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Separate but equal?: the archaeology of an early twentieth-century African American school

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SEPARATE BUT EQUAL? : THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOL

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Abstract

The written and historical record is frequently flawed, as it is most often written by a single dominant group. The history of Morganza Elementary, an early twentieth-century African American school in Morganza, Louisiana, was both omitted from the historical record and as a result, was slowly being erased in the minds of the community. Archaeological excavations were undertaken in order to better understand the lifeways of both the community and the students as well as the daily practices of both. In conjunction with the archaeological excavations, oral histories were completed with former students. Through this combination, new light was shed on not only the educational conditions of the school, but also the interactions between community members. Morganza Elementary was determined to be a 'safe-place' for the community, allowing freedom of religion as well as promoting education in different varieties.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The written and historical record is frequently flawed, as it is most often written by a single dominant group. The history of Morganza Elementary, an early twentieth-century African American school in Morganza, Louisiana, was both omitted from the historical record and as a result, was slowly being erased in the minds of both the African American and white communities. Archaeological excavations were undertaken at Morganza Elementary (16PC86) in order to better understand the lifeways of both the community and the students as well as the daily practices of both. In conjunction with the archaeological excavations, an oral history interview was completed with a former student. Through this combination, new light was shed on not only the educational conditions of the school, but also the interactions between community members. As a result, the daily life of African Americans living in the Jim Crow-era South can now be better understood and the omission of African Americans from the written record from this time period can produce a better understanding of lifeways. The importance of the school within the African American community of Morganza can be seen through both its promotion of the education of African Americans as well as its designation as a 'safe-space' for the community offering protection for both children and the community at large.

When fieldwork at the site was originally proposed, the ultimate goal was to find material culture related to the Civil War era occupation of the site. During initial shoveltesting, no materials related to this era were found, but materials linked to Morganza Elementary were found throughout the shoveltesting areas. Subsequent field investigations at 16PC86 ultimately concentrated on the archaeological remains of Morganza Elementary, an early twentieth-century African American elementary school in Morganza, Louisiana, but did set up an excavation unit

to search for any materials related to the Civil War era occupation of the site. The school structure was built in 1919 and torn down after desegregation in Louisiana. The principal archaeological investigations at Morganza Elementary (16PC86) were conducted in order to discover the type of education, including facilities and supplies, that was available to African American students at Morganza Elementary. The principal research questions were: (1) What were the educational conditions at Morganza Elementary? (2) How different was the education of African American children compared to contemporaneous white students? (3) What were the cultural interactions between African Americans and the European American community? (4) What were the interactions within the African American community? (5) How will the cultural identity of African Americans residing in Morganza be expressed through the archaeological record? Through research into these questions, Morganza Elementary was discovered to be a 'safe-space' in terms of protection from racial violence and oppression.

While any subdiscipline (archaeology, oral history or documentary records) by themselves could not resolve all of these questions on its own, the combination of archaeology, oral history and documentary evidence produced interpretations unattainable through the use of only one set of sources. The expectation of this project was to interpret the material culture of Morganza Elementary in hopes of corroborating the documentary evidence and the information provided through oral history information in order to understand what daily practices took place at the school. It was assumed that the documentary evidence along with information garnered from oral history interviews would not corroborate. As was the case in most of the South (and United States as a whole) during the Jim Crow era, African American schools were frequently underfunded and the documentary record was consequently flawed. These flaws gave precedence in the documentary record to white 'history', leaving African Americans out almost entirely. Despite the obviously modern nature of the site, many questions can be answered

through archaeology that otherwise could not through documentary evidence or oral history information alone.

Research efforts focused on reconstructing life within Morganza Elementary and within the community itself, as many community gatherings took place on school grounds and considering that the school played such an important role within the community. By analyzing foodways, the spatial layout of the activities of the school, ethnnomedicinal and pharmaceutical practices, religion, school training, school supplies, toys, personal adornment, consumer preferences and choices, structures and various schoolhouse events, the daily life of the people of Morganza became clear.

Although there was not an archaeological excavation of a nearby contemporaneous white school, the material culture of Morganza Elementary can be analyzed in terms of economics (Spencer-Wood 1987; Mullins 1999; Henry 1991). By using resources such as time-period specific catalogs, the materials can be placed within an economic range. Singleton (2001: 7) describes this method as one of the "two essential ways" of determining ethnicity within the archaeological record: "Types, qualities or percentages of artifacts (not associated with Africa) are used as a point of departure for making inferences to one of the following conditions: the social positions African Americans held in white America (inexpensive ceramics, cheap cuts of meat); ethnic style, or both." Ultimately, "not only the material culture, but also the forms of social relations and ideologies will appear distinct" (Perry 2001: 305). Resources within the Hill Memorial Library and archives in the Pointe Coupee Parish court house were consulted in determining the value of the material culture. Also, differences in curricula between white and African American schools helped elucidate the differences between white and African American schools. While white schools were generally taught the standard curriculum (math, science, social studies and English) according to standard Louisiana state guidelines, African American

schools were often encouraged to teach trade skills using industrial arts training (Foote and Lewis 1938).

In answering these research questions, one oral history interview was conducted with Ms. Carrie Ball-Lemon, a former student, in conjunction with the T. Harry Williams Center for Oral Histories. Besides providing equipment, resources and training, the Center for Oral Histories curated the original recordings for future use. More informal interviews were conducted on site with former students who happened to stop by to ask about the excavation taking place. These interviews differed in both style and information gathered. The formal interview conducted was within Ms. Ball-Lemon's home. The information from this interview was mostly anecdotal since the goal of the interview was to understand what life was like as a student in the school. The more informal interviews took place outside with the former students walking around the excavation site. The information gathered from these informal interviews were less anecdotal, although some stories were told. Mostly, however, the information was restricted to spatial aspects of the school such as where the school was located, what it looked like, etc.

Since Morganza Elementary was not torn down until the early 1970s; many former students still reside in the area. Since the school was open for approximately fifty years, two or three generations of Morganza residents attended the school. For to these reasons, I believe that the African American community of Morganza has a deep and personal connection to the school. The purpose of the oral histories was to understand the connection between the people of Morganza and Morganza Elementary.

The major focus with respect to the oral history component of this project was to understand what life was like within Morganza Elementary as well as how the school was incorporated into life within the community. The questions were designed to be broad and open-ended in order to achieve an understanding of the interviewee's life history as well as their

experiences in the school and community. Questions were also designed to include spatial aspects in order to aid the archaeological research. Through this method, it was discovered which privies were designated for girls and which were designated for boys as well as indicating areas of play and food consumption.

Often, the age, gender, dialect and race of the interviewer can affect the oral history process (Wilkie 2000a: xviii). Interviewees frequently distort the truth when they do not feel comfortable discussing certain topics with interviewers. Wilkie (2000a: xviii) found similar difficulties in conducting oral histories; she writes:

> …the formerly enslaved African Americans did not feel comfortable discussing certain topics with the white interviewers. Ex-slaves, in response to questions about brutality on the part of planters and overseers, would often remark that their owners had been kind and gentle, but they heard of cruel masters, thus evading the question. Questions about Marie Laveau or hoodoo usually caused a quick denial of knowledge of such things and strong statement from informants concerning their Christian faith."

Since the interviewer (the author) was both younger than the interviewee and white, the topic of Civil Rights and any civil unrest within the community was an inappropriate topic for discussion. Any questions asked regarding this subject were quickly dismissed and another topic was approached. Therefore, the majority of questions regarding any disorder or instability within the community due to racial issues was generally avoided or never answered directly. Any stories showing racism towards African Americans were told under the guise of humor.

Morganza Elementary was excavated from June 11 to July 13, 2007 by the 2007 LSU Archaeological Field School. The field excavations were broken into loci indicating spatial and functional differences in terms of the occupation at the school. An area underneath the

schoolhouse itself, play areas and privies were excavated in hopes of answering the original research questions.

The general hypothesis of the project was that the lifeways of the people of Morganza and the students at Morganza Elementary would be in line with the lifeways of a relatively poor, rural existence. Schoolhouse related artifacts were expected to be out of date, be of poor quality for the time period and be extremely limited in the archaeological record. The faunal remains were expected to be poor cuts of meat with wild game added as a supplement to the commercially purchased meat cuts. Religious artifacts were expected to be present, but in low quantities. Despite the presence of the Baptist church, the influence of Voodoo was still expected to be present within the archaeological record. Toys were expected to be relatively few in number as well and of an out-of-date variety. Due to both the rural and impoverished nature of the school and African American community, the toys were not expected to mirror any national trends in terms of toy preferences.

Morganza Elementary (16PC86) is located in the village of Morganza in Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana on the western side of the Mississippi River. The site is bounded to the east by the Mississippi River levee, to the west by First Avenue, to the north by the property of Starlight Baptist Church and to the south by Thomas Street as seen in Figure 1. The site is currently owned by the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board and Starlight Baptist Church. All excavations were completed on land owned by the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board. While the site is predominately an open field, a children's playground including swings, a slide and monkey bars, occupy a small portion of the site (Figure 3). The site sits within a predominately African American community, on the "African American side of town," within the village of Morganza. The land on which the excavation took place still holds an important value for the people of Morganza. During the excavation, numerous former students spoke of the importance of the

playground in terms of giving local children "something to do" instead of the temptation of drugs and general mischief.

Significance of Project

Archaeologists pride themselves on 'telling forgotten tales' and writing about those whom history has slighted. When approached by Dr. Rob Mann, the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board not only had no knowledge that Morganza Elementary ever existed, but also no knowledge of even owning the property. In my interactions with the local white community, the large majority never even knew a school existed on the property. In the thirty-six years since the school was torn down, it has been all but forgotten except in the minds of the local African American community. At the time of this writing, only one photograph of the school could be found. Without archaeological investigation and oral histories of the former students and teachers, Morganza Elementary and all of the social circumstances associated with it, will disappear from the collective memory of the community. The information collected will be valuable not only historically, but socially as well. This project is a chance to the save the collective memory of a social process that plays such an important role in today's society.

One of the frequently cited reasons for conducting historic archaeological excavations is the bias often found in the written record. Frequently, the history of nonpowerful groups are either extremely biased or left out of the written record all together. The official documentation of the land transaction between the school board and the African American community members leaves out the community members entirely.. The majority of literature available on the 'history of Pointe Coupee' only focuses on the large plantation homes and general 'white' history of the area. Even when specifically dealing with schools and churches, only white institutions merit mention, completely excluding African Americans from the history of Pointe Coupee businesses and family histories.

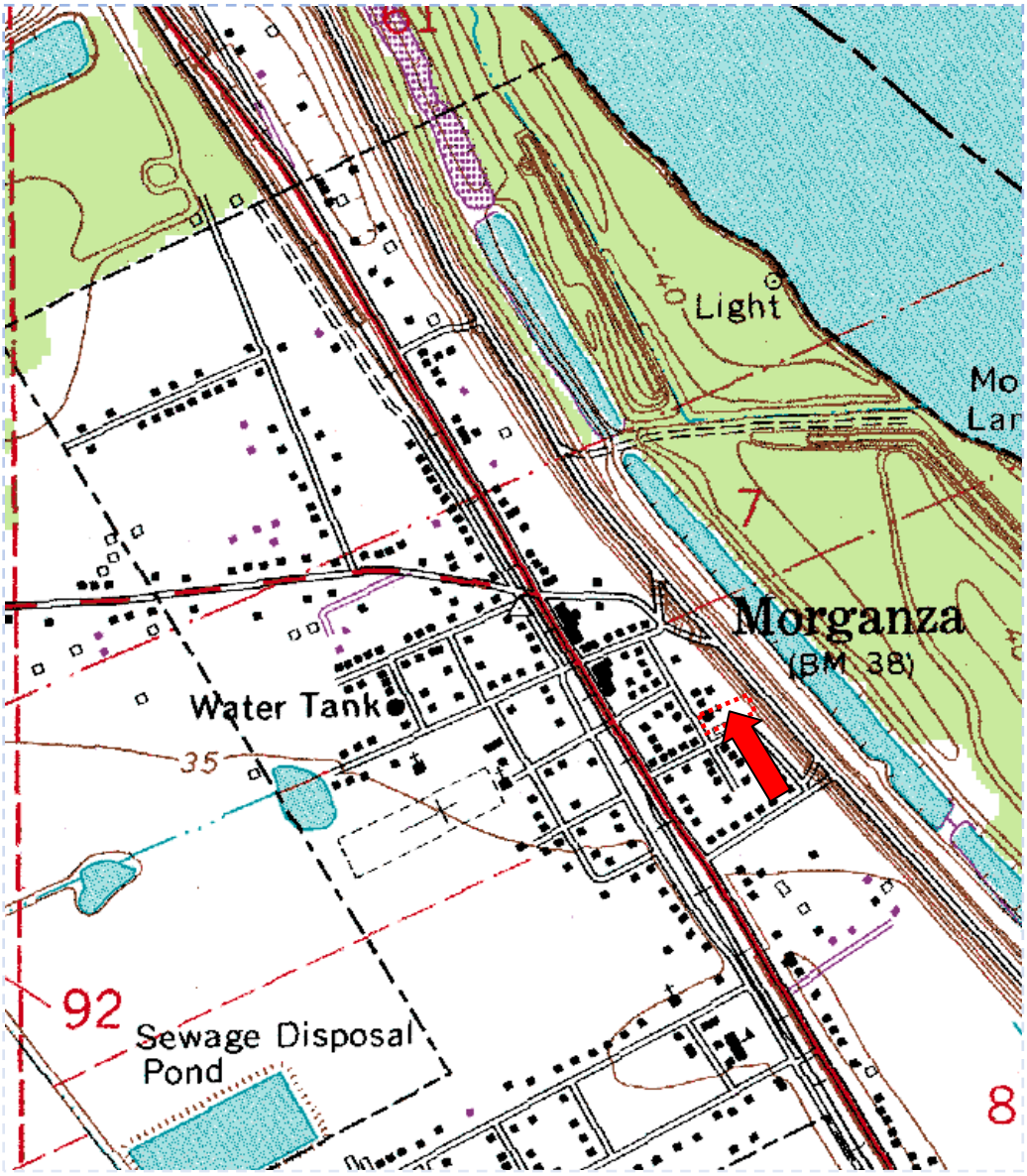

Figure 1: 1964 topography and counter map of Morganza showing ghost image of school (TopoZone).

Figure 2: Topographic Map of Louisiana

Figure 3: 16PC86 with house built with schoolhouse boards in background

In our society, there is no doubt that racism remains a very large problem and still dominates the lives of many African American communities through historical circumstances. By excavating Morganza Elementary and understanding the details regarding life during the Jim Crow era, we can more efficiently understand the modern consequences of the social structure and organization of our present era. We, as a society, are still dealing with the ramifications of the enslavement and subsequent segregation of African Americans. Through oral histories and the analysis of the archaeological material culture of the school, a more accurate picture of what life was like in a segregated community is illuminated. The goal of the archaeological excavation of Morganza Elementary is to show an accurate picture of life at the school, despite a sometimes inaccurate written record. This project elucidated the historic and social differences that are still at work in our modern society.

Another important factor to this project is the lack of previous archaeological research, particularly of African American schools in the South. While there is no research on the archaeology of Jim Crow era African American schools, Beisaw (2003; 2004), Rotman (2001; 2003) and Beisaw and Gibb (2003; 2004) have written on the archaeology of schools in general. This is an area of research that has yet to be explored to its full extent. Since schools play such an important role within communities in terms of education and socialization, to understand a community, one must understand the school. However, schools are very rarely, if ever the focus of archaeological study and are instead made a footnote, often due to the scarcity of material culture found. This notion is very similar to the idea of children being only a footnote in the majority of archaeological research, instead of being treated as an entity worthy of primary research. Nonetheless, the activities that took place within the schoolhouse in any given community formed the basis of the next generation of that community. In this way, both children and schoolhouses play a very important role within communities and should no longer

be overlooked, both archaeologically and socially. The archaeology of schoolhouses can lead to important information regarding community and social interaction as well as a greater understanding of children as active agents in their own lives and within the community as a whole.

Besides its obvious use as an educational center, most schools (especially those in rural areas) were used as meeting houses, informal gathering centers and general community hubs. For this reason, schools were inextricably linked to the community and its residents. In order to fully understand a community, the history of the local school must be understood. Therefore, this project's dualism of both historical archaeology and oral histories gained a unique insight into the archaeological record, one not usually able to be achieved through traditional archaeological investigation alone. This project was more than just an excavation of a schoolhouse; this project is a glimpse into the lives of a segregated and oppressed people and an attempt to understand how the school was a part of their lives.

Secondly, childhood experiences and the manner in which a child was raised forms the choices and interactional methods of the adulthood of that child (Wilkie 2000a: 164). In order to alleviate the absence of children in the archaeological record and begin treating them as active agents, archaeological research into schools must be undertaken. Schools and the type of education system in which a child was educated are crucial to the understanding of not only children, but certain community values that are evident through educational practices.

Historical archaeological projects are often overlooked by both scholars and the general public. These sites are frequently considered nonessential in terms of learning about the past. While this site is clearly not of deep historical significance, the project resonated deeply within the African American community of Morganza, many of whom had no previous contact with archaeology. In fact, many former students were at first shocked that the site would even be

considered worth of a university-level archaeological research project. During excavation, one white Morganza resident repeatedly tried to tell us that, "there's a much better site down the road"…referring to the Livonia mound site just south in Pointe Coupee Parish. The African American community at large in Morganza became extremely interested in the project with some making it a daily routine to stop by the site. The idea of learning about their own history resonated exceptionally deeply within the community. Franklin (1997: 40) points to the idea of the inclusion of African American descendent groups within archaeological projects as one of the key steps in combating racism in archaeology. She points to "the overwhelming number of whites excavating African-American sites, and the relatively weak efforts to involve black Americans through outreach" (Franklin 1997:40). As a remedy, Franklin (1997:40) urges all archaeologists to "think about social responsibility and ensuring that our research does not serve racist interests. This is highly likely to happen where members of descendant groups are excluded from all aspects of archaeology, including the conception of research questions, excavation, data analysis, and interpretation." While not only preserving the history of the school, this project allowed the African American community to be involved in the preservation itself.

Biases in the Written Record

One of the tenets of historical archaeology is that the written record is biased. While some written accounts are biased due to inherent racism or power relations, some are simply mislabeled or misinterpreted by modern scholars. Many research opportunities have been thwarted by maps showing idealized or future cities/buildings rather than an actualized setting. For this reason, excavation of historic sites is necessary to supplement the written record in order to gain a better, more accurate understanding of the past. Often, the written record reflects only the views of the dominant class and frequently leaves out the history of subjected people.

Wilkie (2000a: xvi) writes, "The voices heard most clearly in the documentary record…are the voices of European Americans." Since European Americans were literate and the most likely to write down 'history', as it were, it is their 'history' that becomes preserved within the documentary record. The history of subjugated peoples and those unable to preserve their history is generally left out of the written record.

In the case of Morganza Elementary, the history of the school was almost completely left out of the written record and out of any oral historical record with the European American community in Pointe Coupee Parish. The lot that the school sat on was both bought and donated to the Pointe Coupee School Board by the African American community of Morganza. This transaction was not written down and instead, the written record made no mention of the community members in the founding of the school. The written history of Morganza Elementary is the history of the European Americans involved. The voices of the community that bought the land and built the school as well the students and teachers themselves are completely erased from the documentary record. As mentioned earlier, no white European American even remembered that an African American school existed in Morganza. The memory of the school and any specific information about it has been completely erased from the white community memory of Morganza.

Chapter 2: Introduction to Morganza

Morganza is a small village located in Pointe Coupee Parish, approximately an hour north of Baton Rouge and situated on the Mississippi River. Morganza is currently home to approximately 600 people, but has seen a decline in population since the time of Morganza Elementary. African Americans, specifically, emigrated from the town in mass numbers during the tension of the Civil Rights movement. Many headed to larger cities in Louisiana such as Baton Rouge and New Orleans, while others left for California. Today, approximately 73% of the village identifies themselves as white while 27% identify themselves as African American (U.S. Census 2000). Since no races other than these live in Morganza, the racial tension within the village is quite focused. The village is also segregated in terms of religion. The African American community in Morganza is primarily Southern Baptist, attending Starlight Baptist Church (located next to the excavation site). The white community, on the other hand, is majority Catholic attending St. Anne's Catholic Church. A small, but growing, white population in Morganza attends Bethel Baptist Worship Center.

Economically, the town is deteriorating. The only retail businesses within Morganza are a lumber yard, three gas stations, a hair salon, a small grocery store, a seafood and meat store, an antique store, and a bar. The median household income of the village is $29,000 while the national average is $42,000. The median home value is $54,000 while the average national home value is approximately $120,000 (U.S. Census 2000). The 2000 Census statistics indicate a housing unit vacancy rate of 12.6% within Morganza. Costello (1999: 212), writes, "Morganza, first destroyed by the Civil War, then later by the death of the steamboat trade, declined again after the demise of the railroad at mid-century. The population of Morganza, which peaked at 937 in 1960, declined to 759 by 1990."

However, based on the many standing (but empty) buildings in Morganza, this was not always the case for the small village. Oral interviews indicate a thriving city with cafes, candy stores and bars. Costello (1999: 201) writes, "Bar-rooms flourished in Morganza after the repeal of Prohibition." The area surrounding the site was at one point, a thriving community hub for African American residents of Morganza. Within oral history information, former students speak of the town as bustling with people frequenting the cafes, bars and stores. One interviewee described 1950s Morganza as being "like Mayberry" with clear streams full of fish and white picket fences, making reference to the quant, idyllic town found on The Andy Griffith Show.

Morganza, like most Southern towns, is racially segregated and exhibits an extremely racialized geography, even today. The train tracks running through the middle of town are the dividing line between the "right" side of the tracks and the "wrong" side of the tracks as seen in Figure 4. While businesses and schools have been legally integrated at this point in time, Morganza remains both geographically and ideologically segregated. While we were excavating, the local police would routinely drive by the site to check on the field school students since we were, in their opinion, on the "wrong" side of the tracks. Despite testimonials from both African Americans and whites proclaiming that racism was never a factor in Morganza and is a thing of the past, it is clear from the geography of Morganza that structural racism is actually alive and well within this small Southern town. In a town desegregated for less than forty years, the scars of racism are still visible simply within the layout and geography of the village. The fact that the school was forgotten in less than 35 years is testament to this.

Morganza is, perhaps, most famous for being home to the Morganza Spillway, which controls the Mississippi River. The construction of the four-mile-wide channel was initiated after the Great Mississippi Valley Flood of 1927. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers implemented the Spillway in order to prevent such a disaster from occurring again. The

Spillway was completed in 1956 while the construction of the 24-foot guide levees was completed in 1949 (Costello 1999: 216). The Spillway has only been used once since its completion; in 1973, 25 of the 125 gates were opened (Costello 1999: 216). Morganza can also be seen in the movie Easy Rider, which portrayed the townspeople as ignorant and violent. Filmed at the local Melacon Café, Easy Rider continues to draw tourists to the village. During excavation, the local sheriff spoke of the crew of Easy Rider filming in the small town. The sheriff at the time threatened to arrest the entire white crew for refusing to leave the "separate but equal" black area which they felt had better dancing and music than the white area.

Figure 4: Abandoned buildings in downtown Morganza. Photographer is standing in front of the railroad dividing town

History of the Site

During the Civil War, over 20,000 Union soldiers were quartered at nearby Fort Morganzia. Although it is believed that the majority of the fort has fallen into the Mississippi River, some local residents have claimed that earthworks can be seen on the batture of the levee,

just north from 16PC86. After fleeing the disastrous Red River Campaign in North Louisiana in the spring of 1864, Union General Nathanial Banks and his troops encamped in Morganza on their way to New Orleans, constructing Fort Morganzia on the banks of the Mississippi River. Included in the regiments encamped at Fort Morganzia was the 19th Regiment of the Corps d'Afrique ,who had fled with Banks from the Red River Campaign. Numerous members of the African American community in Morganza proudly told us about the "black soldiers that lived in the fort." The legacy of the Corp de Afrique is still a point of pride for the community as a whole. Local legend speaks of General Banks living in a house still-standing on Louisiana Highway 1 in downtown Morganza. While encamped at Morganza, Union soldiers participated in the Battle of Stirling Plantation in an attempt to cut off Confederate access to the Atchafalaya River (Winters 1991). Due to the proximity of the site to the outside of the fort, it was believed that some evidence of the occupation of the fort and the soldiers who resided there could be discovered archaeologically.

In 1918, the African American citizens of Morganza, Louisiana "bought and donated a lot for the construction of a school"; however, these proceedings did not involve legal transactions thus resulting in the omission of the community in the history of the construction of the school (Palmer 1992: 233). According to parcel listings found at the Pointe Coupee Parish Courthouse, two lots were sold to the "School Board of the Parish of Pointe Coupee" in expectation of the construction of a school. On May 20, 1918, Georgie Fields sold Lot 8 (the most southerly lot) to the school board for $100 for "the purpose of building a colored school house." On November 13, 1919, George LeBlanc sold Lot 9 (the most northerly lot) to the school board for $150. However, this transaction included a memo from the school board stating that, "…the Negroes of Morganza expect to buy a lot in the village of Morganza and to transfer same to the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board to be used as a site for the colored school in said

village." This corroborates accounts that the local African American population actually purchased the land and then donated it to the school board for the construction of a school. Located on the corner of Thomas Street and First Avenue and bounded to the east by the Mississippi River levee, the school was named Morganza Elementary and was completed in 1920. Placed about 50 meters from Starlight Baptist Church, Morganza Elementary's, history is closely linked to that of the church. The present-day pastor, Reverend George Molex, and many current parishioners attended Morganza Elementary. According to historic documents, in the 1905-1906 school year, Morganza Elementary employed two teachers—a Ms. Celestine Smith and a Ms. Alice Robinson (Palmer 1992: 219). Since Palmer (1992: 233) also writes that, "in most cases, the Negro churches were used as schoolhouses," it is possible that Morganza Elementary was originally housed inside Starlight Baptist Church, but was then moved to the adjacent lot when funding became available in 1918. According to local residents, the school was torn down after desegregation (approximately 1969 or 1970) and the African American students of Morganza were integrated with white students at nearby LaBarre Elementary. Also according to local residents, the boards and timbers used to build the school were subsequently used to build a house currently across First Avenue.

Racism in Pointe Coupee

During the use of Morganza Elementary, racism played a major role in all aspects of African American life. Racism remains a large problem in many Africa American communities. Morganza is no exception to this rule. During the early twentieth-century, "the socioeconomic conditions of most Africans in Pointe Coupee Parish…were not too different from the times of slavery since the majority of African Americans in Pointe Coupee still participated in the peonage or sharecropping system" (Palmer 1992: 163). The Louisiana State Constitution of 1915 stated that "separate schools will be provided for the white and colored races" as well as

stating that the African American school term should be "no more than three and three quarter months" which coincided with the seasonal crop harvest. As late as 1969, "African American students were encouraged to gather seasonal crops by planters in Pointe Coupee Parish, some of whom were members of the Pointe Coupee School Board" (Palmer 1992: 180).

As well as having a limited school term, African American students in Pointe Coupee Parish were also deprived of adequate education resources (Guzman and Hall 1958). In 1938, there were 51 teachers in African American schools in Pointe Coupee Parish teaching an average of 50.9 students each (Foote and Lewis 1938: 8). Of the 51 teachers employed, only 11 held college degrees while four did not even have teaching certificates (Foote and Lewis 1938: 8). In the 1936-1937 school years, the Pointe Coupee School Board earned $163,539.75 of which 88% or $143,700 was spent on white schools while 12% or $19,830.95 was spent on African American schools (Foote and Lewis 1938: 8). African American students were also given the hand-me-down materials that were no longer deemed suitable in white schools. Palmer (1992: 259) notes that African American students "were always given discarded and cast-off books that were no longer needed by the white students." The same can be said for the buildings themselves; according to a 1938 memo from the Division of Negro Schools, "when the buildings now used by white schools are consolidated and abandoned…then it is recommended that the following buildings now used for white children be repaired…and made available for the use of the Negro children" (Foote and Lewis 1938: 9). While Morganza Elementary is a departure from this pattern (as the school was valued at $3000), the use of school buildings as hand-me-down objects shows a clear model for behavior in regards to African American schools.

African American Education in the South

The history of African Americans is a history of power struggles. One of the repercussions of these power struggles is the denial of education to many African Americans.

From the early days of slavery to Reconstruction in the South, African Americans were oppressed and denied basic schooling. However, resistance to this oppression came in the form of underground schools and hidden education systems. Even when education became technically legal, many African Americans in the South were threatened into subordination by a white supremacy frightened by a literate African American South (Palmer 2000).

Even while not being outright threatened, African Americans in the South had to overcome many hurdles in order to supply their children with an education. Many towns and government authorities "diverted school taxes largely to the development of white education" causing African Americans to "make private contributions to finance public schools," as was the case with Morganza Elementary (Anderson 1988: 156). According to Anderson (1988: 156), of the 4,137 African American schoolhouses in the South in 1914, African Americans owned 1,816. Many schoolhouses were listed under the "public domain," yet were paid for by the African American communities themselves in both cash and labor, as was also the case with Morganza Elementary.

According to Anderson (1988: 149) "The first major introduction of public elementary schools for African American children occurred in the first twenty-five years of the twentieth-century". Due to the powerful white planters embedded in local Southern governments, elementary schools were the last bastion of black education to come to see an upsurge. Many planters felt as though "schooling spoiled a good field hand and preferred their laborers illiterate or at best semiliterate" (Anderson 1988: 149). Even when a school was available to attend, which in the early twentieth-century was rare, African American students were seldom able to attend for the full school year. Semesters were routinely cut short and students pulled out of school in order to tend to the local harvest; usually cotton, but sugar cane in southern Louisiana's case. According to Anderson (1988: 149), almost one-half of all African American children

aged between ten and fifteen were employed as field hands in 1910. Richard Wright, an African American cotton laborer in Mississippi wrote, "…our children do not have time to go [to school]…hunger is the punishment if we violate the laws of Queen Cotton. The seasons of the year form the mold that shape our lives, and who can change the seasons" (Anderson 1988: 149). Anderson (1988: 150) writes, rather succinctly, "Both the heavy use of black children in the agricultural labor force and the limited availability of black public schools reflected the planters' domination of the rural South." Children were routinely kept out of school in order to help with domestic chores as well as help cut sugar cane or cotton.

By the mid-1930s, however, a large majority of African American children had been removed from the agricultural labor force and "black elementary schools, though still far from excellent, had been transformed into a viable system of universal education" (Anderson 1988: 152). However, with the addition of numerous African American elementary schools, the disparity between black and white became even more apparent. African American teachers were routinely underpaid and under-qualified to teach. In every Southern state, "the disparity in per capita expenditures between blacks and whites in the public schools" was greater in 1910 than in 1900 (Anderson 1988: 154). In 1932, the U.S. as a whole spent $99 per student. In the South, $44.31 was spent on white students and $12.57 on African American students. This disparity was even greater in the Deep South, with Mississippi spending $45.34 per white student and a meager $5.45 on African American students (Embree 1934: 3). Nonetheless, African American communities continued to donate both time and money in the pursuit of education. Preexisting schools were constantly being improved through "the beautification of grounds, protecting the drinking water, providing fuel sheds, painting school buildings every three years and serving hot lunches" all of which took place through the specific African American communities themselves (Anderson 1988: 176).

African American Education in Pointe Coupee Parish

The recent history of African Americans in Pointe Coupee Parish is not unlike that of African American communities in the rest of the South. However, in antebellum times, Pointe Coupee was home to a large number of "free colored families" whose literacy rate actually surpassed that of whites at the time (Martin 2007). Of the two hundred free African American families living in Pointe Coupee before the Civil War, only one was not literate in contrast to the nearly 25% illiterate white families of the time (Martin 2007). The free African American families of the time "usually provided for the education of their children by securing rooms in the principal houses and by employing teachers for the entire year" as well as paying a yearly tuition fee for building upkeep and supplies for students (Riffel 1983: 54). The African American thirst for knowledge and education was a theme that would continue for many generations.

In the postbellum period, education was a risky venture for African Americans. Schools were routinely burned and their owners killed by white planters (Martin 2007). Peter Plantevigne built "the first school with twelve grades and a full eight-month term" for African Americans in Pointe Coupee Parish (Martin 2007). Less than three years after the school was founded, Plantevigne was killed in an ambush. His death was assumed to be the result of his involvement with the education of African Americans. In the following years, however, African American education in Pointe Coupee grew. Rosenwald Elementary in New Roads, Morganza Elementary and Tolbert Elementary were all built by African American labor and on African American land (Martin 2007). In 1919, Pointe Coupee Parish was home to fourteen public African American schools in a situation that the Louisiana State Superintendent called "deplorable" (Martin 2007). In 1923, it was home to thirty-one, with many schools held in churches and society halls (Martin 2007). Still, the struggle for education continued.

Despite the obvious growth in educational facilities, education above the seventh grade was unusual in most Pointe Coupee communities. Even in 1954, education above the fourth grade was unavailable in some communities (Martin 2007). This caused many African American students to continue their education in larger cities such as Baton Rouge or New Orleans, often without any form of transportation. In 1941, the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board employed forty-eight African American teachers for 2,403 students: an average of over fifty students per teacher (Martin 2007). The first African American high school in the parish was opened in New Roads in 1950 (Martin 2007). In that same year, Pointe Coupee Parish was home to twenty- six "small grammar schools for blacks" located in either in church buildings or dilapidated structures (Costello 1999: 228). Still, with the Pointe Coupee School Board refusing transportation for all African American students, many African Americans in the fifty-three mile area that the school served could not physically get to school and back. Besides the physical problem of getting to school, African Americans dealt with little to no supplies and hands-me-down furniture from white schools. However, Louisiana was the only state in the South to actually purchase textbooks for African American schools, with the remaining Southern states giving no supplies at all to such schools (Embree 1932: 7).

The Link Between Church and School

One of the foundational elements of African American education in the South was the link between religion and education. Schools were routinely held in churches or other religious structures with religious leaders acting as teachers. Based on evidence showing Morganza Elementary employing two teachers in the 1905-1906 school year, it is possible that Morganza Elementary was originally held inside Starlight Baptist Church. Since the school structure was built by the African American community of Morganza, it is quite likely that these same community members were church members as well. As is the case in the present-day, religion in

Morganza was segregated, with the African American community attending a different church than the white community.

According to Wilkie (2000a: 212):

> In the face of hatred and racism of Reconstruction and the subsequent Jim Crow laws, the African American church rapidly became more than a religious center for the community. Black churches became the social institution of the African American community, providing access to education, health care, and insurance to their congregations in addition to spiritual guidance.

A cement marker in front of the church claims a founding date of 1873. However, this date is more than likely the foundation of the church organization and not the actual building. It is highly improbable that a wooden building such as the current church would have survived the 1927 flood (Figure 5). A possible conjecture is that the church was rebuilt after the flood, at the same time as the schoolhouse. A posthole within a large layer of river silt, as well as the accompanying drip line, was discovered in the very eastern portion of the site. Based on this discovery (which is discussed in greater detail in a later chapter), it is believed that the schoolhouse was originally located closer to levees and was then rebuilt after the flood. This idea is corroborated by the fact that a soil stain from the school structure matches the size and shape of the footings of the church.

While no oral history information mentions specific religious training or any formal conjunction with the church, it is clear that church did play a major role within the community. It is quite possible that the church arranged hot lunches for the students or participated in the beautification of the grounds. While the school might not have been simply another building for the church to use, the history of Morganza Elementary and the history of Starlight Baptist Church are clearly linked.

Figure 5: Starlight Baptist Church and footings

Chapter 3: Literature Review

In terms of the archaeology of schools, very few excavations have been conducted and even fewer publications have been produced. While archaeological research on schools is not unheard of, most research is undertaken through cultural resource management projects and ends up in the gray literature. There are even fewer examples of the archaeology of schools looked at from a theoretical perspective; the notable exceptions being Beisaw(2003, 2004), Beisaw and Gibb (2003; 2004), and Rotman (2001; 2003). Often, when a school is discovered archeologically, the school itself very rarely ever becomes the focus of specific research. According to Beisaw and Gibb (2003: 2), "State and National schoolhouse preservation organizations have had virtually no exposure to the potential for schoolhouse archaeology and these groups continue to encourage the relocation of buildings to protect the educational history of communities and, by doing so, unknowingly destroy an important component of these histories." Beisaw and Gibb (2004) also point to the lack of a guide or reference materials to schoolhouse artifacts as a hindering factor in the archaeology of schools. Finally, Beisaw (2003) notes that archaeological excavations of schoolhouses (especially in rural areas) often result in little to no artifact recovery and little spatial patterning as children often had little material goods to lose and play areas often changed from day to day.

For these reasons, little archaeological work has been completed on school sites and consequently, very little theoretical information has been published on such sites. In general, little archaeological material is found on school sites. Many objects associated with school life (notebooks, paper, etc.) are not likely to have survived while other objects such as lunchboxes, backpacks, books, etc. were taken to and from school and will most likely not be found within the archaeological record (Beisaw and Gibb 2004). Beisaw (2003) notes that "children are

collectors" and "unless toys were lost out of reach of other students…it is unlikely that it remained lost for long."

The first archaeological study of a schoolhouse was completed in Pennsylvania in 1973 by Brenda Barrett and Bruce Packard (Beisaw and Gibb 2003). In the 1970s, all schoolhouse archaeology was associated with the National Park Service in conjunction with salvage and restoration archaeology. The 1980s saw a relative surge in the archaeological work being completed on schoolhouses with nine states seeing archaeological work. This work mainly focused on 'play areas' by using stratigraphy and spatial analysis. According to Beisaw (2003), these endeavors failed as play areas changed on a daily basis and the area surrounding schools were often used for multiple activities in any given time range. In this period of revival for schoolhouse archaeology, preservation societies began to encourage the relocation of buildings in order to 'preserve' the "educational history of the community" (Beisaw and Gibb 2003). In doing so, a large amount of archaeological information was lost as many historic societies do not incorporate historical and personal factors in the refurbishment. Beisaw and Gibb (2003) write:

> The result is often either colonial or early 20th century furnishings, or a mixture of the two, regardless of the building's construction and use dates, or of the educational practices employed by the school's teachers and the amenities funded by the school district. Wooden benches of milled lumber occupy floors once covered by cast-iron desks. Quill pens lie on tables and desk tops once covered by steel nib pens and stoneware inkwells, wooden-cased slate and graphite pencils and writing slates. The resulting interpretations become hopelessly generic, robbing communities of their distinct characters and histories, and conflating decades of educational history into the myth of the little red schoolhouse peopled by barefoot boys, girls with ink-stained pigtails learning by rote.

From the 1980s onward, there has been no spike in the amount of archaeology done on schoolhouse sites. In fact, of the minimal amount of research conducted into the archaeology of schools, none has been conducted on twentieth-century African American schools.

However, more has been published in the realm of the archaeology of childhood in recent years. While not exclusively focused on the archaeology of schools, this literature does refer to children's activities and the material culture left behind such as toys and other play items. The purpose of the archaeology of childhood is to reduce the omission of children from the historical record (both prehistorically and historically) as well as reduce the marginalization of the importance of children (Baxter 2005: 2). General literature includes Baxter (2005), Hammond and Hammond (1981), Wileman (2005) and Wilkie (2000b). While this literature is not directly aimed at schools, the archaeology of childhood attempts to give the theoretical background for including children in the analysis of the archaeological record.

Archaeology of Institutional Sites

The archaeology of institutional sites, particularly schools, poses challenges not normally encountered in domestic archaeological sites. The first of these challenges is a lack of artifacts. In school sites, many of the day-to-day material goods were brought to school by the students and teachers and then subsequently transported home. Artifacts such as books, backpacks, etc. are rarely discovered archaeologically. Especially in poorer, rural schools, artifacts were reused by successive generations of students (Beisaw 2003). Beisaw (2003) gives the example of schools using one drinking cup for all students for an extended period of time. Children also have very little material goods to lose, and when those material goods are lost, it is rare for them to stay lost due to scavenging by other children (Beisaw 2003). The only caveat to this is if these materials (usually toys) were lost in unreachable places such as under the schoolhouse structure or in the privy (Beisaw 2003).

The spatial arrangement of material culture in institutional sites is different from the average domestic archaeological site. Very few activities within schoolhouses had a set spatial area for practicing that activity. According to Beisaw (2003), children rarely use the same play area twice for the same play activities. Lunch, if eaten at school, was eaten in different areas of the site depending on the weather, time, etc. A common punishment for misbehaving students was building and yard maintenance, causing many artifacts to be discarded, away from the possibility of eventual archaeological excavation and certainly away from their primary deposition areas. However, during general cleaning of the building, items were frequently swept out the front door and (in the case of raised buildings) under the schoolhouse structure.

A third challenge for schoolhouse archaeology is the fact that schools often experience maintenance and changes as part of the general upgrading of the school. Additions such as electricity, indoor plumbing, toilets and heating/cooling systems all leave their mark on the archaeological record (Beisaw 2003). Schools rarely stay the same from year to year. Beisaw (2003) writes:

> Another challenge to the archaeology of schoolhouse sites is the ability to differentiate one generation of the school from the next. A single school may have originated as a quickly built log building with makeshift furnishings. As time progressed and the log building decayed, plans were made for a new brick or wood frame school to be built, either on or adjacent to the log school site or closer to the population center. Once the new school was built, the log one was often dismasted or burnt down…the likelihood of the original building remaining in use, without major alterations…until the 20th century is slim.

This can also occur in that the distribution of ages of children at the school change throughout the years. The grade levels assigned to schools often changed. Thus, the material

culture found in the archaeological record would depend on the ages of the students at the school (Beisaw 2003).

Another problem encountered in the archaeology of school sites is the fact that school sites are not static. The "impacts of the schools' adaptation, preservation and maintenance, and final abandonment must also be considered" (Beisaw 2003). Different generations of students will leave different material goods in the archaeological record. As mentioned earlier, schools can also change grade levels often. What is considered an suitable game or toy for one grade might not be considered so for another. In this instance, the archaeological record would change based simply on what grades were being taught at the school. Modifications in the theoretical aspects of teachings can also change what materials can be found archaeologically. These changes can lead to differences not only in activities, but also in "activity area and artifact variability" (Beisaw 2003). Political shifts can also lead to artifact variability as material goods might suddenly become more plentiful or sparse in a very short period of time.

Schools, especially in rural areas, often doubled as community centers with the majority of community events taking place on school grounds. These events, parties, picnics, potluck dinners, church events, etc., often leave a disproportionate amount of artifacts in the archaeological record. Often, the majority of food remains found in such contexts are actually representative of these non-educational events. Beisaw (2003) writes, "The site formation processes of schoolhouse sites can be seen as an inverted pyramid where activities related to the sites educational functions produce the smallest amount of deposition and the activities that least relate to its educational functions produce the more significant amounts of deposit." While community events taking place on schoolhouse sites often leave a large amount of material culture, the day-to-day activities of schoolhouse sites typically leave very little in the way of material goods.

Archaeology of the African American Recent Past

Archaeology, as a discipline, is typically thought to explore the lifeways of peoples temporally far-removed from the present day. For this reason, "a serious temporal bias exists in our discipline on a national level as most archaeologists do not consider twentieth-century sites to be legitimate resources" (Cabak et al. 1999: 19). Archaeological research on twentieth-century is often criticized for being "too simplistic" or researching a time period for which everything is already known (Cabak et al. 1999: 20). Despite these criticisms, the archaeology of the recent past can offer different interpretations of a history that is generally one-sided. While research into the twentieth-century does offer certain helpful tools, such as photographs, records, eyewitnesses, newspapers, etc., this written record is often skewed towards a powerful group or community. In this particular case, the history of Morganza Elementary was forgotten by all members of the community except the former students of the school. While documents and photographs do aid in researching twentieth-century sites, often those very documents can be misleading. For instance, the African American aspect of the construction and purchase of the school were left out of the official documentation of the school. Very few records were kept of the school itself since African American education was not a top priority within Pointe Coupee during the time period. Without conducting an archaeological analysis of the site, certain activities, such as industrial arts training, would be left out of the historical knowledge of the school. The archaeology of twentieth-century sites can lead to rich and personal histories that would otherwise be missing from all historical accounts.

Since the majority of African American archaeology, especially in the South, focuses on plantation life, very few projects have undertaken African American life outside of a plantation context. Singleton (2001: 15) writes, "Understanding African-American meaning and uses of material culture is a challenge at all sites, but perhaps even more so in non-plantation contexts."

Plantation archaeology offers a glimpse into a "well-defined cultural landscape" while archaeology outside of the plantation context will usually produce "more varied and possibly more obscure…material manifestations" (Singleton 2001: 15).

In recent years, there has been a call for archaeology to incorporate other subfields into its research. Schuyler (1988: 36) writes, "It is suggested that "historic ethnography," based equally on archaeology and written sources, is the future natural sphere for the archaeological investigations of the modern world." Schuyler (1988: 36) goes on to write, "'Historic ethnography' must give equal attention to the archaeological and the documentary records, and possibly other sources (oral history, contemporary ethnography or ethnoarchaeology)." In African American archaeology in non-plantation contexts, the use of ethnography and oral histories, as well as historic documents, is key in the understanding of a particular people and time period. It is through this lens that this project will attempt to answer the methodological questions below.

Memory and Archaeology

One of the most intriguing and frustrating aspects of oral histories within historic archaeology is the differences in memory among interviewees. As archaeology moves into new realms of studying the remains of places and events that still have living participants, it is important to critically evaluate the use and value of resources such as oral histories. This kind of information is valuable for a number of reasons. Life stories often contain details that are not preserved in the archaeological record. They also put a face to artifacts and structures found in a excavations that create a much more appealing and inviting way to illustrate archaeological research. And they also reveal the multitude of voices that weave throughout any space and time, as reminders that one story cannot be assigned to an event or story. However, a dilemma arises when we discover that quite often personal life histories do not coincide with what is

found in the archaeological record. Often, the motives behind these inaccuracies are important in the pursuit of the meaning within the archaeological record. An example of this can be found in the hesitance to discuss Civil Rights related problems despite archaeological evidence of such problems. The differences present in the archaeological record and the living memory of those that experienced the space and events can lead both to new interpretations and ideas as well as frustrations due to the lack of coherence.

The most glaring example from this project was the differences in memory concerning the design and structure of the schoolhouse. While the majority of former students' described the school as an 'L' shape, many gave various different interpretations of the schools design. The school was often described as a typical, country, one-room schoolhouse. However, based on the archaeological evidence, this seems unlikely. Conversely, the definition of 'room' is quite subjective. What the researcher considers a 'room' can in many instances be quite different than what the interviewee considers a room. In order to truly understand information gained from oral history interviews, the researcher must be aware of their own biases and interpretations of the information presented.

One interviewee, Carrie Ball-Lemon, remembered the Locus G privy as the girl's privy and the Locus H privy as the boy's privy. However, she also talked at length about students abstaining from alcohol. In the girl's privy, whiskey, wine and beer bottles were found in both the backfill and primary privy contexts. On the other hand, plumbing implements were also discovered in the Locus G privy, leading to the interpretation that this was the staff privy. In either event, the memory of the interviewee does not match up with the archaeological evidence presented.

While oral history is one asset of historical archaeology that separates the subdiscipline from other archaeological subdisciplines, it also must be verified as any other historical account

would be (Wilkie 2000a: xvii). In the case of Morganza Elementary, many of the oral history interviews did not match up directly with archaeological evidence discovered. No students from the 1950s time period remember participating in any industrial arts training, yet a large amount of artifacts indicate that this training was going on earlier. In conjunction with the discrepancy of the shape of the schoolhouse and gendered-breakdown of the privies, it is clear that while oral histories provide first-hand information, that information must be carefully weighed and measured against a verified source.

Children in the Archaeological Record

Wilkie (2000b: 148) sums up the problem of children in the archaeological record rather succinctly when she writes, "Children are typically considered in archaeological interpretations as either present or absent, but rarely are their impacts on or roles within a household or community considered." The archaeology of a schoolhouse site allows for the removal of this notion and for enables children to be seen as individuals possessing their own agency. Wilkie (2000b: 148) writes, "While feminist scholars have successfully challenged the androcentric nature of archaeological interpretation, age distinctions remain blurred in the archaeological record, with all individual treated as adults." Children have the ability to actively manipulate their practices and material goods, thereby adding to the archaeological record (Bugarin 2006). Through the archaeological study of more schoolhouse sites, the archaeology of children will continue to grow.

As mentioned earlier, the archaeology of children has long been ignored by scholars in both historical and archaeological academia. Despite the fact that "children are present in all aspects of the archaeological record," identifying their presence within the archaeological record has often proved a daunting and rarely undertaken task (Baxter 2005: 110).

Chapter 4: Methodology and Fieldwork

Oral Histories

The expectation of this project was to interpret the material culture of Morganza Elementary in hopes of corroborating the documentary evidence and the information provided through oral history interviews in order to understand the daily practices of life at Morganza Elementary. For instance, based on the archaeological evidence, African American students were trained solely in the industrial arts for at least a period of time. White students, on the other hand, were more than likely trained in the traditional educational fields: mathematics, science, social studies and English.

In answering these questions, an oral history interview was conducted with Carrie Ball-Lemon, a former student at Morganza who attended the school in the mid 1950s. Although many former students seemed interested in participating in oral history interviews while speaking with the author during excavation, many showed signs of hesitation when they learned of the curation and ultimate inclusion of their interviews within this thesis. Many did not return phone calls or letters despite repeated attempts to contact them. In conducting future oral history interviews, the full extent of the interview's purpose should be explained during initial, informal conversations. Forging a greater rapport with potential interviewees in hopes of explaining the legitimate and academic nature of the interviews could have also aided in securing interviews. Informal talks also took place with former students who stopped by the excavation site. The major focus with respect to the oral history component of this project was to understand what life was like within Morganza Elementary as well as how the school was incorporated into life within the community. The material culture of the excavation was analyzed by using this emic perspective to garner a more personal image of life within the school and community. Questions included:

- What classes were taught at Morganza Elementary and what grades?
- What do you remember as the principal subjects taught?
- Was there a set curriculum, such as agricultural or domestic skills?
- What do you remember about the books or equipment used?
- How many teachers were in the school?
- How many students were in your class?
- Were there gender differences in how school was structured and tasks assigned to students? What did you eat for lunch?
- Where did you eat lunch?
- Was it brought in by the community or brought from home?
- What was the physical appearance of Morganza Elementary?
- How many rooms did it have?
- Did you attend school for the entire year or only partially?
- How was the school heated?
- What role did the school play within the community?
- Was it a gathering place? Were any other activities held at the school?
- What did you like and dislike about school?
- What games were played during recess?
- Where was recess held?
- Do you remember any particular toys from this time?
- How did your education differ from your parents' education?
- What was the relationship between the school and Starlight Baptist Church?
- Were weddings, funerals, etc. held at the school?

- What were the differences between education for African Americans and white students at the time?
- How did the Civil Rights Movement affect life within the community?
- Was the school building used for other activities besides school?

Included with these particular questions were broader, more open-ended questions that attempted to understand the life histories of those being interviewed.

Figure 6: Morganza community member Antoinette Tate in 1938 in front of Morganza Elementary. Photo courtesy of Carrie Ball-Lemon.

Fieldwork

Shoveltesting was conducted at the site on the dates of February 7, 2007 and February 16, 2007. On February 7, the site was metal detected in hopes of locating areas of a high concentration of artifacts. The site was broken into three transects, A, B and C; a separate metal detector was assigned to each transect in order to achieve as much coverage as possible. In Transect A, two 'hits' were made and subsequently excavated. In A-1 at 18 cmbs, a 1975 penny, milk glass and clear glass were discovered. At 38 cmbs, various types of glass, a thimble and a tin Derringer-type toy gun were discovered. At A-2, a cast-iron grate possibly used in a stove and large pieces of clear glass were discovered at 4 cmbs.

Within Transect B, there was a decidedly higher concentration of artifacts. A door lock was discovered at B-1 at 25 cmbs. B-2 yielded a 1982 penny at 16 cmbs while a decorative porch bracket and amber glass were excavated from B-3 at 22 cmbs. A hoe blade, brick and mortar were found in B-4 at 25 cmbs. In B-5, a cast iron toy school bus was discovered at 15 cmbs. In B-6, porcelain, iron fragments and clear glass were found at 28 cmbs. Finally, in B-7 fragments of an iron stove, ceramics and amber glass were found.

Transect C also yielded a high concentration of artifacts. In C-1, a cast iron stove leg and clear glass was located at 18 cmbs. In C-2 and C-3, two pieces of cast iron objects were found along with various pieces of clear and milk glass at 23 and 24 cmbs, respectively. In C-4, a cast-iron school desk frame was uncovered at 24 cmbs. A cast iron decorative bracket was discovered at 25 cmbs from C-5 while another cast iron school desk frame was excavated from C-6 at 15 cmbs. In C-7, an iron hoe blade was found at 18 cmbs. C-8 was determined to be a possible trash pit feature and no artifacts were recovered. A toy "Smoky" pistol was uncovered from C-9 at 15 cmbs. A third school desk frame was discovered at 23 cmbs from C-10.

On February 16, 2007 one 50 by 50 centimeter sondage shovel test pit was completed in Transect B at the highest point of the transect. The shovel test pit was excavated to 49 cmbs, upon which the water table began to rise. Level 1, which was 0-15 cmbs in the northeast corner, yielded plastic, rubber and glass artifacts. In level 2 (15-18 cmbs), a layer of pea gravel was discovered as well as plastic, shell, glass and one prehistoric Baytown Plain pottery sherd. Due to the proximity of the school and church, this layer of pea gravel could be the remains of a road, path or parking lot. In level 3 (18-26 cmbs), wire nails, glass, metal, plastic, aluminum, shell and a layer of coal were discovered. Layer 4 (26-49 cm) was culturally sterile except for remnants of charcoal and one wire nail which was believed to have been deposited through water flow or bioturbation.

Morganza Elementary (16PC 86) was excavated from June 11 to July 13, 2007 by the LSU Archaeological Field School. In compliance with the Atchafalaya Basin Levee Board, no excavations were completed at a depth more than 60 cm when the Mississippi River was above 11 feet. The site was originally divided into two loci (Locus F and Locus E). Locus F was located near the levee, where schoolhouse play was believed to have taken place. The site was eventually separated into 8 more loci. The possible privy located closest to Thomas Street was designated as Locus G while the possible privy adjacent to Locus G was chosen as Locus H. Locus I was located at the west edge of the schoolhouse, near where the front door was believed to be located in hopes of recovering any material swept out of the schoolhouse door. Locus J was placed east of Locus E, in an area where schoolhouse play was located in hopes of discovering evidence of play and/or food remains. Locus K was located to the north of Locus F and was designed to locate any evidence of Civil War-era times. Locus M was chosen as the third privy, located between Locus H and Locus F. The final locus, N was located just south of Locus E and was located in a depression of unknown origins.

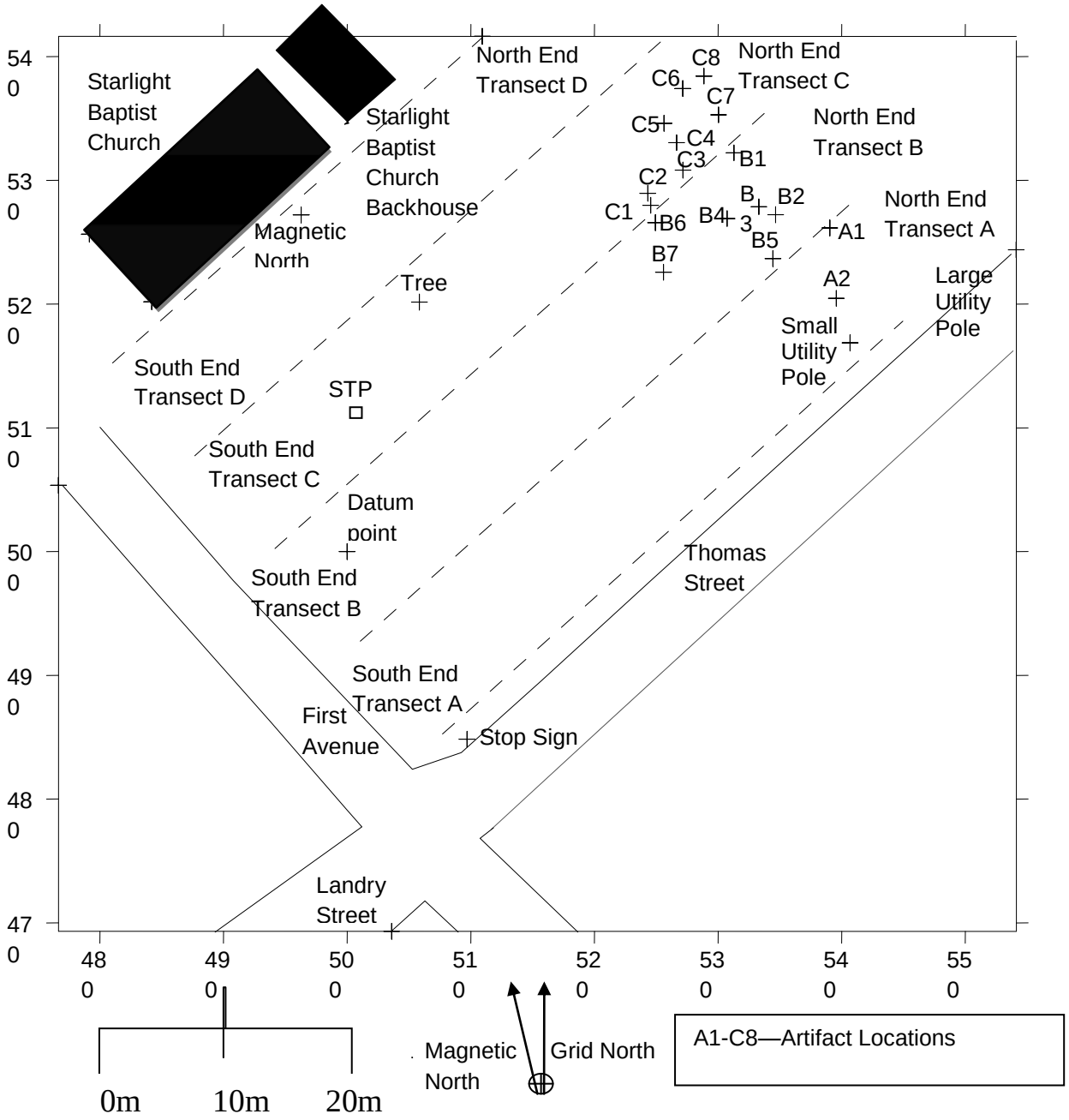

Figure 7: Shoveltesting Map

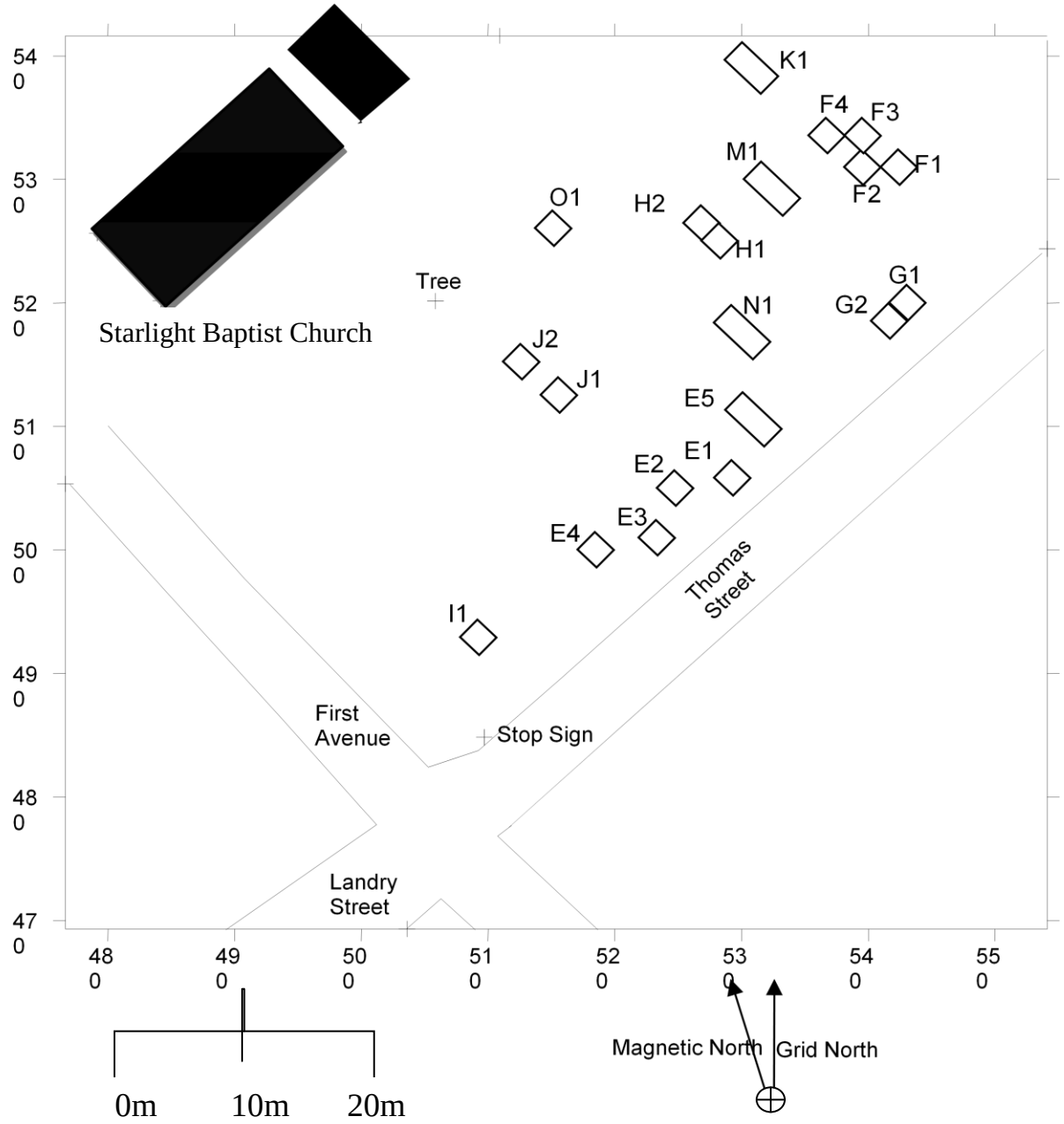

Figure 8: 16PC86 Site Map

Locus E was divided into five 1x 1 meter units, all along the same transit line running east to west. The units alternated north and south every one meter on the line, forming a type of checkerboard pattern. Locus E Unit 5 was subsequently added in an attempt to find another posthole soil stain and was subsequently the most easterly unit in the locus. However, with Unit 5 excluded, Unit 1 was the most easterly unit while Unit 4 was the most westerly. Locus F was divided into four 1x1 meter units with all units along the same transit line running north to south. Locus F also formed the same checkerboard pattern as seen in Locus E. Unit 1 was the most southerly of the units with Unit 4 being the most northerly.

Locus G was divided into two 1x1 meter units directly beside one another. Locus G was located on the same line as Locus E, but on the extreme easterly end. The Locus G privy was located in all of Unit 1 and partially in Unit 2. Unit 1 was the most easterly of the units while Unit 2 was on the westerly side. Locus H was located north of Locus G in a depression on the surface level. Locus H was divided into two 1x1 meter units directly beside each other running north and south. Unit 1 was the located to the north of Unit 2. The Locus H privy was located largely in Unit 1 with a small portion in Unit 2.

Locus I was located on the same transit line as Locus E and Locus G, but on the extreme western end. Locus I was comprised of one 1x1 meter unit and was located the closest to both roads and the small drainage ditch located parallel to First Avenue. Locus J was located off the north-south line of Locus E Unit 3. Locus J was divided into two 1x1 meter units separated by a meter. Unit 1 was located on the northerly side, while Unit 2 was located on the southerly side. Locus K was located on the northerly side of the same transit line as Locus F. Locus K was comprised of one 1x2 meter unit running north to south. Locus M was located in a depression situated between Locus F and Locus H. Locus M was comprised of one 1x2 meter unit running north to south. The Locus M privy was primarily located in the northern portion of the unit as

evidenced by a large, vaguely square-shaped soil stain. Locus N was located in a depression, not along a transit line, near Locus E. Locus N was comprised of one 1x2 meter unit running north to south.

Chapter 5: Artifacts Recovered: Overview and Analysis

`The artifacts were washed, cataloged and analyzed at the LSU archaeology laboratory and will becurated at the LSU Museum of Natural Science. For the purposes of this discussion they will be presented by functional groupings: privies, schoolhouse, Industrial arts, toys, religion, medicinal, domestic, ceramics, personal adornment, civil-war related, flood-related, structural and dietary.

Table 1: Overall Artifact Count

Locus	Glass Count	Metal Count	Ceramic Count
E	1191	2881	32
F	1955	699	16
G	4636	5216	40
H	4377	6070	77
I	252	383	1
J	2366	545	9
K	568	352	1
M	4532	6326	31
N	1725	181	40
O	347	470	17

Privies

Privies frequently yield well-preserved artifacts in massive amounts, acting as a sort of a functional midden in historical times. While privies are commonly excavated for the artifact assemblage found within them, the construction can also yield important information regarding ideas concerning sanitation and the removal of waste products (Stottman 2000). The other important archaeological function of privies is to provide a sample of the dietary habits of the privy users. In the case of Morganza Elementary, not only is a sample of the dietary habits of the

school available, but is also separated by gender and possibly age based on oral history information from former students..

Three likely privies were sampled, based on surface depressions and the high quality of grass growing on these depressions. All privies were located on the eastern edge of the site near the levee. All three privies were backfilled in 'recent' times, with one dating to the 1950s and two in the 1970s. However, based on diagnostic artifacts, the Locus M privy was backfilled more recently than the Locus H privy. Since the Locus G privy was backfilled in the 1950s, the Locus M privy could have replaced it. All three privies also had a layer of approximately two centimeters filled with small pebbles before the actual backfill of the privy was reached archaeologically.

The privy directly behind the school structure (Locus G) was most likely backfilled in the 1950s, based on diagnostic artifacts recovered including an ink well embossed with a patent number, a Mickey Mouse head, and three coins found underneath the floodboards. Many structural elements in terms of the construction of the privy were revealed as well. At 18 cm below depth, a metal pipe sitting vertically within the unit was revealed and continued until 62 cm below depth. The walls and floorboard of the privy were also discovered with a floorboard located at 82 cm below depth. A large sheet of corrugated metal which is assumed to be the privy roof was also discovered, appearing as if it had collapsed on itself. All of these elements can be seen in Figure 9. Based on the discovery of the wooden planks, this privy was deemed to be a box privy lined with cypress to aid in bailing, which can also been seen in the bottom of Figure 9 (McNaughton and Harper 2000).

The Locus G privy was the only privy that was excavated that reached a primary context as opposed to just back fill, as was the case with the Locus H privy. This was suggested by the various artifacts found underneath the wooden floor that were school-related items as opposed to

modern trash refuse. These include a still-functional fountain pen and a complete set of 18 marbles found in, essentially, a pile (as if they had dropped into the privy). Two spigot-handle pieces and the previously mentioned pipe were also excavated within this privy. This suggests that at least one privy had running water, which contradicts the claims of former students that there was no running water or plumbing throughout the history of the schoolhouse. Based on this evidence, either this particular privy was the staff bathroom and therefore the students would have had no knowledge of the plumbing situation or this particular privy was older and the plumbing was not replaced on the newer versions of the privy. Three nickels were found underneath the floorboards and were dated to 1941, 1943 and 1945, thus giving a *terminus post quem* date of 1941 to the Locus G privy.

A third possible privy (Locus M) was located in between the two primary privies (Locus G and H). While this area was clearly a depression in the ground and was also clearly backfilled, it was not excavated far enough to determine fully that it was a privy due to time constraints. However, the material culture and soil matrix of this possible privy was very similar to the other two privies. Therefore, while it cannot be fully determined, there is a very high likelihood that this particular unit was a privy as well. Like Locus G and H, a thin layer of small pebbles were found at the beginning of the soil stain, indicating a similarity between the three privies in terms of these pebbles.

Possible floorboards were also uncovered in the Locus H privy. However, these floorboards were not discovered until the last day of excavation and were sitting a centimeter above the water table, making further excavation impossible. Based on these floorboards, it was determined that this privy was of the same box construction as the Locus G privy. The floorboards from Locus H were also determined to be cypress, also resembling the Locus G privy. However, no wooden structural elements, other than the floorboards, were discovered in Locus H.

Figure 9: Locus G Privy

Due to the very similar nature of the artifacts uncovered in both privies, we believe that both privies were backfilled at the same time and with the same matrix, consequently meaning that both privies were used during the same time period as well. This is evident through the similarities in artifacts recovered from both privies in the backfill context as well artifacts recovered from the primary privy context. Five almost-complete tiered whiteware bowls were found in both privies, indicating the possibility that they belong to the same set and were 'dumped' into the privies at the same time. Whole and partial "ST. JOE" bricks and molds were also discovered in both privies. Glass tumblers with a notched bottom half that flares inward were found in both privies as well as glasses with fluted bottom halves, starburst bottom and a leaf-pattern around top. Kerr Mason jars were also discovered in both privies. In terms of backfilling techniques, both Locus G and Locus H contained a surface layer of small pebbles that eventually spread across the entire privy area.

As mentioned before, two spigot handles were discovered within the Locus G privy. While these spigot handles could be refuse that was used to backfilled the privy, it seems more plausible based on the associated artifacts, that they are related to the daily use of the privy as opposed to simply being part of the backfill trash. A pipe was discovered sitting vertically in the excavation unit of Locus G. This suggests that at least one privy had running water, which contradicts the claims of former students that there was no running water or plumbing throughout the history of the schoolhouse. However, the discovery of the pipe does not mean that there inevitably must have been plumbing. The pipe could have been used to introduce air to the system and create a vacuum or its purpose could have simply been to release odors and gases from the privy. However, the discovery of both the spigot handles as well as the pipe leads to the conjecture that some sort of plumbing mechanism was in place within at least the Locus G privy. As discussed in greater depth later on, pieces of terra cotta piping was found in both the

Locus G and Locus H privy. This pipe was commonly used as sewer and water pipes, which also leads to the belief that plumbing was available in at least one of the privies.

The discovery of artifacts in the privy, particularly the collection of marbles and the fountain pen, lend themselves quite easily to tales of despair. Since these artifacts were found in what is believed to be the staff privy, the marbles could have been thrown there by a teacher as a form of punishment against a student playing marbles during school hours. The fountain pen could also have been inadvertently lost in the privy by a teacher. Since this was the only pen discovered from the site, it is unlikely that the pen belonged to a student. Also, since the pen was in relatively good condition (had an intact top and nub) it would be improbable that a perfectly good pen or inkwell would be tossed into the privy.

Schoolhouse Artifacts

As was expected, schoolhouse related artifacts were present throughout the site in every context and every locus. Pencil lead, erasers, wooden shafts and metal casings were some of the most common artifacts found throughout the site. A porcelain door knob was excavated from Locus E, under the schoolhouse. Two desk frames were also found in Locus H while four partial desk frames were discovered during the initial metal detection of the site. An aluminum desk leg was also discovered in the Locus G privy. All partial desk frames were of different designs, yet each was made of the same reverse-seat construction (excluding the aluminum desk leg). Pieces of plastic protractors were discovered in the area directly underneath and next to the school structure in Locus E. Pieces of chalk were also quite prevalent in the area near the school structure. Anderson (1988: 176) writes, "Studies of southern school finances for the period demonstrate that school officials, though very reluctant to appropriate money for schoolhouses and teachers for black children, expended virtually no funds for school maintenance, repair, supplies and transportation."

Pencils fragments (lead, erasers, metal casings and wooden shafts) were by far the most abundant schoolhouse related artifact from the site as a whole. As evidenced in the chart below (Table 2), pencil fragments were found in all loci except Locus F. As Locus E was situated under and near the schoolhouse structure, this locus yielded a large amount of pencil fragments, in fact only second in number to the Locus G privy. The Locus G privy yielded almost exactly the same amount as Locus E, only recovering one more fragment. Surprisingly, the Locus H privy had almost half the amount of pencil fragments as Locus E or Locus G. However, since Locus F and Locus H are believed to be near the sites conducting industrial arts training, it is interesting that relatively few pencil fragments were discovered in Locus H and none in Locus F. This points to the possibility that industrial arts training at the school was a hands-on activity, having little interest in traditional pencil-and-paper learning techniques. As expected, areas on the perimeter of the school (Locus I, Locus J, Locus K, Locus N and Locus O) did not yield vast amounts of pencil fragments. However, despite any assertions that Locus H and Locus F were locations for industrial arts training, no structures (such as garages or backhouses) were found indicating this was the case.

A marbleized fountain pen was discovered in the first privy (Locus G) in a primary context. In the same locus, a clear glass ink well was also recovered. The ink well was patent dated to 1930 based on the patent number (1759866) embossed on the bottom of the container. This was the lone ink well discovered on the site, just as the fountain pen was the only non-pencil writing utensil excavated from the site. This lack of writing utensils, excluding pencils, could signal the lack of material goods available to the students. It is clear that both of these items were not purposely discarded. Both artifacts were deposited intact and found in the primary privy context, indicating that they were lost as opposed to being purposely discarded within the privy.

Table 2: Pencil Fragment Assemblage

Locus	Unit	Level	Count
E	1	2	2
E	1	3	1
E	1	4	6
E	2	3	12
E	2	5	9
E	2	6	5
E	2	7	3
E	3	2	4
E	3	3	1
E	4	3	2
E	5	2	17
E	5	3	24
E	5	4	5
			91
G	1	12	4
G	1	17	7
G	1	18	10
G	1	19	8
G	1	20	22
G	1	21	39
G	2	2	2
			92
H	1	4	1
H	1	5	1
H	1	6	15
H	1	7	1
H	1	8	1
H	1	10	2
H	1	11	7
H	1	12	7
H	2	1	3
H	2	2	3
H	2	3	3
H	2	4	1
			45

Locus	Unit	Level	Count
I	1	3	2
I	1	4	1
I	1	5	1
I	1	6	1
			5
J	1	3	5
J	1	4	5
J	1	5	1
J	2	3	1
			12
M	1	7	2
M	1	9	14
			16
N	1	2	2
N	1	3	1
			3
O	1	10	1

In total, six desk frames were discovered during the metal detector/ shoveltesting survey and full-scale excavation. Each of the desk frames found contained manufacturer's marks. The desk frame found at C-4 possessed a manufacturer's mark of, "4L Economic No. 163" on the body and "3. & 4 L-608" on the top (Figure 11). The desk frames found at C-5 and C-10 both had manufacturer's marks that read, "ECLIPSE" in a wave pattern (Figure 12) . The partial desk frame found at C-6 read, "1 &2 RB." The second desk frame found at C-5 reads, "Superior Automatic" within an intricate design on the side. One desk frame found in the second privy (Locus H) was of a scroll design with the same "Superior Automatic" manufacturer's mark (Figure 13). The aluminum desk leg was excavated from Locus G. This particular leg was from a modern desk still used at many schools. With the exception of this aluminum desk leg, all desks found were of the same adjoined-seat-and-desk construction as seen in Figure 10 (Knox 1927). This particular design starts to appear within the patent records in 1869 and is replaced by 1917 by non-folding individual seat and desk designs in the patent records, despite the fact that these desks continued to be in use at schools.

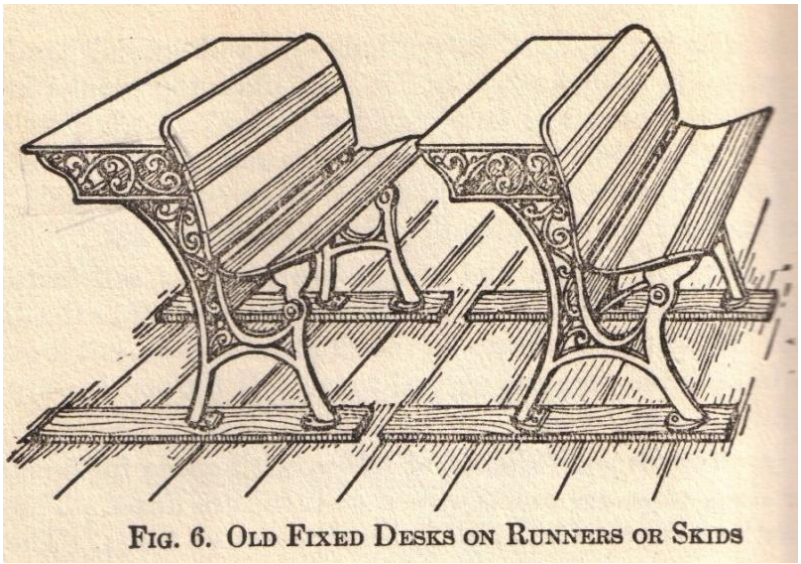

Figure 10: Reverse-seat construction desks

Figure 11: Desk Frame found in shoveltesting

Figure 12: "ECLIPSE" desk frames

Figure 13: Desk frame found in shoveltesting

Figure 14: Desk leg

According to Pinnell (1954: 57), these combination-desks were no longer en vogue for white schools by the 1950s. However, since patent records show the end of the patenting of this specific design to be much earlier (specifically the 1920s), it can be assumed that desk with these designs were hand-me-downs to poorer, African American schools by more affluent white schools well before the 1950s. According to Figure 10 from Harris (1932: 177-178), it is clear that African-American schools would be quite eager to acquire all the desks available, even hand-me-downs. This hand-me-down mentality of supplies is the probably reason for the variety of desks found on site. Harris (1932: 177-178) writes:

> Tragic are the large differences found between the number of children enrolled in Negro schools and the number of desirable seats […]. In both states the number of standard seats provided for the white schools in is excess of the enrollment […]. This means that such seats as are provided for the Negro school are below the standard considered by the state to be desirable; and that many Negro children are still forced to spend long hours in discomfort because of lack of suitable seats or lack of a sufficient number of seats.

The variety of desks, in terms of manufacturers, excavated from the site also points towards the school using hand-me-down materials. Generally, school desks were ordered from the manufacturer and delivered to the school in large numbers. Within the excavation, four different desk manufacturers were represented. Therefore, it can be assumed that the desks recovered from Morganza Elementary were not originally purchased for the school as a complete set, as all would be manufactured by the same company if this were the case. According to the Rosenwald Fund, "the furniture [in African American schools] ranges from the latest style of patent desks to soapboxes. In most cases the children will be found crowded on benches from which the legs of the smaller children dangle wistfully toward the floor" (Embree 1932: 6). In both structural and material terms, Morganza Elementary was better off than the majority of

African American schools in the South, since it was three rooms and valued at $3000 in 1938. Louisiana was the only state to actually provide books for African American schools, with the remaining southern states supplying nothing at all. The structure itself was relatively new and modern, as compared to other community-sponsored African American schools within the state and Pointe Coupee Parish.

Based on the artifacts found, it is clear that the original assumption that the school would possess few material goods was correct. For a school that operated for over fifty years, there was little in the way of material culture relating to the school itself. Besides pencils and erasers, only one inkwell, six desk frames, various pieces of chalk and slate, and one fountain ink pen were the only school-related artifacts uncovered from the site. Such standard classroom material goods such as books or paper would not survive well in the archaeological record, let alone have a good chance of being deposited there in the first place. However, based on an assumed lack of funding, the low amount of material goods recovered is typical of African American schools in the south during this time period. In addition to this, the village of Morganza is extremely flood prone and has experienced a large number of devastating floods in the last one hundred fifty years. The combination of little in the way of material good plus natural disasters would lead to very little in the way of artifacts.

The discovery of the reverse-seat construction desk frames from contexts showing evidence of the final depositional event of the schoolhouse indicates that these desks were in continued use until the school was shut down. This points to a lack of funding from both governmental and local institutions, as was typical for African American schools of the time period. Since the desk frames discovered were of the reverse-seat construction while an aluminum desk leg of 'modern' design was also found, the desks used at Morganza Elementary were clearly a mixture of hand-me-downs and donated materials, as it was unlikely the school

could afford to purchase a new set of desks on its own. While the reverse-seat desks were probably quite high-quality when first used in schoolhouses, their use after twenty-plus years signifies a lack of educational resources for the African American children of Morganza. These desks were probably 'donated' from white schools across Pointe Coupee Parish when they were no longer deemed suitable for white students.

Industrial Arts

Whole bricks and brick fragments were discovered in every locus on the site. A total of 38,042.81 grams of bricks were excavated. Misfired brick fragments were also discovered in Locus K, indicating some sort of brick training was taking place. Whole and partial bricks bearing the "ST. JOE" logo were found in both privies (Figure 15). A non-marked whole brick was also discovered in Locus H. Cement brick molds bearing the "ST. JOE" logo in a mirror image were found in both privies, but with a decidedly higher concentration in the Locus H privy. A total of eight hundred thirty-four nondiagnostic pieces of cement brick molds were found. Thirty-one pieces were found in the Locus G privy, while six were found under the schoolhouse in Locus E. Seven hundred ninety-seven nondiagnostic pieces were found in and near the Locus H privy. A total of one hundred thirteen diagnostic pieces of cement brick mold were found. Four pieces, including a partial handle, were found in the Locus G privy. One piece of the outer mold edge was found in Locus E, under the schoolhouse. The remaining one hundred and eight pieces were from the Locus H privy and the areas surrounding it. The St. Joe Brick Company has denied any involvement with the school and has also stated that cement brick molds have never been used in the history of the company. While the purpose of the St. Joe bricks is still unclear due to St. Joe's denial of any involvement, it can be assumed that due to the presence of the molds, some sort of masonry activity or training was taking place within the school.

Table 3: Brick Fragment Assemblage

Locus E	507.54 g	Locus J	1449.32g
Locus F	1014.09g	Locus K	42.9g
Locus G	15899.6g	Locus M	285.6g
Locus H	17671.5g	Locus N	136.8g
Locus I	44.6g	Locus O	34.76g

Figure 15: St. Joe's brick and mold

From St. Joe's denials, one of two situations could have occurred. It is doubtful that these bricks and brick molds are simply evidence of brick training through the school alone. Adding the St. Joe logo to bricks would an unnecessary step for simple training through the school. Based on this evidence, one of two scenarios could be plausible in light of the discovery of the bricks and brick molds. First, a counterfeit brick organization was taking place within

Morganza at some point before 1950. Despite the presence of the bricks at the school, St. Joe is known for only using wooden molds to make bricks. If that is really the case, it is unlikely that the concrete brick molds found would have been manufactured by St. Joe. Secondly, since it was revealed that this project was looking at an African American school from the early twentieth-century when St. Joe's was initially contacted, it possible that St. Joe is attempting to limit their involvement with an African American industrial arts training program. Any corroboration or involvement with an inherently racist education method (African Americans did not need to be taught traditional school subjects and instead needed to learn a trade), could look bad for the company.

Another possible scenario could be the use of the bricks in simply learning how to make brick molds. St. Joe bricks are rather ubiquitous in Louisiana and would have been readily available. The bricks could essentially have been a mold in learning how to make the molds themselves. The use of these bricks without St. Joe's knowledge would account for their denials of any involvement as well as the fact that the molds were concrete and not made of the traditional St. Joe wood.

Metal cast-off was discovered behind the school near the levee in Locus F indicating the possibility of metal work or welding. This idea is furthered by the provenience in which the metal cast-off was found. Since the location was removed from other contexts such as the school or the privies, it can be assumed that metal working was spatially isolated from other activities taking place at the school. As mentioned earlier, welding was named as the one of the key training programs in industrial arts. Pieces of flat glass were embedded in two samples of the metal cast-off.

Spark plugs and various automobile parts were discovered in the same locus as the metal cast-off was discovered (Locus F), only two levels above the discovery of the metal cast-off. An

oil filter was also found in the Locus G privy, in the primary privy context. An automobile tire was found directly above the floorboards of the Locus H privy. A GMC key and spark plug were also discovered in the initial shoveltesting, from roughly the same area. A large amount of flat safety glass was discovered in the same context as the metal cast off and spark plugs. This broken glass could be the remains of a windshield. Since automobile mechanical training was listed as one of the general components of a good industrial arts training, the school may have incorporated auto mechanics into its industrial training program. Since the school that was believed to be rebuilt after the flood was constructed during the late 1920s, the idea of the school integrating the burgeoning automobile industry into their training program is quite plausible. However, no structures indicating that a garage or other separate space for industrial arts was discovered archaeologically.

Both adult and children's shoes were discovered in Locus H and Locus M indicating shoe repair as a possible training program. An iron C-clamp was discovered in the Locus G privy in a backfill context. The discovery of the C-clamp could be an indication of carpentry training at the school. Finally, a used carpenter's pencil was discovered in the second privy, Locus H. These artifacts indicate not only the presence of vocational training, but the presence of gendered vocational training.

A sewing machine foot/pedal with an attached stocking was found in the third possible privy, Locus M, indicating the possibility of gendered training such as sewing skills. The 1948 Sears and Roebuck catalog was the first to feature sewing machines possessing the same variety of pedal as found. Various Mason Jars were found both in Locus G, H and M as well indicating the presence of a training program for girls in domestic skills such as canning and food preparation. Both children and adult socks were found in the Locus M and Locus N, suggesting that sock darning could have been a part of the gendered domestic training. A large amount of

buttons and two thimbles were also discovered, also corroborating the idea of gendered vocational training. Scobey (1955: 291) writes that "weaving, crocheting... .knitting … preparing a meal…cooking jam and canning fruit" were all appropriate industrial arts activities for girls.

According to Brown (1957: 34), the general components of a "complete vocational education" for males were "(1) brick masonry, (2) auto mechanics, (3) shoe repairing, (4) graphic arts, (5) painting and decorating, (6) woodworking and (7) vocational agriculture." Girls were "taught the art of homemaking, cooking, budgeting and canning" (Brown 1957: 28). Specifically, girls were to be skilled in "(1) dress making, (2) men's suit making and (3) millinery" (Brown 1957: 28). The New Orleans Parish School felt similarly when they recommended that the industrial arts program of study for African Americans should include: domestic science, dressmaking, power sewing machine operating, hair dressing, maids in doctors' offices, gardening, barbering, commercial cooking, tailoring, brick laying and plastering, chauffeuring/auto mechanics, and printing (Anderson 1988: 217). The ultimate goal of African American industrial education was to produce "scientifically trained and more efficient black caterers, laundry women, dressmakers, maids, gardeners, chefs and cooks, tailors, chauffeurs, auto mechanics, printers and bookbinders, bricklayers, plasterers, and sewing machine operators" (Anderson 1988: 216).

The discovery of artifacts relating to industrial arts training fits in the national timeline of racial uplift through training as made famous by the Hampton-Tuskegee model and the "belief that a utilitarian experience was the springboard to economic development" (Dennis 1998: 142). Booker T. Washington, at Tuskegee University, was one of the main proponents of the model stating that industrial education would "prepare African Americans for survival in a competitive marketplace, stamp out Black indolence and immorality and foster economic self-reliance"

(Dennis 1998: 146). The Hampton-Tuskegee model was adopted by many historically-black colleges and universities in the South which soon fostered programs at the elementary and secondary levels. Dennis (1998: 149) writes, "The success of Hampton and Tuskegee provided sociological evidence of Blacks' enthusiasm for this type of education."

The Emerging Cooperative Movement and Southern University in Baton Rouge were also probably responsible for the introduction of industrial arts into the curriculum of African American schools in the surrounding Baton Rouge area. Williams (1974: 915) writes: "Institutions such as Southern University are uniquely qualified to develop and implement such a mechanism. Southern University, like the other original sixteen 1890 Land Grant Colleges established by the second Morrell Act, has the specific responsibility of providing training for people of color." While no specific information can be found regarding Southern University's influence over Morganza Elementary, in particular, it is clear that the Emerging Cooperative Movement did play a large role in the curriculum of similar schools.

Toys

The subject of toys has been a hot-button topic within archaeological circles in recent years. While prehistoric archaeologists have tended to avoid connecting children to the European notion of toys, historic archaeology has typically used toys as indicators of children's habits and preferences. However, toys often represent "adults' attempts to suggest and enforce certain norms of behavior for a child based on gender, age, socioeconomic class, and even sociocultural ideas of beauty" (Wilkie 2000a: 149). These ideas were typically perpetuated by upper and middle class families, who were more concerned with Victorian notions of gender differences. Dolls were used to mimic adult behavior, etiquette, style and fashion as well as being used to foster mothering and nurturing skills (Wilkie 2000a: 150). The methods and practice of toys "in nineteenth-and twentieth-century American society represent a medium for

symbolic communication between adults and children and among children as they negotiate status and identity within their peer groups" (Wilkie 2000a: 153). Wilkie (2000a: 153) writes specifically of toys in the archaeological record when she says, "While toys are the artifacts most closely associated with children's activities, they are greatly underused in historical archaeology interpretive frameworks."

While toys were originally bought for children for desired outcomes (upward mobility, fostering learning skills, etc.), children often obtain toys through their own circle through bartering, trading or simply stealing (Beisaw 2004). Often these toys disregard adult notions of gender and societal norms, making archaeological interpretation difficult. In that same vein, children often lose or disregard toys for a variety of reasons. According to Wilkie (2000a: 150), "Highly valued toys and childhood objects can be curated well into adulthood and passed onto subsequent generations of children; therefore, artifacts found in the archaeological record may not adequately reflect the full range of material culture used and cherished by children and adults." Children can also play with "toys" that, in an adult sense, are not considered toys. Any of the various objects that children collect can take on a play role.

In terms of toys, a wide array was discovered with marbles the most prevalent throughout the site. Throughout the whole site, a total of 42 marbles were discovered from every locus and context. Excluding marbles, small plastic toys were the most common 'play' artifact recovered from the site. A Mickey Mouse head (Figures 16 and 17) , a Conestoga wagon, a 'Mars Express' rocket ship, an oar, a saxophone, a duck, a laser gun, a pipe, an airplane, a plastic cap gun round, a Halloween spider ring, a bingo piece and a drum were all plastic toys discovered in various loci across the site. A wagon wheel with a 5.25 inch diameter were discovered in the box privy. This wagon wheel could have belonged to a wagon or a large toy car. A piece of a porcelain doll, a possible button-eye from a doll and a possible Lego were discovered in the area

underneath the school. A round Nerf ball and a small rubber ball were also discovered in the Locus H privy. A piece of harmonica was also discovered in Locus E, which could have belonged to either a child or an adult.

Figure 16: Banana Bus, Hubley toy pistol and toy Derringer

The majority of toys found on site were unable to be dated based on a lack of manufacturer's mark and their nondescript plastic nature. As seen in Table 4, of the twenty-seven toys discovered archaeologically (including the three found during the metal detector/shoveltesting survey as seen in Figure 16), eighteen were plastic and unable to be dated. Ideally, a timeline of spatial activity could be constructed based on datable toys in order to determine how play areas changed throughout the occupation of the school. However, due to the fact that very few of the toys found archaeologically could actually be dated, this could not be accomplished.

Table 4: Toy Assemblage

Locus	Unit	Level	Description of toy
E	3	1	leather of basketball
E	3	1	possible domino or lego
E	4	2	piece of plastic pipe
E	4	2	plastic pop-gun rounds
F	2	3	plastic rocketship
F	4	3	plastic paddle/wing
G	1	5	plastic stagecoach
G	1	15	Mickey Mouse head
G	1	21	metal wheel
H	1	2	Nerf ball
H	1	6	green plastic ball
H	1	7	plastic saxophone
H	1	10	shell of baseball
H	1	12	rubber ball
H	1	12	blue doll's eye
I	1	5	plastic 'laser' gun
J	1	4	plastic duck
	2	1	plastic spider ring
M	1	5	plastic ball
M	1	9	plastic ball
N	1	3	bingo marker
N	1	3	plastic drum
N	1	3	plastic elephant
N	1	3	plastic plane

Figure 17: Mickey Mouse head

During initial shoveltesting, two toy guns were discovered. One was of a Derringer-variety while the other was a pistol embossed with a picture of a steer and the word "Smoky." A metal schoolbus manufactured by the Hallmark Company labeled as "Banana Bus" was also found during the initial metal detector/shoveltesting survey (Figure 16). The toy Derringer cap-gun pistol was produced by the Hubley Company. It is a die cast gun made of a zinc alloy. A four-leaf clover design is also embossed onto the body of the gun as well as "Derringer" on the barrel. The toy gun found at C-9 is made of die-cast zinc alloy with "Smoky" embossed onto the barrel of the gun and the head of a longhorn cow embossed onto the grip (Figure 8). The Hubley Company, which produced the gun, manufactured their guns out of cast iron before the start of World War II. After the war, Hubley switched to producing toys out of a zinc alloy. The Hubley Company was sold to Gabriel Industries in 1965, which changed the design of many of the guns and quickly disappeared from the market (Black 2007). Therefore, both toy guns were likely produced somewhere between 1945 and 1965

Glass marbles were the most common toy artifact found on the site, as they were found in almost every locus. With a total of 43 marbles, they were frequently discovered in pairs or groups, indicating their loss during play rather than simply misplacement or loss. The marble assemblage represented a wide array of machine-produced varieties, including: Corkscrew, Cat's-Eye, Swirl, Slag, Patch and Ribbon. The spatial pattern of the marbles (located across the entire site) indicates that play took place on the majority of the site (Table 5). Non-marble toys were also found spread across the site, confirming the idea that play was not restricted to one area of the schoolyard and instead took place in a number of areas throughout the yard. Former students also mentioned play taking place wherever was convenient for that day since play had no specific spatial boundaries.

Table 5: Marble Assemblage

Locus	Unit	Level	Count
E	2	2	2
E	5	3	1
F	2	5	1
F	4	4	1
G	1	18	1
G	1	19	2
G	1	20	18
H	1	11	4
H	2	2	1
I	1	5	2
J	2	6	1
M	1	5	1
N	1	2	2
N	1	5	3
N	1	7	2
O	1	3	1
		Total:	43

Artifacts that are not considered "toys" in the traditional sense can often take on a play role in the minds of children. A fossil with a very pronounced shell outline was found in the upper levels of the Locus M privy. A 1915 Barber dime was found in the 1970s context of Locus J. A piece of purple rock possibly from a fish tank or other aquarium was discovered in Locus F. All of these artifacts are similar in that they are all completely out of place within the contexts in which they were discovered. All three also possess elements that children find intriguing: unusual shape, shininess and color. Therefore, while these artifacts may seem like anomaly within the archaeological record, they are all actually connected to the children who attended the school. Like most children, the students of Morganza Elementary not only played with popular brand-names toys (Mickey Mouse, etc.), but also created their own games through their imagination using materials available.

One of the most important discussions to arise out of the large number of marbles found on this site is the concept of gendered play. European concepts of gender often seperated and designated what play-methods and toys were deemed suitable for girls and which were deemed suitable for boys. While playing with marbles has been frequently cited as a male activity in the past (Spencer-Wood 2007; Yamin and Bridges 2002), oral history interviews indicate that this was not the case in Morganza. Interviews with Ms. Carrie Ball-Lemon and conversations with former students while on-site demonstrate that marbles were an activity for both genders.

Based on the toys excavated, it appears that the children of Morganza were very nationally engaged in terms of children's trends. Despite the relative poverty and rural nature of the area, the toys discovered were along the same lines as toys from across the country from the same time period. It also appears that race , class and ethnicity did not play a large factor in toy choices for children. Mickey Mouse, cowboys and Indians, school-related toys and rocketships were all national obsessions, regardless of race, and were also found archaeologically within the

site. Music, as evidenced by both the piece of harmonica and plastic saxophone, was also important in terms of toy choices for children. A rubber ball of approximately six inches in diameter and the outer shell of a baseball were discovered in the Locus H privy as well as a 'NERF' ball from an obviously more modern context. The largest assemblage of toys, marbles, was also a broad interest of all American children during this time period. A Nerf Ball was also discovered in a later context, but also points to a general trend in toy choices. This idea is corroborated by oral history interviews in which informants speak of playing baseball on the levee with sticks instead of bats. Despite being disenfranchised as African Americans, the children of Morganza were well aware of, and participating in, national trends.

Religion

Since the school was closely linked to the church, it was quite surprising that no religious artifacts related to Christianity were discovered. However, Baptist churches (especially of the rural variety) typically have very little adornment and worship materials. Even the present-day Starlight Baptist Church is quite bare inside, housing only pews, a pulpit and a fairly substantial baptismal pool. Materials commonly found archaeologically from religious contexts such as rosaries, beads and crucifixes would seemingly not be found within a Baptist church. The rural nature of the church and the relative poverty of the parishioners would lead to very little material goods to begin with. However, rosaries and Christ's head relics were discovered in an early twentieth-century African American household in nearby West Feliciana Parish (Wilkie 1997: 100). The residents of the household were known to be practicing Baptists despite the seemingly inconsistent artifacts (Wilkie 1997: 100). From this Wilkie (1997: 100), surmises that "African nuanced practices" must have been occurring within the household. Therefore the lack of a discovery of any religious artifacts within the artifact assemblage of Morganza Elementary, leads to the idea of a fully-integrated community into the Baptist faith.

One of the most common elements found in Louisiana African American archaeological religious contexts is that of Voodoo (or hoodoo). Despite the site being located in south Louisiana, no concrete evidence of Voodoo was discovered at the site. Since Voodoo is a syncretic religion combining Catholic figures and traditional African practices, a Baptist Church would be an unlikely location to find evidence of Voodoo practice, despite the African American affiliation and location in south Louisiana. While no artifacts traditionally connected to Voodoo and hoodoo (such as chicken gizzards, punched coins, horse shoes, rosaries or lithic materials) were discovered, other artifacts did indicate the possible presence of Voodoo and/or hoodoo. Despite the large African American Baptist contingency in Morganza, it appears that the community was not fully integrated within the faith and continued to practice Voodoo and/or hoodoo in addition to the Baptist faith.

A round bottle embossed with "CONTAINS MRS. STEWART'S BLUING" was discovered in the Locus H privy. Bluing, a common substitute for bleach, was also used within both African American ethnomedicinal practices and within hoodoo and Voodoo. Bluing is an ingredient in the ritual cleansing of a house commonly found within Voodoo and hoodoo rituals. One particular recipe states, "For intensive cleaning and attraction of positive spirits, follow with 1 gallon bluing solution mixed with water…use Mrs. Stewart's Bluing, Mexican anil balls…if bluing is unavailable, sprinkle dried basil leaves on the front and back entry of the stair or porch" (Bird 2004: 69). A common folk tale also states that "If you hang a bottle of bluing down a fireplace, it will keep Satan away" (Hyatt 1935: 515). The use of bluing was also used in folk healing techniques, discussed in more detail later on. While the use of bluing has been well documented within Voodoo literature, it is possible that the bluing bottle is related to domesticity or perhaps, to industrial arts training for girls since millinery and laundering were two vocational aspects of gendered training.

A 1915 Barber dime was excavated from the outer play areas of the schoolyard, Locus J. This coin was the only dime found on site and also much older than the other coins discovered. This dime was also the only coin found in that particular unit and was discovered in relatively high Level 3, leading to the belief that this coin was deposited in the 1970s during the destruction of the school and not anywhere near its 1915 manufacture date. While it did not have a puncture mark in it, as most birth coins do, the spatial isolation from the other coins indicates that this coin was not used for the same purposes as the other coins. The fact that coin was also well-preserved and older than the other coins in the assemblage indicates that it was possible an heirloom, or at least holding a special value for its owner.

Despite the majority of slave-holders in Louisiana subscribing to the Catholic faith, "as soon as they [slaves] became free, they became Baptists" (Riffel 1983: 71). Due to the historical ties to Catholicism and the more recent turn to the Baptist faith, many African American archaeological sites in Louisiana tend to display evidence of Voodoo and other syncretic religious forms. However, in the case of Morganza Elementary, no religious items were found at all. This is indicative of the idea that the parishioners of the Starlight Baptist Church and the residents of Morganza were generally integrated into the Baptist faith and did not participate in Voodoo rituals that were outside of the Baptist faith. Another possible explanation is that Voodoo practices were reserved for adults within the community and children were not allowed to participate in such events. It is also possible that children knew of the inherent 'underground' nature of Voodoo and understand not to bring such items to school or church.

While very few artifacts related to Voodoo were discovered, their presence does indicate the occurrence of practices taking place within the community. Since Voodoo was typically hidden from non-practitioners, the school and possibly the church were probably considered a safe space to practice the religion without fear of persecution. Artifacts related to the protection

of both people and spaces were discovered, leading to the assumption that the school was being protected from racial violence by certain Voodoo practices.

Medicinal and Ethnomedicinal Practices

Of the fifty-five marked bottles, seven were medicinal in nature. Despite the brand names found on these bottles, a clear pattern of ethnomedicinal healing can be inferred from the assemblage. Each of the brand name products excavated from the site has both a conventional use marketed by the manufacturer and a documented ethnomedicinal use by African Americans. Narratives gathered by the WPA in the 1940s indicate that traditional treatments were still common in Louisiana (Wilkie 2000a: 167).

Three containers labeled on the bottom with "Cheesebrough, New York" were found in the Locus G privy and within the primary privy context itself. The Cheesebrough Company is the maker of Vaseline, which, while advertised as a "first aid jelly," had specific ethnomedicinal uses within the African American community (Wilkie 2000a: 175). Besides its use as a first aid ointment, Vaseline was also used as an impotence cure, hair gel and a cure for dry skin (Wilkie 2000a: 175). Hyatt (1973: 2026) mentions a recipe for venereal disease which included boiling Vaseline with castor oil, sulfur and blue stone to create the healing salve. Vaseline was also frequently used as a lotion within the African American community. In *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, Maya Angelou speaks of rubbing her legs with Vaseline before church to make them shiny (1970). Two milk glass containers of cold cream were also excavated from the primary privy (Locus G) and the area near the levee (Locus F). These containers of cold cream were probably used for the same purposes as the Vaseline. Since the school is located directly beside a church, this idea seems all the more plausible based on Angelou's description of the importance of cold cream when attending church functions. An eight-sided bottle embossed with, "HBC Co. Baltimore Talcollete" was found in the Locus H privy. Talcollete was a

commonly used tinted face powder with a violet fragrance and a talcum powder base, which would have also been common to wear to church functions.

A fourth medicinal bottle was excavated in the second privy (Locus H) labeled as "Dr. Tichenor's Antiseptic." Dr. Tichenor's remains, to this day, as a symbol of white supremecy and the confederate mindset. According to Wilkie (2000a: 236-237):

> …Dr. Tichenor's Antiseptic, a product associated with white supremacy and the Old South in the minds of white consumers. White consumers seeing an African American buying this product would believe that individual was recognizing and acquiescing to these same values. Instead, the African American consumer was masking the use of the medicine as part of a larger shared ethnomedical tradition.

While advertised as an antiseptic product and a remedy against throat soreness, Dr. Tichenor's Antiseptic was frequently used as both a burn treatment and as an additional ingredient to peppermint tea by African Americans (Wilkie 2000a: 172).

A milk glass container labeled with "Musterole Cleveland" embossed on the bottom was discovered in the primary privy (Locus G). Commonly used to treat chest congestion, coughs, throat irritations and muscle aches, Musterole was an early predecessor to Vicks VapoRub (Case Western Reserve University 2004). Musterole became a commonly used over-the-counter treatment after World War I. It remained popular until 1956 when it was bought by the Plough Corporation out of Memphis and subsequently faded out of popularity. However, Musterole was also locally produced by pharmacists.

As mentioned earlier, a bottle embossed with "This bottle contains Mrs. Stewart's Bluing" was discovered in the Locus H privy. While the use of bluing certainly has ties to hoodoo and conjuration, it also has ties to ethnomedicinal healing. According to Zora Neale Hurston (Hemenway 1977: 119), "A root doctor's prescription for 'the clap' (a colloquial term

for gonorrhea) might be a concoction of blackberry root, sheep weed, bluing and laundry soap; no incantation endows the medicine with its healing effects."

Two cobalt blue containers labeled as "Vicks VapoRub" was excavated from the primary privy context in Locus G. Since no records could be located describing Vicks VapoRub as an ingredient in any Voodoo or hoodoo rituals or practices, the presence of the Vicks VapoRub can be explained as simply medicinal. Often used to treat children with congestion, Vicks VapoRub could have been quite commonplace within the school.

A small glass bottle with a plastic screw-on top labeled as "Miles Laboratories" was discovered in the Locus H privy. Originally, the company name was Dr. Miles Medical Company, but received a name change in 1935. In 1979, the company was bought by Bayer and the products were advertised under the more recognizable name of "Alka Seltzer." Originally produced as a fizzy liquid and not in the familiar tablet format seen today, Alka Seltzer would have been produced in bottles similar to the kind found on site. As with the discovery of the Vicks VapoRub, Alka Seltzer is not common with any ethnomedicinal healing practices or within Voodoo and/or hoodoo practices. Therefore, the presence of the Miles Laboratories bottle can also be explained a simply a medicinal practice of the community of Morganza.

Two non-labeled prescription bottles were excavated from Locus H. The bottle uncovered from the privy was embossed with "3i" and measurements vertically along each side. The second bottle was embossed with "3iv" and the same measurement labels running vertically along the bottle. This particular bottle was also embossed with the phrase "Pour Here" on the neck. A third prescription bottle of the same variety was discovered in Locus F, with "3ii" embossed on the neck. Finally, two identical prescription bottles were found in the Locus G privy. Based on the large amount of these non-branded prescription bottles, it can be assumed that the people of Morganza were producing their own medicine either through a local

pharmacist or on their own. Since the majority of these bottles were found within the privies on site, it can be assumed that the students of the schools, and perhaps the teachers, were employing these home-made prescriptions as a medicinal tool.

Although obviously not manufactured in a prescription bottle, whiskey played an important role within African American ethnomedicinal healing. Whiskey combined with camphor was used as a worming technique, whiskey boiled with Indian root was used a remedy for yellow fever while when combined with snakeroot was a liniment treatment (Wilkie 2000a: 167). Whiskey was also used as a general numbing agent for various maladies. Whiskey bottles were found only in the privy loci; G, H and M. In all, a total of 20 whiskey bottles were found which comprised a much higher percentage than the three beer bottles discovered.

Common household goods were also used as a cure for various maladies. WPA narratives in Louisiana point to rusty nails and vinegar being used a cure for worms. Cow horn scrapings, goat manure, cockroaches and chicken gizzards were also used to cure sicknesses ranging from lockjaw to impotency (Wilkie 2000a: 167). Many of these artifacts would not be discovered archaeologically, namely the cockroaches, goat manure and vinegar. In a conversation with a former student during excavation, it was revealed that a common treatment for scrapes and cuts was a spiderweb used essentially as a band-aid and kerosene used as an antiseptic. While evidence of this particular practice was not discovered archaeologically, the statement from the student does indicate that traditional ethnomedicinal healing was taking place within the community and within the school itself.

Based on these non-labeled bottles and conversations telling of traditional African treatments and cures, the people of Morganza were still implementing ethnomedicinal practices despite the relatively modern time period. The use of these European medical products combined with nontraditional practices is typical of African American ethnomedicinal practices.

While the use of these particular brand names (Dr. Tichenor's, Vicks, Vaseline, etc.) cannot be verified as wholly ethnomedicinal, the fact that these brand names show up in the archaeological record is telling in and of itself. However, certain brand name medicinal products, such as Musterole and Vicks VapoRub that have no documented ethnomedicinal use among African Americans show that the people of Morganza were employing both conventional medicinal practices and ethnomedical practices.

The fact that such a wide variety of medicines (both traditional medicinal and ethnomedicinal) were present in the archaeological record is testament to the duties of teachers within the school. Since the school was considered a safe space and often the only place for children to be when parents were working, children were routinely sent to school despite being sick. As a result, teachers were prepared were with an extensive variety of medicines in order to combat sickness in both ethnomedicinal healing and prescription medicines as evidenced by the archaeological record.

Domestic Artifacts

The domestic artifacts from 16PC86 reveal a complex set of both high quality glass ware and low quality product packaging. As was the case for the majority of artifacts found on site, evidence of recycling and reuse was evident within these domestic artifacts. Glass tumblers with a notched bottom half that flares inward were found in both privies as well as glasses with fluted bottom halves, starburst bottom and a leaf-pattern around top. Drinking glasses with large circular bubbles surrounding the body were found in both the Locus G and Locus H privies. Kerr Mason jars were also discovered in both privies. Jelly jars were also found in both privies, indicating their commonality. Only one drinking glass was categorized as 'fancy' or decorative. With the exception of this particular drinking glass, the only glassware found was of a strictly practical and functional usage.

Excluding jelly jars, the glass tumblers were one of the most common glass artifacts excavated from the site as a whole. In total, eight separate glass tumblers were excavated. Five of these were classified as small while three were large. Three of the small tumblers were excavated from the Locus G privy while two were excavated from the Locus H privy. Two of the large tumblers were excavated from the Locus G privy and the remaining one tumbler was found in the Locus H privy.

Three large drinking glasses with diagonal stripes and a flared upper half were found in the Locus G and Locus H privies. Two separate drinking glasses with large bubbles on the outside were found in the Locus H and Locus G privies as well. A pink drinking glass with etched vertical lines and a flared upper half was discovered in the Locus H privy. A small drinking glass with vertical lines forming half-circles was found in the Locus H privy.
Two Kerr Mason jars were found in the Locus H privy. Both were of the same size and design, dating them to the same time period. Two unlabeled storage jars were also found in the Locus H privy. While one was large with no markings, the second was similar to the size of a Mason jar with hobnailed embossing and a space designed for a brand label. All of the storage containers were found in the Locus H privy, which was located near Locus F and the associated industrial arts artifacts.

While the original use of the jelly jar was quite actual, the glass was commonly kept after the jelly had been finished for use as a drinking glass. Therefore, while a set of jelly jars was not uncommon in households, most jelly jar sets were not matching. The jelly jars found in the Locus H privy context were of three varieties. The first was characterized by fluting on the inside of the glass and a small band around the top. Two of this type of jelly jar was found within this context. The second variety contained only a band around the top and a base mark from the Hazel Glass Company dating from 1902 to 1964 (Toulouse 1972: 29). Four of this type

of jelly jar was excavated from the Locus H context. The third variety contained no marks of any kind, only a small lip on the top of the jar. Only one of these was found within the Locus H privy. In total, 17 jelly jars were found between the Locus G and Locus H privies. Seven were found in Locus H while ten were discovered in Locus G.

Both glass alcohol bottles and aluminum beer cans were very prevalent in almost every locus. Aluminum and glass beer cans were very common in the upper levels, most likely from the period of time after the school was torn down. A piece of condom wrapper was also discovered in the upper levels of Locus E. Based on this archaeological evidence and oral history interviews, after the school was torn down, the open lot became a haven for explicit activities such as drinking and sexual cavorting. Even though this open lot is next to the Starlight Baptist Church and has a clearly marked sign that reads, "The use of alcohol on these premises is not permitted," community members talk of this time as being quite upsetting for the community. In order to counteract this, the community erected a playground that still stands on the site.

Alcohol bottles and the associated goods were one of the most prevalent glass artifacts found within the site. Bottle openers were discovered in both Locus M and Locus H. Kidney shaped bottles labeled as "WINE" were found in both privies. One whole whiskey bottle was found in the Locus G privy with embossing that read, "Harry Elikin and Sons." However, only two beer bottles were discovered, both of which were recovered from surface level of Locus M.

As a whole, the domestic glassware found on site indicates a both a reuse of material goods and an overall practical attitude towards glassware. Despite matching sets of glassware, only one high-end drinking glass was discovered. Jelly jars, originally purchased as packaging for jelly, were reused as drinking glasses. Excluding the two sets of matching drinking glasses, the remaining domestic glassware was an assortment of non-matching vessels.

Ceramics

One of the distinguishing features of 16PC86 was the lack of ceramics excavated on the site. While ceramics are typically one of the most prominent artifacts within historic sites, Morganza Elementary showed a great lack of ceramics. In general, the materiality of Morganza Elementary was older than the time period in which it was used. The ceramics recovered from the school ranged from pearlware to stoneware, indicating that recycling and/or reuse was recurring within the community and at the school.

A set of five whiteware tiered bowls were discovered from both primary privies (Locus G and H). Since the bowls are identical and discovered in the same levels of both privies, it can be assumed that they are a set. With the exception of one bowl, the set was in relatively good condition with most broken into two or three large sherds. Other than these whiteware bowls, there were no complete (or even semi-complete) pieces.

Based on oral history evidence, it is known that the school did not possess a cafeteria. Students brought their own lunch, went home for lunch or bought food from one of two cafes located across the street from the school. The café most popular with the students specialized in serving red beans and rice and other Cajun specialties. The set of whiteware bowls could very easily have been used to serve red beans and rice.

While the few ceramics recovered from the site do not lead to many interpretations and conclusions about the ceramic assemblage, the lack of ceramics is telling in its own right. Based on the relative poverty of the people of Morganza, the lack of ceramics is both an indication of a lack of material goods from the beginning and a reluctance to discard even the most broken pottery. The Great Mississippi Valley Flood of 1927 might have also played a larger role in the lack ceramics from the pre-1927 assemblage.

Three pieces of pearl ware were also discovered from Locus G, H and M. Since pearl ware was only manufactured from 1792 to 1820, this is a clear indicator of recycling and reuse within the community, and possibly the school itself (Noel Hume 1969: 130).

In Locus F, three prehistoric Baytown Plain sherds were discovered from approximately 90 centimeters below surface. These presence of these sherds indicate the flood and/or the construction of the levees in 1928 did not affect the soil matrix dating to prehistoric times. A fourth Baytown Plain pottery sherd was found in Locus K at approximately 80 centimeters.

A large amount of terra cotta ceramic pieces were also discovered in a variety of contexts. These terra cotta pipes were commonly used for both sewer pipes and water lines. Pieces of pipe were found in both the Locus G and Locus H privy as well as the outlying areas of the school. Since oral history interviews indicate that there was no plumbing or running water at the school, these terra cotta pipes seem like an anomaly. However, pieces of pipe and faucet spigot handles were also discovered in the Locus G privy. Therefore, the recovery of pieces of terra cotta pipes, along with the discovery of other plumbing fixtures, leads to the conclusion that some area of the school did possess plumbing.

Four pieces of a low-quality ceramic flower pots were discovered in the two privy contexts. All four pieces contained traces of brightly colored paint colors. When refitted the sherds represented two different flower pots, one green and pink and the other yellow and pink. The existence of these flower pots indicates a desire of the community or teachers to decorate the schoolyard and in a sense, beautify the school. It is very possible that the community members took great pride in their school and helped with the effort to beautify the school.

The ceramic assemblage of the site indicates a desire to stay engaged with the national trends of the time. The presence of such ceramic makers as Fiesta by Homer Laughlin shows an awareness of and a desire to participate in national trends.

Personal Adornment

Personal adornment has always been a matter of great pride for African Americans and has consistently been a large artifact assemblage within the majority of African American archaeological sites. Wilkie (2000a: 157) writes, "Different forms of clothing and personal ornamentation were certainly imbued with multiple layers of cultural meaning to Africans, and then to African Americans in Louisiana." Communal gatherings such as church or potluck suppers required the proper dress, quite literally the "Sunday Best" (Wilkie 2000a: 160). African American women typically wore bright colored dresses and colorful hats reminiscent of African color patterns and preferences. "Intricate designs, bright colors and ornamentation for ornamentation's sake" all characterize African American personal adornment preferences. Attending church, specifically attending Baptist churches, was a proper time to wear the finest clothes available.

Five different shoes were also found in two privies, Locus H and Locus M (Figure 18). While these shoes could be an indication of training in shoe repair, the style and design of the shoe are important. The first shoe excavated from Locus M was faux-leather and contained an intricate cut-out design indicating its use as a church (or other important event) shoe. Based on the design of the shoe, it appeared to be a men's wing-tip shoe. The second shoe discovered in Locus M was a girl's shoe belonging to a small child. It was in a Mary-Jane style and was also faux-leather. The third shoe found in Locus M was simply the inner sole of the shoe, but based on the size, was designed for a man. A pair of socks was also discovered in Locus M. Made of cotton, the socks were clearly designed for a child. A second set of children's socks were discovered in Locus N in a contemporaneous level. Two pieces of the plastic outer sole of a man's shoe was found in the Locus H privy. An inner sole, possibly belonging to the same shoe was also found in the Locus H privy.

Figure 18: Assemblage of shoes and socks

Three plastic combs were found as well. One was located in the Locus H privy while two were found in Locus N. A plastic hair curler was found in Locus M. Based on the importance of appearance for community functions, especially Sunday church, it can be assumed that these were used as personal grooming tools before such events. This also corresponds to the discovery of cold cream containers, probably serving the same purpose for the same events. Two pieces of plastic toothbrushes were found in the backfill context of the Locus G privy. Toothbrushes were not popular within the United States until the 1920s when mass-marketing for brands such as Colgate and Lyons became ubiquitous across the United States (Wilkie 2000a: 129). Still, "dental hygiene was rare among rural populations" well beyond the 1920s (Wilkie 2000a: 130). The presence of toothbrushes at the school shows the concern of the teachers, parents and community at large in providing for the students in all aspects.

Buttons are frequently the most common personal adornment artifact discovered on African American archaeological sites. Many have suggested the overwhelming number of

buttons found in African American archaeological sites to be an indication of "scavenging and reusing old clothing (and removing and discarding the buttons)" (Wilkie 2000a: 156). The discovery of a thimble in Locus M as well as the recovery of a thimble during initial shoveltesting confirms this theory. The large amounts of buttons and thimbles could also be indicative of gendered industrial arts training in which girls were taught darning, knitting and general clothing repair.

Search for the Civil War

During the Civil War, Fort Morganzia sat on the Mississippi River just outside of 16PC86 . Fort Morganzia was home to over 20,000 soldiers during the extent of the war including General Nathanial Banks and his troops as well as the 19th Regiment of the Corps de Afrique who had fled with Banks from the Red River Campaign (Winters 1991). Due to the proximity of the fort and the activities surrounding it to the site, we felt it pertinent to attempt to see if some remnants of this period could be found.

When the site was originally metal detected, the initial expectation was to discover remains of the occupation of the site during the Civil War. Despite the proximity of 16PC86 to the activity taking place on the outer walls of the fort, no evidence of the occupation was discovered. During full-scale excavation, a separate locus (K) was designed to find any evidence of the nineteenth century occupation of the site. A 1 by 2 meter unit was opened to the northeast of the school structure in order to accomplish this Even though the excavation of Locus K was taken to a depth of over 100 centimeters (well below the flood deposit layer), no Civil War era artifacts were discovered. In Locus F, which was parallel on the same transit line to Locus K, prehistoric pottery was discovered at 90 centimeters, indicating the soil layer containing any evidence of the Civil War should be located above 90 centimeters. Since no Civil War-era artifacts were discovered, it can be assumed that any material remains related to the Civil War

era occupation of the site were destroyed during one of the many floods affecting Morganza. Since minor floods occurred in 1865, 1866 and 1867 as well as major floods in 1912 and 1927, the possibility of any material remains surviving is small.

Floods in Morganza

The village of Morganza lives off the Mississippi River. The fertile flood plains lend themselves to the sugar cane harvest that is so vital to the economy of Pointe Coupee. The original European settlement of Pointe Coupee Parish was due to the unusual bend in the Mississippi, causing the area to be one of the few places were the Mississippi runs east to west. However, this dependence on the mighty Mississippi has come with a price; eleven major floods within one hundred fifty years. The Great Flood of 1927 left 27,000 sq mi flooded, left standing water for months and displaced 700,000 people in many parts of the central United States. After the flood, a spillway was built in Morganza to regulate the flow of the river in order prevent a future flood. The natural levees were also improved and enlarged to protect the towns along the banks of the river.

While the 1927 flood is perhaps the most famous in the minds of the general American public, Morganza's history is punctuated by periodic and frequent flood events that left the town underwater for days. Floods were recorded as effecting the village in 1827, 1850, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1874, 1882, 1884, 1912, 1913 and 1927 (Costello 2007: 23). The levees at Morganza were officially breached in 1865, 1866, 1874, 1882 and 1884 (Costello 2007: 23). In 1912 and 1927, the water rose past the then-14 foot levees to inundate the town (Costello 2007: 23). During the 1912 flood, 200 feet of train track was washed away and the entire town was forced to be evacuated (Costello 2007:23). During the 1927 flood, residents reported "waist-deep water" throughout the entire town (Costello 2007: 109). In the 1927 flood, water slowly meandered into the town from the McCrea levee break.

The presence of the floods was very discernable within the archaeological record. In the loci closer to the levee (specifically F and K), a noticeable soil strata of around 30 centimeters was discovered at approximately 60 centimeters below surface (Figure 19). This soil layer was mottled river silt that was clearly deposited during the flood. While it is unclear if this soil deposit is the result of the flood in 1912, 1927 or a combination of all of the many documented floods to affect the area, it is, nonetheless, a clear indication of a large soil deposit. Historical records also indicate a large amount of sediment deposited in Pointe Coupee as evidenced in Figures 20 and 21. A Red Cross report regarding nearby McCrea, Louisiana from May 17, 1927, states that the flood left "immense deposits of sediments throughout the town and surrounding countryside [creating] tremendous sand dunes, practically burying the community…washing away houses, shifting others from foundations" (Barry 1997: 284). Based on this evidence, it is quite clear how small artifacts could be forcibly removed from both the surface and immediately underneath it. Coupled with a small artifact assemblage in the first place, based on the relative poverty of Morganza, any artifacts would clearly have been removed from their primary context.

Figure 19: Locus F Flood Stratigraphy

Figure 20: Floodwaters inundating downtown Morganza

Figure 21: 1912. Downtown Morganza with floodwater.

Once excavation reached contexts under this flood layer, the amount of artifacts within the archaeological record dropped significantly. In Locus F (located near the levee), the only artifacts discovered after finding the layer of river silt was a posthole from an unknown structure and three pieces of Baytown Plain prehistoric pottery. The decline in the quantity of artifacts located under the flood layer could be the result of two circumstances. After the flood and during the construction of the Morganza Spillway, the levees along the river were enlarged by the Army Corps of Engineers. In order to explain the lack of pre-1927 artifacts found on site, the possibility was considered that the soil matrix containing these artifacts was used to construct the levee. A closer look into levee construction proved that this was not a plausible scenario. According to Barry (1997: 190):

> Though made of earth, they [levees] were precisely engineered. Between the river and the levee lay the batture, the barrow pit, and the berm. The batture was the land in between the river's natural bank and the levee; often a mile or so wide, it was usually forested…to protect the levee from current scour and waves. Then came the barrow pit. From which the earth came to build the levee. It served as a dry moat; the river had to fill before reaching the levee itself. This pit, generally 300 feet wide and 14 feet deep at its deepest point…

Based on this evidence, the soil used to construct the levees came from the western side of the levee. Since the site was situated on the eastern side of the levee, it is unlikely that the lack of pre-1927 artifacts is a direct result of the construction of the levees since all land would have been taken from the batture side. Despite the natural levee repairs that took place after each major flood, the construction was not a factor in the lack of artifacts. In 1850, the levees at

Morganza were 7.5 feet high (Barry 1997: 166). The levees in Morganza that held back the 1927 flood were over 14 feet high (Barry 1997: 166).

Since the many phases of levee construction and repair did not have a direct effect on the lack of pre-1927 artifacts, the remaining plausible situation is the simply that the sheer power of the floods washed away any artifacts that were deposited during this time. The formidable power of both the 1912 and 1927 flood could have washed the majority of preceding artifacts away from the river (and consequently away from the site). Another possible scenario is that few artifacts were actually deposited during this time period. The combination of relatively few materials to deposit combined with powerful floods is the most likely scenario for the lack of pre-1927 artifacts. The Mississippi River has not moved a significant enough distance for this to have affected the archaeological record. Morganza locals claim that earthworks related to the Civil War occupation of Fort Morganzia can still be seen on the levee. The fort was located on the river during its time of occupation.

Structures

In Locus E, Unit 2 a square post hole was discovered in Level 4 (Figure 22). Based on maps and former student's assertions, the posthole was believed to have belonged to the schoolhouse structure. The map used to designate the former location of the school (Figure 1), showed a ghost image of the school parallel to Thomas Street. However, the eastern edge of the posthole was angled at 44º north which roughly aligned to the levee (angled at 42 º north) instead of Thomas Street. Based on this, the schoolhouse must have been constructed before the road. The posthole was measured as 23 by 23 centimeters, which corresponded to the size of the piers used for Starlight Baptist Church. The distance between the piers on the church was measured resulting in the opening of Locus E Unit 5 based on the orientation of the posthole. However, no further postholes were discovered. The lack of postholes in Locus E Unit 5 can be assumed that

Morganza Elementary was not the same size as Starlight Baptist Church, despite the structural piers being the same size and dimensions. The lack of postholes could also indicate that the school was not oriented in the same fashion, with part of the building protruding off the side.

Figure 22: Excavated posthole from Locus E

In Locus F, Unit 1 a square post hole was discovered in Locus F, approximately 61-70 cm below depth (Figure 23). A darker, round post mold was discovered within the square posthole. Two smaller, round soil stains were discovered in the same level. Since Locus F was near the levee, it can be assumed that this posthole is not from the same schoolhouse structure as the posthole found in Locus E. Since records indicate that the school was built in 1920, it is possible that the original schoolhouse was destroyed in the 1927 flood and was replaced by a new building further from the levee. The round stain within the larger, square posthole could be an indication of a repair or replacement to the original building or could be the remnants of an open area that existed in the original posthole. The posthole was located in the middle of a large layer of river silt thought to be the sediment deposited by the 1927 Mississippi River Valley

Flood. A 10 centimeter-wide stain running east to west within Unit 2 (directly north of Unit 1) was discovered at roughly the same level as the posthole. This stain could possibly be the 'drip-line' off the roof of the former structure. This original school structure would most likely have had a metal roof with an overhang, much like the re-built schoolhouse and Starlight Baptist Church.

Figure 23: Locus F posthole

Four round soil stains were discovered in the layers directly underneath the posthole seen in Figure 23. Soil stain 1 was 5 centimeters in diameter and located in the relative center of the excavation unit. Soil stain 2 was 5.5 centimeters in diameter and located 4 centimeters from the west wall. Soil stain 3 was 4.5 centimeters in diameter and also located 4 centimeters from the west wall. Finally, soil stain 4 was 11 centimeters in diameter and located 3 centimeters from the eastern wall. Each of these soil stains contained heavy concentrations of charcoal. Based on the size of soil stain 4, which was roughly the same size as the round soil stain within the square posthole seen in Figure 23, it can be assumed that this also is a posthole. However, these postholes form no discernable shape.

While Figure 6 is the only photograph of Morganza Elementary that could be obtained, many former students described the size and orientation of the school both in the one oral history interview conducted and in on-site conversations. While descriptions of the school ranged from one-room to six-room, the most plausible and frequent description was that of a three-room schoolhouse in an 'L' shape. Numerous former students, including Ms. Carrie Ball-Lemon, point to the end of the 'L' structure as housing the office of the principal. The idea that the school was shaped like an 'L' is corroborated by the fact that a posthole was not found when Locus E, Unit 5 was opened (See Figure 9). A 1938 memo from the Division of Negro Schools of the Pointe Coupee Parish School Board states that Morganza Elementary held three classrooms and would cost approximately $3000 to repair and renovate (Foote and Lewis and Lewis 1938: 9). The $3000 price tag also points to the school being relatively new since Morganza Elementary was the school with the second highest value listed. The poorest school was valued at just under $500. Had the original building survived the flood, the estimated worth would have been substantially under $3000.

Structural Artifacts

Structural nails were, by far, the most common metal artifact excavated from the entirety of 16PC86. While 1,559 nails were discovered in the site as a whole, only one was not of a wire nail manufacture (See Appendix A for more detailed information). Wire nails were excavated from every locus and almost every level from the site. Tin roofing nails were found in Locus E, G, H, I, J, K and N with the majority found under the former school structure. Roofing nails were not found in Locus F or Locus M. In total, 77 roofing nails were found in the site as a whole, with the majority (47) coming from one level in Locus J. While no wood was discovered archaeologically, since the wood used for the school was subsequently used to construct a house near the site, nails were one of the most common artifacts recovered.

Table 6: Nail Count

Locus	Nail Count
E	209
F	95
G	420
H	322
I	34
J	168
K	16
M	128
N	79
O	50

Since the majority of nails were rusted beyond any hope of analysis, the assemblage of nails was simply categorized into nail type: forged, cut or wire. However, this categorization method was of little importance since all but one nail was of the modern wire variety. The singular cut nail was discovered from the Locus G privy. Based on this evidence, the singular cut nail could simply have been discarded and has no real relevance to the assemblage of structural nails as a whole as it clear that nail recycling was not used in the construction of the schoolhouse.

The lack of wrought nails is quite uncommon for early twentieth-century sites, especially rural sites such as 16PC86. Recycling of nails, especially in structures, is quite common in African American archaeological sites. The lack of wrought-iron nails leads to the assumption that recycling of nails was not taking place within Morganza. If the school was indeed rebuilt after the 1927 flood, very little structural material would have been available for reuse since the floodwaters would have destroyed the original building. Therefore, new, modern nails must have been implemented to construct the new schoolhouse, thus leading to the high concentration of wire nails found within in the archaeological record.

Diet

Seven soil samples were collected from the two privies (Locus G and Locus H). From Locus G, all soil samples were collected from the primary privy context. From Locus H, soil samples were collected from the end levels, directly above the floorboards of the privy, since the privy was not excavated to primary privy context. These soil samples were float-tested in order to collect information about the diet of the privy-users. Blackberry seeds were among the most numerous seed remains recovered from float testing. Blackberry seeds are commonly thought to be a strong indicator of the presence of a privy since the human digestive system cannot fully digest the seeds. While intensive research into the seed remains was not possible due to both budget and time constraints, the author did conduct a small comparison to the LSU seed collection. It was from this comparison, that the blackberry seeds were identified.

The faunal remains at Morganza Elementary were both numerous and in good condition (See Appendix B). Since the socioeconomic status of the people of Morganza, and consequently the students at Morganza Elementary, was underprivileged, the faunal remains found archeologically were assumed to be poor cuts of meats such as shank or rump cuts. The use of these 'poor' cuts of meat was also believed to have been sustained through the preparation of 'soul food'. Despite the fact that the occupants of this site were known before archaeological excavation began, the analysis of the faunal remains shed new light on the culinary practices of the community. Wild game was found throughout the site, indicating that even in 'modern' times, the people of Morganza used wild taxa to supplement their diet.

Bos taurus (cow), *Sus scrofa* (pig), *Odocoileus virginianus* (white-tailed deer), *Anas platyrychnos* (duck), *Gallus gallus domesticus* (chicken), *Meleagris gallopavo* (turkey), *Anura spp.* (frog/toad), *Alligator mississippiensis* (alligator), *Macrochelys temminckii* (turtle),

Lepisosteidae spp. (gar) and *Aplodinotus grunniens* (drum) were the only identifiable faunal remains discovered from the site. *Macrochelys temminckii* (turtle) was the most highly represented with 28 pieces of bone discovered. *Bos taurus* (cow) was the second most highly represented, with 27 pieces of bone. *Sus scrofa* (pig) was also very prominent within the faunal assemblage, representing 21 bones. While it is unclear whether 'Soul Food', usually linked to African Americans was the predominant driving culinary force in Morganza, it is clear that poor cuts of meat were a staple of the diet of the community due to the assemblage discovered in the archaeological record.

Table 7: Taxa Count

Taxa	Count
Alligator mississippiensis	2
Gallus gallus domesticus	15
Bos taurus	32
Odocoileus virginianus	23
Aplodinotus grunniens	3
Anura spp.	1
Lepisosteidae spp.	9
Anas platyrychnos	1
Sus scrofa	61
Meleagris gallopavo	4
Macrochelys temminckii	46
Unknown	358

The presence of such wild game as deer and turtle indicate that the community and possibly the students were supplementing their diet with wild foods not purchased as consumers. The fish remains, *Aplodinotus grunniens* (drum) and *Lepisosteidae spp*. (gar) were more than likely caught wild as well. Since only one faunal element of *Anas platyrrynchos* (duck) was discovered, it can be assumed that this was not a staple of the diet. While it is unclear if this duck was purchased or was hunted, it was probably reserved for a special occasion based on the

lack of other evidence found archaeologically. *Alligator mississippiensis* (American Alligator) remains were found in two loci on the site. One pelvis fragment of an *Anura spp*. frog/toad was discovered as well. Turtle carapace and vertebrae were discovered on numerous loci throughout the site, indicating its importance within the dietary traditions of the community.

Coined in the 1960s, "soul food is a reference not only to the content of the Southern African American diet, but also to its preparation styles" (Whitehead 1992: 98). Including such staples, as stews, fried meat and homegrown vegetables such as collard greens, hominy and black eyed peas, soul food "would often include various wild games…such as squirrel, rabbit, opossum and deer" (Whitehead 1992: 98). Traditional Southern African American food staples, such as ribs, chicken wings and thighs were represented by the faunal assemblage of the site. However, no traditional 'soul food' taxa such as raccoon of opossum were found within the archaeological record, the less traditional 'soul food' taxa of *Odocoileus virginianus* (white-tailed deer) was quite prominent throughout the site. However, traditional Cajun staples such as alligator and frog/toad were also represented within the faunal assemblage. Whitehead (1992: 99) writes, "Indeed, it is in the foodways, particularly in the South, that we see a mixture of…cultural areas…which gave rise to new food forms." The faunal remains found at Morganza Elementary indicate that a variety of different culinary forms were influencing the dietary habits of the community of Morganza.

Much can be learned from the spatial layout of the faunal assemblage as well. Locus E, located under and just outside of the actual schoolhouse, produced 100 individual bones. A wide variety of taxa (Mammal, Amphibian and Avian) was also discovered in this locus, pointing to the consumption of many different food types within the schoolhouse itself. Locus F, far removed from both the schoolhouse and church, produced 53 bones with one level producing over half of the total count. The majority of faunal elements found within Locus F were

unidentifiable based on the high level of wear and fragmentation. The only identifiable taxa from this locus were *Odocoileus virginianus* (deer) and *Macrochelys temminckii* (turtle). The highest concentration of faunal remains was found in Locus G, with 179 bone fragments found within the privy. The Locus H privy had a decidedly lower concentration of faunal remains, producing only 53 bones and bone fragments. Locus I, located near the schoolhouse door, produced 23 bone fragments. Located in an isolated area away from the schoolhouse, Locus J produced 33 bone fragments. Despite being designed to find the occupation of the site during the Civil War, 33 bone fragments were found in Locus K. However, 20 of these fragments were *Lepisosteidae spp*. (gar) scales from one specific level. 42 bone fragments were found in Locus M. Located in a depression near the schoolhouse, Locus N produced 23 bone fragments. Finally, Locus O, the most outlying all the loci on the site produced 11 bone fragments.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of faunal remains discovered in institutional archaeological sites often represent a disproportionate percentage from specific community activities rather than everyday activities at the school. The faunal remains, while indicative of the diet of the community as a whole, could be more indicative of the community potlucks held on school grounds rather than the dietary activities of the students. Former students said that the community would often hold potluck dinners, community festivals and general gatherings on school grounds. Carrie Ball-Lemon spoke vividly of such occasions saying that local youngsters would often combine fried catfish sandwiches and potato salad to create colossal sandwiches. However, no evidence of a large-scale event was discovered archaeologically, in terms of faunal remains. Common social meat cuts, such as chicken wings or ribs were not found in large quantities (although they were present within the archaeological record), nor were they spatially isolated in any particular locus or level, indicating a separate event. Even in the privies, a seemingly perfect location to dispose of unwanted refuse after a large gathering, no pattern of

any large-scale gatherings could be discerned. However, faunal remains were found in every locus and in all but one specific unit.

Despite the faunal assemblage of the site representing poor cuts of meat and wild game, the faunal material may not be entirely representative of the poverty of the African American community of Morganza. By the mid-twentieth-century, the traditional foodways would have been well established for the African American community. Certain cuts of meat, such as leg and hock bones, would have already become part of the dietary fabric of the community. Regardless of poverty or the inability to purchase expensive cuts of meat, the preference of the community would still be these inexpensive cuts of meat favored in Soul Food, Cajun and general South Louisiana culinary dishes. However, these preferences would not remain static and certain dietary choices could ultimately be eliminated. Certain wild game closely associated with 'soul food' such as opossum and raccoon were not discovered archaeologically, while food such as ribs and chicken wings were present in the archaeological record although not in large quantities. In the interview with Carrie Ball-Lemon, she told a story involving a young student who brought a culinary dish made with opossum to a large community gathering. She still remembers how disgusted she was at the thought of eating opossum. Therefore, the dietary practices of the African American community of Morganza were not a standardized homogeneous diet. While some families continued to consume a traditional diet consisting of wild game available locally, others eliminated that aspect of the diet and simply continued to use less expensive cuts of meat in order to create soups and stews.

In terms of dietary practices at the school, in oral history interviews former students said that the majority of students bought their lunch at one of the two cafes located across the street. However, the students who lived close enough to walk home often did so for lunch. The presence of mason jars within the archaeological evidence could indicate that community

members brought food for the students in these jars. However, two stove legs were discovered during excavation; one in the Locus H privy and the other during shoveltesting. The presence of this could be indication of either food preparation for consumption alone or as part of the gendered industrial arts training. A large metal object, believed to be a stove, was also discovered in the unit wall of the Locus H privy. The object was left in situ since the removal of the object would compromise the safety of the ground surface (Figure 24). A large layer of coal was also found in the outlying areas of the school in the sondage shovel test pit. These discoveries lead to the assumption that at one point, a stove was operational within the schoolhouse. Both stove legs were of the traditional three-legged coal-burning design. Another possible scenario is that, while out of date for the time period, the stove was used during the 1950s and later years at the school as a heating device during winter.

Figure 24: Stove pieces left in situ in Locus H privy

Three whole bottles labeled "Drink the Wright Root Beer" were excavated from the site, in both the Locus H and Locus G privies. The Wright Root Beer Company, based in New Orleans, was founded in 1963 after being purchased from Royal Products Company. In 1967, the Wright Root Beer Company disappears from all New Orleans directories. Two bottles of 7-Up and 3 bottles of Dr. Pepper were also found in the Locus H and Locus G privies. These Dr.Pepper bottles were bottled in Bogalusa, New Orleans and Baton Rouge.

Alcohol bottles were also quite prominent in the archaeological assemblage. One bottle of whiskey was discovered in the Locus H privy, while seven whiskey bottles were found in the Locus G privy. While all eight of the bottles were half pints embossed with "Federal Law Forbids Sale or Reuse of this Bottle" putting the bottles in a post-1929 time frame, one bottle contained embossing linking it to a particular brand. A bottle was discovered in the Locus G privy embossed with signatures at the bottom and the portraits of three men on the body. The three signatures read, "Harry E. Wilken, Harry Ellilken, William A. Wilken." Various kidney-shaped bottles of wine were found throughout both the Locus G and Locus H privies as well as glass shards featuring grape leaves. As mentioned earlier, only two beer bottles were discovered, both of which were found on the surface level of Locus M.

A whole glass bottle embossed on the side with "McCormick and Co. Baltimore" was recovered from the Locus G privy as well as a bottle embossed with "Virginia Dare Spices." A third bottle was discovered in the Locus G privy embossed as "One Of The Blue Plate Fine Foods." Blue Plate is a still operational company specializing in producing mayonnaise. An amber vanilla spice bottle was discovered in the Locus H privy. Two identical containers, identified as mustard containers, were found in the Locus H privy. The large assemblage of spices corroborates with the idea that Cajun and Creole cooking was used heavily within the community.

A shard of vessel glass embossed with "Roux" was discovered in the Locus H privy. The use of a roux implies the community was eating gumbos or other traditionally Cajun and Creole stews. This use of gumbos and stews complements the poor cuts of meat found in the faunal assemblage. The majority of domestic animal elements (particularly *Bos Taurus* [cow] and *Sus* scrofa [pig] were of stew-quality cuts. *Alligator mississippiensis* (alligator) was also found in two different loci, indicating the importance of traditionally Cajun taxa within the diet.

The Civil Rights Era

In oral history interviews with Ms. Carrie Ball-Lemon, a former student at the school, many instances of racial violence in the Civil Rights era were revealed. One such story involved a prominent African American Civil Rights leader who was assassinated while driving from Morganza to Baton Rouge, although subsequent research yielded no information on this particular story. She also spoke of an African American teacher at nearby Morganza High School whose husband accompanied her to school one day bearing a shotgun in order to protect the African American students and teachers from threats of violence. Numerous former students also spoke of a cross being burned in the schoolyard during the Civil Rights era. However, these stories were not told as if these were instances of violence; instead they were told in an almost comical manner. Most questions about any conflict or disturbances resulting from the Civil Rights movement were answered with a simple, "That didn't happen in Morganza" or "We got along here. That was a big city problem."

However, civil unrest and racial violence was clearly taking place in the majority of Pointe Coupee Parish. Costello (1999: 231) writes of white parents picketing in front of public schools. In nearby Livonia, the Federal Marshals were called in order for the cafeteria to be stocked. Black students trying to enter formerly all-white schools were routinely pelted with rotten fruit and vegetables while trying to enter the school doors (Costello 1999: 231). Private

schools, that were coincidentally all-white, sprung up overnight as a means of resistance against the forced integration. In his 1948 thesis on the sociology of race relations in Pointe Coupee Parish, Roland Joseph Pellegrin (1948: 83-85) writes of the impending chaos:

> The caste system of Pointe Coupee Parish is, of course, defined largely in terms of color and other discernable physical traits. The super ordinate and subordinate relationship between the races has their cultural root in slavery, with the principle of white superiority and Negro inferiority well established in the minds of the dominant group. The dissatisfaction of the Pointe Coupee negro with his status is becoming increasingly apparent, thus affording the whites cause for both speculation and alarm. Even the most intransigent white person will voice fear of the rising Negro for his attitude and express determination to maintain the caste relationship to the fullest extent possible.

Evidence of violence related to the Civil Rights era was also discovered. Broken glass was uncovered on both sides of the schoolhouse along with two .22 caliber bullet shells in Locus E. While there is no oral history to corroborate this particular story, based on the time period it is highly unlikely that African Americans were responsible for the destruction of the school windows. During oral history interviews with former students, there were many stories indicating racial violence in Morganza during the Civil Rights movement, despite initial denials of racism. The school also played a very important role, both historically and socially, within the African American community in Morganza making it all the more unlikely that African Americans would have been responsible for the destruction of the school windows. While it is unclear if it is related to any Civil Rights-era actions, a shotgun shell was found in the primary privy context of Locus G. Only three bullets were found from the site as a whole, making the

discovery of this shotgun shell particularly important, however unclear the context of the shotgun shell may be.

Therefore, the denials of former students on the issue of violence within the community are intriguing. One theory is that originally, the topic of racial violence was inappropriate and was pushed aside in favor of another topic. However, when gradually becoming more familiar with the interviewer, the former students made light of the situation in order to mitigate their previous denials. A second conjecture is that telling such violent stories within a humorous setting is one way to take control of the past and to longer be a victim. A third idea is that the school operated so much as a safe-place that the students truly were isolated from any racial violence taking place. In this case, the school would have been insular enough that the students would have thought of these situations as simply isolated incidents.

Final Depositional Event

Evidence of the final deposition of the school was discovered in both Locus H and Locus J. A high concentration of flat glass and roofing shingles were excavated from both loci. A high concentration of wire nails were also found in both loci. A total of 1612 pieces of flat glass were excavated from the unit and a total of 2928.8 grams of roofing shingles were excavated from the outlying areas of the school (Figure 25), as opposed to no roofing shingles and only six pieces of glass in the preceding level. A high concentration of nails was also present in the level as seen in Table 6. The level above the final depositional event contained 5 wire nails while the level below the final depositional event contained 11 wire nails. However, the level containing other artifacts related to the final depositional event included 135 nails (47 of which were tin roofing nails). In Locus J, the associated trash found with the roofing shingles and glass, including pencil lead, erasers and buttons indicates the presence of a large group of people in the area for a relatively short period of time. The destruction of the school would most likely have been a

community project, with all able-bodies assisting in tearing down the school. In the level below the layer of flat lying glass and shingles, more artifacts related to the depositional event were discovered including fish scales, a shoelace and broken pieces of eggshell. These particular artifacts could have belonged to various community members helping with the destruction of the school.

In Locus H, the associated artifacts also indicate the presence of the community in the destruction of the school. As was the case in Locus J, a large amount of flat glass, wire nails and flat-lying roofing shingles were excavated from the Locus H privy (Figure 26). While no nails were discovered in the level above the roofing shingles, 145 were discovered in that level. Large pieces of metal were also discovered, as was a desk frame just under the layer of roofing shingles. Since this privy was operational during the lifespan of the school, the refuse from the destroyed school must have been discarded into the privy on purpose. The nails found in the accompanying levels also point to a collapse of the privy. In the final four levels, a total of 293 nails were found compared to the only 158 nails found in the levels above.

Figure 25: Final depositional event in Locus J

Figure 26: Final depositional event in the Locus H privy

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

Through the combination of archaeological excavation, oral histories and documentary records, Morganza Elementary was determined to be a type of 'safe-space' for the African American community of Morganza. The archaeological record indicates that the school was a place that not only promoted the educational uplift of African Americans, but also a place that protected children from racial violence and oppression. In order to understand the community, the role of the school as a center of both education and community involvement must be understood.

The goal of this thesis was to determine what life was like within Morganza Elementary throughout its occupation. As mentioned previously, the specific research questions were: (1) What were the educational conditions of Morganza Elementary? (2) How different were the educations of African American children compared to contemporaneous white students? (3) What were the cultural interactions between African Americans and the white European American community? (4) What were the interactions within the African American community? (5) How will the cultural identity of African Americans residing in Morganza be expressed through the archaeological record? The conclusions to these questions are summarized below.

The educational conditions of Morganza Elementary were limited. As evidenced by the 1920s-era desk frames and discovery of one fountain pen and one ink well, the supplies at the school were inadequate. In addition to the 1920s-era desk frames, a modern aluminum desk leg was discovered from the same approximate time period, indicating the use of various 'hand-me-down' school supplies. While pencil fragments were quite common throughout the site, slate and chalk were found in small amounts. Based on this evidence, it appears that until the rise in popularity of pencil and paper, students were unable to each have their own chalkboard and

chalk. This method of teaching was quite common in the same time period, in better funded schools.

Despite limited educational conditions, evidence of industrial arts training was discovered archaeologically. The presence of industrial arts education is quite indicative of the time period in which it took place. During the heyday of Morganza Elementary, the Hampton-Tuskegee model of vocational training was becoming more and more popular among African American secondary and college-level educational institutions. Due to this shift in curriculum ideas, Southern University played a predominate role in fostering training and outreach programs in rural areas of Louisiana.

As mentioned earlier, no excavation took place at a contemporaneous white school. However, based on the relative economic scale of the artifacts discovered as well as the general lack of artifacts discovered, it can be assumed that Morganza Elementary was underfunded as compared to white schools in Pointe Coupee Parish. This is confirmed by parish documents which state that approximately 88% percent of funds were funneled to white schools while only 12% were given to black schools, despite black schools outnumbering white schools in both facilities and number of pupils (Foote and Lewis 1938). According to the same parish document (Foote and Lewis 1938), Morganza Elementary was valued at $3000, indicating that the facilities were better-funded than most African American schools. Yet, based on the lack of schoolhouse related artifacts discovered across the site, it can be assumed that the school possessed fewer actual supplies than white schools within Pointe Coupee Parish.

While information on the cultural interaction between African Americans and Europeans was very limited within the archaeological record itself, oral history and documentary information was the crux for information regarding this specific research question. Indication of industrial arts training was discovered archaeologically. While the later operational years of the

school saw training in traditional subjects (math, science, English, social studies, etc.), the early years of the school saw industrial arts take precedence over such subjects. The presence of industrial arts training shows the inherent racism within both the parish and the school board during the time period. African Americans were not thought to have a need for traditional subjects and were encouraged to learn a trade and even skip school to participate in the annual sugar cane harvest.

Based on archaeologically-discovered faunal remains as well as food-related artifacts, the people of Morganza were consuming a diet based off of both Cajun and Creole dietary choices. Poor cuts of meat, traditional animals (alligator, etc.) and a glass shard embossed with "Roux" indicate that Cajun cuisine was a preference for the majority African American Creole population. Due to this, it is clear that the African American population of Morganza had enough interaction with the white community to adopt certain dietary choices and preferences that would otherwise not be in the traditional repertoire.

While oral history interviewees initially said that relations between African Americans and whites were fine and that Morganza "never had any trouble," upon further questioning, interviewees would tell stories that clearly indicate this was not the case. Stories were told in a joking manner, despite the seriousness of the situation. A cross was burned in the front yard of the school and other area schools saw picketing and even rioting. Evidence of Civil Rights-era violence was discovered archaeologically as well. Two .22 bullets were discovered within a large layer of shattered window flat glass. While no oral history stories were linked directly to this incident, it can be assumed that the destruction of the window was both purposeful and not conducted by the African American community, based on the importance of the school to the community. The denials of racial violence within the community by former students shows the degree to which racial violence still affects African American communities as a whole.

Interactions within the African American community were clearly visible within the archaeological record and through oral history interviews. In one specific case, oral histories did not match archaeological evidence. Artifacts relating to the practice of Voodoo and hoodoo were discovered throughout the site. While no traditional artifacts (pierced coins, rosaries, chicken gizzards) were found, objects used for rituals such as bluing liquid, Dr. Tichenors, Vaseline and a large assortment of whiskey bottles were indications of the presence of Voodoo and/or hoodoo. In the same vein, oral histories did imply the presence of ethnomedicinal practices. Healing techniques such as using a spiderweb and kerosene to clean a wound were revealed through these interviews. Artifacts such as unlabeled prescription medicine bottles show that the community was still connected to their African roots through medicinal practices.

Through oral histories, it is clear that the school not only functioned as an educational facility, but also as a gathering center for the community as a whole. This evidenced by the large amount of faunal remains discovered throughout the site, as well as the variety found. Cuts of meat indicated a general preference towards stews or other traditional gathering foods such as ribs or chicken wings. However, no wild game traditionally associated with soul food (such as raccoon or opossum) were found archaeologically. It is believed that due to the 'racial uplift' idea promoted by Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee-Hampton model of education that such foods were not considered appropriate in order to rise above poverty.

Archaeological evidence also showed the community involvement with the final destruction of the school. Within the large amount of architectural artifacts (roofing shingles, glass, structural and roofing nails), artifacts such as faunal remains, egg shells and a shoelace were discovered. Since the original wooden boards of the schoolhouse were used to construct a house currently located across the street from the site, indications point to a large amount of community involvement within all aspects of the school, including its final destruction.

While the oral history interview indicated that students either ate lunch at home or at one of the two cafés near the school, the large amount of mason jars found archaeologically indicate that the community may have been involved in the feeding of the children of Morganza. While these jars could be more evidence of industrial arts training, the idea of the community participating in feeding the students would make sense with respect to the place that the school held within the community.

The cultural identity of the African American residents of Morganza and the students and teachers of Morganza Elementary were also evident within the archaeological record. The toys that were discovered archaeologically show that the children of Morganza were on par with national trends in toys. Trends such as cowboys and Indians, Mickey Mouse, space travel and sports were all shown within the archaeological record. Despite marbles being the most prevalent toy found within the site, no clay marbles were discovered. Only modern, machine-made marbles were discovered.

The excavation of Morganza Elementary (16PC86) has shown the value of historical archaeology in terms of revealing previously unknown information. While indications of industrial arts training were not revealed within oral history information, the archaeological investigation of the site clearly shows that such activities were taking place. This information can then be tied to the community as a whole and ultimately, national trends. In the case of Morganza Elementary, the industrial arts training could be tied to rural outreach programs through historically black colleges. This trend could then be tied to the national movement of African American vocational training.

As a whole, this project has preserved the knowledge and history of Morganza Elementary for the community. Since very few documentary records exist, the history of the school has previously been only in the minds in former students and older community members.

Given that the school played such an integral role within the community as a whole as well as in the lives of all the former students, the history of the school is essential in essential in understanding the Morganza of today. Through the use of documentary evidence, oral history information and archaeological excavation, the history of Morganza Elementary can now be preserved for the community.

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Appendix A: Nail Assemblage

Locus	Unit	Level	Number of Nails		Locus	Unit	Level	Number of Nails
E	1	2	4		I	1	2	5
E	1	3	12		I	1	4	3
E	1	4	15		I	1	5	24
E	1	5	1		I	1	6	2
E	2	2	12					Total: 34
E	2	3	35					
E	2	5	12		J	1	1	1
E	2	6	8		J	1	2	5
E	2	7	1		J	1	3	135
E	3	1	7		J	1	4	11
E	3	2	12		J	2	3	13
E	3	3	4		J	2	4	1
E	4	2	23		J	2	5	2
E	4	3	11					Total: 168
E	5	2	28					
E	5	3	18		K	1	4	9
E	5	4	6		K	1	5	1
			Total: 209		K	1	3	6
								Total: 16
F	1	2	36					
F	2	12	3		M	1	1	7
F	3	2	13		M	1	2	2
F	3	3	14		M	1	3	34
F	4	1	7		M	1	5	31
F	4	2	4		M	1	7	12
F	4	3	18		M	1	9	42
			Total: 95					Total: 128
G	1	2	4		N	1	1	10
G	1	3	5		N	1	2	3
G	1	6	14		N	1	3	46
G	1	7	9		N	1	4	20
G	1	8	1					Total: 79
G	1	9	23					
G	1	10	2		O	1	2	10
G	1	12	19		O	1	3	10
G	1	14	47		O	1	5	3
G	1	15	75		O	1	6	4

G	1	17	81		O	1	7	4
Locus	Unit	Level	Number of Nails		Locus	Unit	Level	Number of Nails
G	1	18	90		O	1	8	8
G	1	19	20		O	1	9	8
G	2	2	7		O	1	10	3
G	2	4	9					Total: 50
G	2	6	6					
G	2	8	8					
			Total: 420					
H	1	2	18					
H	1	3	11					
H	1	4	18					
H	1	5	9					
H	1	6	38					
H	1	7	13					
H	1	8	21					
H	1	9	30					
H	1	11	145					
H	1	12	8					
H	1	13	11					
			Total: 322					

Appendix B: Faunal Assemblage

Locus	Unit	Level	Class	Type	Variety	Description	Count
E	1	4	Aves	Noel Humerus	Mallard Duck	polished	1
E	1	4	Aves	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
E	1	4	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		7
E	1	4	Mammal	Pelvis	Cow	sliced	1
E	1	4	Mammal	Tibia	Pig		1
E	2	2	Mammal	Cranial	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	3	Amphibian	Pelvis	Frog/Toad		1
E	2	3	Aves	Tibiotarsus	Chicken		1
E	2	3	Aves	Ribs	Chicken		1
E	2	3	Fish	Scales	Gar		1
E	2	3	Fish	Vertebrae	Gar		1
E	2	3	Mammal	Tooth	Pig		1
E	2	3	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	3	Mammal	Pelvis	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	3	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		4
E	2	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		12
E	2	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	5	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	5	Mammal	Pelvis	Cow	cut	1
E	2	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	6	Fish	Scales	Gar		5
E	2	6	Mammal	Canine	Pig	polished	1
E	2	6	Mammal	Astragalus	Deer		1
E	2	6	Mammal	Calcaneous	Deer	cut	1
E	2	6	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	6	Reptile	Femur	Alligator		9
E	2	6	UNKNOWN	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		3
E	2	6	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
E	2	6	UNKNOWN	Ribs	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	7	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	7	Fish	Scales	Gar		3
E	2	7	Mammal	Phalynx	UNKNOWN		1
E	2	7	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	cut	1
	2	7	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2

Locus	Unit	Level	Class	Type	Variety	Description	Count
E	2	7	Reptile	Vertebrae	Turtle		1
E	4	2	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
E	4	4	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
E	4	4	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		1
E	5	2	Mammal	Ribs	Cow	sliced	1
E	5	2	Mammal	Radius	Pig		1
E	5	3	Mammal	Sacrum	Pig		12
E	5	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
F	1	2	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		5
F	1	5	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		3
F	2	2	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
F	2	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		26
F	2	15	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	burned	9
F	3	2	Mammal	Noel Humerus	Deer		1
F	3	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	cut	1
F	3	6	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	cut	1
F	3	6	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
F	4	3	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
F	4	3	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
G	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
G	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		4
G	1	5	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		31
G	1	7	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	burned, polished	1
G	1	7	Fish	Cranial	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	7	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	cut	3
G	1	7	Mammal	Ribs	Pig	cut	1
G	1	7	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
G	1	7	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		5
G	1	9	Aves	Corocoid	Chicken		2
G	1	9	Fish	Spine	Drum		2
G	1	9	Mammal	Pelvis	Cow		1
G	1	9	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	9	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	9	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		7
G	1	9	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		1
G	1	9	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		17
G	1	10	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	cut	1
G	1	12	Mammal	Noel Humerus	Deer		1

Locus	Unit	Level	Class	Type	Variety	Description	Count
G	1	12	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		17
G	1	12	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	cut	2
G	1	12	UNKNOWN	Epiphysis	UNKNOWN	burned	1
G	1	12	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		13
G	1	16	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		18
G	1	16	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	burned	1
G	1	17	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	17	Fish	Spine (Fin)	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	17	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
G	1	20	Aves	Tibiotarsus	Chicken		1
G	1	20	Aves	Femur	Chicken		1
G	2	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	sliced	2
G	2	2	Mammal	Ribs	Cow	sliced	2
G	2	2	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		1
G	2	2	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
G	2	3	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		5
G	2	4	Mammal	Pelvis	Cow		2
G	2	4	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
G	2	8	Mammal	Metapodial	Deer	eroded	3
G	2	8	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	eroded	18
H	1	2	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
H	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
H	1	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		6
H	1	5	UNKNOWN	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
H	1	6	Aves	Corocoid	Chicken		1
H	1	6	Aves	Carpometacarpus	Turkey	cut	1
H	1	6	Aves	Femur	Chicken		2
H	1	6	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
H	1	6	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
H	1	6	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		10
H	1	7	Mammal	Tibia	Cow	shank, cut	1
H	1	8	Mammal	Sacrum	Cow		1
H	1	8	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
H	1	11	Mammal	Ribs	Deer	burned, cut	1
H	1	13	Mammal	Noel Humerus	Juvenile Cow	Epiphysis	1
H	1	13	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
H	1	13	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
H	2	2	Mammal	Long Bone	Deer		1
H	2	2	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		9

Locus	Unit	Level	Class	Type	Taxa	Description	Count
H	2	3	Mammal	Noel Humerus	Pig	cut	1
H	2	3	Mammal	Scapula	Deer		1
H	2	3	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
H	2	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
H	2	6	Mammal	Vertebrae	UNKNOWN		1
H	2	7	Mammal	Radius	Cow	sliced	1
H	2	7	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
H	2	7	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
I	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
I	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	burned	1
I	1	5	Aves	Ulna	Turkey	polished	5
I	1	5	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		6
I	1	5	Aves	Phalynx	Turkey		4
I	1	5	Fish	Spine	UNKNOWN		1
I	1	5	UNKNOWN	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		2
I	1	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
I	1	5	UNKNOWN	Ribs	UNKNOWN		1
J	1	1	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	burned	1
J	1	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
J	1	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	rodent gnawing	2
J	1	3	Mammal	Noel Humerus	UNKNOWN		1
J	1	3	Mammal	Carpus/Tarsal	UNKNOWN	Epiphysis	3
J	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		4
J	1	4	Fish	Scales	Gar		3
J	1	4	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle		2
J	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		8
J	1	5	Mammal	Vertebrae	Pig		1
J	1	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
J	2	3	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
J	2	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
J	2	5	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	cut	1
J	2	7	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
K	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
K	1	4	Fish	Scales	Gar	burned	20
K	1	4	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
K	1	4	Mammal	Phalynx	Pig		1
K	1	4	Mammal	Vertebrae	Pig		1
K	1	5	Reptile	Carapace	Turtle	burned	2

Locus	Unit	Level	Class	Type	Taxa	Description	Count
K	1	7	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		4
K	1	7	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	burned	2
M	1	1	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		6
M	1	2	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		5
M	1	3	Reptile	Femur	Alligator		5
M	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		6
M	1	4	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
M	1	5	Mammal	Metapodial	Cow	cut	9
M	1	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
M	1	5	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	cut	1
M	1	6	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
M	1	6	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		4
M	1	9	Aves	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
M	1	9	Aves	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	1	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	2	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	2	UNKNOWN	Epiphysis	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	2	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	3	Mammal	Noel Humerus	Cow		1
N	1	3	Mammal	Vertebrae	Cow		3
N	1	3	Mammal	Ribs	Cow		2
N	1	3	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	sliced	1
N	1	3	Mammal	Cranium	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	3	Mammal	Epiphysis	UNKNOWN		1
N	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		9
N	1	4	Mammal	Ribs	UNKNOWN		1
O	1	3	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		2
O	1	7	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN		3
O	1	8	Fish	Spine	Drum		1
O	1	8	Mammal	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN		3
O	1	9	Mammal	Long Bone	UNKNOWN	cut	2

VITA

Dena Lyn Struchtemeyer was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama. In 2003, she entered The University of Alabama and graduated in 2006 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in anthropology. In the fall of 2006, she moved to Louisiana and entered the graduate program at LSU. Her interests lie in historical archaeology, women and children in the archaeological record and African American archaeology.