *After the Hunt* being published specifically with wild game recipes in mind.³⁰⁶ Cooking might also include food such as frogs as late-night frogging is another dimension to camp life at some camps in Louisiana including Grande View Lodge.³⁰⁷

²⁹⁹ Gomez, *A Wetland Biography*, 128.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 127.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid, 128.

³⁰³ Lewis, *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*, 3.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 112.

³⁰⁵ Schadt, *Wild Abundance*, 14.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, 22.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 135.

The meals lead to other traditions including story telling. At the Bayou Club, as people gather around the table for meals, tall tales are told.³⁰⁸ Far away from civilization, hunters at camp have had to improvise for entertainment. In *The Cajuns*, noted Cajun historian and folklorist Barry Ancelet notes that “because of its isolation, the camp has become a means of reactivating and preserving oral lore.”³⁰⁹ People who hunt together over time tend to develop their own hunting language and have colorful stories about their hunts, both good and bad; they tell stories of narrow escapes, techniques for escaping life, and their own tall tales.³¹⁰ Camp life involves “listening to great stories from true characters” especially around the table or around the fire after a good meal.³¹¹ Other traditions noted at duck hunting camps in Acadiana include the playing of a card game called bourré, “a trick-taking card game popular in the Acadiana Region.”³¹² At one hunting camp, Grand View, an ATM was installed on the property to continue to allow guests to participate in the game even after they have lost all their money.³¹³ At the Bayou Club, a unique ritual takes place every morning before the hunt: the consumption of an orange sandwich consisting of a wedge of orange and a shot of bourbon followed by the singing of “God Bless America.”³¹⁴

Hunting camps are much more than a place to hunt. They’re about ceremony, tradition, and camaraderie as well.³¹⁵ They’re about an experience and a bond between the guides, owners, and guests just as much as they are about hunting and meals.³¹⁶ As Susan Schadt says in the introduction to *Wild Abundance*,

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 18.

³⁰⁹ Ancelet, *The Cajuns*, 32.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 58.

³¹¹ Schadt, *Wild Abundance*, 104, 125.

³¹² Ibid, 125.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 16, 36.

³¹⁵ Ibid, 12.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 133.

*Avid outdoorsmen, conservationist, and hunters embrace a brand of camaraderie steeped in tradition that inspires intense devotion to the land and wildlife, as well as the desire to share it all with family, friends, and future generations. The special spirit of such excursions extends beyond the hunt into clubhouses and kitchens where memories are made.*³¹⁷

Summary

With a better understanding of Cajun culture, the preservation of resources, and duck hunting in Acadiana, there are several key points that will influence how the research question is thought about and answered. The Cajuns have played an important role in Louisiana's history and have created a unique culture for themselves rooted in their landscape. There are ways of recognizing the places associated with the Cajuns through the National Historic Preservation Act. In order to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, these places will need to meet certain criteria and have integrity. In addition to ways of recognizing physical resources, there is groundwork that could be used to help recognize, preserve, and protect the intangible cultural heritage of the Cajuns. Hunting has played a role in history in a broad sense as well as specifically in terms of Cajun history. Places associated with duck hunting in Acadiana are the duck hunting camps, physical resources that are also where intangible traditions occur. By determining this relationship between culture and the camps, it can be determined if the camps are significant in Cajun culture and also if they are significant historic resources that could be included on the National Register. In the analysis chapter of this thesis, the information from this background research will be used to better understand the case study sites.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 6.

CHAPTER 3

ACADIANA DUCK HUNTING CAMP CASE STUDY SITES

To answer the research question, any number of research methodologies could have been used, but it was felt that a case study approach would best reveal how well a duck hunting camp could be evaluated for potential eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. A case study approach was chosen because it can help to describe and evaluate a place or a process.³¹⁸ The case study research methodology has three primary steps: define criteria to identify case study sites, collect background information on each case study site including history and existing conditions, and assess the case study sites, in this thesis, against National Register of Historic Places elements as well as intangible cultural heritage factors. This chapter addresses the first two steps, while Chapter Four provides the assessment. Detailed descriptions of methods will be provided within each topic in this chapter.

Criteria for Choosing the Case Study Sites

Six criteria were established to assist in choosing the specific case study sites for assessment. Of primary importance was that the case study site was and continues to be used as a duck hunting camp. While several sites chosen are also used for other activities, their primary use is as a duck hunting camp. Second, the case study sites needed to be associated with Cajuns and hopefully reflective of Cajun culture which meant, for the most part, that the camps would

³¹⁸ Mark Francis, "A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture."

be in the Acadiana region of South Louisiana. Third, the camps chosen would also need to be at least fifty years old or would soon reach that age, so they would meet the age threshold of being potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Fourth, it was important that not too many camps would be chosen from any one parish or locale. Fifth, a diverse sampling of camps was desired so the camps chosen needed to represent the wide variety of duck hunting camps in Louisiana. And sixth, sites were chosen based on relative ease of access. While some of the camps proved difficult to get to, they were easy to gain access to in terms of the owner's willingness to participate in the study. Using the criteria, the author began discussing the need to identify duck hunting camps with Cajun family and friends asking if they knew of any potential case study sites that matched the criteria. The list of candidate case study sites was narrowed through those discussions to four camps: Tropical Gardens Gun Club, The Red Camp, Hard Times Camp, and The Delacroix Hilton.

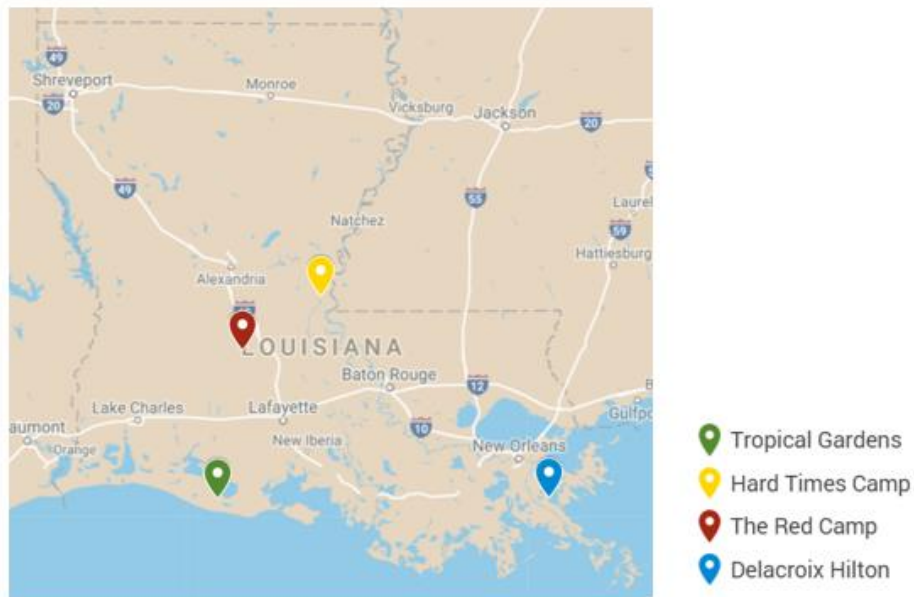


Figure 11: Location of the four case study sites in relation to each other (map generated by author using Google Maps)

Case Study Data Collection Methodology

Once the case study sites were identified, the process of collecting information began. To do this, it was necessary to contact duck hunting camp owners and family members who were willing to talk about the sites, and provide access to the site to undertake existing conditions documentation.

Over a three-week period during December 2017, site visits were planned which included arranging visits to the duck hunting camps as well as arranging for times to meet with people associated with the camps to ask them questions. Sometimes, the site visit and the interview were done in the same day while other times, the site was visited and then the interview was completed. Visiting the camps required coordination in order to ensure someone was there with whom to tour the site. For two of the camps chosen, physical access proved to be very difficult as Hard Times Camp required going down an ATV only road and The Delacroix Hilton could only be accessed by boat. In the end, only three out of the four camps were visited yet a representative from each of the four camps was interviewed.

In order to be consistent across all of the site documentation efforts, a standard procedure was defined using content from the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office's historic resource survey form.; that form emphasizes building materials, building forms, construction methods, etc. Additional survey questions were added in order to inventory common features of duck hunting camps, such as bunk beds, a duck cleaning area, and boat storage present on the site. Cultural landscape characteristics, as defined by the National Park Service such as topography, circulation, vegetation, and views, were also identified and documented at each site. In addition to written documentation, many photographs were taken at the camps. Pictures of all buildings at each site, as well as the landscape and occasionally the people present were taken in

order to visually document the sites. Together, the survey forms and photos help to fully document the sites.

In the case of The Delacroix Hilton, a site visit was unfeasible. This camp is only accessible by water and because of unusually cold weather as well as logistical problems, there was not enough time in the three weeks available to arrange a visit to the camp. However, the owner was available to meet with at her house. She had photos of the camp, both as it presently stands and past iterations. Because of the abundance of photo documentation and her knowledge about the building's construction and landscape, it was still possible to complete survey forms and answer questions. She also provided copies of many of the photos in order for the author to have photo documentation of the camp. Although this was not the ideal documentation method, it was the best available option with the time and resources available and a more or less complete survey was accomplished.

In addition to surveying and documenting the physical aspects of the site, another important part of the research was to interview people associated with the camps. In these interviews, several questions were asked in order to understand the history of the camp, the present use of the camps, and the relationship between the camp and Cajun culture. Those interviewed were all either long time members or owners of the camps. Because of the open-ended nature of the questions, some interviews lasted longer than others. Also, some of the interviewees had special issues that they wanted to address that were not covered in the questions. The answers to the standard questions, as well as the additional statements given, helped to create a unique feeling for each camp. In addition to the physical nature of the sites, the answers to these questions helped describe the types of activities, traditions, and lifestyle associated with the duck hunting camps. With the information from the site surveys and the

interviews, analysis will be done in the next chapter to determine whether or not these duck hunting camps are playing a role to help preserve Cajun Culture and whether or not they are potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Case Study Site Descriptions

Using information gathered during the research process, each of the four case study sites are described in the remainder of this chapter. Each description consists of the history of the sites, their present forms, their geographic location shown on a map to understand their specific location in relation to the broader environment, as well as to each other. The environment surrounding the sites are described, as well as an overview of the ownership of the camp, who uses it and any known Cajun cultural associations and traditions.

Tropical Gardens Gun Club

Location

Tropical Gardens Gun Club is located in the vicinity of Kaplan, LA in Vermillion Parish which is part of Acadiana. The camp is at the very southern edge of Vermillion Parish along the Gulf Coast in an unincorporated area known as Pecan Island.³¹⁹ Lying on high ground across LA Hwy 82 from the vast marshes that line the coast, means that the camp is conveniently accessible by car. The camp is in close proximity to Rockefeller Wildlife Management Area and Game Preserve to the west as well as White Lake Wetlands Conservation Area to the north.

³¹⁹ Pecan Island was predominantly settled by Cajuns and thus also has a name in French, La Pacanière.

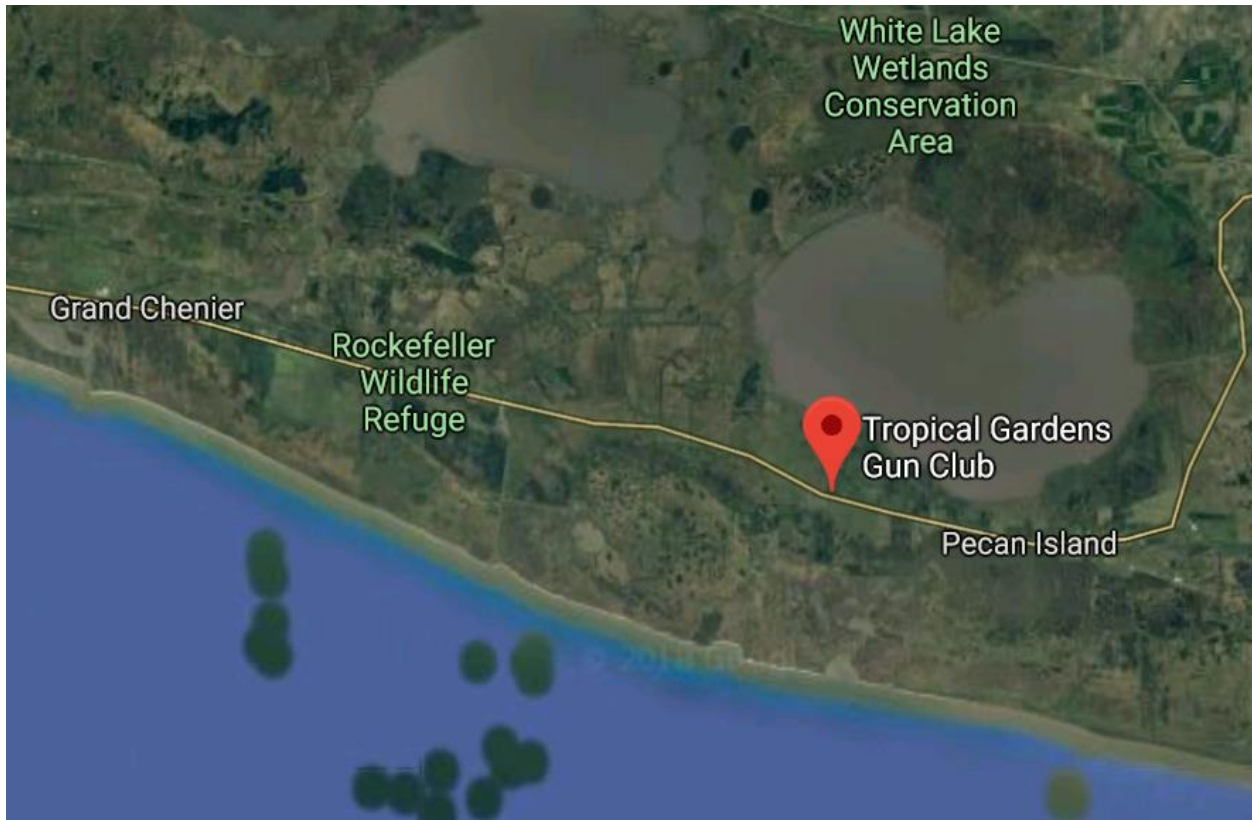


Figure 12: Map of Tropical Gardens Gun Club in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)

Landscape Characteristics and Buildings

The Tropical Gardens Gun Club finds itself in a unique location in the landscape along the edge of the high ground facing the marsh across the street. The duck cleaning shed is located on the same parcel of land and the boat shed is nearby but down the street. The camp is located in an area with a cluster of other duck hunting camps and private homes near the edge of the Rockefeller Wildlife Management area. The camp can be accessed by the highway and once at the camp, walking is the main form of circulation although there are no paved paths. The large paved semi-circle driveway provides parking for the many pickup trucks that visit. The other form of circulation is by boat through the large marsh area to access the camps eight duck blinds.

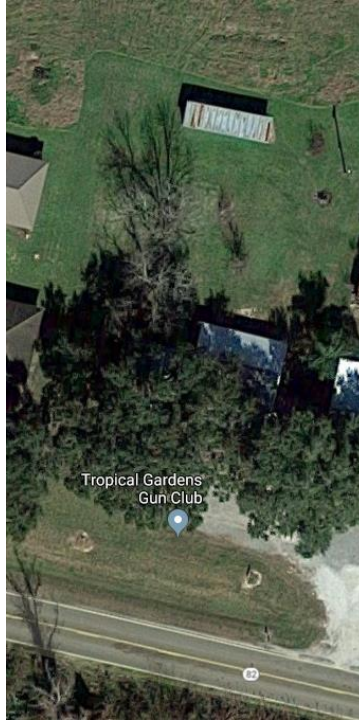


Figure 13: A satellite view of Tropical Gardens shows the main camp building under tree cover with the duck plucking and storage shed to its north (Google Maps)



Figure 14: The large semi-circle driveway provides parking for the many pickup trucks (photo by author)

The land has been used historically for both hunting and agriculture and continues to be used for these purposes today. The flat, prairie like landscape on which the camp sits is bordered by agricultural fields used for cattle grazing. Contrastingly, across the street lies wetlands used for hunting and fishing. The topography does appear very flat although the camp and the other nearby buildings were built on what is actually a high point of ground for the area.



Figure 15: Tropical Gardens is surrounded by flat agricultural fields to its north (photo by author)

Tropical Gardens Gun Club built their camp in 1957 soon after Hurricane Audrey hit the area. The primary camp building is a one story, rectangular plain building oriented east west with horizontal sliding sash windows. This building is built in a ranch style, which was a popular architectural style at the time. Unlike most ranch style buildings, though, the building is

raised a few feet off the ground, sitting on concrete block piers and anchored into the ground at the corners in order to prevent it from washing away during storms. The exterior cladding is board and batten vertical siding painted a dark green. This exterior shell is broken up by four of the sliding sash windows on the front, south façade as well as a six-pane fixed window on the west façade of the mudroom conversion. There are also two doors, one on the south elevation which serves as the primary entrance and one on the north elevation which serves as a backdoor. There is evidence of a door on the west elevation as well as windows on the north and east elevation which have since been covered in siding. The camp building used to have a front porch on the south elevation but this area was converted into a mudroom in 2007; a storage room was added to the north elevation sometime prior to 2000.



Figure 16: The south elevation of the main camp building (photo by author)

The interior of the primary building consists of several large rooms. After entering through the mudroom on the south elevation and turning right towards the east, the large living and dining space is the first room entered. This room contains a large table for meals and card games as well as many chairs for lounging. Off this room to the north is a large and well stocked kitchen. To the other side of the living/dining room on the west is a small hall. Through this hall the large, dormitory style bathroom is accessed as well as the bunk room, the largest room in the building. The bunk room is lined with nine sets of bunkbeds, eighteen mattresses total, with lockers in the middle for camp members to store their things. The bunkroom used to have rollaway beds in this room but those were not as space efficient as the bunk beds. Now there are enough beds for all eighteen members to stay overnight at the same time. Bunk location is determined in part by seniority with the oldest members getting first choice of bunk space, usually leaving the younger men and visitors with upper bunks. An interesting piece of hunting specific technology also finds itself in this room, boot dryers used by the men to dry out their boots after the hunt.



Figure 17: The bunk room of Tropical Gardens (photo by author)



Figure 18: The dormitory style bathroom of Tropical Gardens (photo by author)

The camp has several outbuildings in order to support camp functions. The largest of its outbuildings is the one story rectangular 10' x 20' duck plucking and storage shed, also known as the cleaning shed. This building, which is clad in corrugated metal siding, is located approximately fifty feet north of the main building. It is divided into two functional spaces. On the east side is a screened in room with concrete floors containing a counter running along the length of its north, south, and west wall. This room is used for cleaning the ducks killed at the camp. There is a machine known as a duck plucker, which quickly plucks the ducks of their feathers, as well as a sink for additional cleaning. To make the room even more functional, there is a hose nearby that can be used to wash out the interior after a duck cleaning. The west side of this structure is a storage shed used to store boats as well as to occasionally kennel dogs.



Figure 19: The duck plucking and storage shed at Tropical Gardens(photo by author)



Figure 20: The duck plucker machine (photo by author)

The other outbuilding of Tropical Gardens Gun Club is a boathouse. The boathouse is not located on the same parcel as the main camp but is about a quarter mile west down Hwy 82 at a place known as Rollover Landing. This structure is raised over the water on posts. Its exterior is clad with corrugated metal on three sides as its roof; the northeast elevation of the boathouse is completely open allowing the boats to come and go. The boathouse is accessed from a small wooden footbridge on its southwest façade which leads from solid ground, over the water, to a padlocked door. The boathouse has a small amount of decking on its interior along the southwest elevation and jutting out in the center, forming a T-shape with boats parked on either side. The boathouse can hold two boats and provides the camp members with direct water access to their blinds on the coast.



Figure 21: The southwest elevation of the boathouse (photo by author)



Figure 22: The interior of the boathouse looking northeast (photo by author)

In addition to these outbuildings, there are several other outdoor use areas which contain many small scale features. On the east side of the main building there is the original table, attached to the wall, that was used for cleaning ducks before the cleaning shed was built. This east side of the building still has a line for hanging ducks and is frequently used for photos of the hunters showcasing their kill. The primary outdoor area of the camp though is actually the front yard, south of the primary building. Here, there is a barbeque grill for cooking as well as an above ground fire pit just a few feet away and many lawn chairs scattered about providing places to sit. In the afternoon after a morning hunt, many camp members can be found in this area grilling out and relaxing in their camouflage gear. Along the back of the main building in a small breezeway between the storage room and the kitchen is a unique camp necessity, a duck refrigerator. This outdoor refrigerator is used solely for the purpose of storing ducks which are not allowed in the interior refrigerator. In addition to these small scale features, there are a few others including a sign located adjacent to the road and the unique anchors located at the corners of the main camp building which secure it to the ground.



Figure 23: The original cleaning table is still attached to the wall on the east side of the primary camp building



Figure 24: The primary outdoor area of the camp is the front yard, south of the main camp building (photo by author)

The vegetation that grows here on the property surrounding the main camp complex consists of oak trees, pecan trees, and grass. However, the marsh areas facing the camp and encompassing the duck blinds consists of tall marsh grasses. Because of the relatively cleared nature of the yard surrounding the camp, there are views. From the camp, one can see across the street to the marsh edge. In the other direction is open pasture land. Throughout the yard, one can note the small scale features and archaeological resources. The back yard contains several pieces of very old farming equipment left over from the days prior to 1957 when the land the camp sits on was in agricultural use. The most unusual small-scale features are the anchors located on the corners of the house which secure it to the ground. The camp also has a sign on the road so that it can be identified.



Figure 25: Scattered about the landscape are remnants of old farming equipment (photo by author)

Camp History and Current Culture

Tropical Gardens Gun Club was founded by the late JW Guerrin, a native of Pointe Coupee Parish, in 1957. He was a state employee who frequently visited Pecan Island as part of his job as a civil engineer with the Department of Public Works. At this time, the area was quite remote only having a gravel road and being over a hundred miles away from his home. But, he came to know the area well and would hunt there on his own. He eventually decided to build a camp there and construction began after Hurricane Audrey hit the area in 1957.



Figure 26: The founding charter of Tropical Gardens Gun Club

The camp was founded as a club with individual members paying to be a part of it which is how the camp is run to this day. Guerrin chose camp members who would contribute to the building of the camp; for instance, he chose people who owned lumber yards or had plumbing skills. With their combination of skills, the camp members were able to build the camp

themselves. At this time, bylaws were also written stating that members had to be residents of Pointe Coupee Parish. The members of the camp chose a name for themselves, Tropical Gardens Gun Club. At the time the camp was founded, there was a bar in Pointe Coupee Parish called Tropical Gardens so it became a kind of joke for the men to tell their wives that they would be spending the weekend at “Tropical Gardens.”

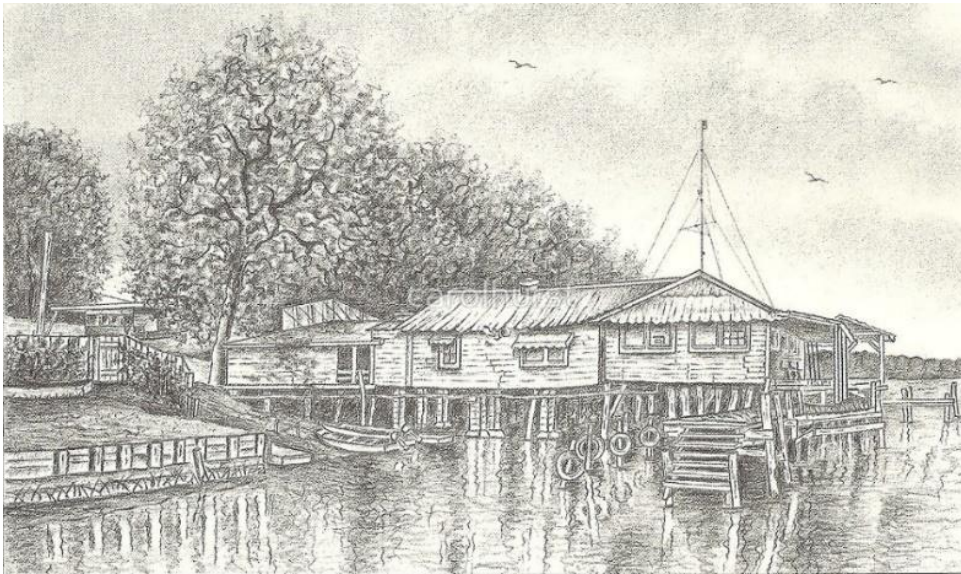


Figure 27: An image by artist Carol Hurst of the Tropical Gardens Bar in New Roads, LA, the namesake for Tropical Gardens Gun Club (<https://www.redbubble.com/people/carolhurst/works/6544985-tropical-gardens-1930s-1978>)

Unlike many duck hunting camps in South Louisiana, Tropical Gardens has not had to be rebuilt over the years. The camp today looks much the same as it did in the past with a few changes on the interior. The original rollaway beds were replaced with bunkbeds and lockers were added to the center of the room sometime in the 1970s. These changes really helped to cut back on the amount of snoring that could be heard and also provided more storage and sleeping area. In 2005, Hurricane Rita hit Vermillion Parish and while the camp did flood, it did not wash away like others in the area. After this storm, some of the interior finishes were replaced.

Currently there are eighteen total members of the all-male camp led by a president and three other board members. The camp has really become a generational thing as membership is often passed down through family members. When new members do come in, the current members really look to find men who will participate in all tasks such as work weekends and maintenance in addition to hunting. The bylaws have been changed so that members do not have to be Pointe Coupee Parish residents although the majority of them still are.

The camp continues to require a lot of maintenance to keep it going. Even with camp members participating in mandatory work weekends twice a year, there are still many maintenance issues such as pipes freezing or boats not running. The camp members used to try to do all of the work themselves (and still like to think they do!) but now they realize sometimes it's easier and more cost efficient to hire people to do the work. Now, they often still donate supplies and time to the camp but hiring locals saves them more time and money in the long run since a trip to the camp is about three hours each way (from Pointe Coupee Parish) and most men still work full time.

The camp has also been active in the Pecan Island community as well as in conservation efforts. The camp members try to participate in the local community by going to church on the island, donating to local causes, and hiring locals for different tasks around the camp. They are also active in duck conservation efforts and take extra care to follow limits. They have even gone as far as setting up a meeting with someone from Wildlife and Fisheries to make sure that they are following the rules and doing their part. With so many camp members and technicalities, it is important to be well aware of the law.

A typical day at the camp involves the men waking up around 4 AM. Wakeup is followed by a hearty, calorie filled breakfast and coffee. From there, the men go out to the eight

blinds located in the nearby marshes across the street with each member assigned to a blind group. The blind groups rotate so that different groups get the first choice of blind every day. With the blind positions decided, it takes about an hour total to get from the camp to each of the eight blinds. Now with cell phones, everyone can be in communication throughout the day. This allows people to move around to better blinds to reach their limit as those in the best blinds have already reached theirs. When they get back from the hunt, they clean all of the ducks in their duck shed except those that are saved to be mounted. They eat a smaller lunch followed by a big dinner at night. Eating is a major part of camp life and the men jokingly refer to the camp as “The Knife and Fork Club.”

TROPICAL GARDENS HUNTING CLUB 2017-2018

| GROUP 1 | GROUP 2 | GROUP 3 | GROUP 4 | GROUP 5 | GROUP 6 |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| B. Marks D. Ward D. L. White | S. White D. White P. White | C. White R. White S. White | M. White N. White L. White | M. White N. White L. White | J. White, Jr. K. White R. White |

| DATE | MONDAY | TUESDAY | WEDNESDAY | THURSDAY | FRIDAY | SATURDAY |
|----------|--------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------|
| NOVEMBER | | | | | | |
| 1 | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | |
| 24 | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | | |
| 29 | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | |
| 31 | | | | | | |
| JANUARY | | | | | | |
| 1 | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | |
| 24 | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | | |
| 29 | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | |
| 31 | | | | | | |

MEMBER MEALS: \$30.00 PER DAY
 FEES: \$10.00 per day for food, \$20.00 for fuel, \$10.00 for camp if over 10.
 \$50.00 per day for guest over 10.
 \$20.00 per day for guest under 10.
 \$40.00 per day for college students under age 21.
 \$20.00 per day for non-hunting guests.

Family members (fathers, sons, sons in law) are allowed as guest starting 11/12.
 All other guests will be allowed starting 11/18.

Ducks must be retrieved during your hunt and before the next boat comes to pick you up!

DUCK CLEANING
 After each hunt, all ducks will be divided equally among hunters.
 Each hunter is then responsible for his share.

Figure 28: The blind rotation schedule for the 2017-2018 hunting season (photo by author)



Figure 29: A map of the duck blinds used by Tropical Gardens (photo by author)

On December 28, 2017, camp member Steve Fourier was interviewed. Steve Fourier has been a member of Tropical Gardens Gun Club since 2001 but has been going there for much longer. He first visited the camp around the same time that it was founded. His uncle was one of the original members of the camp and he used to invite Steve to go hunting with him and JW Guerrin. He comes from a family of hunters with not only his uncle hunting but his dad and cousins hunting as well. He used to go hunting at other camps too. He continues to own a fishing camp on Grand Isle, LA; for a while, he leased a camp north of Grand Isle for duck hunting eventually buying it in 1983. Unfortunately, it burned down in 1997 and in 2001 he

became a member of Tropical Gardens Gun Club, around the same time that the bylaws were changed since he was not a resident of Pointe Coupee Parish.³²⁰

Steve hunts ducks because he has always hunted ducks. He has been doing it his whole life and it has become second nature to him. He continues to hunt because he enjoys it and it reminds him of the good ole days. He enjoys the camaraderie and forming relationships with people who have the same passion for duck hunting as he does. He enjoys going to camp because he loves camp life. In fact, his favorite thing to do at camp is just to be at camp. He loves the cooking, the conversations, the hunting, and everything in between. While there is always work to be done at camp, he still very much enjoys just being at camp.



Figure 30: The kitchen has a large stove and many seasonings because cooking and eating well are a large part of camp life (photo by author)

³²⁰ Ironically, since joining Tropical Gardens Gun Club, Steve and his wife have moved from Baton Rouge, LA, to New Roads, LA, so he now is a resident of Pointe Coupee Parish.

The Camp and Cajun Culture

Steve Fourier comes from a mixed background of French, Spanish, and Cajun ancestry but when he is at the camp, he feels most connected to the Cajun culture. To him, the culture is about the camaraderie brought on by hunting, fishing, and cooking. These typical camp activities help to forge a bond between members. Cajun culture is also about being a good neighbor and being a part of a community. He feels that at Tropical Gardens, they are part of the Cajun community in the area. He told a story about a pipe at the camp that needed to be drained before the temperature dropped below freezing. Because most of the members live far away, they could not get to the camp to do it. However, before he even asked, a Pecan Island local gave him a call and volunteered to go drain the pipe for him. For Steve, that was the most telling example of Cajun culture: people who look out for each other.



Figure 31: More than anything, the camp is about camaraderie. Here members of Tropical Gardens pose with their kill after a hunt (photo courtesy of Tropical Gardens Gun Club)

The Red Camp

Location

The Red Camp is located in the vicinity of Ville Platte, LA, in Evangeline Parish which is part of Acadiana. The location of the camp is in the center of the parish in an unincorporated area known as Vidrine. The camp sits on high ground along the southern end of Millers Lake. This location is off of a gravel road off of a state highway which is easily accessed by car. In addition to its location on Millers Lake, The Red Camp is also located in close proximity to Chicot State Park.

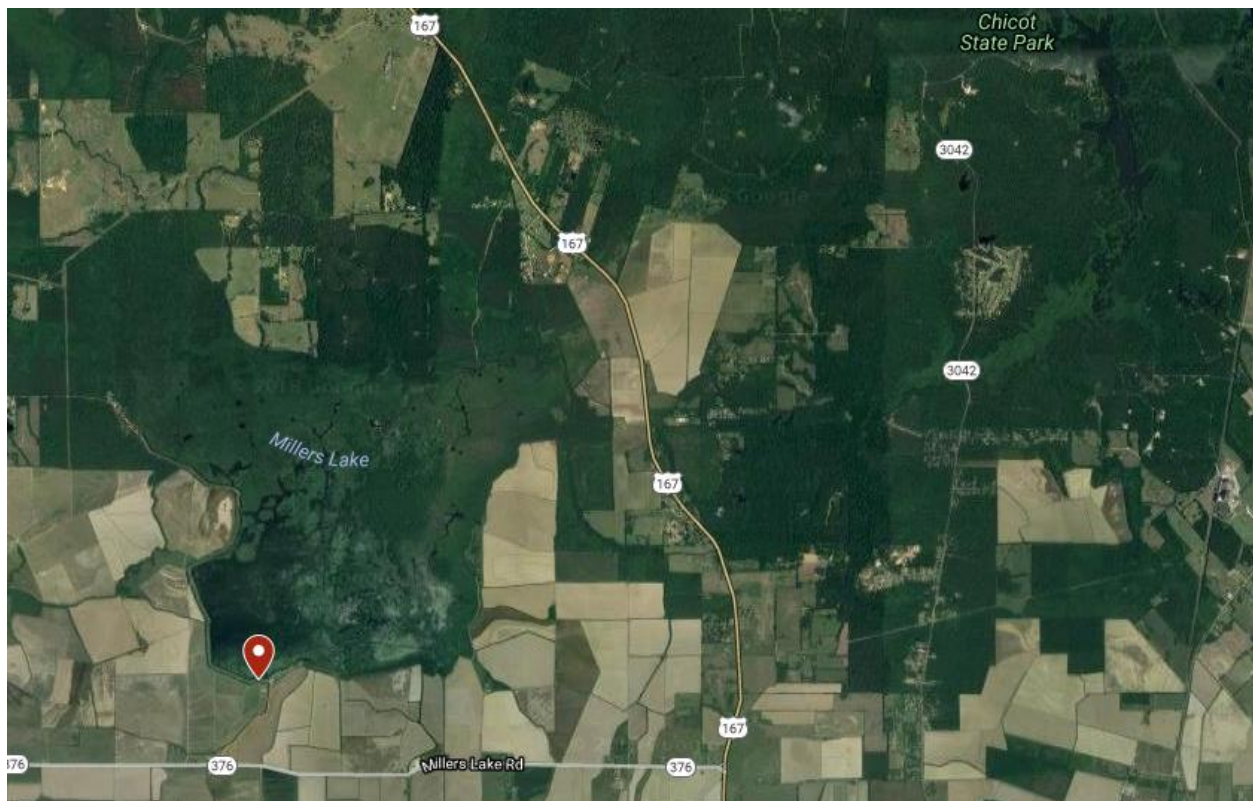


Figure 32: Map of The Red Camp in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)

Landscape Characteristics and Buildings

The Red Camp is unique in its relationship to the landscape in that it is built directly over Millers Lake. The lake itself is unusual because it is a manmade lake. JS Gus Miller, the great grandfather of one of the current camp owners, constructed the lake in part by building levees around the lake. The levee on the south end of the lake is where many camps are now clustered together. The Red Camp is accessed by taking a set of stairs up the south side of the levee and then walking towards the north from the top of the levee directly onto the porch. The boathouse is located on the same north side of the levee as the camp so in order to access it, the levee must be crossed twice. The camp is accessible by car but once there, circulation is mostly done by walking on the paths and stairs along the levee.



Figure 33: The Red Camp as seen from satellite view (Google Maps)



Figure 34: The Red Camp is accessed by a set of stairs going up the levee (photo by author)



Figure 35: The Red Camp is located near many other duck hunting camps on the south edge of Millers Lake (photo by author)

The land there was traditionally used for agriculture, notably rice fields. In 1927, JS Gus Miller built the levees around the rice fields and every year, more dirt was added making the lake larger and larger. The current levee system dates to 1952 when the family applied through the National Soil Conservation Act to build the present levees.³²¹ The 3,200 acre lake continues to be used for irrigation as well as for duck hunting.

The landscape is very flat which made it easy to flood. The man-made levees are the only break in the flat, prairie-like landscape. In the center of the lake lies a high spot known as “La Butte” which was the site of the first hunting camp on the lake. Now this “island” of sorts is almost impossible to access. Because of the flat landscape, the camp buildings are raised to prevent flooding.

The Red Camp was constructed in 1961 by the McCaulley Family. This one-story, rectangular plain building oriented east-west is raised nearly eight feet above Millers Lake by posts in the group. The exterior is covered in horizontal wood siding painted white. The building has no distinctive style and is simple in design. It has one door on its east elevation that is accessed off the porch and several two-pane sliding windows on each side as well as two double hung windows, one on its south elevation which provides light into the bathroom and the other on the east elevation over the kitchen sink. Over the years, the only major addition has been the change in the porch which has been extended out over the lake on the north elevation to create more outdoor space.

³²¹ Family info supplemented by Jerald Horst, “About Miller’s Lake,” last modified February 15, 2016, accessed February 4, 2018, <http://www.louisianasportsman.com/details.php?id=9127>.



Figure 36: The Red Camp as seen from the east looking west (photo by author)

The interior of The Red Camp features three major rooms. Moving west after entering the door on the east elevation, one enters into a large kitchen, dining, living space. In the center of this room is a dining table that also serves as a card table. The walls of this room are covered in memorabilia and photos of past hunts. Off of this large living room moving further west is a large bedroom which has both regular beds and bunk beds. The camp also has a small bathroom equipped with a shower. Because of the date of its construction, the interior is covered in wood paneling and linoleum floors typical to the 1960s.



Figure 37: The interior as seen in the bunkroom is wood paneled with linoleum floors (photo by author)

This camp does not have any outbuildings located in its immediate vicinity. However, this camp is located next to many other hunting camps along the south end of Millers Lake creating a small community of hunters there. It shares a nearby boathouse a few hundred feet to its east with other camps. The boathouse, much like the one at Tropical Gardens, is clad in corrugated metal, uses the same T-shaped configuration of decking on its interior, has two boat slips, and is accessed via a small wooden footbridge that leads from the levee, over the water, to the door. Unlike the boathouse at Tropical Gardens, this boathouse does not have an open side; instead it has garage type doors on the north side that are manually opened using a system of pulleys and weights.



Figure 38: The south elevation of the boathouse at The Red Camp (photo by author)



Figure 39: The interior of the boathouse at The Red Camp (photo by author)

The exterior spaces of the camp are largely defined by the porch that wraps around the east and the north elevations of the camp. The portion of the porch on the east elevation as well as the original portion on the north elevation are covered with the same roof as the main camp building. The addition on the north elevation functions more as a deck, uncovered with beautiful views of the lake. There are several small scale features of the camp located on the porch. On the east elevation of the porch, immediately adjacent to the door, is a special sink area designed not only for cleaning ducks but also fish, frogs, and any other animal that is hunted. Fishing is often done from the deck area which makes it extra convenient to be able to also clean them in the same area. The porch has stackable plastic lawn chairs that can be used for enjoying the outdoors.



Figure 40: The porch wraps around the east and north elevation (photo by author)



Figure 41: The cleaning sink on the porch is used for ducks, fish, frogs, etc. (photo by author)

The land around the camp outside of the levee to the south and west is covered in agricultural fields and grass. Inside the levees and on the lake though, large trees grow. These trees, like cypress, are able to grow in several feet of water although no one seems to know what type of tree they are. From the camp, one has beautiful views over Millers Lake. The deck on the back of the camp provides a great place to relax after the hunt and take it all in. Conversely for those out on the lake, they can look back towards the shore and see The Red Camp as well others. A number of archaeological resources have been found on site. The land was originally settled by the Attakapa Tribe and during construction of the levee, many artifacts including spear tips were found. Archaeological resources continue to be found in the area.



Figure 42: Large trees grow within Millers Lake (photo by author)



Figure 43: Archaeological resources found on site may be from the Attakapa Tribe (photo by author)



Figure 44: Looking north from the deck are views of Millers Lake (photo by author)

Camp History and Current Culture

The origins of The Red Camp begin with a place called “La Butte.” La Butte, which means the high point in Cajun French, was the first camp built in the center of Millers Lake around 1942. This camp was only accessible by boat and had no running water or electricity. It was essentially a structure to support the duck hunts which at the time were not done for recreation but for feeding families. In 1961, the McCaulley family of Ville Platte, the descendants of JS Gus Miller, built The Red Camp on the southern edge of Millers Lake replacing La Butte as the primary outpost for family hunting operations. La Butte still exists in the center of the lake but is very difficult to access.



Figure 45: La Butte was the first camp built on Millers Lake. It still exists but is very difficult to access (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)



Figure 46: An image of JS Gus Miller, creator Millers Lake and ancestor of the McCaulley family (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

After The Red Camp was built, many other families also built camps on the south end of the lake. The Red Camp has gone through many changes over the year, the biggest being that it is no longer red. Randy McCaulley along with his siblings currently own The Red Camp and La Butte. The Red Camp got its name from its red color but as a boy, he and his siblings were responsible for maintaining the color and it just became too much work. When they took ownership from their parents, they decided to cover it with white siding that would be easier to maintain but the name stuck. Multiple generations of the family continue to hunt at the camp which has remained in the McCaulley family since the beginning. While the grandparents of Randy hunted because they had to, now the camp is used for recreation.



Figure 47: An artistic rendering of The Red Camp of what it looked like when it was still red (artwork by Taylor McCaulley)



Figure 48: The "red" of The Red Camp still exists on the porch ceiling (photo by author)

A typical day at the camp involves a lot of activities. Duck hunting is one of them but so are the activities of fishing, frogging, cleaning the animals, and cooking them. The family also enjoys playing cards at the table especially poker and just visiting and hanging out. Opening weekend is always a big deal with many people participating in the hunt.³²²

On December 23, 2017, Randy McCaulley and his daughter Taylor McCaulley were interviewed. Randy was born the same year as The Red Camp was built so he has been hunting there his whole life, over half a century. As the current owner of the camp along with his siblings, he has introduced the camp to his children including his 25-year-old daughter Taylor. Taylor has also been hunting there her whole life, a quarter of a century. They have never been

³²² While opening weekend of Duck Season is most popular with the McCaulley Family, opening season of squirrel season is the most notorious in Evangeline Parish. Squirrel season is the first hunting season of the year and schools even close for the day so that children can join in the first hunt of the year.

members of other camps also the have gone hunting in other places with friends. The entire McCaulley family led by matriarch Mama Jo, Randy’s mother, hunts. Hunting is a family affair and will continue to be so as long as Randy and his brothers continue to own The Red Camp.



Figure 49: Hunting runs in the family. Here, Taylor McCaulley and her grandmother, Mama Jo, chat on the porch (photo by author)

For Randy and Taylor, the reasons they hunt differ. For Randy, it is about the challenge. Hunting is a hobby just like any other hobby that you have to prepare for and practice at to improve. The benefit to hunting though is that it is family oriented and the results end with the hunter getting to cook! For Taylor, hunting is about camaraderie as well as bragging rights. It is fun to hunt with others but it is also fun to be the best hunter. They agree that coming to the camp is about much more than hunting though. Randy comes to the camp because it is just part

of the culture. It is a way to spend time with the family. Coming to the camp is important because generations have hunted there making it a family tradition. For Taylor, she enjoys going to the camp to spend time outside and to be in touch with nature. There is something about watching the sunrise and the sunset over the lake that really appeals to her. In a day where cars, tv, and the internet dominate life, the camp provides a simpler, raw way of life that is still a lot of fun. Their absolute favorite thing about camp though are the memories made. Some of Randy's favorite memories come from hunting with his dad and now from hunting with his daughter. Making memories at the camp is a family tradition.



Figure 50: Coming to the camp is a tradition passed down through the generations. Here, a young Taylor McCaulley poses with her fishing gear on the porch (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

The Camp and Cajun Culture

When asked if they felt that they were participating in Cajun culture by coming to the camp, the reply from Randy and Taylor was a resounding “duh.” They said the connection between the two was a no brainer. For them, Cajun culture is about family, cooking, eating, and

the outdoors –all things they associate with The Red Camp. Taylor quoted one of her favorite Cajun sayings that corresponds so well to camp life, “if it moves, we’ll kill it and put it in a pot.” Nature and hunting are a big part of Cajun culture. Their image of Cajun culture is “being at the camp in the lake surrounded by rice fields;” according to them, it does not get much more Cajun than that. Randy realizes that many people on the outside of the culture thinks that Cajuns are dumb, but that is not at all the case. They are smart, resourceful people. He could not be more proud of his daughter for being a hunter and carrying on the Cajun tradition.



Figure 51: Hunters pose with the different animals they killed in front of La Butte proving that "if it moves, we'll kill it" (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

Hard Times Camp

Location

Hard Times Camp is located in the vicinity of Bordelonville, LA, in Avoyelles Parish which is part of Acadiana. The location of the camp is on the east side of the parish in close proximity to the Red River near its intersections with the Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers. The camp is located just outside the boundaries of Grassy Lake State Wildlife Management Area on privately owned land. The camp is accessed by a series of unpaved roads including a four-wheel drive only dirt road, a gravel road, and lastly an ATV only road making this camp particularly difficult to reach. This hard to access area of the state though is particularly rich in wildlife with the Red River State Wildlife Management Area, Three Rivers Wildlife Management Area, Pomme de Terre State Wildlife Management Area, and Lake Ophelia National Wildlife Management Area all within close proximity.

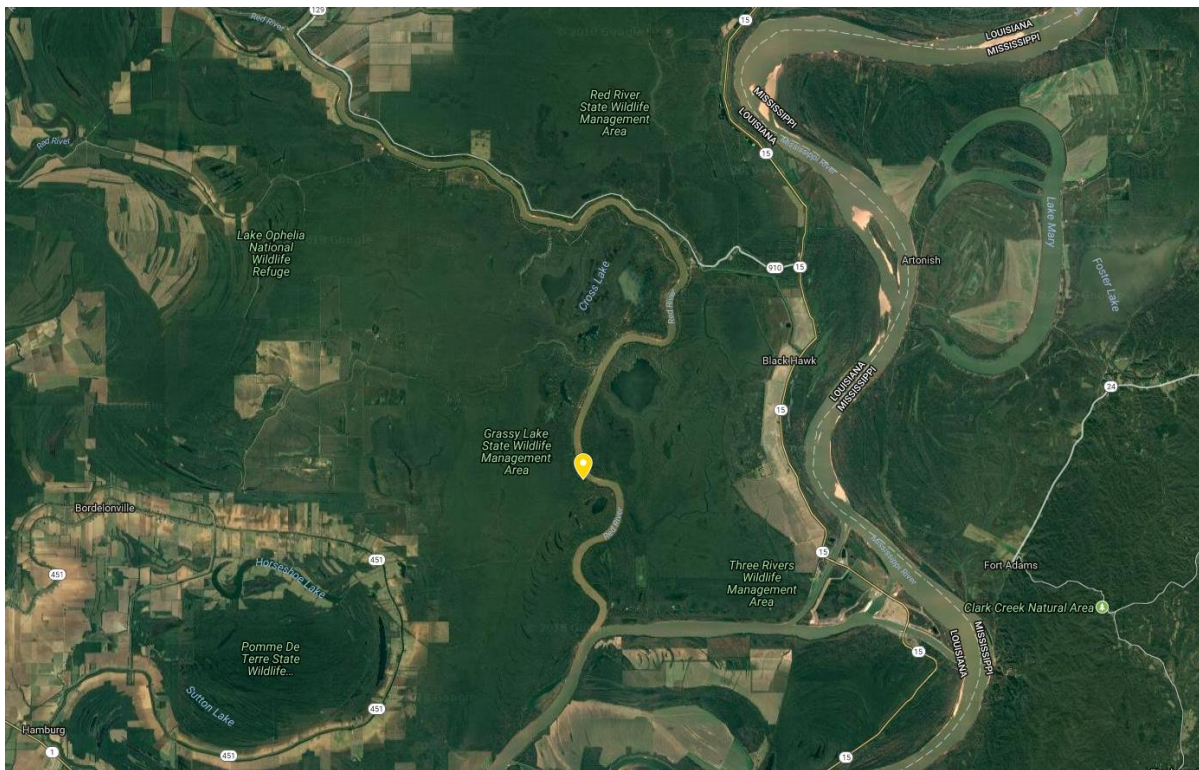


Figure 52: Map of Hard Times Camp in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)



Figure 53: Accessing Hard Times Camp can only be done by going down a series of dirt roads (photo by author)

Landscape Characteristics and Buildings

Hard Times Camp's location just at the southern edge of the Wildlife Management Area is a popular area for duck hunting camps with many other camps in close proximity including one sharing the same clearing. Because the amount of cleared land is limited in this heavily forested area, the outdoor areas associated with the camp and the few outbuildings are all located in the immediate vicinity of the building. Once the camp has been reached by the ATV trail, many foot trails lead around the camp and through the woods to access other camps and the Wildlife Management area making walking the main form of circulation.



Figure 54: Hard Times Camp is located in a heavily forested flood plain (photo by author)

The original Hard Times Camp was built in the 1940s but the current structure dates to 2010. The two-story rectangular plain building oriented east-west is built high above the ground on metal posts that go up over ten feet. Because of insurance purposes, when the camp was rebuilt it had to be raised in case of flooding. The current raised structure stands on the concrete foundations of the previous iteration of the camp which was at ground level. Because it is two stories tall in addition to being on posts, its total height is nearly thirty feet tall. The building is covered in a tan-colored corrugated sheet metal with green trim. The roof is also made of metal. The camp is accessed by a flight of metal stairs on the west elevation or an elevator that leads to

a front porch on the east elevation.³²³ The camp only has one door, off of this porch, and has many modern six-over-six style double hung windows.



Figure 55: Hard Times Camp as seen from the northwest looking southeast. The bathroom of the 1980 camp is visible in the foreground. (photo by author)

The two story interior features separate living and sleeping quarters. The first floor of the camp is technically classified as a mudroom for insurance purposes but actually houses the kitchen, dining, and living areas. At the center of the room is a large table used for both dining and playing card games. The interior staircase on the south wall leads to a small hallway on the east side of the building. From there, two bedrooms each featuring regular and bunk beds can be

³²³ Technically the elevator is supposed to be used only for supplies but due to the age of Oscar Rachal (100 years old), it also functions well to get people up and down.

accessed by moving west through their two respective doors. The bunk beds were actually the same as those in previous versions of the camp. Purchased from army surplus stores, they bear the logo of the US Army. Upstairs there is also a Jack and Jill bathroom accessible by moving west from either bedroom. The entire interior remains unfinished with insulation, plywood, and studs still visible. Because of the casual nature of a camp, there is no intention to finish the walls.



Figure 56: The kitchen is along the north and west wall of the interior (photo by author)



Figure 57: The bunkbeds come from the previous version of the camp and were purchased at the army surplus store (photo by author)

Although the previous camp was mostly destroyed before the current version was built, it's stove/fireplace and bathroom remain east of the new camp building. These features now sort of function as outbuildings. The original bathroom now resembles an outhouse (since it is no longer attached to another building) but is not functional. The stove/fireplace of the original camp building also still stands a few feet south of the "outhouse." Apart from these two remnants, there are no other outbuildings.



Figure 58: The stove/fireplace of the former camp still stands in place along with its west wall and bathroom (photo by author)

The exterior spaces of the camp are primarily defined by the porch on the north elevation and the open area underneath the building. The upstairs porch features a barbeque grill, a metal fire pit, and a table and seating for dining. The downstairs area is primarily used for storage but also can be used for other outdoor activities. There is no specific area for cleaning ducks but nearby a few feet south of the main building there is a line strung between two trees for hanging the ducks once they have been cleaned. This camp also does not have a boat house or dock. Boats are kept in the Wildlife Management Area nearby.



Figure 59: The porch on the north elevation is the primary outdoor space (photo by author)

The land in this area has been used for hunting and recreation for at least one hundred years. The nearby access to the Red River as well as several lakes and bayous make it a prime area for hunting, fishing, camping, hiking, and other outdoor activities. The land is all heavily forested covered in bottomland hardwood species such as willow, cypress, and bitter pecan. The poorly drained land is also home to many varieties of understory vegetation such as buttonbush, deciduous holly, smilax, and various annual grasses.³²⁴ The topography is very flat; the camp itself lies in a floodplain. A nearby manmade levee to the east offers some protection from the

³²⁴ “Grassy Lake WMA,” Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries, accessed February 4, 2018, <http://www.wlf.louisiana.gov/wma/2767>

Red River. This levee also serves as the ATV road known as the Highline Road since it is the highest point in the area.



Figure 60: There are many lakes and bayous within walking distance of Hard Times Camp (photo by author)

Because of the heavily wooded nature of the area, there are few views and vistas other than that of the surrounding forest. Small scale features on the property include the line for hanging ducks, the cistern for collecting rainwater, and the original “refrigerator.” This early refrigeration system is actually a small box with a wood frame and screened enclosed sides affixed to a tree. It is located adjacent to the line for hanging ducks. Before the camp had an actual refrigerator, ducks would be stored in this box overnight. The cold night air would keep them fresh and its position relatively high up on the tree and locked in a box made them difficult

to access by other prey. The landscape also contains several artifacts from past camps including fire pits and other construction material. No other archaeological resources are present.



Figure 61: The original refrigeration system was a screened in box nailed to a tree (photo by author)

Camp History and Current Culture

Hard Times Camp was first founded by Oscar Rachal and his brothers sometime before WWII. At the time, the camp was not a real structure. It consisted of a box spring and an old mattress along with a tarp and a tent. After returning home from World War II, the brothers made a relatively more permanent structure. This version of the camp was built out of cypress wood and tin and heated by a pot belly stove. It had only three sides with the fourth side open towards the south. It did have a tarp that could close off this side but it was really more of a shed than a camp. The best part about this camp was that it was right along a bayou and the hunters could paddle right up to it in their pirogues. The brothers even figured out how to bring

electricity to the camp through battery power. Unfortunately, this camp was on the north side of Grassy Lake and when the government acquired the property and made it into a Wildlife Management Area, the camp had to be moved.

In 1981, the current location was picked just outside of the boundaries of the Wildlife Management Area. Here a camp was built constructed mostly of cardboard, cypress, and tin but with a concrete floor. This camp functioned well for many years. There was never a lock on the camp so many hunters would stop by and use the camp to make a cup of coffee, take a rest, leave a note saying thanks, and move on. Its relatively remote location also meant that it functioned as a safe haven for any hunter who might get lost in the woods. Many a time, the Rachal family would actually be called upon by the authorities when someone was missing because they knew the woods so well and their camp was often the first found by lost hunters.



Figure 62: The 1981 camp was of an ephemeral nature, made of cardboard, cypress, and tin (photo courtesy of Rachal family)



Figure 63: The interior of the 1981 camp (photo courtesy of Rachal family)

Because of its location on the ground in a flood plain, the camp flooded often. After one flood around 1995, the Rachal family made some major changes adding insulation and a bathroom. Every time the camp flooded, they would return to it. However, the authorities eventually told them that it had to be raised the next time it was rebuilt if they wanted it to be connected to electricity. The new camp was built in 2010 on the foundations of the old one, just much higher in the air in order to comply with insurance standards. The ownership of the camp has passed from Oscar and his brothers to his children and grandchildren who continue to use the camp. Even though they have the luxuries of electricity, television, and cistern-water at the camp, they always keep a Coleman stove and lantern around (because no matter what hunters are going to need some light and some coffee in the morning). As each hunting season draws to an

end, the family starts thinking about the next one preparing the boats and cleaning their guns in anticipation for the next time they can return to Hard Times Camp.



Figure 64: Until 1995, there was no interior bathroom at Hard Times Camp so this outdoor toilet made do (photo courtesy of Rachal family)

Hard Times Camp got its name from its founder Oscar Rachal. Growing up in rural Louisiana in the 1920s, Oscar experienced many hard times as a young boy from a poor family. As he got older, he began telling stories about his youth that instead of beginning “Once upon a time” began “It was hard times on Bayou Des Glaises...”³²⁵ Because the camp is also in close proximity to Bayou des Glaises and there were many a hard time at the camp, the name was given jokingly to the camp but has since stuck.

³²⁵ Bayou Des Glaises (which means Bayou of Mud) is a bayou that runs through much of Avoyelles Parish Louisiana. Oscar grew up in one of the many small towns along the bayou. Because of the importance of the waterway, the bayou is referenced as a place over the name of his hometown.

A typical day at the camp begins with the alarm going off around 5 AM signaling it's time to start the day. After they wake up, the hunters make a little coffee, listen to the weather report for the day, eat some breakfast, get their gear together, and then go out for the hunt. It takes about fifteen minutes to walk to the boats from the camp and from there, it is about a ten-minute paddle to the blinds. Once they get out to the blind, they set out their decoys and then hunt and hang out until around noon. At that time, they head back to the camp, eat lunch, clean the birds, and start prepping for dinner. After dinner, they always make a fire. When it is warmer out, they make a fire outside but on cold nights, they make one inside. They usually sit around the fire talking about the day's hunt and planning and strategizing for the next day. They also talk, laugh, tell stories, and just generally enjoy relaxing around the fire. Then, it is off to bed early so that they can wake up and do it all over again.



Figure 65: Setting out decoys is part of the hunt (photo courtesy of Rachal family)



Figure 66: The blinds at Hard Times Camp are made to provide an additional layer of camouflage (photo courtesy of Rachal family)

Over the course of several visits and phone calls, Oscar and Paul Rachal were interviewed. Oscar Rachal is one of the original founders of the camp and Paul Rachal is his son. Oscar has been going to the camp since before WWII and Paul has been going nearly his whole life. The amount of times they go to the camp every year depends on the weather and road conditions but there are some years when Oscar would spend nearly the entire hunting season (60 days) out in the woods at the camp. Both have hunted in other places with Paul also being a member of Tropical Gardens Gun Club. However, Hard Times Camp is the primary place where Oscar hunted and it is where Paul learned to hunt. Obviously, there are strong family connections to hunting in the Rachal family with both father and son, as well as other siblings, grandchildren, nephews, and more also participating in the sport. Hunting runs in their blood.



Figure 67: Paul Rachal shows off his kill to his father Oscar Rachal visit after a hunt in December 2017 (photo by author)



Figure 68: Hunting runs in the Rachal blood with newer generations such as Brad Rachal, Paul's son, taking up the sport (photo courtesy of Rachal family)

For Paul, he hunts because he can. It is just part of him and the culture; it's just what he does. Sometimes people take a few years off of hunting because they join the service, have an injury, or something comes up but they always look forward to coming back. Oscar thinks hunting is something you do until you can't anymore, and at 100 years old, he has not given up yet. They go hunting to get outdoors and spend time with family and friends. But they also enjoy the rewarding aspects of hunting like making things work better, seeing their plans come to fruition, and reaching their limit on any given day. They come to Hard Times Camp because it is so quiet; they may go to the camp and not see another person for days. Even if there are other people in the woods, it still feels so remote that it seems no one else is back there. There at the camp, they have access to not only duck hunting but also to deer and squirrel.³²⁶ Their favorite thing to do at the camp is to walk through the woods, enjoy being outside, and take a step back from the hustle and bustle of life.



Figure 69: One of the best parts of going to Hard Times Camp is getting to be outdoors where you might not see someone else for days (photo courtesy of Rachal family)

³²⁶ While others still hunt deer here, Oscar has not hunted deer in over 30 years. He tells a story that one time his wife (jokingly) threatened to leave him if he brought another deer home and he has not since. He prefers duck and squirrel anyways.

The Camp and Cajun Culture

The connection between the camp and Cajun culture is obvious to Paul. Even though English was spoken at home, when he would go to the camp, it was only Cajun French. Even until as recently as five years ago, French was still the primary language spoken at the camp. In an interview with Oscar Rachal where his nephew Steve Rachal was present, the conversation about the camp frequently flip flopped between languages as if memories associated with the camp were better remembered in French than in English.

To them, hunting is essential to Cajun culture. Cajun culture is about hunting, fishing, and subsequently cooking it all. It is about living off the land and surviving with what you have. Paul gave the example of the Cajuns continuing to make pirogues out of the wood they have in order to get to their blinds. Hunting has become so much part of the culture that one is hard-pressed to find a groom's cake in South Louisiana that is not about hunting (unless it is about LSU Football). Hunting is part of who Cajuns are.

The Delacroix Hilton

Location

The Delacroix Hilton is located in the marshes in the vicinity of the community of Delacroix in St. Bernard Parish nearly 25 miles southeast of New Orleans. Although St. Bernard Parish is not part of Acadiana, the camp has many of the features and traditions associated with the camps in Acadiana. Also, St. Bernard Parish is a parish in South Louisiana inside of the French triangle and nearby to Acadiana. For these reasons, The Delacroix Hilton was still surveyed to evaluate its relation to Cajun Culture. The camp is unique in the group of camps surveyed in that it is only accessible by boat and does not have a physical address. In order to get to this camp, the geographical coordinates must be known.

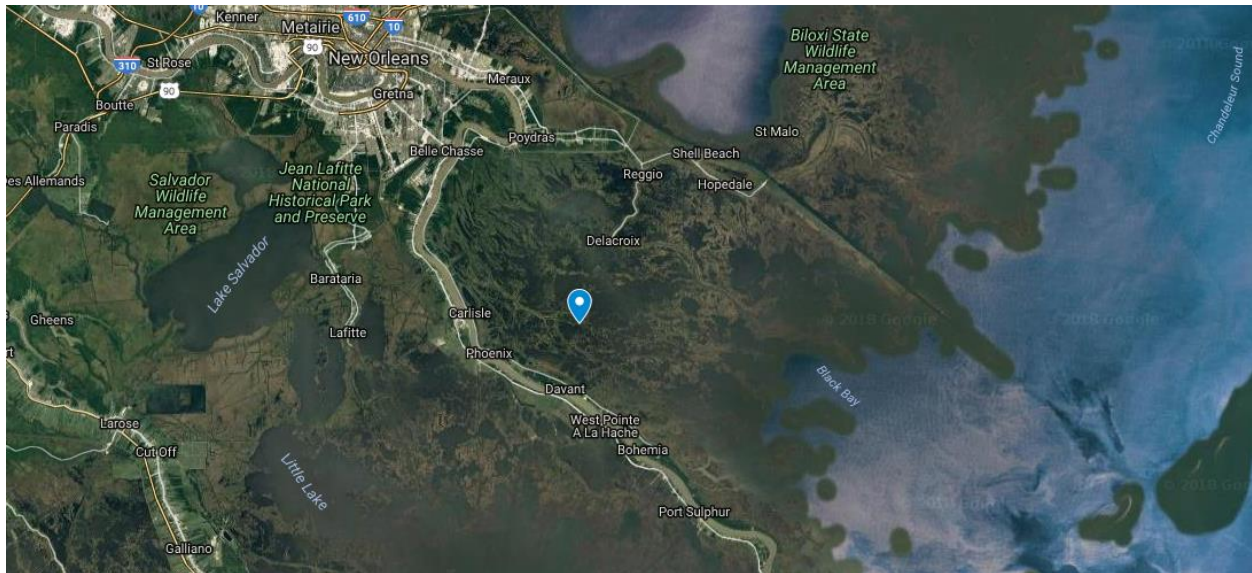


Figure 70: Map of The Delacroix Hilton in relation to other resources in its vicinity (Google Maps)

Landscape Characteristics and Buildings

The marsh surrounding The Delacroix Hilton makes for a unique setting. Because the waterways act as the “road” to and from the camp, the camp sits in face of a navigable waterway. The only circulation to and from the camp is by boat and once at the camp, walking around the deck provides easy access to all features. The entire complex is built over the wetland marsh. Because it is all raised and connected by a common deck, each of the features is closely connected.



Figure 71: The Delacroix Hilton as seen from satellite view (Google Maps)

The Delacroix Hilton was originally constructed in 1956 although the current structure dates to 2008. The main building on the site is a one-story rectangular plain camp building oriented northeast-southwest. The building is made of a plywood and metal exterior set upon a post in ground foundation that raises the structure above the marsh below it. It has only one door on its southeast elevation and just one double hung window on each of the other three elevations.

It features an elaborate decking area that serves as a porch connecting the boat dock to the north east to the main structure in the center and to the storage areas further southwest. Since its most recent rebuild, it has had additional decking added as well as a raised porch area over the storage areas referred to as the tower which provides great views.



Figure 72: The Delacroix Hilton as seen from the water looking southwest (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

The camp has only one room inside that functions as both living and sleeping quarters. This room has bunkbeds that can sleep up to eight people comfortably but more can sleep on the floor for special occasions like opening weekend. The bunkbeds are arranged so that there is a bunkbed in each of the four corners of the building. In the center is where the kitchen and eating are located. This camp does have a central table although it is not used necessarily as a card table. Because of its remote location, the camp uses cisterns for collecting rainwater to provide

running water and generators for electricity. Because of modern technology, today one can go to the camp and enjoy a duck hunt in the morning and watch the game on the satellite television that night.



Figure 73: The bunkbeds are built in to the wall at all four corners of the main building (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeinan)



Figure 74: The kitchen is in the center of the main building (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeinan)

The Delacroix Hilton has a number of features outside of the main camp building. Because of its large deck system, the main camp is also connected to a separate outhouse structure located on the boat dock by way of its large deck.³²⁷ The deck also connects the camp to the boat dock, a necessary feature for a camp only accessible by boat. The deck also features many small scale features such as outdoor seating areas with dining tables and chairs as well as a barbeque grill. The Delacroix Hilton does not have a cleaning area for ducks but it does have a table for cleaning fish that is also located on the boat dock further north of the outhouse.



Figure 75: There has always been an outhouse at The Delacroix Hilton (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

³²⁷ In addition to being used by those at the camp, during the interview it was mentioned that the outhouse is also frequently used by fishermen passing through the area. The camp itself is always left unlocked in case fisherman in the area need to seek shelter from a storm.



Figure 76: The grill on the porch is where many good meals are cooked (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

The land in this area is used for both commercial and recreational fishing as well as hunting. The natural wetland marsh as well as the nearby lakes and bayous are the distinguishing natural systems and features. The topography is very flat marshland and the only real vegetation are the marsh grasses. Unfortunately, this marsh upon which the camp sits has been noticeably eroding over time, especially post- Hurricane Katrina.



Figure 77: The flat marsh landscape surrounds The Delacroix Hilton, seen here after a storm (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

Because of the flat landscape and the low growth vegetation, one can view many things from the camp. The tower especially provides great views over the marsh. At night, one can see the New Orleans skyline from the camp. When cruise ships pass on the nearby Mississippi River, they are also visible. An additional small scale feature of this camp are its flag poles and no known archaeological resources are present.

Camp History and Current Culture

As previously mentioned, the first camp was built on the property in 1955 by Bobby Liebkeman and his family. The Liebkeman family along with their friends continue to own the

camp to this day. At the time it was built, it was an even smaller one room structure made of 2x4s and a metal roof with a boat dock. Bobby and his brother would take their pirogues out to the camp at the beginning of the season and hide them in the marsh for the remainder of the season so they would not have to haul them in and out with every visit. They took the time to name all of their hunting ponds from Grand George's Pond (named for their grandfather, George) to the Honey Hole to Figure Eight (which has an 8 like shape to it).

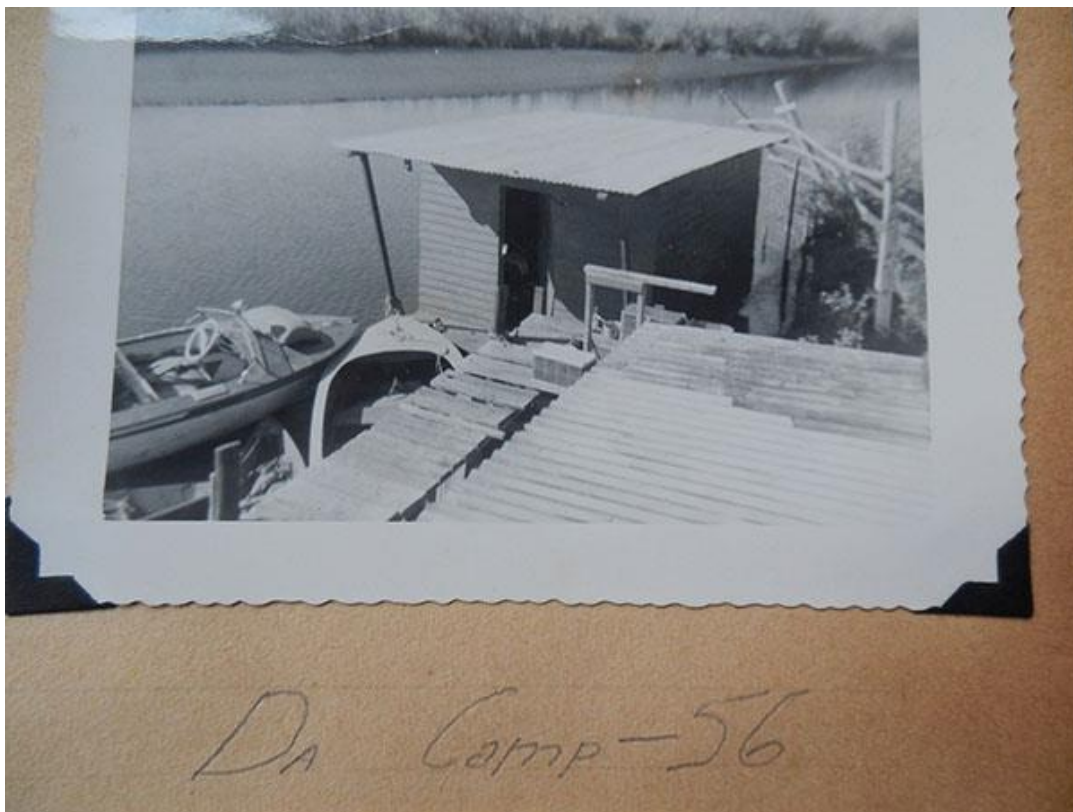


Figure 78: "Da Camp" as seen in a family photo album dates to the 1950s



Figure 79: Bobby Liebkeman and his brother, seen here on the porch, founded the camp in 1955 (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman)



Figure 80: The camp under construction in 1955 (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman)

The camp itself got its name later in its history when friends began jokingly referring to it as The Delacroix Hilton. Its location in Delacroix as well as its hospitable atmosphere inspired the name which has since been embraced, emblazoned on cups, outfits, signs, and more. Currently the camp maintains many similarities to its original form although it has been changed, modified, and rebuilt many times over the years. At one point in its history, concrete pillars were driven into the marsh on which the current camp rests. As it has been rebuilt over the years, it has been better adapted to the conditions. For instance, in one rebuild, the camp was constructed facing a different direction in order to avoid the north winds. It also now has a feature which allows the storm surge to pass through it more or less without wiping out the camp in the process.



Figure 81: The camp has been rebuilt many times over the years but always in the same spot (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebke)

The seven current “members” of the camp are not only the Liebkeman family but also some of their close friends. They have updated not only the camp itself with a generator for electricity and satellite television, they have also updated how they hunt switching out the pirogues for mud boats, a special built motorized boat for duck hunting. At the same time though, many things remain the same. The same boat launch out of Delacroix is used and there is still plenty of good cooking and good eating. Many kids have grown up at the camp over the years and hopefully many more will in the future.



Figure 82: Despite changes in technology throughout the years, duck hunting remains a constant at The Delacroix Hilton (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

A typical day at the camp depends on the season. During duck hunting season, everyone wakes up around 4:30 AM and has coffee. They then leave for the hunt and come back around 11 AM and eat a big breakfast. In the afternoon, there is time for napping, hanging around, fishing, and possibly going for an afternoon hunt. No matter what the day is, there is always music and always a good meal.

On January 1, 2018, Kerryn Liebkeman was interviewed. Kerryn is the wife of the late Bobby Liebkeman, founder of the camp. She has been going to The Delacroix Hilton since the late 1980s. It was the first camp she ever went to and she shot her first duck at the camp, not uncommon as many people have learned to hunt at this camp. She has not belonged to any other camps and neither did her family. It was Bobby who first introduced her to the sport of duck hunting and she has been coming back ever since to make memories.

For her, coming to the camp is not even really about hunting. While people go to the camp to shoot ducks, that is not the real reason to come. She just enjoys being at the camp. Because the camp is so laborious to get to, she and her husband would go for several days.³²⁸ She enjoys the camaraderie of the camp and the relationships built over the years. She enjoyed all of the time spent there with her husband and all the time she continues to spend with her family there. The solitude and stress-free atmosphere keep her coming back so that she can continue to do her favorite things: go fishing, read books, piddle around, and enjoy boiling and eating crabs.

³²⁸ Because the camp is only accessible by boat and even the boat ride takes a considerable amount of time, everything needed for the camp must be taken by car to the boat launch, loaded onto the boat, and then unloaded at the camp each time a visit is made. There is no running to the store if anything has been forgotten.



Figure 83: Coming to the camp is about more than hunting; it's about camaraderie and doing what you enjoy (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeinan)

The Camp and Cajun Culture

For Kerryn, coming to the camp absolutely makes her feel like she is participating in Cajun culture. Coming to the camp is not for everyone; it is remote, lacks many conveniences, and requires a certain appreciation of nature. But, it is for her. It's a little rough out there but it is also more laid back. You have to roll with the flow and understand it is a way of life. Growing up, her late husband would save all his money for hunting. He was a true sportsman who believed in wholesome, good fun and sharing it with family. His father hunted, he hunted, and now his kids and grandkids hunt. The culture has become a multi-generational thing. Cajun

culture to her directly relates to the outdoors. It is about living off the land even though it is not actually necessary to survive. And more than anything, it is about family and relationships.



Figure 84: Coming to the camp is a family affair. Generations of the Liebkeman family have come to the camp. Here Bobby poses with his kids and grandkids on the deck (photo courtesy of Kerry Liebkeman)

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

After completing the literature review and describing the tangible and intangible elements of the case study sites, this chapter offers an analysis of all of the research collected to date in order to answer the research question: Would recognizing South Louisiana's duck hunting camps as historic resources and physically preserving them as such assist in preserving intangible aspects of Cajun Culture? Literature was reviewed regarding Louisiana's history and Cajun culture, preserving historic resources, and the history of hunting as a whole and in Acadiana. Then site surveys were completed at four case study sites to identify and assess the buildings, landscapes and other resources of each site. Lastly, interviews with representatives of each case study site were completed to gather the history and current use of the camp, as well as its connection to Cajun Culture.

This chapter begins by reviewing examples of camps already listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The intent is to understand those nomination's historic context and identified character defining features, to ascertain if the way these examples were constructed might shed light on the way a Cajun Duck Hunting could be nominated to the National Register. After those reviews, key features of the Cajun Duck Hunting camp case study sites will be evaluated for significance and integrity to determine potential eligibility for listing in the National Register. Challenges of nominating and preserving the sites will also be addressed.

Examples of Camp Nominations on the National Register

Over the past fifty years, camps and hunting camps in states other than Louisiana have been added to the National Register of Historic Places. Although there are no examples from Louisiana, it is still important to draw from these ones from other states. By examining their approaches to significance, it will be possible to draw conclusions as to why certain features of Acadiana's duck hunting camps may also be significant. The reasons that they are significant are likely to include many of the reasons that the Cajun Duck Hunting Camp case study sites are also significant. Since these example sites have already been successfully nominated to the National Register, they are useful references. The camp nominations to be reviewed include Indian Fields Methodist Campground in St. George, South Carolina, Tansy Island Hunting Club Camp Site and Clubhouse in Woodville, Mississippi, and Larson's Hunters Resort in Lake Valley Township, Minnesota.

Indian Fields Methodist Campground dates to 1848 and was listed on the National Register in 1973. The Campground was listed on the National Register for its significance in the areas of Religion and Philosophy (Criterion A) as well as for its architecture (Criterion B). Its architecture is significant because the design of the camp reflects its use for "a collective religious experience."³²⁹ The style of the buildings and the site reflect its use and "the unpretentious style of evangelism" that occurred there.³³⁰ The site is also significant for its association with religion and philosophy, corresponding to a trend in revivalism across the nation at the time. The site today continues to recall the impact of revivalism and evangelism in the

³²⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Indian Fields Methodist Campground, St. George, Dorchester County, South Carolina, National Register #73001707, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/08692dfe-e721-4e5c-a45c-5be5abb0157f?branding=NRHP>

³³⁰ Ibid

nineteenth century on American life and thought. Its association with ‘fire and brimstone’ events that made an impact on the broad patterns of history is one of the main reasons why this campground is eligible for the National Register.



Figure 85: Indian Fields unique layout reflects its use as a religious campground
(<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail/8e4cee3b-887d-4e18-944b-6def298c0670?branding=NRHP>)

Tansy Island Hunting Club dates to 1904 and was listed on the National Register in 1995. This hunting club was listed under Criterion A for its significance in the area of entertainment and recreation. It has been continuously active since its founding and is believed to be the oldest hunting club in Mississippi.³³¹ Its significance in the area of recreation is twofold: the camp’s association with hunting and fishing, two activities that have long been important in Mississippi culture. The important role of hunting clubs in Mississippi society and culture also make this

³³¹ National Register of Historic Places, Tansy Island Hunting Club Camp Site and Clubhouse, Woodville, Wilkinson County, Mississippi, National Register #95000179, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/9af145f7-a2c7-489d-afe2-a8b7571b29b9>

camp significant. The club is comprised of a number of buildings and outbuildings. While the twenty-eight-acre site has remained the same, the only original building is the clubhouse which retains a high degree of integrity. Despite new buildings being built over the years, the setting of the property also retains a high degree of integrity. The twenty-eight acres listed are not those used for hunting but rather those that serve as a home base for the camp's activities. The camp has also hosted a number of social activities for club members and their guest such as fish fries, barbecues, and picnics. The club's "endeavors to promote conservation and environmental protection" have also led it to become part of the area's history.³³²



Figure 86: Tansy Island Hunting Club has long played a role in Mississippi's hunting culture. Here hunters pose on the porch in the 1920s (<https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/9af145f7-a2c7-489d-afe2-a8b7571b29b9?branding=NRHP>)

Larson's Hunters Resort dates to 1901 and was listed on the National Register in 1985. It was listed on the National Register for its association with recreation (Criterion A). Specifically, it is listed because it is a site "which represents the importance of hunting as a recreational

³³² Ibid

industry to early residents of western Minnesota.”³³³ It is also listed for its illustration of the phenomenon of farmer/resort owner and because it is one of the largest farm dwellings constructed in the area at the turn of the century. The Hunters Resort is located on a flyway and became popular for the many game birds that could be hunted on the property. The building was constructed as a resort to specifically house visiting hunters; this business operated until the 1960s when the amount of waterfowl began to seriously decline. The site was determined by the State Historic Preservation Office to best represent the “importance of the hunting industry” and is listed on the National Register because of this association.

The three National Register listed sites have aspects that could apply to nominating Acadiana’s duck hunting camps. For instance, Indian Fields Methodist Campground is significant architecturally because its architecture and design reflect its use as a revival church camp. Acadiana’s duck hunting camps might also have key design features that reflect their use as duck hunting camps. The camps surveyed could be prime examples of the layout and design of duck hunting camps in the Acadiana region. Relevant from all three nominations is the aspect of nominating these sites for their association with events and broad patterns of history, specifically significant in the area of recreation. As seen at Tansy Island Hunting Club and Larson’s Hunters Resort, the association of the camps with hunting is key because hunting is a major recreational activity and part of social life and culture in the states of Mississippi and Minnesota respectively.

Tansy Island is a particularly relevant example as its location near the Mississippi-Louisiana border places it in very close proximity to parts of Acadiana, including Hard Times

³³³ National Register of Historic Places, Larson’s Hunters Resort, Lake Valley Township, Traverse County, Minnesota, National Register #85001774, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/376c1c65-6c87-4b83-919c-5adb7ca37c71/>

Camp which is only about 20 miles southwest. In South Louisiana, like in Mississippi, camp life itself is significant for the role it plays in society. Also the Mississippi hunting club, like several of the Louisiana Cajun Duck Hunting camps visited, has multiple buildings and outbuildings, including one designed just for playing cards. Though additions and changes have occurred over time, the site itself retains a high degree of integrity as does the main lodge. Because some of the camps in Acadiana have also been rebuilt, it is possible that they still retain integrity of setting or that other key features have remained intact. The findings from analyzing these example camp nominations provides insight in to how features from Acadiana's duck hunting camps could be recognized as historic resources.

Acadiana's Duck Hunting Camps Significance

From information gained through the literature review, it was noted that in order to be recognized as a significant historic resource and nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, a site must meet one of four criteria. To determine if Acadiana's duck hunting camps could be recognized as historically significant by the National Register, each of the four criteria will be reviewed to determine if the camps contain any of the key aspects necessary for these criteria. Using the example camps as a guide helps to strengthen the argument for particular aspects.

One of the key aspects of Acadiana's duck hunting camps that could make them worthy of preservation is their association with events that have made a significant contribution in the broad patterns of history, Criterion A. Each of the three example camp National Register nominations used Criterion A making it particularly applicable to camps. Because of the association of Acadiana's duck hunting camps with the tradition of duck hunting, it is likely that

they could be nominated using Criterion A under the area of significance in recreation. Each of the four camps was built first and foremost for the purpose of duck hunting. Based on research completed in the literature review, hunting has played a significant role in the broad patterns of American history, especially in Louisiana and Acadiana. Because of the hunting purpose of these camps, they have been a part of this broad pattern of history. Like Tansy Island in Mississippi, it is likely that the camp itself has played a significant role in Acadiana society as many Cajuns go to the hunt for events beyond hunting.



Figure 87: A photos of duck hunters at La Butte in 1942. Duck hunting has been an important form of recreation in Louisiana's history (Photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

In addition to camp buildings, the camp landscape also played a role in the area of recreation. While many of these camps lease their actual hunting land, those that do own surrounding acreage on which they hunt could also use this landscape, including the duck blinds within it, to strengthen their significance. For all of the camps, the landscape in the immediate

vicinity of the main building is also significant for recreation. The various boat houses, outdoor duck cleaning areas, and barbeque grills all contribute to camp life and the hunting experience. Using the area of significance of recreation under Criterion A, Acadiana's duck hunting camps and their surrounding landscapes meet the criteria necessary to be worthy of recognition by the National Register.



Figure 88: In addition to primary camp buildings, the landscape including the duck blinds also contribute to the significance of Acadiana's duck hunting camps (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebke)

Beyond their association with recreation, Acadiana's duck hunting camps could also be recognized as significant under the area of Ethnic heritage. The Cajuns are a unique group whose ethnic heritage is European but distinctly different from other European settlers in Louisiana and other states. The duck hunting camps of Acadiana are a part of this Ethnic Heritage; the camps are an institution in South Louisiana's culture. Hunting has been a part of Cajun culture since the arrival of the first Acadians in Louisiana and has continued to remain a part of the culture to this day. When asked if they felt that they were participating in Cajun

culture by coming to the camp, every person interviewed said yes. In addition, for the majority of those interviewed, hunting was a tradition passed from one generation to the next keeping the heritage alive. For Tropical Gardens Gun Club, Steve Fourier's uncle and father hunted at the camp before him. At The Red Camp, a father-daughter pair were interviewed together emphasizing the continuation of hunting in the family. Oscar Rachal has been hunting most of his one-hundred years and his son Paul has been hunting for many of those years as well. Hunting is part of the ethnic heritage passed down generation to generation. Hunting is one of the defining aspects of Cajun culture and Acadiana's duck hunting camps are the physical places where this important aspect of the culture occurs. Because of their association with the Ethnic Heritage of the Cajuns, Acadiana's duck hunting camps are likely to be worthy of recognition by the National Register under this area of significance in Criterion A as well.



Figure 89: The duck hunting camp is an institution in Cajun Culture. Here, people relax after a hunt at La Butte in the 1940s (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

Criterion B of the National Register could also possibly be used to nominate Acadiana's duck hunting camps to the National Register. Although none of the example National Register camps used association with a significant person as part of their nomination, some of Acadiana's duck hunting camps are associated with prominent people and family's in local histories. The camps that show the most potential for recognition under Criterion B are Tropical Gardens Gun Club and The Red Camp. For Tropical Gardens, it is its association with its founder JW Guerrin that could make it significant. JW Guerrin is significant in Pointe Coupee Parish for the founding of this camp that many parish residents have been a member of for the past sixty years. However, because the camp is located in a parish different from the parish that JW Guerrin is significant in, it seems unlikely that Criterion B could be used.

The Red Camp is also associated with a significant person in Evangeline Parish's history, JS Gus Miller. Miller created Miller's Lake, the site of the current hunting camp and a significant recreation area in Evangeline Parish. He was also one of the largest independent rice growers in the area and the President of the Evangeline Parish Police Jury. JS Gus Miller is the great grandfather of the current owners of The Red Camp making him associated with the present camp. Miller would have never used The Red Camp though and although it is still associated with his family, it is not directly associated with him. For this reason, it is likely that The Red Camp as well could not qualify under Criterion B.

Criterion C of the National Register which recognizes buildings associated with a particular style of construction or design has been used to nominate other camps and could therefore possibly be used to nominate Acadiana's duck hunting camps. Indian Fields Methodist Campground was nominated under Criterion C for being an example of a revival-era church

camp. Acadiana's duck hunting camps also have particular physical elements that could reflect a unique building design. Each of the four camp primary buildings were raised off the ground, the camp's all had outdoor areas, and the lodging all contained bunk beds. However, apart from these three similarities there was no particular element shared by all four camps. Without surveying more camps, it is difficult to determine if any of the camps surveyed were prime examples of the style of construction or design of Acadiana's duck hunting camps. More surveys would need to be done to determine if any of the camps could be nominated based on their design characteristics.

The last criterion that Acadiana's duck hunting camps could use to be recognized by the National Register is Criterion D, essentially potential to reveal information about the past through archaeology. The Red Camp is most likely to meet this criterion as spear tips and other traces of Native American history have already been found on site. At Hard Times Camp and Tropical Guns Garden Clubs, relics of more recent history, agricultural and hunting respectively, have been found on site. Any of these sites could yield more information in the future but it is unlikely that they would be significant for this reason alone as they are not significant archaeological sites. For this reason, while possible, it is unlikely that any of the four camps could be listed for Criterion D.

Acadiana's duck hunting camps do meet the criteria necessary to be recognized as historic resources by the National Register of Historic Places. The camps best represent Criterion A for their association with events that have made a significant contribution in the broad patterns of our history, namely due to their association with recreation in Louisiana and the ethnic heritage of the Cajuns. Other criteria are possible but unlikely to be met. None of the camps are directly associated with significant people in the area. While they might be examples of a certain type of

design, it is hard to draw conclusions without further site surveys. And while some archaeological resources are present, the camps are unlikely to yield significant information in the future. Fortunately for Acadiana's duck hunting camps only one of the four criteria needs to be met in order for them to be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

Integrity of Acadiana's Duck Hunting Camps

In addition to being significant under the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, Acadiana's duck hunting camps also must retain integrity to convey their significance in order to be recognized as a historic resource by the National Register of Historic Places. These aspects of integrity relate to the physical, tangible elements of the duck hunting camps and not the culture which they are a part of, which are intangible factors. In order to determine if the camps meet the physical requirements of integrity, each of the four camps surveyed are reviewed with the seven aspects of integrity in mind. Then, an evaluation of integrity as it concerns intangible elements of the camps, including their culture, is made. Lastly, Acadiana's duck hunting camps will be evaluated to determine if they have integrity overall.

Tropical Gardens retains many of the aspects of integrity. The camp has been located in the same spot since its construction. The design is also relatively unchanged with the main camp lodge having only one area transformed from a porch to a storage room. While the external duck plucking shed has also been added, the landscape also retains integrity of design. Despite small changes such as the road being paved and more hunting camps being built nearby, its setting in a small community on Louisiana's coast has remained unchanged over the years. The materials used for its construction are the same materials found on the building to this day. The workmanship reflects the time period of its construction.

The property also has integrity in its feeling and association. It feels like one would expect a hunting camp built for men in the 1950s to feel like. It has no frills and no fancy finishes but rather feels like a place to be comfortable, to take the boots off at the end of a long day in the blind. It also maintains integrity in association because it continues to be used as a hunting camp by Cajuns. If it is to be significant for its association with recreation and the Cajun's ethnic heritage, the camp is being used for those reasons to this day.

The Red Camp also has integrity. Although it is not on the original location of a hunting camp on Miller's Lake, it has been in the same location since its construction in the 1960s. The camp retains its design with only a color change from red to white which could be easily reversed. The setting on Miller's Lake has integrity as the lake, the levee, and other camps surrounding this one all date to either before or around the same time of construction as The Red Camp. The materials used for construction are the same ones still in use today. The camp reflects the workmanship one would expect for a family hunting camp in the mid twentieth century.

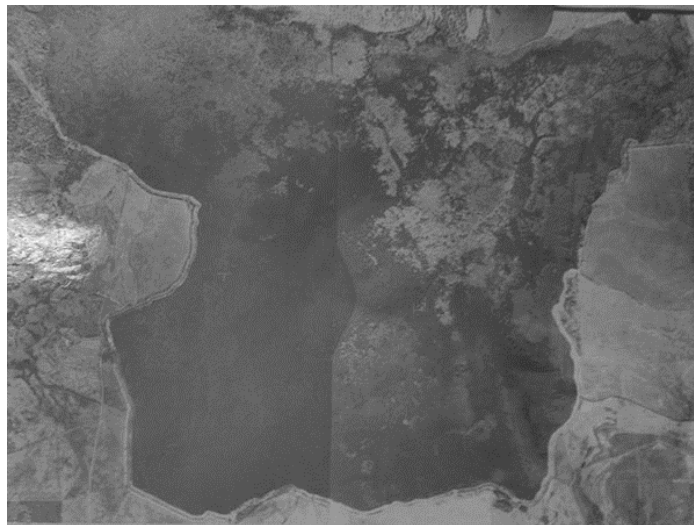


Figure 90: The Red Camp's setting on Miller's Lake has remained relatively unchanged since the 1950s when this aerial image was taken (photo courtesy of the McCaulley family)

The Red Camp also retains integrity in its feeling and association. The feeling of the camp retains the feeling of a family hunting camp of its time period. Its wood paneled walls are covered in family photos taken throughout the years. One does not mistake this camp for a private residence or a vacation style getaway, it still feels very much like a family hunting camp. It also has integrity of association as it is still associated with the duck hunting and ethnic heritage which make this camp significant. The Red Camp has integrity.

Determining whether or not Hard Times Camp has integrity is more challenging. It was moved from its original location in 1980 which means that it does not have integrity of location. Because it was rebuilt as recently as 2010, it does not have integrity of design. Its setting deep in the woods of Avoyelles Parish has remained the same so it does have integrity of setting. The materials used for its reconstruction as well as the workmanship do reflect the modern time in which it was built. So while these materials and the workmanship are not historic, they do have integrity of their time.

Hard Times Camp's reconstruction in 2010 also make it hard to determine its integrity of feeling and association. It feels like a hunting camp built in 2010, not one that has been in use by the same family for over half a century. However, its bare minimum finishes, location in the middle of the woods, and cozy feel make it clear that this place is a hunting camp. It is still very much associated with duck hunting and plays a role in the heritage of a Cajun family. Therefore, despite the many changes that have occurred over the years, it still has integrity in association. Yet overall, the physical camp does not have integrity as it relates to the National Register.

The Delacroix Hilton's integrity is also more challenging to determine. It is still in the same location of its original construction. The design, however, has changed over the years. As it was rebuilt many times, it maintained a similar site plan of a main camp, outhouse, deck, etc.

However, each new version of the camp was slightly modified to better adapt to the environment which resulted in a loss of integrity of design. The setting has also changed over the years. Although it is still located in the middle of a marsh, the marsh itself has changed dramatically as it has decreased in size over the years. Overall though, the setting does have integrity. Because it has been recently reconstructed, the materials used reflect the twenty-first century. They have integrity, just not historic integrity. The workmanship however is still relatively similar. The family has always constructed and reconstructed the camp themselves so the workmanship does reflect the craftsmanship of a particular people during this time period; the workmanship has integrity.



Figure 91: The Liebkeman has always constructed, and reconstructed, The Delacroix Hilton themselves (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

The aspects of feeling and association are once again hard to determine. The camp still feels like a duck hunting camp isolated from society in the middle of a marsh. However, changes in technology— allowing for electricity, satellite television, and cell service— have

certainly changed the overall feel of the camp. Yet it still relies on an outhouse for a bathroom, cisterns for running water, and a boat ride for transportation. In this way, it feels very much the same as it was historically. The feeling though more reflects the year 2018 than 1957 so therefore, it does not have integrity of feeling. Its association with the Liebkeman family's duck hunting trips though has not changed. It has integrity of association. Yet overall, its physical elements do not have integrity.



Figure 92: Technology has made it possible for those at The Delacroix Hilton to go for a hunt in the morning and catch the game that night on their satellite television which has changed the overall feeling of the camp (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebkeman)

While the evaluation above commented on physical elements of the camp having or not having integrity, the camps must also be examined to determine if they are authentic and have integrity related to their intangible elements. Because the United States National Register aspects of integrity only address tangible elements, international guidance was referenced related to intangible factors of authenticity. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage recognizes that communities, such as the Cajun community, help to

produce, safeguard, maintain, and recreate their intangible cultural heritage. Applying the Convention to Cajun culture, one must also recognize the innate interdependence between this intangible culture and its tangible elements. Acadiana's duck hunting camps are a tangible element deeply connected to the intangible aspects of Cajun culture. As Cajun culture has morphed over the years from backwoods to mainstream, these camps have been a part of it every step of the way. The participation of Cajuns in duck hunting is part of their intangible heritage and these camps are physical places where the production, safeguarding, maintenance, and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage occurs.

Simply because people hunt at the camps does not mean that the experience has integrity. Yet hunting here, at Acadiana's duck camps, is more than about hunting alone. Using the Convention's definition of intangible cultural heritage as a guide, one can see that Acadiana's duck hunting camps fully support the continuation of the Cajun's intangible cultural heritage. As defined by the Convention, these duck hunting camps truly are places where intangible cultural heritage has occurred and continues to occur.³³⁴ Duck hunting at these camps is a tradition transmitted from generation to generation. These camps and hunting itself are constantly being recreated by communities in response to their environment in South Louisiana, their interactions with the forces of nature, and their history. All of those interviewed said that participating in life at the hunting camp made them feel Cajun, relating directly to the clause that intangible cultural heritage "provides [communities] with a sense of identity and continuity."

³³⁴ "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," UNESCO, October 17, 2003, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>, 2.



Figure 93: The intangible tradition of duck hunting is constantly recreated and passed from generation to generation at Acadiana’s duck hunting camps (photo courtesy of Tropical Gardens Gun Club)

While using the Convention’s definition of intangible cultural heritage helps, it is also clear from the interviews that the community associated with the camps find them to be authentic to the Cajun experience. Cajuns themselves recognize these resources as places where Cajun culture occurs. Many of those interviewed expressed that a major component of Cajun culture was being in touch with nature, living off the land, being a part of a community, and eating well. One camp, Hard Times Camp, noted that at the camp, Cajun French is still used for communication. According to the literature review as well, food, hunting, and the language are all important aspects of Cajun culture. All of these aspects of Cajun culture have occurred and continue to occur at Acadiana’s duck hunting camps. This meets the Nara Document on Authenticity’s statement that cultures must determine for themselves what is deemed to be authentic.

Despite some of the camps being moved and rebuilt over the years, and despite the fact that those who are hunting there today are not necessarily the ones who founded the camps, and despite the fact that Cajun culture itself has shifted as the years have gone by, these camps remain authentic and have integrity in regard to the intangible elements of Cajun culture which occur there. This constant change and rebuilding fits in well with Max Page's thoughts on authenticity; perfect integrity of a place frozen in time does not exist. Rather, these camps express his idea that authenticity means telling the full story of the history of a place through its many changes and multiple layers. Robert Thompson's standards for authenticity of rebuilt places also comes into play when evaluating the authenticity and integrity of camps such as Hard Times Camp and The Delacroix Hilton which have been rebuilt. Even though they are rebuilt, they still have an authenticity of renewal in that new buildings have been built in place of the destroyed ones. These new buildings do not pretend to be the old but do keep the memory of the old camp alive. Hard Times Camp also expresses authenticity of experience because remnants of the old camp that survived flooding such as the foundation, the stove, and the bathroom still stand in place as a testament to the memory of what happened in the past. Using these standards from the writings of Thompson, Page, the Nara Document, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, it is clear that Acadiana's duck camps do have integrity and authenticity in their intangible heritage; these physical places are helping to keep traditions alive.



Figure 94: Despite all the changes that have occurred over the years, Acadiana's duck hunting camps keep traditions alive. Here, hunters pose at a camp on Millers Lake in the 1980s (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

Considering both the tangible and intangible aspects, this author confirms that all of the camps have integrity of their intangible aspects. However, only Tropical Gardens Gun Club and The Red Camp have physical integrity, per National Register of Historic Places definition. It is easy to say that these two camps then have integrity in all aspects. Yet for Hard Times Camp and The Delacroix Hilton, it is harder to judge. To be recognized as a historic resource by the National Register, the physical aspects of integrity are the only consideration. Yet it seems for the Cajun people who know and use these camps, the physical traits do not matter so much to the camps' integrity as do the traditions carried on at these places by generations of Cajun people, or the intangible factors. In the eyes of the Cajuns, it seems likely that the camps are authentic

representations of physical places where Cajun culture occurs, despite not being viewed in the same light by the National Register. Therefore, these camps do have well rounded integrity, both tangible and intangible, and could potentially be eligible for the National Register in the future but as the guidelines for the National Register currently exist, these two camps do not have the necessary physical integrity.

Challenges of Nominating these Properties to the National Register

In addition to Hard Times Camp and The Delacroix Hilton being problematic in regards to integrity, there are other challenges that all of these camps would face if nominated to the National Register. One of the more obvious ones is that there is no precedent in the State of Louisiana of nominating camps of any kind to the National Register. However, the SHPO has made it clear the kinds of details they would be looking for in nominations of the camps to the National Register. Through communication with the SHPO during this research and assessment, nominating the duck camps to the National Register would be no more challenging than nominating any other resource. The more challenging aspects of nominating these properties will come from special criteria consideration.

As mentioned in the background research, some properties nominated to the National Register must meet additional criteria considerations in addition to the four criterion and seven aspects of integrity previously examined. In the case of Acadiana's duck hunting camps, there are two criteria considerations that are especially applicable: Criterion E for Reconstructed Properties and Criterion G for Properties less than fifty years old. Tropical Gardens Gun Club and The Red Camp are both over fifty and are not reconstructed properties, therefore these

criteria considerations do not apply to them. For Hard Times Camp and The Delacroix Hilton, these considerations are necessary.

Because those two camps are reconstructed, they would need to meet several other criteria including being built in a suitable environment, being an essential part of a historic district, being the last surviving property of a type, and/or being older than fifty years. These two camps are built in a suitable environment. However, they do not exist in a historic district and they are not the last surviving duck camps in Acadiana. They are also less than fifty years old. Once they reach the fifty-year-old age, they could attain their own significance revealing information about the period in which they were rebuilt at which point, they could be nominated. But for the present, they do not meet this criteria consideration.

The other criteria consideration for these two camps is that they are less than fifty years old. For a property to have achieved significance within the past fifty years, it must be exceptionally important. Despite the importance of these camps in the lives of those who use them, they are not exceptionally important places at a local, state or national level. Once fifty years have passed from the date of their most recent reconstruction, these buildings will be more qualified to be recognized as historic resources by the National Register. However, in order for this to happen, another flood, storm, or other event cannot destroy the camp and lead to another rebuild before then.

Challenges of Preserving these Camps Long Term

Even if these camps are recognized as historic resources, there are other challenges to preserving them in the long term. The most obvious of these challenges are presented by natural

system influences. Flooding, storms, and coastal erosion are all factors that influence and will continue to impact Acadiana's duck hunting camps. Those camps that have been rebuilt have only done so because their previous versions were destroyed by floods and storms. All of the camps are built above ground but this has not prevented all but The Red Camp from flooding. Tropical Gardens Gun Club is quite literally anchored in to the ground at its corners so that when storms come in, it might flood but it will not float away with the storm surge. The Delacroix Hilton is also designed so that when storms come, the storm surge will wash through the camp flooding it only temporarily. As sea levels rise and storms grow in intensity, all of these camps will continue to face floods and storms. For The Delacroix Hilton and Tropical Gardens, another natural system threat is coastal erosion. Both of these camps lie either in or directly across from Louisiana's rapidly disappearing coast. The Delacroix Hilton has already noticed a changing landscape outside its doors and it might not be long until it sits on an island in the ocean instead of on the edge of the marsh.



Figure 95: Threats to preservation come from storms, flooding, and coastal erosion. Here The Delacroix Hilton is seen after being washed away by a storm (photo courtesy of Kerryn Liebke)

Other challenges to preserving these camps long term come from changing cultural systems. As seen in the literature review, Cajun culture is constantly changing. As the culture becomes more urbanized and Americanized, this shift could threaten Acadiana's duck hunting camps. As the culture grows away from the land, perhaps duck hunting will no longer be a part of the culture. However, one of the most important traits of Cajun culture is its ability to adapt and change. As it does so, it creates new traditions, but they are always rooted in the past. It seems that younger generations are still being introduced to camp life and hunting traditions. With young interviewees such as Taylor McCaulley (age 25) still interested in hunting and pictures on camp walls of those even younger dressed in camouflage, it does not appear like this aspect of Cajun culture will be disappearing anytime soon. The technology used for hunting has shifted and will continue to shift as will the amenities offered by the camps themselves such as indoor bathrooms, electricity, and satellite television. Even the hunt itself has changed from a

need for subsistence to a means of recreation. These adaptations prove that there is already precedent for Acadian's duck hunting camps to shift to cultural changes and continue to be relevant in the lives of new generations of Cajun duck hunters.

Another aspect of changing cultural systems though is shifts in the way people hunt. In the interview with Oscar Rachal where his nephew Steve Rachal was present, they discussed these changes and the threats that they pose to access to duck hunting lands. Steve complained about the changing nature of hunting as it had switched from “people like us” by which he meant poor Cajuns to “rich people” who bought large swaths of land, fenced the land, baited for birds essentially leaving nothing left for the average Cajun hunter. He was concerned about what will become to the tradition of duck hunting in Cajun culture if there is no longer land to hunt on or birds to hunt.



Figure 96: Despite changes in the culture, duck hunting is still being picked up by younger generations. At The Red Camp, a photo collage on the wall recognizes the newest member of the camp (photo courtesy of McCaulley family)

One way of ensuring that these duck hunting camps will remain through cultural shifts for ensuing generations is to protect them with conservation easements. Owners of the camps could give away some of their rights on the land to ensure that the camps remain relatively unchanged in perpetuity. This would be done through a contract with an easement holding non-profit which would look after the property to ensure that the specifications of the easement are upheld in years to come. It is a costly option though as it not only decreases the property value but also usually is accompanied by a required donation to the corresponding non-profit. In addition, these non-profits would have to value duck hunting camps as something worthy of preservation which may be an additional challenge. It would, however, give the property owners a tax break but more importantly, a feeling of security knowing that their property will be maintained as is into the future. While this option is not a viable option for all of Acadiana's duck hunting camps, it should be considered as a means of protection.

Answering the Research Question

Through an analysis of the findings of both the literature review and case study sites visited, the research questions can be answered. Would recognizing South Louisiana's duck hunting camps as historic resources and physically preserving them as such assist in preserving intangible aspects of Cajun Culture? Acadiana's duck hunting camps can be considered as historic resources under the criteria set forth by the National Register of Historic Places. Under Criterion A, all of these camps have played a role in the broad pattern of Cajun history, specifically in regards to recreation as well as Ethnic Heritage. While only some of these camps have physical integrity, all of the camps represent an authentic Cajun experience. Due to the lack of physical integrity as well as not meeting certain criteria considerations due to age and

reconstruction, The Delacroix Hilton and Hard Times Camp are not eligible for the National Register despite meeting Criterion A. Tropical Gardens Gun Club and The Red Camp, however, are of age and have the physical integrity necessary to be eligible for the National Register.

The role these camps have played in Cajun culture cannot be denied. By continuing to preserve these historic resources, intangible aspects of Cajun culture will also be preserved. Not only will the tradition of hunting be preserved but so will others. Cajun food continues to be cooked at these camps and Cajun words and the Cajun language continue to be spoken. The very thing that helped Cajuns become Cajuns was their connection and adaptation to the unique landscape of South Louisiana. At Acadiana's duck hunting camps, this connection between people and the landscape is still made over three hundred years later. By preserving Acadiana's duck hunting camps, a part of Cajun culture will be preserved too.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

On the eternal flame memorial to the Acadians in St. Martinville, LA, is inscribed “un peuple sans passé est un peuple sans future,” a people without a past are a people without a future. In the case of the Cajuns, this could not be farther from the truth. The Cajuns have a rich history filled with both great tragedies but also great resilience. How they choose to preserve the places associated with their past will help to define their future. Through this thesis, it has been argued that one of the places closely associated with this past, as well as present Cajun culture, is the duck hunting camp. Yet as it currently stands, this resource has yet to be recognized as important in Louisiana as not a single example has been placed on the National Register in a state known as “Sportsman’s Paradise.” These thoughts led to my research question: Would recognizing South Louisiana’s duck hunting camps as historic resources and physically preserving them as such assist in preserving intangible aspects of Cajun Culture?

Answering this question began with researching important background information such as Cajun’s history and distinctive aspects of their culture, preservation processes for both tangible and intangible resources, understanding the varying ways to evaluate authenticity and integrity as it relates to these resources, and information regarding the history of hunting and specifically the role of hunting and the duck hunting camp in Acadiana to understand the role of this form of both subsistence and recreation in Cajun culture.

Four of Acadiana's duck hunting camps were then used as case studies to identify several key aspects that define these camps. One of the most important pieces of information gathered was that duck hunting camps are about much more than duck hunting. For those who belonged to these camps, they are as much about intangible aspects such as camaraderie and tradition as they are about reaching their limit when they go out for a hunt. The tradition is passed down through generations of camp members which is why duck hunting continues to remain relevant to Cajun culture today. The sites also had unique lay outs suited for duck hunting camps. They were all raised above the ground to help prevent flooding. They all had bunk beds emphasizing the "camp" like nature of these places; they are modest affairs. Yet these camps also had their differences. Two of the camps had been rebuilt on multiple occasions while the other two stood much as they did when they were first constructed.

Analyzing these sites to see if they could be viewed as historic resources began with evaluating whether they would meet the criteria for the National Register of Historic Places. Because of their association with recreation and the Ethnic Heritage of the Cajuns, these camps are significant under Criterion A of the National Register which recognizes places associated with events that contributed to the broad patterns of history. However, meeting the criteria alone is not enough to be recognized by the National Register. The camps would also have to have physical integrity and meet criteria considerations. Because Hard Times Camp and The Delacroix Hilton have been rebuilt a number of times, they do not meet these requirements and therefore, would be difficult to list on the National Register. Tropical Gardens Gun Club and The Red Camp do, however, meet all of the requirements meaning that it is very realistic for the two of them to be potentially listed on the National Register.

Yet this research question called for an analysis beyond physical integrity. The integrity of the intangible elements of Cajun culture as they relate to Acadiana's duck hunting camps were also necessary to evaluate. In this respect, the camps do have integrity in that they help to preserve the culture by providing a place for it to be constantly recreated and transmitted through the generations. The Cajuns themselves believe that these places are places where Cajun culture thrives which directly relates to more eastern views of preservation as presented in the Nara Document. So while physical integrity might be lacking, all of these camps are invaluable places for preserving the Cajun's culture. Preserving these camps, either in their original forms or recognizing their reconstructed forms as valuable, to will help preserve the intangible aspects of Cajun culture.

If this research were to be done again, there are some changes that would be made. More camps would have been surveyed, if possible, with more camp members being interviewed as well. While the four sites did provide sufficient information to draw conclusions, a larger sampling of camps would allow even more depth of understanding on how Cajun culture and duck hunting camps are related. Future research should therefore include visits to more case study sites which would strengthen the argument that camps are significant under Criterion A and possibly provide information that could allow camps to be nominated under Criterion C for their design features as well.

This thesis also calls into question the standards of integrity currently used by the National Register of Historic Places. Future research should be done to more fully understand the interconnectedness between tangible and intangible resources. Physical integrity should not be the only integrity that matters when evaluating a site's significance. Rather using current international views of preservation, both the tangible and intangible elements matter. And more

than anything, preservation should be about preserving places for the people that they matter to the most. If the Cajuns or any other group is to say a certain kind of place matters to them and that they consider it valuable, those places should be treated as important resources. Physical integrity only helps to tell part of a story; physical integrity in conjunction with intangible integrity helps to tell the full story.

Future research should also include more research into other places in Acadiana that could also be potentially recognized as historic resources and that help to keep the intangible culture alive. Currently, the National Register only has houses associated with Cajun culture on the National Register and more must be done to expand the kinds of places recognized. Duck hunting camps are not the only places still valued by Cajuns. There are potentially many other sites across Acadiana such as dancehalls, restaurants, and even the landscape itself that also facilitate the preservation of intangible resources. A Cajun context study should be created for use by the Louisiana SHPO. This could be done as a cultural context including all the types of resources such as dance halls, restaurants, etc., associated with Cajuns or could be done as thematic context in which each of these resources are independently studied in depth. Perhaps the best way to go about adding more resources associated with the Cajuns would be to nominate these sites as Traditional Cultural Properties which may give them more flexibility in their criteria and integrity assessments.

Nominating these sites as Traditional Cultural Properties or nominating them for their association with the ethnic heritage brings up another challenge for future studies. Cajun culture is difficult to define making it more difficult to say what is a traditional cultural property or whether or not a property is associated with a “real” Cajun. Perhaps the best way to evaluate Cajun culture is on a scale. Perhaps the SHPO needs to use the Nara Document’s suggestion that

people define for themselves their culture to be used as an appropriate test of the “Cajun-ness” of any resource. At South Louisiana’s duck hunting camps, when people were asked if they felt like they were participating in Cajun culture by going to the camp, they all said yes. But what about when a non-Cajun goes duck hunting in South Louisiana? What do they feel?

These questions also call for the future study of how non-Cajuns feel about duck hunting camps. It is not only Cajuns who go duck hunting, people across the country and around the world participate in this sport. Perhaps in different places, the duck hunting and camp experience are equally part of a culture or perhaps the hobby is seen merely as a form of recreation and nothing more. The camp might not matter as much as the sport. In Acadiana though, the tangible camp is a venue for the experience of hunting and other Cajun traditions. While the sport itself is probably very similar in many locations, in Acadiana the connection of the camp to Cajun culture is perhaps unique. This calls for further study of other hunting camps not in Acadiana.

More research should also be done to better understand the threats that climate change poses on Acadiana. Acadiana’s precarious location along Louisiana’s rapidly disappearing coast presents many issues. In a flat, flood prone landscape, sea level rise could mean that these resources will disappear along with the intangible elements tied to them more quickly than thought. If Acadiana disappears, will Cajun culture disappear with it? Or would this just be one more hurdle for the resilient Cajuns to overcome? These questions will need to be answered if Cajun culture is to survive another three hundred years.

In conclusion, it is clear that Cajuns have proved throughout their history that they are survivors. They arrived in Louisiana after being forcibly removed from Nova Scotia and did what they had to do in order to survive. Survival was not enough though; they managed to thrive

in South Louisiana by adapting to their new landscape. This adaptation to the landscape along with other cultural influences helped the Cajuns to become the Cajuns. As part of this adaptation, they began hunting for wild game in order to feed themselves. And what should they find in South Louisiana but an abundance of waterfowl. Hunting ducks began as a necessity for survival. And as the years went on and the culture went through many changes, the love of duck hunting remained. Now a form of recreation, duck hunting is still practiced by many Cajuns and is seen as being a typically Cajun thing to do.

The duck hunting camp is the place where duck hunting occurs. These places facilitate not only the hunt but the recreation of other intangible aspects of Cajun culture, bonding the Cajuns in a unique brand of camaraderie and, of course, contributing to many a well cooked meal. These duck hunting camps are historic resources for the Cajuns representing the importance of duck hunting as a form of both subsistence and recreation in their culture. And even more so, these camps are historic resources because they are deeply tied to the ethnic heritage of the Cajuns. By preserving the tangible elements of Acadiana's duck hunting camps, the intangible cultural heritage of the Cajuns will also be preserved allowing Cajun culture to hopefully thrive for another three hundred years.

REFERENCES

- Ancelet, Barry Jean, Jay D. Edwards, and Glen Pitre. *Cajun Country*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1991.
- Ancelet, Barry Jean. "Cultural Tourism in Cajun Country: Shotgun Wedding or Marriage Made in Heaven?" *Southern Folklore* 49, no. 3 (1992): 256-267.
- Ancelet, Barry Jean. "Negotiating the Mainstream: The Creoles and Cajuns in Louisiana." *The French Review* 80, no. 6 (2007): 1235-1255.
- Ardrey, Robert. *The Hunting Hypothesis: A Personal Conclusion Concerning the Evolutionary Nature of Man*. New York, NY: Antheneum, 1976.
- Bernard, Shane K. *The Cajuns: Americanization of a People*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2003.
- Brasted, Chelsea. "Eyeing hiatus after nearly 2 decades, Lost Bayou Ramblers win 1st Grammy," Nola.com. Last modified January 28, 2018. Accessed January 29, 2018.
http://www.nola.com/music/index.ssf/2018/01/lost_bayou_ramblers_grammy.html.
- Bronin, Sara C. and Ryan Rowberry. *Historic Preservation Law in a Nutshell*. St. Paul, MN: West Academic Publishing, 2014.
- Brown, Wayde. "'Left behind' places of memory: The pattern of Grand Pré and New Echota." In *Imagining Home: Migrants and the search for a new beginning*, edited by Donna Glenn, Eric Bouvet, and Sonia Floriani, 31-46. Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press, 2011.
- "Cajun French Music Association," Cajun French Music. Accessed February 23, 2018.
<http://www.cajunfrenchmusic.org/>.
- Comeau, Malcom L. "Cajuns in Louisiana." In *To Build in a New Land*, edited by Allen G. Noble, 177-194. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," UNESCO. Last modified October 17, 2003. Accessed January 27, 2018.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images//0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.
- Cox, Robert R., Alan D. Afton, and Richard M. Pace III. "Survival of Female Northern Pintails Wintering in Southwestern Louisiana." *The Journal of Wildlife Management* 62, no. 4 (1998): 1512-1521.

Crowell, Richard B. *Chenier Plain*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2015.
Engel, Robert, Howard Kirschenbaum, and Paul Malo. *Santanoni: From Japanese Temple to Life at an Adirondack Great Camp*. Keeseville, NY: Adirondack Architectural Heritage, 2009.

“Division of Historic Preservation,” Louisiana Office of Cultural Development. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/>

“Economy Split in Louisiana Cities in 2016,” US News. Last modified September 21, 2017. Accessed January 29, 2018. <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/louisiana/articles/2017-09-21/economy-split-in-louisiana-cities-in-2016>.

Farrell, Megan. “French Vernacular Homes of Acadiana: An Overview.” *Material Culture* 23, no. 3 (1991): 47-58.

Fisher, Charles. “Easement to Protect Historic Properties,” National Park Service. Accessed January 28, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives/taxdocs/easements-historic-properties.pdf>.

Folse, John D. *After the Hunt*. Gonzales, LA: Chef John Folse and Company Publishing, 2007.
Francis, Mark. “A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture,” Landscape Architecture Foundation. Last edited July 16, 1999. Accessed March 9, 2018. <https://lafoundation.org/myos/my-uploads/2010/08/19/casestudymethod.pdf>.

Garcia, Diego Herrera. “What does the Economy Stand to Lose if We Don’t Restore Louisiana’s Coast?” Delta Dispatches. Last modified July 31, 2017. Accessed January 29, 2018. <http://mississippiriverdelta.org/economy-stand-lose-dont-restore-louisianas-coast/>.

Gomez, Gay M. *A Wetland Biography: Seasons on Louisiana’s Chenier Plain*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998.

“Grassy Lake WMA,” Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries. Accessed February 4, 2018. <http://www.wlf.louisiana.gov/wma/2767>.

“Guide to 2010 Census State and Local Geography – Louisiana,” Census.gov. Accessed January 22, 2018. https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/guidestloc/st22_la.html.

Herman, Daniel Justin. “Hunting Democracy.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 55, no. 3 (2005): 22-33.

Herman, Daniel Justin. *Hunting and the American Imagination*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2001.

“Historic Contexts,” Louisiana Office of Cultural Development. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/national-register/historic-contexts/index>.

“History of the Vieux Carré Commission,” City of New Orleans. Accessed February 23, 2018. <https://www.nola.gov/vcc/about-us/>.

“History,” Festivals Acadiens et Creoles. Accessed January 27, 2018. <http://www.festivalsacadiens.com/info/history.html>.

“History,” Jagermeister. Accessed October 26, 2017. <https://www.jagermeister.com/en/history>.

Hobusch, Erich. *Fair Game: A History of Hunting, Shooting, and Animal Conservation*. New York, NY: Acro Publishing Inc., 1980.

Horst, Jerald. “About Miller’s Lake.” Last modified February 15, 2016. Accessed February 4, 2018. <http://www.louisianasportsman.com/details.php?id=9127>.

“Inventories: Identifying for Safeguarding,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/inventorying-intangible-heritage-00080>.

Iverson, Jeffrey T. “A Work of Genius... We revisit the Renaissance Palace of King Francis I, The Builder King.” *France Today* 30, no.3 (2015): 26-32. <https://issuu.com/jeffreytiverson/docs/ft03.chambord>.

Jobb, Dean. *The Cajuns: A People’s Story of Exile and Triumph*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishing, 2005.

Kaparalski, Slawomir. “Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish Jewish Relations.” *History and Memory* 13, no. 2 (2001): 35-58.

Kemp, John R. and Julia Sims. *Vanishing Paradise: Duck Hunting in the Louisiana Marsh*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2010.

Keul, Adam. “Reliving off the Swamp: A Cajun Tourism Commodity.” *Geographical Review* 104, no. 4 (2014): 506-522.

“Landscape of Grand Pré,” UNESCO World Heritage List. Last accessed January 13, 2018. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1404>.

Lewis, Fielding. *Tales of a Louisiana Duck Hunter*. New York, NY: Vantage Press, 1998.

Lipo, Carl P, Timothy D. Hunt, and Robert C. Dunnell. “Formal analysis and functional accounts of groundstone ‘plummets’ from Poverty Point, Louisiana.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, no. 1 (2012): 84-91.

“Louisiana Office of Cultural Development,” Louisiana Office of Cultural Development. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/index>.

“Mississippi Flyway,” National Audubon Society. Accessed October 19, 2017. <http://www.audubon.org/mississippi-flyway>.

“National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965,” About NEH. Accessed February 23, 2018. <https://www.neh.gov/about/history/national-foundation-arts-and-humanities-act-1965-pl-89-209>.

“National Historic Preservation Act of 1966,” 16 USC § 470. <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>

“National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the Criteria Considerations,” National Park Service. Accessed January 28, 2018. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_7.htm.

“National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” National Park Service. Accessed January 28, 2018. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_4.htm.

“National Register Bulletin: How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property,” National Park Service. Accessed January 28, 2018. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm.

“National Register Bulletin: How to Identify the Type of Significance of a Property,” National Park Service. Accessed January 28, 2018. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_6.htm.

National Register of Historic Places. Indian Fields Methodist Campground. St. George, Dorchester County, South Carolina. National Register #73001707. <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/08692dfe-e721-4e5c-a45c-5be5abb0157f?branding=NRHP>.

National Register of Historic Places. Larson’s Hunters Resort. Lake Valley Township, Traverse County, Minnesota. National Register #85001774. <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/376c1c65-6c87-4b83-919c-5adb7ca37c71/>.

National Register of Historic Places. Tansy Island Hunting Club Camp Site and Clubhouse. Woodville, Wilkinson County, Mississippi. National Register #95000179. <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/9af145f7-a2c7-489d-afe2-a8b7571b29b9>.

“National Register: Process and Forms,” Louisiana Office of Cultural Development. Accessed January 28, 2018. <https://www.crt.state.la.us/cultural-development/historic-preservation/national-register/process-and-forms/index>.

Noble, Allen G. “Migration to North America: Before, during, and after the nineteenth century.” In *To Build in a New Land*, edited by Allen G. Noble, 3-28. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Oszuscik, Philippe. “French Creoles on the Gulf Coast.” In *To Build in a New Land*, edited by Allen G. Noble, 136-156. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Page, Max. *Why Preservation Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016.

“Preservation Brief 39 - Holding the Line: Controlling Unwanted Moisture in Historic Buildings,” National Park Service. Accessed January 29, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/39-control-unwanted-moisture.htm>

“Purpose of the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/purpose-of-the-lists-00807>.

“Quick Facts – Louisiana,” Census.gov. Accessed January 29, 2018. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/LA>.

Rees, Mark A. “From Grand Derangement to Acadiana: History and Identity in the Landscape of South Louisiana.” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 12, no. 4 (2008): 338-359.

“Rising water is swallowing up the Louisiana coastline,” CBS News. Last modified January 18, 2018. Accessed February 23, 2018. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/louisiana-coastline-disappearing-50-billion-dollars-to-save-climate-change-erosion/>.

“Safeguarding without Freezing,” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/safeguarding-00012>.

Schadt, Susan. *A Million Wings*. Nashville, TN: Wild Abundance Publishing, a division of ArtMemphis, 2012.

Schadt, Susan: *Wild Abundance: Ritual, Revelry, and Recipes of the South's Finest Hunting Clubs*. Memphis, TN: ArtMemphis 2010.

Sexton, Rocky L. “Cajun Mardi Gras: Cultural Objectification and Symbolic Appropriation in a French Tradition.” *Ethnology* 38, no.4 (1999): 297-313.

“Smithsonian Folklife Festival,” Smithsonian Institute. Accessed February 23, 2018. <https://festival.si.edu/>.

“State Historic Preservation Officers,” National Park Service. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/shpolist.htm>.

“Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” National Park Service. Accessed January 27, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

“The Nara Document on Authenticity,” UNESCO. Last modified November 1993. Accessed February 26, 2018. whc.unesco.org/document/116018.

Thompson, Robert Garland. “Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites.” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 5, no. 1 (2008), <https://www.nps.gov/crmjournal/Winter2008/article4.html>.

Valdman, Albert, Kevin J. Rottet, and Barry Jean Ancelet. *Dictionary of Louisiana French: As Spoken in Cajun, Creole, and American Indian Communities*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2010.

Waterman, Charles F. *Hunting in America*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Publishers, 1973.

Young, Robert A. *Historic Preservation Technology*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2008.