

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA**

PRESS ROBINSON, EDGAR CAGE,
DOROTHY NAIRNE, EDWIN RENE
SOULE, ALICE WASHINGTON, CLEE
EARNEST LOWE, DAVANTE LEWIS,
MARTHA DAVIS, AMBROSE SIMS,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
("NAACP") LOUISIANA STATE
CONFERENCE, AND POWER COALITION
FOR EQUITY AND JUSTICE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana,

Defendant.

Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB

EDWARD GALMON, SR., CIARA HART,
NORRIS HENDERSON, TRAMELLE
HOWARD,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana,

Defendant.

Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00214-SDD-RLB

PLAINTIFFS' JOINT PREHEARING BRIEF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES ii

BACKGROUND 2

ARGUMENT..... 5

I. The Remedial Plan provides Black voters an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice in an additional congressional district and respects traditional redistricting principles. 5

 A. The Remedial Plan will reliably provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice in two congressional districts. 6

 B. The Remedial Plan adheres to Louisiana’s redistricting principles. 8

II. Defendants offer no valid objections to the Remedial Plan. 10

 A. Race did not predominate in the Remedial Plan. 11

 B. Defendants’ community of interest arguments are based on cherry-picked data points that bear no resemblance to Louisiana mapping criteria. 16

CONCLUSION..... 20

TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

	Page(s)
Cases	
<i>Allen v. Milligan</i> , 599 U.S. 1 (2023).....	12, 16
<i>Connor v. Finch</i> , 431 U.S. 407 (1977).....	1
<i>LULAC v. Perry</i> , 548 U.S. 399 (2006).....	15, 16
<i>Miller v. Johnson</i> , 515 U.S. 900 (1995).....	16
<i>Miss. State Chapter Operation Push, Inc. v. Mabus</i> , 932 F.2d 400 (5th Cir. 1991)	5
<i>Singleton v. Allen</i> , No. 2:21-cv-1291-AMM, 2023 WL 5691156 (N.D. Ala. Sept. 5, 2023), <i>stay denied</i> , 2023 WL 6218394 (U.S. Sept. 26, 2023)	11
<i>United States v. Brown</i> , 561 F.3d 420 (5th Cir. 2009)	5
<i>Veasey v. Abbott</i> , 830 F.3d 216 (5th Cir. 2016) (en banc), <i>cert. denied</i> , 137 S. Ct. 612 (2017).....	5
Statutes & Rules	
Voting Rights Act of 1965 Section 2.....	1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 19
Joint R. of the Louisiana Legislature No. 21	8

Having found that Louisiana’s enacted congressional plan likely violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, *see generally* Rec. Doc. No. 173—and the Louisiana Legislature having forfeited its opportunity to adopt a lawful plan—this Court must now remedy the Section 2 violation by ordering a districting plan that complies with the Voting Rights Act and the U.S. Constitution. *See Connor v. Finch*, 431 U.S. 407, 415 (1977). Plaintiffs’ proposal (the “Remedial Plan”) does just that. It closely tracks an illustrative configuration of Congressional District (“CD”) 5 that this Court has already found to satisfy all relevant legal requirements, reflecting only slight adjustments that better preserve political-subdivision boundaries and render the state’s other Black-opportunity district, CD-2, more compact. It also performs equal to or better than the state’s enacted plan in its adherence to traditional redistricting criteria by ensuring that the districts are comparably or more compact, split fewer political subdivisions, and better preserve communities of interest. And the Remedial Plan cures the enacted plan’s violation of federal law, providing Black Louisianians an equal opportunity to elect their candidates of choice in a second congressional district.

Defendants cannot meaningfully dispute any of these elements, and they have failed to offer *any* alternative districting plan. Instead, they seek to turn back the clock and relitigate whether Plaintiffs are entitled to any remedy at all. But that question has already been settled—definitively, for purposes of the preliminary injunction—by this Court’s thorough liability-phase ruling. The sole issue presently before this Court is whether Plaintiff’s Remedial Plan is consistent with that ruling and cures the violation of federal law. It is and it does. The Court should order Louisiana’s congressional elections to be conducted according to the Remedial Plan pending final judgment on the merits.

BACKGROUND

Following a five-day hearing where this Court heard testimony from 21 witnesses and admitted 232 exhibits—including 14 expert reports—into the record, the Court ruled on June 6, 2022, that “Plaintiffs are substantially likely to prevail on the merits of their claims brought under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act” and preliminarily enjoined Secretary of State Kyle Ardoin “from conducting any congressional elections under the map enacted by the Louisiana Legislature in H.B. 1.” Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 2. In its order, the Court made several findings that remain controlling here.

First, the Court found that Louisiana’s Black Voting Age Population (“BVAP”) is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a second majority-minority congressional district. *See id.* at 88–90. The Court explained, “[t]he relevant question is whether the [Black] population is sufficiently compact to make up a second majority-minority congressional district in a certain area of the state. The fact that Plaintiffs’ illustrative maps feature districts with 50% + BVAP while scoring well on statistical measures of compactness is the best evidence of compactness.” *Id.* at 96 (emphasis omitted). As the Court recognized, “Defendants did not meaningfully refute or challenge” this evidence. *Id.* at 92.

The Court’s finding that Plaintiffs’ illustrative maps were sufficiently compact was also informed by a visual inspection and analysis of traditional districting principles. *Id.* at 99. The Court found that the illustrative plans were “visually more compact” than the enacted plan and respected political subdivisions and communities of interest. *Id.* at 99–100. Recognizing that there is no universally agreed upon definition of “communities of interest,” the Court found that “Plaintiffs’ maps split locally relevant areas less often than the enacted map,” and their plans “consider and preserve communities of interest to a practical extent.” *Id.* at 100, 102–03.

Second, the Court rejected Defendants’ arguments that Plaintiffs’ illustrative maps represented racial gerrymanders. *See id.* at 106–19. The Court evaluated Louisiana congressional maps from the 1990s that were deemed unlawful, and it found that Plaintiffs’ illustrative maps were fundamentally different. *Id.* at 106–10. It concluded, “There is *no factual evidence* that race predominated in the creation of the illustrative maps in this case. Defendants’ purported evidence of racial predomin[ance] amounts to nothing more than their misconstruing any mention of race by Plaintiffs’ expert witnesses as evidence of racial predomin[ance].” *Id.* at 116 (emphasis in original). In fact, “Plaintiffs’ expert witnesses William Cooper and Anthony Fairfax explicitly and credibly testified that they did not allow race to predominate over traditional districting principles as they developed their illustrative plans.” *Id.* “[I]f Plaintiffs’ experts engaged in race-predominant map drawing,” the Court explained, “their illustrative plans would surely betray this imbalanced approach by being significantly less compact, by disregarding communities of interest, or some other flaw. But the Court found that Plaintiffs’ plans outperformed the enacted plan on every relevant criteria.” *Id.* at 118.

The Court explicitly rejected Defendants’ accusation that Plaintiffs’ illustrative maps “pick up areas of BVAP with ‘surgical precision’ and unite far-flung areas with little in common.” *Id.* It noted that “including East Baton Rouge Parish and the Delta Parishes in the same district” is not the “cardinal sin” that Defendants make it out to be. *Id.* at 110. Instead, the Court found that the testimony of citizen witnesses including Christopher Tyson “contributed meaningfully to an understanding of communities of interest.” *Id.* at 101. Mr. Tyson’s testimony, in turn, “illustrated a historical link that gives rise to enduring connections between Baton Rouge and the Delta region.” *Id.* at 38.

Third, the Court found that “Black voters in Louisiana are politically cohesive,” *id.* at 123, and that “White voters consistently bloc vote to defeat the candidates of choice of Black voters,” *id.* at 124. Crediting the analysis of Plaintiffs’ experts Dr. Max Palmer and Dr. Lisa Handley, the Court concluded, “Plaintiffs’ illustrative districts would not be opportunity districts in name only but would actually perform to allow Black voters a genuine opportunity to elect the candidate of their choice.” *Id.*

Fourth, the Court found “that Plaintiffs have established that they are substantially likely to prevail in showing that the totality of the circumstances weighs in their favor.” *Id.* at 127; *see also id.* at 127–41 (analyzing evidence of VRA Senate Factors and proportionality, and finding the most important factors “weigh[] heavily in favor of Plaintiffs”).

Based on these findings, the Court “preliminarily enjoin[ed] Secretary Ardoin from conducting any congressional elections under the map enacted by the Louisiana Legislature in H.B. 1,” and ordered that a proper remedy must include an additional majority-Black congressional district. *Id.* at 2. The Court provided the Legislature an opportunity to enact a new congressional map this is compliant with federal law, noting that judicial adoption of a remedial map would “become[] necessary only if the Legislature fails to adopt its own remedial map.” *Id.* at 151–52. The Legislature failed to do so. The Court then invited Plaintiffs and Defendants to propose a remedial map. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 206. Again, Defendants failed to do so. On June 22, 2022, Plaintiffs submitted a proposed map drawn by Anthony Fairfax, the same map-drawer deemed credible at the liability-phase hearing, that was adapted with minimal changes from one of the illustrative plans he had previously submitted. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 225.

The preliminary injunction was stayed for a full year pending the Supreme Court’s resolution of a parallel matter out of Alabama. *See* Rec. Doc. Nos. 227, 239. When proceedings

resumed, Plaintiffs were offered a choice between renewing their request that the Court enter the Remedial Plan proposed in June 2022, or postponing the rescheduled remedial hearing and submitting a new proposed plan. Wary of Defendants' consistent efforts to delay these proceedings, including their efforts to delay the entry of any remedy, Plaintiffs chose the option that left the least room for more obstruction and opted to proceed with the Court's hearing on the Remedial Plan. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 274. Defendants again have not proposed a remedial map, and in the three-plus months since the Supreme Court stay was lifted the Legislature has taken no steps to adopt a complaint plan. Thus, the only proposed remedial map before the Court is the Remedial Plan prepared by Mr. Fairfax and submitted by Plaintiffs.

ARGUMENT

I. The Remedial Plan provides Black voters an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice in an additional congressional district and respects traditional redistricting principles.

Having found a likely violation of federal law, the Court's "first and foremost obligation is to correct the Section 2 violation." *Veasey v. Abbott*, 830 F.3d 216, 269 (5th Cir. 2016) (en banc) (cleaned up), *cert. denied*, 137 S. Ct. 612 (2017). As the Fifth Circuit has explained, "The court should exercise its traditional equitable powers to fashion the relief so that it *completely remedies the prior dilution of minority voting strength and fully provides equal opportunity for minority citizens* to participate and to elect candidates of their choice." *Miss. State Chapter Operation Push, Inc. v. Mabus*, 932 F.2d 400, 406 (5th Cir. 1991) (quoting S. Rep. No. 97-417, at 31 (1982)) (emphases added); *see also United States v. Brown*, 561 F.3d 420, 435–38 (5th Cir. 2009) (holding district court did not abuse its discretion in fashioning a remedial order upon considering remedies proposed by parties and testimony at two evidentiary hearings). Because the Remedial Plan—the only party proposal before the Court—completely remedies the Section 2 violation, the Court should order its interim adoption.

A. The Remedial Plan will reliably provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidate of choice in two congressional districts.

The Remedial Plan will remedy the Section 2 violation by providing Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice in two of Louisiana's six districts: CD-2, which is based in New Orleans and the River Parishes, and CD-5, which is centered around Baton Rouge and the Delta Parishes. *See* Palmer Rep., Ex. A; Rec. Doc. No. 225-2 (“Handley Rep.”).

At the liability-phase hearing, Defendants stipulated to Plaintiffs' tender of Dr. Max Palmer as an expert in redistricting with an emphasis in racially polarized voting and data analysis. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 51. The Court credited Dr. Palmer's opinions and conclusions, “finding that his methods were sound and reliable,” and his “testimony was clear and straightforward, raising no issues that would cause the Court to question his credibility.” *Id.* at 121. To analyze the Remedial Plan, Dr. Palmer applied precinct-level election results from the 2012–2020 general elections to the proposed boundaries of CD-2 and CD-5. Palmer Rep. ¶¶ 3–6. He found that the Black-preferred candidates would almost always have won in both districts. *Id.* ¶ 7. Specifically, Dr. Palmer found that Black-preferred candidates would have prevailed in 17 out of 18 election contests in proposed CD-2, with an average vote share of 64%, and in 15 out of 18 elections in proposed CD-5, with an average vote share of 57%. *Id.* ¶¶ 7–8. This shows that both CD-2 and CD-5 in the Remedial Plan will reliably provide Black voters the opportunity to elect their preferred candidates. *Id.* ¶ 9.

The Court also accepted Dr. Handley at the liability-phase hearing as an expert in redistricting with an emphasis in racially polarized voting, crediting her testimony as “thorough, careful, well-supported by data, facts and soundly reasoned.” Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 121. Dr. Handley's analysis also demonstrates that Black-preferred candidates will generally be able to win elections in both CD-5 and CD-2 in the Remedial Plan. Upon reviewing recompiled election results

from 16 past statewide elections (including, most recently, the November 2022 election for U.S. Senate), Dr. Handley concluded that Black-preferred candidates in the Remedial Plan's CD-5 are likely to win or advance to the runoff 86.7% of the time, and are likely to win in two-candidate contests 77.8% of the time. Handley Rep. at Table 1. In the Remedial Plan's CD-2, Dr. Handley found that the Black-preferred candidate is likely to win 100% of the time.¹ *See id.* Dr. Handley also conducted a racial bloc voting analysis of the voting patterns in the Remedial Plan's CD-5 and found that voting in that geographic area is consistently and markedly polarized. Handley Suppl. Rep., Ex. B at 1.

Dr. Handley also conducted an analysis showing that, under these circumstances, the area of Remedial CD-5 would need to be majority-Black in order to provide a reasonable opportunity for Black voters to elect their candidates of choice. *See* Handley Rep. at 2–7. As Dr. Handley's analysis shows, if the Remedial Plan's CD-5 had a BVAP of 45%, the Black-preferred candidate would win only three out of the 13 analyzed contests (23%), but if its BVAP were 50%, then the Black-preferred candidate would win seven out of the 13 contests (54%). *Id.* at 7. As this Court has previously noted, Dr. Handley's analysis "inherently" accounts for white crossover voting and demonstrates that white crossover voting is not sufficient to "swing the election for the Black-preferred candidate." Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 126; *see also* Handley Rep. at 4–5.

¹ As Dr. Handley explained in her initial report, Effective Score #1 indicates the percent of statewide election contests that the Black-preferred would have won or advanced to a runoff based on votes cast in the different congressional districts analyzed. Effective Score #2 reports the percent of two-candidate statewide elections that the Black-preferred candidate would have won. In her initial report, Dr. Handley analyzed 15 statewide racially polarized elections, including nine two-candidate elections in which the Black-preferred candidate would have won. In her supplemental report, Dr. Handley revised the effectiveness scores by including the November 2022 U.S. Senate election and excluding one of the nine contests originally included in Effectiveness Score #2.

In sum, the performance analyses conducted by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Handley demonstrate that the Remedial Plan remedies the likely vote dilution by affording Black voters an additional, meaningful opportunity to elect their preferred candidates. Defendants have not proffered any alternative remedial plan and have provided no expert testimony disputing the conclusions reached by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Handley.

B. The Remedial Plan adheres to Louisiana’s redistricting principles.

Plaintiffs have further established that the vote dilution of the enacted map can be cured in accordance with traditional districting principles. As described in his affidavit accompanying the Remedial Plan, Mr. Fairfax maintained the configuration of CD-5 from his Illustrative Plan 2A, which included the Delta Parishes in the north and Baton Rouge in the south. Mr. Fairfax modified the district to account for population equality and better adhere to traditional redistricting criteria. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 225-1 ¶¶ 3, 10–12 (“Fairfax Rep.”). Mr. Fairfax also made minor revisions to CD-2, including revisions to take account of testimony from the preliminary injunction hearing regarding communities of interest in the River Parishes and Assumption Parish in CD-2 and to increase the district’s compactness. Under the Remedial Plan, both CD-2 and CD-5 are majority-Black districts, with 51.26% BVAP and 51.98% BVAP respectively. Fairfax Rep. at Table 4.

The end result is a Remedial Plan that performs as well as or better than the Enacted Plan on race-neutral criteria and the Louisiana Legislature’s policy objectives codified in Joint Rule No. 21. In particular:

Compactness. The Remedial Plan is more compact on the whole than the Enacted Plan. Remedial CD-5 follows the Mississippi River and is comparable in geographic compactness to Enacted CD-5. Remedial CD-2, meanwhile, is significantly more compact than Enacted CD-2. *See* Fairfax Rep. at Table 1, Table 2.

Parish Splits. The Remedial Plan splits fewer parishes plan-wide in CD-2 and modestly more parishes in CD-5 compared to the Enacted Plan, HB 1. The Remedial Plan splits four parishes in CD-2 and five parishes in CD-5. In contrast, HB 1 splits nine parishes in CD-2 and two parishes in CD-5. Fairfax Rep. at Table 3. Plan-wide, the Remedial Plan has 11 parish splits, compared to 15 in the HB 1 plan. *Id.* at Table 1.

Preservation of Communities of Interest. The Court previously concluded that “Plaintiffs made a strong showing that their [illustrative] maps respect [communities of interest] and even unite communities of interest that are not drawn together in the enacted map.” Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 103. The Remedial Plan likewise maintains communities of interest in both CD-5 (including the communities in and around East Baton Rouge and the Delta Parishes) and CD-2 (including New Orleans and the River Parishes). *See* Ex. F at 184:14–190:23 (testimony of Charles Cravins discussing connections between St. Landry Parish and Baton Rouge); *id.* at 216:21–219:19 (testimony of Christopher Tyson discussing connections between Baton Rouge and Delta Parishes); *id.* at 68:3–70:3 (testimony of Dr. Dorothy Nairne discussing connections between New Orleans and River Parishes); *id.* at 202:24–203:7 (testimony of Ashley Shelton discussing the communities of Baton Rouge). The Remedial Plan also puts the state’s two distinct metropolitan centers, New Orleans and Baton Rouge, into two separate districts. *See id.* at 49:23–50:9 (testimony of Michael McClanahan discussing the distinctions between New Orleans and Baton Rouge); *id.* at 220:2–223:14 (testimony of Christopher Tyson distinguishing between the interests of Black voters in Baton Rouge and New Orleans).

Other Redistricting Criteria. As outlined in the chart below, the Remedial Plan performs as well as or better than HB 1 across a range of other traditional redistricting criteria:

Table 1: Comparison of Remedial Plan and HB 1		
Criteria	Remedial Plan	HB1 Plan
Population Deviation	61	65
Contiguity	Y	Y
VTD Splits	0	0
COI Census Places Splits	27	32
COI Landmark Splits	58	58
Compactness (mean) Roeck, Polsby-Popper, Convex Hull	.40, .20, 70	.37, .14, and .62
Fracking (Total Pieces)	12	17

At bottom, the Remedial Plan fully and fairly remedies the Section 2 violation with a second congressional district in which Black voters have the opportunity to elect their candidates of choice in a plan that adheres to traditional redistricting principles as well as or better than the enacted congressional map.

II. Defendants offer no valid objections to the Remedial Plan.

As the Court has remarked, “[t]his case has been extensively litigated,” such that “[t]he *only remaining issue* is the selection of a [remedial] congressional districting map,” which the Court recognized as “a limited inquiry.” Rec. Doc. No. 267 at 1–2 (emphasis added). Many of the issues that Defendants seek to challenge now—such as whether the configuration of proposed CD-5 is a racial gerrymander, fails to protect a community of interest, or is insufficiently compact—have already been resolved and are no longer subject to dispute in this Court. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 88–118. Notably, the three-judge panel adjudicating the parallel Section 2 challenge in

Alabama recently chastised defendants there for attempting the same rewind that Defendants have planned here. *See Singleton v. Allen*, Nos. 2:21-cv-1291-AMM, 2:21-cv-1530-AMM, 2023 WL 5691156, *9 (N.D. Ala. Sept. 5, 2023), *stay denied*, 2023 WL 6218394 (U.S. Sept. 26, 2023) (“We reiterated that the remedial proceedings would not relitigate the findings made in connection with the previous liability determination.”); *id.* at *45 (emphasizing again that “it would be unprecedented for us to relitigate the Section Two violation during remedial proceedings”). Defendants’ attempt to repackage their Section 2 *liability* arguments as an attack on Plaintiffs’ proposed *Remedial* Plan falls outside the scope of these proceedings and has no bearing on the viability of that Plan.

Notably, Defendants’ witnesses have nothing to say about whether the Remedial Plan cures the likely Section 2 violation by providing Black voters in Louisiana an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice—the primary question currently before the Court. Instead, their disputes with the Remedial Plan reflect little more than misplaced objections to the need to create an additional opportunity district in the first place.

A. Race did not predominate in the Remedial Plan.

Defendants advance the same refrain they harped on during the liability phase, insisting that race predominates in the Remedial Plan just like they insisted race predominated in the illustrative plans. This Court rejected that claim once with respect to the illustrative plans, and Defendants offer no evidence supporting a different result for the Remedial Plan.

As this Court observed, “[t]he Supreme Court explicitly acknowledges that some *consideration* of race is permissible in the context of the Voting Rights Act” and “lower courts have recognized the sound logic of this ‘obvious’ result.” Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 111. The Supreme Court recently reaffirmed this principle, explaining that “for the last four decades, this Court and the lower federal courts . . . have authorized race-based redistricting as a remedy for state

districting maps that violate § 2.” *Allen v. Milligan*, 599 U.S. 1, 41 (2023). Mr. Fairfax’s prior testimony, expert report, and affidavit on the development of his Illustrative Plan 2A and the Remedial Plan demonstrate that it is squarely consistent with the well-established jurisprudence on racial predominance.

Mr. Fairfax maintained the configuration of CD-5 from his Illustrative Plan 2A, which included the Delta Parishes in the north and Baton Rouge in the south. *See Fairfax Rep.* ¶ 13. At the preliminary injunction hearing and in his original expert report, Mr. Fairfax explained that his process for drawing his illustrative plans was to “balance all of the relevant districting principles without allowing any single factor to predominate.” *Rec. Doc. No. 173* at 32. Mr. Fairfax explained that his illustrative maps took account of testimony during the Legislative redistricting hearings and a range of socioeconomic risk factors. The balance of factors included an initial consideration of race, but, as Mr. Fairfax testified, “he only considered race to the extent necessary to test for numerosity and compactness as required by *Gingles I.*” *Id.* at 99.

This Court credited Mr. Fairfax’s testimony that race did not predominate in the creation of his illustrative maps. The Court noted in particular “Fairfax’s testimony where he discussed how race contributed to the illustrative plans that he drew. Fairfax did not deny that he used his mapping software to assess the location of [the Black voting-age population] in Louisiana initially, but he was adamant and credible in his testimony that race did not predominate in his mapping process.” *Id.* at 98–99. As the Court concluded, Mr. Fairfax “explicitly and credibly testified that [he] did not allow race to predominate over traditional districting principles as [he] developed [his] illustrative plans.” *Id.* at 116. In contrast, the Court found Defendants’ expert testimony on racial predominance not credible, according “little weight” to Dr. Thomas Bryan’s and Dr. Christopher

Blunt’s opinions that race predominated in Plaintiffs’ illustrative plans because of their failure to account for traditional redistricting principles. *See id.* at 92–95.

Nothing in Mr. Fairfax’s limited modification of Illustrative Plan 2A to create Plaintiffs’ proposed Remedial Plan affects this Court’s finding that there was no racial predominance. Mr. Fairfax explains that he “prepare[d] a remedial congressional districting plan based on Illustrative Plan 2A that made the majority-Black districts more compact, minimized political boundary splits, particularly parishes, and incorporated testimony on communities of interest identified at the Preliminary Injunction hearing, specifically the community of interest among Assumption Parish and the other River Parishes.” Ex. C (“Fairfax Rebuttal Rep.”) ¶ 4. And, like Illustrative Plan 2A, the Remedial Plan matches or outperforms the enacted plan on all relevant traditional redistricting criteria. *See* Fairfax Rep. ¶¶ 17–19 (plan-level and district-level comparison of the Remedial Plan and the H.B. 1 plan using eight redistricting criteria); *id.* ¶ 21 (“the Remedial plan performs equal to or better than HB 1 Plan on eight of eight redistricting criteria”). It therefore remains true that there is “*no factual evidence* that race predominated” In the Remedial Plan. Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 116.

This time, Defendants offer the expert report of Dr. Douglas Johnson to support their argument that race predominates in the remedial plan. Dr. Johnson’s expert testimony on similar issues has been repeatedly rejected by other courts, and his analysis in this case fails to account for all of the relevant factors and should be rejected as well. *First*, Dr. Johnson improperly focuses on only two of the six socioeconomic risk factors that Mr. Fairfax relies upon as part of his redistricting methodology to conclude that the Remedial Plan’s parish splits follow race more closely than other redistricting criteria. As Mr. Fairfax states in his report, and will testify at the remedial hearing, the six factors together (along with other evidence he considered) provide “the

full picture” of CD-5, and, to a lesser extent, CD-2. *Id.* ¶ 11. *Second*, Mr. Fairfax’s Remedial Plan incorporates numerous traditional redistricting principles beyond socioeconomic risk factors. As Mr. Fairfax explains, “The plan was designed using redistricting criteria such as equal population, compactness, minimizing political subdivisions, considering existing boundaries, and preserving communities of interest.” Fairfax Rebuttal Rep. ¶ 20. Dr. Johnson offers no analysis whatsoever on the extent to which the Remedial Plan follows race more closely than it does those traditional redistricting principles. *Third*, Dr. Johnson’s purported critique focuses only on the few parishes that Mr. Fairfax’s map splits. As Mr. Fairfax will testify at the hearing, the Remedial Plan performs as well as or better than the Enacted Map on all of the State’s traditional redistricting criteria, *see* Fairfax Rep. ¶ 17, including by splitting fewer parishes, voting districts, COI Census places, and cities overall. *See id.*; *see also* Fairfax Rebuttal Rep. ¶ 70. *Finally*, Dr. Johnson fails to account for the de minimis differences between Illustrative Plan 2A and his Remedial Plan, and he does not and cannot suggest that those changes somehow injected race into a plan in which race did not predominate. Indeed, Dr. Johnson’s failure to grapple with the starting point of the Remedial Map as described in this Court’s liability ruling demonstrates Defendants’ improper attempt to relitigate liability issues anew. Regardless, that attempt fails.²

Defendants also offer the expert report of Mr. Sean Trende to repeat the refrain of racial predominance based on Remedial CD-5’s connection of the Delta Parishes to Baton Rouge, which

² Dr. Johnson’s other opinions are irrelevant to the remedial hearing. Dr. Johnson highlights the splits of two other parishes outside CD 2 and CD 5, Vernon and St. Tammany, arguing that the former closely follows racial lines and the latter is unexplained but does not appear to follow racial lines. As Mr. Fairfax will testify, the splits of these parishes were made to bring down the populations of CD 3 and CD 4 to an acceptable deviation. In any event, the parish splits of districts outside the two majority-minority districts are not relevant to the question whether race predominated in the Remedial Plan; neither CD 3 nor CD 4 would “benefit one way or another by including a few VTDs with only a several hundred people.” Fairfax Rebuttal Rep. ¶ 68.

has already been rejected by this Court. *See* Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 110, 118. Mr. Trende opines that Remedial CD-5 combines Black residents of voting age from geographically distant population centers. But connecting population centers is a feature of the enacted map (and of all Louisiana congressional maps in modern history), as it is an inevitable requirement in a state where each population center is smaller than the necessary size for a congressional district. Whether centers are “geographically distant” is a subjective and ultimately meaningless observation in the abstract—rural areas like those in northeast Louisiana necessarily will have to be combined into a more geographically expansive district in order to reach the requisite population threshold.

While disclaiming any conclusions about racial gerrymandering, Mr. Trende also opines that proposed CD-5 shares certain size and compactness characteristics with two congressional districts that were found to be unlawful racial gerrymanders: Texas’s 1994 version of CD-25, and Georgia’s 1992 version of CD-11. But districts drawn in entirely different contexts—in different decades by different legislatures in different states with different population distributions—are especially poor comparators for the Remedial Plan, which was drawn to remedy Louisiana’s violation of Section 2 based on contemporary facts about the state’s demography established by extensive evidence and found by this Court.

Besides, the faulty comparison that Defendants urge the Court to indulge contradicts their own argument—CD-5 in the Remedial Plan is nothing like the gerrymanders from Texas or Georgia. Notably, CD-5 is significantly more compact than Defendants’ proposed comparators. *See* Rodden Rep. at 23-24, Ex. D. And the Supreme Court recognized other infirmities with the Texas and Georgia districts that are not present here. In *LULAC v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399 (2006), the Supreme Court recognized that the “Latino communities at the opposite ends of District 25 have divergent needs and interests, owing to differences in socioeconomic status, education,

employment, health, and other characteristics.” *Id.* at 424 (cleaned up). Here, the Court has already found that the Black community in proposed CD-5 comprises a cohesive community with shared interests. *See, e.g.*, Rec. Doc. No. 173 at 38, 118. In *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900 (1995), the Supreme Court deemed the challenged district unlawful because “evidence of the General Assembly’s intent to racially gerrymander the Eleventh District is overwhelming [from the legislative process], and practically stipulated by the parties involved.” *Id.* at 910. Again, there is no basis for drawing a similar conclusion from the Remedial Plan here.

Even Mr. Trende’s own limited analysis does not support the conclusion that Defendants seek. The compactness of districts in the Remedial Plan—including CD-2 and CD-5—are comparable to or better than the compactness of analogous districts in the enacted plan and all Louisiana districting configurations from recent history, and *much better* than the districts challenged in *LULAC* and *Miller*. *See* Rodden Rep. at 23-24. While the Court is not required to “conduct a ‘beauty contest’” between Plaintiffs’ maps and the State’s, *Allen*, 599 U.S. at 21, there can be no doubt that the Remedial Plan would win the crown. There is simply no basis for inferring, contrary to all evidence, that the Remedial Plan generally or its majority-Black districts specifically are racial gerrymanders.

B. Defendants’ community of interest arguments are based on cherrypicked data points that bear no resemblance to Louisiana mapping criteria.

Defendants have also previewed that they intend to challenge the Remedial Plan’s compactness and preservation of communities of interest. Once again, for purposes of these proceedings, these issues are no longer subject to debate. As this Court found at the liability phase when it analyzed illustrative maps that closely resemble the Remedial Plan—indeed, that the Remedial Plan *improves* upon—Plaintiffs’ mapdrawers “demonstrated, without dispute, that in terms of the objective measures of compactness, the congressional districts in the illustrative plans

are demonstrably superior to the enacted plan.” Rec. Doc. 173 at 92. Likewise, the Court found that the illustrative plans appropriately “consider and preserve communities of interest.” *Id.* at 103.

In their belated attempt to relitigate these conclusive findings on communities of interest, defendants have solicited the testimony of Dr. David Swanson and Dr. Henry Robertson. Neither witness’s approach is persuasive. Dr. Swanson culled a handful of Louisiana “regional maps” from a cursory internet search (including a couple of tourist maps necessarily aimed at *nonresidents*) and deduced that the Remedial Plan must be faulty because it does not track the regions identified in his online maps. But the maps that Dr. Swanson found are entirely unfit to serve as redistricting guides—they are internally inconsistent, do not clearly reflect communities that warrant common congressional representation, and are compiled without any regard to the Constitution’s equal-population requirement for congressional districting. It is no wonder, then, that *no* Louisiana districting map has ever tracked Dr. Swanson’s proposed regions. And if anything, the Remedial Map does a *better job* than the enacted plan at tracking the regions that Dr. Swanson identifies. *See* Rodden Rep. at 11-15.

Dr. Swanson also experiments with cluster analysis, a technique that has rarely been used to identify communities of interest for redistricting, to support his hypothesis that East Carroll and surrounding parishes do not belong in the same community of interest as East Baton Rouge. After criticizing Mr. Fairfax’s communities-of-interest analysis as employing “subjective judgment and also ad hoc elements,” Dr. Swanson chose 14 census variables through his own subjective, ad hoc process to partition Louisiana into two clusters. Those cherrypicked variables reverse-engineered a finding that would necessarily assign urban East Baton Rouge to a different “cluster” than rural parishes in northeastern Louisiana. Dr. Swanson did not test other variables that track the historical, cultural, and demographic similarities that unite the communities in Remedial Plan CD-

5, and he did not explore configurations of more than two clusters. But perhaps Dr. Swanson's most striking oversight was that his cluster analysis altogether ignored the actual geography of the state, let alone the contiguity required for redistricting. His analysis "clusters" parishes randomly scattered across the state based on a tightly restricted, subjective set of variables. This analysis cannot support any useful conclusions, and certainly none relevant to redistricting. *See* Rodden Rep. at 18-21.

Dr. Robertson's analysis fares no better, oversimplifying the culture and history of Louisiana's regions and parishes in order to narrowly define communities of interest as five particular geographic areas. At the outset, while Dr. Robertson asserts that his methodologies are "commonly accepted practices in the complex history/geography academic field," he fails to cite any sources that his practices are commonly accepted and instead relies on conclusory descriptions such as "adoption of sound theory" and "careful, non-emotional historical interpretation." In line with that omission, Dr. Robertson presents a modified version of the "first effective settlement" theory to argue that the dominant culture of a state and its regions is largely determined by the first "effective" settlers—citing a Wikipedia article as support. The theory has been widely disputed by other scholars because it presumes a unified cultural and social experience among these settlers and disregards diversity within that group, the relevant experiences of other groups, and subsequent developments. *See* Martin Rep. Ex. E at 50. Defendants have cited no precedent in which a Court has relied upon any such analysis to identify communities of interest in the context of redistricting.

Dr. Robertson's analysis also greatly oversimplifies the range of cultures within Louisiana's regions. Baton Rouge, for example, is comprised of distinctive areas such as Scotlandville, Old South Baton Rouge, and Spanish Town, which all have unique cultural and

social histories. *See id.* at 49. Dr. Robertson himself cites several cultural influences that undermine his notion of a “first effective settlement” by a “French culture,” including distinct contributions by Afro-Creoles, Zulu and Mardi Gras Indians, and German refugees. Nonetheless, Dr. Robertson asserts that Louisiana has exactly five communities of interest—defined geographically as Greater New Orleans, the Florida Parishes (Baton Rouge), Acadiana (Lafayette), Central Louisiana (Alexandria), and North Louisiana (Monroe)—and that the “individual histories and distinctive peoples in each region should preclude lumping two or more of these cities/regions in a single political district.” Again citing Wikipedia, he borrows these definitions from a map developed by the University of Louisiana at Lafayette Center for Cultural and Eco-Tourism. Dr. Robertson asserts that these regions “need to be respected and left as much intact and in one district as possible because they help formulate much broader communities of interest,” yet does not justify this proposition or explain why other approaches to communities of interest are invalid. Indeed, he cites no evidence that the Louisiana Legislature (or anyone else) considers the regions he identifies as appropriate guides to congressional redistricting, and he ignores the fact that Louisiana’s congressional districts have long combined and cut across the regions shown in the tourism map that he claims should be the lodestar.

In sum, neither of Defendants’ new experts’ attempts to reimagine communities of interest in Louisiana undoes or undermines this Court’s existing finding that CD-5’s connection of the Delta Parishes with the Baton Rouge region appropriately combines and respects communities of interest.

* * *

Ultimately, this Court will find that little has changed since it enjoined the Enacted Plan as a likely violation of Section 2. The Remedial Plan, like the illustrative plan on which it is based,

provides Black voters an additional opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice consistent with traditional districting criteria and legislative policy. And Defendants' new "evidence" on racial predominance and communities of interest is simply more of the same myopic and methodologically unsound analyses that this Court rejected last year.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, the Court should order Louisiana's congressional elections to be conducted according to Plaintiffs' proposed Remedial Plan pending final judgment on the merits.

Date: September 29, 2023

Respectfully submitted,

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Counsel for Robinson Plaintiffs

Exhibit A

**EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.
IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' REMEDIAL PLAN**

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I previously submitted reports in this case on April 15, 2022, and May 2, 2022, and my first report sets forth my qualifications in detail. A copy of my most recent curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A.
2. I testified in this matter in the May 2022 preliminary injunction proceedings. I was accepted by the Court as an expert in redistricting and data analysis. The Court found me to be a credible expert witness and credited my testimony on racially polarized voting and performance in its June 6, 2022 opinion.
3. I was asked by the plaintiffs in this litigation to evaluate the performance of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. Unless otherwise specified, all references to particular districts refer to this plan.
4. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections in the 2nd and 5th Congressional Districts under the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan.
5. To analyze the performance of districts under the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan, I relied on precinct-level election results from the 2012-2020 general elections. My original report in this matter describes this dataset.¹
6. I analyzed performance by calculating the share of the vote that the Black-preferred candidate would have won under the boundaries of the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan. Figure 1 and Table 1 present the results.
7. I find that Black-preferred candidates are almost always able to win elections in both the 2nd and 5th Congressional Districts. The Black-preferred candidate was successful in 17 of the 18 elections analyzed in the 2nd District, and 15 of the 18 elections analyzed in the 5th District.
8. Across 18 elections from 2012 to 2020, the average vote share for Black-preferred candidates is 64% in the 2nd District and 57% in the 5th District.

¹ I also analyzed the 2022 election for U.S. Senate, which was the only statewide contest in Louisiana in 2022. Using ecological inference, as described in my original report in this matter, I found that there was not a clear Black-preferred candidate in that election, because there were multiple candidates and the top candidate for Black voters, Gary Chambers, Jr., received only about half of the vote from Black voters. As a result, I do not include this contest in the performance analysis.

9. These results demonstrate that both the 2nd District and the 5th District of the Remedial Plan will provide Black voters an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice.

I reserve the right to continue to supplement my reports in light of additional facts, testimony and/or materials that may come to light.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Maxwell Pal

Executed on: September 15, 2023

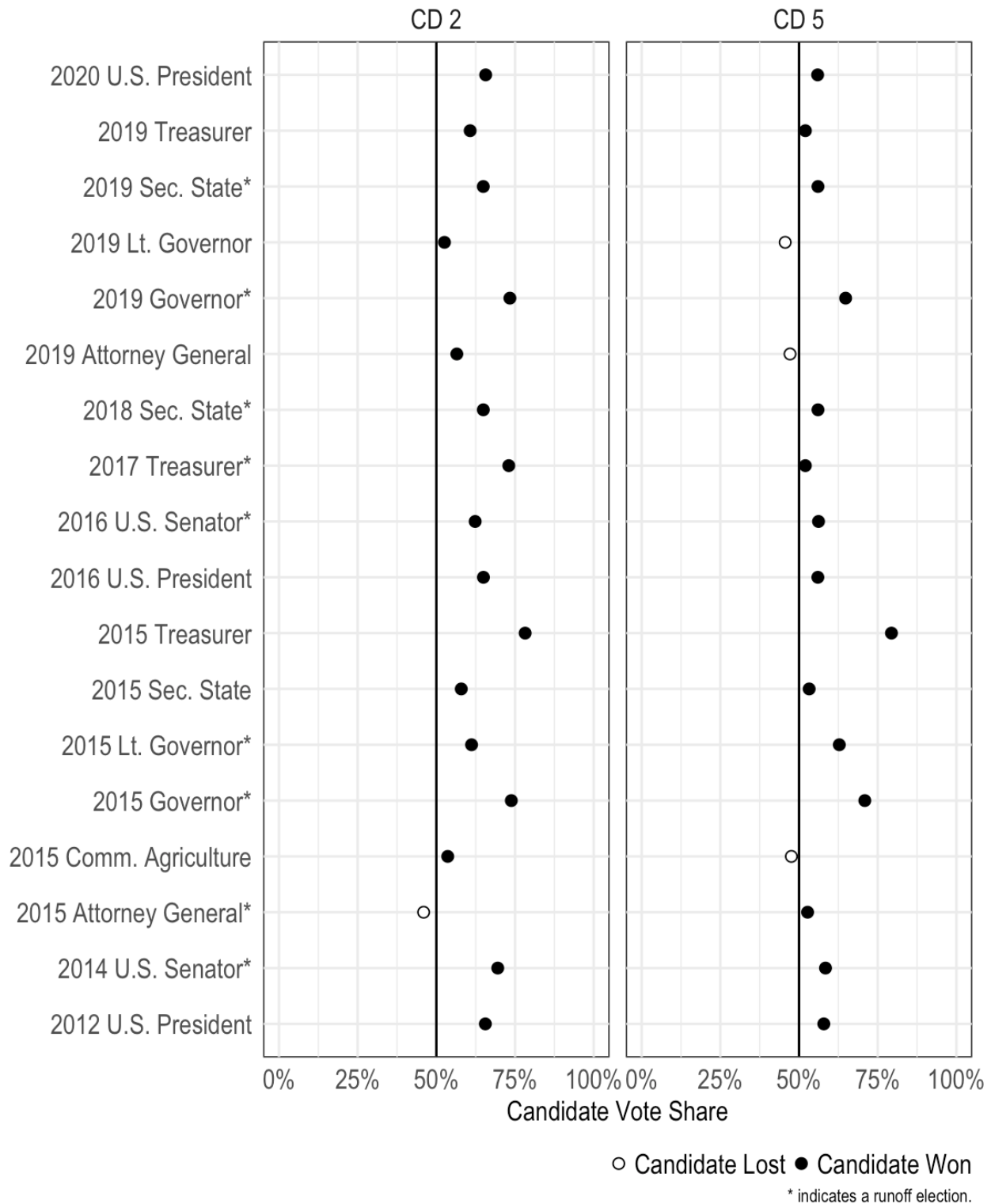


Figure 1: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan

Table 1: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan

Year	Office	Candidate	CD 2	CD 5
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	65.6%	57.9%
2014	U.S. Senator*	Landrieu (D)	69.5%	58.4%
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	53.6%	47.6%
2015	Sec. State	Tyson (D)	57.9%	53.2%
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	78.2%	79.4%
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	46.0%	52.7%
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	73.8%	70.9%
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	61.2%	62.8%
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	65.0%	56.0%
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	62.3%	56.2%
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	73.0%	52.0%
2018	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	64.9%	56.0%
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	56.5%	47.1%
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	52.6%	45.6%
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	60.7%	52.0%
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	73.4%	64.8%
2019	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	64.9%	56.0%
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	65.7%	55.9%

* indicates a runoff election.

Exhibit B

Supplemental Report on the Remedial Congressional Plan

Dr. Lisa Handley

This report supplements my earlier report on the remedial congressional map, *Dr. Lisa Handley Report on Remedial Map*, dated June 22, 2022. I have prepared this supplemental report because I have revised my effectiveness scores for ascertaining if a district provides Black voters with an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice to the U.S. House of Representatives. Effectiveness Score #1 now incorporates the November 2022 U.S. Senate contest and Effectiveness Score #2 is now based on eight two-candidate statewide elections. These modifications have not changed my assessment of which districts in the Enacted and Remedial Maps provide Black voters with an opportunity to elect their preferred candidates.

I increased the number of contests included in Effectiveness Score #1 as a consequence of my analysis of the November 2022 Louisiana election for U.S. Senate. Because this election contest was racially polarized and included a Black candidate (Gary Chambers) who was the candidate of choice of Black voters,¹ the contest met the definition of contests to be included in the calculation of Effectiveness Score #1. I have therefore increased the number of contests included in the calculation from the original 15 to 16 election contests.

I excluded one of the nine contests originally included in Effectiveness Score #2. The contests contained in this score were to be racially polarized two-candidate contests in which Black voters preferred the Black candidate. But one of the contests I included had a minor third-party candidate: the October 2019 race for Treasurer in which Teresa Kenny, with no party affiliation, obtained only 5.4% of the vote statewide.² Effectiveness Score #2 is therefore now based on eight elections rather than nine contests.

Table 1 reports the updated effectiveness scores for all of the congressional districts in the Remedial and Enacted Maps.

¹ My analysis of the November 2022 U.S. Senate contest in Congressional District 5 in both the Enacted Map and the Remedial Map indicates that the contest was racially polarized, with the Black candidate, Gary Chambers, Jr., the candidate of choice of Black voters and White voters strongly supporting John Kennedy.

² Although the 2020 presidential election included a number of minor candidates, one of the two major party candidates received at least 50% of the vote in all of the remedial and enacted districts examined.

Table 1: Effectiveness Scores for Remedial and Enacted Maps

	Remedial Map		Enacted Map	
Congressional District	Effectiveness Score #1	Effectiveness Score #2	Effectiveness Score #1	Effectiveness Score #2
1	12.5%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%
2	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
4	25.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%
5	87.5%	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%
6	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%

Conclusion This modification to the effectiveness scores does not change my overall conclusions regarding the Enacted and Remedial Congressional Maps. Voting is markedly racially polarized in the area of Enacted and Remedial Congressional District 5. This racial polarization substantially impedes the ability of Black voters to elect candidates of their choice unless a district is offered that provides Black voters with this opportunity. The Remedial Map remedies the vote dilution found in the Enacted Map by creating an additional Black opportunity district that is not found in the Enacted Map.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed September 15, 2023.



Lisa Handley, Ph.D.

Exhibit C

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA**

PRESS ROBINSON, EDGAR CAGE,
DOROTHY NAIRNE, EDWIN RENE
SOULE, ALICE WASHINGTON, CLEE
EARNEST LOWE, DAVANTE LEWIS,
MARTHA DAVIS, AMBROSE SIMS,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
("NAACP") LOUISIANA STATE
CONFERENCE, AND POWER COALITION
FOR EQUITY AND JUSTICE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana.

Defendant.

Civil Action No.
3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB

EDWARD GALMON, SR., CIARA HART,
NORRIS HENDERSON, TRAMELLE
HOWARD,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana.

Defendant.

Civil Action No.
3:22-cv-00214-SDD-RLB

REBUTTAL EXPERT REPORT OF ANTHONY E. FAIRFAX

A. Introduction

1. I have been retained by counsel representing the Plaintiffs in this lawsuit to respond to the September 15, 2023 Report by Dr. Douglas Johnson in response to my expert Remedial Plan.

B. Background

2. In my expert report dated April 15, 2022, I found it was possible to draw an Illustrative Plan that adheres to state and federal redistricting criteria and creates two reasonably compact, majority-Black¹ districts in Louisiana's six-district Congressional map.
3. In its opinion dated June 6, 2022, this Court credited my testimony in a decision ordering the Louisiana Legislature to add a second majority-minority district by June 20, 2022. *Robinson v. Ardoin*, No. 22-211-SDD-SDJ, 2022 WL 2012389 (M.D. La. June 6, 2022).
4. On June 17, 2022, this Court issued an order requiring the parties to jointly submit a remedial map in the event the Louisiana Legislature failed to do so. Thereafter, the Plaintiffs' counsel asked that I prepare a remedial congressional districting plan based on Illustrative Plan 2A that made the majority-Black districts more compact, minimized political boundary splits, particularly parishes, and incorporated testimony on communities of interest identified at the Preliminary Injunction hearing, specifically the community of interest among Assumption Parish and the other River Parishes.
5. On June 22, 2023, I submitted a Remedial Plan for Louisiana's congressional districts. Dr. Johnson responded to my Remedial Plan with his report on June 27, 2023. On September 15, 2023, Dr. Johnson submitted an additional report responding to my Remedial Plan.

¹ Using voting age population ("VAP") and citizen voting age population ("CVAP").

C. Qualifications

6. My qualifications and expertise are described fully in my expert report, submitted on April 15, 2022, to this Court and available at ECF No. 41-2, 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-SDJ. This Court credited my testimony, in this case, *Robinson v. Ardoin*, in its opinion, dated June 6, 2022, as did a panel of the Fifth Circuit considering this case on June 12, 2022.

D. Summary of Dr. Johnson's Opinions

7. A summary of the issues raised in Dr. Johnson's expert reports includes the following:
 - a) Dr. Johnson states that the Remedial Plan's district boundaries follow race more closely than the thematic maps of No High School Education % and Community Resilience Estimates (CRE) in several of the parish split areas.
 - b) Dr. Johnson states that the Remedial Plan split military bases, specifically Fort Polk (now Fort Johnson).
 - c) Dr. Johnson states that splits of Vernon and St. Tammany Parishes are accomplished in an unexplained manner.

E. Methodology

8. In developing the maps used in this report, I accessed the original thematic map data that was used to develop the Remedial Plan. However, instead of including only statewide maps, I have developed zoomed areas for closer viewing of the thematic attributes that were used to prepare my Remedial Plan (and previous Illustrative Plans). To view the Fort Polk military base, I overlaid the military base in addition to parish and VTD boundaries to analyze Dr. Johnson's allegations on that issue. Finally, no maps were necessary to address the issue of the split in St. Tammany Parish.

F. Response to Dr. Johnson’s statements that district boundaries follow race more than the thematic maps of No High School Education % and Community Resilience Estimates (CRE) in several of the parish split areas.

General Response

9. As a general response to Dr. Johnson’s statement on race, his analysis only considers two of the five socioeconomic and CRE risk factors that I used during the development of the Remedial Plan. All six indicators,² in some part, were used to define the general configuration of the congressional districts, specifically CD 5 and, to a lesser extent CD 2.
10. The focus of Dr. Johnson’s mapping analysis used only the “No High School Education” and the “>3 CRE Risk Factors” maps (*See* Dr. Johnson Report page 3, paragraph 15.) In addition to the “No High School Education” and the “>3 CRE Risk Factors maps,” four other socioeconomic indicators were used to determine the configuration of the districts. The four others are: Median Household Income, Food Stamps %, Poverty %, and Renter %. All six maps of these socioeconomic indicators were included in Appendix C in my supplemental report dated May 2, 2022, ECF No. 123-1.
11. These provide the full picture of the general configuration of CD 5 and to a lesser extent CD 2. I use the term general because other factors are involved in the creation of the districts other than socioeconomic aspects. These other factors include redistricting criteria that will be explained further throughout this report. These additional factors were also not disputed in Dr. Johnson’s report.
12. That said, the starting point for CD 5 consisted of the six socioeconomic aspects of the Delta parishes and below. Figure 1 provides a visual picture of the general area of CD 5. The overall shape of CD 5 is clearly identified in the six socioeconomic map image in Figure 1.

²² For the purpose of this report the six “socioeconomic” indicators or variables will include No High School Education, Median Household Income, Food Stamps %, Poverty %, and Renter % plus the >3 CRE Risk Factors

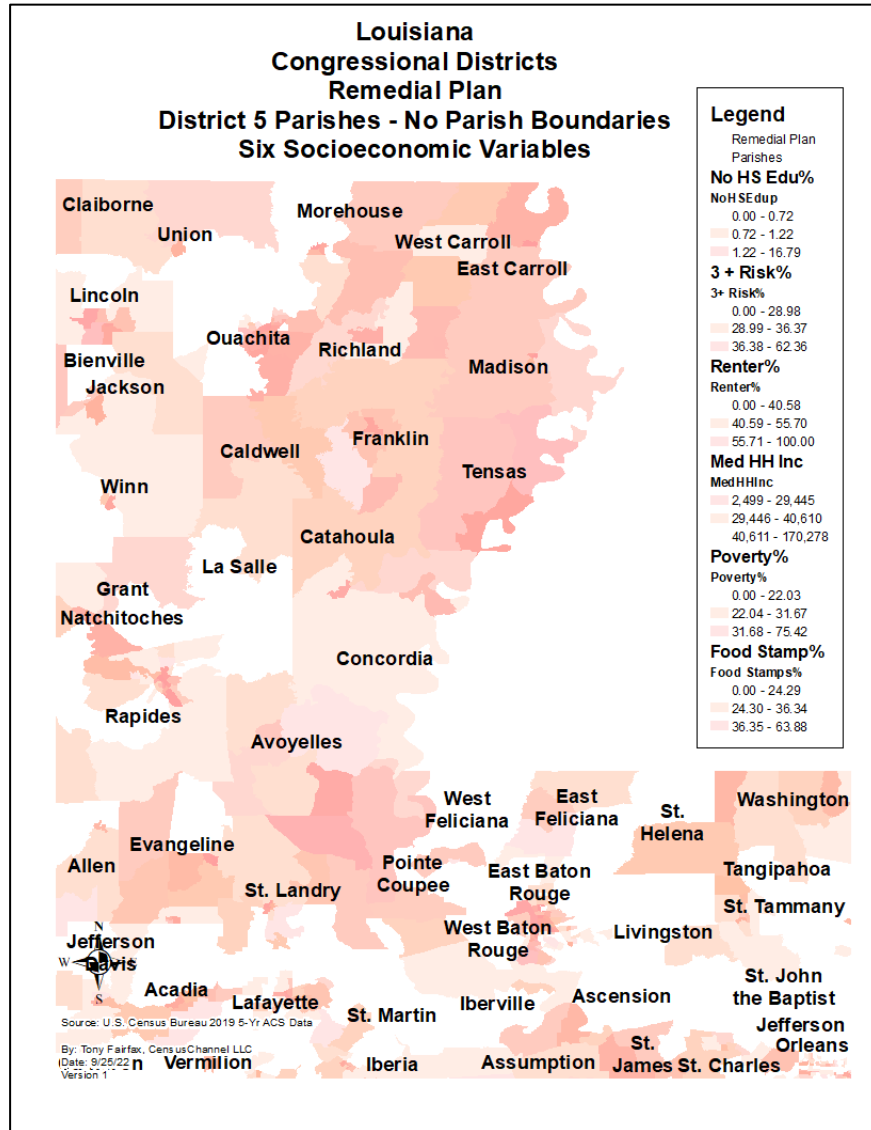


Figure 1 – All Six Socioeconomic Variables with Remedial Plan w/No Parish Boundaries

13. Figure 1 presents all six socioeconomic variables (at the census tract level) overlaid on top of each other.³ Each variable was made transparent to reveal the impact of all layers. The colors used to display the socioeconomic variables are the same in order to not bias or favor

³ Initially, I used one sixth (17%) opacity (for six layers) or 83% transparency setting for each overlay. Because this setting produced such a faint shading, I ultimately ended up using 80% transparency or 20% opacity.

one variable over another. The boundaries of the parishes have been removed to allow for focusing on the thematic map areas only.

14. An analysis of the thematic map reveals the general pattern and starting point for CD 5.

Overlaying the boundary of CD 5, as shown in Figure 2, simply groups the visual collection of socioeconomic variables common to the district.

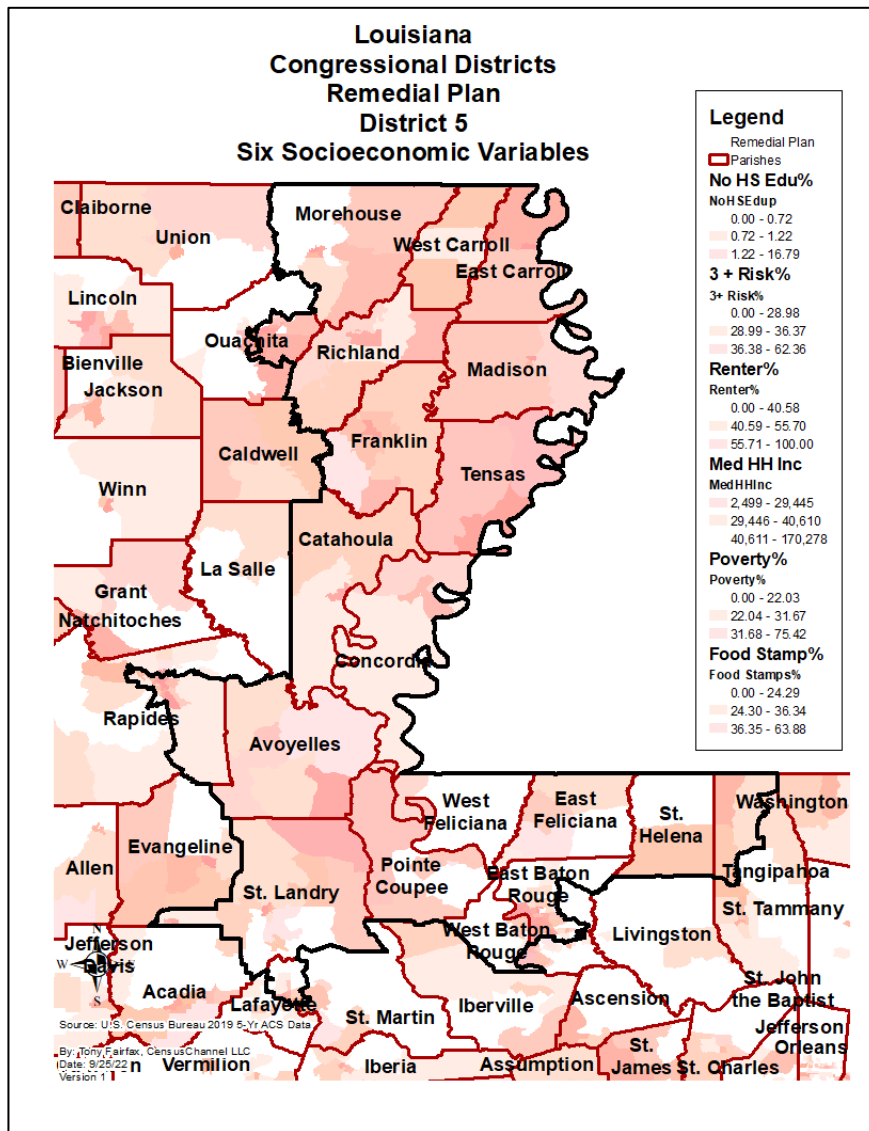


Figure 2 – All Six Socioeconomic Thematic Variables with Remedial Plan CD 5

15. The color theme of the census tracts clearly presents the core configuration of CD 5 using whole parishes from Morehouse through the Delta Parishes to St. Landry. The district then extends eastward, similar to the Enacted and 2012 Plans, however, not as much.
16. A parish that was left out of CD 5 was Caldwell. As I previously mentioned in testimony, Caldwell Parish was not added because I determined that it created a less compact district. That said, it can be added, and other parts dropped, and CD 5 can continue to hold its majority-Black status.
17. Regarding the parish splits for CD 5, the map shows the added portion includes areas that generally match the combined six socioeconomic variables for the district, as shown in Figure 2.
18. In addition, when zoomed into each of the parish splits, boundaries are further defined not necessarily by all socioeconomic variables but, in some cases, one or more. In essence, the split areas that were added to CD 5 (or CD 2 in some instances) are defined further using one or more of the socioeconomic aspects.
19. It is important to note that it is improbable that any congressional district will consist of the same socioeconomic aspects throughout the entire district. Thus, there will always be areas within the district that differ from the majority aspects of the district.
20. The socioeconomic maps were also not the only aspects that defined the shape of CD 5, CD 2, as well as the other districts. The plan was designed using redistricting criteria such as equal population, compactness, minimizing political subdivisions, considering existing boundaries, and preserving communities of interest. The state's policy of using whole

precincts or VTDs also influenced the shape of the district configurations. These were additional aspects that defined configurations of the districts, specifically CD 5 and CD 2.

21. Finally, it is not unreasonable or uncommon to have a significant amount of majority Black VTDs contained within a majority Black district. In fact, it is most likely for that to occur.
22. Below are my responses to Dr. Johnson's allegations delineated by each parish that was split.

Ouachita Parish

23. Dr. Johnson, on page 5, paragraph 19, discusses the split of Ouachita Parish. He states, "The Congressional District matches much closer with racial data than with No HS Edu% map and the % with >3 Risk Factors." Although the No High School Education and the >3 CRE Risk Factors maps show some alignment with the Ouachita area selected for CD 5, all six socioeconomic indicators show a fairly high correlation with CD 5's boundaries.
24. Figure 3 again displays all six socioeconomic variables overlaid on top of each other with a transparency for each layer. The large red-colored portion to the south of the district in Ouachita Parish is a single VTD. The population of the VTD is 1,058 and could be added and other parts removed, and CD 5 could continue to retain its majority Black status (as mentioned in my previous testimony).

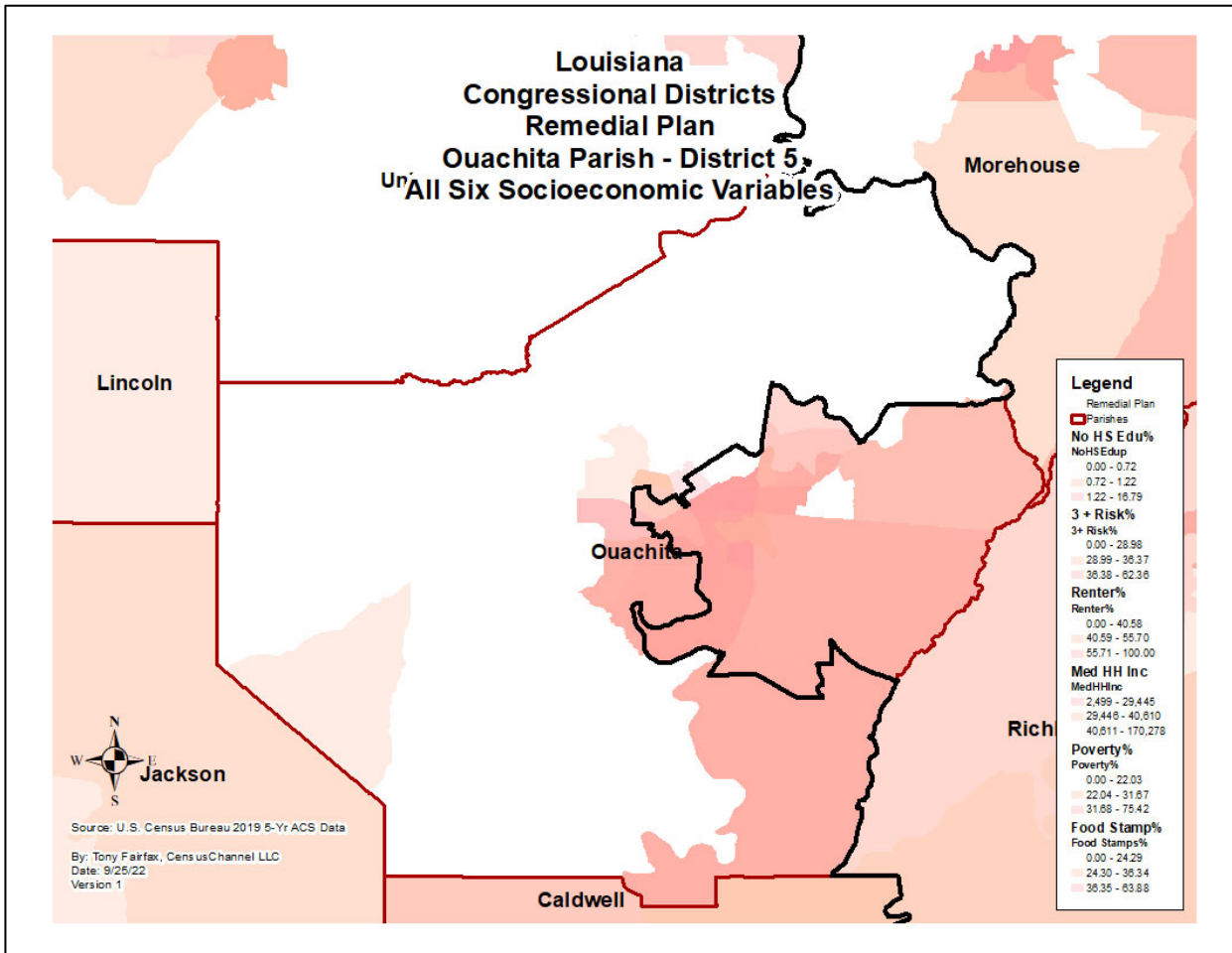


Figure 3 – Ouachita Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables of the Remedial Plan CD 5

25. However, a close reflection of the district can be seen when Renter % is presented. Figure 4 depicts a zoomed-in map of the Ouachita Parish split with the top two quintiles of the percentage of renters overlaid. The boundary of CD 5 adds the overwhelming portion of Ouachita Parish that noticeably matches the socioeconomic community of renters.

26. It is also important to note that Dr. Johnson’s map of Ouachita Parish on page 4 includes areas with VTDs below 40% Black within CD 5. Other VTDs can be seen within CD 5 that are under 50% and above 40% Black. The inclusion of these non-majority Black areas as well as the generalized matching of CD 5’s configuration to socioeconomic configuration contradicts Dr. Johnson's implied allegation of race predominating.

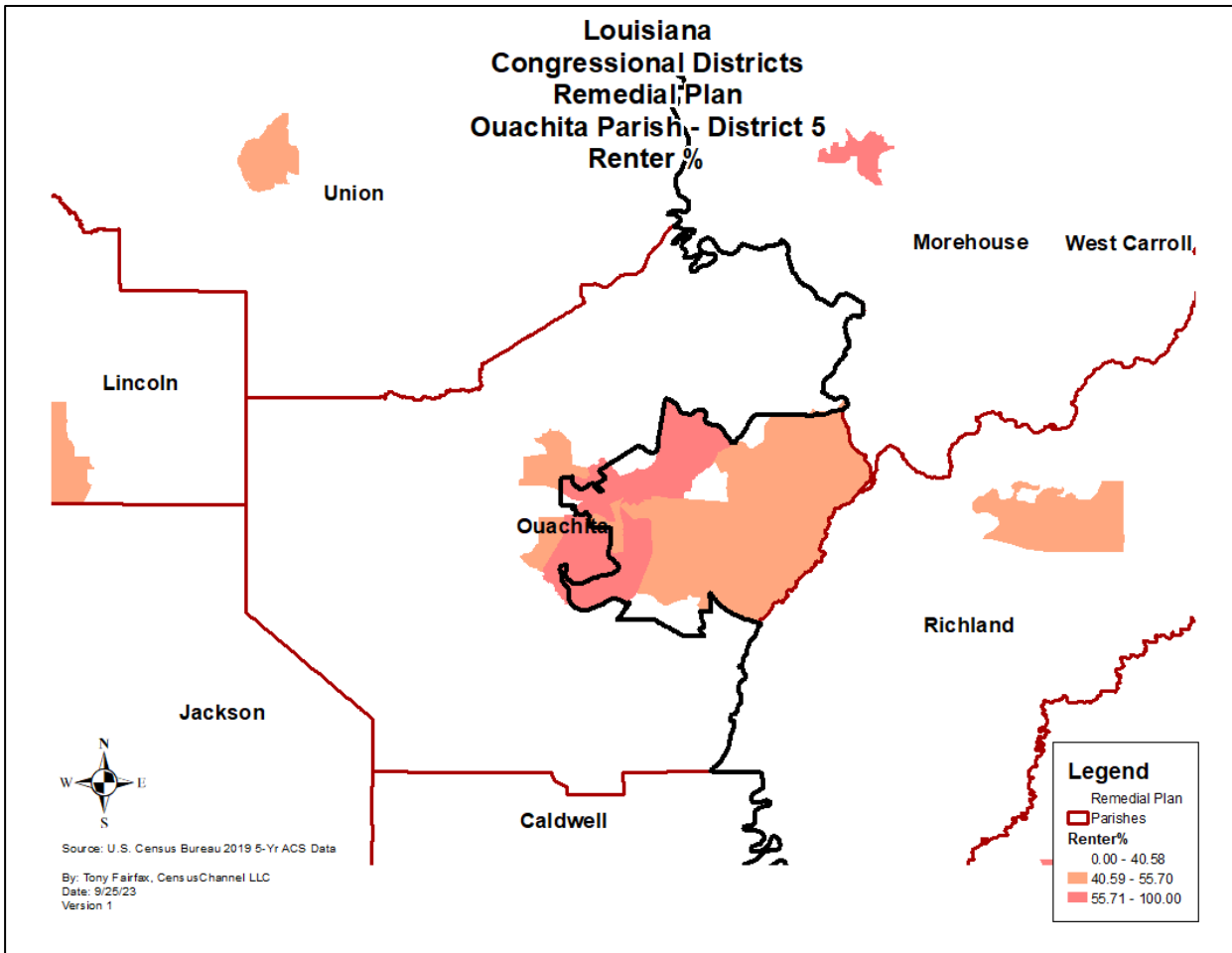


Figure 4 – Ouachita Parish Zoom of Renter % of the Remedial Plan CD 5

Rapides Parish

27. Dr. Johnson, on page 7, paragraph 23 of his report discusses the split of Rapides Parish. He states, “The VTDs pulled into CD5 in Rapides Parish match much more precisely with race than they are for education and CRE.” Although the No High School Education and the >3 CRE Risk Factors maps show some alignment with the Rapides area selected, viewing all of the six variables is much closer. Figure 5 depicts a zoomed-in map of the Rapides Parish split with the top two quintiles for all six socioeconomic variables overlaid.

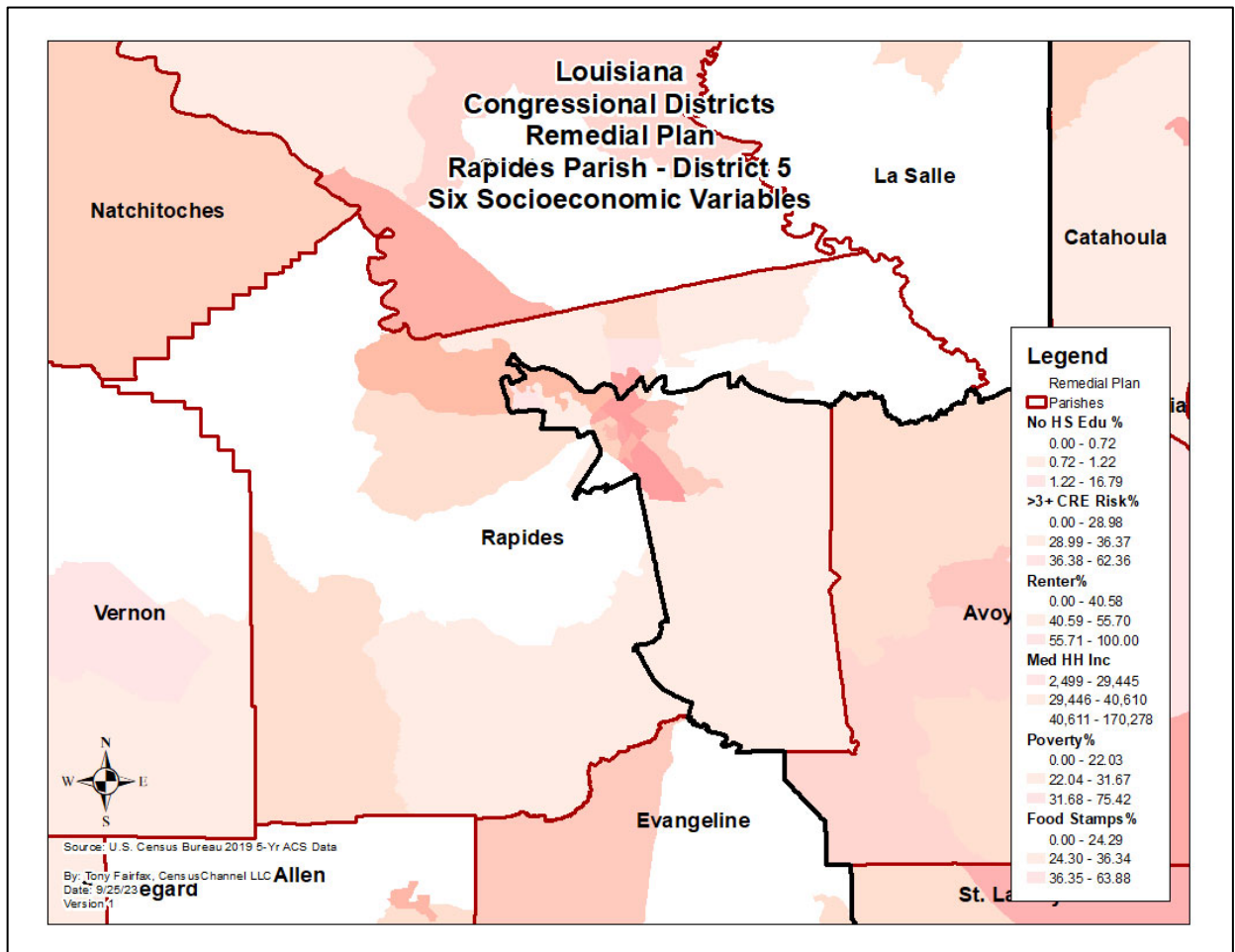


Figure 5 – All Six Socioeconomic Variables for Rapides Parish Remedial Plan CD 5

28. While the areas to the northwest have a reddish shade, adding those areas to CD 5 would move it closer to the border of Grant Parish and could further divide Rapides Parish. Also, adding the reddish areas to the southwest would make CD 5 less compact and irregular in shape.
29. Once again, it is important to note that Dr. Johnson's map of Rapides Parish on page 6 includes areas with VTDs below 40% Black within CD 5. Other VTDs can be seen which are included in CD 5 and are under 50% and above 40% Black. The inclusion of these non-majority Black areas, as well as the generalized matching of CD 5's configuration to socioeconomic configuration, contradicts Dr. Johnson's implied allegation of race predominating.

Lafayette Parish

30. Dr. Johnson, on page 9, paragraph 27 of his report discusses the split of Lafayette Parish. He states, "The VTDs pulled into CD5 in Lafayette Parish match much more precisely with race than they are for education and CRE."
31. Figure 6 displays all six socioeconomic variables overlaid on top of each other with a transparency for each layer. The figure displays a significant amount of area within Lafayette that matches the combined six socioeconomic variables that have been added to CD 5. A much more stark boundary division can be seen by reviewing the No High School Education and the >3 CRE Risk Factors together.

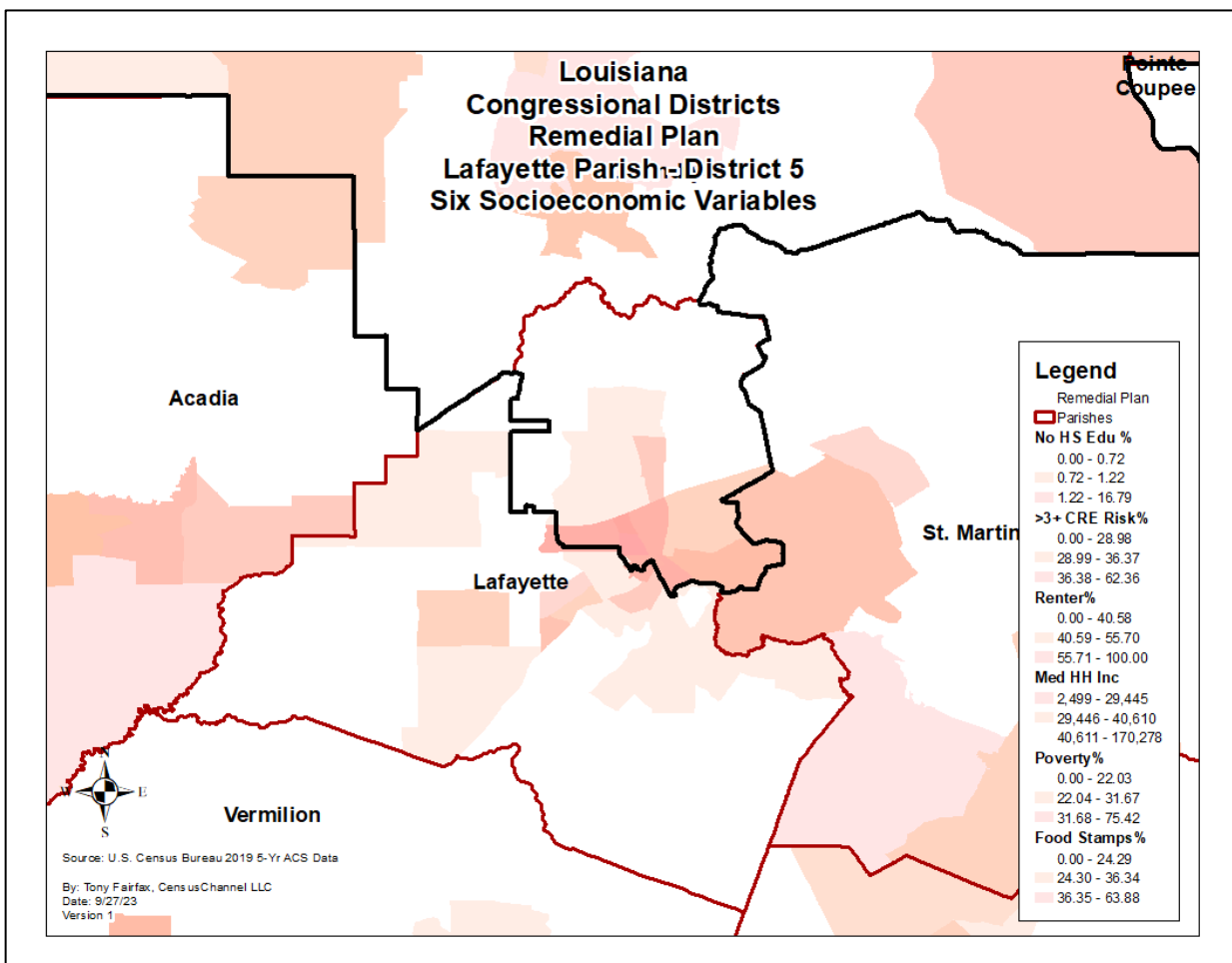


Figure 6 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables for Remedial CD 5

32. On page 9, paragraph 26, Dr. Johnson states that “None of the VTDs pulled from Lafayette Parish into CD5 show up in either the red or the orange categories shown on Mr. Fairfax’s ‘No High School Education %’ map.”
33. The statement by Dr. Johnson is inaccurate. Although all six socioeconomic variables form a general boundary for the Lafayette split, the census tracts with the top two quintiles of the percentages of no High School Education display an almost identical southern district border and are included in CD 5 (See Figure 7).

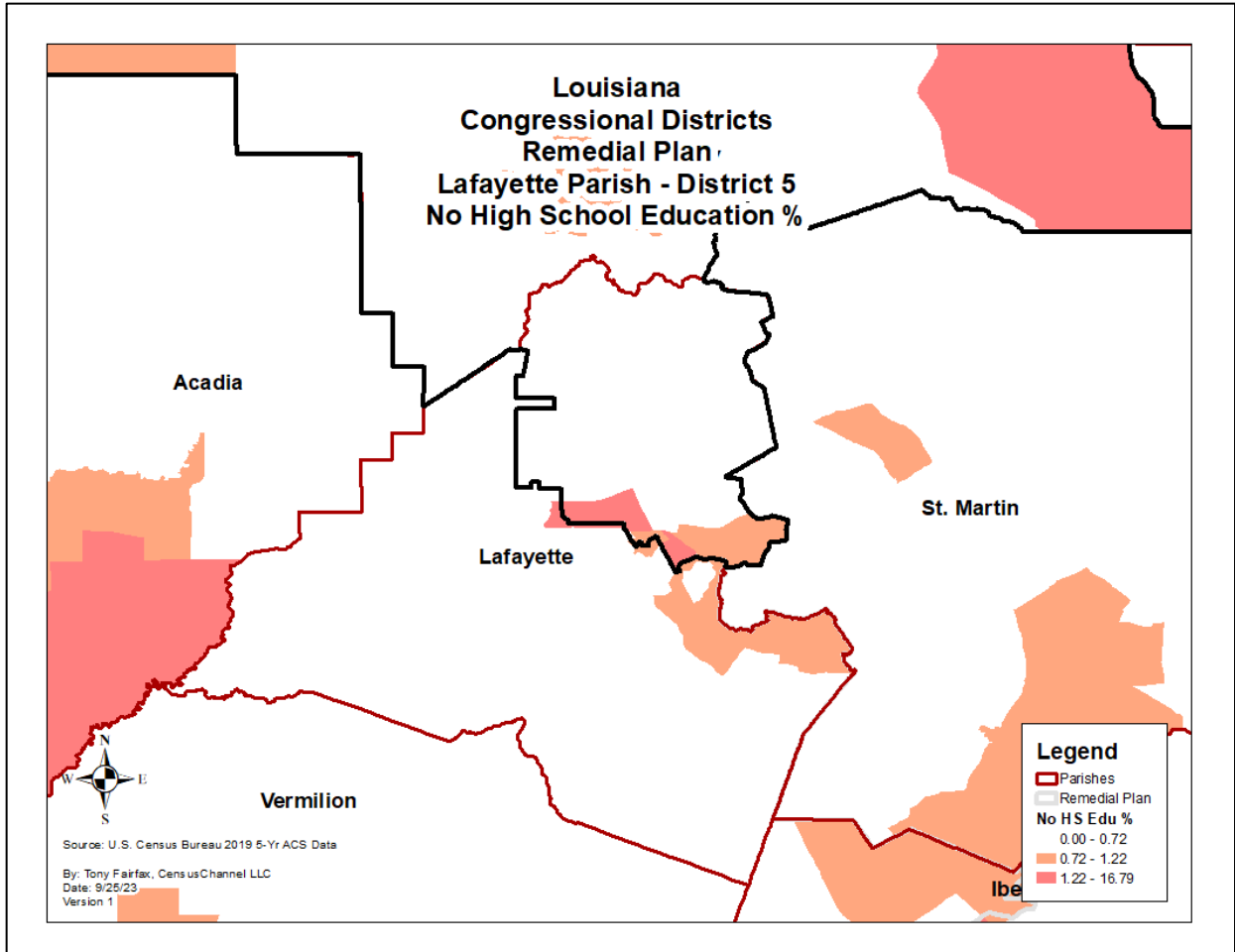


Figure 7 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of % No HS Education for Remedial CD 5

34. CD 5 extends down south from St. Landry and adds the relevant VTDs that are in common with CD 5. Also, if the area to the southeast below the district line was added to CD 5 the district would become significantly less compact with a hook configuration.
35. When integrating these VTDs into CD 5, the area in Lafayette was added in a manner that preserved multiple census places. Figure 8 shows how the extension into Lafayette also preserves the city of Carencro and Ossun CDP whole by placing the boundary between the two.

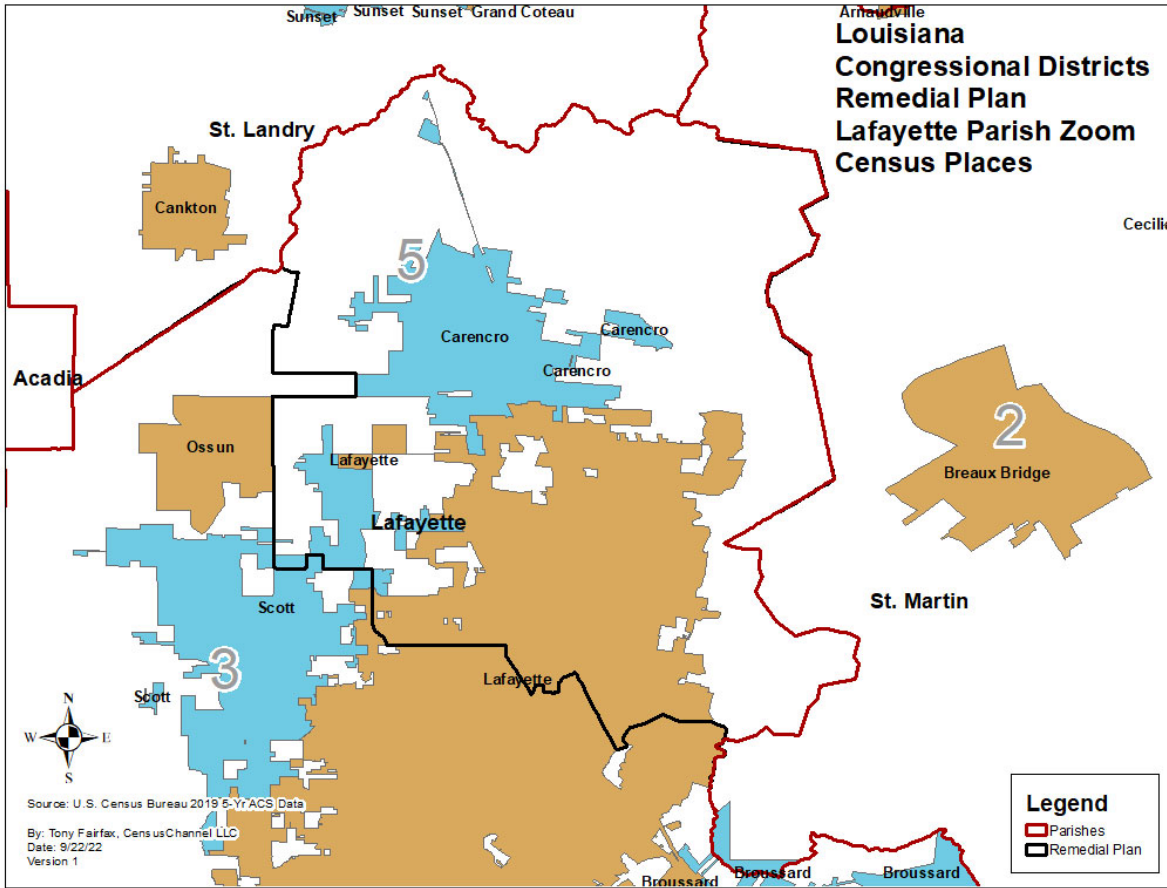


Figure 8 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of Census Places of the Remedial Plan CD 5

36. The corresponding configuration of the socioeconomic areas and the configuration to wholly include select cities contradicts Dr. Johnson’s implied allegation of race predominating.

Iberia Parish

37. In this instance, the boundary lines shown in the Iberia Parish thematic maps in Dr. Johnson’s report display a different boundary than the Remedial Plan. This causes some confusion when matching his comments to the maps. That said, Dr. Johnson, on page 11, paragraph 30 of his report discusses the split of Iberia Parish. He states, “None of the VTDs pulled into CD2 show up either in the red or orange on the No High School education % map.”

38. Once again, this is an inaccurate statement by Dr. Johnson. A review of Figure 9 shows that a portion of New Iberia contained in CD 2 clearly has census tracts in the top two quintiles of the No HS Education % map.

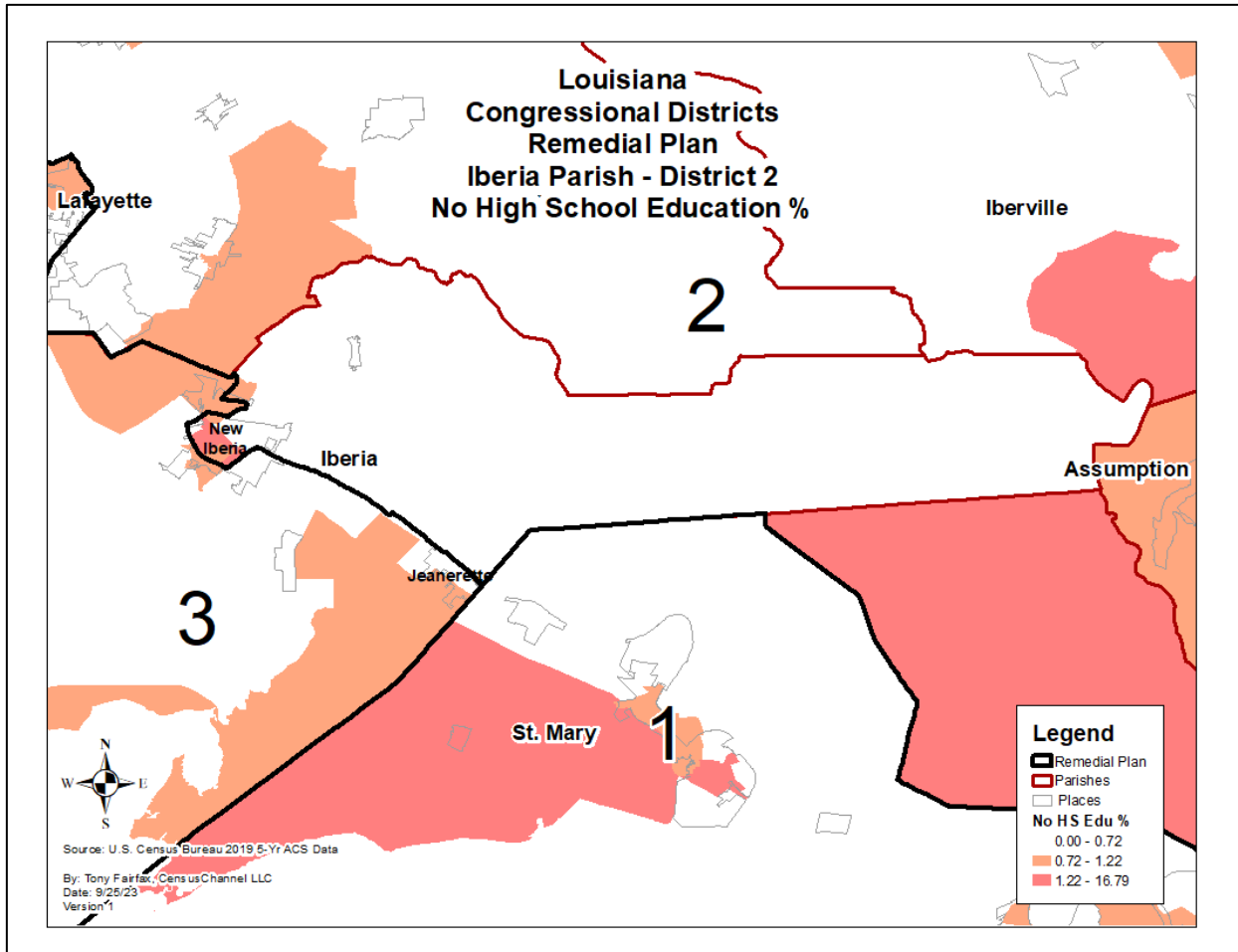


Figure 9 – Iberia Parish Zoom of No High School Education % of the Remedial Plan CD 2

39. In addition, the map at the top of page 10 of Dr. Johnson’s report shows two areas on the district border in Iberia that are majority Black. Dr. Johnson focuses on the area to the west, New Iberia, but not the area to the east in Jeanerette. The area from New Iberia is included in CD 2, however, the majority-Black area corresponding to Jeanerette is not. Also, surrounding the majority Black area to the east are several VTDs that are between 40% to 50% Black. If

race was a predominant factor, these VTDs could have been easily added to CD 2 as well.

However, race was not a predominant factor in the development of the Remedial Plan

40. Unlike the other parish splits, the Iberia split was accomplished to make CD 2 more compact (See Figure 9). If the entire area of Iberia was left out of CD2, the district boundary near St. Martin would be noticeably less compact. Furthermore, that portion of Iberia added to CD 2 is only 35.5% Black VAP (See Appendix B), which validates the rationale for the addition being influenced by compactness and not by race.

41. Thus, Iberia was split in an almost straight line. The exception was the VTDs that aligned with several socioeconomic attributes that were used to generally define CD 5 (See Figure 10).

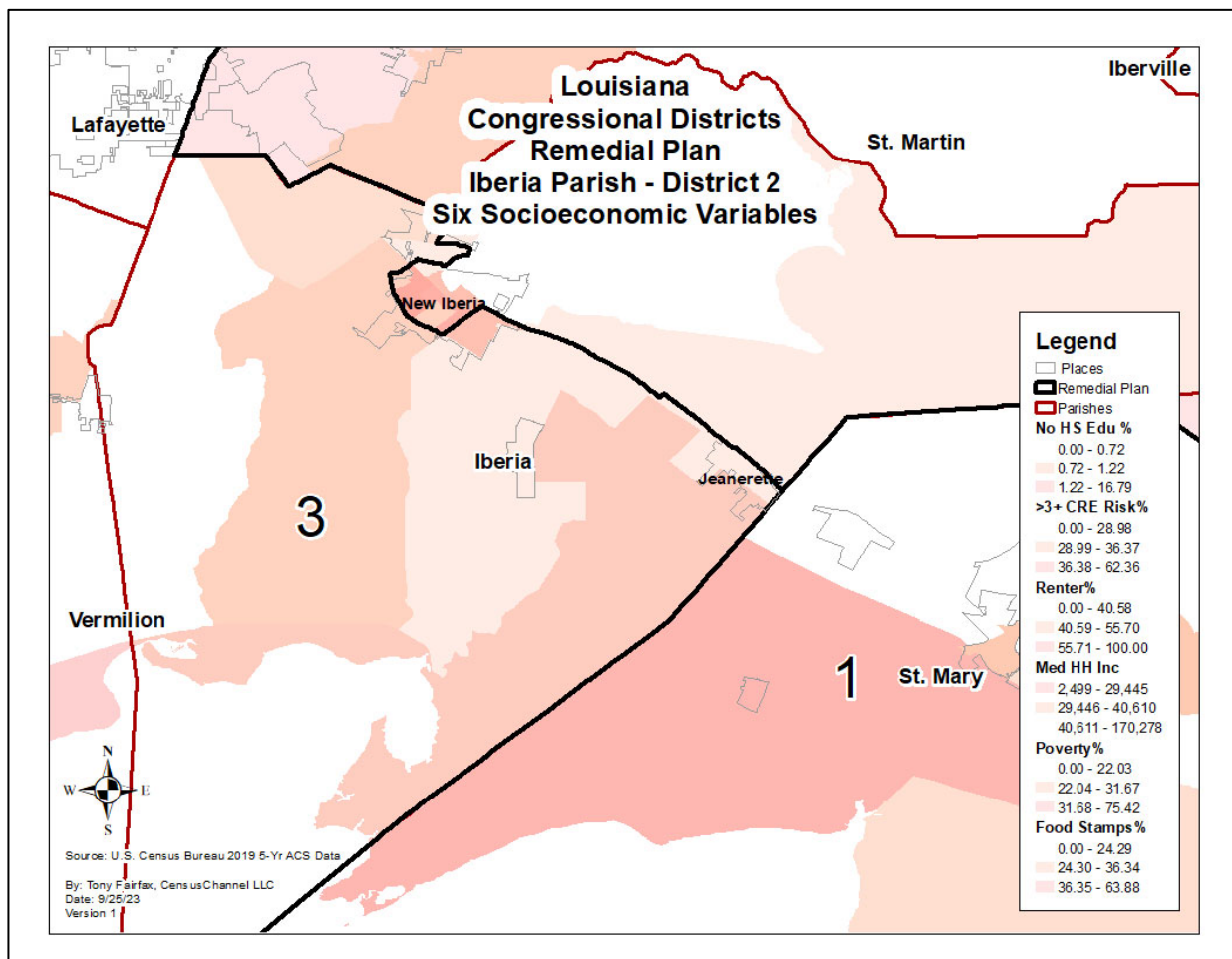


Figure 10 – Iberia Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables of the Remedial Plan CD 2

42. Figure 10 shows that the area in New Iberia that is added to CD 5 displays a concentration of all six socioeconomic variables with a darker shade. Also, it is notable that Jeanerette does not reflect the same concentration of the socioeconomic variables, although it is majority Black.

43. The division of Iberia in an almost perfectly straight line and the corresponding configuration associated with socioeconomic aspects contradicts Dr. Johnson’s implied allegation of race predominating. Finally, other socioeconomic attributes also generally reflect the configuration of the Iberia split, including education and income.

Jefferson Parish

44. Dr. Johnson, on page 13, paragraph 33 of his report discusses the split of Jefferson Parish. He states, “As the images above show, the portion of Jefferson Parish carved out for inclusion in proposed Remedial Congressional District 2 includes 100% of the majority-Black VTDs in the Parish, while including just 40.9% of the total VTDs in the Parish.”
45. Dr. Johnson states several times in his report that CD 2 does not follow one or more of the socioeconomic variables discussed in his report, namely, HS Education % and CRE Risk Factors. However, CD 2 of the Remedial Plan was purposely developed to essentially follow the Enacted Plan, which followed closely with the 2011 Plan in Jefferson and Orleans Parish areas. Figure 11 shows the Enacted Plan in the blue color for CD 2, while the Remedial Plan is shown in the black boundary lines. Examining the boundaries for Jefferson Parish, the Remedial Plan lines, except for a slight difference, clearly follow the Enacted Plan. The changes made in the Remedial Plan were achieved to improve the compactness of CD 2.

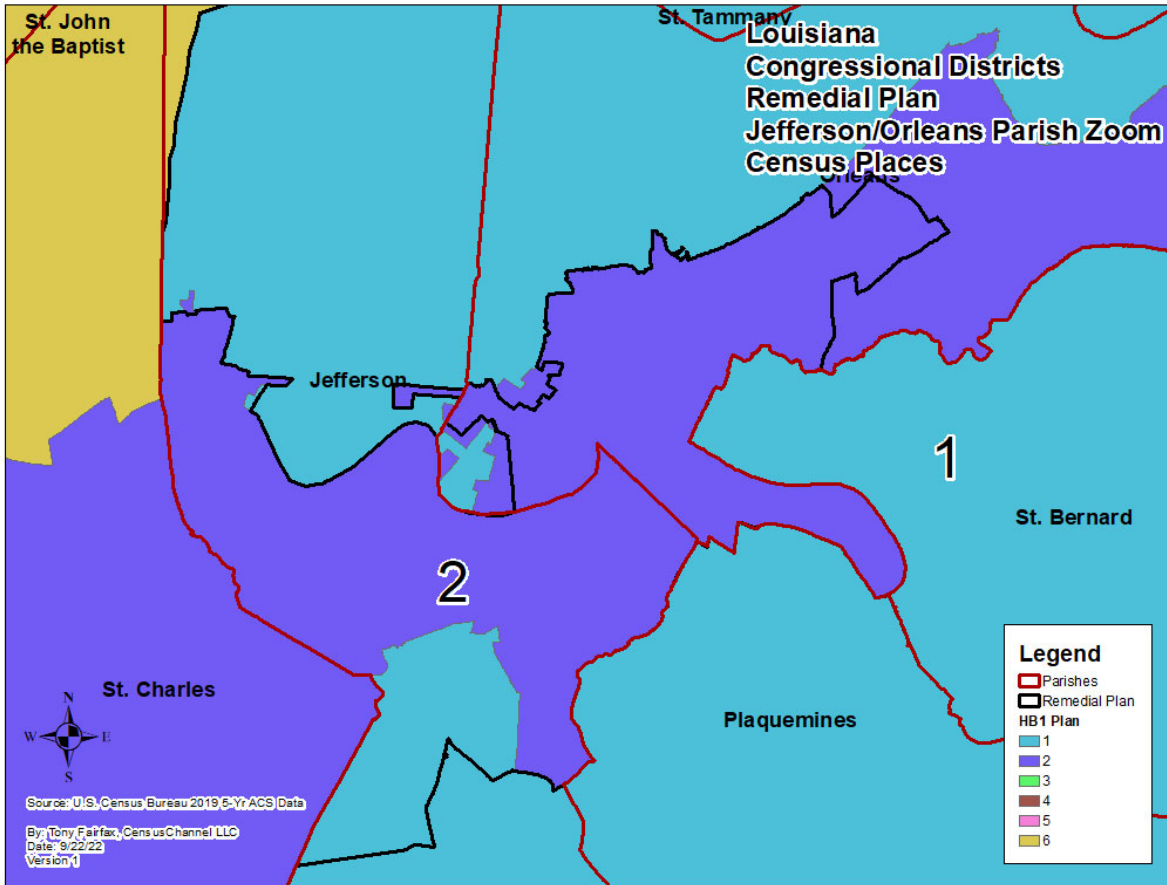


Figure 11 – Jefferson/Orleans Parish Zoom of Remedial Plan CD 2

46. On page 13 in paragraph 35, Dr. Johnson also states, “Areas north and south of the proposed Remedial CD 2 southern border in Jefferson Parish show up in the highest (red) category of the ‘>3 CRE Risk Factors’ maps, but those areas are not majority-Black and were not included in proposed Remedial CD 2.”

47. This statement by Dr. Johnson is not true. A review of the area in the west part of Jefferson Parish that is located in CD 2 can be seen to have multiple census tracts with dark red shading reflecting the top two quintiles in >3 CRE Risk Factors, as shown in Figure 12. Many of these areas are shown in light blue and green in Dr. Johnson's map, located at the bottom of page 12.

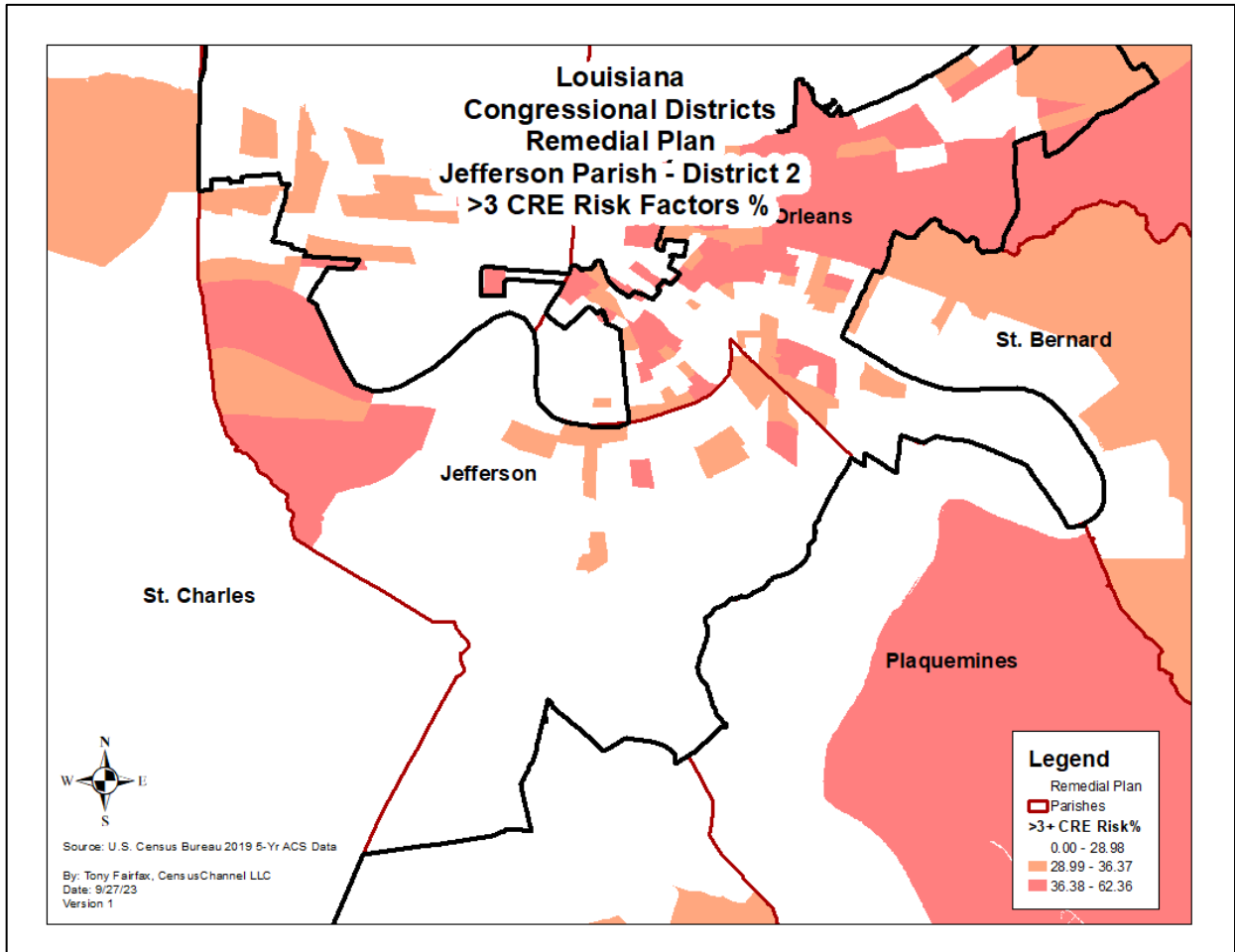


Figure 12 – Jefferson Parish >3 CRE Risk Factors % of Remedial Plan CD 2

48. The almost exact duplication of the Jefferson Parish boundaries in the Remedial and Enacted Plans contradicts Dr. Johnson’s implied allegation of race predominating.

Orleans Parish

49. Dr. Johnson, on page 16, paragraph 40 of his report discusses the split of Orleans Parish. He states, “The VTDs pulled into CD 2 in Orleans Parish match much more precisely with race than they do with the Education and CRE Risk Factors maps.”

50. As with Jefferson Parish, CD 2 of the Remedial Plan was purposely developed to essentially follow the Enacted Plan which followed closely with the 2011 Plan. Once again, the figure

below (Figure 13) shows the Enacted Plan in the blue color for CD 2, while the Remedial Plan is shown in the black boundary lines. Examining the boundaries for Jefferson Parish, the lines, except for the removal of two VTDs on the east, clearly follow the Enacted Plan. Once again, the changes made in the Remedial Plan were achieved mostly to improve the compactness of CD 2. Changes were also made in part due to the alterations from the Illustrative Plan to the Remedial Plan.

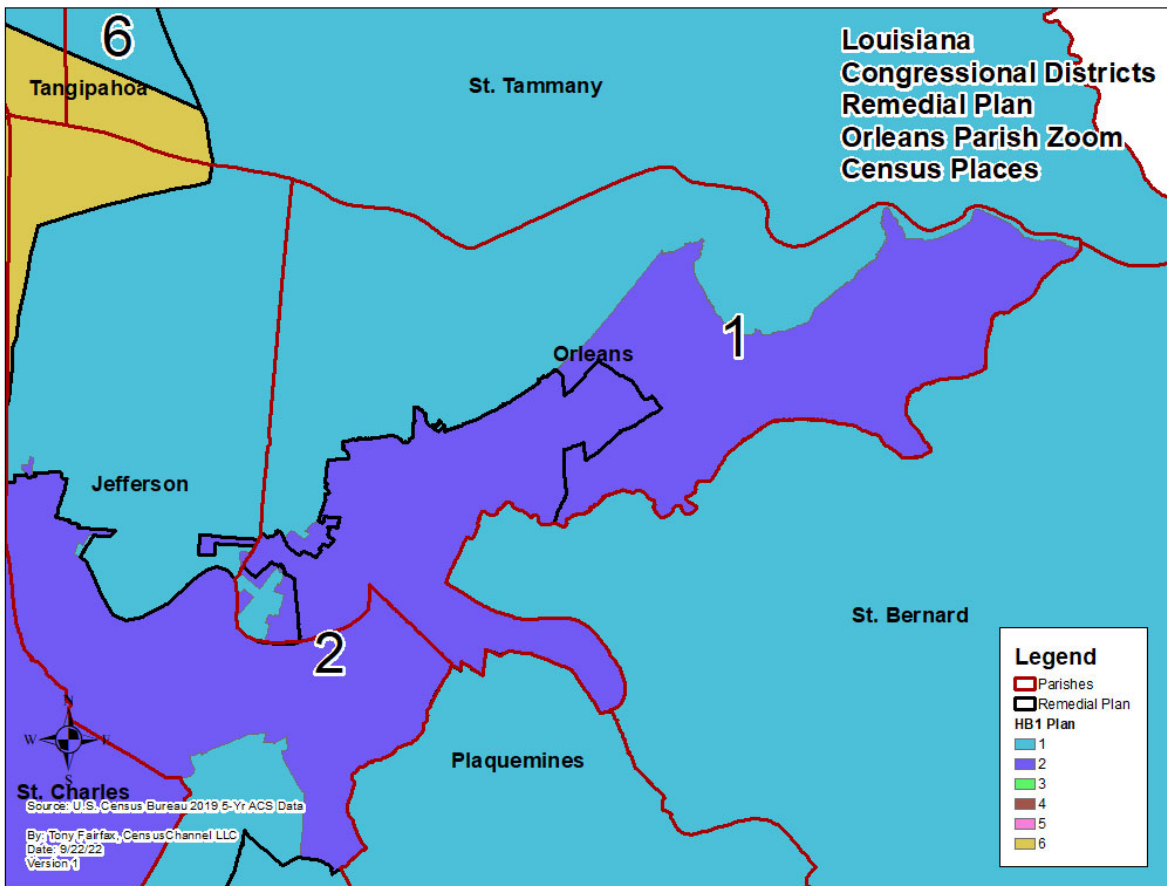


Figure 13 – Orleans Parish Zoom of Remedial Plan CD 2

51. The Remedial Plan is based on the Illustrative Plan 2A. The original Illustrative Plan 2A extended into East Baton Rouge Parish. However, when this extension was removed St. Martin, Iberia, and Iberville were added with the population exceeding the acceptable

deviation. Thus, to compensate for the removal in East Baton Rouge, the population was removed from Orleans Parish in a compact manner.

52. Also, the Remedial Plan removes the Orleans Parish area to the east in order to make CD 1 more compact. Since Orleans Parish is already split, it does not increase the number of Parish splits. Figure 14 shows CD 1 with the thin connection that exists in the Enacted Plan.

However, the Remedial Plan removes two relatively low-populated VTDs (a total of 1,028 persons combined) from the east of Orleans Parish in order to make CD 1 more compact.

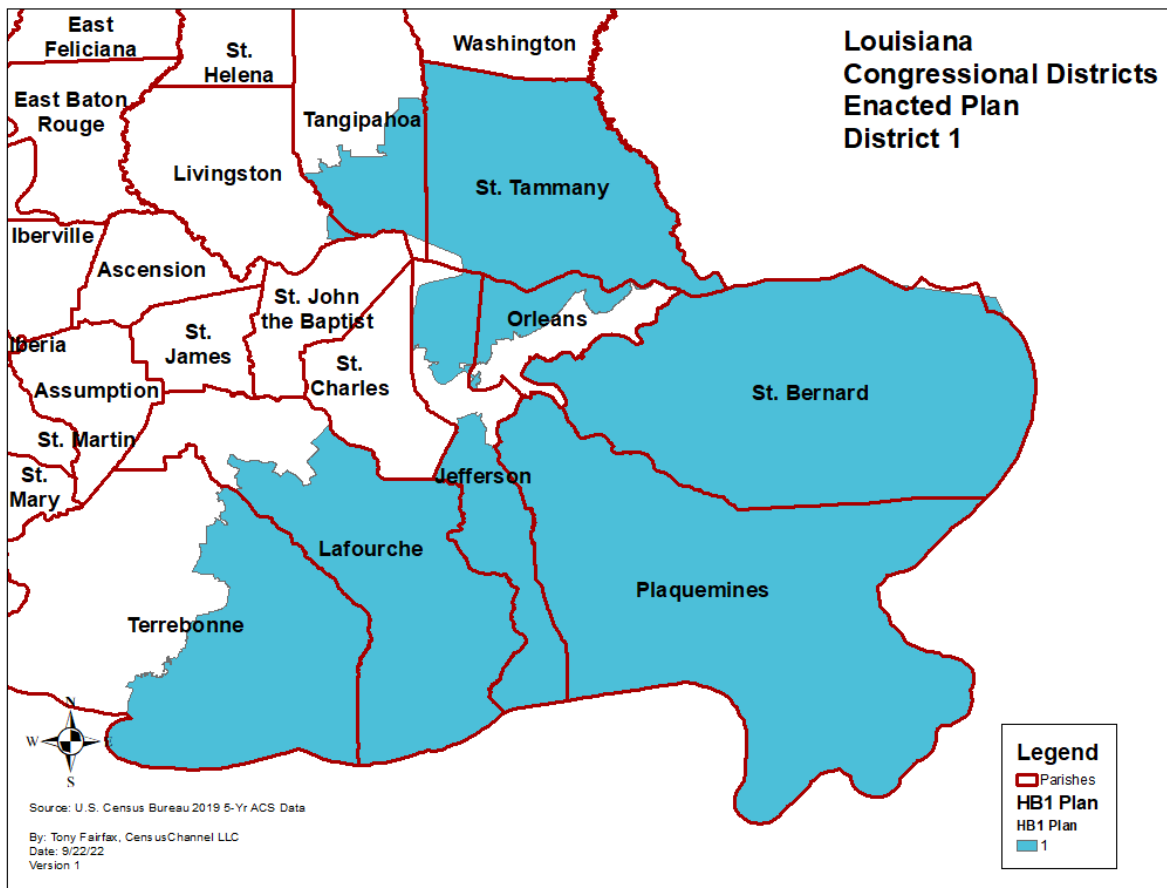


Figure 14 – Enacted Plan CD 1

53. The result of these VTDs removed from CD 2 and added to CD 1 is a much more compact district for CD 1 in the east Orleans area (See Figure 15).

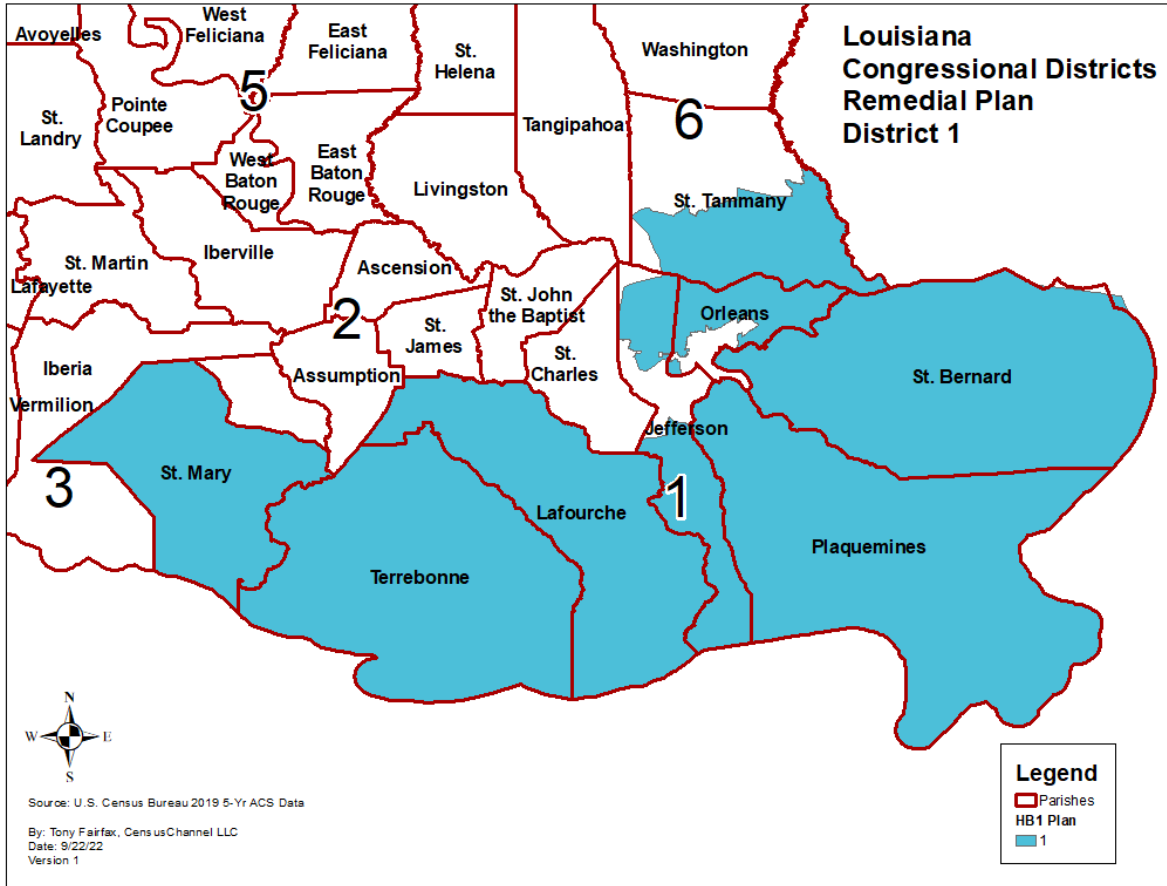


Figure 15 – Remedial Plan CD 1

54. Remedial CD-2 thus mirrors Enacted CD-2 except for changes to make the district more compact, undermining Dr. Johnson’s implied allegation of race predominating.

Ascension Parish

55. Dr. Johnson, on page 18, paragraph 44 of his report discusses the split of Ascension Parish. He states, “The VTDs pulled into CD 2 in Ascension Parish match much more precisely with race than they are for Education and CRE.”

56. Similar to Jefferson and Orleans Parishes, Ascension was developed to follow the Enacted Plan boundaries. Figure 16 shows how the Remedial Plan follows the Enacted Plan except

for two additional VTDs that make CD 2 more compact. The blue color represents the Enacted Plan, while the black boundary is the Remedial Plan.

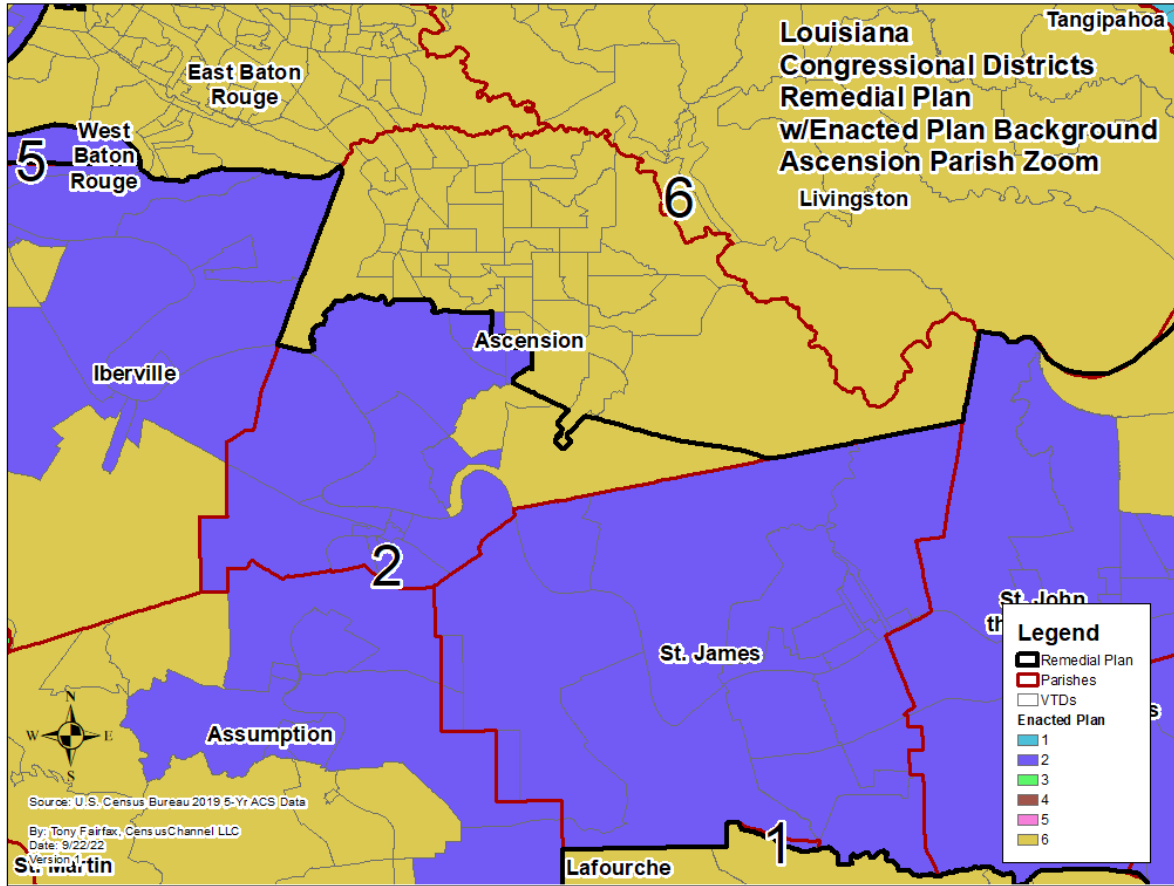


Figure 16 – Ascension Parish Zoom of the Remedial Plan CD 2

57. Once again, it is important to note that Dr. Johnson’s map of Ascension Parish on page 17 of his report shows the added areas to CD 2 are non-majority Black VTDs. One VTD is below 40% Black, and the other is between 40% and 50% Black. The inclusion of these non-majority Black areas, as well as essentially mimicking the Enacted Plan boundaries, contradicts Dr. Johnson’s implied allegation of race predominating.

East Baton Rouge Parish

58. Dr. Johnson, on page 20, paragraph 47 of his report discusses the split of East Baton Rouge Parish. He states, “While the correlation is not as close as it is in the other divided parishes, the VTDs pulled into CD 5 in East Baton Rouge Parish match more precisely with race than they do with Education and CRE Risk Factors maps.”

59. Once again reviewing all six socioeconomic variables mostly outline a significant amount of the configuration of CD 5 within East Baton Rouge (See Figure 17). The boundaries of CD 5 extend down from East Feliciana and West Baton Rouge to add the portions in East Baton Rouge that are common to the six socioeconomic variables of CD 5.

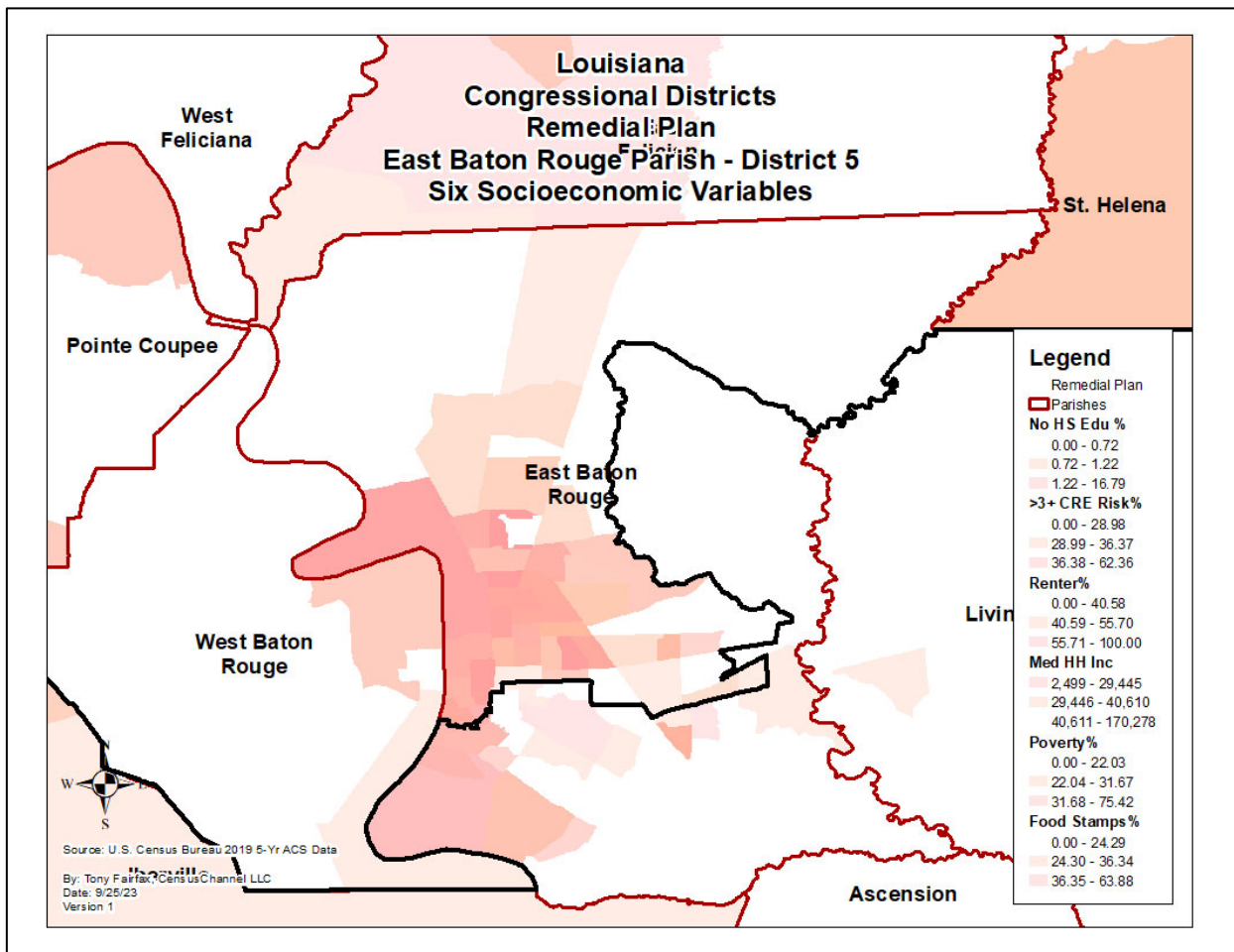


Figure 17 – East Baton Rouge Parish Six Socioeconomic Variables for Remedial CD 5

60. The exception is the portion below the southeast border in East Baton Rouge. However, a more defined depiction of CD 5 in East Baton Rouge can be seen when viewing the No High School Education % and the > 3 CRE Risk Factor %.

61. Similar to the segment in Lafayette, overlaying both the top two quintiles for No High School Education % and the CRE Risk Factor % generally define the bulk of the configuration of CD 5 within East Baton Rouge (See Figure 18).

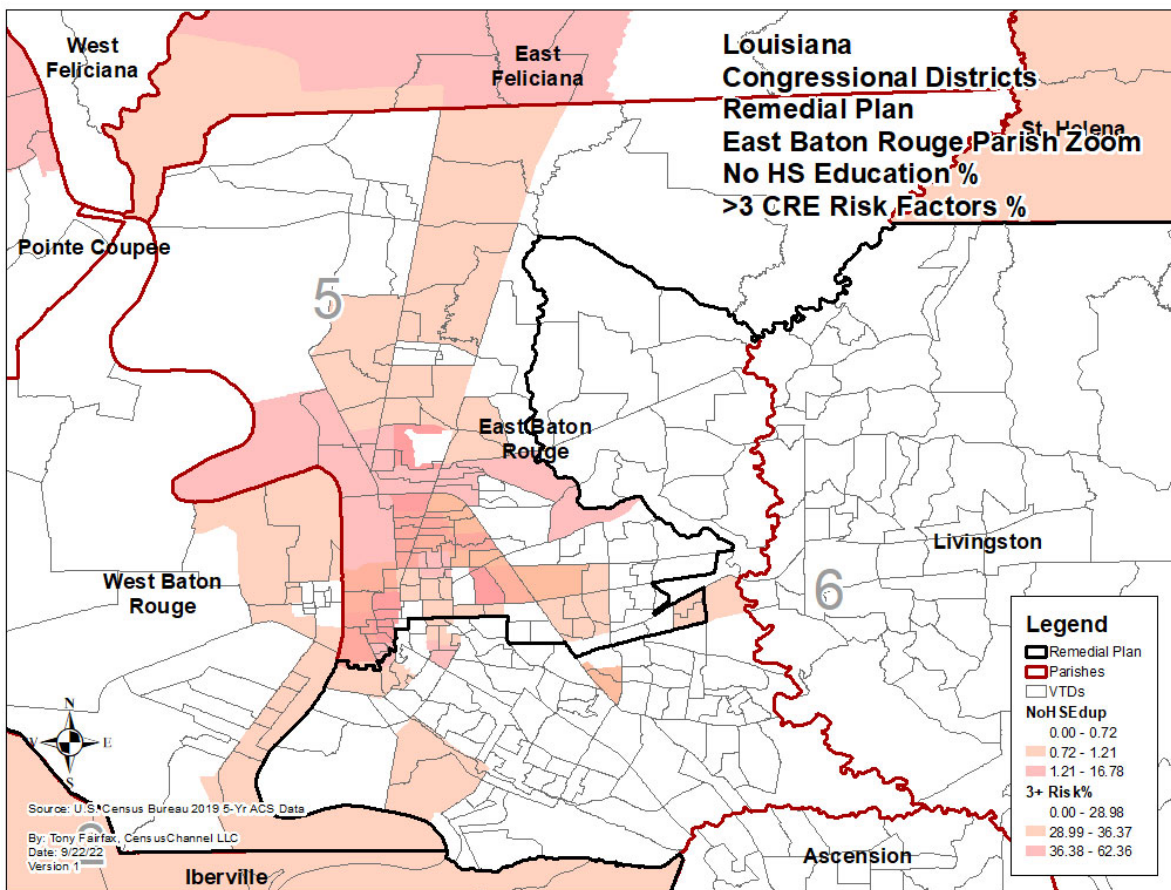


Figure 18 – East Baton Rouge Parish % No HS Edu/> 3 CRE Risk Factor % for Remedial CD 5

62. Second, the boundaries of CD 5 become more apparent when considering census places. The eastern boundary of CD 5 in East Baton Rouge generally follows census places. The removal of the city of Central creates the top eastern boundary. Central fits socioeconomically better

with CD 6 than CD 2. The removal of Central results in the majority-Black VTDs becoming the border of CD 5 in East Baton Rouge, as shown in Dr. Johnson's figure on page 20. The stark difference in racial makeup on the border of the city is most likely due to long-time segregated patterns.

63. In addition, the boundaries on the southern east end of CD 5 in East Baton Rouge generally follow the boundaries of census places as well (See Figure 19).

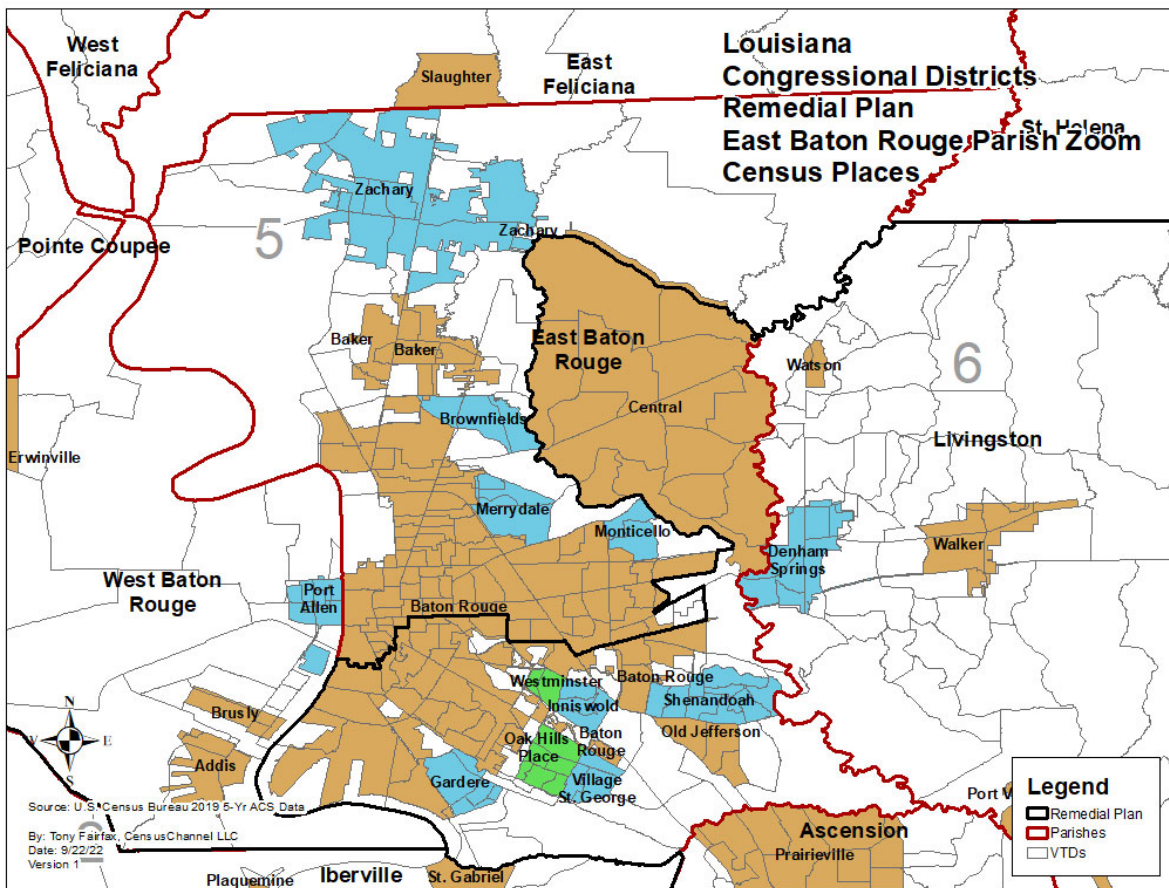


Figure 19 – East Baton Rouge Parish Zoom of the Remedial Plan CD 2 with Census Places

64. With the exception of one VTD, the city of Baton Rouge, the CDP of Monticello, and the No High School Education/CRE aspects define the eastern boundaries. Figure 19 clearly shows the census places that create the eastern boundary of CD 5 in East Baton Rouge Parish.

65. Again, it is important to note that Dr. Johnson's map of East Baton Rouge Parish on page 19 shows that CD 5 includes many VTDs that are below 40% Black. In addition, Dr. Johnson states on page 20, paragraph 48, "The Enacted map also divides East Baton Rouge Parish, but not along the strictly racial lines of the Remedial Map." He then provides a map on page 21 that shows that the Enacted Plan included only majority-Black VTDs in East Baton Rouge Parish within CD 2.

66. The inclusion of these non-majority Black areas, the inclusion of socioeconomic/CRE aspects, and the boundaries of CD 5 following census places contradict Dr. Johnson's implied allegation of race predominating.

Tangipahoa Parish

67. Dr. Johnson, on page 23, paragraph 23 of his report discusses the split of Tangipahoa Parish. He states, "With the exception of just on VTD, the southern boundary of the portion of Tangipahoa Parish pulled into CD 5 follows the boundaries of the VTDs that are 40% Black or higher." Although the No High School Education and the >3 CRE Risk Factors maps do show alignment with the Tangipahoa area added, the most important aspect of Dr. Johnson's comments is that he failed to mention the group of VTDs that are below 50% Black. The area in CD 5 that is added has a significant amount of VTDs below 50% Black as seen in his map on page 22 of his report.

68. The inclusion of these non-majority Black areas as well as the generalized matching of CD 5's configuration to socioeconomic factors contradicts Dr. Johnson's implied allegation of race predominating.

Vernon Parish

69. Dr. Johnson, on page 25 paragraph 58 of his report discusses the split of Vernon Parish. He states, “In contrast, the Proposed Remedial Map splits the relatively small Vernon Parish (less than 50,000 in total population) and puts Fort Polk (now Fort Johnson) in District 3 with the Gulf Coast.”
70. The explanation for the purported issue raised by Dr. Johnson is very simple. Vernon Parish was used to bring the population of CD 3 and 4 down to acceptable deviation. The State choosing to not split VTDs in the congressional plan limits the choices to equalize the population of the districts. Also, there is no requirement that prohibits a military base from being included in a district that touches the Gulf Coast.
71. Dr. Johnson also writes in his report that “the proposed boundaries closely follow racial differences among the VTDs.” This is a curious comment since CD 3 or CD 4 are not one of the majority Black districts and would not benefit one way or another by including a few VTDs with only several hundred people.

St. Tammany

72. Dr. Johnson on page 26 paragraph 60 report discusses the split of St. Tammany Parish. He states, “Another example of an unexplained Parish split in the Proposed Remedy Map is in St. Tammany Parish. The split there does not follow city boundaries nor Mr. Fairfax’s Education and High-Risk factor maps, but at least for once this split is not a clear racial division.”

73. St. Tammany Parish was split to bring the population deviation between CD 1 and CD 6 down to an acceptable level. Dr. Johnson mentions that the St. Tammany district boundaries do not follow city boundaries and thus split a city. However, he fails to mention that the Remedial Plan splits fewer cities than the Enacted Plan.

G. BESE Districts Maps

There is precedent for how municipalities and parishes have been split in the state. The State Board of Elementary and School Education (BESE) map that contains eight districts splits some of the same parishes in similar manners as the Remedial Plan. As just two examples, Lafayette and Tangipahoa parishes are split similarly (See Appendix A) and the map combines many of the cities that are contained within CD 5 in the Remedial Plan (e.g., Lafayette, Baton Rouge, and Alexandria).

H. Conclusion

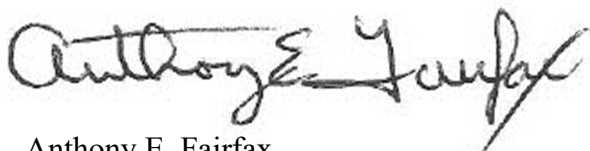
Nothing in Dr. Johnson's reports changes the conclusions expressed in my original report. Building off of Illustrative Plan 2A, the Remedial Plan better adheres to traditional districting principles and portions of the enacted map. Race did not predominate in drawing of the Illustrative Plan or the Remedial Plan, or, more specifically, Remedial CD 2 and CD 5.

I. Appendix

Appendix A - Socioeconomic Maps

Appendix B - Maptitude Data Report

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Anthony E. Fairfax". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent initial "A" and a long, sweeping underline.

Anthony E. Fairfax

September 28, 2023

Appendix A

Socioeconomic/Other Maps

Recreation of Maps using 2019 5-Year ACS Census Tract Data of Select Socioeconomic Attributes

- 1 – All Six Socioeconomic Variables with Remedial Plan w/No Parish Boundaries
- 2 – All Six Socioeconomic Thematic Variables with Remedial Plan CD 5
- 3 – Ouachita Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables of the Remedial Plan CD 5
- 4 – Ouachita Parish Zoom of Renter % of the Remedial Plan CD 5
- 5 – All Six Socioeconomic Variables for Rapides Parish Remedial Plan CD 5
- 6 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables for Remedial CD 5
- 7 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of % No HS Education for Remedial CD 5
- 8 – Lafayette Parish Zoom of Census Places of the Remedial Plan CD 5
- 9 – Iberia Parish Zoom of No High School Education % of the Remedial Plan CD 2
- 10 – Iberia Parish Zoom of Six Socioeconomic Variables of the Remedial Plan CD 2
- 11 – Jefferson/Orleans Parish Zoom of Remedial Plan CD 2
- 12 – Jefferson Parish >3 CRE Risk Factors % of Remedial Plan CD 2
- 13 – Orleans Parish Zoom of Remedial Plan CD 2
- 14 – Enacted Plan CD 1
- 15 – Remedial Plan CD 1
- 16 – Ascension Parish Zoom of the Remedial Plan CD 2
- 17 – East Baton Rouge Parish Six Socioeconomic Variables for Remedial CD 5
- 18 – East Baton Rouge Parish % No HS Edu/> 3 CRE Risk Factor % for Remedial CD 5
- 19 – East Baton Rouge Parish Zoom of the Remedial Plan CD 2 with Census Places

2021 BESE District Map

Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan

District 5 Parishes - No Parish Boundaries Six Socioeconomic Variables

Legend

Remedial Plan
Parishes

No HS Edu%

NoHSEdup

0.00 - 0.72

0.72 - 1.22

1.22 - 16.79

3 + Risk%

3+ Risk%

0.00 - 28.98

28.99 - 36.37

36.38 - 62.36

Renter%

Renter%

0.00 - 40.58

40.59 - 55.70

55.71 - 100.00

Med HH Inc

MedHHInc

2,499 - 29,445

29,446 - 40,610

40,611 - 170,278

Poverty%

Poverty%

0.00 - 22.03

22.04 - 31.67

31.68 - 75.42

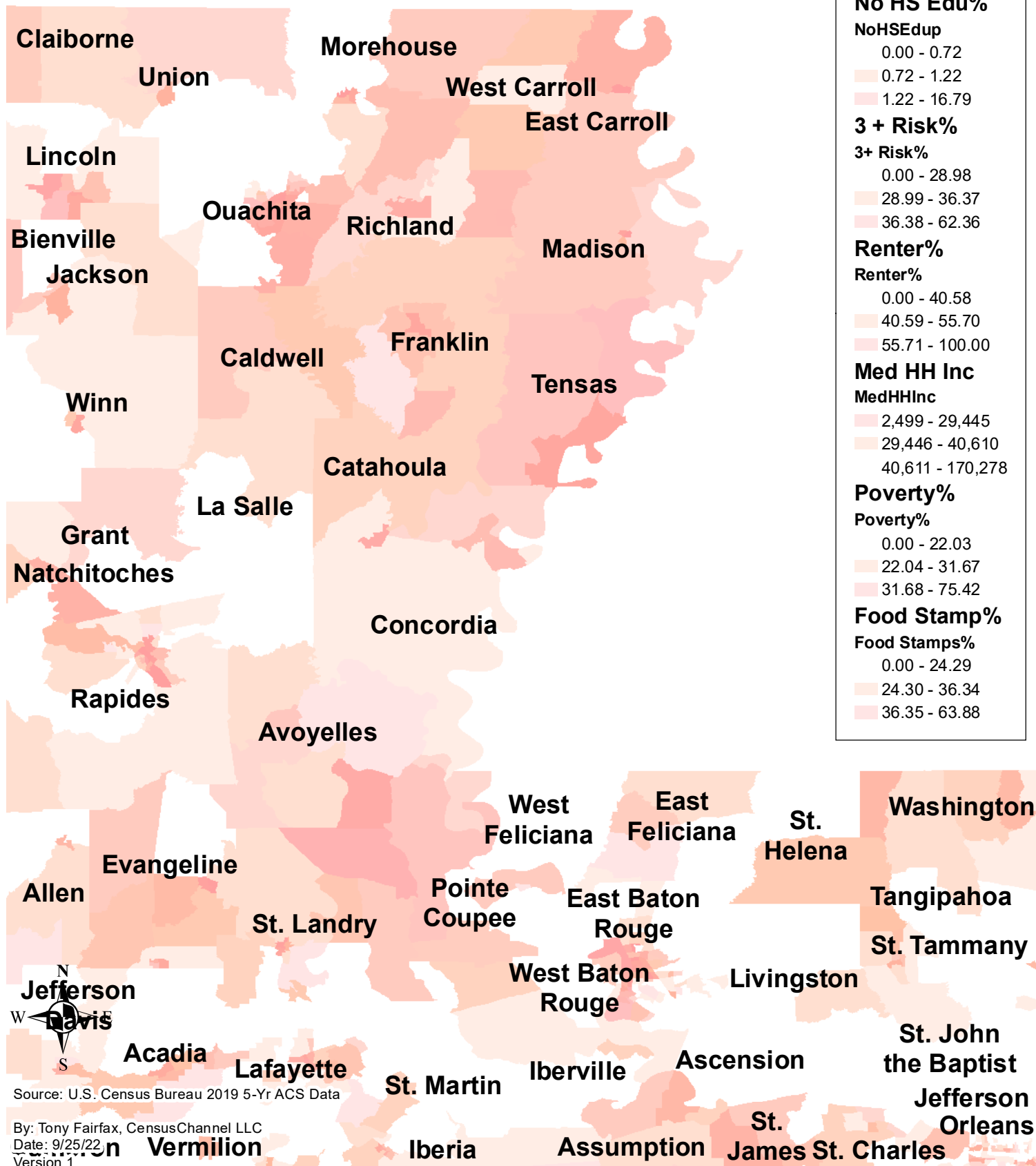
Food Stamp%

Food Stamps%

0.00 - 24.29

24.30 - 36.34

36.35 - 63.88



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data

By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/25/22
Version 1

Louisiana

Congressional Districts Remedial Plan District 5 Six Socioeconomic Variables

Legend

Remedial Plan
 Parishes

No HS Edu%
 NoHSEdup
 0.00 - 0.72
 0.72 - 1.22
 1.22 - 16.79

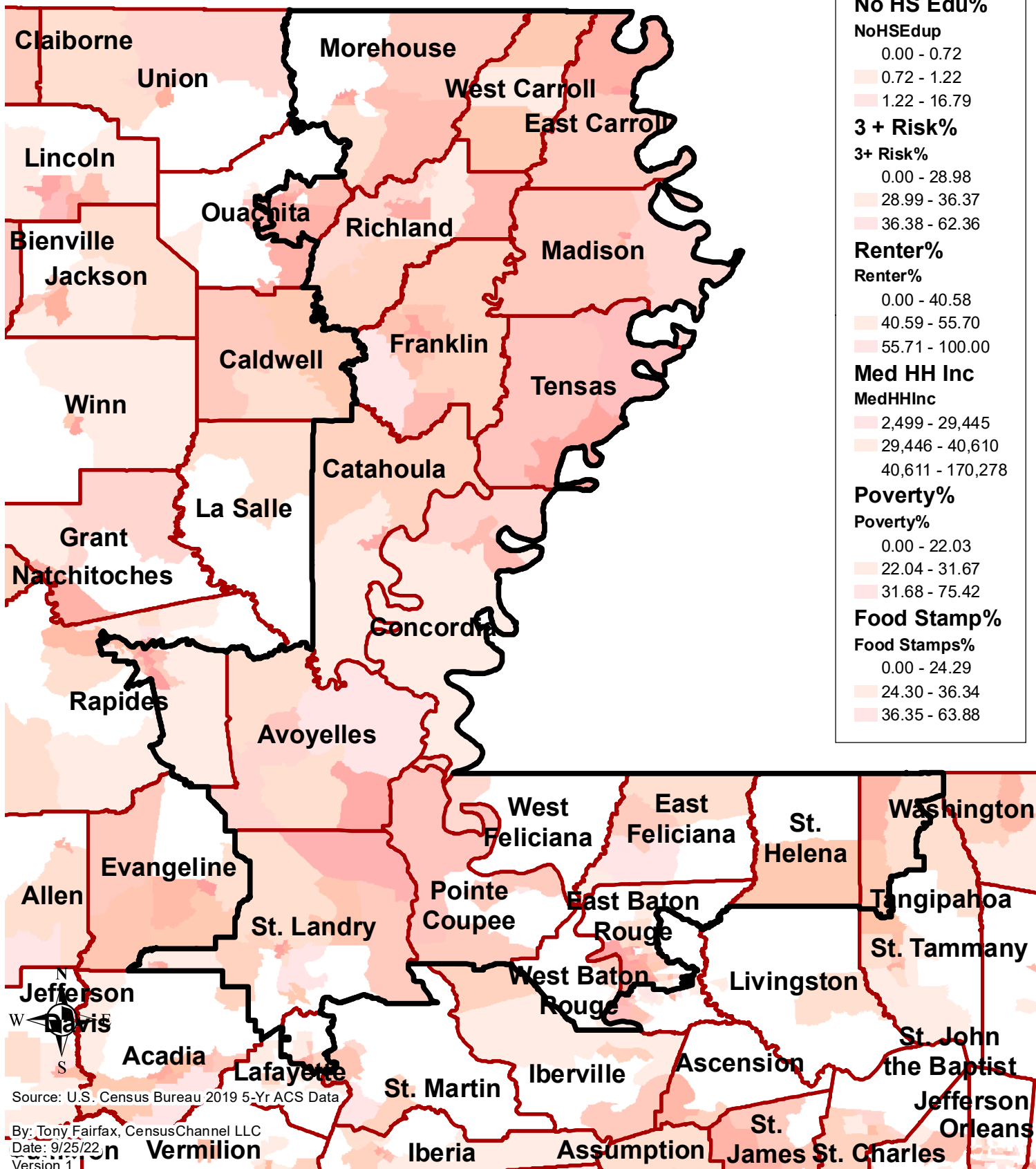
3 + Risk%
 3+ Risk%
 0.00 - 28.98
 28.99 - 36.37
 36.38 - 62.36

Renter%
 Renter%
 0.00 - 40.58
 40.59 - 55.70
 55.71 - 100.00

Med HH Inc
 MedHHInc
 2,499 - 29,445
 29,446 - 40,610
 40,611 - 170,278

Poverty%
 Poverty%
 0.00 - 22.03
 22.04 - 31.67
 31.68 - 75.42

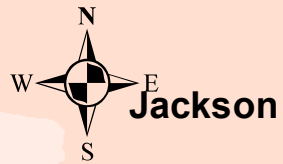
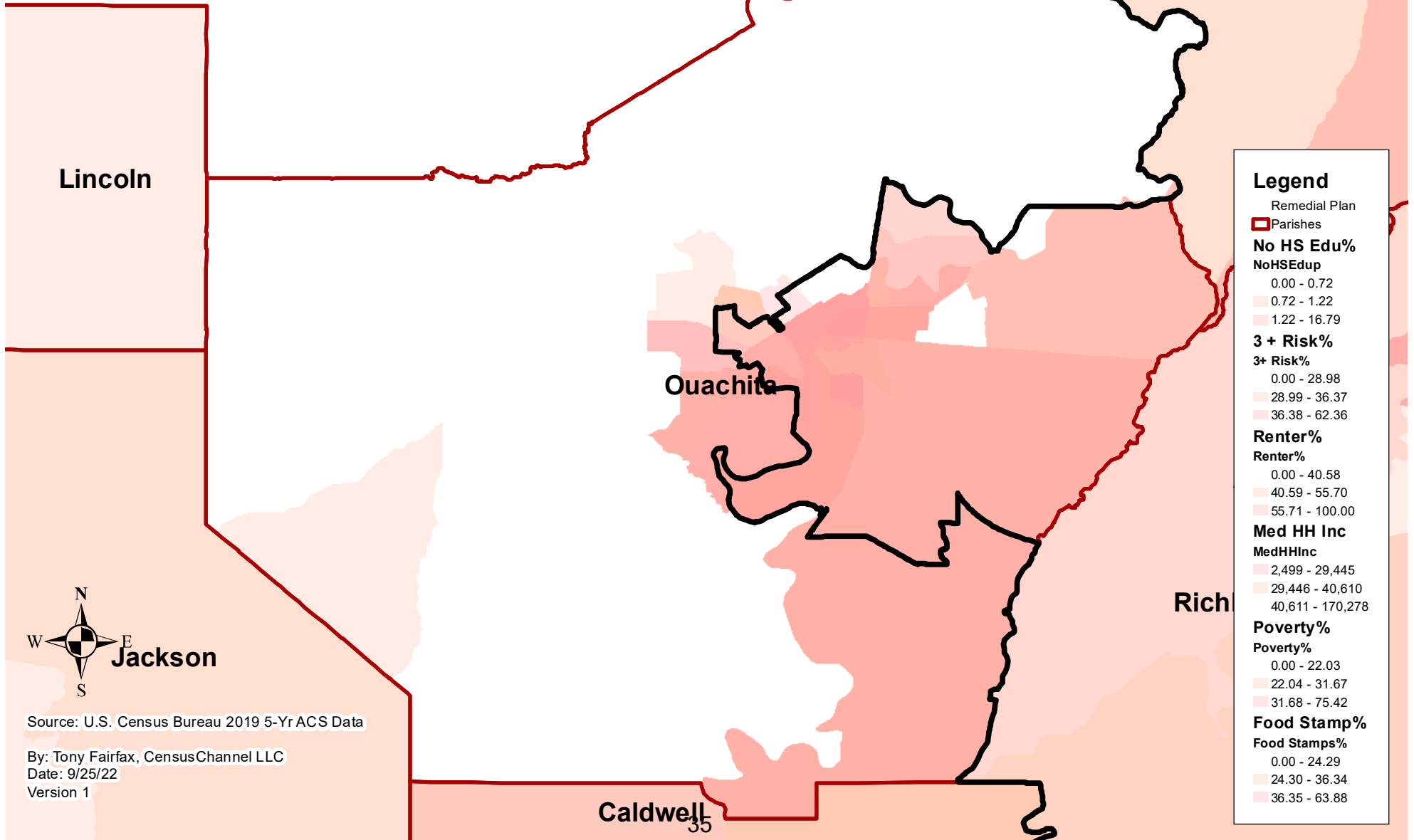
Food Stamp%
 Food Stamps%
 0.00 - 24.29
 24.30 - 36.34
 36.35 - 63.88



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data

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Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Ouachita Parish - District 5 Unweighted All Six Socioeconomic Variables

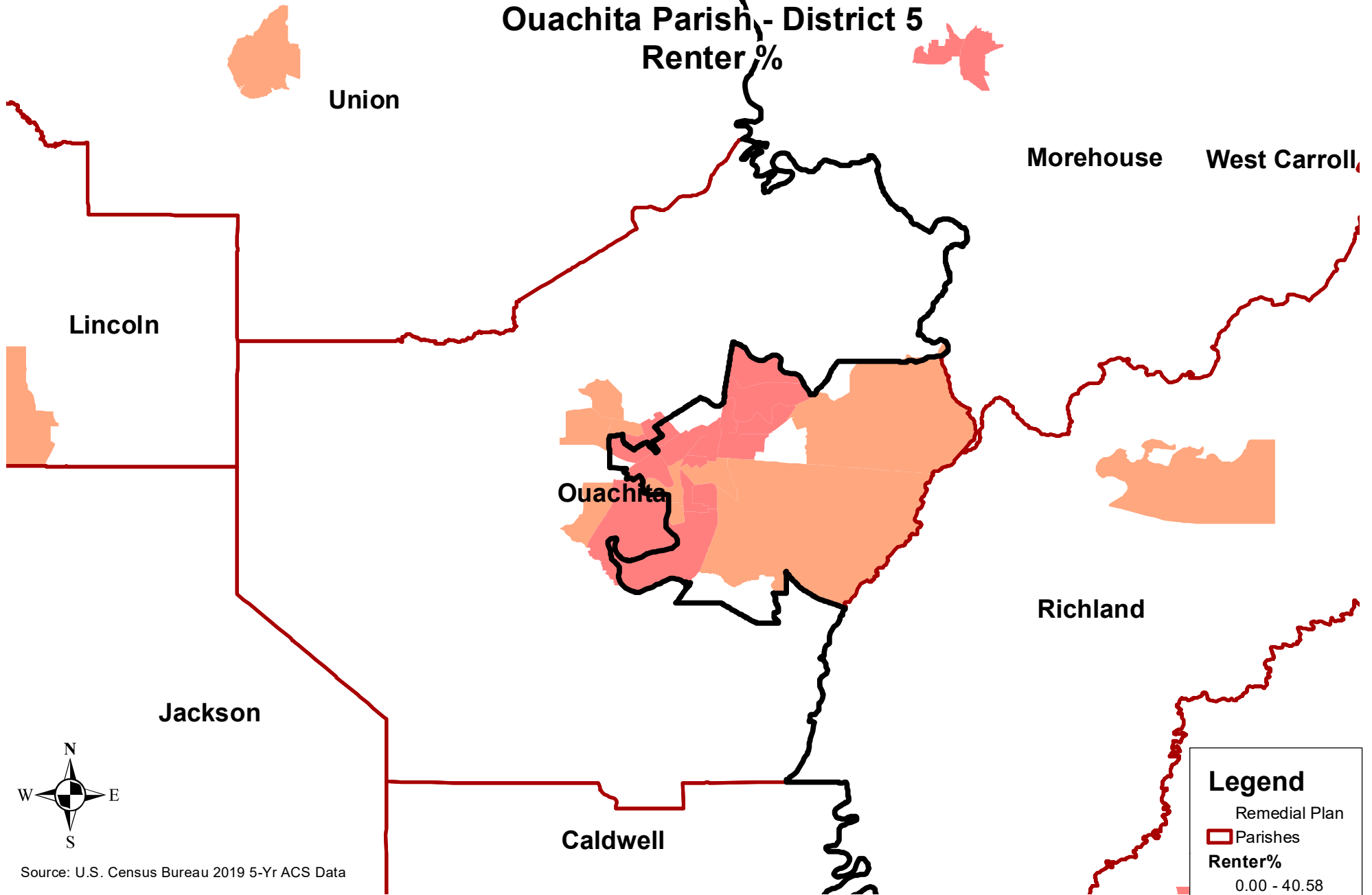


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Date: 9/25/22
Version 1

Caldwell
35

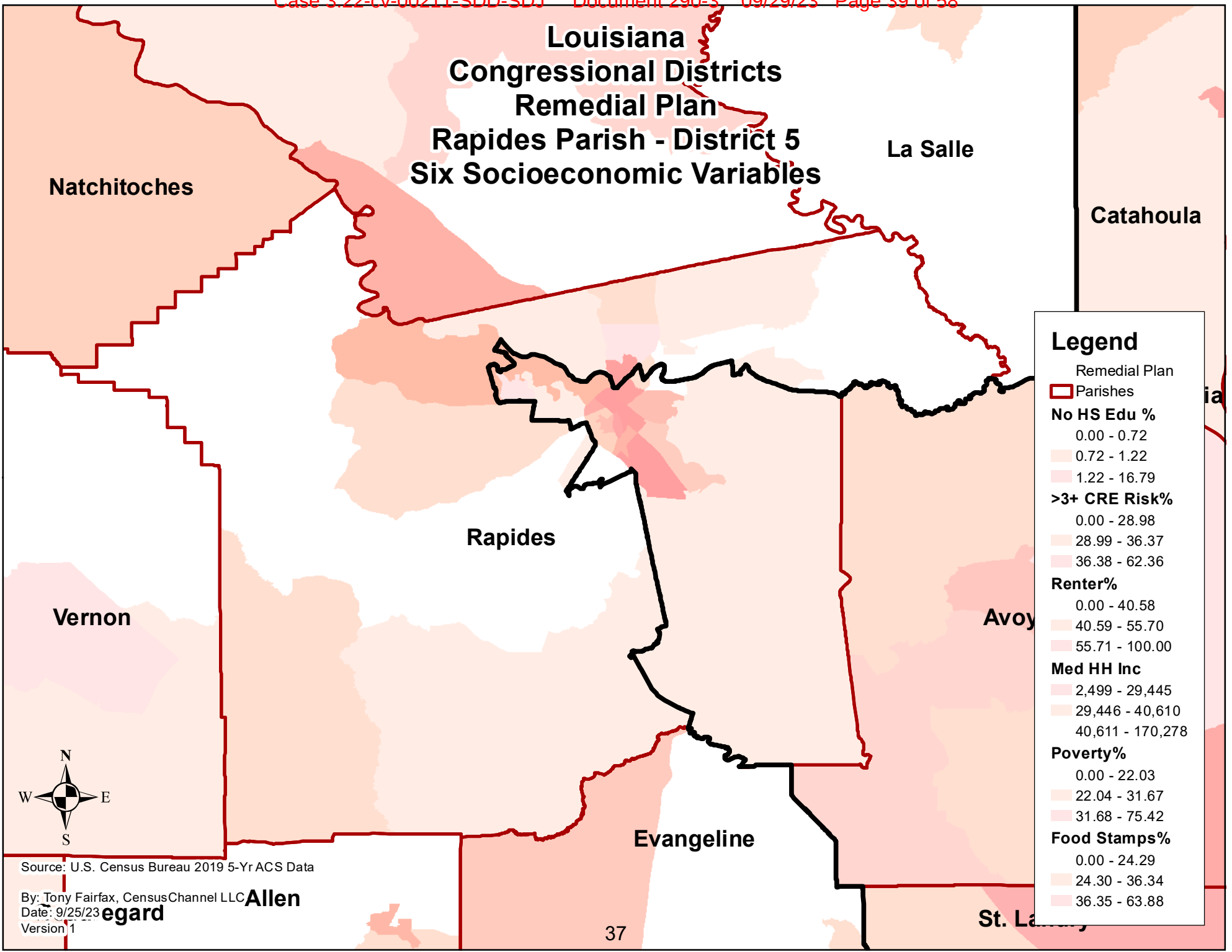
Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Ouachita Parish - District 5 Renter %



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data

By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/25/23
Version 1

Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Rapides Parish - District 5 Six Socioeconomic Variables



Legend

Remedial Plan
Parishes

No HS Edu %
0.00 - 0.72
0.72 - 1.22
1.22 - 16.79

>3+ CRE Risk%
0.00 - 28.98
28.99 - 36.37
36.38 - 62.36

Renter%
0.00 - 40.58
40.59 - 55.70
55.71 - 100.00

Med HH Inc
2,499 - 29,445
29,446 - 40,610
40,611 - 170,278

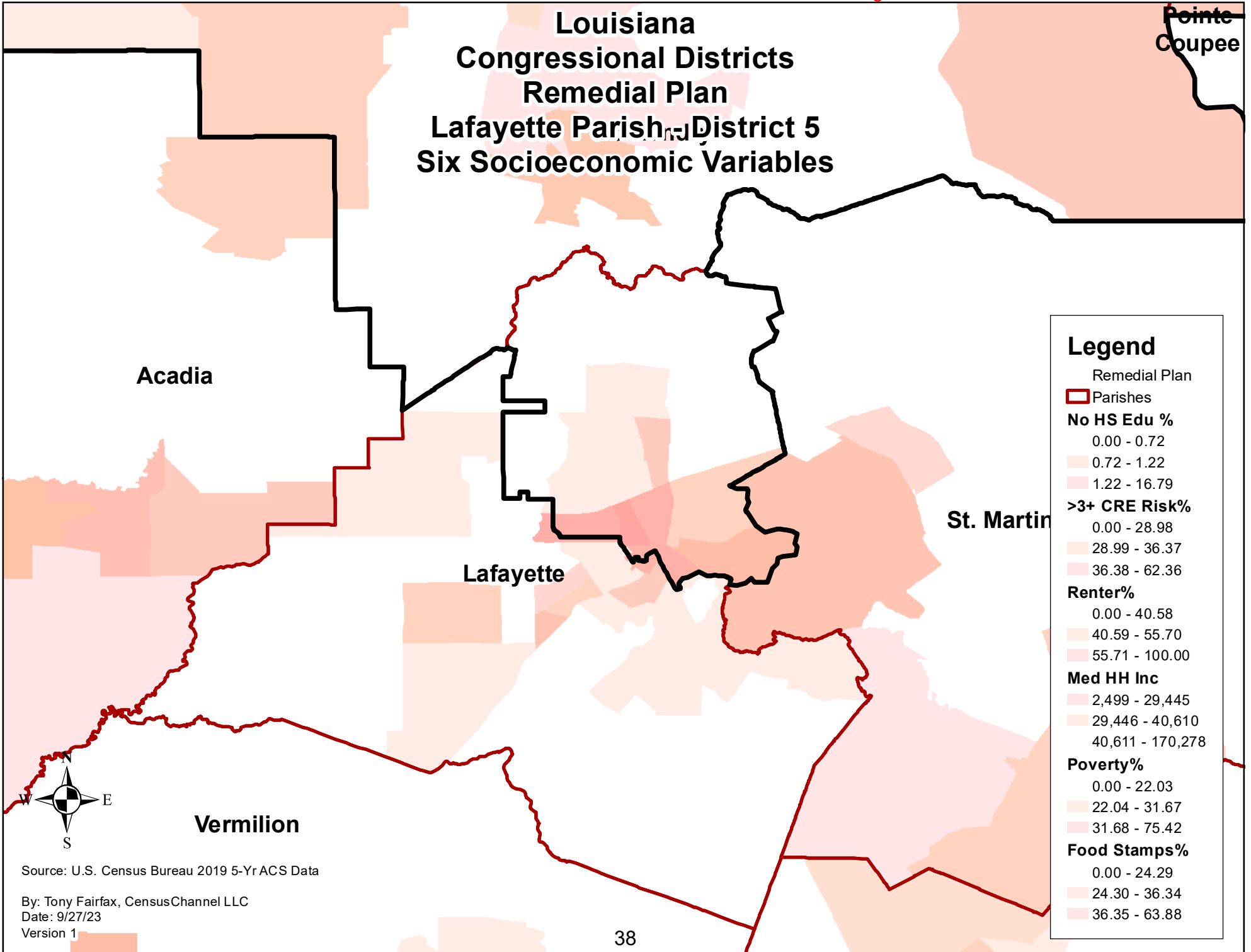
Poverty%
0.00 - 22.03
22.04 - 31.67
31.68 - 75.42

Food Stamps%
0.00 - 24.29
24.30 - 36.34
36.35 - 63.88



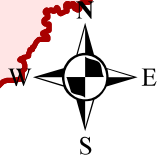
Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data
By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/25/23
Version 1
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Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Lafayette Parish, District 5 Six Socioeconomic Variables



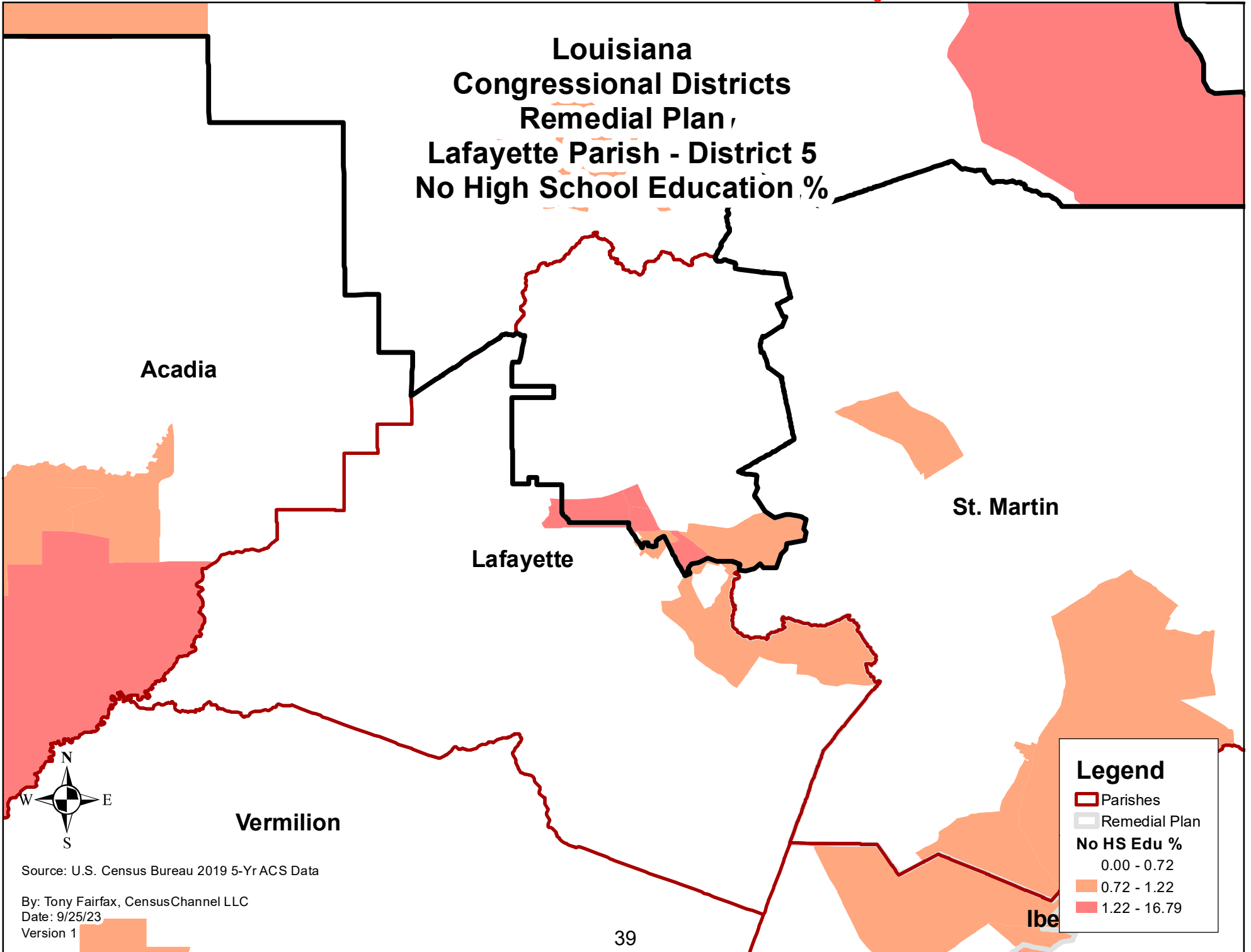
Legend

- Remedial Plan
- Parishes
- No HS Edu %
 - 0.00 - 0.72
 - 0.72 - 1.22
 - 1.22 - 16.79
- >3+ CRE Risk%
 - 0.00 - 28.98
 - 28.99 - 36.37
 - 36.38 - 62.36
- Renter%
 - 0.00 - 40.58
 - 40.59 - 55.70
 - 55.71 - 100.00
- Med HH Inc
 - 2,499 - 29,445
 - 29,446 - 40,610
 - 40,611 - 170,278
- Poverty%
 - 0.00 - 22.03
 - 22.04 - 31.67
 - 31.68 - 75.42
- Food Stamps%
 - 0.00 - 24.29
 - 24.30 - 36.34
 - 36.35 - 63.88



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data
By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/27/23
Version 1

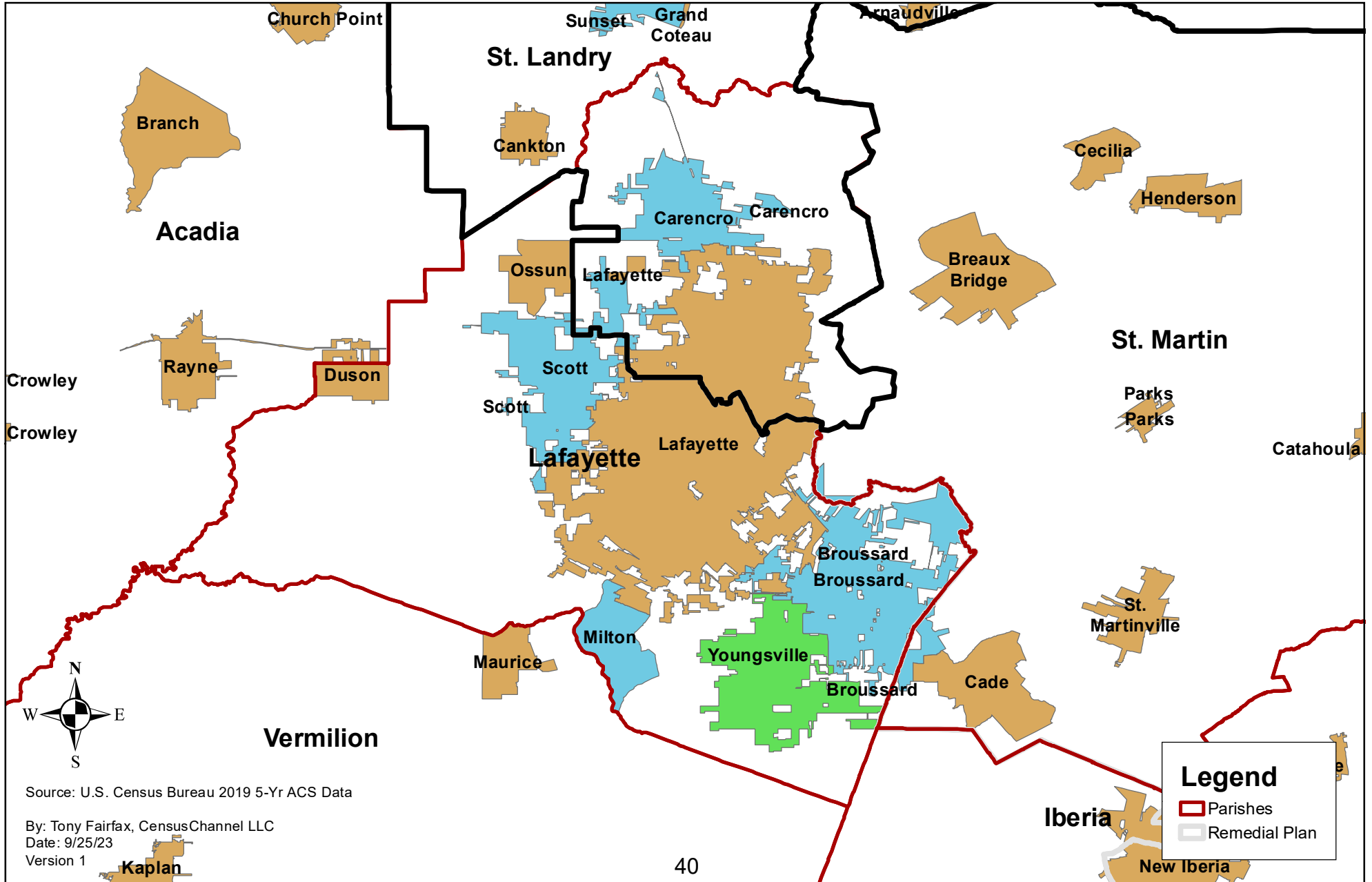
Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan, Lafayette Parish - District 5 No High School Education %



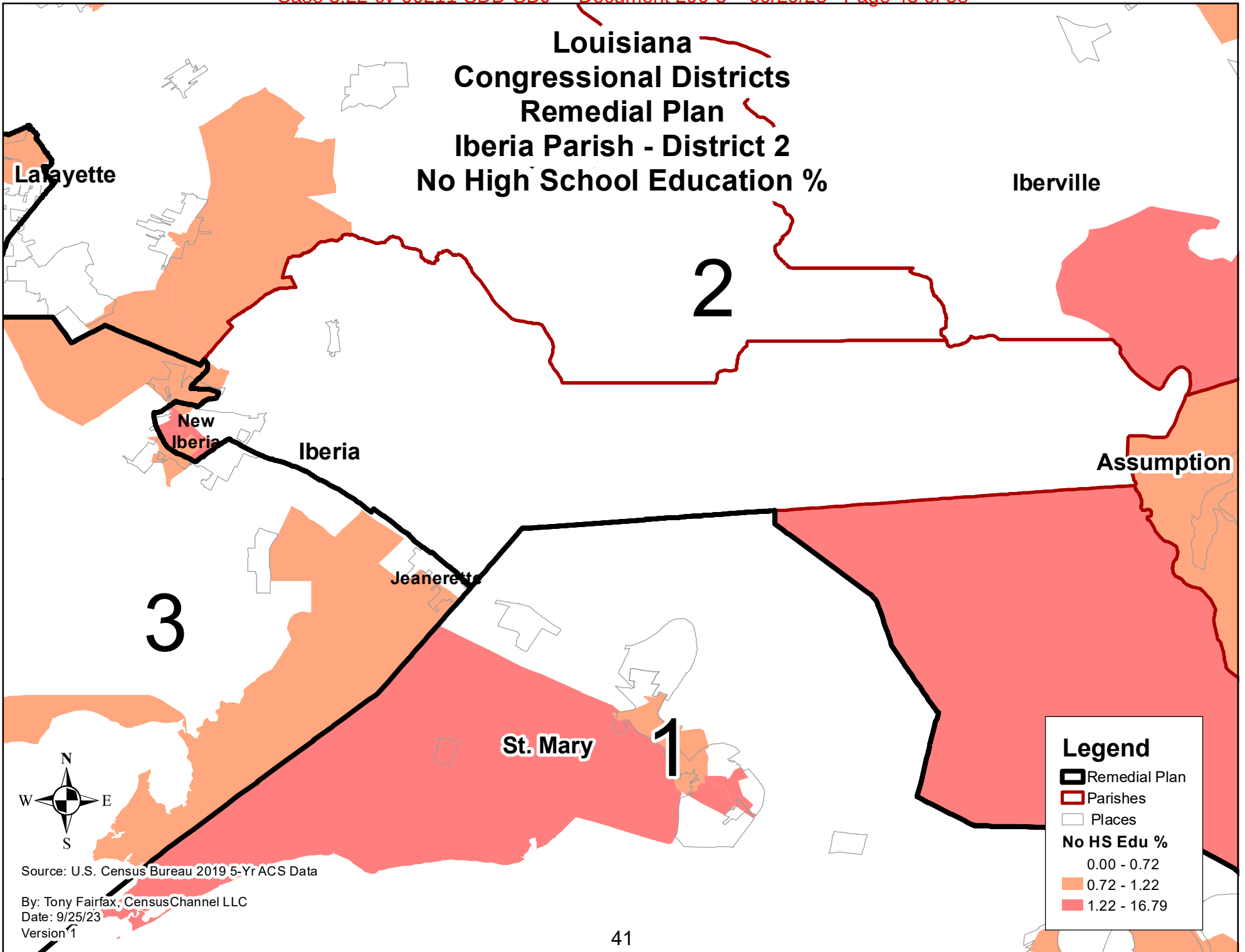
Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data

By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/25/23
Version 1

Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Lafayette Parish - District 5 Census Places



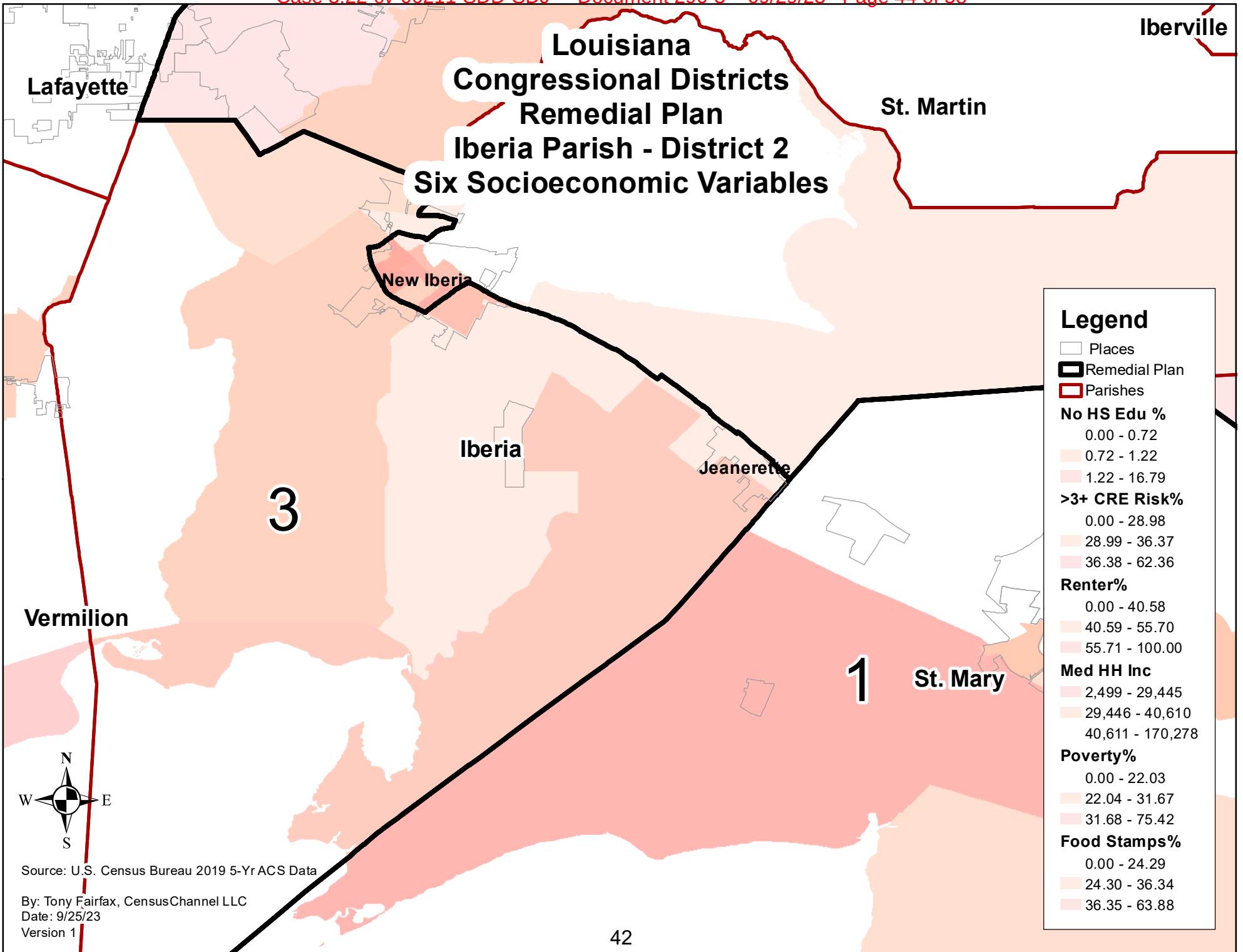
Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan Iberia Parish - District 2 No High School Education %



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 5-Yr ACS Data
By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/25/23
Version 1

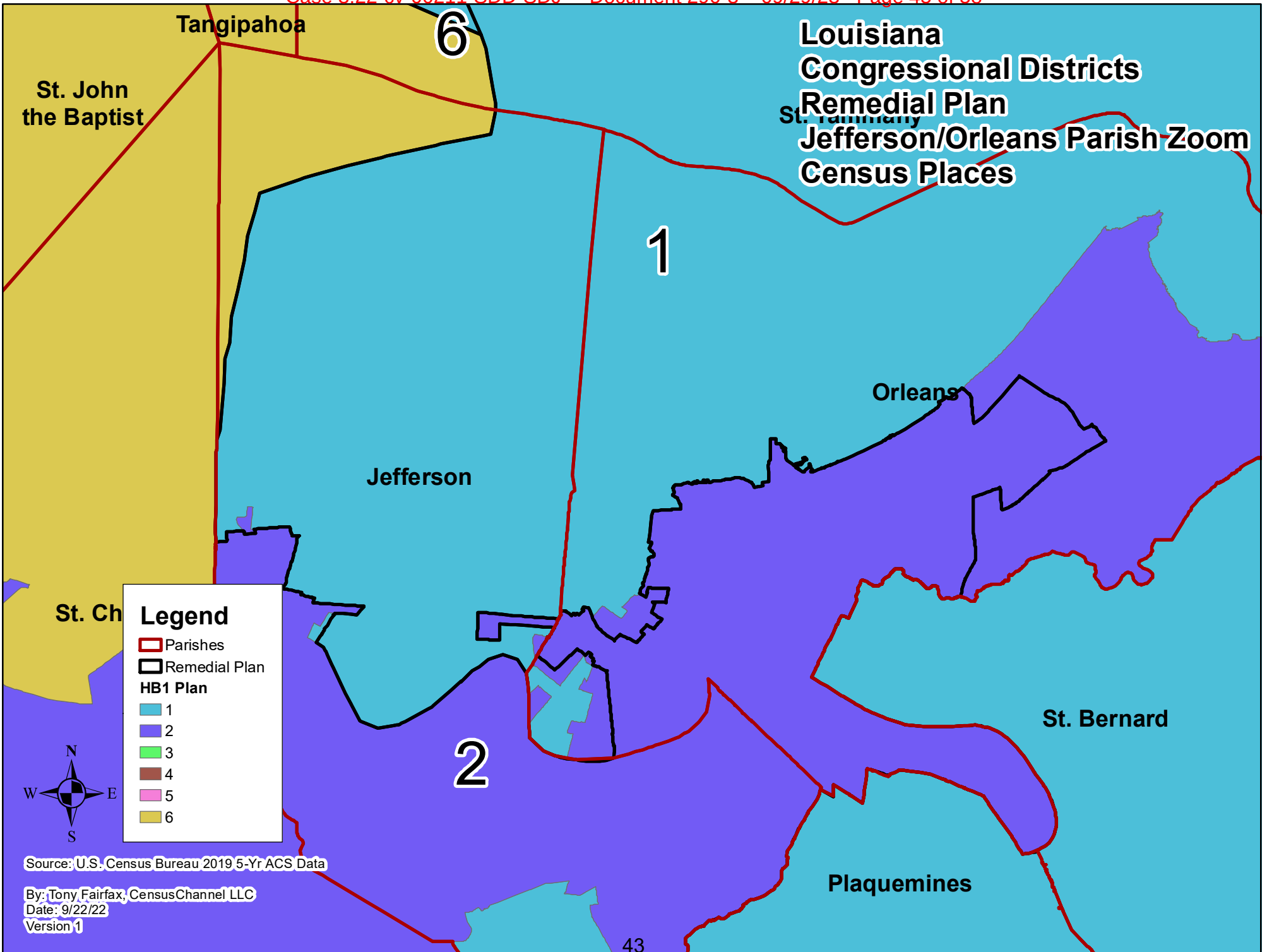
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- Parishes (red outline)
- Places (thin grey outline)
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 - 1.22 - 16.79 (red)

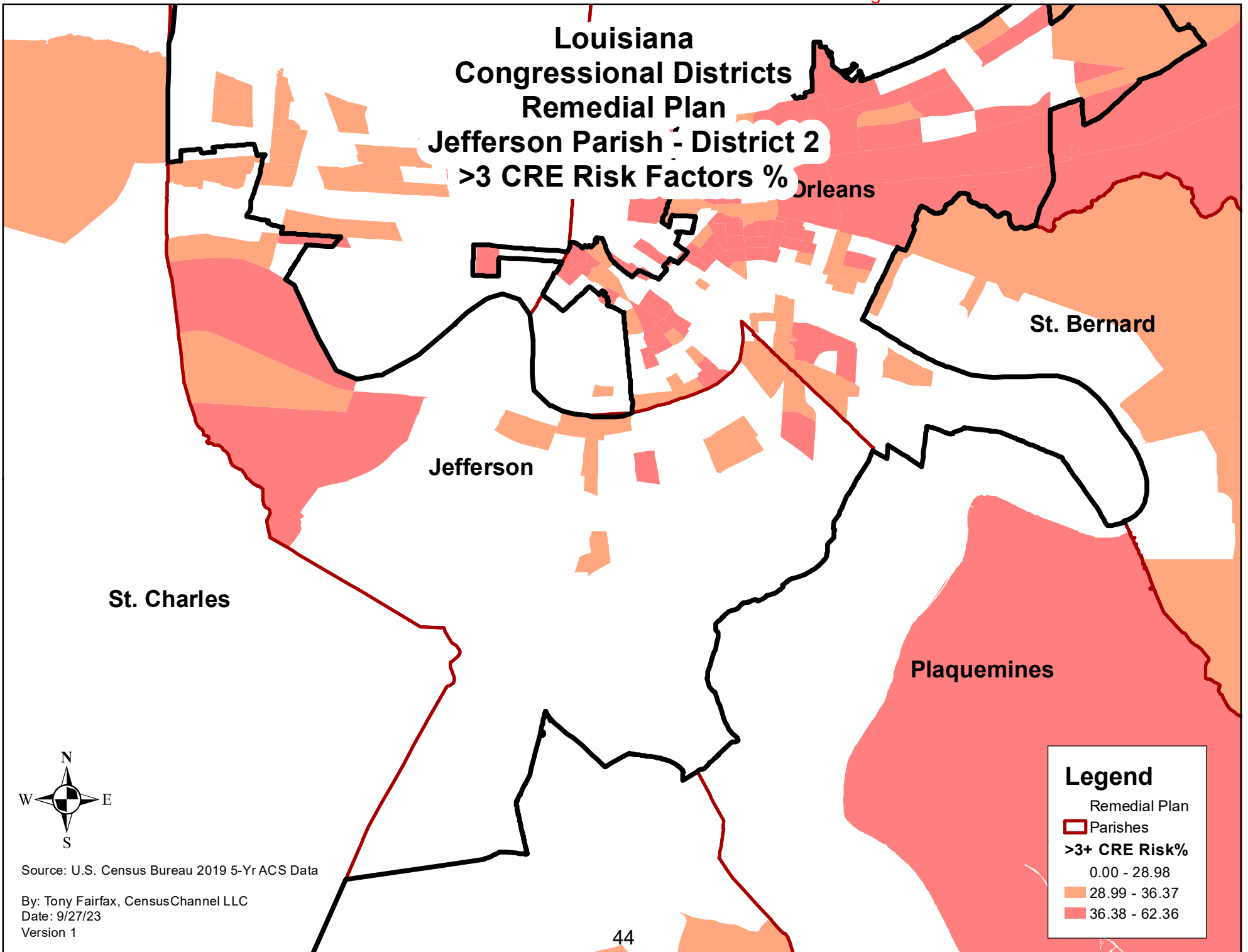


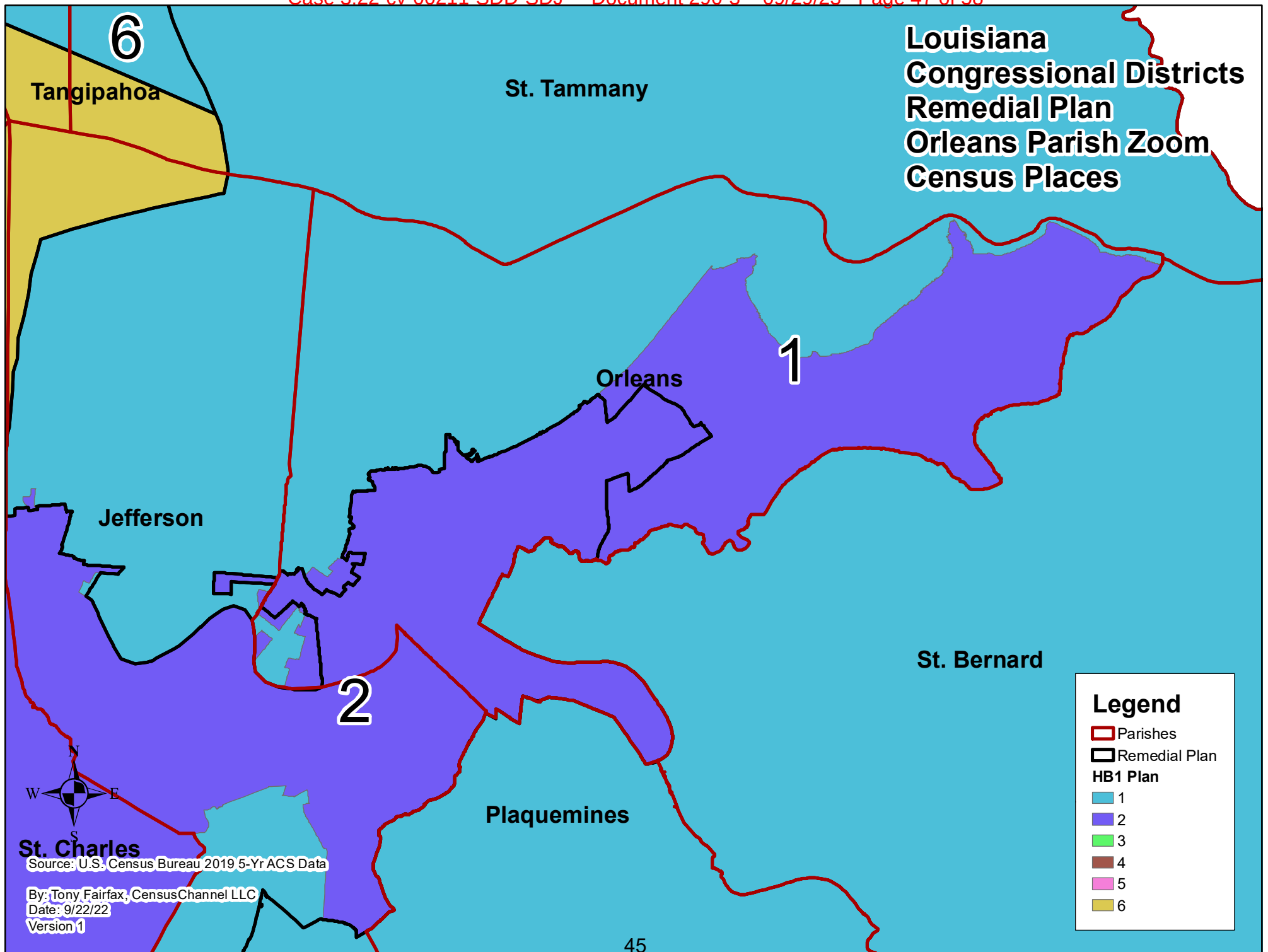
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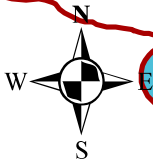
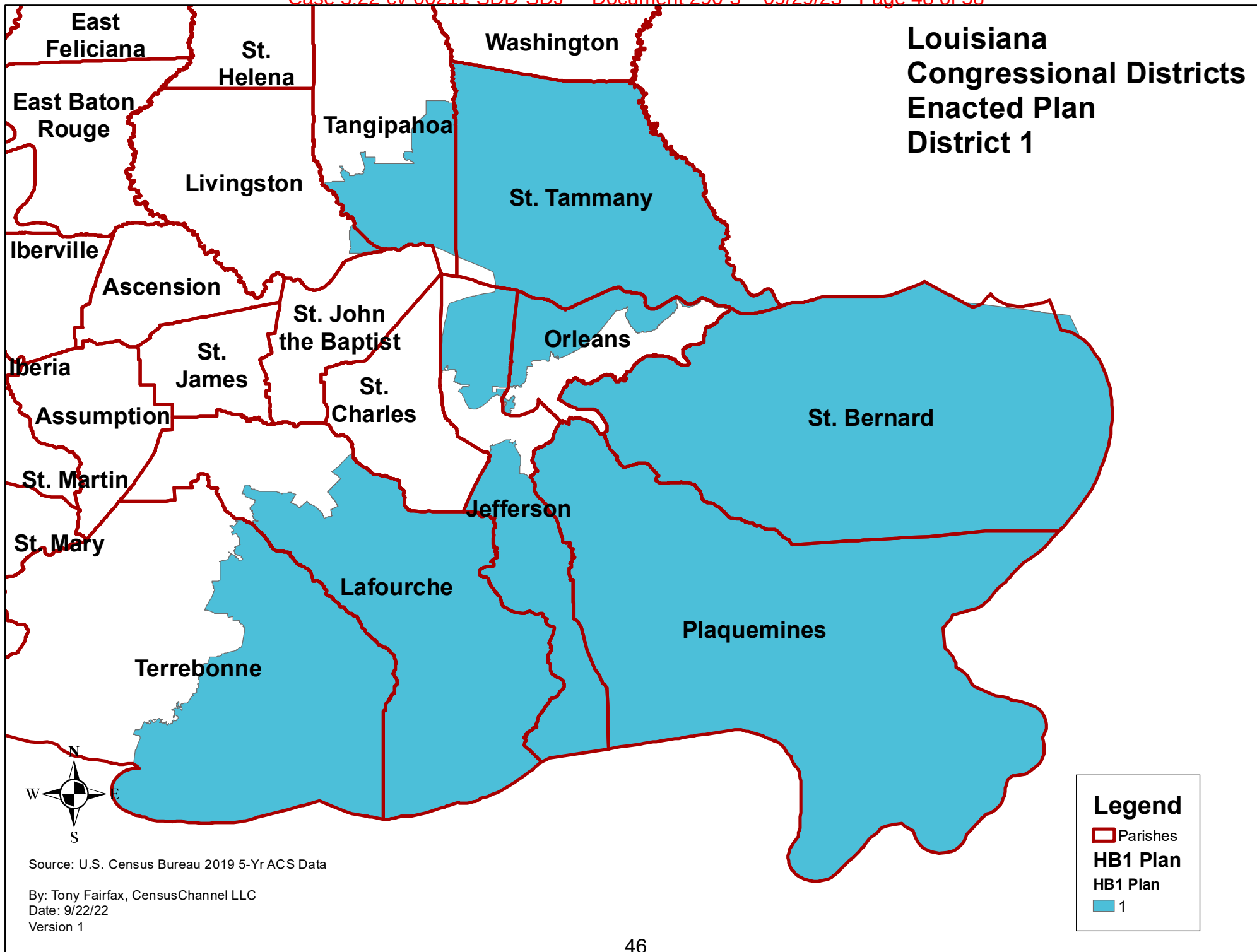
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 Date: 9/25/23
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**Louisiana
Congressional Districts
Remedial Plan
Jefferson Parish - District 2
>3 CRE Risk Factors %**

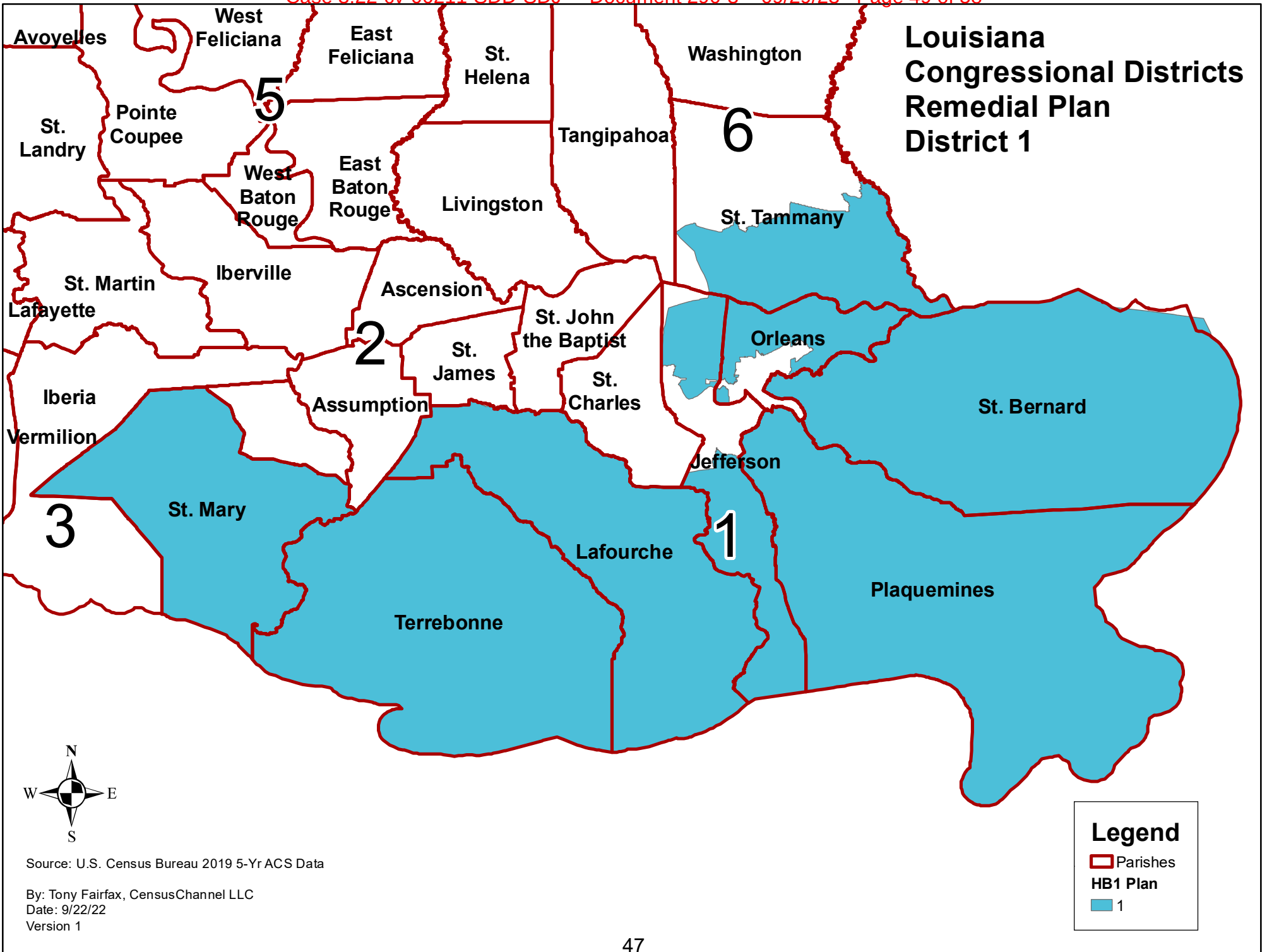


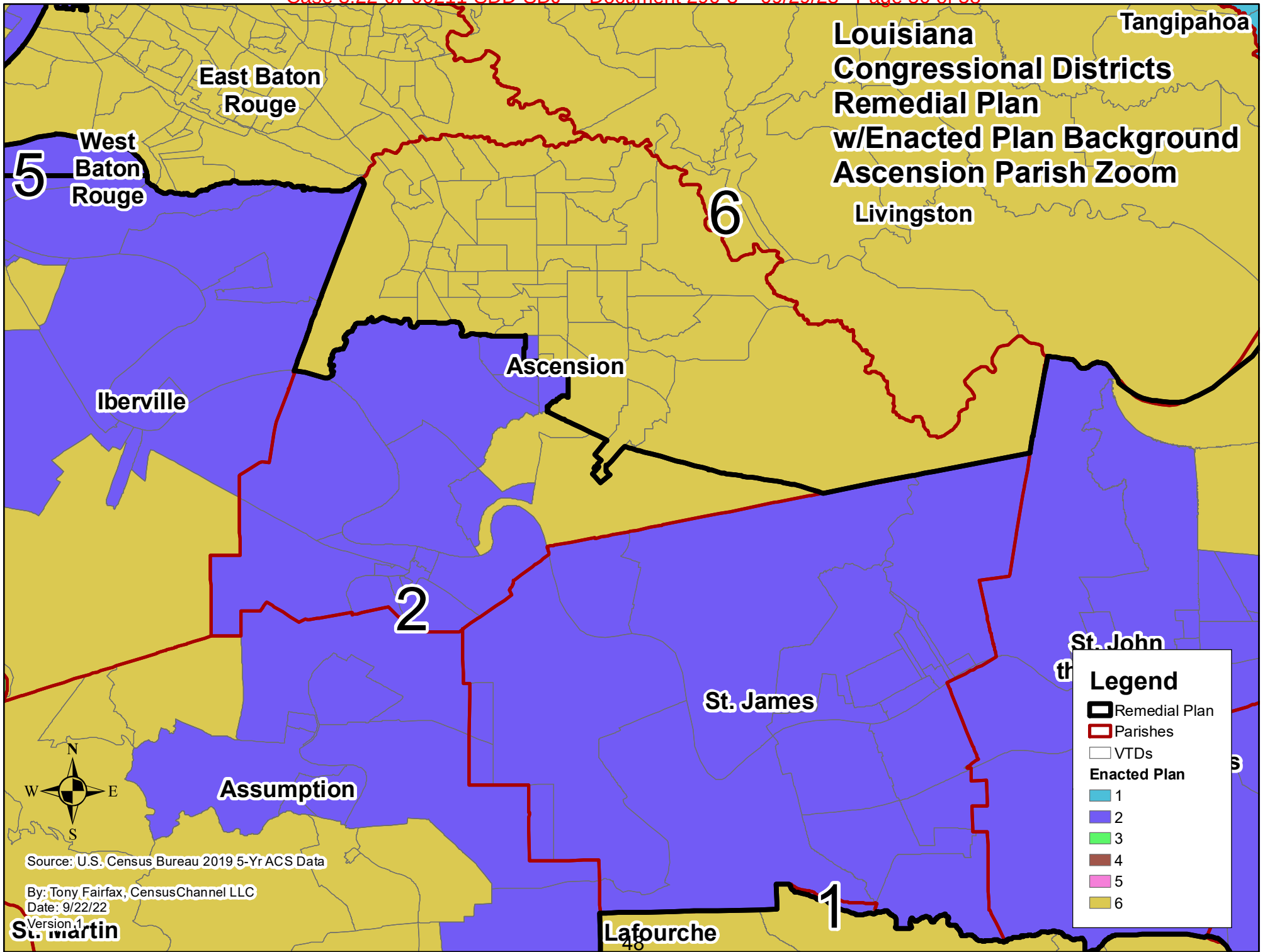




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By: Tony Fairfax, CensusChannel LLC
Date: 9/22/22
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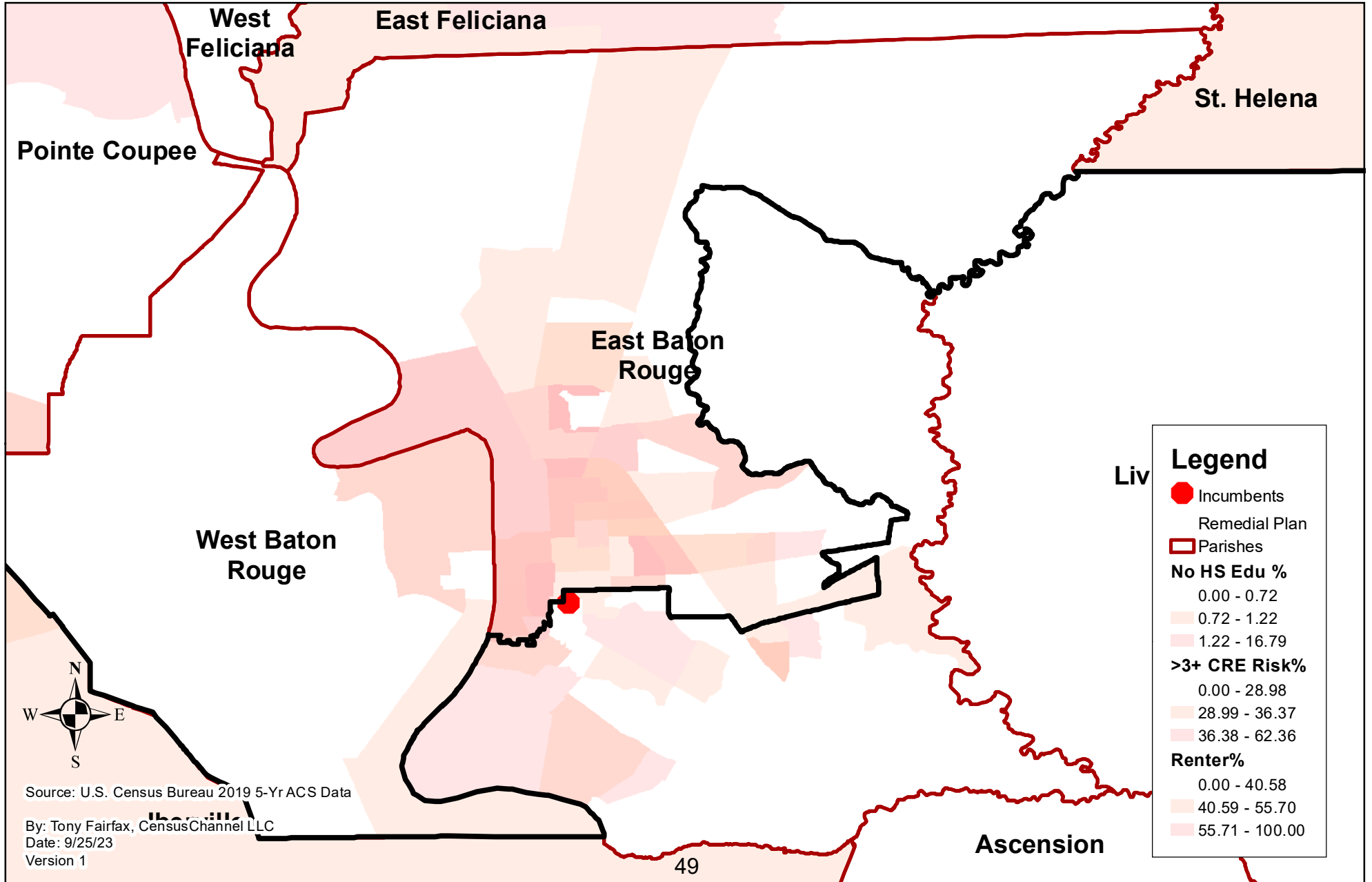
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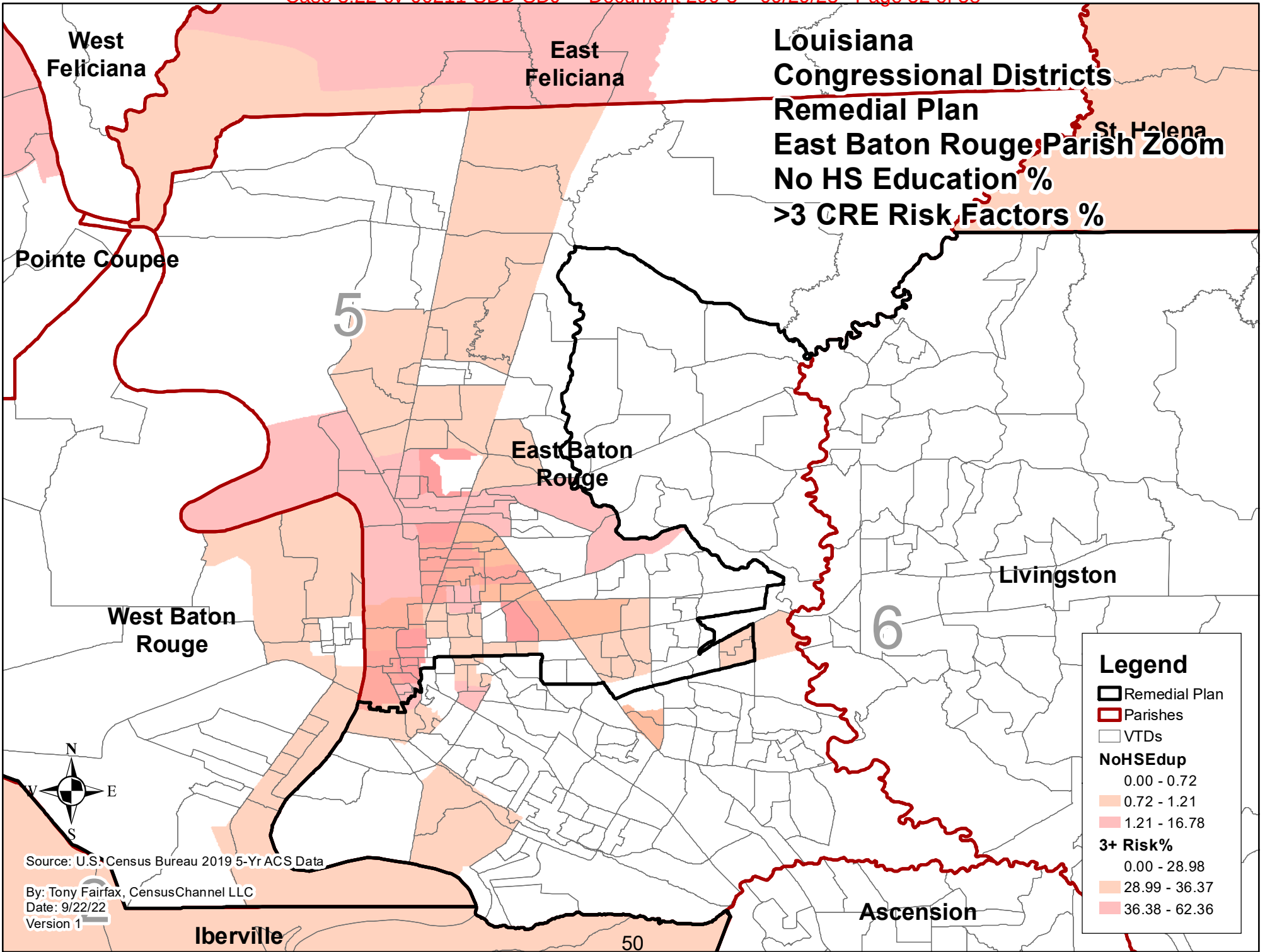
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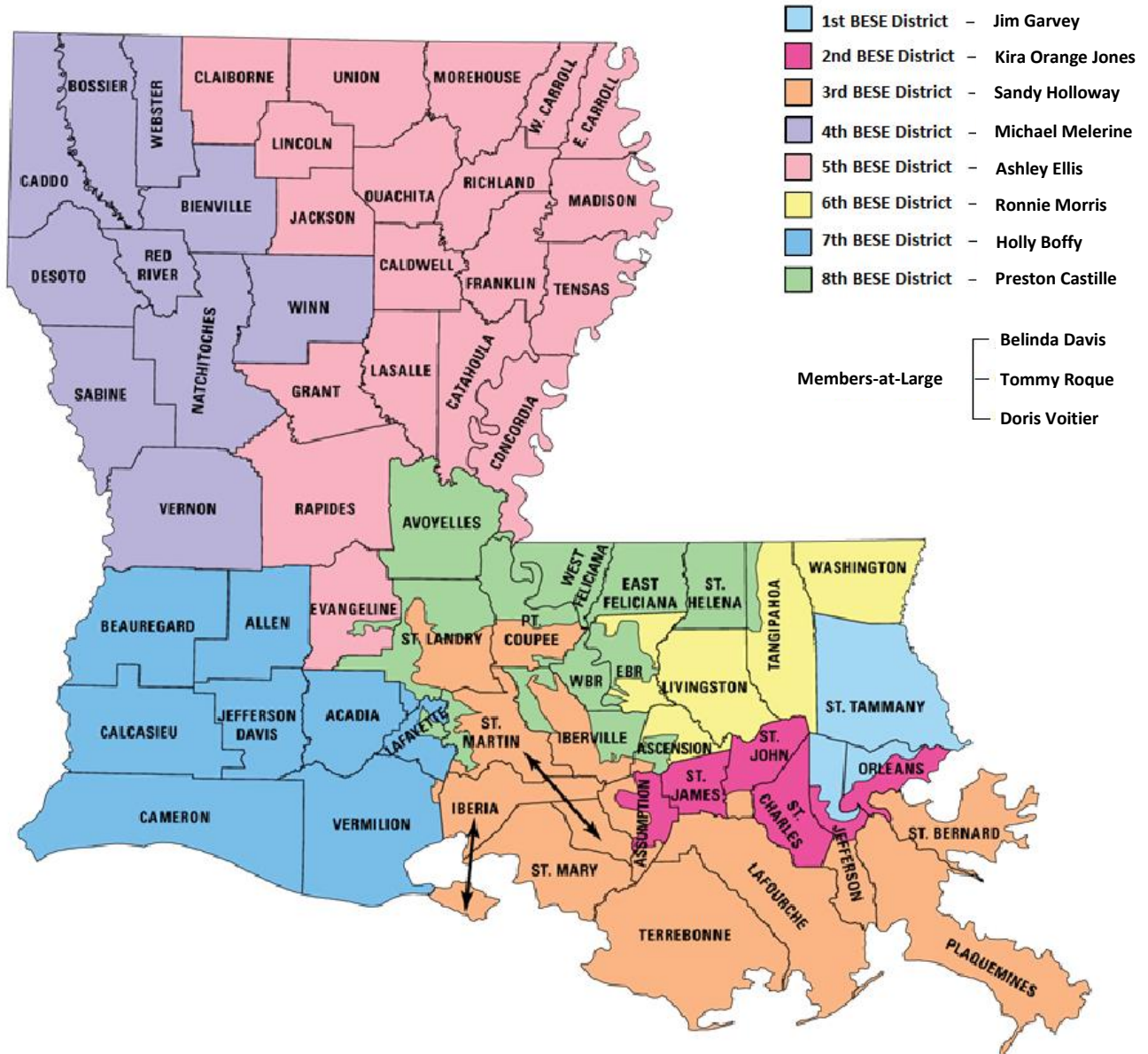
Lafourche

Louisiana Congressional Districts Remedial Plan East Baton Rouge Parish - District 5 Six Socioeconomic Variables





BESE Districts



Appendix B

Maptitude Data Reports

Parish Splits w/Population Data – Enacted Plan

Parish Splits w/Population Data – Remedial Plan

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: LA Cong HB1 Plan

Plan Type: Congressional Districts

County by District and by County

Wednesday, September 20, 2023

7:07 PM

	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of District	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of District
District 1	776,268		601,559		81,105	
Jefferson LA	245,132	55.61%	196,104	56.90%	23,683	25.69%
Lafourche LA	43,701	44.80%	33,330	44.67%	1,095	9.89%
Orleans LA	48,050	12.51%	39,613	12.94%	3,348	2.02%
Tangipahoa LA	39,681	29.80%	30,157	29.71%	4,838	16.56%
Terrebonne LA	67,855	61.92%	51,018	61.84%	9,579	60.64%
Total District 1	776,268		601,559		81,105	
District 2	776,317		600,203		352,018	
Ascension LA	20,892	16.52%	15,426	16.78%	9,766	44.11%
Assumption LA	6,710	31.89%	5,270	31.72%	2,764	58.72%
East Baton Rouge LA	94,325	20.65%	70,960	19.95%	63,632	40.58%
Iberville LA	21,073	69.68%	16,631	69.05%	8,363	81.73%
Jefferson LA	195,649	44.39%	148,550	43.10%	68,492	74.31%
Orleans LA	335,947	87.49%	266,583	87.06%	162,720	97.98%
St. Charles LA	34,943	66.50%	26,288	66.48%	7,957	80.46%
St. John the Baptist LA	32,678	76.93%	24,826	76.38%	15,831	85.87%
West Baton Rouge LA	13,908	51.13%	10,164	49.52%	5,196	63.76%
Total District 2	776,317		600,203		352,018	
District 3	776,275		586,488		144,434	
St. Martin LA	50,399	97.36%	38,250	97.07%	11,282	99.90%
St. Mary LA	44,607	90.29%	34,054	90.76%	11,013	95.60%
Total District 3	776,275		586,488		144,434	
District 4	776,333		591,095		199,907	
Grant LA	7,473	33.71%	5,801	33.10%	1,133	41.70%
Total District 4	776,333		591,095		199,907	
District 5	776,277		597,389		196,617	
Grant LA	14,696	66.29%	11,726	66.90%	1,584	58.30%
Tangipahoa LA	93,476	70.20%	71,334	70.29%	24,379	83.44%
Total District 5	776,277		597,389		196,617	
District 6	776,287		593,814		141,688	
Ascension LA	105,608	83.48%	76,531	83.22%	12,373	55.89%
Assumption LA	14,329	68.11%	11,346	68.28%	1,943	41.28%
East Baton Rouge LA	362,456	79.35%	284,652	80.05%	93,158	59.42%
Iberville LA	9,168	30.32%	7,455	30.95%	1,869	18.27%
Lafourche LA	53,856	55.20%	41,289	55.33%	9,982	90.11%
St. Charles LA	17,606	33.50%	13,253	33.52%	1,933	19.54%
St. John the Baptist LA	9,799	23.07%	7,677	23.62%	2,606	14.13%

County by District and by County

LA Cong HB1 Plan

	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of District	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of District
St. Martin LA	1,368	2.64%	1,154	2.93%	11	0.10%
St. Mary LA	4,799	9.71%	3,467	9.24%	507	4.40%
Terrebonne LA	41,725	38.08%	31,487	38.16%	6,217	39.36%
West Baton Rouge LA	13,291	48.87%	10,362	50.48%	2,953	36.24%
Total District 6	776,287		593,814		141,688	

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: LA Cong Remedial Orig

Plan Type: LA Congressional Districts

County by District and by County

Wednesday, September 20, 2023

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	Population	% of District	[18+_Pop]	% of District	[18+_AP_Blk]	% of District
District 1	776,290		604,886		103,146	
Jefferson LA	236,631	53.68%	189,536	54.99%	22,100	23.98%
Orleans LA	87,257	22.72%	72,861	23.80%	10,767	6.48%
St. Tammany LA	128,580	48.60%	98,735	48.82%	20,085	75.05%
Total District 1	776,290		604,886		103,146	
District 2	776,320		598,687		306,288	
Ascension LA	24,459	19.34%	18,078	19.66%	10,347	46.74%
Iberia LA	32,706	46.77%	24,501	46.41%	8,709	51.02%
Jefferson LA	204,150	46.32%	155,118	45.01%	70,075	76.02%
Orleans LA	296,740	77.28%	233,335	76.20%	155,301	93.52%
Total District 2	776,320		598,687		306,288	
District 3	776,259		586,624		108,925	
Iberia LA	37,223	53.23%	28,290	53.59%	8,360	48.98%
Lafayette LA	175,072	72.42%	133,786	72.76%	18,873	41.10%
Rapides LA	69,584	53.52%	53,146	53.80%	5,966	19.75%
Vernon LA	33,144	67.99%	24,477	67.50%	3,320	64.68%
Total District 3	776,259		586,624		108,925	
District 4	776,267		596,355		190,266	
Ouachita LA	90,953	56.72%	68,844	57.27%	7,617	18.01%
Vernon LA	15,606	32.01%	11,784	32.50%	1,813	35.32%
Total District 4	776,267		596,355		190,266	
District 5	776,310		590,113		306,739	
East Baton Rouge LA	217,705	47.66%	164,322	46.21%	113,810	72.59%
Lafayette LA	66,681	27.58%	50,089	27.24%	27,044	58.90%
Ouachita LA	69,415	43.28%	51,356	42.73%	34,673	81.99%
Rapides LA	60,439	46.48%	45,646	46.20%	24,239	80.25%
Tangipahoa LA	21,698	16.30%	16,362	16.12%	8,128	27.82%
Total District 5	776,310		590,113		306,739	
District 6	776,311		593,883		100,405	
Ascension LA	102,041	80.66%	73,879	80.34%	11,792	53.26%
East Baton Rouge LA	239,076	52.34%	191,290	53.79%	42,980	27.41%
St. Tammany LA	135,990	51.40%	103,493	51.18%	6,676	24.95%
Tangipahoa LA	111,459	83.70%	85,129	83.88%	21,089	72.18%
Total District 6	776,311		593,883		100,405	

Exhibit D

Expert Report of Dr. Jonathan Rodden

Robinson, et al., v. Ardoin, et al.
Galmon, et al., v. Ardoin, et al.

United States District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jonathan Rodden', is centered on the page.

Jonathan Rodden

September 28, 2023

I. Introduction and Summary

I have been asked to examine the reports of David A. Swanson and Sean P. Trende in this case. Each of these reports is critical of the Remedial Louisiana Congressional Redistricting Plan offered by the plaintiffs, with special attention to District 5. The central claim of Dr. Swanson's report is that "race was the predominant factor used by plaintiffs to draw RCD5" (page 10). He comes to this conclusion largely by discussing a notion of "communities of interest," which leads him to assert that it is inappropriate for seven parishes in northeast Louisiana to be placed in the same district as urban residents further to the south. Mr. Trende's report picks up on the same theme, making the claim that Congressional District 5 in the Remedial Plan combines Black residents from distant population centers, which he suggests makes it similar to districts deemed inadmissible by courts in *Miller v. Georgia* and *LULAC v. Perry*.

I have been asked to evaluate whether the analytical approaches used by the two authors can support their conclusions. My central findings are as follows:

- Dr. Swanson's efforts to use existing maps of cultural and economic regions to determine which parishes should not be placed in the same district are deeply flawed.
 - The maps he selects present a variety of different competing notions of regional "communities of interest," each of which tells a different story about which parishes "belong" together, and as a result, cannot possibly serve as a reliable guide to identifying districts that should be viewed with suspicion.
 - Dr. Swanson promotes the idea that districts should not include multiple cultural or economic "communities of interest." This decision rule is untenable: Purely because of population size and geographic arrangement, rural districts *must* include multiple cultural or economic zones, and urban cultural/economic zones must be divided across multiple districts. As a result, every single district in both the Enacted and Remedial Plan fails Dr. Swanson's test.
 - If anything, Dr. Swanson's proposed cultural and economic zones would appear to make a case *in favor* of District 5 in the Remedial Plan, because the Remedial Plan keeps the northeastern parishes together while pulling a much larger share of the Baton Rouge region into the same district than the Enacted Plan or other recent plans, while also out-performing them in terms of overall compactness.

- Dr. Swanson criticizes CD 5 in the Remedial Plan for crossing sparsely populated wetlands, but it is not possible to draw districts that do not cross these wetlands, and indeed, every version of CD 5 over the last 20 years, including the Enacted Plan, has crossed those same wetlands.
- Dr. Swanson’s efforts to create his own “communities of interest” via a clustering algorithm are deeply flawed and cannot generate useful conclusions about parishes that do or do not belong together.
 - His selection of variables is arbitrary and discretionary, allowing him to create virtually any clusters he likes, and he conducts no robustness checks to test the validity of his conclusions.
 - He again promotes an untenable decision rule that a district should not include territory from more than one “cluster.” No matter which of his approaches to clustering is consulted, most of the districts in the Enacted Plan fail his test, including Enacted District 5.
 - Dr. Swanson’s clustering analysis is of limited value, but, according to its own logic, Lafayette and Baton Rouge *should*, in fact, be included in the same district. The Remedial Plan includes this pairing, while the Enacted Plan does not.
- Mr. Trende’s report contains very little analytical content and does not support any conclusions about whether race was improperly considered in the construction of District 5 in the Remedial Plan.
 - He reports that Remedial CD 5 combines Black voters from different population centers. But the same is true of many districts in the Enacted Plan and prior plans. His report contains no analysis that would allow for the conclusion that these populations are especially or inappropriately dispersed in CD 5.
 - He implies that Remedial CD 5 is non-compact but provides no comparative data. I demonstrate that on each of four measures of compactness, it is broadly in the middle of the distribution of compactness scores of all congressional districts enacted in the last 50 years. Further, I demonstrate that the Remedial Plan, if implemented, would be the most compact redistricting plan in Louisiana in the last 50 years.

- Mr. Trende does not provide sufficient data or analysis to support his claim that CD 5 is “similar” to districts in Texas and Georgia that have been overturned in the past.

II. Qualifications and Experience

I am currently a tenured Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and the founder and director of the Stanford Spatial Social Science Lab—a center for research and teaching with a focus on the analysis of geo-spatial data in the social sciences. I am engaged in a variety of research projects involving large, fine-grained geo-spatial data sets including ballots and election results at the level of polling places, individual records of registered voters, census data, and survey responses. I am also a senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research and the Hoover Institution. Prior to my employment at Stanford, I was the Ford Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I received my Ph.D. from Yale University and my B.A. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, both in political science. A copy of my current C.V. is included as Exhibit A. I am being compensated at my usual rate of \$550 per hour.

In my current academic work, I conduct research on voting, demographics, geography, and aspects of election administration, including registration, the structure of precincts, redistricting, and methods of voting. Recent papers and books focus on the relationship between the patterns of political representation, geographic location of demographic and partisan groups, and the drawing of electoral districts. I have published papers using statistical methods to assess political geography, balloting, and representation in a variety of academic journals including *Statistics and Public Policy*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, *Science Advances*, *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*, the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, the *Virginia Law Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, the *Annual Review of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics*. One of these papers was selected by the American Political Science Association as the winner of the Michael Wallerstein Award for the best paper on political economy, and another received an award from the American Political Science Association section on social networks.

In 2021, I received a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, and received the Martha Derthick Award of the American Political Science Association for “the best

book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations.”

I have written a series of papers, along with my co-authors, using automated redistricting algorithms to assess partisan gerrymandering. This work has been published in the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, and *Political Analysis*, and it has been featured in more popular publications like the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and *Boston Review*. I recently authored a book, published by *Basic Books* in June of 2019, on the relationship between political districts, the residential geography of social groups, and their political representation in the United States and other countries that use winner-take-all electoral districts. The book was reviewed in *The New York Times*, *The New York Review of Books*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, and *The Atlantic*, among others.

I have expertise in the use of large data sets and geographic information systems (GIS), and conduct research and teaching in the area of applied statistics related to elections. I frequently work with geo-coded voter files and other large administrative data sets, including in recent papers published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine* and *The New England Journal of Medicine*. I have developed a national data set of geo-coded precinct-level election results that has been used extensively in policy-oriented research related to redistricting and representation.

I have been accepted and testified as an expert witness in a number of election law and redistricting cases: *Romo v. Detzner*, No. 2012-CA-000412 (Fla. Cir. Ct. 2012); *Mo. State Conference of the NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant Sch. Dist.*, No. 4:2014-CV-02077 (E.D. Mo. 2014); *Lee v. Va. State Bd. of Elections*, No. 3:15-CV-00357 (E.D. Va. 2015); *Democratic Nat’l Committee et al. v. Hobbs et al.*, No. 16-1065-PHX-DLR (D. Ariz. 2016); *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK (E.D. Va. 2014); *Jacobson et al. v. Lee*, No. 4:18-cv-00262 (N.D. Fla. 2018), *Rivera v. Schwab*, No. 2022-cv-89 (Kan. Dist. Ct. 2022), *Carter v. Chapman*, No. 464 MD 2021, 465 MD 2021 (Pa. Commw. Ct. 2021); *Bennet v. Ohio Redistricting Comm’n*, No. 2021-1198 (Ohio 2021); *Adams v. DeWine*, No. 2021-1428 (Ohio 2021); *Neiman v. LaRose*, No. 2022-0298 (Ohio 2022). In *Carter v. Chapman*, I prepared a congressional redistricting plan for the state of Pennsylvania, which was selected by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for implementation in 2021 and is currently in use. I also worked

with a coalition of academics to file Amicus Briefs in the Supreme Court in *Gill v. Whitford*, No. 16-1161, and *Rucho v. Common Cause*, No. 18-422. Much of the testimony in these cases had to do with geography, electoral districts, voting, ballots, and election administration.

III. Data Sources

I obtained block-level census data and accompanying shapefiles from the redistricting data produced by the U.S. Census Bureau. I obtained geographic boundaries (shapefiles) of the Remedial Plan from counsel, and of the Enacted Plan and the most recent preceding plan from the redistricting data hub (redistrictingdatahub.org). I obtained digital historical geographic boundary files from a team of researchers at UCLA,¹ and Louisiana parish boundaries and population totals from the United States Census, downloaded from the National Historical GIS (nhgis.org). Assignments of parishes to specific cultural and economic regions and clusters were obtained from Dr. Swanson's report.

IV. Swanson Report

The bulk of Dr. Swanson's report is concerned with the notion of "communities of interest" (COI). Among the traditional criteria often considered by district-drawers is the idea that there are groups with "broadly shared interests and representational needs, including ... common ethnic, racial, economic, Indian, social, cultural, geographic, or historic identities, or arising from similar socioeconomic conditions."² As Dr. Swanson notes, citing the work of Nicholas Stephanopoulos, these communities are "territorial," and "arise along geographic lines" (page 25). A common approach in the redistricting community is that when one has identified such a group with common representational interests, one should take care to avoid undermining the group's representation when possible. For instance, sensitivity to communities of interest in redistricting might involve making efforts to avoid slicing a Native American reservation or military base or college campus in two, or by avoiding drawing a district line through the middle of a well-known urban

¹ Jeffrey B. Lewis, Brandon DeVine, Lincoln Pitcher, and Kenneth C. Martis. (2013) *Digital Boundary Definitions of United States Congressional Districts, 1789-2012*. [Data file and code book]. Retrieved from <https://cdmaps.polisci.ucla.edu> on September 22, 2023.

² Chen, S., S.-H. Wang, B. Grofman, R. Ober, K. Barnes, and J. Cervas, (2022). Turning Communities of Interest into a Rigorous Standard for Fair Districting. *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*. 18: 101-190. (<https://law.stanford.edu/publications/turning-communities-of-interest-into-a-rigorous-standard-for-fair-districting/>). Cited in paragraph 34, page 25 in the Swanson report.

neighborhood—especially one with a distinctive ethnic identity (e.g., Chinatown, Little Italy, etc.). One might attempt to keep a corridor of small cities with a similar industrial base, or a pair of neighboring college towns, in the same district.

Dr. Swanson identifies communities of interest in two ways. First, he assembles a series of cultural and economic maps of Louisiana culled from the internet. Second, he leaves aside the geographic aspect of communities of interest and employs a clustering algorithm that divides Louisiana’s parishes into two groups based on their similarity on a set of variables culled from the United States Census. Let us consider each in turn.

Maps of Cultural and Economic Regions

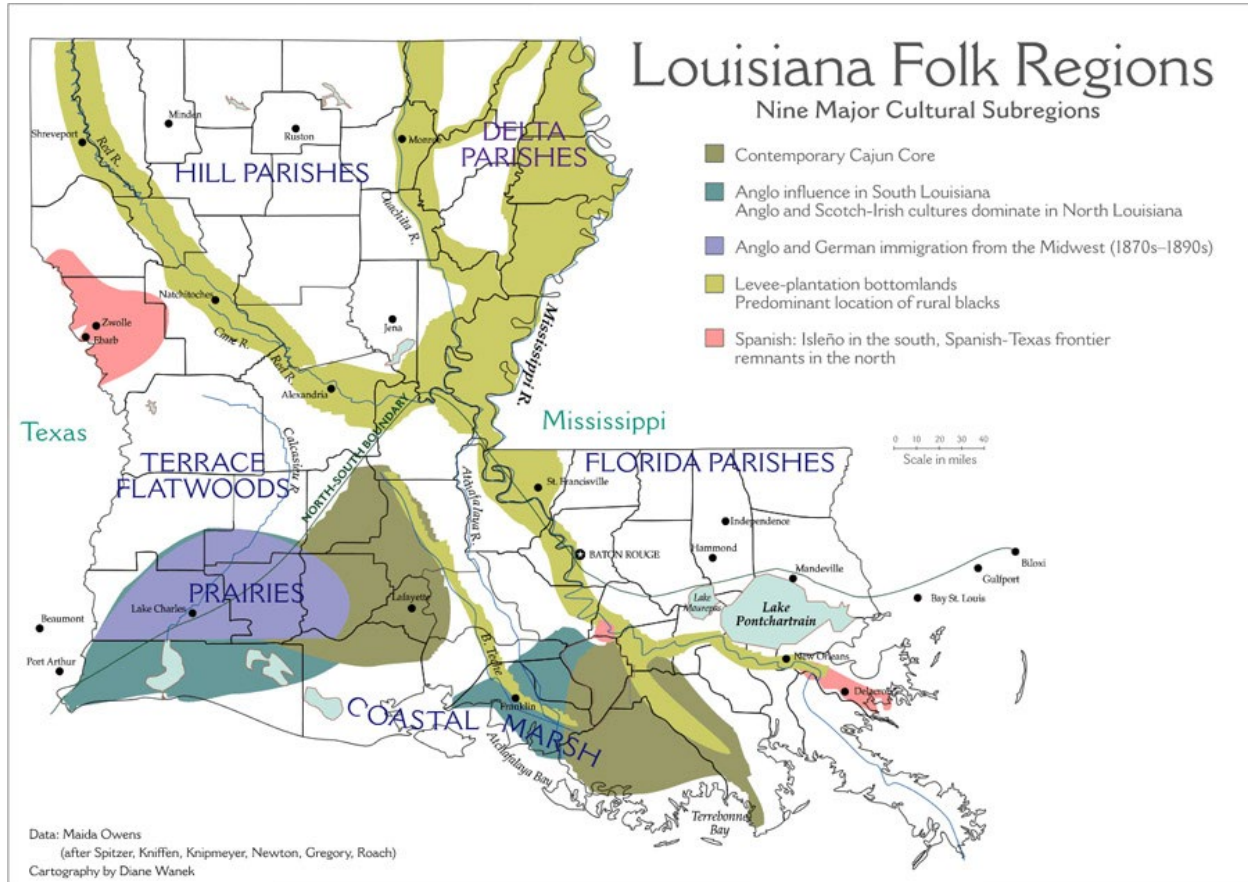
Dr. Swanson attempts to identify regional communities of interest by assembling a series of maps that correspond to various efforts to divide Louisiana into regional groupings. These include:

1. Louisiana Regional Folklore Program (5 regions, p. 26)
2. Tourist regions identified in an advertisement in the Smithsonian Museum Magazine (5 regions, p. 27)
3. Folklife Cultural Regions from the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism (8 regions, p. 28)
4. Economic Development Regions according to the Louisiana Economic Development Department (8 regions, p. 29)
5. Cultural regions identified in an earlier expert report filed by Mr. Cooper in a different case challenging Louisiana’s state legislative districts (6 regions and 3 sub-regions, p. 31-32).

Dr. Swanson appears to have assembled these maps from a google search for Louisiana regions. However, such a search also reveals many other regional configurations. He does not explain how he selected some configurations for inclusion in his report and not others. Notably, some of these configurations include northeast Louisiana and Baton Rouge in the same region. For example, one of the highest-ranked results of a Google search for “map Louisiana regions,”

displayed in Figure 1, comes from https://www.louisianafolklife.org/lt/creole_maps.html.³ Another example is a map from the Louisiana Department of Wildlife and Fisheries.⁴

Figure 1: Louisiana Folk Regions



Dr. Swanson's claim is that it is inappropriate to draw congressional districts that combine different regional communities of interest. However, one need only examine the variety of notions portrayed in these maps to begin to understand the futility of this approach. For example, consider the seven Northeast Louisiana parishes that take center stage in Dr. Swanson's report: Morehouse, East and West Carroll, Richland, Franklin, Madison, and Tensas, which are displayed in Figure 2 below to provide a point of reference.

³ Accessed on September 26, 2023.

⁴ <https://www.wlf.louisiana.gov/page/deer-research-and-management>. Accessed on September 26, 2023.

Figure 2: Northeast Louisiana Parishes in Dr. Swanson’s Report



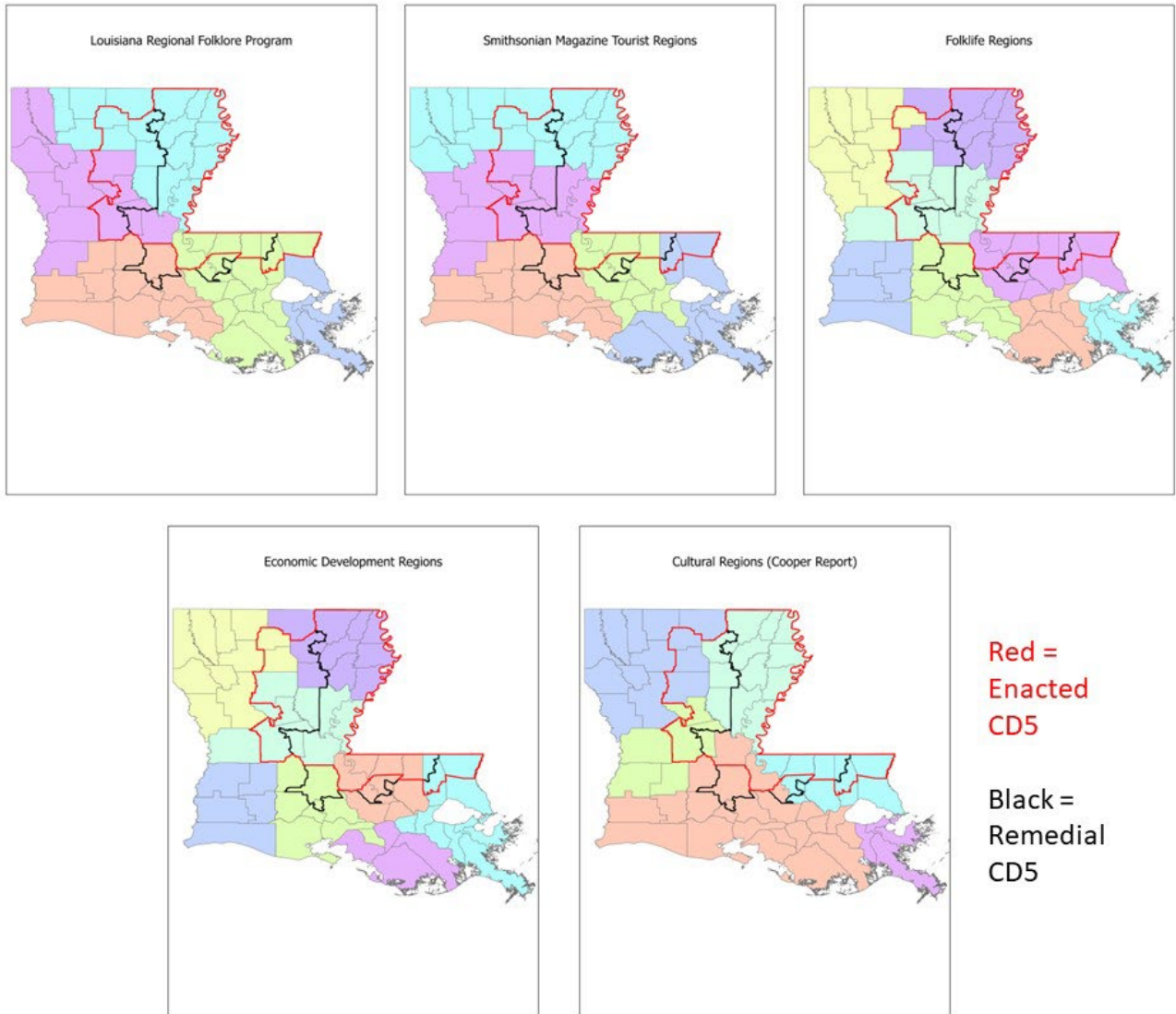
I have ascertained the parish assignments from the visual displays in Dr. Swanson’s report, and I reproduce each of his cultural or economic regions in Figure 3. I also overlay the boundaries of CD 5 in the Remedial Plan (in black) and in the Enacted Plan (in red).

In the Louisiana Folklore Program map, the Northeast Louisiana parishes that are the focus of his report are part of a region that extends west almost to the Red River. In the tourist regions from the Smithsonian Museum Magazine, these parishes are part of a region that extends all the

way to the western border, but no further south than Tensas Parish. In the Folklife approach, their cultural region also stops at Tensas Parish, but extends no further west than Jackson Parish. With the Economic Development approach, their cultural region extends only to Union Parish, whereas with the cultural regions identified by Mr. Cooper, their cultural region does not include Union Parish, but extends much further south.

Agreement on the designation of regions is no better in the southern part of the state. As a result, these maps cannot possibly provide a guide about which parishes do not “go together.” One would draw completely different conclusions about what types of districts should draw suspicion depending on which notion of communities of interest one was drawing from. There are simply too many competing notions in these maps, and Dr. Swanson makes no effort to argue that one approach is a more important guide than another.

Figure 3: Cultural and Economic Maps of Louisiana from Dr. Swanson’s Report, with Overlays of CD 5 Boundary from Remedial and Enacted Plans



More importantly, some of the regions are so small that they *must* be combined with multiple additional regions in order to create a congressional district, and others—above all, those covering the southeastern part of the state—are far too large to create a single district, and must be subdivided, with the remaining portions joining other districts. In fact, every single district in both

the Enacted Plan and the Remedial Plan contains multiple cultural or economic regions according to most of Dr. Swanson's proposed community of interest maps.⁵

Dr. Swanson argues that "East Baton Rouge Parish should not be included in proposed plans involving proposed RCD5 that include East Carroll Parish and its six neighboring parishes" (page 42) because they are not part of the same "COI grouping." But according to Dr. Swanson's classification rule, District 5 in the Enacted Plan also fails; District 5 in the Enacted Plan contains four folklore regions, four tourist regions, three folklife regions, four economic development regions, and three of the cultural regions identified in the Cooper report. In sum, Dr. Swanson's approach would cast suspicion on virtually any congressional redistricting plan, including the Enacted Plan that he appears to endorse. The maps presented in Dr. Swanson's report simply cannot be used to identify any specific combinations of parishes as inappropriate.

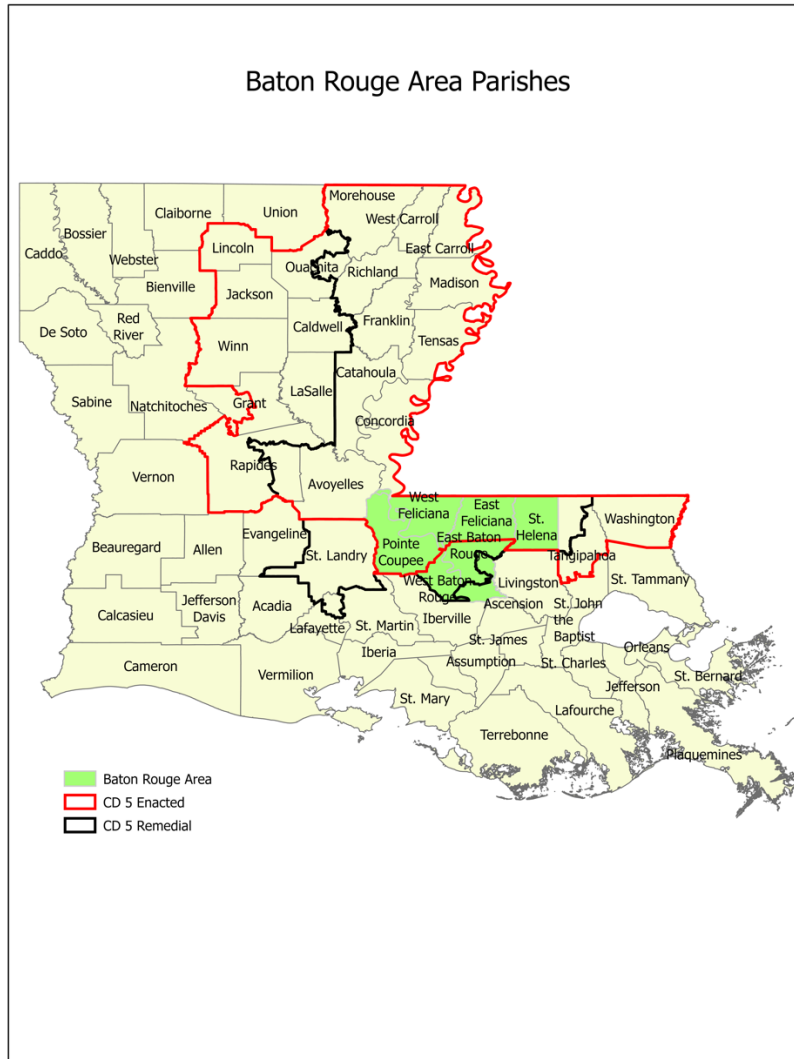
In spite of their disagreements, these maps do agree on some places that are always viewed as part of the same regional community. For instance, in each of these five maps, the seven northeast parishes identified by Dr. Swanson are placed in the same region. These seven parishes are also kept together in both Enacted District 5 and Remedial District 5. But the combined population of these parishes amounts to around 93,000—only 12 percent of what is necessary to create a congressional district. No matter how one draws the districts in Louisiana, these parishes will need to be combined with other regions, and in order to reach the population threshold, the district will need to include some urban areas. For instance, Enacted CD 5 combines the northeastern parishes with cities to the west (Monroe and Ruston), south (Alexandria) and far southeast (Hammond).

Another set of parishes that is always together in each of the cultural and economic maps highlighted by Dr. Swanson is Pointe Coupee, West Feliciana, East Feliciana, St. Helena and both of the Baton Rouge parishes (displayed in Figure 4 for reference). Each of the cultural or economic groupings displayed in Figure 3 above envisions these parishes as part of a greater Baton Rouge region.⁶

⁵ Every district in the Enacted Plan contains multiple folklife and economic development regions. All of the districts of the Enacted Plan contain multiple folklore, tourist, and Cooper cultural regions except for District 3.

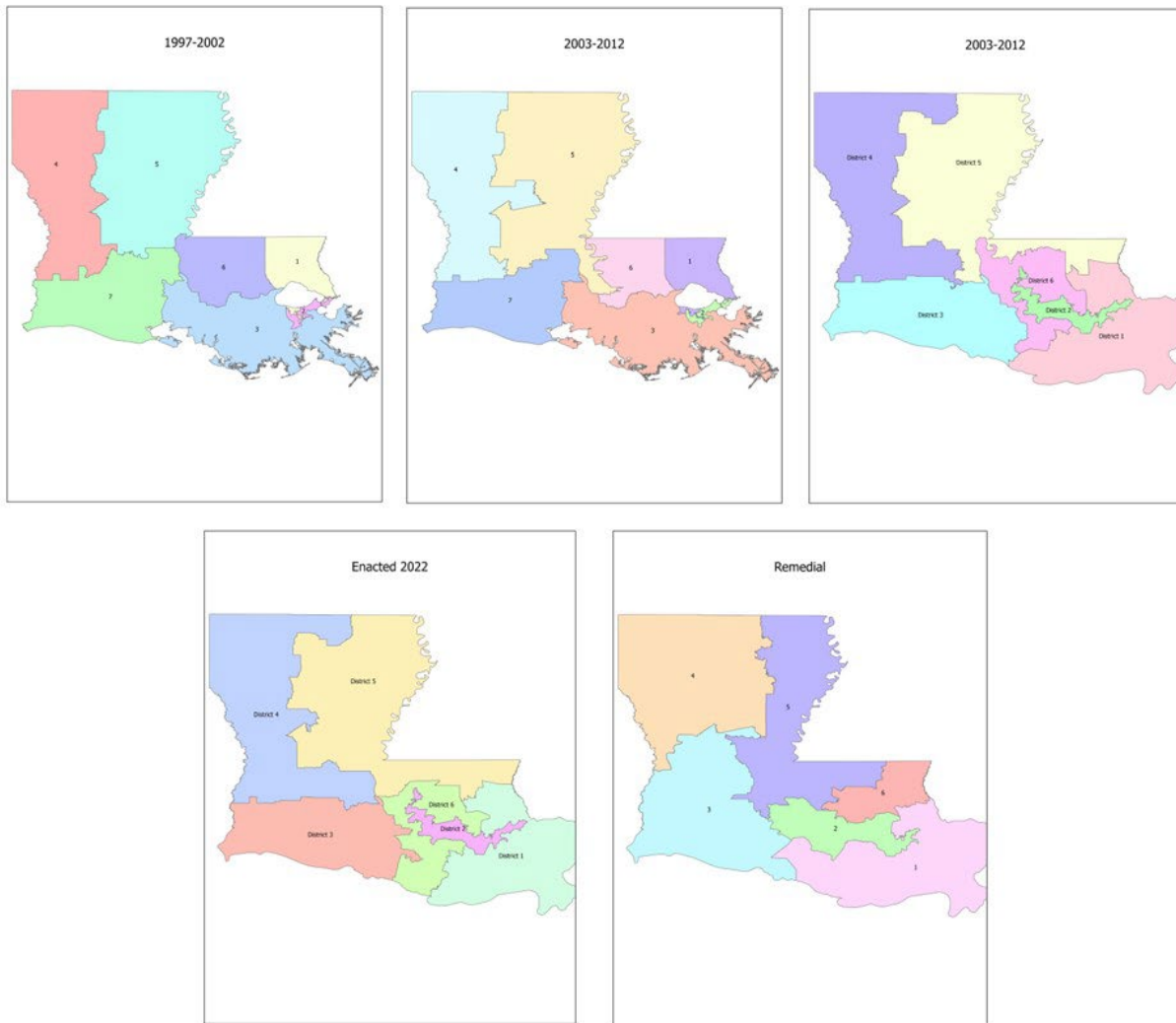
⁶ The only exception is the Cooper cultural map, which draws a dividing line at the Mississippi River.

Figure 4: Baton Rouge Area Parishes



These parishes together account for around 544,000 people, which is 71 percent of the population necessary to create a district. Except for a part of East Baton Rouge Parish, the Remedial Plan keeps these parishes together. In fact, back when Louisiana had seven districts and prior to significant rural population loss, this region was kept together in a single district from 1997 to 2012 (see the first two panels of Figure 5 below). The remedial plan is consistent with Louisiana’s earlier tradition of keeping much of the Baton Rouge region together, while also holding together the seven parishes of the northeast identified by Dr. Swanson.

Figure 5: Louisiana Congressional Districts, 1997 to Present



In contrast, the Enacted Plan carves Baton Rouge out from its cultural or economic community of interest and combines it with New Orleans via a narrow corridor. It is unclear why Dr. Swanson objects to the bulk of Lafayette and Baton Rouge being in the same district, since these cities are closer together than Baton Rouge and New Orleans, whose pairing in the Enacted Plan Dr. Swanson seems to endorse.

In fact, Dr. Swanson’s analysis provides no basis for his apparent preference for the Enacted Plan over the Remedial Plan. Already in the 2002 round of redistricting, the Northeast Louisiana-based District 5 started to expand southward into more densely populated areas to

compensate for population loss (see Figure 4 above). This continued in the 2012 round of redistricting, when the district ventured further south and included a narrow strip extending all the way to the eastern border. The Enacted 2022 plan kept the same configuration again but extended this strip a little further to the south to account for further population loss. Remedial District 5 keeps this same basic structure, but it does not extend quite so far to the west, and not quite so far to the east. Rather, it extends a bit further to the south, and in so doing, not only keeps the northeast parishes together, but also keeps much more of the Baton Rouge region intact. Dr. Swanson does not explain why he believes it is superior to extend the district all the way east to Washington Parish and the Mississippi border rather than south in a way that keeps more of the Baton Rouge region together.

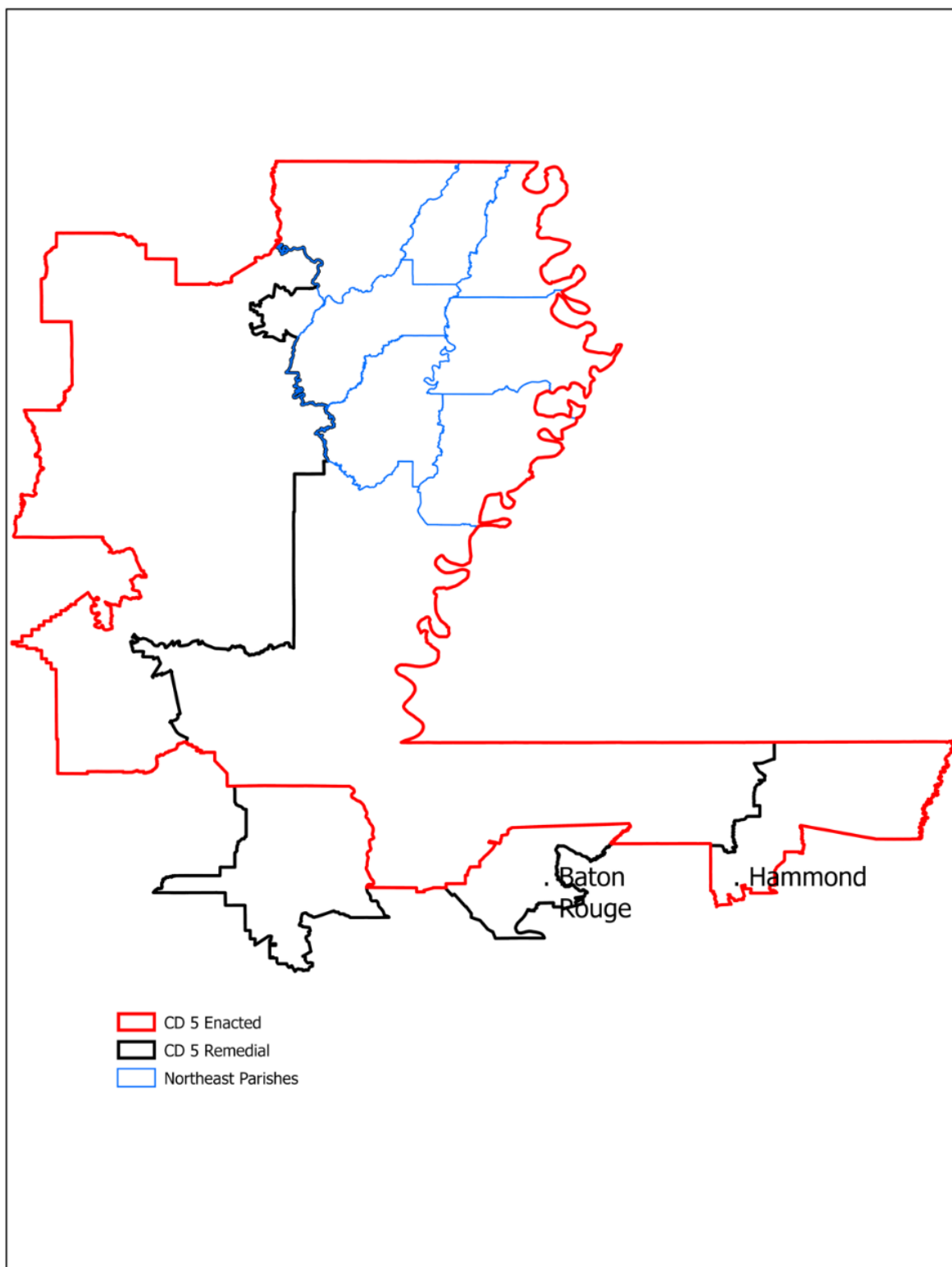
It is also worthwhile to consider the implications of configurations of District 5 for surrounding districts. By picking up population from the south rather than west, and keeping more of the Baton Rouge area together than District 5 in the Enacted Plan, the configuration of District 5 in the Remedial Plan is roughly similar to the Enacted Plan in terms of the compactness of District 5, while allowing for a more compact arrangement of Districts 3 and 4 to the west, and a more compact plan overall (see the bottom two panels of Figure 5 for a visual comparison, and Table 1 below for compactness calculations).

In Section V of his report, Dr. Swanson discusses “population dispersion.” He criticizes Congressional District 5 in the Remedial Plan for connecting populated areas via non-populous water and wetland areas without “logical demographic or geographic connective tissues” (page 23, paragraph 32). However, given the large size of U.S. congressional districts and the sparse and relatively small population of Northern Louisiana, it is not possible to draw district lines that do not cross over non-populous wetland areas. Not only does District 5 in the Enacted Plan cross over the same wetland areas, these wetlands have been traversed in every version of District 5 since the 2002 round of redistricting.

Finally, Dr. Swanson uses history to bolster his claim that Baton Rouge, Lafayette, and the northeast parishes do not belong together, pointing out that these specific places have not previously been part of the same congressional district.

But in Louisiana, as the northeast corner of the state depopulates, every new redistricting plan must unavoidably combine this region with other parts of the state and include some more densely populated areas. For instance, District 5 in the Enacted Plan not only includes the cities of Alexandria, Ruston, and Monroe, but it also reaches to the east and includes Hammond with the northeast parishes for the first time in history. Hammond is 45 miles further east than Baton Rouge and adds part of yet another economic development and tourist COI (see Figure 3 above). It was necessary to add significant population to District 5, and it is not clear why it would be superior to reach further east and extract part of Hammond than to do so with the more proximate city of Baton Rouge (see Figure 6 below).

Figure 6: Baton Rouge and Hammond, Louisiana and Enacted and Remedial CD 5



Communities of Interest Based on Clustering Algorithm

In addition to his exploration of economic and cultural maps produced by others, Dr. Swanson experiments with drawing his own communities of interest. To do so, he draws inspiration from recent academic work in which scholars use spatial social and demographic data to find clusters of voters with similar characteristics that can be viewed as “communities of interest” that district-drawers might attempt to keep together. For instance, in a study of New York City, Mollenkopf et al. identify clusters of Afro-Caribbean voters in Queens and Puerto Rican voters in the Bronx.⁷ However, Dr. Swanson does something quite different than existing studies. He generates only two clusters for a state with six congressional districts, and claims that any district that includes parts of two clusters should be viewed with suspicion. As noted above, early in his report, he includes territory and geography in his definition of “communities of interest,” but here he ignores geography altogether, creating non-contiguous clusters, and ignores the fact that district-drawers attempt to draw compact, contiguous districts.

Dr. Swanson’s reasoning for generating only two clusters is perplexing. He claims (paragraph 51) that if two parishes are not in the same cluster with only two clusters, they would also not be in the same cluster if he generated a larger number of clusters that more closely resembles the task of drawing congressional districts. This is not the case. For example, simply arrange 12 parishes in order of population and divide into two clusters. The 6th and 7th most populous parishes will be in different clusters. But if we divide into three clusters based on population, the 6th and 7th most populous parishes would be in the *same* cluster. This logic applies to any type of variable. Dr. Swanson presents no robustness checks to examine whether his claims hold up with different numbers of clusters.

To generate his clusters, Dr. Swanson chose a set of 14 variables from the census and used a k-means clustering algorithm to find the two clusters of parishes that minimized the within-cluster sum of squared deviations. That is, his approach attempts to find two groupings of parishes that are as similar to one another based on this group of 14 variables. As an initial matter, his basis for choosing these 14 variables over any others is unclear. Additionally, he appears not to have

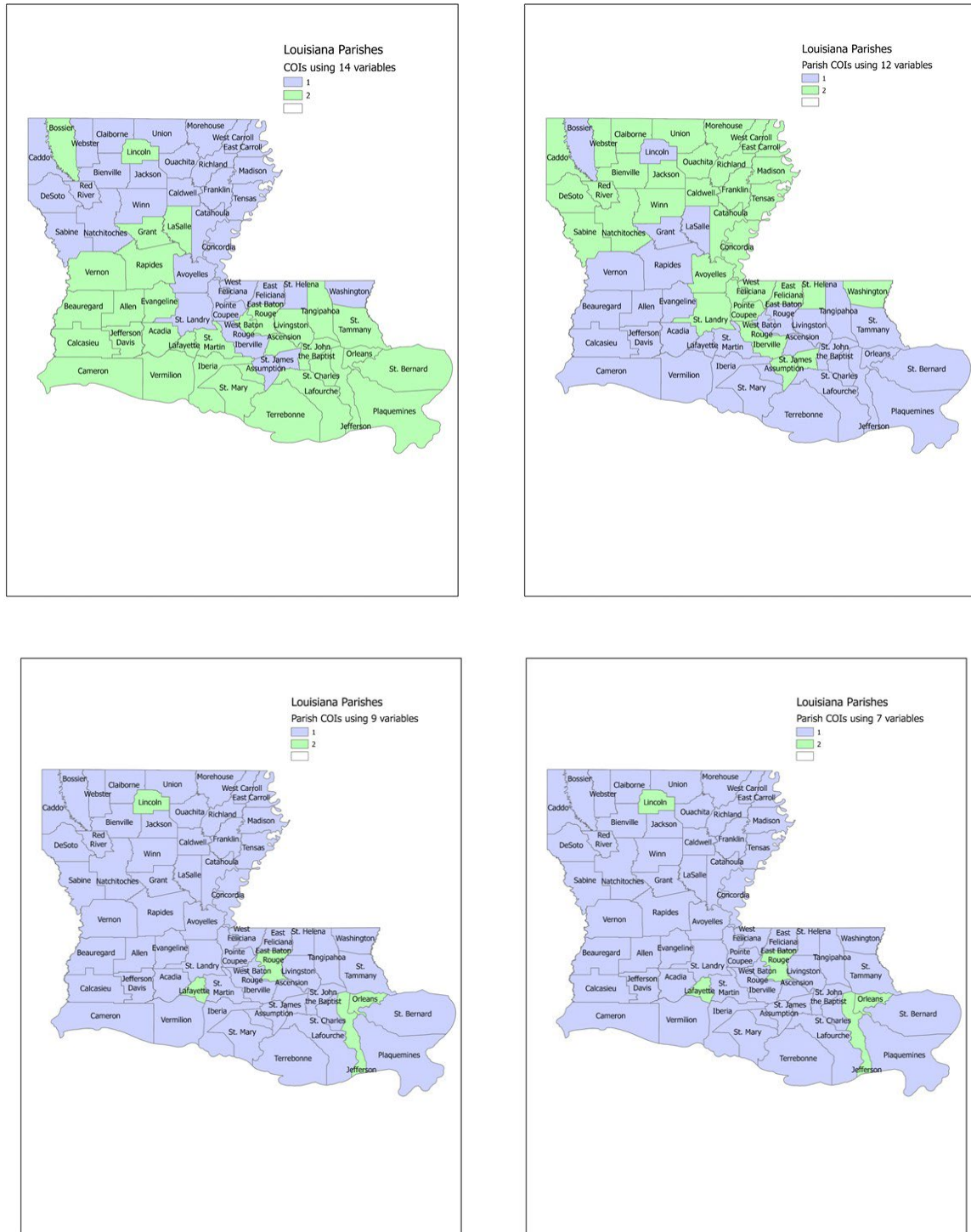
⁷ Mollenkopf, J, J. Pereira, and S. Romalewski (2013). Communities of Interest and City Council Districting in New York, 2012-2013. A Report Prepared for the New York City Districting Commission by the Center for Urban Research at the Graduate Center, City University of New York.

instructed the algorithm to pay attention to geographic proximity or population equality, both of which are generally considered traditional districting principles. For reasons that he does not explain, Dr. Swanson then repeats this exercise with 12 variables, dropping two variables related to employment. Next, without explanation, he drops some additional variables, leaving him with nine variables. Finally, he drops two additional variables related to migration, again without explanation, leaving him with seven. Using the parish assignments to clusters outlined in Appendix 7 in his report (p. 54-62), in Figure 7, I present maps of his clusters.

The maps produced with 14 variables and 12 variables are identical. This indicates that employment variables were not very important in determining the clusters in the initial map, most likely because these variables were highly correlated with other variables, and hence provided little additional information. Likewise, the maps using nine and seven variables are identical, indicating that the dropped migration variables were highly correlated with other variables that determined the parish assignments in the nine-variable exercise.

However, by comparing the 14- and 12-variable maps with the 9- and 7-variable maps, one can appreciate the discretion involved in selecting variables and generating clusters. Different variables generate completely different maps. By deciding what variables to include, Dr. Swanson can create virtually any clusters he likes. Without a principled and rigorous way of deciding which variables to include, his approach is arbitrary and without meaning. His selection of variables also preordains certain outcomes. For instance, he included population density in each of these exercises. That is, he asked the algorithm to find places that are as similar as possible in terms of population density. That choice guarantees that the algorithm will not classify the cities of Lafayette and Baton Rouge as belonging to the same cluster as the more sparsely populated northeast parishes.

Figure 7: Maps of Swanson’s Clusters



The same is true of his inclusion of education (percent with a Bachelor’s degree or higher) in each of his clustering approaches. The most educated parishes are Orleans (38% of population

25 years and older with a Bachelor's degree or higher), East Baton Rouge (37%), Lincoln (35%), St. Tammany (34%), and Lafayette (33%). The northeastern parishes are among those with the lowest levels of college attendance. The importance of population density and education are laid bare in the 7- and 9-variable clusters, where one cluster is simply a group of five disconnected, far-flung, but relatively dense and educated parishes (Orleans, Jefferson, East Baton Rouge, Lafayette, and Lincoln), and the other cluster is the rest of the state.

As with the cultural and economic regions discussed above, Dr. Swanson adopts an untenable decision rule: districts spanning more than one cluster should be viewed with suspicion. Because his approach pays no attention to district size or geography, most districts in most realistic redistricting plans would not pass his test. For instance, with his 14- and 12-variable approaches, Enacted District 5 is a mishmash containing some parishes of his rural, less college-educated cluster, and three non-contiguous fragments of the more urban cluster. Likewise, Enacted Districts 2, 4, and 6 contain fragments of both clusters. With the 9- and 7-variable approaches, only a single district in the Enacted Plan passes Dr. Swanson's test (CD 4).

Dr. Swanson's report focuses primarily on the question of whether East Baton Rouge "belongs" with the parishes of the northeast. It should be noted that his analysis does nothing special to focus on those parishes. It simply examines data for all 64 parishes, and there is no reason to believe that the clustering for any set of parishes is more accurate or appropriate for one set of parishes than any other set.

Dr. Swanson's clustering exercise is of little value and contains no objective analysis that can serve as a guide for which cities or parishes belong together in the same congressional district. However, if we *do* take his clusters seriously, it is not at all clear that they bolster the central claims in his report. In contrast with claims made elsewhere in the report that Lafayette and Baton Rouge do not belong together, each of his clustering approaches places them in the same cluster.

V. Trende Report

Mr. Trende's report provides a series of descriptive observations about the boundaries of District 5 in the Remedial Plan. Like Dr. Swanson, Mr. Trende provides no alternative Louisiana congressional plans for comparison, and no discussion of the geographic and demographic

constraints facing a district-drawer in Louisiana. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain whether Mr. Trende's observations reveal something about the geography of Louisiana or the specific intentions of those drawing the districts. Mr. Trende does not offer any analysis or opinions beyond description.

Mr. Trende concludes: "The Proposed Remedial Fifth District is not centered on a single concentration of Black voters," but rather, combines "Black residents of voting age from geographically distant population centers" (page 45). Mr. Trende does not provide any quantitative measures of dispersion or engage in any analysis of what a set of districts with "less dispersed" Black populations might look like.

Next, Mr. Trende reports Polsby-Popper and Reock compactness scores for District 5. He seems to imply that these numbers indicate that District 5 in the Remedial Plan is non-compact, but he does not place the numbers in any relevant context. In order to more comprehensively assess compactness, I have assembled shapefiles (spatial boundary files) for the Remedial Plan, the Enacted Plan, and every redistricting plan that has been implemented in Louisiana over the last 50 years (since the 1972 round of redistricting). This provides me with nine redistricting plans and a total of 64 districts.⁸ In addition to the Polsby-Popper and Reock scores, for each enacted congressional district since 2003, I also calculate two additional commonly used compactness metrics: the Convex Hull and Schwartzberg scores.⁹ These scores are all presented in the appendix to this report.

With this comparison set, the compactness of District 5 in the Remedial Plan is clearly in the middle of the pack. For the Polsby-Popper score and the Schwartzberg measures, the value for District 5 in the Remedial Plan is around the 40th percentile of the values for all the districts in all

⁸ The enacted redistricting plans include those in place from 1973 to 1982, 1983 to 1984, 1985 to 1992, 1993 to 1994, 1995 to 1996, 1997 to 2002, 2003 to 2012, 2013 to 2020, and the current Enacted Plan. Note that from 1973 to 1992, these plans contained 8 districts. From 1993 to 2012, they contained 7 districts, and thereafter, they contained 6 districts.

⁹ The Polsby-Popper score is the ratio of the area of the district to the area of a circle whose circumference is equal to the perimeter of the district. The Reock score is the ratio of the area of the district to the area of a minimum bounding circle that encloses the district's geometry. The Convex Hull score is the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the minimum convex polygon that can enclose the district's geometry. The Schwartzberg score is the ratio of the perimeter of the district to the circumference of a circle whose area is equal to the area of the district. Each of these scores falls within a range of 0 to 1, and a score closer to 1 indicates a more compact district.

these plans. For the Convex Hull measure, it is around the 30th percentile value. The Reock score of Remedial District 5 is almost exactly the median value for this comparison set. In short, there is no basis for characterizing Remedial District 5 as an especially non-compact district.

In Table 1 below, I present the average compactness score for each plan according to each metric, with the average score for the Remedial Plan displayed at the bottom. For the entire period since the early 1970s, I have highlighted the most compact plan according to each measure.

Table 1: Average Compactness Scores for Louisiana Redistricting Plans, 1973-2023

	Polsby- Popper	Reock	Convex Hull	Schwartzberg
1973-1982	0.166	0.358	0.684	0.366
1983-1984	0.131	0.338	0.662	0.320
1985-1992	0.144	0.337	0.641	0.350
1993-1994	0.066	0.311	0.552	0.230
1995-1996	0.106	0.310	0.618	0.297
1997-2002	0.219	0.393	0.708	0.424
2003-2012	0.153	0.365	0.651	0.362
2013-2020	0.145	0.356	0.610	0.365
Current Enacted	0.144	0.370	0.621	0.367
Remedial Plan	0.199	0.399	0.712	0.441

Not only is the Remedial Plan more compact than the Enacted Plan on every measure, on three of the four measures, it is in fact more compact than *any* plan enacted in Louisiana in the last 50 years. Only on the Polsby-Popper metric did the Remedial Plan come in second, surpassed only by the 1997-2002 plan.

Mr. Trende implies that District 5 in the Remedial Plan is unusually elongated, remarking that it takes four hours to drive from the northeast corner of the state to Lafayette. But to get from the northeast corner of the state to the eastern reaches of Louisiana in Enacted CD5 without leaving the state, one needs to drive four hours south to Baton Rouge, and then another two hours east to the Mississippi border. Moreover, the drive from one end of Enacted District 4 to the other is also around four hours.¹⁰

Finally, Mr. Trende concludes his report with an abrupt turn away from Louisiana. He provides some descriptive information about District 25 in the 2004 Texas Redistricting Plan, as well as District 11 in the 1992 Georgia Redistricting Plan. He has selected these plans, it appears, because they were struck down by courts as racial gerrymanders. He suggests that these maps are “similar” to District 5 in the Louisiana Remedial Plan.

It is not clear how he draws this conclusion, however, as he conducts no quantitative or qualitative analysis beyond his impressionistic descriptions of maps. And the compactness scores he does examine do not support his conclusion that Remedial District 5 (.38 Reock score) is equivalent to the Texas’s District 25 (.13 Reock score) or Georgia’s District 11 (Mr. Trende does not report compactness scores for Georgia, but I have calculated a .17 Reock score). It is difficult to compare compactness scores of specific districts in different states in different years, but even if we were to engage with this analysis, the Reock score for Remedial District 5 in Louisiana is more than twice as high as the Reock scores of the other districts. Additionally, the Texas and Georgia districts involve longer, narrower corridors, and as Mr. Trende points out, longer distances and drive times. Mr. Trende makes no comparisons of county, municipal, or vote tabulation district (VTD) splits, violations of traditional redistricting principles, or other factors typically examined in considerations of racial gerrymandering.

VI. Conclusion

The key claims in these reports cannot be supported by the analyses presented therein. Neither Dr. Swanson’s cultural and economic maps, his clustering exercise, nor other assorted critiques and observations in his report generate any basis for his sweeping conclusion that race

¹⁰ I obtain estimated drive times using Google Maps during periods of normal traffic.

was the “predominant factor used by plaintiffs to draw RCD5” (page 10). Likewise, Mr. Trende’s largely descriptive analysis provides no compelling reasons to conclude that District 5 in the Remedial Plan can be compared in any meaningful way with districts that have been ruled unlawful by federal courts in the past.

Appendix A
Compactness Scores for Louisiana Congressional Districts, 1972-Present

	District:							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Polsby-Popper								
1973-1982	0.003	0.171	0.008	0.212	0.208	0.333	0.236	0.157
1983-1984	0.003	0.036	0.008	0.204	0.213	0.242	0.209	0.133
1985-1992	0.149	0.058	0.003	0.243	0.253	0.250	0.071	0.126
1993-1994	0.092	0.043	0.004	0.013	0.061	0.052	0.196	
1995-1996	0.158	0.042	0.005	0.040	0.214	0.097	0.188	
1997-2002	0.181	0.050	0.004	0.266	0.282	0.507	0.241	
2003-2012	0.171	0.055	0.004	0.207	0.130	0.235	0.271	
2013-2020	0.161	0.057	0.316	0.160	0.100	0.074		
Adopted	0.159	0.058	0.291	0.157	0.124	0.075		
Remedial	0.220	0.170	0.210	0.285	0.097	0.212		
Convex Hull								
1973-1982	0.394	0.679	0.613	0.685	0.823	0.861	0.761	0.652
1983-1984	0.393	0.616	0.646	0.681	0.829	0.721	0.748	0.664
1985-1992	0.528	0.516	0.489	0.679	0.837	0.711	0.711	0.658
1993-1994	0.599	0.456	0.528	0.248	0.652	0.584	0.798	
1995-1996	0.642	0.464	0.535	0.451	0.821	0.606	0.810	
1997-2002	0.643	0.480	0.507	0.783	0.884	0.875	0.783	
2003-2012	0.633	0.493	0.515	0.712	0.693	0.755	0.754	
2013-2020	0.673	0.383	0.802	0.614	0.573	0.618		
Adopted	0.709	0.383	0.791	0.609	0.599	0.636		
Remedial	0.715	0.662	0.750	0.845	0.556	0.743		
Reock								
1973-1982	0.182	0.262	0.354	0.325	0.602	0.425	0.431	0.285
1983-1984	0.182	0.184	0.350	0.321	0.607	0.334	0.416	0.309
1985-1992	0.310	0.196	0.223	0.320	0.610	0.326	0.401	0.307
1993-1994	0.432	0.184	0.251	0.128	0.388	0.293	0.503	
1995-1996	0.377	0.183	0.271	0.126	0.369	0.299	0.542	
1997-2002	0.376	0.190	0.254	0.372	0.552	0.566	0.437	
2003-2012	0.423	0.213	0.258	0.383	0.414	0.457	0.405	
2013-2020	0.461	0.179	0.400	0.344	0.369	0.380		
Adopted	0.502	0.179	0.376	0.336	0.377	0.450		
Remedial	0.374	0.269	0.486	0.562	0.338	0.364		

Schwartzberg

1973-1982	0.050	0.413	0.091	0.460	0.456	0.577	0.485	0.396
1983-1984	0.050	0.188	0.092	0.451	0.461	0.492	0.457	0.364
1985-1992	0.385	0.242	0.054	0.493	0.503	0.500	0.266	0.355
1993-1994	0.304	0.208	0.067	0.112	0.246	0.228	0.443	
1995-1996	0.397	0.204	0.068	0.200	0.463	0.311	0.434	
1997-2002	0.426	0.223	0.066	0.516	0.531	0.712	0.491	
2003-2012	0.413	0.234	0.067	0.455	0.360	0.484	0.521	
2013-2020	0.401	0.238	0.562	0.401	0.316	0.272		
Adopted	0.399	0.241	0.539	0.396	0.353	0.273		
Remedial	0.469	0.413	0.459	0.534	0.311	0.461		

Appendix B
Jonathan Rodden
Curriculum Vitae

Jonathan Rodden

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Education

Ph.D. Political Science, Yale University, 2000.

Fulbright Scholar, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993–1994.

B.A., Political Science, University of Michigan, 1993.

Academic Positions

Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, 2020–present.

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Director, Spatial Social Science Lab, Stanford University, 2012–present.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2010–2012.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2007–2012.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA, 2006–2007.

Ford Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science, MIT, 2003–2006.

Visiting Scholar, Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, 2004.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, MIT, 1999–2003.

Instructor, Department of Political Science and School of Management, Yale University, 1997–1999.

Publications

Books

Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Divide. Basic Books, 2019.

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Other Publications

Supporting Advanced Manufacturing in Alabama, Report to the Alabama Innovation Commission, Hoover Institution, 2021.

How America's Urban-Rural Divide has Shaped the Pandemic, 2020, *Foreign Affairs*, April 20, 2020.

An Evolutionary Path for the European Monetary Fund? A Comparative Perspective, 2017, Briefing paper for the Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

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Book Review of *The Government of Money* by Peter Johnson, *Comparative Political Studies* 32,7: 897-900.

Fellowships, Honors, and Grants

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2021.

Martha Derthick Award of the American Political Science Association for "the best book published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations," 2021.

National Science Foundation, funding for study "Segregation, Suburbanization, and Representation," 2023.

National Institutes of Health, funding for "Relationship between lawful handgun ownership and risk of homicide victimization in the home," 2021.

National Collaborative on Gun Violence Research, funding for "Cohort Study Of Firearm-Related Mortality Among Cohabitants Of Handgun Owners." 2020.

Fund for a Safer Future, Longitudinal Study of Handgun Ownership and Transfer (LongSHOT), GA004696, 2017-2018.

Stanford Institute for Innovation in Developing Economies, Innovation and Entrepreneurship research grant, 2015.

Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper in political economy, American Political Science Association, 2016.

Common Cause Gerrymandering Standard Writing Competition, 2015.

General support grant from the Hewlett Foundation for Spatial Social Science Lab, 2014.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2012.

Sloan Foundation, grant for assembly of geo-referenced precinct-level electoral data set (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder), 2009-2011.

Hoagland Award Fund for Innovations in Undergraduate Teaching, Stanford University, 2009.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, beginning Fall 2010.

Research Grant on Fiscal Federalism, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona, 2009.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2008.

United Postal Service Foundation grant for study of the spatial distribution of income in cities, 2008.

Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2007.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 2006-2007.

National Science Foundation grant for assembly of cross-national provincial-level dataset on elections, public finance, and government composition, 2003-2004 (with Erik Wibbels).

MIT Dean's Fund and School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences Research Funds.

Funding from DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), MIT, and Harvard EU Center to organize the conference, "European Fiscal Federalism in Comparative Perspective," held at Harvard University, November 4, 2000.

Canadian Studies Fellowship (Canadian Federal Government), 1996-1997.

Prize Teaching Fellowship, Yale University, 1998-1999.

Fulbright Grant, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993-1994.

Michigan Association of Governing Boards Award, one of two top graduating students at the University of Michigan, 1993.

W. J. Bryan Prize, top graduating senior in political science department at the University of Michigan, 1993.

Other Professional Activities

Selection committee, best paper award, American Journal of Political Science.

Selection committee, best paper award, American Political Economy

International Advisory Committee, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2006–2010.

Selection committee, Mancur Olson Prize awarded by the American Political Science Association Political Economy Section for the best dissertation in the field of political economy.

Selection committee, Gregory Luebbert Best Book Award.

Selection committee, William Anderson Prize, awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

Courses

Undergraduate

Politics, Economics, and Democracy

Introduction to Comparative Politics

Introduction to Political Science

Political Science Scope and Methods

Institutional Economics

Spatial Approaches to Social Science

Graduate

Political Economy

Political Economy of Institutions

Federalism and Fiscal Decentralization

Politics and Geography

Consulting

2017. Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

2016. Briefing paper for the World Bank on fiscal federalism in Brazil.

2013-2018: Principal Investigator, SMS for Better Governance (a collaborative project involving USAID, Social Impact, and UNICEF in Arua, Uganda).

2022. Expert witness in *Rivera v. Schwab* No. 2022-cv-89 (Kan. Dist. Ct. 2022)

2022. Drew Pennsylvania Congressional redistricting plan that was chosen by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for implementation in *Carter v. Chapman* No. 7 MM 2022, 2022WL 549106 (Pennsylvania Supreme Court).

2022. Written expert testimony in *Benninghoff v. 2021 Legislative Reapportionment Commission* (Pennsylvania Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Bennett v. Ohio Redistricting Commission*, No. 2012-1198 (Ohio Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Adams v. DeWine* No. 2012-1428 (Ohio Supreme Court).

2022 Expert witness in *Neiman v. LaRose* No. 2022-0298 (Ohio Supreme Court)

2019: Written expert testimony in *McLemore, Holmes, Robinson, and Woullard v. Hosemann*, United States District Court, Mississippi.

2019: Expert witness in *Nancy Corola Jacobson v. Detzner*, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* No. 4:18-cv-002510, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *College Democrats of the University of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson, et al.*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.

2017: Expert witness in *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia Board of Elections*, No. 3:14-CV-00852, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

2017: Expert witness in *Arizona Democratic Party, et al. v. Reagan, et al.*, No. 2:16-CV-01065, United States District Court for Arizona.

2016: Expert witness in *Lee v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 3:15-cv-357, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Richmond Division.

2016: Expert witness in *Missouri NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant School District*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, Eastern Division.

2014-2015: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida et al. v. Detzner, et al.*, 2012-CA-002842 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Senate redistricting case).

2013-2014: Expert witness in *Romo v Detzner*, 2012-CA-000412 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Congressional redistricting case).

2011-2014: Consultation with investment groups and hedge funds on European debt crisis.

2011-2014: Lead Outcome Expert, Democracy and Governance, USAID and Social Impact.

2010: USAID, Review of USAID analysis of decentralization in Africa.

2006–2009: World Bank, Independent Evaluations Group. Undertook evaluations of World Bank decentralization and safety net programs.

2008–2011: International Monetary Fund Institute. Designed and taught course on fiscal federalism.

1998–2003: World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit. Consultant for *World Development Report*, lecturer for training courses, participant in working group for assembly of decentralization data, director of multi-country study of fiscal discipline in decentralized countries, collaborator on review of subnational adjustment lending.

Last updated: September 28, 2023

Exhibit E

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA**

PRESS ROBINSON, EDGAR CAGE,
DOROTHY NAIRNE, EDWIN RENE
SOULE, ALICE WASHINGTON, CLEE
EARNEST LOWE, DAVANTE LEWIS,
MARTHA DAVIS, AMBROSE SIMS,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
("NAACP") LOUISIANA STATE
CONFERENCE, AND POWER COALITION
FOR EQUITY AND JUSTICE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana.

Defendant.

Civil Action No.
3:22-cv-00211-SDD-RLB

EDWARD GALMON, SR., CIARA HART,
NORRIS HENDERSON, TRAMELLE
HOWARD,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KYLE ARDOIN, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for Louisiana.

Defendant.

Civil Action No.
3:22-cv-00214-SDD-RLB

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

 A. Assignment 1

 B. Qualifications..... 1

 C. Methods..... 2

 D. Summary of Rebuttal..... 2

 E. Fees 3

 F. A Note on Terminology..... 3

THE HISTORY..... 3

 A. Early French Louisiana, 1699-1718..... 4

 B. Early New Orleans..... 6

 C. The Colonial Era, 1699-1803..... 9

 1. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements Under French Rule..... 9

 2. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements Under Spanish rule 11

 3. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements under British Rule..... 18

 4. Portions of Remedial 5th District with First Non-Indigenous Settlements under American Rule..... 18

 D. The Shared Histories of Proposed District Five After the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-2000 18

 1. The Territorial Period, 1804-1812..... 18

 2. The Antebellum Era, 1812-1860 23

 3. The Civil War, 1861-1865 32

 4. Reconstruction, 1862-1877 34

 5. The Late Nineteenth Century, 1877-1900..... 37

 6. The Early Twentieth Century, 1900-1929 38

 7. The Great Depression and World War II, 1930-1945..... 44

 8. The Post-World War II Period, 1945-1980..... 46

SPECIFIC CRITIQUES OF EXPERT REPORT OF DR. HENRY O. ROBERTSON, PH.D. 49

CONCLUSIONS..... 54

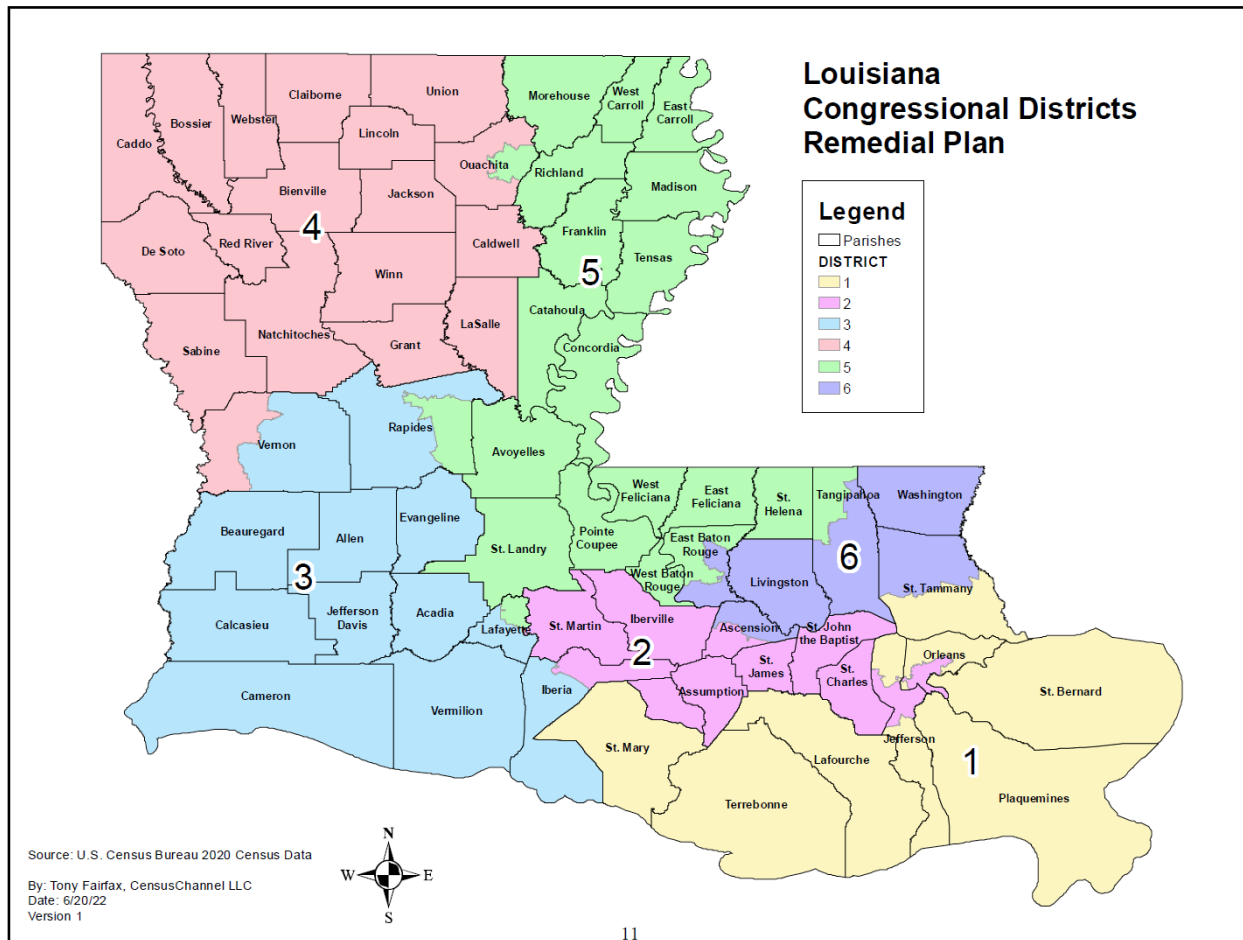
NOTES ON LOUISIANA HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 56

CURRICULUM VITAE 58

INTRODUCTION

A. Assignment

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



B. Qualifications

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. Methods

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

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

D. Summary of Rebuttal

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

E. Fees

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

F. A Note on Terminology

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

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

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

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

THE HISTORY

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

¹Masseaut, Kellman, Martin, eds., *Creolization in the French Americas* (University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, Lafayette, LA, 2015).

²Shane K. Bernard, *The Cajuns: Americanization of a People* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), xviii.

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

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

A. Early French Louisiana, 1699-1718

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. Early New Orleans

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

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

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

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

Then there are the other populations of early New Orleans. American Indians in the eighteenth century consistently outnumbered Europeans and Africans in Louisiana, and they used New Orleans for their own purposes in ways that led to a near constant stream of Indians in the city at any given moment.⁵ Africans from Senegambia brought with them languages, cultural practices, and religious traditions that they not only maintained in the city but also passed along to later generations. This distinctively Senegambian heritage became deeply engrained in New Orleans slave culture, especially after the French royal government closed the slave trade in 1731.⁶

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

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

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

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

C. The Colonial Era, 1699-1803

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

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

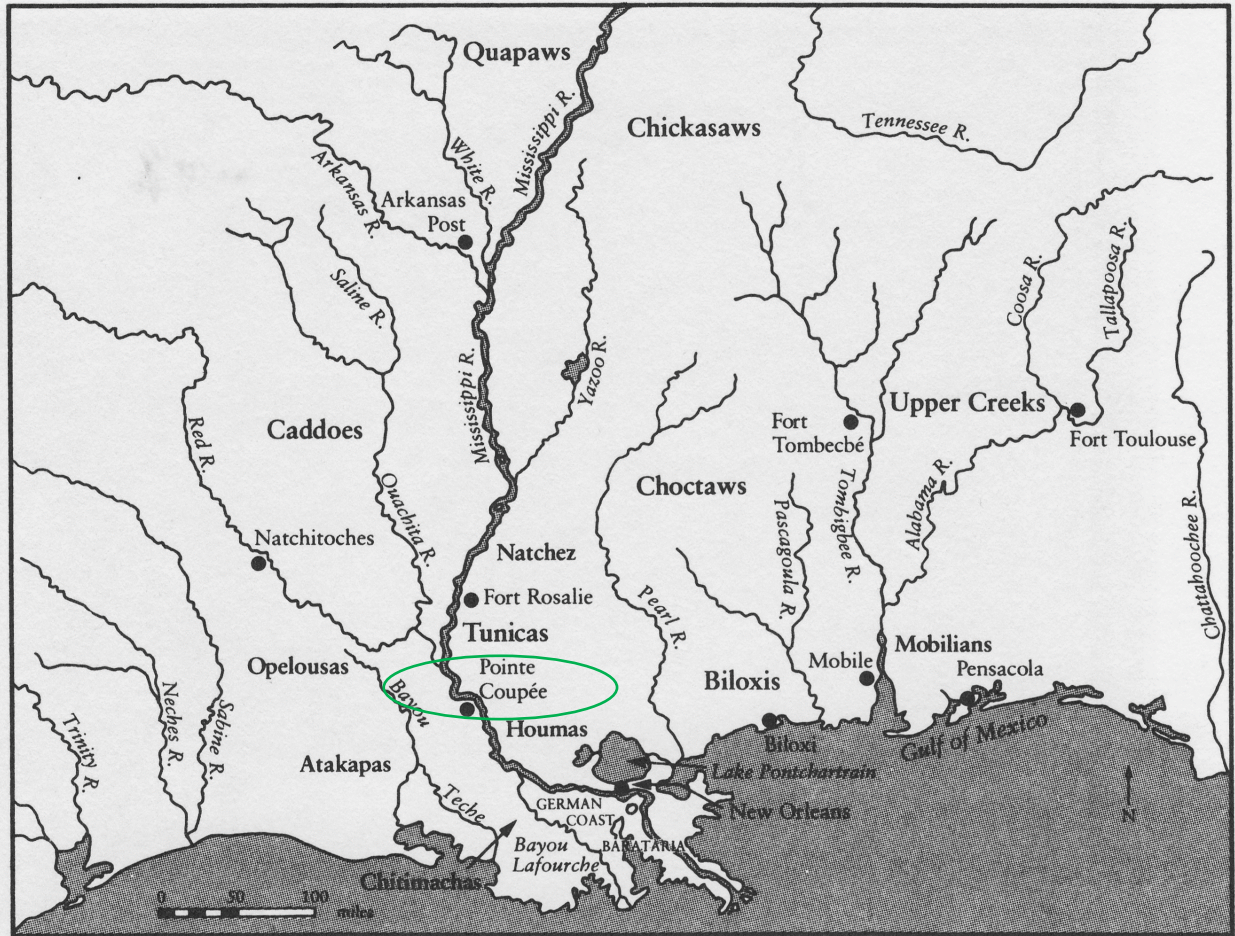
Pointe Coupée Parish

Trappers from New France (Canada) visited the area that became Pointe Coupée Parish as early as 1708, according to some relations of the parish's history. By 1712, an infusion of population from Upper Louisiana (sometimes called the Illinois Country) or New France provided the first non-Indigenous settlements. Bienville established a military post at Pointe Coupée (noted as "Fort de la Pointe Coupée" on the below map) According to Karen Kingsley, professor emerita of architecture at Tulane University, the St. Francis Church of Pointe Coupée was established at Chenal in 1728.⁷



1752 Anville Map of the Gulf Coast and Mississippi River Delta

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



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

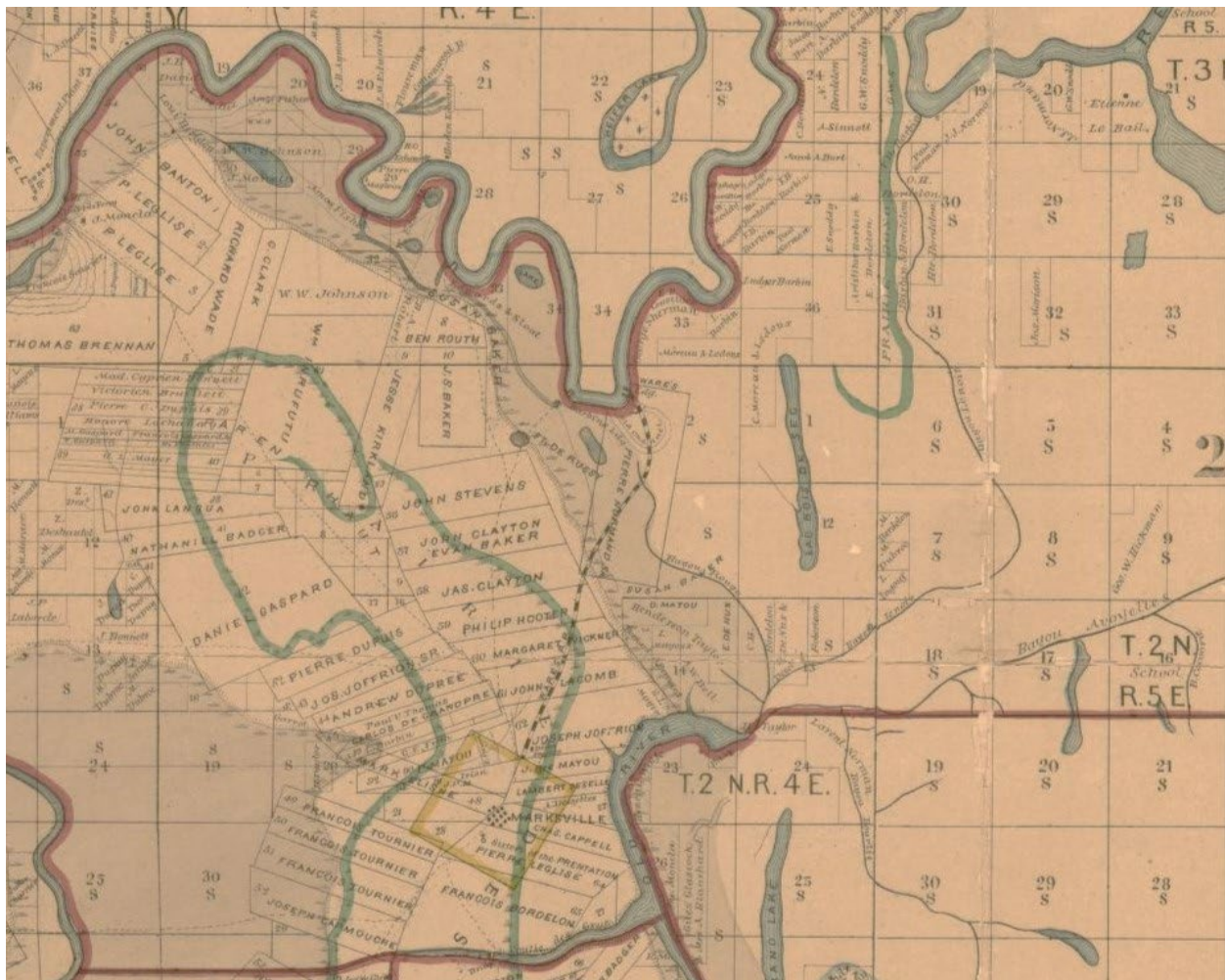
Pointe Coupée in a broader context, 1730. From Daniel H. Usner Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

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

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

Avoyelles Parish

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



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

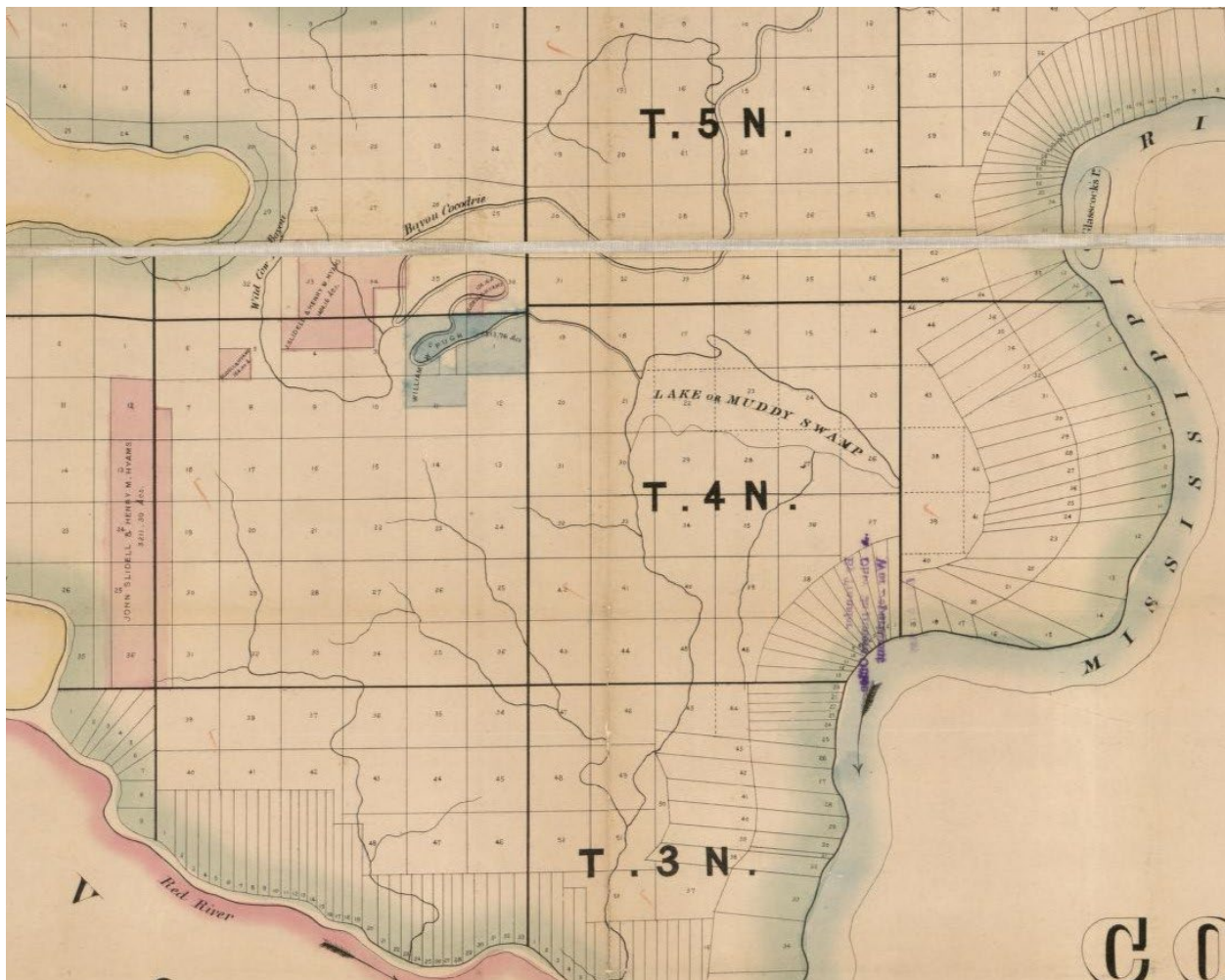
⁸Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1943).

Catahoula Parish

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

Concordia Parish

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



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

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

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

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

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

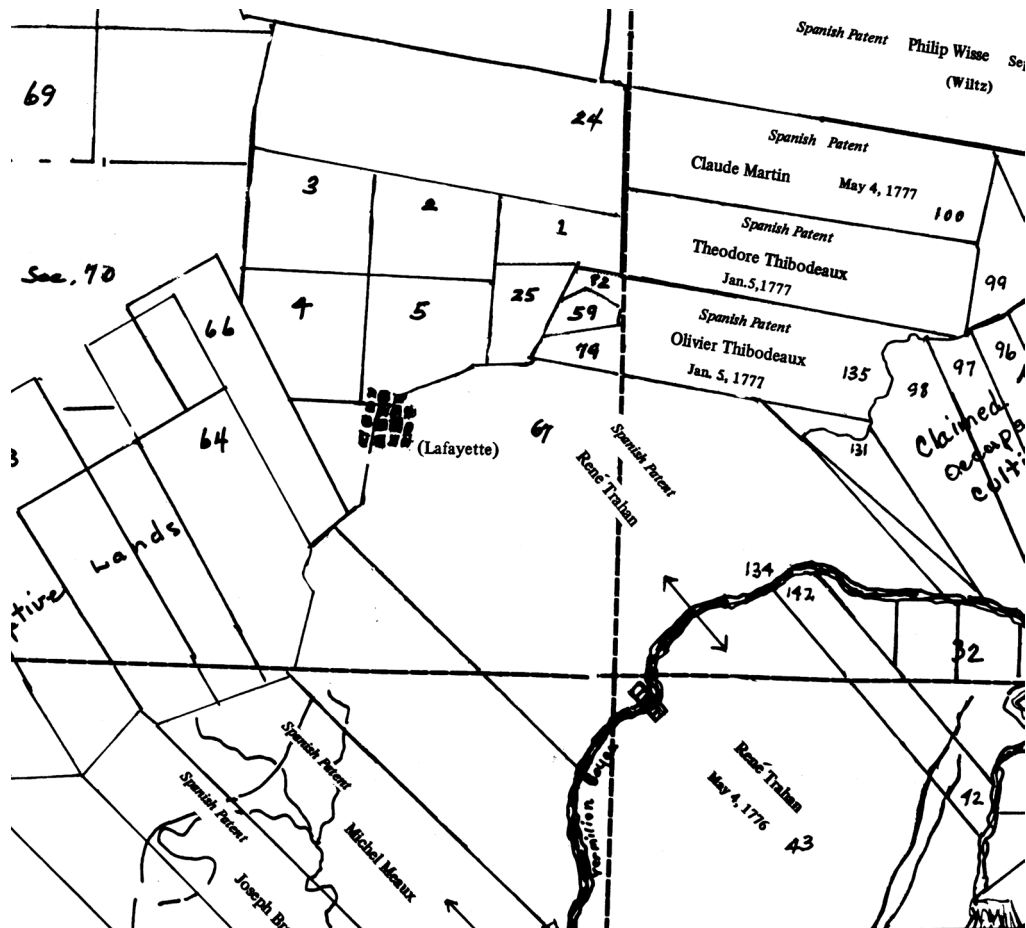
Lafayette Parish

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

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

¹¹Keith Ouchley, "Felipe Enrique Neri, Baron de Bastrop," 64 Parishes, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, <https://64parishes.org/entry/felipe-enrique-neri-baron-de-bastrop>; Library of Congress, About this Newspaper, "The Morehouse Clarion (Bastrop, La.) 1874-1904," <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn86053659/>; *The West Carroll Gazette*, Oak Grove, LA, December 29, 1999 (reprint from 1951), 14 B.

¹²Michael S. Martin, *Historic Lafayette: An Illustrated History* (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2007).



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

Ouachita Parish

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

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

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



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

Rapides Parish

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

St. Landry Parish

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

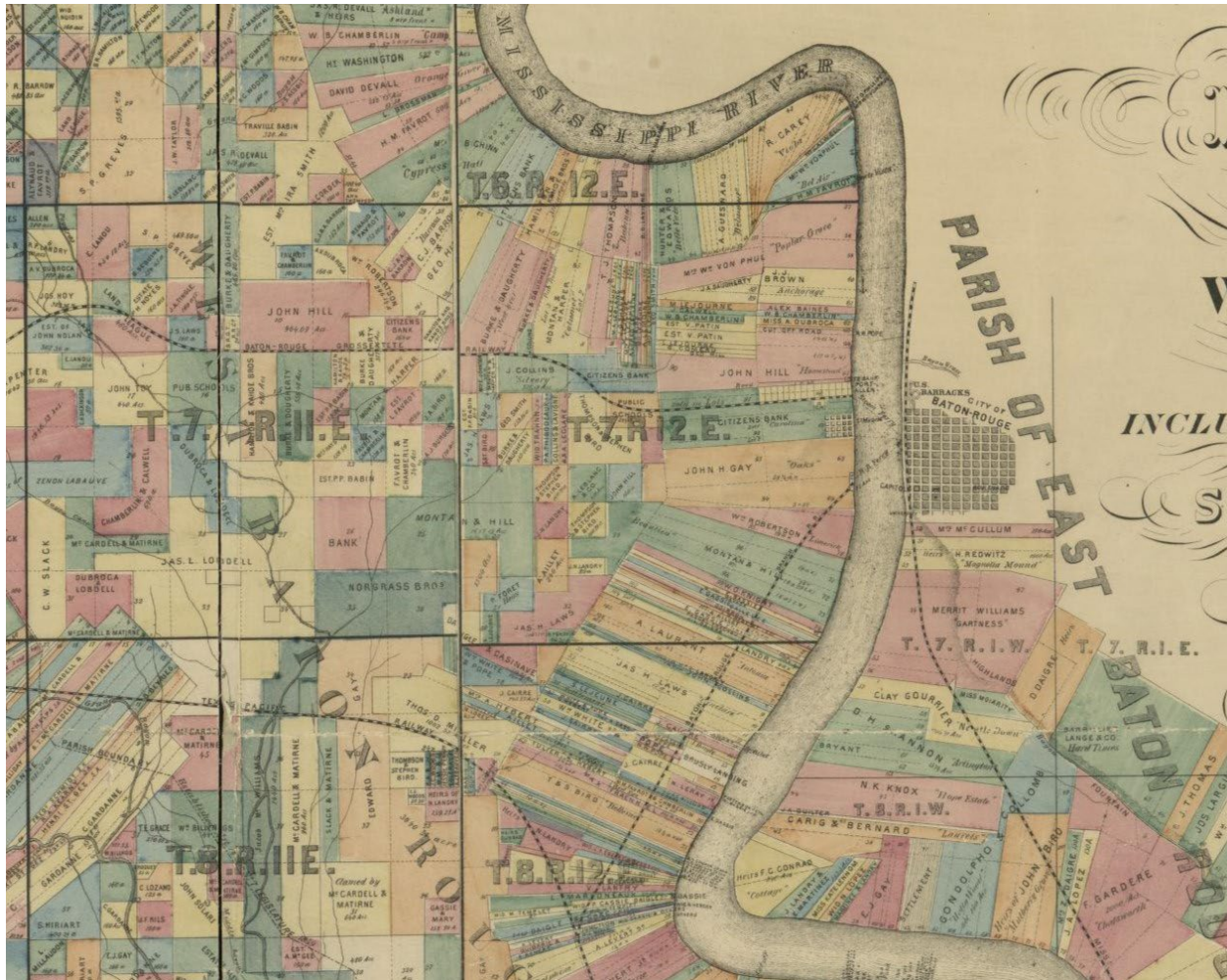
Undocumented reports state that at least one French trader went through the St. Landry Parish area in the 1690s. More verifiable records show that an early French trading post called le Poste des Opelousas was established around 1720. The trading post was still doing business when the Spanish government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

West Baton Rouge Parish

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

¹⁵ *Daily World*, Opelousas, LA, January 1, 2000, 1.

¹⁶ Leeper, C. D. (2012) *Louisiana Place Names*. [edition unavailable]. LSU Press.



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

West Feliciana

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

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

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

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

East Baton Rouge Parish

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

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

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

East Feliciana

St. Helena

Tangipahoa

Colonial Era Commonalities

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

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

1. The Territorial Period, 1804-1812

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

¹⁸ "From Red Stick to River Capital: Three Centuries of Baton Rouge History," electronic exhibition, LSU Libraries, Case 1: Native American and Colonial Origins. <https://www.lib.lsu.edu/sites/all/files/sc/exhibits/e-exhibits/redstick/cas1.txt.html>; Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, And Persons, Arranged In Cyclopedic Form* (Madison, WI: Century Historical Association, 1914), 352.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ Jon Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America*. New York, 2003

²⁰ Tregle, Joseph G. "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal." *The Journal of Southern History* 18, no. 1 (1952): 20–36.

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

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

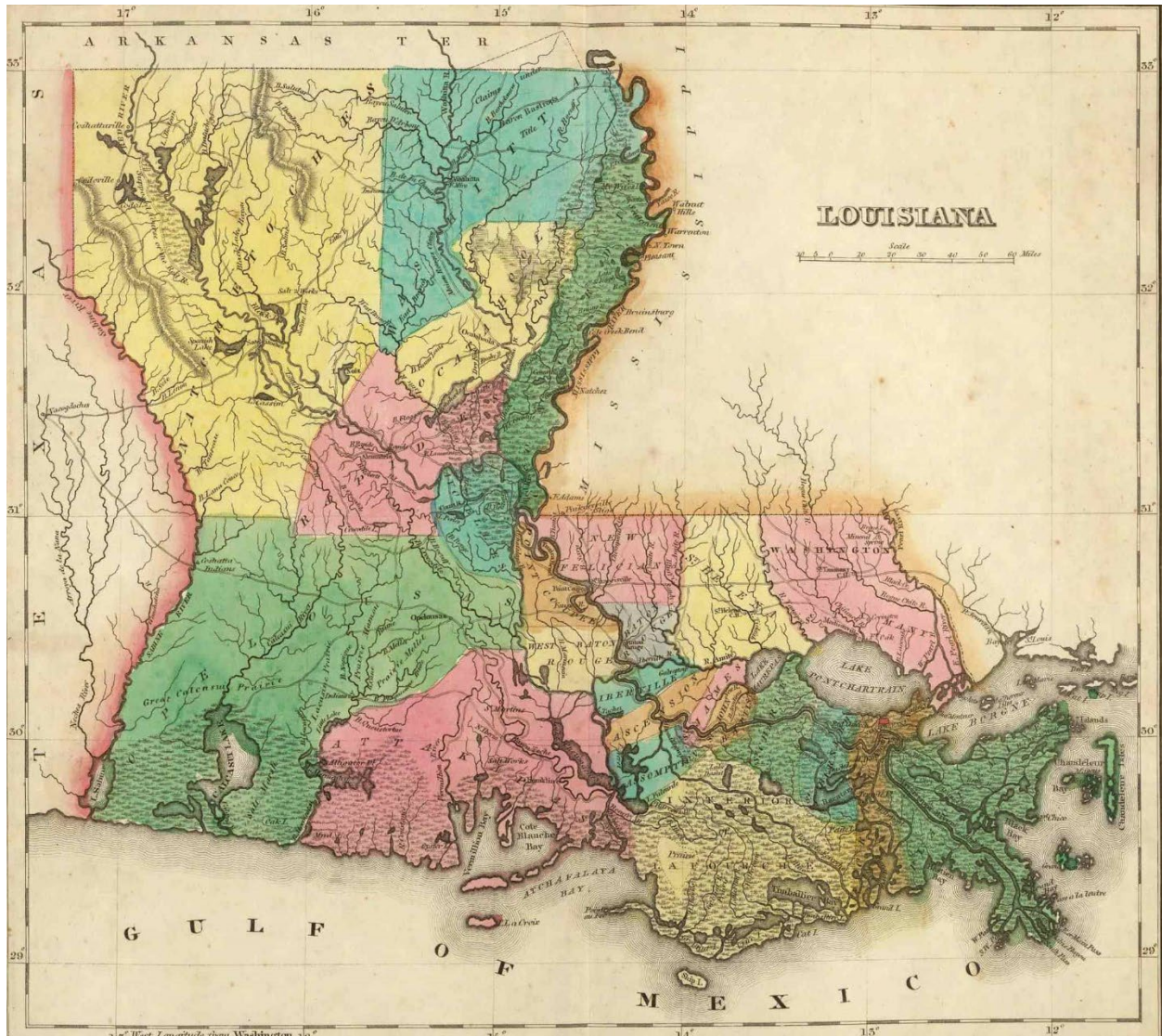
Claiborne oversaw the multi-stage implementation of an American-style government in the territory, again a process that all living in Louisiana experienced. For the creole population, at least a select group of white male representatives of it, this meant learning the practice of self-government, the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

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

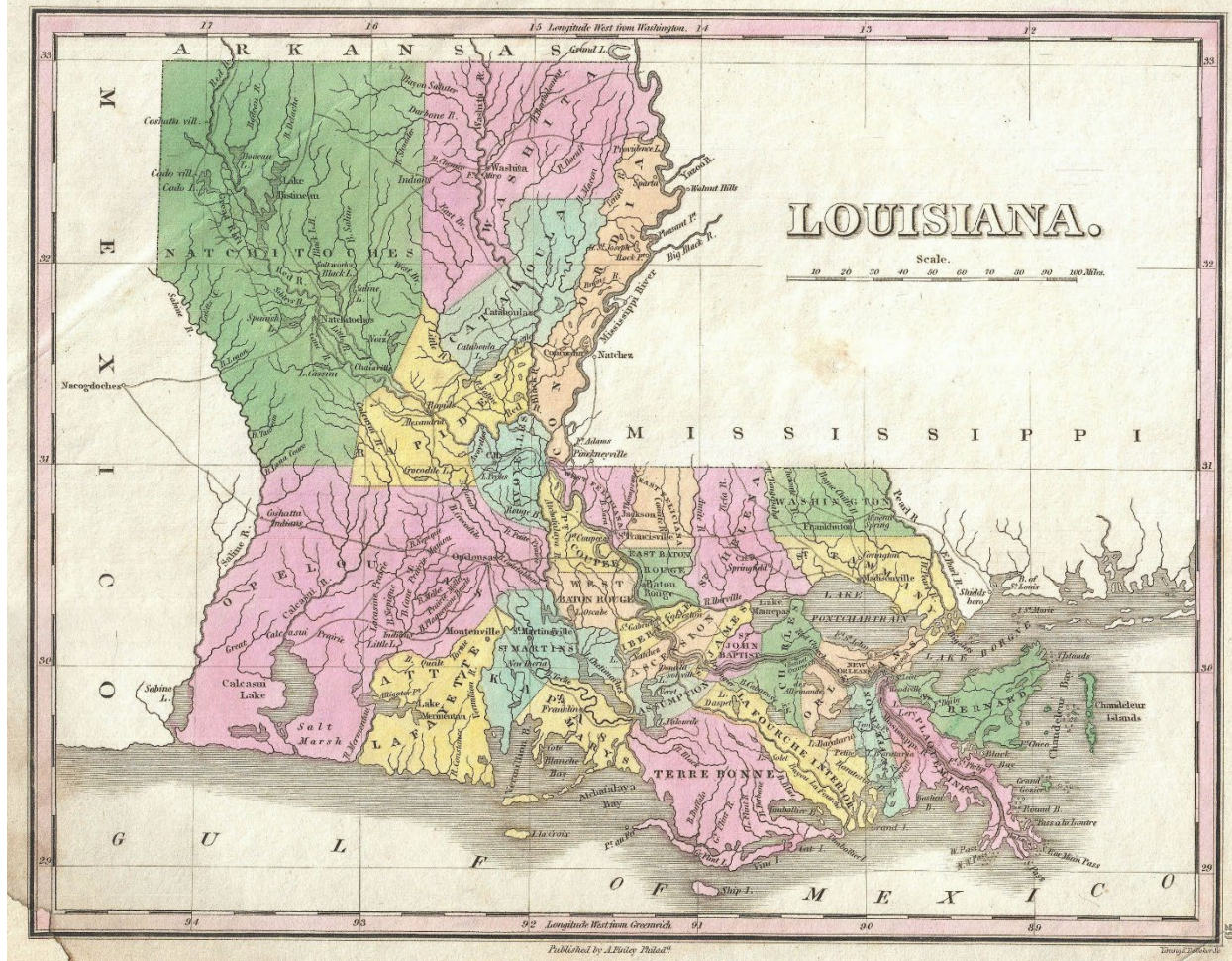
²¹ Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007; Brasseaux, Carl A., and Glenn R. Conrad. *The Road to Louisiana: The St.-Domingue Refugees, 1792–1809*. Lafayette, La.: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1992; Tregle, Joseph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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The Antebellum Era, 1812-1860

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

Year	Total Population	Free Population	Enslaved Population
1810	76,556	7,585 FPC ²⁴ / 34,311 White	34,660
1820	153,407	10,476 FPC 73,383 White	69,064
1830	215,739	16,710 FPC 89,231 White	109,588
1840	352,411	25,502 FPC 158,547 White	168,452
1850	517,762	17,462 FPC 255,491 White	244,309
1860	708,002	18,647 FPC 357,629 White	331,726

²³ Hyde, Samuel. *Pistols and Politics: Feuds, Factions, and the Struggle for Order in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810-1935, 2nd Edition*. Baton Rouge, 2018.

²⁴ FPC = Free People of Color. The numbers of FPC are from <https://lib.lsu.edu/sites/all/files/sc/fpoc/history.html>.

POPULATION OF LOUISIANA: 1810 TO 1920.

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

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

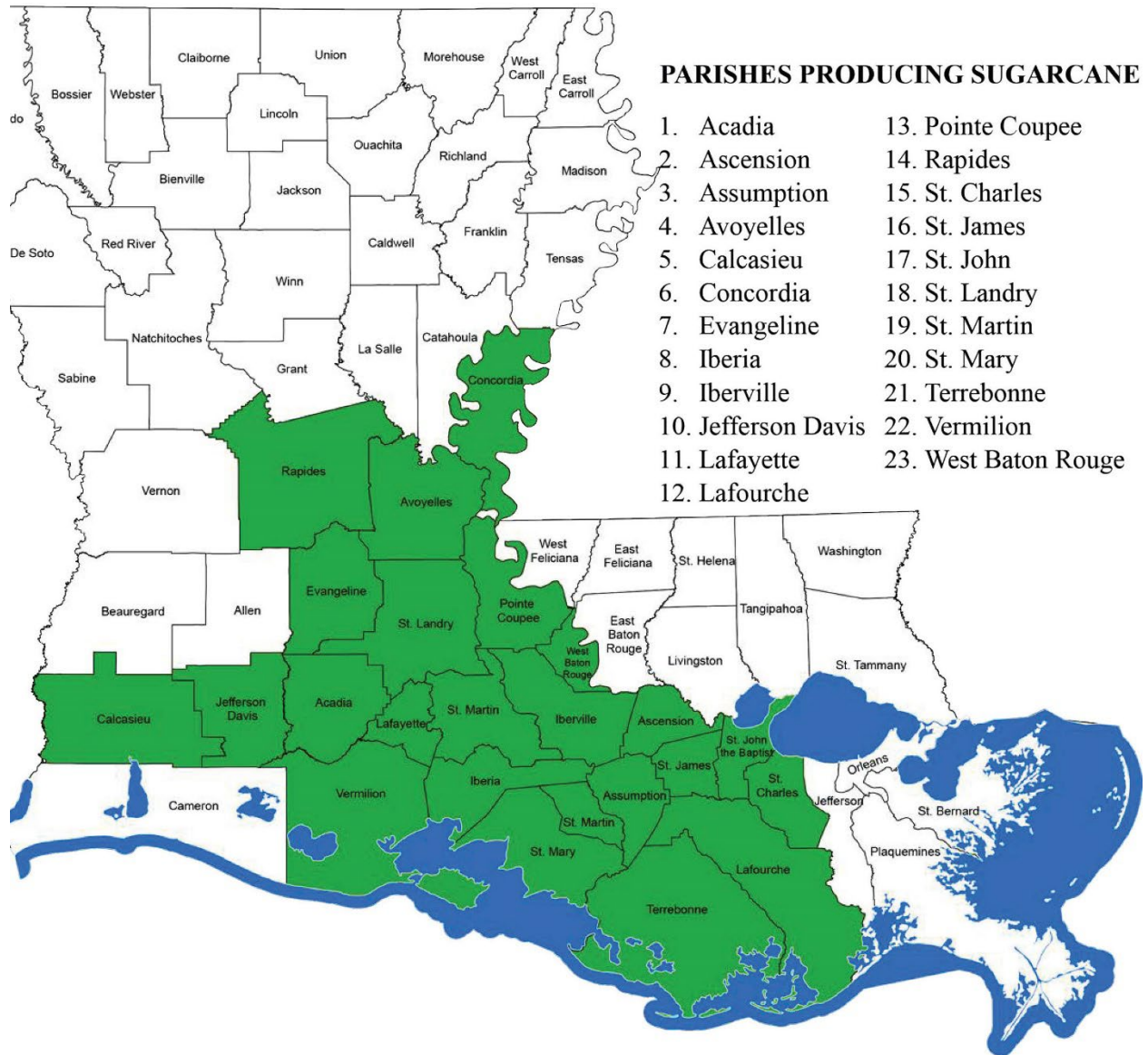
The state's population growth points to the defining characteristic of Louisiana in the period between statehood (1812) and the outbreak of the Civil War (1861): the emergence, and then dominance, of a plantation agriculture economy. That economy rested mainly upon the large-scale cultivation of two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

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

From there, the crop took off. By 1800, the colony had 75 mills, producing 5 million pounds of sugar. The amount of sugar produced by the state during the antebellum period is remarkable. In 1839, Louisiana had 700 farms or plantations producing 100,000 hogsheads²⁵ of sugar. Ten years later, 1,536 farms or plantations produced 250,000 hogsheads. By 1859, 1,308 farms or plantations produced 221,840. Two years later brought a bumper crop, 460,000 hogsheads, but also the beginning of the Civil War. The tremendous amount of sugar produced in Louisiana led to geographical spread of the sugar plantations. From close proximity to New Orleans, sugar

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

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



Legend

Parishes with Commerical Sugarcane

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

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

Between 1840 and 1860, Louisiana's annual cotton crop grew from 375,000 bales to nearly 800,000.²⁷ On the eve of the Civil War, the state produced about one-sixth of all cotton grown in the United States and exported almost one-third of all cotton from the nation. New Orleans was the major port city for American cotton. The northeastern section of Louisiana held some of the richest cotton country in the South. By 1860, cotton plantations there averaged nearly 800 improved acres and 100 slaves. The area had more large slaveholders than anywhere else in Louisiana. Even the "small" farmers of the area turned significant profits, however.

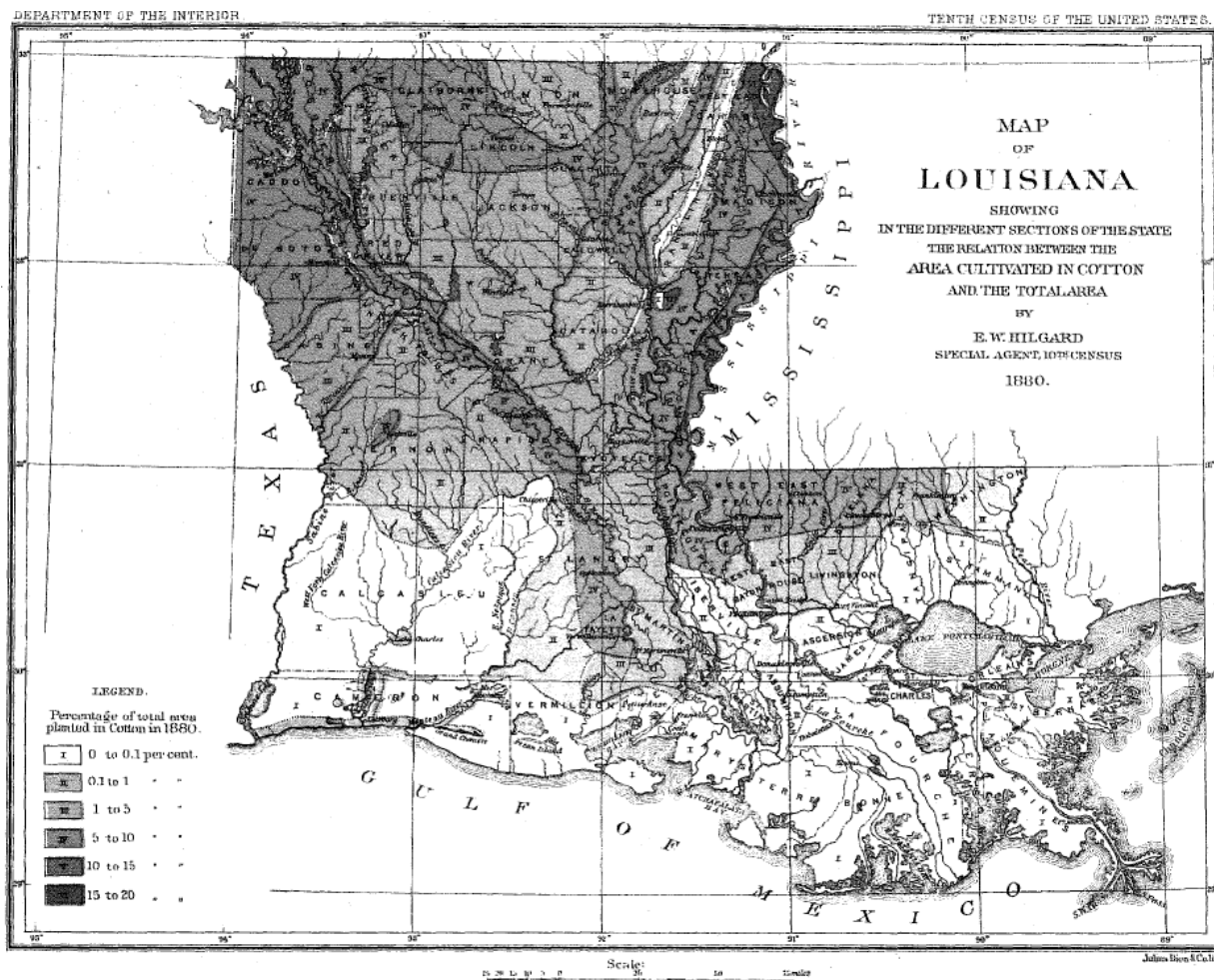
Dr. Robertson's expert report contends that towns in northeast Louisiana "lacked a dynamic economy as they were visited weekly or at harvest time with the region's life mostly found on farms where all the family and their slaves sweated together. These people scratching out a living on less than 600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

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

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

²⁷ One bale is equivalent to 500 pounds.

²⁸ Luck P. *Replanting a Slave Society: The Sugar and Cotton Revolutions in the Lower Mississippi Valley*. University of Virginia Press; 2022

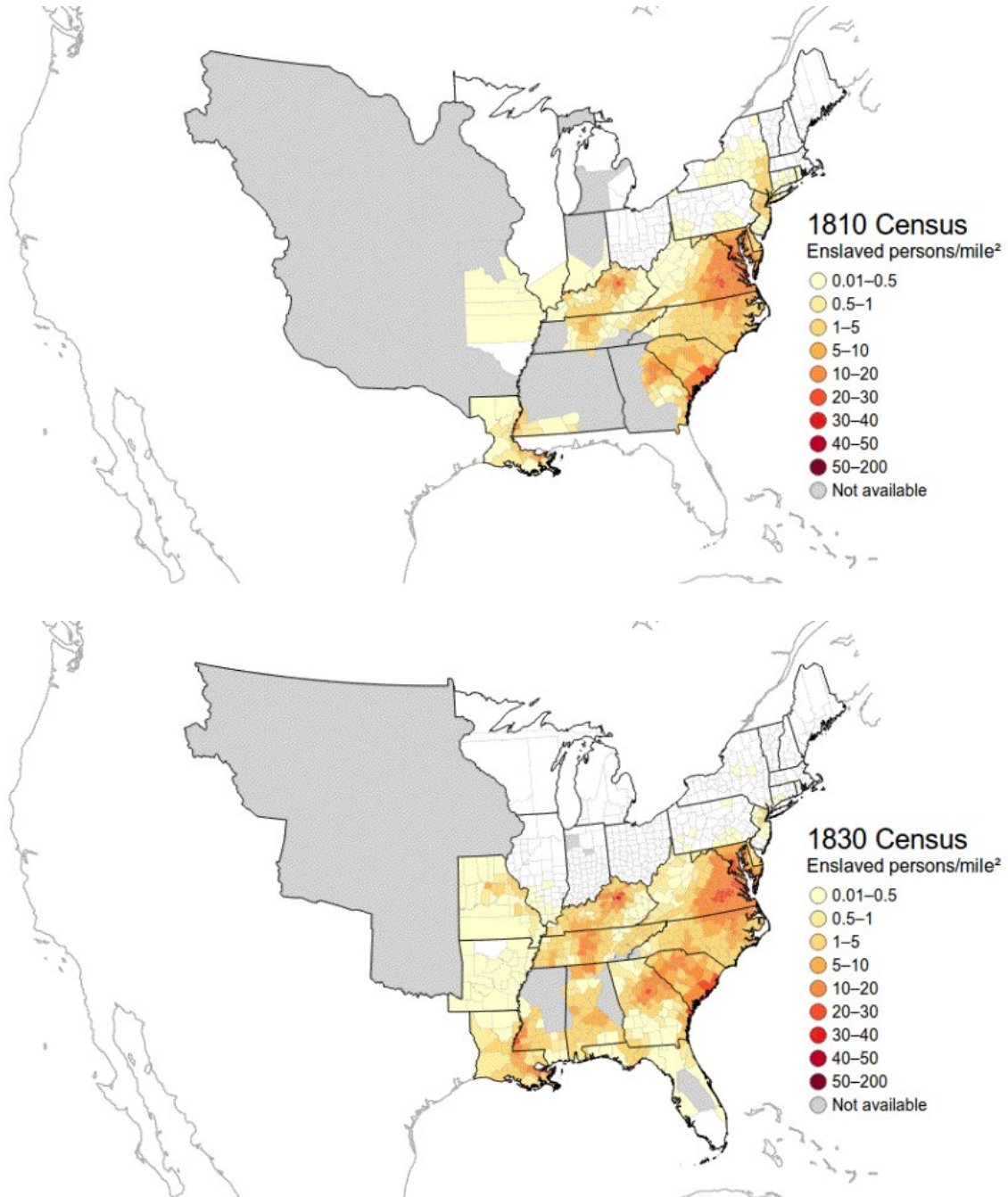


Cotton cultivation in Louisiana, 1880. Although later than the antebellum period, the map shows how deeply cotton cultivation extended into the so-called sugar parishes.

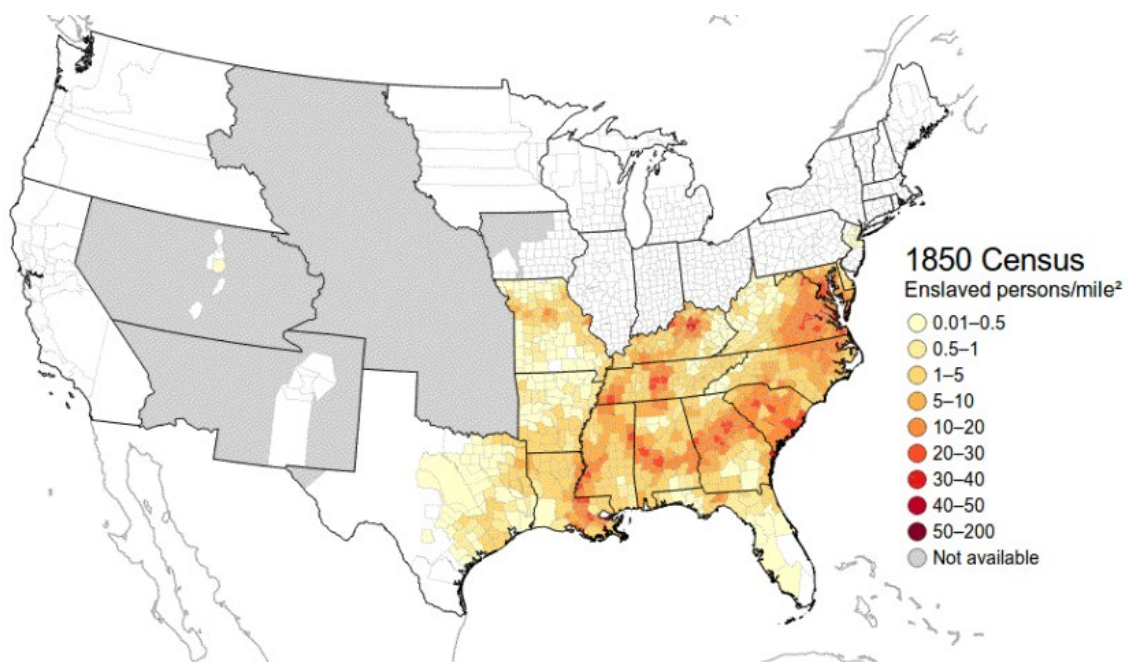
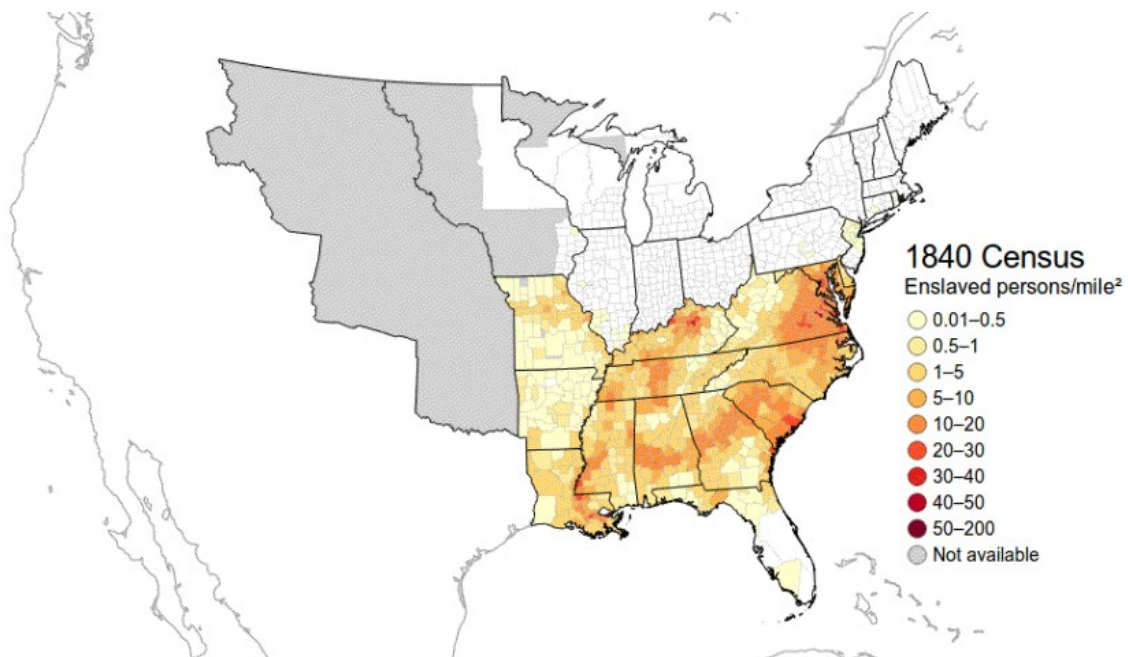
There are crucial differences between cotton and cane planting. A cotton planter generally spent or borrowed less from year-to-year than a cane planter, but they also generally earned less of a return on the investment. Enslaved labor forces lived different lives on cotton and cane plantations, as well.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

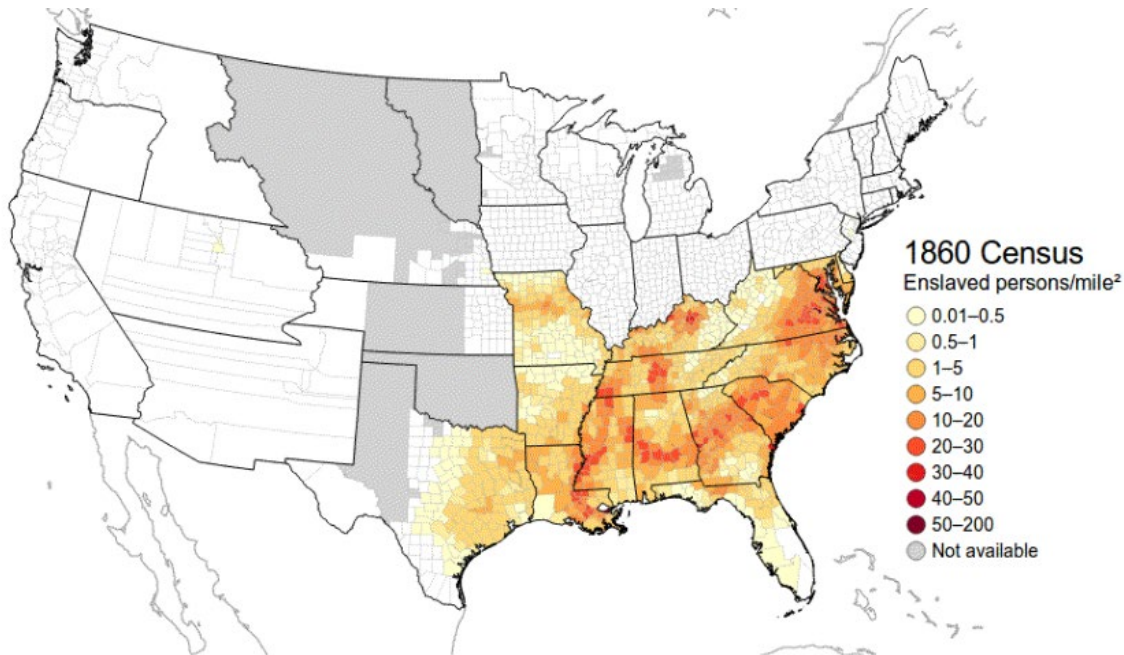
As noted in the above table showing population growth in the state, Louisiana's slave numbers consistently equaled or outpaced the free population. Interestingly, this remarkable growth occurred after the United States shut down its international slave trade in 1808. Most of the slaves who came to Louisiana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

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



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





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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Civil War, 1861-1865

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Reconstruction, 1862-1877

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

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

One way to help guarantee the freedpeople such equality would have been to provide them with land. This was a fundamental problem across the South after the Civil War: the people who had the land had no labor, and the people who had the labor had no land. As a result, as Dr. Robertson states in his section on Baton Rouge and the Florida parishes, "sharecropping and tenant farming debt enslavement" emerged after the Civil War. (p. 15) In a later section on Baton Rouge, Robertson attests that, after the end of Reconstruction, "African-Americans and poor whites fell into sharecropping, tenant farming, or wage labor at the city." (p. 28) As those are the only two mentions of sharecropping and tenant farming in the report, the conclusion might be drawn that those forms of economic repression only existed in Baton Rouge (and perhaps the Florida parishes). In reality, sharecropping and tenant farming emerged everywhere in rural Louisiana. In fact, they provide yet another set of examples confirming the shared histories of small-scale farmers spread across many parishes of the state.

The tensions of Reconstruction spilled over into racial intimidation and terrorism. Simply put, many whites did not wish to have recently emancipated slaves put on an equal footing with themselves. They likewise believed that their own rights would be trampled in the Radical effort to establish the rights of the freedmen, in essence elevating the former slaves above whites. Terrorist organizations arose to reassert white Democratic control over a state that was now governed by the majority-Black Republican Party. Nationally, the most famous of these organizations is the Ku Klux Klan, but for Louisiana the more significant groups are the Knights of the White Camellia (KWC) and the White League. Alcibiades Deblanc, a native of St. Martin Parish and veteran of the Civil War, founded the KWC in May 1867. Made up mostly of Confederate veterans and members of the plantation elite, the KWC, like the other organizations mentioned here, devoted itself to white supremacy. The KWC also targeted expressly political goals. Its members saw the best way to restore white supremacy as being through control of the government, which meant controlling voting. The KWC spread quickly across Louisiana in the months leading up to the presidential election of 1868, the outcome of which at least one historian claims the KWC determined in Louisiana. Evidence exists of KWC activities in all regions of the state, and for our purposes here, they were quite active in Lafayette and St. Landry parishes in South-Central Louisiana; the Florida Parishes; Franklin, Ouachita, and Morehouse in Northeast Louisiana; and Avoyelles Parish in the central part of the state. The KWC died out by early 1870s, but not before wreaking havoc on the state's electoral politics and striking fear into the hearts of many Republicans.³¹

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

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

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

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

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

September 1868

- Opelousas Massacre, ca. 250 dead

October 1868: voter suppression violence before that year’s election

- Caddo Parish Massacre: at least 53 killed
- New Orleans Violence: 14 dead
- St. Bernard Parish Massacre: at least 35 dead
- Algiers Violence: 7 dead
- Bossier Parish Massacre: at least 162 dead

1873

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

1874

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

1875-76

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

1876

- West Feliciana Parish: at least 17 dead

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

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

5. The Late Nineteenth Century, 1877-1900

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

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

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

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

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



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

6. The Early Twentieth Century, 1900-1929

The post-Civil War violence noted above during the Reconstruction Era continued into the twentieth century. Lynchings across Louisiana further exemplify the similar history of race relations happening across the state. To take the southern-most parish within the Proposed Fifth District as an example, whites in turn-of-the-century Lafayette lynched at least seven individuals: Felix Keyes, on July 11, 1889; Anton Domingo, on November 29, 1906; an unidentified black family of four, in March 1911; and Norbert Randall, on November 26, 1911.³² Expanding our view to the entirety of the Proposed Fifth District, we see the following numbers for lynchings per parish; note that these refer to instances of lynchings, which sometimes included murdering more than one individual:

Avoyelles, 4
Catahoula, 7

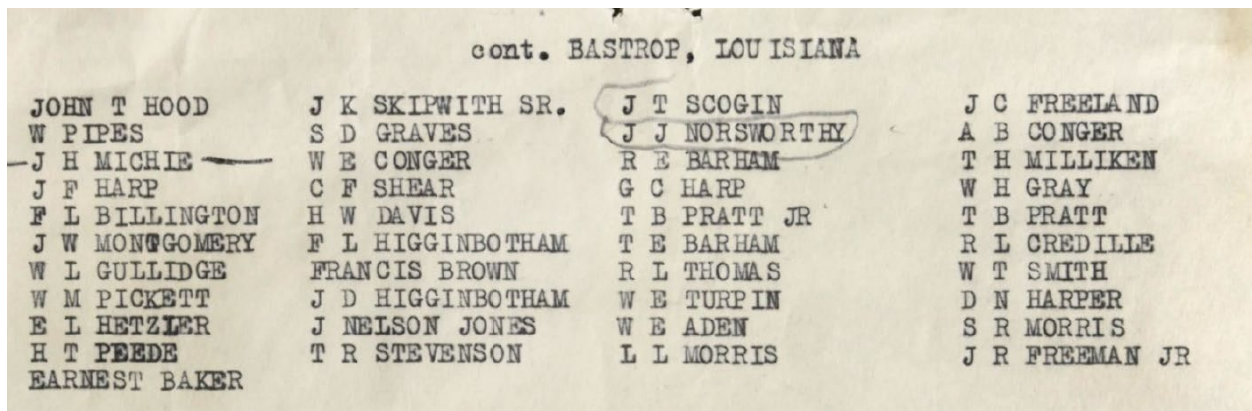
Concordia, 7
East Baton Rouge, 7

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

East Feliciana, 5
 Franklin, 8
 Lafayette, 4
 Madison, 9
 Morehouse, 16
 Ouachita, 35
 Pointe Coupée, 13
 Rapides, 12

Richland, 14
 St. Helena, 3
 St. Landry, 6
 Tangipahoa, 22
 West Baton Rouge, 3
 West Carroll, 9
 West Feliciana, 6

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



ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA

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

KLEAGLE'S PROVISIONAL KLAN REPORT

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

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

I have this day instituted a provisional Klan at Rayville,
County of Richland, State of Louisiana
with 29 Charter Petitioners.
Name of Klan Richland

OFFICERS APPOINTED

Title	Name	Address
Ex'd C.	M.A. Cooper	
Klaliff	J.A. Mhoon	
Klokard	W.L. Jones	
Kludd	W.R. Harvell	
Kligrapp	E.T. Morris	
Klabee	W.W. Kelley	
Kladd	W.J. Thomas	
Klarogo	Jos. D. Colhoun	
Klexter	E.S. Steuart	
Klokann	V.L. Calhoun, Sr.	
	S.W. Sprwies	
	J.W. Summerlin	
Night-Hawk	C.C. Back	

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

CHAS ALBRITTON	E B ALLEN	E C AVARA	G L ANDERSON
T M APPLEBY	GEORGE AUSTON	G C BRANNON	W W BEARD
CHAS. F A BROWN	E J BAILEY	ASA BROWNING	E J BAILEY
W O BLAIR	H K BENTON	C C BIRD, JR.	R B BARROW
H H BUTLER	W A BRANNON	S E BOUDINOT	D D BOND
E G BROWN	B W BRANNON	H R BEGGERLY	J W BROCK
W R BARROW	ALLISON BOGAN	S A BROWN	L S BECKMAN
J J BENTON	C R BROOKS	H R COLLINS	R P CHAMBERS
J A CHANEY	W D CHAMBERS	S S CHARLTON	B E CIARK
H D COURTNEY JR.	O G CARTER	D E CHAPMAN	C C CHAPMAN
L D CRAIG	J W CHAMBERS	D W COWART	J E CRAIG
T H DALEHITE	W E DOYLE	J D DOYLE	W R DANIEL
D W DEARING	S H DICKSON	R L DANIEL	S P DuBOIS
O C EDWARDS	V H EDWARDS	J B EASTERLY JR	GEO R FULTON
H M FORT	R P FLOWER	C A FONTENBERRY	JAS FINCH
G W FARR	S Q FORD JR.	C F FLAKE	C D FOLKES
F N FREEMAN	H J FELTUS	W E FRIDGE	W D FOLKES
P A FRIDGE	G B GOLSAN	V W GORDON	P H GRIFFITH
W G GAY	F GUIDROZ	J L GORE	W F GLADNEY
G W HORTON	G C HILLMAN	M HULL	G C HUCKABY
A S HARRIS	D T HARVEY	C W HARRELL	F C HEATH
S A HARRIS	P O HIGGINBOTHAM	J I HIGDON	W O HINES
W L HARGER	M HEATH	C A HARRISON	CHAS. HUBBS
E C HONEA	S P HIGGINBOTHAM	P H JONES	H D JONES
A D JACKSON	G T JOHNSON	G D JONES	B A KENT JR.
D M KIRK	W B KENNARD	F H KROENKE	R G KEAN
B T KARNES	H C LUCKETT	B M LANDRY	D E LYLE
M M LeCROIX	J B LEWIS	J B LOFTIN	T W LOVETT
E D LEINGANG	J L MORRISON	J H MULLINS	J WEBB McGEHEE
W E McMILLIAN	R H McCLELLAND	R L McGRAW	A L MANNING
J E McLEAN	CHAS P MANNING	L F MILLER	A G MINDINGER
W H MORELAND	J C McMILLIAN	A G McLAVY	J J MUNDINGER
W G MUNDINGER	W E McADAMS	J P NORRIS	J A NORTON
E W NORTON	R NEASON	J R PARKERSON	W B PUCKETT
J H PERCY	W F PRATT	C PILLOW	LEVI PEMBLE
J A PRATT	N F PRESSON	C E PHILLIPS	D R PHILLIPS
G B PHILLIPS	R R PRICE	M R READ	G J REILEY JR
F C READ	F M REX	M C RAIFORD	W F ROGILLIO
J R REDDEN	C A RICHARDSON	WP ROBERTS	K R RICKS
W H RECTOR	C M RUSSELL	P E RICHARDSON	P E ROBERTS
B B ROBERTSON	J A REDHEAD	CHAS RUSSELL	J A RICHARDSON
W G RANDOLPH	J B RICHARDSON	J D STANNARD	K S SALE
P W SMITH	CHAS E STARNES	T W SHARP	W SHROPSHIRE
J R SHOPTAUPH	J R SMITH JR	H B STOUBE	W A SMITH
M A STRICKLAND	J D SPRINT (Saint)	J L STERLING	G W SIBLEY
A D STAMANT	H K STRICKLAND	D F STANFILL JR.	C H SMITH
BEN SEWELL	J R STOCKWELL	S R SHARP	R W TAYLOR
E L TRACEY	W I THOMPSON	J G TILTON	J W TRAUGHER
A T TRAHAM	M C VARNADO	EUGENE VICKS JR.	E J WELCH
E R WALTER	T L WHITACKER	ANTHONY WOLFE	S B WALL
W E WOOD	H O WEBB	WM O WATSON	C P WALTER
M WILLIAMS	J D WOMACK	G W WOMACK	R G WOOLFOCK
B C ZUBER JR.	V P BLAKE	C B PITMAN	E C STALLCUP
W H COX	J E NOALND	G N NOLAND	G A EVANS
J W SLAUGHTER	J A CROWELL	HARRY JOHNSON	D C CALHOUN
A M COO	DAN L CALHOUN	P P GORDON	A D ELLIS
I N IDYLE	J F McADAMS	GEO C CHAMBERS	ALBERT LIGON
ISAAC DAVIS	C B PENNINGTON	J R HEARTFIELD	E W BANKSTON
L W HIMES	A L CARR	J R COTTON	U H MILLER
E M TAYLOR	W B LUDWIG	J K DYKER	CHAS LITTLE
E E LARETT	E L WOODSIDE	P M FLOYD SR.	J K BEALE
P CARPENTER	C M LAW	H B STEPHENSON	A B CRUDGE
E J ARNOLD	J M BARNETT	M C HUCKABY	W T COKE
M N KING	W C ROSS	J J LINDSEY	
RIVERS M BROWN	J A COPELAND	R C GLADNEY	

LaFAYETTE, LOUISIANA			
T O MORGAN	E R LONG	W S LONG	H H McALISTER
OVERTON CADE	C BLAKELY	L W REEVES	F M BURLEY
H C BOND	E W CARVER	C E CARTER	T L BERNARD
S H McFADDIN	W T McFADDIN	JAS P CAFFERY	E R HARRELL
GUS BERNARD	T TALIAFERRO	C J MOORE	JOHN A GOOR
GEO G FORE	A W BITTLE	P A GAUTREAU	E V CHAUVIN
J B COMUS	A E CHARGOIS	R S BARNETT	BJ WILLIAMS
P C BENNETT	C M PARKERSON	J A ANDERS	A B/TRAHAN
W A MONTGOMERY	O B HOPKINS	P M WAITT	E STARNER
W F STEPHENSON	E B McNASPY	A B DENBO	WM P MILLS
PAUL O LANDRY	M E SOUCIER	L O CLARK	A A MORGAN JR
F E GIRARD	F B BYRES	J L STEPHAN	H M SAMMONS
W M McCOY	R E MANAGAN	J W DICKENS	THOS P TURNER
O R STENHOUSE	L F SIADOUS	G B KNAPP	E P McCLAIN
HAROLD DEMANADE	J J COSTLEY	J F KELLY	F K HOPKINS
R M GLOVER	J C NICKERSON	THOS HUTCHINSON	M L MILLER
J W ETHERIDGE	O P DALY JR.	M L CLARK	J B VanNESS
C A DONLEY	OVERTON CADE JR	O B BRUPBACHER	PAUL LUNSFORD
E S BARNETT	C R CARVER	T ROGERS	H H DINKINS
S R PARKERSON	M E GIRARD	L D JUDICE	R C CUNNINGHAM
HUGH C WALLIS	F A JONES		

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

War is devastating, of course, and the impact of the conflict created deep and long-lasting wounds. Almost five thousand Louisianians died. Practically every Louisianian knew someone who either did not come home or ended up a casualty in some other way. Below are the total casualties for each of the Proposed District Five parishes³³:

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

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

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

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

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

³³ "Tabulation by Parishes and Types of Casualty," <https://nara-media-001.s3.amazonaws.com/arcmedia/media/images/28/30/28-2965a.gif>

³⁴ "Monroe was world's natural gas capital," News Star, April 8, 2016. <https://www.thenewsstar.com/story/news/local/2016/04/08/monroe-worlds-natural-gas-capital/82700550/>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵ Dr. Henry O. Robertson report, 55.

³⁶ Dr. Henry O. Robertson report, 33.

Robertson’s Presentation of Zelinsky’s “First Effective Settlement”

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

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

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

1. The culture and society of “first effective settlement” can be defined as a singular, unified thing.
2. The culture and society of “first effective settlement” remains the same over time, only changing if a new non-“first” effective settlement occurs.
3. The “first effective settlement” is defined within a very specific area but is later spread over a general region.

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

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

Greater New Orleans and Its Implications

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

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

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

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

General Comments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSIONS

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

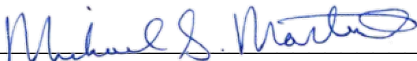
³⁷*Journal of the Early Republic* 32 (2012): 633–65.

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

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

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

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



Michael S. Martin

NOTES ON LOUISIANA HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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Review of Keith Finley, *Delaying the Dream: Southern Senators and the Fight Against Civil Rights* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008) in *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 2009): 457-459.

[Review of Mary Ann Sternberg, *Winding Through Time: The Forgotten History and Present-Day Peril of Bayou Manchac*](#) (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007) *Journal of Southern History* 74 (August 2008): 775-776.

[Review of Christopher B. Strain, *Pure Fire: Self-Defense as Activism in the Civil Rights Era*](#), (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 2005). *Louisiana History* 48 (Spring 2007): 245-247.

“Political Peculiarities and Processes in the Pelican State,” review of Wayne Parent, *Inside the Carnival: Unmasking Louisiana Politics* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2004). *H-Louisiana*. 8 April 2005.

[Review of Philip Scranton, ed., *The Second Wave: Southern Industrialization from the 1940s to the 1970s*](#) (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001). *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 105:1 (January 2004): 64-66.

Blogs

[“Sounds of a Culture.”](#) Co-author, with Center for Louisiana Studies staff, October 2015.

Record Production

Executive producer: [Walter Mouton and the Scott Playboys: Live at Festivals Acadiens et Creoles, 1992-2014](#). Center for Louisiana Studies, Festivals Acadiens et Creoles, Swallow Records, 2016.

Executive producer: [Acadie à Louisiane: Festivals Acadiens et Creoles](#). UL Lafayette and Festivals Acadiens et Creoles, 2015.

Co-producer: [Brand New Old Songs: Recycling the Lomax Recordings](#). Center for Louisiana Studies, 2014.

Articles in Magazines

[“Zachary Richard: Humanist of the Year,”](#) *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* (Spring 2016).

[“Violence, Vetoes, and Votes: Victor Bussie and the Battle over the Right to Work in Louisiana,”](#) *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* (Fall 2015).

“Russell Long: A Life in Politics,” *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* (Fall 2014).

“Aftermath,” *La Louisiane, The Magazine of the University of Southwestern Louisiana*, (Spring 1998).

“Justice for All: USL and the Era of Integration,” with Claire Taylor, *La Louisiane, The Magazine of the University of Southwestern Louisiana*, (Spring 1997).

“First Class: Students Faced Century With Faith in Education,” *La Louisiane, The Magazine of the University of Southwestern Louisiana*, (Fall 1996).

“Goin’ Down to Washington,” *Verite*, (Winter 1995-96).

“The Treasures Within the Lafayette Museum,” *Verite*, (Spring 1994).

GRANTS AND SPONSORED PROJECTS WORK

- 2022: £44,899.43 (\$60,614.23) Co-Principle Investigator with [David Ballantyne, Keele University](#), and [Andrea Livesey, Liverpool John Moores University](#). “Reckoning with Racial Conflict: Comparative Perspectives.” [Arts and Humanities Research Council \(U.K.\) Networking Grant](#). 2022. Not Awarded.
- 2021: \$10,000. Sanders Research Scholar Award, [Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies, Southeastern Louisiana University](#). Awarded.
- 2021: Member of Humanities Advisory Team for “Exploring the Cajun Roots: Augmented Reality Tour of Acadia History,” [Dr. Beenish Chaudhry’s NEH Discovery Grant](#) for augmented reality tour of Vermilionville Living History Museum. Awarded.
- 2015: \$2,000. “The Path to a New Acadia.” Atchafalaya National Heritage Area Education Series fund. Awarded.
- 2012-2013: \$38,816. Co-Principle Investigator. “The Freetown History and Culture Project.” Lafayette Consolidated Government and the Freetown/Port Rico Coterie. Awarded.
- 2009-2011: \$373,000. Principle Investigator for UL Lafayette Subcontract for “Louisiana’s Place in Traditional American History.” Jefferson Davis Parish School System. U.S. Department of Education Teaching American History Grant. Not awarded.
- 2009-2013: \$173,125. Co-Principle Investigator for Subcontract for “Conflict and Resolution.” Lafayette Parish School System. U.S. Department of Education Teaching American History Grant. Awarded.
- 2008: \$954. Principle Investigator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Outreach Grant How the Civil Rights Movement Changed and Did Not Change Louisiana. Awarded.
- 2008: \$600. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer Adam Fairclough, University of Leiden. Awarded.
- 2007: \$100. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer James Wilson, Center for Louisiana Studies. Awarded.
- 2006: \$600. UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee Grant for lecturer Mikhail Suprun, Pomor State University (Russia). Awarded.
- 2005: \$2500. Principle Investigator to coordinate UL Lafayette-New Orleans Notarial Archives internship cooperative endeavor. Funded by New Orleans Notarial Archives. Awarded.
- 2004: \$2,500. Principle Investigator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Outreach Grant (Project Director): Fifty Years Later: Commemorating the Desegregation of Southwestern Louisiana Institute. Other funding awarded for same project: \$500 from the Deep South Regional Humanities Center; \$250 from the UL Lafayette Alumni Association; \$250 from the Christiana Smith African-American Chapter of the UL Lafayette Alumni Association; \$500 from the UL Lafayette College of Liberal Arts; \$598 from the UL Lafayette Student Government Association Lyceum Committee; \$250 from Alpha Phi Alpha. All awarded.
- 2001: \$1,500. Baum Grant, University of Arkansas, for development of history graduate student computer lab. Awarded.
- 2001: \$1,000. Diane Blair Dissertation Research Grant, University of Arkansas Department of History: \$1,000. Awarded.
- 2001: University of Arkansas Summer Dissertation Research Award. Awarded.

TEACHING AND GRADUATE DIRECTION

Teaching Interests: Louisiana History; Public History; History of the U. S. South

Teaching Competencies

Courses taught at UL Lafayette:

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

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

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

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

Graduate Direction and Committee Work At UL Lafayette

Master's Theses – Completed:

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

[Senette, Sarah](#). “None Longed to Go Back to the ‘Mud-Holes of New Orleans’: The Multiethnic Frontier and Egalitarian Cattle Culture of the Southwest Louisiana Prairie, 1680-1850.” (2012) Senette received a fellowship for Tulane University’s Ph.D. program in history.

[Flint, Brandon](#). “The Dissent of the Godly: Crime, Criminals, and Law in Puritan New England, 1620-1650.” (2012) Flint received a fellowship to and earned his doctorate from the University of Missouri’s Ph.D. program in history. He is currently on the faculty of Liaoning Normal-Missouri State College of International Business in Dalian, China.

Brittman, Edward. “Deliberation and Implementation of the Breaux Act” (2015) Brittman received a Presidential Fellowship for the [University of South Florida’s Ph.D. program](#) in history.

[Donovan, Mary Magdalene](#). “Maneuvering Life: Women of Color on the Louisiana Frontier” (2016). Donovan was accepted into Tulane University’s Ph.D. program in history with full funding.

[McKinney, Karen](#) “Louisiana Coastal Vernacular: Grand Isle, 1783-1931.” (2018) McKinney is an adjunct instructor specializing in historic restoration in the UL Lafayette School of Architecture and Design.

[Stephens, David Chase](#). “Congressman Edwin Willis, 1957-1968: HUAC, Civil Rights, and the Ku Klux Klan” (2019). Stephens is a doctoral student at Auburn University with full funding.

[Blomquist, Rachel](#). “Jambalaya, Apple Pie, Chante Quelque Chose Oh Yé Yaille: A History of Cajun Culture through Music from the Early 1920s to the Late 1980s” (2019). Blomquist is an museum registrar at the Anderson Abruzzo International Balloon Museum Foundation, Albuquerque, NM.

Jones, Rex, Jr. “Two Quiet Revolutions and the Transformation of American Health Care” (2020). Jones teaches Social Studies at Southside High School, Lafayette Public School System and is pursuing a Ph.D. in history at Louisiana State University. Jones’s thesis won the 2020 [Neitzel Family Endowed Graduate Student Award in Louisiana Studies](#).

Tate, Nicholas. “The Council for the Development of French in Louisiana and Cultural Commodification” (2021)

Masters Theses/Public History Projects Under Direction:

Suir, Taylor. Arnaudville Acadian Memorial Site (2023)

Fontenot, Logan. (2024)

Non-Thesis Track Advisees:

Guidry, Courtney (2007)

McVay, Brittney (2008)

Fontenot, Paula (2011)

Wooster, Simon (2011)

Frey, Philip (2012)

Semere, Lauryn (2016)

Bordelon, Claire (2022)

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

Bennett, David

Bourque, Todd

Brodowski, Hilary

Brown, Yvonne

Case, Margaret

Churay, Mary

Cummings, Russ

David, Joey

Dossmann, Meagan

Estes, Guy

Foret, Mary

Foster, Jason

Foote, Ruth

Gause, Christell

Gautreaux, Jacob

Gutekunst, Patricia

Hampes, Matthew

Harvey, Michelle

Henderson, Seth

Holmes, Tiffany

Honeycutt, Scott

Hopkins, Joel

Hughes, Laura
Jenkins, Ellena
Jones, Thomas
Karnath, Mary
Kent, Joe
Landry, Tim
Lee, Tamla
Luquette, Marianna
Manuel, Daniel

Myers, Matthew
Patton, Kara
Richard, Greg
Richardson, Jordan
Roberson, Tranquilla
Savoie, Christine
Schexnayder, Samantha
Stokes, Anne-Marie
Vo, Thanh

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Professional Service for the Louisiana Historical Association

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

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

Member, [Executive Committee](#) (2010-)

Member (ex-officio), [Publications Committee](#) (2010-)

Member (ex-officio), [Hugh Rankin Prize Committee](#) (2011-)

Chair, Local Arrangements Committee (2015)

Member, Board of Directors (2004-2007, 2010-2011)

Member, Program Committee (2011)

Chair, Committee on Teaching (2008-2011); member (2005-2008)

Article Referee: *Louisiana History* (prior to 2010)

Professional Service for the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities

2022: Entry Reviewer, *64 Parishes*

2015: Consulting scholar, Louisiana Governors Project

2011: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Lafayette Parish Public Library (April-May)

2010: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Vermilion Parish Public Library (September-October)

2010-2011: Principal Scholar for "Journey Stories," an initiative of Museums on Main Street, a partnership of the Smithsonian Institution, the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, and the Acadian Museum of St. Martinville, La.

2008: Six-week RELIC Library Program: "Louisiana History: Perspectives on the Pelican State." Iberia Parish Public Library (October-November)

2008: Outside Evaluator for Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities Public Humanities Grant. Banners Series, McNeese State University.

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

Manuscript Reviewer

Member, UL Press Editorial Board (2004-2011)

Fellow, CCET (2005-2011)

Professional Service for the Louisiana Folklore Society

Member, Board of Directors, 2017-2018

Manuscript Reviewer

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

PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Professional Paper Presentations

- "You have followed even the slightest suggestion that the President L.B.J. has ordered": Hale Boggs, James Morrison, Russell Long, and the Great Society." 2021 [Southeast Louisiana Historical Association meeting](#). October 21, 2021. Hammond, La.
- "Anxiety, Authority, and Acceptance: Louisiana's Congressional Delegation, 1960-1972." 2021 Louisiana Historical Association. [Online](#).
- "Louisiana's Richard 'Dickie' Landry and Avant-Garde New York." 2016 Society for the Study of Southern Literature, Boston, Mass.
- "Forty Years of Publishing in Louisiana: The UL Press." 2015 American Culture Association/Popular Culture Association meeting, New Orleans, La.
- "The Battle Over the 'Right to Work': Vetoes and Votes in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Southwestern Historical Association meeting, Houston, Tx.
- "The Battle Over the 'Right to Work': Vetoes and Votes in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Louisiana Historical Association
- January 9, 2010: "'Right to Work' Proposals in Post-World War II Louisiana." 2010 Phi Alpha Theta Biennial National Convention, San Diego, Ca.
- March 20, 2009: "Searching for Authenticity: Cajun Food and a 'Golden Age' of Cajun Culture." 2009 Louisiana Historical Association meeting
- March 23, 2007: "Russell Long's Louisiana and National Contexts." 2007 Louisiana Historical Association meeting
- March 24, 2006: "Russell Long and States' Rights, 1948-1968." 2006 Louisiana Historical Association meeting
- January 6, 2006: "Nascent Neo-Con or New Deal Liberal?: Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana." Phi Alpha Theta Biennial National meeting, Philadelphia, Pa.
- February 24, 2005: "'Congress is Perhaps Better Off Without the Smell of This Sort of Proposed Legislation on its Hands': Russell Long and the Second Reconstruction," The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965: A Conference, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana
- July 10, 2004: "'A Fabulously Complex and Unworkable Monstrosity': Russell Long and the Family Assistance Plan, 1969-1972," Organization of American Historians Southern Regional Meeting
- March 13, 2004: "Russell Long, the Family Assistance Plan, and the Politics of Poverty, 1969-1972," Louisiana Historical Association
- October 2003: "The Anti-Gore Candidates in the 1970 Tennessee Senate Campaign," with Anthony J. Badger, Tennessee Conference of Historians
- March 2003: "New Orleans Becomes a Big-League City: The NFL-AFL Merger and the Creation of the New Orleans Saints," Popular Culture Association and American Culture Association meeting
- March 2003: "Russell Long and the Cold War," Louisiana Historical Association
- 1997-2002 presentations included: Tennessee Conference of Historians (2002); Phi Alpha Theta—Arkansas Regional Conference (1999, 2001); The Citadel Conference on the South (2000); Gulf South History and

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

Professional Conference/Panel Proposals and Participation

January 2022: Panelist, “Confronting the Ghosts of our Institution’s Past, Present, and Future: Building Name and Race at Two Deep South Campuses.” [American Historical Association](#).

March 2021: Organized Online Roundtable Panel, “Building Renaming on a University Campus: Motivations, Justifications, and Observations.” 2021 Louisiana Historical Association. [Online](#).

October 2017: Co-organized, “H2O/LA: An Examination of Louisiana’s Relationship with Water” day-long symposium

October 2016: Co-organized, “Cajun Dance Halls and Zydeco Clubs, Then and Now” day-long symposium.

March 2016: “The Significance of the National Historic Designation: Lafayette’s Freetown/Port Rico Neighborhood.” Louisiana Historical Association proposal (accepted), chair, and roundtable participant

October 2015: Organized “The Path to a New Acadia: A Symposium on the 250th Anniversary of the Acadians’ Arrival in Louisiana” day-long event. October 8, 2015.

September 2015: Organized “Gun Violence in Louisiana: A Symposium” day-long event.

March 2011: Organized and chaired “Teaching History: On Site and ‘On the Move.’” Louisiana Historical Association meeting.

March 2011: Organized “Politics and Religion in the Age of Jim Crow.” Louisiana Historical Association meeting

March 2010: Organized “The ‘Right to Work’ and Conservative Politics in Post-World War II Louisiana” proposal for Southwestern Historical Association meeting

March 2010: Organized “The Louisiana Voices Educators’ Guide: Online Resources for Louisiana’s K-12 and College Teachers” for Louisiana Historical Association

March 2010: Organized “Rise of the New Right in Cold War Louisiana” for the Louisiana Historical Association

March 2008: Organized “Teaching History in Louisiana Colleges and Universities: A Roundtable.” Louisiana Historical Association

February 2008: Participant. “Massive Resistance: The Reaction to the Civil Rights Movement in Louisiana.” 2008 Civil Rights Conference. Northwestern State University. Natchitoches, Louisiana.

March 2007: Organized “Russell Long After Twenty Years,” Louisiana Historical Association

March 2006: Organized “States’ Rights, Race, and Reds in Twentieth Century Louisiana,” Louisiana Historical Association

September 2004: Organized “Fifty Years Later: Commemorating the Desegregation of Southwestern Louisiana Institute.” September 10 & 11, 2004.

June 2003: Participant. “Protest, Politics, and the Law: Baton Rouge and the Civil Rights Movement,” Baton Rouge Bus Boycott 50th Anniversary.

March 2003: Organized “Louisiana and the Cold War,” Louisiana Historical Association. Panel prepared with Charles Pellegrin, Mississippi State University.

September 2002: Organized “History, Biography, and Twentieth-Century Politics,” Mid-America Conference on History. Panel prepared with Jeffrey Littlejohn, Norfolk State University.

Professional Comments

“Why We Sound the Way We Do.” Chair and comment. 2019 Louisiana Historical Association

“Beyond the JFK Assassination Debate: New Directions in Scholarship on New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison.” Chair and comment. 2018 Gulf South History and Humanities Conference

“Things and Their Networks in Early Louisiana.” 2018 Louisiana Historical Association

“Social Change, State Programs, and the Legacy of the Longs.” 2017 Louisiana Historical Association

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

Chaired Sessions at Professional Meetings

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

Other Professional Service

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

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

For the University of Louisiana at Lafayette

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

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

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

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

Other

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

ADVISING

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

advisees

- 2004-2015, 2018-present: Faculty Co-Advisor, Epsilon-Xi chapter, [Phi Alpha Theta](#), UL Lafayette
- 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 **Best Chapter** for National Division V (15,001 to 23,000 students)
 - 2008-2011, maintained Epsilon Xi chapter's Moodle website
 - organized participation in community service projects: Habitat for Humanity (2006, 2007); Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure (2007); American Heart Association Heart Walk (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009)
 - General Editor, *Clio's Quill*, journal published annually by the Epsilon Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (2004-2009).
 - Editor, *Clio's Musings*, UL Lafayette Department of History and Epsilon Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta newsletter (2004-2007).
 - 2006-2011, Director of Epsilon Xi Guest Lecture Series:
 1. February 2006: "Massive Resistance and the Problem of School Integration in Norfolk, Virginia," Jeffrey Littlejohn, Sam Houston State University.
 2. September 2006: "Lend-Lease and Russia," Mikhail Suprun, Pomor State University (Russia).
 3. February 2007: "Pierre Caliste Landry: The Louisiana Slave Who Became the First African-American Mayor," James Wilson, Center for Louisiana Studies.
 4. September 2007: "From Stormtroopers to Klansmen? A Transnational Episode in the History of German Right-Wing Political Culture," Richard Frankel, UL Lafayette
 5. February 2008: "The Heritage Fallacy: Race, Loyalty, and the First Grambling-Southern Football Game," Tom Aiello, UL Lafayette
 6. February 2011: "Before 'Civil Rights' Were in Vogue: Black Lawyers in the Jim Crow South," David Pye, UL Lafayette

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Co-Curricular Presentations

- September 23, 2023: What's So Spanish About the Old Spanish Trail, Old Spanish Trail Day, Rayne, LA
- September 17, 2023: "A Tale of Two LafayetteThe Marquis de Lafayette and Vermilionville, Alexandre Mouton House/Lafayette Museum
- November 2, 2022: The Washington Mardi and Its Founders, Lunchtime Lecture Series, Louisiana State Museum-Capital Park, Baton Rouge
- March 17, 2022: Rose McConnell Long, Vignettes of Louisiana Women series, Third Thursday After Hours, Louisiana State Museum-Capital Park, Baton Rouge
- August 13, 2020: A Brief History of Lafayette's Oil Industry. [2020 Energy Leadership Program, LAGCOE](#).
- November 16, 2019: Introductory Remarks for speaker Adam Fairclough, [75th Anniversary of the 1944 Expulsion, Iberia African American Historical Society](#), New Iberia, La.
- Rethinking New Acadia* book discussions:
- December 4, 2019: St. Martin Parish Main Library
 - November 2, 2019: [Louisiana Book Festival](#), Baton Rouge
 - August 15, 2019: Acadian Memorial, St. Martinville, La.
 - August 11, 2019: Vermilionville Acadian Culture Day, Lafayette, La.
- September 27, 2019: "Rethinking New Acadia and the New Acadia Project," co-presented with Dr. Mark Rees, Friends of the Humanities, Lafayette
- September 13, 2019: "History of Settlement on the Vermilion," Rediscover the Vermilion, 6th Annual [River Symposium Bayou Vermilion Preservation Association](#), Lafayette, La.
- February 28, 2019: "Mardi Gras" Teach-In panelist, UL Lafayette
- February 25, 2019: curator for screening of *All on a Mardi Gras Day*, [Les Vues Film Series](#), Vermilionville Living History Museum and Folklife Park, Lafayette, La.
- October 15, 2018: "Political Corruption in Louisiana" Teach-In panelist, UL Lafayette
- September 26, 2018: "Hidden History" Teach-In moderator, UL Lafayette
- February 21, 2018: "Crime and Punishment in Louisiana" Teach-In moderator, UL Lafayette
- January 15, 2018: "Lafayette's Response to Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination," Lafayette Public Library
- October 13, 2017: "A Band of Builders," moderator, Crafting the South Louisiana Sound: Tools of Cajun and

- Creole Music symposium, Vermilionville, Lafayette, La.
- July 20, 2017: "What's New at the Center for Louisiana Studies," Rotary Lafayette, Lafayette, La.
- July 19, 2017: "Recent Scholarship on the Acadians," Acadian Memorial Foundation Board meeting, St. Martinville, La.
- September 27, 2016: curator for screening of *Fatal Flood*, Les Vues Film Series, Vermilionville Living History Museum and Folklife Park, Lafayette, La.
- April 20, 2016: "The Center for Louisiana Studies and its Missions." Kiwanis Club, Lafayette, La.
- March 9, 2016: "Long in Lit: The Context of *Kingfish*." East Baton Rouge Parish Library.
- February 16, 2016: "The J. Arthur Roy House." Acadiana Preservation Summit, Vermilionville, Lafayette, La.
- January 14, 2016: "The Life of Huey Long, 1928-1935." Lafayette Public Library/Alexandre Mouton House lecture series. Lafayette, La.
- October 13, 2015: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" SAGE Series. DeRidder, La.
- September 17, 2015: "The Louisiana Governors Project: A Historic Job Description, roundtable on Edwin Edwards," Crowley, La.
- May 9, 2015: "The J. Arthur Roy House." Preservation Alliance of Lafayette's "Historic Preservation Celebration." Lafayette, La.
- April 22, 2015: "Louisiana Politics during the Cold War and Civil Rights Eras." Invited lecture before Political Science 2056, "Louisiana Government," course, Louisiana State University. Baton Rouge, La.
- Russell Long: A Life in Politics* book discussions:
- April 22, 2015: Hill Memorial Library. Louisiana State University. Baton Rouge, La.
 - April 15, 2015: East Bank Regional Library. Metairie, La.
 - November 11, 2014: SAGE Series. DeRidder, La.
 - November 4, 2013: University of Louisiana-Monroe.
 - November 1, 2014: Louisiana Book Festival (recorded for C-SPAN2's BookTV program).
 - October 23, 2014: Cavanaugh Lecture Series. LSU-Alexandria.
 - October 13, 2014: SAGE Series. McNeese State University, Lake Charles.
 - October 1, 2014: Then and Now Lecture Series. Southeastern Louisiana University, Hammond.
 - September 25, 2014: *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* authors' party. Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge.
 - August 20, 2014: Jeanerette Historical Museum, Jeanerette, La.
 - August 14, 2014: Foundation for Historical Louisiana's Heritage Lecture, Old Governor's Mansion, Baton Rouge, La.
 - August 12, 2014: Octavia Books, New Orleans, La.
 - June 12, 2014: Bayou State Book Talks. Lafayette Public Library, Lafayette, La.
 - April 10, 2014: Louisiana State Museum, Old U.S. Mint, New Orleans
- February 28, 2015: "The Mouton Family and Early Lafayette Landownership." Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office's "Historic Preservation Ramble." Lafayette, La.
- October 22, 2014: "A Journey Through the History of Cajun Music." Jeanerette Historical Museum, Jeanerette, La.
- June 14, 2014: "Louisiana in the Aftermath of the Civil War." Imperial St. Landry Genealogical Society, Opelousas, La.
- April 15, 2014: "Freetown Then and Now." The Freetown-Port Rico Annual Neighborhood Meeting. Lafayette, La. (With Lionel Lyles and C. Ray Brassieur)
- March 12, 2014: "Violent Louisiana: Chaos after the Civil War, 1866-1900." Jeanerette Historical Museum, repeat invitation
- October 9, 2013: "The Louisiana Scandals of 1939." Jeanerette Historical Museum.
- August 21, 2013: "Violent Louisiana." Jeanerette Historical Museum.
- March 15, 2013: "Louisiana Legacies" Book Talk, Noontime Lecture Series, Ledoux Library, LSU-Eunice.
- March 13, 2013: "How the Saints Saved Football," Lafayette Rotary Club-South.
- November 14, 2012: "How the Saints Saved the NFL." Jeanerette Historical Museum.
- November 13, 2012: "Cigar-Box Fiddles and Washtub Basses: A Homemade Instrument Workshop." Panelist and discussion leader. In Your Own Backyard Series, Lafayette, La.
- November 12, 2012: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" Senior Adult Group Encounter. McNeese State University, Lake Charles, La.

October 17, 2012: "Why the Longs Still Matter." Jeanerette Historical Museum.

October 13, 2012: Participant, "The Politics of Culture and Statehood" roundtable, Festivals Acadiens et Creoles

September 19, 2012: "Louisiana's Influence on Professional Football," Iberia Parish Library.

September 6, 2012: "State of the Studies: Louisiana History," Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.

June 21, 2012: "Louisiana in 1812." Lafayette Public Library, North Branch.

June 19, 2012: "Louisiana in 1812." Lafayette Public Library, South Branch.

June 7, 2012: "From Territory to State: The Process of Statehood." Louisiana Bicentennial Commission Teacher Workshop. State Library of Louisiana.

March 15, 2012: "Does it Really Matter Who Killed the Kingfish?" Hilliard University Art Museum, UL Lafayette.

February 28, 2012: "Race and Rights in Louisiana: A Discussion of the Past and Present." UL Lafayette. With Thomas Aiello and Shannon Frystack.

January 20, 2012: "From Territory to State: The Process of Statehood." Louisiana Bicentennial Commission Teacher Workshop. Lafayette Parish Library.

January 9, 2012: "From the Louisiana Purchase to the State of Louisiana." In Your Own Backyard Series, Lafayette, La. With Mark Fernandez.

October 29, 2011: "New Interpretations of Twentieth-Century Race Relations." Louisiana Book Festival. Invited discussant.

May 28, 2011: "St. Martin Parish Journeys." Inaugural lecture for "Journey Stories," a joint exhibition sponsored by the Acadian Memorial, the Smithsonian, and the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities

November 10, 2009: "The Florida Parishes in Early Louisiana History." Lafayette Parish Public Library. Invited lecture.

September 24, 2009: "The Great Depression: Then and Now." Iberia Parish Public Library. Invited lecture as part of the "The Big Read."

April 21, 2009: "Lincoln and Louisiana." Iberia Parish Public Library. Invited lecture as part of the "Lincoln Project."

May 15, 2008: "The American Revolution: Sources, Strategy, Ideology, Outcome." Invited lecture before the Attakapas Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

August 23, 2007: "The Marquis de Lafayette and Louisiana: Connections and Legacy." Invited lecture as part of *Lafayette in History: A Lecture Series*. Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.

April 5, 2006: "Russell Long and the Politics of Transcendence." Invited Lunchtime Lecture at the Louisiana State Museum, Baton Rouge.

February 22, 2006: Invited comment on "The Legal History of the Civil Rights Struggle and the Voting Rights Act of 1965," a lecture by Dr. Stanley Halpin, Jr. Dupre Library, UL Lafayette.

January 23, 2006: "Huey Long and the Great Depression," lecture and discussion, part of *The Great Depression: A Teaching American History Workshop*. Smithsonian Institute and Lafayette Parish Schools.

October 9, 2005: "The Perils of Baptist Intellectualism," luncheon address, Baptist Collegiate Ministry, Lafayette, Louisiana.

September 2005: "The Researchers Reality: Russell Long and Religious Revolutionaries," UL Lafayette Department of History's Brown Bag Lunch Research Discussions.

April 14, 2005: "Why the Longs Still Matter," invited Keynote Address, Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta initiation, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

December 18, 2004: Invited Commencement Speaker for UL Lafayette College of Liberal Arts graduation ceremonies.

September 3, 2004: "Commemorating UL Lafayette's Fiftieth Anniversary as a Desegregated Institution." Keynote Address, UL Lafayette Alumni Association 2004 Leadership Weekend.

June 11, 2004: guest on "Louisiana Live" radio program; discussed Reagan presidency.

May 1, 2004: "How to Connect Your Club History to Community History." Rotary District 6200, District Conference and Meeting.

March 29, 2004: Invited introduction of Professor Anthony Badger, "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Failure of Southern White Liberals." Norfolk State University, Norfolk, Virginia.

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

Media Appearances

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

Other Community Service

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

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

HONORS/AWARDS

2022: named Senator Edgar “Sonny” Mouton/BORSF Endowed Professor, Blanco Public Policy Center, UL Lafayette

2020-2021: Inaugural Recipient of J. Y. Sanders Research Scholar award ([Center for Southeast Louisiana Studies](#))

2020: accepted into the Louisiana Historical Association’s [Company of Fellows](#)

2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022: named Cheryl Courrege Burguières/BORSF Professor in History, UL Lafayette

2007: named SLEMCO/BORSF Professor in Liberal Arts, UL Lafayette

2006: Initiate into Order of the Palmetto (for excellence in Louisiana Studies)

2004: Spirit of Eternity Award, Epsilon-Xi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta

2001-2002 Diane Blair Fellowship, University of Arkansas Department of History—declined

2001-2002 President, Alpha chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (University of Arkansas)—declined

2001 Walter Lee Brown Scottish Rite Scholarship (presented to the University of Arkansas Outstanding Graduate Student in Southern United States History)

2000-2001 President, History Organization of Graduate Students, University of Arkansas

2000-2001 University of Arkansas Departments of Chemical Engineering and History Tuition Waiver, Academic Stipend, and Research Associateship

1998 University of Arkansas Department of History Travel Award

1997-2000 University of Arkansas Department of History Tuition Waiver, Academic Stipend, and Graduate Assistantship (offered for 2001-2002, declined)

1997-1998 Amos E. Simpson Award for Outstanding Graduate Research—University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department

1996-1997 President, Epsilon-Xi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (University of Southwestern Louisiana)

1996-1997 PSG Charles B. Allen Memorial Award for Service to the University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department

1997 Ben Procter Phi Alpha Theta Award, Southwestern Social Sciences Association meeting

1997 Who’s Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities

1996-1997 University of Southwestern Louisiana Office of Public Relations and News Service Graduate Assistantship

1996 Louisiana Society Colonial Dames XVII Century Cole Exchange Scholarship

1996 University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department Graduate Assistantship

1994-1995 W. Magruder Drake Award Senior Award for Excellence in History, University of Southwestern Louisiana History and Geography Department

University of Southwestern Louisiana Spring Honors Convocation: 1992-94, 1996-97

1991-1994 University of Southwestern Louisiana Dean’s List

Phi Alpha Theta: life member

Pi Gamma Mu: life member

Phi Kappa Phi: life member

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

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

Exhibit F

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

PRESS ROBINSON, ET AL * CIVIL ACTION
*
VERSUS * NO. 22-211-SDD
*
KYLE ARDOIN, ET AL * CONSOLIDATED WITH
*
*
EDWARD GALMON SR., ET AL * NO. 22-214-SDD
*
VERSUS * MAY 9, 2022
*
KYLE ARDOIN, ET AL * VOLUME 1 OF 5
* * * * *

MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION BEFORE
THE HONORABLE SHELLY D. DICK
UNITED STATES CHIEF DISTRICT JUDGE

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INTERVENOR DEFENDANT
STATE OF LOUISIANA:

LOUISIANA'S OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL

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PROCEEDINGS RECORDED BY MECHANICAL STENOGRAPHY USING
COMPUTER-AIDED TRANSCRIPTION SOFTWARE

	<u>INDEX</u>	
	PLAINTIFFS' WITNESSES:	<u>PAGE</u>
1		
2		
3	MICHAEL MCCLANAHAN	
4	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. NAIFEH	17
5	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. WALE	31
6	WILLIAM S. COOPER	
7	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. KHANNA	59
8	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. LEWIS	94
9	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. KHANNA	122
10	ANTHONY E. FAIRFAX	
11	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. SADASIVAN	126
12	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STRACH	157
13	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. SADASIVAN	179
14	CHARLES CRAVINS	
15	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SHELLY	182
16	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. WALE	197
17	CHRISTOPHER J. TYSON	
18	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. SEDWICK	212
19	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. WALSH	223
20	MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.	
21	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. MADDURI	233
22	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. MCKNIGHT	258
23	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. MADDURI	269
24		
25		

10:23 1 A. OKAY.

2 Q. SO YOU WOULD ADMIT THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE LIVING IN BATON
3 ROUGE -- LIVE HERE NOW, THEY ONCE LIVED IN NEW ORLEANS?

4 A. I DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY CAME FROM 'CAUSE, YOU KNOW,
5 KATRINA AFFECTED ALMOST ALL OF LOUISIANA.

6 Q. SURE.

7 A. SO THEY COULD HAVE COME FROM A LITTLE BIT OF EVERYWHERE.
8 I DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY CAME FROM, THOUGH.

9 Q. SURE. BUT YOU COULD SEE THAT SOME PEOPLE DID -- YOU KNOW,
10 DID MOVE FROM NEW ORLEANS TO THE BATON ROUGE AREA?

11 A. I KNOW A FEW THAT MOVED.

12 MR. NAIFEH: OBJECTION. ASKED AND ANSWERED.

13 MR. WALE: I APOLOGIZE, YOUR HONOR. I'M MOVING ON.

14 BY MR. WALE:

15 Q. AND SO --

16 THE COURT: OKAY, FOLKS. IF YOU'RE GOING TO MAKE
17 OBJECTIONS, MAKE THEM AND THEN EITHER LET ME RULE ON THEM OR IF
18 -- I MEAN, OKAY. GO AHEAD. CARRY ON.

19 MR. WALE: YES, YOUR HONOR, I APOLOGIZE. I'M GOING
20 TO MOVE ON.

21 THE COURT: CARRY ON.

22 BY MR. WALE:

23 Q. SO WOULD YOU SAY THAT NEW ORLEANS AND BATON ROUGE WOULD
24 HAVE A LOT IN COMMON WITH EACH OTHER AS BOTH URBAN AREAS?

25 A. NO.

10:24 1 Q. YOU WOULD NOT.

2 WELL, IN YOUR DECLARATION YOU DO STATE THAT NEW
3 ORLEANS AND BATON ROUGE ARE DISTINCT CITIES WITH DISTINCT
4 NEEDS?

5 A. "DISTINCT," THAT MEANS THAT THEY HAVE THEIR OWN -- NEW
6 ORLEANS HAS ITS OWN AND BATON ROUGE HAS ITS OWN.

7 Q. RIGHT. AND SO FOR THAT REASON YOU THINK THAT THEY SHOULD
8 BE IN DIFFERENT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS. RIGHT?

9 A. YEAH.

10 Q. AND SO MY QUESTION FOR YOU IS: DON'T ALL THE
11 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS HAVE CITIES THAT ARE VERY DISTINCT FROM
12 EACH OTHER? I MEAN, FOR EXAMPLE, MONROE AND BOGALUSA ARE IN
13 THE SAME CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, BUT THEY HAVE VERY DISTINCT
14 NEEDS.

15 WOULD YOU AGREE TO THAT?

16 A. YEAH.

17 Q. AND WOULD YOU AGREE ABOUT LAKE CHARLES AND LAFAYETTE
18 HAVING DISTINCT NEEDS?

19 A. UH-HUH.

20 Q. AND THEN ALSO, YOU KNOW, LIKE SHREVEPORT AND MINDEN UP IN
21 NORTH LOUISIANA?

22 A. RIGHT.

23 Q. SO YOU WOULD AGREE WITH THAT.

24 I WAS INTERESTED THAT YOU HAD STATED IN YOUR
25 DECLARATION -- I DO FORGET WHERE -- THAT YOU SAID THAT YOU FEEL

03:27 1 A. I DO.

2 Q. YOU MENTIONED YOU'RE A LAWYER. WHERE DID YOU ATTEND LAW
3 SCHOOL?

4 A. SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER IN BATON ROUGE.

5 Q. IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, IS IT COMMON FOR ST. LANDRY RESIDENTS
6 TO ATTEND COLLEGE OR A UNIVERSITY IN BATON ROUGE?

7 A. YES.

8 Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH THAT?

9 A. YES. WE ARE NINE SIBLINGS IN MY FAMILY. OF THE NINE,
10 FIVE HAVE COLLEGE DEGREES OR POST-GRADUATE DEGREES. ALL FIVE
11 OF THOSE ATTENDED COLLEGE IN BATON ROUGE. ALSO, JUST A LOT --
12 THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE I KNOW -- A LOT OF PEOPLE FROM ST.
13 LANDRY PARISH WHO ATTEND COLLEGE IN BATON ROUGE.

14 Q. AND WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE THAT EDUCATIONAL CONNECTION TO?

15 A. WELL, I THINK AS FAR AS THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IS
16 CONCERNED, THAT STARTED AS THE ONLY OPTION, BECAUSE THERE WERE
17 NO INTEGRATED COLLEGES THAT PEOPLE COULD ATTEND. THERE WAS
18 GRAMBLING, BUT GRAMBLING IS IN NORTHWEST LOUISIANA AND
19 VIRTUALLY INACCESSIBLE AT THAT TIME FROM ST. LANDRY PARISH.

20 AND THE OTHER COLLEGE IN LAFAYETTE WAS AT THE TIME
21 KNOWN AS SOUTHERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE. SO IT WAS A REGIONAL
22 COLLEGE AND JUST DIDN'T HAVE THE PRESTIGE THAT LSU HAD AND
23 CONTINUES TO HAVE IN LOUISIANA.

24 AND SO FROM THAT NECESSITY, I GUESS, FROM THE
25 SEGREGATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, IT'S BECOME SORT

03:28 1 OF A TRADITION FOR PEOPLE TO ATTEND IN BATON ROUGE.

2 Q. IN ADDITION TO THE EDUCATIONAL TIES, ARE THERE OTHER
3 ECONOMIC TIES THAT LINK ST. LANDRY PARISH WITH BATON ROUGE?

4 A. DEFINITELY.

5 Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE THAT?

6 A. ALL OF SOUTH LOUISIANA IS VERY INVOLVED AND, IN SOME
7 EXTENT, DEPENDENT UPON THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY, AND
8 PARTICULARLY AS IT RELATES TO OFFSHORE DRILLING AND REFINING.
9 AND SO THERE ARE A LOT OF JOBS IN THAT INDUSTRY.

10 MY FATHER, FOR INSTANCE, BELONGED TO BATON ROUGE
11 LOCAL 1177, WHICH IS THE LABORERS LOCAL. AND HE AND A LOT OF
12 MEN FROM ST. LANDRY PARISH OF HIS GENERATION RODE A BUS OR
13 HITCHHIKED EVERY DAY TO BATON ROUGE TO WORK. AS A MATTER OF
14 FACT, THOSE BUSES WEREN'T COMMERCIAL BUSES. THEY WERE BUSES
15 THAT WERE SET UP SPECIFICALLY FOR THAT PURPOSE: TO BRING
16 PEOPLE TO WORK IN BATON ROUGE. SO THAT, AND, OF COURSE, WE
17 HAVE A REFINERY IN ST. LANDRY PARISH THAT'S A VERY STRONG TIE,
18 A VERY STRONG ECONOMIC TIE.

19 ALSO, THERE IS AGRICULTURAL TIES THAT -- YOU KNOW,
20 IMMEDIATELY TO THE WEST OF THE CITY OF BATON ROUGE. IF YOU ARE
21 TRAVELING UP 190 TOWARD OPELOUSAS, YOU'LL SEE SUGARCANE FIELDS
22 ALL THROUGHOUT THAT AREA, AND THAT IS A VERY IMPORTANT RURAL
23 CROP IN ST. LANDRY PARISH AND A LOT OF SOUTH LOUISIANA UP -- AS
24 I SAID, UP TO THE BORDER OF BATON ROUGE PROPER.

25 Q. ARE THERE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONNECTIONS THAT ST. LANDRY

03:30 1 PARISH SHARES WITH BATON ROUGE?

2 A. WELL, WE DO A ZYDECO PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM, SO -- THAT
3 PEOPLE LISTEN TO IN BATON ROUGE. AND YES, THERE ARE. THE
4 MEDIA -- I KNOW A MEDIA MARKET IS A TERM OF ART USED IN THAT
5 INDUSTRY. BUT MEDIA -- SO ST. LANDRY PARISH IS NOT PART OF THE
6 BATON ROUGE MEDIA MARKET, BUT THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF BATON
7 ROUGE MEDIA CONSUMPTION IN ST. LANDRY PARISH.

8 WHEN YOU SUBSCRIBE FOR CABLE, FOR INSTANCE, YOU CAN
9 GET THE BATON ROUGE STATIONS. THE BATON ROUGE NEWSPAPER IS
10 VERY WIDELY READ IN ST. LANDRY PARISH. BATON ROUGE TELEVISION
11 STATIONS, RADIO STATIONS ARE VERY POPULAR IN ST. LANDRY PARISH.
12 SO THERE IS THAT CONNECTION.

13 THERE'S ALSO FAMILY CONNECTIONS THAT DERIVE FROM
14 THOSE ECONOMIC CONNECTIONS WE TALKED ABOUT EARLIER. PEOPLE GET
15 JOBS AT THE PLANTS, THEY MOVE THERE, THEIR FAMILIES GROW UP
16 THERE. I HAVE TWO DAUGHTERS WHO LIVE IN BATON ROUGE.

17 YOU ALSO HAVE THAT HISTORIC CONNECTION. I TALKED
18 ABOUT SPANISH GOVERNANCE OF LOUISIANA. BATON ROUGE AND ST.
19 LANDRY PARISH ALSO BOTH SHARE THE VESTIGES OF THAT STRONG
20 FRENCH AND SPANISH INFLUENCE ON BOTH OF THOSE AREAS, AND THE
21 FOOD. YOU KNOW, IT'S PERVASIVE. THOSE CONNECTIONS ARE
22 PERVASIVE.

23 Q. ANY OTHER CONNECTIONS IN RELIGION, SPORTS, OTHER THINGS
24 LIKE THAT?

25 A. YEAH. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS VERY -- THERE ARE A LOT OF

03:32 1 CATHOLICS IN SOUTH LOUISIANA, AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
2 HISTORICALLY HAS HAD A LOT OF INFLUENCE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF
3 THE STATE, BOTH -- WELL, PARTICULARLY FROM A CULTURAL AND
4 SOCIAL STANDPOINT.

5 AND AS FAR AS SPORTS ARE CONCERNED, THIS IS SAINTS
6 COUNTRY. AND SO, YOU KNOW, THIS IS WHERE THE SAINTS FANS ARE.

7 Q. WOULD COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST BEST BE MAINTAINED BY
8 GROUPING ST. LANDRY PARISH IN A CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT WITH
9 SHREVEPORT OR WITH BATON ROUGE?

10 A. DEFINITELY BATON ROUGE.

11 Q. WHEN WE'RE THINKING SPECIFICALLY ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL
12 REPRESENTATION, WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO KEEP ST. LANDRY PARISH
13 WITH BATON ROUGE?

14 A. ST. LANDRY PARISH IS NOT A SMALL PARISH, YOU KNOW,
15 LOUISIANA -- AS FAR AS LOUISIANA PARISHES GO, BUT IT IS NOT A
16 LARGE HEAVILY-POPULATED AREA. GENERALLY MOSTLY RURAL, 13
17 MUNICIPALITIES BUT NOT DENSELY POPULATED. IN ORDER FOR ST.
18 LANDRY TO HAVE ITS FULL POLITICAL POTENTIAL, IT NEEDS TO BE
19 PAIRED WITH WHAT I CALL SOME CENTER OF INFLUENCE OR CENTERS OF
20 INFLUENCE.

21 AND THERE HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN MORE DENSELY --
22 THREE -- THREE MORE DENSELY POPULATED AREAS THAT ST. LANDRY HAS
23 BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH AND HAS ALIGNED WITH. AND THOSE WOULD BE
24 LAKE CHARLES, LAFAYETTE AND BATON ROUGE. AND THERE ARE NO
25 OTHER DENSELY-POPULATED AREAS THAT -- WHERE ST. LANDRY CAN

03:33 1 EXTEND AND MAGNIFY ITS INFLUENCE BY ASSOCIATING WITH THOSE
2 AREAS. IF ST. LANDRY IS CUT OFF FROM ONE OF THOSE, YOU CAN
3 MAKE IT. YOU STILL HAVE SOME VOICE BECAUSE YOU HAVE TWO
4 REMAINING. IF YOU'RE CUT OFF FROM TWO, YOU HAVE LESS OF A
5 VOICE, BUT YOU STILL -- THERE IS STILL SOME REASON FOR PEOPLE
6 TO PAY ATTENTION TO YOU. BUT WHEN YOU'RE CUT OFF FROM ALL
7 THREE, YOU ARE EFFECTIVELY DISENFRANCHISED AS FAR AS
8 CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS GO BECAUSE NOBODY CARES ABOUT YOU.

9 FOR INSTANCE, RIGHT NOW UNDER THE 2011 MAP, ST.
10 LANDRY IS DIVIDED BETWEEN THE NORTHWESTERN PART OF THE STATE
11 AND THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE STATE. AS FAR AS I KNOW, THE
12 CONGRESSMAN FROM SHREVEPORT HAS NEVER VISITED. HE HAS ROUGHLY
13 HALF THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF ST. LANDRY PARISH. I DON'T KNOW
14 THAT HE'S VISITED SINCE HE'S BEEN ELECTED.

15 NOW, I DO KNOW THAT SEVERAL DIFFERENT CONGRESS PEOPLE
16 FROM NORTHWEST LOUISIANA HAVE VISITED. SO I DON'T -- I DON'T
17 KNOW WHAT'S THE REASON FOR THAT DISPARITY. WELL, I DO HAVE
18 SOME IDEAS WHAT THE REASONS ARE FOR THAT DISPARITY, BUT THE
19 DISPARITY EXISTS.

20 Q. JUST FOR THE RECORD, I THINK YOU SAID PEOPLE FROM
21 NORTHWEST HAVE --

22 A. NO. NORTHEAST. I'M SORRY. I MEANT TO SAY FROM THE
23 NORTHEAST HAVE VISITED. FROM THE MONROE AREA, THE CURRENT
24 CONGRESSMAN IS FROM START, I BELIEVE. I KNOW SHE'S BEEN THERE,
25 WHICH IS IN THE NORTHEAST PORTION OF THE STATE. BUT THE

03:35 1 CONGRESSMAN FROM THE NORTHWEST, WHO IS FROM SHREVEPORT, AS FAR
2 AS I KNOW, HAS NEVER VISITED ST. LANDRY.

3 Q. ARE THERE POLICY INTERESTS THAT RESIDENTS OF ST. LANDRY
4 SHARE WITH BATON ROUGE THAT THEY DO NOT NECESSARILY SHARE WITH
5 SHREVEPORT RESIDENTS?

6 A. ABSOLUTELY. AND LET ME JUST -- I'LL GIVE YOU JUST A
7 COUPLE. ONE IS THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY THAT I MENTIONED
8 EARLIER, PARTICULARLY AS IT DEALS WITH REFINING AND OFFSHORE
9 OIL DRILLING. AND, YOU KNOW, THAT -- IN THE NORTHERN PART OF
10 THE STATE YOU HAVE NATURAL GAS. BUT THAT IS A DIFFERENT ANIMAL
11 FROM THE REFINERY AND OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING PETROCHEMICAL
12 BUSINESS.

13 IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE STATE YOU ALSO HAVE THE
14 ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS THAT COME WITH THOSE REFINERIES. AND
15 I'M SURE YOU'VE HEARD OF CANCER ALLEY AND THOSE TYPES OF
16 ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS INVOLVED WITH, YOU KNOW, AIR QUALITY AND
17 WATER QUALITY AND THAT TYPE OF THING THAT WOULD -- THAT WOULD
18 BE COMMON TO ST. LANDRY PARISH AND TO BATON ROUGE.

19 ALSO, YOU HAVE THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE AS IT RELATES TO
20 THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY, BUT YOU ALSO HAVE THE ISSUE OF
21 WEATHER AND DISASTER RELIEF. IN SOUTH LOUISIANA, DISASTER
22 RELIEF -- CONGRESSIONAL POLICY ON DISASTER RELIEF IS CRITICAL.
23 AND BATON ROUGE AND ST. LANDRY PARISH WOULD SHARE THAT; WHEREAS
24 THE NORTHERN PART OF THE STATE, PARTICULARLY NORTHWESTERN PART
25 OF THE STATE -- THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE STATE HAS THE

03:37 1 RIVER -- MISSISSIPPI RIVER. THERE ARE SOME FLOODING PROBLEMS.
2 THERE ARE SOME DISASTER RELIEF ISSUES THAT WOULD AFFECT THAT
3 PART.

4 BUT THE SOUTHERN PART, HURRICANES ARE THE THING. AND
5 IT SEEMS THAT EVERY YEAR WE GET HIT WITH ONE, SOMETIMES
6 MULTIPLE HURRICANES. YOU MAY HAVE SEEN IN THE NEWS IN THE LAST
7 COUPLE OF YEARS THERE ARE SOME CONGRESS PEOPLE WHO ARE OPPOSED
8 TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S AGGRESSIVE RESPONSE TO DISASTER --
9 FEMA'S RESPONSE APPROPRIATIONS DEALING WITH DISASTER RELIEF.

10 IN NORTH LOUISIANA YOU MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET AWAY WITH
11 BEING OPPOSED TO THOSE RELIEF EFFORTS. IN SOUTH LOUISIANA
12 YOU'RE NOT GOING TO MAKE IT THROUGH THE NEXT ELECTION IF YOU
13 ARE NOT SUPPORTING YOUR PEOPLE IN THAT DISASTER RELIEF.

14 Q. ARE THE CROPS THE SAME CROPS FOR --

15 A. ONE -- I WAS GOING TO TELL YOU ONE MORE. AND THIS ONE IS
16 NOT AS WIDELY KNOWN, BUT I MENTIONED THE SUGARCANE FIELDS WEST
17 OF BATON ROUGE. SUGARCANE IS AN IMPORTANT RURAL CROP IN SOUTH
18 LOUISIANA. AND THE ISSUE OF SUGAR SUPPORTS, THAT'S SOMETHING A
19 LOT OF PEOPLE NEVER PAY ANY ATTENTION TO. IT'S NOT AS WIDELY
20 KNOWN AS MAYBE SOME OF THE OTHER ISSUES THAT I'VE MENTIONED.
21 BUT THE ISSUE OF SUGAR SUPPORTS, PRICE SUPPORTS IS CRITICAL IN
22 SOUTH LOUISIANA AND UNIMPORTANT IN THE NORTHWESTERN PART OF THE
23 STATE.

24 Q. SWITCHING GEARS SLIGHTLY, HAS YOUR VOTING PRECINCT CHANGED
25 RECENTLY?

04:10 1 AND WHEN I LOOK BACK OVER MY LIFE -- I DON'T THINK I REALIZED
2 IT GROWING UP -- MANY OF THE CHANGES THAT WERE HAPPENING IN THE
3 CITY BECAUSE OF INTEGRATION AND BATON ROUGE'S KIND OF LONG
4 RESISTANCE TO IMPLEMENTING THE MANDATES OF BROWN WERE REFLECTED
5 IN MY LIFE IN THE CHANGES THAT I WOULD SEE IN THE CITY BEFORE
6 LEAVING FOR SCHOOL AND THEN COMING BACK TO FIND REALLY A TALE
7 OF TWO CITIES NARRATIVE AS WE TALK ABOUT OFTEN WITH BUILD BATON
8 ROUGE. AND I THINK RESONATES WITH MANY PEOPLE AS WE GRAPPLE
9 WITH THE ISSUES OF RACE AND CLASS STRATIFICATION IN BATON
10 ROUGE.

11 Q. SO I WANT TO SHIFT GEARS JUST A LITTLE BIT. HAVE YOU HAD
12 THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE GALMON PLAINTIFFS' ILLUSTRATIVE
13 PLANS?

14 A. YES.

15 Q. AND IN YOUR VIEW, WOULD IT MAKE SENSE TO CREATE A
16 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT THAT CONNECTS BATON ROUGE AND THE DELTA
17 PARISHES?

18 A. ABSOLUTELY.

19 Q. AT A HIGH LEVEL, COULD YOU SHARE WITH US THE CONNECTIONS
20 THAT YOU SEE BETWEEN BATON ROUGE AND THE DELTA PARISHES?

21 A. WELL, BATON ROUGE IS HERE ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, AND
22 LOUISIANA'S HISTORY FLOWS THROUGH THE DELTA -- AND LOUISIANA'S
23 BLACK HISTORY FLOWS THROUGH THE DELTA. IN MANY WAYS, BLACK
24 POPULATION IS STILL CENTERED AROUND THE RIVER, WHICH WE KNOW IS
25 THE SOURCE OF THE PLANTATION INDUSTRY. AND SO WE KNOW THAT

04:11 1 THOSE CONNECTIONS EXIST THROUGH FAMILY, THROUGH FAITH NETWORKS,
2 THROUGH CULTURAL EXPERIENCES. THE CONNECTION TO BATON ROUGE
3 THROUGHOUT THE DELTA AND PARTS OF CENTRAL LOUISIANA INCLUDED I
4 THINK ARE FELT IN FAMILY BONDS. I'VE SEEN IT IN MY FAMILY
5 THROUGH FAITH BONDS, AND PEOPLE TRAVEL FOR REVIVALS AND OTHER
6 EXPERIENCES THROUGHOUT THIS REGION. THERE ARE STRONG
7 CONNECTIONS. AND I KNOW MANY OTHERS WHOSE FAMILIES ARE
8 CONNECTED TO THE AREAS OF THE DELTA. AND THEY SPEND WEEKENDS
9 GOING HOME FOR DINNER AND CAN BE BACK AT WORK IN BATON ROUGE ON
10 MONDAY MORNING. SO I THINK THOSE CONNECTIONS ARE STRONG.

11 Q. OKAY. LET'S TAKE A FEW OF THOSE IN TURN. SO FIRST, IF
12 YOU COULD KIND OF GIVE US -- YOU'VE GIVEN US A LITTLE BIT
13 ALREADY, BUT THE FAMILIAL TIES, THE EDUCATIONAL TIES BETWEEN
14 BATON ROUGE AND THE DELTA PARISHES.

15 A. YEAH. AND I'LL TAKE THOSE IN REVERSE. THE EDUCATIONAL
16 TIES ARE STRONG. MY FAMILY, AS MANY OTHERS, GRANDPARENTS AND
17 GREAT GRANDPARENTS RECEIVED EDUCATION FROM MCKINLEY SENIOR HIGH
18 SCHOOL WHEN THAT WAS THE ONLY OPTION FOR PURSUING HIGH SCHOOL
19 FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN THIS REGION BEFORE CAPITOL HIGH SCHOOL
20 WOULD COME ONLINE, I BELIEVE, IN THE 1950'S. AND THEN WE HAD,
21 YOU KNOW, SLOW SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND OTHER OPTIONS.

22 AND SO MCKINLEY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PEOPLE MAY NOT
23 REALIZE, WAS ONE OF THE ONLY PLACES TO PURSUE EDUCATION AFTER
24 EIGHTH GRADE FOR BLACK STUDENTS, NOT JUST IN BATON ROUGE BUT
25 THROUGHOUT THE REGION. AND I'VE MET PEOPLE WHO -- ELDERLY

04:13 1 PEOPLE WHO TALK ABOUT COMING TO BATON ROUGE TO GO TO NINTH
2 GRADE FROM THE RURAL AREAS OF THE DELTA. AND SO THAT IS
3 STRONG.

4 WE ALSO KNOW THAT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY IS HERE, AND
5 ALSO LELAND COLLEGE USED TO BE HERE AS WELL. SO YOU HAD TWO
6 HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES IN THE REGION. BOTH OF MY
7 GRANDMOTHERS ATTENDED BOTH INSTITUTIONS, AND SO -- AND THEY
8 WERE CONNECTED TO OTHERS WHO CONNECTED TO THOSE INSTITUTIONS AS
9 ROUTES TO HIGHER EDUCATION AND ONTO THE MIDDLE CLASS AS THOSE
10 INSTITUTIONS WERE VERY IMPORTANT FOR BLACK ACCESS TO THE MIDDLE
11 CLASS IN THIS REGION.

12 FAMILIAL, AGAIN, I KNOW SO MANY PEOPLE, INCLUDING MY
13 OWN FAMILY. AND THEN YOU LOOK AT THE FUNERAL PROGRAMS AND YOU
14 SEE THE CONNECTION THROUGHOUT THE DELTA AND MANY OTHERS WHO
15 STILL HAVE PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS THROUGHOUT THE DELTA THAT
16 THEY VISIT AND CONNECT WITH ON A REGULAR BASIS, EVEN THOUGH
17 THEY RESIDE HERE IN THE CITY OF BATON ROUGE OR IN THE BROADER
18 METROPOLITAN AREA.

19 Q. NOW, WHAT ABOUT FROM AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE, THE
20 CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BATON ROUGE AND THE DELTA PARISHES?

21 A. WELL, BATON ROUGE OBVIOUSLY IS THE MOST URBANIZED AREA IN
22 THE DELTA BEFORE YOU GET FURTHER DOWN TO NEW ORLEANS. THE
23 PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY HAS A STRONG FOOTHOLD HERE. AND THAT
24 HAS GROWN THROUGHOUT THE 20TH CENTURY.

25 ONE OF MY GREAT-GRANDFATHERS WAS ONE OF THE FIRST

04:14 1 BLACK EMPLOYEES AT EXXON. AND SO, YOU KNOW, THOSE JOBS
2 PROVIDED SOME OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK PEOPLE EARLY ON IN THE
3 20TH CENTURY AND CONTINUE TO DO SO TODAY. AND THOSE ARE JOBS
4 THAT NOT ONLY EXIST IN BATON ROUGE, BUT STRETCH UP THE RIVER.
5 AND THE PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THOSE INDUSTRIES LIVE ALL AROUND AND
6 COMMUTE FROM ALL AROUND THE DELTA. AND SO THERE ARE STRONG
7 ECONOMIC TIES THERE, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE GOVERNMENTAL BASE
8 HERE IN BATON ROUGE AND THE AMOUNT OF TRAVEL THAT PEOPLE ENJOY
9 WHEN THEY COMMUTE TO WORK FROM RURAL AREAS AS WE LIKE TO DO IN
10 LOUISIANA.

11 Q. NOW, WHAT ABOUT FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE? YOU TALKED
12 ABOUT THE CONNECTION EARLIER, THE CONNECTION BETWEEN BATON
13 ROUGE AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER. SO FROM A HISTORICAL
14 PERSPECTIVE, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY?

15 A. THE HISTORY OF THAT, AGAIN, IS THE DELTA REGION, THE
16 PLANTATION ECONOMY TRANSFORMING INTO THE PETROCHEMICAL ECONOMY,
17 BLACK COMMUNITIES REALLY NEVER LEAVING THE PLANTATION GEOGRAPHY
18 OF LOUISIANA, STAYING CLOSE TO THE RIVER. AND THAT'S WHERE WE
19 FIND POPULATION TO THIS DAY, LITERALLY, THROUGHOUT LOUISIANA.

20 Q. NOW, SHIFTING GEARS AGAIN JUST A LITTLE BIT, YOU'VE ALSO
21 SEEN THE ENACTED MAP. CORRECT?

22 A. YES.

23 Q. AND WHEN VIEWING THE ENACTED MAP, IT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING
24 THAT DISTRICT 2 LINKS BATON ROUGE AND NEW ORLEANS TOGETHER.
25 CORRECT?

04:16 1 A. YES.

2 Q. AND IN YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCE, WOULD YOU SAY THAT BATON
3 ROUGE AND NEW ORLEANS ARE -- MAKE SENSE AS COMMUNITIES JOINED
4 TOGETHER?

5 A. NO. IN THE WAY THAT IT IS -- IT IS CONSTRUCTED IN CD --
6 IN THE EXISTING CD2, YOU HAVE IN BATON ROUGE AND NEW ORLEANS
7 THE TWO POPULATION CENTERS OF THE STATE. AND WHILE THEY ARE AN
8 HOUR AND SOME CHANGE APART FROM EACH OTHER, THEY ARE VERY
9 DIFFERENT ECONOMIES. THEY HAVE VERY DIFFERENT HISTORIES. AND
10 THE SCALE AND SCOPE OF NEW ORLEANS' ECONOMY AND THE ISSUES IT
11 FACES -- AS IT RECEIVES OVER 30 MILLION VISITORS A YEAR IS A
12 SYMBOL FOR GLOBAL TOURISM -- ARE VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE STATE
13 CAPITAL, UNIVERSITY TOWN THAT BATON ROUGE IS.

14 I KNOW FROM MY EXPERIENCE IN SENATOR LANDRIEU'S
15 OFFICE AND ON CAPITOL HILL THE IMPORTANCE OF CONGRESSIONAL
16 REPRESENTATION TO BRING FEDERAL RESOURCES HOME TO THE DISTRICT
17 AND HOME TO LOUISIANA. AND THE ISSUES THAT NEW ORLEANS FACES
18 AND THE ISSUES THAT BATON ROUGE FACE ARE VERY DIFFERENT AND
19 REQUIRE THEIR OWN LEVELS OR THEIR OWN ADVOCATES IN CONGRESS TO
20 ADVANCE THOSE ISSUES.

21 AND SO LINKING PEOPLE ON HARDING BOULEVARD AND PEOPLE
22 ON BULLARD DOES NOT NECESSARILY MAKE SENSE TO ME BECAUSE THOSE
23 ARE DISTINCT COMMUNITIES LINKED BY RACE. BUT THERE ARE OTHER
24 FACTORS THAT I THINK NEED TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION THAT
25 JUSTIFY HAVING A DIFFERENT REPRESENTATION IN THE BATON ROUGE

04:18 1 AND DELTA REGION THAN YOU HAVE IN THE ORLEANS REGION.

2 Q. NOW, BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCES, HOW DOES GROUPING BATON
3 ROUGE AND NEW ORLEANS TOGETHER IN A CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
4 AFFECT THE VOTING POWER OF BLACK VOTERS IN BATON ROUGE?

5 A. WELL, I THINK IT RUNS THE RISK OF SUBORDINATING THE ISSUES
6 OF BLACK VOTERS IN BATON ROUGE, WHICH, AGAIN, ARE BLACK VOTERS
7 WHO LIVE IN THE STATE CAPITAL, WHO LIVE IN THE SHADOW OF
8 SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY AND THE TREMENDOUS IMPACTS SOUTHERN
9 UNIVERSITY HAS ON THIS COMMUNITY, WHO LIVE IN A DECIDEDLY
10 DIFFERENT URBAN CONTEXT THAN THOSE IN NEW ORLEANS AND,
11 THEREFORE, HAVE DIFFERENT ISSUES THAT REQUIRE ADVOCACY AND
12 ATTENTION AND PRIORITY THAT I'M NOT SURE ALWAYS HAPPENS IN THE
13 CURRENT CONSTRUCTION.

14 Q. COULD YOU GIVE ANY EXAMPLES OF SUBURBAN AREAS OR AREAS
15 OUTSIDE OF THE LARGER METROPOLITAN AREA OF NEW ORLEANS THAT
16 HAVE A CONNECTION TO NEW ORLEANS THAT ALSO HAVE A CONNECTION TO
17 BATON ROUGE?

18 A. YOU KNOW, AGAIN, I THINK YOU CAN LOOK AT THE RIVER
19 PARISHES AS HAVING, YOU KNOW, SOME CONNECTION, PERHAPS THE
20 NORTH SHORE AS WELL. BUT BY AND LARGE, I THINK THAT THOSE --
21 YOU KNOW, NEW ORLEANS IS SUCH A SPECIFIC URBAN CONTEXT AND THE
22 AREAS AROUND IT THAT DRAIN INTO NEW ORLEANS AND SUPPORT IT AND
23 FEED OFF OF ITS TOURISM INDUSTRY, THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS,
24 DIFFERENTIATE IT FROM THE BATON ROUGE REGION.

25 Q. AGAIN, BASED ON YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCE AS A NATIVE

04:20 1 LOUISIANIAN, DOES FOCUSING ON CULTURAL SIMILARITIES OR CULTURAL
2 IDENTIFIERS SUCH AS FOOD OR MUSIC OR ANY DIFFERENCES IN THOSE
3 CULTURAL IDENTITIES -- PERHAPS BY FOCUSING ON THOSE THINGS,
4 DOES IT DIMINISH THE ROLE THAT RACE SHOULD PLAY IN THESE
5 CONVERSATIONS?

6 A. YES. LOOK, I THINK, YOU KNOW, WE ARE LOUISIANIANS AND WE
7 LOVE OUR FOOD, WE LOVE OUR CULTURE, WE LOVE OUR MUSIC. IT'S A
8 RICH AND UNIQUE CULTURE THAT WE SHOULD TAKE PRIDE IN IT. AND
9 IN SOME AREAS OF THE STATE WE USE BLACK PEPPER, IN SOME AREAS
10 WE SAY WE USE RED PEPPER. IN ALL OF THE STATE WE HAD JIM CROW,
11 RIGHT? IN ALL OF THE STATE WE HAD A VERY RIGID SOCIAL
12 HIERARCHY THAT WAS THE DOMINANT FORCE IMPACTING BLACK LIFE, IN
13 PARTICULAR ALL LIVES IN THE STATE OF LOUISIANA. SO IT'S GREAT
14 TO REVEL IN THOSE CULTURAL NARRATIVES. WE'RE ALL VERY FAMILIAR
15 WITH GUMBO NARRATIVE, RIGHT, THIS COLLECTION OF CULTURES AND
16 THIS MIXING. BUT IT'S IMPORTANT NOT TO CONFUSE THAT, I THINK,
17 WITH WHAT PEOPLE'S LIVED EXPERIENCES HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO
18 BE, PARTICULARLY AROUND RACE, THE ROLE THAT HAS PLAYED IN
19 EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES, SOCIAL
20 OPPORTUNITIES, YOUR ABILITY TO MOVE, YOU KNOW, YOUR ABILITY TO
21 LIVE IN CERTAIN PLACES, YOU KNOW, WHERE YOU WENT TO SCHOOL.
22 AND SO I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD USE THAT TO KIND OF MINIMIZE OR
23 KIND OF WHITEWASH, IF YOU WILL, THAT VERY SPECIFIC HISTORY THAT
24 WE ALL KNOW AND WHICH, YOU KNOW, HAS CUMULATIVE IMPACTS ON THE
25 PRESENT.

04:22 1 Q. AND IN YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCE, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IT MAKES
2 MORE SENSE TO LINK BATON ROUGE WITH NEW ORLEANS AND THE RIVER
3 PARISHES THAN TO LINK BATON ROUGE WITH THE DELTA PARISHES?

4 A. NO. I THINK, AGAIN, RACE IS A FACTOR THAT WE TAKE INTO
5 ACCOUNT, AND WE TAKE RACE INTO ACCOUNT WITH OTHER URBAN
6 DYNAMICS. I DO NOT THINK IT MAKES SENSE TO LINK BATON ROUGE
7 AND NEW ORLEANS, THE TWO, YOU KNOW, LARGEST POPULATION CENTERS
8 OF THE STATE, THE TWO LARGEST BLACK COMMUNITIES OF THE STATE
9 AND VERY DIFFERENT ECONOMIES AND VERY DIFFERENT, YOU KNOW,
10 SETTINGS THAT REQUIRE REPRESENTATION.

11 I THINK BATON ROUGE IS NATURALLY CONNECTED TO THE
12 DELTA REGION, AND I THINK THE HISTORY OF BLACK SETTLEMENT IN
13 BATON ROUGE ALSO REFLECTS VERY REAL AND ENDURING CONNECTIONS TO
14 THE DELTA REGION.

15 MS. SEDWICK: NO FURTHER QUESTIONS, YOUR HONOR.

16 THE COURT: CROSS.

17 MR. WALSH: GOOD AFTERNOON, YOUR HONOR.

18 JOHN WALSH ON BEHALF OF SECRETARY OF STATE
19 ARDOIN.

20 THE COURT: MR. WALSH.

21 CROSS-EXAMINATION

22 BY MR. WALSH:

23 Q. GOOD AFTERNOON, MR TYSON.

24 A. GOOD AFTERNOON.

25 Q. IS IT MR. TYSON OR PROFESSOR TYSON?

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

PRESS ROBINSON, ET AL * CIVIL ACTION
*
VERSUS * NO. 22-211-SDD
*
KYLE ARDOIN, ET AL * CONSOLIDATED WITH
*
*
EDWARD GALMON SR., ET AL * NO. 22-214-SDD
*
VERSUS * MAY 10, 2022
*
KYLE ARDOIN, ET AL * VOLUME 2 OF 5
* * * * *

MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION BEFORE
THE HONORABLE SHELLY D. DICK
UNITED STATES CHIEF DISTRICT JUDGE

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	<u>INDEX</u>	
		<u>PAGE</u>
1		
2	PLAINTIFFS' WITNESSES:	
3	LISA R. HANDLEY, PH.D.	
4	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. BRANNON	7
5	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. FARR	30
6	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. BRANNON	54
7	DOROTHY NAIRNE, PH.D.	
8	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. OSAKI	60
9	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. WALE	71
10	TRACI BURCH, PH.D. (VIA VIDEOCONFERENCE)	
11	VOIR DIRE BY MR. CHAKRABORTY	79
12	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CHAKRABORTY	81
13	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. MCKNIGHT	101
14	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CHAKRABORTY	121
15	ALLAN J. LICHTMAN, PH.D. (VIA VIDEOCONFERENCE)	
16	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HAWLEY	123
17	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BRADEN	154
18	REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY HAWLEY	171
19	R. BLAKESLEE GILPIN, PH.D.	
20	VOIR DIRE BY MR. RIZZUTO	173
21	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. RIZZUTO	175
22	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS. MCKNIGHT	184
23	ASHLEY SHELTON	
24	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY SAVITT	188
25	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. WALE	205

11:09 1 DISTRICT 2 IN THIS ILLUSTRATIVE MAP. THANK YOU.

2 **BY MS. OSAKI:**

3 **Q.** DR. NAIRNE, GEOGRAPHICALLY WHAT AREAS WOULD YOU BE LINKED
4 WITH IN THIS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 2 OF THIS ILLUSTRATIVE MAP?

5 **A.** IN THIS MAP I WOULD BE WITH THE PEOPLE THAT I'M WORKING
6 WITH CURRENTLY, ALONG WITH THE RIVER PARISHES, ALL THE WAY INTO
7 ORLEANS AND JEFFERSON PARISHES. THIS MAP MAKES SENSE TO ME.

8 **Q.** DO YOU HAVE ANY PERSONAL CONNECTIONS WITH ANY OF THOSE
9 OTHER PARISHES?

10 **A.** I HAVE PERSONAL CONNECTIONS: FAMILY, FRIENDS, COLLEAGUES
11 IN ALL OF THIS -- IN THIS ENTIRE AREA.

12 **Q.** HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE COMMUNITIES IN THESE AREAS, THESE
13 RIVER PARISH AREAS, BASED ON YOUR PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE?

14 **A.** WE HAVE A SHARED HISTORY. WE HAVE A SHARED CULTURAL
15 HERITAGE, AND WE WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS ALONG THIS
16 AREA WITH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WHERE WE'RE DOING WORK AROUND
17 CREATING JOBS FOR PEOPLE, OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND
18 TRYING TO IMPROVE OUR HEALTH.

19 **Q.** WHAT DID YOU MEAN BY THAT, "TRYING TO IMPROVE YOUR
20 HEALTH"?

21 **A.** THIS AREA IS KNOWN AS CANCER ALLEY AND JUST -- SO I'VE
22 WORKED SOMEWHAT WITH THE CANCER INDEX AND LOOKING AT JUST
23 NEIGHBORS ACROSS THE STREET, NEXT TO ME, EVEN MY OWN MOTHER
24 WHO HAD A TUMOR THE SIZE OF A SOCCER BALL IN HER BELLY. AND
25 SO, YOU KNOW, JUST CANCER IS EVERYWHERE. AND, YOU KNOW, IF

11:10 1 IT'S IN MY OWN HOUSE, THEN IS IT IN ME TOO? SO IT REALLY
2 REQUIRES US TO DO QUITE A BIT OF WORK TOGETHER.

3 Q. SO YOU DESCRIBE SOME OF THE HEALTH INEQUITIES THAT ARE
4 SIMILAR ALONG THE RIVER PARISHES. WHAT ABOUT INDUSTRIES? ARE
5 THERE ANY INDUSTRIES THAT ARE SIMILAR ALONG THESE COMMUNITIES?

6 A. WELL, THE SUGARCANE INDUSTRY DEFINED THIS AREA AND THIS
7 REGION, BUT NOW THE SUGARCANE INDUSTRY IS MECHANIZED SO PEOPLE
8 DON'T HAVE THOSE JOBS ANYMORE. SO THERE'S A LOT OF NOT MUCH TO
9 DO GOING ON IN ASSUMPTION AND ST. JAMES, ST. JOHN AND ST.
10 CHARLES.

11 Q. NOW, UNDER THIS NEW -- UNDER THIS ILLUSTRATIVE PLAN AND
12 BASED ON YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCES, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT YOUR
13 COMMUNITY'S INTEREST WOULD BE FAIRLY REPRESENTED?

14 A. UNDER THIS MAP, YES.

15 Q. WHY IS THAT?

16 A. IT WOULD GIVES US A BASE SO THAT WE CAN MOBILIZE AND SO
17 THAT WE CAN ORGANIZE AND SO THAT WE HAVE ONE COLLECTIVE VOICE
18 AND SO THAT WE WOULD HAVE ACTION TOGETHER SO THAT WE CAN MOVE
19 FORWARD AND IMPROVE NOT JUST OUR COMMUNITIES AND OUR HOUSEHOLDS
20 BUT OUR ENTIRE STATE.

21 Q. BASED ON YOUR LIVED EXPERIENCES AS A LOUISIANIAN, DOES IT
22 MAKE SENSE CULTURALLY, SOCIOECONOMICALLY, HISTORICALLY OR
23 OTHERWISE FOR YOUR COMMUNITY TO FALL UNDER THIS ILLUSTRATIVE
24 MAP'S CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 2 ALONGSIDE THESE OTHER RIVER
25 PARISH COMMUNITIES?

11:11 1 A. TO ME IT MAKES COMPLETE SENSE THAT WE ARE IN THIS
2 DISTRICT.

3 Q. THANK YOU.

4 FINALLY, DR. NAIRNE, HOW WOULD YOU FEEL IF A MAP LIKE
5 THIS ILLUSTRATIVE PLAN -- THAT IS, A MAP THAT ENACTS A SECOND
6 MAJORITY-BLACK CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT -- WERE TO BE ENACTED
7 INTO LAW?

8 A. I KNOW EXACTLY THE HOUSEHOLDS THAT I'M GOING TO KNOCK ON
9 THEIR DOORS, SHOULD THIS HAPPEN. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE
10 -- SO DURING THE CENSUS AND LEADING UP TO THE ELECTIONS FOR
11 2020, I WAS A BLOCK CAPTAIN FOR "TOGETHER LOUISIANA." SO THERE
12 WERE A COUPLE OF HOUSEHOLDS THAT I KNOCKED ON THEIR DOORS, AND
13 THEY WERE LIKE, "OH, GOOD. YOU MEAN CHANGE IS COMING FOR US?"
14 SO THEN WHEN THEY SEE THAT, AWE, CHANGE IS NOT REAL, THEIR
15 HOPES ARE DASHED, THEY FEEL LIKE, "WOW," YET AGAIN
16 DISAPPOINTED. "YOU LIED TO ME," SOME MAN SAID. SO IT'S JUST
17 LIKE, "NO, I DIDN'T LIE TO YOU. THIS PROCESS JUST TAKES A
18 WHILE."

19 SO I KNOW I WOULD GO TO HIS HOME. THIS IS SOMEBODY
20 I'VE KNOWN ALL MY LIFE. AND JUST TO SEE THAT, YOU KNOW, HE'S
21 WEATHERED AND WORN OUT, AND JUST TO HAVE HIM HAVE A LITTLE BIT
22 OF HOPE, WOW, WOULD THAT MAKE MY YEAR, MY DAY, MY HOUR. SO
23 THAT'S WHERE I WOULD GO AND SAY, "LOOK, CHANGE IS COMING, EVEN
24 HERE TO ASSUMPTION PARISH." SO WE'D HAVE SOME HAPPY PEOPLE WHO
25 WOULD HAVE HOPE AGAIN IN LOUISIANA.

05:22 1 A. YES. I THINK IT'S WELL-DOCUMENTED THAT BATON ROUGE IS A
2 TALE OF TWO CITIES. YOU KNOW, BASICALLY WE HAVE THE WORST AND
3 THE BEST QUALITY OF LIFE WITHIN A FEW SQUARE MILES OF EACH
4 OTHER, IN THAT, YOU KNOW, NORTH BATON ROUGE BEING PREDOMINANTLY
5 AFRICAN AMERICAN; SOUTH BATON ROUGE BEING PREDOMINANTLY WHITE
6 AND, YOU KNOW, THE INCOME BATCHING.

7 YOU KNOW, CERTAINLY THE NORTH BATON ROUGE COMMUNITY
8 IS POOR IN MODERATE INCOME, AND SOUTH BATON ROUGE IS SO MUCH
9 MORE A WEALTHY COMMUNITY. AND THEN, YOU KNOW, ALSO TOO
10 POLITICALLY. IT'S BEEN INTERESTING BECAUSE BASICALLY VOTERS IN
11 THE STATE OF LOUISIANA -- I MEAN, IN THE CITY OF BATON ROUGE,
12 THEY BASICALLY HAVE VOTED TO SECEDE FROM NORTH BATON ROUGE, IS
13 THE BEST WAY I COULD PUT IT. IT IS CURRENTLY IN COURT.
14 BUT I MEAN, IT GIVES YOU AN IDEA OF HOW POWERFUL THAT
15 DIFFERENCE IS OR THE DIVISION BETWEEN COMMUNITIES IN EAST BATON
16 ROUGE PARISH.

17 Q. THANK YOU.

18 AND YOU MENTIONED THAT NORTH BATON ROUGE WAS
19 PREDOMINANTLY PEOPLE OF COLOR. WOULD YOU SAY THAT NORTH BATON
20 ROUGE HAS -- OR THE PEOPLE OF NORTH BATON ROUGE HAVE COMMON
21 NEEDS THAT GO BEYOND RACE?

22 A. YES.

23 Q. AND COULD YOU SPEAK TO THOSE NEEDS?

24 A. I MEAN, I THINK THAT, YOU KNOW, WE'VE -- AGAIN, SECOND --
25 YOU KNOW, LIKE WE'RE THE SECOND POOREST STATE, BUT I THINK

05:24 1 AFTER SOME OF THE DATA WE SAW TODAY, MAYBE WE'VE BEAT
2 MISSISSIPPI, UNFORTUNATELY, TO BE THE POOREST STATE.

3 YOU KNOW, IN NORTH BATON ROUGE WE HAVE HOUSING
4 INSECURITY. WE'VE GOT FOOD INSECURITY. WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY,
5 YOU KNOW, FOOD DESERTS, AS WELL AS -- YOU KNOW, JUST NOT -- NO
6 OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC -- YOU KNOW, ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND,
7 YOU KNOW, AND -- YEAH.

8 Q. THANK YOU, MS. SHELTON.

9 SHIFTING GEARS AGAIN, THE DEFENDANTS ARGUE THAT
10 POLITICAL PARTY RATHER THAN RACE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR VOTING
11 PATTERNS IN LOUISIANA. IN YOUR EXPERIENCE AS PRESIDENT AND CEO
12 OF POWER COALITION, DO YOU FIND THAT BLACK VOTERS VOTE FOR
13 DEMOCRATS JUST BECAUSE THEY ARE DEMOCRATS?

14 A. NO. I THINK THAT THEY VOTE FOR -- I MEAN, I THINK THEY
15 VOTE FOR WHO IS GOING TO CARE ABOUT THEIR SELF-INTERESTS. DOES
16 THAT HAPPEN TO BE DEMOCRATS? MOST OF THE TIME, MORE THAN
17 LIKELY. HOWEVER, I THINK IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT I DON'T THINK
18 THAT BLACK COMMUNITIES ARE SERVED WELL BY EITHER SIDE.

19 Q. THANK YOU, MS. SHELTON.

20 AND JUST ONE MORE TOPIC. WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO
21 POWER COALITION'S CONSTITUENTS FOR THERE TO BE AN ADDITIONAL
22 MAJORITY-BLACK DISTRICT?

23 A. BECAUSE, AGAIN, I MEAN, I THINK THAT ONE OF THE THINGS
24 THAT WAS SO BEAUTIFUL WAS THAT WHEN WE STARTED THE
25 REDISTRICTING JOURNEY AS AN ORGANIZATION AND TRYING TO ENGAGE