

French Azilum: Crossroad of Revolutions

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Maureen Costura

August 2011

© 2011 Maureen Costura

FRENCH AZILUM: CROSSROAD OF REVOLUTIONS

Maureen Costura, Ph.D.

Cornell University 2011

French Azilum (1793-1803) in northern Pennsylvania was a planned community intended as a refuge for aristocrats and others fleeing the revolutions in France and Saint-Domingue (Haiti). Archaeological investigations at the site reveal a complex society of enslaved Africans, close-knit French family groups, and financial speculators that include many of the most famous names in early American history. The determination of the elite residents to maintain a standard of living unavailable on the frontier and the remote situation of the settlement led to its rapid demise. However, the amount of archaeological remains and the lasting impression left by the settlement and its residents both on the surrounding landscape and American history make French Azilum a rewarding site. Excavations discussed in this dissertation focus on outbuildings near the 'Grand Maison' which was inhabited first by a French royalist and later by a family of slave-owners from Saint-Domingue. This dissertation addresses the lived experiences of the inhabitants of the three excavated households at French Azilum, with special focus on the landscape use, dietary choices, economic preferences and dwelling spaces of the aristocratic Europeans, elite Saint-Domingans and enslaved Africans and Afro-Caribbean people who inhabited the excavated area.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Maureen Costura was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1978. She graduated cum laude from Dickinson College in Carlisle, PA in 2000, and received an MA in archaeology from Cornell University in 2005. She has spent three years excavating at French Azilum, Pennsylvania, and lives in the Ithaca area. Her academic interests include archaeology, historical anthropology, food and culture, and Caribbean ethnogenesis. She speaks French, Italian and Spanish to a greater or lesser degree. She is married and lives in Ithaca, New York with her husband, daughter, and child-to-be, and a chaotic number of dogs and cats.

This thesis is dedicated to the two most important men in my life. First, to my father, Bruce McIlhaney, who drove two hours a day five days a week for two summers to help lift buckets, dig holes, grill lunches, watch babies and generally save my life in more ways than I can count. Finally and always, to my husband, Daniel Costura, Dig Co-Director, surveyor, voice of reason, the best archaeologist and teacher I know, and the love of my life. I wouldn't be here without you both.

Love you always, Me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not be here today writing these words without the concerted effort of many, many people, all of whom supported me and my work unstintingly over the last four years. The staff at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission answered questions, allowed me access to stores materials and were extraordinarily helpful in every way. The Board of Directors, Site Managers and staff of the French Azilum State Historical Site in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, especially Margeurite Fox Picou, enthusiastically welcomed my disruptive presence and eagerly soaked up any information I turned up. It is their selfless dedication to preserving the history and memory of French Azilum and its residents that has made this thesis possible. The Mario Einaudi Center for International Study's Research Travel Grants allowed me to conduct archival research in Aix-en-Provence, the best research trip ever. The small grants fund at Cornell University's Department of Anthropology and Archaeology allowed me to haunt many an archive and library all along the East Coast, and then showed me further grace by permitting me to attend conferences to make the results of my work public. And finally, I wish to acknowledge the four extraordinary individuals who made up my dissertation committee, Jane Fajans, John Henderson, Kurt Jordan and Fred Gleach. Working with the four of them has enriched my life and my scholarship beyond any other single experience, and I will always be grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One – Introduction	1
Chapter Two – Site History	11
Chapter Three – Archaeology at French Azilum	58
Chapter Four – The Social, Political and Economic Landscapes of French Azilum	94
Chapter Five – The Physical Landscapes of French Azilum	127
Chapter Six – “Companions in Distress”: Family Ties and Fellowship at French Azilum	152
Chapter Seven – Slavery at French Azilum	187
Chapter Eight – The Refugee’s Dilemma: Diet at French Azilum	223
Chapter Nine – Sweetness at French Azilum	256
Chapter Ten – Conclusions	285
Appendix A – Geochemical Contributions to the Archaeological Examination of French Azilum	291
Bibliography	322

Table of Figures

- Figure 1 – 1794 Plat map of French Azilum in Bradford County, PA. 10
- Figure 2 – Home of Luce Montulle and the Abbé Carles in Savannah, Georgia 48
- Figure 3 – Image of typical settler's cabin in late 18th Century. 53
- Figure 4 – Spanish real found at Azilum Ferry landing. 59
- Figure 5 - Reconstruction of the 'Grande Maison' as described by Louise Welles Murray, 1917 (1). 62
- Figure 6 - Plan of the ground floor of the 'Grande Maison' as described by Louise Welles Murray (1917: 39). 62
- Figure 7 - Area 'A' on Warfel's 1976 excavation base map. 67
- Figure 8 – Area 'C' on Warfel's 1976 excavation base map. 71
- Figure 9 - Area 'D' on Warfel's 1976 excavation base map. 74
- Figure 10 - Depiction of the Laporte House on the 1976 Warfel map. 79
- Figure 11 - Dimensions of the Laporte House. 79
- Figure 12 - Watercolor image of French Azilum done in 1798 by Edoard C.V. Colbert, Comte de Maulevrier. 104
- Figure 13 - Many 1794 roads and field boundaries are still visible in this photo from the 1930s. 129
- Figure 14 - Many 1794 roads and field boundaries are still visible in this photo from the 1930s. 129
- Figure 15 - 'Wyalusing' by Montallant. 1851. 143
- Figure 16 - Close-up of detail from Montallant's 'Wyalusing' showing Laporte House in foreground and small cluster of houses in background that coincides with structure excavated by Warfel. 143
- Figure 17 - Excerpt from Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission map of Steve Warfels' 1976 excavation showing the 'wine cellar' and associated packed earth cellar (Feature A). 208
- Figure 18 - Artifacts with shapes similar to these have been variously identified as netsinkers, loom weights or birding net weights. 239
- Figure 19 - A partially reconstructed punch bowl from the foundation of the de Noailles house, previously called the Cottineau/ de Sibert house. 282

French Azilum: Crossroad of Revolutions
Maureen Costura

Chapter One - Introduction

In the late 18th century French society was on the verge of collapse. The spread of Revolutionary and Enlightenment ideals, coupled with poor harvests and economic mismanagement, had pushed the traditional social structure beyond the bounds of recovery. The extreme violence that resulted from these struggles left many homeless, impoverished, and cast as refugees upon any hospitable shore. Beyond even the specific upheavals of the French Revolution, the spread of Revolutionary ideals into other nations and sectors of the European continent and colonial possessions seemed to threaten the end of western social order. Uprisings in Poland, Ireland, and England led to a widespread unease about the future and even the lives of the moneyed classes (Godechot 1971). The Haitian Revolution, which was implicit in, if not caused by, the storming of the Bastille and the Tennis Court Oath, ruptured faith in the strength and influence of the metropole and the safe superiority of the white colonial elite.

In the midst of this general foreboding, the United States offered a problematic example. It was a nation which had successfully passed through a Revolution, and as such was seen as both a rallying cry and a natural ally to many of the revolutionary groups in Europe. However, the United States was also seen as a safe place, a refuge for those displaced by the burgeoning social movements of the day. It is in this context that the capital of the new nation, Philadelphia, became known as an ‘Ark of Noah’ (Moreau de St-Mery 1985). During the years of upheaval in Europe the trickle

of immigration became a flood, and many of those arriving were former elite military men and their families, people who had been involved in the American Revolution as allies to the young republic. Those most likely to have experienced the new nation firsthand were the very aristocrats who were in danger of imprisonment, torture and beheading in France. Despite the fact that these people espoused many of the same Revolutionary ideas as their politically radical enemies, they learned that shared idealism was no recompense for centuries of oppression by their ancestors against the poor. Many of them were forced to flee the new France that they themselves had helped to create.

From Saint-Domingue (not yet Haiti) came another group – the planters and people of wealth, both white and of mixed or ‘sang-mêlé’ background, who had been displaced and largely impoverished in the revolution there and the shattering violence that attended it. With them, either willingly or by coercion, came enslaved men, women and children. For many of these people, enslaved and free, black and white and sang-mêlé, Philadelphia and America were also places of safety, where the dread of horrendous violence was somewhat lifted. Exactly how far away the specter of violence and death was, of course, depended on the conditions in which the individual found him or herself. For many of the enslaved, freedom from the terrors of life in a war zone didn’t mean an end of violence – merely an alteration of the focus of dread.

Once in the New World these refugees were forced to subsist for themselves or rely on charity – charity which swiftly dried up, especially after some of the arrivals were accused of bringing plague with them. The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793 in Philadelphia lessened sympathy for the survivors of the burning of Cap François to the

extent that many of them may have felt it prudent to leave the city. In response to these displacements, and to the desire of the newly poor to improve their financial situation, a number of land schemes broke out. At the time land speculation was a disease among American investors, and those who suffered from the crash were desperate to recoup their wealth. Land which had been questionably purchased for less than its value, was nevertheless worthless without people to make it productive. The anticipated collapse of the social order in Europe, and especially in France, was expected to create a large immigrant demand for lands on the American frontier, especially in Ohio and Pennsylvania. It is from these impetuses that French Azilum was born.

French Azilum

Founded in 1793 on a bend in the Susquehanna River in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania, French Azilum was intended to be a refuge, a money-making venture, and a second attempt to fashion an ideal Enlightenment society along the lines that had failed in France. At its height in 1797 it had three to four hundred individual residents, presumably not counting the enslaved, and around fifty structures, including houses, shops, mills, inns, and, according to historical records, a theater and a church. Extended families of French and Saint-Domingan refugees came to live in the company of their fellows, secure in the knowledge that all the residents at the settlement had experienced similar traumas and losses. Although financial mismanagement and legal issues plagued French Azilum and its parent, the Asylum Company, the settlement did not experience the near-starvation and helplessness that plagued the French colonists at Gallipolis in Ohio. Unlike the Scioto Company, the

Asylum Company actually purchased the deeds for the settlement's lands, at least in the intended urban areas. In fact, at the insistence of the French principals in the Company, the land was purchased twice, once from the state of Pennsylvania, and once from the state of Connecticut, which were disputing ownership of the area.

Despite these safeguards, the settlement was not a long-term success. By 1803 the site was largely deserted, and by 1809 the buildings were in ruin. Most of the French returned to Europe, although a few married American women and stayed. Most of the Saint-Domingans left Azilum for areas where their control of their enslaved people was supported by law, as it technically was not in Pennsylvania. The latter were also motivated by a desire to find land where their knowledge of plantation agriculture would be more applicable than it was in northern Pennsylvania. People of both groups left to take up positions in Napoleon's new Imperial government, or to try to recoup their fortunes. The enslaved left either with their owners or despite them as runaways.

Azilum after the French

After the departure of the French the settlement vanished almost entirely. A few French names remained in the area, but largely the land was divided by two of the remaining settlers, Bartolomé Laporte and Charles Homet. The Asylum Company closed its books officially in 1819. Although the records of the Asylum Company are extensive, they fail to reveal much information about the day to day lived experiences of the various residents at the site. A few maps, the speculations or distant memories of settlers' descendants, and the lists of lands bought and sold are all that remained of

the briefly thriving community. The settlement has become wrapped in local legend which declares it an intended refuge for Marie Antoinette or her children. These legends have led to the publication of two books of romantic fiction about the site, Asylum for the Queen (1948) and The Frenchwoman (1989). At the time of this writing, another is in the works (title unknown). All of these novelizations of life at Azilum focus on the glamorous aspects and residents at Azilum, although they do depict life on the frontier as more harrowing, if more peaceful, than life in politically factional France.

My own interest is not in the intended presence or absence of Marie Antoinette, although on the whole I consider that particular legend to be largely mythical. Instead I am interested in the questions of daily life at the settlement. How did these men and women, used to such different social and environmental milieus, construct their senses of identity in this alien context? How did aristocrats become accustomed to chopping logs? How did habitués of Versailles and Saint-Domingue, the ‘Pearl of the Antilles,’ plan and adapt to a frontier village? What caused these people to isolate themselves from larger American society, and were the impulses that led to this self-segregation successful? How did the enslaved people at the site experience their daily lives, and in what ways were those experiences shaped by the fact of their enslavement? And finally, what caused these residents to abandon the settlement? What factors were finally too much to be overcome, and was departure from the site seen as a failure or a triumph?

To answer these questions I used a variety of techniques of historical and ethnological inquiry, including the results of archaeological excavations, documentary

research, geophysical and geochemical testing, and more general historical study of the era.

Before we proceed I'd like to interject a note about nomenclature. The name 'French Azilum' is a latecomer to the settlement. During the lifespan of the settlement it was usually known simply as 'Asylum' in company records kept in Philadelphia, 'Frenchtown' to local American settlers, and 'Azilum' by those settlers writing in French. For the purposes of this dissertation I will alternate between 'French Azilum' the modern name, and 'Azilum', which seems to be a creolization of the French word 'asile' or asylum. The modern Haitian Creole word for 'refuge' is 'azilum', but whether the historical French designation of the site is a direct transference of a Haitian Creole or a survival of a now-defunct 18th century French spelling is unknown. Likewise, when discussing the French aristocratic settlers at the site I will make it obvious whether I am speaking about the European French – that is, those who came directly from France and had little previous connection to the New World and the French colonies in the Caribbean – or the Saint-Domingan French, those who had lived for some time on or had extensive connections to what later became Haiti. I will, however, continue to call the Haitian Revolution by its proper name and will refer to Haiti and Haitians as they arose after the Haitian Declaration of Independence, which occurred in 1804. The planters of Saint-Domingue who largely remained in exile in the New World, however, would never have accepted that designation for themselves, and I will refer to them throughout as Saint-Domingans.

Although there have been several excavations at the site of French Azilum, which will be discussed in a later chapter, my own excavations began in the summer

of 2008. A longer season followed in 2009, and in 2010 I returned to the site with both geochemical and geophysical experts. Each season and technique exposed substantial information about the structure and daily life of the settlement. Azilum is by no means an exhausted resource. The sheer scope of potential information at Azilum is staggering, and I've come to understand that I could easily spend the next the years excavating at Azilum and barely scratch the surface of what the site has to offer.

Azilum as a cultural space

In the midst of the technicalities of research it can become surprisingly easy to lose sight of the motivations and underlying questions that drive research into and fascination with past lifeways. Why is Azilum, a short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful settlement on the periphery of the Atlantic World in the late 18th century, worthy of special study?

Part of the question lies in the interconnectedness of the world and the actors of the period. Eric Wolf argued that "the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and then fail to reassemble it falsify reality" (1982: 3). At Azilum it is possible to see this interconnectedness in ways that the complexity of relationships at longer-lasting sites obscures. The fall of the French monarchy and the rise of French Imperialism, the British embargo, American politics and expansion, and Pacific exploration are all implicated in the founding, form and demise of Azilum. In a multi-scalar analysis of the history and development of the period, Azilum is a model of all

of the major events of the day. I've often joked throughout this process that studying Azilum is like playing 'six degrees of separation' with 18th century history. Quite literally every major American and French name of the period can be connected to Azilum in a very few short steps, whether it is Robert Morris, the Asylum Company's founder, complaining in letters to George Washington that the French settlers are deprived of their enslaved people under Pennsylvania law, Antoinette Brevost, the daughter of Azilum residents, attending school with Victorine Du Pont and later giving the young John James Audubon his first job as a drawing master, or Aristide du Petit-Thouars' losing battle against Admiral Lord Nelson at the Battle of the Nile . This list could continue, but the point is sufficiently made. Every individual at Azilum, enslaved or free, had a lasting impact on 18th century world history, and thus on the foundations of modern society. Azilum was a product of its times, but it also helped to shape the times that were to follow it.

This Dissertation

Rather than attempt to write a comprehensive study of the settlement of French Azilum, I have chosen to explore certain themes which appear to hold the most likelihood of answering the questions that interest me. The dissertation for these reasons is broken up into chapters dealing with site history, past archaeological work, landscapes and the understanding of the physical world, the role of family and kinship in France and Saint-Domingue in crafting identity, understandings of enslavement and freedom in historical context, the role of diet and everyday activities in revealing underlying cultural patterns, and the complex relationship between residents at Azilum and the physical sensation of sweetness, which can be assessed through their reliance

on trade goods that assuaged this need, both physically and psychologically. Although it is not the purpose of this introduction to recapitulate the evidence and substance of these chapters, a short listing of topics to whet the appetite of the reader is surely in order.

In French Azilum the main concerns of the day – over liberty, revolution, and the burgeoning of capitalism in a world economy – were all present and all matters of paramount concern. At French Azilum we can view the patterns of the period writ small, and perhaps in this way we can better comprehend the experiences of those who lived through those tumultuous years.

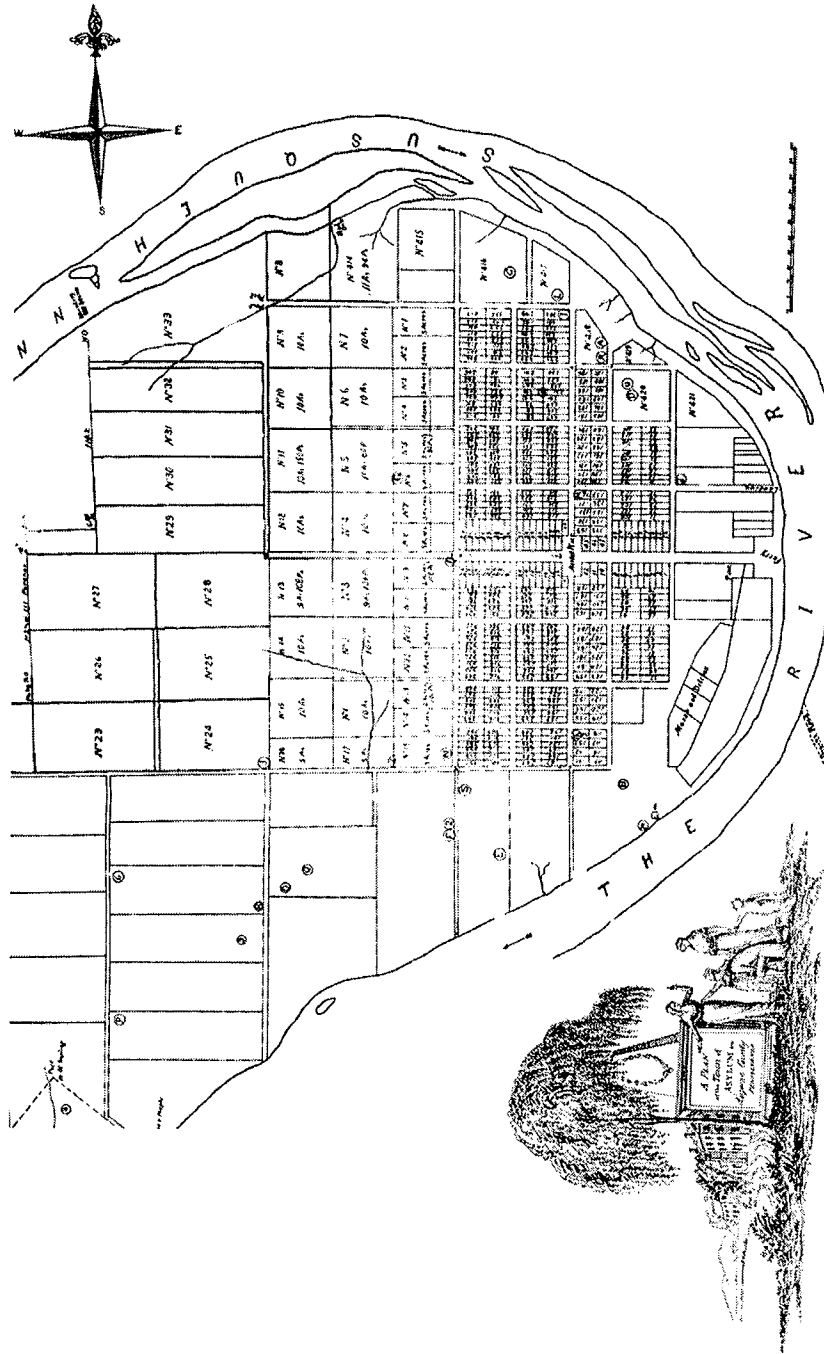


Figure 1

1794 Plat map depicting the settlement of French Azilum in Bradford County, PA.

Chapter Two - Site history

Introduction

According to Christopher Tilley, we ultimately understand the materiality, if not the history, of landscapes through the medium of the body (2004). This take on phenomenological theory puts the writer responsible for describing a place at a disadvantage. However accurate and graphic our words, we are not physically transporting the reader to our chosen site. At best we are drawing analogies to other places and landscapes that the reader has experienced. Past physical emplacement and intellectual understanding must take the place of experiential learning. However, this problem is not limited to the writer/reader relationship, as no two individuals will ever experience the same physical emplacement at a site, and hence, no two individuals throughout a place's history will ever have the same understanding of their location. In this sense physical emplacement, which shapes our images and understandings of all other places we will later experience, relies on two elements – the place, and the person or people experiencing it. The way around this disjuncture of experience has to involve a willingness on the part of the writer to have the edges of the settlement blur in the reader's imagination into other places and other experiences with which the reader *is* familiar, and a trust on the part of the reader that the writer is giving all of the salient information necessary to draw an accurate image of the location. With this in mind, an understanding of both the physical location and the experiences of those who shaped that location becomes necessary.

Deep Understanding: The Geology of French Azilum

The history of the area of French Azilum was largely affected by events outside of its immediate geographic location; specifically, the events that occurred between modern-day Wilkes-Barre and the area now known as the Finger Lakes of New York, which are the ancestral heartland of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee). Without the events that occurred in this larger region it is fair to say that French Azilum would never have been founded in the location it was. It is also impossible to discuss the history of French Azilum purely in geographic terms. While the events that happened at the site are significant, the history of French Azilum is bound up with larger events in world history. Without the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, the early American land speculation boom and crash the history of the site would be very different. As a result, I will discuss the site's history in two ways. First, I will discuss the actual geographic location of Azilum as outlined above. Second, I will follow the lived experiences of some of the individuals who later settled at Azilum, attempting to show how their decisions and needs were dictated by larger world events.

The bend of the Susquehanna River in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, that later became French Azilum rests on a deep stratigraphy that is its own record of events. The geologic history of the site is considered relevant to archaeologists as a result of the necessity of excavation – the deep past of a site helps to form the stratigraphy through which the archaeologist must dig. This in turn alters the taphonomy of the site, dictating what artifacts and features will survive and what will be lost, a process that has direct implications for the analyst. The bedrock of the

Towanda region, like that of New York State directly to the north, is Upper Devonian in origin, formed some 300 million years ago when a shallow, tropical sea covered what is now the Eastern Seaboard of North America. According to early 20th century geologist Wilbur Greeley Burroughs the stratigraphy geologically ascends through gray sandstone and shale, a transition zone of gray, green, and red shale mixed with sandstone, and a region of Catskill sandstone in red, green and gray with the red predominating (Burroughs 1932: 4). This deep stratigraphy forms the bedrock of the French Azilum area, causing the Susquehanna River to curve through the landscape in a deep arc, creating a sheltered, flat area that welcomed settlers and farmers. The dramatic visibility of the stratigraphic levels, exposed on cliff-faces across the valley from the settlement site, creates a similarly welcoming environment aesthetically.

The West Branch of the Susquehanna River, which flows by French Azilum, is a south-flowing river that eventually ends in the Chesapeake, and as such is strongly contrasted with the rivers of the Finger Lakes region of New York directly to the north of the site, which in contrast flow eventually into the St. Lawrence Seaway. As rivers were the major transportation routes at the time of French Azilum's settlement, their navigability and direction of flow directly influenced early settlement. The tributaries of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, which flows by French Azilum, originate in the Appalachian Plateau Province of central New York, and the river has always provided a highway between what are today New York and Pennsylvania (Kent 1984: 9). The Laurentide Ice Sheet which covered much of the North American continent was apparently gone from the area at around 10,000 years ago, as it had cleared "the headwaters of the Delaware River by 12,000 years ago and the St. Lawrence River by

8,000 years ago” (Custer 1996: 97). It appears that the first humans arrived in the region at some time near the end of the latest glaciation. Unfortunately, traces of these inhabitants are exceedingly rare. As Jay Custer puts it “the most we can say about the pre-10,000 BC occupation [of Eastern Pennsylvania] is that apparently some hunters and gatherers with biface and flake tool technology roamed through the area” (Custer 1996: 94).

Pollen analysis indicates that subsequent to the retreat of the Laurentide ice sheet the landscape of Eastern Pennsylvania was comprised of a mosaic of different environmental zones, each with its own mix of vegetation and faunal communities (Custer 97). It is impossible to make any broader statement about the area, as it appears that opportunistic plant and animal colonizers grabbed hold in mutually distinct territories that had previously been uninhabitable due to glaciation. As a result, it is very difficult to state what the exact environmental conditions of the Azilum area may have been in the years that the region was first being settled by Native Americans. This diversity of environmental regions combined with a paucity of human presence to encourage extremely wide-ranging groups of mobile hunter-gatherers in the area. This is a pattern that appears elsewhere, especially in the recent past in far northern areas with limited resources.

The pertinent feature of Eastern Sub-Arctic group adaptation is the extent of their mobility. Ethnographic data... show that yearly movement cycles range between 300 and 1000 kilometers with a mean of 570 kilometers. If Paleo-Indian and Early Archaic populations were equally mobile, and they probably were, they could easily have ranged over much of Eastern Pennsylvania in a single year (Custer 1996: 106).

As a result of these factors- widely ranging mobile hunter-gatherers with a low population - it is extremely difficult to locate Paleo-Indian and other sites, although it

is probable that groups would have visited the Azilum area. Certainly there have been sites found dating to the late Pleistocene and early Holocene in the floodplain region of the Susquehanna River which indicate that these early Native Americans were thoroughly familiar with the entire stretch of the Susquehanna River. The best example of these is found at the Shoop site in Dauphin County north of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a 20 acre area of debitage which included 53 fluted points, all of which were manufactured from Onondaga chert “a lithic material whose major outcrops are located in New York more than 350 kilometers north of the site” (Custer 1996: 118). A glance at a map shows that the Susquehanna River is clearly the most likely route of transportation between these two areas, the same route which was later followed by the Azilum settlers and visitors such as the Comte de Maulevrier. There was a concentration of Paleo-Indian sites in the Wilkes-Barre area from the earliest times, indicating that the confluence of the Susquehanna and Lackawanna Rivers offered an advantageous location for settlement (Kent 1984: 10). However, although the oxbow bend of the Susquehanna River at French Azilum would have offered a welcoming portage, no evidence for large settlements or camps has been found in the area.

Native American Presence in the Azilum Area

The lack of evidence for large settlements holds true for subsequent habitations by Native American groups. The Susquehanna River continued to be a major route of transportation and population movement throughout the Archaic and Woodland Periods, as the climate warmed and environmental conditions stabilized. These climatic changes were accompanied by changes in social organization, lithic

technology and settlement patterns that are beyond the scope of this dissertation to enumerate. However, I will attempt to summarize the effects these changes would have had on any group utilizing the Azilum site and the Susquehanna River in general. Their actions and experiences with the area helped to shape that land that the Azilum settlers found in the late 18th century.

First, as the glacial lakes and melt dried up and the climate warmed during the Middle Archaic, wetlands and river island sites became critical resource procurement areas for Native Americans (Custer 1996: 153). Increases in population size may have limited the extent of the resource procurement areas available to individual tribes, as Susquehanna sites such as Duncan and Piney Islands show a mix of both “locally available and exotic lithics” (Custer 1996: 156). By the Late Archaic sites are both larger and more numerous, indicating a possible population surge. Group size appears to have increased as well, particularly at riverine sites, which “with their extensive lithic reduction areas and platform hearths, appear to have been occupied by groups that were larger than extended families” (Custer 1996: 213). As size and settlement frequency increased, heavier reliance was placed on locally available lithic resources (Custer 1996: 214), again indicating that it was not possible for one group to cover as wide a territory as they once might have. Local resources were more readily stored as ceramics were developed during this period. Where once one group may have intimately known the entire stretch of the Susquehanna River, by the Middle Woodland period knowledge may have been more extensively localized. Native Americans, however, continued to prefer riverine and estuarine base camps for their settlements, even as they “increased residential stability, use of storage, and local

population densities,” all of which are indicative of societal transformation (Custer 1996: 260).

The pattern of riverine and estuarine hunter-gatherer camps altered by the Late Woodland, generally dated in this area from around AD 1000 to circa AD 1500 or the beginning of European contact, a gray area in which the introduction of European goods and European diseases often preceded the presence of the Europeans themselves. During the Late Woodland period agriculture was introduced into the Susquehanna River basin, probably via the Ohio River Valley or from the Southeast (Custer 1996: 263). The introduction of domesticated plants caused a shift in settlement sites to fertile floodplain areas. During this period there is, for the first time, a clear cultural grouping within the Susquehanna River valley. This culture, known as the Shenks Ferry people after their typological site on the lower Susquehanna, created low-fired unglazed ceramics decorated with incised patterns (Custer 1996: 266). The society seems to have been split into at least two cultural spheres, although what the internal arrangement may have looked like is unknown. However, “Shenks Ferry sites of the Upper Susquehanna Valley are quite different from those of the lower valley” (Custer 1996: 273).

It is this group that is most likely to have utilized the Azilum area during the Late Woodland Period – however, little else is known about them. Their obscurity is largely shared by the Susquehannock Indians, the Iroquoian-speaking people who moved into Eastern Pennsylvania sometime after 1500 AD, following the river to which they would give their name from Southeastern New York into Pennsylvania (Custer 1996: 305). It is unclear whether the Susquehannocks physically replaced the

Shenks Ferry people through invasion, although there is evidence in the wider East Coast area that European-carried diseases probably caused widespread social and cultural upheavals. The Shenks Ferry people seem to have been victims of this wave of change, whether wiped out by disease or because epidemics caused extensive migration on the part of regrouping and displaced tribes. It was clearly a time of extensive unrest, as by 1500 people in the Wyoming Valley area near Azilum were already shifting to larger population clusters fortified with palisades (Kent 1984: 297). This unrest and the accompanying population displacement is a recurring theme in the history of the Azilum area, as the French and Saint-Domingan settlers arrived as a result of similar circumstances.

Whatever may have caused the demise of the Shenks Ferry people, the Susquehannocks found the river drainage congenial territory. During the earliest years of their emergence in the late 15th or early 16th century their sites are primarily found near French Azilum in what is today Bradford County (Kent 1984: 15). During this time they are primarily distinguished by their grit-tempered ceramics (Kent 1984: 15). The term 'Susquehannock' is the Algonquian name for these people, first told to Captain John Smith during his explorations from Jamestown (Kent 1984: 28). At that time in the early 17th century they resided along the banks of the Susquehanna River at the headwaters of the Chesapeake. In other documents from the time they are referred to as the Mingue or the Andaste, and many of their settlements are referred to in European documents as 'Conestoga'. As Barry Kent puts it "Somewhere among the list of pronunciations and orthographies for *Andaste* through *Conestoga* must lie the actual word by which the Susquehannocks referred to themselves" (Kent 1984: 32).

If the intent was to name the river after those inhabiting its drainage, therefore, the Susquehanna today should probably rightfully be called the Andaste River. The chance for this, like the opportunity to know the name the Susquehannocks called themselves, is lost.

Archaeologists have an unfortunate built-in desire to classify people and cultures into developmental stages. For most it is simply a means of shorthand, so that it is possible to communicate intelligently. The archaeologists responsible for creating a cultural history of the Susquehannock people seem to have been rabid classifiers. The short history of the Susquehannocks is divided into the First Arbitrary Stage during which the Susquehannocks diverged from the Seneca tribe (Kent 1984: 14), the Proto-Susquehannock stage, the Schultz stage, the Washington Boro stage, the Transitional stage, the Strickler stage, the Liebhart stage and the Refugee Phase (Kent 1984). Not all archaeologists agree on these stages, none of which last longer than 20 years. While settlement patterns may have changed in so little time, it is extremely difficult to know whether those changes in settlement pattern were accompanied by changes in societal organization, and if they were, what sort of societal changes are reflected by the shifts in habitation.

Shortly after their differentiation from the Seneca Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) the Susquehannocks appear to have had access to some source of European goods, as their shell-tempered ceramics appear in relation with European trade goods at sites in Bradford County and near Tioga Point, New York that date to as early as 1550 (Kent 1984: 15). This does not mean that Europeans were in the Susquehanna basin by that early date, of course, only that their goods had traded hands sufficiently to take them

far from their places of origin. What the source might have been is frustratingly obscure. Soon after these earliest sites some of the Susquehannocks appear to have abandoned their primary residences in the north to move downriver to today's Lancaster County (Kent 1984: 17). However, despite some depopulation of the north "Tioga Point [today's Athens, NY] is the largest concentration of Susquehannock sites from proto- to 18th century" (Kent 1984: 305-306). Susquehannocks were also clearly still present in the area immediately surrounding Azilum. By 1960 over 60 Susquehannock sites had been documented in Bradford County, but none of them represented anything larger than a small hamlet. One of these hamlets was found at Homet's Ferry, a small town which derives its name from one of the Azilum settlers who remained after the settlement dispersed. "A single Susquehannock pit of saucer form" was discovered there "filled with ash and midden, in an area where Castle Creek potsherds and pits were concentrated," but the excavators "could find no other trace of this Susquehannock settlement" (Kent 1984: 302). Some of these traces may have been visible to the residents of Azilum in the late 18th century, bringing to mind Enlightenment idealizations of the Noble Savage.

In the south the Susquehannocks transformed themselves into major players on the fur-trade, establishing a town now known as the Washington Boro site at the head of the Chesapeake Bay and in the 1640s beginning an exclusive economic relationship with the Maryland colony (Kent 1984: 21-22). By 1675 they came to dominate "the politics and economics of the entire Middle Atlantic region and became the largest social group in the region, larger even than the Europeans" (Custer 1996: 301). A

map of a 'Suskahana Fort' exists from Lancaster County dated to 1675 which shows a post-and-beam structure that has been verified archaeologically (Kent 1984: 47).

This preeminence in the area was not to last, of course. Beginning in 1673 the Susquehannocks engaged in warfare with the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) over fur trading rights. The Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) overwhelmed the Susquehannocks and by 1680 they were scattered among the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and assimilated (Kent 1984: 24). Kent claims that "apparently the Iroquois were delighted to be able to augment their population and fighting forces, even to the point that the various tribes bickered over the distribution of the Susquehannocks (Kent 1984: 54). After this time the Native American history of the Azilum site becomes the history of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee), particularly the Cayuga and the Seneca, who both laid claim to all former Susquehannock territory as far south as Lancaster County (Kent 1984: 24). The Seneca showed more readiness than the Cayuga to move physically into the newly conquered territories, and there was an influx of Seneca into the region around Azilum shortly after 1690 (Kent 1984: 58).

Of other Native American groups living near the Azilum area even less is known. A group of Shawnee lived at the eponymously named Shawnee Flats in the Wyoming Valley by 1701 and they were joined by 1747 by a group of Conoy at Nanticoke town in (Kent 1984: 77). The Delaware also appeared to be moving through the area as a result of their increasing displacement in the south, and they were present on the north branch of the Susquehanna, near Sunbury, New York in the 1740s (Kent 1984: 100). Friedenshutten, the Moravian missionary town established at the mouth of the Wyalusing Creek, in 1763, was the last major residence of

Delaware Indians in Eastern Pennsylvania until it was abandoned in 1772 (Kent 1984: 104). However, there does not seem to have been a large settlement of any group at Azilum at any time during this period. In fact, large settlements from the 18th century anywhere along the Susquehanna are increasingly rare.

Discoveries of various more-or-less datable 18th century objects have been made at many places along the North and West branches of the Susquehanna. Occasionally these can be associated with a known town site, but more often than not they seem to represent an isolated burial or house site of some unidentified 18th century Indian (Kent 1984: 102).

This mimics the larger overall patterning of the Susquehannock sites that dominated Bradford County previously, and may indicate that while the Susquehannocks were diminished as a people, individuals continued to inhabit the area (Kent 1984: 297). By this time the Native Americans were in the decided minority, and as European settlement increased throughout the 18th century their situation became more precarious.

European Involvement in the Azilum Area

The European history of the French Azilum area begins in 1662, when George II granted a charter for the area “lying between the 41st and 42nd degrees of latitude and extending across what they supposed was a narrow continent,” to the Connecticut colony (Smith 1906: 11). The charter was not acted upon, and either out of forgetfulness or impatience George II granted another charter for the same land to William Penn in 1681 (Smith 1906: 11). If George II’s intent was to get the land settled quickly he was doomed to disappointment, as the first Connecticut settlement wasn’t launched until 1754, when the Susquehanna Company was founded. Its fate is

not recorded, although according to local historian S.R. Smith it was “wiped out by Indians” (Smith 1906: 13). Although Smith does not mention exactly which tribe he considers responsible for the demise of the Connecticut settlement, Barbara Graymont notes that the Susquehanna Valley area in the vicinity of French Azilum was included in the area ceded by the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) to Pennsylvania. Agents of Connecticut used a fraudulent treaty with the Mohawk to claim the same lands, and the conflict created by this fraud continued to be a sore point between Europeans and the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) until the time of the American Revolution (Graymont 1972: 73).

The Pennamite-Yankee War

The conflict between Pennsylvania and Connecticut over ownership of the Susquehanna Valley led to both legal action and bloodshed, although never to pitched battles. Despite this, the skirmishes that took place have been dignified as the Pennamite-Yankee War. Connecticut attempted to set up colonies in 1769, and according to Smith over 200 pioneers actually reached the valley before Pennsylvania responded by sending their militia to intervene and arrest the leader of the Connecticut settlers, Zebulon Butler, who was taken to Philadelphia (Smith 1906: 17). Butler was apparently freed with no lasting ill-effects, as he was shortly back in the Wyoming Valley and remained there until the so-called Wyoming Valley Massacre during the Revolutionary War, which will be discussed below. After several other reversals of fortune, during which the authorities from Pennsylvania sent cannon and established a stronghold at modern day Wilkes-Barre complete with a fort (Smith 1906: 22), the

Connecticut settlers were left in possession of the area, although Pennsylvania's claim had been vindicated legally (Smith 1906: 20). This state of affairs continued until the Trenton Decree of 1782 gave jurisdiction of the area to Pennsylvania, and even after, claims and counterclaims continued until at least 1792 (Wilkinson 1979: 63). This state of uncertainty eventually led the founders of the Azilum settlement to pay both Pennsylvania and Connecticut for title to their land. However, the first resident on the land that became French Azilum was not from Pennsylvania or Connecticut. Peter Schufeldt was a Palatine emigrant who came down from New York in or around 1770, and at the time of the French arrival the river bend was called Schufeldt's Flats in his memory.

The Azilum Area during the American Revolution

The mutual distrust and dislike that had grown up between the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and the European-American settlers of both Pennsylvania and Connecticut was only exacerbated by the American Revolution. Although the role of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) in the overall war is too great to be discussed in depth here, one fulcrum on which their involvement in the war rested was the area around French Azilum, and especially the Wyoming Valley near modern Wilkes-Barre.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution both the British and the Americans claimed to be eager to keep the Native Americans neutral. However, as the conflict grew in scope and brutality both sides began to importune powerful Native American tribes to enter into the war on their behalf. Particularly important was the disposition of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) tribes who held the area between the American frontier and the British at Niagara. While the Tuscarora and the Onieda

eventually came into the war on the side of the European Americans, the Seneca, Mohawk, Onondaga and Cayuga remained loyal to the British. Negotiations between the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and the Americans were attended by the Marquis de Lafayette, accompanied by his brother in law, Louis-Marie de Noailles, one of the later founders of Azilum. It is during this time that Noailles first became familiar with the Susquehanna River Valley and the Pennsylvania frontier (Graymont 1972: 163), and the recollections of the landscape must have influenced him in his later decision to locate the settlement there. At the time the Seneca largely controlled the area around French Azilum, and by spring of 1778 their raids on the West Branch of the Susquehanna were growing in intensity. This in turn led to a decrease in crop production, which was disadvantageous for the American Army, which relied on crop surpluses to feed its troops. "Patriot settlers deserted their farms in droves for safe havens in more secure settlements to the east" (Fischer 1997: 28). In June of 1778 a large force comprised of 464 Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and 110 members of the British force Butler's Rangers left Niagara for the Wyoming Valley. Two of the forts located in the area of modern day Wilkes-Barre, Wintermoot and Jenkins, surrendered instantly and the inhabitants were spared. Forty Fort, where the Pennsylvania cannon had been stationed during the Pennamite-Yankee War, did not (Fischer 1997: 172). Forty Fort, which reportedly enclosed an acre or land and was "made of two thicknesses of logs twelve feet above the ground, with a watchtower at each corner" (Graymont 1972: 22) was commanded by Connecticut settler Col. Zebulon Butler and Col. Nathan Denison, who marched out to meet the combined British and Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) force on July 3rd. The battle lasted only half an hour and ended

with the Americans, including Zebulon Butler, fleeing in disarray. According to John Butler 376 men died in the battle and subsequent rout, while the lives of the women and children were spared (Graymont 1972: 171). However the fort and houses were burned, and over 1000 head of livestock were driven off, as was customary (Smith 1906: 172). Despite the restraint shown by the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and the British, the event became known as the Wyoming Massacre. Lurid stories of scalplings, rapes and torture circulated along the American frontier, touching off “a general panic” (Fischer 1997: 27). Some of those who were forced to leave the settlement later perished in the wilderness “and this tragedy added to the panic and despair of the survivors,” (Graymont 1972: 174). The later Cherry Valley Massacre and isolated incidents of raiding along the frontier confirmed the Americans’ image of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) as savage enemies (Graymont 1972: 181). Further battles followed, including one at Wyalusing near French Azilum on September 29, 1778 between the Seneca and Col. Thomas Hartley (Graymont 1972: 180). Hartley took militia from Fort Augusta upriver to attempt to retaliate against the Seneca at Tioga, but found that his plan to supplement his troops with militia and supplies from the Susquehanna Valley was unrealistic (Fischer 1997: 28). Those settlers who were left were safeguarding their own homesteads and were disinclined to expose their families and livelihoods to retaliatory raids. Hartley was forced to withdraw through “several parties of Indians attempting to block their way” (Fischer 1997: 29). By 1779 the area was “one of the most sparsely populated areas of the colonies, well away from public eye and largely out of the news” (Fischer 1997: 4). All indications are that the French Azilum area was affected by this general exodus of population. It

is at this point that Peter Schufeldt's name ceases to be associated with the Azilum area.

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign

With morale along the frontier destroyed and "general panic" (Fischer 1997: 27) spreading throughout vulnerable areas, General Washington feared that Pennsylvania and New York would withdraw troops and supplies from the Continental Army to defend their territories. To prevent such a reaction Washington designed what has come to be known as the Sullivan Campaign, a scorched-earth operation intended to wipe out Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) villages and crops, forcing the British to feed their allies or see them starve. The primary targets of the campaign were the Seneca, as they were known to supply more troops to the British than any other Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) group (Fischer 1997: 42). In addition, the reputation of the Seneca was damaged by the growing myth of the Wyoming Massacre, and these distortions provided justification for the total war that Sullivan's troops waged against the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee).

Several accounts exist of Sullivan's campaign, and it is not the purpose of this thesis to write another. The army, consisting of approximately 6000 men, "excluding women, children, boatmen, wagoners and pack horsemen" (Fischer 1997: 182) left Easton, Pennsylvania on June 18th, and arrived in the Wyoming Valley at modern Wilkes-Barre on June 23rd (Byrne and Evers 1999: 13). At the ruins of Fort Mifflin the army "saw human remains still unburied from the previous year's fight" (Fischer 1997: 142). Due to the depopulation of the Susquehanna River Valley Sullivan knew

not to rely on agricultural produce from the countryside to supply his troops, but his soldiers did supplement their rations with the abundant fish and game of the area. “Many surviving diaries mention the plentiful fish in the Susquehanna River” (Fischer 1997: 118). It is clear from these diaries that not all of the settlers had fled the Azilum area, although many had. Evidence of some remaining settlers in the area can be found in the accounts of the campaign’s stop at Wyoming, where a court-martial tried and convicted thirteen soldiers of stealing hogs from local farmers (Fischer 1997: 140). Sullivan left Wyoming on July 31st and traveled upriver to Wyalusing, near French Azilum. There General Edward Hand offered the use of his light infantry brigade to strike ahead of the army and attack the village of Chemung (Fischer 1997: 154). Sullivan refused, and the attack was put off until the army as a whole reached Tioga in New York. Between August 5th and 8th the army passed through the area that would become French Azilum, marching through the difficult terrain between Wyalusing and Standing Stone, a distance of about 20 miles. Today the trail taken by Sullivan and his soldiers is marked on the far side of the Susquehanna River from French Azilum. The site of the future settlement would have been clearly visible to the soldiers as they descended into the valley, and may have been welcoming enough to lead some of them to return to the area following the war.

The campaign faced no major opposition and succeeded in burning homes and crops throughout the Finger Lakes area, destroying much needed winter supplies and forcing the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) allied to the British to retreat to Fort Niagara. For a time the campaign seemed to have succeeded. During the winter and spring of 1780 attacks on the frontier decreased in number and severity as the Iroquois

(Haudenosaunee) warriors struggled to care for their dependants (Fischer 1997: 192). With some stability regained the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) returned to the attack. By 1780 Pennsylvania representatives proposed in Congress that the Susquehanna Valley be abandoned entirely if something couldn't be done to mitigate the suffering of the settlers (Fischer 1997: 193). The proposal was never acted upon, but the area was severely depopulated.

Land Speculation in the Northeast

By the time that agents of the Asylum Company were searching for an area to place their town Schufeldt was gone and the river bend was divided into eight lots of three hundred acres each. (Welles Murray 1917: 14) Seven settlers from Connecticut held title to the lots, which were divided as follows: the heirs of Robert Cooley, Robert Alexander, Robert Alexander Jr., Adelphi Ross, Ebenezer Skinner and Justus Gaylord each held one lot, while two lots were owned by Charles Townley (Welles Murray 1917: 14). It is unclear whether all of these settlers were resident on the land at the time that the French arrived, although some were present at the time of the land sales. Others sold their titles to the land through the intermediary of Matthias Hollenbeck of Wilkes Barre (Welles Murray 1917: 14). In addition, in 1793 two former soldiers, John Spalding and Henry Birney, were occupying the land. There is some question as to whether these two possessed titles to their property or were tolerated by the State of Pennsylvania as squatters, as their bills of sale to the French refer to their 'actual' rather than 'legal' property (Welles Murray 1917: 14).

Uncertainty about legal ownership of land was not uncommon between 1790 and 1800, as this was the era of the first big American land speculation bubble, which held out false hopes to many entrepreneurs and settlers, and the bursting of which can be closely linked with the failure and demise of French Azilum. The growth of the land speculation bubble in Pennsylvania began with the Divestment Act of September 1779, which stripped the Penn family of the sole right to sell and collect payments for rents in Pennsylvania. The Penns had “sold land at moderate prices, allowing generous credits, tolerating squatters rights, limiting the size of the grants, and, by the quitrent system, curbing excessive speculation” (Wilkinson 1979: 5). With their stewardship at an end, land speculation was seen as a huge potential moneymaker by many merchants and bankers in Philadelphia.

One individual who saw the potential for huge profits from land speculation was Robert Morris, one of Azilum’s founders. Morris was a wealthy merchant who on several occasions had personally paid wages to Washington’s troops to keep them in the field and fighting. In particular he paid \$50,000 in back pay in December of 1776 at Washington’s urgent request to keep the army from deserting (Young 1950: 46). Morris, however, always insisted on the right to carry out private mercantile activity throughout his terms in various offices, including terms in the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, as a Congressman, as the Director of the Maritime Committee, the State Legislature, and an appointment as one of the six Pennsylvanian signers of the Constitution. He seems to have had an eye towards land speculation for a long time, and joined a consortium in October of 1779 with the intent of purchasing lands on the frontier. This was premature. The government of Pennsylvania had by this

time halted all land purchases for the duration of the War, a move which disturbed Morris and many other hopeful merchants who still found time to carry out private business despite their patriotic duties. Morris in particular argued from his position as Superintendent of Finance in 1782 that the sale of frontier lands was necessary to continue the Revolutionary War and begin paying back French war debt, an understandable but not-disinterested move considering that many of the U.S. governments debts were personally guaranteed by Morris (Wilkinson 1979: 12). By 1782 many of these loans were beginning to come due, and Morris found himself in the embarrassing position of not knowing where the money was coming from, or of exactly how much money he had to draw on at any given time. His finances were involved and included transactions, both private and public, using a variety of agents on two continents. As early as 1782 he overdrew an account in France by three and a half million *livres*, explaining that “money in Franc which he thought at his disposal had been appropriated without his order,” (Young 1950: 137). He also began to overdraw on accounts in Holland (Young 1950: 137), and finally threatened to withdraw from government if Congress did not find some way of relieving him of the debts he had contracted on their behalf (Young 1950: 146). It is possible that after such complex international transactions, in which nothing but promises were tendered for payment, that Morris was drawn to the seeming stability of land as an asset which was immutable and inalienable.

Morris counted on several factors to make his land dealings profitable. First, he hoped that following the Revolutionary War the United States would be flooded by Europeans eager to take up farm holdings along the frontier. This may have been

fostered by his interactions with the French during the war, especially the Marquis de Lafayette and his brother-in-law the Vicomte de Noailles. Second, he counted on natural increase among American settlers to help fill the lands he purchased. Both of these factors proved insufficient to people the land that Morris purchased. In France the newspapers, especially the Revolutionary *Feuille de la Republique*, published letters and accounts of land fraud, urging caution on all citizens. In one letter, written by the French Minister Fauchet from Louisiana, Morris is mentioned by name as having dealt unscrupulously with purchasers (Wilkinson 1979: 93). Holland was Morris' best hope after France, but with the French invasion of Holland (then the Austrian Netherlands) in 1792, both markets were effectively closed. Meanwhile, the government of Great Britain actively discouraged emigration from the UK and Ireland (Wilkinson 1979: 94).

Given the socio-political difficulties inherent in selling land, why did Morris persist in purchasing acreage in ever-increasing amounts? He was accused of using shady methods to convince former soldiers or their families to sell their land grants for absurdly low amounts, and he definitely skirted the edges of the law in other business dealings, faking improvements on land when that became necessary to keep his title secured, and shifting money round in a truly alarming way in order to make miniscule payments on massive lots which he had no hope of selling at a profit (Wilkinson 1979: 175-176). A sympathetic answer might be that he truly believed in the potential and value of the land. As Eleanor Young puts it: "He, the supersalesman who had sold the greatness of America to European nations, ended by selling the idea to himself" (Young 1950: 199). Supporting this view is the fact that Morris was active in many

schemes to make the frontiers more habitable, more accessible, and hence more attractive to settlers. He was the head of three canal and navigation companies aimed at improving transportation on the Susquehanna River in the early 1790s, and he served as the President for the Society for the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation from 1791-1793 (Wilkinson 1979: 102). A less sympathetic view is that by the time it became clear that purchasers were not going to materialize, Morris continued because he had no other choice. He truly had no assets aside from the land, and he was forced to hold onto it in the hope that sometime, unexpectedly, it might be worth something. This latter view is probably closer to the truth, given many of his actions during this period. By 1794 Morris had taken out warrants for over ten million acres of land in several states, but only 720,000 acres had actually been paid for (Wilkinson 1979: 132). When, following the passage of Pennsylvania's new land laws of 1795 every warranted tract of land was supposed to be settled by a family with two percent under cultivation within two years, Morris and other speculators employed "frontier agents to knock together a few logs into a turkey pen, sometimes at a juncture where four tracts met so that one pen would be counted as an improvement for all four tracts" (Wilkinson 1979: 176). Local justices in the pay of the speculators, or merely in sympathy with them, would then swear that the land was improved, preventing the state from revoking the warrants (Wilkinson 1979: 176). By 1795 Morris was selling shares in his various land companies without disclosing these requirements, or the means by which he was avoiding them (Wilkinson 1979: 195). Bank failures and international politics continued to work against him, as well.

In 1797 bank failures in London and Dublin lost Morris over \$600,000 (Young 1950: 198).

In this milieu, the Azilum settlers were anomalies. They truly intended to settle and improve the land, but they were also bent on speculation as means to recoup their financial losses on Saint Domingue and France. As a result, while each settler might physically live on plot of up to 25 acres, each also owned numerous shares in the Asylum Land Company, a quasi-independent corporation set up after de Noailles and Talon couldn't meet all the payments they had promised Morris for the total of the land (Wilkinson 1979: 89). Each share was worth 300 acres.

In the end, Morris' land speculations were futile. The mercantile firm he had founded requested his resignation in 1794 due to their dislike of his land speculation activities (Young 1950: 200). Taxes on his warranted and unsold lands overwhelmed any ability to pay and his real property was seized and sold by the state that he had helped to independence. One estate alone, valued by Morris at over \$100,000, was sold for \$800 of back taxes (Wilkinson 1979: 238). The Asylum Land Company, never one of Morris' larger concerns, was taken over in 1797 by Jared Ingersoll and Matthew Clarkson (Wilkinson 1979: 228). He was reduced to hiding out, under siege, at his last remaining estate near Philadelphia. The night before he was arrested for debt and unpaid taxes he wrote: "My money is gone, my furniture is to be sold, I am to go to prison and my family to starve – good night" (Wilkinson 1979: 240). He spent several years in the Prune Street debtor's prison, desperately struggling to maintain himself, before being released in 1801, following passage of the Bankruptcy Act that some believe was directly aimed at freeing him (Young 1950: 251).

Gouverneur Morris, Robert's friend and former salesman and aid in Paris, secured him an annuity that wouldn't be paid for long. Morris died in 1806, almost a pauper (Young 1950: 257).

The People of French Azilum

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, the experience of a place depends both on the presence of the place, the geological and historical accumulation of narratives on a purely physical location, and the observer, the person, who is present in that location. In the case of French Azilum, the location is still present, if in a form substantially different from that experienced by the French and Saint-Domingan settlers. The people, however, those who did the experiencing, are long gone. To understand what brought those individuals to that place at that time, and led to the creation and the experience that was French Azilum in the late 18th to early 19th centuries, we have to understand the ways in which their lived experiences also accumulated and led them to make certain decisions and choose certain paths over others, eventually leading them to a struggling settlement in the remote Pennsylvania frontier, in a place that was largely alien to anything their lives had led them to expect. Even today French Azilum is a remote, largely agricultural area. In the 18th century it must have been truly isolated, and as alien as the moon to a newly arrived Parisian or resident of Cap Français. This section will track, insofar as possible, the movement of some of those individuals most intimately associated with French Azilum, in an attempt to understand what led them to this unlikely experience of the place of

Azilum, on the banks of the Susquehanna River, on the Pennsylvania frontier, in the dying years of the 18th century.

This will be by no means a complete biography of everyone at the site, but much can be known and is known about the histories and movements of the principal founders of the settlement and especially of those who inhabited Lots 415, 416, 417 and 418, the area that makes up the current site of French Azilum. At its height in 1798 French Azilum had over 300 residents, not counting enslaved people. Many of the residents of French Azilum remain nameless, especially the enslaved men and women, and their stories have been dealt with in a later chapter. Others, like the Brevost and d'Autremont families, left substantial writings which nevertheless largely failed to apply to their residence at French Azilum. Given the large volume of material available, it was necessary to focus my research on those who had shaped the artifact assemblages and archaeological features I was excavating. Other settlers, whose experiences at Azilum are equally valid, must wait for future publications to have their stories told.

In addition, this section will draw on the writings of others of similar background to the Azilum settlers in an attempt to understand the choices and assumptions they made about their new homes.

The Founders of Azilum: Noailles, Talon, and Laporte

The seeds for Azilum were sown in 1779, when Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, first encountered Robert Morris, the Philadelphia merchant whose substantial financial contributions kept Washington's army in their field throughout the American

Revolution. Noailles was an idealistic aristocrat, the son of the Marshal de Mouchy and Marie Antoinette's first attendant, nicknamed 'Madame Etiquette' by the Queen. He attempted to sail for America in 1777 with his brother-in-law and cousin, Gilbert de Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette, but was prevented by his family (Howat 1971). The French government was concerned that the intervention of these two extremely highborn young men in the war would compromise French neutrality. Lafayette was able to utilize his personal wealth to sail anyway, but de Noailles, more reliant on the approval of others, remained in France for a further two years. In 1779, at the age of 23, he became a cavalry officer on the staff of the Comte d'Estaing against the British forces in Grenada, St. Vincent, and the Carolinas. It is during this period that he first became familiar with the island of Saint-Domingue, where d'Estaing's forces were temporarily based. During this period he may have also encountered some of the future settlers at Azilum. Certainly those early connections would have helped later in his life, both during the period when he was recruiting Saint-Domingan refugees for the Azilum settlement and still later, when he joined the French Navy in their attempt to drive the British away from the war-torn island.

After leaving d'Estaing's staff de Noailles joined Rochambeau's army, where he outspokenly criticized his general for being overly cautious in refusing to come to General Washington's aid without the remainder of his troops and ships (Howat 1971: 329). This impulsive nature can be seen throughout Noailles life, and may have been one of the driving forces behind his decision to risk his financial future on land speculation in the 1790s, when, as a new émigré, he again came into contact with Robert Morris, who he met during a visit to Samuel Huntingdon, the President of the

Congress in early 1781. His impulsive nature did not prevent him from taking a very active part in the closing act of the American Revolution, and in October of 1782 Noailles was named one of the French negotiators sent to establish terms for the surrender of General Cornwallis. His comments on that occasion foreshadow his own future as an émigré, defeated by the nation he helped to form: “What a disagreeable moment for men of honor, to be obliged to march upon the sight of their enemies; to ground their arms and return... Indeed I could not bear such a spectacle, if I shall ever find myself in such a situation...” (Howat 1971: 331).

However, for a long time it seemed that such a fate and a defeat would never come to Noailles, as he returned triumphantly to France as one of *les Américains*, the much fêted heroes of the French nobility. Even Marie Antoinette, not a noted fan of Republican sentiment, was an admirer, and frequently chose him as a dance partner (Howat 1971: 331). During this period, which stretched from 1782 to the French Revolution in 1789, Noailles kept in touch with American friends, particularly Robert Morris. He was selected as a deputy to the Estates-General, and was nicknamed ‘Noailles à la Nuit’, when, after almost four months of wrangling, he proposed the abolition of feudal privilege and the establishment of a graduated income tax that would apply to nobles and peasants alike and would be used for civic and public works. The resulting surge of support led to an all-night session which ended in the near-total destruction of the old régime and the establishment of the principle of equality of opportunity throughout France.

Although over the next two years Noailles supported most of the Acts of the Assembly, and himself became the President of that body from February to September

of 1791, he was also one of the men who physically thrust himself between the queen and Parisian mob following the royal families attempted flight to Varennes in June of 1791 (Howat 1971: 332). Clearly, while he still supported Revolutionary ideals, the sentiment of the crowd was beginning to shift against him, and his return in 1792 to the military may have been a retreat to a simpler time when, instead of wielding the power of life and death with his pen and words, he merely wielded it with a sword or gun. In the chaotic factionalism of Revolutionary France straightforward violence must have seemed much simpler, and the institutionalized horror of warfare ultimately cleaner than political infighting and assassination by the mob. Whatever ideals of democracy Noailles had brought back from the United States were withering under the onslaught of mob rule. When his military comrade General Théobald, Comte de Dillon, was slaughtered by mutinying soldiers who objected to being commanded by an aristocrat, Noailles' idealism was shaken. The invasion of the Tuileries, the seizure of the government by the Jacobins, and the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792, indicated to Noailles that his revolution was now over. He quickly decamped across the border into Belgium, and from there made his way to England and eventually Philadelphia. Unfortunately his family did not follow his example of flight in time, and his father, mother, children and wife were all executed.

These personal tragedies seem to have turned Noailles from an ardent Revolutionary into a reconciled Royalist, and he was accepted by the aristocratic émigrés in Philadelphia as an agent of the exiles in Germany and England (Howat 1971: 334). A minor government employee in Philadelphia described him as arriving “from the Court of the Ex Princes at Coblenz, ... Ambassador Extraordinary and

Plenipotentiary from the Prince Regent of France” (Howat 1971: 334). If he was such an agent, it did him little good. While Washington was glad to see the return of his former associate and ally, he gently let him know that he, like all of the other French agents in Philadelphia, had to follow appropriate channels (Howat 1971: 334).

Noailles shortly turned his attention to making a living for himself, and under the influence of Robert Morris and his partners William Bingham and John Nicholson, came to consider land as the surest form of wealth. This is somewhat surprising, since one might expect his experiences in France to have prejudiced him toward assets that were more easily liquidated. However, he quickly formed a partnership with another French émigré, Antoine Omer Talon, to purchase and develop the lands that became French Azilum.

Antoine Omer Talon was an unlikely partner for Noailles to embrace. Born in Paris in 1760, Talon was as ardent a Royalist during the Revolution as Noailles was a reformer. Although they must have known each other in the fishbowl of the Royal Court, sources do not mention any particular closeness between the two men prior to their arrival in Philadelphia. They were at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and their life experiences to that point had been vastly divergent.

An advocate to the Crown by the age of sixteen, Talon was also supposedly the head of the royal secret service of France in 1789, the infamous ‘Cabinet Noir’ (Wilkinson 1991). He was elected the Estates General and later became a member of the National Convention in 1790. While in office he was an outspoken defender of the prerogatives of the Crown. When the locksmith Gamain revealed the existence of the Armoire de Fer in the private chambers of Louis XVI, documents found within

implicated Talon in treason against the National Convention and forced him to flee. He was hidden by friends in Marseilles for several months, probably in similar circumstances to those described in harrowing detail by Mme de la Tour du Pin, Lucy Gouvernet. Short of funds, stripped of title and grieving for the monarchy in which he had so ardently defended, Talon made the acquaintance of Bartolomé Laporte, late a wine merchant in Spain. It is not known whether Bartolomé was related to Arnaud Laporte, another ardent Royalist minister with whom Talon had worked closely, and who was the second person to be executed by guillotine in 1792.

Bartolomé Laporte had previously been a wine merchant in Cadiz, Spain, but according to family history “his effects among others were seized and himself banished from the country” (Murray 1917: 104) when the Spanish government expelled all Frenchmen suspected of Republican ideals. He befriended Antoine Omer Talon in the port of Marseilles, “although he differed in political sentiment from the other exiles, being a Republican” (Murray 1917: 104) and in a dramatic gesture secreted Talon inside a wine barrel in which he smuggled aboard a ship to Philadelphia. As this story is only told in the works of Elsie and Louise Welles Murray, descendants of Laporte’s, the Scarlet Pimpernel-like drama must be taken with a grain of salt. However, as the testimony of Mme de le Tour du Pin shows, the early 1790s were dramatic and horrible times for those being hunted throughout France, and at least in this one instance there is no reason to doubt the Murrays’ story.

Once in Philadelphia Laporte became Talon’s agent, and the two quickly attached themselves to the newly hatched Asylum Company. It is Talon’s involvement in the company, more than anyone else’s, that causes me to wonder

whether there might be a grain of truth in the legend that the site was planned as a refuge for Marie Antoinette. Talon was a supporter of the Royal family until his death, and had assisted the Royal family in their failed flight to Varennes. After his return to France he again became embroiled in the intrigues of the exiled Royal family, and was exiled to the Île St-Marguerite. Indeed, given his lifelong fidelity to the monarchy, it is worth wondering whether he was embroiled again, or had simply never shed earlier associations.

Talon is a mystery in his connection to Azilum. While the involvement of others in the settlement can be explained by a close examination of their personal histories, nothing in Talon's recorded history makes Azilum an obvious choice for him. Unlike Noailles, he had no previous experience with the frontier. Although he was accompanied to Azilum by at least one family member, his nephew, unlike the extended Sibert/Montullé/Cottineau connection, he did not go to be nearer to family or to retain possession of enslaved people whose subjection was attacked by Pennsylvania law. His position as the Asylum Company's agent on site at Azilum gave him a great deal of power and control over the construction, planning, and composition of the settlement, and yet he was one of the first to quit it sometime before 1796, probably in 1795 when both Talon and Noailles sold their shares in the several-times reorganized Asylum Company.

Whatever Talon's motivations, he was one of the few who did manage to make some money off of Azilum in his role as manager. He took his salary and became an agent for Morris in other commercial enterprises until Morris' bankruptcy in the late 1790s. Talon then returned to France where he had a few peaceful years to get to

know his two children, who had remained in Paris without him. He was exiled in 1804, reprieved by his daughter's plea in 1807, and died in 1811, suffering dementia.

Noailles remained in Philadelphia longer than Talon, staying until 1802 or 1803, when he received a commission from Napoleon as brigadier general under General Donatien (Howat 1971: 339). The force was attempting to prevent the English from seizing Spanish Santo Domingo as part of an attempt to gain control of the entire island, including Saint-Domingue. This British invasion was welcomed by many of the island's wealthy planters, who by this time were more interested in the stability and renewed subjection of the enslaved that a country could provide, and less interested in the flag that it flew. Noailles was wounded in battle against the British, and although his ship won the battle, he died on January 5, 1804 (Howat 1971: 339).

Unlike either his patron Talon or their associate Noailles, Barolomé Laporte remained at Azilum for the rest of his life. He married an American woman, Elizabeth Franklin, and became a citizen. When the Asylum Company finally closed its books in 1819 he and Charles Homet, another Azilum resident and minor noble in Marie Antoinette's household, divided the former settlement lands between them. Laporte became a farmer, and prospered. His grandson became a United States Congressman, and the house that still stands at Azilum bears his name.

The Saint-Domingans: Bercy, Sibert, Carles, Montullé, Cottineau, Noailles and Buzard

While the initial founders and many of the residents of Azilum were European French, the residents of the lots which I excavated between 2008 and 2010 were, with

the exception of Laporte and Talon, all Saint-Domingans. Unfortunately, there are far fewer records pertaining to their lives prior to the events that led them to Azilum, and what records there are of the aftermath of Azilum are spotty at best.

Attention at the site has been largely focused on Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen and Sophia de Sibert, as archaeologists have argued over which of their houses is the one excavated in 1976 and again in 1999-2001. Steven Warfel first identified the 24x35 foot house as belonging to Cottineau, only to have the Binghamton excavators challenge that designation in 1999. They assigned the property to Sophia de Sibert. In this dissertation I will challenge both views, as I have uncovered evidence that shows that the structure is the one built by Gui de Noailles, Saint-Domingan nephew of Louis-Marie de Noailles, who we discussed above.

The confusion over the ownership of the property is understandable, as all three of the above named people resided on Lots 417 and 416, the present-day boundaries of which are not clearly understood. Further more, there is evidence that Sophia de Sibert took control of Lot 417, the lot belonging to Denis Cottineau, upon his departure from Azilum sometime prior to 1797, and then conveyed both lots to Gui de Noailles. Sophia de Sibert's actions in conveying a lot to which she may not have had clear title may be explained by the fact that the wife of Denis Cottineau, Luce Maude Montullé, was a cousin to Mme de Sibert, and may have entrusted her with the lot on their departure from Azilum.

This intertwining of familial and economic connections was familiar to the Cottineau and Sibert families, and is a salient characteristic of their presence at Azilum. I will discuss the various nuclear family groups separately, and then attempt

to show the ways in which they relied on each other for assistance in daily life and the construction of a group identity.

Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen was born in France, although he was probably related to the Cottineau family on Saint-Domingue, whose extensive holdings included hundreds of enslaved workers. The family plantations were infamous for requiring a complete population replacement of enslaved workers on average every 20 years (Debien 1962). He joined the Marine, or French Navy, sometime prior to the start of the American Revolution, making him a contemporary of both Talon and Noailles. In 1776 he was assigned to the group who assisted John Paul Jones. Cottineau, the captain of the *Pallas*, was the only French officer to come to Jones' aid during the Battle of Flamborough Head. He seems to have often served as a peacemaker between Jones and the aristocratic French captains who objected to being commanded by a foreigner. When Pierre Landais, captan of the French ship *Alliance*, actually fired on Jones during the battle, Cottineau lost his temper. Letters between Cottineau and Jones reveal the rising ire and damaged honor of the young French captain, and while Jones was in Amsterdam following the battle Cottineau was again insulted by Landais: "...this is a rather difficult situation... Mr. Landais... refused the supplies I gave him when I came from Amsterdam... and said that if he went to Amsterdam in your absence, I would not be the one to whom he gave control of the squadron" (Cottineau). This final insult was too much for Cottineau, who challenged Landais to a duel. Cottineau was shot, supposedly in the heart, but failed to die. He and John Paul Jones, who he addresses as 'My Dear General' launched a propaganda war against Landais that went on for years.

Following the war Cottineau sold out his command and went to Saint-Domingue, where he prospered as a planter. He was selected as one of the delegates from Saint-Domingue to the Estates-General, with the avowed intention of preventing the free people of color, or *sang-mêlé*, from receiving any political consideration of any sort. It is not known whether he remained in France until the outbreak of the Terror or returned to Saint-Domingue, but by 1793 he, his wife and sons were living in the United States. He was one of the largest investors in the Asylum Company, which argues that his family, like that of Sophia de Sibert, managed to get out early, and bring assets with them.

Following their time at Azilum the Cottineau family returned to Philadelphia, where Denis Cottineau was involved, in 1803, in a court case for illegally holding a free man, Etienne Lamaire, in slavery. Possibly as a result of the outcome of that case, in which Lamaire was declared free, Cottineau and his wife moved to Savannah, Georgia, where he died in 1808 of tuberculosis.

Like Noailles, Cottineau had connections with the American Revolution that could have drawn him to Azilum. Unlike Noailles, Cottineau had never previously set foot in the American wilderness, and had no first-hand knowledge of life in Azilum, but the most likely impetus for his arrival in the colony is his wife, Luce Maude Montullé. Her brother, Jean Berard Montullé, was hired by the Asylum Company to head the work teams in charge of building roads and clearing the land at the site for future building. As such, he was one of the first settlers to arrive in the winter of 1793. He, a brother, and a cousin, the Abbé Carles, shivered through the winter in one of the rough log cabins built by the original Connecticut settlers, and by spring of

1794 his team had successfully built 30 log cabins to house the newly arriving investor/settlers. It is not known whether this work team was comprised of enslaved Africans, American laborers, or some mix of the two. It must have been grueling work, clearing heavily forested land in the dead of winter while living in lean-to cabins so basic that they lacked even fireplaces. Certainly Montullé wished his workforce consisted of enslaved people, as he wrote to a relative in France in March of 1794 that his “brother had returned to Saint-Domingue, hoping to bring back some of their slaves: ‘Land is not expensive here, but labor is, and if we could bring over three or four of our Negroes it would help us a lot’” (Popkin 2010: 313).

At some point, probably in the mid-1790s, Montullé and Carles decided to leave Azilum for Savannah, Georgia, where Montullé became one of the founding settlers of Sapelo Island just off the coast. He became a very wealthy and successful plantation owner, and began to style himself as Jean Berard Mocquet, Marquis of Montalet. After the death of Denis Cottineau de Kerlogen in 1808 Luce Maude Montullé moved in with her cousin, the Abbé Carles, and taught school to young French-born girls for several years.

Like her husband, Luce Maude Montullé was no stranger to the courts. As a schoolteacher she became very close to two of her students, Melanie and Clemence Boisquenay. The two girls were neglected by their step-grandfather Christophe DuBignon. He was the owner of Jekyll Island, and a refugee from the French Revolution like many of those at Azilum. During a temporary return to France she wheedled DuBignon’s banker out of six hundred francs, which she deposited with DuBignon’s wife for the girls’ future (Keber 2002: 237. DuBignon never forgave



Figure 2
The center building was the home of the Abbé Carles and Luce Montullé following the death of her husband in 1808.

her, and was still railing about her deception in his will dated ten years later (Keber 2002: 242). Her fate is not known after this date, although an unpublished manuscript article in the Savannah Historical Society claims that she returned to France. Both of her sons remained in the United States.

Unlike her controversial cousin, Sophia de Sibert appears never to have returned to life on a plantation. She arrived in the United States in 1791 with her husband, Simon Félix de Sibert, one son, and an unknown number of enslaved men, women and children. According to records at Pottsgrove Manor in Pottstown, PA, and the Montgomery County Archives department, Sophia de Sibert's full name was Anne Maria Jeanne Sophie Augustine Bercy de Sibert, and she and her husband purchased close to a thousand acres of land as well as the substantial manor house at Pottsgrove for a sum of 6500 pounds in August of 1791 from Francis Nichols (Book 6: 239), a businessman who was peripherally involved in Azilum. This date of purchase and the large sum of money involved indicate one of two things: first, that the Sibert family had managed to escape the 1791 uprising and the burning of estates on the Plan du Nord with a largely intact fortune, or, second, that Simon Félix de Sibert advanced only a minimum for the property, convinced that the situation in Saint-Domingue would be regularized and that funds would be swiftly forthcoming. Simon Felix de Sibert died in March of 1793 (Book 9: 142) apparently leaving the ownership of the property in some difficulties. His widow was forced to re-purchase the land at public auction in October of 1793, and immediately sold it again to Francis Nichols for 6200 pounds. Apparently he paid her no money for it until August 1795, when, after a failed attempt to sell the land to another party, she took him to court. As part of the

judgment he apparently agreed to pay in return for a statement from her that she relinquished all claims to the land, for which she was given five shillings. He paid 4925 pounds to her husband's executor in September 1795, and defaulted on the rest of the payment (Book 9: 142). Two years later she sold her property at Azilum and moved to Wilmington, Delaware. Interestingly enough, in 1798 her son and the son of Jean Berard Montulle were living together in Pottstown, selling vegetables at a roadside store. What the exact series of events was is very unclear, but apparently whatever transpired was not to the benefit of the Sibert family!

The deed of 1797 that conveyed Sophie de Sibert's property at Azilum to Gui de Noailles mentioned that she was also selling the adjacent lot, previously owned by Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen. The descriptions of the two dwelling houses on these lots are the clearest and most contemporary descriptions of any structures at Azilum, and it is easy to see why multiple archaeologists from two different excavations would try to assign the house excavated on Lot 417 to one or the other. However, the other character in the transaction, Gui de Noailles, is the often overlooked and far more likely builder of the 'Cottineau/de Sibert' house.

Unfortunately, little is known about Gui de Noailles other than his relationship to Louis-Marie de Noailles, and even that is only mentioned by Louise Welles Murray in 1917. Maulevrier mentions his presence on the site in 1798 and describes him as a planter of Saint-Domingue. In the 1798 General Tax records he is listed as having a dwelling house measuring 24x36 feet, and it is on this evidence that I designate the excavated house as his. Undoubtedly more records pertaining to Gui de Noailles exist

somewhere, but they have yet to come to light. His whereabouts after leaving Azilum are a mystery.

Less of a mystery is the identity of the man who leased the ‘Grande Maison’ from Omer Talon in the mid 1790s. Dr. Louis (or Laurent) Buzard (or Buzzard) was a plantation owner from Saint-Domingue who arrived with his wife, children “and some Negro slaves, the remnants of a vast fortune” (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1800).

While at Azilum he acted as the physician for the settlement, and probably for the surrounding American community as well. The Murrays have him departing Azilum for Cuba, where he also worked as a doctor. Cuba expelled all of its French residents in 1809, and a large convoy of them arrived in New Orleans, where they eventually settled (Dessens 2007). What the Buzard family’s eventual fate was is unknown. It is possible that the name is a corruption of the name Broussard or Brosseard, which was common in Saint-Domingue, although he does sign himself Buzard in the few autographs we have from him.

Like Omer Talon, there is little evidence as to why or how Buzard chose to live in Azilum. He did not have an extended family there, nor did he apparently invest much with the company. He was a doctor during his time at Azilum, not a farmer or a merchant. Perhaps, like refugees throughout history, he wanted to rest easy in the company of those who would understand what he and his family had gone through. Perhaps he wanted to raise his children in a French-speaking community. Like the hundreds of other residents at Azilum, his reasons were undoubtedly multi-dimensional and shifted over time.

Cabins in a Wild Valley: Azilum from 1793-1803

Throughout this dissertation I will try to set the scene at Azilum, to make the daily lives of its inhabitants recognizable without denying any of their complexity and contradictions. In doing this, however, I don't want to ignore the fact that these were people in a dramatic situation. They were refugees, victims of terror and trauma no less than the victims of the Holocaust or Darfur. Without negating the crimes and attitudes that led to the uprisings against them, the elite at Azilum were people who had been forced to leave behind everything they had ever known or held dear.

Imagine the scene for a moment. In 1798 it took the Comte de Maulevrier from the 8th to the 29th of September to reach Azilum from Philadelphia. He traveled the last eight days by flatboat upriver from Wilkes-Barre. During that time he slept rough in the woods, unable to communicate with his guides, as his English was not good and they spoke no French (Maulevrier 1935). For this young man alone it was an adventure, if at times an uncomfortable one. But imagine the first group of settlers, unsure as to what they would find, arriving in the fall of 1793 with families, supplies, and enslaved Africans whose reliability as safely subjected servants had been seriously called into doubt by the events on Saint-Domingue. The uncertainty and fear must have been very real.

Nevertheless, the settlement prospered at first. The first crew arrived in the fall of 1793 and took up residence in the rough cabins the Connecticut settlers had constructed. According to letters from Charles Bué Boulogne, at that time the manager of Azilum, masons did not arrive to begin work on the permanent houses until late in October of 1793, and Talon, Boulogne, Saint-Domingan refugee John

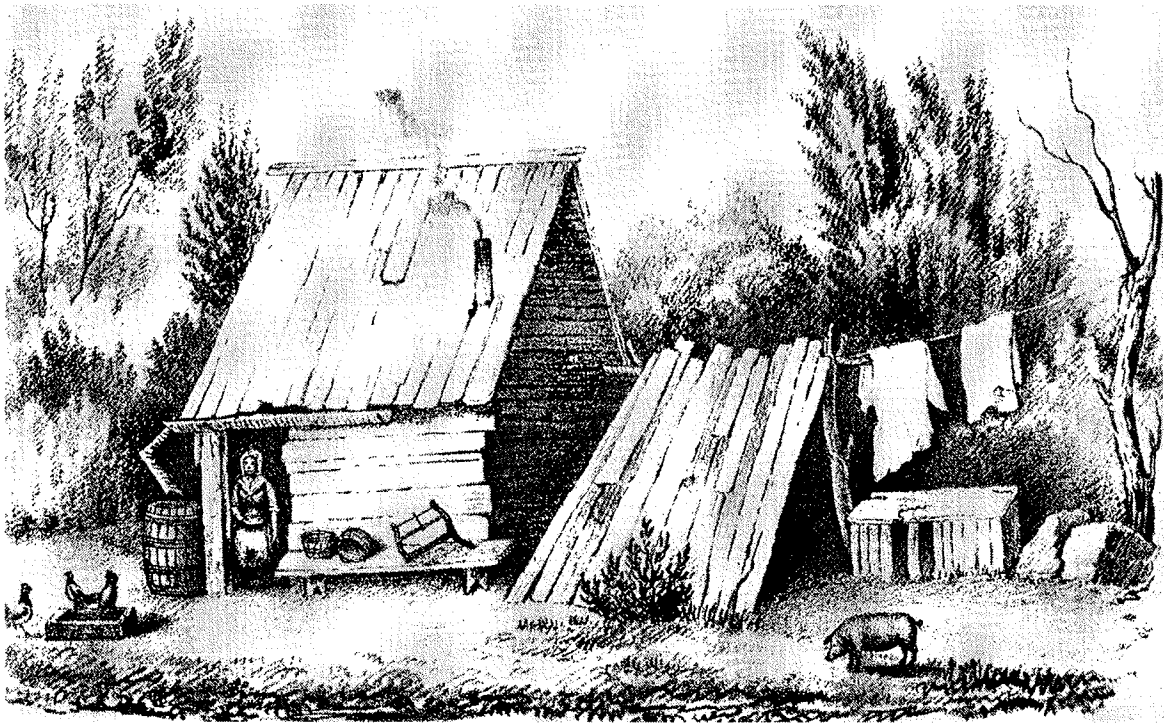


Figure 3
Image of 'typical' settler's cabin taken from Larkin's The Reshaping of Everyday Life
(1988). .

Keating, and the workers were forced to live in these rough shelters that lacked fireplaces.

Figure 3 is a depiction of a typical settler's cabin from the late 18th century, and probably very much resembles the cabins the Azilum settlers lived in that first winter. It must have been quite contrast to the settlers' previous places of residence.

Bué Boulogne appears to have been a difficult man to deal with. Mme de Rouvray, a Saint-Domingan refugee who was never associated with Azilum, refers to Boulogne as "cet hypocrite marchand du Havre" (1959: 85) and the vast majority of his letters are complaints. Unlike so many of the others at Azilum, his fate is no mystery. His drowned body was pulled out of the Loyalsoc River not far from Azilum in July of 1796. However, by that time the construction of the original houses at Azilum was long complete.

Although the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt gives the number of cabins built originally at Azilum as 30, other sources differ, and the tax rolls from 1798 contain a total of 23 houses, with outbuildings, that were valued at over \$100. By 1794 the settlement was occupied and growing. Over the next few years the settlement grew until it contained a distillery, works for making maple sugar, at least one mill, probably a church, and supposedly a theater. It is this phase of Azilum's history that gets the most attention from romantic writers who love to depict the French ladies as playing cards, going for picnics on horseback, and having their ankles fanned by enslaved little girls as they sat and embroidered in the summers (Murray 1917; Jordan 1948; Mackin 1989;). Certainly there were moments of levity. In January of 1794 Aristide du-Petit Thouars, a one-armed former French naval officer

and pacific explorer, wrote in his journal that “je m’aventure avec M. Talon, son neveu et le petit Norès sur la glace” (1800: 20), apparently referring to an ice-skating party. These moments were, however, not the only reality of life at Azilum. Daily life was undoubtedly less leisurely and more backbreaking. Land had to be cleared, and stumps removed from soil. Houses, springhouses, kitchens and barns had to be maintained and constructed. Gardens were planted and harvested, and food was prepared and put aside for the winters, which were longer and harder than any of the refugees, especially the Saint-Domingans, had ever before experienced.

Far from the picturesque landscape imagined by the novelists, Azilum must have been often dirty, smoky, rank and wet. The landscape must have contained as many outhouses and bread ovens as it did stands of ornamental trees and flowering bushes. The enslaved were a constant, if familiar presence, and possibly a threatening one for some of the refugees. In this context the stream of visitors passing through Azilum must have provided a welcome relief. They were a reminder of the larger world beyond the frontier, and brought news and a renewed sense of class solidarity. No wonder men such as Talleyrand, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Maulevrier, and Louis-Philippe Égalité and his brothers, who were later to be princes and kings of France, were warmly welcomed and lavishly entertained. It is also not hard to understand why there appears to have been no shortage of volunteers willing to undertake the long and arduous journey to Philadelphia in order to bring back mail and news. Among others, Talon, Keating, and Cottineau regularly served this purpose, perhaps relishing the change in society and cosmopolitanism of the city briefly before

returning to Azilum. Boredom must have been a problem at Azilum: “J’ai souffert et j’ai eu bien de l’ennui ces jours-ci” (Du Petit-Thouars 1800: 311).

The news was often bad. Aristide du Petit-Thouars writes in his journal that Marie Antoinette’s death had a negative impact on the mood of the settlement. Others heard of homes burned and relatives killed. Those who heard nothing at all were perhaps the most to be pitied, as they were left in ignorance between hope and despair. However, there were also joys: “Des occupations toujours douces, des promenades romantiques, un ciel immuablement serein, des bateaux nombreuse...” (Du Petit-Thouars 1800: 306).

Like Mme de la Tour du Pin, many of the refugees didn’t remain in one place throughout the whole of their time at Azilum. Aristide du Petit-Thouars undertook two journeys to the north with the intention of seeing the Niagara Falls. The first, with the Marquis de Blaçons, a former member of the Estate-General for the region of Dauphiné, only went as far as the Genessee Valley, but the second, with the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, made it all the way to Niagara. Others undertook significant life-journeys, even if they remained in the settlement. There were weddings, most notably that of the Marquis de Blaçons to the orphaned, impoverished Mlle. Maulde, who had fled the burning of Cap Français with her father, only to lose him to the Yellow Fever in Philadelphia (Du Petit-Thouars 1800: 319). Following the weddings, there were undoubtedly births, although not many of these were recorded. And, of course, some, like Charles Bué Boulogne, died and left their bones in Azilum’s soil.

Life went on, even in the face of sweeping social change. Azilum, both the geographic Azilum and the people who defined it, were products of a wider world. The conditions that made the site a welcoming one came from both the deep geography of the site and the relatively recent history of war, mistrust between White and Native Americans, and depopulation. The elite settlers were born to wealth and privilege, but at the same time were heir to the social, political, and ethical problems of their day. The storm of change that swept across the Atlantic world in the late 18th century carried them far from their homes and anything they had ever expected to experience. Traumatized and bereft, the elites at Azilum built new lives for themselves on the frontier, hoping to regain fortunes, to reconnect to kin, or simply to be left in peace. The enslaved people who came with them sought other things, and had fewer choices about their destination or occupation. But for them, too, life went on.

Chapter Three - Archaeology at French Azilum

Introduction

Making sense out of past excavations is in many ways the hardest part of an archaeologist's job. Without the first-hand knowledge of what was excavated, where, and in what condition, it is difficult to draw conclusions. Although in theory and in attempt information is recorded meticulously enough that a later excavator can recreate the depositional locations of the excavated objects, in reality the means of recording are often subjective and always selective. The objects that survive in curation do not make up the whole body of the assemblage, and there is no substitute for first-hand experience at a site.

Unfortunately, the most obvious archaeological sites are always the first to be excavated, and those early excavations are of limited use to later archaeologists. Advances in techniques and methodologies mean that all too often the information that would today be vital and revealing is precisely what is missing from records. Further, the questions that were asked in the past are most definitely not the questions that are being asked today, and incomplete or imprecise record keeping on the part of archaeologist can render the artifacts all but useless for reanalysis. Of course, this cuts both ways, and requires modern archaeologists to be as precise and objective in their record keeping and selection of items for curation as possible.



Figure 4
Spanish real found at site of Azilum Ferry landing.

Early excavations at Azilum

Unofficial excavations and casual surface collecting at French Azilum took place throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, with several significant finds being made, including the purported location of the French graveyard in a farm field (Murray 1940) and the find of a single Spanish *real* from 1748 at the site of the Azilum ferry dock, as identified on the 1794 plat map. These finds are reported by later sources, but most of the objects have not survived. The *real* is currently housed at French Azilum, but unfortunately any other datable artifacts found with it were discarded. While it might seem that a coin would provide the best possible deposition date, in this case that is not necessarily true. Specie was so rare in the 18th century in the United States that coinage from a variety of sources could and did continue in circulation for a long time. Hence, in the absence of other sources of information, the coin is not especially useful. A reliable date would help us to understand the evolution of the ferry site, whether it was constructed by the Azilum settlers in the 1790s or whether it was on the site of an older ferry landing that might have stretched back to pre-Azilum usage of the area.

The first official archaeological excavation at the French Azilum site took place on the grounds of the current Laporte House in 1956. The excavation was conducted by two amateur archaeologists and members of the board of French Azilum, Charles Lucy and John Bigelow. This involved excavating 70 shovel test 'potholes', (Fig. 5, Long Range Plan) each of which, judging from the single excavation map which survives, averaged 3 feet in diameter. These potholes were

placed to the North and North-East of the Laporte House, although none came within 30 feet of the structure .

The purpose of this excavation, like so many others, was the discovery of the semi-mythical Grande Maison, the structure constructed and occupied by Omer Talon, possibly rented by Dr. Louis Buzzard, and legendarily intended as a habitation for Marie Antoinette and her children.

No structure resembling the reputed 60x80 foot Grande Maison was located in 1956, and none has been located to the present day. However, this excavation resulted in the discovery of what is today known as the 'wine cellar', a 12x12 foot structure with six foot deep stone walls and a packed earth floor equipped with an exterior entrance. The location of the excavation was probably determined by Elsie Murray, the mid-20th century historian of the settlement, who was consulted by the excavators (Elsie Murray diary, on-file at French Azilum). She presumably determined the location for that dig based on still-visible surface features, since she wrote in 1940 that “with the assistance of residents... (the tourist) may plot the line of the cellars of the Grande Maison, where doubtless a few bottles of choice Madiera or old Bordeaux awaited the distinguished guest” (35). Unfortunately for the romantic Elsie, the wines imported to Azilum all seem to have been brought from Spain or Portugal, due to the embargo placed on French wines by the British Navy, and the ‘line of cellars’ uncovered in 1956 appears to have belonged to a slave cabin, not a hiding place for Marie Antoinette.

In 1976 further excavation revealed an adjoining earth-walled 12x12 foot structure immediately to the southeast of the ‘wine cellar’. This structure will be

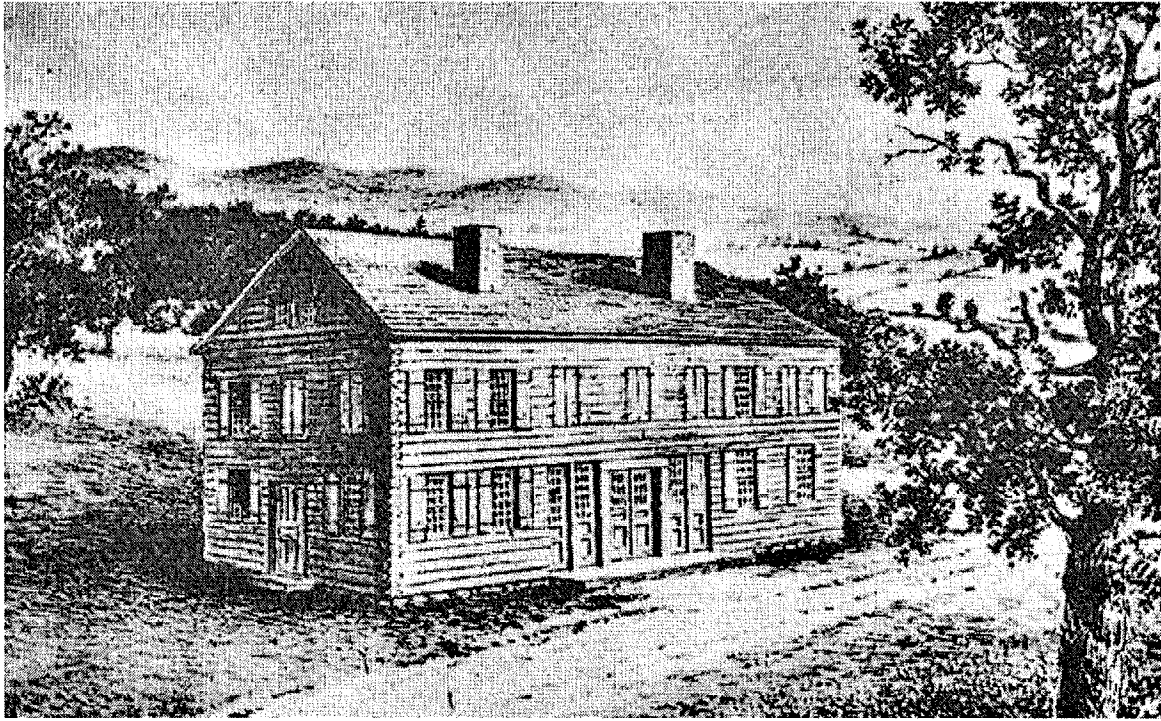


Figure 5
Reconstruction of the 'Grande Maison' as described by Louise Welles Murray, 1917 (1).

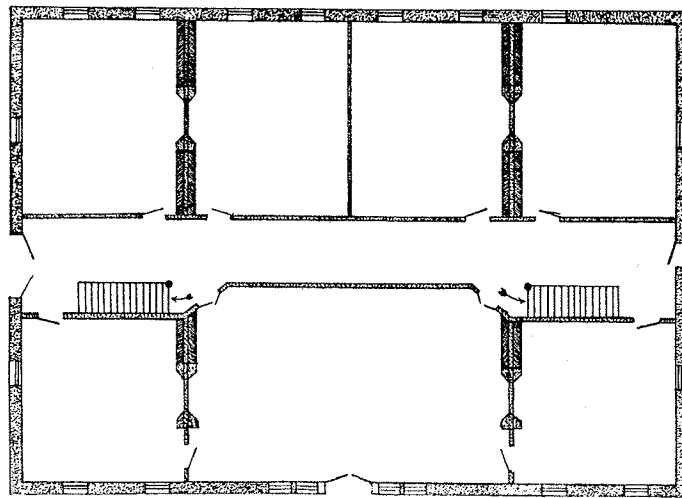


Figure 6
Plan of the ground floor of the 'Grande Maison' as described by Louise Welles Murray (1917: 39).

discussed below. Household debris, including a table knife, butchered faunal remains, a bear claw, a white glass bead, and a quantity of undecorated 'whitewares' and 'Beanpot' redwares (brown glazed redwares) were uncovered at all levels of the 'wine cellar' excavation (Warfel 1976: 48). Some of these artifacts, probably the wine bottles, were dated by Paul Perrot, then Assistant Director of the Corning Museum of Glass, to the second half of the 18th century (Long Range Plan). Other non-glass artifacts were supposedly sent to the Smithsonian Institute and dated to the 18th and 19th centuries. Unfortunately, there is no record as to which artifacts were sent or whether they were returned to the board of directors at Azilum. It is possible, therefore, that the 'whitewares' may refer to any type of white ceramic, including creamware or pearlware, not only the mid-19th century ceramic designated 'whiteware' by modern archaeologists. Lacking the original artifacts it is impossible to state with any certainty. A listing of excavated artifacts reproduced in 1976 by Steve Warfel does not correspond to the artifacts in the collections purporting to be from this excavation: among other artifacts listed is a boar's tooth which has apparently not survived. Those artifacts that survive in the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission make up a puzzling and suggestive pattern. The majority of the assemblage is made up of a large quantity of broken window glass, some with the distinctive pontil-marks and curving stress lines that were created by the glassmakers twirling the large, thin circles of hot glass on the end of poles. Glass of this type is known as crown glass and was introduced into North America in 1690 and remained common through 1832, when it was superseded by a process for making sheet-glass (Hume 1969: 234-235). Aside from the window glass

there is a great deal of the olive-green glass commonly recognized as coming from wine bottles or chestnut flasks. All of these artifacts will be discussed in-depth in later chapters.

The majority of the ceramics in the assemblage are creamware sherds. Creamwares are distinctive white-yellow ceramics that were most popular between the 1750s and the 1780s, and are possibly the 'whitewares' discussed in the 1956 report. True whitewares date to the 1830s, and none survive in the collections reported to be from this structure. The mostly undecorated creamwares which are prevalent at the 'wine cellar' date primarily to the period between 1790 and 1815 (Hume 1969: 125-126). Again, although this does not provide an absolute date for the wine cellar structure, it does indicate the strong possibility that this structure dates to the French period of habitation.

The sole item from the wine cellar that clearly cannot be dated to the French period is an iron strap containing two rivets both of which have discernible writing. A close examination of these rivets shows that words "H. Hulman Terra Haute Ind.", which can be conclusively linked to Herman Hulman, maker of Clabber Girl Baking Powder. As Hulman did not live in the United States prior to 1854, nor produce baking powder prior to 1879, this single item may either be dismissed as intrusive or perhaps be used to indicate a date of destruction for the 'wine cellar' structure. No other items from the mid- to late- 19th century were recorded in this structure.

The dimensions indicated by the 1956 excavation reveal a building that would be on the small side for a structure at French Azilum, where most of the houses reported in deeds or taxation rolls are somewhat larger. In 1976 Anne Woodward,

working for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, compiled a list of buildings and owners at Azilum from the minutes and correspondances of the Asylum Company and the Direct Tax of 1798 for Wyalusing Township in Luzerne County. Although the tax only applied to buildings worth more than \$100, that included a substantial number of the structures at Azilum. In this, the only house listed as having the same dimensions as the structure called the 'wine cellar' was a house belonging to Louis LeFevre and rented by John Pigare, which was 12'x24'. Although there is no record as to where this structure was in the settlement, LeFevre never owned any of the lots associated with the current excavation area.

The other structure, measuring 12x12 at grade, that was uncovered adjoining the 'wine cellar' on the southeast side in 1976 lacked the stone foundation walls of the 1956 cellar, but seems to have had a wooden floor (Warfel 22: 1976). Warfel states that "there is a strong possibility that this feature and the nearly adjacent wine cellar may have both been covered by a single structure set on stone walls with a common roof" (Warfel 22: 1976). This hypothesis was confirmed in the summer of 2010 by phosphate analysis of the soil surrounding the 'wine cellar' which revealed a common swept, enclosed yard on the land-facing side of the structure. This yard area, plus the existence of two separate entrances into the structure itself, also revealed through phosphate analysis, leads me to hypothesize that that this structure was a slave cabin, a hypothesis that I will discuss in some depth later.

Although there are hints that a few small excavations were carried out between 1956 and 1976, no substantiating reports have been found. Steve Warfel mentions that a gap in the foundation of the "Cottineau residence", excavated in 1976, was probably

caused as "a result of earlier digging in the area by local residents in the 1960's" but fails to elaborate on those digs (Warfel 1976: 32). The only other mention of digs in the 1960s was found in 2001 by Andrea Zlotucha Kozub, who found that "a 1965 French Azilum newsletter" notes that "another cellar is being excavated and many more interesting items unearthed" (Kozub 2001: 13). No reports or artifacts from this dig have been found.

Warfel Excavation

The next official excavation from which we have records was carried out from June 14th to July 20th of 1976 by Steven Warfel of the Pennsylvania Museums and Historic Commission. For the purposes of this excavation the site was essentially divided into four component parts. No unifying grid was attempted between these parts, and in fact there were at least 4 separate grids used throughout the site. In fairness, Warfel was attempting to operate a unified dig over a large open area with few assistants and almost no surveying equipment (Steve Warfel, personal communication November 2007). Creating a consistent grid over such a large area would have been extremely difficult. Still, the multitude of grids used is unfortunate, and contributed to the confusion of the excavators from Binghamton University later. Also questionable is the base map created for this excavation, which, while at first glance plausible, actually misrepresents the size, shape and location of the standing structures and has the north arrow pointing several degrees away from magnetic north, which may be a result in deviation of magnetic declination over time, but if not allowed for can still cause confusion. This would undoubtedly explain the problems

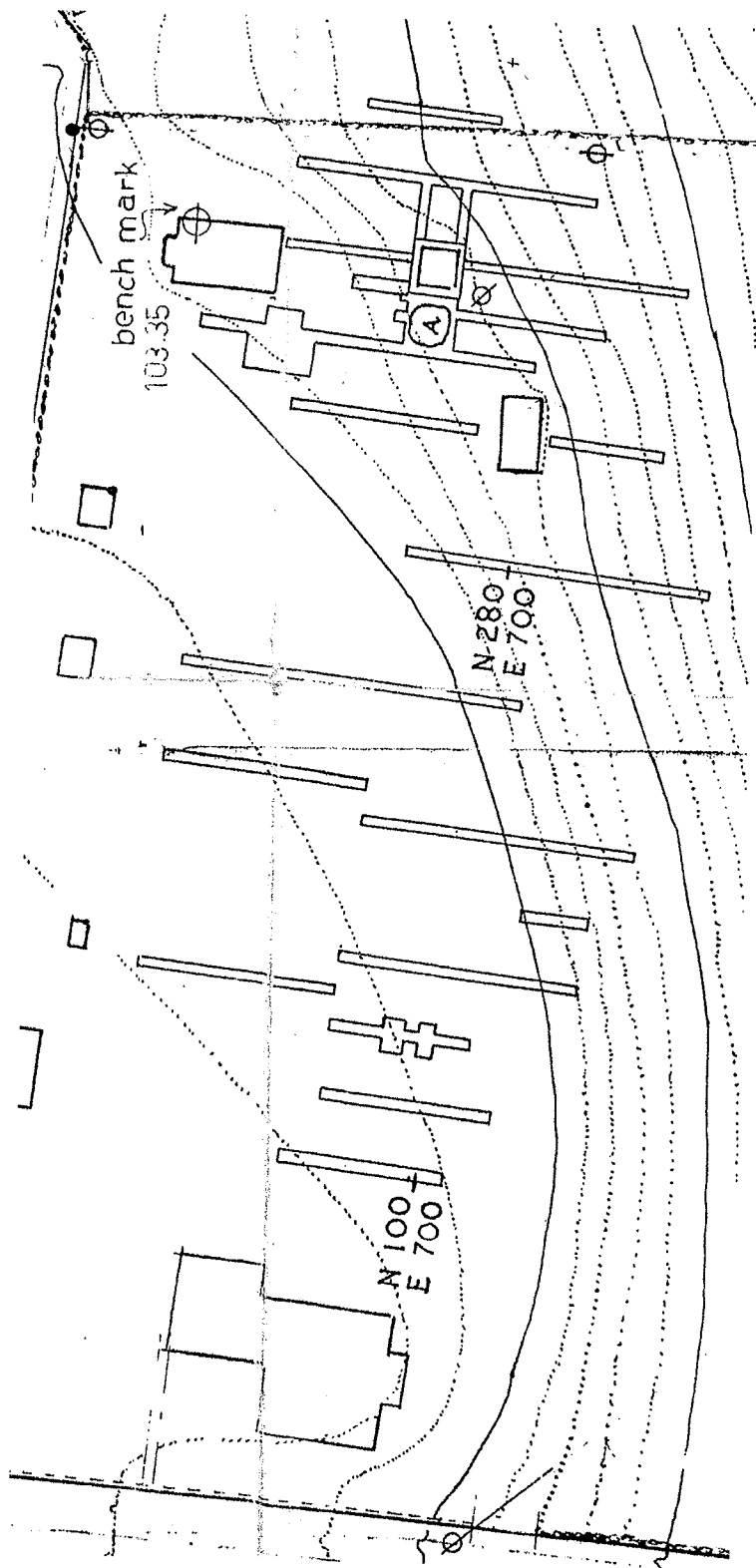


Figure 7
Area 'A' on Warfel's 1976 excavation base map.

experienced by the Binghamton archaeologists, were it not for the fact that they never referenced this map and cannot be proven to have any knowledge of its existence.

The first grid established by Warfel was 40 feet north of the Northeast corner of the Laporte House and was oriented 24 degrees west of magnetic north along a line parallel to the east side of the Laporte House. Warfel designated an arbitrary datum point and labeled it at N100 E700, in keeping with common archaeological practice, so that any subsequent units would be positive numbers. The datum point was marked by an iron pipe (Warfel 1976: 9) which cannot be located today. Surveyor Anthony Aloysi set an arbitrary elevation of 103.35 feet above sea level at the northwest corner of the still-existing log cabin to the west of the 'wine cellar' (Warfel 1976: 9). In reality this elevation is 725 feet above mean sea level.

In this first of four excavation sections 20 trenches were dug by hand, each approximately 3 feet wide and running in an east-west direction in the area north of the Laporte House and south of the 'wine cellar' (Warfel 1976: 9-10). This was an attempt to locate Louise Murray's 'Grande Maison', but as in 1956, none of the trenches came within 20 feet of the Laporte House. Materials recovered from these trenches dated from the late 18th century through the mid 20th century, but as no foundations or patterns of post-molds suggestive of a building were discovered, the trenches were not expanded (Warfel 1976: 13). Concentrations of 18th century artifacts uncovered in these trenches led to the placement of shovel tests in the area in 2008, which resulted in the discovery of two post and beam outbuildings directly in alignment with both the Laporte House and the late 18th century 'wine cellar' slave cabin.

Further excavations were carried out by Warfel immediately to the south of the 'wine cellar', where two features were uncovered. The first of these was what appears to be a pit midden adjoining the cellar, probably a particularly wide builder's trench. The feature was 3 feet wide by 12 feet long and continued to a depth of 6 feet below grade. It contained artifacts dating to the original French occupation of the site (Warfel 1976: 15). Additional builder's trenches were found on the north and west sides of the building, but no artifacts are mentioned in conjunction with these features.

Feature 2 was located at N350 E660 and appears to be an extension of the 'wine cellar' or possibly a separate cellar attached to the same superstructure as the one enclosing the 'wine cellar'. Feature 2 was 12x12 feet at grade, narrowing to 8x10 feet at the bottom, with a depth of 5.83 feet below grade (Warfel 1976: 16). The fill removed from Feature 2 contained a large quantity of trimmed sandstone and further artifacts dateable to the late 18th century, including a diagnostic George III halfpenny from 1776 (Warfel 1976: 21). Warfel believed these stones to have been dressed sandstone walls that collapsed into a wooden plank-lined pit (1976: 22). Given the short time span indicated by the artifacts it does not appear that this structure was in use for very long, and the fill episode probably occurred in the early 19th century.

According to Warfel, Area 1 also contained numerous post molds, small pits and soil stains. As no pattern was detected and none seemed related to the Grande Maison, they were not carefully mapped (Warfel 1976: 22).

Finally, in the east of Area 1 the remains of a 120 foot long stone wall was discovered (Warfel 1976: 23). This wall was dry laid of local sandstone and measured between 4 and 5 feet wide along the base. "In two places the feature was

carefully removed, yielding no artifacts save iron nails, bottle glass, and nondescript ceramic sherds (Warfel 1976: 23). Warfel saw no evidence that this wall was connected to the French phase of occupation (1976: 23). This supposition is supported by longtime residents in the area who claim that the walls were built in the 1850s. The extensive nature of these non-dateable features clearly demonstrates how intensively used the grounds of the Laporte House have been over the last two centuries.

Excavation of Area 2 involved trenching across the space in front of Township Road 428, which dead-ends at the Azilum property. A sixty foot trench was hand-dug in order to determine whether the road had ever continued down toward the river. Warfel believed that the road was an original, laid out during French occupancy, and from his reading of the 1794 plat map should have continued. The trench was oriented at 71 degrees 46 minutes west of magnetic north (Warfel 1976: 25). The excavation was unsuccessful in finding any traces of a continuing road (Warfel 1976: 26). Warfel's explanation was that a dirt road, not used for more than 20 years, would probably not leave many traces. However, a closer examination of the 1794 map shows that, assuming the Laporte House is located on plot 418 as Warfel believed, there should not be a continuation of Route 458, as the land under question was left open due to the marshy conditions that made it unsuitable for either building or farming. Excavation in 2009 also shows that even footpaths in use during the French occupation period can survive archaeologically under the right conditions.

The third area excavated by Warfel was the foundation that has come to be known as the 'Cottineau foundation' or the 'De Sibert/Cottineau foundation', although I

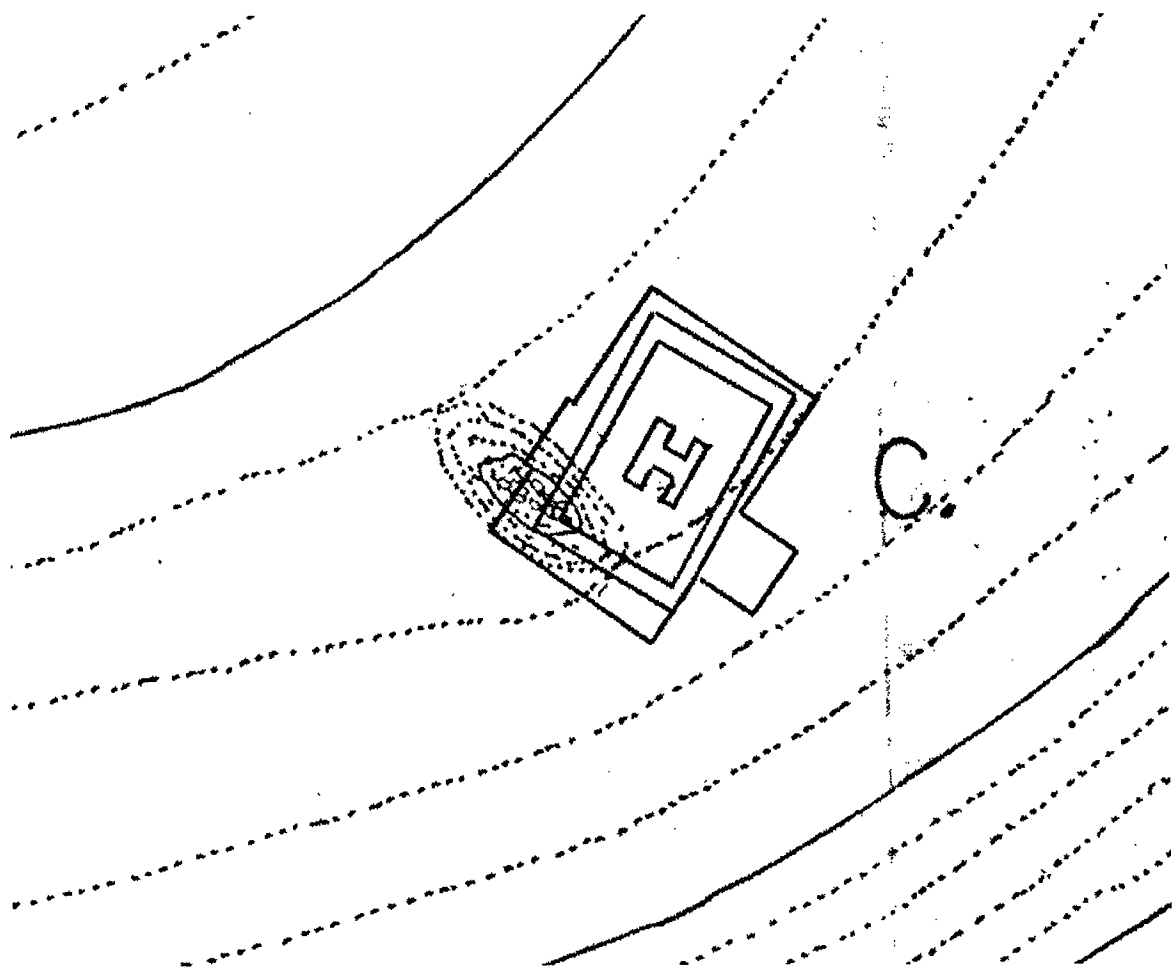


Figure 8
Area 'C' on Warfel's 1976 excavation map.

will dispute both designations below. This excavation was done between July 21 and August 10 of 1976 and involved the establishment of a ten foot grid pattern 7 degrees 56 minutes east of magnetic north. Although any exposed sections have been destroyed over the intervening years, at that time the foundation was clearly visible above ground. A datum point was established at original datum location north 890 east 480 (Warfel 1976: 27), and it was this datum point that was used to establish the grid. It is important to remember here that Warfel was working under time limitations, with few helpers and the equipment of the 1970s. The Azilum excavation was the first historical site he had ever worked on. Furthermore, according to Warfel himself, between the excavations at Areas 2 and 3, his wife had their first child (Steve Warfel, personal communication, November 2007). These concerns may have introduced a measure of inaccuracy into an otherwise strong excavation, as discussed below.

A ten foot wide trench was initially excavated in order to locate walls and the chimney footer. The stratigraphy was divided into three arbitrary levels: first, sod and topsoil, then fill and rubble which extended to the bottom of the stone foundation, and finally what Warfel considered the undisturbed soil, which was trowelled down to the level of the original floor (Warfel 1976: 27). The original floor surface was described as tightly packed, dark brown uniform gravel (Warfel 1976: 33). Once the walls and chimney footer were located in this way, the rest of the foundation was excavated by grid squares (Warfel 1976: 27).

Warfel found that at this site, which he named the Cottineau Foundation, 19th century artifacts were dominant, with a smaller number of artifacts that could be dated

back to the 18th century, confirming the house as an original component of the Azilum settlement (Warfel 1976: 36). This is supported by the fact that there are two 19th century illustrations of the area, both containing structures that probably represent the foundation Warfel excavated.

The foundation itself was of dry-laid trimmed sandstone, and the amount of rubble in the fill suggested substantial walls that had been intentionally collapsed inward when the building was abandoned.

A single gap in the east wall did not seem to be original, and it is this anomaly that Warfel ascribes to excavations in the 1960s (1976: 32). The walls in the north, south and east were all 2 feet wide, while the west wall was 2 1/2 feet in width (Warfel 1976: 32). The overall foundation measured 24 feet by 35 1/2 feet. The chimney footer was centrally located and shaped like an 'H' (Warfel 1976: 33).

In addition to the foundation, a circular, saucer-shaped feature with a diameter of 2.8 feet and a depth of 3 inches was found 3.5 feet north of the foundation (Warfel 1976: 36). The feature contained only charred wood which Warfel states could not be dated to any period of occupation (Warfel 1976: 36). Numerous artifacts uncovered from this sector of the excavation place the construction and earliest habitation of this structure firmly in the 18th century, with a lifespan extending into the mid-19th century (Warfel 1976: 36).

The fourth area excavated by Warfel was located on what he called the 'flats' - the marshy area near the river banks. The purpose of this component of the excavation was to test for any possible prehistoric use of the site as well as to locate any other potential French sites prior to the proposed construction of a parking lot in

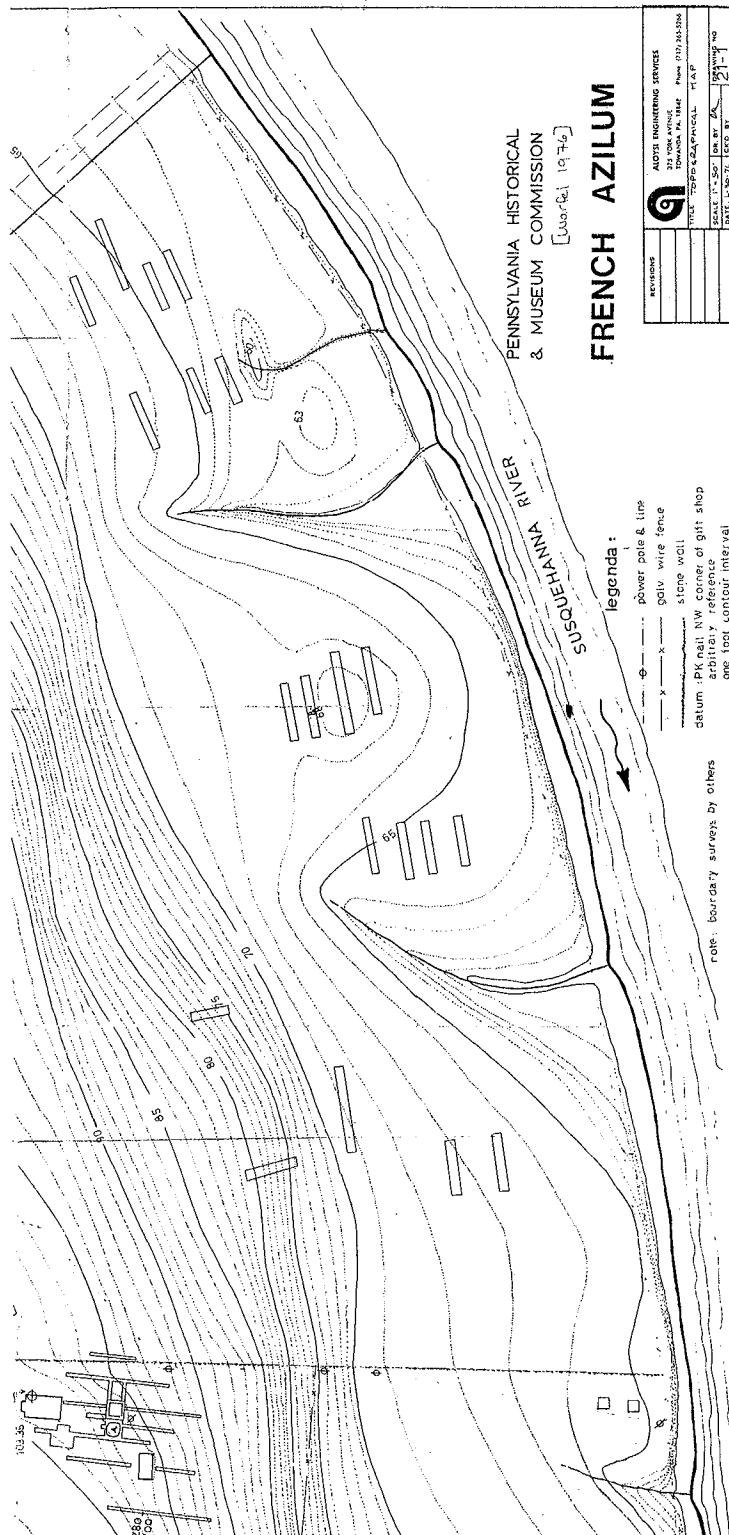


Figure 9
Area 'D' on Warfel's 1976 excavation map.

the area (Warfel 1976: 38). This component of the excavation took place between August 11th and the 20th of 1976, and involved the excavation of 20 trenches by bulldozer, a process that was complicated by the high levels of groundwater in the area (Warfel 1976: 39). Only one trench, designated 'B' on the overall map, showed any sign of prehistoric habitation. It contained a shallow stained area containing poorly preserved prehistoric sherds probably dating to the Late Woodland period (Warfel 1976: 39). Although no significant sites were found, the parking lot was never built as a result of the groundwater in the area.

Probably as a result of interest in findings by Warfel and the ongoing drive by French Azilum to understand the archaeology of the area, another, small-scale excavation was carried out in 1977. As in Warfel's dig, the focus was on locating the Grande Maison. June of 1977 was exceptionally dry, and the site curator, Martha Herman, and her staff noticed a number of "crop marks" (Thomas 1977: 1) in the lawn adjoining the existing Laporte House. The excavation was carried out on August 30th and 31st, 1977 by Charles Lucy, Ronald Thomas, Tim Reinhart, and Tim Lamb (Thomas 1977: 1), all members of the French Azilim Board. Six test trenches measuring 3 feet by 5 feet were excavated along the lines observed by Martha Harman. Soil was removed by shovel "until cultural material was reached" (Thomas 1977: 2) and then trowels were used. No mention is made of screens, an unfortunate omission. Of the six units, Numbers 3 and 4 yielded no significant results, while 1 and 5 both contained fieldstone walls measuring between 15 and 18 inches wide (Thomas 1977: 3). Unit 2 revealed a heavy burned layer and fragments of cinder block and masonry suggestive of early 20th century occupation. Photographs of the

Laporte House dating from this time reveal the presence of such a cinder block structure that burned to the ground in 1954 and was subsequently leveled (Thomas 1977: 3). Unit 6 was excavated along what was assumed to be the north wall of the postulated structure. Numerous artifacts were unearthed, but no architectural remains. This contradicts the map appended to the report, which shows a definite wall in Unit 6 and a postulated wall in Unit 2. It is possible that Thomas was confused in his labeling of units. Nevertheless, the excavators concluded that they had located the foundation of a "a structure measuring twenty four feet square" that had "once existed at a distance of approximately twenty feet north of the kitchen wing of the Laporte House" Thomas 1977: 3). This structure had been destroyed at some unknown time and replaced in the early 20th century by a cinder block garage (Thomas 1977: 3).

Unfortunately, none of the artifacts from the 1977 excavation have been located. Ronald Thomas states that "an analysis of the artifactual remains is now being conducted and will be included as an appendix to this report", but no appendix appears to exist (Thomas 1977: 2). Such artifacts would be especially intriguing in light of the fact that Thomas states that the artifacts found in Units 1, 5, and 6 "consisted not only of possible 18th century items but intermixed were numerous items of early 20th century derivation" (Thomas 1977: 2). This supports the dating sequence worked out by the excavators. However, similar sheet scatter has been observed across the lawn area of the Laporte House.

According to Thomas' map, the parallel walls of units 1 and 5 are directly in line with the kitchen wing of the Laporte House, and barring the early 20th century artifacts found in Unit 2, there is no evidence of a separate structure. I hypothesize

that the Laporte House itself may have either been built on the foundations of, or using materials from, the Grande Maison. In the summer of 2008 I returned to the area noted by the 1977 excavators, with results that will be discussed below.

Unfortunately, the 1977 report apparently went unnoticed by the archaeologists planning the next major excavation at the site of French Azilum.

Binghamton University Field School

From May 24th, 1999 to August of 2001, Azilum was the site of a field school conducted by students and faculty of Binghamton University in New York. While the excavators had interesting questions and solid methodology, the excavation ultimately yielded few useful results. Although on paper the Principal Investigator of the site was Dr. Charles Cobb, on-site management and direction of the excavation was done by a succession of graduate students. In 1999 Rob Mann and Diana Loren were the dig co-directors. In 2000, Rob Mann returned, but was joined by Claire Horn. And in 2001, Mann departed and his place was taken by Claire Horn and an MA student specializing in the analysis of faunal remains, Andrea Zlotucha Kozub.

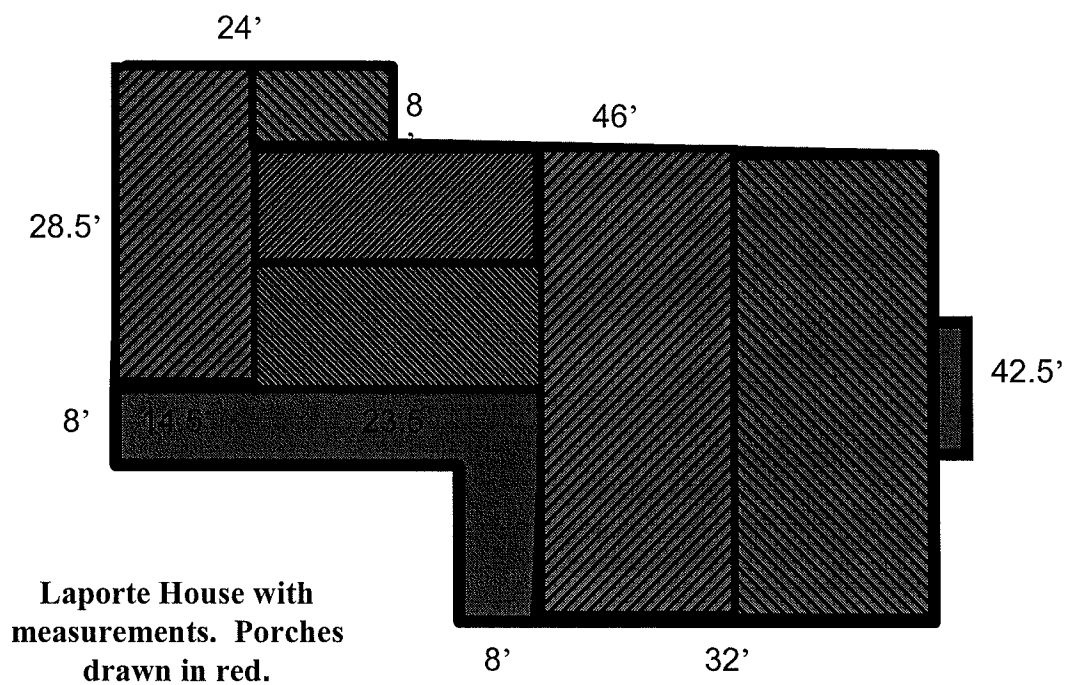
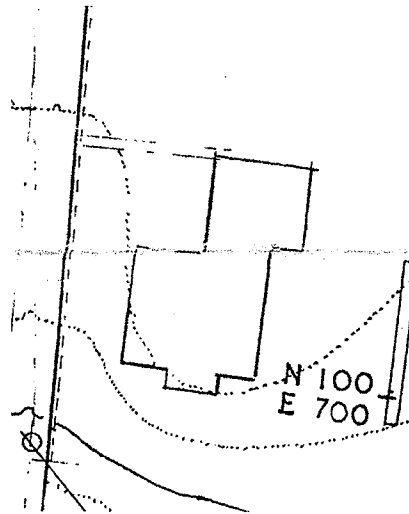
From the first report written by Rob Mann in 2000, discrepancies appear which make it difficult to reconstruct the exact chain of events that led to the problems later experienced by the excavation. Although Mann states that the 1976 base map was used throughout the layout of the excavation, it is never referenced, cited or reproduced (Mann and Loren 2000: 8). I question whether the map used was the one created by Anthony Aloysi or the smaller, rougher sketch of the immediate Cottineau foundation included in Warfel's report. As Mann and Loren wanted to use the metric

system to measure their excavation, despite the fact that all previous maps were in engineer's feet, they attempted a conversion of the measurements set forth by Warfel. They apparently did not notice that there is a discrepancy of ten feet between the measurements given on the Aloysi map and those given by Warfel in the report. This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that Warfel stretched tapes across uneven ground to arrive at his numbers, while Aloysi presumably used more sophisticated techniques and surveying instruments. There is also evidence that Warfel or someone on his team simply sketched in approximate locations for the buildings and excavated trenches onto the surveyed topographic map, giving the impression that the buildings had been surveyed in when in fact they had not.

All of these facts were uncovered in 2008, when I began to plan my own excavation. It became obvious as soon as I was on the site that the 1976 map simply failed to agree with observable reality. For instance, the Laporte House on the map is drawn as two offset squares, while the reality is more complex.

Normally these discrepancies would be, while regrettable, not a matter of great concern. However, since the Binghamton archaeologists failed to note any discrepancy, their conversion was flawed from the start. Mann and Loren also claim to have "re-established the location of Warfel's datum (N890 E480 feet) for the 'Cottineau Foundation' area" and then to have converted that point to metric N271.27 E146.30m (Mann and Loren 2000: 8). This datum point was marked in 1976 "semi-permanently by a wooden stake" (Warfel 1977: 49). However, Kozub, in a report from 2001, states that "Warfel's original datum point had been removed" (Kozub 2001: 2). This means that there is no way that the Binghamton team could have

Figure 10
 Depiction of the Laporte House on the
 1976 Warfel map.
 Dimensions of the Laporte House.



Basement measures approximately 42.5' x 55.5'

Figure 11

successfully relocated the exact spot of Warfel's datum point. Kozub also notes that Mann and Loren felt unable to backsight to the corner of the Laporte House, another datum used by Warfel, because of a picnic structure that had been built between the two locations in the intervening years. This reasoning fails to hold. It is fairly simple to sight around such a minor obstruction, especially as the picnic structure in question is open-sided and a third, known point is clearly visible from the 'Cottineau' foundation.

Finally, the reports filed by the Binghamton excavation don't agree on the fundamental structure of the excavation from year to year. In the report on the 1999 excavation Mann and Loren report that a total of 16 2m x 2m units were opened across the site (2000: 8), with 9 units to the east and south east of the supposed location of the new foundation Mann and Loren then believed they had uncovered (2000: 9). However, in the report on the excavation 2000, Mann and Horn state that the 1999 excavation was only comprised of 15 units (9). Maps of the excavations are unfortunately not labeled by season and it is therefore impossible to reconstruct the actual sequence and number of opened units.

The Binghamton excavators planned their dig with the theory that Steve Warfel had misinterpreted the 1794 plat map in his 1976 excavation, and that the modern Laporte house was in fact standing on Lot 419, not Lot 418 as Warfel believed, and as the map indicates. There are problems with this assertion, the most glaring being the literal interpretation of the 1794 plat map, which was annotated in the 20th century by Louise Welles Murray based on little if any documentary evidence. Like so many other pieces of information about the site, the locations of buildings and

the identities of the inhabitants of each plot come solely from the writings of Louise Welles Murray and her daughter Elsie Murray. Where they gained their knowledge is a mystery. The most likely scenario is that they were assigning plots based on family stories handed down for over a hundred years. According to Warfel, there is also evidence that in the early 20th century building foundations were still visible across the site. It seems likely that Louise Welles Murray combined these two sources in order to annotate the 1794 plat map, but did so only approximately. Her placements of buildings therefore need to be taken with a very large grain of salt, if not the whole shaker.

The other major problem with the Binghamton team's reinterpretation of the plat map of 1794 as annotated by Louise Welles Murray is that it includes the assumption that the map provides a realistic view of the actual structure of the settlement. In reality the settlement structure was probably more fluid, as the design of the settlement may not have suited the actual needs of the settlers in every particular. The excavation in 2009 of an informal roadbed leading from the Laporte House to the 'wine cellar' shows that, whatever designers in Philadelphia planned, the people of Azilum organized the use of the landscape to suit their most pressing needs. The Binghamton crew may have also been misled by the fact that landscape features, including lines of trees that appear as property boundaries on the 1794 map, have apparently been extended beyond their original confines as property boundaries and land usage shifted in the 19th century.

However, based on the assumption that the Laporte House was located on Lot 419, the Binghamton excavators proceeded to re-identify the owner of the building

excavated in 1976 as Sophie de Sibert, the widow of a wealthy French planter from Saint-Domingue. There is a detailed description of her house and plantings in a 1797 deed, apparently from after she left the settlement. This description, which will be gone into at some depth elsewhere, describes an 18x30 foot structure with numerous outbuildings including a two story kitchen, a summer dining room and a piazza. The Binghamton excavators used this description when planning their dig and hoped to locate the outbuildings mentioned. Confusingly, they claim that the size of the foundation as described in the 1797 deed is identical to that of the 1976 dig (Mann and Loren 2000: 6-7), although the 1976 foundation is 24'x35 ½' (Warfel 1976: 54). No 18x30 foot structure has ever been found on the site. My interpretation of the map suggests that the structure excavated in 1976 cannot possibly be the de Sibert house, and that the Azilum Trust does not even own the majority of the plot of land the Sibert house stood on.

After this initial error, the Binghamton excavators proceeded to dig in a standard way: they opened shovel tests to determine fruitful areas for excavation, placed units across the site in what they considered to be the likeliest locations, and excavated by soil levels down to sterile soil. During the first season they located artifacts but no subsurface features (Mann and Loren 2000: 11). Based on a quantity of stone rubble found in association with cultural artifacts, they believed that they had located one of the outbuildings of Sophia de Sibert's house. The 2000 season saw the opening of more units and the locating of walls (Mann and Horn 2001: 12). It wasn't until 2001 that the excavators noticed that the soil they were excavating through had definite signs of disturbance. In one unit, for instance, was found the twine used by

Warfel's team in 1976. In another was found scraps of plaid fabric, possibly from an archaeologists' shirt, but certainly not dating to the early 19th century. While some artifacts could be dismissed as intrusive, the sheer number suggested massive soil disturbance across the site.

It took the discovery, in the final week of the excavation of 2001, of irrefutable evidence that the new foundation and the 'Cottineau foundation' were in fact one and the same to show the problems with the site layout (Kozub 2001: 1). At that point it was also discovered that the 'new foundation' had been mapped at a 50 degree angle to the original 'Cottineau' foundation (Kozub 2001: 1).

As a result of these problems with the excavation, three seasons of valuable dig time were lost. The Binghamton excavation, which was designed to locate outbuildings of the de Sibert house and discuss the daily life of French colonists at Azilum, especially how "the French émigrés use[d] architecture, diet and dress to display status in a remote outpost" (Mann and Loren 2000: 7) moved on to more fruitful sites. However, the Binghamton excavators did uncover more material culture from the foundation than should have been present in an already-excavated site.

In 1976 Warfel used 1/4 inch screens, the industry standard, for artifact retrieval (Warfel personal communication November 2007). The success of this method is obvious in the artifact assemblage, which includes such minute objects as pins, shells and tiny ceramic sherds. As a result, it is puzzling to note that there were far more artifacts uncovered in the Binghamton excavations than should have slipped through even the most sloppy screening. Andrea Zlotucha Kozub found an explanation for this in the records of French Azilum, which showed that in 1983 the

site manager Martha Herman had paid local contractor Nathan Benjamin to backfill the open excavation. Although all those involved in the transaction have since passed away, it seems likely that Benjamin simply used a backhoe to scrape soil from the surrounding areas into the open units (Kozub 2001: 5-6). Kozub speculates that this topsoil may have come from a sheet midden, probably one that existed to the southwest of the foundation (Kozub 2001: 6). The 1976 Aloysi map clearly shows a change in elevation of some sort to the southwest of the Cottineau foundation, possibly the midden in question. Although the area has been substantially disturbed by excavation since this map was surveyed, no such elevation change is noticeable today. If artifacts from a midden were in fact deposited into the excavated foundation, then the Binghamton archaeologists retrieved artifacts that were directly related to the site in question. Any stratigraphic or depositional information, however, was lost in the 1983 backfilling, which is unfortunate, as no other intact middens have been discovered at the site.

Other evidence that supports Kozub's hypothesis include the average weight of faunal remains, which in the Binghamton excavation was "0.86 g, comparable to the 0.82g of the plow zone units and markedly dissimilar to the average weight (5.33g) of specimens excavated from the interior of the foundation in 1976 (Kozub 2001: 8). In addition, some of the faunal remains were clearly modern, with intact fur (Kozub 2001: 11). The number of intrusive species was also far higher, proportionally, than during the 1976 excavation (Kozub 2001: 9).

Despite the difficulties of the three season excavation by the Binghamton crew, they did uncover valuable additional information pertaining to the early French

habitation of the site. The excavation of the midden, even displaced and disturbed as it was, is significant. A better excavation of the remaining midden area, under more controlled conditions, would be of great interest. The accidental discovery, made in the summer of 1999, of a stone wall eroding out of the riverbank of the Susquehanna, also initially generated interest. The wall was hypothesized to be that of a gristmill located on land belonging to Mme. De Sibert. When we re-examined the 'wall' in the summer of 2008 we found only a jumble of stones directly beneath a drainage pipe. There is currently no reason to believe that this pile of stones was ever a structure of any sort, as there is no trace of mortar, no observable stacked stone, and no visible artifacts.

The Binghamton team believed that the eroding wall might have been the horse gristmill, noted on the property in the 1797 deed that conveyed lot 416 from Sophie de Sibert to Guy de Noailles (Mann and Loren 2000: 18). In doing so, they were reiterating their interpretation of the 1794 plat map and confirming their belief that the structure named the Cottineau foundation by Steve Warfel in 1976 was in fact the de Sibert residence. There are a number of problems with this interpretation which will be gone into elsewhere in this dissertation.

Excavations 2008-2010

The following section will discuss the methodology of my excavation at Azilum, while the results of those investigations will be examined in the remainder of the text.

Excavation procedures

First Season

The first season of excavation on French Azilum (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission designated Site Br36 134) began on April 24, 2008, and continued until July 4, 2008. The placement of shovel tests and units was decided based on the results of previous excavations and the analysis of maps from the early 20th century purporting to identify the locations and inhabitants of individual buildings on the site. I was especially interested in testing the reliability of the annotated 1794 plat map, which had been used by all previous professional excavations at the site to identify the owners of individual buildings. Use was also made of remote sensing done in 1999 and aerial photography from the 1930s. The site was surveyed with a laser transit in order to locate the datum of the previous Warfel excavation, which unfortunately could only be approximated, and the northeast corner of the kitchen wing was chosen as a new datum point. Also surveyed were the original 1977 units excavated in the area adjacent to the kitchen wing. Units and shovel test grids were deliberately placed in locations other than those previously excavated, in order to avoid areas that had been found to lack structures by Warfel in 1976 and to test whether the structure found in 1977 was an extension or an outbuilding of the kitchen wing, or whether it was an unrelated building. Eight-inch nails were used to identify locations of interest, and shovel tests were placed to the west of the nails. Excavation was conducted by hand with shovels and trowels, and all soil was screened through standard ¼ inch screens. Units were designated by Arabic numerals 1-6, six being the number of units excavated the first season. Shovel tests were also given a separate set of Arabic numerals 1-23.

This excavation utilized engineers' feet in all notations, as that was the unit of measurement for the 1976 Warfel excavation. Since the base map we utilized was in engineers' feet, attempting to convert the measurements seemed unwise, especially as imprecise and poorly explained measurements were at the base of the problems experienced by the Binghamton University field school from 1999-2001. I wanted to avoid similar problems at all costs. Units were based on a five foot grid, with units measuring either 2.5x2.5 feet, (a quarter unit) 2.5x5 feet (a half unit), or 5x5 feet (a full unit), based on the perceived or physical appropriateness of the location. By perceived appropriateness I mean that generally quarter units were used if we were interested in answering specific narrow focus questions, such as whether a wall continued, while half and full units were reserved for areas of broader interest. According to this scheme, a half or full unit might be placed to determine whether soil staining in a shovel test was a result of a buried feature or remained inchoate over a larger area. It also might be used to widen a shovel test in which a great deal of cultural material had been located in hopes of finding an adjacent feature. No balks were left between units, as extremely rocky soil caused such balks to crumble overnight or in dry weather. Stratigraphy was noted during the excavation process.

The grid was laid out from the northeast corner of the kitchen wing of the Laporte House, that being the most permanent physical location available, and one that we believed was definitely physically located on the Warfel 1976 base map. Again, although events proved the map inaccurate, the location remains easily identifiable and relatively permanent.

The original location for excavation was selected due to an ambiguous report from 1977, claiming that walls and 18th century artifacts had been located in the immediate vicinity of the 19th century Laporte House kitchen wing (date of construction unknown). Using the 1977 map as a guide, a unit was opened along what was presumed to be the southwest side of the structure, at a distance of 25 feet from the kitchen wing. A dry-laid wall of local stone was uncovered on the second day of excavation, running in an east/west direction. The wall measured two feet in width. A noticeable burn layer was present directly to the northeast of the wall, in the area that proved to be the inside of the structure. The burn layer was capped with a thick layer of slate debris, some containing nail holes, which obviously comprised the remains of a roof.

The second area sampled was designated as the 'Field Area' and consisted of only 6 shovel tests and one unit directly below the modern bathrooms. We selected this area based on careful analysis of the annotated 1794 plat map and the privately printed 1879 Map of Bradford County, both of which purport to locate the remains of the house of Captain Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen. The excavation in this area was unsuccessful.

Finally we placed 10 shovel tests into the area of the greatest 18th century artifact concentration from the 1976 excavation. In all of these shovel tests we discovered significant amounts of cultural material, and what we initially believed to be a small dry stacked stone wall. While subsequent excavation failed to reveal such a stone wall, the findings were significant enough to encourage us to return to this area for a second season.

Photographs were taken on an Olympus digital camera at the start of each new level as well as at the end of every day. An attempt was made to take photographs in similar atmospheric conditions. We held a tarpaulin over the unit in question to take pictures initially, but eventually this proved unworkable and not useful. Instead, additional photographs were taken in order to provide a wide selection of exposures. A standard Munsell book was likewise used at the start of each new level to record soil coloration, as well as being used to record variation of soil colors and staining within units. We mapped all features on a grid system as we excavated, although in my opinion the fire and demolition of the affected structure rendered this less than useful.

All cultural materials were retained, although as directed by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Collection Guidelines architectural materials such as nails, mortar, coal, and roof slate were later discarded. When these materials were discarded, their presence was noted. Prior to discard, nails were first studied to determine whether they were hand or machine forged, and all materials were examined to determine whether they held any diagnostic potential. Where the material was unusual in any way, it was retained for further study, although as directed it will not be given to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for permanent curation. Although The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Guidelines state that window glass should also not be curated, the presence in the collection of window glass from previous excavations belies this. I have chosen to retain window glass in keeping with previous excavations, and also because the early and unusual

importation of window glass into the area is a particularly noteworthy and integral part of the story of French Azilum.

Excavation during the first season was carried out by a total of ten individuals on a volunteer and intermittent basis, with a core excavation staff of three; myself, my husband Daniel Costura who has acted as dig co-director throughout, and my father, Bruce McIlhaney. My daughter Lea Rose was there in spirit, as she was born on August 15, 2008, only weeks after we closed the excavation. Without the assistance of my family this excavation would never have succeeded.

Second Season

The second season of the excavation was from June 8th to August 14th of 2009. While all of the procedures described in the previous section – the units of measurement, the use of trowel and screen, etc. – were continued, both the staff and the scope of the excavation widened considerably. We were focused on the yard area halfway between the Laporte House and the exposed ‘wine cellar’ foundation, and our findings of considerable amounts of cultural material sparked significant interest in the local community. During the ten weeks of our dig the core staff of three were assisted by over 70 volunteers, ranging in age from 70 to 9. We had school groups, campers, high school seniors, Girl Scout troops, and the descendants of some of the original French settlers volunteer to assist us in our excavations.

During this season we excavated a total of 20 units and 85 shovel tests, bringing our total for the two seasons to 26 units, 108 shovel tests. Two boy scouts uncovered our first significant feature in shovel test 36, which we later expanded to

units 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16. This feature consisted of the remains of an eighteenth century roadbed or footpath, discernable from the surrounding soil as a result of its harder, drier, and rockier consistency and the loose soil of the drainage ditches on either side. We also located (during the last week, according to the best tenets of archaeological tradition) the remains of six postholes stretching from unit 24 through units 9, 20, 23, and 26. Adjacent to this line of postmolds units 7, 8, 21, and 25, were also opened, and a substantial amount of cultural material was recovered. The postholes, which were irregular in shape and size, were only discernable at the soil change from the topsoil to the hard packed trampled floor of the French habitation period. We ultimately concluded that these postholes represented one wall and two corners of a structure. This structure is discussed in some depth in the following chapters. While the limitations of time forced us to close the excavation before the entirety of the structure was excavated, I look forward to returning to the site in the future and fully revealing the dimensions of what was almost certainly an outbuilding to Omer Talon's Grande Maison.

The Third Season

Finally, although during the third season we were unable to mount a full-scale excavation, I was able to return to Azilum for three weeks with experts in geochemical and geophysical analysis of archaeological sites. Dr. Johanna Ullrich of the University of the City of Dublin is currently the only individual in the world doing phosphate analysis of historic archaeological sites, and she kindly consented to sample a limited area of the Laporte House lawn. The grid covered a 20 foot wide swath of

land stretching 200 feet northwest from the Laporte House to the exposed ‘wine cellar’ foundation and terminating at the stone wall that divides the yard area from the rest of the site. Her report is appended to this dissertation as Appendix A. Professor Michael Rogers of Ithaca College also kindly agreed to bring his expertise to French Azilum, and he and his team of students sampled three 20x20 meter grid squares over the course of three days in July. Unfortunately, these were some of the hottest days in a hot July, and they were not able to cover as much ground as they had anticipated. The location chosen partially coincided with the areas tested by Dr. Ullrich. Meters were used because they are Prof. Roger’s preferred unit of measurement. Reconciliation of maps will be done when his report is forthcoming. The results of the three methodologies – excavation, phosphate sampling, and the geophysical remote sensing techniques used by Prof. Rogers, all reach the unanimous verdict that not only was there one outbuilding between the Laporte House and the ‘wine cellar’, there were two! Other conclusions from Prof. Rogers research await a forthcoming report.

Summary of Previous Excavations

The history of excavation at French Azilum is a mixed one. Despite the best intentions of all concerned, there have been considerable shifts over the decades as to what methods and techniques should be expected. That these disagreements and shifts are only normal at historical sites does not make it any easier to piece together the results of the miscellaneous excavations. While a great deal of information was learned at the times of those excavations, perhaps as much again has been lost to amateur digging, misplaced artifacts, and incorrect or nonexistent documentation. As a result, archaeologists working at the site in the future will have to turn to other

sources of information to gain a broad-based understanding of life at the settlement. Techniques that can pinpoint areas of previous excavation, such as resistivity or phosphate analysis, are extremely useful in locating previously unexcavated and undisturbed locations. Finally, the experiences of those who have excavated at Azilum in the past show that close attention to documentary records and the reports of previous excavators at the site is absolutely necessary to reconstruct what was done, and that this research must be completed before putting shovel to earth.

Chapter Four - The Social, Political, and Economic Landscapes of French

Azilum

Introduction

We have discussed the history of Azilum and the archaeological work that has been done there, but neither of these – the facts of the place – give us much understanding of what Azilum was. How did it come into being in its present form? What did it mean to the various groups that planned and inhabited it? Was it, as Catherine Spaeth suggests, an exercise in the futility of American exceptionalism, an idealized community built on Enlightenment principles that failed as a result of its intransigent reality (Spaeth 2008)? Was Azilum abandoned because the dream of it could never match the reality? Or was it, as the Comte de Moré claims, a self-serving attempt on the part of the founders to take advantage of the miserable refugees of the two revolutions, to take what little they had left and leave them destitute? How did these competing visions of the settlement – as a Rousseauian refuge of natural men, or as a money-making venture, affect the settlers and the settlement design? What do the various sources tell us? Where does the weight of archaeological evidence lie?

To discuss these questions we need to know how the settlement of Azilum was seen – both metaphorically and physically. Since we can't peer back into the 18th century, we will begin by examining the proxy documents the founders of and visitors to Azilum left behind.

Origins and History of the 1794 plat map.

The 1794 plat map is the only map that was published during the life of the settlement. It shows the bend of the Susquehanna where Azilum is located laid out

into neat and orderly sections, with wide straight roads and no obvious topography. According to Kent C. Ryden, such a map represented a move away from the earlier ‘metes-and-bounds’ system of mapping, where the surveyor would designate concrete landmarks, usually trees, as boundary markers. This marking of land was reliant on continued occupation and ownership, and rendered the property boundaries as real, physical places on the landscape. The sort of map represented by the 1794 plat map of Azilum instead creates abstract lot shapes which comfort the eye but have little connection to any reality on the ground. This in turn helps to promote the alienated or reified view of land as currency or goods (1993). Small town lots predominate, and larger lots along the riverbank and back to where the bend opens into countryside to the west represent area allotted for farms and orchards. According to research done in 1976 by Anne Woodward for the PHMC, “the town lots varied from less than an acre up to five acres” (Warfel 1977: Appendix 1 page 1). What are not shown are the hundreds of acres that each share of the town represented. When a purchaser took the deed to a town lot, they were also purchasing a share in the Asylum Company, a publicly offered land speculation corporation. Along with a town lot, each share of the company was worth 200 acres, according to the Land Records in the Asylum Company minutes (Box 1, File 9). These acres remained unimproved and largely unfarmed for the life of the settlement.

In the lower left corner the map legend shows a scene of people in a mix of late 18th century and semi-classical garments gathered around a large plaque which bears the legend “A Plan of the Town of Asylum in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania”. Above the plaque is a weeping willow from which descends a wreath of some sort. In the

background is a prosperous city street of three story buildings. The map is currently marked with a number of letters that supposedly show the locations of individual buildings that were erected at Azilum.

The origins of this map remain uncertain, and only one contemporary copy is currently known, at the Tioga Point Museum in Athens, Pennsylvania. None of the letters or documents pertaining to the settlement mention it in any way. The one known copy was apparently discovered in the desk of John Laporte sometime in the late 19th or early 20th century. Elsie Murray writes that “Laporte’s copy of the map, bearing his name, after a series of disappearances in secret desk compartments, is now in the Bradford County Historical Society” (Murray 1950: 45). He had it copied and either the original or the copy was given to the Museum by his descendant Elsie Murray following her acrimonious separation from the board of directors of French Azilum. The map in the possession of the Museum does not contain the notations as to building location that show up on later published versions, making it plain that those were added by either Elsie or Louise Welles Murray. It is not immediately apparent whether the map legend is a later addition or not. An examination of other late 18th century maps shows that some contain decorative legends, but just as many do not. The general attitude of reverence and mourning shown by the people depicted in the legend would seem to indicate that the decoration is a later addition, but no concrete evidence exists either way. If the legend is original, it is a striking commentary on the attitudes of those for whom the map was intended, conveying a sense of lost glory.

The map does not seem to have ever been widely published, by which I mean that there are no copies filed with any other documents pertaining to Azilum, either in Harrisburg or Philadelphia. The Philadelphia archives, which contain the catalogue of lands for sale at the time of the Asylum Company's dissolution in 1819 (Fry, 1819), would seem a likely place to find a map of the area, but none exists. No copies are included in the documents on file in the Philadelphia Historical Society, which holds the records for the Asylum Land Company, and none are included in the papers of any of the major investors or supporters of Azilum. Given this paucity of information, the question of the accuracy of elements of the map is hard to resolve. However, we can say that a map, most likely extremely similar to the 1794 plat map pictures here, was in use during the period of Azilum's occupation, as a map is specifically referred to in a letter to the Board of the Asylum Company in 1799. In this letter one of the settlers, Antoine Lefevre, reportedly a cousin of the far more prolific writer Mme. D'Autremont, is asking for two specific farm lots to be assigned to him. Specifically, he writes "The two lots which I petition for are the 2 above no.13 and the 2 above no. 14" (Box 1 Folder 9). Four large lots are pictured in these locations on the 1794 plat map, and are numbered 25, 26, 27, and 28. Whether Lefevre ever was granted any of these lots is unknown, but he remained in the Azilum area for the rest of his life, and an "A. Lefevre" is listed as one of the original settlers in the township of Asylum at its organization in 1814 (Beers 1869).

Settlement Depictions on the 1794 Plat Map

However dubious elements of the map may be, the bulk of it - the depiction of the settlement - does provide us with valuable clues as to how the founders of the

settlement wished it to be perceived. Without stopping at this point to go into the question of whether this was how the founders of the settlement perceived Azilum themselves – an unanswerable question if ever there was one – we need to analyze the depiction of the settlement – how does it compare with other town plans from the French colonial world? Can we detect elements of creeping philosophical discourse in the layout? Pierre Bourdieu claims that customs of mind, which he calls *habitus*, are implicit in the creation of culture. To an archaeologist, these customs of mind are also complicit in the creation of the archaeological record. From this structuralist perspective, reality on the ground reflects expected or perceived reality. *Habitus* creates action, and action repeated enough times – or inscribed on maps or in images – creates physical traces. In this way *habitus* is emplaced within a given context, and it is understanding of the context that allows the *habitus* to be decoded. As Edward Casey writes:

Place is no empty substratum to which cultural predicates come to be attached; it is an already plenary presence permeated with culturally constituted institutions and practices. As the basis of collective as well as individual *habitus*, these institutions and practices pervade the bodies of the sensing subjects in a given place itself... and neither body nor place is precultural (1996: 46).

Let us attempt to use the physical traces of Azilum - both its archaeology and its imagery – to understand the perceptions of the Azilum settlement by the various groups affected by it. We will do this by discussing: first, why the 1794 map was created; second, what elements of French colonial or Enlightenment ideology can be detected in the map, and third, how this might have altered the perception of the settlement by those at whom the 1794 map was targeted.

In his Memoires the Comte de Moré mentions that Robert Morris and the trustees of the Asylum Land Company practiced extremely active recruitment in both Philadelphia and Paris. It appears that the map was created as part of this effort to enlist wealthy émigrés. In 1794 Gouverneur Morris, a friend and connection of Robert Morris, was in Europe acting as the United States Ambassador to France. In a mode typical of Robert Morris's time in public service Gouverneur mixed public and personal business by approaching potential settlers and sources of funding on behalf of his friend and patron. It was common practice to utilize maps of patented territories in these efforts, and it would have been reassuring for potential settlers, used to urban or at least village life in France to see such an apparently extensive settlement as the one depicted in the 1794 map. Robert Morris' son also spent several years traveling around to various European cities extolling the virtues of the lands owned by one or another of Morris' land companies. His efforts were largely unsuccessful. It makes sense that he would be armed with maps as well as words, but if copies of the Azilum map exist in Europe they have not come to light. In his Memoires the Comte states that land in Azilum was "advertised in the papers under the heading of 'good land to be sold'" (de Pontgibaud 1968: 130), but does not discuss a map. However, he does recall that "It is literally true that this enterprising company had agents on the lookout for all emigrants who arrived from Europe"(de Pontgibaud 1968: 130). He himself was not tempted to purchase land, however, as "I had been all through the War of Independence," and "two hundred acres of that land would not support a cow,... there was not a store in the whole country, and that no meat was to be found unless you killed a deer" (de Pontgibaud 1968: 131).

The 1794 map was probably circulated on the streets of Philadelphia as part of this recruiting effort. Rumor about the settlement and the reasons of European nobility for flocking there seem to have been under common discussion. The Comte de Moré's mentions one such rumor, of an apocryphal "immense building" (de Pontgibaud 1968: 130) meant to house European notables before their removal to the colony. It is likely that de More was referring to the structure known as Morris' Folly, actually a house in Philadelphia designed by Latrobe for Morris. This structure was so large and extravagant that the building of it helped to land Robert Morris in debtor's prison and ended his public career. Morris' Folly was never completed, and the house was eventually broken up and sold for parts. Marble figures from the Folly were used on buildings from Rhode Island to South Carolina. There is no evidence, however, that this building was linked to Azilum in the sense seemingly intended by de More. No other buildings related to the Asylum Company or any of the other land companies run by Morris are known to have existed in Philadelphia.

If the purpose of the map was to recruit wealthy emigrants, its veracity as an accurate reflection of reality must be called into question. Naturally recruiters would wish to show the land in the most favorable light. The inclusion on the map of elements of French colonial design would serve to create a safety and a familiarity that would be appealing to exhausted refugees. Those from France would be familiar with planned communities from the 15th to 18th century, including *bastide* construction and major urban renewal projects like that undertaken in London following the Great Fire of 1666. Famous architects like Palladio and Christopher Wren were imitated and studied by men of breeding and taste, and the design vocabulary of the Enlightenment

– which includes long sight lines, wide streets, and grid-patterning of roads, was utilized in most colonial designs. The inclusion of parks and green spaces also reflects the Enlightenment preoccupation with the natural man and the concept of a slow fall from grace which communion with nature could mitigate.

The 1794 plat map contains a great deal of this design vocabulary. It shows 421 town lots laid out in a grid pattern, with a large plaza fronting on the Susquehanna River. Roads stretch from the hills down to the ferry landing, giving travelers cresting the hills or arriving at the docks magnificent views of the entire settlement. While these roads were undoubtedly unusually wide for frontier Pennsylvania, however, they were nothing special for French colonial settlements, which were usually intended to give an impression of majesty to natives and other Europeans alike. For instance, in the Detroit of 1701 thirty foot wide streets were considered cramped and narrow, a remnant of medieval schemes for town settlements that relied on a city wall and gun emplacements for protection of the colony in hostile country (Reps 1965: 72-73). To continue the comparison between Detroit and Azilum, both exhibit “the typical French pattern of long narrow farms running back from the water’s edge,” (Reps 1965: 73, while St. Louis, the last French colonial settlement in North America, was depicted on its founding in 1764 as boasting “a square opening to the river. [This] may have been intended as the place d’armes, that central feature of most French colonial towns” (Reps 1965: 75). Despite the similarities between the plan for Azilum and other late French colonial settlements, John Reps, a pioneer of urban planning in North America, wrote that:

with its central market square, rectangular street pattern, and system of town lots and farm lots, [Azilum] resembles some of the little Pennsylvania towns

near Philadelphia. Yet in the broad avenue leading up from the landing at the river to the market square and beyond, it has some of the qualities of the Grand Plan concept that would have been familiar to the former members of the French nobility and professional classes who came there to live (Reps 1965: 475).

The town center is clustered, with agricultural fields fronting onto the river and lining the main road into town. This foregrounding of the agricultural and scenic was a deliberate statement on the part of the settlement designers. They were putting the metaphor of peaceful country life at the very opening lines of their Azilum dialogue. The lack of small lots along the river banks would have created a unified settlement with one common hub, where communication and transportation were centered on the market square, rather than a decentralized community where each estate had its own dock, as was familiar in other parts of America such as the Chesapeake or the Caribbean islands.

The overall pattern of Azilum is similar to designs from the French colonial world, including Montreal, which contained a lower town area with wharves and an upper town with a large central square (Reps 1965: 71). For the municipal authorities of Montreal, control of the water was paramount. “The waterfront, or a military installation controlling the waterfront, was an important feature of most... French colonial settlements” (Reps 1965: 71), and this appears to have been true at Azilum as well. It’s worth noting, however, that the vast majority of new town settlements were planned along navigable waterways, which were still the main means of transportation in the late 18th century.

The 1794 plat map also gives the impression that the town lots at Azilum were already surveyed and cleared. However, the reality was very different. Although the

Susquehanna was hardly the wasteland that commentators like de More made it out to be, it was far from settled. Azilum was on a frontier, with a frontier lifestyle and lack of amenities. Ironically, this state of wilderness may have been as attractive to the settlers and planners of Azilum as the familiarity of the town plan itself.

Maulevrier Image

Some evidence for this hypothesis can be found in the second image of Azilum made during its period of existence, the 1798 watercolor made by Edouard C.V. Colbert, Comte de Maulevrier, during his visit to various points of interest in the United States. One point of interest that he mentions in some detail is a trip to visit the son of Mme de Sibert in Pottstown near Philadelphia, where Maulevrier found the once-wealthy planter selling vegetables from a stall near the road. Maulevrier then visited Azilum on his way north to Niagara Falls.

The perspective of the painting is from the far bank of the Susquehanna and shows what is probably the original ferry landing for the settlement (the low building on the left side of the image). Boats are drawn up in front of the building, which is the only one-story building pictured. Nine buildings and several sheds are pictured. Unfortunately, changes in the topography and landscape of the site, and in particular the reforestation of the river banks, have made it impossible to identify the exact location from which the image was painted. However, the most likely spot appears to be directly across from the area labeled as the original ferry landing on the 1794 plat map.

The houses in Maulevrier's picture are striking for several reasons. First, the land is shown as cleared and well maintained. This is in contrast to Maulevrier's own



Figure 12

Watercolor image of French Azilum done in 1798 by Edoard C. V. Colbert, Comte de Maulevrier.

words, which describe trees left girdled in the fields and a general air of desolation and abandonment. The number of houses is also surprising. There are, as stated, nine structures pictured in the water-color, of which one may be the ferry dock. That leaves eight houses. In La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's account of Azilum he describes the town as being comprised of "thirty houses" (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 160: 1800) while the 1798 American census states that there are fifty taxable structures at Azilum. Anne Woodward's compilation of structures "most probably found in the town of Azilum" (Warfel 1976: Appendix 1 page 1) only includes 20 structures. She explains this by stating that "because the Direct Tax applied only to property worth more than \$100, the smaller buildings within the town are probably missing from this list" (Warfel 1976: Appendix 1 page 1) and her list does lack several buildings, including shops, which are attested to in Azilum by traveler's memoirs (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1800; Maulevrier 1798). While thirty to fifty is a quite large discrepancy, the salient point is that the Maulevrier image shows a significant portion of the structures present at Azilum during his visit. Leaving aside for now the currently unanswerable question of the accuracy of the artist's work, let's examine what these houses can tell us about the social and financial status of the settlement.

Maulevrier's eight structures are, with only two exceptions, pictured as being two stories, clapboarded and painted structures with glass windows set into frames. This corresponds to historical accounts of Azilum as having "attained an uncommon state of perfection" (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 160: 1800). However, several of the structures included on Anne Woodward's list are one storied, including a "dwelling house" owned and lived in by Bartolome Laporte and Francis King, which

was valued at \$400 in 1798, and the dwelling of Casmier LaRoue which was one and a half stories on less than an acre of land, valued at \$130 (Warfel 1976: Appendix 1 page 1). According to Jack Larkin's The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790-1840, the structures and construction of these houses can serve as a valuable clue as to the intentions and desires of the French. At the time, according to Larkin, most frontier settlements populated by Americans were places which lacked virtually all of the amenities enjoyed by the settlers at Azilum. They were often "surprisingly small, and meanly built and dilapidated" (Larkin 1988: 111). In contrast, the homes at Azilum are "in very good condition" (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 160: 1800). They all contained windows, with glass, ranging in number from 25 windows of 20 lights each on the house built by Omer Talon and occupied by Dr. Louis Broussard to a house with only one window of ten lights, occupied by Philip de Villaines. Despite this disparity of grandeur the fact that all of the homes in Azilum had windows without exception is itself a striking statement, given the high cost of window glass and the difficulty in transporting it upriver from Wilkes-Barre. The homogeneity of style pictured at Azilum is also a clue as to how the settlers wished to be perceived: as a unified group. In the 1790s "in newly settled Mifflin County in western Pennsylvania, houses ran the gamut from an eight-room brick house worth fourteen hundred dollars to dozens of tiny one-room log shacks valued at less than ten dollars each" (Larkin 111: 1988). Such distinctions at Azilum appear far less monumental, with even the smallest houses being clapboarded and windowed.

Presenting a United Front: Meanings of Architecture at French Azilum

Although residents of Azilum occupied somewhat different socio-economic statuses, they appear to project, in this image at least, a homogenous shell to the outside world. The level of solidarity expressed by the appearance of the houses in Maulevrier's painting is made more extraordinary in light of the varied origins of the settlers as discussed in Chapter 6. They came from different areas of France, both urban and rural, from Saint-Domingue and from Africa, from courts both royal and legal, from sugar plantations and naval decks. They settled in Azilum as milliners, innkeepers, merchants, orchard owners and doctors. They were slave owners and reformers of slavery, the proponents of reform and even revolution in France as well as its opponents. Given this lack of social cohesion, what served to unite these people? To understand their display of social cohesion it is important to understand the times in which the settlers and founders of Azilum lived.

The Émigré Community

The majority of individuals in the 18th century relied on their families and extended kinship networks for the economic safety. Clientage undoubtedly played a role, but the majority of the social safeguards enjoyed by the individual rested in the maintenance of familial connections. Thus, family and familial connections become important issues in considering the development and perception of the settlement at Azilum. The majority of residents at Azilum seem to have been accompanied by members of their extended families. Brothers and sisters, cousins and in-laws congregated in a location where they could both control and understand the social milieu. In a larger sense, the residents of Azilum shared a cultural background that went beyond families, and Azilum was a draw to them for precisely the same reasons

that New Orleans later became a destination for many displaced people of French extraction. In Azilum, as in New Orleans, they could be in the majority. While Nathalie Dessens was only concerned with the Saint-Domingan community, her observations hold true for the French refugees as well:

The sources give the impression of a real Saint-Domingan diaspora, that is, of people with a shared experience who settled in various territories, sometimes moved from one territory to another, but always maintained close contacts within and between these various host countries (2007: 20).

The “shared experiences” of the refugees included a shared ideal of landscape, one which informed all of their design choices at Azilum. The results of this uniformity of expectation can be seen clearly in Maulevrier’s image. This common shared sense of the landscape can be traced back to the hugely influential Enlightenment *philosophes* and their writings on the place of man within nature.

The Enlightenment and the Reality of Nature

There is no commonly agreed upon date for the social and philosophical movement that has come to be known as the Enlightenment, but most authorities agree that it reached its highest level of development in the mid to late 18th century, with philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Locke, Kant, and other thinkers too numerous to mention. They were writing for an international elite of educated people, among whom can certainly be numbered the residents of Azilum. While no concrete evidence exists as to the reading habits of men like Louis de Noailles, Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen, and Robert Morris, it is hard to explain their actions without the lens of Enlightenment philosophy.

Many of the Frenchmen who came to Azilum were not adverse to the idea of reform, revolt, and even Revolution in France. Some had first come to America in the 1770s as volunteers in the American War of Independence. Men like Louis de Noailles and his brother-in-law and cousin the Marquis de Lafayette did not even wait for France to have an official treaty with the nascent United States- they offered their services from idealism and commitment to the philosophies of reform and equality that the American Revolution represented. Others, like the Comte de Moré, were motivated by boredom, poverty, and a desire for adventure. Under existing French custom, the nobility was discouraged from engaging in trade on the grounds that it made them unfit for higher office in the military or the government. Since there were many more scions of the nobility than there were available posts, even with all posts reserved for the elite, this situation pleased no one. Young noblemen were often impoverished by their own standards, although it has to be noted that those standards rarely involved starving to death due to high food prices, as was common for the poor or France in the years leading up to the Revolution (Roberts 1997). Whatever their reasons, the dashing adventurer-aristocrat was a familiar and admired figure in the dying years of the Ancien Régime.

On their return to France these young scions of the aristocracy were dubbed '*les Americans*', and began working to implement similar Revolutionary changes in their own society. While they planned the economic reform of their nation, they were fêted and adored by the intelligentsia of Paris and regarded warily by the royal court. Their understanding of America remained deeply entrenched in the Enlightenment ideals of the nobility of the natural state as described by writers like Rousseau and

Crevecoeur. Casey says that “given that we are never without perception, the existence of this dialectic means that we are never without emplaced experience” (1996: 19) and the experiences of revolt and liberty became deeply enmeshed with the place and dream of America in the minds of the French reformers.

Whatever their misconceptions about the ennobling nature of the American landscape, many young European aristocrats served honorably in the American military and returned home motivated to pursue reform in their own lands. Louis de Noailles and Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen were among this group, as were others associated with Azilum. Participation in the American Revolution was not limited to aristocrats. In an ironic twist, enslaved soldiers were sent from Saint Domingue to help liberate the American colonies, and among them was Toussaint L’Ouverture. Like *les Americains*, the future leader of the Haitian Revolution returned home filled with revolutionary fervor. The actions of Toussaint L’Ouverture, and the character his personality gave to the emergent nation of Haiti, are a major factor in the eventual fate of Azilum. Had his actions and the restraint he showed in the late 1790s not given hope to the refugee Saint-Domingans that an eventual return to the island was possible, many more would have returned to France. Azilum would have lost one of its core groups of settlers. Through their service, many of these men came into contact with virtually every major figure in the American Revolution. The one with the greatest lasting impact on the histories of their lives, however, was Robert Morris.

A wealthy man during the Revolution, by the 1790s Morris had fallen on hard times through his speculation on the sale of frontier lands, and their use as securities for other speculations. However, during the American Revolution Morris was

motivated by the same Enlightenment ideals that drove Lafayette, de Noailles, Cottineau, and thousands of their fellow volunteers. All shared a belief in the dual Enlightenment concepts of the nobility of natural man and the equality of opportunity – at least for the deserving. All belonged to the same basic class – what in Marxian terms would be called the bourgeoisie. These commonalities and beliefs would come into play during the founding of Azilum.

Despite having been present for some of the most grueling moments of the American Revolution and witnessing the excesses and abuses of both the Continental Army and the British troops, men like Noailles and Lafayette remained convinced of the potential of the United States, and they transported that faith in the Enlightenment ideals of the new nation back to France. Their goal in fomenting the Revolution in France was not a complete transformation of the social order but an economic reform. The feudal French system was to be placed upon a more rational and natural system where inequalities of rights, if not opportunity, were to be smoothed away. While the philosophy of '*les americains*' was Rousseauian and idealistic, their methods and goals were pragmatic and aimed more at widening the opportunities of the upper classes than promoting democratic forms of self-government. For many of the founders of Azilum, even the American Revolution went a little too far. Robert Morris fulminated to Gouverneur Morris, his friend and agent in France, that the Constitution of Pennsylvania would be the ruin of men of property and breeding.

As discussed by J.M. Roberts, feudalism was not the social control by the upper classes but the myriad bits of economic control that wrapped even the simplest of transactions in red tape and negotiation. It was the mandate to use your landlord's

mill or none, the requirement to pay taxes when moving goods from one bureau to another that prevented France from recognizing its own potential. That is what the young noblemen returning from America set out to alter, not the overarching social order. In accomplishing these changes they imagined that they were creating a Revolution, but one which could be governed from the top down, one which would not affect the lives or statuses of anyone in the nation. The rising tide of prosperity would lift the boats of the nobility and peasantry alike: but they would remain innately nobleman and peasant. In this context '*les Americans*' cultivated their contacts in the United States to provide themselves with legitimacy in the discourse. Keith Basso writes that "landscapes are available in symbolic terms as well,... and they can be detached from their fixed spatial moorings and transformed into instruments of thought and vehicles of purposive behavior" (Basso 1996: 75). It was as a vehicle of purposive behavior that '*les americans*' utilized the landscape of the United States in the transformation of France.

It must not be assumed that because the ideals of the French volunteers in the American Revolution were promulgated by the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment that they were either naïve or unworkable. The basic premise of civilization resting on a social contract was widespread in the West and gained (and has retained) considerable traction over the thinking of educated men on both sides of the Atlantic. The failure of the social contract in the late 18th century was self-evident to members of the elite, nobility and bourgeoisie alike. The American Revolution was widely seen as the purest expression of the inevitable reform or revolt of systems in which the contract had broken down. Jacques Godechot points out that American Revolutionary ideals

took root across Europe in the 1780s and 1790s, with France at the apex of a widespread social movement that affected Holland, Geneva, Belgium, Poland and England to some degree (1965). The flaw in most of these attempted revolutions was that the bourgeoisie and the so-called enlightened nobility believed that they could reform the structures of society – the economic markets, the religious hierarchy, and the feudal system that underpinned them – while leaving the basic class structure intact (Roberts 1997). While this was also the case in America, it can be argued that the gap between the haves and the have-nots was not as wide as in Europe, and at the conclusion of the war many of the economically disadvantaged saw the newly opened Western lands as the means to better themselves without recourse to further class warfare, an opportunity that did not exist in Europe.

Most of the settlers of French Azilum belonged to the class of the elite nobility and the bourgeoisie. Steeped in Enlightenment ideology, all were at least familiar with the writings of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau and other the other *philosophes* whose works made up the reading lists for the numerous political and social clubs that flourished in France during the 1780s. At this point we can't prove that any of the founders of Azilum were disciples or enamored of these works, but their actions strongly suggest that they were. The best, if still tenuous source of information about the reading habits of the founders of Azilum comes from the lists of books available at the shop of Moreau de St. Mery, a French émigré who had spent extensive time in Saint-Domingue before becoming a publisher in Philadelphia. His list of books available for sale in 1795 includes a wide array of items on political and moral topics, but the only book specifically related to the nature of life in the United States is

Enlightenment thinker Abbé Mably's *Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des États-Unis d'Amérique*, which was first published in 1785 and, along with Mably's other works, was widely read in the early days of the Estates-General by reformers.

When the plans of the reformers for a relatively peaceful Revolution in France were overthrown and they were forced to flee to America, the psychological disconnect must have added to their physical discomfort and mental anguish for family members left behind. The ideals that they had so passionately believed in had been turned against them, but to completely disavow these ideals and return to the feudal method of thought – with its implicit predestination and inertia – was also impossible. To do so would have been to devalue the entire lives of men like Louis de Noailles and Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen. Rather than disavow these ideas and ideals, the refugees attempted to define another vision – one in which French ways of life could co-exist with Enlightenment idealism within the confines of Rousseauian wilderness and purity of surroundings. Azilum was part of that attempt, and more successful than some.

When the Revolution fomented by '*les Americans*' got away from them – when their lives and their families were destroyed and they were thrown back to the United States in the early 1790s by the exigencies of the new French government, they were not alone. The influx of French refugees during those years far outnumbered those who had come to aid the new republic in its bid for independence. But those who did come had imbibed their ideas of America from '*les Americans*' all the same.

Back in Philadelphia after an absence of nine years, Louis de Noailles quickly learned that it was one thing to contemplate the nobility of hard work: quite another to

actually do it. He tired of his employment as a dancing master and art tutor and set about looking for a way to better his situation financially. He and Omer Talon, former lawyer for King Louis, approached Noailles' friend and associate from the American Revolution, Robert Morris. Noailles and Talon offered to put up substantial sums of money in exchange for the land on which they planned to found Azilum. Morris accepted, as usual without any of the legal niceties of securities or cash on the barrelhead, and the settlement of Azilum was born.

The glorification of the rural and the wild in pre-Revolution France has been remarked on extensively. "In the Enlightenment... the elements of this essential type [of natural man] were to be uncovered by stripping all of the elements of culture away from actual men and seeing what was then left – natural man (Geertz 1973: 51). From Marie Antoinette playing milkmaid to the influence of British landscape designs like those of Capability Brown, the 'wild' and the 'untouched' was seen as somehow pure and uncomplicated. This may be linked to the later French exultation of the idea of the *homme de terrior* and the durability of the link between ancient ancestral belonging and the landscape in which it was formed. Even in the increasingly urbanized France of the 1790s the image of the bucolic and wild were deeply engrained as French cultural values. The reality of these images was highly manipulated, of course. Petit Trianon was not a sheep farm and Capability Brown's wildernesses were meticulously planned to keep out undesirable realities, such as encroaching peasants. Both reflect nostalgic yearning for simpler times and places, and those yearnings can only have been stronger post-Revolution among the displaced elite refugees at Azilum. They had fled their homes in France amid threats and fears

of violence- they had lost many loved ones and acquaintances and watched the entire social order of their worlds dissolve. They sought simple times and places – a landscape which to them seemed untouched and idyllic. The American wilderness described by Crèvecoeur and romanticized by Rousseau seemed to fit the bill perfectly. The settlers at Azilum anticipated leading the life of the noble savage, with nature supplying their wants and civilization ready and able to provide those few things – like window glass, chocolate and wine – which did not fall from the fruitful trees. It is daunting to realize that on top of from providing a haven with like minded individuals, Azilum was also intended to be a money making venture for the settlers, returning them to their former economic positions through the sale of lands to expected floods of refugees as well as through the lease of land to American farmers.

The Azilum settlers retreated from the failure of their feudal reforms in France by turning to the other part of the *philosophes*’ messages. Inequality and hence evil itself arose from the distance between men and their natural state, wrote Rousseau. There must have seemed to be a great comfort in a retreat to a more bucolic way of life, where upheavals and the impetus for wars were, according to the *philosophes*, greatly reduced.

Such circumstances, however, rarely occur in a state of nature, in which all things proceed in a uniform manner, and the face of the earth is not subject to those sudden and continual changes which arise from the passions and caprices of bodies of men living together (Rousseau 1754).

This retreat to the land, to nature, was at least a part of the reason for the placement of Azilum and the construction of it according to the plan we seen documented in the 1794 plat map and depicted in 1798 watercolor. Whatever the economic aspirations of

the settlers, Azilum is depicted as being a bucolic, peaceful place, a retreat, where most of the houses are relatively uniform, differences in class and status are minimal, and, significantly, the power of the church is lessened. There is no church depicted as fronting the central market square, and although Mass is known to have been celebrated at Azilum and several priests were inhabitants of the village, most of them were engaged in various trades and lived their lives in markedly un-priestly fashion. A former priest and a former nun were even the first couple married at Azilum (Murray 1950). This is all in keeping with the revolutionary ideals embraced by the founders of Azilum during their stints as members of the National Constituent Assembly. Economic and social mobility was open to all in Azilum – always barring, of course, the enslaved Africans from Saint-Domingue who had no choice, no opportunity for betterment, and were actively being cheated out of the right to freedom which was theirs under existing Pennsylvania law.

Frontier Reality

Needless to say, the ideal of simplicity in nature did not reflect the reality. The majority of the settlers were unprepared for the harshness of physical labor. They had no experience felling trees, cutting sod, building log houses or herding cattle. The settlers found that “an unfamiliar landscape, like an unfamiliar language, is always a little daunting, and when they are encountered together the combination may be downright unsettling” (Basso 1996: 71). As the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt said after visiting Azilum in 1795 “it must be considered that, however polished its present inhabitants may be, the gentleman cannot so easily dispense with the assistance of the artist and the husbandman, as these can with the presence of the

gentleman,” (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1800: 93). The lack of husbandmen and artists made the hopes of the settlers unrealistic. The exaltation of the natural was no match for the physical discomfort and material want that many of the French nobles and Saint-Dominguan planters experienced at Azilum. As Clifford Geertz notes, “No one lives in the world in general. Everybody, even the exiled, the drifting, the diasporic, or the perpetually moving, lives in some confined and limited stretch of it” (1996: 262). The idealized Enlightenment landscape was generalized, while the reality of America, and Azilum within the American frontier, was dreadfully confined and limited for the exiled and diasporic settlers.

Landscape theorists have argued whether space can be classified as the pre-existing medium to which places (and cultures) are attached, or whether places are first encountered and only afterward attract meaning, stories, and cultural designations (Casey 1996: 14). This argument ignores the quasi-encounter of word-of-mouth and written accounts of places, and exposes the idea of space as an intellectual version of the *tabula rasa* concept as disproved by Herskovits (1941). In a long-running universe few places and no peoples are *tabulae rasae*, either historically or experientially, and to assume them to be such is to engage in intellectual colonialism. In the case of French Azilum, a great part of the allure of the frontier was the preconstructed sense of place carried there by the colonists, one that was partially made up half-remembered travellers’s tales, the theories of Rousseau, and the effusions of Crèvecoeur. Added to this was a healthy dose of commercial self-interest and national self-segregation.

Unlike Rousseau, Michele Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur, also known in America as J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, is not widely read in this century. However, he is largely responsible for giving the airy nothings of the *philosophes* a local habitation in the New World. The son of minor French nobility, Crevecoeur arrived in New France in 1755 to fight in the French and Indian, or Seven Years' War. Following the defeat of the French in 1759 he moved to New York and married an American woman. He purchased and worked a large and prosperous farm in Orange County until 1779, when the upheavals of the American Revolution, and an unwillingness to take up arms against any of his former neighbors, sent him back to France for a time. He capitalized on European fascination with the new nation, publishing his first book Letters of an American Farmer in London in 1782. French editions were published in 1784 and 1786, and became instant bestsellers. When the French Revolution broke out, Crevecoeur attempted to return to America, only succeeding in 1794 after the personal intervention of Gouverneur Morris' successor James Monroe.

Crevecoeur has been characterized as one of the first proponents of American exceptionalism. The reality is somewhat more complex. Crevecoeur does indeed hold out America as a shining beacon - in his words "There is room for everybody in America; has he any particular talent, or industry? he exerts it in order to procure a livelihood, and it succeeds" (Crevecoeur 1782). But he goes on to say that "I do not mean that everyone who comes will grow rich in a little time; no, but he may procure an easy, decent maintenance, by his industry" (Crevecoeur 1782). This was the world that the aristocratic reformers had tried to build in France, and when their Revolution

got away from them, they retreated to it. It is a mistake, though, to describe Azilum solely as a hopeful Utopia characterized by men and women in search of Rousseau's "nature, which never lies"(Rousseau 1754).

Despite their admiration for Crèvecoeur's America, the settlers of Azilum had no intention of leaving behind their class consciousness or status. Azilum was intended to do two things. First, it was to give the embattled and betrayed aristocrats a Rousseauian refuge from those "external relations, which are more frequently produced by accident than wisdom, and which are called weakness or power, riches or poverty" (Rousseau 1754). In the time of the revolutions, "all human institutions" must have indeed seemed "to be founded merely on banks of shifting sand" (Rousseau 1754). Second, and most important, Azilum was to give the newly impoverished a place to dwell with others in similar circumstances until the mutual improvement of their fortunes.

Although not apparent at first glance, there is a philosophical unity to the belief in the nobility of nature and the belief in the right to equality of opportunity. According to Rousseau, one of the most influential writers on these subjects:

There are two kinds of inequality among the human species; one, which I call natural or physical, because it is established by nature, and consists in a difference of age, health, bodily strength, and the qualities of the mind or of the soul: and another, which may be called moral or political inequality, because it depends on a kind of convention, and is established, or at least authorised by the consent of men. This latter consists of the different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others; such as that of being more rich, more honoured, more powerful or even in a position to exact obedience (1754).

The flaw in the idealism of the pro- Revolution French nobility was that they believed that the inequality of the peasantry, urban poor, and most colonials was of the

first sort. They saw the dissolution of the feudal boundaries to progress as sufficient to do away with moral inequality, while natural inequality could not be removed. Needless to say, the true democratic Revolutionaries in France, those who took control of the revolution in 1792, saw the situation differently.

That same belief, that what is today understood as inequality of class and resources was actually a natural condition, can be discerned in the plan of Azilum. The extraordinary unity depicted by both the 1794 map and the 1798 watercolor shows a community where social inequality was not displayed openly- on the surface, all of the disruptive elements of the proletarian have-nots are absent, and the feudalism and economic moribundity that the settlers had objected to in France does not exist. Of course, this outward display in maps and images is far from reality. Archaeology and the documentary record combine to tell a very different story.

Inequality at Azilum

Not all aristocratic Frenchmen in America were sanguine about the prospects of the new colony to rebuild wealth. The Comte de Moré, for one, puts a harsh light on the Azilum enterprise, claiming that Morris and Noailles developed the settlement solely to defraud impoverished and dispossessed French émigrés out of the little they had left. “I ended by saying that the last and worst misfortune which could befall the French emigrants, was to find themselves swindled by their own countrymen – men heartless enough to impose upon the credulity of strangers, and sell them a few sandhills planted with scrub pine for an Eldorado” (De Pontgibaud 1968: 132). This was the experience of many of the settlers at Azilum, whatever the intention of the

founders. One letter, from Antoine LeFevre to the Asylum Board of Directors, is especially indicative of the hardships endured by many French settlers at Azilum.

Wilmington 26th July 1799

Dear Sir,

I herewith forward you a translated copy of Mr. Lefevre's letter to me, which has lately come to my hands.

I am most sincerely yours,

J. Keating

Asylum 12th July 1799

Sir,

Please to be my advocate near the Asylum Company to which I address with confidence my representations on the loss I have experienced in its settlement, Loyalsock.

I was settled on a lot of land situate on the River Chenango, when the hopes of becoming a member of a large French settlement engaged me in the beginning of 1794. I quit an advantageous situation of excellent land, to come down to Asylum on the invitation of M. Boulogne as agent of the Company. He persuaded on us to settle on a tract of land known by the name of Loyal-Soc. The summer of this year was over before I could dress the lot I could get: no sooner was it made known than I set out in the beginning of winter to work on it. I spent the whole winter in the woods sometimes alone, sometimes with one or two hands. My children, my sister and her family joined me in the Spring; on one of our lots we built a house and cleared fifteen acres of land fit for cultivation, on the other we cut down acres of wood, piled it up and got it ready to fence. My share of the expenses to effect this settlement amounts to more than four hundred dollars. About the end of summer of 1795 some persons came and told me that the lands on which we had settled did not belong to the Company, that they were owned by other people in the neighborhood. This discussion made me lose hope of remaining on my lot. Having no title or means of supplying my family during the winter, we were obliged to leave our improvement which we were told would be of no avail to us. We returned to Asylum in October, and ever since for the support of my family I have had but the possession of four acres of tillable land which even on account of my health I have not always been able to cultivate. I can do nothing with my lot on the Loyal-Soc as the Company does not give me the title for it.

In this unhappy situation may I not hope that the Company will come to my succour in giving me forty acres of land on the mountain back of Asylum in exchange of this of my lot of Loyal-Soc. If it grants me this favour and if, with the grace of God, I recover my health, I may yet extricate myself from the embarrassing situation to which the failure of the settlement at Loyal-Soc has reduced me.

I have the honor to be with respect

Sir

Your most obed & loyal serv.

Signed LeFevre

The two lots which I petition for are the 2 above no.13 and the 2 above no. 14.

Antoine Lefevre's experience points out the hazards run by the French in their gamble at Azilum, and reflects the resignation and isolation of the settlement by 1799. By then the land bubble had definitively burst, and even Crevecoeur, in his last book Eighteenth Century Travels in Pennsylvania and New York claims that "Land [is] the only speculation in which we are rarely deceived, *if we join with it ingenuity and hard work* (italics mine)" (Crevecoeur 1961: 32). In this the 18th century French settlers were not too different from 21st century real estate speculators. The belief that land and real property are goods whose value can never decrease seems to be a recurring fantasy. Despite LeFevre's tone of disappointment the letter makes it clear that the founding of Azilum was greeted with relief by many of the French, who hoped that the company of their fellows would make them less lonely in their exile.

Economic Landscapes

Whether it was bad luck, slumping economic conditions worldwide, as Godechot (1971) has argued, or a lack of 'ingenuity and hard work' as their neighbors claimed, the settlers of Azilum made no fortunes on their investments. Many sank their remaining resources into shares in the Asylum Land Company, purchasing acreage which they intended to rent out to American farmer-managers. Unfortunately these intended tenants never materialized, and the settlers of Azilum were in many cases left bankrupt by the bursting of the land speculation bubble. Among those who suffered financial losses due to investment in the Asylum Company was Louis de Noailles, with holdings of shares equivalent to 78,200 acres, Omer Talon, with 262 shares equaling 52,400 acres, and Charles Bué Boulogne, who received 42 shares for acting as the Asylum Company's agent during the early years of the settlement. He

subsequently purchased another 180 shares, holdings which translated into 36,000 acres of virgin woodland. The one who may have suffered the most was Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen, who did not receive any shares as salary. Instead, over just a few years, he sank his entire remaining fortune into Azilum Company stock, purchasing small lot shares 23 times over the years between 1794 and 1798. On paper he owned 70,800 acres. In practice, he died in poverty in Savannah in 1808, and his wife was forced to open a school for girls under the auspices of her cousin, a priest. For perspective, remember that the plantation of Cottineau's family in Saint-Domingue in 1789 contained 147 slaves and was described as one of the "grands et somptueux etablissements" of the island. By 1797 a Revolutionary officer on the island visited the plantation and said "il n'existe que les ruines" (Debien 1962: 77).

These are the settlers whose losses were the greatest. Their houses in Azilum were supposed to form the nucleus of a large, sprawling farming district, with American farmers leasing French-owned rural acreage, acres which accrued to the residents of Azilum through their purchase of shares in the Asylum Company, which also gave them the right to build on and reside at the settlement. Every town lot at Azilum represented a 'rural' share of two hundred acres, which should have become productive farms and pasture lands. However, due to the confluence of shaky land titles, the independence of American farmers, who would rather own land than lease it, and the lack of capital to make improvements, the land was never cleared and the farms never materialized. We can clearly see that every settler experienced some level of financial hardship due to the town's collapse, and this must have influenced how the Azilum settlers felt, thought about and depicted the town and the area.

Most settlers were so disheartened by the gulf between expectations and hopes and reality that they left the country altogether. Aristide du Petit-Thouars returned to France to serve in Napoleons army and died at the Battle of the Nile. Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen and his extended family, including his two sons, his wife Luce, and her cousins the Abbé Carles and M. Montulle, all moved to Savannah. Denis Cottineau died of consumption in 1808 and his wife eventually returned to France. Her sons remained in the United States, eventually joining the Navy. The Abbé Carles became a beloved parish priest in Savannah, and the site of his home was later used as a school and seminary.

Sophia de Sibert moved to Wilmington, Delaware, which was also the eventual home of Mr. John Keating, agent for the Asylum Company until its dissolution in 1819. Her son apparently farmed at least some of the acres the family had owned in Pottsville on the site of Pottsgrove Manor, since he is found there by Maulevrier in 1798. Captain de Laroue, who married Mme de Sibert's sister Mlle. Bercy in Azilum, returned to France as a secretary for Talleyrand, and was later involved in the infamous XYZ Affair.

Less is known about the eventual fates of others at Azilum. Omer Talon became an agent for other land companies, while the d'Autremont family split in half, with the eldest son returning to France and the mother and younger children remaining in America, at a site in what is now Angelica, New York. Finally, Charles Homet and Bartolomé Laporte remained at Azilum, eventually purchasing the entire river bend from the Asylum Company and dividing it between them. Charles Homet founded a ferry and gave his name to the small town of Homet's Landing, while Bartolome

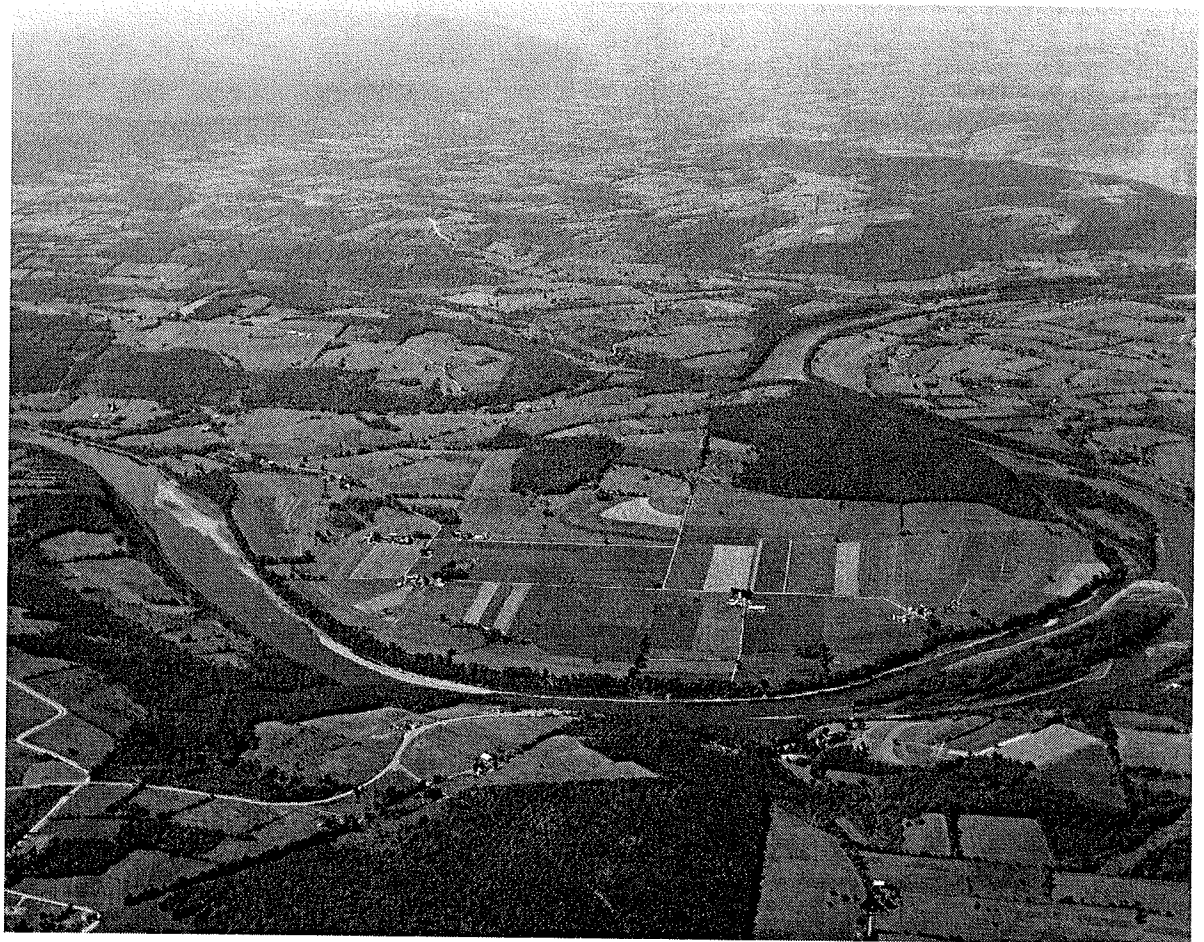
Laporte became a prosperous farmer. His grandson John Laporte was a judge, lawyer and eventual U.S. Senator. He is credited with building the present day Laporte House. My excavation site is on the land that remained in his family well into the 19th century. Louise Welles Murray and Elsie Murray are his descendants, and most other images and depictions of the Azilum site can be identified as the area immediately surrounding the Laporte House.

Chapter Five - **The Physical Landscapes of French Azilum**

Thus far we have discussed the image of Azilum -- the reality anticipated by the settlers in 1793. Clearly the reality of life at the site was very different than the settlers expected. An understanding the actual, rather than the projected, experience of life at Azilum begins with an examination of the shortcomings of the map and image. Are they factual documents? Do they reflect the physical reality of the site? To determine this, I have utilized archaeological techniques including pedestrian survey, an analysis of aerial photography, excavation, and both geochemical and geophysical methods. In the following section I will first discuss the results of that survey and its implications for the general layout of the settlement, then briefly discuss certain annotations made to the 1794 map that purport to show individual structures. I will end this section with an analysis of the findings and how they relate to the perceptions of the settlement by the founders and settlers of Azilum, both elite and enslaved.

In general, the overall layout for the settlement seems to have been followed. Visitors today still approach Azilum on the road that leads through the Market Square, today's Pennsylvania State Route 229. This is also known on a map included in Elsie Murray's 1950 Azilum: French Refugee Colony of 1793 as Old French Road. Other streets seem to correspond to the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's descriptions of 'Streets named after trees', as there was until 2008 still at least one old, unpaved farm lane with a street sign labeling it as 'Maple Street'. At the time of our return to the site in 2009 Maple Street had been renamed 'Frenrick Road' after the current inhabitants of the farm. The 'street' ends in the middle of a farmyard, and if this is not a remnant of the French settlement, there is seemingly little reason to label it as a street at all.

Other evidence, including field divisions, windbreaks and vegetation changes, seem to correspond (with remarkably few changes) to the pattern of the 1794 map. For instance, the Market Square road that continues down to the Ferry on the map is no longer in existence: the route runs straight through a farm field. The location of the old road is clearly visible in a line of trees, and the reality of the ferry landing is attested to both in historical documents and artifacts from that area, as discussed previously.



Aerial photograph showing location of French Azilum, circa 1950.

Comparing the above image to the 1794 map it is clear that many of the roads and field divisions of the 19th, 20th and 21st century preserve the layout of the original

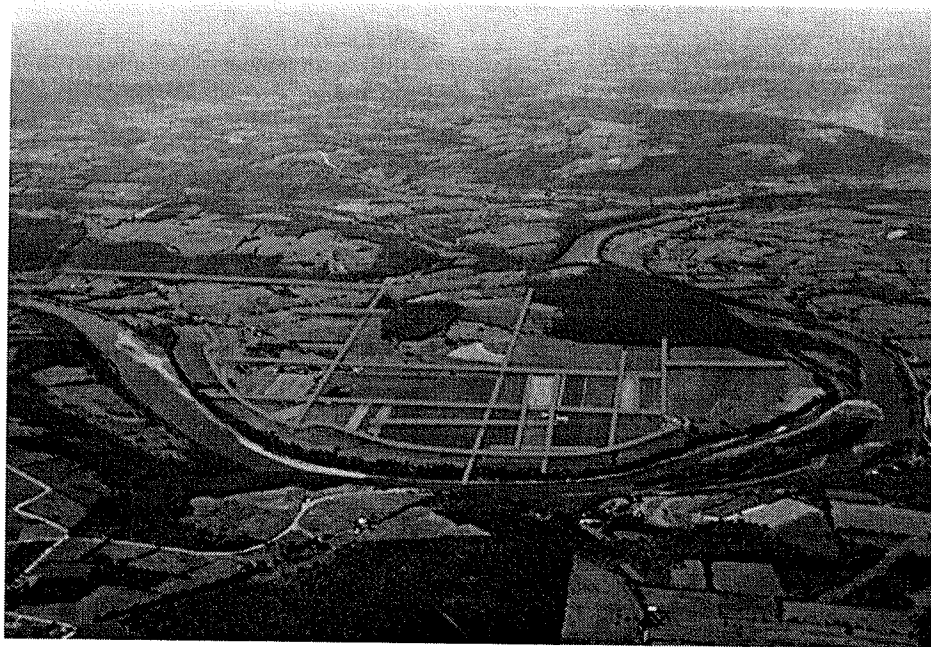


Figure 13

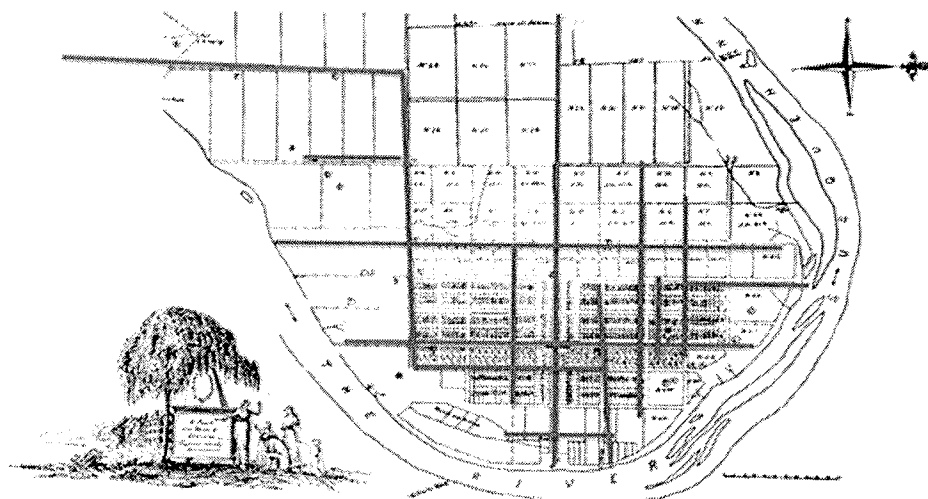


Figure 14

Many 1794 roads and field boundaries are still visible in this photo from the 1930s.

French settlement, and that many of these roads correspond to the images in the 1794 map.

All of the roads visible in the aerial photographs have been verified by pedestrian survey, although some are not as clearly visible today as they were when the aerial photograph was taken. The exception is the river road, found during excavations in 2009 and not present on the 1794 map. Judging by the minimal artifacts associated with the road, mainly consisting of creamware and redware sherds with a healthy portion of 19th century transfer printed wares, the road was at best an informal pathway during the French occupation, and certainly never measured 30 feet in width. Our excavations suggest that it was a footpath in the 18th century that was widened and put into use during the 19th and early 20th centuries as a farm road. At the point that we excavated, it was roughly 8-10 feet in width, although the measurements were made less certain by the inclusion of a water line through the packed gravel of the road bed at an angle. Investigations in the files of Azilum Inc. revealed that the water line had been put in during the 1980s to facilitate the construction of a restroom for the site. Unfortunately this was done before archaeological investigations were mandated for any project that caused subsoil disturbances at a state historical site, so any information that might have been recovered during that excavation is lost.

In the summer of 2010 I returned to the site with Dr. Johanna Ullrich from the University College of Dublin to conduct geochemical testing of selected areas of the site as a preface to later large-scale analysis. She uses a technique known as phosphate analysis, which measures the proportion of mineralized to non-mineralized

phosphates in topsoil (see Appendix A). Since phosphates under the conditions which apply at Azilum take approximately 200 years to mineralize, any patterns picked up by testing should show actual landscape usage patterns dating from the French occupation period. Later landscape usage patterns should not be visible in this sample, as, with the exception of pre-mineralized animal bone, not enough time has passed for mineralization to have occurred. Since phosphates tend to be generated by human activity, and tend to rise to ground-surface, patterning can easily be detected with a simple topsoil collection. While this technique has been practiced marginally in the field of archaeology for decades, its potential is only now being fully explored, and this study must count as one of a number of preliminary evaluations of the efficacy of the technique.

The area that we chose to test was the lawn of the Laporte House, a twenty foot swath starting approximately 100 feet away from the house and continuing to five feet on the far side of the mid-19th century stone wall beyond the 'wine cellar'. (See Figure 1, Appendix A.) In this sample the river road excavated in summer of 2009 shows up only intermittently, supporting my interpretation that the path was informal and under only occasional use during the French period of the late 18th century. Later use as a farm road and informal route between houses widened the road and deepened its archaeological impact. However, the fact that the road showed up at all on the phosphate testing confirms my hypothesis that this path was used to connect French period structures across the lots currently owned by French Azilum Inc. and curated by the PHMC.

The river road ran directly in front of the current Laporte house, adding weight to the possibility that the structure as it stands today may be built on an older foundation. River roads are, however, common in plantation design in both the American South and French Caribbean, suggesting a possible source of inspiration. It is also possible that the perimeter of what is marked 'Marsh and ditches' on the 1794 map may have evolved into a river road. What this road does make clear is that the French were not calmly accepting the dictates of the 1794 plat map. They were actively engaged in altering the landscape of Azilum to suit their own needs and desires, creating a landscape that reflected their ideal of a rural community. The views of the Susquehanna River and the surrounding mountains are spectacular today from the river road – they must have been extraordinary in the 18th century. The physical surroundings of Azilum are ones of great beauty and it is inconceivable that the French, especially those steeped in the ideals of the Enlightenment and nobility of man in his natural state, would not have noticed and highlighted these surroundings in their settlement plan.

While the French were actively engaged in utilizing the beauty of their new home through the placement of informal roads and pathways, they also made sure to place their homes in ways that took advantage of the natural features around them. The structures which have been excavated on the property of Azilum Inc., are all placed on high spots in the landscape, in places that would have both had commanding views and been immediately visible to travelers arriving by water, the main form of transportation. The presence of the natural terracing of the river bend means too that the town center would have been invisible to the men and women residing in the

houses along the river banks, and especially to those farming the surrounding fields. In this way enslaved Africans would have been largely concealed from the town, and the town concealed from them. Whether this was a concession on the part of the Saint-Dominguan refugees to the Enlightenment ideals of the aristocratic French refugees, or whether it was a matter of estate planning and security is not known. We do know from the records of Matthias Hollenbeck that slaves were kept in the town as well, so any concealment must have been of minimal concern. Far more likely is that the houses, and probably the slave quarters as well, were positioned to best show off the wealth of the farms' owners, as John Michael Vlach suggests was done at many plantations throughout the Americas (1993). If the location of more of the houses was known, a great deal more could be said on this subject.

Landscapes of Slavery

Phosphate testing is another valuable tool for understanding the use of the Azilum landscape by enslaved Africans. While the results of phosphate analysis will be gone into more extensively in the chapter on slavery at Azilum, the use pattern of the area surrounding the 'wine cellar' revealed startling patterns that make it possible to definitively state that that structure was in use as slave quarters during the French period.

Phosphate analysis reveals that the structure known as the 'wine cellar' was a two-roomed cabin with two separate entrances, exactly as found on slave plantations throughout the Caribbean and the antebellum South. Each room measured roughly twelve feet square, with the entrance located in the center of the southwest wall. While the majority of recorded dwellings for the enslaved had somewhat smaller

individual rooms, the twelve foot square was standard for Saint-Domingue during the 1790s. Although phosphate traces immediately around the foundation have been disrupted by excavation in the 1950s and 1970s, enough remnants survive at a distance from the foundation to be sure of the two-entrance interpretation. Another strong phosphate trail reveals the presence of a path from the side of this dwelling facing the excavated pathway to the river-facing side of the outbuilding excavated in 2009. This is interesting, as it implies that the two buildings faced opposite directions. Different public faces imply that the intended audiences for these buildings were not the same. The 'wine cellar' faced toward the road and away from the public face of the town, which Maulevrier's image shows was on the river-side of Azilum. This would be in keeping with a desire to differentiate or obscure the presence of the enslaved within the society of Azilum. It could also have been preferred by the enslaved as a means of preserving their privacy. The undeniable presence of clear subordinates such as enslaved Africans would only highlight differences within a society that was attempting to present a unified face to the surrounding culture. Placing the front faces of the slaves' dwelling houses away from the river may have also partially obscured their presence from passing Pennsylvanians, who might otherwise have taken an interest in their illegal bondage.

The deliberate reversal of the front faces of the slave cabins also served an aesthetic purpose for the Saint-Domingan and French residents at Azilum. According to many analyses and narratives, one characteristic of slave cabins was the presence of a fenced or otherwise delineated swept-earth yard in front of or between the cabins. This has been documented at numerous sites throughout the Caribbean and the

American South (Vlach 1978; Gundaker 1993; Armstrong 1990). These yards, which are traditional in many West African societies, were considered unattractive and dirty by European Enlightenment observers. The French propensity for gardens at Azilum was remarked on by their American neighbors, and the dichotomy between the attractive ornamentals and the swept earth yard of a slave cabin would have been a jarring note in a landscape planned to convey social solidarity. The problem is that none of the archaeological excavations of the 'wine cellar' have identified such a yard, and the physical traces of it would be extremely difficult to pinpoint, given the short period the structure is assumed to have been inhabited.

Phosphates, however, do not appear to be subject to the same limitations as excavation. Barring a complete disruption or removal of the soil, phosphates remain in the place where they mineralize. The following quote describes exactly the phosphate pattern one would expect to find at a slave cabin and yard constructed along the lines previously described:

The yard of the structure was kept very clean, and all organic debris was well contained; the yard surrounding the other structure(s) and associated organic debris was not. There is no evidence of midden-level phosphate concentrations in the area of the structure. It is possible that organic debris from the cabin was deposited in an area outside of the study area, in an area disturbed by more modern construction or that the organic debris was deliberately moved away from the structure. The down slope area east of the structure [towards the river] shows a decrease in phosphate content. The organic debris generated through use of the structure was relatively contained, and did not get scattered down the eastern slope. This indicates that the down-slope area was probably not used with any great regularity in association with the structure, and that no paths were located in this area (Ullrich 2010: 21-22).

Other strong phosphate traces reveal the presence of separate external access points to the previously excavated cellars of the structure. While the purpose of this cellar space is still unclear, the presence of external access points leads to the question

of whether the enslaved were supposed to have easy access to whatever the goods stored in the cellars were. On the one hand, it would seem ridiculous to store desirable goods only feet below the homes of those who were barred from using them. Perhaps the external access points were simply in place to conserve space within the cramped confines of the slave cabin. With external access points to the cellar there was no need for a trapdoor or other internal structure that would have complicated the construction of the cabin. That the external access points also allowed the slave owners a measure of oversight of the use of the goods stored in the cellars may have been an additional benefit, but I doubt it was the main reason for the architecture of the structure.

The area between the slave cabin and the modern Laporte House would have been familiar ground for the enslaved Africans who lived in one and worked in the Grande Maison that occupied the space, and probably the foundations, of the modern Laporte House. It is here that excavation and geochemical and geophysical analysis have combined to reveal information previously unknown to the historical record. First, of course, is the structure excavated in the summer of 2009. According to phosphate analysis, the area of this structure was heavily utilized, with organic debris or material piles along the outer walls, causing the lower level of phosphates inside the structure to contrast with the materials piled up outside. An associated yard along the side of the structure facing the Laporte House was apparently not kept clear of organic debris, but neither was it used for animals, as the phosphate levels would be far higher in an animal pen. There is no trace of a midden, merely sheet scatter that developed along a porous boundary between the structure and the Laporte House. According to Dr. Ullrich, this pattern is indicative of a structure that was probably used as an

outbuilding rather than a dwelling house, but there are indications that the structure may have had multiple uses over the course of the French period, perhaps originating as one of the pre-French settlers' cabins which was abandoned after that first hard winter and instead used as an outbuilding (See Appendix A). The clear pathway, marked by Dr. Ullrich as Zone 8 on the maps, shows that this structure was largely entered on the river-side, which I have hypothesized was the public face of the settlement, as opposed to the slave cabin previously called the 'wine cellar' which was entered primarily on the land side. This argues for a public use of the building, such as a warehouse or other support-building.

The surprise result of the remote sensing in the summer of 2010 was to reveal the presence of another structure between the excavated outbuilding and the Laporte House, in the area deemed Zone 2 in the appended geochemical report. Ullrich says that the phosphate patterning in this area "is generally indicative of an indoor, or specific activity, area" (Ullrich 2010: 13). This alone would not be enough to establish the definitive presence of another structure in this area, but ground-penetrating radar sampling in this area confirmed the presence of a square of postholes delineating the walls of a structure (Dr. Michael Rogers, personal communication, summer 2010). While all of the remote sensing data collected has not been analyzed at the time of this writing, the presence of this structure was readily visible even in preliminary results. A fascinating suggestion by Ullrich is that this structure was associated with the transition between the Zone 1 area closely adjoining the Laporte House and the Zone 4 structure and Zone 3 yard identified through excavation in the summer of 2009. She suggests that this transitional area may have included an actual

gate or gatehouse, a theory that, if proven true, would have profound implications for questions of slavery, security, and control of landscape at French Azilum (Ullrich 2010: 21).

Map Notations

This new information brings me to the question of the notations on the map, which purport to show the exact locations of houses and structures. The problem of the notations is a thorny one. Issues of the provenience of the 1794 map have already been explored, and need not be addressed again. However, it is clear that sometime during the 20th century the notations were added. This would be immensely helpful, if the information contained in the notations could be verified. Although the map notations cannot be attributed to any specific person, it seems clear that they were made by either Louise Welles Murray or Elsie Murray. Where they got their information is less clear. At first glance it seems likely that the Murrays were utilizing family oral tradition to locate the foundations, but like everything else at French Azilum, the situation is more complex than it appears.

The evidence currently suggests that whichever Murray is responsible for annotating the map simply made her best guess as to the locations of buildings, possibly aided by remembered locations of visible foundations, but without survey or measurement of the area involved. As a result, I do not believe the information noted on the map to be either accurate or useful. At best, it seems the notations may indicate general presence of remains in a field sized area, but I have not been able to check many of the notations on the map, as this land does not belong to French Azilum Incorporated. Some of these other notations, however, are suspect. The map claims

that housing was provided for enslaved Africans on an island in the Susquehanna, at some distance from the settlement. The recent work done at the 'wine cellar' directly contradicts this claim. Common French Caribbean plantation design placed the main house in a straight line of outbuildings and slave quarters or dependencies fronting on a river or other access route. This is precisely that pattern found through remote sensing in the area between the Laporte House and the 'wine cellar', and it is also design described for the house of Sophia de Sibert, although the slave quarters are not mentioned. She owned an 18x30 foot house with a separate dining room and kitchen, all joined by a piazza. It is likely that Louise Welles Murray or Elsie Murray, finding the presence of slavery at the site distasteful, simply removed those enslaved Africans from their reconstructions of the landscape.

Other notations on the map are also conclusively incorrect. For instance, in a 1956 letter Elsie Murray states that she will show archaeologists what she believes to be the location of the Grande Maison. The location she showed these amateur archaeologists is not known, but the 1956 excavation, of course, was the one which unearthed the 'wine cellar'. This slave cabin is hardly the reported 60x80 Queens' House, but it does appear to coincide with the printed notation of the Queen's House on the 1794 plat map. The inaccuracies of the notations are further attested by the narrative of the Queen's House, which is placed by Louise Welles Murray "300 yards northeast" of the current Laporte House. Unfortunately, if the structure was 300 yards to the northeast of the Laporte House it would be in the center of the Susquehanna River, a location that would at least go some way towards explaining why it has never been found. The structure found in the center of the field and called Cottineau's house

by Warfel and de Sibert's house by the Binghamton excavators does not appear on the annotated 1794 map. Given that its foundations were apparently still visible as late as the 1970s, this is strange. It is possible that either notation L (Cottineau's) or C (de Sibert's) is intended to refer to this structure, but if so, the notation seems to be in entirely the wrong place.

I decided to test my hypothesis that the notations on the 1794 map were incorrect through pedestrian survey and excavation. Using both the annotated 1794 map and the 1945 *Map of Asylum and Vicinity* by L.E. Wilt, I triangulated the locations assigned to Cottineau's house. The two maps agreed fairly well, with little margin of error, a fact that I assign to Wilt's having utilized the annotated 1794 map in preparing his own. To my surprise, I found that according to both maps, the location for Mme de Sibert's house was not even on land currently controlled by French Azilum, but was in fact on the next field to the northwest. Previous excavators had apparently been misled by the similarity of modern field layout to the 1794 map into believing that French Azilum still controlled the majority of lots 417 and 416, but this is impossible. Sophia de Sibert owned 25 acres between lots 416 and 415: French Azilum today owns only 21 acres, and this includes Lots 417, 419, and the swampy ground that was left unsold according to the 1794 plat map. In reality, French Azilum today controls only a small sliver of Lot 416. The previous excavators seem to have been understandably misled by the presence of a lane of trees which seems to coincide with the division line pictured on Lot 415. In reality, it seems that at some time this lane of trees was extended through Lot 416, and the triangulated location for Sophia

de Sibert's house in fact lies just across the property line from the lands controlled by French Azilum.

The putative location of Captain Cottineau's house, however, is on land controlled by the PHMC. It lies downhill from the modern day bathrooms, and at first glance seems a promising site. The land there is relatively flat, commands a good view and would have had easy access to what is now the driveway leading to the museum grounds.

While initially a pedestrian survey was conducted of the area indicated to have foundations on the map, the thickness of the vegetation rendered this unsuccessful. No artifacts or changes in vegetation density were visible. I extended the surveyed grid out to this area and placed shovel tests along one line that should have, if the map was accurate, bisected the house site. Additional tests were placed to either side of the line to allow for minor imprecision of either the maps or my own analysis. As discussed above, these shovel tests failed to yield any results whatsoever. The only artifacts uncovered were an undateable chunk of plaster and the thumb of a leather work glove, probably from the 20th century.

A new possibility for the location of Cottineau's house surfaced at the end of the 2009 field season when I located and examined a line sketch of the property done in 1879 for a privately-printed History of Bradford County. The structure in the field is clearly visible, as is a two-story barn closer to the Laporte House located in the modern parking lot of the site. This may be the "two story dwelling house, now utilized as a barn," noted in the 1797 deed of the Sibert property. Photographs of this barn from the 1950s indicate that it is clearly two stories, but does not appear to be sturdily

constructed. This structure should be the focus of future excavations at the Azilum site, with an eye toward determining a possible date for the building foundation.

In an attempt to determine whether a French period structure could have been present in this location, phosphate sampling was also conducted in this area on June of 2010. Results were inconclusive, but indicate that further testing might bear fruit (See Appendix A, pages 26-28). While a structure undoubtedly occupied the area, it is unclear when this structure was constructed or what purpose it served. Unfortunately time constraints prevented planned geophysical survey in this area.

This leaves the question of the identity of the owner of the house excavated by Warfel in question. Although it is possible that this house was built by Captain Cottineau, if we dismiss the annotated 1794 plat map as a source, there is no special reason to believe that the house is his aside from the fact that it is on Lot 417, which he is known to have owned. However, neither this substantial house nor the name Cottineau appears on the 1796 census of Azilum, nor is any 24x35 foot structure listed. In 1797 Sophia de Sibert sold her lands to Gui de Noailles, nephew of Comte Louis-Marie de Noailles. It is from this deed of sale that the description of her elaborate house is taken. By 1798 Gui de Noailles is listed as owning a 24x35 foot building at Azilum, and the 18x30 foot structure has disappeared. This seems the likeliest candidate for the twice excavated house in the center of the field, as the house excavated by Warfel has dimensions of 24.5x35. The foundations as shown below show no sign of having been altered, so it is unlikely that Noailles simply enlarged Mme de Sibert's preexisting structure. It is possible that he took some of the dressed stone of her foundation to build his own house, but at this point we simply can't say.



Figure 15
 'Wyalusing' by Montallant. 1851.

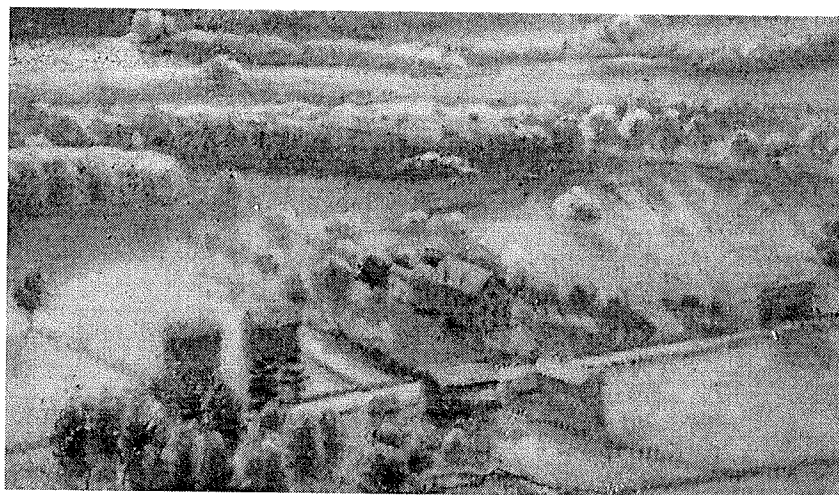


Figure 16
 Close-up of detail from Montallant's 'Wyalusing' showing Laporte House
 in foreground and small cluster of houses in background that coincides
 with structure excavated by Warfel.

Later Maps of Azilum

The next image of Azilum is a painting done by an artist named Montallant in 1856. Montallant is an enigma – the painting is currently owned by the Tioga Point Museum, but no further information is available about this artist. The fact that the painter of the former Azilum site has a French name is suggestive of continued contact between the descendents of settlement members who remained in Pennsylvania and France, or at the least of continued French interest in the former settlement, but such a link is unfortunately only speculation at this point.

This image clearly depicts the present Laporte House with the now missing kitchen wing. No structures are visible in the area of the ‘wine cellar’ and the adjoining structure located in 2009, but a fascinating group of small structures that may be the de Noailles house on Lot 416 is visible on the edge of the woods. Unfortunately, all of the other structures pictured here are on land that today is not open to excavation or even pedestrian survey. However, this painting is not precise in its details, as several small outbuildings photographically dated to the early to mid-19th century are not pictured. As a result, we can’t rule out the possibility of other structures from the French period that may not have made it into the painting.

The next images of the site are found in an Atlas of Bradford County published in 1869. The map of the township of Asylum shows only a few features of interest. For instance, along what was the main road of the settlement are marked both a cemetery and school, neither of which have left any trace. The road I located archaeologically in 2009 is also marked, as it was in the painting by Montallant.

Unfortunately, only the main houses are indicated specifically on the maps, and the notation of “Homestead of S.M. LaPorte, settled 1794” is not much use to archaeologists.

The final image of interest from the 19th century appears in David Craft’s History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania from 1878, and is labeled as “‘Valley Farm,’ Residence of F.H. Hagerman, Asylum TP., Bradford County, Pa.’ Along with the clearly visible Laporte House and barn, this image shows a small group of structures that are almost certainly the de Noailles house and outbuilding. Also, a two-story barn, with the second story clearly visible, was present at the bend in the road in the area that is currently used as the parking lot. By the time this image was made the river road is apparently no longer in use, and the road discovered in the summer of 2009 is represented only by a fence line.

Other maps are from the 20th century, and if they attempt to assign locations to buildings at French Azilum they are clearly utilizing the information from the annotated 1794 plat map with greater or lesser accuracy, as in the 1945 map by L.E. Wilt of ‘Asylum and Vicinity’ which purports to show both ‘Cottineau’s House’ and ‘Madam Sibert’s’ (sic.). This map was used in an attempt to triangulate on the annotated structures, with negative results.

Modern maps proved no less confusing than historic ones. I have dealt elsewhere with the difficulties in using the 1976 topographic map created by Anthony Aloysi. While we were able to locate two of the points used in surveying the map, it appears from comparisons with aerial photographs that only the area near the Laporte House is reasonably accurate. The farther you get from the Laporte House the more

inaccurate the surveyed map becomes, until by the time you reach the far corner of the property it is off by 50 feet (Joe Koehler, personal communication). In addition the pictured features, such as the locations of the buildings and telephone poles are not realistic. The buildings depicted are the wrong shape and size, the distances are inaccurate, and the north arrow points 19 degrees off true. It is possible that this map was not intended to be used as an accurate measured drawing, but it is included in the Warfel report without commentary. This is undoubtedly what misled the Binghamton team as to the true location and orientation of the Cottineau/de Sibert house.

The anomalous feature at the corner of the Cottineau/de Sibert house as marked on the Aloysi map may be either a depression or a mound, as drawn. In the Binghamton reports it is referred to as a mound, which according to their interpretation was later plowed into the open house foundation. However, as drawn it should be a depression, since no contour numbers are noted and none of the lines are solid as they should be if the feature were a mound. If the feature is indeed a depression, it opens up another line of inquiry. According to Steve Warfel, the site was excavated because the building foundation was visible above ground. Therefore he did not sink test pits of units. He sited the back dirt pile directly over the depression. Without experience in historic digs, he may not have realized that the depression was most likely a feature, possibly a midden or an outhouse. Subsequently the back-dirt pile, along with part of the archaeological feature, was bulldozed into the foundation as fill. When the Binghamton excavators arrived in 1999, the feature was not readily visible, and all that remained was a partial mound of Warfel's back dirt.

If the feature is accurate as drawn, it stands to reason that other foundations on the property should be locatable by their middens as well. However, no other similar features exist on the map, even in close proximity to the Laporte House. The reason for this lack of depressions may vary from foundation to foundation. At the Laporte House, with the longest period of residence, any middens may have been leveled or moved away from the house to provide a more pleasing yard space, a practice that was increasingly popular throughout the 19th century, especially among elites. Midden depressions surrounding the ‘wine cellar’ could easily have been filled in by excavations in the 1950s. It is also evident from the maps discussed above as well as from analysis of the artifact assemblage from the Cottineau/de Sibert house that the home was occupied through the mid 19th century. There might not have been enough time to develop extensive middens at other Azilum occupation sites.

Phenomenology

In the last two chapters we have discussed the ideals that motivated the men and women who came to Azilum, in the belief that this will enable us to understand the form and eventual fate of the settlement. This belief borrows a great deal of its theoretical underpinnings from phenomenology, a school of thought predicated on the belief that the experiences of individuals may be understood, or at least shared in a visceral sense, by others. Without diverging too far from the goal of the chapter, it is important to examine this concept in a little more depth. For the purposes of understanding the underlying and possibly unconscious motivations of the founders of Azilum, or of any other group in the past, it is not, and can not be enough to share the basic biology of humanity. Although I’ve attempted to pay the most careful attention

possible to the minutiae of daily life at Azilum, I am still uncomfortable with the idea of assigning meanings to the actions of the founders. Is the layout of Azilum a result of underlying Enlightenment thought, tempered by the need to lull and lure potential investors? Or is it a response to topography and economic expedience? Or all of the above, in varying degrees to different individuals at different times? Azilum as a place does not exist in a bounded impermeable space – the meanings assigned to it change and grow with the people who visit, live there, and alter the fabric of the locale to reflect their own idealized image of space. This process began long before the settlement of Azilum was conceived of and will continue as long as there are intelligences to observe. To believe that “*lived bodies belong to places* and help constitute them (Casey 24, italics in the original) ignores the fact that aside from the strictly physical sensations of a place –which may or may not be the same over time – the ways in which places are constituted refers back to previous cultural templates – unless you are arguing that places intrinsically reconstitute people. While an individual or a culture may be shaped over time by the place in which they reside, at the initial moment of encounter it is expectation that shapes the understanding of place. Our encounter with the place of Azilum does not come with the same previously constituted expectations, and so we can’t shape or be shaped by it in the same way. All I can do at Azilum is attempt to create my own understanding –which, if not identical to those of the previous inhabitants, is at least respectful and aware of them.

An understanding of the interlocking layers of landscape – economic, physical and social-- is key to the understanding of French Azilum. While excavation,

geophysical, and especially geochemical analysis have revealed a great deal of information about the usage and layout of the specific lots currently controlled by French Azilum Inc., it must be remembered that this is only a small fraction of the settlement as a whole. The area that has been investigated consists of a line of buildings along a naturally occurring terrace above the Susquehanna, with the front or public faces of most structures apparently facing onto the river. The largest structure, which occupied the foundation where the Laporte House is currently placed, was most likely that built by Omer Talon, and rented by Dr. Louis Buzzard (sic). This is the 40x60 foot structure that was known as the Grande Maison. Along the terrace to the northwest, and following the curve of the river, were a series of smaller outbuildings consisting of two service buildings and one slave cabin. It is possible that other structures also occupied this area, but have not yet been located.

This pattern is consistent with plantation designs found throughout the Caribbean and the antebellum American South, particularly in the earlier years when rivers provided the main means of transportation. The reversal of frontage displayed by the slave cabin reveals either a lack of ease or desire for concealment on the part of the slave owners, or a desire for privacy on the part of the enslaved Africans consistent with that found at larger plantations (Armstrong 1990).

The use of the other two outbuildings is unknown, but artifacts found in the structure excavated in the summer of 2009 indicate that at some time this building was used as a dwelling house, possibly initially in the pre-French period. Later uses are unknown, although phosphate analysis indicates that it was not used as a barn or animal pen. The structure in the modern parking lot can be inferred from various

documentary sources and there is a strong possibility that it may be the original house of Captain Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen. Although a later barn was located in this same spot, phosphate analysis reveals traces of what may be an earlier occupation.

The structure excavated in 1976 and again from 1999-2001 is undoubtedly the one indicated in the 1796 census as belonging to Gui de Noailles. The dimensions are identical. Depictions of a small cluster of buildings in that location in historic documents reveal that there are more outbuildings associated with that foundation waiting to be uncovered. This indicates that the home of Mme. Sophie de Sibert still remains to be found.

The French and Saint-Domingan settlers of Azilum were refugees in the truest sense of the word. They were displaced people who fled horrific conditions and settled in a new place, bringing with them their pre-existing dreams, ideals and assumptions about the nature of their civilization, community, and landscape. While their ideals about what constituted a proper community and landscape may have differed according to different country of origin, social class or personal experience, all were shaped by common Enlightenment ideology and discourse.

The enslaved Africans brought from Haiti likewise shaped the landscape of Azilum based on their pre-existing culture and ideals. While they had less control over the construction of the landscape, their use of the buildings has left tangible, physical traces. The swept yard on the inland side of the slave cabin, the dimensions and form of that structure, the pathways and outbuildings the enslaved utilized and created reveal a continuation of Saint-Domingan and African tradition even in such an alien and unfamiliar milieu.

Further excavation and analysis is necessary to reveal details about the landscape of the rest of the settlement. The Gui de Noailles house, which was excavated in 1976 and again in 1999-2001, and the structure in the modern parking lot, which may have belonged to Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen, have the potential to further illuminate the landscape use of the displaced Saint-Domingan planters. Also waiting to be uncovered, although probably not on land belonging to French Azilum Inc., is the home of Sophia de Sibert, which according to deeds was likewise constructed along familiar Saint-Domingan plantation lines. That property included an animal powered gristmill, which could shed light on the nature of early agriculture and industry at Azilum, as well as further illuminating the lives of the enslaved who undoubtedly worked there. Investigation into the foundations of the modern Laporte House could reveal the beginnings of the settlement, while increased use of remote sensing would show not only previously unknown structures but also the ways in which those structures were used. In short, while the site has a great deal to reveal about the social, geographic and economic landscapes of the settlement more work is necessary to fully uncover both the idealized Enlightenment landscape of the planned community and the eventual alterations made to that plan to allow life at French Azilum to succeed, even if only temporarily.

Chapter Six - “Companions in Distress”: Family Ties and Fellowship at French Azilum

Introduction

Both the French aristocrats and the Saint-Domingan planters who settled French Azilum were refugees, ripped from their homelands and plunged into alien and often unwelcoming environments. They were traumatized, often bereft, and in considerable confusion. The descriptions of their terror, persecution and concealment mimic those of victims of ethnic cleansing or other terroristic warfare. We have discussed how their preconceived sense of the place of America, and the natural frontier in particular, led them to Azilum, where they attempted to both recreate the landscape in their own culturally mandated image, which for the Saint-Domingan planters included enslaved Africans, and also to create the Enlightenment ideal of the life in nature as a balm for the troubled soul. The third factor that led people to Azilum was less complex. The urge to group together with people of similar background and experience is felt by most immigrants, arriving in new surroundings, and it is fair to say that the desire for familiarity is strongest among disoriented refugees. The people at Azilum, save perhaps the enslaved, who we will discuss separately, in Chapter Seven, sought the company of their fellows for support, for reassurance, for ease of communication, and perhaps to keep themselves from being overwhelmed and assimilated by the nascent American culture.

There were, however, multiple cultural groups involved in the settlement of Azilum. While the tendency of previous excavators has been to group them all under the heading of ‘French’, it is important to keep in mind that in the 1790s the continental French and Saint-Domingans were two divergent groups. Elsewhere I will

argued that Saint-Domingue held an anomalous place among French colonies, with residents there escaping some of the stigmatization that other 'colonial' identities held. Although still considered 'Creole' and subject to degeneration through their separation from their native soil, residence in Saint-Domingue was also respected as a means to wealth and influence. According to some estimates, as much as one-eighth of France's wealth was dependent on colonial enterprise in the years just prior to the French Revolution (Popkin 2010). Indeed, members of the upper classes regularly moved between the metropole and the colony, and many of those who are usually considered 'French' at Azilum had connections with both. However, this ease of movement and lack of stigmatization should not serve to hide the fact that the Saint-Domingan French were different than the European French, and that this difference manifested itself starting with ideas of the family and extended kinship groups in relation and opposition to the enslaved. These differences were only made worse by the political factionalism of the French Revolution, which caused society in Saint-Domingue to fracture along lines that involved not only race and origin, but also socio-economic class and political convictions. The resulting near-anarchy and factionalism in Saint-Domingue, was a driving force in the Haitian Revolution. By the time that Azilum was settled, both the European and the Saint-Domingan French refugees had undergone traumatic experiences. Those experiences led to a split in the group identity of the French and Saint-Domingan French refugees. This split is manifested in many ways, but the most obvious is in the long-term adherence of the Saint-Domingans to both their Francophone Caribbean culture and continuing residence on the New World. Unlike the European French, the Saint-Domingans

largely remained in the United States and the Caribbean basin long after hopes for a return to Saint-Domingue faded.

Within this division of Saint-Domingan refugees there were further subgroups, although, again, these have mostly been ignored at Azilum. While in Revolutionary France people were ideologically split between two classes, that of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or the aristocrat and the sans-culottes, in Saint-Domingue this was complicated by the addition of color distinction. At various times the *grands-blancs*, or wealthy estate owners, identified with the royalist aristocrats like Omer Talon, and at times with the aristocratic reformers like Louis de Noailles. The *petits blancs*, who were mostly artisans and wage-workers, were the category most likely to intermarry with the sang-mêlé, or mixed-descent population and they more often identified with the sans-culottes or the aristocratic reformers. The sang-mêlé often identified with these same two groups, wanting the racial category to be erased so that they could enjoy the same revolutionary rights as the other proletariat groups, while at other times they identified with the enslaved and placed racial difference as the pre-eminent characteristic of their class. Finally, the enslaved identified often with the sans-culottes, but also attempted to ingratiate themselves with the reformers and later with Napoleon's Imperial vision. All four of these classes became refugees from the conflagration of Saint-Domingue, although the enslaved were sometimes unwilling refugees. Once in the United States, "internal racial/color/class differences became publicly subordinated to the Creole/American opposition" (Dominguez 1977: 592), although these distinctions always simmered below the surface. Thus, class as well as experience served to drive a wedge between the Saint-Domingan and French refugees.

Most, although not all, of the European French eventually returned to France. This is found not only at Azilum but throughout the United States. When Napoleon lifted the ban on the émigrés he allowed the nobility to attempt to salvage their fortunes and status. The Domingan planters, on the other hand, were not reprieved, and in fact the situation continued to get worse for them over time. As a result, they projected and took pride in a group identity that included French background but also residence in the Caribbean. They were largely those who lingered in the hope that their fortunes would be restored, but in Saint-Domingue and not France. Their group identity also allowed for the possibility of an undifferentiated, but racially aware caste, which came to be known as Creole after 1816 when many of the refugees finally settled permanently in Louisiana. This was caused by the fact that black and sang-mêlé Saint Domingans of wealth had been made refugees along with whites. To understand the ways in which this split in group identity played out at French Azilum it is necessary to first look at the ways in which concepts of family, race, character and geographic residence were understood in 18th Century Saint-Domingue and the larger Enlightenment World.

Evidence

Throughout this dissertation I have tried to keep my work grounded in archaeology. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for this topic can only be inferred, never proven,. There is no class of artifacts which can show familial sentiments, and few writings have survived that testify to this split in identity between Saint-Domingan and European French. While artifacts would be useful in inferring the split between classes and group affiliation in the wider landscape of French

Azilum, and artifacts have often been used in this way (Armstrong 1990, 1999; Crader 1990; Deetz 1993, 1996; Delle 1998) such an analysis would require either a larger sample size or an intact deposition, neither of which have been found at Azilum. Most of the artifacts appear to consist of trampled secondary deposits or sheet scatter, making it difficult to assign any particular artifacts to any location. Further excavation will hopefully remedy this lack.

Robb Mann and Diane DiPaolo Loren (2001) attempted to address this question of class affiliation for the household they excavated at Azilum, which they called the Sibert household and I have labeled the Noailles house. They looked at architecture, furnishings and items of personal adornment and ultimately decided that the refugees were carefully keeping their best things for show, and using more utilitarian items for everyday. Although this is certainly a logical and possible conclusion, there are a couple of conceptual problems with their analysis. First, the house which they excavated does not match the recorded description of Sophia de Sibert's house at all, although it does match the dimensions of Gui de Noailles house, built on land he purchased from Sophia de Sibert. Second, even if they were correct in the house's owner, Sophia de Sibert was a Saint-Domingan planter and not a member of the aristocratic class in France. As such, her household consisted of not only herself, but her sister, son, perhaps other family members, and certainly her enslaved Africans, any one of whom might have been wearing or using the more utilitarian goods. Mann and Loren first discuss this possibility, but then ignore it in their conclusions. "So while they may have not always dressed the part, the *émigrés* at French Azilum were successful in creating a community of some distinction, at least

from the outside. Yet, the order of the community may only have impressed the residents themselves and not the Anglo community nor visiting elites and nobility.” (Mann and Loren 2001:304). This passage implies that the residents at Azilum were fooling themselves with pretensions to wealth and status that appeared unimpressive to the outside world. However, the French residents at Azilum did not need to pretend to culture of refinement – those they truly did possess. What they lacked were the financial resources they had formerly enjoyed, and everyone around them was fully aware of that lack. Mann and Loren’s argument fails to hold. Either the French at Azilum were expressing their perceived class and racial identities through their dress and adornments or they weren’t. The problem is not what the French believed themselves to be expressing versus what they were actually expressing – it is which class and racial group was utilizing the excavated objects. Most likely, those of lower socio-economic and racial status were using goods that denoted their subjugation, while elites were using those goods defined as elite within the context of the settlement. While those elite goods were not likely to be identical to elite goods in France or Saint-Domingue, they were as close approximates as the refugees could obtain, as is shown by records of purchase and letters from the period.

If there was a split between the French refugees and the Saint-Domingans along the lines that I have argued, it is worthwhile to question what these two groups were doing together at the Azilum settlement at all. In fact, their residence in the same place could be taken as an argument against such a split. I would answer that the divergence of the two groups can only be seen over a longer span of time, and that the pattern of arrival and departure at Azilum shows the beginnings, rather than the full

extent, of the development of disparate group identities. Other forms of evidence that are verifiable through excavation and archival study are the location of households and the affiliation of family groups at Azilum, the destinations of those who left the settlement, and the rich body of data left by those Saint-Domingans who eventually made their homes in the American South, especially in the vicinity of Savannah and in Louisiana, where they left the strongest evidence of their continued group identity. At French Azilum, this Saint-Domingan identity is only in the process of forming, it is not yet fully realized.

In discussing this topic I will first address the question of how character and geographic location were linked in Enlightenment philosophy through the theory of bodily humors, which will be discussed in the section on diet. I will then address how the differing experiences of the European French and the Saint-Domingan refugees led to a permanent divergence of group identity, and how the beginnings of this divergence can be seen at French Azilum.

The Comte de Buffon and New World Degeneracy

One of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers on the subject of the New World and its inhabitants was Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, in his day a rival to Rousseau, Montesquie and Voltaire. He proposed what was called Buffon's Law, stating that any organism outside of its original zone of habitation would be altered by the new conditions it found itself in. Specifically, he claimed that Old World flora and fauna, including humans, were smaller and less vital when they were born in the New World. This might in all seriousness be referred to as the '*terroir*' theory of human development, and it is a common thread throughout French writing at

the time. In the 18th century all European colonial powers already made distinctions between Creole peoples, born in the New World of European or possibly mixed descent, and those born in Europe. Buffon's claims added fuel to this fire, causing people to ascribe characteristics to Creole peoples that served to highlight this alleged degeneracy. Descriptions of the Creoles on Saint-Domingue commented on their hot tempers, their artistic sensibilities, their sexual abandon, and languor. These characteristics, which were sanguine and choleric in the humoral categorization, reflected the fact that to the Enlightenment mind blood and bile, or fire and air, dominated the Saint-Domingan individual. These humoral imbalances were intimately linked to the production of people in Saint Domingue's hot climate and racially mixed influences. In the same way that a wine partakes in the terrior, or sum total of environmental, geological, and historically developed cultural influences in its area of creation, so the people of Saint-Domingue partook in the terrior of the islands. What today is a culinary and cultural explanation for a rich palate of tastes was used almost as a predictive model for human behavior in the 18th century, a development that has its echoes in today's concept of the *homme de terrior* in modern French society.

The Production of People in Saint-Domingue

Anthropologists have spent a great deal of blood, sweat and tears studying the ways in which cultures transform baby humans into people. In Saint-Domingue, the European French understanding of cultural reproduction was under attack by the climate, the land itself, and those who were largely responsible for raising the white European child - the enslaved. As we will discuss in the chapter on diet, the

individual was made up of four humors, or elements. All people were inclined towards one or another humor, and such things often were seen to run in families. Too strong an imbalance in one direction or another could cause disease, mental illness and death. Part of the cultural training of children was instructing them to avoid excesses that would imbalance their humors. Among other elements, this included actions like sexual licentiousness, the consumption of too many foods that had characteristics of one humor, or the over-indulgence of any emotion. Children could inherit their mother's humors either before birth, through what their mothers chose to do, consume, and even look upon during pregnancy, as well as after birth through breastmilk and eventually the food that was given to them.

“Anxieties over the effects that a mother's emotions and lifestyle had on her fetus had a long history and emerged from the debate over the power of the maternal imagination...Scholars, philosophers, and physicians of the eighteenth-century continued to believe that the maternal imagination played a part in the formation of the fetus-whether normal, monstrous, or... diseased. In fact, theorists maintained that the imagination could engender certain diseases and cure others” (Weaver 2004: 102).

This led Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau to demand a return to breast feeding for all upper- and middle class women. Particularly in the case of the enslaved wetnurse, the influence of the milk on the humors and hence the character of the child in question were considered extremely detrimental. Physicians, including royal physician Jean-Baptiste-René Poupée-Desportes, believed that wetnursing by enslaved women was the root cause of ruination and adulthood degeneracy, since the nursed children were exposed to the enslaved woman's degenerate humors. This was believed to cause both an adult inclination toward miscegenation and venereal disease (Weaver 2004: 101). But this was only the beginning of the poor infant's problems.

After the graduation from breast milk to solid foods, the child was exposed primarily to those items grown in the land of Saint-Domingue – a hot, immoderate, sultry terroir that led to hot, immoderate individuals. For this reason many upper and middle class colonial children were sent away from their families at very young ages, to partake in the more positive influences of metropole France.

According to Enlightenment thought, in Saint-Domingue the individual was under assault from all directions: spicy food, immoderate amounts of liquor that were believed necessary to combat disease, the hot climate, and wetnursing were all blamed for the imbalanced humors that led to Saint-Domingan degeneracy. According to Buffon, these imbalances were caused by the location itself, as the body partook of the humors inherent in a location. Saint-Domingan parents, while not willing to give up drink, spice, and wetnurses, heeded his warnings and sent their young children back to France for extended periods of schooling. Those who chose to either return or remain in the colony were doubly influenced by the unhealthy climate in which they lived.

For the Saint-Dominagn residents of Azilum, their perceived degeneracy must have affected their relationships, not only with the other French, but with their American neighbors, who were steeped in the same philosophies. Small wonder that the Saint-Domingans, even more than the European French, grouped together with family members and close friends. In such a milieu it may have been possible to continue some of the practices to which the Saint-Domingans were accustomed, but which the European French found so troubling.

Among the Saint-Domingans at French Azilum there were many multi-generational families, and while the exact ages of the children isn't known, at least some were very young. The sons of Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen and his wife Luce Monullé had only reached adulthood in the 1810s, when one of them joined the American Navy and the other entered into an apprenticeship in Savannah, where the family had lived since 1803. Therefore, they must have been quite young children at Azilum, possibly still needing to be nursed. Whether Luce herself nursed her children or the family utilized the services of a wetnurse is unknown, and it would be nothing but speculation to envision such a specific relationship continuing between the Saint-Domingan planters and their enslaved people. Nevertheless, other such culturally specific relationships undoubtedly were ongoing at Azilum, as both the enslaved and the slave owners recreated familiar, and often familial, roles.

The Archaeology of Children

The difficulties of identifying the presence of children through the archaeological record have been addressed by numerous authors. They have usually been considered a 'randomizing' influence on the record, removing artifacts from their areas of initial deposition and moving them around the landscape in ways that are considered unfathomable to adult archaeologists. This was the central thesis in Gawain and Norman Hammond's study of child's play in a vacant lot, where Norman followed his young son around noting the original and eventual locations of planted objects as a result of Gawain's actions (Hammond and Hammond 1981). As a result, the tendency has been to dismiss the influence of children on the archaeological

record. However, we know from documentary research that children, or at least a younger generation, was present in almost every household at French Azilum. The only exceptions are Omer Talon, whose family remained in France, Gui de Noailles, about whose family we know nothing, and the unnamed enslaved people living in the cabin near the Laporte House and in or near Noailles house. Jane Eva Baxter says that: “Given that children were a significant demographic component at most excavated sites” (2005: 2), archaeologists must realize that children’s activities must be included in the site’s formation processes, whether or not we are capable of recognizing them.

Certainly children were utilizing the landscape of Azilum as much as adults were, if in different ways and with different priorities. Among the excavated artifacts are the arm of a porcelain doll and a few clay marbles, the only physical traces we have of children’s activities at the site. Even these few toys tell a story of growing up at Azilum, and can lead us to reflect on the difficulties French and Saint-Domingan families must have experienced enculturating their children into their own way of life rather than that of the surrounding American frontier. “During childhood people begin to learn the roles and expectations of their gender, the ethnic, racial and national identities that belong to themselves and to others, the religious and cosmological beliefs of their community, and the social and economic practices and status of their family” (Baxter 2005: 111). But “toys are not just the tools of parents or ways to enculturate children into adult roles. They become contentious objects in dialogues of control and resistance, reflections of a child’s fears and anxieties as she grows older, and symbolic expressions of race and class on southern plantations” (Baxter 2005: 22).

Whether we are capable of recognizing the archaeological traces or not, the Azilum landscape was one of childhood, and the experiences of young people there must have had a profound influence on their entire lives. It is worthwhile to reflect on how life at Azilum may have shaped the experiences of those who came to adulthood there.

For one thing, they would have encountered a more limited group of playmates than they would have elsewhere. Mme de la Tour du Pin writes movingly of her daughter Séraphine's death, and reports that the young boy that Séraphine played with on the day she contracted her illness also perished (1920: 229). This friendship between genders is exactly what Baxter, an expert in the archaeology of childhood, would expect. "Gender segregated play was less possible in areas of low population density where the choice of playmates was limited to those who happened to live nearby..." (2005: 78). This was also the case on many plantations, where children of different races as well as genders often played together, although in those cases the power differential was always kept in mind. Pierre Toussaint's biography captures how playing with, and for, his owner's young daughter was, in effect, a part of his duties: "as he grew older older, he became more and more devoted to his little godmother, gathering for her the choicest fruits and flowers, and weaving arbors of palms and magnolias" (Lee 1854: 5). Later he offered the same services to his owner's wife: "Rosalie (his younger sister) and I were never tired of gathering flowers for her, and we used to sing and dance for her amusement" (Lee 1854: 10).

Aside from children, some multi-generational families at Azilum were comprised of single-parent households. Sophia de Sibert was a widow, a situation that

happily allowed her to “transact business and sign legal documents in their own right. Married women, by contrast, had to rely on their husbands to act on their behalf, unless their husbands specifically granted them legal authority” (Richter 2003: 51). She may have relied on a close and dense kinship network to advise her on the economic and legal decisions she was forced to make while living at Azilum. She may also have wished to remarry, another reason to have close family support. Marriages, as well as births and deaths, did occur at Azilum. There even appears to have been an Azilum version of a *femme fatale*. Mlle Maulde, formerly a secular nun or canoness, was courted by both Aristide du Petit-Thouars, who finally declined to marry because he felt he could not adequately support her (1800), and her eventual husband, the Marquis de Blaçons. The de Blaçons family kept a haberdashery shop in Azilum with a partner, M. Colin, who had formerly been “Abbé de Sevigné, archduke of Tours, and conseiller au grand conseil” (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt 1800: 40).

While marriages, deaths, and births went on at Azilum, it is not known whether any enslaved people or sang-mêles were affected by these. Certainly no sang-mêles were recorded at Azilum. Since no artisans of any sort, and only one non-enslaved servant (Omer Talon’s French butler, Wallois) are recorded by name, this is by no means proof that they were not there. Some of the enslaved may have also been kin to their enslavers at Azilum, as was so often the case in Saint-Domingue. Whether customs of concubinage, known in Saint-Domingue as *plaçage*, were followed, or whether sang-mêle children were conceived and born at Azilum is not known, but the possibility certainly cannot be ruled out.

Families in Saint-Domingue

Among the Saint-Domingan refugees, family and household often overlapped through the begetting of sang-mêlé children on enslaved women by members of their owners' families, and the resulting complexity led to everyday personal interactions that were as condemned as they were common. Starting in the early years of the French settlement of the island it was not uncommon for a man to have two families, one comprised of a legal white wife and children, along with parents, siblings and other extended relations, and one comprised of a matching set of black or sang-mêlé relations, either enslaved or free. This situation was widely accepted among the elites, and only slightly less common among the *petits blancs*, although there the class structure also allowed the intermingling of white and black families. "A study of the registers of three parishes in the south of St. Domingue shows that in 1730, mixed unions [between blacks and whites] represented seventeen percent of all unions. That figure increased to thirty percent by 1770" (Dessens 2003: 69). Of course, this largely applies to white men who married black or sang-mêlé women, while the lust of black men for white women was a recurring horror-theme in writings on the Haitian Revolution. Although the status differentials between the white and black or sang-mêlé families in Saint-Domingue was obvious, neither held exclusive rights to inheritance, or education. Young girls, and especially young boys, born to black or sang-mêlé companions of wealthy men of property, were educated, cared for, and often helped to establish themselves in marriage, concubinage, or a profession by their fathers. Many of these children were given inheritance rights, and some were among the wealthiest people of Saint-Domingue. This obviously caused friction in the

household of the straying spouse, especially when the suspected concubine was a slave under the power of the wronged wife.

Enslaved women were supposedly so addicted to such vices that they were accused of murdering their own children in order to make themselves available for their master's attentions more quickly. The condition of *mal de mâchoire*, where an enslaved child's jaw locked and they eventually died in convulsions, was blamed on the enslaved mother's lack of care and eagerness to return to the sinful life of concubinage. Given that most enslaved women had no choice about who they took into their beds, the added horror of being blamed for the death of their children must have been crushing. Enslaved women were often whipped following the death of their children, as their supposed negligence had cost their owners' money (Weaver 2005: 105). Ironically, *mal de mâchoire* was sometimes blamed on the enslaved woman's inability to allow her children to cry, which caused her to carry "her child about the room, to the door, to the window, and even outside. According to these medical men, this sudden change in temperature... brought on disease" (Weaver 2005: 104). It is ironic to reflect on how 'sudden' the temperature change between the hearth and the outside could have been for children in Haiti's tropical climate, and to then imagine those same individuals coping with the harsh winters of a Pennsylvania frontier.

Mme de Rouvray is especially vitriolic about the colored mistresses of wealthy white men. When she arrived in New York she found her husband happily ensconced with his sang-mêlé mistress, leading her to exclaim: "Tous ont leur mulâtresse, qu'ils ont amenée ou qui sont venues le trouver, et avec lesquelles ils vont donner une

nouvelle génération de mulâtres et de quarterons désigner à égorger nos enfants et nos petits enfants” (Rouvray 1959: 102). In this passage she reflects the belief, common among many Saint-Domingan planters, that it was the actions of the sang-mêlé that led the enslaved to rise up. It was only the admixture of white blood, they believed, that granted the ability to form strategy. Since white rule in Saint-Domingue was obviously endangered, and the enslaved by definition lacked the agency and self-motivation to engage in these activities, in this conception they must have had white or sang-mêlé leaders.

Despite these allegations, the Haitian Revolution was a bloody mess for sang-mêlé families, enslaved and free alike. Allied both by blood and economic ties to whites, many sang-mêlé were plantation owners themselves, educated men and women who partially precipitated the colony’s demise as they attempted to claim their own rights. They were not largely attackers of the slave system, nor were they attempting to make common cause based on shared ‘blackness’ with the slaves. Instead, starting with Vincent Ogé in 1789, the sang-mêlé attempted to claim the rights guaranteed them as free citizens of France, under Revolutionary law. At various times throughout the Revolution they allied themselves to the enslaved, and at other times they made common cause with the whites. Many of the sang-mêlé chose to flee the bloodbath of the island, considering their cultural French background as more important than their ‘blackness’. And many chose to accompany their white male family members into exile, like the companion of Saint-Domingan planter Saint-Gême, who eventually settled in Louisiana with both his sang-mêlé and white families. Although he eventually returned to France with his white family, in 1829

Saint-Gême was still consulting with friends in New Orleans about the education and marriages of the sang-mêlé family he left behind (Dessens 2007a: 64)

This commonplace concubinage based on perceived race only served to confuse the already existing debate on the nature of those born and living in Saint-Domingue and the New World in general. This confusion was passed on to the Americans among whom the Saint-Domingans eventually settled (Cable 1897, Dominguez 1977). While the perceived impurity and degeneracy of the Saint-Dominguan people cannot be shown to have caused friction at Azilum, the company of people entirely without similar experience or background must have been an added gall to the already traumatized Saint-Dominguan refugees.

The Flight from Saint Domingue – the Refugee Experience

Unlike the European French who escaped in the early days of the Terror, most of the Saint-Domingan refugees did not have time to plan and choose their escape routes or destinations. Some few, apparently including Sophia de Sibert and her family, escaped in the early days of the Haitian Revolution, which I have largely defined as 1791 and before. They often left behind smoking plantations, as did the ‘Creole of Saint Domingue’ who wrote My Odyssey:

Those vast teams of slaves, those opulent mansions
Once the seat of hospitality
The furniture, smashed, the roofbeams, smoking
Now cover the bloodied floors of marble! (de Puech Parham 1959: 74)

The first major uprising in 1791, was horrific for those planters in the North Plain, the most fertile area of Saint-Domingue. It led many to abandon their homes and group together for safety, often in Cap Français, the major port and most

prosperous city in the colony. Others, like Sophia de Sibert's husband, Simon Félix de Sibert, apparently removed what remained of their fortunes and sought sanctuary off of the island. Many went to North America, which was often referred to as Nouvelle-Angleterre to distinguish it from Canada, which was still Nouvelle-France. Many of these refugees expected their removal to be temporary and only supplied themselves with ready money to last for a year or two, as is the case with the Bérard family, who ended up in New York. The Bérard family is of interest to us not because of any direct connection with Azilum, but because it was through them that Pierre Toussaint arrived in the United States. Pierre Toussaint was an enslaved man who was brought from Saint-Domingue while he was still in his teens. As the Bérard money ran out and various members of the family succumbed to illness, he became the sole support for the entire clan as well as three fellow enslaved people. Because of his eventual success and freedom, a biography was written about him, giving us the only known life story of an enslaved Saint-Domingan man in the United States. His story, while it is not a story from Azilum, is the best proxy for them available, although he as an individual appears to have been extraordinary. In 1996 he was declared the Venerable Pierre Toussaint by Pope John Paul II, the second step toward sainthood.

Other Saint-Domingan planter refugees fled over the next two years, as the situation became daily more desperate throughout the colony. Most of them expected to return momentarily, and "for some time they were sanguine in the hope of returning to the island, and taking possession of their property" (Lee 1854: 21). The conditions which they experienced on the island could not have failed to have an effect on these individuals, however appalling their own actions when in power. Today it is tempting

to diagnose the Saint-Dominguan refugees with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or some similar condition. It is noticeable how often the journals, diaries, and letters of the Saint-Dominguan refugees mention depression, *misère*, and illnesses that could have a psychological cause. Even Elsie Murray mentions the “melancholy St. Domingan planter, brought back with his black servant from the Genesee by the Marquis de Blaçons, [who] was interred [at Azilum] when he ended his troubles in a noose on a black-thorn” (1940: 37).

While those Saint-Domingans who fled the island after the beginning of the Revolution in 1791 were largely able to keep their families together and choose their destinations, a far larger wave of displaced people left the island in June of 1793, when the city of Cap Français was burned to the ground (Dessens 2007). According to Jeremy Popkin: “Most of the city’s white population took refuge on the ships crowded into its [Cap Français’] harbor, which had been waiting for the commissioner’s permission to depart. With the city in flames...the fleet set sail for the United States, depositing refugees all along the eastern seaboard” (184). According to one anonymous witness of the destruction, the white Saint-Domingans who had previously been fighting in the streets:

All threw themselves in the water without thinking, without knowing whether the nearest ships would be swamped by the crowd. All threw away rifles, knapsacks, uniforms, hats, anything that might hamper them. The seashore, witness to the dishonorable flight, was covered with things left behind by the cowards who threw themselves into the water trying to reach some distant boats (Popkin 2007: 196).

The private citizens, who had kept themselves hidden in their homes throughout the fighting “had no choice except to get on a ship, go to the barracks, or to Haut du Cap

(the mountains surrounding the city). It was no longer a question of thinking about one's possessions; everyone thought only of his existence" (Popkin 2007: 197). People in different areas of the city had access to different solutions. Those in the lower town couldn't reach the French troops in the heights around the city. Their only option was the ships. No one in the upper town could reach the ships. No one at all could reach the barracks, which were cut off by rebelling slaves. "But everyone saw flight as their only hope, everyone begged men of color and even slaves to escort them, everyone escaped however he could, and already almost all of the houses of Le Cap were left to the slaves" (Popkin 2007: 197).

Those who took ship in this manner must have experienced particularly horrendous journeys to whatever port of call their ship's captain chose to sail to. Many of them were unaware of the fate of their friends and family members; many were injured, and many were utterly destitute. The despair with which they wrote of their experiences and the fate of the colony is palpable, and their bitterness towards the Revolutionary French factions marks the emergence of a cultural split. The Marquis de Rouvray, a wealthy planter from Saint-Domingue who had already made his way to New York, wrote in August of 1793 that "tous les défenseurs de la colonie sont morts ou embarqués" (Rouvray 1959: 100). His wife, writing to her daughter, says: "C'est la fin du monde, mon enfant, et c'est aussi la fin des honnêtes gens" (Rouvray 1959: 102).

According to the proslavery Saint-Domingan refugees, the rebelling slaves were not the primary instigators of the Haitian Revolution. Instead, it was variously the free people of color, the abolitionists, or the political factions of Paris who had to

bear the blame for the atrocities. Exactly which factions were culpable was something no one could agree on. We have already read Mme Rouvray's commentary on the sang-mêlé. As for the political factions, one refugee claimed that "our ruin could be owing to nothing else than a stroke of the counter-revolutionary aristocrats" (Popkin 2007: 128) while another wrote a play illustrating the barbarous treatment of the whites by their formerly enslaved men and women. His villain was a 'Revolutionary Philanthrope' who declaims: "For too long the blood of blacks has fertilized this land: let it be covered with the blood of whites...let its towns be the prey of flames, and the entire island a vast desert!" (Popkin 2007: 249).

With the world turned upside down for so many of the refugees, and their destinations and fates taken (or dashed) from their hands, it is no wonder that the Saint-Domingan refugees tended to group together in self defense. Not many chose to reside in France at this point, for several reasons. The political situation there was dire, especially for those with aristocratic connections, which many plantation owners had. Also, France declared universal emancipation in 1794, so it was not an attractive destination for those whose fortune was now limited to a few enslaved people. Especially for those who had lived in Saint-Domingue for generations "the other Caribbean or North American colonies, as well as the United States, were geographically, climatically, socially, and culturally, much closer" to Saint-Domingue (Dessens 2007: 16). Returning to France was expensive, uncertain, and left the Saint-Domingans ill-positioned to act should a reversal of fortune allow them to reclaim their former property. Finally, it is at this point in the development of the Saint-Domingan diaspora that ill-feeling towards the French metropole begins to develop

fully. Disillusionment with French politics begins to seep into the writings of the Saint-Domingans, of whatever class and political affiliation. Betrayed (as they saw it) by their nation, their king, their Revolution, and their own servants, they were only able to rely on their kinsmen, and their dependence on this last bastion of fellowship is evident in all of their writings.

For Mme Rouvray, the reliance on kinship meant regathering the shattered remnant of her family, even in the face of her husband's abandonment of their daughter. She left him in 1796 to go to the aid of her youngest daughter, who was living in dire poverty in Puerto Rico, working as a hatmaker (1959: 154). M. Rouvray had refused to send his daughter money to pay for her passage to join the rest of the family in New York, an act Mme Rouvray called 'barbaric' (1959: 138). Mme Rouvray was accompanied by her sister, who intended to aid in her niece's rescue. Her letters are rife with references to one family member or another's plan to join her in New York, and when circumstances repeatedly intervened she was inconsolable. The lack of letters from any member of her family over a length of time makes her despair: "Ah, je dis votre frère – est-ce qu'il vit encore?" (1959: 96). She was hardly alone. Wherever the Saint-Domingans gathered, they sought out fellow refugees. Nathalie Dessens writes:

The first effect of the migration had been to break family units. In many cases, the members of a same family found their way to various host territories as a result of circumstances rather than a deliberate choice. The urgency of the flight often took refugees from the same family to distant shores. When they could willingly choose a destination, they tended to converge on one single territory. (2007:30)

Saint-Domingan Families at Azilum

Such was clearly the case at French Azilum, where most of the Saint-Domingans who lived on the lots investigated from 2008 to 2010 belonged to one extended family. Relationships among them are tangled, but in short, Sophie de Sibert, who resided in the well-described house on Lot 416, arrived at Azilum with her sister, Mlle Bercy. Mlle Bercy married Captain LaRoue while at Azilum, and apparently opened an inn for a time before returning with him to France when he took a position as one of Talleyrand's assistants. He was later involved in the disastrous diplomatic negotiations between the United States and France which became known as the XYZ Affair (Stinchcombe 1977). Both Mlle Bercy and Mme de Sibert were the cousins of the Montullé family, which included two brothers, a sister (Luce Maude Montullé, who was married to Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen) and a cousin, Abbé Carles. While it isn't known exactly where the Montullé and Carles family resided, Denis Cottineau lived on Lot 417, adjoining Sophie de Sibert's property, and she later sold his land in her own name. While we can locate these individuals both physically on lots and socially within their family group, there were other members of these families present. Children, especially, were present but unnamed in the records, except in a very general sense. We know, for instance, that Luce Maude Montullé and Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen had at least two sons, since those grown sons lived with them in Savannah at the time of Denis Cottineau's death in 1808. Mme de Sibert and at least one of the Montullé brothers also had children. In 1798 the Comte de Colbert-Maulevrier visited M. Sibert, who the text identifies as the son of Mme de Sibert, "une des fondatrices de la colonie d'Azilum" (De Colbert Maulevrier 1935: 73). The Comte found young Bercy de Sibert in Pottsgrove, where he was reduced to selling

vegetables, apparently at a roadside store. Maulevrier knew Sibert through the latter's cousin, M. Montullé the younger. Maulevrier called Montullé the "ancien camarade de mon enfance" (1935: 1) and wrote that his and Sibert's situation, while 'ordinary' is not too bad:

Cela me convaint encore plus que dans quelques pays ce soit, si on pouvait réunir quelques amis, on oublierait bientôt les champs qui nous virent naître, surtout en ayant dans ce nouvel domicile une propriété quelconque. M. Sibert a une petite terre de 20 a, suffisante pour entretenir deux vaches et deux cheveaux, une petite maison en pierre lui, arranger par M. de Montulé (sic) sera bientôt une très jolie retraite (1935: 2).

This is one of the rare first-hand glimpses we have showing the continuing allure family ties held for the refugees after their Azilum years.

By 1798 Mme de Sibert was residing in Wilmington, Delaware, probably because Delaware, unlike Pennsylvania, had no anti-slavery laws at that time. All of the members of this extended family were *grands blancs*, large landowners and planters in Saint-Domingue. While some *petits blancs* did live at Azilum, it is far harder to find references to them, mostly because the notables who published their accounts of visits to the colony only wrote about the eminent settlers. Still, a few *petits blancs* do creep into the narrative, for instance when the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt mentions that:

Some families of artisans are also established at Azilum; and such as conduct themselves properly can earn great wages. This cannot be said of the greatest part of them. They are, in general, very indifferent workmen and much addicted to drunkenness (1800).

The above was written in 1795 after Rochefoucauld-Liancourt toured the colony. By 1798 Maulevrier represents a much smaller settlement, where only a few *grands blancs* families reside: "le reste sont des valets ou des ouvriers" (34).

Most of the grands blancs, and certainly all of the Sibert/Cottineau/Montullé family, were also slave owners, and the Montullé and Cottineau families moved to Savannah, Georgia, shortly after leaving Azilum. After the death of Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen in 1808, Luce Montullé Cottineau lived for a time with her cousin, the Abbé Carles, teaching French to young girls. Eventually she returned to France, but her two sons remained as United States citizens. She is one of the few Saint Domingan refugees to return to France, in sharp contrast to the European French refugees, most of who returned to France during the Napoleonic era. Perhaps this can be traced to the fact that Denis Cottineau was not a lifelong resident of Azilum, moving there only following his involvement in the American Revolution. Whatever the case may be, it is this relative permanence of the Saint-Domingan refugee in the United States that had the most lasting effect on the young country, as we will discuss below.

Reliance on family is clearly evident at French Azilum, where the majority of the inhabitants were accompanied by at least one, if not many, members of their extended families. Dr. Buzard was accompanied by “his wife, daughter and son, and some negroes, the remains of his fortune (Rochefoucauld-Liancourt). His family, unlike most others, appears to have been largely self-contained. According to Elsie Murray he went to Cuba when the colony failed, and she depicts him as enjoying a prosperous old-age there. This is unlikely, as Cuba expelled all of the French in 1809, causing many of the now-twice exiled Saint-Domingans to take up residence in Louisiana (Dessens 2007). Whether the Buzard family was among them is unknown.

The Saint-Domingan refugee influence on America

Unlike the European French, whose situation largely reverted to something approaching normalcy with the revocation of their émigré status in 1803, the Saint-Domingans had nothing in Europe. Some had deep family roots in Saint-Domingue and little if any familiarity with France, some had lost everything in their flight and could not afford to return, and some were wary of the political and military convulsions that Europe continued to experience. Many of these families sought repeatedly to resettle in Saint-Domingue, and some did in fact return during the years of Toussaint L'Ouverture's ascendancy. He recognized that for the island to prosper it needed people experienced in the manufacture and trade of their most important export – sugar. However, the Leclerc expedition, of which Louis-Marie de Noailles was a member, ended that period of relative normalcy by arresting Toussaint L'Ouverture and deporting him and his family to their deaths in France. When the Leclerc expedition failed in 1803 due to yellow fever and reaction to the atrocities Laurent Dubois called “racist delirium” (2004: 293), the white families who had returned to or managed to remain in Saint-Domingue were either forced to flee again or were slaughtered. The declaration of their deaths was published in the Haitian Declaration of Independence in January of 1804.

In declaring the new nation of Haiti to be a black nation, and announcing the French were not the brothers of the Haitians, and never could be, the new Haitian government made it impossible for the Saint-Domingans resident in America to return, and made the status of the sang-mêlé as problematic as it had been under the old Saint-Domingan laws. In order to return, the sang-mêlé would be forced to declare themselves ‘black’ a designation that they had spent substantial time and energy to

escape. While those of the sang-mêlé who had remained in Haiti throughout the war years became the island's new elites, those who had fled the revolution seem to have felt, like Pierre Toussaint, that they had seen enough blood. "Madame" he said once, when asked about abolition "ils n'ont jamias vu couler le sang comme moi; they don't know what they are doing" (Lee 1854: 85).

Like the white Saint-Domingan refugees, the sang-mêlé relocated themselves and their families regularly throughout the years between 1791 and 1825, when the Haitian government agreed to pay a disastrous indemnity to the French in exchange for a return of diplomatic and economic relations. This indemnity, which finally signaled an end to the refugees' hopes of reclaiming their property, can be counted as the end of the Saint-Domingan refugee period, and the beginning of their assimilation into their new communities.

Nathalie Dessens (2007) traces the Saint-Domingan refugees, both sang-mêlé and white, throughout their peregrinations and to their final destination, which for a substantial number of refugees was the city of New Orleans. According to Dessens, the influx of refugees into New Orleans began in 1793 with the burning of Cap Français, and continued until 1810, following the expulsion of all people of French ancestry from Cuba. Once in New Orleans, the Saint Domingans exhibited remarkable cultural cohesion, marrying, baptizing, and witnessing documents and wills for each other long after the city became largely Americanized (2007: 50-53). The culture that came to be known as Creole or French in New Orleans was largely Saint-Domingan, from the figures that appear in songs and folk-tales to the food and dances. The presence and acknowledgement of the sang-mêlé and the mixed-race

concubine or *placée* was part of this culture, at least until the 1850s, when Americans with less nuanced ideas of race caused the ‘racially pure’ Creoles to begin the systematic exclusion of those who had never made any secret of their backgrounds (Dominguez 1977: 593).

Aside from jambalaya, *plaçage*, sugar plantations and voodoo, the Saint-Domingan refugees brought one very important thing with them in their flight from the Caribbean to the United States –their terror of racial revolution. Beginning in 1791, citizens of the United States could read in gory detail about the atrocities being committed by both sides in Haiti. Especially in the South, “whatever revolutionary sentiment there had been... during the American Revolution soon lapsed into silence over the ominous events on St. Domingue” (Hunt 1988: 107). Southern legislatures acted quickly to repress revolutionary sentiment among their own enslaved people. An 1803 statute from South Carolina specifically forbade bringing any slave or free person of color “who heretofor hath been, or now is, or hereafter shall be resident in any of the French West India islands” into the state (Hunt 1988: 108). Other states reacted to the possibility of insurrection in the 1790s by tightening their requirements on manumission – enslaved people were required to have savings, or leave the area following their manumission. Laws passed during this time period that prohibited the slave trade from Africa were due to the perception that African-born enslaved people had been leaders in the Haitian Revolution. Other laws, however, insisted on importation directly from Africa, and excluded any new importation of people who might have been infected with ideas of liberty.

Numerous minor incidents seemed to confirm the southern fear of Saint-Dominguan inspired insurrection. There were several reported discoveries in South Carolina and Georgia of insurrections that failed prior to their commencement, and a few actual rebellions such as the 1795 Point Coupée revolt near New Orleans, which was betrayed by potential participants (Holmes 1970). Judging from all of the fury and fear the Point Coupée rebellion caused, it should have been a major uprising, rather than a failure.

Other insurrections and revolts continued to be blamed on French or Haitian conspiracies well into the 19th century. As late as 1822, the Denmark Vesey rebellion near Charleston was blamed in part on Vesey having been in the West Indies in his youth (Hunt 1988: 119). He had been so influenced by that experience that when he began plotting the overthrow of slavery in South Carolina he wrote to the Haitian President Boyer asking for a blessing on his plans.

The longest-lasting effect of the Saint-Domingan refugees on the American South seems to have been a kind of all-pervasive dread of revolt and bloodshed; what Alfred Hunt has called ‘the slumbering volcano’ (1988). Although evidence of actual Haitian-inspired Revolutions and rebellions was scant, the southerners continued, in a sense, to see Toussaint L’Ouverture lurking behind every bush. The Haitian Revolution was the reason for denying the enslaved access to education, to manumission, and to religion. The fear of slave revolution was less than a fear – it was the continuous nightmare of the slave owner who saw his nightmare played out across the Caribbean. And French refugees from Saint-Domingue were directly

involved in transmitting that fear, through their published experiences and their personal presence in North America.

Refugees from France

Unlike the Saint-Domingan refugees, the French who arrived at Azilum all, to a certain extent, did so by intention. Scraping together money to pay for a trans-Atlantic passage was considerably more difficult than bribing a fisherman to take you across the English Channel. While their flights from France were often precipitous, and their final destinations uncertain, all at some point made the conscious decision to seek refuge in the New World. Certainly this is the case with individuals at Azilum. Among the European French, the Murrays report that Bartolomé Laporte was responsible for smuggling Omer Talon out of Marseilles hidden inside a wine barrel (Murray 1917: 9). While his manner of departure was mandated by necessity, not choice, he did choose to be smuggled onto a vessel bound for the United States, and did so in a way that required significant planning and forethought. Louis Marie de Noailles likewise was forced to flee, although in his case he absconded across the border into Belgium under cover of battle. From there he made his way to the United States rather than join fellow exiles in Belgium and Austria. Of course, given his support for the initial stages of the Revolution, he was perhaps more certain of a welcome in the United States, but the decision was still his to make. Similar situations arise wherever the arrival of the French refugees can be traced, whether they were inhabitants of Azilum or not. Moreau de Saint-Mery, unlike many of those escaping to America, chose his ship, although he was almost prevented from sailing by an arrest warrant for his nephew, who traveled with him. In fact, all sixteen of his fellow

passengers were either family or friends, and all had chosen this ship especially to take them to Saint-Domingue (Moreau de Saint-Mery 1947: 8). However, while at sea they received word that the Convention had freed the slaves on Saint-Domingue, and rather than continue on to an increasingly unsettled situation they simply remained in North America. Mme. De la Tour Du Pin also chose her ship, although she hoped to convince the captain to let her family disembark in England rather than make the entire long journey to New York. She was refused, and became for a while a farmwife and cheese-maker outside of Albany.

In all of these cases the definition of family was clear and not especially complicated. The refugees fled in company with those connected to them by blood or marriage, and their kinship ties usually dictated their political affiliations. By the beginning of the Terror in 1791 the revolutionary reformers and the monarchists were both proscribed and in danger of summary imprisonment and execution if caught. Whether the families had held different opinions on the value of the Revolution and the need for reform prior to their flight became inconsequential in light of their shared terror. When the refugees were forced to leave behind family members, that loss usually ended in one of two ways. Either the family members left behind were executed, as in the case with de Noailles, or they remained in order to safeguard family assets, as in the case with Antoine Omer Talon's wife, the Comtesse de Pestre. Although of Belgian origin, the Comtesse remained in France with the couple's two children, Denis-Mathieu-Claire, and Zoe-Victoire, later the famous Countess of Cayle and *maîtresse-en-titre* of Louis XVIII (Sainte-Amand 2009: 257). The Comtesse de Pestre was successful in having her husband's name erased from the list of émigrés

during the Directory period (1795-1799). This same family sentiment led Zoe-Victoire to plead for her father's life to Napoleon in 1804, when he was exiled to the Ile Sainte-Marguerite. He was reprieved by her actions in 1807, and died in 1812.

Zoe-Victoire apparently also espoused her father's extreme monarchist politics, as well, so it was clearly not lack of compatibility that led Antoine Omer Talon and his family to separate during the 1790s. According to Imbert Sainte-Amande "When Mme du Cayla spoke or wrote to Louis XVIII, it was the extreme Right that expressed itself by her mouth or held her pen" (2009: 262). Family sentiment remained a motivating and compelling force to the European French, one that might lead an entire family of 16 to cross the ocean in a leaky boat because one was threatened, to risk oneself and one's political cause by pleading for the life of a convicted traitor, or cause some family members to remain behind in danger to safeguard the possessions and position of all.

While most of the French refugees "eventually returned to France," those "who did not had every opportunity to assimilate quickly because they were mostly white, skilled, educated persons, to whom citizenship was readily available. In most places where the refugees stayed on, they intermarried, learned to speak English, and virtually vanished as a distinct cultural group" (Hunt 1988: 45). This was the experience of the French at Azilum. By the early 18th century only a handful of families, the Homets, the Laportes, the Prevosts, the Lefevres, and the d'Autremonts, remained. All intermarried with Americans and took up trades in the Azilum area. Many of their descendants are still there.

Factionalism and Family at Azilum

Although the tendency of researchers into Azilum has been to treat all of the arriving refugees as French émigrés, in reality the people who settled there were a diverse group. Differences of origin, race, class, and background which have been treated as trivial in modern times were in fact essential to the self-conception of the newly arrived settlers. Theories of New World degeneracy and local Saint-Domingan customs caused the European French to have a less than shining view of the Saint-Domingans, while political factionalism in France and the mismanagement of the initial insurgency in Saint-Domingue embittered planters and sang-mêlé alike. Differences in the conceptions of family and the acceptable behavior and construction of social networks had already begun to divide the Saint Domingans from their homeland, a trend which is exposed by the eventual, divergent fates of the two groups. While most of the European French returned to their homes or integrated into American society, the Saint-Domingans acted as a true diaspora, with a shared group identity that was passed down for generations, a remembrance of a specific physical location to which those in question wished to someday return, and a set of social signifiers that could identify members of this group and set them apart from outsiders.

Although it is difficult to identify this split archaeologically at Azilum, the trend is visible in the kinship ties that drew individuals to the settlement. The Saint-Domingans present at the excavation site were largely members of one extended family, and they acted to support each other. Like other Saint-Domingan refugees in North America, they were highly mobile, and all eventually left Azilum for areas that were closer, either geographically or culturally, to their vanished homeland. It is no

accident that Moreau de Saint-Mery referred to Saint-Domingue as ‘A Civilization that Perished’ (1985). It was a distinct cultural group that has to be considered as ancestral to the Creole of New Orleans and Louisiana fame.

Chapter Seven - **Slavery at French Azilum**

The Racialization of Class in Saint-Domingue

French Azilum was settled by three different groups of people, with three different ideas about the practice and reality of freedom. The first group, which I have called the revolutionary reformers, has been discussed in depth in Chapter Two. They were largely the upper and upper-middle class of French society, gaining their wealth and status through inheritance – in other words, they were the aristocracy, whether titled or not. Some among them practiced genteel trades, or were commissioned officers in the army or the navy. Many of them had previously served in the American War of Independence. They pursued their understanding of the enlightenment ideal of freedom in France and its colonies, and were instrumental in bringing about the Revolution, although they were unable to control either its trajectory or its eventual outcomes. Their understanding of freedom was based on their understanding of the free-market system, and their rebellion was less against their status as subjects of the French crown and social structure than it was against the economic customs of France which were still influenced by feudalism.

Largely bound into these ideals, but with a separate and perhaps deeper understanding of freedom and enslavement were the planters from Saint-Domingue. In discussing this class, I have not and will not use the term ‘Haitians’. These men and women would never have understood that term to apply to themselves. They were Frenchmen and women resident in Saint-Domingue, and their collective aspiration was to amass a fortune sufficient to allow them to aspire to the first group, whether in France or in Saint-Domingue. Nathalie Dessens writes that “Saint-Domingue became,

in the last years before the French Revolution, the main driving force of France's commercial capitalism. This prosperity had undeniable effects on the society of the colony, attracting many young members of aristocratic French families who became less and less anxious to return to France" (Dessens 2007: 8-9).

Saint-Domingue holds a separate and poorly studied position within the 18th century French colonial hierarchy, as the wealthiest and most cultured colony, the one which best approximated the upper-class lifestyle of the French aristocracy. A surprising number of aristocrats and wealthy bourgeoisie were connected intimately with Saint-Domingue, and many of those involved in the French Revolution who have elsewhere been described solely as 'French' were in fact deeply enmeshed in the colony. Many families had holdings in both France and Saint-Domingue, and although detailed statistics have so far been impossible to locate, the amount of movement between the colony and Paris seems to have been immense. Frenchmen went to Saint-Domingue to work, to act as administrators, as military officers. Planters returned to Paris for education, as holders of governmental posts, and to conduct trade. Many people, including most of the names associated with French Azilum, spent large portions of their lives in both Saint-Domingue and the Parisian royal court. Among these Atlantic personalities are Aristide du Petit-Thouars, Denis Cottineau, Casimir de LaRoue, and many other names in the French aristocracy less deeply involved in Azilum such as the Marquis and Marquise de Rouvray, Moreau de St-Mery, and even Louis de Noailles. The involvement of these trans-Atlantic planters in the French Revolution is a problematic one, much as the involvement of wealthy American slaveowners in the American Revolution seems today. They were

slaveowners demanding their own freedom but denying it to others, a process that seems contradictory to modern eyes. However, when the subject is examined more fully, it is easy to see that the planters of Saint-Domingue were largely indistinguishable in their demands from the wealthy revolutionary reformers of Paris. They wanted freedom from feudal obligations to France, and the ability to trade with the motherland and other colonies without crippling taxes and customs duties. Where the planters' emissaries to the Estates-General differed from at least some of the aristocratic French is in their outright demand that slaves not be freed and that free people of color be excluded from any form of representation in the newly constituted state.

Why people agitating for their own freedom would demand denial of the same freedoms to others is a difficult subject to come to terms with. Orlando Patterson (1982), a scholar of the theoretical implications of slavery, claims that it is precisely the experience of slavery that defines freedom in many societies, and that free men and women throughout history have been largely defined by their opposite – the enslaved man or woman. “Slavery is associated... with the emergence of several of the most profoundly cherished ideals and beliefs in the Western tradition. The idea of freedom and the concept of property were both intimately bound up with the rise of slavery, their very antithesis” (Patterson 1982: viii).

Such people and such slaveholding societies, because they lived daily with the reality of slavery, were fierce defenders of their own freedoms and privileges. Because the enslaved in most such societies lack the ability to defend or project their personal honor, the ruling class became fiercely defensive of their own (Patterson

1982: 79). Patterson calls such groups ‘timocratic societies’ and his description might have been written with Saint-Domingue specifically in mind. We will discuss Lieutenant Howard’s observation that any white man, whatever his social standing in Saint-Domingue, conceived of himself as the equal of all other white men. In this comment he may have been more revealing than he knew. French commentators did distinguish between the *grands blancs* and the *petits blancs*, or the wealthy and the middle class. These distinctions were very real, and led the two groups to take different sides at various times during the early years of the French Revolution, with the *petits blancs* feeling that their interests were better allied to those of the sans-culottes while the *grands blancs* felt more sympathy to the nobles, or at least to the Revolutionary reformers. However, it is here that their understanding of freedom clashed with that of the enslaved Africans, who largely equated their revolution not with a quest for economic reform but with the overthrow of the slave system. Whatever the class distinctions within Saint-Domingan white society, on the issue of slavery, and especially that continuation of the institution of slavery, the *grands blancs* and the *petits blancs* were in total agreement.

This solidarity is a function of that same timocracy. The ruling class was made up of white men and women, who supervised laborers. Therefore every white man and woman who saw him or herself as part of that ruling class wished to be seen not as a laborer, but as a supervisor. Hence, as Lieutenant Howard describes, we have the farrier, definitely a *petit blanc*, who “comes to shoe your horses, ... with three or four slaves at his heels carrying his tools, the gentleman himself dressed in his silk coat

tout à la mode” (Howard 1985: 103). Even those who ostensibly practiced trades did not see themselves as servants in timocratic cultures such as that of Saint-Domingue.

Faced with the stark reality of personal power exercised over slaves, the worker could easily see that his much-vaunted freedom to change employers was simply a meaningless freedom to change masters. In this way the free laborer became dangerously radicalized by the presence of slavery. Nonslave workers universally tended to despise work for others in all societies where a critical mass of slaves was used. (Patterson 1982: 34)

Free People of Color and the Social Honor of Saint-Domingue

Because social honor was the basis of the culture as it developed on Saint-Domingue, the necessary defense of honor was elevated and reified throughout the island. The reification of honor as the possession of all white men and women, not merely those who acted honorably, may explain the extreme antithesis of the planter class to the extension of the franchise to free men of color. Bear in mind that at the time the planters demanded the exclusion of the free people of color from the business of government, the franchise was still theoretical for everyone. Rather than focus the efforts of their representatives to the Estates-General on securing their own economic or political freedoms, the planters chose to instruct their representatives to at all costs deny the rights of the free people of color. To grant the franchise to this group was seen as challenging not only the place of slavery in Saint-Domingue, but also the honor of the colony and the French social system as a whole. Because the planters had constituted the lack of rights and place in social and familial systems from birth to be caused by the color of the enslaved person’s skin, and because these same planters had invented ‘scientific’ and Enlightenment justifications for this natal alienation, the inclusion of free persons of color in the master class threatened their honor and the

entirety of the system. This is despite the statistic quoted by Nathalie Dessens (2003: 69), that by 1770 free people of color, or *sang-mêlé*, as they were called, owned half the arable land on the island and that thirty percent of marriages recorded in three of the southern parishes were between whites and free people of color who were often their economic betters.

Another reason for the antipathy of the planter class on Saint-Domingue to the inclusion of free people of color in the evolving representative body of the nation was the idea that this inclusion would signify that free people of color were considered to have honor of their own, something that no white planter could allow. Honor on the part of the free African-descended person meant that their judgements on society had to be taken into account. This was intolerable, as many of these same free people of color had been victims of the brutality of that same society. Patterson claims that this extreme brutality of the slaveowning class in the Caribbean was *caused* by a lack of a free white non-slaveowning class. The masters had to return to Europe to have their honor recognized by people who they considered to be social equals (100). Allowing free people of color to assert their honor would have destroyed the rationalizations and the honor of the slaveowners. They defended that system with brutality and violence. For instance, when a free man of color named Pierre Moreau challenged a plantation owner named Sieur Laporte (as far as I know, this man is no relation to the Bartolomé Laporte who resided at Azilum) over the ownership of a fattening pig, Laporte had Moreau kidnapped by his slaves and tortured, despite papers attesting to both his status as a free man and his innocence (Garrigus 2006: 92-93).

It was this brutal defense of the timocratic system on Saint-Domingue that led to its eventual downfall. The multiple uprisings of both the free men and women of color and later the enslaved, which eventually became the Haitian Revolution is far too large a subject to be discussed in full here, and while many of the actual events are known, the meaning and the influences of those events are still the subject of much discussion by historians and ethnohistorians.

Of course, the fact that the white slaveowning class on Saint-Domingue denied that slaves and free people of color had honor did not mean that they were honorless, just that they lacked the capacity to assert that honor in the public sphere. Attempting to assert unity in the public sphere of honor with the master class was a thankless task, and led many free people of color to join the white slaveowners in their excesses as well as their privileges. Free people of color could and did own slaves, and it has been asserted (although mostly by the white slaveowners themselves) that a free person of color who owned slaves was crueler and more hated than a white European master. Even John Stedman's admirable Joanna, the slave woman he eventually freed and attempted to marry, died as a slaveowner (Stedman 1992). This dichotomy led to many of the confusions and incongruous alliances of the Haitian Revolution. The fact that France was also in a period of rapid and convulsive transformation meant that alliances were unstable, and it is impossible to formulate a simple understanding of the Haitian Revolutionary process. For instance, the failure of the slaveowning emissaries to the Estates-General to prevent universal emancipation and enfranchisement in the French colonies meant that enslaved Africans allied themselves with the metropole and the Revolutionary government after 1793 against both free people of color and

whites who owned slaves. That the emancipation was in fact caused by the disillusionment of the planters with the bloodshed of the Revolution and was the result of the Revolutionary governor, Sonthonax, attempting to secure the island for colonial rule merely illustrates the confusion of the events (Cohen 1980: 49).

1793 was the high point of French planter emigration from Saint-Domingue to the United States. In particular, the burning of Cap Français in June and the brutalities associated with that massacre caused large numbers of people to flee the island. In the case of Moreau de St. Mery, the Frenchman who had been long resident on Saint-Domingue before returning to France as a delegate from the island to the Estates-General, an escape from the guillotine led him to Virginia where he hoped to catch a ship to Saint-Domingue. En route he received word of the burning of Le Cap, and his stopover became his final destination, since there was simply nowhere else to go.

Many of those who escaped the carnage in Saint-Domingue were able to bring with them enslaved Africans. It is tempting to imagine the gripping stories that must lie behind those forced flight – the enslaved torn away mere days before their freedom was proclaimed, the easily corralled and controlled children wrenched from the arms of rebelling parents, perhaps the unpopular gang-leader seeking his own safety with the master or mistress he had served – but there is very little data on which to base such speculation. Few enslaved Africans taken from Haiti to America had the chance to tell their stories themselves. Those depicted by whites in later years are shown as eager to come, and the stereotypical servility displayed by these characters makes them less than convincing as individuals. In particular, the Memoir of Pierre Toussaint, born a slave in St. Domingo, which was published in 1854, shows a man

who willingly supported his impoverished and indolent master and mistress even after securing his own freedom as well as that of his immediate family.

French émigrés from Saint-Domingue found a mixed reaction to their importation of slaves into the United States. In slaveholding states, which was to say, in almost all states in 1793, the slaveowners feared a similar rebellion and moved to deny entrance to slaves they considered infected with the rhetoric of liberty (Hunt 1988; Holmes 1970). This concern was valid, as several rebellions during the next 30 years were either started or inspired by the Haitian Revolution, among them the aborted rebellion in 1791 in Louisiana, the 1795 Pointe Coupée Revolt, also in Louisiana, and Denmark Vesey's rebellion in South Carolina in 1822, which sought to use the rebellion in Saint-Domingue as a model. According to conspirators taken at the time of the Denmark Vesey rebellion the Haitians were supposed to "never betray one another; and to die before we tell upon one another" (quoted in Gomez 1998: 3). This was to be the model for the conspirators of 1822.

In the case of the Pointe Coupee Revolt, the link with Haiti is undeniable. According to contemporary writings, the ringleader of the abortive uprising was himself an enslaved man from Haiti, who had been brought to Louisiana following the burning of Cap Français. Supposedly this man came to Louisiana "to overturn everything, in order to enrich him-self from the spoils of the cotton plantations, after he had made acquaintance with some black men and had represented how happy those of San Domingo were, he persuaded them to revolt" (Alliott 2010: 119).

The attempts of the Spanish government in Louisiana and of the legislatures of the American slave states to outlaw the importation of enslaved Africans from the

French islands met with mixed success. While illegal on paper, it continued to occur, as the Saint-Domingan refugees were desperate to retain control of their enslaved Africans as one of their few remaining sources of wealth.

Slavery and Freedom in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania, the first state to begin the legal emancipation of slaves and the state possessing the most liberal Constitution, the reaction was different. Under Pennsylvania's 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, and the 1788 Amendment to that Act, any enslaved person resident in the state of Pennsylvania for more than six months was automatically granted their freedom. Slaves resident in the state prior to the Act taking effect had to be registered, and could not be held longer than 28 years, a slight improvement on a lifetime of enslavement. Children born after that date to registered slaves could not be held after their 28th birthday. Slaves could not be rotated out of the state to prevent them from claiming this freedom, and under the 1788 Amendment, enslaved families could not be separated, and enslaved pregnant women could not be sent out of the state to secure their children as slaves.

By 1793 Pennsylvania's anti-slavery laws were already 13 years old. An active anti-slavery group, the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, pursued offenders and brought them to court as part of a strategy to promote freedom through the liberation of individuals until such time as emancipation was universal, an event which was, according to the laws, decades away. The Pennsylvania abolition group had several conflicts about slavery with members of the émigré community both before and during the Revolutionary period. In all recorded cases, it is the shock and violent opposition of the slaveowners to the liberation of

those they considered property that is highlighted. In the case of Wagelma, a young boy who had already successfully been freed, an attempt was made to remove him from the United States, leaving his mother behind in Philadelphia. When Isaac Hopper, the chairman of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery found the group and attempted to remove the boy, “the Frenchman and his friends were very noisy and violent. They attempted to throw Friend Hopper overboard; and there were so many of them they seemed likely to succeed in their efforts” (Child 1854: 72). In another case, the slave named Romaine, enslaved by a refugee from Saint-Domingue named Antoine Salignac, committed suicide when his master attempted to return him to the West Indies. During the court hearing over the incident, a number of Salignac’s French friends attempted to smuggle him from the magistrate’s office and physically assaulted Hopper when he forced the man to return (Child 1854: 80).

An attempt was made by the abolition societies in 1792 to achieve immediate universal emancipation as a response to:

the reaction of the state legislature to a petition from French slave owners who were pouring into Philadelphia from Saint-Domingue... Among the assets that the French colonials escaped with, their slaves figured importantly, and scores of these slaves took flight soon after reaching Philadelphia. French masters and mistresses quickly asked for exemption from the 1780 and 1788 gradual abolition act, by which their slaves would have become free no more than six months after arrival... the legislative committee appointed to consider the petition not only recommended against amending the abolition act but asserted that slavery was “obviously contrary to the... Constitution of this state”. (Nash 1988: 131-132).

The bill introduced by the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was taken up by the state congress, but the session was forced into recess

early, due to the rapid and devastating outbreak of Yellow Fever in July of 1793. The fever was widely believed to have been brought to the city by enslaved people from Saint-Domingue, and by the time the fever departed, sympathy for both the refugees of that island and their enslaved Africans was waning. This is despite the fact that most of the care provided for the sick and dying was given by volunteer free black men and women of Philadelphia. When the State Congress returned to Philadelphia the abolition bill was not taken up again. The black men and women who had provided care for the ill and dying, and often contracted the disease themselves, were vilified for allegedly daring to charge for their services (Nash 1988: 124).

Although Pennsylvania neglected the pleas of the abolition society and feared the violence represented by the revolution in Saint-Domingue, Philadelphia's hostility to the institution of slavery was apparently widely known. One slave owner is reported to have said to Hopper that:

"There is no use trying to capture a runaway slave in Philadelphia...I believe the devil himself could not catch them when they once get here."
"That is very likely," answered Friend Hopper. "But I think he would have much less difficulty in catching the masters; being so much more familiar with them." (Child 1854: 192).

This hostility to the institution of slavery, even where it was still technically legal (as in the case of a slave who was registered and technically in an apprenticeship that could last for up to 28 years), may be the reason that so many Saint-Dominguan planters removed to French Azilum at the earliest opportunity. Many French slaveowners took advantage of such loopholes and, while technically 'freeing' their slaves, in reality bound them to indentures no less stringent.

From 1791 to 1795, 284 French slaveowning immigrants in Philadelphia freed 442 slaves, and with few exceptions they signed them to extended indentures or sold their indenture to another Philadelphian. The number tapered off rapidly after 1795; 24 French masters freed 30 slaves from 1796 to 1800 and another 26 slaveowners freed 35 slaves from 1801-1810... According to the PAS records, of the 508 French slaves manumitted in the city between 1787 and 1810, only 45 were given outright releases; two others were allowed to purchase their freedom. All the others were signed to indentures, usually for the maximum time allowed by Pennsylvania law. (Nash 1988: 180-181)

Even when such indentures were supported by law, there was always the danger that the enslaved would discover the means to secure their freedom. Given the language difficulties experienced by the French émigrés, it is unlikely that they fully understood the anti-slavery laws, and may have doubted the ability of the indentures to hold people once they understood that they were technically free. American advisors to the Azilum settlers, especially Robert Morris, certainly comprehended and disagreed with the laws proclaiming gradual abolition. Morris carried on a correspondence with George Washington for several years, decrying the stringency of those laws and discussing ways in which slaveowners such as Washington, who were part-time residents in Philadelphia on government matters, could circumvent the laws (Nash and Soderlund 1991: 122). Removing the enslaved from Philadelphia society would prevent them from coming into contact with these dangerous abolitionist ideas as well as preventing them from learning English or hearing news from Saint-Domingue, where the progress of the Revolution became daily more alarming to the slaveowners. The failure of the Spanish, and then the English, expeditionary forces to the island must have seemed nothing less than a reversal of the entire natural order, and every week brought news of another town fallen, another plantation torched. On the Pennsylvania frontier, far from any but the most strictly controlled sources of

information, the slaveowners may have felt more secure in their dominance.

However, as we shall see below, even the complete upheaval of their lives didn't keep some of the enslaved people from performing acts of rebellion, even at Azilum.

The Enslaved at Azilum

Little is known, unfortunately, about the enslaved people at Azilum individually. While the French aristocrats and planters left letters, court cases, journals, and published accounts of the settlement, none of the enslaved at Azilum left (so far as we know) a single piece of writing. They are mentioned fairly often, in sources such as the account of the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1800) and the journal of Aristide du Petit-Thouars (1800), but they are not discussed in any depth. We know that they were present all across the settlement, especially on the lots belonging to the former planters from Saint-Domingue. This includes the entire area currently under excavation. Of the owners of those lots or partial lots that are now owned by French Azilum Inc., Bartolomé Laporte, Dr. Louis Broussard (Buzzard), Sophia de Sibert, Gui de Noailles, and Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen all owned slaves. The only owner of any portion of that land who is not known to have been a slaveowner is Omer Talon, the builder of the Grande Maison.

Of the unknown number of slaves at the settlement, only one name is known, that of a slave named 'Paul'. Paul is only known to us because of his act of rebellion: he ran away. The following advertisement is taken from the *Wilkes Barre Gazette & Luzerne Advertiser* of 29 November 1799.

\$2 Reward - Ran away from the subscriber on the 5th inst., a Negro man named Paul, and a Negro wench named Point Dujour - any person who will take up said Paul and deliver him to Bartholomew Laport, of Asylum - and said Point Dujour unto James Wheeler of Blackwalnut Bottom, will be entitled

to two dollars reward and all reasonable charges paid. Any person who shall be found guilty of having assisted the above Negroes in making their escape from his family or harbouring them in their house, may depend upon being prosecuted as the law directs. Buzard

From the wording of the advertisement it isn't clear if the person claiming ownership of Paul is Bartolomé Laporte, or if he is merely acting as the agent for Dr. Louis Broussard. Given the previous discussion of the brutality of slavery as practiced by another Laporte, the torturer or Pierre Moreau (Garrigus 2006: 92-93), a return to either would have been a hazardous event from Paul's viewpoint. Aside from Paul, Point Dujour is of interest to us as well. Her name suggests a French history, and it is inviting to speculate about her background: was she also a slave brought from Saint-Domingue to Azilum, was she sold to James Wheeler? What was her relationship with Paul, and what led them to run away together? Speculation, at this point, is all that I can offer – there is no other mention of either Paul or Point in the Azilum records, and I don't know if either was ever found or returned to captivity. Another similar escapee is also found in the annals of the Azilum settlement:

Azilum 1 April 1796

Sir,

I hope you will not take it ill if I address myself to you and claim your assistance. A negro man of about twenty years of age stoutly built ran away from my house night before last, he can hardly speak a word of English, he took away a new axe, a couple of new shirts. Several pairs of linen and cloth trousers, two blankets, and had on a hat with a blue ribbon. He says he is free though he is bound for no less than fourteen years. I would take it as a great favor if you would be so kind as to have him advertised. I shall give you five dollars and pay all reasonable charges. If in return I could be of any assistance to you sir please to dispose of your

Very obedient humble servant
LaRoue

The sister of Sophia de Sibert, Mlle Bercy, who we have already discussed in her capacity as proprietress of Azilum's sole inn, was married to a Captain de LaRoue in 1796. She later returned with him to France when he was retained as a secretary by Talleyrand.

A key component of this advertisement is the claim made by the unnamed enslaved man to freedom "though he is bound for no less than fourteen years".

In practice and despite the best efforts of Philadelphia based abolition groups, there were several exceptions to the laws. Congressmen and politicians, including George Washington, seem to have violated the law with impunity. Slaves could and did continue to pass through the ports, and hundreds if not thousands of slaves in areas of the state distant from Philadelphia had no knowledge of their supposed freedom. This perhaps lent weight to the residents of Azilum's belief in the flexibility of those laws. Their attempts to circumvent the law of Pennsylvania with regard to their slaves may also be what prompted them to purchase title for the land that Azilum stood on from both the Pennsylvania government and the title-holders from Connecticut. Although ostensibly the ownership of the land on which Azilum stood had been settled by the Trenton Decree of 1782, there was still enough confusion about the matter that the settlers of Azilum could have used disputes about jurisdiction to confuse the issue of slavery's legality, had such disputes ever arisen. While Connecticut had enacted gradual emancipation laws in 1784, they did not contain the troublesome 'six-month clause', merely mandating that all enslaved children born after March 1st of 1784 would become free at age 25.

It is clear that exposure to the abolition laws of Pennsylvania did not change the refugee planters' perceptions that dark-skinned people were essentially slaves. Even though most of them had been around free people of color for their entire lives, and even though they were now in a state which recognized slavery only as a temporary evil which was legally being phased out, the slaveowners continued to be embroiled in conflicts over the extent to which people of color could also be people of honor, deserving of the full protection of the law. In 1803 Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen, one of the residents of Azilum, and the cousin and brother-in-law of numerous other Azilum settlers, was involved in a lawsuit against a man named Etienne Lamaire. As Michael Gomez expressed it: "Planters from Haiti brought with them not only their slaves but also the Haitian servile hierarchy" (Gomez 1998: 221).

The following account comes from the biography of Isaac Hopper: "A man by the name of Anslong, then at Guadeloupe, had two slaves, whom he was about to send to the care of Dennis Cottineau, of Philadelphia, with directions to place them on a farm he owned, near Princeton, New-Jersey" (Child 1854: 92). Etienne Lamaire, a free man of color, went along, promising his services as a barber on board the ship in return for free passage. When the ship arrived, Etienne found out that Anslong had claimed him as a slave. "Dennis Cottineau showed the written receipts for the passage money, and written directions to forward the *three* slaves to New-Jersey" (Child 1854: 93). When Etienne obtained legal council and refused to go to New Jersey, Cottineau "took possession of his trunk, containing his papers and clothing, and caused him to be committed to prison" (Child 1854: 93). The case was eventually referred to the State Supreme Court, who judged that the evidence was equal on both sides, and that

therefore “it was always a duty to decide in favor of liberty” (Child 1854: 94).

Cottineau by the time of this suit had lived in Pennsylvania for ten years and should have been entirely conversant with the laws governing the presence of enslaved people in the state. His wife, Luce Montalet Cottineau, was slaveowner, as was his brother-in-law M. Montalet, who by 1803 had moved to Savannah, Georgia, in order to preserve his authority over his human possessions. Sophia de Sibert, of whose property we have such a good description, is mentioned several times in connection with enslaved Africans at Azilum, and by 1803 had moved to Wilmington, Delaware, where no anti-slavery statutes were enacted until well into the 19th century (McManus 1973: 161). That Cottineau’s immediate reaction to Lamaire’s claim to be a free man was to lock up Lamaire’s trunks and attempt to hold him forcibly until he could be delivered to a state that still permitted lifelong slavery reveals the extent to which the timocratic mindset of Saint-Domingue still held sway among the refugees.

Although many of the travelers’ accounts of Azilum mention the presence of enslaved people, and we now know the names of two or possibly three of the enslaved residents of Azilum, we have little information about how these men and women lived. From Louise Welles Murray we have the dubious information that slave quarters were placed “along the riverbank” (Murray 1903: 29). By Elsie Murray’s time this was changed to a more graphic depiction of the slaves living in quarters “on the marshy ground near the river” (Murray 1940: 38). None of this has been confirmed by any independent source, and like most of the Murrays’ assertions it must be taken with a grain of salt. Aristide du Petit-Thouars casts the most revealing light on the lives of the enslaved at Azilum when he comments that Mme. Sibert, who we

have discussed extensively elsewhere, was “extrêmement parcimonieuse pour ses nègres et pour ses ouvriers” (Du Petit Thouars 323).

Evidence of Enslavement: Difficulties in Interpretation

One of the difficulties of archaeological excavation on sites known to have been associated with the enslaved is that there is no way to be certain whether artifacts are associated with any particular group. Many house servants and urban enslaved people were able to obtain goods not too dissimilar to those utilized by the slaveowners and other whites. Barter, market systems, theft, internal redistribution and the handing down of outmoded and worn goods all contribute to the artifact assemblage on such sites. As a result, identifying and locating the belongings of the enslaved requires either a large sample size with an impeccable provenience, or characteristics in the sample that differ from those of other artifact assemblages. In urban sites artifacts that can confidently be associated with the enslaved are often recovered from standing buildings. For instance, ritual deposits have been located behind attic walls and in caches hidden in basements. Other artifacts have been found in burials (Handler 2000). Of artifacts that have been associated with the enslaved that are not in a specific context that would have been accessible mainly to the enslaved residents, copper slave tags are often cited as the most incontrovertible evidence of the presence of the enslaved (Greene *et al.*: 2004).

Archaeologists struggle to find ways to identify the presence of the enslaved at sites which do not meet these criteria. Some have fallen victim to a simplistic formulation of slave material culture. This trap could be referred to as the “blue bead and cowrie shell artifact complex”. In the past, the presence of either of these items

on a site was considered indicative of the presence and activity of the enslaved – blue beads because in some African based or derived belief systems blue beads are considered lucky or protective, and cowrie shells because they, similarly, are often found in African-derived belief systems. This approach belittles the lives of the enslaved, by reducing their complex, multi-faceted lived experiences to caricatures of Africanness. More recently, this simplistic view has been replaced by a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of the enslaved. Archaeologists such as Leland Ferguson (1999) and Jerome Handler (2000) have studied the ways in which religion and ritual were expressed by enslaved populations, while Doug Armstrong (1990; 1999) and James Delle (1998) have examined the use of space and landscape manipulation on plantations. Laurie Wilkie (1999; 2005) has analyzed ceramic choice by the enslaved, and has proven that higher status ceramics in slave quarters were not inevitably chosen to conform to the fashion of slaveowner society.

Locating the Enslaved at Azilum

The question is how to apply these techniques to the French Azilum site. No specialized ritual artifacts marked with crosses or other cosmogram symbols such as the ones described by Ferguson (1999) have been found, and the only excavation of a slave cabin was that of the so-called ‘wine cellar’, which was done in 1956. The excavators of this structure did not keep detailed notes, and the artifacts curated by the Pennsylvania Museum and Historic Commission do not match the typed list of finds included with the report. At the time it was the preponderance of wine bottles in the half-cellar that caught the attention of the avocational archaeologists, not the presence of anomalous artifacts like the bear claw and pig tooth that they mention merely in

passing. As a result, although I suspected that the ‘wine cellar’ might have housed the enslaved, I was only able to conclusively identify this structure as a slave cabin in the summer of 2010, after geochemical analysis showed use patterns consistent with a dwelling and inconsistent with any other use.

To discuss the ‘wine cellar’ as a slave cabin, I will first refer to the cabin itself, and the artifacts reportedly recovered from it, and only then go into the landscape and the use of the landscape that provided the final evidence necessary for the identification. In this way, the reader will be following along the same path that first made me suspicious about the identity of the structure, and later confirmed those suspicions.

The first oddity associated with the ‘wine cellar’ is the ‘carved pig’s tooth’ mentioned in the original 1956 report. Unfortunately this item was never sent to the collections in Harrisburg. It may or may not have been the same as the ‘bear claw’ mentioned elsewhere. While a bear claw might have been sufficiently interesting for a French or Saint-Domingan refugee to keep as a souvenir, there would be far more reason for an enslaved African to hold onto a ‘carved pig’s tooth’. Andrea Kozub only mentions the presence of a pig’s tooth, and does not discuss whether or not there are marks on it. Unfortunately, this item was not among the artifacts I received from the PHMC, and so I cannot be sure of the identification. Taken alone, this artifact is not enough to suggest the presence of the enslaved in this structure. We found several pigs’ teeth during our 2009 excavation, and pig seems to have been one of the primary meat sources at Azilum, as discussed in Chapter Eight. However, it is suggestive.

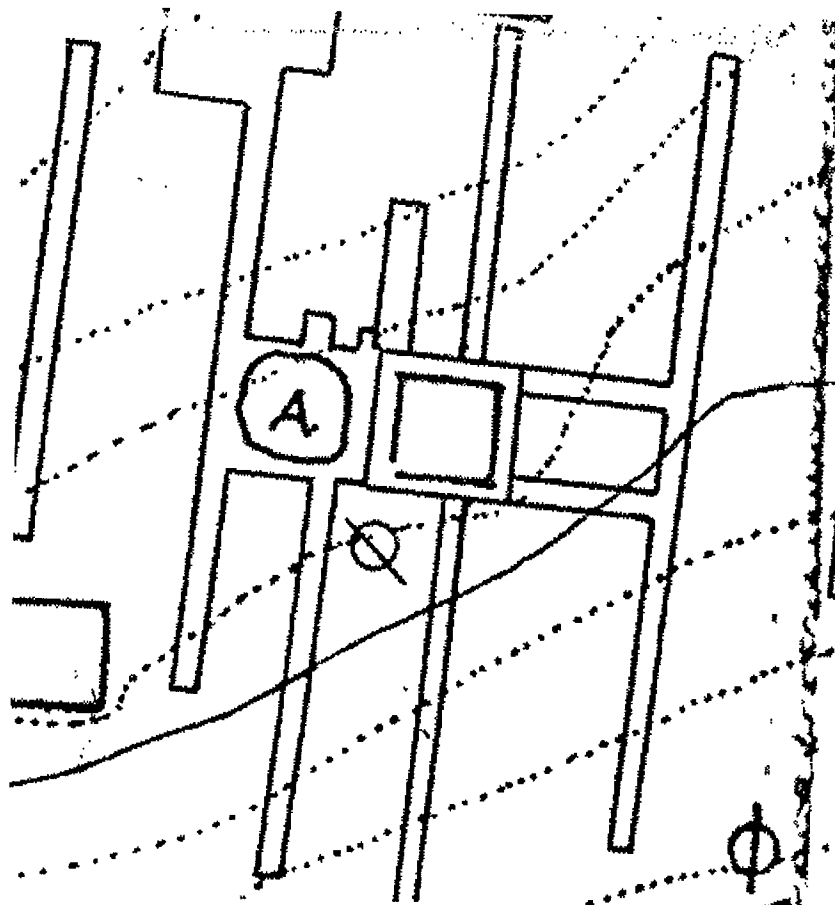


Figure 17

Excerpt from Pennsylvania Historical and Museum
Commission map of Steve Warfels' 1976 excavation
showing the 'wine cellar' and associated packed earth cellar
(Feature A).

Next, the architecture of the house is consistent with that seen at many plantation sites in both the Caribbean and the American antebellum South. Even the presence of the cellars is not unheard of, although it became more unusual during the 19th century as slaveowners became more fearful of insurrection. Throughout the Chesapeake region “wood or brick lined ‘root cellars’ are a ubiquitous feature of... slave dwellings” (Epperson 1999: 171). The remarkable consistency of architecture exhibited in slave dwellings can be traced from West Africa through Saint-Domingue and into the American South. John Michael Vlach says that:

The cultural amalgam that produced Haiti’s architecture is primarily Yoruba in nature... the Yoruba architectural repertoire is quite extensive, with structures ranging from common houses to palaces. But despite the variety, all of the buildings are based on a two-room module which measures 10x20 feet... This two-room house is essential to the Yoruba architectural system and consequently was not easily forgotten even under the rigors of slavery (Vlach 1990: 125).

Similar house dimensions and forms were ubiquitous in 17th and 18th century Saint-Domingue, although “as the result of a three-way interaction among Arawak Indians, French colonials, and African slaves” (Vlach 1990: 125) a porch was eventually added and the size of the rooms increased to 12x12 feet. This house style is ancestral to the New Orleans shotgun-style house, which began to be built in the last decade of the 18th and first decade of the 19th centuries, as a result of the diffusion of planters and free people of color from Saint-Domingue. This also holds true for shotgun-style houses in other parts of the United States, and possibly for the ‘wine cellar’ at Azilum as well.

Another architectural feature that indicates that the ‘wine cellar’ is a slave cabin is the lack of a fireplace. No evidence for a fireplace has ever been found near

the 'wine cellar', a puzzling omission for a structure that otherwise exhibits all the signs of having served as a dwelling house. However, it was not uncommon for slave dwellings, which often lacked indoor cooking facilities. This begs the question as to where the cooking may have been done, and also as to what the inhabitants did for heat during the Pennsylvania winters. According to the Murrays, the French settlers huddled in cabins without fireplaces for the first winter at Azilum, freezing until they could purchase and install stoves. When the upper-class refugees moved to their newly built homes the following year, the stoves may have been left behind. All cooking could have been done in a central location and the food distributed to the enslaved, as was common on many plantations (McKee 1999).

Food remains found in association with the wine cellar' are mainly comprised of pig bones, another inconclusive finding. Pork is not a staple of French cuisine, although it was ubiquitous in the Caribbean. Pork was also the main protein given to enslaved Africans throughout the New World, and as a result may have had a lower status than other forms of meat such as beef or venison. Such a perception would fit with the complaint of the French refugees at Azilum that they had no meat but what they could hunt, as cattle did not thrive, although numerous pig bones are present across the site. If pigs were in a different perceptual category than cows or deer, their presence could be considered a good indicator of the presence of the enslaved in an area. Slaveowners were often forced to take the actions of the enslaved Africans on their plantations into account when they considered raising pigs, as fattening pigs were one of the most common items stolen from plantation stores. As a result, many pigs were slaughtered before they had achieved their full weight, because otherwise they

were likely to vanish (McKee 1999: 227). Food theft, or informal redistribution, was one of the most obvious forms of resistance found on plantation sites, as was work stoppage, feigning illness, and destruction of tools and goods, all of which could have been practiced at Azilum. If the enslaved were living in the 'wine cellar' the broken wine and liquor bottles and the pig bones could represent either provisioning or food theft.

Other artifacts associated with the 'wine cellar' are so trampled and disturbed that it is difficult to make any conclusions about the individual objects, as is the case with artifacts found in all of the structures at Azilum. However, the majority of the artifacts are household items, in particular a wide array of kitchen wares and items relating to alcohol. Both creamware and red earthenwares have been discovered, although creamware is predominant. The items that gave the structure its name, however, are the most puzzling and suggestive. I will discuss the large quantities of alcohol ordered by the Azilum settlers in Chapter Nine, and so perhaps I should not be surprised to find such large quantities of late 18th and early 19th century alcohol bottles. However, I am still uncertain as to the importance of these bottles. The quantity of alcohol bottles equals the artifact count for every other type of artifact found associated with the 'wine cellar'. There may be several reasons for this. The portions of the wine bottles that were found are the thickest portions of the bottles, usually the neck and the pontil area, while the body of the bottle is less represented. The thickness of these areas may have lent the fragments durability which the ceramics could not match. Another puzzling fact is that for all of the wine bottle fragments found in the 'wine cellar' not a single wine serving or drinking receptacle

has been found. Again, this can perhaps be traced to the amount of trampling on the site and the small average fragment size. However, the fragments from the ‘wine cellar’ should have been better protected by their position in the basement than were artifacts in other areas of the site, where there are still no serving or drinking vessels associated with alcohol.

It is not uncommon for drinking vessels to be relatively scarce at historic sites. Wine glasses were renowned for fragility and artistry, two traits that would not help the item to survive deposition and the resulting transformations. Also, wine glasses were often prized possessions, which would have been difficult to transport and hence carefully curated. There is relatively little data about the presence of drinking glasses as a specific artifact class in slave cabins, although fancy teacups were found at Sally Hemming’s slave cabin at Monticello, Virginia (Crader 1990). Even the best care and curation cannot preserve all objects from destruction, and many wine stem fragments have been found at Virginia sites from the Azilum period, including Flowerdew Hundred (Deetz 1993), and Richard Charlton’s Coffee House in Colonial Williamsburg (Levy et al. 2007).

Evidence of Enslavement in Landscape Usage Patterns

The design of the area between the Laporte House and what I will continue to call the ‘wine cellar’, as revealed through excavation and remote sensing (Ullrich 2010, Personal communication with Michael Rogers, 2010), bears a strong resemblance to plantations described by Vlach in the Caribbean and the post-Haitian Revolution South. Plantation design in the latter was strongly influenced by the refugee French from Saint-Domingue (Vlach 1978, Dessens 2007). The locations of

the two known buildings, (one of which was discovered through excavation in the summer of 2009 and one of which was revealed by both phosphate analysis and remote sensing) imply a relationship of subordination to the Grande Maison. The Grande Maison, which originally occupied the foundations where the Laporte House now stands, quite literally translates to the Big House, an irony not lost on the present excavator. The ‘wine cellar’ is directly in line with where the Grande Maison stood. Between these two dwelling houses stood at least two outbuildings along the river side of the 18th century footpath uncovered during the 2009 field season. Finds of rotted roots and soil stains indicate that a line of trees grew between these structures and the road. This same line of trees, or its descendants, is visible in the 1879 History of Bradford County. Another line, at a right angle to the first, would have shielded the present day Laporte House from the ‘wine cellar’. Similar landscaping *trompe de l’oeil* effects have been documented at other 18th century slavery sites, such as Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, where the houses of the enslaved were placed so as to be invisible to the residents of the big house (Crader 1984; 1990).

Such shielding was designed for the benefit of the slaveowner and his family and guests, not for the benefit of the enslaved, although they undoubtedly did not want to be brought closer to the center of the plantation power infrastructure, and thus more directly under the eyes of their abusers. The enslaved took advantage of their invisibility to pursue their own ends, as Armstrong has shown (1990). The extent to which this sort of hierarchical landscape design influenced the enslaved is debatable. According to Epperson, the enslaved were not seen as a legitimate audience for white display, because their ‘lack of status’ or natal alienation made them unsusceptible to

the legitimizing display – force was the only sure legitimizer (Epperson 1999: 168).

He goes on to suggest that:

The Virginia gentry planters and their slaves had radically disparate perceptions of the same physical landscapes. The gentry landscape was dynamic, articulated and processual, and its meaning could only be grasped as one moved through it, forming and reforming social interactions. By contrast, the theme of the slaves' landscape was control. Some areas were subject to direct planter surveillance, while others... were areas of relatively greater freedom (Epperson 1999: 169).

The suggestion that the enslaved were aware of, yet immune to, the power display implicit in the landscape is one I find to be questionable. While it is possible that things like the placement of houses for the enslaved and the segregation of areas of power and control from areas of work were understood and resented for what they were, the phenomenology of landscape does not always work on a conscious level. Treat people as though they are invisible and honorless, and some of them will begin to act the role, although internally they may resent the treatment and know it to be untrue. James Scott calls these thoughts 'hidden transcripts', and they are well-attested to in situations of enslavement (1990). How could the enslaved be subject to the disciplinary aspects of the landscape, but not the legitimizing ones?

The identification of the 'wine cellar' and its adjacent swept-earth yard as a slave cabin can be backed up by extant documents pertaining to the lots currently owned by French Azilum Inc. Lots 416 and 417 were owned by Sophia de Sibert and were later sold to Gui de Noailles. The location of their dwelling houses is a matter of conjecture, but descriptions of the structures found on the property indicate that the de Sibert home was approximately 18x30 feet, with two other outbuildings joined by a piazza, while the other structure on the land, probably owned by Denis Cottineau de

Kerloguen, was described as 18x20 feet. A 40x34 foot horse gristmill is also described on that land (Book of Deeds on file at Wilkes-Barre County Courthouse Vol. 5: 260). The house excavated by Warfel matches the description in the 1798 tax records of the home of Gui de Noailles, at 24x35 feet. Lot 418, owned by the Azilum Company, and is where Omer Talon built the Grande Maison. It was later occupied by Dr. Louis Buzard, and still later by Bartolomé Laporte. Omer Talon's Grande Maison was 40x60 feet, and it is this foundation that forms the nucleus of the present Laporte House's cellar. Clearly, none of these documented dwelling places matches the excavated dimensions of the 'wine cellar'.

The slave cabin/'wine cellar' measures only 12x24 feet, and yet remains indicate a dwelling house, not an outbuilding. Associated artifacts indicate food preparation and consumption, as well as other domestic activities. Phosphate analysis indicated the presence of two separate entrances to the structure on the road side, with detached entrances to the root cellars on the river side, as has been discussed in Chapter Five. Inside, while there may have been internal communication between the two rooms, as was seen at Shirley Plantation (Leavitt 1984) the two distinct and differently constructed cellar areas argue for more autonomy. The room closer to the Laporte House had a wooden floor and packed earth walls, while that farther away had stacked unmortared stone walls and a wooden floor (Warfel 1976). The measurements and designs of this structure bear a strong resemblance to slave quarters both in the Caribbean and the American antebellum South. According to Doug Armstrong, Afro-Jamaican dwellings from the slave period are about "4x6 meters (roughly 13x20 feet) and are divided into two rooms (Armstrong 1999: 179). Like those in the antebellum

South, Jamaican slave-dwellings were strongly influenced by the large numbers of Saint-Domingan refugees who wound up as permanent residents (Dessens 2007). John Michael Vlach states that this measurement only became the norm in Saint-Domingan slave cabins in the 1790s, and was thereafter exported to wherever the enslaved Africans from Saint-Domingue were taken (Vlach 1978).

The implications of the swept-earth yard are also worthy of investigation. While such features are known throughout the Americas in association with the enslaved, their purpose is not well understood. Swept-earth yards are a feature of landscape usage in West Africa, and evidence of that connection has historically been enough for most archaeologists interested in the phenomenon. Ethnographically, the structure of the swept yard is found often as a threshold or neutral space between the civilized or human world of the settlement or household and the wild or uncivilized world of the forest (Fajans 1997). In many societies this yard area would also include gardens – it is possible that kitchen gardens also held this status for enslaved people who were permitted to raise part of their own rations. The larger world of the plantations was sufficiently ‘inhuman’ to the enslaved that the prevalence of swept earth yards could easily be understood in this way. This removal of vegetation would have contrasted dramatically with the intentional planting of ornamental shrubs and flowers by the French. If the removal of vegetation signified the triumph of a human way of living, then the intentional planting of vegetation at the threshold of the house may have signified the opposite for the enslaved.

The Post-and-Beam Structure

The structure unearthed during the 2009 excavation is clearly less well constructed than other buildings previously excavated on the site. It is a post-and-beam structure with no apparent basement or cellar, and no traces of flooring have been found. So far it seems likely that this structure was either an outbuilding or a very low-status dwelling house. Its placement, like the placement of the other outbuilding structure indicated by geophysical and geochemical analysis, is directly between the 'wine cellar' and the current Laporte House. This means that, if the Grande Maison was indeed on the site of the latter, the 'wine cellar' would have been invisible to elite inhabitants. As such, the post and beam structure was clearly involved in the lives of the enslaved at Azilum, whether as a place of work or as a home. It also contains a mix of inexpensive redwares and some creamwares and transitional pieces, although here the emphasis is on the former.

Other household items found at the post-and beam structure include buttons, eating utensils, the first archaeologically recovered coins found at the site, and a slip of bone, with two holes carved through it, covered in a criss-cross pattern. As it has not been fully excavated, it's difficult to say definitively whether this structure is an outbuilding or a dwelling house. Many of the arguments already applied to the 'wine cellar' could be made equally well about this structure. The artifacts indicate that it could have been a dwelling house, as no agricultural implements have been found here. Geochemical analysis suggests completely different landscape-usage patterns, however (See Appendix A). The landscape usage at the post-and-beam structure more likely reflects a short occupation, if any, and a secondary use as an outbuilding with an associated yard, although not one associated with animals. Unlike the yard of the

‘wine cellar’, this yard reveals relatively high levels of organics, indicating that it was not swept or otherwise kept clear of organics. “The lack of a clearly defined midden in the yard area suggests that organic debris generated through use of the structure may have been deposited along the southern boundary rather than in a nucleated midden” (Ullrich 2010: 19-20). No evidence for a hearth has yet been found, and the difference in construction techniques between the other structures and this one argue for a different use. One possibility may be that the post and beam structure represents one of the first log dwellings on the property, and thus predates the arrival of the French. The two coins found at the site are both George III halfpennies dating from between 1772 and 1775. Further dating is impossible, as the coins are very worn.

Most interesting for the discussion of slavery at the site is the bone slip, measuring approximately one inch by two inches. I originally thought that it was part of a knife hilt, but the two holes bored into the piece are too small to allow for effective riveting. The piece is small enough that any blade would have been tiny – too big for a penknife, most likely, but too small for an eating knife of any sort. The slip is untreated bone, and the crosshatch pattern was clearly carved by hand, not very uniformly. The handmade nature of the artifact indicated that it was probably not a high status item, and therefore seems the most likely of all the artifacts yet uncovered to have been owned or used by an enslaved person. As with so many things in the archaeology at Azilum, this is a tentative conclusion, and one that needs to be made with caution.

The cross-hatching pattern on the bone slip was most likely placed there to improve the grip, if the item was a knife hilt. If, on the other hand, the slip was used

as a pendant of some sort, the cross-hatching becomes more significant. According to Leland Ferguson and other archaeologists of plantation life, the cross was often used to represent African spiritual practices (Ferguson 1999), especially those pertaining to water, and sometimes death or magic. Christopher Fennell (2000) requires more strict evidence of ritual use before he will acquiesce to designating an object as a religious or magical symbol, and this bone slip, while it indicates some of the required properties, does not absolutely meet those criteria, although it is difficult to envision any of other use for the object.

Evidence for Enslavement at the Noailles House

The final excavated structure is the building that I have identified as the Noailles house, which has previously been called either the Sibert or the Cottineau house, for reasons I went into earlier. Gui de Noailles, like Dr. Louis Broussard, Sophia de Sibert, Denis Cottineau de Kerloguen, and possibly Bartolomé Laporte, was a slave owner. As such, his house would have been used by the enslaved just as much, and perhaps with even greater familiarity of the service areas as by the elite planter refugees of his family. Of the artifacts found here, only a few seem to hint at the presence of these enslaved men and women. First, there are the four flat, notched stones that resemble items that have been described in archaeological literature as netsinkers. It seems unlikely that the elite homeowners would have been fashioning their own netsinkers, if that is what these objects were. In this case, the ‘netsinkers’ seem far too small to have held any net in place against the pull of the Susquehanna River, mere feet from the door.

Another possible use for items such as these would have been weights for a loom. Here, again, it would be the enslaved who would use such rough items for loom weights, as the elite household residents would have ordered manufactured loom weights, as their willingness to order other higher status manufactured goods shows. Elizabeth Barber, a specialist in archaeological fibers and their manufacture, identifies loom weights as a gendered article based on the fact that weaving in the pre-industrial world was usually a task assigned to women, and especially to enslaved women. Its relative safety meant that it could be combined with childcare tasks, of necessity women's work until the invention of synthetic infant formula (Barber 1995). We discussed the association of enslaved women from Saint-Domingue with lactation in Chapter Six. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any information on the use of either loom weights or netsinkers on plantation sites, much less on Haitian plantation sites, so I cannot say that either of these artifacts is common to enslaved Africans.

A further possibility is that these objects may have been birding net weights, but literature of the use of such weights in any context is rare for the historic period, and I have not yet been able to locate examples of identified birding net weights to compare these objects to.

Another artifact that is suggestive of slave presence on the site is the single, worn gunflint found in the Noailles foundation. This item, a specifically French gunflint, was so worn down that it would have been impossible to use in a weapon, and was probably utilized as a fire starter. If it does not indicate the presence of enslaved Africans, it at least implies a level of material want or parsimony that doesn't match what is currently known about the site and its inhabitants.

Keeping the Enslaved Visible

The lesson of the slave cabin and its initial fifty-year misidentification as a wine cellar is that it is essential to keep slavery in the foreground when excavating at Azilum. Enslaved Africans lived or worked at all the houses represented in the area that today comprises the historic site, and so no part of the artifact assemblage can truly be said to be divorced from slavery. Every object unearthed, from the humblest to the most elite, must have at some point made up a part of the lived landscape for the enslaved, just as every object must have made up a part of daily life for the French and Saint-Domingan refugees.

The associated outbuildings, too, must have been a familiar part of the life of the enslaved. As they moved through this landscape, they were not thinking mournfully of lost Versailles or the fate of the French Queen. Their lives have, like those of so many of the enslaved, tended to get lost in the wave of interest generated by the presence of the elites. At Azilum the focus has historically been on the wealthy and the great, those who influenced world events. This is a valid approach, as is investigating their uses for and understandings of the landscape. The distance from Versailles to Azilum was vast, and that those two worlds ever met is one of the most extraordinary facts Azilum has to offer. The implications of that kind of juxtaposition, and the questions of what the elite made of this strange new world into which they were plunged, is worth asking.

But the distance from Haiti to Azilum is also great, and greater still is the distance from free to slave. Discomfort or ignorance of the subject is no excuse for not also addressing the question of what these enslaved men and women made of their

landscapes. What understandings did they have of this environment, and how did they interpret what was happening to them? What were their actions, and how did those actions and reactions, whether in the form of escape, legal battles, or simple endurance, shape and influence the history of Azilum, the Pennsylvania frontier, and the long, slow march of history? Clearly, questions still remain. While this chapter could never answer all of them, it has at least begun the task of revealing the presence and actions of the enslaved at Azilum.

Chapter Eight – The Refugee’s Dilemma: **Diet at French Azilum**

Introduction

Discussions of diet at a particular place or within a particular group of people are never as simple as questions of who was eating what. Diet is implicated in discussions of class, ethnicity, economic status, age and gender, and archaeologically has often been used as a marker of these issues of identity. With that firmly in mind, the discussion of what was for dinner at French Azilum moves beyond the archaeological evidence of faunal remains and ceramic evidence. For an anthropologist, ‘what was for dinner?’ becomes secondary to ‘what did dinner mean to the diners?’ at French Azilum. And *that* is a very interesting question.

France and the ‘Cuisine Bourgeois’

There is a wealth of literature dealing with the development of French cuisine and eating habits around the time of the French Revolution. It was a time of immense change in an established cuisine, perhaps comparable to modern upheavals in eating habits caused by, among other things, globalization and the acceleration of the various food-related transportation networks. Among other innovations in French cuisine in the 18th century were the increased reliance on New World foods such as beans, corn, turkeys and potatoes, the international trade in sugar, tea, coffee and chocolate, the inclusion of the dining room as a necessary addition to any middle-class residence, the invention of the restaurant, and the creation of the dessert course. Gourmands such as Brillat-Savarin raised dining to an art form, roundly declaring that “no man would dare assert that he had dined at a table where at least one truffled dish was wanting” (2009: 104). Gastronomy was defined as the art of eating in the way most spiritually,

socially and physically beneficial to the individual and the society, or as MFK Fisher later put it “the art and science of satisfying one of our three basic human needs” (Fisher 1949: ix). At the same time, famine was prevalent throughout France, with bread riots commonplace. Diet and access to food are as much implicated in the upheavals of the French Revolution as political motivations. From 1784 to the 1820s a revolution in French dining was taking place, replacing elite private and bourgeois public dining with a true national obsession with gastronomy. While Brillat-Savarin claims that truffles were rare in Paris as recently as 1780, by the second decade of the 19th century he is lauding the introduction of foreign foods like soy, curry and beefsteak, the substitution of butter for nut and olive oils in cooking, and the application of science to improve recipes and advance horticulture (2009: 304). In addition, the spread of political influence throughout the classes, and the new public life that so many partook of throughout this period caused Frenchmen and women to take up breakfast parties, formal teas, political banquets, and restaurants, which were “completely new as an institution” (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 306).

Fine dining was also seen as a new way for the aspiring socialite or upwardly mobile housewife to display his or her elite standing, with dining rooms as the new status item *du jour*.

Tandis qu'on avançait vers la Révolution, cette salle à manger était devenue la grande ambition de la famille du petit bourgeois qui, n'ayant guère ses entrées chez la duchesse, imaginait la jouissance d'une pièce aussi spécialisée comme d'obligation pour la respectabilité (Toussaint-Samat 2001: 109).

Gastronomy was as an emergent science, linked to medicine and a type of pre-Freudian psychology, in which a person's mood and mind could be influenced through

his diet. This theory of humors began with the Pythagorean school in the 6th-5th centuries BC, and was fully articulated by ancient and influential Greek physician Hippocrates a century later (Bujalkova et al 2001: 2). It was still the underlying framework of medical theory at the end of the 18th century, although new developments were beginning to challenge it. According to this belief, the body was comprised of the same four elements that made up the outside world, namely fire, air, water and earth. These four elements corresponded to bile and the choleric humor, blood and the sanguinic humor, phlegm and the phlegmatic humor, and black bile and the melancholic humor. Interspersed between these were the bodily sensations of warm, moist, cold and dry. Disease and imbalance arise when an individual acts in a way that deranges the natural balance of the humors (Hippocrates 1931). Foods had elements of the four bodily sensations, and these in turn could alter a person's mood and mental state, as well as his or her state of health. Thus, a hot food would cause both the bile and the blood of a person to rise, making them both aggressive and hospitable. According to Brillat-Savarin, the science of gastronomy was intended to understand in detail the ways in which individual foods and combinations of foods affected individuals, to their betterment and that of society. One tool in this new science of gastronomy was an understanding of the effects of place on comestibles, a nascent sort of terroir of the type that has become familiar to modern wine enthusiasts. This proto-terroir was less specific and more widely applicable than the scientifically influenced concept of terroir today, and can be linked to the concept of bodily creation. Just as wines and cheeses partook of their environment, so too did individuals, creating *hommes de terroir* who reflected the sum total of their influences

through their actions, health states and proclivities. True understandings of these influences could allow people to alter their consumption patterns, thus effecting personal changes both physical and mental. It was in service to these personal transformations that the science of gastronomy was developed.

While lacking all ideas of cultural specificity and the different meanings of food between cultures, gastronomes such as Brillat-Savarin preached the gospel of cuisine as a path to good fellowship, good health, and personal satisfaction. The science of gastronomy sought to understand what taste, smell, and satisfaction in food were made of, and why man, alone in creation, had discovered this form of consumption.

Man, king of all nature by divine right, and for whose benefit the earth has been covered and peopled, must perforce be armed with an organ which can put him in contact with all that is toothsome among his subjects (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 53).

This begs the question of why animals occasionally display food preferences, as any horseman or countryman should have known. Horses will develop preferences for individual foods, some of them quite unexpected, while both domestic and wild animals will break into farm fields to satisfy their cravings.

Food has never simply been about nourishment. It has always been enmeshed in conversations about religion, morality, worldly status and ethnic custom, and for the first time writers like Brillat-Savarin brought these ideas clearly into the public eye. And through all of this people continued to eat and to cook, to farm and to butcher, even as the larger political ramifications made it uncertain as to where the food that was produced was going to, and where the food consumed was coming from. With

Paris shutting its gates for weeks at a time and travel restricted, the bourgeois cuisine so beloved by Brillat-Savarin became difficult to create. Farmers of such delicacies as *foie gras* and truffled turkeys found it impossible to deliver their produce to those of their elite customers still in any position to purchase them. As Toussaint-Samat writes:

Or, hélas pour la plupart des fermiers qui se trouvaient en exercice en 1789, la Révolution se chargea de faire pour leur ‘espoir de vie’, comme on dit maintenant, ce que n'avaient pas fait pour leur artères les poulards truffés et les pâtés de foie gras (2001: 81).

In contrast, the lower classes were unable to obtain even the most basic necessities of life.

“Certain Spices Unknown Till Then”: Food in Saint-Domingue

For planters from Saint-Domingue the situation was somewhat different. They, too, were used to an abundance of foods, in their case tropical and New World products. According to Nathalie Dessens, “All categories of population took on the habit of consuming exotic, mostly spicy, and even hot food, a mix of imported and local products, prepared in specific ways” (2007: 157). This consumption of spice, among other factors, was blamed for the perceived licentiousness and fiery tempers of Saint-Domingan Creoles (Weaver 2004). This corresponds to Hippocrates theory of bodily humors, as discussed above. If only the Creoles had followed Brillat-Savarin’s science of gastronomy, apparently the character and history of the island would have been completely different! Creoles, it was said, consumed spice even in the womb, and if their mothers resisted the siren call of *cala*, *filé* gumbo, and jambalaya, they were given it in the milk of their enslaved wetnurses. Such spice caused an imbalance

in the humors that determined health, an ill-effect that residents of Saint-Domingue of all colors seemed able to bear with equanimity.

Restaurants were problematic, as public dining in a society with such deeply divisive issues of class and ethnicity was considered almost impossible, but Creoles were famous for their private hospitality. For those who became refugees, cooking was a potential profession. “Many of them became pastry chefs when they reached Louisiana, and some opened restaurants. The Saint-Domingan community is said to have influenced the Louisianans into using certain spices unknown until then” (Dessens 2007: 158). Whether this tradition of innovation in cooking was also known among the Saint-Domingan refugees at Azilum is difficult to prove, as no contemporary sources mention it, and the spicy ingredients necessary for such cuisine are not listed among those imported to Azilum. This doesn’t, of course, preclude the possibility that such food items were directly sent from Philadelphia in smaller amounts than would be ordered from Matthias Hollenbeck, but no trace of them has been found either ethnographically or archaeologically. If the Saint-Domingan refugees at Azilum were eating jambalaya or *filé* gumbo, they unfortunately weren’t writing about it.

Food for the Enslaved

For enslaved Africans, of course, the situation was completely different. Generally, slaves obtained food in one of two ways. Some plantation owners allowed their enslaved Africans time to cultivate a plot of their own, with the expectation that this would supply all of their dietary needs. However, the time needed to raise food crops, hunt, or fish, was time taken away from the cash crop – usually sugar. Many

plantation owners instead issued rations to the enslaved Africans on a weekly basis. Rations usually consisted (as they did in the American South) of corn and salt-pork. The connection between enslaved Africans and this diet is so strong that it is almost a cliché. Enslaved Africans supplemented their diets as and where they could, but the extent to which this unofficial supplementation occurred varied from plantation to plantation (McKee 1999; Leavitt 1984).

Dining in America

The American diet at the end of the 18th century is again different. American dietary practices lagged behind those of England and Europe in general, with innovations being adopted later and less consistently. For instance:

As a legacy of the fork's late arrival in the colonies, Americans were peculiar in using their 'great lumbering, long, two-pronged forks,' not to convey food to the mouth as their English and French contemporaries did, but merely to keep the meat from slipping off the plate while cutting it. (Larkin 1988: 180-181).

However, the 18th century was again an era of extreme change in dietary practice, as rural farmers moved from what James Deetz has called the 'medieval mindset' to the 'Georgian mindset' (1993). A shift away from communal eating and localized dietary practices toward a more individual dining experience using imported food products was well underway at the time of Azilum, although it was certainly not complete. In 1800 many rural American families still ate "in common on mush and milk out of a huge buckeye bowl, each one dipping in a spoon", but this was becoming much less common. "Most white Americans expected to eat individual portions of food at a table set with personal knives, forks, glasses, bowls and plates, preferably matching

ones” (Larkin 1988: 180). Meat or cheese and bread were still the staples of the American diet, with some form of pork as the most common meat.

The Refugee’s Dilemma: Dinner at Azilum

Given this plethora of available dining practices, how did Azilum fit into the culinary landscape? The inhabitants were accustomed to different diets, much of which was no longer available or prohibitively hard to get. While Brillat-Savarin may have proclaimed truffles to be a necessity for civilized dining in Paris after the mid 18th century, it is unlikely that the inhabitants of Azilum were able to maintain this standard of culinary excellence. If food is a marker of identity and creates fellowship and sociability, it can also be a marker of difference, a way to exclude and ostracize. Good gastronomes, like Brillat-Savarin and Mme de la Tour du Pin were aware of this and altered their culinary practices accordingly. Both claim that a large part of their happiness in America was due to the fact that they learned the language and dress of the Americans. Mme de la Tour du Pin writes: “One thing had rendered me at once very popular with my neighbors. The very day we took possession of our farm, I adopted the costume worn by the women on the neighboring places” (de la Tour du Pin 1920: 219). She was frequently invited into the homes not only of her neighbors but also of Albany’s high society, and seems to have sincerely regretted her return to Europe. “How many times,” she laments, “have I not regretted my farm and my good neighbors!” (de la Tour du Pin 1920: 240).

Likewise, Brillat-Savarin was wise enough to know the importance of making friends with his new American countrymen and hosts. He appears to consider such good manners as much a part of the gastronome’s philosophy as a good table, and

describes with dismay the attitude taken by certain of his fellow French men. One night at dinner in New York he was seated next to a Creole who had lived for two years in America, and yet didn't know enough English to ask for bread. When Brillat-Savarin expressed astonishment the Creole replied "Bah! Do you think I am stupid enough to bother myself learning the language of such a loutish race?" (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 388). With such sentiments it is unlikely that that nameless 'Creole' derived much enjoyment from his sojourn in America, and it is unlikely that his hosts were sad to see him go.

In areas where large numbers of the French congregated there was something of a reverse integration. French cooking became fashionable in elite residences in Philadelphia, and "the nostalgic émigrés of Philadelphia also opened ethnic food shops and began a Société des Gourmets" (Kozub 2000: 16). Some, at least, also served behind the counters at these establishments, like Moreau de St. Mery in his bookshop, creating another pathway for the dissemination of French and Saint-Domingan ideas about food and dining.

The question remains as to what sort of integration the French at Azilum had. Were they good guests? Did they follow Brillat-Savarin's and Mme. de le Tour du Pin's prescription for a happy life in America, or did they despise everything about their exile, from food to language, as Brillat-Savarin's 'Creole' apparently did? They were definitely concerned with the question of standard of living and maintenance of culinary traditions, as "Omer Talon was paid \$3000 to live in the settlement with women, horses, a French cook, and everything that could persuade purchasers that they were not arriving at a wild place" (Murray 1955: 13).

Some of the French at Azilum apparently integrated well enough to wish to remain in their new-found homes. Bartolomé Laporte, who had been a resident of Spain prior to the Revolution, was apparently flexible enough to adapt to still another home and marry a local woman, as was Charles Homet. Others fled back to Europe the moment that option presented itself, and still others vanish after their departure from Azilum, leaving uncertainty as to their fates. If food is a proxy for group identity, what can it reveal about the attitudes of the French at Azilum? What can it reveal about the ultimate fate of the settlement?

The Evidence for Dietary Consumption of Meat

The most curious thing about archaeological evidence of dietary practices at Azilum is the relative lack of information. Thus far no kitchen middens have been located at Azilum, despite the fact that refuse has been recovered from multiple households. Middens are usually the largest source of information on dietary practice, and in their absence the archaeologist is at a serious disadvantage. Second, of the structures that have been excavated, only two were investigated by trained archaeologists, meaning that not all of the faunal remains were retained. Of the excavations that were professionally done, only the Binghamton team contained a faunal expert, and unfortunately she was not able to recover remains from an undisturbed context. Although Andrea Zlotucha Kozub analyzed the remains that were recovered, by necessity her conclusions were general rather than detailed. In light of the relative paucity of data, excavated evidence has to be complemented by archival and ethnographic evidence, all of which will be summarized in the following sections dedicated to individual meat types. My own excavations have not yielded a

large faunal collection, but it has been kept and will be turned over the the Pennsylvania Museum and Historic Commission for curation. In light of the findings of this chapter further analysis should be done on all faunal remains excavated at French Azilum and this will be a priority of future work.

Beef

Diet at Azilum is described strikingly differently depending on whether the writer is a French individual or an American. To the French the diet was incredibly scanty. There was no meat unless you hunted venison, according to de Pontigibaud. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's claimed that:

the cattle suffer much during that season [winter] for want of fodder. They are for the most part fed with turnips, gourds, and the straw of Indian corn. Both oxen and cows are of a very indifferent sort, as little attention has been paid to the breed of cattle brought hither by the settlers... The bullocks, which are consumed in Azilum, are generally brought from the back settlements, but it is frequently found necessary to send thither for them... A great scarcity of beef prevails at Azilum...(1800)

Charles Bué Boulogne also complains about the quality of the cattle sent to the settlement when he says "The cows are exceedingly poor, and hardly give any milk; but I hope that they will come to" (Murray 1917: 18). In other instances, various managers and inhabitants of Azilum ordered 'fat bullocks' from the Hollenbeck trading post, or remonstrated against the quality of the animals sent to them. Beef was evidently a priority for the people at Azilum, and its lack appears to have weighed on them heavily. In contrast, Mme. de la Tour du Pin, a French émigré who settled near Albany in 1794, prided herself on the quality of her cattle. They were fat, she claimed, owing to the good fodder which they were fed over the winter. She became quite well known locally for her butter and cheese (1920). In light of the evident

difficulty the French had in acquiring and maintaining cattle, it should be no surprise to find that cattle bones are relatively scarce archaeologically at Azilum. As Andrea Zlotucha Kozub says “cow specimens were frequently outnumbered by pig and/or chicken specimens” (2000: 55).

Furthermore, the cuts that were found are not what would be expected from a French residence. While cow bones “were found in every context, excepting only Feature A” (Kozub 2000: 54), the cuts are what Anglo and German Americans considered lower status cuts. Kozub has no explanation for this, other than to suggest that shank and head may have been regarded more favorably by the French than by the other two groups. More documentation of this claim would be necessary for it be accepted as valid interpretation. It is more likely that these depositions reflect the generationally-growing influence of local Anglo-German culinary practices at the site, and that cattle were actually rarely eaten. Far more interesting is the utter lack of wild game remains at Azilum.

Game

Unlike today, when the term ‘venison’ applies strictly to deer, Brillat-Savarin describes venison as “the wild boar, the roebuck, and all the other cloven-hooved animals,” (2009: 95). According to Larkin, “before 1800 game- venison, possums and raccoons, wild fowl- were for many American family” a substantial part of the diet (1988: 172). Game has also historically been described as a favorite of the French at Azilum: “The French settled here seem, however, to have no great inclination or ability to cultivate the earth, and the greater part of them have let their land at a small yearly rent to Americans, and amuse themselves with driving deer,

fishing, and fowling...” (Weld 1800: 534). And, as already discussed, the memoirs of the Comte de Moré scornfully claims that the only meat available at Azilum was venison – cattle were not available in that part of the country. In light of these many references to the eating of wild game, it would seem likely that deer bones, at least, would comprise part of the faunal collection from the French time period. However, they do not. Not a single deer bone has yet been discovered at Azilum. Kozub comments on this by saying:

Despite any economic hardships, the émigrés relied almost exclusively on domestic animals, apparently eschewing an abundant variety of game and fish available in the surrounding wilderness. This surprising behavior may in fact be a resistance to their reduced circumstance; in other words, hunting was a fine pastime, but must not be viewed as a survival strategy (2000: 57).

While her argument that the lack of wild game remains found at Azilum is due to some form of shame about their consumption is possible, I find it far more likely that the major areas of deposition for French food remains has yet to be found. Like venison, no remains that can be classified as those of wild turkeys have been found at Azilum, and yet turkey was apparently a favorite import into pre-Revolutionary France. Brillat-Savarin, writing in the 1820s, remarks that “when the vine tenders and the plowmen of our countryside want to treat themselves to a party on a long winter night, what do you see rotating over the bright kitchen fire where the table is laid? A turkey!” (2009: 89). He goes on to discuss the presence of turkey in other, more elite gatherings: “From the first of November until the end of February, three hundred truffled turkeys a day are consumed in Paris: in all, that makes thirty-six thousand birds” (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 89). While the modern mind boggles at the delicious idea of an entire turkey boned and stuffed with truffles, the dish is referred to several

times in Brillat-Savarin, and was apparently considered a fairly workaday meal for the aspiring gourmand.

The counterargument might be made that turkeys were not so well-thought of in 1790 as they apparently were in 1820, but that does not hold up, either. Brillat-Savarin, like the inhabitants of Azilum, fled from the French Revolution to shelter in America. He lived in New York and maintained a fairly urban existence, unlike Mme de la Tour du Pin or the residents of Azilum, but even he was a connoisseur of American wild game. Brillat-Savarin went turkey hunting during his time in America, and exulted in his success. On his return to the city he provided a meal for his friends, the centerpiece of which was a truffled wild turkey. As for his other kills: “It is enough to say that the partridge wings were served *en papillote*, and the grey squirrels simmered in Madiera” (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 94). Brillat-Savarin also ate turkeys at commercial establishments. When he was in New York he frequented a café-tavern where he could find, along with turkey, turtle soup, Welsh Rabbit (a dish made of bread and cheese, which actually contains no rabbit whatsoever), and cider (355). He had dinner there with some Jamaican merchants, and was served roast beef, a roast turkey, boiled root vegetables, cabbage salad, and a jam tart, with a dessert of toast, butter, cheese, hickory nuts and coconuts (357). In contrast, the rural Mme. De la Tour du Pin never discusses wild game in her chapters on her life in New York, despite the fact that she lived on a farm near Albany, and would presumably have had more access to game than the urban Brillat-Savarin. It is possible that she simply neglected to include this topic, as it was not in her sphere as a farmwife who was exceptionally proud of her fine cheeses and butter, but it is also possible that life on a

rural farm was too busy to allow for such indulgences as hunting, or that hunting was considered largely a male pursuit.

Fish

If we assumed that the currently known faunal collections do reflect the diet at French Azilum, the lack of fish would be equally hard to explain. “Archaeological evidence at the 18th century Michilimickinac site in northern Michigan has suggested that Catholic French settlers ate more fish than their Protestant neighbors” (Kozub 2000: 21). This would certainly be in keeping with the dietary customs of Pre-Revolutionary France, where “prior to the Revolution menus reflect the Catholic tradition of meatless days on Friday and Saturday, and even Wednesday was a semi-meatless day which featured eggs” (Flandrin 2007: 90). This long standing dietary tradition, which was customary at least from the end of the 16th century through the end of Revolution, would be difficult for people to set aside. There were many deeply religious people at Azilum, especially those non-juring priests who were exiled rather than swear an oath to the Revolutionary government that would supersede their oath to the Catholic Church. Archaeologically, diet is commonly one of the last things to shift when locale or government is changed, and it is for this reason that diet can be used as a marker of identity or an identifier of ethnic enclaves (Larkin 1988; Armstrong 1990; Barber 1995; Deetz 1996; Klippel 2001). Clearly, this rule doesn’t hold when the food items needed for the cuisine are simply unavailable, but this is not the case among the French émigrés at Azilum. The settlement was on the banks of the Susquehanna River, where fish were abundant. Clearly the dietary element was available, even if the particular types of fish may not have been those preferred in

France or Saint-Domiongue. In such cases substitutions are often made in specific elements, while the form and general content are maintained. Given all this, it is extremely unlikely that fish were not consumed in some numbers at Azilum.

Although fish bones are small, delicate and difficult to find under archaeological conditions without special techniques such as flotation, some trace of them should have been found if the French midden deposits had actually been located. Elsie Murray states that fish, especially shad, was a staple at Azilum (1940: 36). There is also documentary evidence that some forms of fish were definitely desired, if not necessarily consumed at Azilum, as early in the settlement's history Charles Bué Boulogne wrote the following to Matthias Hollenbeck "If you could also send me a few barrils of salted fish on reasonable terms you would oblige me, and if you cannot, in your answer pray let me know what is their common weight and price" (Murray 1940: 23).

While fish remains have not been located at Azilum, there is at least one artifact that may point to fishing. Four oblong, relatively flat stones were found during Warfel's 1976 excavation of the Noailles house, and were identified at the time as netsinkers. The question remains open as to whether these notched stones were netsinkers, birding net weights, or loom weights. Their size would seem to argue for the latter, but their form is suitable for all of these applications.

On the whole, while it is possible that the particular inhabitants of the houses that have been excavated shunned fish, it seems far more likely that fish remains, like those of other wild game, have simply not been recovered. This could either be a result of excavation techniques that didn't favor the recovery of such tiny, easily crushed

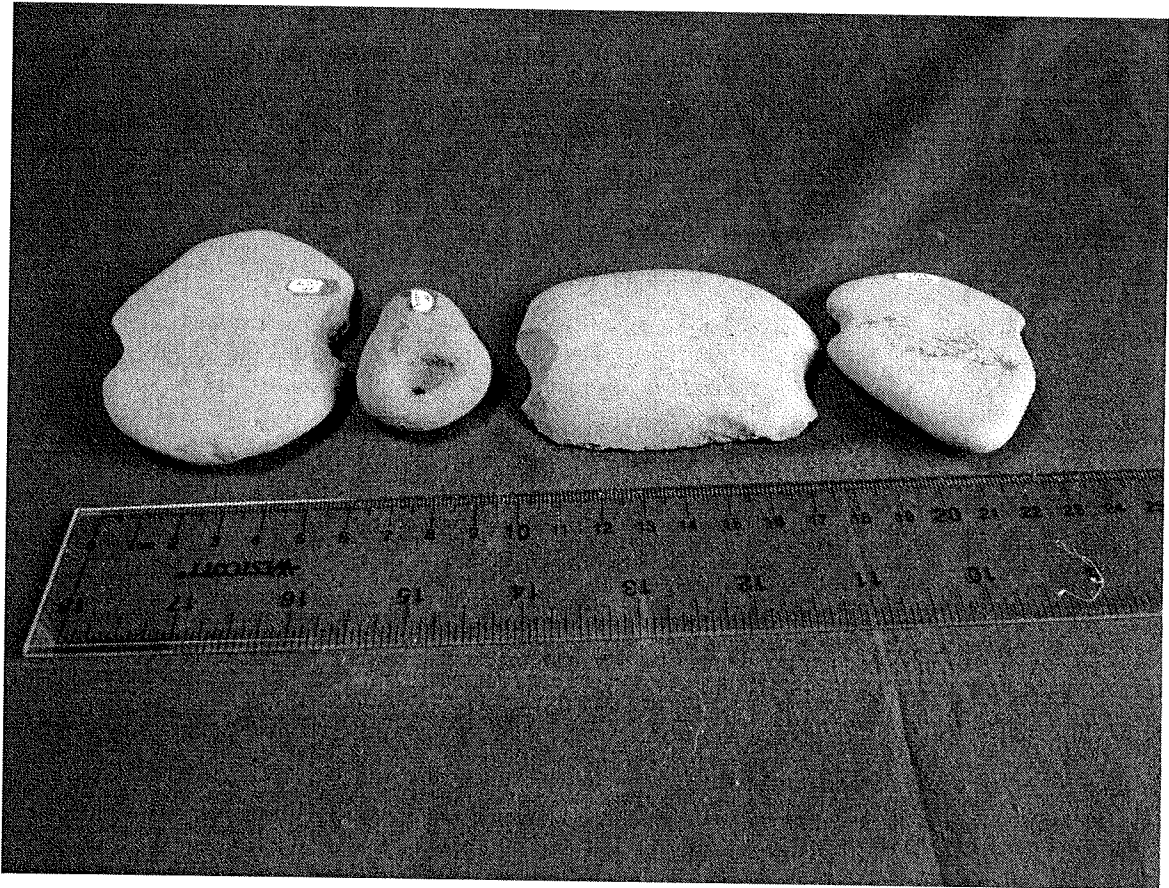


Figure 18

Artifacts with shapes similar to these have been variously identified as netsinkers, loom weights or birding net weights.

remains, or because the trash middens of the French period have not yet been successfully located.

Oysters and shellfish were also valued by the discerning French gourmand, and freshwater shellfish would have been available in the Susquehanna at that time period. Brillat-Savarin was especially fond of shellfish, and laments that the Revolution deprived him of the extensive meals of oysters and mussels that he had enjoyed. “I remember that in the old days any banquet of importance began with oysters, and there were always a good number of guests who did not hesitate to down one gross apiece” (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 98). Oysters and mollusks appear to have been served as a breakfast food most commonly at the time, as Brillat-Savarin attests:

Alas, in my life-span I have almost seen the last of those oyster breakfasts, so frequent and so gay in the old days, where the mollusks were swallowed by the thousands! They have disappeared with the abbés, who never ate less than a gross apiece, and the chevaliers, who went on eating them forever (2009: 195).

This type of breakfast would also include grilled skewered kidneys, a ‘deep pastry shell of foie gras’, and a fondue of eggs and cheese, fresh fruits, sweetmeats, a cup of Mocha, and two kinds of liqueurs. Such a meal (perhaps excluding the foie gras) could have been made at Azilum with relative ease. Mussels would have been easy to gather in the shallows of the Susquehanna surrounding the river bend, and as we have seen from the writings of Rochefoucauld-Laincourt, the settlers arrived soon after a period of drought that would have further reduced the dangerous depths of the river. However, no depositions of mussel shells have been uncovered in any context at Azilum, nor have any remains that could belong to the crayfish, the other freshwater ‘shellfish’ most likely to have been consumed at Azilum. Mollusc carapaces have a

long lifespan under a number of depositional conditions, and so once again we are left to hypothesize that the main French middens have not yet been uncovered, or that smelly food remains like shellfish were discarded far from the houses, perhaps into the river. I am inclined to the former view, largely as a result of an excavation done at my undergraduate alma mater, Dickinson College, in the 1990s. The oldest buildings at Dickinson date to the end of the 18th century, and during the reconstruction of the front stairs of the original dormitory archaeologists found a large quantity of shellfish remains. These shellfish were taken from the nearby Susquehanna River, and were apparently discarded by students following a picnic meal.

Pig

While we have so far discussed the faunal, food-related remains that, according to historical documents and historians of French 18th century cuisine, ought to be on the site and aren't, there is an equally interesting type of remain that, according to record, should not be present, but is. This type, of course, is pig. According to Kozub, "Pig bones were found in every context, suggesting that they were eaten by the émigrés and their successors." She goes on to say that "the Murray-derived histories make little mention of pigs, perhaps due to modern prejudices, but the daybook of the Tioga Point store indicates that even the earliest inhabitants of Azilum were eating pork" (Kozub 2000: 53). However, there is a discrepancy between the 'pork' mentioned in the Hollenbeck records from Tioga Point and the type of pork that would be expected to produce faunal remains. The pork purchased from Hollenbeck was bacon or salt pork, at that time the commonest form of meat eaten in America. Pig meat, when salted or smoked, was eaten by everyone in the country, a fact that is

commented on by numerous late 18th century writers. According to Jack Larkin, “few families had a regular supply of fresh meat... only at the autumnal pig-killing or the slaughter... in the winter a steer” (1988: 171). Salt pork was the cheapest, as well as the most readily available meat. It would have been the cheapest available source of protein for the French at Azilum that first uncomfortable winter, when they lacked fireplaces for cooking and struggled to complete their residences. It would also have been familiar and welcome to the American and enslaved laborers present at the site, and may very well have been purchased specifically as rations for them. However, neither salt pork nor bacon would produce any of the relatively extensive assemblage of pig bones found at the site. These must have been brought to the site later, and in another (possibly still-living) form. The puzzle about these pig bones is why the pork they represent was not mentioned, and why it was not taken into account in the settler’s complaints about lack of meat.

Pork is not today considered one of the staple foods of French cuisine as it is of British or German cuisine, but pork was and still is eaten in France. Brillat-Savarin cites the pre-Revolution example of the Prince of Soubise, who gave a party at which the menu called for fifty hams (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 63), which apparently even that noble considered somewhat luxurious. The cookbook writer Menon, author of *La Cuisiniere Bourgeoise*, gives pork recipes, including those for whole suckling pig.

How can archaeologists reconcile pork’s omnipresence at the site, which I observed in the 2008-2010 excavations, with the complaints of the settlers about the lack of meat? Aside from the purchase of salt-pork in the first winter of the

settlement, when resources were at their lowest ebb, pork is never mentioned in the documents of the site. Yet it is there, and it is by far the most common faunal remain.

It is possible that pork was in a different conceptual category for the settlers than red meat. We have already seen how the concept of ‘venison’ changed from the time of the French revolution, when the term pertained to all wild game, regardless of species, to today, when it refers only to deer. It is possible that pork and other pig products were not considered in the same conceptual category as beef. This is supported by the fact that Brillat-Savarin discusses beef, poultry, turkey, game, fish, and even exotics like truffles and stimulants like sugar, coffee and tea in The Physiology of Taste (2009), but he does not grant pork any place in his categorization. None of the other diarists or letter-writers I have been able to locate from this time period discusses pork at all. Neither, however, do they seem to scorn it. In his extensive list of foods available in New York Moreau de St. Mery includes suckling pigs, ham, salt pork, and “live and dead pigs” (1985: 158-160). In France today varieties of *saucisson*, often but not invariably made with pork, are considered “the quintessence of the *charcutier*’s art and the most difficult to achieve because they rely so heavily on the ambient air and humidity” (Ruhlman and Polcyn 2005: 171). They are sold through a *charcuterie*, which is defined as a store for smoked or cured meat products rather than a butcher. Compared to other meats, preserved pork in a variety of forms has a relatively long use-life. It is possible that the dichotomy between ‘meat’ and ‘pork’ at Azilum may be linked to the differences in classifications given to preserved or processed meats such as *saucisson* or *jambon de Bayonne* (the French

version of Prosciutto) as opposed to fresh meats. But why weren't these cured meats discussed by the French?

According to Lévi-Strauss, "cooking marks the transition from nature to culture (1969: 164). The curing of pork, in which meat is similarly transformed through application of controlled decay or fermentation, may occupy a marginal position in the crossed spectrums of raw to cooked and fresh to rotten. Because the pork was transformed through the application of air rather than heat, it may have partaken of a different set of bodily humors than other meat products. Rather than being associated with bile and the choleric humor, cured pork products may have partaken of bloody and sanguinic humors. Alternately, or coincidentally, they may have occupied an intermediate position. Mary Douglas refers to such ambiguous items as troubling to cultures, which are forced to find ways of dealing with items that do not fit into their formalized categories. As she goes on to say, "there are several ways of treating anomalies. Negatively, we can ignore, just not perceive them, or perceiving we can condemn" (Douglas 1966: 48). Such an explanation could account for the ways in which the French and Saint-Domingan refugees at Azilum failed to discuss pork or cured meat products, but were clearly consuming them in relatively large quantities.

Another, less theory-driven possibility is that the French were not eating the pork at all. I have already referred to the practice of plantation owners of giving weekly portions of salt pork to their enslaved Africans as rations, and it is known that enslaved Africans were present in every Azilum household to occupy the current excavation area. The pig bones present on the site may reflect the continuation of the

traditional slaves' diet of pork and corn at Azilum. This would also account for the reticence of the contemporary French and Saint-Domingan writers on the subject. Since so few period letters or documents refer to the presence of slaves at the site at all, for reasons I discuss extensively elsewhere, the question of their diet would not arise. Since pigs and pork were such a large part of the American diet at the time it would have been easy to obtain piglets or full-grown pigs from American neighbors, and the French would not have needed to funnel the transaction through Hollenbeck.

The hypothesis that the enslaved were important, if not primary, consumers of pork at Azilum would also account for a different disposal pattern. If the lack of fish, poultry, high-status cuts of beef and game bones indicates that the French period middens have not yet been discovered, the presence of pig bones across the site contrarily indicates that these must have followed a different path from plate to trash. That such trash would have ended up in a different deposition is implied in Larkin's statement that "the majority of slaves had no knife, much less a fork. They cut their bacon with an axe at the woodpile" (Larkin 1988: 181).

Poultry

According to Brillat-Savarin, inexpensive "poultry is for the cook what canvas is for the painter... it is served to us boiled, roasted, fried, hot or cold, whole or cut up, with or without sauce, boiled, skinned, stuffed, and always with equal success" (2009: 87). However, like fish and to some extent turkey, poultry has very thin and perishable bones which only preserve archaeologically under relatively undisturbed conditions. Extensive trample, like that found in all excavated contexts at French Azilum, is not kind to thin, hollow bird bones. Yet, like pig bones, chicken bones are

omnipresent at Azilum, except for in the location of the ‘wine cellar’ (Kozub 2000: 54), which was identified as a slave cabin in the summer of 2010. Other traces of chicken products, such as eggshells, are extremely prone to decay and would not have preserved unless in very specific and unusual depositional contexts. While some of the outbuildings may have served as henhouses, there is not evidence for this. Along with chicken bones, “Ceramic gizzard stones were also found in the southern features, along with a few chicken bones in Feature A [adjacent to wine cellar]. This evidence suggests that the people who filled in the wine cellar and Feature A in the early 1800s were eating chicken as well (Kozub 2000: 54). The discrepancy between the low cost of chicken bones, and their presence in one half of the structure represented by the ‘wine cellar’ but not the other, is easily solved. The ‘wine cellar’ was excavated by amateurs in the 1950s, and there is no certainty as to the collection methods used. It is likely that chicken bones were present, but were not curated as it seems unlikely that the inhabitants of one half of the structure would eat chicken but not the other,. The fact that poultry, while inexpensive, was also prized by gourmands, makes it likely that it was being eaten at all levels of society at French Azilum. Thus it is found in the Noailles household as well as the slave-inhabited ‘wine cellar’ structure.

Another piece of evidence that attests to the keeping of chickens at the site is the presence of ceramic ‘gizzard stones’ in the vicinity of the Noailles house. These stones, which are made when the bird ingests rubble or trash, are worn by the digestive processes of the gizzard, but retain enough of their original glaze to allow for identification. In this case the gizzard stones are made up of creamware and pearlware, suggesting that the chickens were kept at the time of the French habitation

or shortly thereafter. Although Kozub contests that “the prevalence of low-cost chicken and pork over expensive beef suggest that the émigrés were obliged to be thrifty while exiled from their luxurious homes in France and Saint-Domingue (Kozub 2000: 57), I think that this is only one part of the story. While thrift may have dictated some of the food choices of the French and Saint-Domingans at the site, the importation of “immense amounts of chocolate at 2 shillings a pound” (Kozub 2000: 77), coffee, and other exotics argues rather that the lower-cost foods were being consumed and disposed of in a different way. The documented presence of enslaved Africans on the site must have had an effect on the disposal patterns of faunal remains. Further excavation is required before assigning agency to any particular group, and the excavation of an intact midden or deposition of kitchen waste would be paramount.

Mutton

Mutton, unlike beef or pork, would seem to be the ideal faunal remain for absolutely pinpointing French presence. According to Larkin most Americans did not consume much mutton or goat, as a result of difficulties in preserving the meat. Archaeologically, mutton is a bit tricky to identify, as most sheep bones are indiscernible in form from goat bones, and so are classed together. Elsie Murray (1940) claims that sheep were present at Azilum, but her claims are dubious, as we have discussed elsewhere. The presence of sheep at Azilum can be seen in the ‘small quantities’ of faunal remains found throughout the site, enough to establish presence without, unfortunately, any indication of patterns of use (Kozub 2000: 56). As a result of this paucity of sample size, Kozub dismisses mutton as an important part of the émigré diet. Given the difficulties of preserving mutton, she may be correct. The

fact that sheep, not generally an important part of the American diet, are present at all may be indicative of an attempt to maintain culinary preferences. A clearer picture of the rate of consumption of mutton at Azilum must await the excavation of an intact midden.

What is clear from other sources is that mutton was prized by the French. This reference is taken from the letters of Angelo de Beatis, Cardinal of Aragon, who visited France shortly before the Revolution:

Nulle part, on ne fait mieux la soupe, les pâtés et les gâteaux de toute espèce. On y mange à l'ordinaire de bonne viande de boeuf et de veau, mais le meilleur y est la viande de mouton, à tel point que, pour une épaule de mouton rôtie avec des petits oignons, comme on la prépare dans toutes les régions de la France, vous renoncerez à la chère la plus délicate (Toussaint-Samat 2001: 121).

In America the French continued to consume mutton, as can be seen in the Recollections of Mme de la Tour du Pin, who was dismayed to be discovered by Talleyrand “in the yard with a hatchet in my hand, occupied with cutting the bone of a leg of mutton which I was preparing to put on the spit for our dinner.” He applauded her efforts, saying “On ne peut embrocher un gigot avec plus de majesté” (de la Tour du Pin 1920: 200).

It is possible that the small quantities of sheep and/or goat in the faunal collection were not kept for slaughter at all but were prized for the milk and cheese they could provide. Soft sheep and goat cheese would have been fast and easy to make, while the Laporte House possesses a deep, cool and dry stone basement that would have been perfect for aging harder cheeses. Both cheese and butter-making were practiced by the refugee French, if not the Saint-Domingans. Mme de la Tour du Pin learned quickly to make cheese and butter, which she claims were generally

considered to be very good (1920). While dairy products are not generally a speciality of the tropics, (I remember with dismay that several of the Caribbean islands I visited preferred imported New Zealand ‘cheese food’ to any other sort) it would have been perfectly suited to the cooler climate of Azilum.

The problem of where cheese could have been made or aged raises the question of where these food animals were kept. Phosphate testing indicates that none of the outbuildings between the ‘wine cellar’ and the Laporte House were used primarily as animal pens (Ullrich 2010). The two-story barn mentioned in the Sibert-Noailles deed appears to have served that household only, at least until the end of the French period and the decline of Azilum. The Grande Maison that occupied the foundations of the Laporte House may have utilized a barn across the lane to the southeast. This property, like the Laporte House historically part of Lot 418, has a large barn on it today which can be traced in historical documents back to the mid-19th century. Whether or not it occupies the same site, it may occupy the same general area as an earlier barn. Unfortunately, this area is currently owned by a farmer who is antagonistic to excavation.

Non-Faunal evidence for diet

There has been a tendency among archaeologists to assign increased and perhaps unwarranted importance to faunal remains as evidence of diet. In short, we tend to value meat consumption over other forms of food. This is reflected in assumptions of gender roles, especially in prehistoric or hunter-gatherer communities. At Azilum faunal remains are valuable because they provide the best proxy for diet. Lacking the resources to conduct a flotation palynological study it is extremely

difficult to know what non-faunal foodstuffs were being consumed directly from the archaeological record. The French did not write much about what they themselves (or their enslaved Africans) were raising for the table. Aside from the turnips, gourds, and Indian corn mentioned by the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and the wheat fields mentioned in the Sibert-Noailles deed, written records are sparse. Much of the trade in comestibles must have been done independently with American neighbors and not formally through the Hollenbeck trading post at Tioga Point. Foods that were valued by the French are reflected in the reporting done by French diarists, who recorded the prices of common foodstuffs as a way of showing the related values of currencies. Moreau de St, Mery, for instance, lists the prices of food available in New York, including mackerel, green peas, strawberries, new potatoes, small cucumbers, beets, apples, pears, white eggplant, milk, cider, eggs, peas, butter, vinegar, sweet potatoes, lard, and French bread, (1947: 156-157) which was made with wheat. Many of these items could have been grown at Azilum in small-scale kitchen gardens, which would leave little trace archaeologically. In a later section he goes on to discuss cherries, rum, Bordeaux brandy and wine, rice, oranges, sea bass, eels, crabs, beets, peaches, corn, watermelon, coffee, apricots, and onions (158-160). Clearly a wide variety of non-faunal foods were appreciated and enjoyed by the French!

Unfortunately no one thought to record which of these delicacies were transported to Azilum, either in seed or harvested form. We have already discussed how the settlers grew grain and Indian corn, and imported stimulants like coffee, tea, chocolate and white sugar. Rather than give up the sugar-producing way of life they had known in Saint-Domingue, some of the settlers apparently attempted to adapt their

knowledge to a new form. The Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt writes that: “Maple sugar is made here in great abundance. Each tree is computed to yield upon an average from two pounds and a half to three a year. Molasses and vinegar are also prepared here. I have seen Messers. De Vilaine and Dandelot make sugar in this place, which much surpasses any of the same kind that has hitherto come under my observation”(1798). Although Rochefoucauld-Liancourt only mentions maple sugar, it is possible that the Saint-Domingans at Azilum were using their enslaved workers to refine sugar beets. The discovery of the process for refining sugar-beets was discovered in 1740, and published in Berlin (Stein 1988: 166). Although the first factory in France did not go into operation until 1802, the knowledge was potentially available to the Saint-Domingan planters at Azilum, who were clearly looking for some good or product that could take the place of cane for these new, Northern plantations.

Records from Hollenbeck’s trading post, now available at the Tioga Point Historical Society, include entries for flour, corn, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, beans, bread, and salt. Another quoted bill of lading includes “1 Do. De Moutarde, 1. Tiercone de Sucre blanc, 4 Sacs Caffé, 1 do. Amidon (starch), 1. do Epicerie, 1 do. Thé, et 1 do. Vinegre” (Murray 1917: 78).

All of these are hardy goods that would travel well, and are fairly indicative of what the pioneering frontiersman would consume across America in the 1790s. Most people ate locally on a scale that is unimaginable even to the most dedicated locavore today. “It wasn’t until the Erie Canal opened in 1825 that Northern rural areas could give up bread made of corn-meal and rye in favor of wheat bread from imported flour”

(Larkin 1988: 175). The French clearly were not amenable to such substitutions from their customary diets, as is evidenced by Paul d'Autremont's purchase 100 bushels of wheat at 30 cents per bushel in Tioga Point, NY (Murray 1917: 77). Corn-meal or rye bread was obviously simply unacceptable to the French. Such preferences are strong indicators of adherence to an economic or ethnic identity, as has been proved in numerous studies (Deetz 1996; Armstrong 1990; Voss 2005).

Prior to 1800 most people in America, like much of the world, relied on seasonal meat or cheese and bread. Starches such as bread, rice, or potatoes formed the underpinning of most diets, with meat as a topping reserved largely for the rich and vegetables as a less-valuable afterthought (Larkin 1988: 174), when they occurred at all. This may not have been the case with the French, who were quite addicted to their salads, as Brillat-Savarin relates. His story of the Frenchman who became wealthy during his Revolutionary exile in England by preparing 'salats' for fashionable British aristocrats, is amusing, but also indicative of the culture of cuisine at the time. The French at Azilum did value green foods, as evidenced by Edward Culver's claim to the Asylum Company for payment relating to his journey from Tioga Point into the woods "for trobl of getting half Bushel of peas for vittles and Logging to one of your [Talon's] men" (Murray 1917: 75).

Brillat-Savarin's salad magnate was not the only Frenchman to make his living by introducing new foodstuffs to the unsuspecting. Brillat-Savarin himself taught a restaurateur in Boston how to make his cheese and egg fondue (382), and a Captain Collet "earned a great deal of money in New York in 1794 and 1795 by making ices and sherbets for the inhabitants of that commercial town. It was the ladies, above all,

who could not get enough of a pleasure so new to them as frozen food; nothing was more amusing than to watch the little grimaces they made while savoring it” (Brillat-Savarin 2009: 382). While there is no information on the consumption of ice cream at Azilum, “among the earliest recollections of Abraham Vanderpool (born in 1796) was Mr. Bec-de-lievre’s kindness in giving him raisins and candy” (Murray 1917: 47).

Philosophy of Food

According to the philosophy of gastronomy as practiced by Brillat-Savarin and other affluent French men and women of the time, food was not only nourishment. It altered the chemistry of the body, heated and cooled the blood, healed or sickened depending on its inherent characteristics. A person could be made ill by perfectly sound food if it was not in accord with his or her humors. Consumption of food from various terroirs influenced the bodily production and reproduction of individuals. For these reasons, there were few perceived differences between food and medicine. During the outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793, the French doctors under Stephen Girard, himself a Frenchman and longtime city resident, prescribed a light diet of broth and custard for the infected. This, and the accompanying advice to rest and breathe fresh air, were in marked contrast to Dr. Benjamin Rush’s treatment of mercury, purging, and blood-letting. Many French doctors, familiar with tropical ailments, gave doses of cinchona, an anti-malarial, to combat the ravages of the disease. The French prescriptions used in 1793 are almost identical to the advice that is given to yellow fever victims today. It is possible that yellow fever, or at least malaria, were also present in Azilum. While there is no evidence about the consumption of broth and custard, and no one mentions illness at the settlement in any

known records, Omer Talon does order ‘some Peruvian bark’, a common name for cinchona, in 1794 (Murray 1917: 25). The presence of the Saint-Domingan physician Dr. Louis Buzzard (sic), at the settlement meant that the medical needs of the émigré and refugee planter community would be met in a familiar fashion.

Conclusion

In this chapter I’ve attempted to both show what the émigrés at Azilum were eating and what was meant by their dietary choices. This has been complicated in many ways by a lack of evidence, both archaeological and documentary. However, enough shreds of information have survived to allow me to draw some conclusions.

While it was impossible for the French aristocrats at Azilum to maintain their elite gastronomic practices in the absence of the foods to which they were accustomed, they still made a point of obtaining those goods which they considered essential to their way of life. This included stimulants like coffee, wine, and chocolate, but also exotics like fine white sugar and simple vegetables like peas, none of which were commonly available on the frontier. They insisted on wheat bread rather than any of the local substitutes, and apparently went out of their way to obtain and consume meat which met their standards. Had dried or preserved truffles been available at the time, no doubt they, too, would have been imported to Azilum and used to stuff turkeys.

The French also adapted in some key areas. Rather than give up sugar production entirely to become consumers, they learned to tap sugar maples and produce syrup. They grew wheat and apples, and may have included a higher proportion of pork in their diets than they were previously accustomed to.

While the French at Azilum worked hard to maintain their cultural identity and class solidarity, it seems that there was no one standard way of dealing with necessary changes in diet. Like Brillat-Savarin and Mme. De la Tour du Pin, some adapted well, learned the language and customs of the country, and thrived. Others, like the nameless 'Creole', despised their surroundings and were happy to shake the dust of the American frontier from their shoes.

The adaptations of the enslaved Africans are even harder to gauge, because absolutely nothing is currently known about their diets from records. It seems likely that they were the intended recipients of some of the pig flesh, both in salt-pork form and on the bone that is so prevalent around Azilum, and also likely that they consumed at least part of the omnipresent poultry bones and lower-status cuts of beef. However, the methods that they used to prepare and cook their meals are uncertain. The individual faunal fragments are rarely large enough to discern butchery methods, preferred cuts, or evidence of cooking techniques such as pot polish from stewing or char on bone ends from roasting. From what little has been found it isn't possible to know the ways in which they manipulated the ingredients given to them. If they did manage to maintain their cultural culinary practices, as so many people stolen or sold from Africa did, is unknown. They faced the double disadvantage of exile from both Africa, their ancestral homeland, and Saint-Domingue, where many of them may have been born and raised. However, the resiliency of African-style cuisines among enslaved Africans was strong, and further evidence may yet come to light to allow me to address this question in more depth.

Chapter Nine - Sweetness at French Azilum

Introduction

We know unfortunately very little about agriculture at French Azilum, for all that agriculture was intended to be the dominant livelihood of the inhabitants. Archaeologically, there is little evidence of agricultural activity in the excavated areas of the settlement. This at first glance seems surprising, as the lots that have been excavated were large ‘farm’ lots on the edges of town. However, the Maulevrier painting from 1798 appears to confirm that agriculture was not practiced on the land immediately adjacent to the houses. Artifacts relating to agriculture are present, although they come mostly from the Noailles foundation, and it is difficult to date them, as independent evidence shows that the house linked with that foundation was maintained through the 1870s. Assorted bits of agricultural gear have been located from other contexts, but overall there is little that gives evidence as to what sorts of agricultural products were being raised at Azilum during the years of the French occupation. Without direct evidence from the archaeological record it is necessary to turn to the town’s documentary record to get an idea as to what sorts of produce were being grown and consumed at Azilum.

Several factors discouraged the French from pursuing agricultural activity wholeheartedly. Very few if any of the French or Saint-Domingan inhabitants of Azilum other than the enslaved had ever previously worked in a field, although many of them were familiar with other sorts of grueling employment, including sailing (far from a leisure activity in the 18th century) and soldiering.

The land that these settlers purchased at Azilum was supposed to be rented out to American farmer-tenants, as was customary in France. Most American farmers did not embrace this idea, as the purchase and ability to work a farm was considered a proof of independence and manhood, both heavily culturally weighted concepts in the young nation (Appleby 2000, Rorabaugh 1981). It was shortly discovered that the type of agriculture that the majority of French inhabitants depended on was based on the availability of large numbers of cheaply employable workers. While aristocratic French managed their lands at a remove, relying on estate managers, agents, and peasants to tend their acres, the refugees from Saint Domingue were accustomed to easily replaceable slave labor. Some of the planters arrived at Azilum with enslaved Africans, but even that was not the advantage it first appeared. The enslaved Africans were accustomed to the tropical climate of the Caribbean, and moreover were probably mostly house servants or town workers who had been swept up in the hasty exodus. Very few of the French arriving straight from the burning of Cap Français in 1793 were able to bring field hands with them. Even assuming that a few field workers were present at Azilum, they would have been trained in the highly specialized art of farming sugar cane, which bore few similarities to the type of intensive ground clearing and subsistence farming that was required along the frontier if the community was to succeed. The American neighbors of the French settlers found their attempts to clear fields substandard to say the least, and foolhardy and dangerous at worst. Nevertheless, some progress was made, and agriculture did take place at Azilum.

Documentary evidence for agriculture at Azilum

We have very few pieces of documentary evidence for what was grown at Azilum, and of those pieces one is only circumstantial. Two of these references are found in the 1798 deed between Sophie de Sibert and Gui de Noailles, and mention the presence of both a horse gristmill and an apple orchard on her land. The presence of a gristmill implies that someone in the community was growing grain, but studies of frontier life in the Northeast during the late 18th century have proven that mills were often the first business created in rural communities (Langhorne 1976). They became the nuclei of forming communities, often prompting the arrival of other businesses and aiding in the creation of service communities. Mills were not inevitably built by farmers who desired to mill their own grain, so the presence of a horse gristmill on Sophia de Sibert's land is not proof that she or anyone else in Azilum was growing grain, although it strongly implies it. The grain could have been brought in from other communities along the Susquehanna, especially since at that point in its settlement gristmills were still scarce. For a settler with only a few workers, either enslaved or free, a gristmill was a far more certain provision than attempting to grow grain for export. Sophia de Sibert would have known that to be the fact, as she already owned a large working farm at Pottsgrove outside Philadelphia prior to her move to Azilum. She had the advantage of her fellow settlers in her knowledge of what agricultural practices would work in North America, although even she had never worked on such a frontier before. Unfortunately, this gristmill has not yet been located archaeologically, and it seems likely that it is not located on the land that currently

comprises the French Azilum historical site, as only a narrow band of lots 416 and 415 are currently available for excavation. This is unfortunate, as millworks have highly distinctive archaeological signatures that would make identification of such a structure relatively simple.

The second crop that can definitely be located at Azilum during the French period is apples. While apples are not a staple, they were commonly planted along the frontier. In some states in fact, orchards were a perquisite for proving settlement and claiming land. An orchard could take up to ten years to mature, and the presence of one on a land claim was a strong indication of the permanence of the settlement. Although Pennsylvania at that time did not require the planting of orchards for land claims as Ohio did, the law did require the presence of 'improvements'. Land that was not sufficiently improved could theoretically be reclaimed by the State. Planting an orchard would definitely meet that requirement and bypass any potential legal challenge. There were two sorts of apple orchards planted in the late 18th century. The first was orchards for eating apples, which had to be planted from grafts taken from mature trees. There were several American apple types already famous as eating apples by the end of the 18th century, including the Newtown Pippin, the fabled 'Big Apple' which originated in New York City.

Settlers at Azilum, while they may not have been enthusiastic farmers, were happy to plant orchards and ornamental gardens. By 1797, Sophia de Sibert's orchard contained 900 trees. Assuming that she herself had these trees planted, they could not have been more than 3 or 4 years old, and would just have begun to produce edible fruit for export. The difficulties inherent in bringing 900 apple tree grafts upstream

from Wilkes-Barre or downstream from Mathias Hollenbeck's trading post at Tioga Point are obvious. Many flatboats would have been needed to transport that many trees, and there is no mention in any of Hollenbeck's account books of his acting as an agent for any such large transaction. Hollenbeck's account books, however, do shed a great deal of information on other sources of food and drink available to the settlers at Azilum. According to his accounts from 1795, although there is no mention of apple trees, in that year alone he purchased rum, several types of wine, sugar, and chocolate for the people of Azilum. The lack of apple trees from that list does not mean, of course, that the Azilum settlers couldn't have purchased grafts from elsewhere. Apple orchards often kept pace with or even preceded settlement on the frontier, as with the famous (if often misrepresented) case of Johnny Appleseed. It is possible that there was an orchard selling stock closer than Wilkes-Barre, but if so, no record of it has come to light.

The second type of orchard that could more easily have been planted at Azilum involves apple trees grown from seed, which would probably have produced sour apples unfit for eating. However, such apples were used throughout the frontier for cider. As Jack Larkin puts it: "In the apple-growing North rural Americans used most of the produce of their orchards to make cider" (1988: 172). A cider orchard's apples could be used even before the tree reached full maturity at three or four years, since the taste of the apples was of minimal concern after the sugars fermented. "Allowed to ferment for a few weeks, pressed apple juice yields a mildly alcoholic beverage with about half the alcohol of wine" (Pollan 2001: 22). Home brewers today actually often prefer sour apples for fermentation, since sweet apples often produce insipid,

simple ciders. Sourness adds complexity to the drink (Fred Gleach, 2009: personal communication). Even if the cider produced was sour or bitter, as long as it was marginally palatable it would have found a ready market among the émigrés, and could also have been easily frozen into applejack or distilled into brandy, which would have intensified the sweetness.

Apple cider was probably the most common beverage in post-Revolutionary American society, as clear water was often unavailable and milk was rare (Rorabaugh 1981). Among other problems water was also commonly considered unhealthy, and was partially credited with the 1793 outbreak of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia. Moreau St. Mery, the noble French refugee who kept a bookstore in Philadelphia and was friend to many of the Azilum settlers, was not alone in blaming the consumption of water for the alteration of a friend's health: "The horrible necessity of drinking nothing but water had shattered his spirit and already changed his features" (1793: 16). Brillat-Savarin says "Water is the only liquid which truly appeases thirst, and it is for this reason that only a small quantity of it should be drunk" (2009: 148). Hard cider was a solution to the dilemma of balancing health with productiveness, as its low alcohol content allowed people to drink it as a regular beverage without becoming regularly intoxicated, as was the case with whiskey and other distilled drinks that were the other common option for adults. Finally, should the cider go off, apple cider vinegar was also useful as a preservative.

The reasons for planting apple trees at Azilum are eminently logical. Whether for food, drink, or preservative, the apple provided the Azilum settlers with goods and comforts which otherwise might be denied to them. But there is another element to

the planting of orchards that finds echoes in the goods that were imported to Azilum. Just as one of the two verified food crops at Azilum was a fruit which produces – one way or another – sweetness, a large portion of the imported goods ordered by the settlers at Azilum are also related to the sensation of sweet things, which Pollan has poetically called “the prototype of *all* desire” (2001: 18).

We already know from Hollenbeck’s records that the Azilum settlers ordered wine, chocolate and sugar, all luxury goods, to be sent to the town. Both aristocrats and planters would have been accustomed to easily satisfying their taste for sweets, which were an almost unobtainable luxury along the frontier. This taste for sweet things seems to be a small thing to modern minds, but it cannot be overstated. As Michael Pollan has written, the desire for sweetness seems integral to human physiology. Cider was the cheapest, easiest way to obtain the sensation of sweetness along the Pennsylvania frontier in the late 18th century. The fact that the substance providing the sweetness was also alcoholic can’t have hurt. Sidney Mintz has written that the desire for sweetness, while it has its roots physiologically, is expressed through cultural norms. In other words, while all people may desire sweet things, as “for millions of years a sweet taste served to indicate edibility” (Mintz 1985:15), not all cultures eat the same foods, in the same combinations, to provide that sensation of sweetness. Or as Lévi-Straus says, food must be good to think about before it is good to eat (1969). Sweet foods and drinks are no exception to this rule.

Looked at in this light, the list of substances imported to Azilum becomes far more interesting. Chocolate, wine and sugar were hardly necessities for people on the frontier, but they would have been greatly desired, especially as a form and sensation

of comfort. Aside from all providing sweetness, these substances carried with them different cultural weights. Sweetness in the form of rum carried very different cultural connotations than sweetness in the form of sugar, although the one was made from the other. Wine carried still different cultural baggage, and these connotations shifted with the background, age, race, and gender of the consumer. While sweetness provided comfort, the form in which it was consumed can tell us a great deal about the ways in which the consumers perceived themselves and their act of consumption.

Comfort Foods at Azilum

The concept of comfort food is one that has arisen fairly recently. It involves a few ideas that are novel to our particular time and cultural milieu and would not have occurred to most people in the past, whatever their culture. The idea that childhood foods differ from those of adulthood, and that the act of ingesting the foods of your childhood can lead to comfort, would hardly be a familiar one for people whose main preoccupation with food was that there be enough of it. The idea that certain compositions of food, including large amounts of fat and sugar, was emotionally comforting would not likely have occurred to people who would value foods like that for their rarity and the energy they could provide. The reliance on foods that have traditionally been considered 'rich' was a class differential, with the large bulk of the population relying on them not for comfort, but for other things both tangible and intangible, such as confirmation of status, the assertion of civilization, and the pleasure of distinction. Brillat-Savarin, the noted gastronome of 18th and 19th century France, proposed eating if not for comfort, then for mental and physical well-being, as indicated by each person's bodily humors and inclinations. However, despite his calls

for moderation in diet, he too lamented the food of his youth in Pre-Revolutionary France, “I remember in the old days any banquet of importance began with oysters, and that there were always a good number of guests who did not hesitate to down one gross a piece...” (2009: 98). Access to these rich, sweet, fat foods confirmed the social standing of their consumers, allowing these individuals to focus on and create their reputations as arbiters of taste. In a social milieu where self-image and identity were partially constructed through outward displays of affluence and influence, the refugees at Azilum utilized the importation, distribution and consumption of foods, especially gourmet social markers such as wine, chocolate and liquors, to mark their public identities.

Archaeological evidence

Archaeologically it is almost impossible to ascertain which foods were served from the various kitchen wares that are excavated at a given site. Exceptions, like teawares and objects associated to the drinking of alcoholic beverages, are as a result overemphasized in the discussion of diet, while evidence for other dishes is more often linked to faunal remains and the analysis of pollen to indicate agricultural activity. As people at Azilum seem to have practiced fairly limited agriculture, an analysis of pollen from the area is not likely to be useful. The settlement was on the frontier, and pollen found at the site would more accurately reflect the changes in the larger frontier area than any distinct preferences of the French and Saint-Domingan settlers. Plant macrofossils and carbonized plant remain, which are often a good source of information about what was being eaten, have not yet been found at Azilum. In contrast, the availability of items associated with the drinking of alcohol predominate

in the archaeological record at Azilum. Unlike standard eating vessels, which have been degraded by trample at Azilum to the point where it is almost impossible to reconstruct the majority of represented vessel forms, the types of glass associated with wine and spirits are identifiable even in small fragments, and appear in literally every excavation unit at the site. As a result, the majority of the remainder of this chapter will focus on those goods that are either directly attested to in the documentary record or those that can be located at Azilum through inference from the vessels associated with them.

The King of Potables: Drinking Sweetness at Azilum

The settlement at Azilum differs from the normal frontier town for many reasons, one of which was the backgrounds of the settlers. The French aristocracy was the class that gave the world the concept of dessert, with the first recorded sweet course enshrined in menus in the 15th century (Mintz 1985: 132). Sweet wines and port were prized in metropolitan France, although due to importation laws meant to protect the grape industry, rum was not available legally outside of the city of Nantes until the mid 18th century, and the extent to which it was adopted is unclear (Smith 2005: 56). After the mid-18th century distillers in France could utilize sugar, but rum itself could not be directly imported until the 1790s. By the time of the Revolution all of these spirits were available to, if not necessarily favored by the upper classes in both France and Saint-Domingue, while access to the finer and sweeter spirits was restricted and controlled for the lower classes, especially slaves. Sidney Mintz writes that even in the modern era sugar planters in Puerto Rico “went to what seemed like extreme lengths to keep people from taking and eating sugar cane” (Mintz 1985: xix).

In French colonies, Article 18 of the *Code Noir* of 1685 specifically forbade slaves from owning or selling sugar cane under any circumstances (Stein 1988: 52). This Code remained in effect on Saint-Domingue until the Haitian Revolution. In contrast, rum was often the first beverage given to enslaved people newly arrived in Saint Domingue, on the theory that it would help acclimate and control the potentially rebellious.

Oddly, while large quantities of the dark green bottle glass associated with either wine or spirits have been found at Azilum, not many drinking vessels are present. This is unfortunate, since individual glass forms were associated then, as they are now, with individual types of alcoholic spirits. Bottles were often reused and a single bottle could have, at various times, contained imported wines, distilled spirits, or local cider. We will discuss the relative absence of drinking vessels from the archaeological record at Azilum later, as it has suggestive similarities to other French colonial sites throughout North America.

Tea, the other immediately identifiable vessel type that is often found at archaeological sites from this time period, is also lacking at Azilum. This is more easily explained, as tea never made substantial inroads into French cuisine. Moreau St. Mery's dislike of the beverage was so intense that he described afternoon tea as "a boring and monotonous ceremony... you hear a thousand false and true tales of Frenchmen who, in their ignorance of this peculiar custom, have been so inundated by tea that they suffered immensely" (Moreau St. Mery 1793: 266). Unlike tea, the drinking of coffee and chocolate with sugar were both customary and familiar to the French aristocracy. On his flight from France to Philadelphia Moreau St. Mery

claimed that “The lack of [sugar] was perhaps our most grievous loss” (Moreau St. Mery 1793: 12). While it is difficult to tell how much sugar the average lower or middle class person in France consumed in the last years of the Old Regime, the total national consumption of sugar went from 25 million pounds per year in the 1730s to 57 million pounds per year in the 1780s, and that substantial number represented a significant drop off from the high point of the sugar export business in the early 1770s, when national sugar consumption stood at almost 80 million pounds per year (Stein 1988: 163). While the economic crisis besetting the French state limited the amount of sugar the lower classes could afford, the meals of the nobility and the bourgeoisie alike contained sugar, usually in the form of chocolate and coffee taken at breakfast and occasionally at dinner, patisseries and comfits purchased from commercial bakers or made by household stewards (never chefs) and subtleties of spun and cast sugar presented at special functions (Flandrin 2007; Chevallier 2007; Toussaint-Samat 2001). Moreau St. Mery describes the aristocratic refugees onboard the ship *Sophie* taking turns teaching each other to make crêpes with sugar and *eau-de-vie* (brandy) (Moreau St. Mery 1793: 12). Small wonder then, if the French at Azilum, bereft of their familiar surroundings, insisted on the importation and consumption of these items even in light of the difficulty of conveying them to Azilum.

Items imported for the residents of French Azilum were purchased through Hollenbeck’s trading post at Tioga Point, although Matthais Hollenbeck merely acted as agent for merchants in Philadelphia and Wilkes-Barre. One order of these goods in Hollenbeck’s ledger from 1795 includes (as well as salt, hides, and grains):

5 Gallons Port Wine
1 Hogshead Spirits

Rum on tap 18 Gallons
15 gallons Lisbon Wine
19 Gallons Tenerife Wine

Alcohol consumption as a means of class consolidation was already a familiar part of the social milieu for the aristocrat in France. Thomas Brennan discusses the ways in which elite Frenchmen and women of the pre-Revolutionary period separated themselves from the proletariat through habits and locales of drinking, including the preference on the part of the elite for private homes and upscale cafés over the taverns and cabarets of middle and lower class Paris (Brennan 1988). Excavated taverns and inns of this period show that alcohol was the primary draw at these locations, although food was often served there as well. Sites such as Wetherburn's Tavern and Carlton's Coffeehouse in Williamsburg contain a preponderance of drinking vessels and other items associated with self-indulgence and relaxation such as gaming pieces and clay smoking pipes, although the difference in social status of these two sites is also highlighted in their material assemblages (Smith 2008: 69-70, Levy et al. 2007). The private nature and selectivity of the locales frequented by the elites reinforced their class identity. In Azilum, the same sorts of social separation would have been inevitable, as people sought to reinforce both class and national identity. Pleasures of the table and the glass would have set the Azilum settlers apart from their American neighbors, to whom drinking and public eating were communal activities that served to cement group relations and negate class differentials in accordance with the principles of independence and democracy propounded by the generation of the Revolution (Rorabaugh 1981). This was at odds with French elite practices, which proscribed imbibing alcohol with those not of the drinker's own class. This stricture

was employed equally by Royalists and Revolutionary reformers in France, indicating the lack of wholehearted belief in the commonality of man that is evident in the early reforms of French government. A reformer might argue vehemently with a Royalist about forms of government, but he would be more likely to sit at table with him than he would be to drink in a tavern with members of the third estate. Class commonalities won out over revolutionary ideals, especially as control of the revolution in France slipped inevitably away from the upper classes, a process which has been linked to the social solidarity of the working classes that developed, in part, from group reliance on taverns and cabarets as communal spaces in which social action could be discussed, debated and eventually effected (Brennan 1988).

The French at Azilum were a minority in Pennsylvania in the same way that the elites had been a minority in Paris, and similar methods of consumption seem to have applied. Lack of options was also certainly an element in the choice of drinking venues – unlike Paris with its 1000 taverns and cabarets in the 1770s, Azilum is only known to have contained one inn, reportedly owned by Mlle de Bercy, sister of Mme Sophie de Sibert. This structure was apparently located 8 miles out of town, on the road to Loyalsock. There isn't enough information known about this establishment to make any conjectures about the social role of this inn in Azilum life, but it is rarely mentioned in any of the journals or letters written by the elites at Azilum, and it is not known whether Mlle. Bercy was actively involved in its management and operation, or was merely the financial backer for the inn.

According to Brian Thomas (1994), the placement of inns and taverns within a community can reveal a great deal about the attitudes of the inhabitants of the area. In

his study of Salem, North Carolina, he argues that the placement of the community's sole tavern on the outskirts of the town is reflective of the desire to maintain community cohesiveness. This desire for social, ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries would have also served to bind the community if Azilum together. Placing Mlle. Bercy's inn outside the center of town removed travelers who are not intimately connected to the settlement and kept them at a psychological as well as physical distance. Travelers with a substantial connection to Azilum residents could have been accommodated in either a private residence or Omer Talon's Grande Maison, as was the case with visitors such as the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and the Comte de Maulevrier. On the other hand, archaeologists such as Mark Leone and Silas Hurry have utilized Michel Foucault's ideas of panoptic architecture to argue that at early British colonial settlements like St. Mary's City inns and taverns were located at the center of the community in order to maintain closer control over the drinking habits of the customers (1998).

These differing arguments seem to present a dichotomy to the archaeologist – do you put places of drinking at the outskirts of your community to control access to your community, or do you put them in the center, to control access to drink? Bearing in mind other factors that can influence tavern placement, such as availability of land and other things that have to be evaluated on a site by site basis, in the case of Azilum the answer seems to be the first. Demonstrably from the artifact assemblage, the French and Saint-Domingans had no problem with the consumption of alcohol in large quantities. Bottle glass in the dark green color that is often associated with either wine or 'Chestnut bottles' which were often refillable bulbous bottles intended for liquors,

have been found in large quantities in both the Noailles house and the 'wine cellar', as well as in most trenches and test pits. Bottles intended for alcoholic beverages make up a substantial part of the artifact assemblage for Azilum. The French and Saint-Dominguan refugees were clearly drinking in their own homes, treating the inn on the outskirts of town more as a place for unfamiliar outsiders and Americans than a center of sociability. This tendency is a continuation of one that can be seen in 18th century France.

For Parisian elites, a visit to a tavern or cabaret was an illicit thrill, unlike the more genteel and literary atmosphere ascribed to the café. Records show that only elite men occasionally frequented such places openly, and that only infrequently. They were far more likely, and were also financially able, to have their servants purchase their wine and spirits in bulk and deliver it to them in the privacy of their houses. When unaccompanied noblemen did visit taverns and cabarets in elite dress they were often singled out for negative attention, as their frequent appearances as plaintiffs in tavern related court cases show (Brennan 1988). Elites, and even elite women, occasionally visited cabarets and suburban taverns in disguise, allowing themselves the illicit thrill of rubbing elbows with the lower classes while experiencing relief at their anonymity. In Azilum, anonymity must have been impossible, and the practice of eating and drinking with one's own kind a relief and a luxury to those who had experienced far too many thrills and upsets already. Moreau St. Mery describes the effects of drinking in company with one's peers when he says that "A few applications to the bottle, and hope seemed reborn with strength" (Moreau St. Mery 1793: 16).

Coffeehouses served similar functions in late 18th century American towns, and excavated coffeehouses from colonial Williamsburg show evidence of having been patronized by American elites in a fashion similar to those in Paris (Levy et al. 2007). The sociability of drinking seems to have been reserved for intimates and members of one's own class. The partial punch-bowl found in the foundation of the Noailles house implies that imbibing was not a solitary event, but was undertaken to cement racial, national and class loyalties.

Alcohol consumption has also been linked to societies and groups with a high level of anxiety (Smith 2008: 3). Ethnohistorians like W.J. Rorabaugh have determined that when social tensions run high, alcohol consumption, unsurprisingly, rises. In Saint-Domingue the British Captain Thomas Phipps Howard describes the situation of those planters still clinging to the island in 1796-1798 as one especially fraught with anxiety. He makes the connection between this anxiety and the high level of alcohol consumption, stating that during those years of Revolution he "suppose(s) there is no country in the world where the inducements to dissipation and libertinism are greater than is to be met with in the West Indies" (Howard 1985: 101).

While both France and Haiti definitely fit the definition of cultures suffering high levels of underlying stress in the 1790s, so did life for the refugees at Azilum. Anxiety must have been an especially prevalent and inescapable part of life. The area was remote and unlike anything the majority of the settlers had ever before experienced. From some of the most highly urbanized areas in the world these elite Frenchmen and women had come to a sparsely settled frontier. Many of them were unable to communicate to their neighbors, who they found alien and often

unsympathetic. Their economic situation, as far as can be determined, was often grim, with anticipated monies failing to materialize and land speculations proving inadequate to make up the difference. The romantic optimism with which many of the French had greeted the American Revolution had been replaced with overwhelming and often justified fear for friends and family left behind in France. Aristide du Petit-Thouars expresses this anxiety in his letters to his sister Félicité:

Grands Dieux! Mes soeurs, pourquoi ne répondez-vous à aucune de mes imaginations, à aucune de mes souvenirs? Pourquoi suis-tu contraint à tant revenir sur le passé, tout seul, ou de me figurer l'avenir en noir: car enfin seras-tu content d'une cabane sur le bord d'une ravine sauvage (Dupetit-Thouars 1937: 289)?

Consumption of alcohol would have the same comforting effect as consumption of familiar foods, as well as providing the added benefit of temporarily allaying anxiety and aiding the refugees in their attempts to promote sociability and community, even in their “cabanes sur le bord d'une ravine sauvage”.

The preoccupation with spirits, of course, may be no more than the desire to become inebriated and forget the hardships of life in America, but it also represents an urge to retreat into sensation – in this case, sweetness. Taken together with one of the only absolutely verifiable agricultural products of Azilum, apples, which were probably for cider, and the orders for sugar, molasses, coffee, and chocolate, the picture of French aristocrats craving the sweetness – not only of sugar, but of their lives pre-Revolution - becomes clear.

Craving the Past: Saint-Domingans and Sugar

Discussion of the sensation of sweetness, as found in both food products and sweet alcoholic beverages, is an even more complex subject when the consumers are

the refugee elites from Saint-Domingue. For them sweetness as a sensation must have been closely linked to the production of sugar, which was the central product of the island. Even those who were not sugar plantation owners would have been intimately familiar with the product. As Sidney Mintz says “There was, after all, so much of it!” (Mintz 1985: xix). It was not the rarity to them that it was to their neighbors on the American frontier. Instead, it was the backdrop of their lives. Sugar had been the basis for their livelihoods, and the reason for their power. At Azilum, at least some of the planters attempted to use a local form of sugar to regain and recreate that way of life. The Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt commented on the attempts by “Messers. De Vilaine and Dandelot” to make maple sugar, as we discussed in the chapter on diet. Although the Duc praises their efforts, there is no evidence for large-scale maple sugar production. Needless to say, the methodology for making sugar from cane is completely different from that needed to make maple syrup or sugar. The attempt, while it may have offered some hope, ultimately did not succeed in recreating the plantation culture of Saint-Domingue at Azilum. In the absence of their previous status, the planter refugees at Azilum may have attempted to restrict access to high status foods, especially those that were sweet and rich.

While for the elites of Paris the social restrictions on drinking in public were linked to ideals of social and economic productivity, they risked little but discomfort and inconvenience when they disobeyed those unwritten strictures. For planters in Saint-Domingue, the lower classes were mostly comprised of the enslaved, and almost all Europeans were automatically raised to the role of racial, if not social, equal.

What would be said in England... to a farrier who comes to shoe your horses, to see him arrive with three or four slaves at his heels carrying his tools, the gentleman himself dressed in his silk coat tout à la mode... a white man, however low his situation, in every sense of the word may be, conceives himself equal to the richest man in the colony... in regard to the respect he expects shall be paid him. (Howard 1985: 103)

Public drinking and eating was impossible in such circumstances, with the private home replacing the public inn or tavern in almost all cases. This can be easily linked to the famous hospitality of the planter class. When no other locales for social discourse were available due to the extremes of class inequality, the elites expanded their definitions of social equals and opened their homes to those they would never have welcomed in France. The alternative, to allow whites to socialize in public spaces also open to (or even observable by) slaves and free blacks, was disruptive and unthinkable.

Sweetness and richness were ultimately intertwined in upper class Saint-Domingue - the Cottineau plantation, for instance, between 1784 and 1789, made 193,000 livres on molasses and sugars (Debien 1962: 19). In modern terms that is roughly two and a half million dollars for those five years. While the years leading up to the Revolution were characterized by mounting debts owed to slave dealers for many sugar planters, the likelihood that these debts affected their daily lifestyle is small. According to Robert Louis Stein, "the planter was well protected by local custom and had little reason to fear the loss of his estate" no matter how monumental his indebtedness became (1988: 81). From the early years of the colony the law had forbade that any part of a sugar estate, including slaves, could be seized for payment of debts, and nonpayment was a notorious problem in the islands, and the cause of constant tension between planters and merchants. When debts absolutely had to be

paid, sugar was accepted as a commodity in the place of rare and precious specie (Stein 1988: 34). Unlike plantations in the British Caribbean, planters in French colonies were prohibited from shipping rum back to France, and in fact French distillers were not permitted to utilize sugar to make spirits until the middle of the 18th century. A publicity campaign linked consumption of rum to disease and poor health, while distillers of grape and grain-based beverages claimed that their products were healthful and sound. The term *eau-de-vie*, or ‘water of life’ for French brandy was coined during this 17th and 18th century campaign to discredit and devalue rum in French cultural centers. That this campaign had an effect can be clearly seen in the quality of the rum that was produced in French colonies – it was supposedly the worst in the Caribbean, and was sold cheaply to other French colonies for slaves and the poor (Smith 2005: 2009). Rum could not be imported directly to France until the early 1790s, at the very end of the French colonial period in Saint-Domingue (Smith 2005: 208). Despite all of these limitations and aggravations, the power that the planters had held in their old lives was both sweet and gave them immense riches.

The cultivation of sugar cane was a grueling business that was carried out almost entirely by enslaved Africans in Saint-Domingue. Horrible tortures and cruelties were inflicted on the workers, all in the name of the vast profit that sugar brought to the island and the French upper classes. Sugar planters were, as Mintz has claimed “certainly large-scale entrepreneurs for their time” (Mintz 1985: 48). They were responsible not only for growing the sugar cane but also processing it, with factories on their property for the grinding and pressing of the cane. The extracted juice was then either further refined on site to make sugar loafs, rum and molasses

before being shipped out for sale, or crystallized into demerara sugar and sent away for further processing (Smith 2005). That this omnipresent crop could be both the reason for the enslaved Africans transportation and a palliative for the hardships of their lives is demonstrated by the bureaucratic concern over rum consumption by the enslaved. Rum was often set aside for newly arrived slaves, as it was considered a part of the acclimatizing process to the Caribbean. It was used “as a salutation to ease the transition” (Smith 2005: 103) from free person to slave, and was so popular that some landowners tried to use it as a dietary supplement, replacing foods mandated by law under the Code Noir for high-caloric alcohol. That this was an ongoing problem is indicated by the number of times that the strictures against it had to be repeated in the 18th century. The governing classes, usually those sent from France to administer the colony, objected to the practice on the grounds that it decreased worker efficiency and increased disruption in the community. In this they were echoing evolving theories of the work ethic that were actively being debated in France (Brennan 1988). Planters continued the practice surreptitiously because it allowed them to use a byproduct of their own estate to supply their enslaved Africans, rather than having to either import foodstuffs or allow the enslaved time to cultivate their own gardens. Rum was welcomed by many enslaved people, making them easier to manage. It carried different connotations to the enslaved then it did to the elites. To elites, even those with strong connections to the metropole, rum signified their second-class status as colonists or Creoles. They chafed against the restrictions placed on their trading of this valuable commodity, and they displayed ambivalence about its healthfulness and wholesomeness. Many declined to produce rum for export at all, focusing on sugar,

rum's parent crop. This ambivalence was displayed by the lack of interest in contemporary distilling practices, as most French rum distillers "appear to have continued their 17th century pattern of relying on small, antiquated stills" until well into the 18th century (Smith 2005: 48). In addition, on the eve of the Haitian Revolution, it appears that only 25% of plantation owners were actively involved in distilling on their own estates. While this may simply reflect an economic judgment that without a metropolitan market, rum was not worth the outlay it would take to build efficient distilling equipment, some of it may also have been to the marginal status rum held in urban French culture. Rather than distill and attempt to find a market for rum, many sugar planters chose to engage their entire family in the sugar trade, with various family members on both sides of the Atlantic working on different parts of the convoluted and feudal process that brought sugar to the market. In this way, they avoided the bureaucracy associated with the rum trade, and kept the sugar money in family hands (Stein 1988: 154).

Rum and Slavery

To the enslaved, rum held different connotations. Rum was not only useful in deadening the pain of enslavement to people of African descent – it was an active ingredient in many of the spiritual ceremonies of obeah or vodou. It was a key offering to the loa, especially Elegua or Legba, the keeper of the ways between spiritual states. Misfortune could be averted, and aid sought, when rum was used to open the ways for the loa to enter the waking world. In the French Caribbean it was also an important part of the funeral process, with offerings of rum being left as grave goods to enable the dead person to return to the world of spirit (Smith 2005: 116).

Finally, and probably key in the case of Azilum, rum and other spirits were used to facilitate social intercourse and integrate new members of the community.

“Community building would have been especially important to newly arrived slaves in the Caribbean” (Smith 2005: 116) and just as important to enslaved people brought against their will to the Pennsylvania frontier. Rum would have been a familiar constant companion in a strange place. In light of the known link between rum and slavery in Saint-Domingue, it is worthwhile to ask who was the intended consumer of the rum imported to French Azilum.

With plantations gone and livelihoods stripped away, it's probable that sweetness, in the form of sugar and rum, had a particular bitterness for the refugees from Saint-Domingue. Food preferences are often central to the self-definition of groups, and the planters of Saint-Domingue who now resided at Azilum had lost almost all access to the one item of food that was most closely identified with their previous existence. In these circumstances, sweetness was closely linked to the practice of power and control, which the planters had also lost. It is tempting to suppose that the sensation of sweetness must have been a nostalgic one for these people, so suddenly shifted from producers of sweetness to consumers, but the situation was probably more complex than simple nostalgia makes it seem. The revolution in Saint-Domingue was unmatched for the ferocity and violence it engendered in all parties- white elite, free people of color and the enslaved. The very wealth and culture of the island made the revolution more devastating, as the interference of first of France, and eventually England, caused the violence to escalate. Although I disagree with the theory that the Haitian Revolution was caused or incited

by the French Revolution, I do believe that the Revolution in France, and the ideological issues raised there, did prolong and exacerbate the violence on Saint-Domingue. Rum had been excluded from upper-class life in France, and for French planters from Saint-Domingue, that meant that a close identification with their fellow elites might not be based on a shared consumption of that beverage. Brandy, port, or wine would have been the favored beverages. Sugar was another matter.

The extent to which Saint Domingan planters did identify with their aristocratic French associates is undeniable, but the lengths to which that identification went is open to question, especially in individual cases. Ideological battles seem to have been less of a concern for the elite refugees from Saint-Domingue who found a home at Azilum than it was for the French. While some Azilum settlers from Saint-Domingue had been peripherally involved in the Revolution in France, the majority appear to have been relatively uninvolved. Those who were in France were concerned more with ensuring the continuation of their traditional class and racial privileges in Saint-Domingue. To this end, Denis Cottineau was one of those dispatched to Paris to vote against the extension of the franchise to free people of color. All of the refugees must have been aware of the escalating tension during the abortive uprising of the free man of color Vincent Ogé in 1791, and the dates of their arrival at Azilum coincide with the single largest influx of Saint-Domingan refugees following the 1793 burning of Cap Français. It is impossible to answer, at this point, whether the allure of a substance that had been so much a part of their lives, rum, would have been worth the trouble to seek out, given that the refugees were now cohabiting with French aristocrats who were unaccustomed to the drink. Sugar, as we have seen, was

universally accepted by all of the elites, and would not have been a problematic association for the Saint-Domingans. But rum, with its reputation of unhealthiness, poor quality, and low status, was another matter. It is possible, although unlikely, that the rum brought to Azilum was intended primarily for the enslaved Africans. More probably, the poor reputation of rum in elite France was not enough to cause the French planters to avoid it completely. However, the rum present at the site would have been attractive to both the planters and the enslaved alike.

It would be much easier to address the question of who was drinking and consuming what if we had more drinking vessels from French Azilum. Rum was consumed in a variety of forms, but most often mixed with further sweeteners such as fruit juices, in a punch. In the French islands, a distinction was made between rums made from only sugarcane juice, which was called *guildive* or *rhum agricole*, and rum made from the scum of boiled sugarcane juice and molasses, called *tafia* or *rhum industriel*. This distinction is still used on Caribbean rum producing islands with a French history, such as Martinique. Guildive was considered higher-quality and would have been the preferred drink of the elites, while *tafia* was likely what the enslaved were given, although few records exist on this practice. No such distinction was made in North America, so the French at Azilum would have been forced to take what they were given. This would provide a further incentive to mix rum before consumption.

As it happens, we have a single example of a punch bowl from Azilum. It was excavated in 1976 in the structure I have designated the Noailles house.

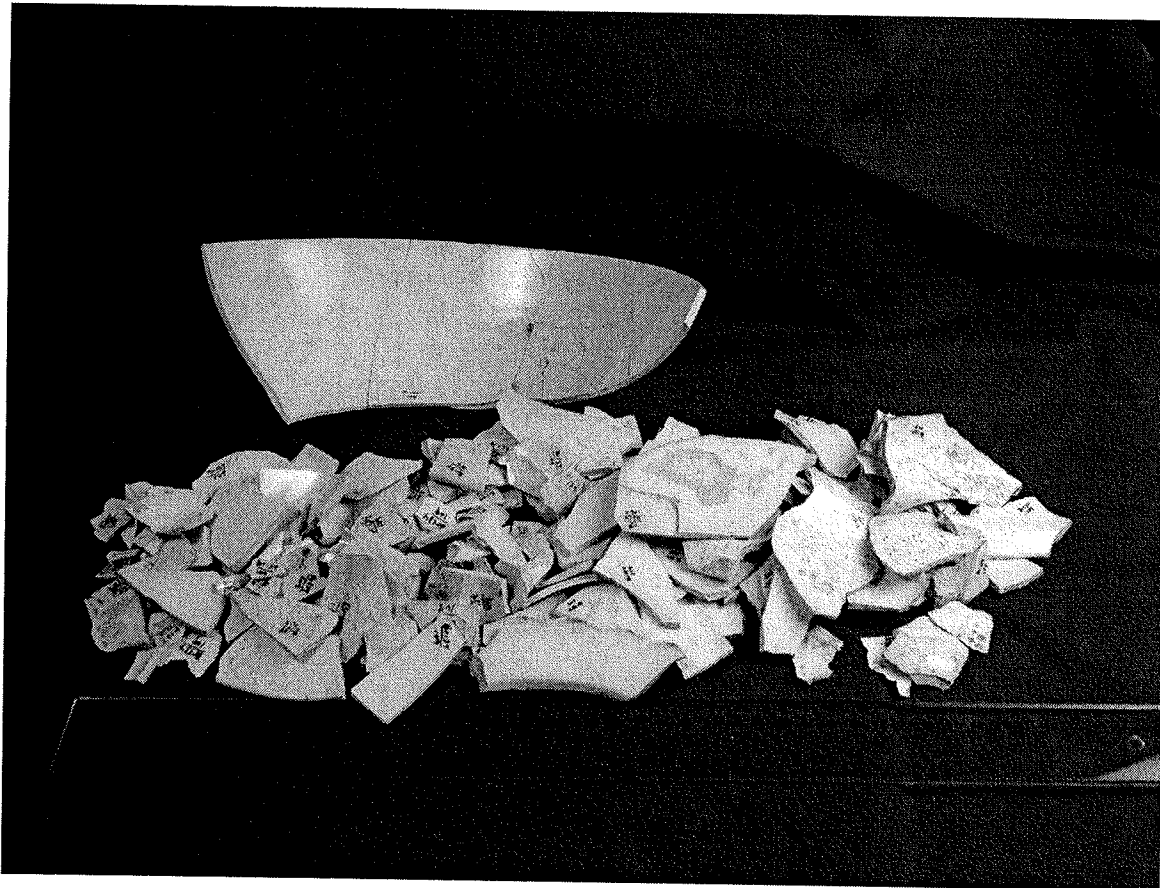


Figure 19

A partially reconstructed punch bowl from the foundation of the de Noailles house, previously called the Cottineau/ de Sibert house.

While only a portion of this bowl has been reconstructed, it is similar to other known specimens, and would have been used to serve punch mixed from a variety of alcohols and other ingredients to a group in a social setting. It seems reasonable to assume that rum punch was one of the substances consumed, and the addition of other juices may have served to mitigate or disguise the presence of rum, if that was necessary. Since Gui de Noailles, the owner of the house where this bowl was excavated, was himself a planter in Saint Domingue, rum would not have been either unfamiliar or unwelcome as an addition to the punch bowl.

Other forms of drinking vessels include a variety of goblet styles (Hume 1969: 191), none of which can be identified in Azilum contexts. Likewise, while the evolution of the decanter in the 18th century has been studied in some depth, none can be clearly identified in the remains at Azilum. Goblet form seems to have been affected mainly by the intended market, with thicker, clumsier goblets found at public taverns and exceptionally thin, decorated, graceful goblets found at elite sites. While we might expect the more industrial style goblets to preserve at least as well as alcohol bottles at Azilum, it is not clear that absence of such fragments allows us to say anything at all about the drinking vessel styles favored by the French.

Earlier French colonies seem to have favored porcelain or faience drinking vessels, but there, too, we are stymied in any attempt to associate form with content. Very few drinking vessels have turned up at such sites, and their lack has become a very minor mystery. The best explanation researchers have been able to come up with is that few drinking vessels have been found in these locations because there were

never many present. “Perhaps the paucity of porcelain and faience drinking vessels...reflects the peripheral nature of these settlements in the French colonial world and their distance from the well-stocked marketplaces of French colonial ports” (Smith 2008: 91). As a result, no conclusions can be effectively drawn as to who was drinking what at French Azilum.

Conclusion

In Chapter Eight I dealt with food preferences and the question of who was eating what at Azilum. While there is some documentary and archaeological evidence for diet, there is even more for drink, and hence for sweetness. Whether in the form of raw sugar, processed rum, or intoxicating sweet wines, it seems clear that everyone was consuming sweetness – and probably, given the levels of stress and the previous habits of the settlers, that everyone was consuming it in alcoholic form. Whether this served as a way to comfort the consumer, hearken back to a simpler world, as a bittersweet reminder of power and success, a religious ritual, a builder of community, or some of each at various times, is unclear. What is clear is that sweetness, and alcohol as a form of sweetness, were significant in the lives of all of the inhabitants at Azilum, free and enslaved, Saint-Domingan and French alike.

Chapter Ten - **Conclusions**

So finally we come back to the questions that we started with. What were the lived experiences of the varied individuals at French Azilum, and how did they shape and were shaped by the physicality of the site? In what ways did the settlers accommodate the realities of life on a frontier far from the amenities of metropolitan life, and in what ways did they resist those realities? How did they construct and defend identities for themselves in a world in flux?

If we use Eric Wolf's definition of the world as an interlocking system of co-reliant parts, then the individuals who made up Azilum formed a system in which the identities forged in the wider Atlantic, elite, and colonial worlds were supported. Even for those aristocrats and planters who were running shops and milling grain, their self-identification as a member of the elite was secure. In all of the records, the wonder expressed is not that there are millers and haberdashers at the site, it is that these elite people, with their identities intact, were doing these tasks. The enslaved were still the enslaved, even on the frontier in a place where survival for all depended on support from all. The passage through Revolution and fire had not altered the essential class structures. Creole families still stuck together, Omer Talon could still require Bartolomé Laporte, his social inferior, to serve wine at dinner when the butler was indisposed (Murray 1917: 40), and Americans were still largely considered 'barbarous' and kept in a separate social category.

The French and Saint-Domingans at Azilum, both free and enslaved, either utilized existing webs of commerce and interdependence or created new ones to meet their perceived material needs. The elites imported goods, such as creamware, forks,

wine, coffee and chocolate, that supported their perceptions of themselves as cosmopolitan and civilized people of the French world, while the enslaved men and women continued to procure, prepare, consume and dispose of food and goods in ways that made cultural sense to them. The Saint-Domingan elites sought to compensate for the lack or scarcity of goods that were integral to their self-images, such as sugar and rum, by creating maple sugar processing facilities and distilleries at the site, while the European French sought to import wine, spirits, and stimulants with which they were familiar. In so far as was possible, the settlers at Azilum attempted to recreate their societies of origin, if in a Rousseauian and idealized location. Likewise, the social distinctions of these groups were defended internally, with the French elites behaving in ways particular to cosmopolitan life, while the dispossessed Saint Domingan elites struggled to overcome the stigma of New World degeneracy born out of their consumption and habilitation to terroir and humoral influences not historically French. These class distinctions within the elites led to a split in group identity that had a profound and long-lasting effect on American society, the development of Creole culture in Louisiana and the course of the history of enslavement in the American South.

The landscape that these three groups constructed was not made in the image of any one alone – it contained elements of French, Saint-Domingan and Afro-Caribbean cultures, all translated into an American vernacular through the workmen who assisted in the construction of the settlement. The houses and outbuildings that have been excavated to date show a mixture of elements and preoccupations that has parallels in the American South, the Caribbean islands, and the American frontier.

Which is not to say that the social situation was static. As time went on and it became increasingly clear that there was not going to be an easy or quick return to the *Ancien Régime*, either in France or Saint-Domingue, people began to adapt to their new reality. Enslaved men and women began to learn the language and claim their rights either through legal action in Philadelphia or through flight. Those who in France were members of the bourgeoisie, and in Saint-Domingue would have been considered *petits blancs*, like Laporte and Charles Homet, adapted themselves to American customs and settled. Formerly wealthy men and women like Sophia de Sibert and Luce Montullé found their wealth exhausted, and in light of the continuing unrest in Saint-Domingue were forced to find new homes and occupations. Children grew up and young men and women reached adulthood with the experiences of life at French Azilum as an inextricable part of their own self-images, a fact which may have made them less likely to believe in the nobility of man in a natural state than their parents had been. Some stayed in the United States, while others took their experiences back to France and used them to forge a new image of the young Republic. Their attitudes and experiences altered the ways in which France related to and perceived the United States, whether for good or ill. Some returning elites perceived Americans as barbarous and uncultured, a view that has echoes to present-day Franco-American relations, while others like Mme. De la Tour du Pin stressed the ability of hard-working individuals to succeed on the harsh but rewarding frontier.

The people and policies of the United States were also affected by this influx of refugees. French fashion, dancing and cuisine became popular with elites from Savannah to Boston, while slave owners heard the warnings of displaced Saint-

Domingans with fear. The slave system in the south was altered and solidified by the example of the Saint-Domingans and their enslaved Africans, while a new Creole culture and urbanity turned the commercial outpost of New Orleans into one of the great cities of the nation. Although there was a constant stream of refugees returning to France, especially post-1803 when the émigré list was abolished and aristocrats were free to return and reclaim their property, the majority of the Saint-Domingans never returned to Europe. The incipient ethnogenesis that actions by and perceptions of them had created in Saint-Domingue went on in a new milieu. Their separation from the metropole was strengthened by the traumatic experiences and political factionalism of the French and Haitian Revolutions, and these people forged a new group identity for themselves in the New World as Creoles. In the beginning this identity allowed for a degree of open familiarity and mixture with enslaved and sang-mêlé people that was not supported in other colonial societies. However, as the 19th century wore on Creole society was forced to deal with an influx of American and European immigrants unfamiliar with the cultural and social realities of life in Saint-Domingue and French colonial society. Social intercourse with members of different racial categories became more problematic and eventually was publicly discontinued

This same incipient ethnogenesis is noted among the French Creoles of the American Midwest, where the status of metis held many of the connotations that sang-mêlé held in the Caribbean, although with local largely Native Americans substituted for the enslaved Africans. It seems as though the French Revolution and the end of the French colonial empire in Saint-Domingue and North America altered the fate of this entire people.

Future Work

A massive amount of work remains to be done at Azilum. The site of the village itself was over 300 acres, while the outlying structures such as Aristide du Petit-Thouars clearing at DuShore and Mlle Bercy's inn extend the scope of the investigation still further. On this land was an unknown number of houses and outbuildings, all of them integral to the functioning of the settlement as a whole. In multiple short-term excavations over the last fifty years only two households have been investigated, and neither of those has been systematically and fully studied. The core of the settlement – the boat landing, shops, public buildings and market square – have yet to be uncovered, a task that will require more than excavation alone to complete. A systematic geophysical and geochemical survey followed by targeted excavation is needed to fully explore the site of French Azilum. Following the phosphate testing and remote sensing study of 2010 both Dr. Johanna Ullrich and Prof. Michael Rogers have committed themselves to a long-term interdisciplinary study of Azilum with an eye towards creating a new model for sustained integrated archaeological work. Assuming funding to be forthcoming, such a study would add immensely to our understanding not only of French Azilum, but of the trade, social and interpersonal networks of elites and enslaved in the Atlantic World at the end of the 18th century. If Azilum can be a lens to focus attention on the local creation, maintenance and adaptation of identity in fluid circumstances, it can also be a telescope, and through it we may be able to see an entire world.

Appendix A

Geochemical Contributions to the Archaeological Examination of French Azilum

Johanna Merici Ullrich

Introduction

Phosphate analysis has been used as a tool for site prospection, identification, and use-of-space modeling in archaeology since the late 1920s (Arrehnius 1929). The association of soil phosphate content with human activity was noted, but not studied, prior to this first by agriculturalists (Bethell and Máté 1989: 1), then by archaeologists [Hughes 1911 (Russell 1957)]. The deposition of organic material increases soil phosphate levels; human and animal waste, bone and kitchen rubbish contribute the highest levels of anthropogenic phosphates (Crowther 1996: 195). Other organic debris, such as vegetal matter and wood ash, can also increase soil phosphate content on a smaller scale. Phosphate analysis is often used to locate sites of archaeological interest, from previously unknown settlements to on-site features. The identification of varying soil phosphate levels across known sites can aid in the interpretation of site-specific organization and help create use-of-space models for the site.

Phosphate analysis can be used at homestead-type sites to identify and delimit different activity areas, most applicably midden areas, and to suggest the function of house and yard areas. In the past, phosphate analysis has been successfully used to locate homestead sites and associated hearths and structures (Sanchez *et al.* 1999: 56), and to aid in the interpretation of use-of-space patterns at known homestead-scale sites (Wilson *et al.* 2005: 1094). Phosphate analysis can be used to focus excavation on the most informative areas. Use-of-space models based on phosphate patterning can be interpreted to identify areas of possible structures, entryways, pathways, storage areas,

activity/craft areas, middens and features. This information can then be used to create use-of-space models, help determine land-use patterns over the site and aid the archaeological interpretation of site dynamics. Low impact features not visible in the archaeological record can be identified through analysis of use-of-space models generated from phosphate analysis results. At the site of French Azilum, Pennsylvania, phosphate analysis was conducted in an area where some excavation has taken place but not many diagnostic finds were recovered. Phosphate analysis was employed to clarify how the site was organized and used.

Phosphate Cycling

Phosphate Pools

A phosphate is a salt or ester of phosphoric acid, containing PO_4^{3-} or a related anion of a group such as $-\text{OPO}(\text{OH})^{2-}$ oxyacids (Brady 1974: 456). Soil phosphate is found in many different forms depending on the make-up of the parent material, donor material sources and the soil systems at work in a given environment. In a soil system, phosphates easily form bonds with elemental aluminum, magnesium and iron components of the soil. Phosphates occur in organic and inorganic form. Organic phosphates are derived from animal and plant material, and enter the soil system when those materials decompose. Inorganic phosphates can be a product of soil parent material or the transformation of organic phosphates.

Soil phosphates are organized into activity pools based on the strength of soil-phosphate bonds. The available pool includes phosphates that are very mobile and susceptible to change. The dissolution and desorption processes break weak soil-phosphate bonds; transformation strengthens soil-phosphate bonds, and over time can change the form of phosphates. Phosphates in the available pool are easily accessible for up-take by plant roots (Demaria *et al.* 1990: 89). Available phosphates include soluble organic and inorganic phosphates. Phosphates in this pool are highly mobile.

Available phosphates are often present at archaeological sites, but are not the best indication of the anthropogenic phosphate status of a soil because available phosphates are generally of modern origin. Depletion through up-take by plants and deposition from animal and vegetal decay cause available phosphates to cycle in the soil system. Over time, the cycling capacity of phosphates decreases as the strength of the soil-phosphate bonds increases, at which point phosphates move into the active pool.

The active phosphorus pool is comprised of organic and inorganic phosphates with fairly strong bonds to soil particulates. Soil-phosphate bonds in this pool can only be broken down or altered with prolonged exposure to transforming agents, such as weathering and microorganisms, in certain soil environments. Phosphates in this pool do not cycle through plant up-take due to the strength of their bonds to soil particles. Active phosphates are generally derived from available organic phosphates that have been exposed to transforming agents and become more strongly bonded to soil particles. Active phosphates are usually the largest phosphate pool present at archaeological sites, and of anthropogenic origin (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 305).

Anthropogenic phosphates are categorized as resulting from human waste and refuse discarded from bone, meat, animal by-products, fish and plants, burials with ash and bone, and ash from fires (*ibid.*: 305). Phosphates from these organic materials are released into the soil through decomposition. The released phosphates are instantly incorporated into the available phosphate pool as soil-phosphate bonds are formed. A small portion of newly deposited phosphates is lost in plant-uptake and remains in the available pool. The majority of the added phosphates are slowly transformed, more strongly bonded to soil particles, and move to the active pool. Inorganic phosphorus is also increased anthropogenically through the addition of bone to the soil. Bone is one of the largest contributors to anthropogenically augmented phosphate levels because phosphorus is present in bone as hydroxyapatite, which is not affected by plant uptake of the nutrient (Weston 1995:20).

The stable phosphate pool is mostly made up of inorganic phosphates that are very strongly bonded or part of mineral matrices. Organic phosphates can also be included in this pool when they are immobilized or protected in aggregates. Stable phosphates are not susceptible to dissolution, desorption or transformation. Stable phosphates can cycle in soil with the right conditions, but this is a very rare occurrence (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 305). Phosphates in this pool are generally derived from soil parent material and are rarely of anthropogenic origin. On average, the amount of total inorganic phosphorus derived from parent material in a soil is $< 1 \text{ g kg}^{-1}$ (Delgado and Scalenghe 2008: 552) [generally less than 200 ppm (Lillios 1992: 503)]. The geological make-up at the site of French Azilum does not contribute greatly to the on-site phosphate levels.

Phosphate Transformation

Phosphates are transformed through weathering and microorganism activity. Weathering stresses the soil-phosphate bonds, and causes the bonds to either break or strengthen. The exact effects of weathering are connected to the soil environment, including soil pH, chemical content and other additions to the soil. The phosphate sorption capacity of soil decreases as pH increases (Daly and Styles 2000:7). Higher soil pH is an indication of lower phosphate bonding capacities of the iron and aluminum present in the soil. Environmental conditions at the site of French Azilum would allow for an average rate of phosphate transformation.

Microorganisms facilitate the transformation of phosphates due to the secretion of the enzyme phosphatase. Phosphatase facilitates the mineralization mechanism of organic phosphates into inorganic phosphates (Zibilske and Bradford 2003: 677). The natural and human addition of organic and inorganic substances can affect the resulting phosphate content of a soil by affecting soil pH, microbial activity, and chemical content. The input or application of organic matter to a soil profile is one of

the main factors in the rate of the transformation. The increased presence of organic matter speeds the transformation process as a result of the associated increase in microbial activity during decomposition of the material. Undecomposed organic matter, however, can limit phosphate fixation by blocking receptor sites. The presence of heavy foliage vegetation in conjunction with a moderate and widely varied climate at French Azilum increases both decomposition rates and microorganism populations. The conditions result in a slight acceleration of the mineralization process.

The cycle of breakdown and reformation of phosphate bonds in soil effects all phosphate pools. Phosphates in the available pool will create more stable bonds and move into the active pool when acted on by transforming agents. Phosphates in the active pool can be recycled back into the available pool, but may also form stronger bonds to the soil in the active pool (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 303). Active organic phosphates can transform into more strongly bonded active organic phosphates and over time, loosely bonded active inorganic phosphates. Organic phosphates are mineralized to the inorganic form over an approximate period of three hundred years (Delgado and Scalenghe 2008: 552). The rate at which this change occurs is greatly dependent on soil content and environmental conditions. The majority of anthropogenic phosphates are loosely bonded inorganic phosphates in the active pool even though the phosphates are deposited in organic form, due to the transformation process (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 305). An increased rate of decomposition at the site of French Azilum results in an increase of the phosphate mineralization rate to a period of approximately 200 years. The phosphate analysis results from French Azilum are favorably influenced by the faster mineralization rate because use of the site is limited to a short period approximately 200 years ago. This transformation rate also ensures that all phosphates deposited after 200 years ago are not yet fully mineralized, and therefore do not greatly influence the phosphate patterning.

Anthropogenic Phosphate Detection

The loss of phosphates occurs most often when entire soil profiles have been lost through erosion, deposition or conscious movement. The horizontal leaching of phosphates is uncommon, but can occur as a result of weathering only when there are limited receptor sites in the soil. A higher percentage of phosphates are lost in sandy soils than in clay soils due to the decreased presence of receptor sites in, and bonding capacity of, sandy particles. These losses are still negligible. Clay soils are generally more mineral rich, with higher levels of aluminum, magnesium and iron, and thus a higher phosphorus sorption capacity. The soils found at French Azilum have a high mineral content, which offer many receptor sites and allows for a high level of phosphate fixation.

The upward movement of phosphates within a soil profile displaces phosphates from lower horizons to the topsoil. The collection of phosphates in the topsoil has been identified as an effect of plant growth (Proudfoot 1976: 103). This process affects forms of loosely bonded phosphates, which includes phosphates in the available and active pools. Once translocated upwards, cycling available phosphates are removed from the soil through uptake for plant growth but active phosphates are too strongly bonded to soil particles for plant up-take. This creates a build-up of active phosphates in the topsoil, thus forming a phosphate shadow in the topsoil that mirrors levels found in suBrillat-Savarin horizons. The vertical movement of phosphates is not well understood, and the percentage of available and active phosphates translocated upwards is greatly dependent on levels of plant growth. The upward movement of soil phosphorus has been well documented in the archaeological record. A study completed in Sweden showed that soil samples with increased phosphate levels taken from topsoil layers all corresponded to buried archaeological features (Linderholm 2007: 432). At the Cat's Water subsidiary site of the Fengate prehistoric complex (Craddock *et al.* 1985) a middle to late Iron Age settlement was

discovered as a result of phosphate analysis of topsoil phosphate levels even though the site was overlain by 5 meters of Romano-British flood clay (*ibid.*: 365). There is enough plant growth at the French Azilum to allow for the upward translocation of anthropogenic phosphates.

Agricultural practices can effect the ability to detect archaeological sites and patterning from phosphate content. The production of crops without any manual fertilization removes on average 7.3 kg/ha of cycling phosphates (Eidt 1984: 29). Archaeological sites are easily detectable in these field areas, and even historic, unfertilized, field areas can often be identified due to a decrease in phosphate content. The current use of manure as fertilizer increases the level of organic phosphates in a soil. The majority of phosphates from this source will remain cycling in the available pool, and slightly raise the overall inorganic phosphate level by increasing the rate and level of transformation. Archaeological sites are still identifiable in these areas due to the high concentrations of inorganic phosphates indicative of a variety of human activities.

The historic use of manure as fertilizer can be identified through an overall increase in the inorganic phosphate content of field areas. The use of manure on agricultural fields can cover settlement phosphate patterns only when the organic phosphates have already transformed into inorganic phosphates in levels greater than those of settlement. The use of lime-based fertilizer does not greatly affect the ability to recognize archaeological sites. The use of inorganic phosphate-based fertilizers, however, erases most chances of identifying archaeological sites. Inorganic phosphate based fertilizers rely on loosely bonded inorganic phosphates from mineral sources for increased plant up-take of the nutrient. It is very difficult to differentiate between loosely bonded inorganic phosphates from organic and mineral source without the use of a chemical laboratory and equipment. Inorganic phosphate based fertilizers are not effective in increasing plant out-put because most inorganic phosphates are not

available for plant up-take. This type of fertilizer was produced briefly in the 19th century. No signs visible of modern agriculture are present in the areas where phosphate analysis was undertaken at French Azilum.

Summary

This is a very simplified outline of the complex, and not well understood, processes of phosphates acting in a soil system. The exact form of phosphates extracted by each method is uncertain; therefore, it is important to state which extraction is used. In archaeology, portable field test methods for measuring phosphate levels have been used to successfully identify site locations (Eidt 1973), boundaries (Bjelajac *et al.* 1996), and on-site use-of-space patterns (Terry *et al.* 2000, Parnell *et al.* 2002). Inter-site comparisons of phosphate levels are completely inappropriate. Inter-site phosphate content comparison should be limited to sites of similar purpose and period because the resultant patterns from phosphate analysis are not correlative with specific archaeological features. Even then, only phosphate patterning that has been confirmed by archaeological excavation in several separate instances may be hypothetically projected onto related sites (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 305).

Methodology

Portable phosphate analysis techniques were developed to allow for the quick determination of phosphate levels to prospect for archaeological sites and map human activity areas (Schwartz 1967; Eidt 1973; Overstreet 1974). The method is used to facilitate the planning of excavation and create use-of-space models. The tests are not quantitative and rarely reproducible; the reading of the results relies greatly on the individual performing the test, and different results can be obtained when others examine the same sample set (Holliday and Gartner 2007: 313). The ratios will

remain the same even if different numbers are assigned to the phosphate readings, therefore a relative value can be obtained.

The Eidt and Wood phosphate method (Eidt and Wood 1974) uses hydrochloric acid (HCl) to target loosely bonded inorganic phosphates. These phosphates are usually bonded with iron, aluminum and with calcium when derived from bone. Loosely bonded inorganic phosphates are extracted through the use of a strong acid (HCl) in a relatively diluted state. Once phosphates are broken from the natural receptors they bond to the chemical receptors in the first reagent (Reagent A). Ammonium molybdate is used because phosphates bond easily to its surface and an identifiable blue color appears when the complex is treated with ascorbic acid (Reagent B), rendering the phosphate content visible.

Reagent A is made by adding 30 mL of 5 normal hydrochloric acid (5N HCL) to a solution of 50 mg of ammonium molybdate dissolved in 100 ml of distilled water. Reagent B is made by dissolving 5 g of ascorbic acid in 100 ml of distilled water. To perform the test 50 mg of soil is placed in the center of a small round of filter paper and treated with two drops of Reagent A, followed by 2 drops of Reagent B exactly 30 seconds later. Final results are all taken two minutes after Reagent B is introduced. The test is a measurement of the level of loosely bonded inorganic phosphates that can be extracted by the 5N HCl and bonded with the ammonium molybdate by recording the visible aspects of the reaction.

Eidt and Wood (1974) classify the resultant stain from portable field methods into six levels of phosphate content based on four factors of the visible reaction between the soil sample and the two reagents. 'Resultant color', 'length of lines radiating from the sample' and 'percentage of ring preset' around the sample are all measured after 2 minutes. The 'time it takes for the color blue to appear' is also recorded. Natural levels differ between sites, but are generally approximately 1.5 on a scale of 1-6. Levels of 1-2 can identify areas where no human activities were

increasing the phosphate levels (Eidt and Wood 1974: 44). This can include areas that were consciously being kept clear of organic debris and areas not altered by human activity. Levels of 3-4 can indicate garden areas, low impact craft areas that produce some vegetal debris, or areas that had limited access, such as military or religious features (*ibid.*). Occupation generates levels of 4.5 or above; midden areas are generally level 5 or higher (Prøsch-Danelsen and Simonsen 1988: 88). The lower levels can become blurred in soils with parent materials high in mineral phosphate aggregates, but levels high enough to indicate occupation will still be visible.

Several studies have been performed comparing different portable spot test methods Bjeljac *et al.* (1996) found that a smaller percentage of total soil phosphorus is extracted with the Eidt and Wood (1974) method. The resultant patterns, however, were still identifiable and were found to accurately represent archaeological features and/or use-of-space patterning 97% of the time (Bjeljac *et al.* 1996: 246). James (1999) determined that natural factors influenced the readability of phosphate patterns in the bottom 41% of phosphate content, but that the top 59% of increased phosphate content was a result of past human activity (*ibid.*: 1280). As part of my Master's degree I created a modified version of the Eidt and Wood phosphate level classification chart, which broke the levels down farther for increased definition (Ullrich 2007: 103).

Several studies have compared the use of portable field test methods with photometrically determined laboratory procedures in many parts of the world (Smyth *et al.* 1995, Hamond 1983). The results of these test showed that the parts per million (ppm) measurable content of the samples increased as the spot test procedure results increased. The samples that showed higher levels in the spot test results also showed higher levels in the laboratory procedures. The phosphate content in the ppm results closely mirrored the spot test results in all samples. The laboratory procedure may be

able to extract a higher percentage of anthropogenic phosphates, but both tests have the ability to detect relevant phosphate patterning.

At the site of French Azilum it is safe to suggest that phosphates extracted using the Eidt and Wood spot test method are an accurate representation of the anthropogenic phosphate status of the soil associated with use of the site during the French period (1793-1803). This is possible because of the approximate 200-year mineralization rate at this site, which corresponds to the initial intensive phase of use of the site. Phosphates deposited before this phase will be detectable, but have likely been overlain by the more intensive settlement in the initial French phases. Organic phosphates deposited after use of the site in the 1790s and early 1800s will not yet be fully mineralized. Later patterning of organic phosphates will only be visible in areas of very low phosphate deposition during the French period. Phosphates derived from bone exist in inorganic form and take less than 50 years to become fixed to the soil matrix. Phosphates derived from bone from any period of use of the site will be detected with the Eidt and Wood spot test. It is unlikely, however, that a great amount of bone was deposited in the tested area after the large-scale French settlement.

Phosphate analyses are most useful when conducted on a grid system with samples taken from the topsoil, approximately 20 cm below the surface, or directly from occupation layers. The grid interval is determined by the nature of the site in question and the purpose of the analysis. An interval around 10-15 meters can be used for site prospection analyses, while an interval of 1 meter is often used for smaller scale use-of-space analyses. An interval between 6 and 3 meters is acceptable for a rough determination of activity areas. Phosphate analyses are performed at three different scales. Large-scale projects focus on site identification across the landscape (Orser 1996). Mid-scale projects are conducted on the homestead scale, and aim to identify outbuilding and the use of yard-space (Parnell *et al.* 2002). Small-scale projects focus on individual floor surfaces (Macphial *et al.* 2004). In this study, a 20-

foot by 200-foot area in the yard area of the LaPorte House was tested at a 5-foot interval. An approximate 35-foot by 40-foot area, with a 30-foot single like extension, in the area of the modern parking lot was also tested at a 5-foot interval. This interval was chosen to obtain detailed results from the house exterior and 'yard' areas, and to locate possible structures. All samples were retrieved from 20 centimeters below the soil surface. The majority of the samples were tested under controlled conditions, several samples were tested in the field for a quick determination of the phosphate status of each soil sample.

Several terms are used below to describe the identified phosphate patterning. A phosphate 'zone' or 'zone of use' is an area that exhibits similar or associated phosphate patterns. Isolated areas with similar forms of patterning are identified as 'zones'. A 'base-level' is the most widespread phosphate level in a particular zone. A 'base-level' does not always cover the most area within a zone, is not an isolated concentration of phosphate content and is the phosphate concentration that is most widely dispersed within a zone. The term 'clean' is used here to identify areas that do not indicate use of the area for specific activities or that indicate habitual human movement through the area. The term 'cleared' is used to identify areas where human activity is evident, but that were kept clear of organic debris to facilitate the function of the area. The term 'dirty' is used to identify areas that were not cleared of generated organic debris or areas where organic debris was consciously deposited. The term 'fall-off' is used to identify a shift from relatively high to relatively low phosphate content. "Fall-off" patterning can be a function of a decrease in the dispersal of organic material through human movement, or of a conscious effort to contain organic debris.

Phosphate Patterning Results

LaPorte Yard grid

The LaPorte House yard area grid covers a 20-foot wide swath of land extending 200 feet northwest from the side-yard area of the house, encompassing the exposed foundation of a slave's cabin and terminating at a modern stonewall.

Phosphate patterning over this area shows several distinct zones of use. A variety of intensities of use are represented, and likely demarcating different modes of use of the identified zones. Each zone is discussed separately below, and then compared to create a use-of-space model for the entire grid-area.

Zone 1

Phosphate concentrations in this area reach levels indicative of human activity but do not suggest intensive use, which would have produced a great deal of organic debris. The low phosphate levels present along the edge of the study area suggests a fall-off in the intensity of human activity. The boundary between phosphate concentrations of Level 2 and Level 3 is not defined enough to suggest the presence of a physical, structural boundary. It is more likely that this patterning is indicative of a gradual lessening of human movement surrounding areas of more intensive human activity (Zones 2, 3, 4, 5).

Zone 2

The presence of several different levels of phosphate concentration in close proximity is generally indicative of an indoor, or specific activity, area. It is possible to suggest the presence of an archaeological feature in this area due to the presence of the smaller varied concentrations in a rectangular area of base-level 3 that protrudes into the area of base-level 4. The patterning here consists of a small Level 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 concentrations in an area located between a larger area of Level 3 and Level 4.

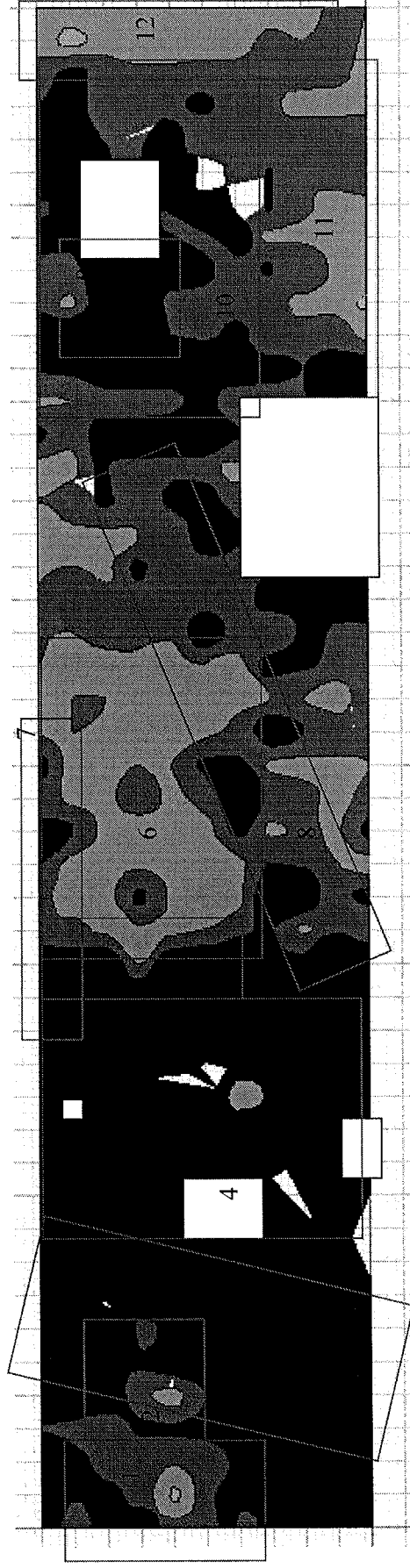


Figure 1
Phosphate patterning map
of the LaPorte Yard grid

A change in base-level can be an indication of a boundary between different levels of human activity, or modes of land-use. The rectangular ingress of Level 3 base-level into the area of Level 4 base-level with a variety of phosphate concentrations indicates the presence of a feature that influenced the use-of-space in this area, and thus the deposition of organic debris. The Level 5 concentration included in this zone is likely representative of the collection of organic debris on the exterior of this feature

Zone 3

The presence of Level 5 concentrations in linear form suggests the collection of organic debris along a wall, or similar structure. This boundary is likely a constructed boundary due to the occurrence of a series of relatively high phosphate concentrations in an area where the base-level is also relatively high. If this boundary did not manifest physically, in the form of a wall or other feature, it would be visible as wider and less closely related shifts in phosphate concentration (as seen in Zone 1). This feature is located in a boundary area between Level 3 and Level 4 base-levels. This change further corroborates Zone 3 as a boundary area between levels of human activity, and modes of land-use.

Zone 4

The patterning in this area consists of two larger areas of slightly lower phosphate content, completely surrounded by higher levels, and two smaller areas of variation in phosphate content (Level 2 and Level 4). Zone 4 has a base-level of 4. The smaller concentrations of Level 2 and Level 4 are located in the boundary area between base-level 3 and base-level 4. This patterning suggests the presence of a structure, or specific activity area, that dictated the deposition of organic debris in specific ways. Features on the ground surface were likely present in the areas of

slightly depressed phosphate content, which would have inhibited the deposition of organic material with a higher phosphate content generated through use of the identified structure. A line of four post-holes and a single post-hole on the southern perpendicular, forming a corner, were found in this area through excavation. The post-holes are located in the boundary area between the larger Level 3 concentrations and the Level 4 base-level concentrations. This fits well with the abovementioned scenario where material was stacked near, or even against, the feature. Excavation of this area has disturbed the area directly beside the post-holes. As a results, it is impossible to determine if organic debris collected directly along either side of the identified feature.

Zone 5

The linear ‘fall-off’ formation of phosphate patterning in this area suggests a shift in modes of land-use and intensity of human activity. The close proximity of relatively high and relatively low levels of phosphate content in this formation suggests this was a physical boundary. It is likely that it was not a complete wall, but similar to a small natural or man-made partition because the pattern does not continue along the entire base-level boundary. It is also possible that this boundary was not marked by the presence of a feature, but in this scenario the area would have been fastidiously maintained to stop the spread of phosphate-rich material into the ‘clean’ or ‘cleared’ area.

Zone 6

This zone consists of a large are of relatively low phosphate content, only interrupted by several small areas of slightly increased phosphate content. This was likely a low traffic area, and thus negligible amounts of organic debris were introduced into the soil system. The low phosphate content could also be associated

with the removal of phosphates from the soil through the presence of a garden or planted area that was not well fertilized.

Zone 7

Isolated increases along the northern edge of the study area may be associated with use of the roadway identified through excavation. Small isolated increases in phosphate concentration that form a liner pattern are generally associated with the presence of a path or roadway due to the collection of organic debris along frequently traveled areas. The organic debris is a result of the causal deposition of garbage along cleared paths and roadways as they are used. This roadway may define the edge of Zone 6. The patterning is incomplete because it is located on the western edge of the study area.

Zone 8

Similar to Zone 7, Zone 8 is comprised of a line of isolated phosphate increases, which is indicative of the presence of a path. This pattern stretches between the exposed slave's cabin and the eastern boundary of Zone 4, which is one of the identified activity areas. The path may continue beyond the study area. It is also possible that the path terminated at the beginning of Zone 4 based on the presence of entryway patterning associated with the pathway patterning in this area.

Zone 9

The area to the south of the exposed slave's cabin shows a great, and widely dispersed, increase in phosphate content. There is evidence in the written records of a foundation-less structure appended onto the exposed slave's cabin. The phosphate patterning in Zone 9 supports this; organic material would fall through the wooden

floorboards and decompose on the soil surface, causing the increase in phosphate content.

Zone 10

The area directly surrounding the exposed slave's cabin shows a general increase to a base-level of 3, with greater increases along the western edge of the study area. The manner in which this patterning is associated with the stone structure is unclear due to the excavation of the foundation. The records do not intimate the boundary of the excavated area. An entryway to the foundation is evident in the patterning along the southeastern edge of the cabin. Stairs leading down to the basement area are located in this area. The presence of an entryway manifests in phosphate patterning through the presence of a decrease in phosphate content within the physical entryway, and increases in phosphate content on either side. This occurs because entryways are kept clear of debris to facilitate access, while discarded and displaced organic material collected against either side of the entryway.

Zone 11

This area shows a general lessening of habitual use through a decrease of base-level phosphate content. It is likely that the decreased phosphate content in this area is a function of a lack of intensive use of the area, rather than clearing of the area. This may signify a shift to 'off-site' areas.

Zone 12

This linear formation of relatively low phosphate content is associated with the presence of a modern fieldwall. It is possible that the soils associated with anthropogenic phosphates in this area were removed during construction of the wall. It is also possible, although less likely, that the modern wall follows the line of a pre-

existing fieldwall that demarcated the limit of the yard area surrounding the slave's cabin.

Use-of-Space Model

The phosphate patterning in this study area shows a highly utilized and strictly organized landscape. This is evident in the presence of high phosphate concentrations over large areas of the site, the juxtaposition of high and low phosphate readings and the character of the boundaries between phosphate base-levels. Phosphate concentrations in the study area reach Levels 5 and 6 in the most intensively used areas of the grid. These levels are high enough to indicate intensive and/or long-term settlement. The close proximity of small relatively high and relatively low phosphate concentrations are indicative of interior and/or specific exterior areas used for sleeping, craft working, food preparation/storage/consumption or other strictly defined activities. The identifiable boundaries within this study area are diagnostic because they are very linear and clearly defined. Several of the boundaries show a shift in phosphate content greater than one or two phosphate levels. This is an indication of a boundary that was clearly demarcated and strictly maintained on the ground surface.

The largest area of phosphate increase is comprised of Zones 3 and 4. Phosphate patterning indicates the presence of a structure with an associated yard area, bounded to the south by a wall or fence against which organic matter collected and identified to the north by a clearly defined change in land-use. The southern boundary was probably more like a fence than a wall because there is no great decrease in phosphate content in the core of the patterning. The lack of a clearly defined midden in the yard area suggests that organic debris generated through use of the structure may have been deposited along the southern boundary rather than in a nucleated

midden. The increase in the size of the highest phosphate concentrations towards the east, away from the structure and the road, is a further indication of this trend.

The identified post-holes are bounded to the north by the patterning that is most indicative of an interior area. The corner of the identified post-holes, however, extends to the south. It is possible that the larger area of slightly-decreased phosphate content directly associated with the post-holes is indicative of the interior area of the post-hole-built structure. If the identified corner in the post-hole complex is indicative of a joint of an exterior fence, then the corner area would show higher levels of phosphate content rather than lower. The area of relatively low and relatively high phosphate concentrations located in an area with a slightly depressed base-level suggests the presence of a feature more clearly than the area surrounding the post-holes. The location of the post-holes suggests that the area of phosphate differentiation could have been an exterior activity area.

The yard area surrounding the structure(s) exhibits relatively high phosphate levels for a yard area, which indicates the yard was not kept clear of organic debris. The larger isolated concentrations of Level 3 may indicate areas that were used to stack material, such as wood. It is possible the structure was not always used as a dwelling, which would account for the 'messy' yard area. In this scenario, the majority of the phosphates present in the yard area would therefore be an indication of the second use of the structure(s). Phosphate patterning excludes the possibility of use of this area as an animal pen and surrounding fenced yard. If the area was used to pen animals phosphate content would be higher within the structure(s) and surrounding the identified post-holes than in the yard area. At this site phosphate content is lower in those areas. Therefore, it is more likely that the subsequent function of the structure was associated with storage or use as an outbuilding, not with the housing of livestock.

Phosphate levels to the south of the fence (Zone 1) displays a gradual lessening of the intensity of activity. This seems to be a natural function of the trampling of

debris through the yard and along the line of the fence. This is an indication that, while land-use between the two areas is different, they were much traversed. This caused the scatter of phosphate-rich debris from the yard area. There is no break in Zone 3 patterning that is immediately indicative of an access way between Zones 1 and 4. It is possible that the feature identified in Zone 2 is associated with use of the area as a gateway, and the area was traversed through this gate.

The second large area of increased phosphate content consists of Zones 9 and 10, which includes the area of the exposed slave's cabin and the land directly south of the structure. It is evident that the land to the south of the identified stone foundation of the slave's cabin was the location of a foundation-less structure appended onto the known cabin, based on the phosphate patterning and the written record. Use of the stone steps leading into the exposed foundation is visible in the phosphate patterning. The patterning shows that the entryway was used with regularity. The continuation of increased phosphate levels in Zone 9 west from the area of the foundation-less structure suggests that the entryway to the structure may have been located on that side of the structure. This is corroborated by the correlation of similar increases in phosphate content on the same side of the stone foundation. The area of relatively high phosphate content associated with the entrance to the structure on the stone foundation is more detached from the stone foundation structure as a result of the previous excavation.

The phosphate increase associated with the slave's quarters is organized differently than the increase surrounding the possible structure(s) in Zones 3 and 4. The yard of the slave's quarters was kept very clean, and all organic debris was well contained; the yard surrounding the other structure(s) and associated organic debris was not. There is no evidence of midden-level phosphate concentrations in the area of the slave quarters. It is possible that organic debris from the quarters was deposited in an area outside of the study area, in an area disturbed by more modern construction or

that the organic debris was deliberately moved away from the structure. The down slope area east of the structure shows a decrease in phosphate content. The organic debris generated through use of the slave's quarters was relatively contained, and did not get scattered down the eastern slope. This indicates that the down-slope area was probably not used with any great regularity in association with the slave's quarters, and that no paths were located in this area.

The use of the largest cleared area of the site is unclear, due to several questions raised by comparison of the phosphate and archaeological record. A road was uncovered through excavation in Zone 4 that was not visible in the phosphate patterning. Phosphate patterning in Zone 7, however, is indicative of a roadway. The question lies in whether the road ran directly to the east or west of Zone 7. If the roadway post-dates use of the structure(s) and yard in Zones 3 and 4, then the road is not detectable in this area because the earlier phosphate levels are high enough to render the later deposition of organic debris along the road invisible. In this scenario the slight increases in phosphate content in Zone 6 are a result of use of the road, and manifest as low results because not as much of the phosphates have mineralized as phosphates associated with earlier uses of the site. If the road was present when the structure(s) in Zone 4 were used, then the road would manifest as a linear decrease in phosphate content, which is not present. In this scenario, the area of relatively low phosphate content in Zone 6 is the manifestation of a low traffic area in the initial period, but use of the area as a roadway afterwards.

A path (Zone 8) is evident leading from the slave's quarters and passing east beside the area of relatively low phosphate content. This path is not identifiable once it enters, or passes, Zone 4. The most southern identifiable portion of the path is located to the east of the most distinct 'feature' patterning in Zone 4. It is possible that the increase in base-level phosphate content in Zone 4 renders the path-patterning invisible. The last visible markers of the path near Zone 4 take the form of entryway

patterning. This entryway patterning is present where the base-level shifts from Level 2 to Level 3. A base-level of 2 is indicative of an area that was not used intensively; a base-level of 3 is indicative of an area where moderate human activity, with some clearing of organic debris, took place.

The identification of the southern terminus of the pathway as an entryway in line with the Zone 5 ‘fall-off’ patterning suggests that there was a small physical boundary leading west from the entrance. The eastern portion of the segregated yard area of Zone 4 may therefore have been considered the ‘front’ and kept more clear of organic debris than the ‘backyard’ areas. The area of greatest phosphate differentiation in Zone 4 leads from the entryway patterning at the end of the path to the post-hole complex. It is possible that this possible activity area is more indicative of a path that was used more intensively than the longer path (Zone 8). In this scenario the entryway into the suggested structure would have been located in the eastern wall, which fits well with the identified phosphate patterning. This allows for the possibility that Zone 4 was an enclosed yard that was kept cleaner in the front than the back, and the front (eastern edge) of which was connected to the front (western wall) of the slave’s quarters through use of the path.

Parking Lot grid

The parking lot grid encompasses 240 square feet in an area currently used as a parking lot for use of the site as a historic attraction. The study area is bounded on the north and west by a row of fir trees and on the east by an access road. The southern edge of the study area is an arbitrary distinction. The grid area was chosen because written records intimate this area was the site of an early house, the foundation of which was later used as a barn. A larger barn was later built in this area, and is visible in aerial photos as late as 1939. It is unclear how long the structure functioned as a house, when the function changed to that of a barn, how long the structure was used as

such and when the larger barn was constructed. These factors influence the interpretation of the phosphate patterning in this study area because of the on-site mineralization rate. The phosphate content of the parking lot grid will be discussed in 'patterns' rather than 'zones' because the study area is so small, the zones are interconnected and the mineralization rate may be effecting patterning.

Pattern 1

This is a classic entryway pattern, consisting of an area of relatively low phosphate content (Level 1) flanked on either side by an area of relatively high phosphate content (Level 4). This entryway patterning may represent the entrance of a building or an entryway to a yard area, possibly fenced.

Pattern 2

Pattern 2 consists of a line of relatively low phosphate levels terminating in a relatively high phosphate concentration at the southern end. This pattern is seen twice in the study area, parallel to each other. The eastern line of relatively low phosphate levels corresponds with a line of stones barely visible on the ground surface. This suggests that the lines of decreased phosphate content are indicative of two parallel stonewalls. In both cases, the line of relatively low phosphate content is bounded on the 'interior' of the study area by a line of increased phosphate content (Level 2 and Level 3). This increase suggests that some organic debris was collecting against the stonewalls. The 'exterior' edges of the stonewalls lie outside of the study area. It is unclear why the relatively high concentrations of phosphate content on the southern end of these lines wrap around the lower concentrations. This patterning is significant because it is unusual, because it occurs twice in the study area and because it occurs in parallel.

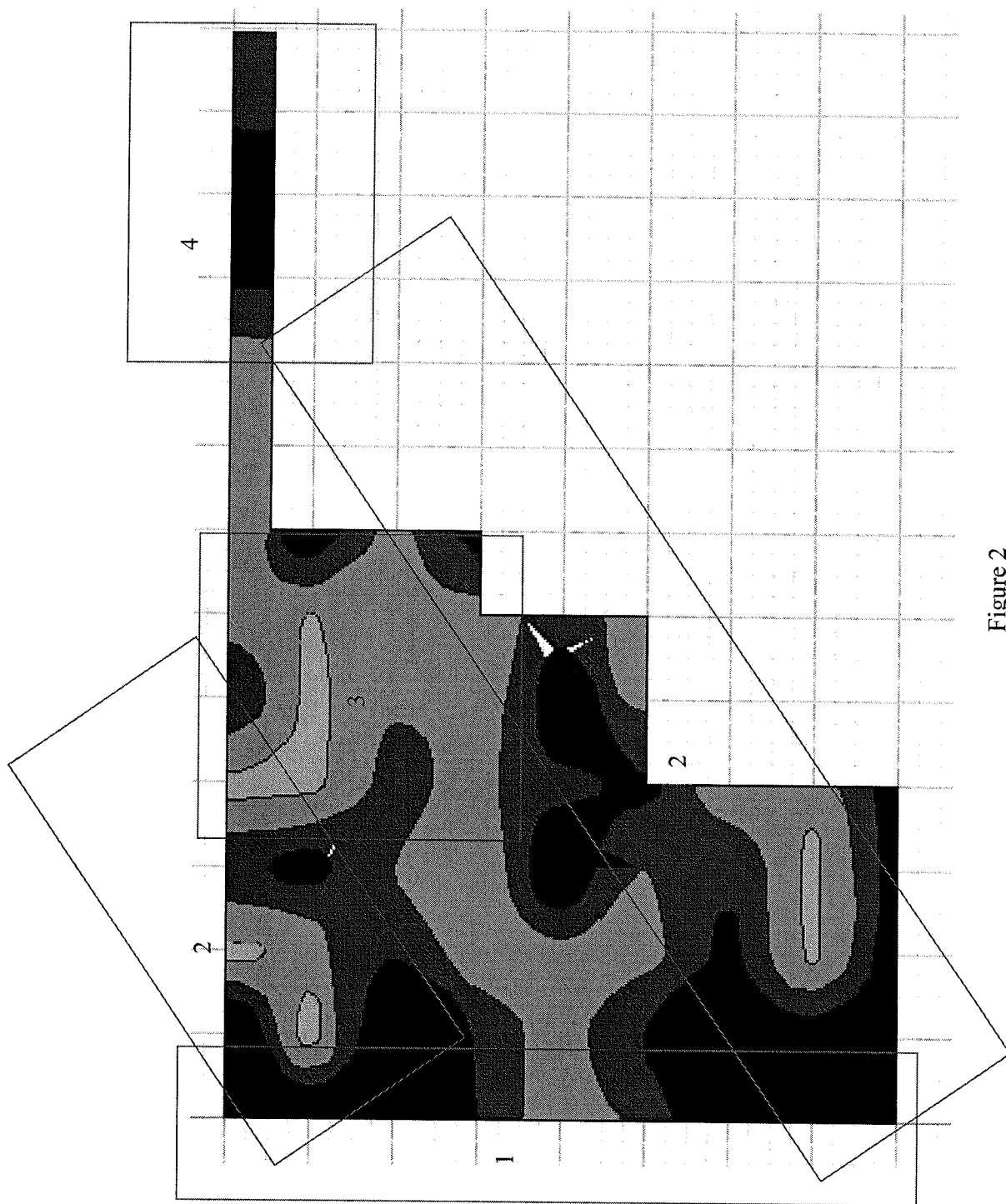


Figure 2
Phosphate patterning map
of the parking lot grid

Pattern 3

The line of increased phosphate content associated with the western line of Pattern 2 is interrupted by Pattern 3, which consists of a rectangular area of relatively low phosphate content. This area of relatively low phosphate content, with small areas of elevated phosphate content on all sides, suggests the presence of a small feature or cleared area. There is a break in the elevated phosphate concentrations, suggesting an entryway on the southeastern side of the possible feature.

Pattern 4

Pattern 4 is removed from the rest of the study area. This area was tested to gain a better understanding of the phosphate patterning in the area where the fir trees are located, and therefore was not tested at length. This area shows an increase in phosphate content that follows the same trajectory as the eastern line of phosphate increase in Pattern 2. Pattern 4 may be a continuation of this line, may be a separate concentration associated with use of the possible feature (Pattern 3) or may indicate an area exterior to the larger structure.

Use-of-Space Model

Phosphate patterning in the parking lot grid suggests that construction of the larger barn, which occurred after the presence of a house/small barn on the site, eradicated the patterning associated with earlier phases of use of the site. This did not occur through the overlaying of higher phosphate levels, but through the removal of soil for the construction of the foundation for the larger barn. Phosphate levels in this area do not correspond to the deposition of organic debris generated from use of a barn; animal waste is the highest contributor to soil phosphate levels. It is possible that current phosphate levels do not reach levels indicative of barnyard areas because full

mineralization has not yet occurred. It is possible that a small portion of the phosphates generated through use of the barn have mineralized but that the majority of the phosphates have not. This may be resulting in the ability to detect phosphate patterning associated with use of the larger barn, but the occurrence of loosely bonded inorganic phosphates at lower levels than is expected for barnyard areas.

In this scenario, both occurrences of Pattern 2 indicate the location of walls of the structure and Pattern 1 indicates an entrance of the structure. Pattern 3 may indicate that section of the western interior wall was utilized differently than the eastern wall, possibly as a small storage area for equipment or bedding material. Pattern 4 shows that this structure did not extend past the line of fir trees, and likely terminated at the interface between the base-level 2 and base-level 3. The size and orientation of this phosphate footprint match those of the barn visible on the 1939 aerial photographs of the site.

The only inconsistency in this interpretation of the site is the relatively high phosphate content in the areas flanking the entryway. If the interior areas of the barn do not exhibit phosphate levels comparable to the phosphate levels associated on the exterior of the entryway, then the interior of the barn was paved, bedded with straw and/or post-dates deposition of the exterior phosphates. A paved floor limits the amount of phosphates that become fixed to soil particles by lessening direct soil-organic matter content and by facilitating for the removal of organic debris before full fixation can take place. The use of bedding material, such as straw, fulfills the same function, except that the bedding material is removed with the organic material. If the large barn post-dates an earlier function of the site, then the relatively high phosphate levels located on the

exterior edge of the entryway could be fully mineralized and associated with the earlier function of the site.

The areas of highest phosphate content in this area, however, are closely tied to the identified lower phosphate patterns in the area. The entryway (Pattern 1) and wall areas (Pattern 2) would not visibly continued into the areas of relatively high phosphate content if those highs were in no way associated with use of the larger barn. This suggests that the larger barn may have been constructed in the footprint of an older structure or yard area. In this scenario, the eastern and western (stone) walls of the larger barn structure may correspond to the exterior (possible fenced) limits of a yard area associated with a smaller structure. This possible smaller structure may have been located in the area of Pattern 3, where the largest area of relatively low phosphate levels was identified. It is, however, impossible to tell for sure because phosphate patterning associated with use of this area as a yard and structure were most likely disturbed at the time of construction of the larger barn. The only visible phosphate patterning likely associated with the initial phases of use is the relatively high concentrations identified on the exterior of the larger barn. This includes the areas on either side of the entryway and the narrow extension of the study area.

Summary

At French Azilum phosphate analysis was able to identify several areas where human agency has altered the phosphate status of the soil, and to generate possible modes of use for the site. Phosphate analysis is useful as an archaeological site and/or feature location technique, but its value is magnified through application to use-of-space studies within identified sites. Phosphate analysis can be used to identify and interpret “clean”

and “dirty activity areas (Matthews *et al.* 1997: 293), including sleeping areas (Terry *et al.* 2004: 1243), food consumption/production/storage areas (Sanchez *et al.* 1999: 56), areas where refuse was deposited (Crowther 1998: 118) and some craft areas (Eidt and Wood 1974: 44). Phosphate analysis can also be used to interpret less archaeologically tangible components of use-of-space such as the placement of entryways (Yerkes *et al.* 2002: 865) and pathways (Parnell *et al.* 2002: 336), which can help interpret how people were creating and using their own landscape(s). Phosphate analysis is a valuable source of information in this regard, because in many cases these features cannot be identified through conventional archaeological excavation. In this manner, phosphate analysis can aid in the archaeological interpretation of French Azilum on the large and small scale.

Bibliography

- Arrenius, O., 1929. Die phosphatmethode I & II. *Zeitschrift für Pflanzenernährung, Düngung und Bodenkunde, Teil A* 14:120-140, 185-194
- Bethell P. and I. Máté, 1989. The Use of Soil Phosphate Analysis in Archaeology; A critique. In *Scientific Analysis in Archaeology and its Interpretation*, edited by J. Henderson: 1-29. U.C.L.A. Institute of Archaeology: Los Angeles
- Bjelajac, V., E. Lubby and R. Ray, 1996. A Validation Test of a Field-based Phosphate Analysis Technique. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 23(2): 243-248
- Brady, N.C., 1974. *The Nature and Properties of Soils*. 8th ed. Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.: New York
- Craddock, P., D. Gurney, F. Pryor and M. Hughes, 1985. The Application of Phosphate Analysis on the Location and Interpretation of Archaeological Sites. *The Archaeological Journal, The Royal Archaeological Institute* 142: 361-376
- Crowther, J.,
1996. Phosphate Migration Around Buried Bone. In *The Experimental Earthwork Project 1960-1992 (CBA Report 100)*, edited by M.G. Bell, P.J. Fowler and S.W. Hilson: 195-198. Council for British Archaeology Research: London
1998. Laboratory Reports on Soil Samples. In *Llawhaden, Dyfend: excavations on a group of small defended enclosures, 1980-4*, edited by K. Blockley: 118-120. BAR British Series 275. Archaeopress: Oxford
- Daly, K. and D. Styles, 2000. Eutrophication from Agricultural Sources

- Phosphorus Chemistry of Mineral and Peat Soils. *Environmental Research Technical Development and Innovation Programme 2000-2006, prepared for the Environmental protection Agency*. Teagasc: Wexford
- Delgado, A. and R. Scalenghe, 2008. Aspects of Phosphorus Transfer from Soils in Europe. *Journal of Plant Nutrition and Soil Science* 171(4): 552-575
- Demaria, P., R. Flisch, E. Frossard and S. Sinaj, 1990. Exchangeability of Phosphate Extracted by 4 Chemical Methods. *Journal of Plant Nutrition and Soil Sciences* 168: 89-93
- Eidt, R. C. and W. I. Woods, 1974. *Abandoned Settlement Analysis Theory and Practice*. Field Test Association: Wisconsin
- Eidt, R.C.,
1973. A Rapid Chemical Field Test for Archaeological Site Surveying. *American Antiquity* 38: 206-210
1984. *Advances in Abandoned Settlement Analysis: application to prehistoric antrosols in Columbia, South America*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Center for Latin America: Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- Hamond, F.W., 1983. Phosphate Analysis of Archaeological Sediments. In *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland*, edited by T. Reeves-Smyth and F. W. Hamond: 47-81. BAR British Series 116, British Archaeological Review: Oxford
- Holliday, V. T. and W. G. Gartner, 2007. Methods of Soil P Analysis in Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34(2): 301-333
- James, P., 1999. Soil Variability in the Area of an Archaeological Site near Sparta, Greece. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26(10): 1273-1288
- Lillios, K.T., 1992. Phosphate Fractionations of Soils at Agroal, Portugal. *American Antiquity* 57: 495-506
- Linderholm, J., 2007. Soil Chemical Surveying: a path to a deeper understanding of prehistoric sites and societies in Sweden. *Geoarchaeology* 22(4): 417-436
- Macphail, R.I., G.M. Cruise, M.J. Allen, J. Linderholm and P. Reynolds, 2004. Archaeological Soil and Pollen Analysis of Experimental Floor Deposits; with specific reference to Butser Ancient Farm, Hampshire, UK. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31: 175- 191
- Matthews, W. 1995. Micromorphological characterization and interpretation of occupation deposits and microstratigraphic sequences at Abu Salabikh, Iraq. In *Archaeological Sediments and Soils, Analysis, Interpretation and Management*, edited by A.J. Barham and R.I. Macphail: 41-76. Archetype Books: London
- Orser, C., 1996. Can There Be an Archaeology of the Great Famine? In *'Fearful Realities': New Perspectives on the Famine*, edited by C. Morash and R. Hayes: 77-90. Irish Academic Press: Dublin
- Overstreet, D.F., 1974. A Rapid Chemical Field Test for Archaeological Surveying: an application and evaluation. *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* 55: 257-259
- Parnell, J.J., R.E. Terry and P. Sheets, 2002. Soil Chemical Analysis of Ancient Activities in Cerén, El Salvador: A Case Study of a Rapidly Abandoned Site. *Latin American Antiquity* 13(3): 331-342
- Prøsch-Danielsen, L. and A. Somonsen, 1988. Principle Components Analysis of

- Pollen, Charcoal and Soil Phosphate data as a tool in Prehistoric Land-use Investigation at Forsandmoen, Southwest Norway. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 21(2): 85-102
- Proudfoot, B., 1976. The Analysis and Interpretation of Soil Phosphorus in Archaeological Contexts. In *Geoarchaeology, Earth Science and the Past*, edited by D.A. Davidson and M.L. Shakley: 93-113. Duckworth: London
- Russell, E., 1957. *The World of the Soil*. Collins: London
- Sanchez-Viscasno, A. and M. L. Caabate, 1999. Identification of Activity Areas by Soil Phosphorus and Organic Matter Analysis in a 4th century BC Iberian Sanctuary "Cerro El Pajarillo." *Geoarchaeology* 14(1): 47-62
- Schwartz, G.T., 1967. A Simplified Chemical Test for Archaeological Field Work. *Archaeometry* 10: 57-63
- Smyth, M.P., C.D. Dore and N.P. Dunning, 1995. Interpreting Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: lessons from the Maya center of Sayil Yucatan. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 22(3): 321-342
- Terry, R. E., F. G. Fernández, J. J. Parnell and T. Inomata, 2004. The Story in the Floors: Chemical Signatures of Ancient and Modern Mayan Activities at Aguateca, Guatemala. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31: 1237-1250
- Ullrich, J., 2007. *Practical Applications of Phosphate Analysis in Household and Abandoned Settlement Archaeology: case studies from Ireland and New York State*. MA Thesis, Faculty of the Graduate School, Cornell University: Ithaca, New York
- Weston, D., 1995. A Magnetic Susceptibility and Phosphate Analysis of a Longhouse Feature on Caer Cadwgan, near Cellan, Lampeter, Wales. *Archaeological Prospection* 2:19-27
- Wilson, C., D. Davidson and M. Cresser, 2005. An Evaluation of Multi-element Analysis of Historic Soil Contamination to Differentiate Space Use and Former Function in and around Abandoned Farms. *The Holocene* 15(7): 1094-1099
- Yerkes, R. W., A. Sarris, T. Frolking, W. A. Parkinson, A. Gyucha, M. Hardy and L. Catanoso, 2007. Geophysical and Geochemical Investigations at Two Early Copper Age Settlements in the Körös River Valley, Southeastern Hungary. *Geoarchaeology* 22(8): 845-868
- Zibilske, L.M. and J.M. Bradford, 2003. Tillage Effects on Phosphorus Mineralization and Microbial Activity. *Soil Science* 168(10): 677-685

Bibliography

- Agorsah, E. Kofi. "Archaeology and Resistance in the Caribbean", in *The African Archaeological Review* 11: 175-195. 1993.
- Agorsah, E. Kofi. "Archaeology of Maroon Settlements in Jamaica," in Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives. Edited by Kofi Agorsah. Canoe Press. Kingston, 1994.
- Agorsah, E. Kofi. *Jamaica's Freedom Fighters*. Maroon Heritage Research Project, Seaman's Valley Excavation 1995: Preliminary Report. 1995.
- Agorsah, E. Kofi. "Ethnoarchaeological Consideration of Social Relationship and Settlement Patterning Among Africans in the Caribbean Diaspora," in African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean. Edited by Jay B. Haviser, : Marcus Wiener Publishers. Princeton, 1999.
- Allen, Rodney. Threshold of Terror: The Last Hours of the Monarchy in the French Revolution. Sutton Publishing. Phoenix Mill, UK, 1999.
- Alliott, Paul. Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States, 1785-1807: Social, Economic and Political Conditions of the Territory Represented in the Louisiana Purchase. Nabu Press. 2010.
- Appleby, Joyce. Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 2000.
- Armstrong, Douglas V. "Degrees of Freedom in the Caribbean: Archaeological Explorations of Transitions from Slavery. *Antiquity*: Mar 2010;84, 323.
- Armstrong, Douglas V. "Excavating African American Heritage: Toward a More Nuanced Understanding of the African Diaspora. *Historical Archaeology* 42, 2, 2008.
- Armstrong, Douglas V. The old village and the great house : an archaeological and historical examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. University of Illinois Press. Urbana, 1990.
- Armstrong, Douglas. "Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Caribbean Plantation" in "I, Too Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life. Theresa B. Singleton, ed. University of Virginia Press. Charlottesville, Va. 1999. Pages 173-192.
- Barber, Elizabeth Wayland. Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years. Women, Cloth and Society in Ancient Times. W.W. Norton & Company; New York. 1995.
- Basso, Keith H. Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache. University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, NM. 1996.

Battle-Baptiste, Whitney. Sweepin' Spirits: Power and Transformation on the Plantation Landscape from Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes. S. Baugher, S.M. Spencer-Wood (eds.) Springer Science+Business Media, 2010. On-line book.

Baxter, Jane Eva. The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender and Material Culture. Altamira Press. New York, 2005

Bourdieu, Pierre. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge and New York, 1977.

Brennan, Thomas. Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Princeton University Press; Princeton. 1988.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme. The Physiology of Taste, Or, Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy. M.F.K. Fisher, trans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2009.

Buck-Morss, Susan. "Hegel and Haiti" in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (Summer, 2000), pp. 821-865.

Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de. Buffon's Natural History of the Globe, and of Man, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects. Corrected and Enlarged by John M. Wright. Bibliobazaar, 2008.

Bujalkova, M; Straka, S; and Jureckova, A. "Hippocrates Humoral Pathology in Nowadays's Reflections" from *Bratisl Lek Listy* 2001; 102 (10): 489-492.

Burroughs, Wilbur Greeley. Geography and Stratigraphy of the Susquehanna Basin in the Towanda Region of Pennsylvania. Cornell University Press. Ithaca NY, 1932.

Byrne, Thomas and Evers, Lawrence, eds. *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779*. Chemung Co. Historical Society. Chemung, 1999.

Cable, George W. Old Creole Days. Charles Scribner's Sons; New York. 1897.

Carmer, Carl. The Susquehanna. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955.

Catalogue of the lands and stock of the Asylum Company offered for sale at the Merchants' Coffee House : in pursuance of the 21st article of association of the said company. Philadelphia : Printed by William Fry, 1819.

Casey, Edward S. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena", in Senses of Place. Steven Feld and Keith Basso, eds. School of American Research Press, Sante Fe, New Mexico. 1996.

Chapais, Thomas. Great Intendant: A Chronicle of Jean Talon In Canada 1665-1672. George M. Wrong and H.H. Langton, eds. BiblioBazaar: 2007.

Chevallier, Jim. "The Queen's Coffee and Casanova's Chocolate: The Early Modern Breakfast in France," in Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700-1900. Tamara S. Wagner and Narin Hassan, eds. Lexington Books; New York. 2007.

Child, L. Maria. Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life. Negro Universities Press, New York. 1854.

Clabber Girl Baking Powder: <http://www.clabbergirlmuseum.com/BPHistory.php>.

Cohen, William B. The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks 1530-1880. University of Indiana Press. Bloomington, Ill. 1980.

Cosgrove, Denis. Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape.

Cosgrove, Denis. "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 852-870.

Cottineau de Kerloguen, Denis. Manuscript letters. Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

Crader, Diana. "The Zooarchaeology of the Storehouse and the Dry Well at Monticello" in *American Antiquity*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul., 1984), pp. 542-558

Crader, Diana. "Slave diet at Monticello." In *American Antiquity*, 55 (4) 1990. pgs 690-717.

Craft, Rev. David. "A Day at Asylum" Read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society on November 14, 1902. Manuscript on-file at the Tioga Ppint Historical Society.

Custer, Jay F. Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission. Harrisburg PA, 1996.

De Colbert Maulevrier, Comte. Voyage Dans l'Intérieur des Etats-Unis et au Canada, 1798. The Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore. 1935.

De Puech Parham, Althéa. My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions by a Creole of Saint Domingue. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, LA. 1959.

De More, Charles-Albert. Memoires Du Comte De Moré (1788-1837) Avec Cinq Héliogravures. Alphonse Picard et Fils. Paris, 1898.

- Debien, G. Plantations et Esclaves a Saint-Domingue. Publications de la Section d'Histoire, Dakar. 1962.
- Deetz, James. Flowerdew Hundred : the archaeology of a Virginia plantation, 1619-1864. University Press of Virginia. Charlottesville, 1993.
- Deetz, James. In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life. Anchor Books/Doubleday. New York, 1996.
- Delle, James A. "The Governor and the Enslaved: An Archaeology of Colonial Modernity at Marshall's Pen, Jamaica. *International Journal of Historic Archaeology*. 2009: 13. Pp. 488-512.
- Delle, James A. "A Tale of Two Tunnels". *Journal of Social Archaeology*. 8:1. 2008-02-01.
- Delle, James. An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains. Plenum Press; New York, 1998.
- Dessens, Nathalie. Myths of the Plantation Society: Slavery in the American South and the West Indies. University Press of Florida, Gainesville; 2003.
- Dessens, Nathalie. From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences. University of Florida Press. Gainesville 2007.
- Dessens, Nathalie. "The Saint-Domingue Refugees and the Preservation of Gallic Culture in Early American New Orleans" in *French Colonial History* Vol. 8, 2007, pp 53-69. (2007a)
- Domínguez, Virginia R. "Social Classification in Creole Louisiana" from *American Ethnologist*, 1977.
- Douglas, Mary. Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo. Routledge Classics Press; New York and London. 1966.
- Dubois, Laurent. Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution. Belknap Press of Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass, 2004.
- Dunmore, John. French Explorers in the Pacific. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Dupetit-Thouars, Aristide-Aubert. Vie, Lettres, Voyages, Memoirs et Opuscules D'Aristide-Aubert Du Petit-Thouars. Paris: Chez Mm. Denta, Delaunoy, Pelicier at Petit, 1800.
- Dupetit-Thouars, Admiral Bergasse, ed. Aristide Aubert du Petit-Thouars, Heros d'Aboukir, Lettres at Documents Inedits. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1937.

Edwards, Jay D. "The Origins of Creole Architecture", in *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 29, No. 2/3. (Summer - Autumn, 1994), pp. 155-189.

Epperson, Terrence W. "Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation" From "I, Too Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life. Theresa B. Singleton, ed. University of Virginia Press. Charlottesville, Va. 1999. Pages 159-172.

Fajans, Jane. They Make Themselves: Work and Play Among the Baining of Papau New Guinea. The University of Chicago Press; Chicago and London. 1969.

Fennell, Christopher C. "Damaging Detours: Routes, Racism, and New Philadelphia". *Historical Archaeology* 44:1. 2010. Pp. 138.

Fennell, Christopher C. "Conjuring Boundaries: Inferring Past Identities from Religious Artifacts. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 4, 2000.

Ferguson, Leland G. 'The Cross is a Magic Sign' : Marks on Eighteenth-Century Bowls from South Carolina From "I, Too Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life. Theresa B. Singleton, ed. University of Virginia Press. Charlottesville, Va. 1999. Pages 116-131.

Fischer, Joseph R. A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign Against the Iroquois, July-September 1779. University of South Carolina Press. Columbia, 1997.

Fisher, MFK. An Alphabet for Gourmets. Northpoint Press: New York. 1949.

Flandrin, Jean-Louis. Arranging the Meal: A History of Table-Service in France. Julie E. Johnson, trans. University of California Press: Berkeley, 2007.

Garrigus, John D. Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue. Palgrave-Macmillan. New York. 2006.

Gauteir, Arlette. "Les familles esclaves aux Antilles françaises, 1635-1848" in *Population (French Edition)*, 55e Année, No. 6. (Nov. - Dec., 2000), pp. 975-1001.

Geertz, Clifford. The Interpretation of Cultures. Basic Books, Inc.: New York. 1973.

Geertz, Clifford. "Afterward" in Senses of Place. Steven Feld and Keith Basso, eds. School of American Research Press, Sante Fe, New Mexico. 1996.

Geggus, David. "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5. (Dec., 1989), pp. 1290-1308.

Geggus, David. "Sex Ratio, Age and Ethnicity in the Atlantic Slave Trade: Data from French Shipping and Plantation Records" in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 30, No. 1. (1989), pp. 23-44.

Geggus, David. "Unexploited Sources for the History of the Haitian Revolution" in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1. (1983), pp. 95-103.

Geggus, David P. (editor) The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World. University of South Carolina Press. Columbia, 2001.

Gitlin, Jay. Bourgeois Frontier: French Towns, French Traders, and American Expansion. Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn. 2010.

Godechot, Jacques. France and the Atlantic Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century 1770-1799. Collier Macmillan Ltd. London and New York. 1971.

Gomez, Michael A. Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London; 1998.

Graymont, Barbara. The Iroquois in the American Revolution. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse, NY, 1972.

Greene, Harlan; Hutchins, Harry S.; Hutchins, Brian E. Slave badges and the slave-hire system in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783-1865. McFarland and Co. Jefferson, NC; 2004.

Gundaker, Grey. "Tradition and Innovation in African-American Yards" in *African Arts*. April 1993: 26, 2. pp. 56-92.

Hammond, Gawain and Hammond, Norman. "Child's Play: A Distorting Factor in Archaeological Distribution" in *American Antiquity* Vol. 46, No. 3, 1981. pp. 634-636.

Handler, Jerome S. "The Middle Passage and the Material Culture of Captive Africans" in *Slavery and Abolition*. Vol. 30: 1. March 2009: 1-26.

Handler, Jerome. Plantation Slavery on Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation. IUniverse Press; Lincoln, NE. 2000.

Herskovits, Melville J. The Myth of the Negro Past. Beacon Press, Boston. 1941.

Hippocrates. On the Nature of Man. W.H.S. Jones, trans. Volume IV, Loeb Classical Library, 1931.

Hollenbeck, Mathias. Account Books and Records. On file at the Tioga Point Historical Society in Athens, NY.

Holmes, Jack D.L. "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795" in *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 11, No. 4. Pp. 341-362.

Howard, Thomas Phipps. The Haitian Journal of Lieutenant Howard, York Hussars, 1796-1798. Norman Buckley, ed. University of Tennessee Press. Knoxville, 1985.

Howat, John K. "A Young Man Impatient to Distinguish Himself": the Vîcomte de Noailles as Portrayed by Gilbert Stuart" In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Mar., 1971, vol. 29, no. 7, p. 327-337.

Hume, Ivor Noel. A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America. Vintage Books. New York, 1969.

Hunt, Alfred N. Haiti's Influence on the Antebellum South: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge and London, 1988.

Ingham, Thomas J. History of Sullivan County, Pennsylvania. Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1899.

Jordan, Mildred. Asylum for the Queen. New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1948.

Kadish, Dorius Y. "The Black Terror: Women's Responses to Slave Revolts in Haiti" in *The French Review*, Vol. 68, No. 4. (Mar., 1995), pp. 668-680.

Keber, Martha L. Seas of Gold, Seas of Cotton: Cristophe Poulain DuBignon of Jekyll Island. University of Georgia Press: Athens, GA and London. 2002.

Kent, Barry C., ed. Susquehanna's Indians. Commonwealth Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission. Harrisburg PA., 1984.

Klippel, W.E. "Sugar Monoculture, Bovid Skeletal Part Frequencies, and Stable Carbon Isotopes: Interpreting Enslaved African Diet at Brimstone Hill, St. Kitts, West Indies". In *Journal of Archaeological Science* 2001:28. pgs 1191-1198.

Knight, Franklin W. "The Haitian Revolution", in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1. (Feb., 2000), pp. 103-115.

Kozub, Andrea Zlotucha. *Let Them Eat Steak: Zooarchaeology at French Azilum*. Binghamton University Master's thesis. 2000.

La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Francois-Alexandre-Frédéric. Travels through the United States of North America [electronic resource], the country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; by the Duke de La Rochefoucault Liancourt.

With an authentic account of Lower Canada. Printed by T. Gillet, for R. Phillips; sold by T. Hurst and J. Wallis, and by Carpenter and Co., London. 1800.

La Tour du Pin, Lucy Gouvernet. Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire: From the French of the "Journal d'une Femme de Cinquante Ans By the Marquise de la Tour du Pin. Walter Geer, trans. New York: Brentano's. 1920.

Landry, Stuart, trans. Voyage to Louisiana by C.C. Robin 1803-1805. New Orleans; 1966.

Langhorne, William T., Jr. "Mill Based Settlement Patterns in Schoharie County, New York: A Regional Study", in *Historical Archaeology*, Volume 10. 1976. Pgs. 73-92.

Larkin, Jack. The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790-1840. Harper & Row; New York. 1988.

Leavitt, Genevieve. "Slaves and Tenant Farmers at Plantation", in The Archaeology of Shirley Plantation, Theodore R. Reinhart, ed. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA. 1984.

Lee, Hannah Farnham Sawyer. Memoir of Pierre Toussaint, born a slave in St. Domingo. Crosby, Nichols and Co. Boston, 1854.

Leoni, Mark, and Silas D. Hurry. "Seeing: The Power of Town Planning in the Chesapeake." *Historical Archaeology* 32(4): 34-62. 1998.

Levi-Straus, Claude. The Raw and the Cooked. New York, Harper & Row. 1969.

Levy, Philip, Mary-Cate Garden, Nicole M. Hayes, Lisa Fischer, Joanne Bowen, Donna Sawyer, and David F. Muraca. "Life at Richard Charlton's Coffee House: A Story of Archaeology, History, and Hot Drinks in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg, Virginia." Report to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, VA. 2007.

'Long-Range Plan for Development'. On file at the Laporte House, French Azilum. ND.

Mackin, Jeanne. The Frenchwoman: A Novel of the French Revolution. St. Martin's Press: New York. 1989.

Mann, Robb and Loren, Diane DiPaolo. "Keeping up Appearances: Dress, Architecture, Furniture and Status at French Azilum" in *International Journal of Historic Archaeology* 5:4. December 2001.

Matthewson, Tim. "Jefferson and Haiti" in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 61, No. 2. (May, 1995), pp. 209-248.

Matthewson, Tim. "Abraham Bishop, 'The Rights of Black Men,' and the American Reaction to the Haitian Revolution" in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 67, No. 2. (Summer, 1982), pp. 148-154.

McKee, Larry. "Food Supply and Plantation Social Order" in "I, Too Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life. Theresa B. Singleton, ed. University of Virginia Press. Charlottesville, Va. 1999. Pages 218-239.

McManus, Edgar J. Black Bondage in the North. Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, NY. 1973.

Menon. La Cuisiniere Bourgeoise, (Nouvelle Édition). Brussels: Chez François Foppens. 1774.

Miller, Melanie Randolph. Envoy to the Terror: Gouverneur Morris and the French Revolution. Potomac Books, Inc. Dulles, VA. 2005.

Mintz, Sidney. Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History. Penguin Books; New York. 1985.

Moorhead, Catherine. Dancing to the Precipice: The Life of Lucie de la Tour du Pin, Eyewitness to an Era. Harper Collins, New York. 2009.

Moreau de Saint-Mery, Mederic-Louis-Elie. A Civilization that Perished. Ivor D. Spencer, trans. University Press of America, Lanham, Md. 1985.

Moreau de Saint-Mery, Mederic-Louis-Elie. Moreau de Saint-Mery's American Journey 1793-1798. Kenneth and Anna Roberts, trans. Doubleday & Company Inc. Garden City, NY. 1947.

Murray, Elsie. Azilum: French Refugee Colony of 1793. Tioga Point Museum. Athens, Pennsylvania, 1940.

Murray, Elsie. A Frontier Trianon: The True Story of Old Azilum Village. Athens, Pa. Tioga Point Museum. 1955.

Murray, Elsie. Diary and assorted manuscript letters. On file in the LaPorte House at French Azilum.

Murray, Louise Welles. The story of some French refugees and their "Azilum," 1793-1800. Athens, Pennsylvania, 1917.

Nash, Gary B. Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840. Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Mass. 1988.

- Nash, Gary B. and Jean R. Soderlund. Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath. Oxford University Press, New York. 1991.
- Orser, Charles. "Twenty-First-Century Historical Archaeology" in the *Journal of Archaeological Research* 2010: 18: 111-150.
- Orser, Charles. *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*. University Press of Florida; Gainesville. 2007.
- Ortiz, Fernando. Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar. Duke University Press; Durham and London. 1995.
- Patterson, Orlando. Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1982.
- Penn, Gulielma. *Penn Family Recipes: Cooking Recipes of Wm. Penn's Wife, Gulielma*. Evelyn Abraham Benson, ed. George Shumway: York Pa. 1966.
- Pollan, Michael. The Botany of Desire: A Plant's-Eye View of the World. Random House; New York. 2001.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London. 2007.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery. Cambridge University Press; New York. 2010.
- Regnir, Peter. Letterbook, 1796. On file at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, DE.
- Reps, John. The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States. Princeton University Press: Princeton. 1965.
- Richter, Molly G. "Widowhood in New France: Consequences and Coping Strategies" in *French Colonial History* Vol 4, 2003. Pp 49-62.
- Roberts, J.M. The French Revolution. Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1997.
- Roberts, Julia. In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada. UBC Press: Vancouver and Toronto. 2009.
- Rockingham, Marquis of. Letter of the Marquis of Rockingham Respecting Defense against John Paul Jones, 1779. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3. (Apr., 1910), pp. 567-582.

Rorabaugh, W.J. Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition. Oxford University Press: New York. 1981.

Rouvray, M. et Mme de. Une Correspondance Familiale au Temps des Troubles de Saint-Domingue: Lettres du Marquis et de la Marquise de Rouvray a Leur Fille. Saint-Domingue –Etats-Unis (1791-1796). M.E. McIntosh and B.C. Weber, eds. Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises et Librairie Larose. Paris, 1959.

Ruhlman, Michael, and Polcyn, Brian. Charcuterie: The Craft of Salting, Smoking and Curing. WW. Norton and Company. New York: 2005.

Ryden, Kent C. Mapping the Invisible Landscape: folklore, writing and the sense of place. University of Iowa Press: Iowa City. 1993.

Sahlins, Marshall. The Western Illusion of Human Nature: With Reflections on the Long History of Hierarchy, Equality, and the Sublimation of Anarchy in the West, and on Other Conceptions of Human Nature. Prickly Paradigm Press: Cambridge, UK. 2008.

Sainte-Amand, Imbert. The Duchess of Berry and the Court of Louis XVIII to 1892. Cornell University Library: Ithaca NY. 2009.

Savannah Historical Society. Unpublished manuscript letters and articles. Cottineau and Montalet files.

Scott, James C. Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. Yale University Press: New Haven and London. 1990.

Sidbury, James. "Saint Domingue in Virginia: Ideology, Local Meanings, and Resistance to Slavery, 1790-1800" in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 63, No. 3. (Aug., 1997), pp. 531-552.

Smith, Frederick H. Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History. University of Florida Press: Gainesville. 2005.

Smith, Frederick H. The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking. University of Florida Press: Gainesville. 2008.

Smith, S.R. The Story of Wyoming Valley. Privately published. Kingston, Pa, 1906.

Spaeth, Catherine. "America in the French Imagination: The French Settlers of Asylum, Pennsylvania, and their Perceptions of 1790s America." In *Canadian Review of American Studies/Revue canadiennes d'études américaines* vol.38:2. 208.

Stedman, John Gabriel. Stedman's Surinam: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Slave Society. An Abridged, Modernized Edition of Narrative of Five Years Expedition

Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam. Richard and Sally Price, eds. Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore. 1992.

Stein, Robert Louis. The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA and London. 1988.

Stewart, Charles, ed. Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory. Left Coast Press, Inc. Walnut Creek, CA. 2007.

Stinchcombe, William. "The Diplomacy of the WXYZ Affair" in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 34, No. 4, (Oct., 1977), pp. 590-617

Thomas, Brian W. "Inclusion and Exclusion in the Moravian Settlement in North Carolina, 1770-1779." In *Historical Archaeology* vol 28:3. 1994, pgs 15-29.

Thomas, Ronald; Charles Lucy; Tim Reinhart, and Tim Lamb. *Report on Excavations at French Azilum, Bradford County, PA*. On file at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1977.

Tilley, Christopher. The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology. Berg: Oxford and New York. 2004.

Toussaint-Samat, Maguelonne. Histoire de la Cuisine Bourgeoise du Moyen Âge À Nos Jours. Albin Michel; Paris. 2001.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. Beacon Press. Boston, 1997.

Ullrich, Johanna Merici. "Geochemical Contributions to the Archaeological Examination of French Azilum." Unpublished Report, 2010.

Venerable Pierre Toussaint". *Saints.SQPN.com*. 12 August 2010. Web. {20 September, 2010}. <<http://saints.sqpn.com/venerable-pierre-toussaint/>>

Vlach, John Michael. The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts. University of Georgia Press. Athens and London, 1978.

Vlach, John Michael. Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London. 1993.

Walmsley, Emily. "Race, Place and Taste: Making Identities Through Sensory Experience in Ecuador" in *ETNOFOOR*, XVIII(1) 2005, pp. 43-60.

Walthall, John A. "Faience in French Colonial Illinois." *Historical Archaeology* 25(1): 80-105. 1991.

- Warner, Oliver. The Battle of the Nile. London: William Clowes and Sons, 1960.
- Warfel, S.G. A Report on the Excavations at French Azilum (36Br134). Report submitted to the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission. 1976.
- Weaver, Karol K. "‘She Crushed the Child’s Fragile Skull’: Disease, Infanticide, and Enslaved Women in Eighteenth-Century Saint-Domingue" in *French Colonial History* Vol. 5, 2004, pp 93-110.
- Weld, Isaac. Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797. John Stockdale, London 1800.
- Wilkie, Laurie. "Evidence of African Continuities in the Material Culture of Clifton Plantation, Bahamas." In *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*, Jay B. Haviser, ed. Marcus Wiener Publishers. Princeton, 1999.
- Wilkie, Laurie. Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation. University Press of Florida. Gainesville, Fl. 2005.
- Wilkinson, Norman B. Land Policy and Speculation in Pennsylvania, 1779-1800: A Test of the New Democracy. Arno Press, New York. 1979.
- Wilkinson, Norman B. "A French Asylum on the Susquehanna River" *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 11* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1991).
- William, H. Williams. Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639-1865. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1996.
- Wolf, Eric. Europe and the People Without History. University of California Press: Berkeley. 1982.
- Young, Eleanor. Robert Morris: Forgotten Patriot. The Macmillan Company. New York, 1950.
- Borough of Dushore Centennial, 1859-1959. Souvenir Program. 1959.