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Creole Gumbo: Ingredients for Maintaining Creole Identity at Laura Plantation

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CREOLE GUMBO: INGREDIENTS FOR MAINTAINING CREOLE IDENTITY
AT LAURA PLANTATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Katherine W. Schupp

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts


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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine vernacular creolization in French Louisiana. Vernacular creolization is defined by this author as the actively evolving process by which the Creoles of Louisiana chose to maintain and to communicate their ethnic identity, contrasting it with other segments of the population. This process began in response to the emigration of Anglo-Americans into the region after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The sheer numbers of "outsiders" flooding into Louisiana at this time threatened and eventually upset the cultural, social and economic dominance that Louisiana's native population had enjoyed for decades. In response, this population began a blatant cultural battle to identify their differences with the Anglo-Americans and reinforce their dominance over them. This population began to label itself as "Creole" and deliberately engaged in traditional behaviors.

This thesis shows how four generations of the Duparc-Locoul family spanning the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries exemplify the ways that Creoles reinforced their identity in the face of Americanization. Historical documents, family papers and archaeological materials are analyzed and compared to those of other Creoles and Anglo-Americans in order to identify the defining symbols of elite Creole identity. These include elements of anti-American sentiment, pro-French behavior, paternalism and slavery, and material culture.

Using a multi-generational approach, these identity markers over time will then be analyzed to address the issue of static versus malleable defining elements of elite Creole culture.

The conclusions of this paper are twofold. First, it determines that the symbolic elements with which elite Creole chose to reinforce their identity remained relatively stable well into the twentieth century. Second, it concludes that the changeable element of elite Creole culture was the reason as to why this identity was maintained. In other words, with each new generation, the purpose of identifying oneself as Creole and different changed in response to the current political, social and economic climate in Louisiana.

**CREOLE GUMBO: INGREDIENTS FOR MAINTAINING CREOLE IDENTITY AT LAURA
PLANTATION**

INTRODUCTION

Ah! The smell of gumbo cooking. All gumbos might have a familiar smell, but one must realize that everyone's is different. Every family, every person has their own recipe presumably to make the best gumbo in the world. There are the base ingredients with which everyone must start: a roux, peppers and onions, and of course, some sort of stock. After that, it's tailored to the cook's taste. Some gumbos are soupy, others are thick; some are seafood based, others are meat based. But, no matter how it turns out, every Louisianian still calls it gumbo.

Gumbo of course is a dish that has become a defining aspect of Louisiana cooking and has had a long history in the state. One story recounts the serving of this dish at a *fais-dodo* in St. James Parish. When the gumbo was ready to be served, it wasn't announced by a servant or a dinner bell. It was hailed by the playing of Bellem's Grand March which was known to the local population as "*la marche du gumbo*". Gumbo was reputed to be a favorite among the Creole population (Bourgeois 1957: 135).

In an abstract way, the Creole populations in Louisiana can be compared to the gumbo that they cherished. This thesis will examine the making of a theoretical gumbo in which the cooks -- the Creole population -- chose very specific ingredients -- represented by symbolic objects and actions -- in order to create their gumbo -- or social identity and cohesion. Although each "cook" might have proportioned the "ingredients" differently and let the mixture simmer for differing amounts of time, all were still cooking the same recognizable dish in the end.

Just as gumbo provided sustenance to those who ate it, the theoretical

gumbo sustained the identity of the Creole population whose cultural dominance was being threatened by hordes of Anglo Americans who had entered into Louisiana. These two populations had different languages, forms of government, social rules and religious values. At first, they refused to assimilate to aspects of each other's culture and outwardly denigrated each other's lifestyles. Unlike the Anglos who were able to criticize without fearing forced cultural change, the Creole population adopted an attitude of survival against a large body of foreigners that threatened to alter their way of life. The Creoles, then, were using this theoretical gumbo to resist Americanization.

This thesis examines how four generations of the Duparc-Locoul family, spanning the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, cooked their theoretical gumbo and reinforced their Creole identity in the face of Americanization. Historical documents, family papers and archaeological materials will be analyzed and compared to those of other Creoles and Anglo-Americans in order to identify the symbols with which these Creoles chose to define their identity. This study expands upon Shannon Dawdy's work regarding vernacular creolization in Louisiana (Dawdy 2000b, 1998b, 1996) and will explore answers to Dawdy's question of "What are the conservative and what are the changeable elements of [Creole] culture?" (Dawdy 2000b: 110). Additionally, this thesis will analyze previously uncomparing historical and archaeological data sets.

The Creole population in Louisiana was a self-defining group that outwardly used the term "Creole" as an identity marker. Although Creoles came in all forms -- rich, poor, black, white and Creoles of color -- this thesis will focus on an elite, socially prominent segment of this population composed of white planters and slave owners who lived in and around New Orleans. It is important to note that the definition of this term was manipulated by this group in order to be self-serving and to promote cultural dominance during periods of social flux. In some cases, this elite group denied Creole identity to

those who formerly held it because they knew it would hurt their own social ranking in society.

The term creole¹ appeared in Louisiana by the mid-eighteenth century and originally implied "born in the colonies" or "native born". It applied to all segments of the population regardless of race and social caste. It didn't matter if one's parents were planters or enslaved people, as long as the person was born in Louisiana, they were called creole. Non-creoles were identified as transplanted slaves and Europeans including the Spanish who took over governance of the Louisiana territory in 1769. However, with the Spanish immigrants' quick adoption of local customs and intermarriage they too would soon be identified as creole (Dawdy 2000b: 107-109; Tregle 1992: 137). This demonstrates that during the colonial period, creole group identity was not threatened by "outsiders" and that the conscious and active definition of creole culture was largely unimportant to the citizens of Louisiana (Tregle 1992: 133).

The definition and meaning of the term drastically changed when Anglo-Americans flooded into the region after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. It is at this time that the story of the Duparc-Locoul family begins. Unlike the Spanish, the Anglos initially refused to assimilate to the creole culture and mocked the creole lifestyle. The sheer numbers of Anglos in the region posed a threat to the survival of creole customs and lifestyles. At this time, the word creole began to define people along the lines of ethnicity. Anyone who was born of French, Spanish and/or African descent and anyone who accepted the Francophone culture now gained acceptance into a large group of people that labeled themselves as Creole (Dawdy 2000b: 107-109; Tregle 1992: 138).

After the Civil War, the definition of creole was transformed yet again, most specifically for the elite, socially prominent Creoles. Previous to this event, Creole society had "perceived no danger from common acceptance of

¹ The term "creole" is capitalized only when it is used as a self-prescribed label defined by individuals who share ethnicity and a cultural background. It is also capitalized when it describes these individuals' attributes.

blacks and whites under the creole rubric" as it felt that this acceptance would not "confer political or social status upon the black or colored man" (Tregle 1992: 139). This acceptance was largely misunderstood and unpracticed by the Anglo-Americans. Whereas the Creoles accepted multiple levels of social rank and multi-racial relationships within their population, the Anglos imposed a biracial view upon society and chastised the Creoles for being racially mixed people who freely mingled with the black population. Anglos used this reasoning for their domination over the Creoles, particularly during the post-Civil War period when the fight for racial supremacy of whites over blacks was at the forefront. To counteract further loss of influence and power, an elite segment of the Creole population, claiming European ancestry, redefined the label to include only those members of society whom they considered pure white (Tregle 1992: 138-140, 172-174; Dawdy 1998b: 3).

These changes in elite Creole identity raise the question of the process of vernacular creolization in Louisiana. This writer defines vernacular creolization as an actively evolving process by which the elite Creole population chose to maintain and to communicate its ethnic identity, contrasting it with other segments of the population. Dawdy (2000b, 1998b) has been able to illustrate this transformation of identity primarily through the use of historical documents and archaeological material collected from what she terms "Creole" sites in New Orleans, Louisiana. In an effort to expand upon this study, this writer also uses vernacular literature, or first-hand accounts, of the Creole lifestyle as told by an elite Creole woman and her family.

There are three recognizable phases of the creolization process that coordinate with the evolution of the term. Dawdy terms them transplantation, ethnic acculturation and hybridization. The transplantation phase correlates with the original settlement of Louisiana during the eighteenth century. At this time, creole simply meant "native born". This newly arrived population

(both European and African) clung to familiar life ways, transplanting Old World customs and material goods into the New World setting. Some local customs, such as food ways and architectural styles, were quickly adopted out of sheer necessity for survival. Additionally, there was an openness to experimentation with exotic objects and ideas, including British ceramics and material goods. Thus, there was a blending of French, other European, African and Native American traditions creating a new, distinct society. Architecture, diet and consumer choice were all aspects of the archaeological record that were affected (Dawdy 2000b: 111).

The phase of ethnic acculturation correlates with the events that imbued the word creole with ethnic meaning. At this point in time, a distinct society had formed but was being challenged by an outsider culture composed of Anglo-Americans (Dawdy 2000b: 111). The Creoles' boundary maintenance "depended heavily on the conscious manipulation of extrinsic symbols...which often [found] their referents in...material form" (Praetzellis et al. 1987: 41). Thus, Creoles, particularly the Duparc-Locoul family, now assigned symbolic meaning to familiar objects and relentlessly engaged in traditional behaviors. Additionally, they displayed a "hardened orthodoxy" (Tregle 1992: 132) and became conservative in their actions.

Through symbolic display, Creoles also actively invented traditions. Invented traditions are defined as "...a set of practices,...of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawn 1983: 1). The term "invented traditions" does not necessarily imply a from-scratch creation of new actions and reactions, although it can (Hobsbawn 1983; Cannadine 1983). In terms of the elite Creole past and the Duparc-Locoul family, most of the traditions were simply continuities whose meanings were altered and whose rituals were embellished; what was once mundane and ordinary, now had new-found importance and meaning.

Invented traditions frequently occur "...when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed..."(Hobsbawn 1983: 4). In Louisiana, the rapid influx of Anglo-Americans into the region upset and threatened to replace daily norms of Creole life which had been in place for decades. In reaction, Creoles flamboyantly displayed their cultural practices using "...history as a legitimator..." (Hobsbawn 1983: 12) creating, in their minds, a "corporate sense of *superiority*" (Hobsbawn 1983: 10). Group cohesion was essential if they wanted to present a united front that historically and physically communicated the dominance of the Creole lifestyle in the region. Applying this to Dawdy's model of ethnic acculturation, it is not surprising that archaeological collections from all Creole households during this period are expected to exhibit similar artifact patterns (Dawdy 2000b: 111).

Dawdy labels the last phase of the creolization process as hybridization. In Louisiana, this phase was prompted by the Creoles' loss of social and political dominance to the Anglo populations. As a result, cultural exchange between the two ethnic groups prompted cultural negotiation, intermarriage, and the sharing of ideology and material goods. The archaeological record became more varied as assemblages began to reflect social status based on economics rather than ethnicity (Dawdy 2000b: 111). However, through studying the Duparc-Locoul family, it will become evident that the Creole symbolism which developed during the ethnic acculturation phase did not completely disappear. Although the lines of ethnicity were blurred, they were still touted by an elite segment of the Creole population well into the twentieth century.

The ingredients with which the Duparc-Locoul family chose to make their theoretical gumbo, or their statement of membership in the Creole world, is primarily evidenced through the memoir of Laura Locoul Gore. She composed the family's history in 1936 at the age of 75 and recounted life on the

plantation at the request of her three children. The *memoir* accounts for four generations of Duparcs and Locouls beginning in the eighteenth century. These writings recount the major life events, personalities, celebrations, tribulations, stories and material possessions of her family members.

This memoir demonstrates that the Duparc-Locoul family felt that to be Creole was to be part of the upper echelons of society which others would revere. They felt that the Anglo Americans should also view them in this light. As history has shown though, the Anglos did not, which caused cultural strife between the two groups. In reaction, the Duparcs and Locouls, as well as the rest of the socially prominent Creoles, set out to define their superiority in society by banding together as an elite social group.

To retain their continued acceptance in this elite tier, it was important that a highly social and very traditional Creole lifestyle be continued along familial lines and that the family members only interact with individuals who shared their ideology. Pride and prestige were policing agents which encouraged these individuals to conform to this life. In their mind, by placing themselves above the rest of society, they were also able to place themselves above the Anglo-Americans and resist Americanization.

Having been born after the Civil War, Laura grew up in an age of hybridization, when the Creole resistance to Americanization waned and acceptance from both parties was more a norm. Laura's break with the traditional Creole lifestyle was evidenced when at the age of 12 she told her parents that she wanted to be a "modern" American girl and was sent off to boarding school in New Orleans to meld into society (Gore 2000: 71). Eventually she even married an Anglo-American from St. Louis.

Having actively chosen a path that broke from Creole tradition, which in Laura's mind was outdated and unmodern, it is interesting that she still promoted the Creole lifestyle in a positive manner in her memoir. In fact, in her accounts, she still heavily engaged in repetitive Creole behavior and

mingled with rooted Creole families. Many of these actions were based on behaviors practiced by members of her family who had resisted Americanization. In light of such contradictions and in Laura's efforts to glorify the past for her children, it is difficult to take all of her words at face value. However, her words are immensely powerful in defining the unchanging symbolic ingredients used to invent an elite Creole culture.

CHAPTER I
THE RECIPE: A HISTORY OF THE LOUISIANA CREOLE

In order to understand Creole society in Louisiana, it is necessary to review the history of its development, particularly in regard to the expansion of the British empire. Canada was the first stepping stone in the development of French Louisiana. Like most expansionist states, the French wanted to gain power and control over the world around them. At first concerned only with European holdings, France decided to expand into the New World searching for a Northwest passage to Cathay to aid in the silk trade with the Orient. Although they were not successful in this endeavor, Acadia and eventually Canada were colonized beginning in 1604 and known as New France (Allain 1988: 1-4).

Under Richlieu, King Louis' XIII adviser, the justification for expansion became focused on *la gloire du roi* or the glory of the king. The idea was to promote "national interest, royal prestige, and economic supremacy..." (Allain 1988: 6). Using the principals of Roman expansion, France set out to make French culture so appealing that individuals would readily accept the identifying markers of French society (Johnson 1992: 18). Thus an assimilationist policy was supported and anyone who would accept French culture, particularly the Native Americans, would be given the rights of French citizenry.

Content with its compact colony in the North, France was hesitant to further expand its holdings southward in the Americas. Yet with Spain present in the Floridas and New Mexico and with British encroachment from the Eastern colonies, France reluctantly saw a need to create a defensive arch throughout North America stretching from Canada to Louisiana. The

Louisiana territory was claimed in honor of Louis XIV, King of France on April 9, 1681. The Gulf Coast territory, in particular, was viewed as “an outpost from which the Spanish colonies to the West could be harassed and, maybe, even conquered” (Allain 1988: 40). Some supporters of this expansionist policy used *la gloire du roi* as a means to convince the monarchy that they were doing the right thing. Consider the memoir of Jean-Baptiste Bénéard de La Harpe, a Louisiana explorer under Governor Bienville:

It must be added that the French have discovered many lands which today belong to others who profit greatly from them, and the same thing could happen to Louisiana, if it is abandoned. This would be very shameful for France, after the expenses incurred, to let Louisiana be taken by foreigners. (Bénéard de La Harpe 1971: 167)

Bienville used the notions of honor and shame to try to persuade the French monarchy to continue supporting its new colonies. Consumed by expensive European wars and a rapid turnover in the Minister of Finance position, the French monarchy was stingy with supplies and monetary help (Allain 1988: 46). The settlement in Louisiana remained as “a strategic outpost, valuable chiefly because someone else wanted it” (Allain 1988: 52).

As a solution to aid colonization, in August 1717 France approved the first of many companies that would have exclusive rights over the Louisiana territory until 1731. However, the development of a permanent society was still hindered by the aims of these companies. “For companies, profit came first while colonization required that social purpose predominate over economic benefits” (Allain 1988: 21). Old bureaucratic problems continued as well. First, the lack of French investors, who were primarily interested in

buying titles and property in France, perpetuated destitute conditions within the colony (Allain 1988: 20). Second, despite propaganda and military assignments, there was a lack of voluntary settlers which the companies relied upon to exploit and to farm their lands. Third, merchants were discouraged from immigrating because the companies felt they would create unwanted competition within the overseas trade market (Hero 1995: 42).

In 1717, John Law, director of the Company of the West and the Indies began an aggressive policy toward populating the Louisiana territory to combat these problems. One of his tactics was forced immigration. Between October 25, 1717 and May 1, 1721, 7,020 Europeans were sent to the colony including company clerks, handicapped individuals, and *engages*, in addition to approximately 600 enslaved people (Bénard de La Harpe 1971: 122). This group was also comprised of a large number of male and female convicts serving time for contraband salt smuggling, purse snatching, murder, prostitution, desertion and mutineering to name a few of the “professions” represented (Hero 1995: 47).

Bienville, the Governor of the colony, and other officers expressed their concern with the bungling labor force now residing in the colony. In a letter dated September 25, 1718 Bienville stated, “...it would have been very advisable to make a more careful selection of the people whom we needed. Doubtless ...[the general directors] would then have sent up a large number of workmen, especially farmers, carpenters, and joiners and they would not have tolerated so many useless mouths” (Bénard de La Harpe 1971: 78). Many of these convicts disappeared or turned back to a life of crime leaving the problems of colonization unsolved (Hero 1995: 54).

Military personnel were also represented in this migration (Bénard de La Harpe 1971: 122). Many officials comments suggest that even the military personnel were not properly prepared to serve the colony (Hero 1995: 43). Governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, after taking office in 1743,

commented on their misconduct. He noted that many of his officers were more interested in running their plantations, expanding their holdings or sleeping with their mistresses than in their military duties. Officials even requested that many of these officers be sent back to France (Hero 1995: 62).

The institution of slavery in Louisiana began to develop in response to this lackadaisical attitude that the immigrants, convicts and military personnel had in regard to creating a self-sufficient agricultural state. In the early eighteenth century, independent farmers primarily relied upon white forced labor, Indian slave labor, wage-labor, and indentures to cultivate the land, creating food and profits from cash crops (McGowan 1976: 1-35). Despite the 600 enslaved people initially shipped to Louisiana, this number represented a small fraction of the tens of thousands of enslaved people that would eventually be incorporated into the agricultural system. There is no evidence to suggest that "racial exclusiveness" or "contempt" between the white and black colonists existed at this time. The amount of work that needed to be accomplished in order to survive on a personal level and to develop as a colony was undertaken by an extremely limited work force. Therefore, engaging in racist activity would have been counter productive or a "luxury beyond the means of the colonists" (Hall 1992: 155). As a result, slavery was primarily a legal definition at this time (Dawdy 1996: 1).

Encouraged by the various trading companies (i.e. Company of the West and the Indies), the desire to produce extensive profits from cash crops and the development of the plantation system soon created a large demand for African slave labor which was shipped primarily from the Senegambia region of Africa and the French West Indies during French rule (Hall 1992: 29, 58). Between 1719 and 1743, 5,951 African slaves were shipped to the region (Hall 1992: 60). As a result, during the 1730s and 1740s a plantation system dependent on creole and African slaves began to mature and to become profitable.

In an effort to define roles within this developing plantation environment, planters now treated slaves as socially inferior and increasingly structured their lives. Although enslaved people were viewed as property and as an essential form of labor, French and Spanish social activists encouraged slave owners to consider their slaves' humanity. As Mintz and Price point out, slave owners ultimately could not ignore this because they required their slaves "to act in sentient, articulate, and human ways." Therefore, enslaved people technically could not be viewed as inanimate property or as animals (Mintz et al. 1976: 23-37).

Planters were faced with a contradictory challenge if they wanted continued agricultural success. They needed to continue to support an environment that dehumanized their slaves and yet conversely to attempt to keep the enslaved individuals cooperating with the institution that oppressed them. As an answer to this dilemma, from the 1730s onward, planters were encouraged to create ties between the enslaved people and the plantation system instead of relying upon fear and violence to keep them in submission to it. Bienville's regime "forged a social consciousness premised upon assimilation of the African population as members of the community with social rights and defined limits of their subjugation to their masters" (McGowan 1976:120). In 1758, Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, an overseer on a royal plantation in Louisiana, wrote a treatise on slavery for the French creole planters in the colony. In it he "stressed that slaves were not only men and women who aspired to regain their recently lost liberty, but also that they had been traumatically wrenched from their own culture and habits" (McGowan 1976: 112).

Such proselytized treatises on slavery and legal codes, such as the *Code Noir* of 1724 and the *Real Cédula* of 1789, established enslaved peoples' rights in Louisiana. Humane, paternalistic treatment of the enslaved people by their masters was a prominent theme. According to Articles 20, 38 and 39 of the *Code*

Noir, if enslaved people were mistreated or severe physical punishment was inflicted without justification, these wrongdoings could be reported by the slaves to the attorney-general and legal actions could be brought against the masters by the courts (Gayarré 1851: 539-540, 543-544). There are numerous cases in which this occurred. Therefore, it is evident that "[s]laves..., including those who accepted their status, had a strong sense of justice and demanded their rights within the framework of slavery" (Hall 1992: 128). Although violence was still commonplace and legally acceptable under these legal codes, "a set of of expectations regarding...mutual rights, obligations, and limitations" had been established between the planters and their slaves (Dawdy 1996: 1).

Although structured work environments began to develop, Louisiana society still remained rowdy and unrefined, much to the chagrin of the acting Governors. They aimed to create a civilized, hierarchical, aristocratic society like that found in France. It was not until the 1750s when Governor de Vaudreuil, affectionately known as the "Grand Marquis" and a member of the old French aristocracy (Hero 1995: 110), had any success in this endeavor. He legislated a number of social codes and created a demand for refined activities and elite social positions. "[R]esidents soon vied for invitations to Vaudreuil's elegant dinner parties and anxiously awaited assignments to a place in the formal and ceremonial little court with which the new governor surrounded himself. They looked willingly to the governor to set the city's social pace, its tone and style" (Johnson 1992: 44-45). Finally, in the mid-eighteenth century, an ordered, hierarchical society was beginning to take shape.

Typical of most plantation, slave-based societies, prestige was now earned through military or civil appointment and based upon how much land and how many enslaved people one owned. These new-found aristocrats:

...attempted to model their life-styles on those of the

French landed nobility, albeit often but crude and superficial copies or caricatures of the original. By the late 1740s, they were increasingly importing fine clothing, household furnishings, carriages, horses, and other luxuries from Paris. Elegant manners and entertainment, participation in the style-setting formal parties and other events of the little court held by Governor de Vaudreuil..., importation of wines and other luxuries from France, final formal education for their children there, dueling, black-slave and still some Indian and even French servants - all supported by plantation and merchant profits - had become the way of life of an ever more influential minority and the aspiration of many more. (Hero 1995: 110)

This aristocratic element was small, yet all levels of society emulated it and the styles of France (Hero 1995: 109). As much as these individuals strove to replicate France in Louisiana, physical separation from the mother country and the local environment dictated that it could not be an exact copy. However, what Hero describes as "crude" and "superficial" from the perspective of the French elite can also be construed as the solidification of a unique creole culture and a stable set of ethnic symbols in Louisiana.

There were other major defining characteristics of this creole society aside from the accumulation of French goods, the emulation of French foods and fashion, and an emphasis on social events. First, French was the common language for everyone, including the enslaved people. This of course was a natural outcome of a colony initially populated predominantly by French and French Canadian citizens. As for the enslaved population, most were brought

directly from Africa to the New World via the French slave trade into the French colony. Once in Louisiana, most enslaved people found it essential to learn French so that they could communicate with their masters and the world around them. Additionally, French served as a common language among enslaved people who came from different speech communities in Africa (Hall 1992: 190).

Second, Catholicism was the religion of the colony. Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes on October 18, 1685, restricting anyone who was not Catholic from immigrating to Louisiana. “[I]n an age when nationalism had not yet replaced religion as a motivating force, the religious unity was considered essential for social cohesion” (Allain 1988: 71). A cohesive society would prove more powerful against France’s enemies and of course create a powerful French state.

This emphasis on Catholicism as a defining factor of Louisiana society can best be seen in the *Code Noir* of 1724. This set of laws was written to regulate the treatment of the enslaved population by their masters. The first three articles of the *Code Noir* fixed the dominance of the Catholic religion in the colony:

Act. 1,

Decrees the expulsion of the Jews from the colony.

Act. 2,

Makes it imperative on masters to impart religious instructions to their slaves.

Act. 3,

Permits the exercise of the Roman Catholic creed only. Every other mode of worship is prohibited.

(Gayarré 1851: 537)

Thus, Catholicism and the French language were major elements of creole society and would also become unifying symbols in the Creole resistance to Americanization after 1803.

The Louisiana Territory continued to develop as a French colony unchallenged for 67 years until 1766 when Spain began to rule the territory. In actuality, Spain had secretly received the territory from France in November 1762 as a means to halt British expansion. Aggressive military raids by the British in the provinces around Canada and Acadia threatened France and its colonies in North America. Allying with the Spanish and combining the Louisiana Territory with Spain's Florida and New Mexico built a threatening road block aimed at halting British movement. Rumors of the cession of the territory to Spain circulated and eventually a royal letter decreeing the transaction reached Louisiana. Although some accepted this act, many of the citizens refused to believe what was presented before them and commissioned a visit to France to plead with the French monarchy to keep the territory. All to no avail (Bunner 1846: 122-123).

The Spanish sent their first governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, to the territory in March 1766, a little over 3 years after their acquisition of Louisiana. Shocked and upset over the event, many French resisted the Spanish and refused to ally themselves with Spanish efforts and regulations. Nicholas Chauvin de La Frénière, former attorney-general and member of the Superior Council, drafted a petition that was signed by approximately 500 influential citizens (Bunner 1846: 125), demanding that the Spanish leave the territory immediately.

In October 1768, approximately 1,200 demonstrators organized to protest the take-over. Epithets such as "Long live the King of France," "Long live Louis the beloved," "Long live French civilization and the wine of Bordeaux," and "Down with the poisonous wine from Catalonia" were heard echoing in the streets. As punishment for this open defiance against Spanish rule, the

five main organizers were caught, tried and sentenced to death. All dressed in French military officer's uniforms, their last words expressed the deep seated French nationalism that was ingrained in creole society. La Frénière's last words were reportedly, " 'to die for the king, to die French, what could be more glorious...that I now refuse to live at the price of becoming Spanish'." Payen de Noyan de Bienville, a former French military officer and landowner, was reported to have said simply, " 'I am French' " (Hero 1995:127-129).

Despite a tumultuous beginning, the Spanish presence in Louisiana would not significantly alter the creole culture that had developed. Although Spanish officials physically inserted themselves into power-wielding French institutions, they did not demand large-scale reforms. Politically and legally, Spanish officials continued to use Louisiana's administrative system, its laws, and even allowed French officials already in office to remain at the time of the take-over. In fact, the governmental body and the court system were allowed to maintain a French majority. The Spanish had also brought few military personnel with them and relied upon French troops and officers. Additionally, Spain already supported the Roman Catholic religion.

Potentially large-scale changes that Spanish officials attempted to make were met with resistance. The largest threat to creole culture was the decree declaring Spanish as the official language of government, legal affairs, and even religious schooling. In theory, Spanish was to be used exclusively in these institutions. However, with a majority of the population French in custom, the decree was merely ignored. Although official government documents were often printed in Spanish, they continued to be printed in French as well. Governor Carondelet, 30 years after the Spanish take-over of Louisiana, complained that "his district commandants sent reports in 'a foreign language,' for they could find no local Spanish-speaking secretaries" (Johnson 1992: 48). This lenient enforcement probably took root in the fact that fluency in French was a prerequisite for Spanish officials assigned to the

Louisiana territory (Hero 1995: 147).

Under Spanish rule, French Louisiana prospered and colonial policy became more effective. Spain recognized the importance of the colony and treated it as such, unlike France which had been aloof and stingy with support. Louisiana's importance to Spain was its ability to stop the British from gaining control over their gold and silver mines west of Louisiana. To intimidate the British, Spain began to attract colonists to increase the population and thus create a strong buffer zone that would ward off the enemy. Spain, also hoping to increase the Spanish population in particular, appealed to "Catholic Spanish speakers" and also invited "Catholic, conservative French speakers" to settle in the territory. They were more successful in attracting French rather than Spanish immigrants thereby increasing and reinforcing the French element within the population (Hero 1995: 146).

With a growing plantation economy and with the invention of an improved sugar granulation process by Jean-Baptiste Étienne (de) Boré in 1796, the sugar industry flourished, bringing increased wealth to both established and new Louisiana plantation owners (Hero 1995: 157-159). As a result, the slave trade expanded to include the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra and Central Africa and imported slaves represented the largest increase in the population under Spanish rule (Hall 1992: 277, 284-286). In 1746, under French rule, the enslaved population in Louisiana was estimated to number 4,730 (Hall 1992: 175). At the beginning of Spanish rule in 1766, the number of enslaved people within Louisiana was estimated to be 5,600. Twenty-two years later, in 1788, the enslaved population had nearly quadrupled to 20,673 and enslaved people accounted for 55% of the total population in lower Louisiana (Hall 1992: 278).

Controlling this large segment of the population in order to ensure continued financial success became of great concern for plantation owners

within the Louisiana territory. The possibility of slave revolts, as evidenced by the successful Haitian uprising in 1791 and the thwarted 1795 Point Coupée conspiracy, was the primary concern for plantation owners everywhere. Such events threatened the downfall of the plantation system as well as planters' profits and livelihoods. It was imperative for the plantation owners to keep African and creole slaves in submission to the institution of slavery. With the large influx of newly arrived African slaves bought to keep up with the increase in sugar production, the relationship between the plantation owners and their enslaved people began to shift. What was once seen as a paternalistic relationship based on a set of mutual rights and obligations was changing. Paternalism was now less important to the plantation owner than control and profit. This trend would continue into the nineteenth-century and be further influenced by the introduction of Anglo-Americans and their slaves into the region (Dawdy 1996: 1).

Louisiana's creole society thrived, unchallenged until the United States purchased the Louisiana territory in 1803. For the next 40 years, a political and cultural battle ensued between the established Creole population and the newly arrived Anglo-American citizens. Most inhabitants of Louisiana supported the purchase and wanted to be good citizens of the United States. But "they could not see why this should require renunciation of their French heritage or affirmation of the superiority of Anglo-American mores" (Tregle 1992: 149). Yet this was exactly what the American government required and what American citizens supported. As stated in the Debates and Proceedings of the United States Congress, House of Representatives on October 25, 1803, the Louisiana Treaty "did not extend to the admission of foreign nations into ...[the] confederacy" (480). Reluctantly Louisiana would be forced to Americanize.

The first challenge for American politicians was to replace the government of the territory. Louisiana had been dominated by a monarchical form of government for 85 years which was now being supplanted with a

Jeffersonian Republic. The Republic was based upon the need for citizen participation and interest in politics.

The political habits and attitudes of the...[French however,] were mainly of the inactive, acquiescent order. Unaccustomed as they were to the exercise of suffrage and of free assemblies, to the use of the press as a means of disseminating political ideas, and to the peculiar judicial and loyal system of the Americans, it is not surprising that they were hard to swing over to the new order under the United States, especially under the leadership of those of a different...[ethnicity] and language. (Newton 1980: 19)

Americans were shocked at the disinterest of the Creole populations in this type of government and its affairs. But the Creoles were simply trying to continue with their way of life without having to modify their behavior.

The Creoles' resistance to this new form of government resulted in a severe backlash that would eliminate their chance of gubernatorial representation and immediate citizenship. Many Congressmen did not believe that the Creoles were capable of participating in a Republic and believed that they had to be transformed before they were worthy of such a privilege. Consider, for example, the words of Congressman Samuel L. Mitchell, House of Representatives, in the Debates and Proceedings in the Congress:

It is intended, first, to extend to this newly acquired people the blessings of law and social order....In this way they are to be trained up in a knowledge of our own laws and institutions. They are thus to serve an

apprenticeship to liberty; they are to be taught the lessons of freedom; and by degrees they are to be raised to the enjoyment and practice of independence....[A]fter they shall have been a sufficient length of time in this probationary condition, they shall, as soon as the principles of the Constitution permit, and conformably thereto, be declared citizens of the United States....[But until this time they] will thereby gain no admission into this House, nor into the other House of Congress. There will be no alien influence thereby introduced into our councils. By degrees, however, they will pass on from the childhood of republicanism, through the improving period of youth and arrive at the mature experience of manhood. And then, they may be admitted to the full privileges which their merit and station will entitle them to. (480-481)

From this statement it is obvious that the French Creoles were considered inferior. Thus, the Creoles were suddenly treated as outcasts and second-class citizens in their own homeland.

Aside from the political war being waged between the United States government and the Creole population, a cultural battle was being fought against the newly arrived Anglo-Americans and other immigrants who were streaming into the port of New Orleans. A large number of Anglo slaves were part of this emigration. These enslaved people tended to be a few generations removed from their African ancestry and were primarily from the British West Indies. They spoke English and had a history of interacting with their masters and English servants (Hall 1992: 161). In general, their background

was very different from that of the Creole slave, much as the Anglos' and immigrants' backgrounds were from other Creoles'. In Tocqueville's travel interviews in Louisiana, New Orleans was described by one local Creole as "a patchwork of peoples" where every country both in America and Europe was represented (Pierson 1959: 397).

Lured by the promise of wealth, many of these outsiders came to take advantage of an underdeveloped, yet booming, professional and mercantile class in Louisiana. They also engaged in agricultural pursuits. As Mr. Guillemin, French Consul in New Orleans said, "...big business is in American hands" (Tocqueville 1960: 104). Like Congress, these immigrants were not interested in the preservation of the Creole culture that had developed in Louisiana; instead they focused on profit and on establishing a new life for themselves and their families. Creole citizens felt that Louisiana was being "...pillag[ed] and loot[ed]...by scavengers from abroad..." (Tregle 1992: 147).

Within this climate, the Creoles set out to maintain their majority within the population and within local politics.

[N]owhere in North America would there be an easy acceptance of the existence of different cultural communities within the same political entity. Americans would develop their dream, with its implications of cultural homogeneity, while French-speaking North Americans would develop their counter-ideal of *survivance*. (Chodos 1991: 50)

As a result, vernacular creolization began to take place. The original French-speaking population now took pride in distinguishing itself from and elevating itself above the patchwork of people in the territory. Including the French-speaking enslaved people in the designation, they labeled themselves

as Creole and simultaneously labeled everyone else as "other" and "outsider".

One of the most influential causes of cultural tension were religious differences that resulted in an atmosphere of misunderstanding, stubbornness, name-calling and sabotage. Many Americans who were settling in the region modeled their lives on a conservative Protestant ethic. The Catholic Creoles in their no-holds-barred enjoyment of life, love, sex, refinements and social pleasures were viewed by the Americans as religiously backward, sexually promiscuous, indolent, bawdy and lewd (Tregle 1992: 147-148). In contrast, the Creoles saw the Americans as hypocritical, ill-mannered, boring, snobbish, and greedy trash that had floated down the Mississippi River from up North (Hero 1995: 162-163).

The way in which this hatred between the two cultures was expressed, particularly by the Creoles, took the form of blatant and symbolic separation in all aspects of life. For example, differential patronage was apparent with businesses, doctors, and cultural institutions. Creoles preferred bakers, tailors, doctors, dentists, theaters, notaries and slaves who spoke their own language and who were familiar with their own customs and tastes. Although the Creoles' actions can be seen as a simple continuation of traditional, mundane behaviors, it must be remembered that they now had a choice, and they chose Creole. Even the most ordinary actions were now imbued with cultural and political significance as their lifestyle as a whole represented a boycott of Anglo culture and Americanization.

Creole plantation owners also found themselves in direct conflict with the Anglo plantation owners. In general, the Anglo plantation owners' approach to plantation management was different from the Creoles'. Anglo plantation owners modeled working conditions for the enslaved people after a factory environment whereas Creoles modeled theirs upon a peasant village (Dawdy 1996: 1). The Creole planters and Anglo planters chided each other for being unusually cruel to and neglectful of their slaves.

Residential districts were also populated according to ethnicity, thus establishing a physical as well as a cultural separation. The majority of property and plantations outside of New Orleans was still owned by Creoles. Within the city of New Orleans, the Creoles concentrated their population in the *Vieux Carré*, or French Quarter, and the neighborhoods directly associated with it. The Americans lived to the South, Uptown and in the Garden District.

As a group, the Creoles attempted to preserve their cultural dominance and to uphold their self-prescribed identity by engaging in traditional group behavior. Social exclusivity and tradition were now seen as ways to bind themselves together as a cohesive social unit. Thus, the Creoles symbolically distanced Anglos and the Anglo culture from their world, at least in theory.

Despite this seemingly bitter cleavage, cross-cultural interactions did occur and aided in the gradual Americanization of the Creoles. By 1832, Americans were beginning to outnumber the Creoles and the Creoles knew it. In Tocqueville's travels in Louisiana he spoke to a resident Creole in 1832 who said, "We are now in a very weak position to hold our own against the pressure of the American peoples" (Tocqueville 1960: 103-104). The Creoles lost their population majority in the 1830s, their political majority in the 1840s, and their agricultural majority in the 1850s (Hero 1995: 160-161). Their language was disappearing due to legislation banning French from politics and educational institutions. The Creoles were also forced to work alongside Anglos to earn money and cross-cultural marriages were becoming more frequent. Archaeological studies reveal that the Creoles often chose British ceramics over French wares. This is evidence that voluntary cross-cultural exchange began to take place.

The remainder of this thesis will examine the symbols that Laura Locoul Gore and her family used in order to promote their Creole-ness. They clung to the ideological notion of being Creole and different even while accepting bits of Anglo culture into their lives. Despite the eventual Americanization of the

region, this thesis will show that Laura continued to promote her Creole heritage well into the twentieth century. Thus, as Dawdy surmises, this thesis will show that some Creole symbols changed while others did not. These symbols will be evidenced through the use of historical documents, family stories and archaeological materials.

CHAPTER II
THE INGREDIENTS: A HISTORY OF THE CREOLES OF LAURA
PLANTATION

The history of Laura Plantation begins with Guillaume Duparc (Figure 1). Born in Caen, Normandy in 1756, he was a distinguished gentleman known for his quick temper. When he killed his father's best friend's son in a duel, he was banished into the *Marines Françaises* and began a long, successful military career. In 1778 Guillaume came to America for the first time, joining the Spanish war effort to defeat the British at the Battle of Pensacola during the Colonial Wars (Gore 1936: 1-2). Participation in additional military skirmishes ensued in the following years including the Battle of Yorktown (Gore 2000: 117). Distinguishing himself through his military career with both the French and Spanish, he was rewarded land grants and the position of Spanish colonial Commandant of Point Coupée in northern Louisiana in 1792, where he served until 1803 (Gore 1936: 2).

Family history states that he and Anne Nanette Prudhomme, whom he married in 1788, "drifted" to St. James Parish and acquired a tract of land approximately 55 miles above New Orleans. The specifics of when and how this tract of land was acquired have not been identified. However, family history indicates that Guillaume received land grants from Thomas Jefferson in 1804 (Gore 2000: 119) and started what would eventually be known as Laura plantation (Gore 1936: 2).

The earliest conveyance record held in the St. James Parish courthouse regarding this property dates to May 31, 1813 (COB Book 4, Act No. 82). According to the St. James Parish Clerk of Court, all records for the parish

prior to 1808 are housed with the Ascension Parish Clerk of Court (Personal Communication 1997). However, research at this facility did not locate any records regarding this property or the Duparc family. Within the above mentioned conveyance record there is a reference to the succession of Guillaume which dates April 18, 1808, however this document makes no reference as to how Guillaume acquired the property (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L).

According to the Historic American Building Survey (1989) (which contains a number of errors regarding the history of the plantation) Guillaume acquired the property in the late 1700s but does not specify from whom. Apparently the land was first given to André Neau in a French Royal Land Grant in the mid-eighteenth century. According to Katherine Page at the U.S. Mint in New Orleans, Louisiana, the original French Royal Land Grants were destroyed in a shipwreck (Personal Communication 1998). Therefore, the American State Papers were needed to confirm this evidence. These documents confirm that Neau did originally own the property as of September 24, 1756, but there is no reference to a sale of property to Guillaume, only to Sosthene Roman (ASP 1861: 354; ASP 1860: 672). Perhaps, Guillaume acquired the land through Mr. Roman at a later date.

By 1805, a plantation house and other improvements were made on the property (Figure 2). Early usage of the land included the production of indigo that was sold to individuals in France (COB Book 4, Act No. 82). By 1808, Guillaume had switched his cash crop to sugar which remained the crop of choice for the duration of the plantation's history. Unfortunately Guillaume died before his first sugar crop was harvested. Louisiana law gave his widow, Nanette, the rights of inheritance and property rights to all of the goods, moveables, immoveables, and effects that Guillaume owned. This included 17 enslaved people. The property, estimated at 10,000 piastres, was a little more

than 8 arpents¹ wide and 80 plus arpents deep and contained a main house, an old house, a magazine, a kitchen, a storehouse, 5 slave cabins, and fencing that enclosed a number of pastures (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L).

Nanette took over the plantation business, successfully raised sugar cane and diversified production through additional crops, lumber and livestock such as sheep and pigs (Gore 2000: 123; Gore 1936: 12). She ran the plantation until 1829 when she gave it and 79 enslaved people to her three children, Louis, Flagy, and Elisabeth. The plantation measured a little more than 11 arpents in width and 80 arpents in depth, so it is evident that Nanette purchased additional land after the death of her husband (COB Book 11, Act No. 155). At this time she retired on the plantation, living in her new "*maison de reprise*" (Figure 3) built just 500 feet away from the main house (Gore 2000: 123).

The three children immediately formed a partnership, each controlling 1/3 share of the plantation (COB Book 11, Act No. 156), which would be known by the name of *Duparc Frères et Locoul*. From family memories it is evident that Flagy begged to manage the plantation, was granted his wish, and did so successfully making the "family fortune" (Gore 1949). Louis, after being educated in France, took up residence in New Orleans, filling his time with social engagements and a bit of work. He acted as the plantation's business agent in the city. Elisabeth was responsible for record keeping and for helping to make decisions regarding the business.

The plantation continued to grow in size, seeing an increase in sugar cane acreage (Figure 4). In 1848, a motor and rolling mill were ordered to process the crop more efficiently (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L). The plantation also continued to produce diversified cash crops such as rice, corn, sweet

¹ The accepted measure of an arpent in Louisiana is equivalent to approximately .84 acres. However the interpretation of this measurement is affected by a number of factors including locality and the ethnicity of the surveyor (i.e. French, Spanish, or American). In some instances acres and arpents have been used interchangeably in historical documents (Holmes 1983).

potatoes and cypress timber as well as wool. With the increased work load, the business needed additional slaves. As a solution, *Duparc Frères et Locoul* purchased 30 female slaves in addition to the 32 female and 60 male slaves that they already owned. It was hoped that these additional female slaves would help to increase the work force by propagating. By 1860, the plantation housed 183 enslaved people. In response to this increased population, 69 new slave cabins, located on the back of the property were erected (Gore 2000: 137-138).

Additional income would be generated by Elisabeth and her husband, Raymond Locoul, who had recently arrived from France. By signing a prenuptial agreement in 1822, Elisabeth gained an interest in the vineyards for which Raymond was an heir. These were located outside of Bordeaux at *Chateau Bon-Air*. By the 1830s, they were importing and distributing wine from the plantation. With a 10,000 bottle capacity, they were one of the largest wine distributors in Louisiana (Gore 2000: 133).

Due to the deaths of her brothers, Louis in 1850 from cholera and Flagy of unknown causes in 1863, Elisabeth was put in charge of the plantation. When the Civil War began, all operations were brought to a halt. Family members traveled to northern Louisiana to stay with relatives and friends since there was the threat of gunboats shelling the property. Emile, Elisabeth's son, stayed in St. James Parish to organize a militia and would fight for the Confederacy until the cessation of the war (Gore 1936: 9). He and his family would move to the plantation, afterwards joining his sister Aimée, her family, and Elisabeth.

When the families returned to St. James Parish, they found that the plantation was in good working order and most of the enslaved people had remained on the property (Gore 2000: 148). Unlike most families, the Locouls were not financially ruined. Before the war, Emile had left in the bank \$2,000, which was recovered after the war. With the help of a bank teller, Emile's

account was ambiguously labeled, “ ‘Emile Locoul, when last heard of, gone to Europe’ ” and passed over by General Butler of the Union forces who confiscated all property belonging to those who fought for the Confederacy (Gore 1936: 11). This money helped the family return to their lives as they had been before the war. During the next three years, with a strong work force and as one of only a few remaining sugar producers, the plantation made a net profit of \$75,000 per year (Gore 2000: 149; Gore 1949).

In 1872, Elisabeth split the plantation between her two children, Emile and Aimée (COB Book 40, Act No. 27), and retired in the city of New Orleans. There were many arguments between Emile and Aimée as to who would get certain buildings on the property and Emile and Aimée kept plantation activity separate according to inheritance lines (Gore 1936: 18). Buildings, which were divided over the upper and lower parts of the property, consisted of the main house, the main house dependency, a large house formerly used as the slave hospital, the manager’s house, a small wooden house, 23 worker’s cabins (12 of which were for domestic workers), two kitchens, two corn sheds, a meat shed, two stables, a corral, a wheat mill, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, and the sugar house and mill which contained a steam-engine (COB Book 40, Act No. 27).

Family feuds and bad crops marked the beginning of financial losses for the plantation. The first year, Emile harvested only a small portion of his sugar crop (Gore 1936: 18) so that he could “keep enough seed cane for a crop the next year” (Gore 1949). The second year, Aimée and her husband refused to let Emile use the sugar mill which was on their half of the property (Figure 5). In a panic Emile made arrangements to transport his sugar crop to an available mill via railroad, but was only able to harvest half of it before a hard freeze hit and destroyed the rest. According to family memoir, the plantation was in ruin at this time.

After this incident, Emile was frustrated with running the plantation

and turned to share-croppers to do the work. Also, in an effort to make production more efficient, he built a new sugar mill on his part of the property. At the end of its first season in use, the family had a party to celebrate the building. At the suggestion of one of the guests, the plantation was named "The Laura" after one of his daughters and has been called Laura plantation ever since (Gore 1936: 19).

Emile became ill and died in 1879 after surviving 3 operations (Gore 1936: 30). The plantation had been left to his three children, George, Laura and Noémie. They approached the courts and asked that the land be partitioned, but the request was denied due to \$16,000 in gambling debts that their father had accrued while alive. Upon the advice of their lawyers, the children sold the back portion of the property to a local land owner, which settled their father's estate (Gore 1936: 31).

George, Laura and Noémie, following the example of the former managers, also chose to have the plantation managed by someone other than the family. They profited for the first two years, but soon their manager let the operations slip. He was let go and George took over (Gore 1936: 32). Due to falling sugar prices, the plantation continued to struggle. A mortgage was taken out on the property and the family felt that the end was near (Gore 1936: 42).

On the twenty-first of March 1891, the family sold the plantation to the Waguespack family (COB Book P, Act No. 322), ending 87 years of ownership by the Duparcs and the Locouls. The newspaper auction notice described the plantation as consisting of approximately 725 arpents, 235 acres of which were sugar cane fields. Additionally, there were two dwelling houses, a sugar house, a stable, 26 mules, and agricultural and sugar-processing implements on the property (Gore 2000: 113). As for the family, Aimée and Ivan had died previous to this sale. Their children, Eugénie, Fannie and Raymond were living in France, New Orleans and Seattle, Washington respectively. Laura, her siblings

and their mother permanently moved into their house in the French Quarter in New Orleans (Gore 2000: 152 - 158).

Approximately one year after the sale of the plantation, Laura Locoul married Charles Gore, an Anglo-American from St. Louis, Missouri whom she had met in 1885. She moved up to St. Louis and subsequently had three children with him – Laura, Désirée and Charles, Jr. Despite living in a Protestant household, Laura continued to be a devout Catholic and raised her three children according to this faith. Although the Gore family was well-connected in St. Louis society, Laura missed the companionship of her family and in 1905 convinced them to abandon the French Quarter and move up to St. Louis. Here Laura would live out the rest of her life surrounded by various family members until her death in 1963 (Gore 2000: 152-165).

Laura Plantation was owned by the Waguespack family until 1981 when developers bought the land intending to develop it as the site for a Mississippi River bridge. Due to a previous land fissure in 1943, the property was deemed unstable for such a project. It was then sold at public auction in 1993 and soon the Laura Plantation Company began restoration on the dilapidated buildings to turn Laura Plantation into a museum. It opened to the public in 1994 (Marmillion, Personal Communication 1997). Today the plantation is only one of a handful in Louisiana that has survived destruction. It is also one of the few historic properties in Louisiana that tells an interesting story of the Creoles and addresses the history of the enslaved people that lived there.

Four generations of the Duparc-Locoul family as well as generations of enslaved people had lived and worked at Laura Plantation. Luckily, some of the plantation buildings, the existence of Memories of the Old Plantation Home written by Laura Locoul-Gore (1936, 2000), photographs, objects, archaeology, folklore and historical documents remain to inform us of the Duparcs' and Locouls' Creole experience, as well as that of the African-Americans with whom they lived. All of these things will help to identify the changeable and

unchangeable symbols of the elite Creole world.

CHAPTER III

COOKING THE GUMBO: A CASE STUDY IN CREOLE IDENTITY

So far, the reasons why the Creoles and Americans became rivals have been discussed. Now the differences in culture that elite Creoles used to exacerbate the rift between the two populations, or the process of vernacular creolization, will be explored. In this case study, the Duparcs and Locouls will be used as examples. Although each Creole is an individual, as part of a larger cultural group each held onto symbolic beliefs and customs that were shared by the larger Creole population. By looking at the documents, stories and artifacts of those who lived at Laura Plantation, these symbolic beliefs and customs will be identified.

Since this is a multi-generational study, the changing aspects of elite Creole culture in the face of Americanization and cultural exchange will also be examined. This will help to answer Dawdy's (2000b) question about which elements of Creole culture remained stable and which changed over time. This case study, will show that elite Creole's material goods were more likely to change rather than their ideology, such as religion, social customs and their presentation of slavery to the community at large. Laura Locoul Gore, representing the fourth generation of Duparcs and Locouls, still defined herself as a Creole despite voluntary lifestyle changes that went against the Creole ethic. This demonstrates that the notion of being Creole lasted well into the twentieth-century and in fact persists today.

In noting the various sources used, readers should remember that the bulk of the family stories presented here were retold by Laura in a nostalgic effort to recount family history and life on the plantation for her children.

While there is no reason to believe the personalities that she portrays and the events that she recounts are untrue, they still must be looked upon with a critical eye. These stories are strictly told from Laura's point of view and her purpose in writing this memoir was to glorify the past and to glorify her family. Therefore, biases are inherent.

At the same time, Laura's exaltation of the past clearly displays many of the symbols that the elite, slave owning Creole population used to construct and to maintain their identity. The French language, Creole superiority, and paternalism toward the enslaved population are examples of symbols that were ingrained upon her by her family. From this perspective, her stories reveal her ideological orientation as well as that of other socially prominent Creoles.

Anti-American Sentiment

One of the foremost actions that the elite Creole population used to solidify itself as a group was the unending and mass denouncement of Anglo-Americans. The purpose of this was not only to degrade the Anglos but also to proclaim the superiority of Creoles. Primary sources such as traveler's journals, newspapers, and popular literature document anti-American sentiment which expressed the ill feelings of the Creoles towards the Americans. These accounts also exist in the form of memoirs, family papers, and legal documents and are invaluable to the study of the Creole-American relationship. Not only do they present one person's opinion about something, they also pinpoint these statements in time allowing a chronological look at changing sentiment.

In association with Laura Plantation, the earliest documented anti-American sentiment is found in Guillaume Duparc's last will and testament dated 1806. In preparation for travel to Europe, he wanted to settle his estate in case he died on the journey. In an effort to safeguard his property and his family, he wanted a responsible and trustworthy person to take charge. "S'il

était déterminé que mon bien fut vendu, que ce soit à un ou deux ans de terme, et à une personne solvable, mais non pas à un américain, pour éviter toute astuce et mauvaise chicane de la part de ces sortes de gens aux miens..."¹ (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L). From this statement it is clear that an American was not an option. Guillaume, like most elite Creoles, said that Americans were of bad character and not trustworthy.

Additional anti-American sentiment is found scattered throughout plantation documents and Laura's memoir. When telling stories about her youth, Laura's great-grandmother, Nanette, frequently complained about the Americans and considered them " 'socially inferior' " (Gore 2000: 123). In particular, one of her complaints pertained to a pain in her toe. She would say: " 'I have small hands and feet. And oh, how terrible it was at a dance one night when a tall 'gauchy (sic) American' asked me to dance and mashed my toe....[T]o this day my toe still hurts me' " (Gore 1936: 3). With such a haughty dislike for Americans, it is not surprising that she retired on the plantation instead of in the city of New Orleans, like most landed Creoles.

According to Laura, anti-American sentiment was even expressed by the Creole slaves on Laura plantation. Anna, who was Laura's nurse, would often hold Laura in her lap and tell her stories. One in particular was how, "...the creole negroes hated the American negroes and made them very unhappy because they did not speak negro French" (Gore 1936: 10). Anna must have had first-hand experience with this antipathy since she was from North Carolina making her a former Anglo slave (Gore 2000: 33).²

¹ Translated by Tom Goyens: "If it is determined that my property should be sold, it will be within a one or two year term; sold to a solvent person, but not to an American, to avoid all cunning and mischievous chicanery by that type of people inflicted upon my own...."

² In Laura Locoul Gore's memoir, dated 1936, Laura stated that Anna came from Wilmington, Delaware. Having had a close relationship with Anna, it was assumed that this information was correct. However, research in 1997 has found documents that challenge this. According to Anna's marriage record to Louis Brown, her place of birth was listed as North Carolina. One suggestion is that Anna was purchased in Delaware and brought to New Orleans to be sold again (Crouy-Chanel 1997). This is the information which Norman and Sand Marmillion chose to interpret in their publication of "Memories of the Old Plantation Home" (2000). This non-published research can be found in the author's files.

It is interesting to note that Laura did not attribute any blaring anti-American remarks to herself in her memoir. Yet, she still chose to highlight this aspect of her family despite her Americanization. She grew up in an age when mutual cultural exchange between the Creoles and Anglos was taking place. As is evidenced through her choice to marry an Anglo from St. Louis, she accepted parts of this other culture. Therefore, Laura's "anti-American" statements were subtle in that they were not direct or derogatory, but they pointed out that she was different from the Americans.

For example, Laura tells the story of a trip that she took with friends to White Sulphur Springs in Virginia. There she encountered a gentleman who wrote for a New York magazine. This gentleman became smitten with Laura during her stay and in an effort to demonstrate his feelings frequently wrote her poetry and mentioned her in his magazine articles. Laura made it a point to recount that he described her in these articles as " 'the attractive little dark-eyed creole from New Orleans' "(Gore 2000: 86). It is apparent that Laura took great pride in being labeled a Creole and by retelling the story, she was able to say that she was not an Anglo-American. Laura also made her loyalty to Creole culture apparent in a statement at the conclusion of her memoir. She said, "...to dear, old Louisiana, the land of my birth, I love you and am true to you still" (Gore 2000: 166).

Laura's choice to highlight these statements signaled her membership in elite Creole culture. It also demonstrated that she envisioned herself as different from those individuals surrounding her in St. Louis and that she wanted her children to know that they were different as well. By attributing negative statements to other individuals, she separated herself from the egotistical statements of superiority that her family had made in the past. Instead, she was able to simply make her differences known without having to take responsibility for degrading sentiments, particularly at the cost of offending her American husband, in-laws and friends.

Although these are the main statements that can be documented, they certainly do not cover all anti-American sentiments. One can only imagine, the numerous negative comments made in conversations and written in letters and other documents that no longer exist. Although the nuances of the definition of creole have changed, the idea of being different has remained the same. Despite Laura's acceptance of American culture, she still envisioned herself as different from the population at large. Therefore, although the words changed, anti-American statements as a defining aspect of elite Creole culture did not.

Pro-French Behavior

Another way in which the Duparcs and Locouls demonstrated their differences from the Anglo-Americans was to engage in behavior that affirmed their Frenchness. This was expressed in their constant effort to maintain direct links with France through language, religion, education, travel and marriage. As previously mentioned, this mimicry of aristocratic French society, which began in Louisiana in the eighteenth century, would be a defining aspect of elite Creole culture in Louisiana. Thus, the Duparcs and Locouls clung to historically rooted behavior in order to legitimate their membership in Creole society.

French was the language of choice for at least the first two generations of Duparcs and Locouls, although all four generations spoke and understood it. In her memoir, Laura quotes her great-grandparents and grandparents in the French that they spoke. In reference to her mother, Laura notes that Désirée "had perfect command of both English and French" (Gore 2000: 24). Although it is not clear what the primary language spoken in the Duparc-Locoul household was during the mid-nineteenth century, the latest historical document written in French and relating to the family dated to 1872 (COB Book 40, Act No. 27). What is clear from Laura's comments is that Louisiana was a

bilingual society by this time.

Laura herself spoke English and wrote her memoir in English, but made it apparent that she too had command of the French language. Not only did she use a number of French phrases throughout her tales, but she also told the story of one friend who "began to jabber in French, saying such utterly ridiculous things that...[she] was almost in hysterics" (Gore 2000: 87).

Additionally, Laura notes that one of her dearest friends "spoke English and French equally well" (Gore 2000: 111). As Hall notes, "The choice to speak a particular language...identified with a given social group is an act of cultural identity. Individuals both identify themselves and identify with others by the language they speak..." (Hall 1992: 189). Thus, Laura demonstrates that a command of the French language was very important to elite Creole identity and social cohesion.

Socially prominent Creoles, particularly Laura's family, also made a constant effort to maintain direct, elite links with France. Laura, in validating her family's roots, portrays her family as noble, privileged and elite. She writes that Louisiana relatives from her great grandmother's side of the family descended from Dr. Jean Prud'Homme who served as " '*médecin de sa Majeste Louis XV* ' " ("the court physician for Louis XV") (Gore 2000: 13). As a member of Louis XV's court, he certainly held a privileged position within French society. Ironically, research regarding her great-grandfather shows that Guillaume's family did not belong to the French nobility or even own an estate (Crouy-Chanel 1997). However, in an attempt to establish what would appear a legitimate noble link, his son was known as Louis de Mézière Duparc. Laura notes that her great grandfather was stationed at Point Coupée with Marquis de Mézière, and speculates that perhaps Louis was named after this man (Gore 2000: 15). Research suggests that Louis simply added the name to his own in order to feign an air of nobility since Demezière was a prestigious name in France (Crouy-Chanel 1997).

Laura described Raymond, her grandfather, as a "polished gentleman of France" who arrived in the States "with letters of introduction (and all his credentials)" so that he could prove he was socially equal to "New Orleans' most prominent citizens" and thus gain access to the elite Creole world (Gore 2000: 19). Laura also notes that three generations later her first cousins were still maintaining the family's link with France: Eugénie moved to France, while Fanny wed the French Consul of New Orleans and Raymond became the French Consul in Seattle, Washington (Gore 2000: 152). With these statements, Laura attempts to prove that her family was historically rooted to France and that they also descend from a privileged class.

Equally as important to the elite Creoles, was to be a devout Catholic which seemed to be intertwined with demonstrations of French nationalism. Guillaume Duparc, in identifying himself in his Last Will and Testament, stated that he was, "*natif de Caen paroisse Nôtre Dame en Basse Normandie...[et] très catholique*"³ (HNOG, Microfilm 95-49-L). His wife Nanette was said to have walked the gallery of her home every morning praying her rosary and singing the French national anthem: "*Allons enfants de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé*" (Gore 1936: 3).

Whether associated with French nationalism or not, Laura portrayed her family as devout, practicing Catholics. Laura's grandmother, Elisabeth, was said to have made the sign of the cross whenever there was trouble (Gore 1936: 5) and gave each grandchild an ivory prayer book and tourmaline prayer beads upon their first communion. For Laura, this occurred at the age of 15 in 1876; two days later she was confirmed in the Catholic church (Gore 2000: 73). In an effort to reiterate that she was a good Catholic, Laura stated that she, "never failed to get to Mass and receive the ashes of Ash Wednesday and try and make a good beginning for Lent" (Gore 1936: 39).

³ Translated by Tom Goyens: "Native of Caen, parish of Nôtre Dame in Lower Normandy...[and]very Catholic."

By analyzing Laura's memoir, it is apparent that she defined a devout Catholic as someone who encouraged others to follow the faith. Despite marrying a Protestant, she raised her three children according to this religion (Gore 2000: 159). Additionally, Laura recounts stories of her family and other Creoles teaching and imposing Catholicism upon individuals in the community. Laura described one of her grandmother's friends as "a small, white-haired little lady, who, every Sunday taught the little negroes their Catechism" (Gore 2000: 40). In an extreme case, Laura tells the story of her mother forcing a house servant to get married in the Catholic Church "so that she might go to Confession and Communion and follow her religion" (Gore 2000: 67).

It is apparent that Catholicism held great importance for the elite Creole community in maintaining social cohesion, much as it did during the initial colonization of Louisiana in the eighteenth century. At that time, its importance lay in its ability to unite society and present a coherent colony to dissuade British encroachment. It still functioned similarly for the Creole population except the "enemy" had changed.

Marriage was another way in which the Duparc-Locoul family maintained their ties to France and thus their socially prominent Creole identity. Laura's great-grandmother, grandmother and aunt married men who were from that country and Louis Duparc, Laura's great uncle, married a girl who was educated in Paris, France (Gore 2000: 127). However, most of the family members could not claim French birth.

Therefore, an education in France was used to validate the link for the men in the family (Figure 6). As Laura stated, it was the custom to "[send] every young Louisianian of French descent, to the land of his forefathers for proper schooling..." (Marmillion 1997: Preliminary). Additionally, an education in France allowed individuals to "acquire a patina of French manners and ideas" (Cr  t   1978: 126). Laura's great uncle, Louis Duparc, and

her father, Emile Locoul, were both sent there for their education. However, the women in the family received a French education in Louisiana. If they were not sent to French schools, such as Sacred Heart Convent and Ursuline Convent, French professors and tutors were brought to the plantation to teach them (Gore: 1949; Gore 1936: 5, 6). Laura broke with family tradition and chose to go to an American boarding school in New Orleans.

Travel, coupled with one's education, also validated the elite Creoles' links to France. Travel was a way for individuals, particularly men, to symbolize that they were "leading the life of the average young gentleman of leisure..." (Gore 1936: 4). Not surprisingly, according to Nanette, "none but a gallant Frenchman was considered a gentleman" (Gore 1936: 3). Therefore, the Duparc's and Locoul's were doing everything in their power to continue to generate this image.

Louis and Fanny took their daughter Eliza to Paris when she turned 18. Due to her unfortunate death during the trip, they remained in Paris for a year after the incident. Upon Emile's graduation from the Royal Military College of Bordeaux, his parents, Elisabeth and Raymond, and his sister, Aimée, joined him in France and remained in Paris while Emile traveled throughout Europe. Emile would eventually return to France twice with his wife, Désirée - once for his honeymoon and then again after the death of Désirée's mother. During this second trip they stayed in a Parisian apartment owned by his sister and her husband, Ivan de Lobel-Mahy (Gore: 1949; Gore 1936: 2, 4, 8; Gore 2000: 28-29).

An elite life of leisure was expressed in the many cultural and social events that the family attended. The duke of Saxe-Weimar visited the city in 1826 and commented that " 'No day passed over this winter which did not produce something pleasant or interesting.... Dinners, evening parties, plays, masquerades, and other amusements followed close on each other, and were interrupted only by little circumstances...' "(Crété 1978: 202). Many of these

events were held at the French Opera House in New Orleans (Figure 7), which was the "...center of all Creole social life" (Saxon et al. 1945: 156). Not only was it a venue for the opera, but it was also a venue for courting and for many balls that Laura attended (Gore 1936: 6, 36, 39).

Laura's grandmother, Elisabeth, had a season box at the French Opera House and Laura notes that they attended the opera twice a week during the winter months (Gore 1949). Just as Laura stated that this was "just the thing" (Gore 1949), one person commented that the appreciation for beautiful music was expressed perfectly, "...in the face of a Creole girl when the spell of one of these French operas [was] upon her" (Saxon et al. 1945: 157). Laura referred frequently to parties, balls, dinners, soirees and lunches and these were a predominant way in which socially prominent Creoles, including the Duparcs and Locouls, passed a majority of their time.

Thus, the family aristocratically milled about society. To be constantly seen and active within social circles was imperative. As one visitor to Louisiana commented, " 'New Orleans is a dreadful place in the eyes of a New England man. They keep Sunday as we in Boston keep the Fourth of July' " (Saxon et al. 1945: 157). Not only was the family's goal to live the active life of leisure, but also to maintain the status of gentlemen and gentlewomen and thus to reinforce their status as French Creoles in Louisiana society.

In sum, language, religion, nationalism, education, travel, social connections and an active social life, were all elements that wealthy, socially prominent Creoles used to maintain their membership in Creole society. They were also used as symbols to decree that they were different from the Anglo-Americans. Since all of these ideals were practiced by Laura into the twentieth century, it is easy to say that these identity markers were not compromised by elite Creoles. However, it must be recognized that changes did occur, but conservative behavior was practiced.

The Life of a Planter

One of the main differences between elite Creoles and the Americans was choice of occupation. As mentioned earlier in Tocqueville's travel records, the Americans dominated the business world within the cities (Tocqueville 1960: 104), while landed Creoles maintained a majority hold on agricultural pursuits (Hero 1995: 161). As Laura states in her memoir, "Professional men were not regarded with favor..." (Gore 1936: 4). In particular, occupations associated with the Americans were considered "hopelessly *bourgeois*" (Gore 2000: 140). Therefore, elite Creoles prided themselves on their plantations and the lifestyle associated with them.

The life of a planter was a large part of elite Creole identity and a great source of prestige for the Creole family. The family's business and position within society were safe-guarded through the generations as plantations passed along familial lines. Familial pressure also factored into this preservation. It was expected of the inheritors to continue the established work of their parents and to not disgrace the family name.

This lesson was learned by Emile, Laura's father, who was not allowed to pursue law as a career. As Laura writes:

...the family opposed his going into law bitterly, for a 'southern gentleman' had to be a planter....When a sugar planter walked the street of New Orleans with his cottonaid britches, alpaca coat, panama hat and gold-headed cane, he was looked upon as the king of creation and everybody bowed down to him. (Gore 1936: 4)

And so Emile "[led] the life of the average young gentleman of leisure of those days [running the plantation and] making frequent trips to Europe to renew

old friendships and acquaintances” (Gore 1936: 4).

To be an old French family was to be a part of the upper echelons of society to which others “bowed down”. To continue acceptance in this tier, it was important that the planter lifestyle be continued through the familial lines and also through the maintenance of personal relationships with the right people. Laura describes her cousins as “exclusive”, visiting only “one or two old families” and relates a story of her cousin Fannie being asked to play a private musical in the home of “an old French family” (Gore 1936: 28).

Pride and prestige were the policing agents which encouraged elite Creoles to conform to the planters’ life. In their view, endowing themselves with a high social status among their peers placed them above and beyond the Americans. As seen with Guillaume Duparc, he established himself not only with his military career, but also with the land and status that it conferred upon him. These things passed down through the family affected Laura’s generation. Even after Laura and her siblings sold the plantation, they still worked to maintain their status within society. By writing her memoir and glorifying the past, Laura was able to continue with family tradition by keeping the plantation and the associated Creole lifestyle alive, even though circumstances had changed.

Paternalism and Slavery

Not only did elite Creoles and the Duparcs-Locouls maintain the planter lifestyle, they also attempted to maintain a particular image as slave owners. First, by engaging in differential patronage, the landed Creoles used their preference for Creole slaves as an attempt to surround themselves with familiar elements of society and reject things classified as Anglo-American. However, in reality, they did own Anglo slaves. Second, in the fight to prove themselves superior to Anglo-American planters, elite Creoles constantly portrayed themselves as giving and paternalistic slave owners, alternatively

denouncing Anglo slave owners for being cruel and abusive. In reality, the institution of slavery was inherently cruel and unjust no matter who the slave owner was.

However, archaeological evidence suggests that there were differences between the two kinds of slave owners' approaches to the institution. Dawdy notes that Creole plantation owners' slave management was modeled after a peasant village as opposed to the factory-like conditions that Anglo plantation owners imposed (Dawdy 1996: 1). Additionally, Roderick McDonald notes that, in Louisiana, these village-like conditions "provided the focus for a wide range of activities, all typified by a kind of autonomy [for the slaves] fundamentally antagonistic to the principals of slavery" (McDonald 1993: 165-166). As a result, slaves on Creole plantations were given relatively more freedom with their time and movement than their Anglo counterparts (Dawdy 1996: 1). These differences are what the Creole slave owners highlighted to demonstrate that they were more humane slave owners.

The incorporation of Creole slaves at Laura plantation is evident through historical documentation, however most documents do not actually mention the proliferation of Creole slaves on the plantation. Enslaved people tended to be labeled as "Creole" only for clarity when two or more slaves with the same name were listed in the same document. However, supporting evidence for the presence of Creole slaves is suggested from the many names which were characteristically French. For example, Marcel, Philippe, Pierre, Adèle, Hélène and Mathilde were listed amongst Bob, Peter, Sam, Jane and Sally (Crouy-Chanel 1997).

The first known document associated with Laura Plantation, dated 1808, labels 4 out of 17 enslaved people, or 23.5%, as Creole. Eight enslaved people were identified by their African nationality and included the Canga (Windward Coast), Congo (Central Africa), Moco (Bight of Biafra), Minan (Bight of Benin) and Quesy nations. The remaining 5 enslaved people were

children, 4 of whom were listed with their parents, the last being an orphan (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L; Hall 1992: 276-315). Given that Anglo slaves were abundant in Louisiana when Guillaume started the plantation, his choice of Creole slaves, and slaves acquired through customary French and Spanish trade monopolies, shows a deliberate effort to establish Creole traditions.

In August 1829, when Nanette gave the plantation to her three children, she stipulated that "*elle conservera en toute propriété et jouissance les deux Esclaves créoles nommeés, Nina, négresse, âgé de vingt trois ans environ, et Henriette, mulâtress, âgé de dix huit ans environ*"⁴ (COB Book 11, Act No. 155). Nanette's choice of the word "*jouissance*" is interesting in that its definition, according to Cassell's French & English Dictionary, is "enjoyment; possession, use; delight". Therefore, out of the 79 Creole and Anglo slaves that she was in possession of, Nanette specifically chose to retain two Creole slaves whom she characterized in a positive manner. These two examples help demonstrate the importance that Creole slave owners assigned to Creole slaves.

One of the most interesting insights that Laura expressed regarding Creole slaves on Laura Plantation was attributed to Anna, her nurse. Laura quoted Anna as saying that "the creole negroes hated the American negroes and made them very unhappy because they did not speak negro French" (Gore 1936: 10). Surprisingly this statement, credited to a former Anglo slave, hints at the dominance and superiority of Creole slaves over Anglo slaves. What is implied by Laura in mentioning this statement is that the Creole-Anglo rift in high Creole society was also reflected within its enslaved population. It is easy to interpret this as an attempt by Laura to give her Creole viewpoint validity by having a non-Creole, especially a former slave, state it.

As is also suggested in this statement, it has been noted that significant differences existed between enslaved people who were acculturated in French

⁴ Translated by Shannon Dawdy: "She reserves all property and rights to the two Creole slaves named Nina, negress of about 23 years and Henriette, mulatress of about 18 years."

Louisiana versus enslaved people who were brought up in Anglo-American territories. In sum, these enslaved people were brought to North America from different parts of the world; they were exposed to different languages, religions, social customs and social hierarchies; and they were exposed to different styles of plantation management. In particular, a study by Jean-Pierre Le Glaunec (2002), demonstrates that enslaved people of similar backgrounds acted as cohesive social units, much like the Creoles.

Le Glaunec analyzed runaway slave advertisements printed between 1802 and 1814 in *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*, the first newspaper in New Orleans, and identified trends among the runaway slaves. First, he noted that 2/3 of the runaway slaves were from areas outside of Louisiana and that only 1 out of every 10 runaways was described as creole.⁵ Second, most runaways were not able to speak French. Third, he noted that enslaved people tended to run away in groups based on shared culture and language, particularly Anglo-American slaves (Le Glaunec 2002). This trend affected Laura plantation as seen in a runaway slave ad (Figure 8) posted in the Louisiana Courier in 1816 by Louis Duparc: "Ranaway from the Duparc plantation on the 27th ult. and the 2d last, six *American* negroes, not speaking a word of French" (Gore 2000: 39). Perhaps this was another reason why Creole slave owners preferred Creole slaves.

While the statement attributed to Anna hinted at the cultural dominance of Creole slaves over Anglo slaves, Laura also attempted to prove the superiority of Creole slave owners over Anglo ones. Unyielding in her approach, Laura animated her family in a paternalistic and humane way and described them as caring for and rewarding their slaves. Although Laura did not make any derogatory comments about Anglo slave owners, secondary sources show that Creoles accused Anglo-Americans (and vice-versa) of

⁵ In this case, the term "creole" refers to Creole slaves from Louisiana as well as those described as creole slaves from other states.

treating their slaves cruelly and inhumanely. Ironically, Laura contradicted herself when she told stories about enslaved people who had been physically abused by members of her family. In general though, Laura's approach represented one more way in which elite Creoles typically chose to highlight their feelings of superiority over the Anglos and chose to reiterate their membership in a cohesive Creole society.

First and foremost, Creole slave owners wanted to demonstrate to the community at large that they treated their slaves humanely and that they expected other individuals within the community to uphold these standards. Many of these attitudes stemmed from the *Code Noir*, the *Real Cédula* and treatises on slavery that had been established, at least in theory, as part of Louisiana's culture beginning in the early eighteenth century. These social ideals were emphasized in numerous personal and legal documents as a symbol of elite Creole charity.

As can be seen in the 1808 Last Will and Testament of Guillaume Duparc, Guillaume stated that Nanette could have guardianship of their children if she did not remarry and, "*qu'elle se comporte bien et troute humainement mes Esclaves...*"⁶ (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L). Another example is seen in a contract between plantation owners renting out their slaves to others. The contract states, " 'the Slaves working hands furnished by the parties together with their children as may be old and infirm...shall be clothed, fed and receive all necessary medical attendance, at the Expense of the partnership and shall [be] humanely treated' " (McDonald 1993: 161). From the second statement, it seems that humane treatment was equivalent to providing the basic necessities to enslaved people, some of which were already required by law. According to Genovese, as a general trend, enslaved people defined a "good master" as one who met these basic requirements (Genovese 1976: 124).

Elite Creoles depicted their dedication to the humane treatment of

⁶ Translated by Tom Goyens: "treats my slaves humanely...".

enslaved people by representing them as part of their own family. The Creole slave system was based on paternalistic theories, a concept that stemmed from the patriarchal society found in France. Creoles therefore viewed servants as extensions within the family. Take for example the story that Laura recounts of her grandmother's attempt to sell Anna to a slave trader thus separating her from her son. Upset at the transaction, Laura's mother summoned her husband to put an end to the transaction saying:

'I believe your mother is selling Anna and keeping her child and wouldn't that be as if our baby were being taken from us?' Thus, fired with paternal feelings, Father walked up to the man, taking no notice of his mother, and said, 'I don't know what transaction my mother had made with you, but if she wants to sell this woman, my money is as good as yours and I will buy her, or you may depart at once.' Grandmother was furious at his [interference] saying that he & his wife spoiled every servant they had and were '*des gateurs de negre*' (Negro spoilers). (Gore 1936: 11)

Laura's choice of words in describing this event demonstrates a responsibility that elite Creoles claimed toward their slaves and displays undertones of empathy. Ironically, Laura's grandmother, a Creole herself, was the villain from whom Laura's parents were saving Anna.

In reality, elite Creoles viewed their slaves as children who needed guidance and discipline and did not necessarily treat them with kindness (Brasseaux 1980: 140; Allain 1980: 132-133). Discipline, in the form of physical abuse, was one avenue of punishment for Creoles and the Duparc-Locoul

family. This is evidenced by Laura's account of a slave called Pa Philippe, that had been branded on his face with the words "DF&L" as retribution for running away (Gore 1936: 13). Additionally, in the runaway slave advertisement, a slave named Philip was identified by the brands on his cheeks that contained the letters "V.D.P."⁷ which stood for *Veuve* (widow) Duparc PrudHomme (Gore 2000: 39). Other evidence for violence at Laura plantation comes from Laura's description of the presence of stocks on the plantation (Gore 2000: 43).

Despite the evidence of violence, Laura still presented her parents and herself in a humane and paternalistic manner. After noticing the marks on Pa Philippe's face, Laura was "horror stricken" and confronted her parents as to why someone would brand another individual. Laura's mother was said to have replied that although she and her father would never do such things, there were family members of Laura's who would. Laura claims to have been moved by this experience and stated that she always wanted to be considerate to Pa Philippe after that. Her way of righting this wrong was to bring cake and food to him (Gore 2000: 39).

This leads to another tactic that elite Creoles used to demonstrate that they treated their slaves humanely -- the distribution of material rewards. Similar to Laura's connection with Pa Philippe, material incentives such a glass of wine, medical treatment and verbal encouragement were ways in which these personal relationships were forged. In essence, these incentives were used by the Creoles to ensure loyalty from their work force (McGowan 1976: 115-116).

Laura states that it was customary to "give the negroes the surplus milk and clabber every morning." Other material incentives given by the Duparcs and Locouls to their slaves was permission to use the old slave hospital for

⁷ Although the markings on the two individuals are described a bit differently, it is possible that these accounts refer to the same person due to the similarity in name.

special occasions such as parties and weddings. Laura's mother frequently supplied candles, coffee, and the ingredients used to make cakes for these occasions (Gore 1936: 14). Other such events were described by Laura to have taken place at *Monsieur Valcour Aime's* plantation in which his slaves were allowed "to feast in the court and enjoy themselves in their many rustic ways" on special occasions (Gore 2000: 90).

The greatest reward that a slave owner could give to a slave was freedom. In 1850, Raymond freed Catherine, one of his slaves and attributed this honor to her hard work. This reward ironically came with a price of 850 piastres (Crouy-Chanel 1997). Although these rewards did not justify enslavement, the dispersal of rewards and the promise of freedom issued by the Duparcs and Locouls was one way to attempt to guarantee a loyal and productive work force. This was also another way in which the family could suggest to the community that they were good slave owners.

Steadfast medical treatment was of utmost importance to sustain a productive work force and a successful plantation system. Laura noted the presence of a "negro hospital" on the property and recounted numerous stories of her mother visiting the slave quarters to personally attend to sickly and dying slaves. The country doctor was also summoned to tend to ill slaves and was paid a base fee of "one dollar per head per year" in addition to food rations for each enslaved person on the plantation (Gore 2000: 43-46). However, with only one doctor in this rural area, it was probably out of necessity that Laura's mother assumed a large responsibility for the medical care of her work force.

Laura notes the combination of "modern" medical practices and folk medicinal systems to treat the workers at Laura plantation. She describes the pantry shelves as containing "bottles of every kind of medicine" and she remembers weighing and packaging quinine for sick workers. Yet, she also recounts the homemade remedies that were applied:

A piece of yellow adhesive cloth made for the purpose [of creating blisters] was cut about three inches wide, a black paste of something was thickly smeared over it and then washed with 'Cantharadine,' a powder made from some insect which was placed on any part of the body. This raised huge blisters which was supposed to relieve inflammation. When the old blister was removed, the wound was dressed with pieces of young banana leaves, spread with olive oil and repeated for several days till the place had healed. (Gore 2000: 45)

The use of herbs and natural remedies suggests that Laura's mother incorporated the enslaved peoples' medicinal practices into her own.

At Oakley Plantation, an Anglo plantation located in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, family papers state that sick slaves were primarily seen by a doctor (Wilkie et al. 1993: 96). Although there is evidence that Eliza Pirrie, the plantation owner, personally cared for her slaves when they were sick, family papers show that this practice was abandoned over time and that medical care was eventually left to the professionals (Wilkie 2000: 243). In fact, a friend of Eliza commented that doctor's bills for the treatment of slaves on Oakley exceeded the total operational expenses of a small nearby plantation (Wilkie et al. 1992: 58). Wilkie suggests that this trend was a response to the ability of professional doctors to tell whether her slaves were feigning illness as a form of resistance more easily than she (Wilkie 2000: 243). However, letters from family friends recount a story in which Eliza was brutally beaten by one of her domestic slaves after Eliza chastised her (Wilkie 2000: 65). This incident occurred at approximately the same time that Eliza began to rely on doctors for

their care. Perhaps, another explanation for this trend is Eliza's desire to maintain social distance from her work force.

Both Creole and Anglo slave owners were concerned with the health of their enslaved people and thus with their investments. Both groups promoted their use of medicine to demonstrate their humanity as slave owners. However, Laura continued to conjure up a paternal image of her family, in particular her mother, to convince her audience that elite Creoles gave their enslaved people more personal attention than the Anglos.

This differential use of doctors in the treatment of enslaved people is one hint that there were differences between the Creole and Anglo approach to slavery, something which each group already claimed. Religion is another. Catholicism was the accepted form of religion for the Creoles and their slaves. At Laura Plantation, it was integrated into the lives of the enslaved people, sometimes by force, just as it was into the lives the family. Elisabeth was very concerned with teaching the Catholic religion to her slaves and it was said that every Sunday they were taught their Catechism by a family friend (Gore 2000: 40). Additionally, one of Elisabeth's "great challenges with negroes, especially house servants, was to make them live respectable lives and to be married in the Church" (Gore 2000: 67).

In contrast, American plantation owners accepted and encouraged the Protestant religion (Saxon et al. 1945: 242). This trend is still apparent today in Vacherie, Louisiana where descendants of Creole slaves in the community attend the Catholic church and descendants of Anglo slaves attend the Baptist church (Marmillion, Personal Communication, 1997). The Protestant religion was also encouraged at Oakley Plantation, an Anglo plantation in southern Louisiana, where some enslaved people were baptized at Grace Episcopal Church. After the Civil War, the former slaves and their descendants, worshiped at Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Church (Wilkie 2000: 67, 53).

Documentary evidence as well as archaeological evidence will be used

to continue to explore these differences and make them more intelligible. It is difficult to determine the truth about Creole versus Anglo slave treatment through personal statements attributed to white slave owners as well as many ex-slave narratives that upheld the "moonlight and magnolias interpretation of slavery" (Genovese 1976: 123). Luckily, material objects left behind by slave owners and their slaves present a less biased view of this system. Most importantly, these objects give the enslaved people their own voice in the historical record.

Unfortunately, archaeological excavations of Laura plantation's slave cabins have yet to be undertaken. Therefore, this portion of the case study will use documentary evidence from Laura coupled with documentary and archaeological evidence gathered from one additional Creole plantation (Orange Grove) and two Anglo plantations (Oakley and Ashland-Belle Helene). Almost all, with the exception of Orange Grove were built within the early nineteenth century. However, archaeological materials at Orange Grove suggest occupation through this time period. These archaeological studies were conducted by different individuals and were specifically chosen because similar recovery and analysis techniques were used. Therefore, the materials are comparable. Although this evidence is limited, it certainly presents intriguing evidence regarding the difference between Creole and Anglo slave management.

The placement of slave quarters in relation to the great house is a good place to start. Creole planters tended to place slave quarters in relation to the great house, whereas Anglo planters created a physical distance and separation between the two. An 1872 conveyance record regarding Laura Plantation states that there were 17 worker's cabins, 10 of which were for domestic workers, located on the front half of the property and 6 worker's cabins, of which two were for domestic servants, on the back half of the property (COB Book 40, Act No. 27). This is reconfirmed by the Mississippi

River Commission Survey of 1876 (Figure 9) and the Historic American Building Survey of 1989 (Figure 10) which identify the presence of slave cabins. From these maps, it can be determined that the 17 slave cabins located on the front half of the property were placed approximately 160 meters directly east of the great house and continued in a line toward the Mississippi River. Therefore, the slave quarters would have dominated the view from the front porch of the great house at Laura Plantation and vice-versa. This pattern is also reflected at Orange Grove, a Creole plantation built in the 1770s and located 10 miles upriver from New Orleans. Here, slave quarters were placed 100 meters from the great house sharing the same view of the river. Both the great house and the slave quarters on these plantations would be simultaneously visible to the public (Dawdy 1996: 9).

In contrast, the visibility of slave quarters on Anglo plantations was not as apparent. At Ashland-Belle Helene, an 1820s plantation located in Ascension Parish, 18 slave cabins were placed over 500 meters behind the great house, shading them from both the public and planter's view. At Oakley, a plantation built in West Feliciana parish in the early 1800s, the location of the slave quarters has yet to be determined (Wilkie 2000: 33, 66). Phase I systematic testing by Holland and Orser in 1984 and Phase II testing by Wilkie and Farnsworth (1992) failed to find archaeological remains of the slave cabins within a 100 acre area surrounding the great house. Despite the lack of evidence, speculation has placed the cabins approximately 150 meters behind the house and suggests that they were shielded from the great house by a line of trees (Holland et al. 1984: 11; Wilkie et al. 1992: 135-137). Therefore, the slave quarters on both plantations would have been eliminated from both the planter's and the public's view.

The placement of the slave quarters speaks to the ideological mind set of the Creole planters and that of the Anglos and their relationship to their work force. Certainly to the free population, the dominance of the great house was a

statement of authority over the enslaved people. It can be argued that the closer the slave quarters were to the great house, the tighter control the planter had over the work force. This distance also makes a statement about the social relationship that the planter maintained with the work force. Close supervision suggests a close social relationship, whether voluntary or not.

It is necessary to analyze this from the alternate perspective as well - from that of the enslaved population. As has been previously discussed, Creole planters maintained a paternalistic image of their relationship with their work force. The personal bonds and relationships that they created with their enslaved people was characterized by a sense of authority and discipline similar to that found between parents and children. As Genovese points out, the dominance of the great house "[reaffirmed] the slaves' image of their master as a powerful and dominating figure, appropriate to a system of paternalistic hegemony" (Genovese 1976: 533).

Genovese's statement can also be applied to Anglo planters since the dominance of the great house would have been equally felt by enslaved people on Anglo plantations. However, the Anglos' attempt to shield the slave quarters from their view, created a different end result. As opposed to articulating an intimate relationship with their work force, Anglo slave owners communicated social distance and separation. Thus the placement of the slave quarters in relation to the great house expresses differences between Creole and Anglo slave owners.

Religion also contributed to this disparity. As part of religious practice, all Catholics were to observe a moratorium of work on Sundays and Holy days. According to Article 5 of the *Code Noir*, this applied to the enslaved populations as well (Gayarré 1851: 537). In addition, Saturday was also given as personal time on most Creole plantations (Brasseaux 1980: 145; McDonald 1993: 14). Specifically, slaves' work was defined as that which was expected of them on the plantation, but did not include voluntary work that they chose to pursue

on weekends and holidays. "Rather than provide slaves with all their food, clothing, and other necessities, masters attempted to minimize slave demands upon limited resources by granting time to work for themselves as self-directed peasants or as wage laborers for other planters or farmers" (McGowan 1976: 140). For the enslaved people it meant that they could, "derive satisfaction from organizing the economic system and acquiring power and control over aspects of their own lives" (McDonald 1993: 78). For both the Creole planter and the slaves, free time had positive connotations.

In contrast, Anglo plantation owners were more strict in granting personal time off to their slaves (McGowan 1976: 206). On Ashland-Belle Helene Plantation, enslaved people were only allowed to complete personal tasks and tend to their gardens at night to acquire extra money, goods, and fineries (Yakubik et al. 1994: 12-4). At Oakley plantation, enslaved people were only granted time off as a reward for hard work and were only able to hunt and attend to their gardens at night (Wilkie 2000: 19, 23). As a result, enslaved people working on Anglo plantations were more dependent upon their masters to supply provisions.

Archaeologically speaking, provisioning differences on Creole and Anglo plantations are apparent in the material recovered at Orange Grove, Ashland-Belle Helene and Oakley Plantations. According to Roderick McDonald, the extra money that enslaved people earned during their free time activities was spent to purchase a variety of goods which can be broken into different categories. These categories include food and drink, pipes and tobacco, clothing and other personal items, and housewares (McDonald 1993: 80). In theory, the more variety and number of goods found in an archaeological assemblage, the more free time that the enslaved people had to earn money to purchase these goods.

Food provisioning is best studied through the faunal remains and hunting-related artifacts that were found on each of these three sites.

Although it is understood that plantation owners supplied their slaves with a limited amount of food, enslaved people frequently supplemented their diets by hunting, gardening and trading during their free time. Sixty-five percent of the total faunal remains, or 25% of the biomass, recovered at Orange Grove plantation consisted of wild species. These included deer, rabbit, squirrel, a variety of wild birds, and fish. Additionally, 11 gun flints and lead bullets were recovered, showing that the enslaved people were actively hunting wild game (Figure 11). Only 18% of this assemblage, or 75% of the biomass, was from domestic animals, part of which, if not all, was supplied by the plantation owner (Dawdy 1996: 5, 8).

In contrast, wild species comprised only 5% of the biomass of the faunal collection recovered at Ashland-Belle Helene Plantation. One gun flint and various ammunitions were found (Yakubik et al. 1994: 10-75, 10-86). In particular, this assemblage included a higher amount of fish than that recovered at Orange Grove. Dawdy notes that fish could be caught with minimum effort by setting up unattended trot lines which were easily checked in the evenings and at night when Anglo slaves were granted free time. Ninety-five percent of the biomass in this collection was represented by domestic species (Dawdy 1996: 8) including pig, cow and chicken (Yakubik et al. 1994: 12-7). This is not surprising since a plantation day book references the distribution of pork to the slaves in addition to the allowance of the slaves to raise their own chickens and pigs (Yakubik et al. 1994: 12-3).

The assemblage at Oakley plantation was similar to that of Ashland-Belle Helene (Table 1) in that it also included the remains of pig, cow and chicken in addition to turkey. However no wild species were represented (Wilkie 2000: 139). Despite the lack of faunal evidence, documentary evidence does suggest that enslaved people in this area supplemented their diets with raccoons, opossums and beaver, all nocturnal animals that could be caught at night (Wilkie 2000: 23).

Thus, a pattern emerges indicating that different privileges regarding food procurement were granted to enslaved people on Creole and Anglo plantations. Enslaved people on Creole plantations had a greater diversity of wild game in their diet suggesting greater ability to pursue hunting activities. Anglo slaves, on the other hand, were limited to wild game that could easily be caught and trapped at night during limited free time hours.

This inconsistency in diet as a result of hunting activities also comments on the slaves' access to weapons. It seems that enslaved people on Creole plantation were less restricted to weapons than enslaved people on Anglo plantations. Perhaps one reason why Creole slave owners maintained closer social relationships with their work force was in effort to maintain control of the slaves' use of these weapons. In particular, they needed to be assured that the enslaved people would not use these to revolt against them.

Differences in indirect forms of provisioning are also seen in the practice of slaves cultivating garden plots (McGowan 1976: 123-124). By giving their enslaved people a means to produce their own food, slave owners reduced the amount of provisions that they were required to supply. Additionally, in an effort to perpetuate the system of slavery, plantation owners were physically rooting their slaves to the land by giving them personal responsibility for a part of it. "[T]he system of self-reliance was designed to attach slaves to their master's service [as well as the plantation] at minimum cost to the planters" (McGowan 1976: 142-143). However, many enslaved people used this privilege as a way to earn extra money for material goods and finery as well as the possibility of buying their freedom (McGowan 1976: 296).

However, not all plantation owners were comfortable with this economic latitude. Duncan Kenner, the owner of Ashland-Belle Helene plantation, kept a close tally on the money and personal goods that his slaves were able to acquire as a result of this privilege. In fact, goods that the slaves sold to Kenner were frequently traded for food instead of cash. Kenner also

reputedly forced his slaves to sell their chickens to him for \$0.20 and would in turn sell them for his own profit at \$0.30 (Dawdy 1996: 8). No documentation has been found to show this amount of control on either of the Creole plantations. Therefore, it seems that Creole planters allowed their enslaved people to be more independent in finding ways to meet their basic needs, through the accumulation of food and material goods, than Anglo planters.

Other differences between the Creole and Anglo approaches to granting enslaved people free time is apparent when comparing archaeological materials classified under a Leisure Activity category. Artifacts represented in this group include tobacco related items and toys (Yakubik et al. 1994: 10-82). At Orange Grove, 13.79% of the artifacts at the slave cabin related to leisure time activities. These included 235 tobacco pipe fragments and ceramic gaming pieces. In contrast, at Ashland-Belle Helene, only .93% and .81% of the artifacts recovered at the two slave cabins respectively reflected leisure time activities (Dawdy 1996: 8). Artifacts included tobacco pipes, marbles, doll fragments, polished pebbles and shells (Yakubik et al. 1994: 10-10, 10-74). At Oakley Plantation only two pipe fragments made of stoneware and/or redware and one toy porcelain teacup were recovered (Wilkie 2000: 216, 148). Thus, the archaeological record suggests that enslaved people on Creole plantations were engaging in leisure time activities more frequently than those on Anglo plantations.

The amount of free time given to enslaved people directly affected their ability to earn extra money and thus acquire goods and fineries. According to McDonald, three things that enslaved people desired to acquire with this money were clothing, personal items and housewares. The acquisition of goods can best be studied through the percentages of personal adornment items and ceramic patterns identified at Orange Grove and Oakley Plantations. Again, it is expected that slave assemblages on Creole plantations would exhibit a larger variety and greater percentage of goods than those found on Anglo

plantations.

Enslaved people acquired clothing in a number of ways: they received items as gifts, purchased them, made them or borrowed them (Figure 12). In Louisiana it was customary for plantation owners to supply clothing to their slaves, however, the types and quantity of items were extremely limited. Additionally, laws required that "slaves who did not have [garden] patches to cultivate on their own account were...entitled to receive [clothing]..." (Moody 1924: 268). In general, items were distributed twice a year and consisted of pants, skirts, frocks, and coats as well as accessories such as hats, handkerchiefs, shoes and socks (McDonald 1993: 150-153). Yet, not all plantation owners adhered to these requirements and customs. According to historical documents, Duncan Kenner, the owner of Ashland-Belle Helene plantation, only distributed clothing once a year (Dawdy 1996: 8).

Aside from the distribution of standard clothing, "the extent and the nature of clothing purchases [and clothing acquisition] by slaves show that it was essentially an autonomous activity of great importance" (McDonald 1993: 150). This importance lay in the fact that clothing and accessories were one way in which enslaved people could express their individuality and ethnicity in a repressive environment. Sometimes clothing was given as gifts to servants who had close personal relationships with their owners. Take for example, a comment that Laura made regarding Kit, an African-American woman who inherited many of her discarded dresses. Laura stated that these dresses made Kit stand out as "the belle of the quarter"⁸ (Gore 1936: 36). Unfortunately, clothing rarely survives in the archaeological record making it difficult to interpret slaves' consumer choice in this matter.

⁸ While this comment was made after emancipation, it reflects Laura's decision to continue with established behaviors and attitudes that developed during the time of slavery. Genovese notes that: "Masters and especially mistresses took great pleasure in passing their used clothing on to the slaves and understood this gift relationship as maintaining...social distance" (Genovese 1976: 556). Therefore, Laura's actions reflect the use of material incentives given by slave owners to their work force in order to create and to manipulate relationships.

Personal adornment items, however, were frequently used by the enslaved people to augment their clothing and their bodies and also made a statement about who they were. Examples of such items are jewelry, beads, shells and pocket knives. Since these do survive more easily in the ground, it is through these items that a slave's ability to acquire goods and finery can be tracked. At Orange Grove plantation, 1.73% of the recovered artifacts fell into the personal adornment category and included a large number of glass beads. Compared to the assemblages at Ashland-Belle Helene's slave quarters, Orange Grove had twice as many personal adornment items. In total, only .77% and .78% of the Ashland-Belle Helene collection fell into this category (Dawdy 1996: 5, 8). Recovered objects included beads, a pierced silver coin, shells, and jewelry (Yakubik et al. 1994: 10-71-10-77). Only one personal adornment item was found at Oakley and that was a blue bead (Wilkie 2000: 158). Again, the correlation between free time and economic participation is established. Compared to Anglo slaves, Creole slaves were given more free time by their owner to promote self-sufficiency. This allowed them to participate more extensively in a market economy. Although both groups display a desire to acquire personal goods and finery, the Anglo slaves' ventures were more limited.

Just as enslaved people used clothing and accessories to express their individuality, they used household items to personalize their spaces. Ceramics are one of the most easily identifiable manifestations of consumer and personal choice found in the archaeological record. Again, comparison of Orange Grove and Oakley plantations is revealing. Ceramics at Orange Grove Plantation exhibited a variety of patterns including transfer-print and annular decorations. The average CC index value for the ceramic assemblage was 1.98. Few ceramics were part of matched sets and did not correspond to ceramics found at the great house. Therefore it is evident that the plantation owners were not giving their slaves hand-me-downs; rather the enslaved

people were acquiring ceramics on their own outside of the plantation environment. It is interesting to note that of the ceramic types found in the quarters there were a significant number of French ceramics including Faience, coarsewares and French creamware imitations as well as French wine bottle glass. Given the availability of English ceramics at this time and the relative expense of French ceramics, the slaves acquisition of French ceramics over English ceramics shows a deliberate consumer choice to display the French ethnic identity with which they associated (Dawdy 1996: 3-4).

At Oakley plantation, when comparing the average CC index value for the slaves ceramic assemblage versus that of the plantation owners, a similarity is seen. For example, the average CC index value for teawares in the slave assemblage was 2.78 in comparison to the planter's which was 2.74. The slave assemblages contained high-quality teawares including transfer-print and porcelain that are commonly found in planter assemblages. Additionally, the ceramics found in the slave assemblage were slightly older wares than those of the planter family. This is compelling evidence to suggest that the planters were issuing their slaves hand-me downs, particularly those ceramics that were broken or had out-of-date patterns. There is evidence that enslaved people were responsible for obtaining a certain portion of their ceramics as seen in the discrepancies of the average CC index values for plates and bowls between the slave and planter assemblages. (Wilkie 2000: 126-128, 143). Again, the comparison between the two plantations suggests that Creole slaves were given more independence than Anglo slaves to acquire household goods and finery.

Many of the differences that the Duparc-Locoul family, as well as other Creole slave owners, projected between themselves and the Anglos, was an attempt to define social identity during a time of flux. When the Louisiana Purchase occurred, Anglos with their American-born slaves in tow, flooded Louisiana and the differences between the Anglo and Creole slave systems

began to become apparent. Symbolic actions undertaken by the Creoles regarding slavery included a preference for Creole slaves, outspoken support of their humane treatment, use of material incentives, and personalized medical attention. The Creoles' efforts to be, or at least to appear, paternalistic and humane toward their slaves was of utmost importance in order to help them prove their superiority over the Anglos, both as a social unit and as human beings.

Early documents concerning Laura's family demonstrate that this elite Creole mind set was fully embraced by all four generations of the Duparcs and Locouls. Laura, even though she proclaimed herself a "modern American girl", demonstrated her connection with this Creole tradition. By retelling particular stories, she alluded to humane acts and paternalistic relationships that she and her family had engaged in with both enslaved and free populations. Therefore, this Creole version and vision of slavery remained unchanged well into the twentieth century.

While the Creoles' claim to being better slave owners than the Anglos cannot be proven, archaeological evidence does suggest that there were fundamental differences in the Creole and Anglo approach to slave management. A higher percentage of artifacts related to food provisioning, leisure time activities and personal adornment, excavated from slave quarters on a Creole plantation, suggests that these enslaved people were given more free time than those on Anglo plantations. Dawdy states that the Creole slave owners had a "guarded '*laissez faire*' attitude" about plantation work and describes the environment as modeled after a peasant village. Once slaves completed their assigned tasks, they were free to choose how to spend their time. In contrast, Anglo slave management was modeled after factory conditions employing routinized gang labor. The slaves' time was more strictly controlled by the plantation owner. In looking at the various types of plantation management enlisted to prevent slave rebellion and thus guarantee

profits for the planter (Dawdy 1996: 1, 5, 6), archaeological material suggests that Creoles took a more hands-off approach than their Anglo counterparts in meeting this end.

Material Culture

Until now, various aspects of Creole ideology have been examined and it has been shown that these particular elements, such as life style, language, religion, and slave treatment constitute stable elements of elite Creole culture. The material elements of this culture will now be examined. Archaeological studies show that a preference for French-made goods is reflected within the material culture of wealthy Creoles. Consumer choice, as seen in the Creole preference for Creole slaves, became a statement of ethnicity for the elite Creole population in Louisiana. From the first years of colonization in Louisiana until the late eighteenth-century, French colonists worked as a large social unit to forge a society with which they were all familiar. During these years, the French retained goods and customs that were brought with them from France, yet they experimented with local goods and culture found in Louisiana.

Historical documentation and the archaeological record both show that over time the Creoles became a little Americanized and the Americans became a bit Creolized (Dawdy 2000b: 118). This is evident in the acceptance of British cultural material into the Creole household. However, Laura's memoir show that elite Creoles still clung to an ideological notion of being French and different. Some forms of material culture, such as ceramics, demonstrate that the physical elements of this culture were pliable without threatening elite Creole identity. Other aspects of material culture remained conservative, such as wine consumption and diet. In order to put this into perspective, it must be noted that during the 1790s, the Spanish lifted trade embargoes on river trade with the rest of the United States, giving Louisiana's population unlimited

access to British goods (Dawdy 2000b: 116).

An excellent example of conservative consumer practice is seen through archaeological research at Madam John's Legacy. Reputedly the oldest house in the French Quarter of New Orleans, it was built in 1728 and occupied by Creole families for approximately 120 years. Of primary concern are layers of sheet refuse representing the first 50 years of its occupation. These were deposited by Jean Pascal and his wife Elizabeth Real, transplanted citizens from France. Fifty-nine percent of the recovered artifacts comprised French Faience and Saintonge with minor amounts of locally made wares. This pattern represents a deliberate choice by the occupants of Madame John's because British made goods were more readily and cheaply available through illegal trading activity than French wares. In fact, goods imported from France were more expensive and limited in availability due to sporadic shipments in comparison to smuggled British goods (Dawdy 2000b: 111-113; Dawdy 1998a; Dawdy 1998b). The Pascal's choice was to stick with the familiar and to recreate the essence of home in their new France.

As Anglos and "foreigners" continued to enter into this society, they challenged the Creole culture. Despite resistance, however, the Creole population slowly began to assimilate to the foreign ways. This trend is apparent at Laura Plantation. Artifacts recovered from initial testing in the front yard of the great house revealed a dominance of British ceramics. Approximately ninety-six percent of all the ceramics recovered were of British, American or Chinese origin. Saintonge and French Faience, as well as locally made wares, represent the remaining 4% (Table 2).

This pattern is also apparent at Duplessis Plantation built in 1765 in a rural area outside of the French Quarter. Specifically focusing on archaeological deposits dating from 1788-1845, this time period of second generation Creoles demonstrated the assimilation of British goods into the household. This collection was characterized by a near absence of French-

made and locally-made goods and dominated by creamwares and pearlwares. In fact, these British goods comprised 90% of the total ceramics recovered (Dawdy 2000b: 116).

In general, this trend might be explained by the lifting of trading embargoes on imported goods in the 1790s and the huge influx of Anglos into the region after the Louisiana Purchase. However, it is also a statement of the acceptance of these elements of Anglo culture into the wealthy Creole household (Dawdy 2000b: 116; Dawdy 1998a; Dawdy et al. 1997). It is important to note that the lack of French-made goods in the archaeological record does not imply that there was an absence in the household. More than likely, they were still there. They simply would have been more highly valued than British made goods since they were not as easily acquired or as easily replaceable. This status would have kept them from entering the archaeological record in great quantity.

Not all artifacts followed this pattern, as is seen with the large presence of French manufactured wine bottles relative to English manufactured bottles in Creole households. These artifacts remind us that elite Creoles did not relinquish their French roots, despite the importation of British and American goods into the region and the acceptance of these goods into their households. These Creoles still preferred certain French made items, particularly wine, despite the availability of wines, beers and liquors from other European countries, including England, Germany and Spain.

To highlight the importance of wine in Creole society, take two letters written in February 1733 by Edme Salmon, the *Ordonnateur* of Louisiana, to the French ministry. Regarding a hurricane that had hit New Orleans in August 1732, Salmon complained that his wine supply had been destroyed by the rains. Almost as a side note, he also pointed out that the records had also been destroyed. His solution was " 'to build a room on the ground floor for the wine, and [instead of an attic] an office in which to house the papers and books,

where I will be able to work with them'." Of course, he attached an estimate for the construction of the proposed building and assured the French ministry that it would not be an expensive endeavor. The structure was erected in 1735 with the approval of Governor Bienville (de Ville 1986: 298-299). Thirty-five years later, the French marched through the streets of New Orleans protesting the arrival of the Spanish by hailing Bordeaux wine and cursing the wine of Spain. Additional evidence for the importance of wine was seen in 1788, when wine and liquor represented 1/3 of all goods imported into Louisiana (Dawdy 2000b: 117). It is more than clear that wine was a dominant symbol of the Creole culture.

Historical documentation shows the importance of wine at Laura plantation. In Guillaume Duparc's inventory dated 1808, 400 bottles with a value of 24 piastres were listed (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L). The wine business that Elisabeth and Raymond were running from the plantation was highly lucrative. Laura made reference to her father, Emile, having a "bottle of Bordeaux claret at every meal" and that "several decanters of wines" were present during social occasions (Gore 1936: 10, 29). And, it has been said that "[t]he St. James planter never sat down to dinner, company or not, without the proper wine" (Bourgeois 1957: 149).

Despite the inclusion of British ceramics at Laura, the family's Creole identity was expressed by the large quantity of French manufactured wine bottles on the plantation. Bottle glass comprised 57% of the entire artifact assemblage. Although English manufactured bottles were represented, when the minimum number of vessels (MNV) was considered, 7 out of 11 bottles were identified as French wine bottles, making 64% of the recovered bottles of French origin. Additionally, a copper wire closure for a champagne bottle was also found. Unfortunately, no bottle seals were uncovered; therefore it is not possible to identify the wine's precise origin; but it can be assumed that a majority of it came from *Chateau Bon-Air* near Bordeaux, the vineyard owned

by Raymond Locoul's family.

At Duplessis Plantation, French manufactured wine bottles outnumbered British manufactured bottles three to one. Many of these wine bottles had bottle seals identifying specific vineyards or manufacturing areas in France. Red wines from Bordeaux, desert wines, and claret from the *grand crus* were all represented. Historically it is known that Armand Duplantier, the owner of Duplessis Plantation from 1807 until 1814, ran a business importing French wines. The Poeyfarré family, who succeeded his tenure from 1824 until 1845, was also noted to have had a back porch stocked full of claret. A wine bottle seal embossed with "ST. JULIEN MEDOC" suggests that the Poeyfarré family even preferred wine from their family's village in France (Dawdy 2000b: 116-117; Dawdy 1998a; Dawdy et al. 1997).

Wine was not the only object into which the elite Creoles projected symbolic meanings. The Creoles' food preference served as a strong ethnic marker as well. In general, Creole cooking conformed to a French model incorporating local dishes that had Spanish, African and Indian influences (Crété 1978: 263). Many Creole planters went so far as to send their slaves to Paris to apprentice in the art of French cooking (Saxon et al. 1945: 145). If cooks did not receive formal training, they would sometimes learn the art of French cooking from individuals who had traveled to or lived in France. For example Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Hite, formerly enslaved at Trinity Plantation, reported, "Miss Zabel, de master's first cousin...use to teach de cooke all de fancy dishes dat she knew er bout in France" (Elizabeth Ross Hite, interviewed by Robert McKinney, ca. 1940, under auspices of the Slave Narratives, Louisiana Writer's Project Files). In an advertisement, one slave was even described as a "superior French Cook" (McDonald 1993: 163). This preference for French cooking shows up in the archaeological record.

As Elizabeth Scott points out, food remains provide some of the strongest evidence for the ethnicity of a people; food choice allows groups to emphasize

differences with others (Scott 1996: 339). Although limited in number, comparative studies on French and British/American faunal assemblages exhibit a trend in which French diets incorporate a greater percentage of wild game (Bowen, Personal Communication 4/01; Scott 1996; Cleland 1970). For example, food remains from Fort Michilimackinac dating to the 1760s-70s, represent a diverse array of ethnic groups including the French and British/American. Presumably, all groups had access to the same food sources and there is evidence that an interdependence upon food procurement was established between these groups. However when the faunal assemblages were compared between one French household and two British households, differences were identified.

Both the French and the British diets contained domesticated animals. Of these types of animals, the French relied almost exclusively on pig and chicken (representing 17.5% of total biomass) whereas the British assemblages incorporated pig, cow, sheep and chicken (representing 30.9% and 24.9% of total biomass) into their diet. However, ethnic choice is primarily seen in the French household's reliance upon wild species whose total biomass outweighed domestic species almost 2 to 1 (Table 3). In particular, the French household incorporated a larger percentage of wild mammal into their diet (representing 14% total biomass) versus the British households (representing 3.9% and 0.8% total biomass) (Scott 1996). Cleland, who studied French and British refuse pits at the same Fort, also identified these trends. Thus, the two ethnic groups display what Cleland calls "differential selection", defined as an individual's choice that reflects a cultural phenomenon, not a natural one (Cleland 1970).

At Madame John's Legacy, one layer in a trash pit dated 1788, was created by the DeLanzos family, in an effort to clean up the property after a city-wide fire decimated their house. Although of Spanish origin, this family associated itself strongly with elite Creole culture. A preliminary examination

of the faunal remains in this layer indicate that over 50% of the individual animals represented were wild game. These included fish, alligator, turtles and small mammals, which is surprising given the availability of domestic livestock at the local market. Dawdy suggests that this pattern, similar to that seen at Fort Michilimackinac, reflects an attempt by the de Lanzos family to "go native", comparable to Cleland's concept of "differential selection". By this, Dawdy means a deliberate choice by the DeLanzos family to associate with the food trends dictated by the local, indigenous population. Perhaps this was part of a reaction against the snobbery of European visitors who scoffed at the Creole diet in their travel journals (Dawdy 2000b: 113-115; Dawdy 1998a: 6-7; Dawdy 1998b: 82-85, 121).

Another French dietary trend identified at Fort Michilimackinac was the importance of pork. One post-1788 layer found in the trash pit at Madame John's Legacy contained an almost complete boar's skull (Dawdy 1998a: 81). Censuses taken in St. James and Ascension parishes (known as the Acadian Coast), document the importance of the pig in French Louisiana. For example, the census of 1769 lists 1,867 hogs and only 512 head of cattle and 16 sheep. Although subsequent censuses show an increase in the number of both cattle and sheep over time, recipes and personal accounts reaffirm the importance of pork into the nineteenth century (Bourgeois 1957: 162-202). For example, the inventory of Guillaume Duparc, dated 1808, lists "16 skinny hogs of different sizes" with a value of 80 piastres. This inventory also lists 13 goats and 21 sheep, whose value was each only fifty piastres (HNOC, Microfilm 95-49-L). Given the relative cost of the pigs in comparison to the goats and sheep, the greater cultural value of the pigs for the elite Creoles is apparent.

La boucherie, a renowned pork dish, received personal notice from Laura. This term literally translated means "butchery" or "slaughter"; therefore, the term seems to refer to both the action of butchering a pig and the resulting meat products. Traditionally, the pig was fattened in a special

pen and butchered when the weather turned cold. It was a large social event in which a family, their servants and the neighbors pitched in to process the meat and enjoy the end products. Even more so, the occasion represented a ritual event that created reciprocity within the community since *la boucherie* was repeated throughout the winter on various plantations (Bourgeois 1957: 130-134).

Laura remembers watching the hogs being slaughtered "in the winter for the lard and sausages, blood puddings, cracklins and hogshead cheese..." (Gore 1936: 12). She also mentioned that "cured hams and shoulders of bacon hung in the cellar" (Gore 1936: 23). Another product that was made during this event were *grillades* (choice cuts of pork that were smoked and then deep fried) (Bourgeois 1957: 133-134). Laura also frequently collected the pig's bladders, processed them and turned them into tobacco pouches to give to her father on special occasions (Gore 1936: 12).

Differential selection can be applied to other aspects of elite Creole diet aside from faunal remains. Laura, in mentioning her preparations for a fancy dress party, described her choice of an "exclusive French restaurateur" to bake a dozen French loaves of bread for her costume (Gore 1936: 38). Other delicacies, such as *baba* (coconut-cream cake), brioche, and pralines were also an important part of any Creole diet (Bourgeois 1957: 130-133). Laura and her friends frequently purchased such delicacies on the street corners of New Orleans (Figure 13) while walking home from school (Gore 1936: 27). Coffee, in particular, was highly valued. As one Creole woman said, "The greatest treat of all was to awaken every morning to Mammy's words, '*Alà vous café,*' and see her standing beside your bed...a tray in her hands on which was piping-hot drip coffee, ground and roasted at home" (Saxon et al. 1945: 144). *Café au lait*, a French mode of preparing coffee, is still a Louisiana favorite. The 1808 Inventory of Guillaume Duparc listed 6 "small coffee spoons" and 12 coffee cups. Interestingly, there was no mention of tea cups or a tea service (HNOC,

Microfilm 95-49-L). Another inventory from a Frenchman lists 12 coffee cups with accompanying saucers (half made of faience and the other half made of "black earth glazed and gilded") and two coffee pots (Dawdy 1998a: 34).

These types of household furnishings were also a way in which the Duparcs and Locouls chose to express their elite Creole identity. Despite the acceptance of British goods into their household, they still chose, for example, to incorporate French furniture. In furnishing a house in the French Quarter, Laura's parents purchased 2 large "French mirrors" for the parlors from Mallard, "an old French importer of French furniture" (Gore 1936: 17). Additionally, French merchants were chosen by wealthy Creoles to supply clothing and personal adornment. Laura states that the dress she wore to her debut in 1882 (Figure 14) was made by a "very fine French dressmaker" (Gore 1936: 36).

As has been discussed, Creole ideology appears to represent the static elements of elite Creole culture, whereas elements of material culture represent the changeable ones. Although wealthy Creoles tended to be conservative and customary in their purchasing decisions, the incorporation of British ceramics into their households demonstrated that they accepted small scale changes that did not threaten their identity as Creoles. Group cohesion and ideology were not compromised by the use of pearlware or the consumption of English liquor. Whether or not they were willing to admit this is questionable. But the fact that they incorporated non-French materials into their lives shows that they could not remain uninfluenced by the imposing Anglo culture surrounding them. The Americanization of elite Creoles might have been a slow, stubborn process, but it was inevitable. Laura, in particular, represents the embodiment of this change as she simultaneously held firm to these Creole beliefs yet actively embraced elements of Anglo culture.

CHAPTER IV
THE GUMBO IS SERVED: REFLECTIONS ON THE CREOLES AT LAURA
PLANTATION

The process of vernacular creolization continued into the twentieth century for the elite Creole population in Louisiana. Although the creation of their identity took place rather rapidly, maintenance of this identity lasted for generations. The individuals who resided at Laura plantation all played a part in defining and maintaining this elite identity in the face of Americanization. Surprisingly, despite inter-cultural exchange, the idea of being Creole and different held firm. This thesis has explored various aspects of elite Creole culture including anti-American sentiment, language, religion, nationalism, marriage, education, travel, social custom, occupation, attitudes toward slavery, material possessions and diet. These were all elements utilized by the landed, socially prominent Creole population to create their identity.

This thesis has demonstrated that the elite Creole approach to identity maintenance was highly conservative. According to the Creole version of history, as demonstrated through the Duparc-Locoul family, it would seem as if Creole culture remained vital in the face of Americanization. However, changes did occur, as is demonstrated through the incorporation of British goods into the Creole household. As Dawdy states, "Creole identity was formed, reformed and reinvented with each dominant generation" (Dawdy 2000b: 107). Therefore, by following Shannon Dawdy's suggestion to analyze cultural change one generation at a time, changes within elite Creole identity maintenance will become apparent.

The first generation of elite Creoles, as demonstrated through the

Duparc-Locoul family, created a self-prescribed, Creole identity. After the Louisiana Purchase, the culture which had been established in Louisiana for decades was challenged. The presence of a growing number of Anglo-Americans in the region threatened to replace a lifestyle upon which the elite Creole population based their identity. In an attempt to preserve their social and cultural customs, as a group they engaged in traditional behaviors which were historically-rooted in French culture and in Louisiana.

These behaviors attempted to demonstrate the superiority of Creole culture and to actively reject Anglo America. Elite Creoles focused on the preservation of the past and strictly adhered to the French language, practiced Catholicism, patronized Creole institutions and verbally expressed French nationalism on a frequent basis. At this point in time, Creoles still held onto the population majority which allowed them to forgo the incorporation of Anglo culture into their own. Therefore, in their minds, their supremacy over the Anglos from both a historical and cultural point of view was established and became a part of this identity.

Elite, second generation Creoles, as demonstrated by the Duparcs and Locouls, maintained the identity that the first generation created and unwaveringly engaged in traditional Creole behaviors. While they too emphasized language, religion, and Creole patronage, nationalism was actively maintained by establishing direct links with France through marriage, education and travel. The planter lifestyle was valued as a noble profession. Social relationships and social activity were of utmost importance in solidifying their membership in this elite group. By milling about Louisiana socially, their activities and relationships blatantly excluded Anglo-Americans from their cultural pursuits in a highly visible way. Second generation Creoles acted as policing agents for third generation Creoles who swayed from the elite Creole ideal at times. However, no large scale changes in elite Creole behavior and attitudes, as a result of the presence of Anglo-Americans in

Louisiana, were made by second generation Creoles.

Elite, third generation Creoles maintained Creole identity yet also grew more open to Anglo-American culture. By the 1830s, the Creoles of Louisiana had lost their majority as a population and as a controlling factor of Louisiana's social, economic and political environment. Elite Creoles found themselves outnumbered in politics, business and education. Additionally, the French language was banned in educational institutions and publications in favor of English (Tregle 1992: 158-170). Small-scale changes were evident in the behavior of third generation Creoles.

Most of their behavior mimicked that of second generation Creoles. Education, travel, social pursuits and social relationships were still highly valued in the maintenance of elite Creole identity and thus engaged in frequently. However, elite third generation Creoles demonstrated a growing openness to Anglo culture. The use of the English language was one example, as well as an interest in occupations primarily associated with Anglo-Americans. Second generation Creoles interjected forcing third generation Creoles to continue to conform to the ideal, socially prominent Creole identity which included the planter lifestyle. However, the presence of Creoles amidst a now dominant Anglo culture, required that third generation Creoles tolerate small scale changes. They seemed to do so without vehemence.

Elite fourth generation Creoles nostalgically maintained Creole identity in the face of Americanization. The Civil War wreaked havoc on their identity and had a uniting effect upon the Creole and the Anglo populations. During Reconstruction, the term Creole became defined as racially mixed and elite Creoles found themselves associating with the white Anglo population in order to remain part of a dominant cultural group. Second, the collapse of the plantation system made it necessary for Creoles to find jobs, many of which required them to work side by side with the Anglos. In general, the elite Creoles now realized that their survival as a cultural entity depended upon the

acceptance of the Anglo culture.

However, Laura's memoir makes it perfectly clear that maintaining the Creole lifestyle was still important to elite Creole identity. Fourth generation Creoles continued to engage in conservative Creole behavior and continued to boast ethnic pride. They maintained an active social life, maintained relationships with established Creole families, upheld the image of the good slave owner and remained staunchly Catholic. Through these actions they were not attempting to prove their superiority over the Anglos like the first and second generation Creoles attempted to do. Elite fourth generation Creoles were simply trying to state that they were equal but different.

Changes that were embraced by these fourth generation Creoles included language, marriage, education, expanded social interaction and professional occupations. Third generation Creoles were accepting of these changes as they had expressed interest in elements of Anglo culture themselves. Following the view point stated by Praetzellis et al. (1987: 42), it seems that former ethnic symbols were beginning to lose their meaning. Although it did not signify that these fourth generation Creoles were rejecting elite Creole culture, it did mean that their identity was not compromised by the incorporation of the Anglo culture into their own. By nostalgically writing or speaking about it, they were able to maintain elite Creole identity in the face of Americanization well into the twentieth century.

A number of sources have been used in this thesis to demonstrate the process of vernacular creolization and Americanization of the elite Creole population in Louisiana. It has also attempted to define static versus changeable elements of this Creole culture. The Duparcs and the Locouls have given us their conservative perspective on the definition of Creole through historical documents and Laura's memoir. Archaeology has served as a mitigating factor in demonstrating that changes occurred in this identity over time. By following Dawdy's method of generational analysis, it appears that

the symbols of elite Creole culture were not dramatically altered despite historical events which significantly impacted the Creole population. The most changeable aspect of elite Creole culture then, was the way in which four generations of Creoles manipulated these symbols to create their unique Creole identity. Additionally, each generation of Creoles had a different reason to maintain this identity.

As was mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, Gumbo is the perfect symbol of this process in Louisiana. A number of ingredients have been used by members of the Duparc-Locoul family to create a recognizable Creole culture, or theoretical gumbo. However, each generation would have used these ingredients in many different combinations to create their own unique flavor. This had been demonstrated at Laura Plantation.

TABLE 1

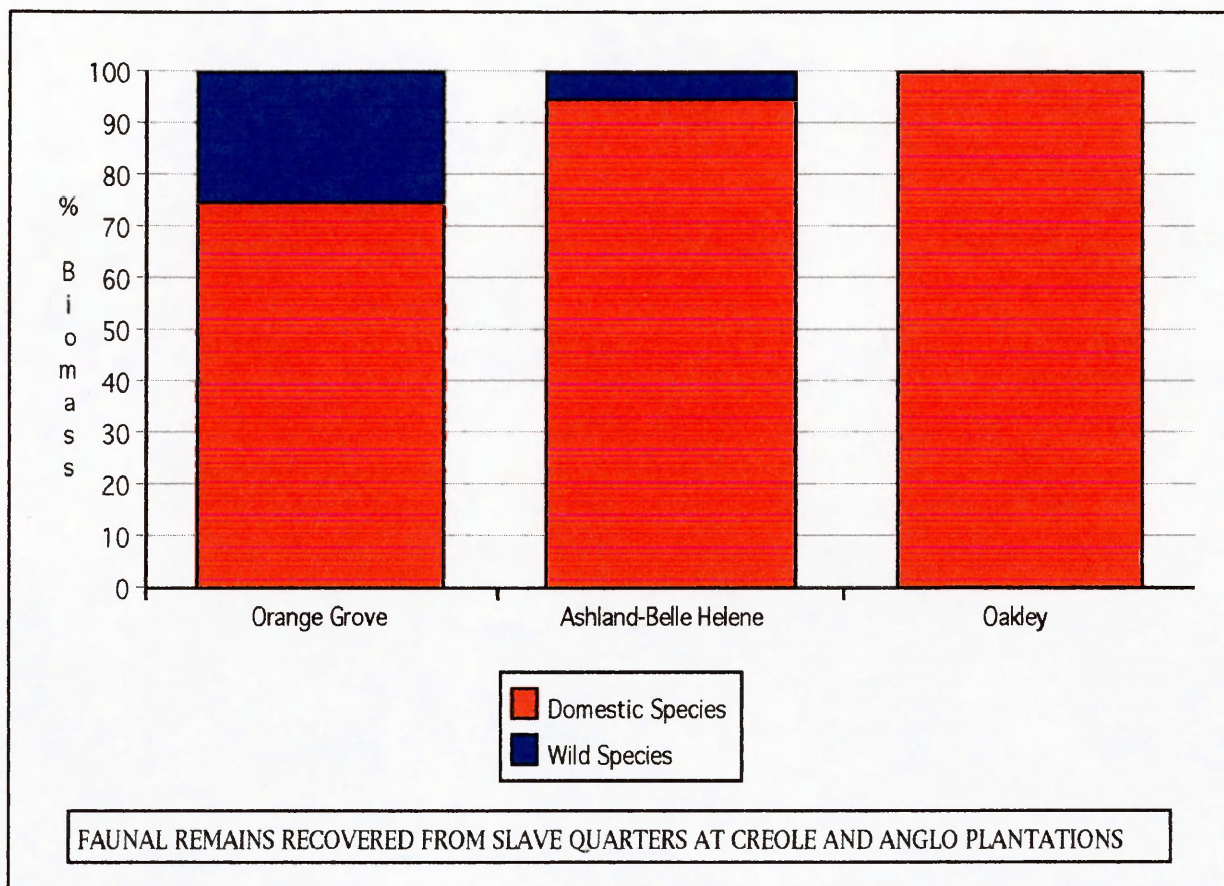


TABLE 2

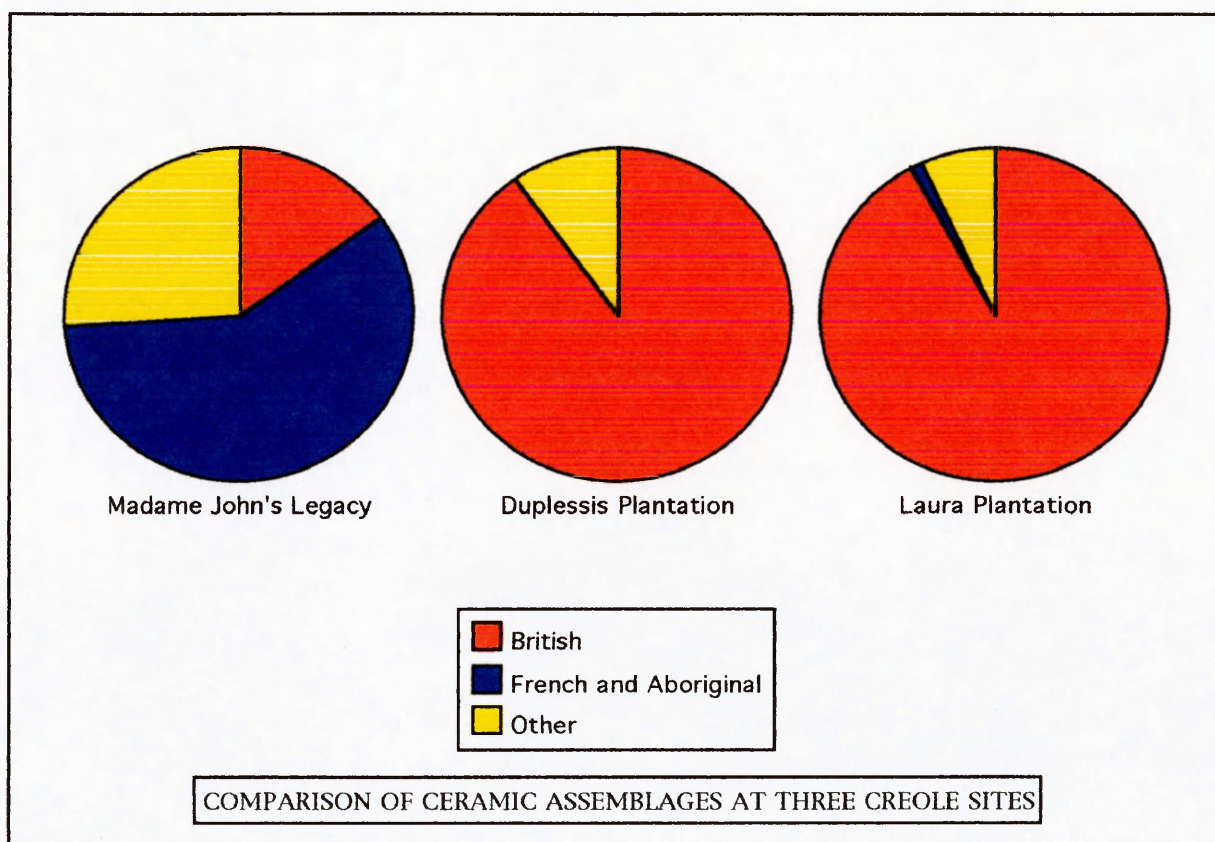


TABLE 3

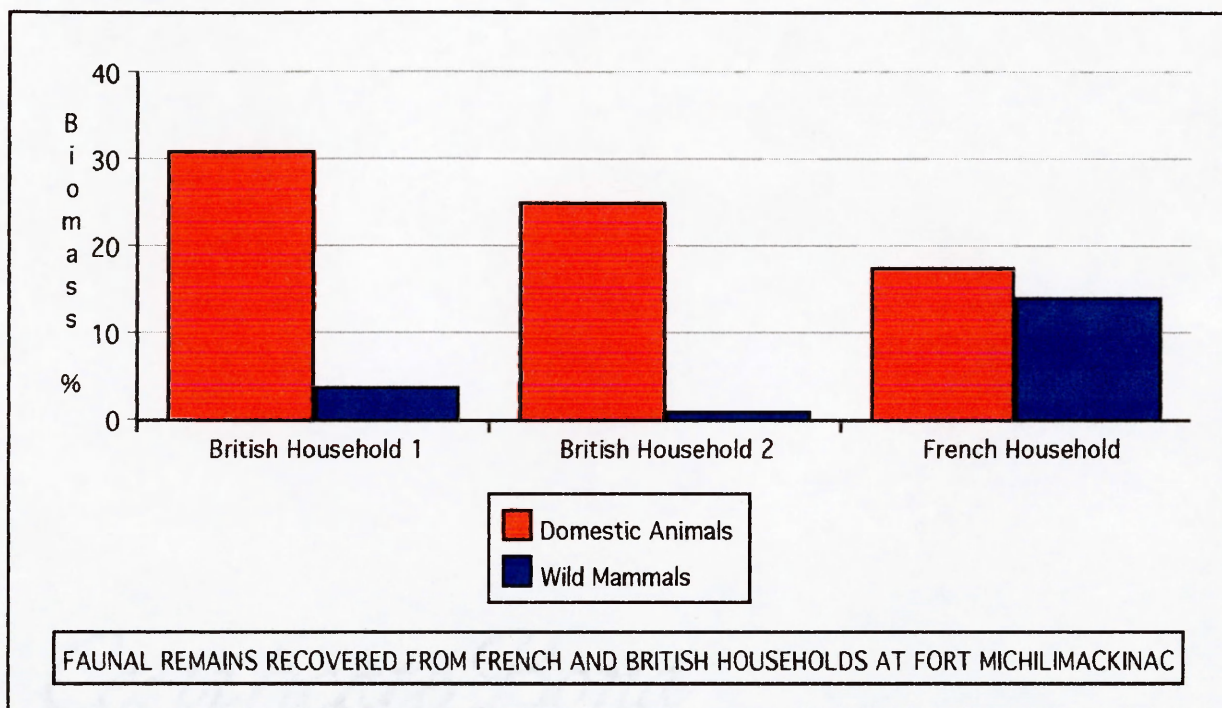


FIGURE 1



Duparc - Locoul Family Tree
 Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 2



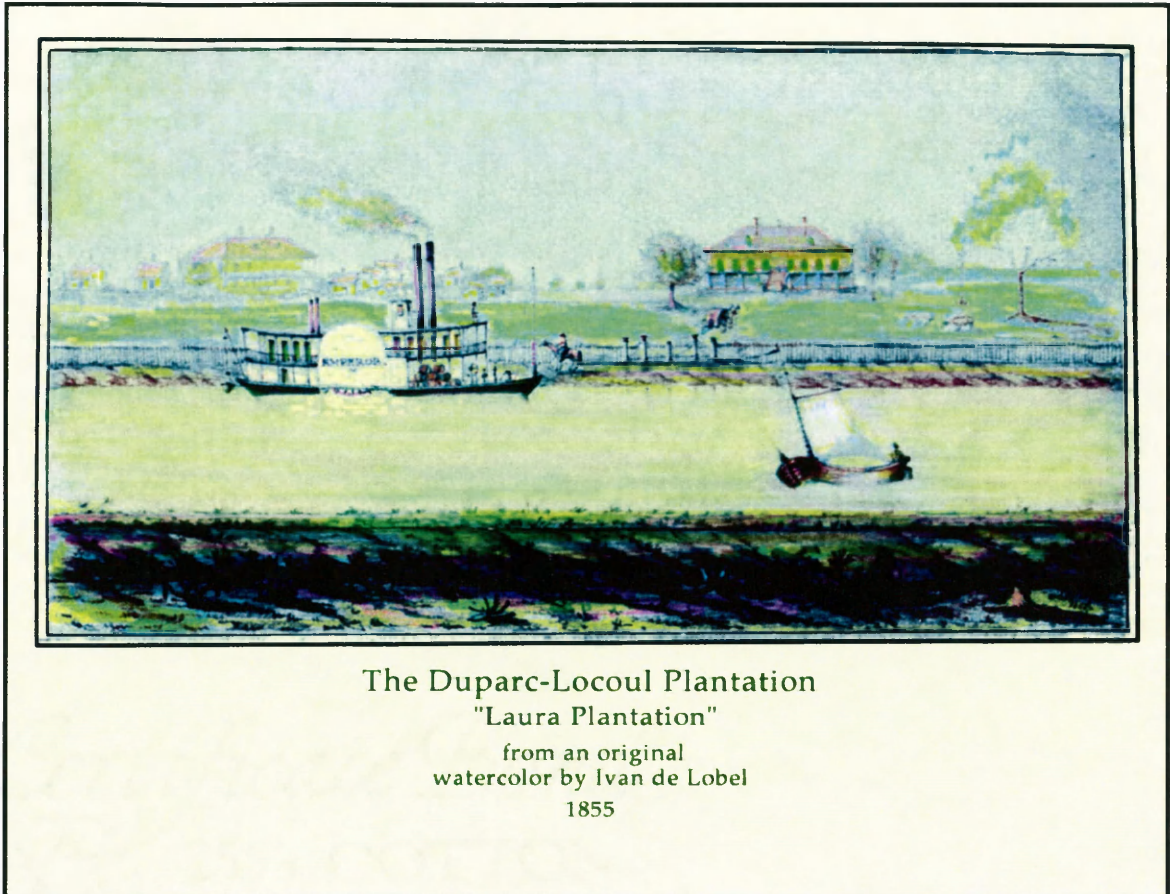
The Laura Plantation, 2001
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 3



Maison de Reprise at the Laura Plantation
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 4



The Duparc-Locoul Plantation
"Laura Plantation"
from an original
watercolor by Ivan de Lobel
1855

"The Duparc - Locoul Plantation" Watercolor by Ivan de Lobel Mahy, 1855
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 5



Duparc - Locoul Sugarmill with Ivan de Lobel Mahy, George Locoul and
Workers, 1888
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

*Capt. de Lobel Mahy
1888*

FIGURE 6



Emile Locoul as a Cadet at the *Lycée Militaire de Bordeaux*, France
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 7



"Sunday in New Orleans: A Creole Family at the Opera"


Russell-Richardson & Alfred Rodolph Waud, July 15, 1871, Wood
Engraving

Courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection, Acc. No. 1951.74 iii

FIGURE 8

Runaway Slaves.

Ranaway from the Duparc plantation on the 27th ult. and the 2d last, six *American* negroes, not speaking a word of French. The named **SAM** is of the age of about 22 years, of the height of 5 feet 6, in French measure, has a reddish complexion and stout make; the second named **PETER** of about the same age, of the height of 5 feet 2 in, of a dark complexion, and having some white spots on his lips, his legs some what crooked, very strong and robust; the third named **RESIDENCE** of the age of about 21 years, of the height of 5 feet 5 in, a dark complexion and slender body; the 4th named **THOMAS** is of the age of 27 years, of the height of 5 feet 7 in, stout built and very big, has a very dark complexion, a scar on one of his cheeks, and a very thick beard; the 5th named **JOSEPH** (or **JOE**) is of the age of 17 years, of the height of 5 feet 2 in, has a dark complexion, a face somewhat swelled, small and hollow eyes and slender body. The sixth named **PHILIP** is of the age 20 years, of the height of 5 feet 6 in, slender body and red skin. He is branded on the two cheeks V.D.P. (for the Widow Duparc PrudHomme), the latter slave was purchased from Mr. John Cox; the five others bought from Mr. Robert Thompson now in this city.

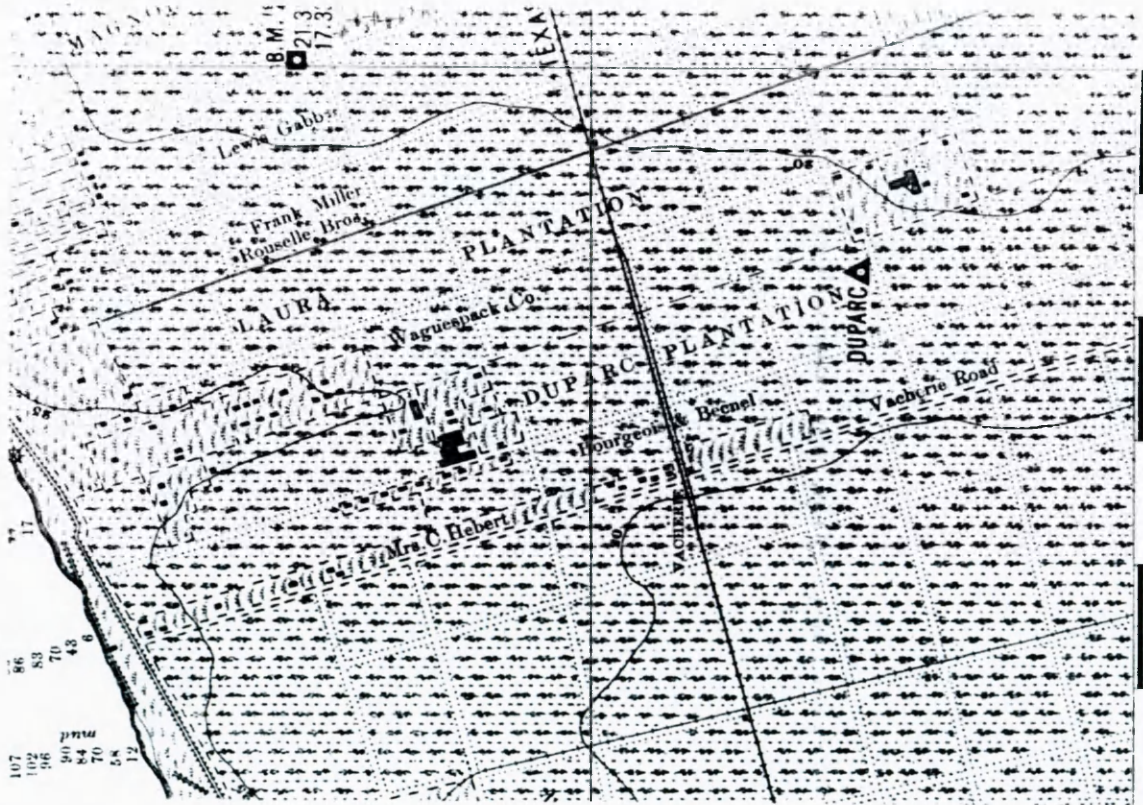


A reward of 200 dollars will be paid to whomever shall lodge the said slaves in any of the jails of this state, or bring them back to their master on the Duparc plantation, in the county of Acadia. Thirty dollars will be given for each of them in case they should not be stopped all together. All reasonable charges will besides be paid for by:

Louis Dre. Duparc December 6, 1816

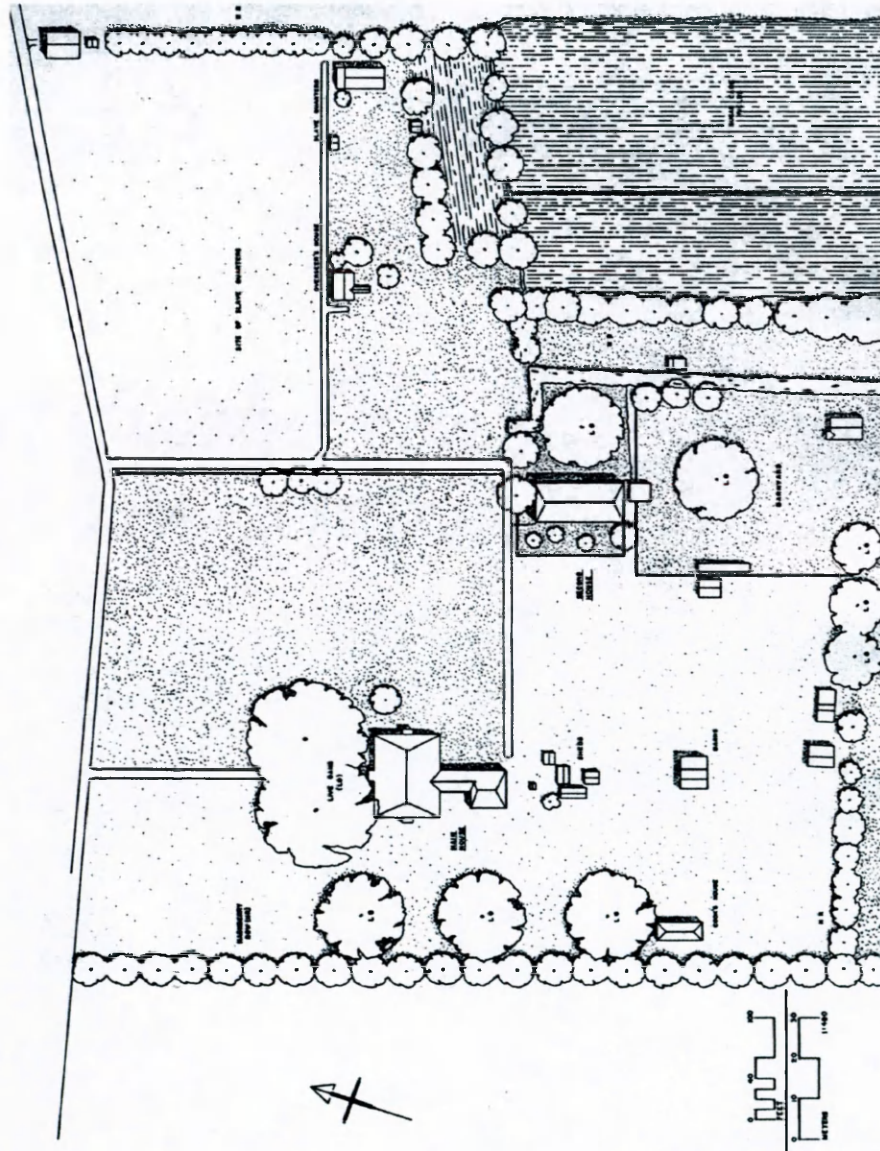
Runaway Slave Advertisement Published in the Louisiana Courier,
December 6, 1816
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

FIGURE 9



Detail of Laura Plantation,
The Mississippi River Commission Survey, 1876, Chart No. 72 (Detail)
Courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection, Acc. No. 1976.67

FIGURE 10



Laura Plantation

Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, K.C. Burgman, Fall 1989. Prepared with Historic Preservation Funds from the National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, of the State of Louisiana and the Tulane University School of Architecture.

FIGURE 11



"The Black Hunter", 1885
Edward Windsor Kemble, Wood Engraving
Courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection, Acc. No. 1974.25.23.44

FIGURE 12



"Interior of a Country Store", 1872

Drawn by Sol Eytinge, Jun. from a sketch by Miss Mary L. Stone

Harper's Weekly - April 20, 1872

Courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection, Acc. No. 1981.53

FIGURE 13



"Praline Woman", 1887

Anonymous, Wood Engraving

Courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection, Acc. No.

1974.25.20.134

FIGURE 14



Laura Locoul in Her Debut Dress Made by a French Dressmaker, 1882
Courtesy of Laura Plantation Company

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