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"We Won't Be Silent Anymore": Enslaved People's Stories and Symbolic Reparations For New Orleans City Park

Kalie Ann Dutra

University of New Orleans, New Orleans, karhode1@uno.edu

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“We Won’t Be Silent Anymore:”
Enslaved People’s Stories and Symbolic Reparations
for New Orleans City Park

A Thesis

Submitted to the Department of History
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

by

Reverend Kalie A. Dutra

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M.Div. Vanderbilt University, 2020

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Abstract

The official history of New Orleans City Park, published in 1982 offers a narrow history of its grounds and land ownership before it opened as a park in 1854. The published text *Historic City Park New Orleans* contains a two-part narrative. The first narrative tells the identity of Louis Allard, his plantation land, and the mystique surrounding his death. The second narrative focuses on John McDonogh, an enslaver and local legend, his purchase of the Allard Plantation, and his donation of the plantation to the city of New Orleans for the creation of what is now lower New Orleans City Park. This official history obscures the actual history of City Park and its extensive plantations along Bayou St. John. It also excludes any mention of the enslaved men and women who lived and labored within the Allard Plantation or any other portion of the park grounds. This thesis uncovers the fourteen plantations that once occupied City Park grounds: the Allard, Roquigui, Girardy, DesRuisseaux, Milne, Jung, Lorreins, Alpuente, Castillon, Dugué, Zamora, St. Maxent, Almonester, and Morant. Through colonial documents, auction receipts, bills of sales, and court cases, this thesis lays the groundwork for an ongoing public history project which will tell the named and unnamed enslaved people related to each of these plantations. The final section focuses on how the City Park space can be interpreted by and for the public through educational outreach and re-memorialization. The goal of this thesis is to provide a more wholistic historical narrative to locals and visitors of City Park and to honor the lives of enslaved Indigenous, African, and African American people forced to labor on its grounds.

Introduction

On December 9, 2021, I took a *History of the Land* tour led by students of Grow Dat Youth Farm. Grow Dat is a youth leadership organization based within New Orleans City Park that commits itself to sustainability, justice, inclusion, multiculturalism, and solidarity.¹ Grow Dat's commitments and visions are administered through farming, shared food harvests, field trips, leadership training, and their *History of the Land* curriculum.²

On this December evening, four teenagers (two high school seniors, one junior, and one sophomore) took us on a hike through various nature spaces with palm and orange trees, ponds, and parts of their farmland. At each stop along the hike, mixed with the sounds of passing visitors and children playing, the teen leaders led us in discussions surrounding indigenous communities, the civil rights movements of New Orleans, and the enslaved history of New Orleans City Park.

New Orleans City Park has been a landmark since 1854, bringing in locals and visitors from all over the world. But what visitors to the park do not know is that New Orleans City Park was once the site of fourteen plantation sites with over two hundred and fifty enslaved people who lived and labored across its grounds. Currently, City Park is a space of play with gardens and swings, golfing and putt-putt, and the sweet tastes of beignets. The massive oak trees and the

1. "Mission, Vision and Values," Our Work, Grow Dat Youth Farm, accessed November 8, 2021, <https://growdatyouthfarm.org/mission>.

2. Farm manager, Leo Gorman, and co-program manager, Kevin Connell, have actively worked to create educational resources that teach K-12 students and adults about City Park's history related to native groups, slavery, maroon communities, and civil rights movements. These educational resources include maps, images, stories, and student-led conversations that provide insight into the New Orleans City Park's landscape history.

curvatures of the grounds we see today were witness to the lives of enslaved men and women who once cultivated this land.

This thesis will argue that visitors and members of New Orleans City Park must reflect on the space of City Park as a place of violence, enslavement, self-liberation, resilience, and resistance. I will also argue for the importance of historical storytelling within public spaces, facilitating the reclaiming and reinterpretation of space through “symbolic reparations.”

According to Dolores Hayden in *The Power of Place*, the term “space” is multi-faceted. She describes space as a physical entity, a nostalgic entity, a place of social relationships, a political entity, and a social and local product, all imbedded into the fabric of history.³ Space, particularly urban landscapes, hold many meanings for varying degrees of stakeholders. What a particular space means and holds for Indigenous groups looks very different than to board members. What space means and holds for Black communities may not cross the minds of white communities. Hayden argues that space holds power to “nurture citizens’ public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory” and to create new historical identities that have been lost to the public at large.⁴

To reclaim space, then, means that public spaces must confront not only the physical space and its effect on communities but the space’s social, political, and historical meaning as well.⁵ Reclamation requires conversations within public forums with centered voices from marginalized communities. Reclamation necessitates a thoughtful look into varying stakeholder’s

3. Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 15-40.

4. Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 11.

5. Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 13.

identities within that space and the history therein. And finally, reclaiming space means that varying histories need to be unveiled. In these reflective spaces, visitors and members of City Park can begin to reclaim the space as a space for all people, past and present, giving recognition to those who made the park a possibility.

To set up this argument, this thesis will explore the locations of the fourteen confirmed plantations located within City Park and the stories of enslaved women's resistance and kinship. This thesis will also identify usable examples for their necessary reparation work for their near future. The hidden history of enslavement "has gone on far too long... and we won't be silent anymore."⁶

The Historiography of Slavery in the Americas

Historians' writings and research on racial slavery has widely varied over the last hundred years. Known to most historians as the first comprehensive examination of slavery in the American South was Ulrich Bonnell Phillips's *American Negro Slavery*, published in 1918. Though the topics of *American Negro Slavery* cover elements of slavery from the Atlantic Slave Trade to plantation labor and life, Phillips's work is riddled with misconceptions, glorified white paternalism, and blatant racism.

Following Phillips's work was Stanley Elkins's *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional Life*, published in 1959. Like Phillips's work, Elkins used degrading theories and

6. Yara Allen, *Somebody's Hurting My Brother*, Rise Up and Sing, Accessed November 15, 2021, <https://www.riseupandsing.org/songs/somebodys-hurting-my-brother>. Lyrics: "Somebody's hurting my sisters and it's gone on far too long, gone on far too long, gone on far too long. Somebody's hurting my sisters and it's gone on far too long. And we won't be silent anymore."

overt racism to describe enslaved people and their daily lives. One of the most problematic and controversial of these theories is Elkins's Sambo character. Elkins argues that the experience of enslavement and confinement, infantized enslaved people, making them completely dependent on enslavers and undermining enslaved people's ability to resist, revolt, build kinships, or any livelihood. Even more controversial was Elkins's comparison of the Sambo character to the prisoners within Nazi concentration camps during World War II.

At the time of their publication, white scholars viewed the work of Elkins and Phillips as pioneering. Subsequent historians have pushed back against these problematic texts, following the tradition of early Black historians Eric Williams, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson. Historians John Hope Franklin, Kenneth Stampp, George M. Fredrickson, Eugene Genovese, Herbert Gutman, and Christopher Lasch offered some of the most robust critiques and counterpoints to Elkins and Philips. Stampp, Fredrickson, and Lasch made large strides to rectify the work of Philips and Elkins. In 1967, Frederickson and Lasch argued that resistance is evident throughout the historical record: "it is easy to show that Negro slaves did not always cooperate with the system of slavery."⁷ However, Frederickson and Lasch neglected the stories of enslaved people, particularly women and children. Each of these men focused on the system of slavery rather than the stories of those enslaved within that system. Franklin and Gutman, however, highlighted the resiliency and persistence of individual enslaved people, families, and communities.

It was not until the publication of Deborah Gray White's *Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, published in 1985, that a historian focused on the experiences of

7. George M. Fredrickson, and Christopher Lasch, "Resistance to Slavery," *Civil War History* 13, No. 4 (1967): 315-329, Accessed December 2, 2021, [doi:10.1353/cwh.1967.0026](https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.1967.0026).

enslaved women. White's work not only set the precedent for other historians' research on enslaved stories and women's roles within slavery, but it also sparked the Library of Congress to create a new subject heading under "Woman Slaves."⁸ *Ar'n't I A Woman?*, as a revolutionary work, discusses topics related to enslaved women such as the Jezebel and Mammy stereotypes, forced childbearing, the difficulty of escape because of kinship ties, and varying degrees of labor. White's work can adequately be summed in her paraphrase quote offered by Harriet Jacobs in Jacob's nineteenth-century narrative stating, "slavery is terrible for men: but it is far more terrible for women."⁹

Since the 1960s, historians have transformed the interpretation of slavery from a brutal labor system to a racialized system of exploitation that shaped the societies and economies of the Atlantic World and shaped the lives of millions of enslaved men, women, and children. More recent historians have also created far more detailed narratives about enslaved people's resistance and their efforts towards self-liberation. Among the more recent literature are works by John Thornton, Albert J. Raboteau, Walter Johnson, Stephanie Camp, Tiya Miles, Sophie White, Edward Baptist, Kimberly Hanger, Yvonne Patricia Chireau, Cecile Vidal, Rashauna Johnson, Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, Jessica Marie Johnson, Vanessa M. Holden, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Tamika Nunley, Andrea C. Mosterman, and Mary Niall Mitchell.¹⁰ While these historians focus on particular aspects of slavery such as religion, space, slave markets,

8. Deborah Gray White, "'Matter out of Place': Ar'n't I a Woman? Black Female Scholars and the Academy," *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 1 (2007): 5–12, Accessed December 2, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064150>.

9. Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 62.

10. A full list of texts can be found in Appendix B.

relationships, or resistance, they also define slavery as a violence that effected whole groups of people and delineate how that violence impacted daily life.

This historiographical shift not only impacted historians' work, but archaeological works as well. Archaeologists such as Jilian E. Galle, Amy L. Young, Sherene Baugher, Whitney Battle-Baptiste, and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood look at how material culture sheds light on the histories of enslaved women. In her contribution to *Engendering African American Archaeology*, Jilian E. Galle argues that artifacts such as knitting needle guards, straight pins, bone and ivory needlework tools, and buttons highlight enslaved women's labor on the Hermitage Plantation.¹¹ Amy L. Young, in "Risk and Women's Roles in the Slave Family," argues that though difficult, archaeology can detect women's labor through the location of decorated ceramics and glassware across the plantation.¹² In other words, enslaved women's domestic labor and proximity to the "big house" may have resulted in expensive hand-me-down ceramics from enslavers, now pulled from slave quarters through archaeological efforts.

This historiographical shift also effected how public historians engaged with the public on topics of slavery. In her groundbreaking work *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings*, Annette Gordon-Reed provided the public with scholarly and circumstantial evidence that Jefferson fathered Sally Hemings's children.¹³ Sally Hemings, an enslaved woman, labored and lived at Monticello under her enslaver, Thomas Jefferson. Gordon-Reed's work, published in 1997, emerged out of the historiographical movement initiated by Deborah Gray White. Gordon-

11. Jilian E. Galle, and Amy L Young, *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 39-72.

12. Galle and Young, *Engendering African American Archaeology*, 133-148.

13. James Oliver Horton, and Louis E. Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, (New York, NY: The New Press, 2014).

Reed's work, in turn, impacted the ways in which the Monticello Plantation Museum structured their public tours. Though it was a painstaking journey, Monticello went from limited public information on enslavement to featuring Sally Hemings's story within their main tours and exhibits. Other examples dispersing this historiographical shift into the public sphere can be seen in the works of the Whitney Plantation Museum, Tiya Miles's *Tales From The Haunted South*, the "1619 Project" by *The New York Times*, the podcast "Africa Past and Present," the *Freedom on the Move* database, and Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*.

Beyond house and plantation museums, public historians have also shifted the face of digital humanities by providing public materials in the forms of databases, educational materials, and art related to enslavement. Among these digital humanities projects are *Freedom on the Move* hosted by Cornell University, the *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy* by Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Enslaved: Peoples of the Historical Slave Trade* (Enslaved.org) hosted by Michigan State University, *The 1619 Project: Education Materials Collection* hosted by the Pulitzer Center, and *Slave Voyages* hosted by Rice University.

The large strides made in the historical scholarship surrounding slavery in America and the work of public historians within the context of house museums and digital humanities projects are essential foundations for reinterpreting landscapes, built environments, and contemporary social structures for the public at large.

However, within the broad historiography of slavery in the Americas and particularly New Orleans, there is one piece of enslaved history that often slips through the cracks: the intersection of rural and urban slavery. Currently, New Orleans historian works such as Rashauna Johnson's *Slavery's Metropolis*, Walter Johnson's *Soul by Soul*, Kimberly Hanger's

Bounded Lives, Bounded Places, and Cécile Vidal's *Caribbean New Orleans* focus primarily on urban slavery and its varied experience from that of plantation slavery. While groundbreaking works of slave history in New Orleans, these authors don't expand their spatial setting outside of today's French Quarter. On the other end, historians like Gwendolyn Midlo Hall in *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* and Ibrahima Seck's *Bouki fait Gombo*, look at the rural plantation history of Louisiana, not just New Orleans. Little work looks at the greater New Orleans area, including the plantation history of today's Mid City in New Orleans.

This thesis will add to the historiography of New Orleans and Louisiana slavery by not only providing historical evidence and scholarship of slavery within today's City Park, but to also highlight the distinctive landscape of the colonial and nineteenth century New Orleans held: the intersection of urban and rural enslavement for enslaved people. Out of this historical research, this thesis will provide public history works in the form of a database, GIS Mapping, website, and examples of symbolic reparations that highlight enslaved stories and their spatial intersection.¹⁴

Uncovering the History of New Orleans City Park

The grounds of City Park have been a dedicated park space since 1854. But what the public knows about its history has been limited, largely, to the contents of one publication. In 1982, the Friends of City Park, the governing organization of the park's public recreation and education, commissioned Sally K. Evans Reeves and William D. Reeves to write *Historic City Park New Orleans*. This commission was to inform the public of City Park's history from its

14. See Appendix A for more details related to digital humanities resources of enslavement within today's New Orleans City Park.

plantation history to the park's expansion throughout the fifties, sixties, and seventies.¹⁵ *Historic City Park New Orleans* is the quintessential coffee-table book that focuses primarily on the success of City Park, neglecting topics of slavery and racism within the park's history. This neglect has obscured the origins of the park from the public from those who walk, bike, and play across the park grounds. The creation of City Park as a public space relied on the purchase of plantation land from a wealthy enslaver who later donated the grounds to New Orleans for a city park. More importantly, however, the 1,300 acres of today's park land relied on the extensive labor and cultivation of land by the hands of enslaved men, women, and children.

In the retelling of the New Orleans City Park plantation history, Sally K. Evans Reeves and William D. Reeves primarily focus on Louis Allard, Jr. Unmentioned by the Reeveses, Louis Allard was a third-generation enslaver and plantation owner. The Reeveses focus their historical narrative around the loss of Allard's plantation property at an auction in 1845.¹⁶ The Reeveses detail that John McDonogh, an enslaver and slave trader, purchased the Allard Plantation and left the property to the city of New Orleans in his will for the formation of a park. The Reeveses idolize John McDonogh as the canonical dedicator of the park's existence.¹⁷ The Reeveses do not mention the work or lives of enslaved people related to this plantation within their text, *Historic City Park New Orleans*.

Historic City Park New Orleans combines secondary sources produced by John Smith Kendall and Edna B. Freiberg. Kendall's *History of New Orleans* (1922) is a three-volume collection detailing the history of New Orleans over a two-hundred-year span. *History of New*

15. Sally K. Evans Reeves and William D. Reeves, *Historic City Park New Orleans* (New Orleans, LA: Friends of City Park, 1982), foreword.

16. Reeves and Reeves, *Historic City Park New Orleans*, 1.

17. Reeves and Reeves, *Historic City Park New Orleans*, 1.

Orleans focuses on the colonial, French and Spanish eras, the Battle of New Orleans, the commerce and business of New Orleans, charities, churches, parks, and medical progress.¹⁸ However, Kendall's work also fails to tell the story of enslaved people, and instead romanticizes white life in New Orleans.

Unlike the Reeveses and Kendall's works, Edna B. Freiberg's *Bayou St. John in Colonial Louisiana 1699-1803* contains extensive research on plantations, enslavers and the enslaved people of today's City Park. Through primary source documents ranging from court cases, newspaper articles, wills and successions, maps, diary entries, and dictated telephone conversations, *Bayou St. John in Colonial Louisiana 1699-1803* creates an extensive history that details the plantation history of the historic Bayou St. John in which City Park resides today. Freiberg's text focuses on enslaver lineages, including the Lorreins/Allard family. She argues that the Lorreins/Allard's owned not one plantation in City Park, but several. Freiberg includes details of other plantations and enslavers within the grounds of today's City Park including the Roquigui, Girardy, DesRuisseaux, Milne, and St. Maxent plantations. While imperfect, *Bayou St. John in Colonial Louisiana 1699-1803* (1980) surpasses the works of the Reeveses and Kendall with Freiberg's detailed research of plantation tracts and in her telling of enslaved people's stories related to each of these plantations. It is curious that the Reeveses use *Bayou St. John* within *Historic City Park New Orleans* as a secondary source but neglect the historical details of enslavement and extensive plantation history that Freiberg lays out.

It is with Freiberg's extensive primary source documentation that this thesis project was able to uncover other plantations within today's City Park grounds. From this discovery, this

18. John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans: Volume II*, (Chicago, IL: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1922).

thesis research located fourteen plantations within today's City Park as well as hundreds of enslaved people who toiled and labored within these "forced labor camps."¹⁹

The Forced Labor Camps Along Bayou St. John

The next section of the thesis will locate the fourteen forced labor camps across today's New Orleans City Park using historical and current maps, providing a brief outline of plantation names as they are imperative in finding the names and stories of the enslaved. These maps will also provide an environmental context to the landscapes in which enslaved people frequently traversed.

The maps in figures one and two, which depict tracts of landownership throughout the eighteenth century, outline the plantation arpents, or measurement of land length, along Bayou St. John.²⁰ By 1720, the French colonial government granted these tracts to a small group of colonizers to provide various supplies to the city.²¹ Like many plantations situated along waterways, it is likely that the enslaver's "big house" occupied space close to the bayou itself, surrounded by swamp land. It is likely that enslaved people's homes occupied the outskirts of the

19. The word plantation, for some people, refers to a nostalgic antebellum time that highlights enslavers and their wealth. Forced labor camp acknowledges that slave traders and enslavers kidnapped people of color and forced them to work under brutal circumstances with little to no freedoms. Alongside other historians such as Edward E. Baptist in *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, I choose to use forced labor camp interchangeably with, and sometimes instead of, the word "plantation."

20. Many of these tracts depicted within the maps overlap with multiple enslaver names. While these tracts of land and physical locations may have been the same, each enslaver operated their plantations in different capacities and with the labor of enslaved people. Thus, this thesis will assume that each plot of land stood alone as its own forced labor camp.

21. Wayne C.J Boyko, Katherine Fogg, Susan Barrett Smith, Dena Struchtemeyer, and William P. Athens, "Phase I Archeological Investigation of a 17.13 HA (42.34-AC) Parcel Located Within New Orleans City Park in Orleans Parish, Louisiana," (New Orleans, LA: R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., 2013), <http://crt-esri.crt.state.la.us/pdfs/reports/22-4377.pdf>, 19.

plantation land close to the swamps themselves. In approaching the nineteenth century, the maps in figures four through seven show tracts of land expanded across the length of today's New Orleans City Park with highly reduced swamp lands.

What varies for these tracts of land, however, are the types of labor done within them.

When visiting rural plantation sites, most people think of sugar or cotton as the cultivated product of plantation lands. However, enslavers used the plantations in today's New Orleans City Park for extracting cypress, brick making, cattle raising, and rice and indigo farming.

On December 4, 1770, the DesRuisseaux Plantation held fourteen arpents which is approximately half a mile long along Bayou St. John (Figure 1). This land included homes, a kitchen, grange, warehouse, and other

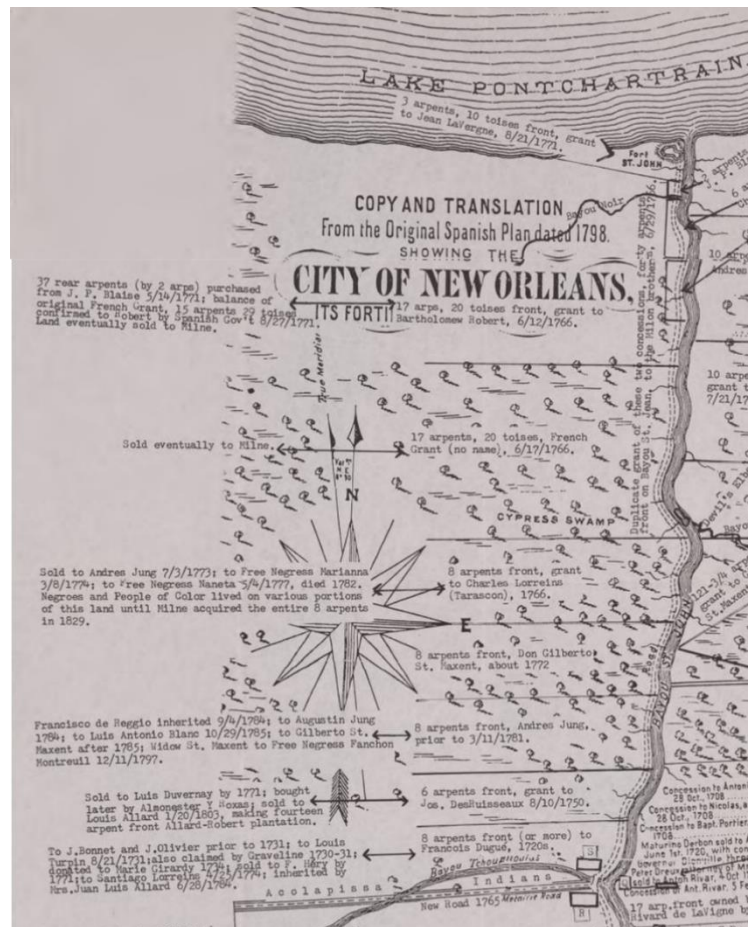


Figure 1: A zoomed in version of the December 24, 1798 Plan of the City of New Orleans and the Adjacent Plantations Compiled in accordance with an Ordinance of the Illustrious Ministry and Royal Charter, published by Edna B. Freiberg. This portion of the map focuses on the Bayou St. John area and today's New Orleans City Park.

outbuildings. The enslaved production of this land consisted of raising five cows and their calves, as well as many other farm animals.²²

Alexander Milne, before the turn of nineteenth century, cultivated a brick-making business with enslaved labor along Bayou St. John (Figure 2). The city of New Orleans was in high demand of brick and brick products, particularly in response to rebuilding the city after the Great New Orleans fire in March of 1788.²³



Figure 2: 1833 Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity created by Charles Zimpel (1801-1878). This map shows the plantation land owned by Alexander Milne, Louis Allard, De Morant, and Alpuente.

22. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, December 4, 1770, “1770-12-04-01,” DesRuisseaux Lease, The Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/13969>.

23. “Alexander Milne: Founder of Milne Developmental Services,” Milneds.org, accessed April 14, 2022, <https://milneds.org/history/>.

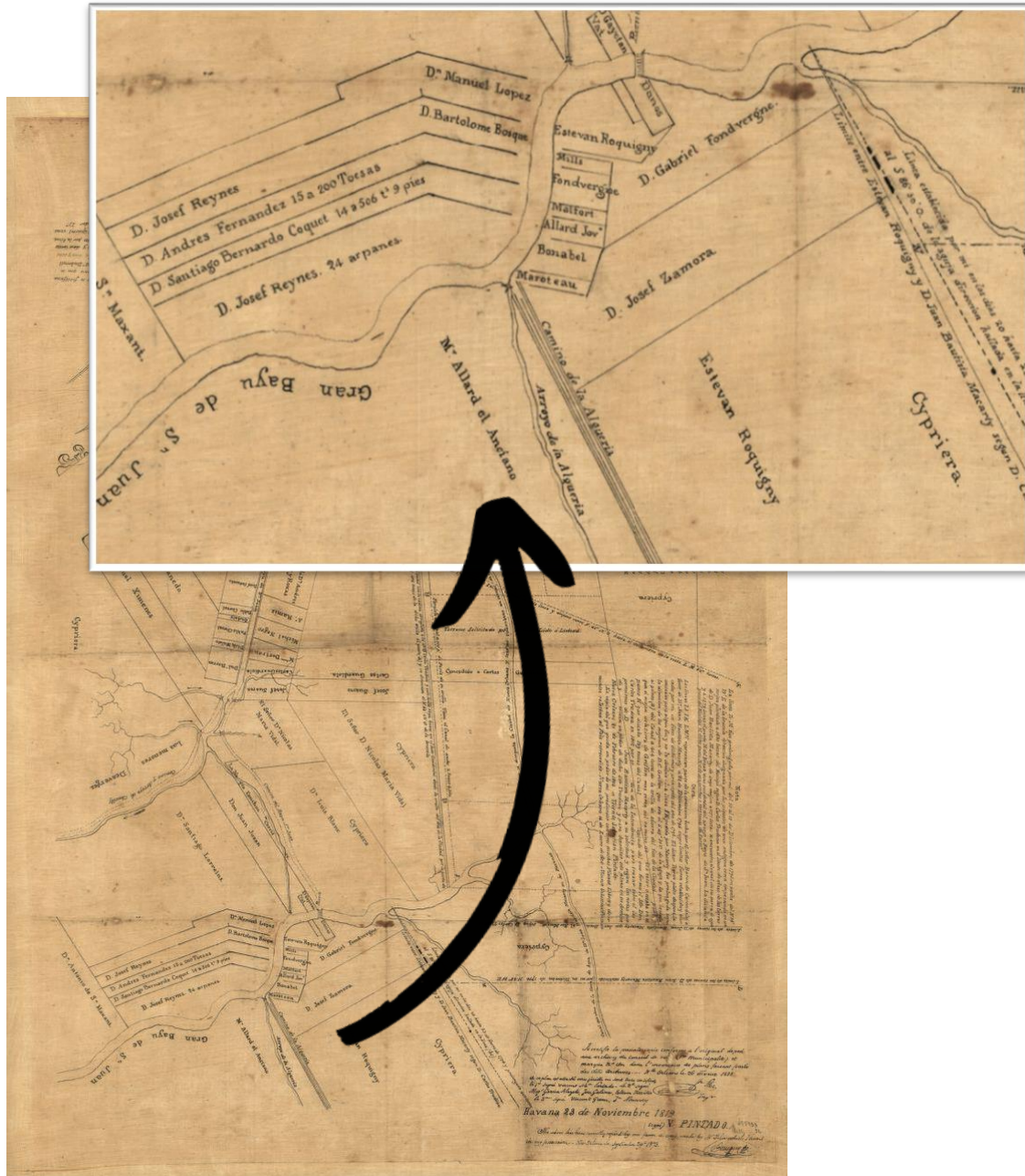


Figure 3: 1819 Map of New Orleans and Vicinity created by Vicente Sebastián Pintado (1774-1829) and Charles Laveau Trudeau (1750-1816). This map shows the tracks of land owned by Estevan Roquigny, D. Josef Zamora, and Louis Allard situated in the space occupied by today's City Park. Unidentified tracks of land within City Park include Mills, Fondvergne, Malfort, Bonabel, and Maroteau.

The Allard Plantation beginning in the late eighteenth century to the 1820s raised cattle and cultivated indigo (Figures 2, 3, and 4). By the time of John McDonogh's purchase of plantation land in 1845, the south part of today's City Park held ten horses and mules, and 140 head of cattle.²⁴ Though these plantation plots produced other products than typically associated with plantation labor, it was still enslaved labor that cultivated City Park land and provided materials for the city of New Orleans.

The landscape of these forced labor camps also differed from other rural spaces because of their location and proximity to various waterways. The map in figure five gives another

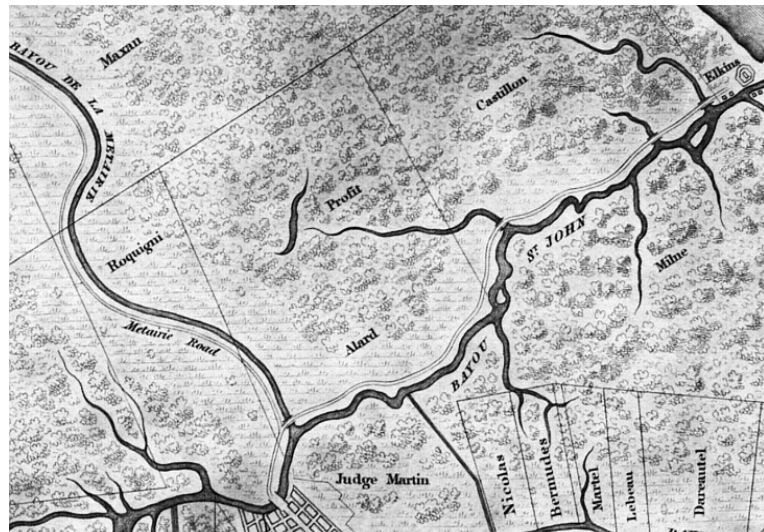


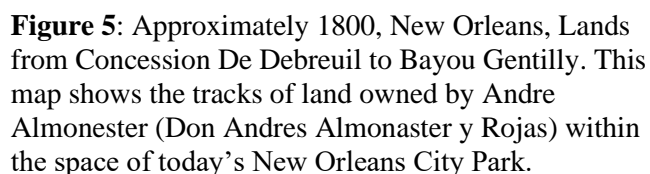
Figure 4: 1828 Map of Bayou St. John. This map shows the plantation land owned by Castillon, Louis Allard, Roquigni, and Profit (unidentified) across today's City Park.

interesting note in the landscape of Bayou St. John and enslaved people's land use. The waterways shown distinctively in figures three and five include Bayou St. John, the New Basin Canal and Lake Pontchartrain.

24. Kimberly H. Jochum, "'Maintaining Mythic Property': The Lost History of Louis Allard and His Grave in New Orleans City Park," (New Orleans, LA: University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations, 2013), <https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/1693/>.

Pontchartrain, Bayou St. John also served as an avenue for shipments of goods from other parts of Louisiana as well as Mississippi.

DesRussieux Plantation.



The Enslaved Stories of City Park

Kenet's Attempt for Self-Liberation

On June 10, 1767, Kenet, an enslaved woman, stood before Judge Delaunay and the French Superior Council of New Orleans accused of running away from the DesRuisseaux Plantation to the neighboring Brazillier Plantation for over a year.²⁵ The Council notary penned Kenet's story.

Within the court document, Kenet stated that she was about thirty-five years old, enslaved on the DesRuisseaux Plantation by Marie DesRuisseaux, and labored as a farmer along Bayou St. John.²⁶ The Council then began an interrogation about Kenet's fugitivity. Kenet attempted two escapes from the DesRuisseaux Plantation. The first was to Mobile, Alabama. Though the case shares limited details on Kenet's first self-liberation attempt, her escape to Mobile likely could be because of Kenet's access to the waterways of Bayou St. John. However, after her escape, men in Mobile re-captured, imprisoned, and sent Kenet back to the DesRuisseaux Plantation with "bad sores on her legs."²⁷

On her second attempt for self-liberation, Kenet claimed that an enslaved man, Jean-Baptiste, from the Brazillier Plantation, took her to Brazillier's tar factory, *Bayou de Pasquier*, for a short time. From there, Kenet and Jean-Baptiste obtained a pirogue boat from the Indians and bought food from another enslaved man, Andre, who purchased rice and bread within the

25. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, "1767-06-10-02," Interrogation of Kenet, The Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA, <http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12204>.

26. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, "1767-06-10-02," Interrogation of Kenet, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12204>.

27. Edna B. Freiberg, *Bayou St. John in Colonial Louisiana*, (New Orleans, LA: Harvey Press, 1980), 165.

city.²⁸ The Brazillier Planation was likely in Gentilly, near Bayou Gentilly, which also connects to Bayou St. John (Figure 4).

On their return from the boat, Brazillier forced Kenet and Jean-Baptiste to go back to his plantation at Chef Menteur.²⁹ During her time at the Brazillier Plantation, Kenet stated that she worked in the kitchen and garden awaiting Brazillier to purchase her from Marie DesRuisseaux. Jean-Baptiste confirmed this act within his own testimony.³⁰ After several months of working and living at the Brazillier Plantation, two men, Million and Rieux, seized Kenet and Jean-Baptiste “around midnight asleep in their bed at the door of their cabin.”³¹ Million and Rieux took them both to prison to await their examinations by the French Superior Council. Kenet’s examination by the French Superior Council is one of eleven court documents related to Kenet and Jean-Baptiste.

Because of the DesRuisseaux Plantation’s location, Kenet lived at the cross-roads between urban and rural enslavement. In the rural planation setting, Kenet “handled the hoe” and farmed along other enslaved people, highly supervised by enslavers and drivers throughout the

28. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, “1767-06-10-02,” Interrogation of Kenet, The Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA, <http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12204>.

29. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, “1767-06-10-02,” Interrogation of Kenet, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12204>.

30. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, “1767-06-10-02,” Interrogation of Jean-Baptiste, The Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12203>.

31. French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, “1767-06-10-02.” This document was translated and transcribed by Sophie White in Sophie White, *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

day.³² However, surveillance deteriorated in the evenings with the rural plantation landscape. Many rural plantation's grounds separated the enslavers home from the homes of the enslaved. While still extremely dangerous and difficult, the layout of rural plantations gave enslaved people opportunities for escape.

Being close to the city of New Orleans, Kenet would have been able to move more freely between the plantation and the French Quarter to do business for the DesRussieaux family. The blurred lines between each of these types of enslavement allowed Kenet to create kinship ties with other enslaved people (Jean-Baptiste and Andre) on neighboring plantations and within the city of New Orleans. Kenet's mobility, location of home and communal bonds strengthened her opportunity for self-liberation from the DesRussieaux Plantation.

But what have been most useful to Kenet was her access to the Bayou St. John and connecting waterways. Her ability to escape to Mobile was likely because of her direct access to Bayou St. John which connects to Lake Pontchartrain, and later, Lake Borgne, the Gulf of Mexico and Mobile Bay. Likewise, when Kenet and Jean-Baptiste escaped on a pirogue, their access to Bayou St. John and Bayou Gentilly provided another opportunity for self-liberation.

This cross-roads between urban and rural enslavement is a space missed by the larger historiography of enslavement in New Orleans. Historians and museums typically focus on either urban enslavement or rural enslavement, but not the intersection of the two. Because the DesRussieaux Plantation and the other plantations along Bayou St. John had landscapes of rural

32. The New Orleans French Superior Council, June 10, 1767, "1767-06-10-02," Interrogation of Kenet, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12204>.

enslavement but also resided in proximity to the New Orleans urban setting, Kenet's story gives way for more historical reflection on slavery and space within the greater New Orleans area.

In the last few court documents related to Kenet and Jean-Baptiste, Jean-Baptiste expressed the hope that his enslaver Brazillier would purchase Kenet from Marie DesRussieaux.³³ Sophie White argues in *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana*, that Kenet's and Jean-Baptiste's story tells how enslaved people created their own romantic and platonic relationships beyond the bounds of land and enslavers.³⁴ White continues in her argument stating that Kenet and Jean-Baptiste may have had a romantic and intimate relationship, sacrificing self-liberation for love. However, this risk led to a violent ruling by the French Superior Council.

On August 13, 1767, the French Superior Council sentenced Kenet and Jean Baptiste to a public punishment of deep physical and emotional violence. The French Superior Council ordered that Kenet be branded with a fleur de lis on her shoulder and be returned to the DesRussieaux Plantation. The Council also ordered that Jean Baptiste witness the violence of Kenet being branded. He later would be tied to a wagon for later punishment.³⁵

The French Superior Council's sentence was in accordance with the Louisiana *Code Noir* of 1724, which outlined the conditions of slavery. The *Code Noir* stated no enslaved persons belonging to different enslavers could gather for any reason, including within the secluded

33. The New Orleans French Superior Council, August 13, 1767, "1767-08-13-01," Second Interrogation of Jean-Baptiste, The Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA, <http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12306>.

34. Sophie White, *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 192.

35. The New Orleans French Superior Council, August 13, 1767, "1767-08-13-04," Sentencing of Jean-Baptiste and Kenet, <https://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/12309>.

dwelling on the grounds of one of their enslavers. In response to enslaved people's illegal gatherings, the French Superior Council would respond with punishments by whipping. The *Code Noir* also states that if an enslaved person frequently neglected this law, they would be branded with a fleur de lis and would receive further punishment at the discretion of the Council.³⁶ While there are many questions needing answers, it is unlikely that their names appear again within the historical record, leaving these questions unanswered.

Demand for Emancipation from the Jung-Lorreins Enslavers

On September 7, 1781, Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Luisa appealed to the New Orleans Spanish Judiciary for their emancipation from the Jung-Lorreins enslavers.

Setting the court case in motion, Catalina informed the Spanish Judiciary that her enslaver, Pelagia Jung-Lorreins, promised to free her and five other enslaved people after her death. According to the Spanish Judiciary court case, Catalina “the Congo negress, slave of the late Mrs. Brasilier, say(s) that in accordance with a clause in the will of their late owner, just as soon as her death took place the slaves named therein must be set free.”³⁷

After Catalina's appeal to the court, the Spanish Judiciary notary collected a copy of the last will and testament of Pelagia Jung-Lorreins. The will stated that Pelagia's estate consisted of

36. (1724) *Louisiana's Code Noir*, BlackPast.org, Accessed December 2, 2021, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/louisianas-code-noir-1724/>.

37. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, “1781-09-07-01,” Succession of Pelagia Lorreins, Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans, LA. <http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/14596>. Translated by Laura L. Porteous, “Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI,” *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

twenty-four enslaved people and a small plantation along Bayou St. John. Within her will, Pelagia emancipated Alexis, Luis, Opal, Catalina, Maria Luisa, and the latter's child, Francisca.³⁸

Being correct in her claim, the Spanish Judiciary asked Catalina to explain her situation further. Catalina argued that though Pelagia's will emancipated men, women, and children from her plantation and family, Pelagia's brother, Carlos Lorreins Tarrascon, refused to follow through on their liberation. Catalina stated that Carlos Lorreins Tarrascon, the executor and guardian of Pelagia's estate, kept them enslaved, only promising emancipation after they finished the upcoming harvest.³⁹ Knowing her rights detailed through her enslaver's will, Catalina appealed to the Spanish Judiciary for her and the other enslaved people's immediate freedom.

To support Catalina's accusation of Carlos Lorreins Tarrascon's illicit behavior, Carlota shared with the court her story as well. Carlota stated that she reported Pelagia's death to Pelagia's husband, Andres Jung. After hearing the news, Carlota saw Tarrascon steal "the keys of the armoire and chest and left immediately for the Bayou with a cutlass under his arm and also that it was he who had removed money which was locked up."⁴⁰ Carlota explained that she informed Tarrascon's actions to Jung, and in doing so Tarrascon had "taken revenge upon her

38. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, "1781-09-07-01." Translated by Laura L. Porteous, "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

39. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, "1781-09-07-01." Translated by Laura L. Porteous, "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

40. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, "1781-09-07-01." Translated by Laura L. Porteous, "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

and punished her frequently.”⁴¹ Carlota asked that, while Tarrascon drew up the emancipation papers, spearheaded by Catalina’s testimony, that she be removed from “Tarrascon’s power and to deliver her to Andres Jung.”⁴² The Spanish Judiciary not only granted Carlota’s request, but they also ordered that Carlos Tarrascon to draw up the acts of emancipation within one day.⁴³

Before the end of the court testimonies, another enslaved woman, Maria Luisa advocated for herself as well. Maria Luisa requested from the Spanish Judiciary that alongside the emancipation papers given to her, that she also be given a certified copy of Pelagia Lorrein’s will and that a copy be delivered to her after the court hearing. The court granted her request.

Each of these women show that emancipation was critical to freedom within their lives and the lives of other enslaved people. But, what these women’s stories expose are that enslaved people understood, and needed to understand, the legal systems in which they were held. Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Louisa’s advocacies and petitions to the Spanish Judiciary highlight enslaved people’s knowledge of laws that impacted their possibilities for freedom. In *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places*, Kimberly Hanger argues that many enslaved people sought freedom through the New Orleans Spanish Judiciary because it allowed slightly more advantages for

41. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, “1781-09-07-01.” Translated by Laura L. Porteous, “Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI,” *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

42. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, “1781-09-07-01.” Translated by Laura L. Porteous, “Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI,” *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

43. The New Orleans Spanish Judiciary, September 7, 1781, “1781-09-07-01.” Translated by Laura L. Porteous, “Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana XLI,” *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (January 1934): 213-218.

enslaved people than previously experienced under French rule.⁴⁴ Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Louisa used this flexibility to their advantage to demand emancipation.

With Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Louisa's home location within today's City Park, they would have also experienced an intersection of urban and rural enslavement as Kenet did. Through their accessibility to the Quarter, Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Louisa may have picked up news from other enslaved people or free people of color on the emancipation laws of Spanish New Orleans. Though both set in New York, both Dr. Andrea Mosterman in *Spaces of Enslavement* and Dr. Rebecca Hall in *Wake*, describe life for enslaved people in an urban setting. Both give examples of how enslaved people passed information in alleyways, at markets, and within their daily routines walking to and from their homes of enslavement. Both Hall and Mosterman demonstrate how enslaved people used this urban space to create acts of resistance. So too could this be true of Catalina, Carlota, and Maria Louisa with their back-and-forth interactions between the rural and urban settings.

Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers in *They Were Her Property* also argues that many enslaved people needed to know how wills and contracts worked because "enslaved people were among the most affected."⁴⁵ Jones-Rogers argues that enslaved people understood how their enslavers dealt with debts, renting practices, mortgages, and inheritance practices. "Enslaved people were knowledgeable about property and legal claims to it, both as chattel and as property owners in their own right."⁴⁶

44. Kimberly Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bound Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 54.

45. Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 39.

46. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property*, 39.

This knowledge can be seen in each of Catalina's, Carlota's, and Maria Luisa's requests and testimonies. Catalina understood that Carlos Tarrascon was supposed to emancipate her and the other enslaved people immediately after Pelagia's death. Carlota knew that she could appeal to the Spanish Judiciary for their emancipation as well as incriminate Carlos Tarrascon bolstering the group's emancipation appeal. Maria Luisa understood that documentation of all court and notarial dealings was imperative to her future proof of emancipation. Carlota, Maria Luisa, and Catalina used their knowledge of laws and Pelagia's will to secure their community's freedom. These enslaved women also formed resistance to slavery through their active demands for liberation and brought Carlos Tarrascon's violent actions to the forefront.

While colonial documents of New Orleans hold a large portion of Carlota, Maria Luisa and Catalina's story, there are hundreds more enslaved stories related to New Orleans City Park. Unfortunately, these documents do not provide the extensive details as noted above but are still invaluable to City Park's history and the subsequent argument of story-telling and symbolic reparations of enslaved people. The charts below tell how many men, women, and children were enslaved within today's New Orleans City Park.

ENSLAVED PEOPLE OF CITY PARK BY GENDER

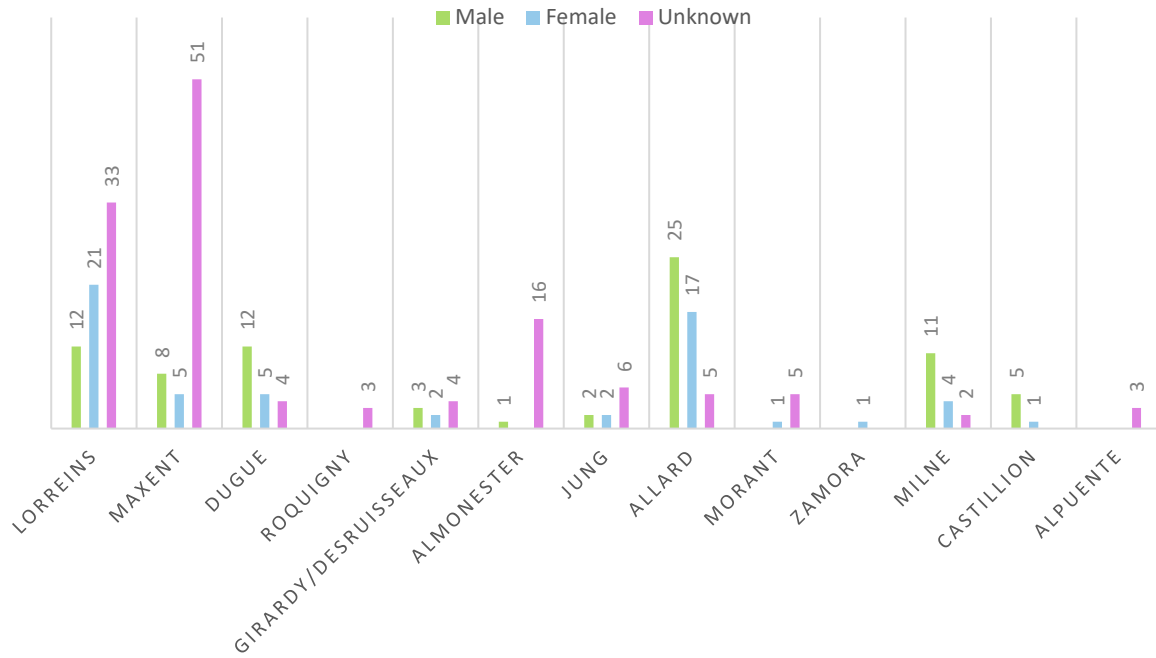


Figure 6: This data chart of enslaved people organized by enslaver and gender comes from the database of enslaved people featured in Appendix A.

ENSLAVED PEOPLE OF CITY PARK AGES

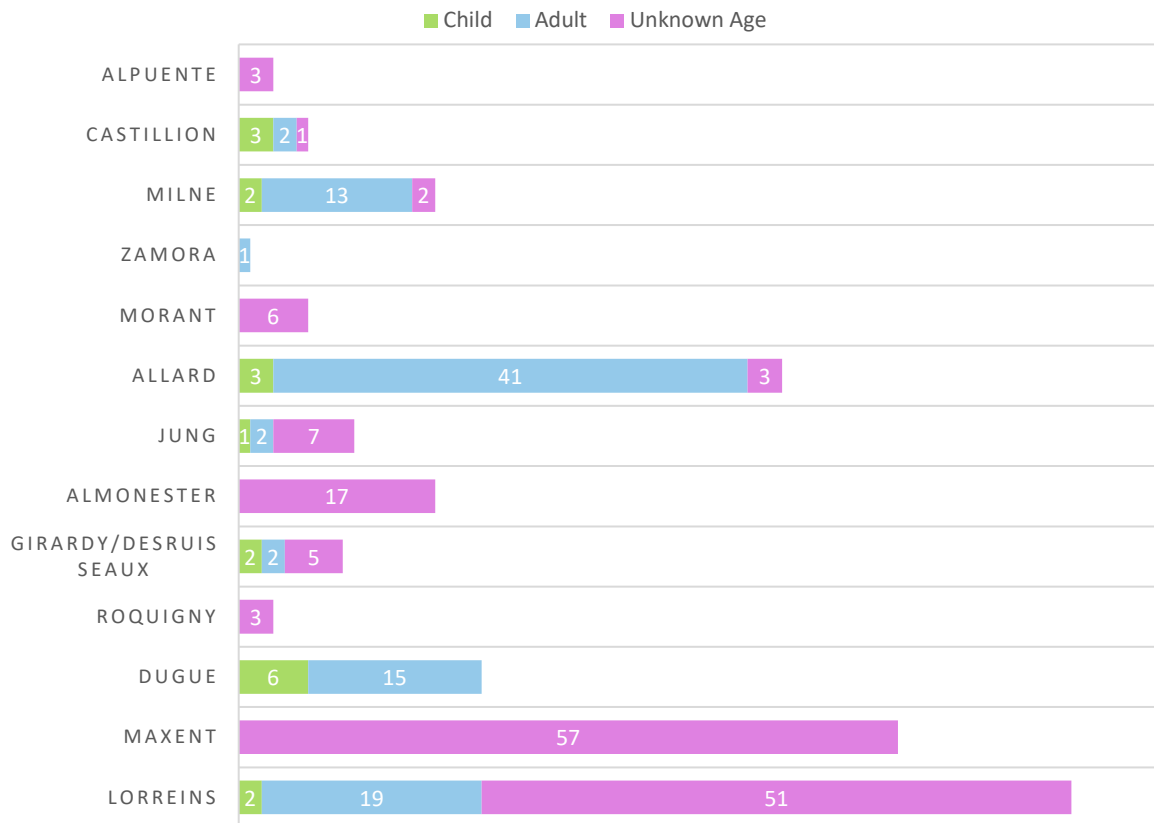


Figure 7: This chart delineates the ages of enslaved people within the plantations of New Orleans City Park. Children in this chart range from infant to ten years old. It is important to note that though considered “children,” many enslaved children still carried out many forms of labor from lighting stoves to working the sugarcane in rural settings. This data chart of enslaved people organized by enslaver and age comes from the database of enslaved people featured in Appendix A.

A Note on This Research

The names Kenet, Catalina, Alexis, Luis, Opal, Carlota, Maria Luisa, Francisca, are only eight of the 266 enslaved people related to today's New Orleans City Park.⁴⁷ Though it is impossible to determine if every enslaved person lived and labored only within the Bayou St. John area, since enslavers could have owned multiple plantation properties, it is likely that most of these people interacted with today's City Park land in some capacity. For some, enslaved people may have delivered goods from one enslaver's plantation to another. For enslaved women who labored in close proximity of the enslavers by taking care of children or the family as a whole, it is likely they would travel with the family as they journeyed to their multiple homes. This work comes from researching the small fragments of documents that historians must piece together to create a fuller historical picture. Regardless of where enslaved people lived, enslavers expected enslaved people to labor in various capacities that may have required them to travel to and within City Park land.

In conjunction with this note, I would also like to state my intentions of telling specifically the stories of enslaved women within this thesis. As shown in the historiography, the history of enslaved women has only begun to be told in the schema of historical research. Women have often been ignored, though their labor, acts of resistance, and lives are not only unique in their abilities to use kinship and their bodies in many ways, but are imperative to the history of slavery.

47. The other stories of enslaved people related to City Park can be viewed in the live database described in Appendix A.

Reclaiming New Orleans City Park

The stories of enslaved women related to the land of New Orleans City Park are ones of claimed agency, freedom, and resistance. Their stories are imperative to reclaiming the City Park space for the New Orleans public. Before reclamation of space can begin, communities must understand what space means, where the space originated from and where it is headed.

The stories of Carlota, Catalina, and Kenet, their strength and resistance, are thoughtful examples for future public reclamation work within New Orleans City Park. Public reclamation work can only begin when park organizations create symbolic reparations. According to art historians Robin Greely, Michael Orwicz, Jose Falconi, Ana Reyes, Fernando Rosenberg and Lisa Laplante, symbolic reparations are tangible actions of justice in the forms of monuments, commemorative sites, memory museums, and renaming of public spaces.⁴⁸ These historians state that symbolic reparations also involve “more performative or ephemeral gestures of recognition and atonement, such as public apologies, annual ceremonies and rituals or performances.”⁴⁹ In other words, symbolic reparations serve as an expression to addressing historical violence and act as a “powerful aid to remembering the events that resulted in human rights violations, keeping alive the memory of the victims and to raising public awareness.”⁵⁰ While there are pitfalls involved with symbolic reparations, using this model for City Park could provide an

48. Robin Adele Greely, Michael R. Orwicz, Jose Luis Falconi, Ana Maria Reyes, Fernando J. Rosenberg, and Lisa J. Laplante, “Repairing Symbolic Reparations: Assessing the Effectiveness of Memorialization in the Inter-American System of Human Rights” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 14, no 1 (March 2020): 165-192, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijaa002>, 166.

49. Greely, Orwicz, Falconi, Reyes, Rosenberg, and Laplante “Repairing Symbolic Reparations, 166.

50. Greely, Orwicz, Falconi, Reyes, Rosenberg, and Laplante “Repairing Symbolic Reparations, 167.

avenue of public truth telling through methods such as educational courses and historical markers.

This act, to create symbolic reparations, would not only teach the public about the landscape's history, but will allow for the reclamation of space. In other words, symbolic reparations will allow the community to learn, question, recognize the City Park space in new lights, elevate silenced voices, and foster new connections to the now and historical communities that have shared this space. This reclamation work for the City Park space requires extensive reviews of the space's harmful effects on historical communities including those of the enslaved, Indigenous people, and those effected by segregation and desegregation. By starting with the stories of Carlota, Catalina, and Kenet, and the many others delineated within the database, City Park can make a small step to space reclamation work for enslaved descendants, African-American and Black communities.

But what can symbolic reparations look like within public spaces like New Orleans City Park? One version City Park could implement are historical markers. While there are many types of historical markers City Park could adopt, the example set forth by Lika Mutal in Lima, Peru, would be particularly engaging for the public. In 2005, artist Lika Mutal resisted Campo de Marte's erection of military monuments in a public park which eulogized the nation's victories and memorialized the country's recent traumatic past.⁵¹ As a symbolic reparation for those impacted by these violences, Lika Mutal created an extensive maze of 32,000 round stones that held the names, dates of death, and ages of the victims killed by Peru's historical violence. Some stones were blank to represent those whose identities remained lost to historians and the public.

51. Greely, Orwicz, Falconi, Reyes, Rosenberg, and Laplante "Repairing Symbolic Reparations, 180.

Greely, Orwicz, Falconi, Reyes, Rosenberg and Laplante, state that “like many contemporary memorials, the *Ojo que Lloro*’s collective grouping of names evokes the massive impact of the conflict while maintaining a sense of individual loss and trauma.”⁵² This example of symbolic reparation created history storytelling and community education through memorialization, art, and an inventive historical marker.

By adapting a version of Lika Mutal’s work that combines storytelling with park and nature features, City Park could create new relationships with local Black artists that would allow for a public acknowledgement of the landscape history and also reclaim that particular art space for Black communities. It would also allow new funding for Black artists and promote their art within the wider public.

Another New Orleans local example of symbolic reparations that could serve as a method for City Park’s reclamation process comes from Paper Monuments. Paper Monuments served the New Orleans community as a public art and public history project. The mission of Paper Monuments is to uplift the voices of New Orleanians as a thoughtful process towards creating new narratives and symbols for the city that honor erased histories, people, places and

52. Greely, Orwicz, Falconi, Reyes, Rosenberg, and Laplante “Repairing Symbolic Reparations, 182.

movements.⁵³ Incorporating the arts and stories from all ages and identities, Paper Monuments created posters that featured New Orleans people, places, events, and movements and distributed them all over the city. Paper Monuments posted these historical markers within schools, libraries, bookstores, as well as wheatpasted and installed the markers within public spaces.⁵⁴ Their mission, in creating these markers, was to provide visual representations of historical stories that have been missing from the public view.

Because Paper Monuments is already established as a local project that brings artists, students, and historians together, City Park could request a special Paper Monuments exhibit within the park's space. This collaboration could lead to future historical and art exhibits within the park grounds, reclaiming the landscape for all types of community members: artists, K-12 students, LGBTQIA+ community members, and of course Black community members.



Figure 8: Paper Monument of the John McDonough Day Boycott. Art design by Shoshana Gordon.

<https://www.papermonuments.org/work>

53. "About Paper Monuments," About, Paper Monuments, accessed November 8, 2021, <https://www.papermonuments.org/aboutus>.

54. "About Paper Monuments," About, Paper Monuments.

Conclusion

While the Friends of City Park could imagine a variety of symbolic reparations for the space, there is a group within their own grounds who have already implemented their own reparations and provided space for reclamation: Grow Dat Youth Farm. As introduced within the thesis introduction, Grow Dat's commits itself to teaching students of all ages about farming, leadership and the history of the City Park land.

The most somber portion of the December 9th *History of the Land* tour came when the teen leaders led us to a small shack surrounded by shrubs and brush with the laminated stories of Kenet and Catalina hanging from the shack walls. After reading these resilient women's stories, the leaders asked us to share our reactions. Many were surprised that Kenet's story ended tragically and violently, expecting a success story like that of Catalina. I asked the group why they expected Catalina's narrative ending but not Kenet's. Participants stated that many public talks regarding enslavement focus on resistance and have "happy endings." The juxtaposition between the sounds of play and joy within the park with the shock of participants from such a violent story was palpable. In this moment, the youth leader spoke up stating that stories like Catalina's were rarer and that most enslaved people's stories, while actively resisting and opposing slavery, ended in violence and brutality. The youth leader ended the enslavement section on how remnants of slavery are still prevalent today, referencing prison labor, racial disparities of those imprisoned, and a particular note on the Angola Plantation, which is now the Louisiana State Penitentiary.⁵⁵

55. Daniele Selby, "How the 13th Amendment Kept Slavery Alive: Perspectives from the Prison Where Slavery Never Ended," *The Innocence Project*, September 17, 2021, accessed February 10, 2022, <https://innocenceproject.org/13th-amendment-slavery-prison-labor-angola-louisiana/#>.

Later, the leaders asked us to reflect on all that we learned while on the hike. Using large paper and markers, the youth leaders asked us to dream about what City Park could do to include more education and accessibility to all community members surrounding the history of the land. This moment gave our group to create new ideas of symbolic reparations including monuments, story-telling and art that tell the stories of those enslaved across the City Park land.

By engaging with the stories of enslaved people through conversation, reflection, and education, the Grow Dat Youth Farm leaders provided their own symbolic reparations in the storytelling and addressing of the historical violence of slavery through the stories of Kenet and Catalina. This questioning, learning, and recognition of the park's history led to a newfound reclamation of City Park grounds, for me and others. By understanding the history of a beloved space, reconciling, and wrestling with the space's past, I was able to come into a holistic space that recognized the ones who suffered, toiled, and made the grounds accessible for the city today, while also holding an appreciation for the utilization of a space for beauty, fun, and community building.

Grow Dat's example of reparations provided through their *History of the Land* curriculum highlights this thesis's goal: that historical storytelling, as one form of symbolic reparation within public spaces, will facilitate reclamation and reinterpretation of space. In implementing examples set forth by Grow Dat Youth Farm, visitors and members of City Park can begin to reclaim the park space as one for all people, past and present.

Through the extensive evidence of plantation history and the telling of enslaved women's stories, this thesis aimed to provide a new light into the park's history for the park's own creation of symbolic reparations to enslaved people. This thesis provided steps and examples for how City Park organizations can acknowledge their history of violence and slavery. Though

acknowledgement could take many forms, this thesis provided specific examples of how other public historians and artists have shared their own hidden histories through art, monuments, and story-telling. In City Park's building of their own symbolic reparations, the New Orleans community can begin to reclaim the City Park space as one that is multi-faceted: a past space that enslaved people cultivated, lived, and labored, and the today space that is used for recreation, education, and storytelling.

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Appendix A

The link provided at the bottom of this appendix is the public facing project paired alongside this thesis for Grow Dat Youth Farm and the public at large. The link will take viewers to a website that features a database of the enslaved people related to New Orleans City Park, a GIS mapping of the plantation lands within the park space, and New Orleans Historical adaptations of the enslaved stories featured within this thesis. There are also elements of material culture found in City Park archeological reports.

This website is to further Grow Dat's ongoing reparation work and is updated frequently.

Link: <https://sites.google.com/view/enslaved-stories/home?authuser=0>



Image Source: This is a screenshot of the ongoing website entitled *Enslaved Stories of Today's New Orleans City Park* featuring educational materials for Grow Dat Youth Farm and the public at large.

Website Citation: Dutra, Kalie. *Enslaved Stories of Today's New Orleans City Park*. Google Sites 2021. Accessed March 17, 2022. <https://sites.google.com/view/enslaved-stories/home?authuser=0>.

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Vita

Kalie Ann Rhodes was born in Shreveport, Louisiana. She received a Bachelor of Music with an emphasis on instrumental music education from Murray State University in 2016. She also received a Master of Divinity from Vanderbilt University in 2020. In 2016 to 2017, Kalie taught music at Klondike Preparatory Academy (K-5) in Memphis, Tennessee. In 2017, Kalie served at West End Methodist Church as the assistant youth coordinator. In 2018, Kalie served as a ministerial intern at Vine Street Christian Church in Nashville, Tennessee for a two-year term. In August of 2020, Kalie started her second master's program at the University of New Orleans in the Public History program with an emphasis in eighteenth and nineteenth century New Orleans slavery.