

Fall 12-20-2018

Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824

Leila K. Blackbird
University of New Orleans, lkblackb@uno.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [American Studies Commons](#), [Canadian History Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [Ethnic Studies Commons](#), [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), [International and Area Studies Commons](#), [Latin American History Commons](#), [Other History Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Blackbird, Leila K., "Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824" (2018). *University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations*. 2559.
<https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/2559>

This Thesis is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by ScholarWorks@UNO with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Thesis in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Thesis has been accepted for inclusion in University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UNO. For more information, please contact scholarworks@uno.edu.

Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in
Louisiana, 1699-1824

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

by

Leila K. Blackbird

B.A. University of New Orleans, 2017

December, 2018

© 2018, Leila K. Blackbird

For my ancestors:

*Tsóyéé Manuel Raimundo, David Francisco, Esperanza,
Elisi Claudia, Wahlelah, Wahtesah, and Ópahshuah.*

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to all those who have contributed to the completion of this work, emotionally and intellectually. I would first like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Andrea Mosterman, for her belief in my ability and character and for her input, compassion, and inspiration. I am also particularly appreciative of Dr. Jim Mokhiber, who has encouraged me and fostered my goals since I was an undergraduate student. Both have always been there when I have needed them, and I am grateful for their kindness, patience, and support. Our many discussions have culminated into this work.

I would like to thank the co-directors of the Midlo Center for New Orleans Research, Dr. Mary Niall Mitchell and Dr. Connie Zeanah Atkinson, as well as University of New Orleans professors Dr. Charlie Chamberlain, Dr. Ryan Gray, and Dr. Nikki Brown for all of their time, energy, and professional guidance. I am especially indebted to Dr. Dan Usner at Vanderbilt University and Dr. Andrés Reséndez at the University of California Davis. They have both taken time out of their busy schedules to answer dozens of emails and meet with me in person, and I am deeply appreciative for their interest and the validation they have each provided as experts in this field.

I would also like to take the time to recognize all of the many strong, resilient, Indigenous people in my life who have provided community, understanding, and input. I would not have been able to succeed without them, their kinship, or the rest of my “honey family.” Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Aruna Kumaran Blackbird, for her unyielding love and big beautiful heart, as well as the entire Kumaran-Quint family for accepting me as one of their own.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
Abstract	vii
Introduction: Angélique's Legacy and the Birth of a Nation	1
Changing Contexts, Changing Faces: The Slave Trade in Colonial North America.....	16
Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement.....	25
Bulbancha: Native Grounds, French Enslavers	25
Natchez: Is Death Not Preferable to Slavery?	43
The Other Slavery: From "Bloody" O'Reilly to the Purity of Blood	53
Conclusion.....	70
References	80
Primary Sources: Archives & Manuscripts	80
Secondary Sources: Published Books	83
Secondary Sources: Articles, Dissertations, and Lectures	85
Vita	88

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of North American Colonial Land Claims, 1750	25
Figure 2. Mean Price of All Enslaved People in Louisiana by Gender and Year	37
Figure 3. Age of All Enslaved People in Louisiana by Year as Approximated Percentage	42
Figure 4. Enslaved Africans Transported by France to U.S. & French Caribbean, 1719-1767.....	49
Figure 5. Racial Designation of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana by Period	51
Figure 6. Racial Designation of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana, 1770-1820	51
Figure 7. Map of European Slave-Trade Routes of Native Americans, 17th and 18th Centuries	53
Figure 8. Percentage of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana per Period.....	62
Figure 9. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in N. America, C. America, and Caribbean, 1492-1900	71
Figure 10. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in South America Including Brazil, 1492-1900	71
Figure 11. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in Western Hemisphere Since Contact, 1492-1900.....	72

Abstract

Contrary to nationalist teleologies, the enslavement of Native Americans was not a small and isolated practice in the territories that now comprise the United States. This thesis is a case study of its history in Louisiana from European contact through the Early American Period, utilizing French Superior Council and Spanish judicial records, Louisiana Supreme Court case files, statistical analysis of slave records, and the synthesis and reinterpretation of existing scholarship. This paper primarily argues that it was through anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity and with the utilization of socially constructed racial designations that “Indianness” was controlled and exploited, and that Native Americans and their mixed-race Black-Native descendants continued to be enslaved alongside the larger population Africans and African Americans in Louisiana. Lacking a decolonized lens and historiography inclusive of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, the American story ignores the full impact of white settler colonialism and historical trauma.

Key Words: Indigenous studies; American Indian; Native American; First Nations; slavery; comparative slaveries; decolonization; white settler colonialism; race; ethnicity; postcolonial studies; New France; New Spain; Early American Period; Louisiana; New Orleans.

Introduction: Angélique's Legacy and the Birth of a Nation

At the close of the eighteenth century, Turtle Island had become enmeshed in a global war.¹ Revolutionary and nationalist ideologies swept like wildfire through European-held ports and cities, becoming international in their scope.² The writers of The Declaration of Independence accused Britain's King George III of inciting "merciless Indian savages" against them.³ Competing white settler colonial powers vied for supremacy, clutched to their holdings, and the United States was soon born.⁴ In the decades in between the foreign chiefs Washington and Jackson, imperial war transformed old alliances and erected new flags. Immediately after claiming their Independence, American colonists passed the Northwest Ordinance, further splintering Native lands for exploitation. Incursions into the Sacred Mountains against the Cherokee erupted into patriotic calls for genocide;⁵ a populist movement was not far behind, one that included forced Indian removal from these lands, coveted for plantation agriculture.⁶

To the South along the Gulf Coast, the Creek Confederacy, Chickasaw, and Choctaw went to war, fighting for both sovereignty and survival. The colonists had carved out from the heart of the Great

¹ Turtle Island refers to all the Indigenous lands now comprising North America. David Landis Barnhill, ed., *At Home on the Earth: Becoming Native to Our Place: A Multicultural Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) and Jay Miller, "Why the World is on the Back of a Turtle," *Man* 9, no. 2 (1974): 306-8.

² For a discussion on the way ideas about liberty and nationalism travelled and revolutions emerged during this time period, see Janet Polasky, *Revolutions Without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

³ Declaration of Independence (U.S. 1776). As in the initial colonial period in the U.S., the Jacksonian era and its populism also included the use of genocide policies against Natives. See Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "The Last of the Mohicans and Andrew Jackson's White Republic," in *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 95-116.

⁴ For the role of the Gulf Coast, Florida, and Louisiana in the American Revolution, see Kathleen DuVal, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2016). DuVal also introduces the concept of "advantageous interdependence," describing the model of intercolonial relations between settlers and Natives as "a system of [mutually] beneficial, if also [unilaterally] coercive connections."

⁵ Dunbar-Ortiz examines the extensive history of Anglo-American anti-Indigenous warfare and the deliberate implementation of genocide policies during this period. Dunbar-Ortiz, "Bloody Footprints," in *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 56-77. For Jefferson's call for the mass-murder of Natives, see "From Thomas Jefferson to Edmund Pendleton, 13 August 1776," Founders Online, National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0205>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760-1776, Julian P. Boyd, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, 491-494.] Sacred Mountains refers to the Appalachians and, specifically, to the Smokys.

⁶ To understand how the newly formed United States constructed the legal basis for the destruction of Native nations and how that resulted in removal during the 1830s, see Tim Alan Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002).

Turtle a colony, and it was claimed by the French, then the Spanish, the French again, and finally the Americans in 1803.⁷ Early American Louisiana was a complex and evolving society, impacted by the same transnational pressures that had fomented the nascent United States. Its culture and slave-trade did not exist in isolation, nor was it cut off from the rest of the then-developing nation [Fig. 1].⁸ It should not be surprising, then, that the question of Indian slavery surfaced as a pressing legal issue at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the very first docket of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana.⁹

The story that case, *Séville v. Chrétien*, embodies – the lived experience and very existence of enslaved Native Americans – has been mostly erased from historical memory. Indeed, from the colonial construction of race to the Jim Crow era “paper genocide” of Natives, Indigenous identity in the U.S. has been systematically regulated, reclassified, and restricted.¹⁰ The people given voice in the *Séville* case are, therefore, a rare exception to the many “lives that are outside of history.”¹¹ Yet, their stories – and the stories of those like them – are still more likely to be relegated to the footnotes than found comprising the core narrative; but we find in one woman’s legacy a microcosm, illustrating the forced entanglement of Native people and nations in colonialism, chattel enslavement, and the plantation complex from European contact until the Early American period. By beginning here, this paper can then unravel the hidden history of Indigenous enslavement in Louisiana and connect it to an emerging broader national story.

⁷ DuVal, *Independence Lost*, xiv-34. DuVal examines the Creek Confederacy’s motivations, in particular. Louisiana changed hands under the Treaties of San Ildefonso and the Treaty of Aranjuez, then again under the Louisiana Purchase.

⁸ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), xiii-xiv.

⁹ *Agnès v. Judice* [*Catherine v. Chrétien & Narcisse v. Chrétien*], La. 3 Mart. 171, 182 (1813), Docket #1, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans (UNO-SC), and *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817), Docket #34, Western District, Alexandria Session, MSS 106, UNO-SC, Translated by author. The lower court cases originated in District Court of Ascension Parish and St. Landry Parish, where the “plaintiff obtained as he alleges a final judgement against the present defendant for his liberty.” This is a series of cases included in dockets 1 and 34.

¹⁰ “Paper genocide” is common parlance in Native circles, although some academics prefer the term “documentary genocide.” See Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau (Narragansett), “The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era,” in *After King Philip’s War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, Colin G. Calloway, ed. (Hanover: Dartmouth Press, 1997), 114-43. This form of erasure was particularly prevalent in British, Anglo-American, and Anglo-Canadian colonization.

¹¹ Erasure is a form of epistemic violence. See Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*, as quoted by Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 29.

For thousands of years, Native trade-networks interwove the Western Hemisphere; shells from California, feathers from the Gulf Coast of Mexico, copper from the Great Lakes, turquoise from Arizona, ceramics from Colorado, flint from Texas, and other precious objects like salt, gold, obsidian, corn, and seeds all changed hands.¹² After contact, these networks were also used by those settlers able to gain access to them. Frenchmen traded their goods up and down the Mississippi River into New France, in present-day Canada [Fig. 1].¹³ Opelousas, the primary trading post located between colonial New Orleans and Natchitoches, was claimed by the French in 1720. It was there, during the mid-1760s, that a *coureur de bois* named Duchêne operated, buying and selling Native people to Frenchmen.¹⁴

In 1765, Duchêne sold a young girl, 11 years and five months of age – referred to in the records solely as a prisoner of war, a “pure Indian squaw” – in the humid, backwater swamp at Barré Landing.¹⁵ The buyer, Joseph Chrétien, called her Angélique, perhaps after his mother, Marie-Louise-Angélique Mignerón.¹⁶ Shortly after, Joseph also became the owner of a 3000-acre plantation, Chrétien Point, which was Opelousa-Atakapan tribal land, stolen and allotted through a royal land grant to Louis St. Germain.¹⁷ There, Angélique gave birth to her daughter; fathered by the slave-trader Duchêne, Agnès was baptized a

¹² These trade routes had, for thousands of years, spanned the entire Western Hemisphere and were greatly expanded by the Toltecs, then the Aztecs. Oral histories of Cherokee and Choctaw clans refer to migrations from Central and Northwestern Mexico. Colonial place names are used for clarity. Claudia Parkhill Garcés (Cherokee), interview by author, Baton Rouge, LA, 2017. Kelona Bear (Choctaw), interview by author, Choctaw, MS, 2018. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, “Follow the Corn,” Special Lecture, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA, May 4, 2015.

¹³ Pre-existing Indian trade routes along the Mississippi River system provided the framework for the French slave-trade network of Indian slaves.

¹⁴ This post was named after the Opelousa tribe, which had lived there prior to contact. The independent traders of New France, including Louisiana and Canada, were called *les coureurs des bois*. Participating in various ways in the Indian economy, these traders are best known as trappers and traders, for their role in the fur trade.

¹⁵ The case files say Angélique was “married” at 11, which implies this is how she entered the slave-trade. The word “squaw” is laden with both racist and sexist implications, positioning the Native woman as a sex object, in contrast with the “Indian princess.” See Nancy J. Parezo and Angelina R. Jones, “What’s in a Name?: The 1940s-1950s ‘Squaw Dress,’” *American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 373-95 and Cathy Cockrell, “American Indian Stereotypes,” *Off Our Backs* 12, no. 6 (June 1982).

¹⁶ “Family Tree of Joseph Chrétien,” Geni: A MyHeritage Company, <http://www.geni.com/people/Joseph-Chretien/600000003276085132> (accessed September 2018).

¹⁷ The post is named after the tribe. “Chrétien Point Plantation,” National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=430d3bb1-f186-483c-ba13-80b3f70bc668> (accessed September 2018). The current standing mansion located on this plantation was built by Joseph Chrétien’s grandson in 1831. This would later be the site of a Civil War battle, The Battle of Bayou Bourbeux, in 1863. The property is currently operated as a bed and breakfast, offering plantation themed weddings, and owners claim the mansion’s staircase was replicated for the movie *Gone With the Wind*. “Chrétien Point,” <http://chretienpoint.com>.

slave.¹⁸ Duchêne later tried to buy Agnès from Joseph in exchange for another enslaved child, but he refused. Instead, Joseph enslaved multiple Natives in addition to Angélique and Agnès; faint documentary traces remain of Marie-Anne, Catherine, Narcisse, Thémier, Pierre, and Jeanne.¹⁹

Agnès, however, seems to have been favored by Joseph, occasionally travelling with him across the colony. On one such trip to New Orleans in the early 1790s, during the Spanish period, Agnès took the opportunity to sneak away and file suit for her freedom.²⁰ Indian slavery had been proclaimed illegal by Spanish Governor Alejandro “Bloody” O’Reilly in 1769, as it previously had been declared by the Crown across its empire. Under pressure from Louisiana’s white planter elites, though, Governor François Louis Héctor de Carondelet issued a blanket dismissal of all pending Indian slave suits in 1794. Agnès never received a judicial response to her petition.²¹ Instead, she was forced to return with Joseph to Chrétien Point, where she lived until her death.

The story of Angélique and her family clarifies that the enslavement of Native Americans was also intergenerational. Agnès had been born a slave and, as a part of Joseph’s estate, she passed to Joseph’s son and heir, Gérard, upon his death in 1812. Agnès was forced to have a son by Gérard, and she named him Séville. He would grow up to fight for his freedom, as well as the freedom of his mother and all of his siblings.²² Gérard, however, was a wealthy and powerful man, both a plantation owner and a military officer. During the War of 1812, Gérard Chrétien was captain of the 16th Regiment Infantry of

¹⁸ *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817). According to the testimony of the widow Donatto Bello, the same trader Duchêne raped the child, Angélique, who was brought to Opelousas as a slave. She was taken prisoner in war by a “*pani*,” a generic French name for Plains Indians.

¹⁹ *Agnès v. Judice* [*Catherine v. Chrétien & Narcisse v. Chrétien*], La. 3 Mart. 171, 182 (1813). “Family Tree of Magdaleine Sonnier Chrétien,” Geni: A MyHeritage Company, <http://www.geni.com/people/Magdaleine-Chretien/6000000003276012635> (accessed September 2018). The 1820 Federal Census of St. Landry Parish lists the number of slaves, by gender and age, of each white landowner. It is reasonable to conclude a number of the enslaved at this plantation were Natives and mixed-race Native people.

²⁰ *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817). It seems that multiple members of this family filed for their freedom at different points between the early 1790s and the 1810s. Agnès may have initially filed in the 1790s, but the first court records are dated to 1813.

²¹ *Ibid.* In the court records, Judge King writes that there is no proof of Carondelet’s 1794 order forcing Indian slaves back “to serve their masters,” nor of any order or proclamation about Indian slaves in Louisiana. See also *Poydras, et al., to Carondelet, New Orleans, Feb. 28, 1794*, Library of Congress (LOC), AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563, folios 968-9. Stephen Webre, “The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 125-6.

²² *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817).

the Louisiana General Militia under Colonel John Thompson, and he fought at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 with Andrew Jackson.²³ He and his brother, Hypolite, used their power and wealth to greatly expand Chrétien Point.²⁴ Over the course of its operation, over five-hundred people were enslaved there.²⁵

Séville v. Chrétien may encode just one family's story, but it also reveals the changing contours of race and enslavement in Louisiana beginning in the French period, the obfuscation and continuation of Indian slavery during the Spanish period, and the formal legalization of that enslavement during the American period. By the early-nineteenth century, the enslavement of Indigenous peoples by Europeans had been a contested but unending institution across the so-called New World for hundreds of years. Like his mother, Séville had been born into slavery, and he was identified by the Court as a “*gen de couleur*” and a “*mulatto*” despite being only one-quarter Indian.²⁶ Although Séville won his initial case, Gérard appealed, and the lower court's decision was overturned. Undaunted, Séville filed again, this time reaching the Louisiana State Supreme Court. One month before the Battle of New Orleans, in December of 1815, the Court began to gather the depositions of the witnesses for Chrétien.

A letter was issued from the District Court of the Parish of St. Landry requesting that the Justice of the Peace of the City of New Orleans depose Jean-Baptiste Poeyfarré, Pierre Pedescleaux, and Livaudais Péré. Over the following year, Antoine Blanc, Charles Barré, and Alexandre de Clouet were also examined. The admission of their testimonies was opposed by Séville's council, because each of these men were members of the white ruling elite, connected to slavery and the colonial government.²⁷

²³ Marion John Bennett Pierson, comp., *Louisiana, Soldiers in the War of 1812* (Baton Rouge: Clearfield, 1963), 28. See also *U.S., War of 1812 Service Records, 1812-1815* and “War of 1812, Louisiana,” *WikiTree*, https://wikitree.com/wiki/Space:War_of_1812_Louisiana (accessed September 2018).

²⁴ Chrétien Point was listed in the *1850-1860 Sugar Census Index*, but it appears to have produced different crops during different periods. Cotton was produced under the management of Félicité Neda Chrétien, the wife of Hypolite II, who built the “big house” in 1831, after he died of yellow fever in 1837.

²⁵ “Chrétien Point Plantation, Sunset, St. Landry Parish, LA,” LOC, <http://loc.gov/item/la0027> and USGenWeb Archives Census Project, <http://usgwarchives.net/la/stlandry/census/1820> (accessed September 2018). “Chrétien Point Plantation,” NRHP.

²⁶ The modern concept of blood quantum is a racist artifact of white settler colonialism. However, Séville's identification as an enslaved person of color, despite being white-passing and three-quarters French, is important.

²⁷ *Ibid.* See also *Ulzère v. Poeyfarré*, La. 8 Mart. (O.S.) 155 (1820), in which Poeyfarré was sued over his enslavement of Natives. Pedescleaux was the notary of the City of New Orleans. Livaudais Péré was both a planter and member of the Council. He had previously signed a letter opposing abolition and condemning “the most terrible of revolutions,” regarding the slave uprising in Santo Domingo. See Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana in Four*

Overruled, the depositions were admitted. The men argued against legal grounds for Séville's freedom, claiming that it had simply always been customary to "make slaves of savages."²⁸ Multiple notaries in New Orleans were then ordered to search for proof that the French Crown had ever allowed for the enslavement of Natives in Louisiana. Unable to find any such proof, the Court chose instead to interpret Indian slavery as legal by default, since it was never explicitly forbidden under French colonial law.²⁹

Séville v. Chrétien provides a snapshot of the history of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples by Europeans across the continent, stretching from present-day French Canada to the Gulf Coast. The newly established American court system considered the legal questions of national sovereignty, the cession of any part of a nation's dominion to another nation, and whether this should impact the interpretation of the law. Although the Court acknowledged previous laws forbidding the enslavement of Indigenous peoples under Spanish rule, including the ban issued by O'Reilly, witnesses asserted that O'Reilly's proclamation also allowed enslavers to remain in possession of their property.³⁰ It was concluded by the Court that property rights must be protected, which included the right to ownership of Indian slaves.

The Louisiana Supreme Court's final ruling refused to recognize prior proclamations of illegality, and a final challenge to the practice of Indian slavery in Louisiana came three years later, in 1820, with a case against Poeyfarré. Although the lower court's jury had initially sided with the enslaved, the Supreme Court once again overturned that decision, ruling on procedural grounds that the case should have never

Volumes, vol. 2 (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1904), 228-33. The Livaudais family was intermarried with the Marigny de Mandeville and d'Estrehan families, which owned and operated massive plantations in the area. Charles Barré was the owner of Barré Landing, the trading post in Opelousas. The de Clouet family included Alexandre Etienne, a wealthy sugar planter and Confederate congressman. See *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer* 46, no. 1 (1911): 322.

²⁸ "Testimony Given, December 8, 1815," *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817).

²⁹ In 1816, Governor William Claiborne's office also responded to a land-claim petition sent by the Houmas to the new U.S. State of Louisiana, forwarding it to the federal government. The response issued on January 16, 1817 stated, "[W]e know of no law of the United States by which a tribe of Indians have a right to claim lands..." Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), "Summary Under the Criteria and Evidence for Amended Proposal Finding," http://bia.gov/sites/bia.gov/files/assets/as-ia/ofa/petition/056A_bccmsk_LA/056a_apf.pdf (accessed October 2018). Former Principal Chief, T. Mayheart Dardar (Houma), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2018.

³⁰ *Order Signed by Don Alexandre O'Reilly, Gouverneur & Capitaine Général de la Province de la Louisianne, Abolishing Indian Slavery, December 7, 1769*, Oversize Broadside, No Exhibit Number, Evidence, Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #34, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), UNO-SC.

been heard in the first place.³¹ In 1828, a freedom suit of a Black-Native woman of Natchez descent, named Marguerite Scypion, was heard by the Missouri State Supreme Court. An antecedent to the now-infamous *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision, *Marguerite v. Chouteau* ruled that Black people were *prima facie* “slaves by default” and that the descendants of Indians captured before 1769 were also lawfully enslaved.³² In fact, the enslavement of Natives remained legal in the U.S. until well after the Civil War.³³ Angélique’s legacy – and the stories of the many thousands like her – may provide the reasons why.

This study’s re-examination of slave records, compiled in Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy*, further demonstrates that Indigenous enslavement in Louisiana did not end with the Spanish possession, nor with American rule [Fig. 2-6, 8]. In fact, a small minority of “full-blooded Indian slaves” were present in the records all the way into the Antebellum period, as were a larger number of enslaved Natives described by their enslavers as Black or mixed-race [Fig. 5-6].³⁴ Out of 11,670 records of enslaved people not identified as “Black,” recorded in Louisiana parishes between 1770 and 1820, 760 people were recorded as “Indian” and 1,155 people were recorded as various categories of mixed-race Indians. The remaining records consist of people designated by their enslavers as “mulatto” and, due to the ambiguous racial labels applied to non-whites and the imprecise methodologies used when compiling records by colonial officials, this category also includes many Black-Native people whom deserve to be recognized as such.

Changing notions of race and the construction of racial designations hid enslaved Native Americans within a social order that negated their existence, demonstrating how the social construction of race contributed to the obfuscation and continuation of this enslavement over time. It was through anti-

³¹ *Ulzère v. Poeyfarré*, La. 8 Mart. (O.S.) 155 (1820), Docket #468, Eastern District, UNO-SC, and *Ulzère v. Poeyfarré*, La. 2 Mart. (N.S.) 504 (1824), Docket #989, Eastern District UNO-SC.

³² *Marguerite v. Chouteau*, 2 Mo. 71 (1828) and *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857). See also Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790-1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

³³ Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

³⁴ The language instilled by blood quantum is inappropriate for a number of reasons, primarily because it is a construction aimed to facilitate Indigenous erasure through quantifying identity. For more on this, see the conclusion of this paper and Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

Blackness and anti-Indigeneity and with the utilization of socially constructed racial designations – such as *nègro*, *mulatto*, *mulatto-rouge*, *grif*, *mulatto-grif*, *métis*, *octoroon*, *quadroon*, and linguistic variations thereof – that “Indianness” was controlled and exploited, and that Native Americans and their mixed-race Black-Native descendants continued to be enslaved alongside the larger population of Africans and African Americans in Louisiana.³⁵ Subsequently, the enslavement of Native Americans continued to occur long after slavery, in its entirety, or the enslavement of Black or Native people, specifically, had been outlawed in various areas of the Anglo-American colonies in the North, New Spain, or the post-Compromise West.³⁶

However, to date, we are lacking a comprehensive analysis of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples by the tri-part French, Spanish, and Anglo-American colonial forces within the boundaries of the modern United States [Fig. 7-11]. Further, the academy has yet to examine the consequences of Indian slavery or its ongoing legacy on living populations.³⁷ Silence shapes the field of this “Other Slavery,” and the general public are hardly aware of its existence.³⁸ Mythologized accounts of Native Americans are still normative in the classroom, and pedagogical approaches to the history of colonization and slavery have often been inadequate, if not outright designed to enforce the lens of the colonizer and the paradigm of the oppressor and the oppressed.³⁹

³⁵ For the purpose of this paper, “anti-Blackness” and “anti-Indigeneity” are defined as unique facets of white supremacy, which specifically impact Black and Indigenous peoples in distinct ways.

³⁶ For a detailed analysis of the continued practice in the American West, see Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. For a discussion on the “creolization” of Indigenous culture, see Vicente M. Diaz, “Creolization and Indigeneity,” *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 4 (November 2006): 576-8 and, with J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli), “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge,” *Contemporary Pacific* 31, no. 2 (2001). On defining “creolization” and recognizing it as a semantic process, see Stephan Palmié, “Creolization and Its Discontents,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 433-56.

³⁷ Angelique M. Davis, “Apologies, Reparations, and the Continuing Legacy of the European Slave Trade in the United States,” *Journal of Black Studies* 45, no. 4 (May 2014): 271-86. See also Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2012).

³⁸ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. Reséndez has coined this term for the enslavement of Native Americans in the Americas, which also highlights how this form of slavery, as well as Natives themselves, have been “othered” in historical narratives. See also Max Carocci and Stephanie Pratt, eds., *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012). Carocci and Pratt argue that “silence frames the field” of Indigenous enslavement studies.

³⁹ For an analysis of the relationship between the teacher, student, and society and how it has historically reinforced the power dynamics of the colonizer and the colonized, see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

The history of slavery in the United States, as it has been taught, explicitly evokes the imagery the Middle-Passage, cotton fields, and a Southern Antebellum culture that centered hierarchal white male supremacy and gave rise to the structures of institutionalized racism.⁴⁰ Yet, this picture is incomplete; it is missing the faces and voices of the millions of Indigenous peoples who had also been bought, sold, and exploited by Europeans. Natives, from across the immense lands of the Americas, not only comprised the core of the first population of enslaved peoples in the New World, the practice of this enslavement persisted for hundreds of years. Therefore, although the dichotomy between slavery and liberty has been identified as “the central paradox of American history,” existing critical analyses discount its broader significance by ignoring the enslavement of Indigenous peoples across vast empires and periods.⁴¹

It is a creation of historical memory and the historical literature, rather than a fact of historical record, that Indian slavery is considered inconsequential, ending early in the American story. While vastly dissimilar imperial-colonial models were implemented by each European imperial power that competed to colonize Native lands in the Americas, every single one of them included the enslavement of Indigenous peoples in one form or another.⁴² Over time, this practice was merely adapted to meet the needs of different settler populations, often purposely hidden in order to secure its continuation.⁴³ Not only was the enslavement of Native people deliberately excluded from the narratives of the dominant culture through

(London: Bloomsbury, 1968). Freire connects pedagogy with dehumanization. See also Gary B. Nash, “The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (April 1972): 197-230.

⁴⁰ Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press, 1995). This paper draws on Black feminist theory.

⁴¹ Edmund S. Morgan, “Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox,” *The Journal of American History* 59, no. 1 (June 1972): 5-29, DOI: 10.2307/1888384. Frances Smith Foster, “Unraveling the Strands,” *Early American Literature* 47, no. 2, *Between Literature and History* (2012): 449-51. James Farr, “Locke, Natural Law, and New World Slavery,” *Political Theory* 36, no. 4 (August 2008): 495-522.

⁴² Stephanie Nohelani Teves (Kanaka Maoli), Andrea Smith (Cherokee), and Michelle Raheja (Seneca), eds., *Native Studies Keywords* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015). Daniel Martinez HoSang, Oneka LaBennett, Laura Pulido, eds., *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Mahmood Mamdani, “Settler Colonialism: Then and Now,” *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 3 (Spring 2015): 596-614, DOI: 10.1086/680088.

⁴³ For an understanding of white settler colonial societies, see Patrick Wolfe, “Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race,” *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 866-905, DOI: 10.2307/2692330 and “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409. Reséndez, “Introduction,” in *The Other Slavery*.

omissive white-washed knowledge production, its erasure also mirrored the wider erasure of Indigeneity necessary to establish and maintain the hegemony of the settler state.⁴⁴

Anglo-American colonialism – and its evolution into U.S. imperialism overseas – has been built upon the foundation of a relentless expansionism, an unending “frontier” that has viewed enslavement as “civilization” and moral redemption, ultimately producing the global vision of empire-as-uplift that still echoes in the geopolitics of today.⁴⁵ Colonizers accomplished this through the systematic use of the rhetoric of “manifest destiny” to justify entitlement to Native land, along with the production of a black/white socioracial binary to erase and disenfranchise Native people.⁴⁶ The construction of race under white settler colonialism is but one component of its wider expression via white settler nationalism, heteropatriarchy, and globalization; however, it is the key to understanding why the enslavement of Native Americans has remained hidden for so long.⁴⁷

In the first section, this thesis will discuss the historiography specific to Indian slavery across North America. An interrogative approach is necessitated in order to connect and decolonize the limited number of existing analyses.⁴⁸ This process is problematized by the fact that primary source materials were most often created by settlers. These records, and the secondary sources produced from them, reflect

⁴⁴ Ibid., Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409. Historical narrativization and, specifically, nationalistic teleologies have contributed to the erasure of Indigenous peoples and their histories. A small but growing number of historians are now trying to correct this. See Susan A. Miller (Seminole), “Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography,” *Wičazo Ša Review* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 25-45. Ned Blackhawk (Western Shoshone), “Look How Far We’ve Come: How American Indian History Changed the Study of American History in the 1990s,” *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 6 American West (November 2005): 13-7.

⁴⁵ Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). Patrick Wolfe, “On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33, no 2 (April 1991): 197-224 and “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.”

⁴⁶ Patrick Wolfe, “History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 388-420, <http://jstor.org/stable/2170830>.

⁴⁷ For a deeper discussion of settler colonialism and its manifestations, see Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

⁴⁸ Raymond F. Betts, “Decolonization: A Brief History of the Word,” in *Beyond Empire and Nation*, Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 23-38. Devon A. Mihesuah (Choctaw), “Indigenizing the Academy,” *Wičazo Ša Review* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 127-38 and, with Angela Waziyatawin (Dakota), “Indigenous Scholars versus the Status Quo,” *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 145-8.

the prejudices of non-Native peoples.⁴⁹ This paper, in turn, prioritizes the work of Native and Black scholars, and it aims to amplify the voices of living people from the cultural groups part of this study.

Revealing the full extent of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples by Europeans also requires a transnational, postcolonial, and decolonial approach that fully acknowledges that the transformation of Indigenous lands into nation-states has been the result of competing European colonialisms.⁵⁰ It further entails understanding the United States as having emerged out of a colonial expansion wider than the narrow lens of the Thirteen Colonies and the Antebellum South.⁵¹ With ever-shifting borders and laws, colonial intrusion onto Indigenous lands occurred and impacted Indigenous peoples in various ways. The second section of this paper, therefore, locates Indian slavery within this broad, interconnected context by using Louisiana as a case study.

Louisiana – which was ruled by French, Spanish, and Anglo-American colonial forces successively – provides an excellent opportunity in which to investigate comparative colonialisms and slaveries. Through the synthesis of previously unknown, underrepresented, or unidentified sources, this thesis provides a missing history, while challenging the Eurocentric lens from which that history has traditionally been interpreted in academic discourse. It contributes to the field by bridging gaps in the existing body of literature, narrativizing Indian slavery through centering Native perspectives, and providing new analysis. In order to achieve this, this paper employs interdisciplinary methodologies from spatial and digital humanities to collect and sort large quantities of data, produce statistics, and postulate projections [Fig 2-11].

⁴⁹ This paper uses the Native-derived construct of “settler” to widely refer to all non-Native people. This should not be understood as the same thing as an “immigrant” or a person whom is actively “settling” land. It also recognizes that the Black diaspora were stolen from their own ancestral lands and brought to Native lands by force. This does not, however, preclude any non-Native person from participating, intentionally or not, in the power dynamics of settler colonialist oppression of Native people.

⁵⁰ DuVal, *Independence Lost*. This broadening of the view of the U.S. and its origin story is articulated by DuVal in her introduction.

⁵¹ Historiography reveals the perception of the U.S. and its development from primarily an Anglo heritage. Although the extension of Western intellectual tradition, American history tends to focus more narrowly on its British pedigree. Jeremy D. Popkin, ed., *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). For its impact on Natives, see Leila K. Blackbird (Apache/Cherokee), “When the Barbarians are the Civilizers: White Western Dialectics and the Evolution of Global Historiography as Ideological Manifest Destiny” (Essay, University of New Orleans, 2018).

French colonial censuses, succession inventories, Superior Council records, and travel writing reveal how Frenchmen immediately enslaved Native Americans across New France, including Upper and Lower Louisiana. Although they came chiefly as traders to participate in and exploit the Native economy, French settlers saw no need to dramatically alter the systems already in place. Instead, they adapted Native cultural practices and manipulated Native trade and warfare to meet their own needs.⁵² They then implemented a form of cultural imperialism by routinely enslaving Native women, exercising marriage as sacrament and “Frenchification” as a transcendence of “savagery.”⁵³ Vitaly, none of the colonial records identify the thousands of Native women and young girls who were informally enslaved as unconsenting wives, or their children. The widespread enslavement of Native Americans by the French culminated in the Natchez Uprising of 1729.

Spanish judicial records, letters, succession inventories, property sales, and sacramental records reveal a complex picture of the continued enslavement of Native Americans from the French colonial period, as well as the “creolization” of their mixed-race descendants in Louisiana [Fig. 5-6].⁵⁴ The Spanish Crown had previously established laws against Indian slavery across their empire, and O’Reilly issued a ban on the practice in the Louisiana after Spanish possession of the territory. White planter elites managed to circumvent O’Reilly’s order by using various racial designations to continue buying and selling enslaved people of Native descent, while also obstructing their access to manumission. The continuation of Indian slavery despite prohibition in Louisiana mirrored larger patterns exhibited elsewhere throughout the Spanish colonies.

⁵² Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous & Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

⁵³ Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). Kathleen DuVal, “Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 267-304. Julianna Barr, “From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands,” *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (June 2005): 22-30. Cornelius J. Jaenen, “The Frenchification and Evangelization of the Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century New France,” *CCHA Study Sessions* 35 (1968): 57-71.

⁵⁴ Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

The continuation of Indian slavery would not change with the arrival of the Americans. This paper finds that, by the Antebellum period, Native and mixed-race Black-Native people comprised approximately 20 per cent of Louisiana's slave population.⁵⁵ Along the Atlantic seaboard, prior Anglo-American slave-raiding against Natives had been equally extensive and destructive, which played a crucial role in the economic growth of the Thirteen Colonies, the development of the Antebellum South, and the decline of Indigenous populations due to epidemic disease.⁵⁶ With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the enslavement of Native Americans was reintroduced to the larger Anglo-American experience.⁵⁷ As *Séville v. Chrétien* confirms, this enslavement not only continued during the Early American period, it was ruled legal on the basis of pre-existing race-based Indian slavery.⁵⁸

The "Other Slavery" was also eclipsed by the sheer scope and brutality of the enslavement of Africans and African Americans, as well as the profound impact that history has had upon changing notions of race, property, and personage in the United States.⁵⁹ However, the purpose of this work is not to take anything away from the story of the African diaspora but, rather, it is to add to it a multi-dimensional picture of racialization and enslavement that goes beyond the mythologized, and to assert that Black and Native liberation is intertwined, not opposed. This study is, at its heart, a critical re-examination of nationalist teleologies, which wants to recognize the full humanity and historical trauma of Black and Indigenous people of color.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ This number could be higher. For example, of the remains exhumed during the 2011 archaeological investigations at the St. Peter Street Cemetery site in New Orleans (16OR92), 33 per cent indicate Black-Native intermixture. D. Ryan Gray, "Memories of Black-Indian Materialities in Colonial New Orleans" (Unpublished Manuscript, University of New Orleans, 2018). On Black-Native erasure, see Julianne Jennings (Nottoway), "The Tragic History of African Slaves and Indians," *Indian Country Today*, September 29, 2013.

⁵⁶ Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). On epidemics and how disease travelled in slave-networks, see Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Reséndez, "Introduction," *The Other Slavery*.

⁵⁸ *Agnès v. Judice* [*Catherine v. Chrétien & Narcisse v. Chrétien*], La. 3 Mart. 171, 182 (1813) and *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817), UNO-SC. "Savage" is a racial slur.

⁵⁹ Ian H. López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). Gregory Ablavsky, "Making Indians White: The Judicial Abolition of Native Slavery in Revolutionary Virginia and Its Racial Legacy," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 159, no. 5 (April 2011): 1457-531.

⁶⁰ Gerald P. McKinley, "Rethinking Historical Trauma," in *Papers of the Forty-Fifth Algonquian Conference*, Macaulay Monica, Noodin Margaret, and Valentine J. Randolph, eds. (East Lansing: Michigan State

Conscious linguistic choices have, therefore, been made throughout to humanize those who were subjected to enslavement, although in some places, in the interest of clarity, the more jarring language of the colonial era is maintained.⁶¹ This paper uses the terms “slavery,” “Indian slavery,” and the “Other Slavery” in order to explicitly assert that the bondage of Native Americans within the modern boundaries of the United States was slavery, and that it should be considered as such in the broader conversation in U.S. History. A complete understanding and admittance of that reality is integral to any aspirations for reconciliation but, more significantly, it is also necessary for healing.

The existence and unique experiences of Black-Native people are recognized and respected, as is the difficult relationship existing among Native and African American communities over time. False correlations between, and misrepresentations of, Black and Native experiences often permeate historical discourse.⁶² Yet, colonization and slavery were a shared history on a scale one can hardly imagine, and it is in this way that anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity are connected, not contrasted in opposition.⁶³ According to white settler colonialism, Indigenous nations and individuals were supposed to disappear and be swallowed up into whiteness through acculturation, while Black people were given the ontological status as property and multiplied as commodity.⁶⁴

University Press, 2017). Mary Beth Faimon, “Ties That Bind: Remembering, Mourning, and Healing Historical Trauma,” *American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 1/2 (2004): 238-51, <http://jstor.org/stable/4139059>. Tom Ball and Theresa O’Neill, “Square Pegs and Round Holes: Understanding Historical Trauma in Two Native American Communities,” in *Culture and PTSD: Trauma in Global and Historical Perspective*, Devon Hinton and Byron Good, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁶¹ The author recognizes some of these terminologies have been problematized in the literature and the tendency to objectify enslaved people or view enslavers through an inappropriate lens. See Annette Gordon-Reed, “Sally Hemings, Thomas Jefferson and the Ways We Talk About Our Past,” *The New York Times*, August 24, 2017.

⁶² Iyko Day, “Being or Nothingness: Indigeneity, Antiracism, and Settler Colonial Critique,” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 102-21, DOI: 10.5749/jcritethnstud.1.2.0102.

⁶³ Lorenzo Veracini, “Patrick Wolfe’s Dialectics,” *Aboriginal History* 40, (January 2016): 249-60. A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010). Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.” J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli), “‘A Structure, Not an Event’: Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity,” *Lateral Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2016), DOI: 10.25158/L5.1.7.

⁶⁴ Jenny Reardon and Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), “Your DNA Is Our History: Genomics, Anthropology, and the Construction of Whiteness as Property,” *Current Anthropology* 53, no. 5 (April 2012). Michelle R. Montgomery (Haliwa Saponi/Cherokee), *Identity Politics of Difference: The Mixed-Race American Indian Experience* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2017). Calvin Warren, *Ontological Terror: Blackness, Nihilism, and Emancipation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018). Saidiya Hartman, “The Burdened Individuality of Freedom,” in *Afro-Pessimism* (Minneapolis: Racked & Dispatched, 2017).

Native peoples' outward proximity to whiteness should, therefore, not be understood as a pathway to freedom but, rather, as a pathway to genocide.⁶⁵ Ultimately, it is white supremacy which created and still benefits from racial antagonism. White settler colonialism stole land and people; it also used African and Native Americans to commit acts of violence against each other, marched Natives across the continent at gunpoint and coerced those who tried to remain on ancestral lands to participate in the increasing enslavement of African Americans, and weaponized race to divide and disenfranchise communities. The consequences of this systemic violence are still felt today.⁶⁶

For many, if not all Indigenous peoples, there is no separation between the past and the present. It is held within traditional ways of knowing and belief that all time and all history is interconnected and co-existing, crucial to culture and well-being.⁶⁷ The rupturing or breaking of those connections, which weave together the present and the past, and living generations to ancestors, has been a violence beyond the initial acts of enslavement, rape, massacre, land theft, displacement, war, torture, genocide, and treaty violations.⁶⁸ As the citizens and institutions of New Orleans gather to celebrate the city's Tricentennial – the 300th anniversary of French intrusion in Bulbancha – this paper chooses instead to focus on its Native people, unravelling the entwined threads of slavery and resistance, connecting them across time and place to both the ancestors and the living.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ On social dynamics in a white dominant environment, see Robin DiAngelo, "White Fragility," *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3, no. 3 (2011): 54-70.

⁶⁶ Gally, *The Indian Slave Trade*. Out of the many hundreds of tribes, a small fraction participated in African American enslavement. Likewise, Black people, like the Buffalo Soldiers, were used by colonial forces to enforce colonialism against Natives. This is a complex and often misunderstood history. On this, the author defers to Tiya Miles, "Finding Common Ground," Lecture, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC, February 15, 2018. See also Arica L. Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans, and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

⁶⁷ Paulette F. Steeves (Cree/Métis), "Decolonizing Indigenous Histories, Pleistocene Archaeology Sites of the Western Hemisphere" (Ph.D. diss., Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2015).

⁶⁸ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*.

⁶⁹ Bulbancha is the Choctaw name for New Orleans, derived from the words "bulbaha" and "asha," and it refers to the many languages spoken by the many distinct tribal groups that lived and traded there prior to European contact. See Jeffery U. Darenbourg (Atakapa-Ishak), ed., *Bulbancha is Still a Place*, no. 1 The Tricentennial Issue (New Orleans: PoC Zine Project, 2018).

Changing Contexts, Changing Faces: The Slave Trade in Colonial North America

In 2007, in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, the British Museum hosted a symposium to “explore Trans-Atlantic trade and its relationship to slavery, resistance, and diasporas.”⁷⁰ The following year, Max Carocci and Stephanie Pratt presented nine essays at the museum’s *Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery: Changing Meanings in Colonial North America* conference. Compiled in 2012 into a book of the same name, Carocci and Pratt wrote:

Programs of museums and academic institutions... showed that, contrary to the enormous coverage of the Atlantic Middle-Passage, there was little or no reference to the pre-African origins of the slave trade in North America, either in planned publications or in research symposia then taking place... we can gauge that the [I]ndigenous peoples of North America experienced some form of bondage under the Europeans, yet their experiences are generally represented as incidental or marginal to the larger narrative of North American history, so much so that in a [2005] essay historian Joyce Chaplin has aptly called this phenomenon the “captivity without narrative.”⁷¹

Indeed, the historiography of the enslavement of Native Americans is rudimentary in its infancy; silence shapes the field.⁷² Carocci and Pratt’s decision to place the enslavement of Native Americans at the center of their study is, consequently, significant. Before them, Alan Galloway’s 2002 book *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* stood virtually alone. Daniel Usner had previously written, in part, on the practice in his 1992 book on the French colonial economy, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783*. L.R. Bailey broke ground on the Spanish colonial system of Indian captive-taking and slave-networks in 1966, and William L. Sherman’s 1979 work on “forced Native labor” focused on Central

⁷⁰ Reid Gómez, “On Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts,” *Wičazo Ša Review* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 117-24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/wicazosareview.28.2.0117>.

⁷¹ Carocci and Pratt, eds., *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts*, 2. Joyce Chaplin, “Indian Slavery in Early America: Captivity without the Narrative,” in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

⁷² *Ibid.*, “Framing the Field,” in *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts*.

America.⁷³ Until recently, the only other major resource focusing on the enslavement of Native Americans inside of present-day U.S. borders was published by Almon Wheeler Lauber in 1913.⁷⁴ Lauber's profoundly comprehensive work has been largely ignored for the last hundred years.

Using the British colony of Carolina as a case study, Gallay contributes a foundational text to the emerging field of Native enslavement studies, linking that unique form of slavery to the development of the modern United States. He links its importance to the economy of the Thirteen Colonies, the formation of the South, and the creation of the plantation system. Gallay argues that largescale and sophisticated Anglo-American slave-networks operated across the Atlantic seaboard, capturing and forcing enslaved Native Americans out of the South, while at the same time drawing enslaved Africans into the South's then-developing plantation complex. Central to his thesis is the radical idea that the drive to control both Native land and labor was inextricably connected to the development of the plantation system, specifically, and the entirety of the American South, more broadly. Gallay argues:

The trade in Indian slaves was the most important factor affecting the South in the period of 1670 to 1715... It existed on such a vast scale that more Indians were exported through Charles Town than Africans were imported during this period. This fact alone forces us to reconsider the character and impact of English colonialism on the American South.⁷⁵

Gallay also states that European colonists would never have survived, let alone prospered, without both the aid of Native Americans themselves and the power dynamics created by white settler colonialist aggression against them. This created an "imperial umbilical cord" connecting each colony to its respective mother-country, which provided them military assistance, supplies, financial backing, and new colonists necessary for subsistence and expansion.⁷⁶ Colonial governments were dependent upon

⁷³ L.R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Tucson: Westernlore, 1973) and William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

⁷⁴ Almon Wheeler Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York: Columbia University, 1913).

⁷⁵ Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 7-8. In chapter 11 "Contours of the Indian Slave Trade," Gallay carefully deconstructs the practice of Native enslavement and export during in the Old South, as well as wars that results from this economic model. In Table 2 on page 299, he approximates the number of Natives sold by the British into the Trans-Atlantic and Caribbean slave market as being 51,000 during this 45-year period alone.

⁷⁶ Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 5.

Native labor, and it took a long time for plantation systems and crop production to replace the economic value of enslaved Natives. Galloway contends that colonists there did not attempt to pursue a subsistence existence until the 1750s, when more Englishmen of “humble backgrounds emigrated to the colony’s backcountry.”⁷⁷ Before then, colonists relied heavily on the goods and commodities produced by Natives, including the Natives themselves, and the trade in enslaved Native people became inordinately influential on the rest of the colonies. He writes:

The English empire was also able to consume as much of the Natives’ commodities as the Natives could produce, including the trade in Indian slaves. This trade infected the South: it set in motion a gruesome series of wars that engulfed the region. For close to five decades, virtually every group of people in the South lay threatened by destruction in these wars. Huge areas became depopulated, thousands of Indians died, and thousands more were forcibly relocated to new areas in the South or exported from the region.⁷⁸

Since *The Indian Slave Trade*, there has been a small and slowly growing body of work that acknowledges the widespread enslavement of Native Americans by European and American settlers, each of which takes a regionally distinct approach. In her book *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*, Margaret Ellen Newell also examines the impact that Indian slavery had on the development of the Anglo-American colonies. By turning her focus to the Northeast and tracing the personal stories and freedom suits of intergenerationally enslaved Natives, Newell asserts that this unique form of slavery “intersects with some of the central themes of New England and indeed American history.”⁷⁹

In fact, the writing of early colonial legal codes, the socio-spatial organization of white households, and even the spread of Christian evangelization in the colonies were responses to an unending warfare against Native nations and the subsequent enslavement of Native people. Yet, the existence of Indian slavery and the stories of Indian slaves has nearly disappeared from the literature

⁷⁷ Ibid., 5 & 63-9.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁹ Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 4.

produced in the post-World War era, likely obscured due to a number of historical myths surrounding both American Indians and American slavery.⁸⁰

In 2016, Andrés Reséndez published the most expansive study to date with his book, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. His was also the first major publication to broach the subject of the impact of this “Other Slavery” upon the modern nation and its living Indigenous communities.⁸¹ Reséndez contends that there is a direct correlation between the historical enslavement of Indigenous peoples with present-day social injustices, and the practice of that enslavement was much more widespread and insidious than previously thought. A Latin Americanist, his primary focus is on Spanish colonial Mexico. There, he establishes the relationship between the massive Indian slave-trade networks operated by the Spaniards with their silver-mining operations. He also links the role of Indian slavery with the colonization of the American West, where slave-raiding and trafficking networks systematically yielded thousands of Indian slaves. Reséndez summarizes:

The notion of a trafficker and his slave network may seem simplistic, but it is crucial to understand the reality of Indian slavery not as a residue of colonial wars or a transitional phase until African slaves arrived in the New World in significant numbers, but as an established network with staying power in which a host of individuals, from imperial bureaucrats down to miners, governors, frontier captains, and Indian allies, had a stake.⁸²

Brett Rushforth, on the other hand, focuses on New France and Upper Louisiana his book, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*. He analyzes pre-existing Indigenous captive practices and reveals how the French adapted those practices in order to meet their own needs, resulting in the widespread enslavement of Native Americans across French-claimed lands. The deliberate exploitation and manipulation of Indian cultural practices, trade-networks, and warfare allowed the

⁸⁰ Ibid., “Introduction,” *Brethren by Nature*. Newell outlines some of these myths and points out that enslaved Natives were often included in novels before WWI, giving examples from the literary works of Catharine Marie Sedgwick, Lydia Maria Child, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

⁸¹ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz’s work, although not specifically about slavery, also connects U.S. history to the myriad issues facing Native communities. See Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History*.

⁸² Ibid., 96.

French to establish and then solidify colonial authority throughout the Upper and Lower Mississippi Valley. Rushforth further illustrates the intricacies of the many distinct cultural and linguistic groups inhabiting Louisiana at the time of colonization, as well as the importance of diplomacy and the *calumet*, as both object and ceremony, in French-Indian relations.⁸³

In *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, Juliana Barr recognizes how white settler colonialism transformed traditional Indigenous kinship, binding it to modern class structures and racial identity.⁸⁴ Focusing on the intersection of race and gender, Barr tackles the structures of colonial authority over time, including the passed-down cultural prescriptions and institutional inventions, which define and control academic and cultural paradigms. She writes:

Changes in gendered valuation of labor, control of resources, political participation, and domains of status and authority... derailed Native systems. Some of the most prolific scholarly debates have focused on the ways in which colonizers viewed and judged Indigenous and enslaved peoples in specific ways, in the process constructing the [contemporary] categories of “white,” “Black,” “Indian,” “savage,” and “race” through gender and sex differences.⁸⁵

It is in this way that the dominant culture has long-departed from Indigenous perspectives, oral histories, and knowledge production; recognizing these exceptions, for the majority of mainstream historians, American history has been little more than institutionalized nostalgia or national propaganda. Any mention of Natives and slavery together has been deeply contrived and predominately successful at eschewing Euro-American collective guilt.⁸⁶ Most studies focus on pre-existing Indigenous captive practices, such as captive adoption, between warring tribal nations and deem them as having been equivalent to European models of slavery, rather than confronting settler complicity in the development of institutionalized socioracial systems and the introduction of slave-based economies in North America.

⁸³ Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*.

⁸⁴ Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁸⁶ Kevin C. Young, “‘Those Few Who Counted’: Indian Slavery in Recent Historiography of Colonial North America” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, 2013).

However, there were distinct disparities between Native cultural practices and newly imported European models of slavery, such as Atlantic plantation complexes.

War captivity and bondage occurred pre-contact, but these practices were fundamentally different from white settler colonial systems of chattel slavery. Further, Indigenous peoples were not monolithic, and customs varied greatly across the Americas. Some Indigenous groups, most of which were in Central America, practiced forms of captivity prior to contact that closely resembled European constructs of slavery, as they were connected to religion, ritual, and imperial power. Yet, these models were not race-based or primarily economically motivated.⁸⁷ In North America, the captive practices in place at the time of European intrusion were not tantamount to slavery, and the incorporation of captives into tribal societies provided differential access to upward mobility and social equality.⁸⁸ For example, Iroquoian captives could become fully-integrated and even respected elders, whereas Algonquian captives were members of households but not considered fully equal.⁸⁹

None of these Indigenous practices were compatible with European expectations of slavery, nor were they comparable with the then-developing European concepts of plantation economics. Forced labor-for-profit, perpetual slavery, and slaves as property were not Indigenous concepts. In fact, these differences routinely created diplomatic issues when French settlers would not free the enslaved people they had acquired or return them during diplomatic peace accords, often having already sold them as private property or into chattel slavery in the Caribbean.⁹⁰ However, academics conform Indigenous cultural practices ideologically to European models in retrospect, in many ways mirroring the adaptations affected by settlers during the colonial period themselves.

⁸⁷ This paper defines slavery as race-based and/or economically motivated, a function of an empire.

⁸⁸ Andrés Reséndez, “The Other Slavery,” *Ben Franklin’s World*, Podcast audio produced by The Omohundro Institute with Liz Covart, June 20, 2017, <http://benfranklinworld.com/139> (accessed August 3, 2018).

⁸⁹ Brett Rushforth, “Native American Slavery in New France,” *Ben Franklin’s World*, Podcast audio produced by The Omohundro Institute with Liz Covart, July 31, 2018, <http://benfranklinworld.com/197> (accessed August 2, 2018). Daisy O. Hatchett (Seneca), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2016. Kima L. Nieves (Pamunkey), interview by author, Fredericksburg, VA, 2016.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Rushforth.

Christina Snyder, in her award-winning book *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*, writes the first chronicle of the evolution of Native war captive practices. Deeming them slavery, Snyder traces their progression through American racialization into the Antebellum period. Although she acknowledges captivity “was a normal accompaniment to warfare” and “encompassed a wide continuum of experiences,” she primarily argues that captivity in “its most exploitative form – slavery – was indigenous to North America.”⁹¹ She does not recognize, as Rushforth does, that “slave labor was obviously not central to the economic or social organization”⁹² of the peoples colonists found upon contact, nor that imperial governments “did not find... a benign system of captivity that they could easily transform into slavery.”⁹³ It was European colonists themselves who brought with them “their own evolving notions of slavery to the colonial encounter.”⁹⁴ As such, Snyder’s work typifies how white academic interpretations are placed upon Indigenous peoples and cultural practices.

Similarly, Sophie White’s material culture study in *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* is, at its core, an interpretation which maps Eurocentric concepts of identity onto Native Americans in colonial Louisiana. White argues that racial identity and ethnicity are mutable and were considered fluid during Franco-American colonialism.⁹⁵ She connects this fluidity of racial identity to the Western European intellectual tradition, the modes of French thinking at the time of colonization, and the subsequent process of “Frenchification” and *métissage* as a formal policy central to France’s seventeenth century imperialist-colonial model.⁹⁶ White also explores the unusual degree to which this was a gendered form of violence. Native women and their children became

⁹¹ Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1-5.

⁹² Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 65.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹⁵ Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1-20. This paper argues that this impacted the visibility of the enslavement of Native Americans in Louisiana.

⁹⁶ Françoise Lionnet defines *métissage* as a way of “surviving in the interval between cultures and languages.” See Lionnet, *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, and Self-Portraiture* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1989). This also brings into conversation the Third Space Theory of identity in post-colonial discourse. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). See also the Spanish term, *mestizaje*.

“Frenchified” – and, at times, legally made white – through marriage, thus erasing their Indigenous identities and giving Frenchmen access to Native land, trade, and kinship networks. White addresses the importance of successful “Frenchification” in calming settler colonial anxieties that interracial marriage could lead to Frenchmen to become “wild,” pulled into the opposite direction of “Indianness.”⁹⁷

The prevailing French belief in monogenesis rendered this possibility of transmutation of race into whiteness as an “improvement from savageness,” as well as the opposite.⁹⁸ However, this ideology is predicated upon racist constructs, the dismissal of Indigenous identity and kinship bonds, and the ignorance of the long-term impacts of settler colonialism and slavery.⁹⁹ White alludes to but does not fully recognize or explore that these French-Indian unions were usually the result of unequal power dynamics, coercion, sexual abuse, massacres, and attempts at survival. Although not the sole context for these relationships, the most common *métissage* unions involved Native slaves, their daughters, and their grand-daughters.¹⁰⁰ Native American women were used as intermediaries for French-Indian trade but also as a supply of sex, labor, and children.¹⁰¹ Therefore, the French colonial benchmark of successful “Frenchification” should be viewed not only as the vehicle of genocide, but also within the context of sex slavery and rape. As such, the colonial practice of *métissage* deserves a much more nuanced discussion of race, gender, power, place, and the body.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 1-10, 15, 114-142, & 208-228.

⁹⁸ Ibid. There were distinct differences enumerated between the “savage” or the “negro” and the European.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 6-7.

¹⁰⁰ DuVal, “Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana,” 267-304. Juliana Barr points out that trade exchanges and sex slavery are often conflated by historians. See Barr, “From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands,” 22-30.

¹⁰¹ Jeffrey M. Schulze, “Native Women in a Euro-American World,” in *Women’s Rights: People and Perspectives*, Crista DeLuzio, ed. (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2010), 7-9. For how Native women were traded as intermediaries during times of war, see Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*.

¹⁰² For this more nuanced discussion, see Schulze, “Native Women in a Euro-American World.” Karol Steinhouse, “Mixed Identities,” Manuscript from the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998). Rebecca Tsosie (Yaqui), “The New Challenge to Native Identity: An Essay on Indigeneity and Whiteness,” *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* 18 (January 2005). The reader should recognize that in modern Canada the ethnic classification of Métis, although related to this colonial practice, is distinct and belongs to Métis people to define. In Louisiana, the ethnic classification of *métis*, which was used in the French period, has been absorbed into creolization.

Understanding how settler colonial governments and institutions have regulated Native identity is essential, because systems of classification and power enable non-Natives to define who is or is not “Indian” in order to control access to both Native land and labor.¹⁰³ Further, the racialized identity of “Indians” as the “Savage Other”¹⁰⁴ is contrasted with the “civilized” European whom was capable of holding legal title to the land.¹⁰⁵ To European settlers, Native peoples’ occupancy of the lands did not constitute legal possession for purposes of claiming title. It is in this way that settler colonialism does not merely operate by racializing Indigenous peoples but by positioning Natives as being legally inferior to whites, rather than acknowledging Native individuals as equals or Native tribes as sovereign nations.¹⁰⁶ As distinguished anthropologist Ann Stoler has noted, the European settlements that developed on Native lands have all generally been obsessed with ways of maintaining control of “Indianness” and of rigidly asserting differences between Europeans and Natives to develop and maintain white social solidarity and cohesion inside of colonized spaces.¹⁰⁷ Historian David Chang summarizes this phenomenon within the United States. He writes, “Nation, race, and class converged in land.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Bonita Lawrence (Mi’kmaq), “Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview,” *Hypatia* 18, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 3-31.

¹⁰⁴ The author uses “Savage Other” in a similar context as the “Oriental Other.” See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978) and Shehla Burney, “Orientalism: The Making of the Other,” *Counterpoints* 417 (2012): 23-39.

¹⁰⁵ Tsosie (Yaqui), “The New Challenge to Native Identity,” 59-62.

¹⁰⁶ *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543 (1823).

¹⁰⁷ Ann Stoler, “Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power,” in *Gender at the Crossroads: Feminist Anthropology in the Post-Modern Era*, Michaela di Leonardo, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁸ David Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 7.

Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement

Bulbancha: Native Grounds, French Enslavers



Figure 1. Map of North American Colonial Land Claims, 1750¹⁰⁹

In the center of the continent, in Upper Louisiana, French explorers entered a new world via waterway still reeling from the loss of its own natal empire a century and a half prior.¹¹⁰ The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex once stretched from the Great Lakes to the Mouth of the Mississippi River, across

¹⁰⁹ “Carte de la Nouvelle-France vers 1750,” © 2018 Pinpin, Wikipedia Commons, Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 3.0) & GNU Free Documentation License (GFDL-1.2), http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nouvelle-France_map-en.svg (accessed September 2018).

¹¹⁰ Indigenous population decline prior to contact with the French was related to epidemic disease introduced by the Spanish, which was transported through slave-raids and inside of slave-networks. See Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*. For more on Cahokia, see “Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, Illinois,” U.S. World Heritage Sites, National Park Service (NPS), <http://tps.cr.nps.gov> (accessed November 2017).

the Appalachian Mountains and down through Florida.¹¹¹ Cahokia was the capital of a vast and interconnected Native civilization.¹¹² Located at present-day St. Louis, it spanned approximately five square miles and was as large or larger than its contemporary London or Paris.¹¹³ The city's collapse around 1400 CE – which has been attributed to crop failures, sociopolitical discord, war, and even a great fire – has been shown by recent alluvial soil core sampling to have been caused, in part, by a massive flood of the Mississippi River.¹¹⁴ This sudden floodplain shift impacted population growth and settlement stability, and it was a critical factor in the dispersal of Mississippian peoples right before contact.¹¹⁵

Echoes of Cahokia and its pre-contact Mississippian cultural practices reverberated long after the empire's decline.¹¹⁶ By the time of French arrival in Upper Louisiana [Fig. 1], *les Pays d'en Haut*, intertribal warfare divided the continental interior. Following a strict code of engagement, it included prisoner of war captive practices.¹¹⁷ The *calumet*, often referred to in popular culture as “the peace pipe,” was both sacred object and ceremony. It represented peace alliances which, when broken, could result in the ultimate consequence: belonging to your enemy. Captives were taken and, through a process of breaking-down of their original selves in elaborate and often violent rituals, they served as replacements for members of the dead lost in battle and took on their community responsibilities.¹¹⁸ The purpose of the

¹¹¹ “The Key Marco Collection,” Florida Museum, University of Florida, <http://floridamuseum.ufl.edu/sflarch/collections/archaeological-collections/key-marco-collection> (accessed April 2018). Patricia Galloway, *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

¹¹² Thomas Emerson, Illinois state archeologist and director of the Illinois State Archaeological Survey at the University of Illinois as quoted in “12th-Century Cahokia Was a Melting Pot,” *Archaeology Magazine*, March 6, 2014. See also Rafael Bisso-Machado, et al., “5-HTTLPR Genetic Diversity and Mode of Subsistence in Native Americans,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 151, no. 3 (July 2013): 492-494, and Timothy Pauketat, *The Ascent of Chiefs: Cahokia and Mississippian Politics in Native North America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994).

¹¹³ Dunbar-Ortiz, “Follow the Corn,” Special Lecture. Dunbar-Ortiz, however, argues that Cahokia, similar to other Indigenous patterns prior to contact, had purposely decentralized.

¹¹⁴ Samuel E. Muñoz, et al., “Cahokia's Emergence and Decline Coincided with Shifts of Flood Frequency on the Mississippi River,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 20 (May 2015): 6319-24, DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1501904112 (accessed November 2017).

¹¹⁵ Dunbar-Ortiz, “Follow the Corn.” Muñoz, et al., “Cahokia's Emergence and Decline.”

¹¹⁶ Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous & Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 21.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-83.

¹¹⁸ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 1-20. White asserts that identity was flexible, reflecting the French imperial model of racialization. However, Rushford and others refute this in their research. Capture adoption led to replacing someone's responsibilities such as workload or reproductive responsibilities. Native captives were most commonly seen as intercultural brokers. See Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 60-65.

calumet was to dissuade warlike behavior and prevent violations of established peace accords, not explicitly to produce captives.

Linked through intermarriage, kinship bonds, linguistic propinquity, and diplomatic treaties, the tribes of *les Pays d'en Haut* maintained five broadly defined ethnic groups, which remained in quasi-stable alliances well into the seventeenth century: the Cree-Monsoni-Assiniboine, the Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo, the Miami-Illinois, the Ojibwe-Ottawa-Potawatomi, and the Lakota-Dakota-Nakota (Sioux).¹¹⁹ In the South, in Lower Louisiana [Fig. 1], the Caddoan and Muskogean peoples sustained different cultural practices and kinship relations than the Siouan and Algonquin peoples to the North. However, by the mid-seventeenth century, the *calumet* and its associated rituals had become widespread, travelling on trade-routes and waterways through the Southeast.¹²⁰ By the end of the century, the ceremony was nearly universal throughout the Lower Mississippi Valley and even became introduced to the peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, such as the Cherokee and the Chickasaw.¹²¹

By the time the first colonizers arrived in Bulbancha, Europeans had been exploiting Indigenous peoples for over two hundred years.¹²² French enslavement of Natives began in the Lower Mississippi Valley in the shadow of pre-existing Spanish and British slave-raiding on the Atlantic seaboard. British slave-raids against Native nations, originating primarily from the Carolina colony and travelling into the continental interior, spread epidemic diseases such as influenza, measles, cholera, typhus, dysentery, and yellow fever [Fig. 7]; so did the Spanish slave-raids along the Gulf Coast from Hispaniola over a century prior.¹²³ As a result, the larger, more populous, and centralized chiefdoms encountered by explorers, such

¹¹⁹ Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 23. These are very broad groupings with unique cultural and linguistic traditions. Just the Cree-Monsoni-Assiniboine, for example, can be subdivided into 10 Cree linguistic groups alone. Harald Hammarström, et al., eds., “Cree–Montagnais–Naskapi,” *Glottolog 3.0*. Jena, Germany: Max Planck Institute, 2017. On French-Indian relations in the *Pays d'en Haut*, see also Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1991).

¹²⁰ Daniel H. Usner, Jr., “From Calumet to Raquette: How American Indians Shaped Colonial New Orleans,” Keynote Lecture, Friends of the Cabildo 4th Annual Symposium, New Orleans, LA, December 8, 2017.

¹²¹ Ian W. Brown, “The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast and Its Archaeological Manifestations,” *American Antiquity* 54, no. 2 (1989): 311-331, DOI: 10.2307/281709 (accessed January 2018).

¹²² Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3.

¹²³ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 16-24. Gally, *The Indian Slave Trade* and Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. The virgin soils hypothesis should be considered incorrect and incomplete, with disease epidemiology

as Hernando de Soto, had fragmented into smaller tribal groups – the Biloxi, Pascagoula, Mochtobi, Mobila, Choctaw, Tohomé, Chickasaw, Bayogoula, Creek, Alibama, Taensa, Tunica, Natchez, Mougulasha, Tallapoosa, Abehka, Chaouacha, Acolapissa, Quapaw, Chitimacha, Houma, Opelousa, Atakapa, and others – by the time the French had built their first settlement in Biloxi Bay in 1699.¹²⁴

White settlers – whether French, Spanish, or British – used these slavery-induced epidemics along with divide-and-conquer warfare to compete with each other for land and labor.¹²⁵ British slave dealers from Carolina, for example, armed hundreds of Chickasaw warriors against the Choctaw in 1702, resulting in the murder of eighteen-hundred and the enslavement of five-hundred more.¹²⁶ In the same year, the Spanish raised a force from across their missions in Apalachicola to attack the British-backed Creek Confederacy in what became a prelude to Queen Anne’s War. In 1704, the British responded with the Apalachee Massacre, killing and enslaving thousands.¹²⁷ In 1706, the Chitimacha responded to French slave-raids against them by killing Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, a Catholic priest and enslaver, as he descended the Mississippi River from Natchez. In retaliation, French Canadian soldiers demolished the entire Chitimacha village on Bayou Lafourche and sold the surviving women and children into slavery

connected to slave-raids and colonial intent. See especially Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement* and David S. Jones, “Virgin Soils Revisited,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (October 2003): 703-742, which disprove Alfred Crosby, “Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (April 1976): 289-299.

¹²⁴ Ibid. George R. Milner, “Epidemic Disease in the Post-Contact Southeast: A Reappraisal,” *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* V (1980): 39-56. The tribes listed here are identified by their French, Spanish, and Anglo-transliterations for easier academic understanding. Some are close to the originals, such as Choctaw for the Chahta or Chitimacha for the Sitimaxa. Most tribal groups, however, retain identities separate from the names given to them by white settlers. For example, the Bayogoulas called themselves Ischenoca and the Creek call themselves today Mvskoke. One of the issues with writing this history, like that of any colonial-period, is that the profession problematizes non-primary source white-centered knowledge production. We must trust the colonizers’ accounts as accurate and attempt to deconstruct an Indigenous perspective, history, or identity from within them. The accuracy of tribal names and affiliations is one of many examples.

¹²⁵ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*.

¹²⁶ Pierre Le Moynes d’Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, trans. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981) and Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 19.

¹²⁷ Charles W. Arnade, “The English Invasion of Spanish Florida, 1700-1706,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (July 1962): 29-37. Verner W. Crane, “The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne’s War,” *The American Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (April 1919): 379-95. Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina’s Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) and Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*. On the Apalachee Massacre, see also Mark F. Boyd, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999).

for 200 *livres* each.¹²⁸ Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville's subsequent war against the Chitimacha lasted until 1718.¹²⁹

Slavery and slave-based economic models underpinned all of this bloodshed, and the captives produced by it formed the core of Louisiana's first slave population.¹³⁰ Enslaved Natives were first officially recorded in the Louisiana colony in the 1708 Census, which listed 80 "slaves all *sauvages* or *sauvageses* from different nations."¹³¹ By 1714, a couple of hundred enslaved people existed in the colony, almost all of whom were Indian.¹³² In response to the increase in this population, the French Superior Council passed its own series of slave laws and regulations.¹³³ Indian slavery was not only a large component of settlement plans, it played a central role in French mercantilism. Bienville, for example, later captured Native Americans and sold them into slavery in the French Caribbean at an exchange rate of two-for-one for enslaved Africans. He wrote that he believed it "accomplishes a great good for the colonists."¹³⁴

When Bienville's older brother, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, tasked with locating the mouth of the Mississippi River by Louis Phélypeaux Comte de Pontchartrain, "discovered" the Biloxi Indians

¹²⁸ Mississippi Provincial Archives French Dominion (MPA-FD) III (1927). Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys et Calumet*, 101-2. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 23-4.

¹²⁹ Ibid. See also The Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, "Tribal History," <http://chitimacha.gov/history-culture/tribal-history> (accessed July 18, 2018).

¹³⁰ Ibid. This was specifically asserted by Usner. See also M. de Sauvole de la Villantray, *The Journal of Sauvole: Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana*, Jay Higginbotham, trans. (Mobile: Colonial Books, 1969). Villantray was the first royal governor of Louisiana, appointed to the position by King Louis XIV in 1699.

¹³¹ Nicolas de La Salle, *Census of Louisiana*, ANOM, Séries C13a, Correspondance Générale Louisiane II (1708): 225-7. Maduell, comp. and trans., *The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 Through 1732*.

¹³² Ibid., Maduell, "Table A-26: General Census of All the Inhabitants of the Colony of Louisiana Dated January 1, 1726," in *The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 Through 1732* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 2012).

¹³³ "Statuts et Règlements faits par le Conseil Supérieur de la Louisiane concernant les esclaves du 12 novembre 1714," ANOM, Séries A, 23, 5-6, Translated by author. Cécile Vidal, "Esclavitud pública, formación racial y la pugna por el honor en la Nueva Orleans francesa, 1718-1769," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 43, no. 2 (2016): 155-83, DOI: 10.15446/achsc.v43n2.59075 (accessed July 2018). Vidal argues that colonial authorities not only formed slavery by writing and shaping slave law, they were directly involved as slaveholders, which in turn fueled the construction of race.

¹³⁴ "Description of the Condition of the Colony of Louisiana: Abstract of Letters from Bienville to Pontchartrain," MPA-FD II (1929). Archives des Colonies de France, Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM), Séries C13, Correspondance Générale Louisiane I (1706): 252-68 & 514-44. "Bienville to Pontchartrain," MPA-FD II (1929): 37. ANOM, Correspondance Générale Louisiane II (1708): 177-91 & 201-14.

along the Birdfoot Delta in 1699, he had already had years of experience in French-Indian relations. Iberville began his career with the Hudson Bay Company, as a French lobbyist for the *Compagnie du Nord*, and he was second in command of the troops that committed the Schenectady Massacre during King William's War.¹³⁵ Even so, Iberville misinterpreted the Biloxi-Bayogoula's inclusion of women in their hospitality parties to welcome the Europeans as an offering of sex.¹³⁶ He made it clear that the Native women should not touch the Frenchmen, because their skin was red and bronzed, and it should, therefore, not come into contact with their white skin.¹³⁷ André Pénicaut, a chronicler who accompanied Iberville, described the ceremony, which followed:

A week later – as soon as news of the arrival of the French spread among the savages neighboring to these – they came with the chiefs of several villages and sang their *calumet* of peace, as all nations do with people whom they have not seen before, but with whom they wish friendship and peace. The *calumet* is a stick, or hollow cane, about one *ell* long, decorated all over with feathers of parrots, birds of prey, and eagles. All these feathers tied together around the stick look just about like several lady's fans from France joined together. At the end of this stick is a pipe which they also call *calumet*.¹³⁸

The purpose of the *calumet* prior to European contact was to preserve inter-tribal peace, not to produce a slave caste. North American Indigenous practices of captivity differed greatly from both Central American and European models. Native inter-tribal captive practice was not economic, racially based, or perpetual, nor was it a benign method of captivity that could easily be transformed into the

¹³⁵ Nellis Maynard Crouse, *Le Moyne d'Iberville: Soldier of New France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954).

¹³⁶ Spear, "Introduction," *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*.

¹³⁷ André Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys et Calumet*, Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, trans. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 23-25. During the earliest years of colonization, there were two opposing ideas in regard to Native women: prohibition of sex due to racism and the fear of intermixture and the encouragement of sex and marriage as empire. The latter eventually won out, as it was more suitable to the needs of the colonizers.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5. The editor and translator of this text, McWilliams, makes note that these descriptions of the *calumet* do not appear in the records prior to this contact in the South, such as the account of De Soto's travels. This supports Usner's account, in an in-person discussion with the author, that the *calumet* travelled along the Mississippi River with inter-tribal trade. The rest of Pénicaut's chapter describes "d'Hyberville" and his participation in the ceremony, along with descriptions of the Native people in attendance and their customs. This is the year 1699 and at the establishment of Fort Biloxi.

plantation system that was concurrently being developed by white settlers across the Atlantic world.¹³⁹ None of these Native nations demanded captives mass-produce valuable export commodities, for example, and captive adoptees were primarily tasked with communal subsistence activities and becoming members of households as replacements for those lost in battle to their tribe of origin.¹⁴⁰

The European view of Native cultural practices and, consequently, the understanding of this history has been misunderstood through Eurocentric conceptualizations of slave-based models. Historians have often pointed to the pre-existence of captive adoption as enslavement praxis in post-Mississippian cultures to dismiss French colonialism as being somehow benevolent.¹⁴¹ The French, though, brought with them their own evolving notions of race and slavery, as they ambitioned to establish a plantation colony with a slave structure in the continental interior, later resolving to adapt their colonial projects to their surroundings.¹⁴² French settlers were able to acquire captured prisoners of war from neighboring tribes for their own domestic requirements, then exploited them in chattel slavery in private and commercial agriculture.¹⁴³

When Antoine Crozat's Company of the West took over the Louisiana colony in 1712, the introduction of mercantile capitalism further undermined relations with local Native nations and destabilized the frontier exchange economy that had been carefully established through the development of diplomatic relationships.¹⁴⁴ The French depended heavily on Indian trade and political alliances for survival and, through fixed prices and gift exchange, Native nations had initially been able to assert traditional customs in a way that fit their new sociopolitical landscape. In order to establish a monopoly, Crozat prohibited trade with Spain and inflated prices by as much as 300 per cent, which in turn caused

¹³⁹ Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 70-71.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁴¹ This is now widely dismissed as a myth by colonial period historians and other academics of Native American studies. The French were not kind colonizers. Conversation with Daniel Usner, Jr., New Orleans, December 8, 2017.

¹⁴² Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*.

¹⁴³ Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana."

¹⁴⁴ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*. Usner's work establishes the contours of what he's coined as the "frontier exchange economy" between the French and Native tribal nations being developed during this time.

settlers to establish illicit trade-networks that ultimately undermined the Company and weakened profitability.¹⁴⁵ The pan-tribal Yamasee War, sparked by British slave-raids against Natives and the subsequent spread of epidemic disease, loomed heavily on the Atlantic Coast. British aggression and expansion greatly impacted French intercolonial relationships.¹⁴⁶

By June of 1718, three ships arrived from the Company, whose charter had recently been surrendered by Crozat and awarded to John Law, carrying soldiers, convicts, and settlers for the La Houssaye and La Houpe land grants. The Frenchmen then pushed their settlements even farther into occupied tribal lands, hoping to trade in furs and pelts.¹⁴⁷ By August, three more ships had arrived with some additional eight-hundred settlers rounded up and forced to immigrate from the penitentiaries, hospitals, and slums of France. Thousands of outcasts soon poured in from Europe. The Company of the Indies transported forty-three ships full of white settlers, in addition to eight shipments of enslaved Africans, to the Gulf Coast.¹⁴⁸

Adrien de Pauger began laying out the streets and fortifications of their new city at New Orleans.¹⁴⁹ It was not long after the founding that a pattern of exploitation of Native Americans began to immerge; the earliest baptismal records of the colony even contain statements from Indian women naming prominent Frenchmen, under the pains of labor, as the fathers of their children.¹⁵⁰ However, in primary sources from New France, including Louisiana, the word “slavery” is seldom used to describe the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 25-7. See also White, *The Middle Ground*.

¹⁴⁶ Gally argues that the previous explanations for the cause of the Yamasee War, which have generally supported more traditional nationalist teleologies, have been over-simplistic and neglectful. He shows the relationship between it and the extensive British slave-raids against Native nations. See Gally, “The Yamasee War,” in *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 315-44.

¹⁴⁷ Marcus Christian, “Concessions and Forced White Labor in Early Louisiana,” *The Negro in Louisiana*, Unpublished Manuscript, Marcus Christian Collection (MSS 11), Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans. See also François-Xavier Martin, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: James A. Gresham Company, 1882), 469.

¹⁴⁸ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Christian, “Concessions and Forced White Labor in Early Louisiana.”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Christian writes that Pénicaud recorded this in his diaries. See J. Hanno Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and Creoles of German Descent* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1909), 22, and “The System of Redemption in the State of Louisiana,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* XII, no. 2 (1929).

relationships between Natives and settlers. Instead, texts often refer to Native women as “wives” who “belong to” Frenchmen after an informal and frequently an undocumented bill of sale.¹⁵¹

Revealing a gendered frontier as well as a racial one, the settler colonial population was heavily male and militarized.¹⁵² European beliefs rooted in Christian patriarchal values further led to prejudices against Indigenous women and their primarily matriarchal cultures, which were not understood through the Western patriarchal lens. Because of this, settlers often interpreted Native women’s freedom, power, and lack of subservience to men – both Native and white – as proof of “licentiousness” or immorality.¹⁵³ The sexualization of Native women was commonly expressed by European travel writers through inaccurate and objectified descriptions of Native women’s nudity, “promiscuity,” and overall availability for sex.¹⁵⁴ Native wives “belonging to” Frenchmen were most often acquired as survivors of warfare, bought and sold as slaves, and frequently were young girls. These women and girls were commonly used as domestic servants, sexual partners, and cultural intermediaries in order for Frenchmen to gain access to trade-networks and resources.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Marcel Trudel, *L’Esclavage au Canada Français: Histoire et Conditions de L’Esclavage* (Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), 9-17. This also frequently appears in the vital and judicial records of French Louisiana. Elizabeth Shown Mills, ed., *Natchitoches, 1729-1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana*, Cane River Creole Series, no. 2 (New Orleans, 1977), i-xv.

¹⁵² On the impact of gendered violence on enslaved African women in the Atlantic world, see Brenda E. Stevenson, “Women, Slavery, and the Atlantic World,” *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-6.

¹⁵³ Gregory D. Smithers, “The ‘Pursuits of the Civilized Man’: Race and the Meaning of Civilization in the United States and Australia, 1790s-1850s,” *Journal of World History* 20, no. 2 (June 2009): 245-72. Smithers argues that beliefs and biases about sexuality, based upon Western Christian patriarchal views about gender, formed at the same time and in conjunction with scientific racism during the settler colonialism of both North America and Australia. See also White, *The Middle Ground*, especially chapters 1 through 3.

¹⁵⁴ Diron d’Artaguette, “Journal of Diron d’Artaguette,” in *Travels in the American Colonies*, Library of Congress (LOC), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbtn.09410/> (accessed July 25, 2018). Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys et Calumet*, 18 & 85-6. Pierre Le Moyné d’Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, trans. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981). Vaughn Baker, Amos Simpson, and Mathé Allain, “Le Mari Est Seigneur: Marital Laws Governing Women in French Louisiana,” in *Louisiana’s Legal Heritage*, Edward F. Haas, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Museum Press, 1983), 7-17.

¹⁵⁵ Juliana Barr points out that trade exchanges and sex slavery are often conflated by historians. See Barr, “From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands,” *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (June 2005). This did not, however, end in practice entirely or slow in the Spanish territories. Native women were most commonly enslaved, often as sex slaves, especially in the American West. See Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, and Schulze, “Native Women in a Euro-American World.” On Indian women used as intermediaries and mediators, see Clara Sue Kidwell, “Indian Women as Cultural Mediators,” *Ethnohistory* 39 (1992): 97-107.

The two competing ideologies about Frenchmen having relationships with Native women can best be understood through Bienville and Henri Roulleaux de La Vente. Bienville was opposed to French-Indian intermixture, as he saw race as something fixed, immutable, and necessarily separate. La Vente, on the other hand, saw sacramental marriage as an opportunity to Christianize and “civilize” Native women, whose identities were, in his belief, malleable and capable of being perfected.¹⁵⁶ Based upon the belief in the transmutation into whiteness as an “improvement from savageness,” the process of “Frenchification” of Natives became the prevailing concept and a formal policy central to France’s seventeenth century imperial-colonialist model.¹⁵⁷ Heavily influenced by Catholicism, it pushed religion-as-empire through assimilation and conversion, and it asserted that French blood could “fortify” *métis* children.¹⁵⁸ Non-Catholic Indians were considered “*sauvage*” until they were culturally and religiously “civilized,” often through marriage or another legally recognized sacrament.¹⁵⁹

Although we must be careful to not paint all Native women with the broad brush of victimization, women and children comprised the overwhelming majority of Indian slaves remaining in French Louisiana. Quasi-consensual relationships, when they did occur, were more likely to be established by white men living outnumbered in Native villages, subject to tribal law and customs. Native women living with the French, in their forts and urban environments, were almost always slaves, incapable of consent in that context.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the ideological concepts of consent and agency – which are often conflated with

¹⁵⁶ Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 18-21. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 69-70. “D’Artaguette to Pontchartrain” and “Libertinage manifeste de la population et moyen d’y remédier,” Archives des Colonies de France, Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer, Séries C13 (ANOM), Correspondance Générale Louisiane II (1712): 533 & 799.

¹⁵⁷ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 6-7.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 1-20, 112-22, 132-136. *Métis* refers to mixed French-Native children. This idea of “fortification” is taken from the colonial correspondence of Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, who suggested this in his own pursuit of intimate relationships with Natchez women. See Spear, “To Remedy Disorder with Marriage,” in *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 21.

¹⁵⁹ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 11-13, 112-122 & 132-136.

¹⁶⁰ Spear, “Indian Women, French Women, and the Regulation of Sex,” *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 17-51.

resistance in historical literature – rely heavily upon the existence of free will and intent, precluding an enslaved person or a colonized people from fully possessing either.¹⁶¹

The propensity to undermine and distort histories of women and minorities contributes to the erasure of Indian slavery in the existing scholarship; throughout this paper, methodological approaches have been taken to identify and recover underrepresented stories from historical obscurity. A decolonial framework is also used to weave together sociological theory with a chronological ethnohistory to challenge false narratives, which have consistently imagined Indigenous peoples as willing participants in their own colonization, enslavement, and genocide. The entire practice of Frenchmen marrying Native women, for example, cannot be divorced from slavery, nor can the role of Indigenous women in any colonial society be separated from white settler power dynamics. On the contrary, the exploitation of Native women exists as a gendered method of control at the intersection of colonialism, racism, and sexism. Yet, the current literature does not fully recognize or explore that these unions were usually the result of unequal power, coercion, sexual abuse, war, massacres, and attempts at survival.¹⁶²

New France warred with Spain for Mobile and Pensacola, and long periods of chaos, violence, and famine impacted settlement.¹⁶³ The colony was dependent on Indian corn, which had for centuries been cultivated by Natives on irrigated fields “inundated by overflowing waters” and stored in granaries to feed their communities.¹⁶⁴ Although the Company transported supplies and food, goods were often mismanaged, and Frenchmen were unable to grow their own rice purchased from Vera Cruz. Settlers, therefore, begged that daughters of farmers were needed in the colony rather than authorities sending more girls from Paris or trading Indian wives to the French backwoodsmen.¹⁶⁵ When the Mississippi

¹⁶¹ Walter Johnson, “On Agency,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 Special Issue (Autumn 2003): 113-24, Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror: Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), and Fuentes, “Introduction,” *Dispossessed Lives*.

¹⁶² Dunbar-Ortiz, “Introduction,” *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*.

¹⁶³ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, as quoted by Crystal Ponti, “Louisiana’s Hidden History: The Former Slave Who Became an Executioner,” *The Weekly Challenger*, November 24, 2016.

¹⁶⁴ “Memoir of D’Artaguetto to Pontchartrain on Present Condition of Louisiana,” MPA-FD II (1929): 60-3. ANOM, *Correspondance Générale Louisiane II* (1712): 803-9. Dunbar-Ortiz also discusses how trade networks, roads, systems of irrigation, crop complexes, and food storage systems were in place in Native towns and villages before the arrival of Europeans, who then stole or commandeered them. See Dunbar-Ortiz, “Follow the Corn.”

¹⁶⁵ “D’Artaguetto to Pontchartrain,” MPA-FD II (1929): 52-5.

Bubble burst in 1720, John Law's operation collapsed; frenzied speculation for a share in the Company's pillage of the New World, including the sale of tobacco and enslaved peoples, and the tying of Company stock to royal finances had led to a stock market crash in France and across Europe.¹⁶⁶

Four years later, the French government, under the direction of Bienville, issued a *Code Noir* tailored to the needs of their neglected, struggling colony. Based on the 1685 *Code Noir* written for Saint-Domingue, the 1724 Louisiana law aimed to limit manumission and African influence, prevent the development of "maroon communities," and regulate racial intermixture.¹⁶⁷ It enacted a much more restricted manumission process than was enumerated under the 1685 law, because the French Crown hoped to prevent the development of a large population of *gens de couleur libre affranchi* in Louisiana like that which had grown in its Caribbean colonies and threatened the racial order there.¹⁶⁸

The 1724 Louisiana law's application to the enslaved was mostly gender-neutral, but it specified punishments for women who were forced to have children by their enslavers; these women could never be freed, while only small fines were ordered to be levied against their rapists.¹⁶⁹ Although the *Code Noir* prohibited "non-marital interracial relationships," this did nothing to actually prevent racial intermixture. Not only was the *Code* irregularly enforced in regard to white men, the sexual exploitation of enslaved women did not threaten white patriarchal racial dominance, nor did it challenge its intrinsic logic of expanding and securing the enslaved population over time [Fig. 2].¹⁷⁰ The lives of enslaved and free women of color were bounded, literally and figuratively, by white patriarchy and slave ownership.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Christian, "Concessions and Forced White Labor in Early Louisiana." See also Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) and Lawrence N. Powell, *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012).

¹⁶⁷ This law was issued by Bienville. Michael T. Pasquier, "Code Noir of Louisiana," in *Know Louisiana Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, David Johnson, ed. (New Orleans: Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 2010). Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 6 & 68-94.

¹⁶⁸ The term *gens de couleur libre* refers to free people of color in general, while *affranchi* specifies a person of color who had been freed or manumitted rather than having been born free.

¹⁶⁹ *Le Code Noir* (1724), Art. 6. *Le Code Noir ou recueil des règlements rendus jusqu'à présent* (Paris: Prault, 1767). Jean-Baptiste Bénard de La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane* (Nouvelle-Orléans: A.-L. Boimare, 1831).

¹⁷⁰ According to Spear, no Frenchman in Louisiana was ever prosecuted for violating the ban during the French period. Not a single record remains in the Superior Council records of any arraignment or indictment of a Frenchman for this.

¹⁷¹ Fuentes, "Introduction," *Dispossessed Lives*, 9-11.

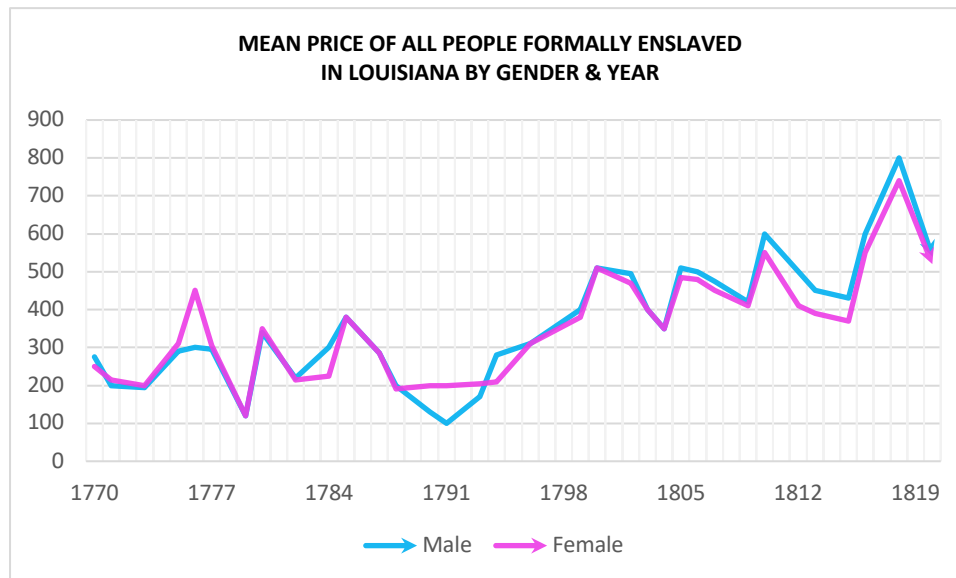


Figure 2. Mean Price of All Enslaved People in Louisiana by Gender and Year¹⁷²

Although generally thought of as “Black codes,” the *Code Noir* was applied to all enslaved peoples, including to Native Americans. Its language primarily differentiated between free and enslaved, whether free-born or freed through manumission. Thus, it recognized slavery as something connected to both race and class.¹⁷³ One example of the law’s application to Natives can be found in the unique role of the Ursuline nuns in complying with Article 2 of the *Code Noir*, which made it mandatory that “masters impart religious instruction to their slaves.”¹⁷⁴ The Ursulines thought religious indoctrination would “ameliorate the lot of the savage and the slave, by teaching them of a Heaven prepared for them, of a Father who loves them – rescuing them from the bondage of Satan.”¹⁷⁵ One of the earliest instances of an

¹⁷² This graph is reformulated from Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s calculations, <https://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/calcs/> (first accessed January 2018). This data does not include informally enslaved Native wives of Frenchmen or their children. It is also important to note that gender non-conforming and Two-Spirit people were not recognized or recorded. Different equated currencies are represented.

¹⁷³ Similarly, other “black codes” in the United States also applied to Native Americans and *mulattos*, specifically listing them. For example, see the *Virginia Slave Codes* enacted between 1667 and 1705 and the *New York Slave Codes* passed from 1664 through 1731. Outside of its title, the word *noir* is only used in Louisiana’s 1724 *Code Noir* twice, and it generally referred to Frenchmen as *blancs*, *habitants*, *sujets*, or *maîtres*. Although the language of the law refers to slaves as *esclaves* and, occasionally, as *esclaves nègres* or *nègres*, the laws were applied to enslaved Native Americans, too. This indicates the movement towards a racialization that had not been fully formed at this time.

¹⁷⁴ *Le Code Noir* (1724), Art. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Marcus Christian, “Negro Education,” *The Negro in Louisiana*, Unpublished Manuscript, Marcus Christian Collection, Louisiana and Special Collections, University of New Orleans. Quote from “Letter of Sister

Indian boarding school in North America,¹⁷⁶ the Ursuline Convent's nuns regarded the Native women and young girls under their care as "savages, who are baptized only with fear and trembling, because of the inclination of which they seem to sin."¹⁷⁷ Boarders, of course, were obligated to be in service to the nuns who, too, operated their own plantation.¹⁷⁸

Right after the implementation of the *Code Noir*, the first of many suits involving enslaved Natives appeared in the colonial record. On August 14, 1724, the city's master-carpenter, Jean Coupard, found himself before *les Messieurs du Conseil Supérieur et de Régie*, the French Superior Council at New Orleans.¹⁷⁹ Coupard had sold a "*petite sauvagesse*" a week prior. The buyer, Lasonde, was so unhappy that he petitioned the Council for an investigation into the matter, hoping for a refund on his investment. Pouyadon de la Tour, then the Surgeon-Major of New Orleans, reported that the young Indian girl had been beaten and abused so severely by Coupard, her wounds were infected, and she was suffering from a high fever, which would inevitably result in her death.¹⁸⁰ In his defense, Coupard offered nothing but denial; he told the Council he did not accept any responsibility at all.¹⁸¹

The case of *Lasonde vs. Coupard* illustrates how enslaved Native American women often suffered the same fate as enslaved African American women under French law. There were no actual protections

Mary Magdelaine Hachard to her Father," in Henry Churchill Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans* (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1925).

¹⁷⁶ For an understanding of the boarding school phenomenon and its impact on Native Americans, see Brenda Child (Red Lake Ojibwe), *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Mvskoke/Creek), "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools," in *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspective on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2004).

¹⁷⁷ "Letter of Sister Mary Magdelaine Hachard to her Father."

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. See also Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1724-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

¹⁷⁹ *Lasonde vs. Coupard* (1724), Louisiana Historical Center (LHC), Louisiana State Museum (LSM), Colonial Documents Collection, Document Unique Identifier 1724-08-14-01. *Recto (Transcription) de Lasonde vs. Coupard, 1724*, LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents Collection, Document Unique Identifier 1724-08-14-02. "Slave Suit: Lasonde versus Coupard," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* I, no. 3 (1918): 242-243. LHC, Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project (LCDDP), Identifier 1724-08-14-01, Images 118754-57, Translated by author.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., "Certificate of Manadé" and "Surgeon's Report," *Lasonde vs. Coupard* (1724), LHC, LSM, Document 24/66. *Aux Messieurs du Conseil, 1724*, LCDDP, Identifier 1724-08-14-01, Images 118754-57, Translated by author.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., "Answer of Defendant," *Lasonde vs. Coupard* (1724), LHC, LSM, Document 24/68. *Lasonde a Déclaré, 1724*, LHC, LCDDP, Identifier 1724-08-14-03, Images 118761-62, Translated by author.

from such violence and they were, instead, considered property to be done with as their owners pleased. Although Article 20 of the *Code Noir* technically afforded enslaved people the right to request judicial intervention in the case of mistreatment, no slave-owners were ever convicted for harming their slaves during the French period.¹⁸² The application of this article was more commonly that former-owners and those who hired or “rented” slaves from their current owners would be ordered to pay “property damages” for any abuse that resulted in medical costs.

Utilizing keyword data-mining and data-basing of digitized colonial records, this study identifies dozens of previously unreported or underrepresented documents, which refer to enslaved Natives. By filtering and sifting through the archive for marginalized narratives, we can begin to disrupt the historical and epistemological dispossession of Native Americans and uncover the extent of their enslavement. Native people are found itemized as property in the preliminary censuses of the early villages and plantations that would later become incorporated into the City of New Orleans, such as Chantilly and Bayou St. Jean.¹⁸³ French Superior Council Records most commonly mentioned enslaved Natives as property appraised in wills, successions, or plantation inventories. The first such instance that could be found in the colonial records was in November of the same year, 1724, when city auditors Jean-Baptiste Massy and Sieur Bachère listed a “*sauvagesse*” amongst the feather beds, silver, guns, poultry, hogs, and cattle of the deceased plantation owner, Claude Trepagnier.¹⁸⁴

French Superior Council records show that even suspicion of “Indianness” could render prejudice under the law. Margueritte Ouaquamo Quoana, whose name the Council noted had an “uncomfortable Indian semblance,” had two white men testify against her that they were witnesses to the signing of her

¹⁸² *Le Code Noir* (1724), Art. 20. Aside from Lasonde, another example of a slave-owner being arraigned on charges but there being no outcome in favor of the slave was that of Sieur Roy Charpentier. See *To Sieur Roy, 1730*, LHC, LSM, Document 30/83 and *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV, no. 4 (1921): 521.

¹⁸³ The villages of Chantilly and Bayou St. Jean would become the neighborhoods Gentilly and Bayou St. John, respectively. The census of Chantilly listed “23 masters, 6 servants, 8 negro slaves, and 2 Indian slaves.” The census of Bayou St. Jean listed “21 masters, 50 servants, 41 negro slaves, and 5 Indian slaves.” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* I, no. 1 (1917): 120-1.

¹⁸⁴ “Copy of Proces[s] Verbal of Raising of Seals and Inventory,” *Succession of Claude Trepagnier, 1724*, LHC, LSM, Document 24/121. This succession was identified before Antoine Bruslé, Commissioner and Councilor of the Clerk of Court, Deputy Procurator General for the King of France. *Inventaire, 1724*, LHC, LCDDP, Identifier 1724-12-09-01, Images 118983-90, Translated by author.

then-destroyed marriage contract, entitling the deceased Frenchman Bourdon and his heirs to her and her property.¹⁸⁵ Just three years later, in 1728, in response to a petition from French Canadian Father Jean-Baptiste le Boullenger, the Council established new laws formally stripping the inheritance rights of the Indian widows of Frenchmen, enslaved or free, and their *métis* children, which had previously been guaranteed *de jure* under French Civil Code.¹⁸⁶ Le Boullenger argued that Native women simply “preserved too much love for their homeland and its savage manners.”¹⁸⁷ Significantly, this allowed French property to remain French and Native property to become French under colonial law, while also limiting the power of Native women in relation to the white men who were settlers on their land.

With Indian slavery came Indian resistance; taking many forms, one of the most common acts was desertion. By 1726, “runaway slaves” had become so common in the colony that the Attorney General of the King of France, François Fleuriau, urged the members of the Superior Council to take immediate, decisive action.¹⁸⁸ A powerful man, Fleuriau emphatically prosecuted the “undesirables” of the colony. In fact, he had just recruited the African slave Louis Congo as the city’s executioner, hoping to better enforce law and order through fear. Congo drove a hard bargain, demanding his freedom and a full ration of wine for his services. These services also made him a target and a pariah to *les petit gens*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ This paper argues arrangements similar to these, if not this specific case, should be viewed within the context of sexual slavery. *Destroyed Marriage Contract, 1725*, LHC, LSM, Document 24/45.

¹⁸⁶ *Fleuriau to the Superior Council, 1728*, transcribed in Charles Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, vol. 1 (New Orleans, 1846), 239-41. *Decree of the Superior Council, December 18, 1728*, cited by Cornelius J. Jaenen, “Miscegenation in Eighteenth-Century New France” (Conference Paper, 1983), DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv16sxxg.8. See also Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 30-3 and 235-6, and Christian Donath, “Persuasion’s Empire: French Imperial Reformism, 1763-1801” (Ph.D. diss., University of California San Diego, 2012).

¹⁸⁷ Quote taken from Jean-Baptiste le Boullenger, “Arrêt du Conseil Supérieur de la Louisiane concernant le mariage des Français avec les sauvagesses du 18 décembre 1728,” Translated by author.

¹⁸⁸ *Attorney General on Desertions, 1726*, LHC, LSM, Document 26-123. See also *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* III, no. 3 (1920): 414.

¹⁸⁹ *Les petit gens*, literally translated as “the little people,” refers to the lower-classes of peasants and enslaved. Dawdy, *Building the Devil’s Empire*. See also Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, eds., *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). On Congo, see Anton Blok, *Honour and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers, 2001). Blok argues the role of executioner was one of the most infamous occupations held by marginalized people in the colonies.

The following year, multiple “runaway slave suits” involving both Native men and women were brought before the Council and, then, before Congo.¹⁹⁰ In the middle of the night, three “fugitive Indian slaves” broke into Congo’s home and attacked him in retribution. One of the suspects, Bontemps, was later ordered to die at the executioner’s hand.¹⁹¹ The Council granted Congo the right to kill his accused. In 1728, Fleuriau still placed the punishment of runaway slaves at the top of his prosecutorial agenda.

On the 31st of May, Commissioner Antoine Bruslé began the interrogation of two “savage slaves” accused of this very crime.¹⁹² Jean Guillory was just 15 years of age and listed as the property of Trudeau, a settler with a cattle farm along the banks of the Mississippi River.¹⁹³ Sheriff Dargaray caught Guillory along with his 18-year-old friend. Bontemps – or “Good Times,” as he was aptly called – had taken a small amount of silver from Pellerin, the keeper of the main warehouse of the Company of the Indies. Together, the two boys bought some brandy and set off to enjoy their day.¹⁹⁴ For this, François Fleuriau condemned them to death. First, they were to be appraised of their value, then flogged, strangled, and hanged.¹⁹⁵ The Superior Council also fined the liquor retailers, Lemarie and Ozaune, 20 *francs* to be given in care of the Hospital and passed a law thereafter forbidding the sale of alcohol to “slaves except on order from their owners.”¹⁹⁶

Thought easier to control and acculturate, child slavery was a common tactic of colonization. French, Spanish, and Anglo-American systems each incorporated the practice to varying degrees [Fig. 3]. Although the informal enslavement of children was widespread during the early years of colonization,

¹⁹⁰ *Examination: Runaway Indian Slave (1727)*, LHC, LSM, Document 27/97. *Motion to Try Runaway Indian Slave (1727)*, LHC, LSM, Document 27/104. *Examination of Runaway Indian Slave (1727)*, LHC, LSM, Document 27/105.

¹⁹¹ *Examination of Bontemps and Guillory Savage Slaves of Srs. Pellerin and Trudeau, 1728*, LHC, LSM, Box 3, Documents 305, 306, 28/74, 28/75, 28/76, 320, 322, 356, 28/77, and 323. *Interrogatoire de Bontemps, 1728*, LHC, LCDDP, Identifier 1728-06-14-01, Document 322, Images 122768-71, Translated by author.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, *Interrogatoire de Bontemps, 1728*, LHC, LSM, Document 305 and *Interrogatoire de Guillory, 1728*, LHC, LSM, Documents 306 and 356, Translated by author.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, “Summons,” *Examination of Bontemps and Guillory*, LHC, LSM, Document 28/76.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Interrogatoire de Bontemps, 1728*, LHC, LSM, Document 305 and *Interrogatoire de Guillory, 1728*, LHC, LSM, Documents 306 and 356, Translated by author.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, “Capital Sentence,” *Examination of Bontemps and Guillory*, LHC, LSM, Document 28/77.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, “Fine Imposed for Selling Intoxicants to Slaves,” No. 28⁷⁵, “Law Forbids the Sale of Alcoholics,” No. 28⁷⁴, “Summons to Testify,” No. 28⁷⁶, and “Capital Sentence on Indian Slave,” No. 28⁷⁷ in “Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV (1920): 489.

records also show that formal enslavement of Black and Indigenous children also persisted over time, reaching its apex during the Early American period [Fig. 3].¹⁹⁷

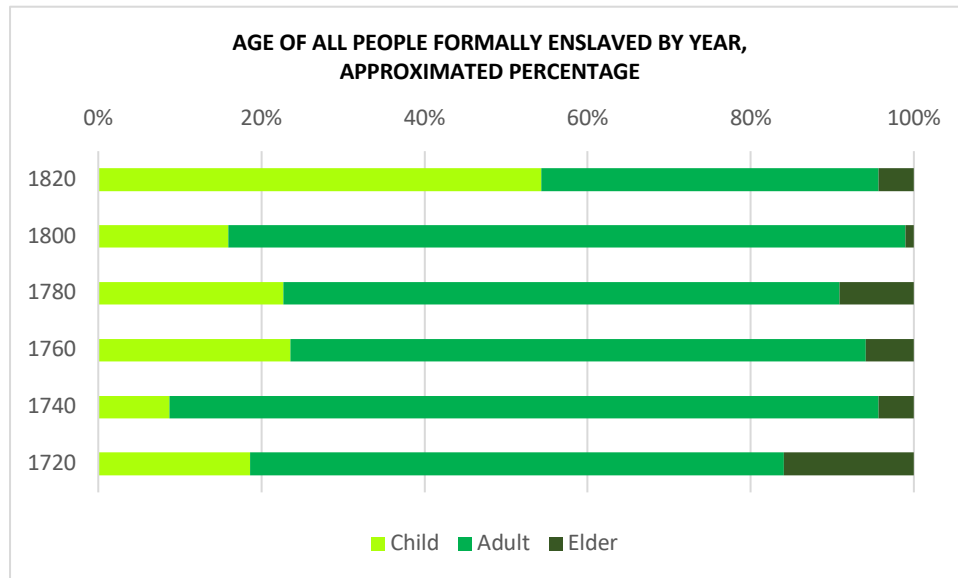


Figure 3. Age of All Enslaved People in Louisiana by Year as Approximated Percentage¹⁹⁸

Bontemps, though, was outwardly defiant; he wore traditional clothing and war paint to the gallows, instead of the European clothing that had been issued to him. Louis Congo, the executioner who had accused Bontemps of attacking him, walked him up the ladder, hung a rope around his neck, and pushed him to his death. He left the Native boy’s lynched body dangling for days, as a warning to all those who might see.¹⁹⁹ From the funerary records of the period between 1724 and 1730, eleven of the forty-five burials of enslaved people were of Indians.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ The theft and enslavement of Native children is a recurring practice throughout the colonial world, regardless of whether the colonizer was French, Spanish, or British. Multiple examples of child slaves exist in the records across the Americas, such as Governor of Juan de Eulate in New Mexico issuing licenses for capturing children. For a transnational analysis of the practice, see Margaret D. Jacobs, “Maternal Colonialism: White Women and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 453-76, DOI: 10.2307/25443236 and *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

¹⁹⁸ This graph is reformulated from Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s calculations, <https://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/calcs/> (first accessed January 2018). This data does not include informally enslaved Natives.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. See also Ponti, “Louisiana’s Hidden History.”

²⁰⁰ Gray, “Memories of Black-Indian Materialities in Colonial New Orleans.”

The *Code Noir* and, subsequently, the entire system of race-based laws in French Louisiana became more widely applied to Native Americans over time. In a rare instance in which the colonial records mention the Native nation of origin,²⁰¹ an Osage woman who had been enslaved in Natchitoches received a mixed decision from the Superior Council on October 22, 1729.²⁰² In accordance with the will of her enslaver, the late François Viard, a petition had been entered for her emancipation by Duplessis.²⁰³ In response, the woman's freedom was approved by Fleuriau, but it was further ruled by the Council that the other provisions of Viard's will would not be granted.

Even though she was now considered free, perhaps in title only, the nameless Osage woman was not allowed to inherit the 100 *pistoles* left to her "for her Catholic education." Instead, it was ordered that she board at the Hospital to be trained by the Ursuline nuns, who would receive her cash legacy in her stead. This limited, stipulated freedom typified the experience in New Orleans for women of color at this time. The numbers of Ursuline boarders and day-scholars steadily increased, and so did the wealth of the nuns. Their orphanage became known as "an asylum... for the negress and the squaw."²⁰⁴

Natchez: Is Death Not Preferable to Slavery?

Within the ever-changing context of French-Indian relations, 1729 was an important year. It encompassed events that reverberated across the colony. Tensions exploded into open conflict with the Natchez Uprising, occurring because of Indian slavery and due to a chain of events put into motion by the French. By the 1720s, slavery, warfare, colonial expansion, and epidemic disease had shattered larger

²⁰¹ Spear agrees with this assessment. She writes, "Indians living within colonial settlements, mostly enslaved but occasionally free, were rarely identified as belonging to a particular nation." Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 15.

²⁰² *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV, no. 3 (1921): 355. It was more common for records to list Natives under broad categories instead of their specific nation. For example, all Plains Indians were called by the generic "*les esclaves panis*."

²⁰³ "Petition for Emancipation of Indian Slave, 1729," Document 29-163 in *Black Book #17: French Translations, Aug. 1729 – Dec. 1729*, Colonial Documents Black Books Collection, LSM.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* See also Christian, "Negro Education," 4-5, and Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, xi. Quote from "Letter of Sister Mary Magdelaine Hachard to her Father." The Ursuline nuns continued the boarding school until December 31, 1810. For more on the relationship between the nuns and their slaves and students, see the definitive text by Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*.

tribal populations along the Gulf Coast into nearly twenty different *petites nations*, and survivors from decimated tribes sought refuge together.²⁰⁵

The Natchez suffered one of the greatest impacts under French colonization. As one of the largest and most centralized nations, they were seen as a labor force to be exploited, because they were capable of producing food and other goods needed by the settlers. Crucially, Natchez lands also occupied one of the best tactical positions in the Lower Mississippi Valley [Fig. 1], which the French desired to control Native populations and intercolonial expansion. In this way, Foucault's "panopticon" model can be applied to both slavery and colonialism;²⁰⁶ French settlements endlessly surrounded Natchez villages, devastating them with disease.²⁰⁷ By the mid-1720s, over half of the population had already been lost.²⁰⁸ An unknown number of Natchez men, women, and children were also enslaved and transported throughout the continent, like the mother of Marguerite Scypion.²⁰⁹

The first white settlement upriver from New Orleans inside the Natchez territory was established at Fort Rosalie in 1716 [Fig. 1], a concession forced by Bienville after he executed four hostages, including two leaders of the White Earth village, as a show of strength. These murders were also reprisal for the previous actions taken by Natchez warriors in response to the diplomatic insult from Antoine de La Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, the founder of Détroit and then-governor of Louisiana. A disreputable man who pushed alcohol among Natives as a profitable trade good, Cadillac refused their *calumet* of peace.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ One of many examples are the Bayougoulas. As early as 1699, a fourth of the population of the Bayougoulas had been killed by smallpox, and they began taking in refugees from other tribes surviving similar fates, such as the Mongoulachas and Quinipissas. *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 63, and Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 22. See also Ruth Lapham Butler, trans., *Journal of Paul Du Ru: (February 1 to May 8, 1700) Missionary Priest to Louisiana* (Chicago: Ye Galleon Press, 1934), 19-22 & 52-3.

²⁰⁶ For more on this form of spatial analysis, see Gary Fields, "Enclosure Landscapes: Historical Reflections on Palestinian Geography," *Historical Geography* 39 (2011): 182-207, and Lisa B. Randle, "Applying the Panopticon to Plantation Landscapes," *Historical Geography* 39 (2011): 105-27.

²⁰⁷ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 66.

²⁰⁸ François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal d'un voyage* (Montréal: PUM et Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde, 1994).

²⁰⁹ *Marguerite v. Chouteau*, 2 Mo. 71 (1828). Marguerite Scypion, the Black-Native plaintiff in this slave suit, was the daughter of a Natchez woman stolen and enslaved in Upper Louisiana.

²¹⁰ On the state of French-Natchez relations in the 1710s and the events leading up to the creation of Fort Rosalie and the later Natchez Massacre, see "Bienville to Pontchartrain," "Bienville to Raudot," and "Duclos to Pontchartrain," MPA-FD III (1932): 191-200 & 203-13. For an account of Bienville's murders, see "Bienville to

Traditionally seen as an extreme dishonor and, vitally, as an act of war, warriors killed four traders while pillaging 10,000 *livres* of merchandise as recourse from the Company of the West.²¹¹

Bienville, who well-knew the consequence of disregarding diplomatic conventions, admitted to a hatred for the Natchez; he distrusted them “more than any other group of Indians,” owed to their willingness to resist French incursions and slave-raiding on their lands with retaliatory attacks against white settlers and their livestock. Bienville demanded the Natchez pay “in slaves or their equivalent.”²¹² However, his ambitions along the Mississippi River were dependent on controlling Natchez territory and maintaining the compliance of the Natives living there, through any means necessary. Fort Rosalie was a strategic trade location needed to extend and sustain Louisiana’s fragile trade sphere and prevent expansion by the British westward into the Mississippi Valley and New France.²¹³

In 1723, Bienville led over seven-hundred men into Natchez territory to “restore peace.” He occupied Fort Rosalie and marched on the neighboring villages, beginning “a furious onslaught, killing, burning, and ravaging without mercy.”²¹⁴ With every promise made to them broken, the Natchez cautiously planned their vengeance.²¹⁵ Tribal council members and elders felt as if the status of their entire nation now amounted to “nothing more than slavery.” Le Page du Pratz quoted Stung Serpent, the Natchez war chief and brother to the Great Sun, the grand chief, shortly before he died in 1725:

Why did the French come into our country? We did not go to seek them... What occasion then had we for Frenchmen? Before they came, did we not live better than we do, seeing we deprive ourselves of a part of our corn, our game, and fish, to give a part to them? In what respect, then, had we occasion for them? Was it for their guns? The bows and

Cadillac,” MPA-FD III (1932): 213-5 and the enclosed letter by Duclos, which is also available at ANOM, Correspondance Générale Louisiane IV (1716): 693-6.

²¹¹ Ibid., “Duclos to Pontchartrain,” 193-8.

²¹² Ibid., “Bienville to Cadillac,” 214.

²¹³ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 29.

²¹⁴ Maurice Thompson, “In the Days of Bienville,” in *The Story of Louisiana*, E.S. Brooks, ed. (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1888), 66-9.

²¹⁵ Ibid. Thompson writes, “The Indians nursed their wrath and pondered over plans for heaping dire punishment upon their enemies. Nor were they wrong in so doing. With all faith destroyed, with every sacred promise of the French broken as soon as made, with their plantations in ruins and their homes in ashes, with the blood of their wives and children, their braves and their chiefs crying to them for vengeance, it was indeed time for them to strike. Nevertheless, they acted with great prudence and caution.”

arrows, which we used, were sufficient to make us live well. Was it for their white, blue, and red blankets? We can do well enough with buffalo skins, which are warmer... before the arrival of the French, we lived like men who can be satisfied with what they have; whereas at this day we are like slaves, who are not suffered to do as they please.²¹⁶

In the same year as Stung Serpent's death, Bienville was accused of corruption and recalled to France.²¹⁷ In 1728, the new Commandant-General of Louisiana, Étienne Boucher de Périer, appointed Sieur de Chépart to the position of the commander of the Natchez Post.²¹⁸ However, amidst growing anti-French resentment, Chépart was a poor choice. A known drunkard and imprudent man, he immediately began to terrorize the people. He was even summoned before the Superior Council and found guilty of "acts of injustice;" Governor Périer, though, pardoned him and reinstated him to his command.²¹⁹ Despite the Natchez being "enemies to the institution of slavery," Chépart returned to Natchez territory with a number of enslaved Africans, intent on starting a tobacco plantation for the Company.²²⁰ He brazenly ordered the Sun of the White Apple village to immediately remove his people from their lands.²²¹

Able to convince Chépart that they will vacate after the harvest at the first cold of winter, the Sun then assembled the elders and members of the tribal council to develop their response. There, they formed their plan to free themselves from the French invaders. Although traditionally viewed solely as a response to French settlement, Indian slavery and the slave-trade, within the broader context of the violence of

²¹⁶ Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina* (New Orleans: Pelican Press, 1947 reprint), 41.

²¹⁷ Michael T. Pasquier, "Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville," in *Know Louisiana Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, David Johnson, ed. (New Orleans: Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 2010). Maurice Thompson, "In the Days of Bienville," 62-87.

²¹⁸ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 70.

²¹⁹ "From Broutin to the Company," MPA-FD I (1927): 126-36. Unlike the other volumes of the Mississippi Provincial Archives, the first volume is not digitized, free to the public. The copy used for this work was made available by the Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans, #F336.M58.V.1.

²²⁰ At the beginning of Chapter XII of *The History of Louisiana*, Le Page du Pratz writes, "But [Chépart] knew not that the natives of Louisiana are such enemies to a state of slavery, that they prefer death itself thereto; above all, the Suns, accustomed to govern despotically, have still a greater aversion to it."

²²¹ Le Page du Pratz writes of Chépart that he was "conceited with the beauty of his project" and told the "Sun of that village" that he must remove his people "without further ceremony." Further, he names Chépart's "imprudent conduct" as the cause of the massacre. See Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, 73-87. Similarly, Broutin criticizes Périer for supporting "to my prejudice a drunkard and a thoughtless man like Sieur de Chépart, who is the cause of the destruction of this post because he used violence upon the Apple Chief." MPA-FA I: 128.

colonization, was the primary motivating factor behind the tribal council's decision to "withdraw themselves from the tyranny of the French" by killing them "down to a man."²²² One of the elders even argued that, although their nation was already essentially enslaved as a whole under the system colonialism imposed, it would not be long before every individual was made a slave outright, as others already had been. The elder implored of the tribal council, "Is death not preferable to slavery?"²²³

The Natchez Uprising on November 28, 1729 was a massive collaboration between individual villages, surrounding Native allies, and enslaved Black people promised freedom for their support.²²⁴ While the Uprising failed to remove every settler from their territory, the Natchez successfully killed more than 145 French men and 36 French women and freed over 300 enslaved Africans.²²⁵ Though French losses were comparatively small relative to the massive number of Native American deaths from European attacks and slave-raids, the "Natchez Massacre," as it is most commonly called, occupies an exalted place in colonial Louisiana history. It generated a widespread fear of seemingly reasonless "Indian attacks" among the white settlers, which even bordered on becoming hysteria in New Orleans.²²⁶

More significantly, though, the Uprising resulted in changes to colonial policies about Native Americans; the French now recognized that massive organized resistance to colonization and slavery was not only possible, it was inevitable. Colonial officials and the planter elites realized the danger that interracial cooperation in slave uprisings posed in putting an end to their hegemony.²²⁷ Race relations, therefore, became increasingly complex, especially for those standing in the way of the interests of colonial officials. Implementing divide-and-rule policies, Governor Périer dispatched armed enslaved

²²² Ibid., *The History of Louisiana*, 75.

²²³ Ibid., *The History of Louisiana*, 76-7.

²²⁴ MPA-FD I: 54-63. Patricia Dillon Woods, *French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1980), 95-6. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 70-2.

²²⁵ Ibid. Also, *Victims of Natchez Massacre of 1729*, University of Arkansas Libraries, Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry, Core Family Papers (MC 1380), Box 21, File 3.

²²⁶ *Letter of Terrisse le Ternan at Fort Chartres to Rossard, Chief Clerk of the Superior Council, on the Natchez Massacre, 1730*, LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents Collection. See also Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*.

²²⁷ Similar patterns of uprising and response occurred in New England, especially after Bacon's Rebellion and King Philip's War, impacting the formation of race and class, as well laws aimed at suppressing collusion. For a detailed analysis, see the work on Civil Rights history and the impact of rebellion on the development of the United States by Raphael Cassimere, Jr., who focuses on both Shay's Rebellion and the Whiskey Rebellion and their impact on the ratification of the Constitution and development of the Bill of Rights.

Black troops in December to commit an ethnic-cleansing against the neighboring Chaouacha Indians, who did not even participate in the Uprising, specifically to generate racial antagonism between Black and Native peoples.²²⁸

The King's commissary, De la Chaise, then proposed freeing some of the enslaved Africans who participated in these attacks on surrounding Natives as reward for their "proof of valor and attachment to the French nation."²²⁹ The Choctaw, long allied with the French for trade purposes, joined in retaliatory attacks against the Natchez in January and February of 1730, and even recaptured some of the freed Black slaves, negotiating their return to the French.²³⁰ Meanwhile, the French continued to mobilize against the Natchez and, in June, Black and Creole New Orleanians tried to create their own rebellion, purportedly intending to burn down the city while all the whites were at Catholic mass. Leaders of the plot were caught, tortured, and executed.²³¹ The French were desperate to regain control.

Although the Natchez Uprising is commonly discussed in both the primary source materials and the historiography of colonial Louisiana, it is not often explicitly linked to Indian slavery. This paper, however, interprets the Uprising within the context of resistance studies, and it purposely subverts pre-existing discourse by applying theoretical analysis from the emerging field of Native enslavement studies. An overall increase in slave-raiding against Natives by Europeans, epidemic disease travelling within slave-trade networks, and white settler colonial encroachment onto Native lands for the expansion of plantation agriculture all fueled organized Indian resistance. Evidence of Indian slavery as motivation is interspersed throughout the existing histories, yet it has remained unconnected with the overarching slave-based economic system and plantation complex then-developing across the United States.

²²⁸ Usner writes that Périer was "criticized for his genocidal assessment of the local Indians." Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 73. See also MPA-FD I: 64-71, Arnaud Balvay, *La Révolte des Natchez* (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 2008), and Powell, *The Accidental City*, 222-48.

²²⁹ De La Chaise, "Proposal to Free Negroes, May 16, 1730," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* I (1917).

²³⁰ Some believed the Choctaw played both sides, helping the Natchez in their plot and then helping the French retaliate in order to gain a better position over them both. See "Périer to Maurepas, April 10, 1730," MPA-FD I: 118. For an analysis of this, see *Affect and Power: Essays on Sex, Slavery, Race, and Religion*, David J. Libby, Paul Spickard, and Susan Ditto, eds. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005).

²³¹ MPA-FD I: 98-100. "Roulet to Périer, March 16, 1731," MPA-FD IV: 64-71. Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 77-9. See also Stephen Rosecan, "Valuable Captives: Louisiana Slaves Among the Choctaw Indians During the Early 1730s" (M.A. Thesis, University of Mississippi, 1996).

In fact, by 1731, the Natchez Uprising and the destruction of Fort Rosalie had bankrupted the Company of the Indies and undermined European investors' confidence in Louisiana plantations' tobacco production. As speculation and investment shifted to the French Caribbean and financiers became unwilling to extend further credit to Louisiana settlers to purchase more enslaved people from Africa, Louisiana's Trans-Atlantic slave-trade came virtually to a halt, which is further corroborated with data from *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* [Fig. 4].²³² At the time of the Company's collapse, colonists owed the Company several million *livres*, mostly from outstanding debts related to unpaid slave acquisitions. This early system of credit under French mercantile capitalism had built colonial society, transitioning it from a frontier exchange economy to a slave-based plantation model.²³³

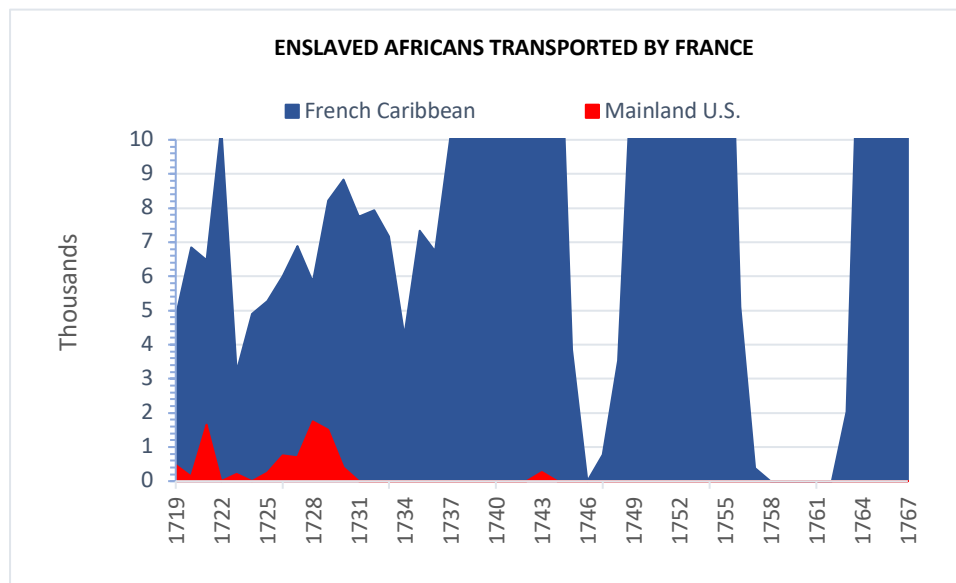


Figure 4. Enslaved Africans Transported by France to U.S. & French Caribbean, 1719-1767²³⁴

²³² This was first theorized by Hall. See Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 182-3. Data from *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* supports this thesis. “État de la Louisiane de ses productions et des avantages qu’on peut en retirer,” ANOM, Série C13c, Correspondance Générale Louisiane I (1706): 375. “Périer and La Chaise to the Directors of the Company of the Indies,” MPA-FD II: 592. “Michel to Rouillé,” MPA-FD V: 116.

²³³ Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane Française: La Compagnie des Indes, 1723-1731* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2016). John C. Clark, *New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 40. See also Spear, “Legislating Slavery in French New Orleans,” 55-8. For the development and changes related to the frontier exchange economy, see Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*.

²³⁴ This graph utilizes data provided by *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://slavevoyages.org>.

New shipments of enslaved Africans were not available again until Spain took possession of the Louisiana territory and reopened the international slave-trade in the 1770s [Fig. 4].²³⁵ The period between the Natchez Uprising and Spanish possession, though, was formative for both the colony itself and for the ever-changing notions of racialization within the colony. Metropolitan conceptions of race and social order continued to evolve, which is most evident in the presence of new racial classifications in the 1732 Census. For the first time, *mulâtres* were considered an enumerable category, although they were only listed as nameless members of households.²³⁶

Though limited in numbers in this census and likely under-recorded, mixed-race people of color were not new to French Louisiana, they were just finally being counted. Able to be considered either free-born or *affranchi*, neither class of *mulâtres* were listed in the partial census of 1737, nor were *esclaves nègres* or *esclaves sauvages* expressly identified as such.²³⁷ Prior to this, records denoted European colonists as unraced men, women, and children. Considered the default, white people were now recorded simply as *maîtres* or *femmes*, masters or women.²³⁸ Examples from sacramental records, such as the 1733 baptism of Marie and the 1748 baptism of Charlotte, show that the children of Native women were recorded as being *mulâtre* or *sang-mêlé*, instead of being recorded as Indian.²³⁹ This study's analysis of Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy* reveals the degree to which Indian identity became obscured in the records over time [Fig. 5-6].

²³⁵ Hall, "The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture."

²³⁶ Maduell, *The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 Through 1732*.

²³⁷ "État récapitulatif du recensement général de la Louisiane," ANOM, Séries C13c, Correspondance Générale Louisiane IV (1737): 197. *Nègres, négresses, negrillons, negrittes, sauvages, and sauvagesses* were listed along with various categories of domesticated animals. This document represents more of an inventory rather than a complete census.

²³⁸ Maduell, *The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 Through 1732*.

²³⁹ *Sang-mêlé* translates as mixed-blood. See "Baptism of Marie, July 6, 1733," *Sacramental Records of Known Persons*, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Cathedral-Basilica of St. Louis King of France, St. Louis Cathedral (SLC) Microfilm Roll 78:1 and Paper Record B1:40. "Baptism of Charlotte, April 13, 1748," SLC, Record B2:122. "Baptism of Étienne, April 9, 1752," SLC, Record B2:251. See also "VI: Répertoire des Personnes du Couleur Esclaves et les Baptismes," SLC, Microfilm of Binder 1, https://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/280/binder1.pdf (accessed August 4, 2018).

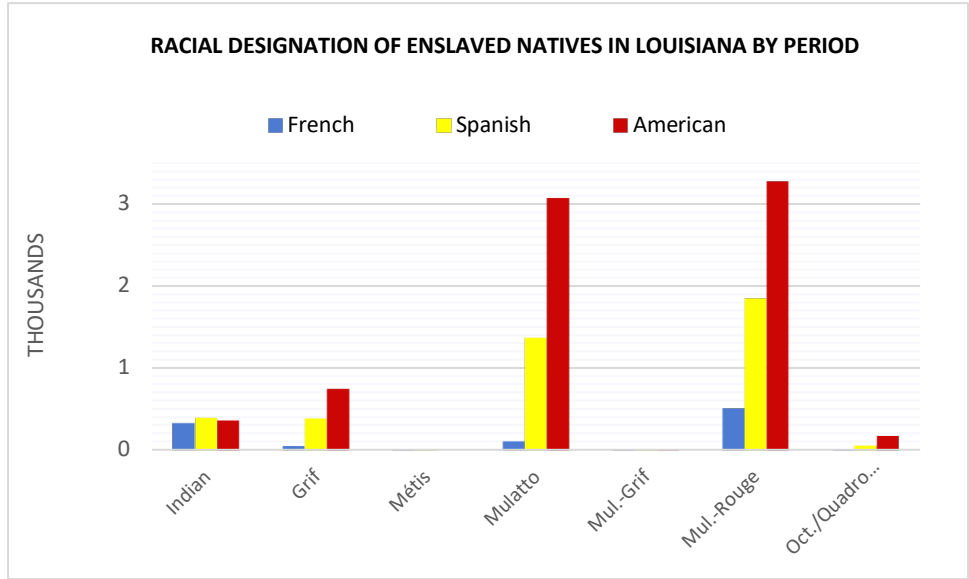


Figure 5. Racial Designation of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana by Period²⁴⁰

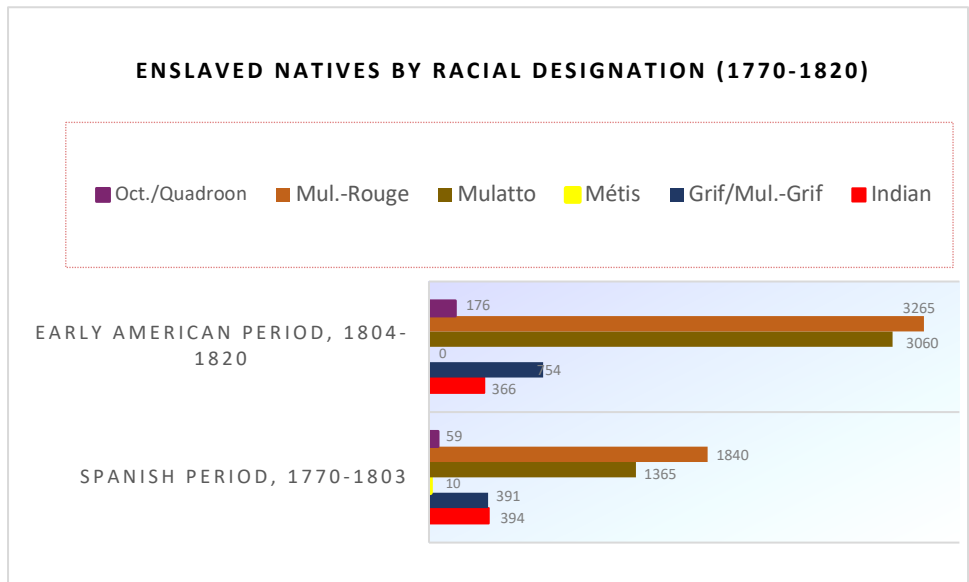


Figure 6. Racial Designation of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana, 1770-1820²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ This graph is the author’s own statistical calculations and analysis of the raw data files used to create Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718-1820*. It does not include exported enslaved Natives or informally enslaved Natives inside the Louisiana colony. This utilizes a sampling of 11,670 records of slaves who were not identified as “Black” recorded in Louisiana parishes between 1770-1820. Of these 11,670 records, there were 760 slaves listed as “Indian” and 1,155 slaves listed as various mixed-race Indians (~17%). Enslaved people listed as *mulatto* are also likely mixed-race Natives, which would increase the percentage substantially.

²⁴¹ This graph is the author’s own statistical calculations and analysis of the raw data files used to create Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718-1820*. It does not include exported enslaved Natives or informally enslaved Natives inside the Louisiana colony. This utilizes a sampling of

Racial labels for non-white people were ambiguous at best, and the Catholic priests and other officials tasked with compiling records did not use the same methodology to do so.²⁴² During the 1730s, records also began appearing that notate “part Indian negroes” and “*mulatto rouge* slaves” available for purchase in the colony. One example is the 1738 sale of a Choctaw man identified by his enslaver as “*mulatto rouge*” found in the estate records of Orleans Parish.²⁴³ Yet, these racial labels have remained unconnected with a broader practice of Indigenous enslavement in both Louisiana and across all of the lands that now comprise the United States. At the same time, previously unacknowledged “full-blooded Indian slaves” continued to be bought, sold, and recorded in successions and inventories [Fig. 5-6].²⁴⁴

The next major census of New Orleans, taken in 1763, once again lists *mulâtres*, and it was the first to specifically and separately enumerate free people of African ancestry.²⁴⁵ The 1766 Census, however, lumps all enslaved people into one category regardless of race, class, or gender. In total, 5,940 slaves and 5,556 Europeans were counted in Louisiana. A final category of “Savage Others,” free Natives of *les petites nations*, were listed as “Indians capable of carrying weapons.” Not considered members of the colony but counted due to the threat they posed, 15,955 surviving Natives were calculated in 1766.²⁴⁶

11,670 records of slaves who were not identified as “Black” recorded in Louisiana parishes between 1770-1820. Of these 11,670 records, there were 760 slaves listed as “Indian” and 1,155 slaves listed as various mixed-race Indians (~17%). Enslaved people listed as *mulatto* are also likely mixed-race Natives, which would increase the percentage substantially.

²⁴² Spear, “Defining Mulâtres, Métis, and Quarterons,” in *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 94-9.

²⁴³ *Notice of Sale of Negro Partly Indian on Petition of Procurator for the King, 1735*, LHC, LSM, Documents 5305 and A-3533, Index #1735052502. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* V, no. 2 (1922): 264. *Choctaw (Choctaw), Record of Indian Slave Owned by le Marechal as Mulatto Rouge Slave, 1738*, Orleans et Chapitoulas, Estate #03-F-046-153-1738, GMH, *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*, <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave> (accessed February 2018).

²⁴⁴ *Inventory of Goods and Personal Effects, Including an Indian Slave, 1730*, LHC, LSM, Document 30/104. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV, no. 4 (1921): 525. *Succession of Dame Marie Vatel, 1735*, LHC, LSM, Documents 9963 and 9972, Index #1735072201 and #1735072202. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* V, no. 2 (1922): 269. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* VIII, no. 1 (1925): 137. *Sale of Indian Slave, 1736*, LHC, LSM, Document A-3626, Index #1736081701. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* V, no. 3 (1922): 384. *Succession of Calixte Descairac, 1736*, LHC, LSM, Document 5953, Index #1736081103. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* VIII, no. 3 (1925): 485.

²⁴⁵ “Recapitulation général des recensements ci-joints faits à Nouvelle-Orléans,” Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2595, Translated by author.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, “Estado general de todos los habitantes de la colonia de la Louisiana segun los padrones que se han hecho el año de 1766,” AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2595, Translated by author.

The Other Slavery: From “Bloody” O’Reilly to the Purity of Blood



Figure 7. Map of European Slave-Trade Routes of Native Americans, 17th and 18th Centuries²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ Sources: Meta-data analysis derived from Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*; Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*; Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*. This map has been drawn by the author, Map data © 2018 Google, INEGI. In the 16th century, Spanish slaving networks operated primarily in the Caribbean, the Yucatan, and Florida. But by the 17th century, four major non-African slaving grounds were operated by the Spanish in the Americas, in addition to the Philippines and the trade from the Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengali coasts of India. The Anglo-American colonies raided Indian slaves from across the eastern part of the North America, but more heavily in the Southeast. Later, 19th century American slavery of Natives would reach as far west as California. The French traded Native slaves up and down the

During the early-nineteenth century, both African and Native American chattel slavery increased substantially. Enslaved Native Americans, from different nations of origin, had regularly been transported up and down the Mississippi River throughout Upper and Lower Louisiana during the French period but, with the introduction of Spanish rule, trade-networks expanded ever-outward and ultimately stretched from Central America across North America [Fig. 7]. Four major Indian slaving grounds were operated by the Spanish in North, Central, and South America, which stretched from the Great Plains all the way down to Mexico City, the mouth of the Amazon River into Trinidad and across Venezuela and Colombia, the heart of the Amazon Basin outwards to the ports of São Paulo and Buenos Aires, and the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of South America up to the port at Valparaíso, Chile [Fig. 7].²⁴⁸

French Indian slave-trade networks had extended from the Gulf Coast up the Mississippi River into Hudson Bay and across Québec, while the English had raided Indian slaves from along the Atlantic seaboard into the Southeast and the Carolinas [Fig. 7]. Spanish New Mexico, in the present-day American Southwest, had become the primary labor depot for the massive mining operation at El Parral, Mexico, by the 1650s. By the close of the seventeenth century, Apaches were routinely transported and sold into slavery as far away as Québec [Fig. 7]; there, they comprised as much as one-fourth of the Indian slave population of New France.²⁴⁹ The following discussion utilizes a methodological approach that builds upon existing scholarship, establishing the chronology of the “Other Slavery” and connecting its practice and trade-networks to Louisiana during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Rapidly after the Spanish first arrived in the Americas, the enslavement of Native Americans became an extensive capitalist enterprise. In fact, Columbus’s first business venture in the New World was to send four caravels loaded beyond capacity with enslaved Indigenous peoples back to Europe to be auctioned for sale.²⁵⁰ In turn, slave-raids were the cause of more deaths than smallpox, influenza, and

Mississippi River and into the Great Lakes Basin. Spanish-captured Native slaves from the Southwest entered French networks and were transported as far away as present-day Québec. An unknown number of Natives were transported to Portugal and Spain, then to the rest of Europe.

²⁴⁸ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 133.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 121 & 185.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-5 & 23-28.

malaria combined.²⁵¹ Other Indigenous peoples from across the modern Gulf Coast including Florida, the eastern coast of Mexico, and northern Central America were then captured and exported by militarized slave-raiding parties to replace the initial devastated population.²⁵²

Columbus continued to send Native slaves to Spain and was quite direct about his operation. In his 1494 shipment, he included a letter to Queen Isabella in which he wrote, “May you believe that one of them would be worth more than three [B]lack slaves from Guinea in strength and ingenuity.” Ten days later, Columbus wrote a second letter requesting more provisions, and he proposed that he could pay for them “with slaves from among [the Indians], a people very savage and suitable for the purpose.”²⁵³

In this “reverse Middle-Passage,” an unknown number of Native Americans – most of whom were women and children – entered the slave markets of Lisbon, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, Genoa, and other European cities [Fig. 7].²⁵⁴ Queen Isabella was reluctant to agree to a legitimized enslavement of them, and she appointed a committee of lawyers and theologians to reach a final decision. During the five years they deliberated, Columbus continued to profit from this “Other Slavery” and sent enslaved Native Americans to Spain.²⁵⁵ It was not until the creation of the New Laws some forty years later that it became

²⁵¹ On the synergistic relationship between slavery and epidemics, see Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement* and Jones, “Virgin Soils Revisited,” 703-742.

²⁵² Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 28-45. In the original formal *encomienda* system in place right after contact, the Crown granted the *encomendero* full rights and ownership to a specified number of Natives for use in his gold-mining ventures. These Natives were forced to do hard labor and were subjected to extreme punishments such as dismemberment and torturous death. The *encomienda* system changes over time in the Spanish world.

²⁵³ Both quotes are taken from Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso, “Cartas fechadas el 20 y 30 de enero de 1494,” in *Colección Documental del Descubrimiento* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1994): 535-536.

²⁵⁴ This term is coined by Andrés Reséndez. See Reséndez, “The Other Slavery,” *Ben Franklin’s World*. Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 50. He notes that this “reverse Middle-Passage” consisted primarily women and children, and the loss of life due to neglect and horrific conditions was comparable. Yet, far fewer Natives were transported to Europe than Africans to the Americas, and Natives represented a minority of people enslaved in European cities such as Genoa, Venice, Granada, and Lisbon. The intra-Caribbean chattel slavery of Native Americans was more common and also practiced by France.

²⁵⁵ In 1500, the Crown outlawed Native enslavement except under three exceptions, including cannibalism. There is no mistake that, afterwards, the Natives of the Lesser Antilles were all deemed cannibals. The Spanish New Laws did not label Native enslavement illegal until 1542. This, however, did not end the practice. It just drove it into black markets. Reséndez reports that the final report of the deliberations of Isabella’s tribunal was lost to antiquity.

an established principle in New Spain that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas were free vassals of the Crown and could not legally be enslaved.²⁵⁶ This did not, however, end the practice.²⁵⁷

Representing differential perspectives on race and slavery between the Spanish metropole and local colonists and officials, the *audencia* in Mexico petitioned against King Charles I's orders to free all Indians in bondage in 1539. Over one hundred years later, Indian slavery still persisted across the New World. The anti-slavery campaign spearheaded by Queen Regent Mariana in 1665 and continued during the reign of her son King Charles II was heavily resisted by colonial leadership and royal authorities, from Chile to the Philippines.²⁵⁸ Early attempts to enforce abolition failed, thus demonstrating the limitations of monarchical power in such a massive empire.²⁵⁹

Despite Charles's decree to free all Indians on the American continent, Spanish traffickers continued to compete with other European slave-trade networks. Spanish colonies depended on Indigenous labor and, unlike later developments in New France and the Anglo-American colonies, New Spain would continue to rely primarily on Indian, rather than African, slavery.²⁶⁰ Indian labor was essential for the extraction of wealth. Mexico's centuries-long silver boom demanded large volumes of cheap, expendable labor, and African slaves were considered an investment. In total, recent scholarship has determined that Indigenous slaves were forced to produce over 48,722 tons of silver from the Spanish-controlled mines on their lands, which in turn allowed the Spanish *peso* to emerge as the world's first global currency.²⁶¹

The impact of this substantial level of exploitation would culminate in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.²⁶² Don Juan de Oñate had established the territory of New Mexico, which includes present-day

²⁵⁶ Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 117-35.

²⁵⁷ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. This is one of the central arguments of this book.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 67 & 125-48.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 141-2.

²⁶⁰ Reséndez, "The Other Slavery," *Ben Franklin's World*.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 67-75 & 100-3. The silver boom and its labor practices continued from the 1520s well into the 19th century. For an in-depth analysis of the overall impact of this wealth extraction on the development of Europe and modern financial systems, see Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, 1971).

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 147-71.

Arizona, as a mining baron, but he used Catholic evangelism as a legitimate excuse to open Native lands to settlement. Oñate's father was one of the founders of the silver mines of Zacatecas and one of the richest men in the Spanish colonies.²⁶³ Later governors of New Mexico, such as Juan de Eulate and Juan Manso de Contreras, revolutionized ways to circumvent Spain's prohibition and meet the demand for Indian slaves. Eulate was the first to issue *vales* authorizing the capture of "orphaned" Native children, produced by Spanish-Indian warfare or stolen for the express purpose of enslavement. Contreras issued official certificates to keep Apaches "in deposit" for a specified number of years.²⁶⁴

Before he was assassinated, Governor Rosas initiated an expansion of wars against the nomads of the region, especially the Apaches and Utes, as an excuse to capture and enslave them. As a result, Native slaves were transported across the continent and Native resistance against slave-raids resulted in cycles of reprisals. Oñate, for example, parceled out Pueblo towns as Spanish *encomiendas*, violently punishing anyone who resisted. Well-known for the Pueblo-Acoma Massacre and the amputation of one foot from all Acoma males over the age of 25, Oñate also sentenced all of the males between the ages of 13 and 25 and all of the females above the age of 12 to twenty years of enslavement.²⁶⁵

The *encomienda* system had been developed and applied in various forms over time across the Spanish empire.²⁶⁶ In all of its incarnations, although Natives may or may not have been considered "slaves" on paper, they were still politically and economically disenfranchised, dispossessed of their lands, and forced to labor or pay tribute to their *encomenderos* under strict penalty of law, such as dismemberment or even death. Those who were convicted of crimes – often fictitious offenses and sentenced without any judicial due process – were entrapped by officials or Catholic missionaries, after which they could be sold to the highest bidder or distributed amongst the soldiers.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 116.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 119-20. Governor Enriquez would later institute a similar "in deposit" system in Chile.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 116-8.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 40-8 & 61-6.

²⁶⁷ One example is the duplicitous methods used by Governor Carvajal of Nuevo León to produce slaves for his territory. He employed cyclical enslavement of nomadic peoples in the *encomienda* system and led slave raids in the Rio Grande delta, where priests set up baptisms to capture and try Indians for false crimes, giving them all 10 to 14 years of service. See Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 93-9.

Broad comparisons can, therefore, now be made between the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico and the Natchez Uprising of 1729 in Louisiana. Both employed runners travelling vast distances, relied on intertribal cooperation, implemented a countdown, intended to strike at various colonial settlements all on the same day, and ultimately aimed to rid local Indigenous peoples of their European invaders. Crucially, they were both also motivated by Indian slavery. Traditional historical analysis points to religious tensions as the primary motivation for the Pueblo Revolt, but priests' participation in systematic forced-labor coercion and abuse were also fundamental catalysts.²⁶⁸ This paper's meta-data analysis and mapping of Indian slave-trade networks further connects Indian slavery across North America, linking these populations to each other [Fig. 7]. Enslaved Natives taken by Spaniards from the Southwest were routinely smuggled across the Louisiana territory and into New France.

Although Spain had acquired Louisiana in 1762 under the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau, the conversion of laws and institutions from French into Spanish did not become a serious endeavor until 1769, with the arrival of Governor Alejandro "Bloody" O'Reilly from Cuba.²⁶⁹ After the French revolt in New Orleans against the first Spanish governor of Louisiana, Antonio de Ulloa, O'Reilly had orders from the Spanish Crown to quash any rebellion, regain control by force, and establish Spanish imperial law. He abolished the French Superior Council and established the Cabildo in conformity with the practices and precedents set under the *Siete Partidas* and the *Recopilación de las Indias*.

Another important consequence was the introduction of the Spanish *Código Negro*, which differed from the French *Code Noir* in several respects.²⁷⁰ Because Spanish law technically outlawed the enslavement of Indians, the new French subjects of the Spanish Crown – like Spaniards across the

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 166-71. Reséndez argues that evidence for the Indian slavery thesis for the rebellion can be found in three main categories: depositions of Pueblo Revolt participants, the timing of the insurrection, and its ethnic and geographic scope.

²⁶⁹ Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 118-119.

²⁷⁰ *Le Code Noir*, introduced for the West Indies in 1685 and then reconstructed for French Louisiana in 1724 by Bienville, was a response to the expansion of the African slave population applied to both Black and Native slaves. O'Reilly initially reenacted the French *Code Noir* of 1724 via proclamation, but later the Spanish *Código Negro y la Real Cédula (los reglamentos esclavistas de Francia y España)* was enacted by King Carlos IV in 1789. For a full discussion, see Hans W. Baade, "The Law of Slavery in Spanish 'Louisiana,' 1769-1803," a symposium paper in *Louisiana's Legal Heritage*, Edward F. Haas, ed. (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1983).

Americas before them – had to overcome certain obstacles in maintaining the practice and ensuring their property.²⁷¹ O'Reilly issued a decree to this effect on December 7, 1769, which declared the enslavement of Native Americans in the Province of Louisiana to be illegal.²⁷² It further demanded all enslavers to declare the number, value, and origin of their property:

Thus, it is very expressly forbidden of all His Majesty's subjects and even of those whom would pass through this Province, to acquire, buy, or appropriate, after the day of the publication in this edict, any Indian slave. It is also ordered that the present owners of said savage slaves must not divest themselves of those whom they own in any way whatsoever, unless it is to give them their liberty, in accordance with His Majesty's orders on this subject; said owners must also make declaration of their slaves with the Clerk of Court, giving the name and nation of all said Indians and the price at which the owner values them.²⁷³

O'Reilly's decree contained a broad prohibition against Indian slavery under any pretext, but it also ordered that existing Indian slaves could not be sold by their owners until a definitive ruling was issued by the Spanish Crown.²⁷⁴ No official resolution to the question of the enslavement of Native

²⁷¹ The Spanish New Laws of 1542 outlawed the enslavement of Indigenous peoples in the Americas due to the fear of "extinction" from the level of abuse perpetrated by the Spanish and was supported by Bartolomé de la Casas and others. This does not mean slavery did not continue. It was often repackaged and rebranded under different names. See Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. The Spanish Crown's institution of the *Código Negro* was more explicitly directed at Black slaves.

²⁷² *Order Signed by Don Alexandre O'Reilly, Gouverneur & Capitaine Général de la Province de la Louisianne, Abolishing Indian Slavery, December 7, 1769*, Oversize Broadside, No Exhibit Number, Evidence, Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #34, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), UNO-SC. In the process of researching this paper, an original signed copy of this broadside was found, unlabeled, in an oversized-materials box in the UNO archives. No record of the special census ordered by O'Reilly in this broadside has been found and is thought to be missing from the Notarial Archives.

²⁷³ Ibid. The text of O'Reilly's order has not been included in previous scholarship. Translation by author of the broadside: "En conséquence, il est fait très-expresses inhibitions et défense a tous les sujets de sa majesté et même aux passagers qui se trouveraient dans cette province, d'acquérir, acheter, ou s'approprier du jour de la publication de cet édit, aucun esclave sauvage. Il est aussi ordonné que les propriétaires actuels desdits esclaves sauvages ne pourront se de faire de ceux qu'ils ont en aucun façon que ce puisse être, à moins que ce ne doit pour leur donner leur liberté, en attendant les ordres de sa majesté à ce sujet ; Enjoignons auxdits propriétaires d'en aller faire leur déclaration au greffier et donnant le nom et nation desdits indiens et le prix auquel le propriétaire les évalué." For the valuation of enslaved people by gender over time.

²⁷⁴ This was also the case in Illinois Country, where Governor Luís de Unzago advised Pedro Piernas on the matter. See *Unzago a Piernas*, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 81, and Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 189-92.

Americans in Louisiana ever came, and those held in bondage under the French were never freed.²⁷⁵

There was no mass manumission or emancipation. To the contrary, records from Louisiana's Spanish law courts clearly recognized French-obtained enslaved Natives as property, and the colonial government routinely enforced debts and taxes related to them.²⁷⁶

In Spanish Louisiana, the ban against this "Other Slavery" was not just loosely enforced and routinely circumvented, as it had been across the rest of the Spanish empire, it was effectively ignored unless challenged. Twenty-five years after O'Reilly issued his decree, then-Governor Carondelet explained in a letter to Eugenio de Llaguno y Amírola, State Secretariat to King Carlos IV, that he could not find record of the law in the local archives, nor any evidence that administrative action had ever been taken in New Orleans to enforce it.²⁷⁷ This is not surprising, as many of colonial Louisiana's officials had a vested personal interest in maintaining the institution.

After the death of Francisco de Cruzat, former-Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, two suits were brought against his estate and heirs by his Native slaves, Pierre and Marie. Born into slavery along with their Black-Native half-brother Baptiste, all three siblings successfully sued their enslavers for their freedom. Baptiste was enslaved separately in Ste. Geneviève by Manuel Bourignon and, despite his mixed-race status, also obtained manumission.²⁷⁸ Cruzat had made no attempt to free the Natives he illegally held in bondage after O'Reilly's ban. These cases are noteworthy, because they represent the first attempts by Native and Black-Native people to use the Spanish courts to challenge the legality of

²⁷⁵ Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 123. There were some exceptions with a few individuals being manumitted. One example is Apache slave Marie Anne and her son Cennecin from Natchitoches in 1770.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. *Bormé v. Brumeaux* (1776), LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, May 20, 1776. See also *Jeanne v. Maroteau* (1783), LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, August 21, 1783.

²⁷⁷ *Carondelet a Llaguno, 17 mayo 1794*, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563, folio 964, <http://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/asp/dclcmss.html> (accessed November 2017).

²⁷⁸ Orleans Parish Notarial Archives, New Orleans, Acts of Rafael Perdomo, vol. 15, folios 243-44 and 254-55. The Notarial Archives show that the executor of Cruzat's estate issued a letter for their emancipation. For the case files, see *Pierre v. Cruzat Heirs* (1790), LHC, Spanish Judicial Records, May 4, 1790. *Baptiste v. Bourignon* (1790), LHC, Spanish Judicial Records, January 23, 1790. "Suit by Pedro Morsu, mestizo slave, and Bautista Bourignon, sambo slave, brothers against Manuel Bourignon, of Illinois," LHC, Spanish Judicial Records, January 26, 1790 and WPA Document #2369. It was declared, "the negro was an Indian."

their enslavement under Spanish law. However, this practice never had an opportunity to become more widespread, despite overstated white anxieties, due to the planter elite backlash against it.²⁷⁹

By the time Spain had reopened the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in New Orleans in 1777 [Fig. 4], Louisiana had fully shifted into a plantation economy and the planter elites had amassed considerable social and political power, mirroring the expansion of the plantation complex across the U.S. following the American Revolution.²⁸⁰ Despite some legal protections that had been extended to slaves and free people of color under Spanish law and some willingness from Spanish courts to prosecute more extreme cases of abuse, slavery remained as thoroughly violent as it had been before.²⁸¹

With the influx of large numbers of enslaved Africans to the colony, the overall price of enslaved people plummeted [Fig. 2]. As the commodification of enslaved people increased, they were considered to be more disposable and the treatment of them was more brutal.²⁸² Yet, this period is also well-regarded as one of increased access to manumission. Although this is true – during the first four years of Spanish rule more people were freed than had been freed during the entire French period combined – the overall formally enslaved population in Louisiana simultaneously increased more than threefold [Fig. 8]; at the beginning of the Spanish period, 1 slave in 126 was freed, while only 1 in 300 was freed by the end of Spanish rule.²⁸³ The population of enslaved Native and Black-Native people would double during the Early American period [Fig. 8].

²⁷⁹ Webre, “The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana,” 124-5. Webre notes that the historical accounts of Indian slave suits, especially Gayarré’s, can be considered an overdramatization.

²⁸⁰ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, “The Formation of Afro-Creole Culture,” in Arnold Hirsch and Joseph Lodgson, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992). Hall demonstrates that nearly all African slaves brought to Louisiana during the French colonial period came between 1719 and 1731, except for the year 1743. The trade was reopened under the Spanish. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://slavevoyages.org> (first accessed March 2018). See also John Craig Hammond, “Slavery, Settlement, and Empire: The Expansion and Growth of Slavery in the Interior of the North American Continent, 1770-1820,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 175-206.

²⁸¹ Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 103.

²⁸² Paul F. Lachance, “The Politics of Fear: French Louisianians and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809,” *Plantation Society in the Americas Journal* (1979): 162-197. Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 181.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, Lachance, 141.

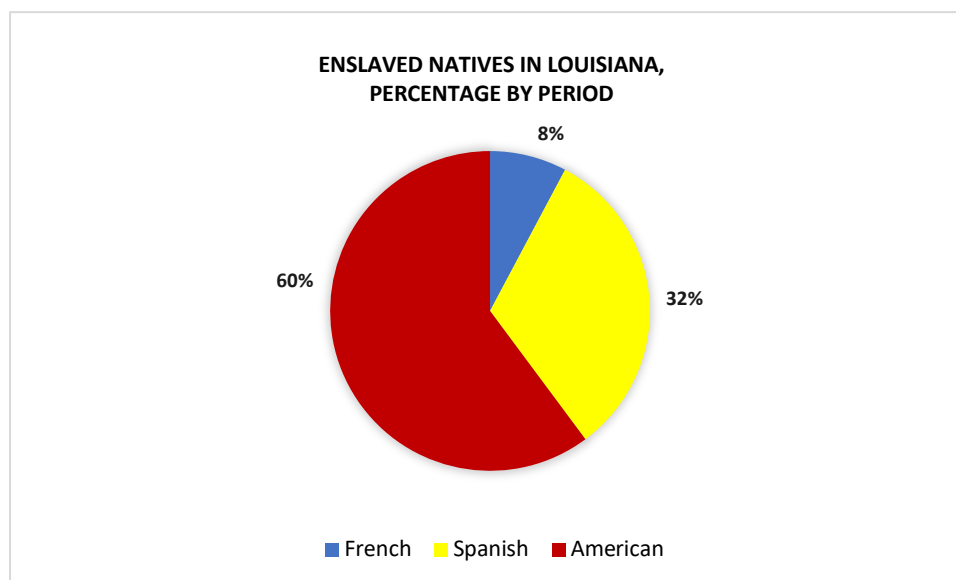


Figure 8. Percentage of Enslaved Natives or Mixed-Race Natives in Louisiana per Period²⁸⁴

By the late 1760s, the practice of *coartación* had received royal recognition. *Coartación* may have guaranteed those formally enslaved a right to seek their freedom at their own initiative, but it did not necessarily facilitate the process in Spanish Louisiana. Purchasing freedom meant having to arrange and then meet an agreed-upon price, or the arbitration of a free third-party to do so for you, but more complex litigation of slave suits required a large amount of capital not readily available to the enslaved. Enslavers also frequently used deceit to renege on their agreements, extending the period of enslavement or even transporting and then reselling their formerly-enslaved back into slavery.²⁸⁵

Further, the Frenchmen whom were entrusted as commandants under the Spanish Crown were not always enthusiastic about upholding Spanish laws. Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, for example, actively resisted *coartación*, claiming it “a function of Cuban law inapplicable to Louisiana.”²⁸⁶ Other local elites widely protested against the *Código Negro* and reacted to its introduction by writing their own more restrictive municipal slave code, which closely resembled the previous French *Code Noir*. Although this

²⁸⁴ This graph is the author’s own statistical calculations and analysis of the raw data files used to create Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718-1820*. If informally enslaved Indian women and children were included, French and Spanish period numbers would likely be much higher.

²⁸⁵ Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 109-28 & 271-2.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 124. See also Hans W. Baade, “The Law of Slavery in Spanish ‘Luisiana,’ 1769-1803,” Symposium Paper in *Louisiana’s Legal Heritage*, Edward F. Haas, ed. (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1983), 43-86. Baade suggests Gálvez held these views due to his own status as a slave-owner.

Loi Municipale was never enacted, members of the Cabildo responded by reinstating more complex, highly restrictive mechanisms for manumission, such as the process of judicial consent.²⁸⁷ When taken into consideration together, these facts illustrate a mounting resistance to abolition and the strengthening of plantation slavery during this time, which only increased after the Pointe Coupée Revolt in 1795.²⁸⁸

Slaves specifically identified as Indians, however, could not be bought or sold according to O'Reilly's decree, nor could they officially exist under Spanish law. For them, the only pathways to freedom were through the benevolence of an enslaver, or by suing in court to challenge the legality of their enslavement. Governor Carondelet was under immense pressure from local elites. Julien Poydras – who was then-being sued by a Black-Native woman enslaved at Pointe Coupée, Marie Jeanne, for the freedom of her two children, Marie and Antoine, enslaved by him – and twenty-six other white planters penned a letter to Carondelet in February of 1794, claiming any law forcing them to manumit their Indian slaves “reduced to their proper submission” would do the whole of the colony an “irreparable wrong.”²⁸⁹

The signers of this letter, which included members of the Cabildo, also included at least one of the men called on behalf of Gérard Chrétien in December of 1815 to be deposed as a witness before the Louisiana State Supreme Court. As a result of this pressure from the local planter elites, only a handful of Indian slave suits were filed between 1790 and 1794. In a response to the letter, Carondelet stated that he also distrusted the Natives and thought they were plotting to bring down the French colonies. He ordered a suspension of all pending Indian slave suits in New Orleans in April of 1794, which required all enslaved Natives were “to return to their masters.”²⁹⁰ This is why Angélique's daughter Agnès, then-enslaved by Gérard's father Joseph, never received a judicial response to her petition.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 105-111.

²⁸⁸ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 376-80.

²⁸⁹ Poydras, *et al.*, to Carondelet, *New Orleans, Feb. 28, 1794*. LOC, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563, folios 968-9. *Marie Jeanne v. Monsanto and Poydras*, folios 45 & 324-8. Webre, “The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana,” 128-30, and Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 241-2.

²⁹⁰ *Carondelet a Llaguno, 17 mayo 1794*, LOC, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563, folio 964. For another Indian slave suit during this brief period, see *The Indian Mariana vs. Francisca Pomet* (1791), LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, Box 62, File 13, Document 2677, January 13, 1791. See also Webre, “The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana,” and Charles Gayarré, “Chapter VI: Carondelet's Administration,” in *History of Louisiana*, 2nd ed., vol. III (New Orleans: Gresham, 1879).

²⁹¹ *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817).

These multiple attempts at enacting restrictions on the owning of Indian slaves also provided enslavers with substantial incentive to deny their slaves' "Indianness." Natives and their mixed-race descendants became more likely to be described by their enslavers and colonial officials as *criollos*, *zambos*, or even as *negros*, rather than as *indios*.²⁹² By the Spanish period, many slaves and free people of color in Louisiana were, in fact, mixed-race Black-Native people, yet racial labels that specified Indian ancestry became nearly non-existent in the sacramental and notarial records [Fig. 5-6].

This did not mean that Native Americans no longer existed in Louisiana, nor that they were no longer enslaved. Instead, this pattern demonstrates how a racial order predicated upon Indigenous erasure utilized a form of "paper genocide" to maintain white settler colonial hegemony.²⁹³ In Catholic baptism registries, which were segregated between *blancos* and *negros y mulatos*, the children of Native women were also often given racial labels that suggested African ancestry instead of racial labels that clearly identified their Indian ancestry [Fig. 5-6].²⁹⁴ In 1781, for example, the infant María Francisca was baptized as a "*mulato*" rather than as *mestiza*, although her mother was Native.²⁹⁵

The Spanish-American racial taxonomy – *negro*, *moreno*, *mulato*, *pardo*, *cuarterón*, *mestizo*, and *grifo* – was more complex than that of the preceding French colonial period, but its application in Louisiana was as equally inaccurate.²⁹⁶ Judicial records show that racial labels were also interchangeable. In the 1795 case of *Duvergès vs. St. Martin*, the Native plaintiff was referred to in the records as "*rouge ou mulâtresse ou sauvagesse*."²⁹⁷ Although the precedent of distorting Native identity to meet the needs

²⁹² Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 125-6.

²⁹³ Herndon and Sekatau (Narragansett), "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era," 114-43.

²⁹⁴ "Baptism of María Francisca Foucher y Bernoudy, November 8, 1781," *Sacramental Records of Known Persons*, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Cathedral-Basilica of St. Louis King of France, St. Louis Cathedral (SLC), Record B8: 238. For other examples, see "Baptism of Marie, July 6, 1733," SLC, Record B1: 40, "Baptism of Charlotte, April 13, 1748," SLC, Record B2: 122, and "Baptism of Antonia, July 20, 1782," SLC, Record B8: 291. See also Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 132-3.

²⁹⁵ Indian, *métis*, and/or *mestizo* do not appear as census categories after 1732. Although the 1771 census did list "Indians capable of carrying weapons," they were not considered part of the colonial community.

²⁹⁶ Kimberly Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 15.

²⁹⁷ *Duvergès vs. St. Martin* (1795), LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, January 14, 1795. Whites frequently referred to Natives and mixed-race Natives as being "red." Elizabeth Shown Mills explores the imprecision of racial labels in colonial vital records in Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803*. This paper explores the

of imperial-colonialist models began with European contact, the practice became more convoluted over time. The introduction of Spanish beliefs more rigidly constructed race as something connected to skin color, phenotype, social class, dress, behavior, and *calidad*.²⁹⁸

It was in this way, classified under various racial descriptors, that Natives and their mixed-race descendants continued to be bought and sold as slaves during a period of supposed illegality of Indian slavery [Fig. 5-6], across a colonial empire that varied in both its adherence to that prohibition and the ways in which different locales evaded it [Fig. 7].²⁹⁹ A Choctaw man, for example, was sold by Mazan to Louis Boré before notary Juan Garic as a “negro” on April 4, 1762, just seven months before the Spanish possession of Louisiana through the Treaty of Fontainebleau.³⁰⁰ Boré, who traded in Native slaves, also came into possession later that year of the plantation of the late Jacques Carriere, which included a large lot of slaves valued at 56,000 French *livres*.

Likewise, records clearly identify enslaved Natives whom were sold in flagrant violation of Spanish law. In the succession documents of Don Luís Ducret in August of 1770, eight months after O’Reilly’s ban, the estate inventory lists *una salvaja*, an 11-year-old Indian girl itemized as being worth

racial designations used in records from Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s databases. *Mestizos*, the mixed-race children of Native Americans and whites, became under-recorded. One example is *Metise, Record of Indian Slave Sold by Edouard Forstall to Lizette Forstall as Métis (White & Indian) Louisiana Creole Slave, 1820*. Orleans Parish Document #1399.

²⁹⁸ *Calidad* translates to “quality.” Under Spanish systems introduced in the New World, like *las castas* and *limpieza de sangre*, race was defined by intermixture. Whiteness was defined by purity of blood and implied social qualities such as honor.

²⁹⁹ Hans W. Baade, “The Formalities of Private Real Estate Transactions in Spanish North America: A Report on Some Recent Discoveries,” *Louisiana Law Review* XXXVIII (1977-8): 691-699. It is impossible to know how many Indian slaves existed in Louisiana after O’Reilly’s ban due to the systematic reclassification of them.

³⁰⁰ Although rarely, multiple Native Americans were also listed in slave records as Black. Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall, *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*, <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave> (accessed February 2018). One specific example is *Chactas (Choctaw), Record of Indian Slave Sold by de Masson (Mazan) to Boré as Black Slave, 1762*. Orleans et Chapitoulas Estate #03-F-148-097-1762. A second example is *Étienne, Record of Indian Slave Sold by Rolland to Chamont as Black, 1814*. Natchitoches Record #4405 from Conveyance Book 38. During the end of the French period and into the Spanish period, when slaves were described as being creole, it suggested that they were “born in the country” or born into slavery. *Zambos* (*les griffes* in French), were the children of Natives and Africans. Eventually creole, *mulatto*, and *quadroon* came to replace these terms rather interchangeably during the Early American and Antebellum period. During Americanization, French and Spanish racial constructs were pushed further into a binary. See also *Carriere’s Succession Auction Sale, Sum Left in Care of Boré, 1762*, LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents Collection. Louis Boré is not to be confused with his son, Jean Étienne Boré, who was also a slave-trader and the executor of Juan Bautista Destrehan’s massive plantation. He would later become a sugar manufacturer and the first mayor of New Orleans.

600 *pesos*. The documents even contain a notation acknowledging the ban.³⁰¹ In the same year, multiple Natives were bought, sold, and freed in Louisiana, illustrating the persistence of the trade in Indian slaves. Two of these records identified the enslaved as being “Sioux” from as far away as the Great Plains.³⁰²

Most of the enslaved Natives that would enter Louisiana after Spanish possession were trafficked from the Southwest through Texas [Fig. 7].³⁰³ Then-Governor of Spanish Texas, Baron Juan María de Ripperdá – who played a pivotal role along the Texas-Louisiana frontier with the Frenchman Athanase de Mézières before the collapse of its French colonial border – received a letter from El Caballero de Croix arguing that an enslaved Apache man being held by him “should not be counted in the class of slaves.”³⁰⁴ A prevalent justification at the time, which allowed for the circumvention of the law in territories where the ban on Indian slavery was more closely acknowledged, was that “infidel and apostate Indians” were purchased “voluntarily and of their own accord.” They could then be “Christianized for their own good” at the missions.³⁰⁵ Commandant-General Domingo Cabello would offer this precise excuse to de Croix when defending the common practice of selling Native children in Nuevo Santander.³⁰⁶

It was not uncommon that Spanish officials, priests, and soldiers were involved in the system of Indian slavery, apprehending any “renegade Indians” they encountered and delivering them into forced-

³⁰¹ *Succession of Don Luis Ducret, 1770*, LSM, Colonial Documents Collection, Index #1770083004.

³⁰² “Sale of Slaves by Bobé to Loison, March 24, 1770,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* VI, no. 2 (1923): 321 and WPA Document #10637, pages 94850-2. “Clermont Declared, April 30, 1770,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* VI (1923): 330 and WPA Document #10680, pages 96862-3. “Inventory and Appraisal of the Succession of the Heirs of Guichard, May 30, 1770,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* VII (1925): 520 and WPA Document #4041, pages 1-20.

³⁰³ *Bucareli y Ursúa to Ripperdá, Discussing Indian Relations, June 16, 1772*, University of Texas Austin (UT-A), Béxar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Box 444/2S32, Roll 11. At this time, roughly between 1750 and 1850, the Comanche were building their own natal empire on the back of the European slave trade of Natives from other tribal groups. Their trade in Apachean peoples specifically would create a diaspora in Louisiana. One example is the Choctaw-Apache Tribe of Ebarb. Many Apache were trafficked via Nacogdoches and Natchitoches. Robert Caldwell (Choctaw/Apache), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2017. See also Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) and “The Politics of Grass: European Expansion, Ecological Change, and Indigenous Power in the Southwest Borderlands,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (April 2010): 173-208.

³⁰⁴ *Letter from de Croix to Ripperdá, September 11, 1777*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 2602, Translated by author. For Ripperdá’s appointment to office, see *Ripperdá to Justice and Regiment of San Fernando, October 12, 1769*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 2258/2S31, Roll 10.

³⁰⁵ *Cabello's Letter to de Croix, Enclosing Report on the Trade of Indian Slaves in Nuevo Santander, May 28, 1780*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 1433/2S39, Item #228, Roll 14, Translated by author.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* Cabello says these children will be converted to Christianity, noting “Christians are not slaves.”

labor servitude for often fictional crimes.³⁰⁷ By this point in time, Native labor was essential for the Spanish economy, and the entire European economy depended heavily upon Spanish silver. In order to produce and sustain the labor and to control the Indigenous population, Spaniards routinely captured and forcibly-relocated Natives across their empire [Fig. 7]. Thereafter, they could be subjected to a number of fates, including being enslaved in one of the dozens of silver mines then-operating in Mexico, in the private home of a settler, or on one of the plantations in the Mississippi River Valley.³⁰⁸

By employing a closer examination of the language used by Spaniards in their letters, both the deception about the reality of Indian slavery and an explicit racial prejudice are revealed. Multiple letters written between Cabello and de Croix, for example, discuss the continuous escape of Natives, militarized attempts to recapture them, and information about their return and forced-settlement in various *misiones*, *presidios*, and *pueblos*.³⁰⁹ A letter written by Francisco de Thóbar to Commandant-Inspector Hugo Oconór exposes how Natives were chased, fired upon, captured, and their possessions burnt for leaving their assigned *presidio* and resisting recapture. For this “boldness,” they were to be enslaved or, rather, punished with “hard works.”³¹⁰ In a letter to Ripperdá – who was then-working with Mézières to “control” the Natives living along the Texas-Louisiana border – the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, went so far as to refer to the Apaches as an “infestation.”³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 93-9. This practice began in the 1520s with the capture and “assignment” of Indians to *encomenderos* in the north of present-day Mexico in a form of “cyclical enslavement,” which was especially typical in Nuevo León, the province along the modern southern Texas border. Early raids inside of these networks by Luís de Carvajal were focused on the Rio Grande Delta.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 100-24.

³⁰⁹ *De Croix to Cabello, Discussing Flight of Rosario Mission Indians, January 14, 1779*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 2814/2C31, vol. 77. *De Croix to Cabello, Reporting Return of Aranama Indians to the Espíritu Santo Mission, January 16, 1779*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Box 2815/2C31, vol. 77. *Cabello to de Croix, Acknowledging Receipt of Orders Concerning Indian Yojuane and Tonkawa Indians, February 9, 1779*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Box 2832/2C21, vol. 78. *Cabello to de Croix, Discussing Policy Toward the Karankawa Indians and Plans for the Apprehension of Fugitive Indians from the Rosario Mission, March 15, 1779*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Box 2863/2C32, vol. 79. The *misión*, *pueblo*, and *presidio* were the three major agencies employed by Spain to consolidate its colonial borders and subjugate the Indigenous peoples of those regions. “Mission Indians” are the colloquial name for the Native American groups who had been forcibly relocated into Franciscan missions, such as in the Las Californias Province of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

³¹⁰ *Letter of Francisco de Thóbar, June 6, 1768*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Box 2212, Items 34-9.

³¹¹ *Bucareli y Ursúa to Ripperdá, June 30, 1772*, UT-A, Béxar Archives, Box 2347/2C23, vol. 53.

In Spanish Louisiana, the formal and informal institutionalization of anti-Indigenous racism is similarly revealed through analysis of language, but the specific methodology used for the consolidation of white power and imperial-colonial sociopolitical control were distinctive from both the French period and elsewhere in the Spanish colonies. The mission system, *presidios*, and *pueblos* of Mexico, Florida, Texas, and the American West were never widely implemented in Louisiana.³¹² Nevertheless, Governors Gálvez and Esteban Rodríguez Miró sent their troops to kill the “savage negroes” who had resisted incursions and settlement on their lands.³¹³ Carondelet recorded “several bands of savage negroes on the outskirts” of New Orleans whose existence disturbed “the public tranquility,” suggesting their eradication would be in the best interest of the public good,³¹⁴ and members of the Cabildo in New Orleans took legislative measures to prevent “the introduction into the Province of any class of negroes except more brutes.”³¹⁵ This coded language indicates the colonial desire to increase the population of enslaved African Americans and decrease the overall population of free Native Americans.

Various social structures solidified themselves in Louisiana during Spain’s brief possession, impacting both the sociocultural development and constructs of racialization of multiple future-states. Unlike “Frenchification,” the Spanish policy of *limpieza de sangre* was an enforced system of racial purity. Religiously rooted in the Reconquista and then violently imposed under the Inquisition, *limpieza de sangre* represented a set of ideological principles very different from the beliefs that had informed the French practice of *métissage*. This system was designed to prevent any “undesirables from holding honorable positions,” as well as marriages between those considered “racially pure” with those whom were considered racially “impure.” Spanish judicial records reveal that even elites, like Don Antonio

³¹² The mission system ended along the northeastern frontier of New Spain prior to the Spanish possession of Louisiana along the Nacogdoches-Natchitoches borderland. The former mission at the Los Adaes State Historic Site is a National Historic Landmark (NHL) located in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana.

³¹³ “Governor Gálvez, May 28, 1784” and “Acting Governor Miró, June 4, 1784,” *Slaves and Savage Negroes, 1771-1800*, NOPL, City Archives, Acts and Deliberations of the Cabildo, WPA Project #665-64-3-112 (1939), Records 221-4.

³¹⁴ “Governor Carondelet, April 20, 1792,” *Slaves and Savage Negroes, 1771-1800*, NOPL, City Archives, Acts and Deliberations of the Cabildo, WPA Project #665-64-3-112 (1939), Record 212.

³¹⁵ “Governor Carondelet, July 16, 1792,” *Slaves and Savage Negroes, 1771-1800*, NOPL, City Archives, Acts and Deliberations of the Cabildo, WPA Project #665-64-3-112 (1939), Record 9.

Mendes, could find themselves in the position of needing to prove before a court of law that they were “free of any inferior blood, such as Moorish, Hebrew, negro, or Indian.”³¹⁶

The belief in “purity of blood” conflated honor with lineage, defining “whiteness” as inherently possessing legitimacy, in opposition to the supposed illegitimacy of non-white and non-Christian peoples. By the end of the eighteenth century, Louisiana utilized this restrictive *casta* system, which was based upon ancestry, class, racial intermixture, and status as free or enslaved. The legal codification of racial “purity” as the criterium by which white people were able to obtain power and wealth also speaks to modern incarnations of systemic racism and white power movements; race, class, and status are still often conflated, and racialized identities are socioculturally circumscribed.

The socioracial order would again change after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, with the introduction of Anglo-American rule and its more binary racial constructions, which further demanded the erasure of Native Americans to maintain its hegemony. Yet, this entire history of slavery, settler colonialism, and racialization under different European colonial powers contributed to the system that would be in place when Séville, the grandson of Angélique, went to the Louisiana State Supreme Court just a decade later to fight for his liberation and the liberation of his entire family from decades of intergenerational slavery.³¹⁷ Séville was never freed. The U.S. Federal Slave Schedule lists a 58-year-old “mulatto” male – about Séville’s age – still enslaved at Chrétien Point in 1850.³¹⁸ Unfortunately, he would not be alone. Thousands more Black and Indigenous people of color would be enslaved during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, denied freedom by systemic racism and white supremacy; together, theirs are the most American of stories.

³¹⁶ *Proceedings Instituted by Don Antonio Mendes, For the Purpose of Proving His Legitimacy, Purity of Race, and Good Conduct*, LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, Box 42, Document 965.

³¹⁷ *Agnès v. Judice* [*Catherine v. Chrétien & Narcisse v. Chrétien*], La. 3 Mart. 171, 182 (1813) and *Séville v. Chrétien*, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817).

³¹⁸ 1850 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedule. Ten years later, the 1860 Slave Schedule lists 51 Black and *mulatto* slaves in Louisiana, 11 women and 40 men, with the last name of Chrétien. None are listed as Indians, although Séville, his siblings, and their children remained enslaved. See also *Louisiana, Compiled Census and Census Substitutes Index, 1791-1890* and *1850-1860 Sugar Census Index*.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to show, by utilizing Louisiana as a case study, that the “Other Slavery” was not a practice that can be dismissed as having occurred in relative isolation but, rather, that it was a widespread and pervasive system utilized throughout the French, Spanish, and Anglo-American colonies; thus, it was crucial to the formation of the modern nation. Further, the purpose of this study has been to reveal how the distortion or exclusion of Indian slavery from history directly connects with the settler colonial construction of race, gender, and the social order. This explicates how white-washed nationalist teleologies and the erasure of Indigenous identity have served to reassert the power dynamics of colonization, denying living Native Americans agency and the ability to heal.

Historians such as Alan Gallay, Brett Rushforth, and Andrés Reséndez have now effectively demonstrated that the enslavement of Native Americans was much more extensive than traditional narratives have acknowledged.³¹⁹ Current scholarship proposes that the number of Indigenous peoples captured and enslaved by Europeans over the course of the colonial era could be as high as 5 million [Fig. 9-11].³²⁰ However, these preliminary projections have not been brought into consensus, nor do they fully account for Native Americans reclassified by their enslavers and colonial governments under various racial designations [Fig. 5-6], their mixed-race descendants, or the many thousands of Native women and children informally enslaved through marriage or other means. This paper asserts that the inclusion of these categories would shift projected numbers upwards; in Louisiana, that shift could be as high as 25 per cent. Further research is necessary, which provides an excellent opportunity for future work and interdisciplinary collaboration.

³¹⁹ Gallay, *Indian Slavery in Colonial America and The Indian Slave Trade*. Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. For the question of why this is underrepresented in historiography, see Max Carocci, “Written Out of History: Contemporary Native American Narratives of Enslavement,” *Anthropology Today* 25, no. 3 (June 2009).

³²⁰ These estimates of Indian slaves were provided by Gallay, Rushforth, and Reséndez.

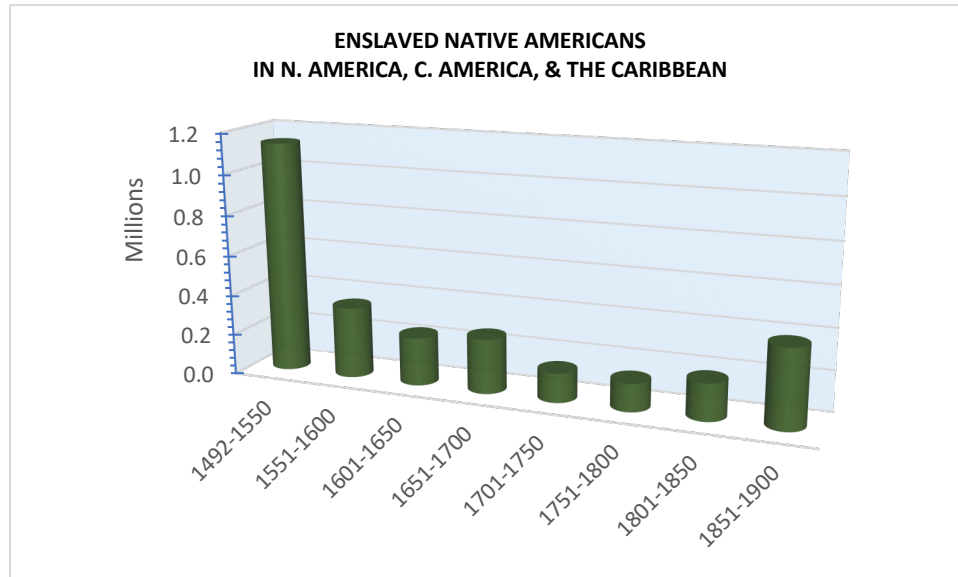


Figure 9. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in N. America, C. America, and Caribbean, 1492-1900³²¹

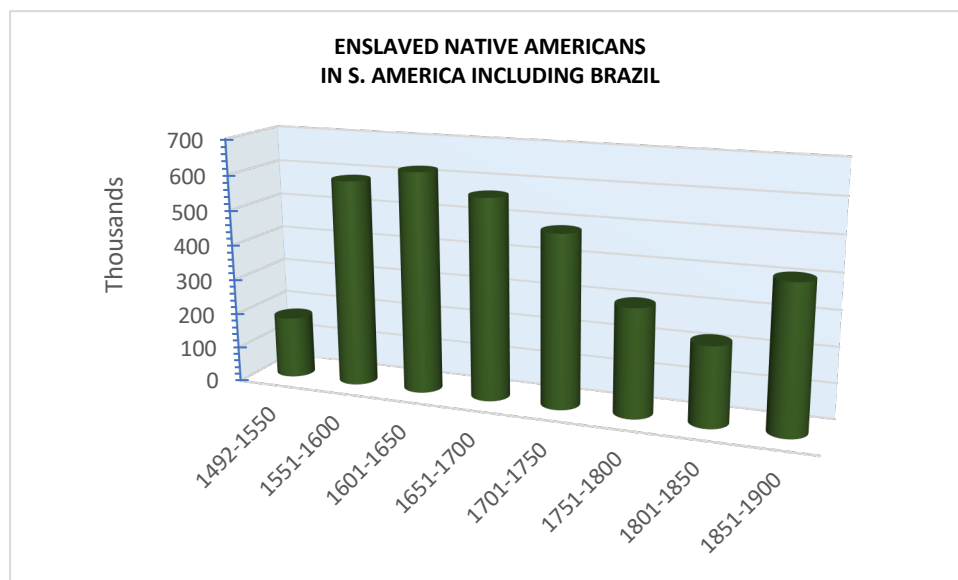


Figure 10. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in South America Including Brazil, 1492-1900³²²

³²¹ This graph is based upon the author's own statistical calculations and analysis of the numbers proposed by Andrés Reséndez and Allan Galloway, while taking into consideration Philip Curtin's statistical methodology. These numbers approximate for mixed Black-Native slaves, at the above shown rate in Louisiana of about 17% for specified mixed-race Indians and a conservative 8% from the *mulatto*-designated slave population. This assumes a similar rate of racial intermixture across an empire, yet the author acknowledges the likelihood of variability.

³²² *Ibid.* The author uses the calculations from Reséndez for Indian slaves in Portuguese-held territories.

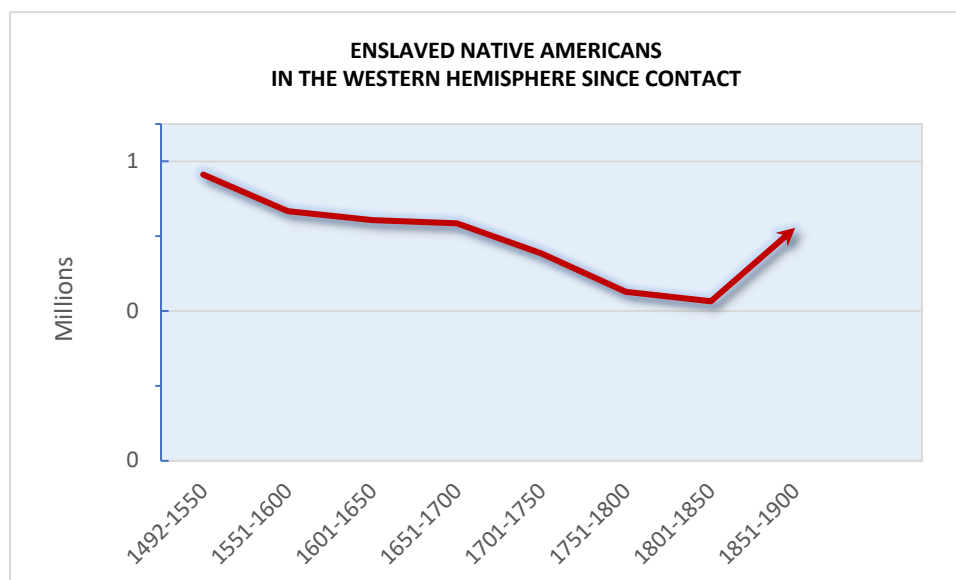


Figure 11. Estimation of Enslaved Natives in Western Hemisphere Since Contact, 1492-1900³²³

Additionally, we must recognize that the number of Native Americans who died through epidemic disease related to slave-raiding, export in chattel slavery, and various other forms of colonial violence are approximated to be many dozens of millions more. According to historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, between 70 and 90 per cent of the pre-contact Indigenous population was killed.³²⁴ In comparison, European exploitation through the Triangular Trade led to an overall population decrease of about 20 per cent in West Africa.³²⁵ Robert Kuczynski, one of the founders of modern vital statistics, originally estimated that as many as 15 million Africans were taken in the slave-trade, and the currently accepted numbers, brought into consensus by Philip Curtin and Patrick Manning, conclude that about 12.5 million Africans were captured, but fewer made it across the trans-Atlantic voyage due to deplorable conditions and inhumane treatment.³²⁶

³²³ Ibid. This graph is calculated utilizing a base-2 logarithmic scale.

³²⁴ Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 5.

³²⁵ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 5-6.

³²⁶ Robert René Kuczynski, *Colonial Population* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) and *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire: West Indian and American Territories* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953). Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Consensus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Patrick Manning, "African Population: Projections, 1851-1961" in *The Demographics of Empire: The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge*, Karl Ittmann, Dennis D. Cordell, and Gregory Maddox, eds. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).

Broad comparisons between slaveries, although crude, serve to put into perspective the devastating cost of settler colonialism and imperial expansion in terms of human life. Indigenous slaves were taken in far fewer numbers but at a much higher rate and from a smaller origin population than those stolen from the African continent. Thus, the impact should be considered equivalent and interconnected. Over the course of researching this paper, the evidence has suggested that, in Louisiana, the enslavement of Native Americans continued to change over time while still effectively paralleling the differential slavery models applied by French, Spanish, and Anglo-American forces across North America.

Critics of colonial and post-colonial discourse point to stark divisions between the self and the “Other,” the colonizers and the colonized, as reductive. However, this binary dichotomy is a product of colonialism itself. Paul Kramer argues that the “politics of recognition” lie at the intersections of race and empire, which itself is predicated upon the development and “maintenance of justifiable hierarchies of difference that legitimated varying degrees of disenfranchisement.”³²⁷ It is in this way that race is constructed as a system of power, and imperial sovereignty is established both by physical force and through the exploitation of that differential power. In the U.S., this has historically included notions of the “frontier” as an ever-moving line and an expanding act of “civilizing.”³²⁸ Not only was this form of colonization inherently violent, it required Indigenous erasure, Black and Indigenous enslavement, and the distortion of racial and cultural identity for its success. The transnationalism of race is nothing new, and it connects settler colonialism to later U.S. imperialism overseas.³²⁹

³²⁷ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 19. See also Maureen Konkle, “Indigenous Ownership and the Emergence of U.S. Liberal Imperialism,” *American Indian Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 297-323.

³²⁸ Ibid., 21. Colin G. Calloway, “‘We Have Always Been the Frontier’: The American Revolution in Shawnee Country,” *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 39-52, <http://jstor.org/stable/1185604>.

³²⁹ Ibid., 10-2. Kramer writes, “If one way to connect history outward is by exploring transnational history, a second involved connecting the history of U.S. empire to European colonialisms. The U.S.’s first empire had been continental in scope, a territorial empire achieved through the violence of a genocide state and of white settlers against Native Americans, and one that opened up vast land and natural resources for industrialist capitalist exploitation.”

In the United States, the legal construction of race made no room for Native Americans by design.³³⁰ People of African descent were given the ontological status of property and commodified formally as slave labor, because they were considered essential for the construction of colonial society. Indigenous peoples, despite also being enslaved, represented a threat to the entire colonial system, except when considered necessary for the extraction of wealth. The rightful claim to sovereignty, land, and resources ensured that Native Americans had to exist as something wholly outside of the colonial social structure, if and when they were allowed to exist at all.

In Louisiana, French and Spanish “creolization” similarly contributed to erasure, while further adding layers of nuance and complexity to the construction of race [Fig. 5-6]. With the introduction of Anglo-American rule, racialization in Louisiana became a more simplistic duality, mirroring other processes by which the Native was historically eliminated.³³¹ Jeffery U. Darenbourg, Tribal Councilperson of the Atakapa-Ishak Nation of Southwest Louisiana and Southeast Texas, writes:

Unfortunately, African blood has often been seen as a contaminant in American culture. Any ethnicity with it becomes tainted by “Africanness,” losing its own identity, according to the racist notion that African people are somehow lesser or poisonous. When mixed, the other parts of the mixture are often ignored. This situation continues with people of mixed African and Native heritage, as Louisiana Creoles are. Therefore, there is much work to be done in reclaiming Indigenous aspects of Louisiana’s culture and making them more prominent.³³²

³³⁰ See Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” and *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016). Like Wolfe, this paper argues white settler colonialism requires the elimination of the Native.

³³¹ Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 11. For more on “creolization,” see Shannon Lee Dawdy, “Understanding Cultural Change through the Vernacular: Creolization in Louisiana,” *Historical Archaeology* 34, no. 3 Evidence of Creolization in the Consumer Goods of an Enslaved Bahamian Family (2000): 107-23 and Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans*.

³³² Jeffery U. Darenbourg (Atakapa-Ishak), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2018. Darenbourg is a creole of Black-Native descent and a Monroe Research Fellow at Tulane University. The quote is from Darenbourg, “Part II: Indigenous Origins of Bulbancha’s Culture,” in *Bulbancha is Still a Place*, no. 1 The Tricentennial Issue (New Orleans: PoC Zine Project, 2018). For how Natives in Louisiana have been classified as “negros” in the modern era, see Racheal D. Minchew (Houma), “‘Because Colored Means Negro’: The Houma Nations and Its Fight for Indigenous Identity in a South Louisiana Public School System, 1916-1963” (M.A. Thesis, University of New Orleans, 2017). Christy Perkins (Houma), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2016.

Academia has a propensity to echo the Eurocentric lens on the issue of identity by emphasizing non-Indigenous constructs of race and de-emphasizing Indigenous constructs of kinship; the changeability of identity over time and context is opposed to the Native assertion upon a continuity of lineage and origin.³³³ The main argument of sociological theorists that subscribe to these concepts has been the primacy of ethnic identity as something “socially constructed, variable, continuously negotiated, and revitalized inside and outside of ethnic communities.”³³⁴ Sociological literature on ethnic identity increasingly describes it as flexible and circumstantial, requiring ongoing negotiations, construction and reconstruction through social interactions.³³⁵ This allows academics to successfully make analyses of societies and cultures for the extrapolation of racial attitudes and trends, under the assumption of changeability and malleability.³³⁶

Theoretical approaches to identity tend to stress the situational and dynamic nature of ethnicity rather than the core values or lived experience of people of color. As such, these approaches stand diametrically opposed to self-identification by Native individuals and the general understanding of the meaning of cultural identity by Native groups, both historically and in the present. To conflate ethnicity through a Western lens as something claimed is against Indigenous ideas of kinship praxis, obligation, and ancestral-spiritual lineage.³³⁷ Traditional ways of understanding the self are in relation to other people, family, responsibility, and the land. On the other hand, modern Native identity, due to this history, is forced to exist in a balance between broad performative concepts of “Indianness” as a racial identity and specific tribal identities connected to sovereignty and nationhood. In general, current Indigenous

³³³ Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), “Genomic Articulations of Indigeneity,” *Social Studies of Science* 43, no. 4 (2013): 509-33. Shadow Angelina Starkey (Anishinaabe/Cherokee), interview by author, New Orleans, LA, 2018. Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, Jonathan Rutherford, ed. (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222-237. Clifford Geertz, “Primordial Ties,” in *Ethnicity*, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).

³³⁴ Joane Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,” *Oxford Academic Journal of Social Problems* 41, no. 1 (February 1994): 152-176. Stephen May, Tariq Modood, and Judith Squires, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Minority Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³³⁵ Maykel Verkuyten, “Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation Among Minority and Majority Groups,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88, no. 1 (June 2005): 121-138.

³³⁶ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 1-20.

³³⁷ Tsosie (Yaqui), “The New Challenge to Native Identity,” 55-98.

peoples' resistance to colonization and work towards decolonization includes rejection of the notion of "pan-Indianness" that "can, at best, only aspire for equality within a settler state framework."³³⁸

Crucially to this study, we must also recognize that the descendants of Native Americans do not simply cease being Native, whether mixed-race or not. Traditional concepts of identity and kinship do not belong to the settler state to deconstruct. Also, in traditional matriarchal tribal social orders, it was Native women who controlled resources and had final power over chiefs and councils. Therefore, removing the "Indian status" of Native women and their descendants through slavery, blood quantum and anti-Blackness, or other methods of control has been a formidable way in which the power of Native women was lowered relative to white men. This specific embodiment of white patriarchal violence has also effectively disrupted tribal structures and allowed settler access to tribal land and resources.³³⁹

The enslavement of Native Americans was widely practiced by Europeans across the entire Western Hemisphere [Fig. 7], although the specific slave experience varied; in what is now the United States, records of enslaved Indigenous peoples exist for each foreign power that colonized and stole Indigenous lands. In post-Revolutionary New England, the gradual move towards abolition did not end the practice in its entirety.³⁴⁰ The economy of the Antebellum South was first built on Indian slavery, then dependent upon Indian removal.³⁴¹ As a distinct form of bondage, the enslavement of Native Americans was first perpetrated in Louisiana by colonial France and Spain, then became reintroduced to the broader Anglo-American experience with the Louisiana Purchase.³⁴² Indian slavery only increased with westward expansion, the ban of Black slavery in "free-soil" states and new territories carved out from Indian land,

³³⁸ Lawrence (Mi'kmaq), "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity," 5.

³³⁹ Ibid., 8. In what is now Canada, the Indian Act removed the Indian status of all Native women who married individuals without Indian status until 1985. To understand the peculiar manner in which the Indian Act structured intermarriage, by making Indian women legally "white" and white women legally "Indian," it is important to explore the extent to which regulation of "Indianness" rested on colonial anxieties about white identity and who would control settler societies.

³⁴⁰ Abolitionism also focused on African slavery. See Newell, "Epilogue," *Brethren by Nature*.

³⁴¹ Galloway, "Introduction," *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*.

³⁴² Reséndez, "Introduction," *The Other Slavery*. Jason E. Pierce, "'For Its Incorporation in Our Union': The Louisiana Territory and the Conundrum of Western Expansion," in *Making the White Man's West: Whiteness and the Creation of the American West* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2016).

and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War. Settlers in the American West quickly adapted Indian slavery for their own needs, widely embracing the practice.³⁴³

After the Civil War, there was no mass emancipation for enslaved Natives; to the contrary, courts frequently interpreted the 13th and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution as being applicable only to African Americans.³⁴⁴ California passed the Indian Act of 1850, which legalized the arrest of Natives and enabled white people to obtain them for “indenture.” This law alone enabled the sale of at least twenty thousand adult Natives and four thousand Native children to white settlers as domestic servants and farm laborers.³⁴⁵ Upon his arrival, Governor Calhoun marveled at the sophistication of the pre-existing slave-markets in New Mexico and helped perpetuate them.³⁴⁶ Mormon settlers rapidly turned Utah into slaving grounds, “buying up the Lamanite [Indian] children to educate them and teach them the Gospel so that many generations would not pass ere they should become a white and delightsome people.”³⁴⁷ All three of these new U.S. states – California, New Mexico, and Utah – legalized the enslavement of Natives in the nineteenth century, and the last of the Apache Wars did not end until the early-twentieth century.³⁴⁸

In more remote locations in the borderlands of the Southwest, Native enslavement continued well into the twentieth century, which provides the closest ties to and economic models for the contemporary

³⁴³ Ibid., 1-7. Reséndez also notes that even the poorest white settlers owned Indians, giving the multiple examples. For more on this, refer to the podcast audio of Reséndez, “The Other Slavery,” *Ben Franklin’s World*. See also Paul Finkelman, “Slavery and the Northwest Ordinance: A Study in Ambiguity,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 343-370 and Michael F. Magliari, “Free State Slavery: Bound Indian Labor and Slave Trafficking in California’s Sacramento Valley, 1850–1864,” *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (2012): 155-92, DOI: 10.1525/phr.2012.81.2.155.

³⁴⁴ Reséndez, “The Other Slavery,” *Ben Franklin’s World*.

³⁴⁵ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*. This proclamation was issued on September 15, 1846. For a discussion on its impact, see Magliari, “Free State Slavery” and “Free Soil, Unfree Labor: Cave Johnson Courts and the Binding of Indian Workers in California, 1850-1867,” *Pacific Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (2004): 349-89.

³⁴⁶ “James S. Calhoun, Indian Agent, to Orlando Brown, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, March 15, 1850,” in *A Study of the Citizenship Provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*, Mary Childers Mangusso, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1966), 80-2.

³⁴⁷ Elder Brigham Young as quoted in John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012), 215-218. Note that this is also quoted by Reséndez.

³⁴⁸ The U.S. led wars against the Apache ended in 1924, while the Mexican Indian Wars did not end until 1933. See Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975) and Paul I. Wellman, Jr., *Death in the Desert: The Fifty Years’ War for the Great Southwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

practice of human-trafficking prevalent today.³⁴⁹ Human-trafficking and migrant abuse continue to impact Indigenous peoples at a disproportionately high rate.³⁵⁰ The pejoratively named “Operation Wetback” saw as many as 1.3 million Native Mexicans forcibly deported in the 1950s, and the 2018 crisis along the U.S.-Mexico border involves a number of Indigenous families separated and imprisoned after fleeing imperialism induced poverty and violence, due to the enforcement of a colonial constructed boundary.³⁵¹

In Canada, although First Nations, Métis, Inuit, or other Aboriginal peoples make up less than 6 per cent of the population in some provinces,³⁵² they comprise over 60 per cent of recorded numbers of murdered and missing women and girls.³⁵³ In the United States, Native American activists and organizations have struggled for acknowledgment of the phenomenon and have painstakingly tried to document abuse through tribal resolutions and hearings with the United Nations Special Rapporteur.³⁵⁴ This transnational crisis was first brought to the North American public’s attention in 2016 by the Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women Movement (MMIW), but it has impacted Native American

³⁴⁹ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 1-11. William S. Kiser, *Borderlands of Slavery: The Struggle Over Captivity and Peonage in the American Southwest* (Philadelphia: Penn Press, 2017). Simon Romero, “Indian Slavery Once Thrived in New Mexico,” *The New York Times*, January 28, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/28/us/indian-slaves-genizaros.html> (accessed January 28, 2018). John Burnett, “Descendants of Native American Slaves in New Mexico Emerge from Obscurity,” *National Public Radio*, December 29, 2016. *New Mexico Territory Slave Code* (1859). For more on the connection between historical slavery and contemporary forms of slavery, see Joel Quirk, “The Anti-Slavery Project,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (August 2006): 565-98.

³⁵⁰ Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), *Fact Sheet: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls*, http://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Fact_Sheet_Missing_and_Murdered_Aboriginal_Women_and_Girls.pdf (accessed January 11, 2018). See also Shannon Brennan, *Violent Victimization of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian Provinces* (Statistics Canada, 2011). Vivian O’Donnell and Susan Wallace, *Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report: First Nations, Inuit, Métis Women* (Statistics Canada, 2011).

³⁵¹ See Ronald L. Mize and Alicia C. Swords, *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

³⁵² For a clarification of Canadian terminology, see “A Note on Terminology: Inuit, Métis, First Nations, and Aboriginal,” from *Report on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, <http://bowmanvillerotaryclub.org/sitepage/a-note-on-terminology-for-indigenous-peoples/a-note-on-terminology-inuit-métis-first-nations-and-aboriginal> (accessed January 11, 2018).

³⁵³ Saskatchewan Provincial Partnership Committee on Missing Persons, *Final Report* (October 2007). Amnesty International, *Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada: A Summary of Concerns and Call to Action* (2014).

³⁵⁴ Honor the Earth Foundation, *Man Camps Fact Sheet*, http://honorearth.org/man_camps_fact_sheet (accessed January 11, 2018). Partners include the Dakota Resource Council, Owe Aku International Justice Project, Idle No More, the Native Women’s Association, and the Sustainable Nations Development Project. This crisis has been acknowledged by formal resolutions of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), as well as by tribal council resolutions by the Anishinabek, Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Haudenosaunee, and Ho-Chunk nations.

and First Nations communities for decades. Social media has recently provided some visibility to these and other major issues, like Standing Rock and the Dakota Access Pipeline, yet no equitable resolutions or reparations have been offered.

Colonization is not in the past, it is ongoing. Lacking a narrative that is inclusive of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples and a decolonized lens through which we can understand that history, society is empowered to continue ignoring the full impact of white settler colonialism; its labor coercion, land theft, prisoner-of-war derived reservation systems, poverty, health crises, modern-day human-trafficking, migrant abuse, murdered and missing women and girls, police brutality, higher incarceration rates, and general absence of visibility and social justice for Indigenous peoples.³⁵⁵

This is the problem with history: if you make the victim disappear, there is no crime.

³⁵⁵ Indigenous feminist scholars lead the efforts in the decolonization of the critical theory and history that condition white settler societies. See, for example, Jennifer Denetdale (Navajo), *Reclaiming Navajo History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tempe: University of Arizona Press, 2008), Luana Ross (Salish/Kootenai), *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), and Andrea Smith (Cherokee) and J. Kehaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli), “Native Feminisms Engage American Studies,” *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 241-49.

References

Primary Sources: Archives & Manuscripts

ANOM	Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo & Cuba
BAC	Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Québec & Ontario
GMH	Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Databases of Afro-Louisiana History & Genealogy
LCDDP	Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project
LHC	Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge
LOC	Library of Congress, Digital Collections, Washington, DC
LOYNO	Loyola University New Orleans, Special Collections & Archives, Microfilm
LSM	Louisiana State Museum, Digital Collections, New Orleans
LSM-OM	Louisiana State Museum at the Old Mint, New Orleans
MPA-FD	Mississippi Provincial Archives French Dominion, Jackson
NOPL	New Orleans Public Library, Public Archives & City Records
SCR-NO	Superior Council Records of New Orleans
UNO-SC	University of New Orleans, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives
UT-A	University of Texas at Austin, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Austin

Agnes v. Judice [*Catherine v. Chrétien & Narcisse v. Chrétien*], La. 3 Mart. 171, 182 (1813). Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #1, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans (UNO-SC).

Alejandro O'Reilly to Athanase de Mézières, January 23, 1770. Library of Congress Digital Collections (LOC), Washington, DC. Accessed December 2017. <https://www.loc.gov>.

Alonso de Posada Report, 1686. LOC.

Archives des Colonies de France, Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM), Correspondance Générale Louisiane, Séries A and C13a-c. Accessed January 2018. <http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/ir>.

ANOM, Correspondance Générale Louisiane I, II, & IV. ANOM, XI, 174-176. ANOM, XV, 105. ANOM, XIX, 142. ANOM, XLIV, 21-22.

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada (BAC), Documents Gouvernementaux, Archives Publiques, Archives Nationales, La Série C11G. Accessed February 2018. <http://heritage.canadiana.ca>.

BAC, Correspondance Générale du Canada, Documents Gouvernementaux, Archives Publiques, Fonds des Paroisses Catholiques de la Louisiane, La Série C-2237.

BAC, Correspondance Générale du Canada, Documents Raudot-Pontchartrain, Domaine d'Occident et Île Royale, La Série C-3050.

BAC, Documents Gouvernementaux, Archives Publiques, France Fonds des Colonies, La Série C11A.

BAC, Histoire Autochtone, Ministère des Affaires Indiennes, Système Central de Gestion des Dossiers de l'Administration Central, La Série Noire.

BAC, Histoire Autochtone, Ministère des Affaires Indiennes, Système Central de Gestion des Dossiers de l'Administration Central, Dossiers des Métis, H.B.7-9579.

Bienville à Pontchartrain, 25 février 1708. LOC.

Bienville, Sieur Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de. "Memoir on Louisiana, the Indians and the Commerce that Can Be Carried on with Them, 1726." Mississippi Provincial Archives French Dominion, Jackson (MPA-FD).

Bontemps vs. Guillory (1728). Louisiana Historical Center (LHC), Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project (LCDDP), French Superior Council Records, Record Groups 1728053102-4, 1728060501-2, 1728060701-3, & 1728061401-4. Accessed January 2018. <http://lacolonialdocs.org>.

Bontemps vs. Guillory (1728). LHC, Louisiana State Museum (LSM), Colonial Records.

Bontemps vs. Guillory (1728). Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* III (1920): 489.

Borme vs. Brumeaux Heirs (1776). LHC, Louisiana State Museum Old Mint, New Orleans (LSM-OM), Spanish Judicial Records.

Cabello's Letter to de Croix, Enclosing Report on the Trade of Indian Slaves in Nuevo Santander, May 28, 1780. University of Texas Austin (UT-A), Béxar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Box 1433/2S39, Item #228, Roll 14.

Carondelet a Llaguno, 17 mayo 1794. LOC, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563. Accessed November 2017. <http://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/asp/dclcmss.html>.

Carriere's Succession Auction Sale, Sum Left in Care of Boré, 1762. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Chactas (Choctaw), Record of Indian Slave Sold by de Masson (Mazan) to Boré as Black Slave, 1762. Orleans et Chapitoulas, Estate #03-F-148-097-1762. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall (GMH), *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*. Accessed February 2018. <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave>.

Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de. "History and General Description of New France." *Records and Deliberations of the New Orleans Cabildo, January 10, 1772*. New Orleans Public Library (NOPL), Louisiana Division.

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1 (1831).

Chocta (Choctaw), Record of Indian Slave Owned by le Marechal as Mulatto Rouge Slave, 1738. Orleans et Chapitoulas, Estate #03-F-046-153-1738. GMH, *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*. Accessed February 2018. <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave>.

"Chretien Point Plantation," National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Accessed September 21, 2018. <http://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=430d3bb1-f186-483c-ba13-80b3f70bc668>.

Chrétien v. Théard, La. 2 Mart. (N.S.) 582 (1824). Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #993, Eastern District, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans (UNO-SC).

Christian, Marcus. *The Negro in Louisiana*. Unpublished Manuscript, Marcus Christian Collection (MSS 11), Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans.

Córdoba, Cristóbal Hilario de, Interim Lieutenant at Nacogdoches. *Report, August 1786*. LOC.

Córdoba to Carondelet, July 26, 1794. University of Texas at Austin (UT-A), Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 20559.

Correspondance à l'Arrivée en Provenance de la Louisiane. Loyola University New Orleans (LOYNO), Special Collections & Archives, Microfilm.

Correspondance Générale. MPA-FD IX, 111.

Cristóbal Hilario de Córdoba to Luis de Blanc, Discussing Incidents with Choctaw (Chatás) and Ais (Ays) Indians, June 27, 1792. UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 6725.

D'Anghiera, Martire. *De Orbe Novo I* (1494), 81-109.

Davidson v. Gibson, 56 Fed. Rep., 443. SEC. 156 (1898).

Destroyed Marriage Contract, 1725. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Document 24/45.

Du Fresne. *The Louisiana Census of 1726 Devoted to Arkansas Post*, University of Arkansas, Digital Collections.

Dubordieu vs. Plaisance (1724). LHC, LMS, Colonial Documents.

Duvergès vs. St. Martin (1795). LHC, LSM-OM, Spanish Judicial Records.

Étienne, Record of Indian Slave Sold by Rolland to Chamont as Black, 1814. Natchitoches Record #4405 from Conveyance Book 38. GMH, *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*. Accessed February 2018. <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave>.

"Estado general de todos los habitantes de la colonia de la Louisiana segun los padrones que se han hecho el año de 1766." AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2595.

Examination of Bontemps and Guillory Savage Slaves of Srs. Pellerin and Trudeau, 1728. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Box 3, Documents 305, 306, 28/74, 28/75, 28/76, 320, 322, 356, 28/77, and 323.

Examination: Runaway Indian Slave Belonging to La Vigne, 1727. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Examination of Runaway Indian Slave Belonging to Tixerant, 1727. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Extract of Census of the Inhabitants of the Department of New Orleans, 1727. Tulane University, Rosemonde E. & Emile Kuntz Collection, French Colonial Period, Manuscripts Collection 600, LA Research Collection.

Flueriau on Dessertions by Slaves, 1726. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana a Fray Guardian Pedro del Barco, 20 febrero 1740. LOC.

Fray Damiaín Mazanet a Don Carlos de Sigüenza, 1690. LOC.

Fray Miguel Santa María y Silva a Viceroy Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, 21 julio 1774. LOC.

Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María a Viceroy de Mexico, 15 agosto 1691. LOC.

Gil Ybarvo à Bernardo de Gálvez, 1 novembre 1780. LOC.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo (GMH). *Databases for the Study of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1699-1860: Computerized Information from Original Manuscript Sources*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999.

Huexotzinco Codex, 1531. "Plaintiff testimony and pictographs of the products and services provided as tribute when the Huexotzinco peoples became part of Cortés's estates." LOC, Manuscript Division. Accessed January 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images>.

Interrogatoire de Bontemps, 1728. LHC, LCDDP, Identifier 1728-06-14-01, Document 322, Images 122768-71.

Inventaire, 1724. LHC, LCDDP, Identifier 1724-12-09-01, Images 118983-90.

Inventory Before Notary Garic of Plantation de Mazan (Masson) sold to Bore (Baré), 1762. LHC, LSM.

Inventory of Goods on May 22, 1730. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV (1921): 525.

Inventory of Goods and Personal Effects, Including an Indian Slave, 1730. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Jeanne vs. Maroteau (1783). LHC, LSM-OM, Spanish Judicial Records.

Johnson v. McIntosh, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543 (1823).

Judgment of the Council Annulling Will of Labiche in Favor of Graff, 1729. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Kerlérec, Louis Billouart de. "Projet de paix et d'alliance avec les Canne cis et les avantages qui en peuvent resulter, envoys par Kerlérec, gouverneur de la province..." LOC.

Lasonde à Déclaré, 1724. Identifier 1724-08-14-03, Images 118761-62. LHC, LCDDP.

Letter of Francisco de Thóbar, June 6, 1768. UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 2212.

Letters and Proceedings Set by Officials to the King on Encomiendas. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 116. Accessed November 2017. <http://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/asp/dclcmss.html>.

Lasonde vs. Coupard (1724). LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Le Page du Pratz, Antoine-Simon. *The History of Louisiana or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina Containing a Description of the Countries that Lie on Both Sides of the River Mississippi*.

Letter of Terrisse le Ternan at Fort Chartres to Rossard, Chief Clerk of the Superior Council, on the Natchez Massacre, 1730. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Mandeville vs. Fauçon Dumanoir (1727). LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Mandeville vs. Tixerant (1729). LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Marie Thérèse vs. DeGruy (1793). LHC, LSM-OM, Spanish Judicial Records.

Marriage of Madame Bourdon, 1725. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Metise, Record of Indian Slave Sold by Edouard Forstall to Lizette Forstall as Métis (White & Indian) Louisiana Creole Slave, 1820. Orleans Parish Document #1399. GMH, *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719–1820*. Accessed February 2018. <http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave>.

Mississippi Provincial Archives French Dominion (MPA-FD) I, 21, 86, 95, 103, 128, 261-263. MPA-FD II, 23-28, 37, 52-55, 60-63. MPA-FD III, i83, i87-i88, i93-94, i98, 21, 52, 191-200, 203-215, 303-304, 314-315, 497, 515, 575. MPA-FD IV, i3-i6, 39, 208-209.

Motion to Try Runaway Indian Slave, April 9, 1727. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Nava to Muñoz, June 5, 1794. UT-A, Béxar Archives, Briscoe Center, Box 20563.

Notice of Sale of Negro Partly Indian on Petition of Procurator for the King, 1735. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Documents 5305 and A-3533, Index #1735052502.

Order of Governor Don Prudencio de Orobio y Bazterra, February 16, 1739. LOC.

Order Signed by Don Alexandre O'Reilly, Gouverneur & Capitaine Général de la Province de la Louisianne, Abolishing Indian Slavery, December 7, 1769. Oversize Broadside, No Exhibit Number, Evidence, Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #34, UNO-SC.

Orobio y Bazterra, Don Prudencio de. *Order for Investigation and Questionnaire, June 25, 1738*. LOC.

O'Reilly, Alejandro. *Instructions for the Traders of the Cadaux d'Acquioux and Hiataesses Nations, Feb. 4, 1770*. ----. *Instructions to be Observed by Captain Don Eduardo Nugent and Don Juan Kelly on Trade with Indians, December 10, 1769*. LOC.

----. *Proclamation, December 7, 1769*. LOC, Spain in the Mississippi Valley Collection, 1765-1794.

Paine, Thomas. *Letter Addressed to the Abbé Raynal*. Philadelphia: Melchior Steiner, 1782, 44-45.

Papeles de Cuba, Louisiana. LOYNO, Legajos 488-560 and 562-630.

Papeles de Santo Domingo, Louisiana. LOYNO, Legajos 2529-2689.

Pedro Morsu & Bautista Borquinon vs. Cruzat Heirs (1790). LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Petition of Baré (Bore) upon the Death of Carriere, 1762. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Petition for Emancipation of Indian Slave by Duplessis, 1729. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents.

Petition for Emancipation of Indian Slave on October 22, 1729. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV (1922): 355.

Pierre (Pedro Morsu) vs. Cruzat Heirs (1790). LHC, LSM, Spanish Judicial Records, Folio 6.

Poydras, et al., to Carondelet, New Orleans, Feb. 28, 1794. LOC, AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2563, Folios 968-969. Accessed November 2017. <http://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/asp/dclcmss.html>.

“Recapitulation général des recensements ci-joints faits à Nouvelle-Orléans.” Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 2595.

Records and Deliberations of the Cabildo, 1769-1803. LOYNO, Works Projects Administration (WPA).

Retrocession of Louisiana to the King (of France) by the Company of the West (Indies), 1731. LHC, LSM.

Ripperdá to Governor of Louisiana, Unzaga y Amezaga, September 8, 1772. LOC.

“Sale of Slave, Natchitoches, on May 28, 1729.” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* IV (1922): 354.

Sacramental Records of Known Persons, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Cathedral-Basilica of St. Louis King of France, Microfilm Rolls 78:1-3 and Binders 1-2.

Salmon à Maurepas, 12 mai 1732. ANOM, Correspondance Générale Louisiane, Série C13a, XV, 105.

Sale of Indian Slave, 1736. LHC, LSM, Colonial Records, Document A-3626, Index #1736081701.

Séville v. Chrétien, La. 5 Mart. (O.S.) 275 (1817). Louisiana Supreme Court Dockets #1 & #34, Western District, Alexandria Session, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), UNO-SC.

Slaves and Savage Negroes, 1771-1800. NOPL, City Archives, Acts and Deliberations of the Cabildo, Work Projects Administration (WPA) Project #665-64-3-112 (1939).

“Spanish Judicial Records.” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* XXI (1938): 1257-60.

Succession of Calixte Descairac, 1736. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Document 5953, Index #1736081103.

Succession of Claude Trepagnier, 1724. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Document 24/121.

Succession of Dame Marie Vatel (Coupert), 1735. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Documents 9963 and 9972, Index #1735072201 and #1735072202.

Succession of Don Luis Ducret, 1770. LHC, LSM, Colonial Documents, Index #1770083004.

“Superior Council of New Orleans Papers, 1738-1745.” UT-A, Briscoe Center, Unique Identifier #2Q236.

Superior Council Records of New Orleans (SCR-NO). *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* I, no. 1 (1917). SCR-NO, *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* I, no. 3 (1918). III (1920): 74, 334-5. IV (1921): 348-55. V (1922): 377-378. VI (1923): 287. VIII (1925): 275-89. XVIII (1935): 705-8.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. Accessed March 2018. <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.

To Sieur Roy Charpentier, 1730. LHC, LSM.

Tonti, Henri de. “Memoir Sent in 1693, on the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Neighboring Nations by M. D. La Salle, from the year 1678 to the Time of his Death, and by the Sieur de Tonti to the year 1691.”

Ulibarri, Juan de. “The Diary of Juan de Ulibarri to El Cuartelejo, 1706.” LOC.

Ulzère v. Poeyfarré, La. 8 Mart. (O.S.) 155 (1820). Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #468, Eastern District, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), UNO-SC.

Ulzère v. Poeyfarré, La. 2 Mart. (N.S.) 504 (1824). Louisiana Supreme Court Docket #989, Eastern District, Supreme Court of Louisiana Historical Archives (MSS 106), UNO-SC.

Unzaga to Piernas, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 81, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Volume I. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Press, 1949, 189-92.

Victims of Natchez Massacre of 1729, University of Arkansas Libraries, Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry, Core Family Papers (MC 1380), Box 21, File 3.

Secondary Sources: Published Books

Babcock, Matthew. *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*. Boston: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Bailey, L. R. *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest: A Study of Slave Taking and the Traffic in Indian Captives*. Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1973.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Blackhawk, Ned. *American Indians and the Study of U.S. History*. Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association Press, 2012.

-----. *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Barr, Juliana. *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Boston: Belknap, 2000.

Brooks, James F. *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Carocci, Max and Stephanie Pratt, eds. *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

Chang, David. *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and Politics of Land Ownership, 1832-1929*, 1st ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

- Clark, Emily. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1724-1834*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- . *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Coleman, Arica L. *That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans, and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport: Praeger-Greenwood, 1972.
- Curtin, Philip D., ed. *Imperialism: A Volume in the Documentary History of Western Civilization*. New York: Walker and Company, 1971.
- . *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Consensus*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- . *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Dardar, T. Mayheart. *Istrouma: A Houma Manifesto*. Shreveport: Les Cahiers du Tintamarre, 2014.
- Dawdy, Shannon Lee. *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Diamond, Stanley. *In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2014.
- Dunn, Ross E. *The New World History: A Field Guide for Teachers and Researchers*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.
- DuVal, Kathleen. *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution*. New York: Penguin Random House, 2015.
- . *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Faber, Eberhard. *Building the Land of Dreams: New Orleans and the Transformation of Early America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. *The World System*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, 1971.
- Gallay, Alan. *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.
- . *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Guyatt, Nicholas. *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation*. New York: Basic Books for Perseus Books Group, 2016.
- Hanke, Lewis. *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949.
- Hirsch, Arnold R. and Joseph Logsdon, eds. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.
- Ingersoll, Thomas N. *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999.
- Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Kelman, Ari. *A River and Its City: The Nature of Landscape in New Orleans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.
- Kelton, Paul. *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Kidder, Tristram R. "Making the City Inevitable: Native Americans and the Geography of New Orleans," in *Transforming New Orleans & Its Environs: Centuries of Change*, Colten, Craig E., ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000.
- Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Kuczynski, Robert René. *Colonial Population*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- López, Ian H. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Maduell, Charles R., comp. and trans. *The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 Through 1732*. Baltimore: Clearfield Press, 1972.
- Madley, Benjamin. *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

- Manning, Patrick. "African Population: Projections, 1851-1961" in *The Demographics of Empire: The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge*, Karl Ittmann, Dennis D. Cordell, and Gregory Maddox, eds. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.
- McDonnell, Michael A. *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2015.
- Miles, Tiya. "Uncle Tom Was an Indian: Tracing the Red in Black Slavery" in *Confounding the Color Line: Indian-Black Relations in Multidisciplinary Perspective*, ed., James Brooks. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown, ed. *Natchitoches, 1729-1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana*, Cane River Creole Series, no. 2. New Orleans, 1977.
- Morgensen, Scott Lauria. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Newell, Margaret Ellen. *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Pierce, Jason E. "For Its Incorporation in Our Union: The Louisiana Territory and the Conundrum of Western Expansion" in *Making the White Man's West: Whiteness and the Creation of the American West*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2016.
- Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.
- Rothman, Adam. *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Rushforth, Brett. *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Spear, Jennifer M. *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Snyder, Christina. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Stoler, Ann. "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power" in *Gender at the Crossroads: Feminist Anthropology in the Post-Modern Era*, Michaela di Leonardo, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Sublette, Ned. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books and Chicago Review Press, 2008.
- Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- . *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1991.
- White, Sophie. *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- Wolf, Eric. *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- . *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Wolfe, Patrick. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event (Writing Past Imperialism)*. London: Cassell, 1999.
- . *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. London: Verso, 2016.
- Woods, Patricia Dillon. *French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1980.

Secondary Sources: Articles, Dissertations, and Lectures

- Ablavsky, Gregory. "Making Indians 'White': The Judicial Abolition of Native Slavery in Revolutionary Virginia and its Racial Legacy." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 159, no. 5 (April 2011): 1457-1531.
- Armillas Vicente, José Antonio. "Organización eclesiástica de la Luisiana española: el vicariato." *Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM* (2008): 21-56.
- Aubert, Guillaume. "'The Blood of France': Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (July 2004): 439-478.

- Baade, Hans W. "The Formalities of Private Real Estate Transactions in Spanish North America: A Report on Some Recent Discoveries." *Louisiana Law Review* XXXVIII (1977-8): 691-699.
- . "The Law of Slavery in Spanish 'Luisiana,' 1769-1803." Symposium Paper in *Louisiana's Legal Heritage*, ed. Edward F. Haas (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1983), 43-86.
- Barr, Juliana. "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands." *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (June 2005): 19-46.
- Blackhawk, Ned. "Currents in North American Indian Historiography." *Western Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 2011): 319-324.
- . "Look How Far We've Come: How American Indian History Changed the Study of American History in the 1990s." *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 6, The American West (November 2005): 13-17.
- Brown, Ian W. "The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast and Its Archaeological Manifestations." *American Antiquity* 54, no. 2 (1989): 311-331.
- Burton, Sophie and Todd Smith. "Slavery in the Colonial Louisiana Backcountry: Natchitoches, 1714-1803." *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 52, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 133-188.
- Carocci, Max. "Written Out of History: Contemporary Native American Narratives of Enslavement." *Anthropology Today* 25, no. 3 (June 2009): 18-22.
- Crosby, Alfred. "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (April 1976): 289-299.
- Demers, E.A.S. "Native-American Slavery and Territoriality in the Colonial Upper Great Lakes Region." *Michigan Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 163-172.
- DuVal, Kathleen. "Choosing Enemies: The Prospects for an Anti-American Alliance in the Louisiana Territory." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3, The Louisiana Purchase and the Peoples of Arkansas (Autumn 2003): 233-252.
- . "Debating Identity, Sovereignty, and Civilization: The Arkansas Valley after the Louisiana Purchase." *Journal of the Early Republic* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 25-58.
- . "Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 267-304.
- Ellis, Elizabeth. "The Many Ties of the Petites Nations: Relationships, Power, and Diplomacy in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1685-1785." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015.
- Finkelman, Paul. "Slavery and the Northwest Ordinance: A Study in Ambiguity." *Journal of the Early Republic* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 343-370.
- Gray, D. Ryan. "Memories of Black-Indian Materialities in Colonial New Orleans." Unpublished Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, University of New Orleans, 2018.
- Grinde, Donald, Jr. "Native American Slavery in the Southern Colonies." *Indian Historian* 10, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 38-42.
- Guasco, Michael. "'Doe Some Good Upon Their Countrymen': The Paradox of Indian Slavery in Early Anglo-America." *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 389-411.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Politics of Grass: European Expansion, Ecological Change, and Indigenous Power in the Southwest Borderlands." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (April 2010): 173-208.
- Hamelin, Jean. "Trudel: L'esclavage au Canada français: Histoire et conditions de l'esclavage." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 144 (1961): 603-605.
- Hammond, John C. "Slavery, Settlement, and Empire: The Expansion and Growth of Slavery in the Interior of the North American Continent, 1770-1820." *Journal of the Early Republic* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 175-206.
- . "'They Are Very Much Interested in Obtaining an Unlimited Slavery': Rethinking the Expansion of Slavery in the Louisiana Purchase Territories, 1803-1805." *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 3 (Autumn 2003): 353-380.
- Hardin, Michael. "The Trickster of History: The Heirs of Columbus and the Dehistoricization of Narrative." *MELUS* 23, no. 4, Theory, Culture and Criticism (Winter 1998): 25-45.
- Jones, David S. "Virgin Soils Revisited." *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (October 2003): 703-742.
- Konkle, Maureen. "Indigenous Ownership and the Emergence of U.S. Liberal Imperialism." *American Indian Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 297-323.
- Lauber, Almon Wheeler. "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States." *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, LIV, no. 3 (1913).
- Lachance, Paul F. "The Politics of Fear: French Louisianians and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809." *Plantation Society in the Americas Journal* (1979): 162-197.

- LaVere, David. "Between Kinship and Capitalism: French and Spanish Rivalry in the Colonial Louisiana-Texas Indian Trade." *The Journal of Southern History* 64, no. 2 (May 1998): 197-218.
- Lawrence, Bonita. "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia* 18, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 3-31.
- McGowan, James T. "Creation of a Slave Society: Louisiana Plantations in the Eighteenth Century." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rochester, 1976.
- Miller, Susan A. "Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography." *Wičazo Ša Review* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 25-45.
- Muñoz, Samuel E., Kristine E. Gruleya, Ashtin Massiea, David A. Fikeb, Sissel Schroeder, and John W. Williams. "Cahokia's Emergence and Decline Coincided with Shifts of Flood Frequency on the Mississippi River." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 20 (May 2015).
- Parenton, Vernon J. and Roland J. Pellerin. "The 'Sabines': A Study of Racial Hybrids in a Louisiana Coastal Parish." *Social Forces* 29, no.2 (1950): 148-154.
- Pinnen, Christian. "Slavery and Empire: The Development of Slavery in the Natchez District, 1720-1820." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 2012.
- Rushforth, Brett. "'A Little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (October 2003): 777-808.
- . "Savage Bonds: Indian Slavery and Alliance in New France." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Davis, 2003.
- Scott, Rebecca. "'She... Refuses to Deliver Up Herself as the Slave of Your Petitioner': Émigrés, Enslavement, and the 1808 Louisiana Digest of the Civil Laws." *Tulane European & Civil Law Forum* 24 (2009): 115-136.
- Semple, Angela. "This is Our Story: Healing Through the (Re)Narrativization of Indigenous Trauma." M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 2012.
- Stern, Steve J. "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, Quincentenary Supplement (1992): 1-34.
- Tsosie, Rebecca. "The New Challenge to Native Identity: An Essay on Indigeneity and Whiteness." *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* 18 (January 2005): 59-62.
- Tudela y Bueso, Juan Pérez de. "La negociación Colombina de las Indias." *Revista de Indias* 14 (1954): 289-357.
- Usner, Daniel H., Jr. "From African Captivity to American Slavery: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana." *Louisiana History* XX (1979): 25-48.
- . "From Calumet to Raquette: How American Indians Shaped Colonial New Orleans." Keynote Lecture, Friends of the Cabildo 4th Annual Symposium, New Orleans, LA, December 8, 2017.
- . "The Frontier Exchange Economy of the Lower Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth Century." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (April 1987): 165-192.
- Vidal, Cécil. "De l'incorporation à l'exclusion: les relations entre Amérindiens, Européens et Anglo-Américains dans la vallée du Mississippi de 1699 à 1830." *Tocqueville* 25, no. 2 (2004): 35-54.
- Webre, Stephen. "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1803." *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 117-135.
- Wiegers, Robert R. "A Proposal for Indian Slave Trading in the Mississippi Valley and Its Impact on the Osage." *Plains Anthropologist* 33, no. 120 (May 1, 1988): 187-202.
- Wolfe, Patrick. "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 388-420.
- . "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race." *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 866-905.
- . "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409.
- Young, Kevin C. "'Those Few Who Counted': Indian Slavery in Recent Historiography of Colonial North America." Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, 2013.

Vita

Leila K. Blackbird (Apache/Cherokee), née Garcés, is a Two-Spirit activist and writer currently living in Bulbancha, on unceded Choctaw land. Leila completed her B.A. in History at the University of New Orleans and plans on pursuing her Ph.D. to develop and teach Indigenous history courses from a decolonial framework. Further research interests include comparative slaveries and colonialisms, global Indigenous histories and perspectives, comparative ethnicity and nationalism, the French and Spanish Atlantic worlds, transnational British imperial-colonialism, borderlands, historical trauma, and state violence. In her downtime, Leila likes to grow plants, create art, and spend quality time with her family.