From Native Ground to Underground: Political & Rival Cultural Landscapes at the Arkansas Post, 1686-1850

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tessa Annette Neblett Evans
May 2020

Copyright © 2020 by Tessa Annette Neblett Evans
All rights reserved.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Peggy Jo Phillips Neblett (1925-1967)

Acknowledgments

There are many people I'd like to thank for their contribution to the completion of this dissertation. I am fortunate to have had the support of a dynamic group of scholars at the University of Tennessee who are experts in their respective fields. Drs. Kristen Block (Atlantic history), Robert Bland (African American history), Barbara Heath (historical archaeology), and Julie Reed (Native American history) provided me with invaluable insights, sound advice, and tough questions that prepared me to share my research with the wider academic world. My committee showed me that collaboration is a necessary and rewarding part of scholarly work. I can't thank them adequately for all the time and energy they devoted to this project, but I hope they are aware of my sincere appreciation.

I am indebted to the generosity of several institutions. A grant from Dr. David Stricklin of the Butler Center for Arkansas Studies funded my first official research trip to Little Rock. I was fortunate to attend a workshop on the Spanish Colonial Borderlands at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, organized by Drs. Alejandra Dubcovsky and Steven Hackel. While there, I was also able to conduct research and receive excellent feedback on my chapter. The Newberry Library in Chicago awarded me a short-term fellowship where I was able to complete a substantial amount of research (at their massive collections). All of this work contributed to the final dissertation. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the Humanities Center at the University of Tennessee, whose fellowship allowed me to finish researching and writing this dissertation. Thank you especially to Dr. Amy Elias and Mrs. Joan Murray for creating such a pleasant and productive workspace, making it an enjoyable process to finish the dissertation. I will miss my time at the Center, especially my office there.

I want to extend a special thank you to my colleagues and friends in Arkansas. Mrs. Sarah Merchant, Clerk of the Arkansas County Courthouse in Dewitt, Arkansas, provided invaluable help with the Arkansas County records and Arkansas history in general. She was able to track down deeds, plats, wills and inventories, answered my emails, and showed enthusiasm about my project from the beginning. Judge Morris S. Arnold is the resident expert on all things Arkansas, and I am grateful to him for answering my questions, pointing me to sources, and providing the most comprehensive and detailed histories of early Arkansas. His work on Arkansas made my dissertation possible. Mr. Eric Ditzler and the other Park Rangers at the Arkansas Post Memorial in Gillett, answered questions via email, sent me scanned documents from the Post's library, and showed me where to find the Menard-Hodges site on one of my many visits to the Post Memorial. Mrs. Ernestine Wallis, president of the Jefferson County Historical Society, shared invaluable primary sources published by the historical society, including early colonial baptism records and other collections of colonial documents. Dr. Stuart Townes offered me encouragement early in my graduate career. He gave me the opportunity to present my preliminary findings at the St. Francis Historical Society meetings in Forrest City, Arkansas. And finally, Ms. Ree Routon was the ultimate host who not only offered me lodging when I stayed in Little Rock, but also drove me across southeastern Arkansas (from Little Rock to Pine Bluff, to the Arkansas Post, to Lake Village, and back to Little Rock) in the unending search for historic sites and museums. The support I received from these very special people was unparalleled.

Last, but certainly not least, I owe my family a huge debt of gratitude for their unwavering support and love throughout this long process. Thank you to my parents, Annette and Bill, my siblings, Emma Kate and Gray, and my partner Austin, for listening to me discuss

this project at length for the last several years. I couldn’t have completed this project without you all.

Abstract

This dissertation is an historical landscape study of the Arkansas Post, which is located in southeastern Arkansas at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers. I look at how diverse groups of people—including Native Americans, Europeans, and people of African descent—created radical counter-geographies in a small, highly disputed part of early America, from its colonial inception in 1686 until 1850. I analyze how people with archival power (Europeans and slaveholders, for instance) endeavored to create political landscapes at the Arkansas Post, and how those without the power to influence the historical narrative (enslaved people, free people of African descent, and Native Americans) reacted to these articulations of power. I argue that these people manipulated the same physical landscape to create *rival cultural landscapes*, which not only pushed back against these iterations of political landscapes, but in some cases, curtailed them or rendered them obsolete. I theorize how diverse people interacted with and shaped the political and cultural landscapes in Arkansas by looking at traditional primary sources to see how individuals navigated various historical transformation on the ground—including European colonization, Atlantic revolutions and the expansion of slavery—over two centuries. In doing so, I am able to recover voices of people whose stories have previously been unheard or erased during the construction of the modern political archive. This project aims to reinterpret the history of the Arkansas Post in a new way to bridge Atlantic, Native American, and African American history in a thoughtful, creative manner.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

Summary of the Arkansas Post 1

Methods 3

Sources 10

Chapter Summaries 13

CHAPTER ONE: ADDING RELIEF TO MAPS: THE CREATION OF POLITICAL LANDSCAPES & RIVAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AT THE EUROPEAN ARKANSAS POST 17

The Quapaw Political Landscape 24

The European Political Landscape 39

Indigenous Transfers of Knowledge 48

Intercultural Landscapes at the European Arkansas Post 51

CHAPTER TWO: A MATERIAL NATIVE GROUND: MAINTAINING INDIGENOUS MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE ARKANSAS POST 58

European Observations of the Population of the Arkansas Post 63

Indigenous Material Culture 65

Horses and Indigenous Material Culture 73

Clothing 76

Anglo-American Material Culture 78

The Material Ground in Pine Bluff 81

CHAPTER THREE: RIVAL LANDSCAPES SET IN MOTION: ANTOINE SARRASSIN, PLANTATION LANDSCAPES, AND *LA CYPRIÈRE* 88

History of Pointe Coupée 93

Antoine Sarrassin 96

The Plantation as Political Landscape & Rival Cultural Landscapes 105

Rival Cultural Landscapes Set in Motion: The 1791 Mina Conspiracy and the 1795 Pointe Coupée Conspiracy 114

Possible Rival Cultural Landscapes at the Arkansas Post? 130

CHAPTER FOUR: FORGING ATLANTIC CONNECTIONS: FUGITIVE SLAVE ACTIVITY IN ARKANSAS AND THE WIDER ATLANTIC WORLD....135
Atlantic Arkansas....139
Fleeing to "Spanish" Spaces—but Which?....141
Navigating Spaces in the Atlantic World: New Orleans and Its Opportunities for Freedom-Seekers....148
Tools for Freedom in Atlantic Creole Worlds....155
Maps & Compasses as Technologies to Abscond....158
Steamboats and Fugitivity....161
Applying Environmental Knowledge to Successfully Escape....169
CHAPTER FIVE: DISPOSSESSION FROM THE LANDSCAPE: FORCED INDIAN REMOVAL AND SLAVE FUGITIVITY....179
Indian Removal and Fugitivity....181
Native Americans in Arkansas Before Removal....186
Arkansas Post: The Center for Trail of Tears....194
Tools: Indian Languages....196
Material Culture....202
Conclusion....207
Epilogue....211
BIBLIOGRAPHY....218
Vita....230

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Three Villages Robe, 1749 18
Figure 1.2 Location of the French Arkansas Post, 1744 29
Figure 1.3 The Louisiana territory, 1733 30
Figure 1.4 Detail of the Louisiana territory 31
Figure 1.5 Chicachas in Louisiana territory, 1762 33
Figure 1.6 Natachas destruidos, 1762 37
Figure 1.7 Mappa del Missisipi, 1699 41
Figure 1.8 Detail of Mappa del Missisipi 41
Figure 1.9 La Luisiana, 1762 43
Figure 1.10 Plano del Fuerte de San Carlos de Arkansas, 1796 47
Figure 1.11 Deer and Buffalo, 1717 50
Figure 2.1 Tah-Chee, a Cherokee Chief, 1836 58
Figure 2.2 Se-Quo-Yah, 1836 68
Figure 2.3 Mo-Hon-Go, Osage Woman, 1836 86
Figure 3.1 (a) Location of Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée, 1861 89
Figure 3.1 (b) Pointe Coupée, 1743 89
Figure 3.2 False River, 1765 95
Figure 3.3 Etienne Vasseau Plantation Plat, 1818 107
Figure 3.4 Joseph DeCuir Plantation Plat, 1802 108
Figure 3.5 Claudio Trénonay Plantation Plat, 1787 111
Figure 3.6 Pierre Fabre Plantation Plat, no date 116
Figure 3.7 Pedro Goudeau Plantation Plat, 1801 125
Figure 3.8 Martin Bourgeaut Plantation Plat, 1803 126
Figure 4.1 Pocket Map of Arkansas, 1847 160
Figure 4.2 Arkansas Post and Montgomery's Point, 1863 165
Figure 4.3 Mouth of the Arkansas River, 1846 166
Figure 4.4 Bayou Crocodile, 1833 171
Figure 4.5 Alligator Lake, 1825 172
Figure 4.6 Alligator Location at Arkansas Post, 1801 174
Figure 4.7 Bayou Bartholomew, 1839 175
Figure 5.1 The Arkansas Post, 1832 179
Figure 5.2 Napoleon, Arkansas, 1845 200
Figure 5.3 Another view of Napoleon, Arkansas, 1871 201

Introduction

This dissertation is an historical landscape study of the Arkansas Post, located in present-day southeastern Arkansas at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers. In this "biography of a place,"[1] I analyze how diverse groups of people—Native Americans, Europeans, and people of African descent—carved out spaces for themselves in a small, highly-disputed part of early America, from its colonial inception in 1686 until the 1850s. I look at how people who had the power to influence the archive (Spanish and French settlers, and subsequent Anglo-American slaveholders) endeavored to create political power at the Arkansas Post, and analyze how the Quapaw people retained power and sovereignty over their territory in spite of colonization. I then analyze how those without the means to influence the historical narrative (enslaved people, free people of African descent, and Native Americans) reacted to these articulations of power, including enslaved people and free people of African descent. Enslaved people responded to the rise of plantation slavery at the Arkansas Post, and used the physical location of the Post in their endeavors to engage in everyday acts of resistance, and even leave the plantation networks completely. This dissertation ends with the culmination of enslaved people running away from Arkansas plantations in higher frequency during the era of Forced Indian Removal.

Summary of the Arkansas Post

The Arkansas Post makes for a fruitful historical study for several reasons. To begin, the social and political history of the Arkansas Post unfolded differently than in other parts of early America based on the fact that cotton expansion, slavery, and capitalism came late to the Arkansas Post in comparison to other parts of the South. Because the landscape was not

[1] Martin D. Gallivan, "Powhatan's Werocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, CE 1200-1609" *American Anthropologist* 109, no. 1 (2007): 86.

transformed into a cotton-based plantation landscape until the 1830s and 1840s, I argue that the Arkansas Post remained a "native ground" dominated by the Quapaw people up until the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, French and Quapaw people created close ties and family networks that created a unique native ground at the Arkansas Post. Not only did French and Quapaw people share similar material culture since they both lived at this remote post, but the two groups of people lived similarly: they had small plots of land where they grew some crops, but mostly hunted and trapped animals to engage in the fur trade. Indeed, the fur trade dominated the economy of the Arkansas Post, and many Southeastern Indians came to Arkansas to continue hunting game, like bear, raccoon, and buffalo, when game supplies were diminishing in the southeast.[2] The Arkansas Post remained a native ground for many different groups of Native Americans—not just for the Quapaw people—but as we shall see, many other Southeastern Indians were able to use the Arkansas region to fit their individual needs during intense times of political and social changes in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

Enslaved people who lived at the Arkansas Post occupied a unique position, as well. Because they lived near the Arkansas and Mississippi, enslaved people had access to Atlantic communication networks, which gave them information from other Atlantic port cities, notably New Orleans. Additionally, these enslaved people had access to a surprising amount of mobility living at a hydraulic crossroads, and could access spaces—like New Orleans, Natchez, and other port cities in the Atlantic world—from the fringes of the plantations where they lived. These Atlantic connections greatly influenced how slavery unfolded at the Arkansas Post, as we shall see, when information about current events unfolding in the Atlantic world made it to the Arkansas Post, and when enslaved people endeavored to leave the plantation network.

[2] Joseph Patrick Key, "Indians and Ecological Conflict in Territorial Arkansas." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2000): 127-46.

The Arkansas Post was unique in other ways in the mid-nineteenth century, since the majority of Southeastern Indians who were forcibly moved west to Indian Territory went through Arkansas.[3] Arkansas, therefore, was a highly-trafficked landscape. African, French, Spanish, and eventually, Anglo-Americans claimed the Arkansas territory as their own, while Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminoles passed through this territory either temporarily or with plans to stay. Enslaved people viewed this tragic moment for Southeastern Indians as an auspicious moment to escape from Arkansas plantations, and there is a dramatic uptick in fugitive slave activity in the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the 1830s and 1840s.

Methods

The nature of this project—studying people who did not have the power to influence or preserve their own narrative—demands a different approach than when engaging with the traditional archive. As historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot argued, archives, including the documents they housed and the physical structures themselves, were and remain imbalanced entities, since only a small, select group of people were able to write, shape, and collect the documents that would be saved and organized for future historians.[4] Those who had the power to shape and inform the archive, which privileged race, status, and gender, effectively reduced other people's histories, and even erased lives, leaving only fragmentary evidence and obscure details buried in the margins. These elite people had the power to save the sources they wanted, and ignore the stories of others, thus erasing large parts of history. People with this power to arrange, organize, and preserve documents and other historical sources played a key role in how

[3] I use the term "native ground" from Kathleen DuVal's monumental work *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).
[4] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

historians continue to write and conduct history today. What options, then, do historians have to try and fill these silences, and write better histories?

Contemporary historians who have written about the politics of the archive and followed Trouillot's approach, most notably Marisa Fuentes, Kristen Block, and Jenny Shaw, offer several suggestions on how to approach the imbalances of the archive, and how to engage with the archive critically to destabilize its colonial power that still affects the way historians write history today. One of the first steps in critically destabilizing the archive is recognizing that it is a flawed, incomplete entity that was created and shaped by those who held economic and political power.[5] Although the native ground existed in southeastern Arkansas, it shifted throughout the nineteenth century to favor Anglo-American power structures, thus influencing how the archive was created and maintained.

Historians can read traditional sources—like wills, probate inventories, and legal cases—from a different perspective to destabilize the forces that created the colonial archive and its imbalances. Historian Jenny Shaw gives us an example of this method in motion with the example of probate inventories from Caribbean plantations. Instead of focusing on what these probate inventories reveal about the owner of these objects (since we can glean from his probate inventory that he was wealthy and was active in agricultural pursuits), what happens if we reorient the purpose of the inventory to look for more historical characters? We can try to answer how these objects may have affected the everyday, lived experiences of an enslaved individual who lived on that particular plantation and used that particular object. For instance, a list of knives and machetes for the purpose of cutting sugar cane suggested the danger and intensity of

[5] Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 5.

harvesting sugar, that would have led to cuts and accidents in the field for enslaved workers.[6] Furthermore, a sugar refinery with horses suggested the knowledge and careful attention to detail that an enslaved person must have possessed in order to work this large machinery, and the risk of injury and harm that could easily manifest if he or she were not careful or familiar with this technology. These objects listed in a terse inventory can reveal insight into how people who lived and worked on these plantations performed their assigned tasks, and perhaps even how they constructed their lives—even if they are not explicitly mentioned in the document.

Another way to destabilize the archive is to use names. Using the names of individual people wherever possible, in spite of the fact that those who created the document wanted their identities to be reduced to "slave" or "Indian" to take away their story and personhood is another way to destabilize the colonial erasure of people's history. That is why in this dissertation, whenever possible, I employ the names of people whose identities were diminished—even if it seems repetitive at times, and pronouns would suffice—to reinsert their stories into the craft of writing history, and to make a more inclusive historical narrative. If we do not critically engage with the archive and question its development and historical baggage, then we as historians are reproducing its colonial power. Historians have an ethical duty to change how history is done, and we must modify how we use the archives and mine sources to tell a more holistic, inclusive history of people whose voices have been unheard for centuries.

In order to make some of these silences speak, we can also ask specific questions about what omissions were made in documents such as: when a cartographer penned a map, what were his motivations? Who helped him gather knowledge when making these maps, and did local guides or informants he worked with withhold information? What do these silences in the

[6] Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013), 74-78.

archive mean? There are many silences in my research surrounding enslaved life at the Arkansas Post. If there are no extant court cases or slave testimonies about specific individual slaves at the Arkansas Post, I can look for fragments of slave life in various documents—in baptism records, in wills and probate inventories, in letters and correspondence between slaveowners, in fugitive slave advertisements, and in maps which may have illustrated where enslaved people lived and worked. This allows me to create some semblance of a narrative of a group of people whose stories have been diminished purposefully. Reorienting the gaze of the document from its creator (most likely a wealthy Anglo or European-American) to that of an enslaved person, or a woman, or an Indigenous person, aids in the process of historians locating and magnifying the silences and omissions in the colonial archive that have been perpetuated and reiterated for many years.[7] This unique awareness allows me to use traditional sources and uncover stories of people who were less visible in the archive, but no less important in history. This is where informed imagination and historical reconstruction come in to play. All historians use imagination when writing history, though some are hesitant to admit it.[8] Collecting the "minute details of fragmentary lives,"[9] looking for stories in the margins of documents, and asking what was left out of these sources and why, helps make these silences audible.[10]

Critical engagement with the archives has led many historians to explore interdisciplinary approaches. In this dissertation, I use the concept of a historical landscape as a category of analysis. Cultural geographers and anthropologists have endeavored to define what constitutes a landscape: is it simply a space, or a physical environment with geographic features?

[7] Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive,* 45.
[8] Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 5-6.
[9] Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive,* 11.
[10] Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference*, 9.

Archaeologists Kurt Anschuetz, Richard Wilshusen, and Cherie Scheick argue that landscapes instead are cultural expressions ascribed with meaning. They created four principal foundations for a framework for landscape analysis that historians and archaeologists can employ: 1) landscapes are synthetic, which means they are not necessarily the same as natural environments, since humans shape and change them; 2) landscapes are the product of cultures; 3) they are "the arena for all of a community's activities…[and] the milieu in which those populations survive and sustain themselves;" and 4) they are dynamic constructions given meaning that can therefore be "empirically observed and objectively documented." [11] Cultural inscriptions on the landscape include any physical changes or manipulations to the physical space made by humans for a certain purpose, either ideologically driven (a sacred space, church, or monument, for instance) or a serving pragmatic purpose (for example fences, walls, ditches, gardens, trash heaps). By looking at features of the landscape, we can see tangible expressions of culture and political power, and endeavor to untangle the multiple layers of meaning inscribed on landscapes.[12] For example, whereas a surveyor at the Arkansas Post may have labeled a cypress swamp as "inaccessible" or "dismal," we can look to see how another group of people—enslaved people, for instance—viewed and used the same space. I have found that enslaved people did not find these places inaccessible nor dismal, but they viewed these swamps as crucial spaces where they were able exert a modicum of freedom and independence, like we shall see in the chapter on slave resistance in Pointe Coupée.[13]

---

[11] Kurt Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen and Cherie L. Scheick, "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions." *Journal of Archaeological Research* Vol. 9, no. 2. (2001): 161.

[12] John J. Winberry, "The Geographic Concept of Landscape: The History of a Paradigm." In *Carolina's Historical Landscapes* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 1-14.

[13] For more information on swamps, slavery, resistance, and a discussion on how swamps were *not* part of a carceral landscape, see Tessa Evans, "From swamps to swamping: The usage and perceptions of swamps by African-Americans in Antebellum and Postbellum Arkansas and Louisiana" (2014). *Masters Theses*. 196. https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/master201019/196

Landscapes also offer a creative medium to view the creation and contestation of power, since people, regardless of race, gender, or status, interact with the landscape, both historically and contemporarily, and everyone experiences the landscape differently.[14] Landscapes are multidimensional, and we can see how historical processes—like colonization or slavery—unfolded on the ground at a particular place—in this case, the Arkansas Post.[15] As we shall see, the Quapaw people controlled how the French and Spanish were first allowed to settle within the Quapaw political landscape, and the Quapaw continued to curtail and shape how colonization transpired throughout the eighteenth century. As historians and historical archaeologists argue, power dynamics within a space are more complex, fluid, and dynamic than hierarchal (vertical) powered structures. If we think of power relations between groups of people—like enslaved people and slaveowners, or Europeans and Native Americans—as heterarchical, or horizontal, we can see negotiations, concessions, and people sharing and shaping power in a more three-dimensional way than if we simply looked at vertical power relations.[16]

A large part of this dissertation discusses the various iterations of political landscapes. With a political landscape, those with traditional forms of power shape and manipulate the physical landscape to inscribe and naturalize their authority and prestige. Take, for instance, a plantation, which we will see in much greater detail in the next few chapters. On plantations, slave owners sought to control the mobility of their enslaved workers, and used the physical plantation to execute their goals of control and surveillance. Slave owners decided where the slave cabins were built, where the slaves would work on the landscape, and designed the built

[14] Julie King, Mary Kate Mansius, and Scott M. Strickland, "What Towne Belong you to?" Landscape, Colonialism, and Mobility in the Potomac River Valley," *Historical Archaeology* 50, no.1 (2016), 10.
[15] Martin D. Gallivan, "Powhatan's Werocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, CE 1200-1609," *American Anthropologist* 109, no. 1 (2007): 86.
[16] Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 501.

environment of the plantation to surveille the mobility of the enslaved.[17] These plantation landscapes also were infused with power by showing the planter's wealth and prestige.

Although plantation owners were successful in some instances in controlling enslaved people and concentrating the slaveowner's power, there were barriers and limitations to their control, and their power over the landscape was never finite nor complete. Archaeologists Kosiba and Bauer call these "social fault lines," since slaveowners could build walls and fences, but these walls could always be climbed over.[18] Additionally, the diverse groups of people living on plantations could always use the plantation landscape in ways that were not intended by the plantation owner, like traversing on non-authorized passages to visit families and other farms, or trading with a Native American in the swamps and bayous for trade goods not provisioned on the plantation.[19] These are instances in which an enslaved person manipulated the political landscape to create a *rival cultural* landscape. Some historians, like Rashauna Johnson, argued that enslaved and free people of African descent in New Orleans acquired a sophisticated geographic literacy in order to maneuver the free and often unfree Atlantic World.[20] Stephanie Camp referred to these acts of resistance as the creation of a "rival geography." An example would be an enslaved person cultivating his or her own garden within the plantation landscape, or an Indigenous person continuing to visit a sacred space that had been appropriated by Europeans. This dissertation finds instances in the historical record, like these mentioned above, in which marginalized people challenged, shaped, and cultivated a unique geographic literacy to change

[17] Steve Kosiba and Andrew M. Bauer, "Mapping the Political Landscape: Toward a GIS Analysis of Environment and Social Difference," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20 (2013): 61-101.
[18] Steve Kosiba and Andrew M. Bauer, "Mapping the Political Landscape: Toward a GIS Analysis of Environment and Social Difference," 94.
[19] Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 518.
[20] Rashauna Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 2016), 71.

the political landscape and make their own *rival cultural landscape* or landscape on a shared or disputed space.[21] By using the landscape as a category of analysis, we can view how *all* members of society crafted lives in a particular place at a particular time, and we therefore get a more inclusive and more detailed narrative to analyze how history unfolded at the Arkansas Post.

Sources

The sources I use reflect my desire to include as many voices as possible in writing a historical narrative of the Arkansas Post. In the first part of my work, I use French and Spanish court records from the French Superior Courts and the Spanish Judicial records, which were created by French and Spanish colonists and housed in New Orleans. These include wills recorded by elite residents, acts of sale of property, inventories of estates, petitions, marriage contracts, receipts, and documents surrounding judicial cases, including depositions, interrogations, testimonies, confrontations, and resolutions.

Fortunately, I am also able to use testimony of enslaved persons from these French and Spanish sources. Notably different than in other parts of the Atlantic world is the fact that enslaved people in Louisiana were allowed to engage in the legal system by acting as witnesses and providing testimony in judicial courts. Therefore, they were active participants in shaping court proceedings during the colonial period. Historian Sophie White has recently written that we ought to consider Louisiana slave testimonies in court cases as a form of narrative, since these voices were shaped by enslaved people themselves.[22] These court records can be used to try to

[21] I have created the term *rival cultural landscape* to denote the landscapes created by people traditionally denied formal types of power (enslaved people, people of African descent and Native Americans) in a colonial and antebellum context.
[22] Sophie White, *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

get at enslaved points of view, in spite of the political nature and imbalances of translating, recording, and writing down their stories.

The Arkansas Post never had a Catholic church or a permanent parish priest, though some extant documents collected by itinerant Catholic priests exist, including baptism records and marriage records. Analyzing these types of documents to see who married whom, whose children were baptized, and which members of the community acted as godparents, including those for enslaved children. Such sources reveal layers of social interactions that we may not see in more formal documents. Omissions in these types of sources are revealing, as well. For example, if the children of a couple are baptized in the Catholic church, but no marriage contract exists for the couple, did that mean the couple was not married, and were simply cohabitating?[23] Did it suggest that the women bearing these children lived as a concubine, and the father had another wife? Some of these questions are certainly unanswerable, but we can make educated guesses about these relationships using other evidence, such as wills, letters, and personal papers of these individuals to try and recreate their families and kinship networks at the Post.

Maps, land grants, plats, and surveyor's notes are invaluable sources in the attempt to understand how French, Spanish, and Anglo-settlers carved out physical spaces in the Louisiana territory over which they endeavored to exert their dominance. Maps are crucial for my dissertation, but it must be noted that they are biased sources. Writing on this subject, archaeologist Aidan O'Sullivan has found that when the English endeavored to colonize Ireland, maps were used as extensions of political control. Landscapes in Ireland were fought over and negotiated—they were spaces where power disputes played out between English settlers and the

[23] See, for example, David Wheat's *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), who looks at networks of godparents and baptisms among enslaved people, or Jane Landers' *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1999).

colonized Irish people.[24] Through cartography, the English wanted to create order and stability of the Irish landscape, since they believed that the Irish landscape was disorderly, wild, and unstable. Therefore, maps were used to destroy Irish identity and traditions, by erasing these features of the landscape in English-produced maps, like Irish sacred spaces and Irish place names. Angèle-Smith has also argued that maps are culturally determined, and work to make cultural products visible.[25] I try to destabilize the inherent colonial power of these European-created maps by thinking of interactions that unfolded on the ground, especially between the cartographer and local informants in North America, who provided key information and knowledge that cartographers included in these maps, even if the local guides and informants are not cited.

Through the dissertation I utilize maps, plats, and land grants to identify specific places on these landscapes where their power might be incomplete or tenuous. Many French land grants in the Louisiana territory included backswamps (*la cyprière*), that were often labeled as "inaccessible" or "dismal." With this knowledge, I then look to find instances in which enslaved people utilized these spaces for their own benefit, and theorize about how access to these spaces within the plantation shaped enslaved life and constituted a crucial part of how individuals challenged the structure of slavery on the ground by focusing in on one specific place within the plantation.

Runaway slave advertisements are another crucial source for my dissertation. We only get one perspective from these advertisements—the point of view of the subscriber or slaveowner. But the information they chose to provide, such as where they believe their enslaved

[24] Aidan O'Sullivan, "Crannogs: Places of Resistance in the Contested Landscapes of Early Modern Ireland," in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001).
[25] Angèle Smith, "Mapped Landscapes: The Politics of Metaphor, Knowledge, and Representation on Nineteenth-Century Irish Ordnance Survey Maps," *Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 1 (2007): 81-91.

individual has gone (an intended trajectory), and what clothing or objects the fugitive took with them when they left, creates a more complete picture of runaway slave activity in Arkansas. Analyzing which newspapers the subscriber chose to place these advertisements for fugitives reveals geographic networks of fugitivity, adding to the picture of an intended trajectory of a fugitive. Seeing how long these advertisements ran, as well, allows us to get a better idea of how long these fugitives remained missing, perhaps indicating that they were ultimately successful in their flights.

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter analyzes what the Native Quapaw landscape looked like before French settlers reached the area by analyzing the Quapaw-created "Three Villages Robe" Buffalo hide cartograph. This chapter then analyzes European-created maps and sources to see how European settlers observed and recorded several major shifts in the Native geopolitical landscape, including the Natchez Revolt of 1729 and the Chickasaw attack on the Arkansas Post in 1749. French and Spanish cartographers transferred the history of the older, Native South onto their sources that depicted how they viewed *their* place in the new North American landscape. European cartographers had to recognize Native concentrations of power and history to then delegitimize or erase it. This chapter also analyzes the Spanish occupation of the Arkansas Post (1763-1802), during which time the Spanish government in New Orleans endeavored to create more rigid political landscapes in their colonial holdings. I analyze the writings and maps created by Spanish officials that sought to keep distance between Native Americans and Spaniards, and I also discuss the transfers of indigenous knowledge onto these Spanish-created maps (although there are fewer Spanish maps than French). Interactions at the Arkansas Post were much more entangled and complex than these political maps portrayed. By looking at baptism records,

marriage records, death records, along with deeds and wills by Europeans settlers, we find French and Spanish men forming intimate connections with Indian women, which created intertwined landscapes that rivaled these political landscapes as envisioned by both Spanish government and the Quapaw cartograph maker.

The second chapter continues the periodization of the colonial Arkansas Post from the late colonial to the early nineteenth century, and seeks to make an historiographical intervention about *when* the end of the native ground occurred at the Arkansas Post. Kathleen DuVal has argued that the economic, political, and territorial native ground held by the Quapaw people in southeastern Arkansas disappeared in the 1820s. This was the decade of massive Anglo-American emigration to Arkansas, who brought enslaved people and capitalistic dreams based on the production of cotton. In order to plant and harvest cotton on a large scale, these Anglo-American planters desired to permanently remove Native Americans, including the Quapaw, and the United States began to make treaties with the Quapaw people in 1818 to dispossess them from their land. I argue in that while the political, economic, and territorial native ground held by the Quapaw people did erode in the 1820s, another native ground remained in southeastern Arkansas that was mediated through material culture. Through consumer practices and self-fashioning, Indigenous people were able to maintain a material native ground in southeastern Arkansas.

The third chapter switches from an emphasis on Native American history to that of African-American history at the Arkansas Post. I compare plantation layouts at the Arkansas Post with the plantation layouts at a nearby colonial outpost in Louisiana, Pointe Coupée. This chapter looks at the role of *la cyprière*, or the cypress swamps within the plantation network in Spanish Louisiana, to see how enslaved people used this particular part of the landscape to

engage in both small-scale resistance and large-scale resistance (including two rebellions at Pointe Coupée). No large-scale rebellions occurred at the Arkansas Post, but this chapter theorizes how enslaved people and free people of African descent in both places would have utilized *la cyprière* for small-scale resistance, and how information about nearby rebellions (and the Haitian Revolution, overall), would have spread to enslaved communities at the Arkansas Post.

Chapter four analyzes fugitive slave activity after the American acquisition of the Post (1804). I argue that the choice to leave the constraints of the plantation landscape is one of the best examples of individuals creating a rival cultural landscape. This chapter discusses how and why enslaved people decided to go where they did, and how this process of fugitivity linked to Atlantic trends of fugitivity. Fugitives often tapped into Atlantic routes to freedom to flee to spaces like New Orleans, and learned to cultivate Atlantic sensibilities to navigate these spaces—be it speaking a different language, knowing how to utilize new technologies like the steamboat and its routes, or masquerading as a free person of African descent in large port cities, like New Orleans, where a vibrant population of freedpeople already lived.

Chapter five combines Native American and African American history at the Post and the greater region of Arkansas during the time of Forced Removal (1820s-1840s). Roughly 60,000 Native Americans were forcefully moved across the Arkansas landscape during this period, and I found, a surge of fugitive slave activity across southeastern Arkansas at the same time. This chapter analyzes how and when enslaved people used this time of political and social upheaval in Arkansas to leave plantations, and what tools they used to abscond successfully: whether dressing like Native Americans or employing Indigenous material culture (buffalo robes and canoes, for example, or utilizing Indigenous language skills to communicate with emigrating

Natives. I then discuss what the new political landscape in Indian Territory would have offered fugitives of African descent—either possible freedom or reenslavement. I end the dissertation with Forced Removal because it provides a narrative arc of people reacting to and shaping the political landscape, and in this case—deciding to leave it entirely. It combines the study of Native American and African American history by using a unique lens—the landscape—which highlights the actions and lives of people whose voices have been muted in the archive, and gives a voice who have previously been unheard.

Untangling these social and cultural interactions in this contested space—a native ground, hydraulic crossroads, and cotton plantation network —makes for a fruitful study that seeks to bridge Atlantic, African American, and Native American history in a thoughtful, creative manner.

Chapter One: Adding Relief to Maps: The Creation of Political Landscapes & Rival Cultural Landscapes at the European Arkansas Post

In 1762, Tomás López de Vargas Machuca, cartographer for the Spanish crown, carefully penned a map of the vast French Louisiana territory, which Spain would lay claim to in the following year. López's intricate map included rivers, bayous, mountains, trade routes, colonial towns, and Indian villages. López did not create this map primarily from his own experience; rather, he noted that he garnered cartographic knowledge from the previous work of French cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, whose 1752 map had already illustrated—in great and exacting detail—France's colonial holdings in Louisiana. D'Anville and López were assigned the task of demonstrating how their respective European countries fit into the new geopolitical North American landscape. López reduced the Native South's complex Indigenous political landscape by labeling for his patron, Charles III, the diverse territory "Luisiana." Indeed, maps like these in the eighteenth century were commissioned with a clear political purpose, and Atlantic empires engaged in a type of "cartographic imperialism"[26] in which colonial officials articulated how they viewed their sovereignty and control of space through mapmaking. Europeans in North America, however, were not the only ones to use maps as political extensions of control or declarations of power over space.

An extant painted Buffalo Hide, called the "Three Villages Robe," represents how the Quapaw people articulated *their* political landscape in southeastern Arkansas. The hide depicts three Quapaw villages near the French Arkansas Post, and was created sometime before 1749,

[26] Robert Paulett uses the term "cartographic imperialism" in his work *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 21.

although its exact origins are unknown. [27] This map had a similar purpose to these European maps: to validate Quapaw dominance and power in their perceived domain (see figure 1.1)



Figure 1.1: "Three Villages Robe", ca. 1749. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The painted hide depicts a scene following a battle, most likely a Quapaw victory over their eighteenth-century rivals on the east side of the Mississippi river, the Chickasaws, with whom the Quapaw fought frequently, calling on their French allies at times for assistance.[28] In this particular scene Quapaw warriors exchange arrows with an enemy, while other figures

[27] Morris Arnold convincingly argues that the painted Buffalo Hide's origins are from the Quapaw Indians of southeastern Arkansas. See Morris S. Arnold, "Eighteenth-Century Arkansas Illustrated," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1994): 1-18 for an in-depth look at the historical context of this ornate Buffalo Hide, and how he discovered it in a French art museum.

rejoice and celebrate a presumed win in battle. The Sun and Moon are at the center of this painting, reflecting Quapaw cosmology, and three villages of Indian construction are depicted in the painting. Tucked in the corner of the hide are four European-styled structures, including a (Catholic) church steeple, most likely representing the French village at the Arkansas Post. Striking in this ethnocentric map is where the Quapaw cartographer placed the French village: obviously peripheral to the Quapaw's core.

The Spanish and French map paired with the Quapaw Buffalo Hide offer two differing interpretations of colonialization as it unfolded on the ground at the Arkansas Post, located in the fringes of the colonial borderlands. Both maps reveal how Quapaw and European powers organized their space, how they portrayed their enemies and allies, and inserted themselves into a dynamic, complex world that was both a colonial experiment and Native American borderland.[29] Although maps offer valuable insight into how groups, both European and Indigenous, laid claim to their land and visualized their power on the ground, these maps only offer part of the story of colonization at the eighteenth-century Arkansas Post. These maps flatten the complexities and fluidity of interactions between diverse European and Native American players, placing their respective people into binary categories that seemingly did not interact, and even sought to remain isolated in their respective spaces. Despite the fact that official Spanish orders sought to curtail interaction among Native Americans and Spaniards at the Arkansas Post, we find from other primary sources that these orders were often ignored. Indeed, these cultural landscapes differed from the cartographically-rendered political landscapes, since European colonists interacted with Quapaw Indians in a variety of ways as found in baptism, marriage records,

[29] Kathleen DuVal classifies the Arkansas Post as an Indian borderland in her article "The Education of Fernando de Leyba: Quapaws and Spaniards on the Border of Empires." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 60, no.1 (2001): 7 and also in her monumental work on the Arkansas territory *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

deeds, inventories, wills, letters, and other Europeans documents. These trends reveal physical boundaries between Quapaw and Europeans were quite often permeated, and perhaps even invisible to residents of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Arkansas Post.

The first portion of this chapter analyzes the historical context in which the Quapaw "Three Villages Robe" Buffalo Hide map was created, and why the Quapaw felt comfortable placing their European neighbors in the periphery in a tumultuous time of Indian and European political changes in the mid-1700s. I provide a brief overview of the Quapaw people's history in southeastern Arkansas, and endeavor to illustrate the Native American geopolitical landscape in which they lived. Similar to how the Spanish planned a new Louisiana territory under their control, the Quapaw also articulated their own ideas of space and geopolitics in their map, complete with Chickasaw aggressors and French allies.

The second part of this chapter examines a few examples of European cartography, focusing specifically on maps created in the eighteenth century by French and Spanish cartographers who shared each other's knowledge to create a collection of colonial maps to circulate in Europe and to establish sovereignty in North America. Although López gave credit in the cartouche to prior French cartography for the accuracy and level of detail in his map, he omitted the role of Indigenous peoples, whose contributions to mapping both the physical and geopolitical landscape in the southern frontier went unmentioned—yet were hugely important in shaping the details of these maps in the one hundred or so years of French presence in the region. Indian informants and guides, upon whom Spanish and French explorers and colonists relied for pertinent information, transferred their own knowledge and controlled the flow of knowledge, even if Europeans tried to hide this knowledge in the final product.

With the context and analysis of these maps in mind, the final portion of this chapter complicates the stories told in these maps to recover the discrete and diverse interactions among Europeans and Quapaws after Spain acquired the Arkansas Post in 1763. We know what ideal Spanish and Quapaw political landscapes looked like through these maps. But how did these powered relations actually unfold *on the ground?* How were these political landscapes changed, manipulated, and challenged by each respective group of people living at the Post? A landscape approach helps us to view these changing power dynamics as they were created and recreated on the landscape, and adding primary sources left by Europeans, including marriage and baptism records, deeds and wills, helps us understand why these maps are incomplete. They lack the three-dimensional, tactile understanding of how Spaniards and Quapaws actually interacted and made their own *cultural landscapes* that rivaled these political landscapes, or even rendered political landscapes somewhat obsolete.

European political landscapes at the Arkansas Post were permanently marked as extensions of political control, resulting in fences, walls, a trading house, and garrison, and encompass all the ways that villages, plantations and other shared spaces were planned and laid out to reflect powered relationships. Modifications to the physical landscape for ideological purposes constitute one aspect of a theoretical landscape study in a certain place. The political landscape included the Spaniard's plans in 1781 to build a fortified garrison at the Arkansas Post in case of Indian attacks, adding a real, physical symbol of Spanish military and political power to demonstrate how their colonial rule sought to do things differently than the French, who had smaller, more informal settlements.[30]

[30] Angèle Smith, "Mapped Landscapes: The Politics of Metaphor, Knowledge, and Representation on Nineteenth-Century Irish Ordnance Survey Maps," 82. The Spanish built Fort San Carlos III in 1781 by Captain de Villiers following the attacks on the Arkansas Post in 1749.

The first step in using a landscape approach typically involves analyzing maps. Maps can be incredibly useful sources for understanding shifting colonial interactions among residents over time at the French and Spanish Arkansas Post. Historians of marginalized peoples in colonial empires often discuss the importance of maps as extensions of colonial control, since colonial powers often erased prior claims to the land or inhabitants. Historians of Indigenous cartography practices define two types of Indigenous maps: event transcriptions and sociograms. Event transcriptions were the most similar to European-styled maps, since they contained information and names that were most likely given by Native informants. Sociograms, on the other hand, were ethnocentric maps to indicate relationships among towns and polities, typically using concentric circles or lines, and rarely contained scientific knowledge. The Catawba Deerskin Map is an example of a sociogram, and it was created in 1721 for the governor of South Carolina. [31] The Native cartographer used concentric circles to represent Native nations with whom the Catawba traded, and rectangular boxes to represent the English colonies of Virginia and Charleston. Similar to the Quapaw "Three Villages Robe," this deerskin map incorporated either Catawba or Cherokee creation stories (there is a current debate on the origins of the Catawba Deerskin Map).[32] These Indigenous maps, however, are rare. With the exception of the extant Buffalo Hide and the Catawba Deerskin Map, few southeastern Indians created permanent maps, and even fewer survived.

[31] Charles Cobb, *The Archaeology of Southeastern Native American Landscapes of the Colonial Era* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019), 58.

[32] The Catawba Deerskin Map, created for the Governor of South Carolina, Francis Nicholson, was created sometime in 1721, and used images of circles to indicate paths the Catawba took to different tribes for trading purposes, while also included the important trade colonies of Virginia and Charleston. Its origins have been questioned recently, however, and may in fact be a Cherokee map, not Catawba. See Ian Chambers "A Cherokee Origin for the 'Catawba' Deerskin Map, 1721," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 65, no.2
(2013): 207-216.

Historians have found that Native maps were often more ephemeral, and were etched out in chalk, with ash from a fire, or into the sand. Despite the fact that few Native maps have survived, this omission in the archive does not mean that Native people did not understand or organize space. Historians have argued that Native Americans perceived space differently than Europeans, though their separate understandings of space were not incommensurate. The creation of maps is a highly political process: those who had the power to determine and draw boundaries often held control, as in the case of European empires in the Americas, yet that does not mean that demarcations of space were realized and recognized by all members of colonial society.

Historian Juliana Barr found in the case of the Spanish colonists in northern New Spain in the eighteenth century that colonial soldiers and citizens endeavored to erase Indian geography and notions of space and geography, thus exerting their new claim to power through the manipulation of the landscape. Yet Barr found numerous examples of spatial dimensions to Indian power that Spanish settlers recognized: well-known trade routes, Indian highways, and boundaries between various Indian confederacies and jurisdictions.[33] Although Spanish settlers endeavored to erase Indian identity and power through mapmaking and their politically-charged changes to the landscape, this process was never complete. Indian groups continued to recognize their competing ideas of boundaries and territories, and Spanish officials were forced to employ new diplomatic tactics and agree upon demarcations of space defined by both colonial and Indian groups. [34] Barr argues that the Spanish saw the native landscape and Indian management of land,

[33] Barr discusses this phenomenon, but recently historians of Native Americans in Florida also determined that Indian ideas of space, paths, and roads influenced European and subsequently American ideology of space. See Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
[34]Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the Borderlands' of the Early Southwest" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 5-46.

and would not destroy these Indian boundaries until the end of the eighteenth century.[35] Barr's work on mapping and colonization in the contested Spanish borderlands provides a useful framework for my study on the Arkansas Post, since Native Americans were often able to draw boundaries and assert dominance over European settlers in the eighteenth century. We see this very clearly in the Quapaw Buffalo Hide cartograph.

The Quapaw Political Landscape

Because it only represents a snapshot of a moment in time, the Quapaw-created "Three Villages Robe" fails to give historical context to the Quapaw people's relatively short, though eventful history in southeastern Arkansas, and the events that influenced the formation of this painted hide, which combines the elements of an event-transcription and a sociogram. Indeed, the geopolitical landscape of the native Arkansas Post witnessed many changes from the time of their arrival to that area in the late seventeenth century, some of which were brought by Europeans in the late seventeenth century, though many stemmed from the Quapaw's interactions with other Native American nations in the Lower Mississippi River valley. The Quapaw exercised diplomacy and made pragmatic decisions in order to maintain sovereignty over their territory with other Native nations and Europeans. However, over time these diplomatic endeavors became harder to negotiate as the Quapaw population dwindled in the mid-eighteenth century (even at its height, estimates of their initial population range from 3,000-7,500) and massive changes were underway regarding the political, economic, and social structures of the Native South. This section will give a brief overview of the Quapaw's history in southeastern Arkansas, along with the region's geopolitical landscape before, during, and after

[35]Ibid, 18.

French and Spanish colonization in order to contextualize the creation of the "Three Villages Robe."

According to Quapaw oral history, the Quapaw people lived near the Atlantic Ocean before AD 1500 with the Osage, Kanza (Kaw), Ponka (Ponca) and Omaha. This group of Native tribes, known collectively as the Dhegiha Sioux, moved to the Ohio River Valley sometime before AD 1600. The Quapaw then moved further down the Mississippi River into Arkansas, and became separated from the others. Their arrival in Arkansas is remembered through their oral history, as told here:

> Tribal history indicates that as the Dhegiha people were moving they came upon the river, and a dense fog had arisen. The people created a rope by braiding a grapevine and while crossing the river, the vine snapped. The Omaha people continued against the current, which is the origin on their name. The Quapaw believe our people were at the end of the rope and we floated down the river after it broke, separating our people from the group.[36]

The Quapaw name in their Dhegiha language, "Ug'akh pa," encapsulates this historic event: not only does the name mean the "downstream people," but also "those broken off the main stem" and "Lost tribe."[37] According to Quapaw historian Risë Supernaw Proctor, in 1650 they were led to Arkansas by Chief Pa he kah, where they established four villages: Tourima, Osotory, Tongigua, and Kappa.[38] By the time the Buffalo Hide cartograph was made decades later, the Quapaws had consolidated into three villages: Osotouy, Tourima, and Kappa.[39]

---

[36] "Origin of the Tribal Name." The Quapaw Nation of Oklahoma. https://www.quapawtribe.com/401/Tribal-Name
[37] Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Tribal Information in Chronological Order." The Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawtribalorder.htm
[38] Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Tribal Information in Chronological Order." The Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawtribalorder.htm
[39] Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Tribal Information in Chronological Order." The Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawtribalorder.htm

We can see some of the Quapaw people's cosmology and spiritual beliefs in the imagery in the "Three Villages Robe," though some of these celestial beliefs are flattened in this map. Although the Quapaw's cosmology was not as hierarchical and institutionalized as the Natchez, it played an enormous role in the Quapaw's social and political organization along with their everyday lives. The Quapaw were divided into two intermarrying clans, or moieties: the Sky People (Hanka) and Earth People (Tiju), with twenty-one subclans within these two, each with a spiritual identity (usual an animal).[40] The Sky People and Earth People lived on opposite sides of the village, with ceremonial spaces in between shared by both clans. Each clan had a chief who made decisions, but the chiefs often consulted warriors and tribal elders to make more democratic decisions. Membership in either clan was determined by the father's side, making the Quapaw people patrilineal.[41] Holy men, called *Wapinan,* lead the Quapaw people in their spiritual lives, oversaw ceremonies (like the calumet ceremony and ceremonies before battles), and gave children their first names.[42] It is possible that some of the individuals in the "Three Villages Robe" are *Wapinan,* perhaps guiding and giving advice to the warriors who had just returned from battle. Perhaps these warriors on bended knee were giving thanks to their guardian spirit (*manitou*), or even *Wah-kon-tah,* "the central force of the Universe."[43] *Wah-kon-tah* was in all animate and inanimate objects, and individuals and clans chose special sacred objects to honor the lesser gods and to think of *Wah-kon-tah*. In the "Three Villages Robe," it is clear that

[40] George Sabo III, "Rituals of Encounter: Interpreting Native American Views of European Explorers," in *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in Arkansas* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1995), 77.
[41] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 12-13.
[42] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians,* 18.
[43] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians,* 17.

the sun (*mi*) and moon (*miǫ́pa*) played a central role in Quapaw cosmology, and indeed, historian David Baird wrote, "in the celestial world the sun and moon were held in particular esteem." [44]

As newcomers to the region, the Quapaws worked diligently to establish authority at the coveted location at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, which connected the interior of the continent with the Gulf of Mexico and Canada. The Quapaw used the Mississippi and its tributaries to engage with local trading markets, and traded furs, ceramics, copper and other goods with the Caddo, Yazoo, Taensa, and Osage, among others. Archaeologists have recovered Quapaw pottery as far as Natchez, Mississippi.[45] The Quapaw entered the Lower Mississippi River valley at a precarious time when massive changes to the geopolitical landscapes were put in motion. Spanish involvement in the Southwest, French involvement in the Great Lakes region, and British colonization rapidly unfolding along the eastern seaboard created ripples that affected the Indigenous inhabitants in the middle of North America, though at different rates.[46] Warfare, disease, and the Indian slave trade instigated by Europeans, paired with intertribal violence and wars, made the Lower Mississippi River valley a violent, unstable place where alliances, whether with other Native Americans or Europeans, were essential for preservation. Therefore, when the first French settlers arrived in 1686, the Quapaw welcomed these European visitors with alacrity, and viewed these newcomers as potential allies and a boon

[44] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians,* 17. Quapaw language translation from "Quapaw Language," compiled by Billy Proctor, Quapaw Tribal Member. The Quapaw Nation of Oklahoma. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawlanguage/index.htm#m

[45] Ibid, 64.

[46] Archaeologist Robbie Ethridge coined these massive changes to the Native South the "Mississippian Shatter Zone," since European involvement with Native peoples, along with disease, warfare, and the Indian slave trade, massively reshaped Native society and broke down ancient chiefdoms that once dominated the South. Marvin D. Jeter argues that the Mississippian shatter zone came to the Arkansas region and the Lower Mississippi River Valley relatively late, because the major changes in the Native South were more centralized along the eastern seaboard where British colonists armed Native Americans and used ancient intertribal feuds to fuel the slave trade. See Marvin D. Jeter's chapter "Shatter Zone Shock Waves along the Lower Mississippi," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), for his analysis of the Lower Mississippi River Valley and the Mississippian shatter zone).

to preserve their political and economic stability. As Kathleen DuVal thoroughly argued, the Quapaw viewed the French as equals. As she stated, when the French arrived, the Quapaw viewed them as another tribe or band to conduct business with—not a threat, nor a group easily dismissed.[47]

The Chickasaws, who lived in north Mississippi near present-day Memphis, represented the largest threat to the Quapaw people at the time of French colonization, and plagued both Quapaw people and French settlers throughout the Arkansas region. The Chickasaws became allies of the British in the late seventeenth century, who armed them with muskets to engage in the Indian slave trade. The Chickasaws raided the Quapaw, since the Quapaw were a relatively small tribe and lived close to the Chickasaws downriver.[48] Chickasaw hunters and warriors could easily supply the British with captured Quapaws and other Indians living west of the Mississippi, who then sold these captives to traders in South Carolina.[49] We know from historical records that the Chickasaw remained a long-standing threat and enemy of the Quapaw, and even contemporary European cartographers highlighted their power and reflected the fear the Chickasaws instilled on their neighbors. For instance, a 1744 map created by Jacques Nicolas Bellin demarcated the "Grand village du Chicachas," or the grand Chickasaw Village in large script, hovering over a large area of space (see Figure 1.2).[50] Both the Chickasaw's involvement

[47] Kathleen DuVal's *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* describes in exacting detail the Quapaw's relationships with the French and Spanish at the Arkansas Post, along with the other Arkansas River Valley Indians.

[48] The Quapaw population was hit particularly hard by a smallpox epidemic in 1699, and a Quapaw historian estimates that only 300 warriors were left, with a total population of 1,200. Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Tribal Information," and Morris Arnold, *Rumble of a Distant Drum: The Quapaws and Old World Newcomers, 1673-1804* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 159.

[49] Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. (Yale University Press, 2002), 170.

[50] Les Archives Nationales D'Outre-Mers (hereafter ANOM), Côte 04DFC2B. Jacques Nicolas Ellin, "Carte de la Louisiane cours du Mississipi et pais voisins dédiée à M. Le comte de Maurepas, Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat commandeur des ordres du Roy," 1744. http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/ulysse/panier

with the British and their heavy engagement with the Indian slave trade significantly altered the Native political landscape in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the arrival of the French at the Arkansas Post in the late 1680s represented an opportunity for the Quapaw to protect themselves against the Chickasaws.[51]



Figure 1.2 Jacques Nicolas Bellin, "Carte de la Louisiane cours du Mississipi et pais voisins dédiée à M. Le comte de Maurepas, Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat commandeur des ordres du Roy," ca. 1744. Map ANOM.

[51] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 69. For more on the Indian slave trade and its effects on the landscape, see Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: the Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (Yale University Press, 2002).

Le Baron de Crénay, a French soldier serving for the King of France in France's North American colonial holdings, clearly designated spaces of Native American power, like the Chickasaws, in his 1733 map (see Figure 1.3).

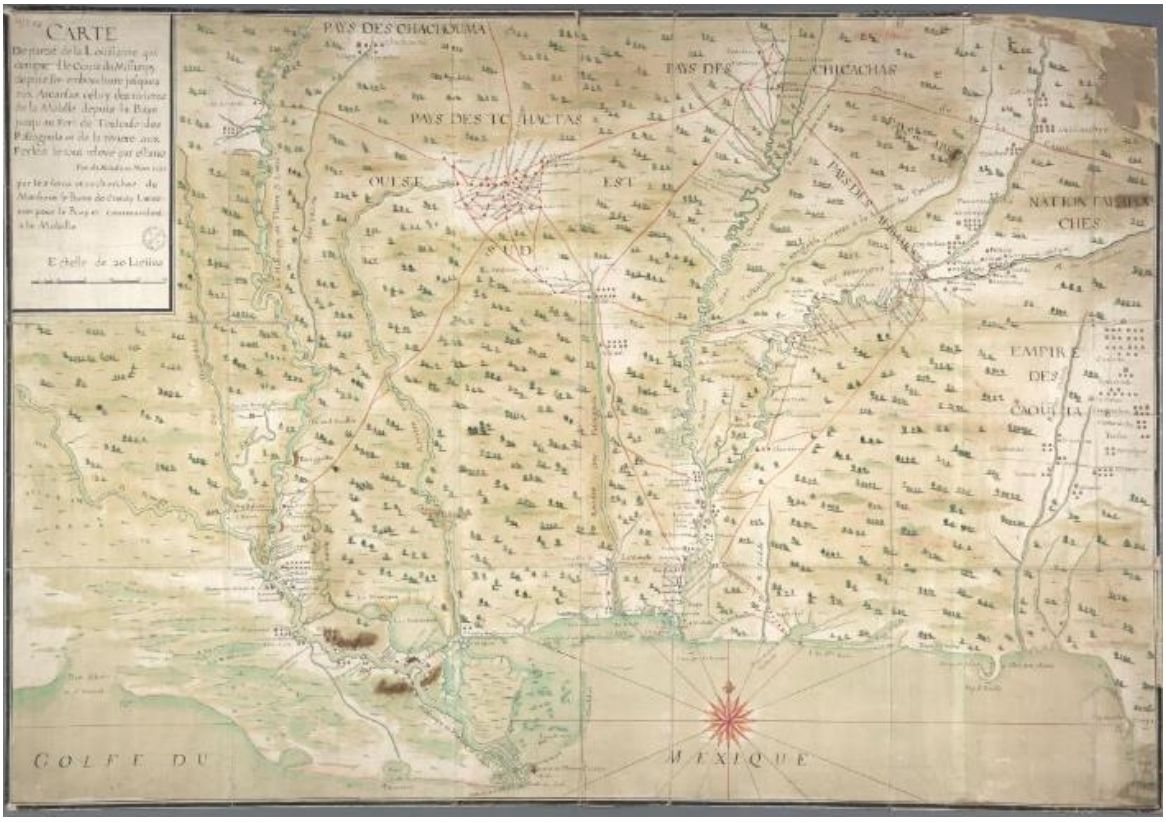


Figure 1.3 : Le Baron de Crenay, *"*Carte de partie de la Louisiane qui comprend le cours du Mississipy depuis son embouchure jusques aux Arcansas, celuy des rivieres de la Mobille depuis la baye jusqu'au fort de Toulouse, des Pascagoula et de la riviere aux Perles," ca. 1733. Map. ANOM.



Figure 1.4: Detail of Le Baron de Crenay, "Carte de partie de la Louisiane qui comprend le cours du Mississipy depuis son embouchure jusques aux Arcansas, celuy des rivieres de la Mobille depuis la baye jusqu'au fort de Toulouse, des Pascagoula et de la riviere aux Perles," ca. 1733. Map. ANOM.

Through his language and the size of script, Le Baron de Crénay indicates the "*pays*" or land of particular Native American tribes, including the "*Pays des Tchactas," "pays des Alibamons,"* and "*Pays des Chicachas,"* in large letters. He connects Native American power with their territory held, perhaps a projection from his European point of view, though these Native American tribes certainly exerted control over these lands through complex alliances. Crénay employs a hierarchy of language to differentiate bands and tribes he, apparently, found more powerful than others. Among these are the "*nation Talapouches"* and "*empire des Caoutta,"* with his descriptors indicating that these particular Native American tribes exercised more power than others, and large tribes incorporated smaller villages and bands into their powerful confederacies, not dissimilar to European structures of power.[52] He labelled the

[52] ANOM, Côte 04DFC1A. Le Baron de Crenay, "Carte de partie de la Louisiane qui comprend le cours du Mississipy depuis son embouchure jusques aux Arcansas, celuy des rivieres de la Mobille depuis la baye jusqu'au fort de Toulouse, des Pascagoula et de la riviere aux Perles, le tout relevé par estime. Fait à la Mobille en mars 1733 par les soins et recherches de Monsieur le Baron de Crenay lieutenant pour le Roy et commandant à la Mobille." http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/ulysse/notice?id=FR_ANOM_04DFC1A. George Edward Milne argues that French settlers in the Natchez region viewed the hierarchy of the powerful Natchez nation similar to how Europeans organized political states. See *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2015), for more information, especially on pages 8-9.

Arkansas (Quapaw) tribe, yet in small script, thus reinforcing the claim that the Quapaw were less powerful compared to some of their neighbors, most likely based on their small population.

Despite the French settlers' role in supporting the Quapaw as they fought battles against the Chickasaw, the Quapaws, as demonstrated from their Buffalo Hide cartograph, still viewed the French as peripheral to their core, quite different from how the diplomatic and political history of the French and Quapaw interactions unfolded in European documents. Indeed, with help from the French, the Quapaw were able to wage some successful battles against the Chickasaw, despite their small numbers. The "Three Villages Robe" cartograph served as a physical demonstration of how the Quapaw viewed their powered relationships and centrality as it unfolded on the ground to share with their European allies and their Native American rivals. With a Quapaw victory, it seemed that the potential major enemies of the Quapaw people were minimized in the 1750s and 1760s.

López's 1762 map gives an overview of the Native South and the political landscape in which the Quapaw were located when Spain acquired this territory (see Figure 1.5). East of the Mississippi, in large handwriting, López penned "*Chicachas"* and underneath "grand place of the Chicasaws" [*lugar Gran de los Chicachas*].

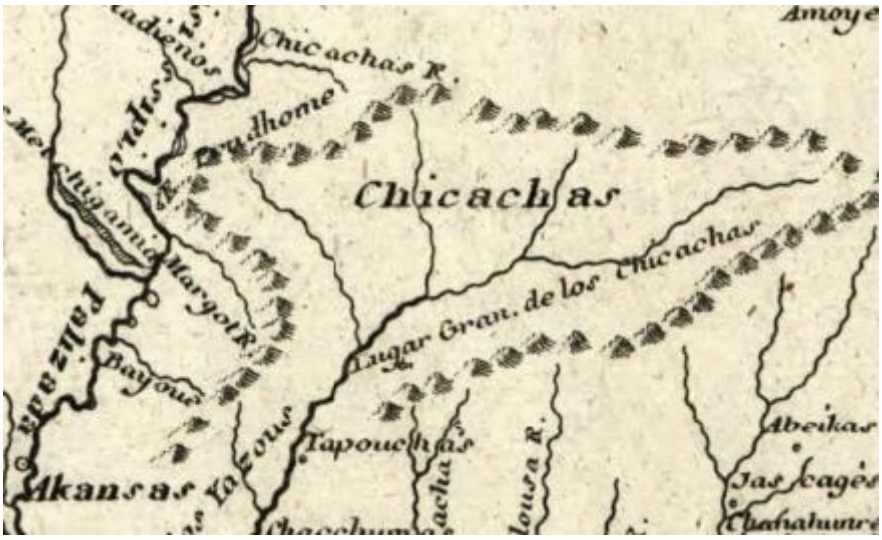


Figure 1.5*:* Detail of Tomás López de Vargas Machuca. "La Luisiana cedida al Rei N.S. por S.M. Christianisma, con la Nueva Orleans." (Madrid, ca. 1762), Map. AGI.

Historians believe that the Quapaw people created the Buffalo Hide sometime after 1749, during which time tensions between the Quapaw and Chickasaw were at an all-time high.[53] That year, the Chickasaw attacked the French at their Arkansas Post settlement, which was especially vulnerable because their Quapaw allies had recently moved further upstream because of flooding.[54] The Chickasaw saw the French settlers' susceptibility, especially without the Quapaw to aid them, and attacked, leading to French reprisals against the Chickasaw and no lasting peace. French leaders responded to this attack in spatial terms: Commandant Ensign Louis Xavier Martin de Lino de Chalmette, commander of the Arkansas Post, moved the physical location of the Arkansas Post village closer to the Quapaw village for security and to create more distance from the Mississippi, the main interstate the Chickasaws used to easily attack the Post from Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis).

[53] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 96. For the Quapaw-Chickasaw alliance that occurred in the 1760s, Wendy St. Jean, "The Chickasaw-Quapaw Alliance in the Revolutionary Era." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2009): 272-82

[54] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 99.

One event in particular caused a major disturbance in the colonial landscape for both Europeans and Native Americans in the mid-eighteenth century. Although the French and Quapaw both worked to create mutually beneficial relationships at the Arkansas Post, which historians have discussed at length, not all French relationships in the Lower Mississippi River valley were as friendly, and these negative interactions influenced and tested Quapaw diplomacy. The Natchez chiefdom, two hundred miles south of the Arkansas Post on the east side of the Mississippi, was the only ancient chiefdom to survive into the eighteenth century.[55] The Quapaw and Natchez organized their societies very differently: whereas the Natchez had a rigid political hierarchy with a centralized leader, the Great Sun, the Quapaw were organized into smaller villages, in which each village had its own chief. The chiefs held regular councils for all members of society to attend, where communal decisions were made about hunting, warfare, and the distribution of goods.[56] The French settled in the Natchez region in the early 1700s, and started tobacco plantations because of the land's fertility. Natchez became a lucrative French settlement, but the French settlers continued to encroach upon Native sacred lands, which led to a revolt by the Natchez Indians in 1729.

This revolt by the Natchez led to a massive retaliation by the French, who annihilated the Natchez in the following years. It was now clear that the French were powerful and capable of carrying out horrific violence against those who transgressed their plans for expansion. Even after the events of 1729, French travelers and cartographers emphasized the power of the French through the destruction of Natchez, perhaps one of the only remaining pillars of the ancient native South. French explorer and navy captain John Bernard Bossu recorded his travels along

[55] For the latest scholarship on the Natchez chiefdom and their relationship with the French, see George Edward Milne *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015).
[56] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 72.

the Mississippi river in 1751. Bossu's travel narratives indicate he had some interest in Native American history and geopolitics, since he often noted former Indian nations, empires, and changes in power along the Mississippi.[57] He spent a considerable amount of time detailing the history and customs of the Natchez, and gives us a glimpse into how a contemporary viewed the violence and events unfold. [58]

Bossu visited the former Natchez site in 1751, and mentioned their history and how they became dominant players in the Native South: "I have arrived at the spot that used to be the home of the proud Natchez nation, which was so much in the public news. It is said that this formidable nation dominated the others because of the extent of its territory."[59] Bossu equates power with control over land, and of centralized hierarchies. "The Natchez…were very important people. They had several villages ruled by individual chiefs, who in turn were governed by the great chief of the entire nation."[60] Bossu also recognized that space and territory played a crucial role not only for French sovereignty, but also for the Natchez nation. In fact, Bossu wrote that the French were at fault for causing the Natchez Revolt in 1729, which destroyed the Natchez chiefdom when the French retaliated. Bossu explicitly understood Indian boundaries and claims to the land. He explained the revolt in spatial terms:

> In all fairness to the Indians, it must be said that their plan to kill all the French was not the result of treachery or instability. It was the bad conduct of an officer who insulted and infuriated the very people he should have been handling gently. Free and peaceful people, who were living in a land settled by their ancestors, could not permit

[57] John Bernard Bossu, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762.* Seymour Feiler, translator and editor. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 37-47.
[58] For more on the ancient Natchez chiefdom and its changes in the eighteenth century, see Kathleen DuVal "Interconnectedness and Diversity in 'French Louisiana'" in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter Wood and Tom Hatley, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 135.
[59] John Bernard Bossu, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762,* 29.
[60] Ibid, 31.

> themselves to be tyrannized by foreigners whom they had welcomed.[61]

Bossu recognized the ancestral claims the Natchez had to this land, and that the French had overstepped their boundaries. He continues to explain the importance of the Natchez claim to the land:

> Monsieur de Chapar, who was eager to make a fortune as quickly as possible, ordered the Sun of a village called Pomme to move out with all of his people. The land, which Chepar was to turn into a plantation, would bring him a handsome profit. The Chief explained that the bones of his ancestors were buried there, but his arguments were useless.[62]

Bossu's narrative illustrated that the French recognized these territorial domains of the Natchez, and in their ploy to usurp power, had to recognize, affirm, and then destroy these claims to the land. The fact that the Natchez as a political force were destroyed by the French, though not erased from subsequent maps, tells us that the Natchez revolt played a pivotal role in how the French viewed their history and political place in North America, and that the Natchez were worthy adversaries. This particular French cartographer, either inspired to record history of French colonization and a nod to the power of the French, or perhaps to record and even commemorate the former domain of the Natchez, kept the location of the Natchez village on this map, instead of erasing its place on the landscape fully. Even as the 1760s, several decades after this event happened, Spanish cartographer López indicates where the Natchez once lived, with the phrase "*Natchas destruidos"* in two separate locations on the map—one on the east bank of

[61] Ibid, 37.
[62] Ibid, 38.

the Mississippi near present-day Natchez, and the other on the west bank of the Mississippi (see Figure 1.6).



Figure 1.6: Tomás López de Vargas Machuca., *"*La Luisiana cedida al Rei N.S. por S.M. Christianisma, con la Nueva Orleans. Madrid," ca. 1762. Map. AGI.

The memory of the French military might and the defeat of one of the most powerful Indigenous chiefdoms was inscribed on maps, and most likely the physical landscape itself, as French settlers expanded their plantations and laid claim to the land in the Lower Mississippi River valley. López's inclusion of the former Natchez chiefdom on the map indicates that the Spanish, perhaps, were building upon the European tradition in North America to use military strength, and to highlight the possibilities of violence and warfare carried out by Europeans in their endeavors to claim land.

The Natchez revolt represented a major shift in diplomacy and the geopolitical landscape in the Lower Mississippi River Valley. The Quapaw people made the decision to remain steadfast to the French settlers at the Arkansas Post rather than unite with some of the remaining

Natchez people, who sought refuge among neighboring Native tribes like the Chickasaw.[63] The Chickasaws encouraged the Quapaw, along with the Choctaw and Cherokee, to unite against the French and work together to expel them from the region. However, the Quapaw decided to remain loyal to the French and hostile towards the Chickasaw, and the Quapaw in Arkansas actually welcomed French refugees from Natchez to the Arkansas Post.[64] Once again, the Quapaw made a decision that would best serve their own economic and political interest in southeastern Arkansas, rather than join an ideologically-driven war against the Europeans in the Lower Mississippi River Valley.

Though the Quapaw remained on good terms with the French after the Natchez Massacre in 1729, the geopolitical shifts certainly altered the Native landscape. Indeed, the native ground occupied by those who still were able to exercise autonomy and sovereignty over their territory, like the Quapaw people, was becoming compressed and pushed further west. By the 1780s, the Quapaw population dwindled to fewer than several hundred because of disease, warfare, and the Indian slave trade (fewer than 500 in the 1750s).[65] As the eighteenth century wore on, the Quapaw's small population in comparison with neighboring Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee, meant that the Quapaw favored diplomacy and alliances rather than warfare with Native or European groups. Therefore, by the late 1780s, when the Spanish were developing plans to build a fortification at the Arkansas Post, the Quapaw gave hunting rights on their ancestral lands to the Chickasaws, Cherokee, and Choctaw, since Anglo settlers to the east had taken their ancestral lands and greatly reduced the game to be hunted. The Quapaw finally made peace with the Chickasaws after the French claims to the Louisiana territory were diminished in

[63] Charles Cobb, *The Archaeology of Southeastern Native American Landscapes of the Colonial Era,* 86.
[64] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 96-97.
[65] Morris Arnold, *The Rumble of a Distant Drum,* 159.

1763 so that both groups, whose populations were hit hard by both disease and warfare, could theoretically remain autonomous against increased British and Spanish militarization in the region.[66] Because the population of the Quapaw people had dramatically decreased in the eighteenth century, they required less hunting lands, presumably, had therefore could spare their lands to others.

The European Political Landscape

While the Quapaw people were waging war with the Chickasaw and trying to keep their coveted position on the Arkansas and Mississippi, French and Spanish settlers were also endeavoring to inscribe their power over the same territory, using cartography as a tool. French-created maps are important to study as a baseline for the Spanish period because the French occupied the Arkansas Post from 1686-1763, and because French cartographic methods were dominant in Europe in the eighteenth century. French cartographer Guillaume Delisle made a name for himself as the creator of the most accurate, detailed, and "modern" maps of French holdings in North America, including Louisiana.[67] Historian Robert Paulett described how Delisle's maps, especially his 1718 "Map of Louisiana and the Course of the Mississippi" prompted a type of imperial cartographic war between French and British mapmakers, since Delisle's map showed French claims in North America stretching from the Appalachians and Carolinas to the Mississippi, thus erasing Britain's colonial holdings on the east coast. Regardless of these political actions resulting from Delisle's maps, his cartographic collection would later influence to a large extent subsequent European-created maps, especially those by

[66]For more on the Chickasaw Quapaw alliance, see Wendy St Jean, "The Chickasaw-Quapaw Alliance in the Revolutionary Era." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2009): 272-82.
[67] Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1785* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 15.

Spanish cartographers, who used Delisle's map as blueprints to insert their own claims to the land.

Although the French dominated the cartography produced by the three Atlantic empires (France, Britain, and Spain), especially in the Louisiana territory, some extant Spanish maps exist. A brilliantly-colored manuscript map from 1699, "Mappa del Missisip," by Baron de La Fontán, is perhaps the earliest Spanish map that included the Arkansas Post in its illustration of the Mississippi River (see Figure 1.7 and 1.8).[68] In the map's description, the cartographer wrote "this band of the mississipy [sic] is very well known by the many savages [who are] friends of the French" [*Esta banda del rio missisipy es muy conocida de muchos salvages amigos de los francesses*]." La Fontán refers to those native people who had facilitated Henri de Tonti's settlement at the Arkansas Post in 1686. On this map, small trading forts utilized by Europeans to trade with Native Americans were demarcated with small triangles clustered together; the largest of these clustered with a large blue circle labeled "Lago de los Apache," possibly representing Spanish Texas. As a Spanish map produced in the late seventeenth century, it is not surprising that the Arkansas Post and its native inhabitants received little detail. In fact, its inclusion at all in this map is somewhat remarkable, given the Post's first occupation by Europeans occurred only ten years before this map was created, and the small Post struggled to remain in existence to the extent that the Post's initial founder, De Tonti, abandoned it fully in 1699.[69]

[68] "Archivo General de Indies (hereafter AGI), Mapas y Planos, Florida y Luisiana, Leg. 171. « "Idea topográfica de los altos del Mississippi y del Missouri, que demuestra los progresos de la compañía española de descubiertas del rio Missouri y las usurpaciones de la compañías inglesas sobre las posesiones españolas." Portal de Archivos Españolas, http://pares.mcu.es/

[69] Morris S. Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991), 27.



Figure 1.7: Le Baron de La Fontán, "Mappa del Missisipi," ca. 1699. Map. AGI.



Figure 1.8: Detail of "Akansa." Mappa del Missisipi," AGI.

Seventy-four years later, at the formal concession of the Louisiana territory to the Spanish, Tomás López drew a map of the same Mississippi River valley, revealing the massive changes in European colonial settlement patterns, Native American reorganization of alliances, and disease and warfare that radically changed the Native South landscape (see Figure 1.9).[70] Although López and Baron de La Fontán worked for the same imperial crown, López 's printed map perhaps indicates different political motives: to reestablish Spain's claim to this territory. Indeed, López's 1762 map of "La Luisiana" articulates Spain's political landscape as seen by a Spanish cartographer working on behalf of the Spanish crown, especially with its inclusion of a plat of the coveted settlement "La Nueva Orleans." This map highlights the territory which France agreed to give Spain following the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, including the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi and the city of New Orleans. López's inclusions of a plat of the city of New Orleans indicates this map's political purpose, which served to emphasize the new administrative center of Spain's colonial holdings. His plat of the city lacks much detail,

[70] For more information on the radical changes of the Native South wrought by Europeans (mainly in the form of disease and warfare), see Robbie Ethridge, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

but he includes a key of the buildings perhaps deemed the most vital, including the jail [*carcel*], the designated space for regular musters on the *plasa de armas,* the powder/storehouse [*casa de la Polvora*], and the Capuchin convent [*Convento de Capuchinos*] and a new convent for Franciscan nuns [*nueva casa de monjas Franciscanas*]. These buildings served to embody how Spain intended to enforce colonial power and control from the city, especially in a vast territory like *Luisiana:* relying on military arms and missionary outreach.[71]

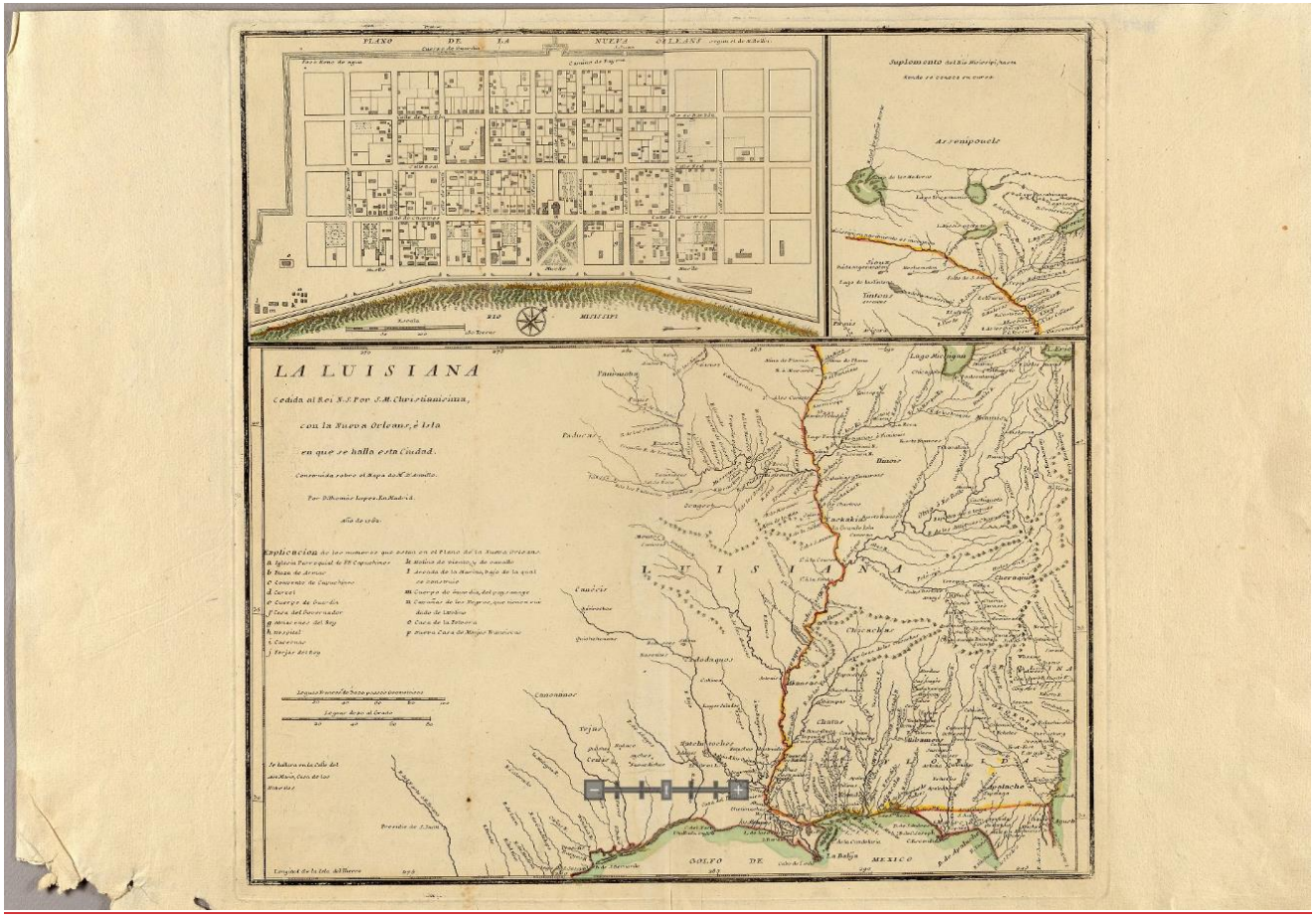


Figure 1.9: Tomás López de Vargas Machuca. La Luisiana cedida al Rei N.S. por S.M. Christianisma, con la Nueva Orleans. Madrid, 1762. The John Carter Brown Library Image Collections. The Lowery Collection, no. 467.

Historians of the Arkansas Post have written that because of its remote location at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi, religious conversion was of lesser importance to Spanish administrators.[72] French colonists tried to bring priests to the Arkansas Post to oversee their religious instruction and daily life, yet these priests rarely lasted. In two separate occasions, enemy Native Americans killed Catholic priests (Father Nicolas Foucault was murdered in 1702, and Father Du Poisson was killed in the Natchez attack in 1729). Various residents of the Post pleaded with Spanish and French administrators in the eighteenth century to send a priest to the Post to perform the sacred rites of the Catholic church, such as the baptisms, marriages, and the eucharist. When the few priests from New Orleans did visit the Arkansas Post, their stays were typically brief. They often complained of a lack of formal church or even a proper house to perform mass and hold services, and it was not until 1796 that the first canonical parish was erected at the Post.[73]

Because of the lack of success among French colonists to convert Quapaws and neighboring villages, Spaniards planned to colonize the Arkansas Post with an eye towards military control to ensure safe trading. A central reason for Spain's increased reliance on a military approach at the Arkansas Post stemmed from the Chickasaw attack on France's Arkansas Post in 1749 during the French-Chickasaw war, when several white residents of the Post were killed and others captured. Extant Spanish sources reiterated a military approach to creating and enforcing political landscapes at the Arkansas Post, and these measures were intended to ensure smooth trading among the diverse Native Americans and Spaniards from St.

[72] For more on the history of religious conversion at the Arkansas Post and the various priests who were sent to the Post, see Linda C. Jones, "Nicolas Foucault and the Quapaws," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2016): 4-26.
[73] For more on the murder of Nicolas Foucault, see Linda C. Jones, "Nicolas Foucault and the Quapaws," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. For a general overview of French and Spanish missions at the Arkansas Post, see either Kathleen DuVal *The Native Ground,* pg. 87, or Morris S. Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas: 1686-1804,* chapter 4.

Louis to New Orleans. In November 1769, Spanish Lieutenant General Alejandro O'Reilly issued orders for the Commander at the Arkansas Post for fifteen to twenty soldiers stationed at the Post.[74] O'Reilly emphasized the need to control space between the Spanish and Native Americans. The first order in his list forbade soldiers from leaving the fort "except a few at a time, and they should not go far in case a danger arises."[75] Additionally, O'Reilly insisted that Indians (whether Quapaw, Osage, or other Native Americans coming to trade) must come to the Arkansas Post through the gate where they were to leave their arms, and to avoid entering through any other point.[76] Security and unity of purpose constituted O'Reilly's main concerns at a "distant post" like the Arkansas Post. One of his final commands endeavored to quell "gossip or complaints…or evil intentions" among residents at the Arkansas Post—if this last rule was violated, the accused would be sent to New Orleans for disciplinary action.[77] It would be interesting to know how O'Reilly planned to control rumors and gossip at a Post nearly 400 miles away from New Orleans, especially with disgruntled Spanish soldiers who found themselves assigned at this remote Post.

In 1778, as a result of the earlier Chickasaw attack on the Post and a declaration of war against the British, Balthazar de Villier, the current Spanish Commander of the Arkansas Post, erected a fort and named it Fort Carlos III after the Spanish King Charles III (see Figure 1.10). The Arkansas Post had not previously had a modern militarized fort, although beginning in 1749 (after the attack), the Post had been barricaded by walls. De Villier drew a plan of the fort, where we see concentrated efforts aimed to keep Spanish soldiers and settlers within the walls, and to

[74] Morris Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas,* 107.
[75] Gilbert C. Din, "The First Spanish Instructions for Arkansas Post November 15, 1769," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53 no. 3 (1994): 315.
[76] *Ibid*.
[77] *Ibid*.

keep unwanted visitors out. The fort consisted of several parts: an esplanade lined with cannons [*explandadas corridas de Canon*], a guard and bunk house [*Cuerpo de Guiardia y aloxamiento*], and a staircase connected to the battery [*escalaera de comunicacion a la Bateria*].[78] A list of provisions needed at Fort Carlos from 1783 reiterated the fort's military nature. Among items needed were "1500 lbs. of powder, balls of the size of 3 ¼ cannons, three gun carriages for cannon of ¼" along with "ramrods, whistles, and reams of paper for making cartridges."[79] The Spaniards' construction of this fort sought to make a statement not only to the neighboring Quapaw, but also other Native American tribes in the area (such as the Chickasaw and Osage) that Spain's presence in North America was first and foremost based on military conquest, and that interactions between various Native groups and the Spanish were only for trading. Indeed, the Spanish iterated that military action was always a possible form of diplomacy.

[78] AGI, Mapos y Planos, Leg. 27.2, *Plano del Fuerte de San Carlos de Arkansas,* 1796.
[79] Jacabo du Breuil, "List of things necessary for the artillery, which is in existence at Fort Charles III, Arkansas". May 4, 1783. "Some Spanish Letters from the Arkansas Post." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly.*

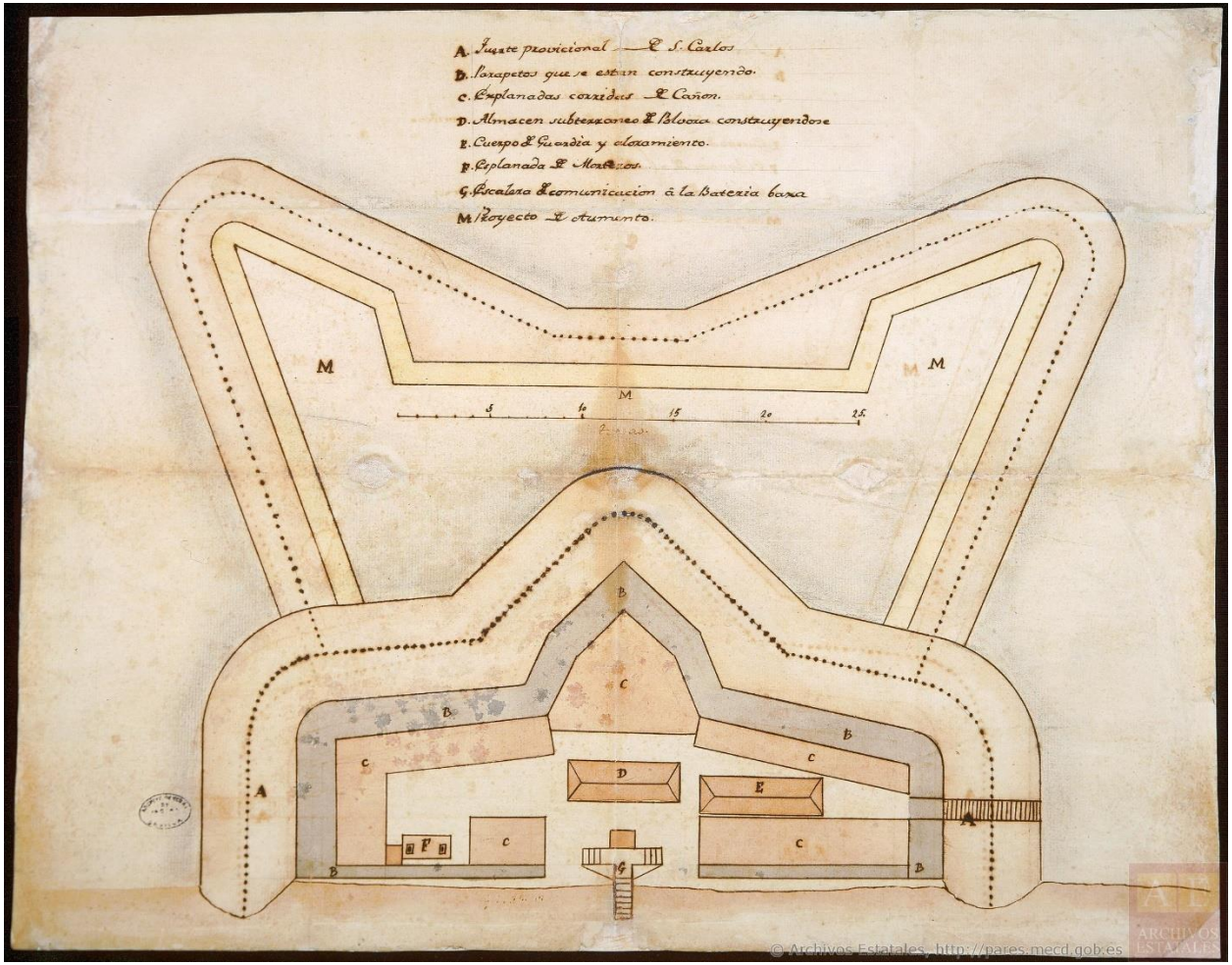


Figure 1.10: “Plano del Fuerte de San Carlos de Arkansas,” ca. 1796. Map. AGI.

Indigenous Transfers of Their Knowledge

Indians and European settlers collaborated in the process of cartography, yet Native sources were not mentioned or cited in these finished products. We know that Indian guides and informants gave information to European settlers and colonists through the indication of natural resources, enemies, allies, and place names, that their knowledge was translated. What other encounters, beyond the relationships of soldiers with Native guides and informants, occurred at the European Arkansas Post, perhaps of a more intimate nature? As Nan Rothschild argued in her work on Spanish and Dutch interactions with Indians in North America, rarely did physical boundaries keep groups of people from interacting. After all, the construction of Fort San Carlos III may have appeared like a strong physical manifestation of Spanish power on paper, but people could always, and did often, climb over walls and circumvent boundaries.[80]

French and Spanish cartographers did not create these imperialistic maps in an intellectual vacuum; rather, mapmaking gives us a glimpse into these intertwined cultural landscapes that were formed on the ground, which these politically-charged maps failed to represent. Through a close analysis of European-created maps, we see how Native American actors entered the process of cartography. Most Native Americans did not create maps in the European-fashion, though this omission does not mean that Indians did not create maps. Historians note that Indian maps were often more ephemeral, created in chalk, sand, or ash from a fire.[81] Native Americans may have perceived and organized space differently than Europeans, but these understandings of space were not incommensurate. Rather, Europeans relied heavily on

[80] Nan Rothschild, *Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: The Spanish and Dutch in North America* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003).
[81] See Louis de Vorsey's essay "American Indians and the Early Mapping of the Southeast" in *The Southeast in Early Maps* (William P. Cumming, ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 65.

Indian guides, warriors, and translators to help them navigate North America and make sense of space, and many of these European-created maps reflect these collaborations.[82]

European maps often demarcated natural resources, presumably indicated by a Native American guide, and the emphasis on certain animals in European maps—buffalo in particular—indicated a Quapaw influence. Travel accounts from the time period in which these maps were made corroborate these exchanges of knowledge between the French and local Native informants. Henri Joutel's journal references many instances in which Quapaw informants showed them natural resources and best hunting practices. The guides (whose tribe affiliation is unknown) who led Joutel and his men from southwestern Arkansas followed hunting paths of the buffalo to reach the Quapaw village of Cappa, stopping along the way to kill and harvest several buffalo (*te*).[83] Hunting buffalo played a large role on the trek from the Caddo nation of southwestern Arkansas to the Quapaw, since the Quapaw consumed the flesh of the buffalo, used its hide (*te-ha)* in a number of ways (mats, bedding, and clothing), and even adorned themselves with the horns of the buffalo (*te-he)* during religious ceremonies.[84] The act of hunting buffalo required a ceremony before, during and after the successful killing, and its body was dressed in a particular way to thank the gods for a successful hunting trip.[85]

Buffalo were so central to the Quapaw people that they even inscribed their power on the skin of this important animal for the "Three Villages" map. Some French cartographers included illustrations of game, including buffalo and deer, along with images of Native Americans

[82] Recent scholarly work emphasizes the role that Native Americans played in shaping how information was spread in the early South, and how crucial Native Americans were for the creation of communication networks. See Alejandra Dubcovsky *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).
[83] Henri Joutel. *Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage: a reprint.* (London: 1713), 150.
[84] Ibid, pages 160 and 162 describe ceremonies of Quapaw Indians using horns and painting themselves red while sacrificing the buffalo a ceremonious way. Father Du Poisson described Quapaws painting scenes on buffalo hides, and also using them as table and bed covers (*Du Poisson Voyage up the Mississippi*).
[85] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians,* 9.

hunting. Guillaume de L'Ille's 1717 map *Carte de la Louisiane et Du cours du Mississippi* contains images of buffalo and deer (see Figure 1.11).[86]



Figure 1.11: Guillaume de L'Isle, detail of "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi," Paris, ca. 1717. Map. The Butler Center for Arkansas Studies.

What other interactions occurred on the ground at the Arkansas Post, that perhaps began with the sharing of ideas and knowledge of the natural world for the purposes of cartography, but led to longer lasting unions? The last portion of this chapter discusses how entangled European and Native American lives were at the Arkansas Post, in spite of these political landscapes articulated in Quapaw and European maps.

[86]Butler Center for Arkansas Studies Map Collection. Guillaume de L'Isle, *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi*, Paris, 1717.

Intercultural Landscapes at the European Arkansas Post

On October 23rd, 1797, Don Pedro Janin, the visiting Spanish priest at the Arkansas Post, baptized and anointed with holy oils a child born in July, Thereza Soligny. The Catholic registry noted that her parents were Luis Soligny and Margarita Bone, and that the child's paternal grandparents were "Pedro Souligny and Carolina, an Indian, and the maternal ones, Miguel Bone and Thereza, an Indian."[87] Albeit brief, this record of a child's baptism provides a vivid snapshot of cultural landscapes created at the Arkansas Post. Although Luis and Margarita do not show up in other colonial records, we can posit that both were of French and Quapaw ancestry, yet were living at the Spanish Arkansas Post, and most likely lived together as husband and wife.[88] This brief baptismal note gives a glimpse into the complex social dynamics that existed among European and Indian residents in southeastern Arkansas in the eighteenth century, which only became more muddled when Spain laid claim to the land and tried to impose rigid political landscapes.

As we have already seen, the Spanish official of the Arkansas Post wanted to create physical separation between the European and Native American residents of the region, as shown through orders from the Spanish Governor to Post residents, maps of the region, and the construction of Fort San Carlos III. The Spanish faced a major problem, however, which thwarted these aspirations of the Spanish colonial government: the cultural landscapes created over nearly a century by French settlers and the Quapaw people. It is no secret that French

[87] *A Baptismal Record of the Parishes along the Arkansas River, August 5, 1796, to July 16, 1802* (Pine Bluff: Grand Prairie Historical Society, 1977), 77.

[88] No marriage certificate exists from Luis and Margarita, most likely because the Arkansas Post had no permanent priest until 1796. Most people were unable to travel to New Orleans or St. Louis where district priests were located, so they married with witnesses and signed a type of civil contract. Sometimes itinerant priests visiting the Post would marry couples who had already signed a civil marriage contract, though these contracts provided no legal effect. See Morris Arnold's *Colonial Arkansas Post* chapter IV, pgs. 94-97 for more information on the legal and religious aspects of marriages at the Arkansas Post under French and Spanish occupations.

hunters, soldiers, and merchants had children with Quapaw women, as indicated by Catholic baptism records from the time period that include numerous instances of French men having children with Indian women.[89] To the Spanish colonial government's dismay, these social bonds were difficult to break, and indeed persisted, at the Spanish Arkansas Post. The Spanish dimension to colonial rule served only to add an extra layer of complexity to already intricate cultural landscapes.

In 1789, French-born Jean Baptiste Duchassin recorded his will and testament at the Spanish capital in the city of New Orleans, a 350-mile and two-week journey by river from his home at the Arkansas Post.[90] Duchassin aptly represents the Atlantic dimensions to the eighteenth-century Arkansas Post: his parents were born in France, and he emigrated to the Arkansas Post and became a successful merchant in the eighteenth century, selling provisions to itinerant hunters, trading with Native Americans, and securing contracts to outfit the Spanish militia. During his life he witnessed these attacks on the Arkansas Post by British, Chickasaw, and Osages, and his signature was listed on a petition in 1789 in which the residents of the Arkansas Post declared war against the Osage. The Osage frequently attacked French, Spanish, and Quapaw hunters throughout the late eighteenth century, and often broke treaties of peace with the Quapaw and Europeans.[91] Residents of the Post, like Duchassin, felt their safety was at risk because of the actions of the Osage, including the killings of French and Quapaw hunters in 1766 and 1774. He joined other people in sighting a petition for relief, complaining, "The reason

[89] For more on intermarriage of Quapaw and French, see Morris Arnold *Colonial Arkansas: 1686-1802 A Social and Cultural History* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991), Arnold's "The Métis People of Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century Arkansas." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 57, no. 3 (2016), and Kathleen DuVal's "Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana," *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2008) for more information on French-Quapaw interactions, cohabitation, and marriage.
[90] Morris Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas,* 135.
[91]See Morris Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas,* pgs. 113-124 for a complete overview of the various Osage attacks on the Quapaw and French in the Arkansas territory.

for this [petition] is that we are robbed by the Osages not only of the products of the hunt but even of our shirts. The Osages take our scalps and carry them to their villages; we are left without any means to help ourselves."[92] Duchassin's sentiments were not hostile towards all Native Americans, however.

Duchassin's 1789 will, recorded in Spanish, hints at the fact that he was bilingual and most likely spoke multiple languages in order to conduct successful business at the Arkansas Post. In addition to French and Spanish, Duchassin may have known Indigenous languages, as well: his will stated that he left money to his four children "of the Indian Marianna" and also left her money because of "her good conduct and the love she has for her four children."[93] His will gives us one glimpse into the creation of cultural landscapes at the colonial Arkansas Post, and how they varied from the imagined, ideal political landscapes as articulated by European and Quapaw cartographers.

That same year, Jean Baptiste and Marianne had their son Francois baptized in the Catholic church. The Catholic register notes that Marianne was "an Indian of the Laitanne [Comanche] nation," though it is uncertain whether she was in fact a Comanche or an Arkansas Indian (Quapaw, Osage, or Caddo). It is possible that Duchassin, as a merchant, traveled to Spanish Natchitoches, Louisiana, where captured Indian slaves, including Comanches, were sold.[94] Duchassin's French ancestry notwithstanding, his children often passed as Indian. His daughter, Genevieve, was recorded as Native American in the Catholic Church registry when she married.[95] She married Francois Coussot, a native of Natchez, in 1797. Coussot's father was

[92] "Petition of People of Arkansas to Declare War on the Osage." 8 May 1789. *Arkansas Colonials: A Collection of French and Spanish Records Listing Early Europeans in the Arkansas, 1686-1804* (Pine Bluff: The Grand Prairie Historical Society) 39.
[93]Core Family Papers, Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry, University of Arkansas Libraries. MC1380, Box 24, File 18, Item 4. "Will of Jean Baptiste Duchassin in original Spanish form." March 6, 1789. New Orleans.
[94] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 125.
[95] *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas*, pg. 40.

French, and his mother was "Margueritte, an Indian."[96]Later in 1797 when Genevieve and Francois baptized their first child, Genevieve was also listed as "an Indian."[97] Native American ancestry of the Duchassin family carried into the nineteenth century. In the 1824 Quapaw treaty, section four allocated plots of lands to persons "being Indian by descent." The second person listed was Joseph Duchassin, who received one quarter section of land (these children will be discussed in more detail in chapter two).[98]

A marriage contract between Jean Baptist and Marianne is not included in the Catholic register of Arkansas; it is possible that these records were lost, or, more likely, that Duchassin lived with Marianne as husband and wife, but did not have the church condone or bear witness to their union, since priests were few and far between at the Post. Another possibility, albeit a disagreeable one, is that Marianne was enslaved by Duchassin and lived as his concubine. According to Spanish law, if he had married her, that would have granted Marianne her freedom. The Spanish outlawed future enslavement of Native Americans in 1763, however, so unless Duchassin had enslaved Marianne before this year, it is unlikely that she was a slave, and rather he lived with her as husband and wife because of the paucity of European women at the Post.[99]

In addition to fathering children with Marianne, he also served as godfather for many Native American children at the Arkansas Post, some of whom included Jean, a "Paducha [Plains] Indian," in 1793, and Marie, "a child of Abenaquis Indians" in the same year.[100] Duchassin also served as a witness for weddings between French and Native Americans, such as the wedding between "Barthelemi Quebec and Margueritte, Indian of the Cances Nation," and

[96] Core Family Papers, Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry, University of Arkansas Libraries, MC 1380, Box 21, File 15. "Marriage Records in Arkansas."
[97] *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas*, pg. 31.
[98] "The Quapaw Treaty, 1824." *Territorial Arkansas Collection,* Arkansas State Archives.
[99] Morris Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas,* 65.
[100] *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas,* 23.

hunter Michael Baune and his wife, Marie Jeanne who was of mixed-ancestry. [101] Indeed, despite Jean Baptiste Duchassin's involvement in the Arkansas militia serving under the Spanish occupation, selling goods to the Spanish militia, and his signature on the declaration of war against the Osage, his private life reveals intimate community and personal connections with people from Native American backgrounds. His life illustrated that these rigid, separate political landscapes as iterated by Native Americans and Europeans at the Arkansas Post, embodied by the Buffalo Hide and creation of Fort San Carlos III were actually challenged, reshaped, and perhaps even rendered obsolete, when people on the ground created diverse cultural landscapes.

Today, nothing remains of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries at the European Arkansas Post. Because of human changes made to the Mississippi river in the late nineteenth century, the already low-lying area became immersed in water, and the once lively trading post disappeared into the sloughs and slow-moving bayous that currently dot the landscape. Travelers to the French and Spanish settlement up until the Civil War noted the sparse, quickly-built wooden structures that rotted from constant flooding, the standing water that attracted mosquitoes and other insects, and heat and humidity that was almost intolerable.[102] If the human-changes to the river had not been made, and the Arkansas Post's colonial remnants existed, what kind of physical evidence might we find that allude to collaboration, alliances, and even intimacies among Native Americans and Europeans?

Let us focus on the cemetery of the Arkansas Post. The location of the cemetery is unknown—perhaps it was located behind the small wooden chapel constructed at Fort San Carlos III. In this village cemetery we might find the remains of diverse residents who lived at

[101] Ibid, 21.
[102] Numerous travel narratives discuss the poor quality of the Spanish, French, and American Arkansas Post. See Morris Arnold *Colonial Arkansas* for a brief overview of the material conditions of the Arkansas Post in the eighteenth century.

the Arkansas Post. Antoine L'Epine, a "native of the ancient Post of Arkansas," died at the age of sixty and was buried there, and Jean Baptiste Duchassin served as a witness along with the priest.[103] Pierre Coussot, whose mother was a Native American and married Duchassin's daughter, Genevieve, attended the burial of a six-month old child, Marguerite, whose parents were also of mixed-ancestry.[104] Jean Baptiste Charlery, the son of French parents, died in October of 1797 and was buried in this cemetery.[105] A few days later, twenty-year-old Charlotte, an Arkansas Indian, was buried. In December, an Osage Indian, Charlotte, died and was buried there, too.[106] In August of 1797, Louis Souligny, whose father was French and mother Native American, witnessed the burial of an eighteen-month old baby, Sophie, "of the Arkansas Nation."[107] Maybe Sophie and Charlotte were buried next to each other, since they were both Native American, though perhaps not, since the Osage and Quapaw were historic enemies of each other.

A traveler privy to one of these sparse funerals at this remote colonial outpost would see French, Spanish, and Native Americans mourning the loss of a community or family member in the same shared space. They might be speaking to each other in various languages, and maybe even conducting last-rite traditions stemming from the Catholic faith brought from France and Spain, or the Quapaw cosmology that had been practiced in that space for many years. This cemetery, unfortunately lost to the river, would illustrate how intimately connected people of European and Native American ancestry were at this colonial post, and how these social

[103] Ibid, 28.
[104] Ibid, 31.
[105] Ibid, 33-34.
[106] Ibid, 34.
[107] Ibid, 33.

landscapes formed from cohabitation, marriages, deaths and trading, were much more intricate, dynamic, and elaborate than can be summed up in one map or cartograph.

The topic of the next chapter addresses how these intimate relationships between French, Spanish, and Indigenous people were *visible* on the landscape, especially through material culture, spanning the late colonial into the nineteenth century.

Chapter Two: A Material Native Ground: Maintaining Indigenous Material Culture at the Arkansas Post



Figure 2.1: "Tah-Chee, a Cherokee Chief." *McKenney and Hall Indian Tribes of North America*, 1836. Lithograph, hand colored. Philadelphia: F.W. Greenough. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/mckenneyhall/id/176

In 1828 in Washington, D.C., Cherokee chief Tah-Chee sat for his portrait as American artist Charles Bird King endeavored to replicate his likeness onto a blank canvas (see Figure 2.1). He and other Western Cherokees, including Sequoyah, had made the trip from the St. Francis River basin in eastern Arkansas to Washington in order to ratify a treaty, in which lands in Arkansas were exchanged for land in Indian Territory.[108] Although Chief Tah-Chee had never sat for a formal portrait before, and was in fact one of the very few to do so, he recognized the political importance of his event. He knew that how he presented himself outwardly not only for this portrait sitting, but during his visit to Washington, was part of a larger diplomatic process in American history, where leaders of sovereign nations engaged in intercultural meetings and were viewed as political equals.[109] Although no written sources from Chief Tah-Chee exist, the clothes he chose to wear and the accoutrements he chose to carry, emphasizes the importance of material culture in facilitating cross-cultural interactions.

Chief Tah-Chee took this opportunity to craft his outward identity as both a well-respected Cherokee chief and warrior, as well as a diplomat serving on behalf of the Cherokee Nation. His clothing choices blended Indigenous and European material culture, which highlight the trade and cultural networks in which he was involved in the Arkansas territory after he moved there in the early 1800s. Indeed, his sartorial choices captured in this portrait reflected his Indigenous identity with modifications he made to European material culture. The European-styled shirt and sash reflected his access to European and Anglo-American trade networks. The bright red headdress with feathers reflected his Indigenous identity, and a knife at his waist emphasized his prowess as a warrior and hunter. Tah-Chee communicated his identity to the

[108] See "Treaty of the Western Cherokee," May 6, 1828. *First People: Treaties and Agreements.* https://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Treaties/TreatyWithTheWesternCherokee1828.html

[109] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier," *Journal of American Studies* 47, no. 2 (May 2013): 313-337.

United States not only as a political leader, but also as someone who creatively reshaped European material culture to fit his own self-fashioning. He, like so many others, used material culture to craft a new identity as an Indigenous man living in the Arkansas territory, and as someone who straddled two cultural and material worlds.

Historian Kathleen DuVal has argued that the *native ground*— a political, economic, and territorial structure created and kept by Arkansas Indians, including the Quapaw—disappeared in the 1820s, with the rapid influx of Anglo-American settlers, peaking in Arkansas after it became a territory in 1819. She is right that the political and economic native ground held by the Quapaw people disappeared in the early nineteenth century. Roughly twenty years after Arkansas became a territory, almost the entire Quapaw population had been removed ("voluntarily" and involuntarily) to the Red River Region of Louisiana and eventually to the northeast corner of Indian Territory.

Yet, by looking at material culture and Quapaw consumerism, I want to extend the periodization of Duval's native ground at the Arkansas Post through the 1840s. I argue that by analyzing the material culture habits of residents at the Arkansas Post, we can see that a native ground remained in southeastern Arkansas mediated through material culture, in spite of massive political, economic, and cultural changes in the early nineteenth century. Just as the portrait of Chief Tah-Chee provides an individual example of this process, the Arkansas Post provides an excellent societal example where we can see Native Americans continuing to trade, share, and adapt European material goods. It was already a place where the Quapaw people and French settlers had cultivated particularly close social and cultural ties, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Such phenomena was not new in areas where cross-cultural interactions unfolded; indeed, some argue that the middle ground created by Natives and French settlers in the Great

Lakes region affected European consumerism and self-fashioning, as well, since both Natives and French people shared clothing, tastes, and styles that led to the creation of new fashions and hybrid cultures.[110]

As we have seen in the previous chapter, European (mostly French) and Quapaw individuals at the Arkansas Post created close ties through marriage, kinship networks, and cohabitation. Although the Quapaw people were politically and economically marginalized, a substantial remnant of the native ground was visible on the physical landscape through material culture. In the early to mid-nineteenth-century Arkansas Post we see some Anglo-households (from inventories and deed records), but the overwhelming majority of the population remained a quasi-Indian, quasi-French population whose close connections and relationships were made manifest in a rival cultural landscape that endured beyond and even after Quapaw Removal—indeed, a significant number of *métis* families resisted physical removal by remaining and creating new identities to maintain their hold on this ancestral landscape. Material culture and household items played an overwhelming role in how certain members of this *métis* population navigated this tumultuous political and social time, and was a key feature of those who remained in Arkansas in spite of Quapaw removal.[111]

Before delving more deeply into this topic, let us take a moment to discuss terminology. Any term using the language of blood, like "métis," "mixed-blood," "half-breed," or "full-blood," is a product of the Removal Era, during which time white politicians began to racialize

[110] See Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 1, Material Culture in Early America (Jan. 1996): 13-42, who argues that Mohawk self-fashioning, particular among its Chief leader Hendrick, took a material, consumer form, and that Henrick used clothing and European objects to assert his status as a Chief while serving as an intercultural diplomat.
[111] David W. Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 64.

Native Americans in order to justify policies that dispossessed Native peoples from their land.[112] As historian Theda Perdue argued, Southeastern Native Americans did not utilize these types of terms regarding ancestry, and moreover, the notion of being "mixed blood" was not even an idea to which Native Americans subscribed. Because of their matrilineal practices, Southeastern Native peoples viewed the offspring between Native women and European men as *Native*, since the kinship status of the child was inherited from the mother.[113] As such, intermarriages between Native women and European men were often mutually beneficial, and these white men and their offspring were incorporated into the mother's clan and kinship networks. The idea of being *métis* and classifying people as such was a white construction, and Southeastern Indians did not make distinctions between people of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" in the early nineteenth century.

This chapter underscores the fact that identities were malleable and fluid, and that European culture never overwhelmed Native American culture at the Arkansas Post.[114] Despite the many issues surrounding these terms, I have decided to employ the term *métis* in this chapter when appropriate to describe specific individuals whose backgrounds we know to have been both European and Native American, so that we can analyze how these individuals created unique identities at the Arkansas Post using blends of Indigenous and European material culture during times of intense social and political change. Given the fact that intermarriage led to a population of mixed cultures at the Arkansas Post, the choices such individuals made, particularly in regards to self-fashioning and material items and clothing, led to the creation of new identities.[115] Native American culture was not erased, and Indigenous and *métis* people

[112] Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 4 (Fall 2004): 701-723.
[113] Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," 702.
[114] Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South," 719.
[115] Sophie White has written extensively on self-fashioning and material culture in the Louisiana territory. See *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: The

utilized European material culture to highlight and reshape their identities. Analyzing material culture allows us to recover some of these voices from the Arkansas Post whose stories were omitted from the creation of the archive, and enables us to understand how these individuals crafted identities.

European Observations of the Population of the Arkansas Post

Many travelers to the region noted the closeness between French and Native American people at the Arkansas Post. In 1812 Amos Stoddard visited the Arkansas territory, and noted a contrast between the French-Quapaw people and Anglo-Americans. He wrote that despite the fact that the lands around the Arkansas Post were fertile and "well adapted to tillage," the French and Quapaw people were "unacquainted with agricultural pursuits," and instead relied on hunting and trading for subsistence.[116] He went on to add that "most of the inhabitants of that village, are of mixed blood, and the same mixture is observable among the Indians."[117] In 1832, Washington Irving tersely noted the population of southeastern Arkansas, "Quapaws—much intermarried with the French—a great part of them half breeds."[118] William Pope wrote down his memories in the late 1800s describing the territory of Arkansas when he arrived there in 1832. He remarked on the history of the population of the Arkansas Post, stating that "many of the French settlers left by De Tonti [in 1686] at the settlement intermarried with the Quapaw Indian women, and some of their descendants were living at Little Rock and other parts of the territory

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), article "Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Goods." *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 229-248, and "'Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his collar, and elsewhere about him': Slaves' Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans." *Gender and History* 15 no. 3 (November 2003): 528-549 for her analysis on material culture, race, slavery, and Native Americans in the Lower Mississippi River valley.

[116] Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Description of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: Mathew Cary, 1812), 206.

[117] Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Description of Louisiana*, 206.

[118] *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (John Francis McDermott, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 166.

when I first came to Arkansas."[119] If these traveler's accounts are portraying a fact—that people of French and Quapaw descent lived with each other and had children, how might these French-Quapaw individuals and their children have dressed and represented themselves? In other words, what did this remnant of a material *native ground* actually look like, and how was it maintained by those who created and occupied this material native ground?

For specific information about how this population of people lived, we are fortunate that some extant inventories have survived. Inventories are an invaluable source for giving glimpses of material culture—what these individuals at the Arkansas Post owned, including objects in their homes, implements of husbandry, and even clothing. Household goods, clothing, and other items listed in inventories show us in detail how complicated and fluid cross-cultural tastes were at a remote outpost. To see how Indigenous and *métis* material culture at the Arkansas Post was different than that of Anglo-American material culture, I will analyze inventories and estate records of Indigenous and *métis* households to see what they might have looked like, how these people dressed, and then make conclusions of how this remnant native ground mediated through material culture took shape and persisted in the early to mid-nineteenth century among an increasingly smaller and smaller population of people. Then, I will discuss what constituted an Anglo-American household at the Arkansas Post, to see how it was different than this Indigenous and *métis* household, so we can see how the process of Anglicization took place at the Arkansas Post, and how certain people resisted these encroachments. Lastly, this chapter ends with a discussion of *métis* individuals and families during the era of Quapaw Removal, and how these people employed material culture to navigate this tumultuous time of change.

[119] William F. Pope, *Early Days in Arkansas: Being for the most part the Personal Recollection of an Old Settler* (Little Rock: Frederick W. Allsopp, 1895), 66.

Indigenous Material Culture

What constituted Indigenous pieces of material culture at the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Arkansas Post, and how was this material culture utilized by Native Americans? The story of a young man, Charlot, living at the Arkansas Post illustrates how Indigenous people utilized some pieces of European material culture, while still maintaining an Indigenous identity through self-fashioning. Charlot's inventory survives, though unfortunately, the reason for this inventory was his premature, accidental death.[120] Charlot, whose father was a French man named Barthélémy and mother was an unknown Quapaw woman, was hired as a boatman (*voyageur)* on an expedition up the Mississippi river in 1779. He died on this voyage by drowning, and the Commandant of Illinois, Don Fernando de Leyba, had to take a formal inventory of all of Charlot's material possessions. Not only does this inventory give us a rare picture of what a poor hunter and boatman at the Arkansas Post owned, but more revealing, what a *métis* person at the Arkansas Post owned.

Charlot packed in his duffel some European pieces of material culture, including a wool hat, two combs, three handkerchiefs (presumably to wear around his head or to wipe the sweat from his brow), and a "shirt of heavy linen," indicating the type of hard, manual labor he would be doing on a boat that required a strong, durable fabric. He brought a butcher knife, probably to

[120] Inventories as a primary source are problematic, and some historical archaeologists refer to this as an "inventory bias." Dennis Pogue, for example, argued that probate inventories were often recorded only for wealthier members of society in early America, since they both tended to live longer and were more likely to have probate inventories made of their estate. Some inventory takers had biases as well, by excluding certain items that perhaps had no market value or were set aside for inheritance. They also sometimes lumped material under one catch-all phrase, like "kitchen ware" for example, which leads to an "underrepresentation" of household objects. See his chapter "Standard of Living in the 17th-century Chesapeake: Patters of Variability among Artifact Assemblages" in *The Archaeology of Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Courtland, VA: The Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993):371-399. Charles Orser recently wrote about the archaeological world of the seventeenth-century English Atlantic world, and echoed Pogue's conclusions that only elite members of society had inventories taken. He wrote that for the poorer classes, "that textual evidence for such objects is frustratingly elusive." See his work *An Archaeology of the English Atlantic World, 1600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 326 for more on how archaeology can be used to work to eliminate the bias from these inventories.

skin animals like bear, deer, and beaver, which he would have found in abundance along the river's course—and a spoon, indicating that he was brought up to eat with utensils, not his hands.[121] Other objects in Charlot's duffel reveal his Indigenous roots. He packed a "horn," most likely a buffalo horn, to store lead and powder, which Quapaw warriors often employed.[122] He brought some tobacco, which he may have bought or grown himself in a small plot of land, and he packed a calumet, instead of a clay pipe, to smoke his tobacco. He also packed a *capot*, or a hooded jacket that was immensely popular among Native Americans in the Lower and Upper Mississippi River Valley after the style of coat was introduced by the French; he packed a pair of deerskin moccasins, which were often employed by Indigenous peoples, a pair of leather leggings, and a buffalo robe that he could have used as a blanket, as was custom among the Quapaw people.[123] He put all of these items into a deerskin bag, thus highlighting his outward identity as an Indigenous person, indicating that perhaps he was raised by his mother and incorporated into her clan. Charlot's duffel gives us a glimpse of what type of objects a *métis* man possessed, but we do not get a clear vision of his self-fashioning of stylistic choices—we know *what* he owned, but not *how* he wore it.

Although no portraits or illustrations of the Quapaw in Arkansas exist, there are a few extant portraits of Cherokee individuals who lived in Arkansas in the early nineteenth-century, including the aforementioned portrait of Chief Tah-Chee, and Sequoyah, who lived in Arkansas

[121] Morris S. Arnold, "Barthélémy Dit Charlot, a Colonial Arkansas Métis and Voyageur," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2015): 1-17.
[122] Thomas Nuttall described Quapaw warriors as using buffalo horns to carry gunpowder. See Thomas Nuttall, pg. 123. Jean-Bernard Bossu also described Quapaw warriors as employing buffalo horns to keep powder. He says, "their arms and ammunition consist of a rifle, a buffalo horn for powder strung across the shoulder, and a small skin sack in which to keep bullets, flints, and wad-extractors." (*Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762*), 64.
[123] Sophie White discusses what constitutes indigenous material culture at length in her work *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

from 1824-1828. An analysis of these portraits helps us assemble a mental portrait of how some of these Quapaw and *métis* men might have dressed and how they may have presented themselves at the Arkansas Post. These two portraits depicting Cherokee individuals in Arkansas were commissioned by Thomas Lorraine McKenney, who was the superintendent of the Office of Indian Trade. McKenney hosted Indian delegations in the 1820s, and hired an artist, Charles Bird King, to paint portraits of these Indian Chiefs when they came to Washington.[124] King painted 140 portraits total, and McKenney wrote short biographies to accompany each image, publishing these works in 1835 as *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*.[125]

Although these portraits are biased, like all primary sources, there are some important aspects to keep in mind when analyzing them. Art historian Elizabeth Hutchinson has written about the portraits from the McKenney-Hall collection, and argued that the nature of portraiture between Native Americans and Americans was a mutually beneficial process. She even labeled the encounter of portraiture as a form of middle ground, since it "required participants to become familiar enough with the values and reasoning of their interlocutors to use them to achieve their own ends" in an intercultural exchange.[126] Indeed, she found that Native Americans utilized these portrait experiences to express their identities as Native American leaders equal to Anglo-American leaders. She has argued that Americans viewed the subjects of these portraits as fellow elites, diplomats and war heroes who were certainly worthy of having their portrait painted.[127]

---

[124] Shirley H. Bowers, ""Captured on Canvas": McKenney-Hall's History of the Indian Tribes of North America," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (1993): 339-47.
[125] Shirley H. Bowers, ""Captured on Canvas": McKenney-Hall's History of the Indian Tribes of North America," 341.
[126] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier." *Journal of American Studies* 47, no.2 (May 2013): 318.
[127] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier," 327.

Take, for instance the portrait of Sequoyah (Figure 2.2):



Figure 2.2 Se-Quo-Yah. *McKenney and Hall Indian Tribes of North America*. Lithograph, hand colored, 1836. Philadelphia: F.W. Greenough. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.
https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/mckenneyhall/id/252/rec/91

Here, Sequoyah chose to wear his peace medal, emphasizing his role as a diplomat serving on behalf of the Cherokee Nation. He is also pictured with his Cherokee language syllabary, which was one of his creative endeavors to help the Cherokee people facilitate communication. His red handkerchief used as a headscarf along with his earrings perhaps points to his Indigenous roots.[128] Some of the European elements of his dress—including the shirt and dress—did not obfuscate his identity as Cherokee man, Hutchinson argued. She wrote of this portrait that "it should change us to think about what Native identity is, and how it can manifest in the visual field."[129] Despite his appropriation of some European clothing, we know that Sequoyah fully identified as a Cherokee man, since he left Arkansas and went to Mexico in 1842 looking for more Cherokee people to bring back to the United States. Sequoyah's portrait, and the way he chose to represent himself to the world, underscores the fact that Native Americans were sophisticated consumers of goods, arbiters of taste and fashion, and could appropriate European material culture while still retaining their Indigenous identity, and not sacrifice their political power.

Some Quapaw people at the Arkansas Post may have made similar sartorial choices to that of Sequoyah. Handkerchiefs, like we see adorned on his head, were a common sight not only at the Arkansas Post, but all throughout French Louisiana. They came in a variety of different cloths and colors, and appear in a variety of inventories from French Louisiana, including the estates of Philipe Haynault and the inventory of Marthe Fremond, Widow of Philippe-Antoine Brusle, both of whom were wealthy French settlers.[130] Nuttall wrote about Quapaw Indian dress

---

[128] William H. Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710-1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 32, 38.

[129] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier," 328.

[130] *The Favrot Family Papers:* A Documentary Chronicle of Early Louisiana, *1797-1802*. Ayer: Oct 274 .F38 1988, The Newberry Library, Chicago. For more information on the importance of handkerchiefs among enslaved

that "many of them, in imitation of the Canadian French, wear handkerchiefs around their heads," and even some other French manners of dressing.[131] According to Anglo observers, handkerchiefs provided no real pragmatic purpose as far as clothing goes, but were rather examples of "fanciful" clothing used for self-fashioning or even a sartorial performance—in this case, looking French.[132]

We have another set of sources that allows us, albeit imperfectly, to get at the Quapaw point of view regarding clothing and the purchasing of household items from the Arkansas Factory Records from 1805-1810. When paired with the portraits of the aforementioned Cherokee Chiefs, we can see in greater detail how Quapaw people engaged in consumerism and made individual sartorial choices at the Post. In 1795 Congress set up the Indian Factories system in the newly expanded American empire in order to regulate trade between settlers and Native Americans, and to keep Native Americans away from their alliances with their Spanish rivals. These factories were placed in areas where the fur trade was highly active, including the Louisiana territory, which is why Congress decided to erect a Factory at the Arkansas Post in 1805. In this factory system, Native Americans brought their deerskins, bearskins, and other furs to the trading house, where they bartered with the chief trader, who then traded these furs for various goods. John B. Treat, the Chief Trader at the Arkansas Post from 1805-1807, kept scrupulous records of the items that he sold at the Arkansas Post Factory, and what type of

communities in French Louisiana, see Sophie White "'Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his collar, and elsewhere about him': Slaves' Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans," *Gender and History*, Vol. 15 No. 3 (November 2003), pp. 528-549.

[131] Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels in the Arkansa Territory During the Year 1819* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966, first published in 1819) 127.

[132] Sophie White, "'Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his collar, and elsewhere about him': Slaves' Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans," *Gender and History*, Vol. 15 No 3 November (2003), 528.

interactions he had with the Quapaw people and some other Native Americans, including the Osage and Cherokee who lived throughout the Arkansas territory.

With these sources, we can see what kind of objects and pieces of clothing Quapaw individuals wanted to barter for once they brought their deerskins and other furs to the trading house. In regards to Native American consumerism, historian Timothy Shannon wrote that Native American consumers in the Northeast often made demands and rejected inferior goods, and were active members in the consumer revolution.[133] There are some indications from these Arkansas Post Factory records that the Quapaw made requests and demanded certain items from the War Department like the Mohawk did in the Northeast. Indeed, when John Treat first became the Chief Trader at the Arkansas Post, he wrote to the Secretary of War that he planned to arrive at the Arkansas Post with items from the Chickasaw Trading House, since he figured that the Indians in Arkansas would want similar items as the Chickasaw in nearby Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis). He was surprised to find that the Quapaw people did not want these items, including Russia sheeting (a type of plain weave hemp linen) and duffels (though he should not have been surprised, based on their historic antagonism).[134] In fact, the Quapaw refused to buy them. Treat wrote the Secretary of War to ask for advice, and the secretary advised him that he was to sell these unsold items to the white settlers—but just this once. From then on, Treat was sure to order items from Philadelphia and New Orleans that the Quapaw people told him they wanted. Therefore, although the Factory records are not perfect sources to get at the Native American perspective, we can infer that the items listed in these sources were items coveted and purchased

[133] Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, no.1, "Material Culture in Early America" (January 1996), 17.
[134] National Archives, Record Group 75. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Trade. (Hereafter cited as BIA, OIT). Letter Book, Arkansas Factory, 1805-1810. (Hereafter cited as LB) microfilm reel at the Newberry Library, Chicago Illinois. LB of Arkansas Factory. Treat to Davy, April 15, 1806, pgs. 74-75.

by the Quapaw people, and that these items were customized by the Quapaw people. Therefore, these demands illustrate that Indigenous identities were not erased at the Arkansas Post, and that the Quapaw people were active consumers of goods they coveted, including guns and clothing, as we shall see.

Some of these objects reflected the spartan-like conditions that existed at the late colonial and early nineteenth-century Arkansas Post, in which residents—both European and Native American— relied on hunting and trapping for food and subsistence. Chief Trader John Treat did mention that most of the residents at the Arkansas Post planted their own cotton, flax, and hemp, and many of these residents also kept sheep, cattle, and hogs.[135]

Overwhelmingly, however, European and Native American residents continued to hunt until the mid-1830s, which changed only when Anglo-American settlers began to clear and plant cotton in earnest in the 1830s and 1840s. These items cited by John Treat included heavy-rifle guns, gun locks, and gun powder, which certainly aided in the hunting of various game in the Arkansas territory, such as deer, raccoon, otter, and bear, which they then brought to the Factory House to trade.[136] Thomas Nuttall credited the French colonists' success in the region by adopting Indian practices, like hunting, which provided subsistence for the population. Nuttall wrote of "The Canadians," a term he used for the forefathers of the later Arkansas Post French, as having "descended this river, keeping on peaceable terms with the natives, and intermarrying amongst them, continually maintained their ground, though rather by adopting the manners of the Indians, and becoming hunters." [137]

---

[135] National Archives, Record Group 75. BIA, OIT. LB Arkansas Factory. Treat to Dearborn, November 15th, 1805, pg. 23.
[136] Kathryn Braund discusses how guns revolution the Deerskin trade among the Creek Indians in Southeast America and helped the deerskin trade become commercialized in her work, *Deerskin and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) pg. 129.
[137] Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels in the Arkansa Territory During the Year 1819*, 77.

Horses and Indigenous Material Culture

Accoutrements surrounding horsemanship also reflected Native influences on material culture at the Arkansas Post. Working to dispel the myth that only Western Plains Indians mastered horsemanship and monopolized the horse trade, historians have begun to write about the role of horses in Southeastern Native societies.[138] One example comes from historian James Carson who wrote about the influence of horses on the Choctaw people in the late eighteenth century. He argued that the Choctaw responded to the decline of the deerskin trade by first supplementing the deerskin trade by selling horses and horse accoutrements, and then eventually replacing the failing deerskin trade with the horse trade.[139] Horses played a key role in Southeastern Indian life, particular for trading and warfare. Horses carried deerskins, honey, beeswax, tallow, and other goods, and eased the burden for women who transferred their crops from the village into towns and accompanied their families on hunting trip and carried skins and furs.[140] Horses became so central to Choctaw culture that some Choctaw chiefs were buried with their horses, thus changing Choctaw burial rituals.[141]

We know that the Quapaw people incorporated horses into their cultural and economic life at the Arkansas Post since John Treat wrote that the Quapaw dominated "the selling of Horses, which they also dispose of both to white and Indians who come from over the Mississippi."[142] The Quapaw most likely acquired their horses from the Caddo, who lived in

---

[138] James Taylor Carson writes about the role of horses among the Choctaw Indians. See "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 3 (1995): 495-513. Tyler Boulware also writes about horses and Native Americans in the Southeast. See "'Skillful Jockies' and 'Good Sadler": Native Americans and Horses in the Southeastern Borderlands," in *Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America's Contested Spaces, 1500-1850* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 70.

[139] James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," 503.

[140] James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," 503.

[141] James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," 498.

[142] National Archives, Record Group 75. BIA, OIT. LB Arkansas Factory, 1805-1810. Treat to Dearbon, November 15th, 1805, pg. 25.

southwestern Arkansas, who had direct access to the Spanish horse trade in the southwest.[143] In the 1818 U.S. Treaty with the Quapaw, Article Six stipulated that Quapaw chiefs could "to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses, or other property, which may be stolen from any citizens or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of the said tribe or nation…" thus indicating the importance of horses for the Quapaw people. [144] Furthermore, in the 1833 Treaty with the Quapaw, the United States outlined provisions to be given to the Quapaw once removed to Indian Territory, including cows, hogs, and sheep, but no horses—an omission which may suggest that the Quapaw people bred their own horses and did not require supplementation.[145]

As Southeastern Indians, like the Quapaw, adopted horses into their culture, they began to change horse accoutrements and horseback riding styles to fit their specific needs. For instance, Indigenous warriors did not use bells on their horses, so that they could remain quiet and stealthy while riding through the woods. Bridles were different, too (simply a rope around the neck of the horse), and Southeastern Indians mounted horses differently.[146] Historian Tyler Boulware found that English visitors to the Southeast often commented on the saddlery of Native Americans, and that the finished product looked different than English saddles. Adair described the process of a Choctaw person making a saddle in 1775:

> They are good sadlers [sic], for they can finish a saddle with their usual instruments, without any kind of iron to bind the work… The Indians provide themselves with a quantity of white oak boards, and notch them, so as to fit the saddle-trees…Then they take the buffalo green hide, covered with its winter curls, and having properly shaped it to the frame, they sew it with large thongs of the same

[143] James Taylor Carson, "Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840," 497.
[144] "Treaty with the Quapaw, 1818," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Vol. 2, page 160. Oklahoma State University Digital Library. https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26002/
[145] "Treaty with the Quapaw, 1833." *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Vol. 2, page 395. 3https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26236/
[146] Tyler Boulware, "'Skillful Jockies' and 'Good Sadler": Native Americans and Horses in the Southeastern Borderlands," 76-77.

> skin, as tight and secure as need be; when it is thoroughly dried, it appears to have all the properties of a cuirass saddle.[147]

Although Adair did not mention what these saddles were called or the Choctaw name for these saddles, we can venture an educated guess that these saddles were similar to "Spanish" saddles, which were associated with Indigenous material culture.[148] A horse expert believed this terminology most likely referred to Spanish-style saddles that were brought to North and South America with Spanish conquistadors and adapted for use along with horses by various Plains Indian tribes, like the Comanche.[149]

Unlike English saddles, these Spanish saddles had a larger bucket-styled seat that gave the rider more control, along with a pommel, or horn, similar to a modern-day Western saddle.[150] Adair's description of the Choctaw saddle did not mention a horn or pommel, but this implement could have been added later in the saddlery process. No extant records from the Quapaw mention the process of saddle-making, though we can speculate that if the Choctaw made their own saddles out of buffalo hide, the Quapaw did, as well, since the Quapaw had direct access to buffalo and hunted them often, as we saw in chapter one. Spanish saddles were mentioned in an 1853 advertisement for a runaway slave in the *Arkansas Gazette*, in which the ad placer explained that the man ran away with a black horse and a "Spanish saddle, such as are used by the Indians,"[151] confirming that, by the nineteenth century, Spanish saddles were associated with

---

[147] James Adair, *A History of the American Indians; particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, east and west Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia: Containing an account of their origin, language, manners, religious and civil customs, laws, form of government, punishments, conduct in war and domestic life, their Habits, Diet, Manufactures, Disease and Method of Cure, and other Particulars Sufficient to render it a Complete Indian System* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775), 425-426.

[148] Tyler Boulware, "'Skillful Jockies' and 'Good Sadler": Native Americans and Horses in the Southeastern Borderlands," 88.

[149] Steve Price, *America's Wild Horses: The History of the Western Mustang* (Skyhorse Publishing, 2017). Price discusses the *jineta* and *la brida* style of saddles, both utilized by Spanish conquistadors For more on the horse trade dominated by the Comanche, see Pekka Hamalainen *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[151] *Arkansas Gazette,* January 21, 1853.

Indigenous material culture in Arkansas. Perhaps these Spanish saddles looked similar to the ones that Adair discussed, or illustrated rival trade networks that enslaved people tapped into in Spanish-held territories.[152]

Clothing

Quapaw people also bought goods at the Factory to express their outward identities. Treat cited goods that the Quapaw Indians frequently purchased at the Arkansas Post reflected a desire for ornamental and decorative goods, albeit on a small scale, especially regarding cloth. Like many other rural outposts in the Louisiana and Arkansas territory, goods were hard to come by, and most either came via river travel from New Orleans or Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and most of these goods were exclusively produced in Britain for the purpose of selling to American Indians.[153] Historian Sophie White has written that cloth, in particular, was one of the most important goods in the Atlantic world, since it was the "largest single category of consumer items sent to the colonies and usually the most valuable," and this emphasis on cloth does not disappear when the United States lays claim to the former French Louisiana territory.[154] Even in a small, sparsely-populated outpost like the Arkansas Post, clothing could be used and manipulated to "fulfill creative impulses," as White argued, or assert and contest status.[155]

Indeed, some of these items that Treat wrote about may have served a pragmatic purpose, though others may had been coveted by the Quapaw people for diverse reasons: for self-expression through dress and style, or even to appropriate European-made items into a new

[152]For example, Sophie White discusses illicit trade networks among people of African descent and Native Americans in French Natchitoches, Louisiana, who went to Spanish territory (Los Adaes) to buy and trade certain luxury goods. See "Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Goods." *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 2/3 (2011): 229-48

[153] Braund, *Deerskin and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* , 122.

[154] Sophie White, "Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Goods" *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, No. 2, pgs. 232.

[155] Sophie White, "Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Goods," 235.

Quapaw context. Treat wrote that different types of blankets and cloth were in high demand at the Arkansas Post Factory in 1806: "broad blue Stroud," "scarlet cloth," and "red, yellow, and green binding blankets," along with "muslin shirts" and shirts that were "yellow and olive."[156] Historian Kathryn Braund found in her study of Southeastern Creek Indians that these vibrant colors like scarlet and deep blue were coveted by the Creek for their vibrancy, but also that these colors also cosmological importance for the Creek nation.[157] At a competing private-trading firm at the Arkansas Post called Scull and Company, Scull ordered wampum, feathers, ribbon, and beads in 1809, along with more pragmatic items like kettles, blankets, and knives.[158] Wampum belts held significant importance in Native American culture, since they were used to "convey diplomatic messages among Indian tribes and between the colonies," with different colors signifying peace or danger.[159] Treat recognized that usage and remarked when he ordered more from Philadelphia, "the wampum will be valuable to the Chiefs."[160] For some Quapaw Chiefs, these wampum belts could have been used as a type of "symbolic prop" for diplomacy among the European and Anglo-American residents at the Post, or to denote their status as more powerful than other Quapaw people.[161] Quapaw people in southeastern Arkansas may have traded ostrich feathers from Scull to use as hair decorations, like we saw in the portrait of Chief Tah-Chee, along with combs, and traded their deerskins and bear tallow for beads to make necklaces.

---

[156] National Archives, Record Group 75. BIA, OIT. LB Arkansas Factory. John Treat to William Davy, July 13th 1806, pg. 115.
[157] Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* 123.
[158] Patrick E. Martin, *In Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Research Series No. 11, 1977), 14-15.
[159] Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* 124.
[160] Letterbook of the Arkansas Factory, John Treat to Indian Factory Office, March 3rd, 1806, pg. 71.
[161] Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion, *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 14.

Charlot's duffel, the Arkansas Post Factory records, and these portraits of two Cherokees who lived in Arkansas give us insight into the material world of Native American and *métis* people who lived in the middle of North America. The items that Quapaw and *métis* people bought gives us a sense of their material tastes and how they used clothing and pieces of material culture for adornment, and the two extant portraits give us a visual understanding of how these items were repurposed and worn by Native consumers. We see that, in spite of encroaching Anglo-American settlement, certain Native individuals were able to successfully occupy these liminal spaces between European and Native worlds, and even chose which goods served their purpose and maybe even heightened their sense of being a Native American. Anglo-American settlement driving into southeastern Arkansas did not erase Native identities. With the examples of Chief Tah-Chee and Sequoyah in mind, we can ascertain that the Quapaw people did not abandon their Native identities when purchasing and wearing European goods; some individuals appropriated European goods to heighten their status as a Native person, and created new identities that blended European and Indigenous material culture.

Anglo-American Material Culture

What did the newcomer Anglo-American landscape look like at the Arkansas Post, and how was it different from the existing Indigenous and *métis* material native ground? To be sure, a landscape manipulated to facilitate the production of cotton did not resemble a landscape used for a different purpose, such as extracting materials, hunting, or small-scale subsistence farming. Indeed, the largest indicator of a new Anglo-American presence at the Arkansas Post was the heightened emphasis on cotton-production and the reliance on chattel slavery to a much larger extent than the French or Spanish had done previously at the Arkansas Post. All aspects of cotton production changed the landscape: planters had enslaved people clear trees and drain swamps

and lowlands to increase their tillable acreage; cotton gins were built to process the cotton onsite more efficiently; more reliable roads were constructed to transport the cotton from the fields to the gin, and from the gin to the loading dock; levees were constructed to try and control the Mississippi, so that planter's docks located in the backswamps could be loaded to pack and ship cotton onto the flurry of flatboats and steamboats making their way downriver to New Orleans markets.[162]

Some of these Anglo-planters and slaveowners owned tools and implements of husbandry to facilitate their cotton-producing endeavors. William Montgomery owned a tavern on the Mississippi and a large plantation. In addition to owning thirteen enslaved people to aid in running his tavern and to run his plantation, he owned many tools that enabled these enslaved people to work, including: five axes, which were used by enslaved people to clear the land to plant cotton; cross-cut saws to cut up these trees; a horse collar and a cart, presumably used to lead a horse or mule with one of the many ploughs he owned; a set of cotton hooks, to aid in the picking of cotton; a "set of balances" listed with these cotton hooks, used to weigh how much cotton his enslaved people picked per day; and "lots of carpenter's tools" which enslaved people most likely used to construct structures, like the barns and cotton gins, located on the plantation landscape.[163]

Some smaller household items also indicated an Anglo-American influx at the Arkansas Post, which differed from the *métis* or Indigenous tradition. In 1828, Christian Pringle's estate inventory listed many fine European pieces of material culture, reflecting not only his material

[162] Many recent historians have discussed capitalism, cotton-production, and chattel slavery moving into the Lower Mississippi River valley. See Walter Johnson's *River of Dark Dreams*, Edward Baptists, *The Half has Never Been Told*, and Sven Beckert, for a recent analysis of how capitalism and slavery were built on one another, and how these large forces moved into the Lower Mississippi River Valley.

[163] Sale List of personal property of Estate of William Montgomery, 1836. Arkansas County Deed and Probate Records, DeWitt, Arkansas. Thirteen enslaved people are listed in this inventory of the estate of William Montgomery in 1836.

wealth but also his desire to look more elite at the rural Arkansas Post. We can almost picture the interior of his home based on this detailed inventory: Pringle owned six Windsor chairs, four feather beds, one bureau, one cherry table, and his kitchen items included plates, cups, knives, and forks.[164] Windsor chairs were thoroughly Anglo, as the form of the chair was "developed in England" and "perfected in America."[165] Pringle owned six of these chairs, and were the largest indicator of his Anglo-status. As far as his elite status, his feather beds would have been a luxury, since most of the mattresses at the Post were filled with Spanish moss or hair. The table made of cherry—not the local cypress—was similarly an expensive piece of furniture.

Pringle also owned a compass, perhaps one he used for surveying or traveling, and two "English saddles," not Spanish.[166] Pringle also owned items that facilitated his role as a slave owner. Pringle's inventory does not list enslaved people, though we know he did own slaves to work his 204-acre estate based on extant bills of sales of enslaved people from the 1830s: Gibs, a seventeen-year old boy, and Sally, who was twenty-three years old when she was sold.[167] His inventory lists items that would have been used by some of these enslaved people to work this farm. For instance, he owned many ploughs, horse carts and harnesses, chopping axes, and grubbing hoes. The branding irons he owned could certainly have been used on his horses, but could have also used on enslaved workers.[168] Of course, even French and Spanish elites owned similar types of agricultural and farming tools, but the scale to which Anglo-American planters

[164] Inventory of the Estate of Christian Pringle, 1828. *Arkansas County Deed book*. Arkansas County Courthouse, Dewitt, Arkansas.
[165] Troy Segal, "Antique Collecting: The Windsor Chair," *The Spruce Crafts* (August 15, 2019).
[166] Inventory of the Estate of Christian Pringle, 1828. *Arkansas County Deed book*. Arkansas County Courthouse, Dewitt, Arkansas.
[167] Survey of Christian Pringle, 1818. Spanish Land Grants. Commissioner of Arkansas State Lands. "Bill of Sale to the Minor Heirs of Christian Pringle, Received and recorded the 10th Day of May, 1834." *Historical Bulletin Published by the Grand Prairie Historical Society*, Vol. III, no. 1 (1960), pgs. 6-7.
[168] Inventory of the Estate of Christian Pringle, 1828. *Arkansas County Deed book*. Arkansas Country Courthouse, Dewitt, Arkansas.

endeavored to make their cotton dreams a reality varied in scale at the Arkansas Post, especially after the Louisiana Purchase.[169]

The Material Ground in Pine Bluff

By the 1830s, Anglo-American settlers, who brought with them slavery and cotton production, began to make demands that the Quapaw people and other Native Americans to leave southeastern Arkansas. These mounting pressures resulted in some *métis* families moving nearer to Pine Bluff, about forty miles northwest of the Arkansas Post, where treaties between the United States and the Quapaw tribe gave some of these families land.[170] Antoine Barraqué, a French-born man married a Quapaw woman and he and his family moved closer to Pine Bluff and founded a town called New Gascony. Other families followed, including *métis* families, families with men married to Quapaw women, like Joseph Bonne, and families of French men who married women of Native descent like Antoine Barraqué.

The first treaty the Quapaw made with the United States occurred in 1818, with mounting pressure from Anglo-settlers who wanted the Quapaw people to begin to leave southeastern Arkansas. This 1818 treaty, negotiated by Chief Heckaton and Benjamin O'Fallon, a representative from the War Department, ceded roughly thirty million acres to the United States, with a two-million-acre reservation north of the Arkansas River near Pine Bluff.[171] Chief Heckaton and other Quapaw and *métis* people moved to their tracts of land nearer to Pine Bluff

---

[169] There is a vigorous historiography on the introduction of large-scale cotton production and slavery in the Lower Mississippi River Valley. See Walter Johnson's *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), Edward Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), or Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton : A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014) for some recent works linking slavery, capitalism, and Empire in the Lower Mississippi River Valley.

[170] David W. Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 64.

[171] "Treaty with the Quapaw, 1818," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Vol. 2, page 160. Oklahoma State University Digital Library. https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26002/

and were given plots of land next to other *métis* families, fostering a unique community. Historian David Baird writes that in 1818, Chief Heckaton believed that the Quapaw people were valuable allies to the United States, like they had been to France and even Spain, and that this treaty was similar to those made the United States made with European powers.[172] Indeed, this treaty did ensure hunting rights to the Quapaw people on their ancestral lands, gifts of manufactured goods, and an annuity to be paid each year. This outlook would change, however, when Arkansas became a territory in 1819. Anglo settlers believed these small tracts of land given to the Quapaw people nearer to Pine Bluff were too much, and Anglo-settlers and the Federal government soon set their sights on removing the Quapaw people permanently from southeastern Arkansas.

The 1824 treaty with the Quapaw people was much more devastating, and was the first official removal treaty regarding the Quapaw people. This 1824 treaty, designed by Robert Crittendon, the first territorial governor of Arkansas territory, sought to remove the Quapaw people from the Arkansas landscape and remove them to the Caddo lands near the Red River in Louisiana. This 1824 treaty has been described as the worst treaty for Native peoples, yet the best treaty for the United States government by historian Baird, since the United States did not even create reservations for the Quapaw people, but expected them to merge with the Caddo people, thus losing not only their ancestral homes, but their sovereign identity, as well.[173] One article of this treaty did give favor to some *métis* families, who were allowed to remain in Arkansas on tracts of land in Pine Bluff. As historian Morris Arnold wrote, no one knows why these families were given these tracts of land in Pine Bluff, and were not forced to remove with the other members of the Quapaw tribe. Crittendon wrote to the Secretary of war, John Calhoun,

[172] David W. Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* 57.
[173] David W. Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* 69.

that he planned to "allow them a few reserves, or donations to *half-breeds* resident in the nation."[174] This donation of land to the *métis* people may have been the Federal government's way of seeing whether the Quapaw people could become more Anglo-American through farming, and in particular farming cotton, and thus blend into the new Anglo-American landscape while abandoning a native one.

The families listed in Article Seven of this treaty reveal the networks of the *métis* people, and included families with names like Bonne (the original founder of Pine Buff), Duchassin (whom we met earlier in Chapter One as the Jean Baptiste Duchassin who fathered children with a Native woman), Saracen (the son of a Quapaw interpreter during the Chickasaw Wars, to be described in more detail in Chapter Three), Imbeau, Socie, Coupot, Bartelemi, and Valliere families. Historian Arnold speculates that many of these families may not have been actual descendants of the Quapaw people, but other Native Americans.[175] Regardless of their Native ancestry, these families were descents of Arkansas Post French settlers and Native Americans in Southeastern Arkansas, and claimed Quapaw ancestry by accepting these lands as laid out in this 1824 treaty. These family's decisions perhaps reinforce the historical argument that these *métis* people viewed themselves as fully Native, like Perdue argued about Southeastern Indians.[176]

Whether these aforementioned individuals would have identified as more Quapaw or French is difficult to determine, since no records exist of these particular individuals and their identification. However, their presence as a community remaining on the southeastern Arkansas landscape speaks volumes. Land records from the 1824 treaty indicate that these diverse families

---

[174] Cited in Morris Arnold's article in "The Metis People of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Arkansas" in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* pg. 298. Original citation: Letter from Acting Governor Robert Crittendon of Arkansas, Treaty #123 of Nov. 15, 1824, Ratified Treaty File, 1801-1868, National Archives Microfilm Publication T 494, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records Group 75, National Archives.
[175] See Morris's article on this, "The Métis People of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Arkansas," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 57, no 3 (Summer 2016): 261-296.
[176] Theda Perdue, "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South."

lived close to each other. Chief Saracen was given a plot of land next to Baptiste Socie and Joseph Bonne on the Arkansas River.[177] Saracen briefly left southeastern Arkansas to lead his people, along with Antoine Barraqué, to live among the Caddos, though he returned to Arkansas twice and eventually died in Pine Bluff, after being granted an exemption of removal from the territorial governor.[178] An internal divide emerged between Chief Heckaton and Chief Saracen: roughly 300 Quapaw people remained in Caddo territory with Chief Heckaton, whereas others refused to leave Arkansas under Chief Saracen. Those living among the Caddo were removed to their own reservation in northeastern Indian Territory in 1834 as official enrolled Quapaws, whereas the rest in Arkansas most likely endeavored to look and act more Anglo than French or Quapaw to fly under the radar of Anglo settlers who wanted their native presence erased from the landscape.

Maybe some remaining members of this *métis* population used material culture to help blend in, or at least not stand out, on the new political landscape where Anglo-Americans decided that Native bodies did not belong. William Featherstonehaugh, an English geographer and American surveyor, spent time with Antoine Barraqué and his family in 1844, giving us some insight into a *métis* family and how they navigated this tumultuous time for Native American and *métis* people. As far as the house went, he claimed it was "very comfortable…neatly and sufficiently furnished," and that the entire family spoke French. He noted that Barraqué's wife was one of these *métis* women, which he, not surprisingly, found disdainful. He wrote, "to judge from appearances, Madame has no small portion of the Quapaw blood in her, which is not an uncommon thing, as most of the Creole French who lived out of

[177] See 1824 Saracen Land Claim, Commissioner of Arkansas State Lands.
[178] David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians*, 79.

New Orleans connected themselves with Indian women; her mother no doubt was of that stock."[179]

By 1844, mounting pressure for Native peoples to be stripped of their lands, so that Anglo-American planters could exploit southeastern Arkansas's fertile lands to plant and harvest cotton, reached a high-point. Anglo-American planters and their enslaved workers worked to transform southeastern Arkansas from an older, Native South into what we think of as an Old South. In these times of uncertainty for Native people, Madame Barraqué may have pragmatically tried to hide her Quapaw ancestry outwardly through the style of house in which she lived, the person she married, and by speaking French instead of a Dhegiha language like her Quapaw forebearers. Featherstonehaugh failed to mention how he came to the conclusion that Madame Barraqué had Indigenous roots, leaving it up to our imaginations to fill in some missing links. Maybe some of the items she kept in her home, like earthenware jugs or buffalo hides used as blankets encouraged Featherstonehaugh to think she was Indigenous. Maybe she and her husband had Spanish-styled saddles, or mounted their horses differently, like James Adair noted among the Choctaw.

Perhaps Madame Barraqué's sartorial choices and self-fashioning led to Featherstonehaugh's conclusions. Let us examine one final portrait of an Indigenous woman, who although was not a member of the Quapaw tribe, was an Osage woman, and lived in Missouri at the same time that the Barraqué lived. (See Figure 2.3)

[179] G.W. Featherstonhaugh *Excursions through the Slave States: From Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices* (Vol II. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1844), 230.



Figure 2.3: "Mo-Hon-Go, Osage Woman." *McKenney and Hall Indian Tribes of North America,* 1836. Lithograph, hand colored. Philadelphia: F.W. Greenough. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/mckenneyhall/id/240/rec/58

The life of Mo-Hon-Go was quite remarkable, in that she travelled to Europe with a delegation of Native Americans in 1827, though the reasons for travelling were based on deception.[180] Her

[180] The story of Mo-Hon-Go and her European travels are told by Thomas Lorraine McKenney in the short biography he wrote of her which accompanied her portrait. See this biography on the Washington Library's Special Collections, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/mckenneyhall/id/240/rec/58

portrait, however, is one of the few extant images of an Indigenous woman who lived near the Arkansas region, and thus gives us some visual clues as to what sartorial choices Madame Barraqué may have made.

Maybe Featherstonehaugh based his observations on Madame Barraqué's Native ancestry by the way she dressed—earrings, like the one we see in the portrait of Mo-Hon-Go, or a red *capot* like Mo-Hon-Go donned, which we know to have been a popular sartorial choice among *métis* , Indigenous, and French women in the Lower Mississippi river valley. We also know that scarlet cloth was a popular item purchased by Quapaw people at the Arkansas Post Factory, perhaps for Quapaw cosmological reasons, and Madame Barraqué may have incorporated this color into her own wardrobe. Even as late as the 1840s, *métis* people like Madame Barraqué were informed consumers and engaged in self-fashioning to present themselves in a specific way, much like we saw with the portraits of Tah-Chee and Sequoyah in the 1820s. As long as individuals like Madame Barraqué were visible on the southeastern Arkansas landscape, a material remnant of this native ground that was created and maintained by Arkansas Indians like Madame Barraqué's grandparents and great-grandparents, persisted, albeit on a small scale. As we have seen in this chapter, Native identities were never destroyed nor overwhelmed by European consumerism or political pressures, and many individuals incorporated, shaped, and changed European and subsequent Anglo-American fashions and other types of material culture to fit their own needs and to highlight their Native identities. Maybe Madame Barraqué did just that as late as the 1840s in southeastern Arkansas in spite of these pressures.

Chapter Three: Rival Cultural Landscapes Set in Motion: Antoine Sarrassin, Plantation Landscapes, and *La Cyprière*

"…and the heads of the leaders named Antoine Sarrasin, Jean Baptiste commander, Ami and August have been posted on the camps of Sr. Poedras, Widow Lacour, Widow Barron, and on the path that crosses the False River, and we have signed with the attending witnesses all of which give authority."

(Et les têtes des chefs nommés Antoine Sarrasin, Jean Baptiste commandeur, Ami and Auguste ont été postés dans les camps de Sr Poedras, Veuve Lacour, Veuve Barron, et dans le chemain [sic] de traverse de la Fausse Rivière")
-Execution of the Sentence of Point Coupée Conspiracy, May 29, 1795

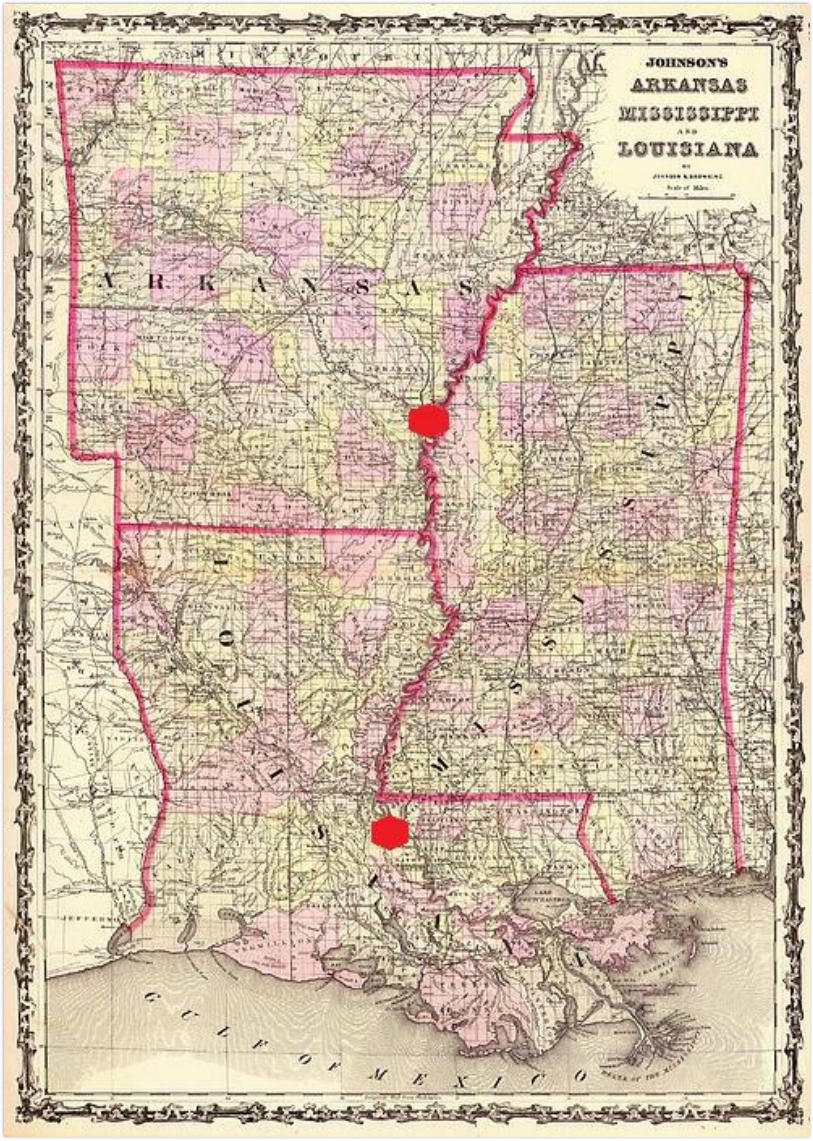


Figure 3.1 a) The Location of the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée, both posts along the Mississippi River in Spanish Louisiana. Alvin Johnson's Map of Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana. Map. 1861. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

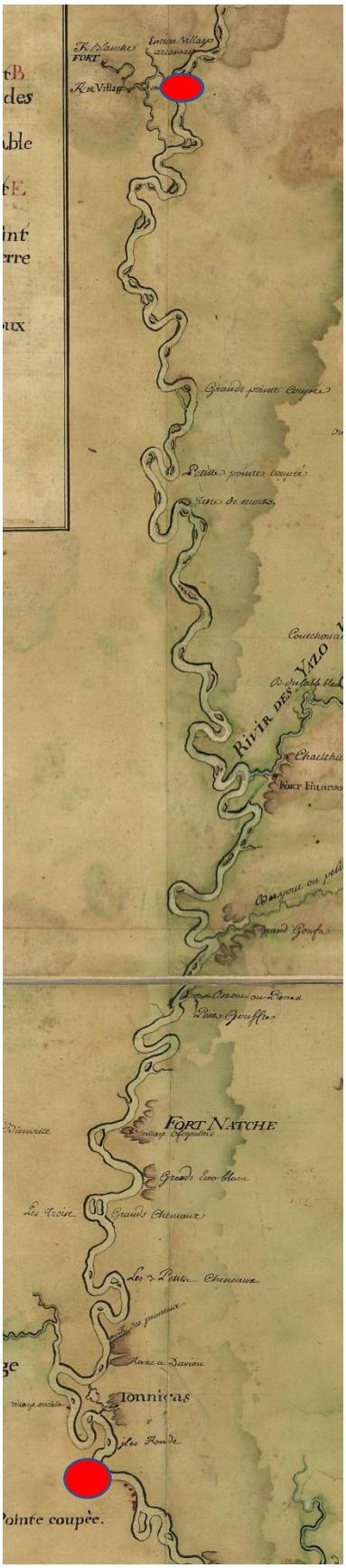


Figure 3.1 b): 1743 illustration of the Mississippi River, with the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée indicated by red circles. Demarigny. *Carte particulière d'une partie de la Louisianne ou les fleuve et rivierres i.e. rivières onts etés relevé a l'estime & les routtes i.e. routes par terre relevé & mesurées aux pas, par les Srs. Broutin, de Vergés, ingénieurs & Saucier dessinateur*. 1743. Map. Library of Congress.

Boats on the Mississippi carried more than goods, supplies, and resources (see Figure 3.1). The river travel brought news, rumors, gossip, and pieces of information to people along its route, connecting disparate communities across a wide swathe of space. Antoine Sarrassin likely spent a lot of time on the banks of the False River and the Mississippi River, loading and unloading hogsheads packed with tobacco and indigo, items he and others cultivated and harvested on the plantation where he was enslaved. Sometimes, when he was working on the docks, he heard news from up river and down river, news from St. Louis and New Orleans. Perhaps he heard information from the small Arkansas Post, where his uncle, François Sarazin, lived and worked as a Quapaw interpreter. He may have heard rumors that this French uncle had children with a Quapaw woman, one of whom was named "Saracen" and was a burgeoning leader of the Quapaw people. Antoine wondered why Saracen could live freely at the Arkansas Post, but he was enslaved in Pointe Coupée, when both of their fathers were French? When he was a young boy in 1769, he heard that the new Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Alejandro O'Reilly, had outlawed Indian slavery in Louisiana. Wasn't his mother's mother Native American? Could he become free based on this new legal measure, like his cousin Saracen?

Sometimes news as far away as the Caribbean came their way. Perhaps while working along the river, Sarrassin heard stories about Toussaint L'Ouverture in Saint-Domingue, who had taken matters into his own hands to bring about an immediate end to slavery on the vast sugar plantations there. Maybe this was the only option for a man like Sarrassin, since he tried the legal route afforded by Spanish courts, and sued for his freedom based on his grandmother's Native American ancestry. He was thwarted by his owner's insatiable desire for labor, which kept him enslaved in Pointe Coupée, with no guarantee or hope for freedom unless something drastic happened.

Indeed, it was in Spring of 1795, when Sarrassin was now a young man, that he heard from a group of boatmen traveling to Natchez that the King of Spain had freed all slaves, and that he and others would soon hear this news and be granted their freedom. When Sarrassin found out that planters were suppressing this knowledge, and that they planned to keep enslaved people bound in servitude because of the color of their skin, he decided to take action.

After hearing about false claims for freedom and these stories of rebellion from the Caribbean, Sarrassin made his way back to his owner's plantation. He walked beyond the plantation house, through the slave cabins, to a space hidden from the rest of the world, but familiar to him*: la cyprière.* It was here, in the secret world of the meandering cypress swamps, out of view from his master and overseers, where he would congregate with fellow enslaved people, free people of African origin, and even Native Americans, to discuss his vision for bringing an end to slavery there in Pointe Coupée, at his plantation, and maybe for others, if they were willing to help.

Antoine Sarrassin is the thread that keeps this chapter together, and connects the Arkansas Post with Pointe Coupée, another remote post in the Louisiana territory along the Mississippi River. His story helps us answer questions regarding slavery, freedom, and revolutionary Atlantic rumors that made their way to Spanish Louisiana in the late eighteenth century. By tracing his story, we see how the social and political changes brought by a new Spanish presence in Louisiana (1769) thwarted the hope of an enslaved person of Afro-Indian ancestry who endeavored to use Spanish legal measures to gain his freedom. In order to understand the historical context of Antoine Sarrassin, I begin with a brief overview of the history of Pointe Coupée and compare it to the Arkansas Post. Then, I look at the social and political forces that gave rise to a man like Antoine Sarrassin, who lived in a time of great

turmoil and change in the Atlantic world and Spanish Louisiana. This chapter includes a discussion of Afro-Indian interactions in the Louisiana territory, and how these interactions, made manifest in the form of Antoine Sarrassin, caused concern and paranoia among European planters and Spanish officials. Spanish rule brought changes to the structure of slavery, including the liberalization of slavery for Native Americans, which led to an increase in Native Americans suing and winning their freedom. At the same time that Spanish laws changed how slavery looked in Spanish Louisiana, French and Spanish planters were keeping abreast of events in the Atlantic world, notably the massive slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue (1791), while trying to keep their grasp on slavery on their own plantations in Louisiana. This political and social context will help flesh out the circumstances, both political and social, that greatly influenced Antoine Sarrassin, and help answer why he felt disillusioned and further marginalized than he already was as an enslaved person in the late eighteenth century.

The second part of this chapter discusses how Antoine Sarrassin, based on all of these political and social changes in Spanish Louisiana and the Atlantic world, took matters into his own hands. This section discusses how he exploited a common physical feature of plantations in Louisiana, the backswamps, or *la cyprière,* for his own benefit to try to bring about an immediate end to slavery in the Pointe Coupée district. Before delving into the specifics of Sarrassin's plans at Pointe Coupée, I discuss how plantation landscapes were political landscapes, since they were infused with power designed by the planter, yet, like always, these powered relations were incomplete. In *la cyprière,* in particular, enslaved people could test and challenge the planter's total power and control over enslaved people. Indeed, it is in these specific spaces on French plantations that Sarrassin and others before him found a physical space to exert autonomy, meet secretly, live in maroon communities, and challenge the limits inscribed on the plantation

landscape, culminating in the Mina Conspiracy of 1791 and the Pointe Coupée Conspiracy of 1795.

This portion of the chapter details how *la cyprière* were crucial spaces for enslaved people before Sarrassin, and how Sarrassin then exploited these spaces to a large extent in his endeavors in 1795. I will discuss the specifics of Sarrassin's conspiracy and how his story ties political and social changes in Spanish Louisiana included physical parts of the landscape. As we shall see, just as Sarrassin and others challenged the bounds of the plantation landscape, the Spanish government reasserted its claims to power by making a political statement on the same disputed landscape. Indeed, the story of Antoine Sarrassin and the plantation layouts give a clear example of two different groups of people using the physical landscape for political purposes, in which Spanish leaders executed the conspirators, including Sarrassin, and placed their heads on pikes on paths along the False and Mississippi Rivers.

To tie these events in Pointe Coupée with the Arkansas Post, I end with a discussion of the similarities between plantations at the two places, both of which shared the same French-style plantation layouts and created backswamps. I theorize how people of African descent, enslaved and free, may have heard about Atlantic conspiracies while being enslaved at the Arkansas Post, and how they may have heard news of Antoine Sarrassin in their own cypress swamps or along the Arkansas and Mississippi, similarly to how Sarrassin first heard news about Spanish legal changes, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and other Atlantic events while working along the Mississippi.

History of Pointe Coupée

Although the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée shared some similarities which will be discussed, there are some major differences between them, especially regarding the role of

slavery. For one, the number of enslaved people at the Arkansas Post was always small, as was the population of free people of African descent (and Europeans, for that matter) at the Post. In the 1798 Spanish census at the Arkansas Post there were 393 total residents, with 56 enslaved people listed, along with a handful of free people of African descent. [181] Sources regarding the lives of the enslaved there are scant: a few transactions regarding the buying and selling of slaves; some mentions of enslaved people in letters written by French and Spanish settlers; enslaved people being moved from one plantation to the next when a will was settled; and runaway slave advertisements (though these latter did not appear until newspapers arrived in the region in the 1820s). Although some stories can be recovered from individuals, it is difficult to know what it was like to be an enslaved person at the Arkansas Post at this particular place and time, when the Spanish occupation of the Post hastened changes regarding slavery while the Age of Revolutions picked up speed.

French settlers founded Pointe Coupée in 1717, and similar to the Arkansas Post, it was a coveted trading post along the Mississippi River half-way between Natchez and New Orleans. The French founded the settlement along the False River, which was a channel of the Mississippi, but in 1722 the river changed its course and the False River was cut off, hence the name "Pointe Coupée, (see Figure 3.2), which the Spanish translated literally as "Cut Off Point" [*Punta Cortada*].

[181] Historian Morris Arnold writes that in 1798 there were only about 60 enslaved people at the Arkansas Post. Morris Arnold, 64-65. and the white population was around 400 in the entire Arkansas region (including the Post). *Arkansas: A Concise History.* Jeannie Whayne, Thomas DeBlack, George Sabo III and Morris Arnold, eds. (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2019), Arnold also cites that two free women of African descent lived at the Post in 1793, and a handful of free men of color in 1796. *Colonial Arkansas,* 64-65.



Figure 3.2: "False River Ancient Course of the Mississippi" at Pointe Coupée. Lieut. Ross, and Robert Sayer. *Course of the river Mississippi, from the Balise to Fort Chartres; taken on an expedition to the Illinois, in the latter end of the year*. London, Printed for Robt. Sayer, 1765. Map. Library of Congress.

The area around the False River and Mississippi had a powerful Native American presence, and the French settlement was built close to a Tunica village, another small polity which, like the Quapaw, chose to ally with the French to enhance trading.[182] This remote post witnessed a surge of French and Native American violence following the Natchez massacre of 1729, during which time the Tunica allied with the French, and waged battles against the remnants of the Natchez tribe. Historian Gwendolyn Midlo Hall found that there were frequent Indian raids at Pointe Coupée from roaming Chickasaw bands and remnants of the Natchez people who were seeking refuge in Louisiana after their villages were destroyed in 1729. As we have seen for the Quapaw village near the Arkansas Post, Pointe Coupée was a violent, unstable, disputed Native American and European borderland.

Adding to this tension was the growing number of enslaved Africans who were forced to work on tobacco and indigo plantations that now extended further into the swampy landscape. At

[182] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 243.

Pointe Coupée, enslaved people outnumbered Europeans, and racial mixing among Indians, people of African descent, and Europeans led to a diverse population of *mulattos* [people of African and European descent] and *grifs* [people of Afro-Indian descent].[183] Manumissions during both French and Spanish occupations led to a high population of free people of African descent and people of Afro-Indian descent. Historian Gwendolyn Midlo Hall found that French and Spanish men often recognized their offspring of enslaved women through manumissions and giving money, though this did not happen for Antoine Sarrassin. Indeed, even with their freedom, these people of mixed ancestry often occupied a precarious position in society where they were not enslaved nor fully free. The population at Pointe Coupée was larger than the Arkansas Post's population, and the Arkansas Post was a society with slaves (a society where slavery existed, but was not the central economic or political structure) , whereas Pointe Coupée was a slave society (where slavery was central to all economic and political functions).[184] However, the diversity of people at these two posts—Native American, French, Spanish, people of African descent, and the racially-ambiguous offspring from intimate unions at a frontier post—were very similar.[185]

Antoine Sarrassin

Unfortunately, like many enslaved people, not much is known about the origins of Antoine Sarrassin, though some records about his father, also named Antoine Sarrassin, exist, which help place his son's story into historical context. We know that Antoine Sarrassin was a

[183] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 262.
[184] Ira Berlin coins the terms "slave society" and "society with slaves." See his work *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) and the prologue where he makes this distinction.
[185] For instance, the population of white residents in 1746 was roughly 200 whites and 400 Africans or African-Americans, and the percentage of enslaved and free people of African descent grew exponentially compared to that of the French population. See Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* chapter 8 "The Pointe Coupee Post: Race Mixture and Freedom at a Frontier Settlement," pgs. 237-274 for data and charts regarding the population of people.

French resident of Pointe Coupée, and that his brother, François Sarrassin, was the Quapaw interpreter at the Arkansas Post. Therefore, Antoine Sarrassin's story has a direct connection to the Arkansas Post. We know Antoine and François were brothers since several documents exist that contain both of their names and establish their relationship.[186] Their father, Nicolas Sarrazin, was a fur trader in New Orleans.[187] He lived with his wife, Anne Rolland, and their three children, including the eldest son Antoine, middle son François, and youngest son Michel, who were born sometime from 1721 to 1727.[188] Their father died in 1727, leaving their mother with an estate, and she remarried twice more and moved to the Natchez Post in the 1730s. François took a position as a French cadet and interpreter at the Arkansas Post, where he fathered children with Quapaw women, including one son, Saracen, who became Chief of one of the Quapaw tribes during the Era of Quapaw Removal in the early nineteenth century.[189]

It should come as no surprise that French planter Antoine Sarrassin, likewise, fathered a child with an enslaved woman of African and Indian descent—at least, only one that we know of. Antoine Sarrassin apparently lived among the elite at Pointe Coupée, based not only on the fact that he was a slaveowner, but also given the amount of times he was cited in various court cases in both the French Superior Council and Spanish Judicial Records. In 1748, Antoine

[186] For example, "Succession of Sr. Nicolas Sarrazin" from the French Superior Council (April 25, 1758) states that "Sieur Francois Sarrasin, resident of Arkansas, grants a procuration to Sieur Antoine Sarrazin, his brother, resident of Pointe Coupee, giving him power and authority to recover his share of their mother's (Dame Francois Rolland), deceased wife of Sieur Jean Stephane, estates, movables, and immovables." Document #7444.

[187] There are many different spellings of the surname "Sarassin" from both primary sources and secondary sources. I rely upon the spelling of the surname based on the primary source, which, in this case, has Nicholas' last named spelled "Sarrazin."

[188] Ann Dubuisson,. "François Sarazin: Interpreter at Arkansas Post during the Chickasaw Wars," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2012): 243.

[189] Historians write that no documentary evidence exists that lists Francois as the father of the Chief Saracen, but as Ann Dubuisson writes, most children born of French-Quapaw unions were named after their father. Furthermore, "there was probably no disapproval on either side of a young Quapaw woman having a child by a young French cadet," she writes, since Francois most likely fathered this child before his marriage to Marie Leipin. Ann Dubuisson, "François Sarazin: Interpreter at Arkansas Post during the Chickasaw Wars," pg. 260.

Sarrassin was a witness for a contract between Sieur Meuillion and his brother, Pierre Daspit (*dit* Saint Amant) for the sale of an enslaved woman, Lizette.[190] In 1762, he served as witness for an exchange of land and an enslaved woman between a Jeanne Rabalay and a Mr. Guichanduc.[191] He served as a witness for a contract made by Judge Trénonay during the settling of an estate in Pointe Coupée and again about a house in New Orleans.[192] As we shall see later in this chapter, Trénonay was a large-scale planter who was murdered by an enslaved man in 1791, the same year that slave insurrection sparked the Haitian Revolution.

French planter Antoine Sarrassin, his wife, Marie Colon, and his brother Michel also bought and sold enslaved people around the Pointe Coupée district quite often. For instance, Antoine and Michel bought from Madame Pierremont an enslaved woman of African descent in 1744, presumably while he was living in Pointe Coupée.[193] No major records of Sarrassin's plantation (like the plantation plats cited later on in this chapter) survive, perhaps because neither he nor his heirs were alive when these were issued by Spanish royal surveyors in the 1780s and 1790s; perhaps he had no legal heirs, since he never recognized Antoine as his son. Yet, even after his death, his widow, Marie Colon, bought and sold slaves, indicating that his household and plantation remained in her control. In 1766 she bought Hector and Jupiter, perhaps peers and friends of Antoine Sarrassin, and later in that year she bought a "healthy negro valued at 1500 livres" from a Madame Marie Richaume, whose name was not listed.[194]

Although Antoine Sarrassin's ancestry was ambiguous, he endeavored to highlight his maternal grandmother's Native American ancestry to sue for his freedom, though he was listed

[190] "Receipt and Discharge." French Superior Council. June 4, 1748. Document #30949.
[191] "Act of Exchange." Spanish Judicial. February 6, 1762. Document #8085.
[192] "Bonnaventure Succession." Spanish Judicial. May 11, 1762. Document #8165.
[193] "Sale of a Negress," French Superior Council, September 28, 1744. Also listed in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 13, no. 1 (1930), pg. 158. *There are multiple spellings of the surname Sarazzin. Official records list the name as Sarrazin, whereas historian Gwendolyn Hall refers to Antoine "Sarazin."
[194] "Power of Attorney." Spanish Judicial, June 6, 1766. Document # 80821.

in legal documents as a "mulatto" and "creole."[195] His mother was an enslaved woman of both African and Indian ancestry; indeed Sarrassin's maternal ancestry illustrated the close connections between people of African descent and Native Americans in Louisiana, founded largely on the fact that both groups of people were enslaved by French settlers. Holding both Indians and people of African descent in slavery led to intimate connections among the two groups, which also led to a new class of people known as *grifs*, whose status as enslaved or free became murkier as the eighteenth century wore on, and became an issue for slaveholders.

Indian slavery was widespread in the Lower Mississippi River Valley. French and Spanish settlers at both the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée bought and sold enslaved Native Americans throughout the eighteenth century, though the Spanish Governor endeavored to enforce Spain's ruling against Indian slavery in 1769.[196] Indian slavery was so prevalent in the Louisiana territory that even people who owned few material possessions bought and owned Native American slaves. For instance, in 1737 a small-scale planter named Antoine Beauregard was killed near Baton Rouge. While settling his small estate at Pointe Coupée, the affidavit listed that he "has neither cattle, nor clothes, nor effects…in his possession, except two old shirts, a worn out pair of breeches, an Indian woman, a crock containing about four pitchers of oil and forty pounds of tobacco."[197] Even a relatively poor man, as indicated by the possessions of his

[195] All of the legal cases surrounding the trail of Antoine Sarrasin list him as a mulatto. See "Confession of Antoine Sarrassin of Sr. Poedras," May 16, 1795. Found under Documents: *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.* https://lsc.berkeley.edu/node/389/viewer

[196] Many historians have written on Indian slavery and its rise and eventual demise in North America. See Christina Snyder *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012) or Alan Gallay's *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) for analysis of how the Indian slave trade functioned in various spaces in North America. Stephen Webre writes about Indian slavery in Spanish Louisiana specifically. See "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1793-1803," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25, No. 2 (1984): 117-135.

[197] "Affidavit." French Superior Records. Listed in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 5, No. 3 (1922): 426. Document Number 4.

estate, was able to own an Indian woman, whom he most likely held as a concubine. A French hunter living on the Arkansas River stipulated in his will in 1767 that he wanted to free two Indian slaves and their two children "in gratitude for their services rendered him." Based on his status as a hunter, and his inability to write, we can assume this man, Michel Allemand, had few other material possessions, though he was able to own two enslaved Indians.[198]

Many questions remain regarding enslaved people at the Arkansas Post. After a French woman died there in 1743, her inventory listed that, in addition to some livestock, she had owned "three black slaves" and one "old crippled Indian woman."[199] Where would these enslaved Africans and enslaved Indian have lived on this relatively small plantation, where there were only "three small buildings" and one "old house"? Where were the enslaved Africans from originally, and what Nation was the Indian woman from? Did they speak a common language, like French or Spanish, or did they share a dialect to speak with each other more secretly? Did the woman bear children to a Frenchman or enslaved African? We do not know, since the stories of these people end here, in this terse language of an inventory.

We do know, however, that intimacies between people of African descent and Native Americans created legal challenges for Spanish lawmakers and European planters, who viewed these intimate connections as a threat to both Spanish and planter hegemony. Spanish lawmakers saw first-hand the problems surrounding enslaved people of African descent and enslaved Native Americans living and working together on the same plantations, including running away or creating informal trade networks.[200] French and Spanish residents of the Arkansas Post certainly

[198] "Declaration: Despalliere and des Roussels." Spanish Judicial, May 9, 1767. Document #2144.
[199] "Lepine/Cheval Inventory," 1743. Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry. University of Arkansas Special Collections.
[200] Daniel Usner details the connections forged between enslaved and free people of African descent and Native Americans in the Lower Mississippi River valley. See his work, I*ndians Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

created close ties with each other, as these previous chapters have shown. It should be no surprise, then that enslaved people, both of African and Native American descent, also created close networks together, especially when they shared the status as enslaved.

Race was so fluid in Spanish Louisiana that not even enslavers could keep track of the status of those they enslaved, and certainly could not make this distinction based on physical appearances. In 1791, during the settlement of an estate in the Illinois territory, Manuel Bourguignon sued Dame Louise Perthuis, having found out that the enslaved man he had bought from her had already been granted his freedom twenty-five years prior. Perthuis had claimed the man to be a *mulatto*, but "it was discovered that said mulatto was an Indian, belonging to a race free of servitude."[201] Whether this unnamed enslaved man was really a *grif* or a *mulato* is unknown: however, in this particular case the enslaved man was granted his freedom because the courts were able to find his previous freedom suit, though no details are given regarding the suit.[202] Maybe he looked more Indian than African, thus highlighting the complexities of race, appearances, and slavery in Spanish Louisiana, and how not even the court systems could enforce slavery with any type of precision.

Adding to anxieties regarding slavery, freedom, and identity in the Lower Mississippi River valley was the free black population. Indeed, historian Hall estimated that in 1769, there was a total of 200 free and enslaved people of mixed European and African descent living at Pointe Coupée,[203] and fifty-five free people of African descent (without any racial mixing with Europeans) in 1803, though these numbers are not wholly accurate, since many census records

[201] "Manuel Bourguignon vs. Succession of Dame Louis Perthuis." Spanish Judicial, 1791. File 1500, Box 62, Document 2684.
[202] "Manuel Bourguignon vs. Succession of Dame Louis Perthuis." Spanish Judicial, 1791. File 1500, Box 62, Document 2684.
[203] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 239.

from the Spanish period at Pointe Coupée are missing.[204] These freed individuals, some of African ancestry, some of European and African ancestry, and others of Indian and African ancestry, would have had a variety of jobs at the remote settlement. For instance, in 1762, a free "mulatto" named Louis made a contract with Pierre Ricard and Francois Allain, who were storekeepers at Point Coupée. These French men wanted to start a "cattle breeding settlement," and hired Louis "to manage the said business and agree to give him one-tenth all breeding cows in compensation for his labor and care."[205] Antoine Sarrassin may have seen these free people of African descent working, being paid a wage, and living with a modicum of freedom. He may have endeavored to blend in with this free population when his suit stating he was of Native American ancestry failed to move forward in the Spanish courts.

With this political and social context of Pointe Coupée established, what, then, did growing up mean for Antoine Sarrassin, the enslaved offspring of Antoine Sarrassin and a woman of Afro-Indian descent? We could argue that he grew up in a particularly precarious yet promising time for enslaved people of mixed ancestry, since Spain's new acquisition of the Louisiana territory had brought in a (relatively) liberalization of slavery in comparison with France's treatment of slaves. Once Spain claimed Louisiana, Governor Alejandro O'Reilly had to implement a way to outlaw Indian slavery in North America, since Spain outlawed Indians from being enslaved, though it was not always consistently enforced. O'Reilly issued a formal decree on December 7, 1769, in which enslavement of Indians of any kind was outlawed in the Louisiana colony, and the subsequent Spanish Governor Esteban Rodriguez Miro republished O'Reilly's ordinance in 1787. O'Reilly found it difficult to enforce this law on the ground,

[204] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 259.
[205] "Contract between Pierre Ricard and François Allain with A Free Mulatto Named Louis." Spanish Judicial. October 9, 1762. Document #8284.

though, and it was considered a low priority for the Spanish Judiciary, making the practice of Indian slavery prevalent throughout the Spanish occupation.

Most of the slaves freed by this decree lived in New Orleans, Mobile, and the Illinois Country, although there were some enslaved Indians at the Arkansas Post, as previously indicated by deeds, wills and probates.[206] Historian Stephen Webre found that many Indian slaves in the Illinois country filed suit against their owners for freedom, and actually won their cases, beginning in the 1770s under the governorship of O'Reilly, who took this issue seriously, though people of Indian descent were suing in earnest up until Spain gave up on its colonial holdings in Louisiana.[207] Many court cases from this time period survive detailing how enslaved *grifs* sued for—and won—their freedom, but unfortunately, none from the Arkansas Post.

For example, in 1791, a *grif* woman named Mariana in an undisclosed location in Spanish Louisiana sued her owner Francisca Pomet for her freedom, citing the "code of the Laws of the Indies," which "forbids the slavery of native Indians." She was granted her freedom, but her story, unfortunately, ends there.[208] Growing up in the 1770s and 1780s, Antoine Sarrassin would have known about people of African and Indian descent suing for their freedom, and most likely knew individuals who tested this Spanish decree and won, especially in New Orleans, where many of these court cases were heard.[209]

Indeed, Antoine Sarrassin believed his identity as an Afro-Indian could bring about his freedom, which is why he first sued for his freedom, citing the fact that his grandmother was an Indian, his mother was an Afro-Indian, and that his father was French. Sarrassin did not win this suit for freedom. Antoine Sarrassin identified himself as a "Creole" when testifying in court,

[206] Stephen Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1803,"122.
[207] Stephen Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 121.
[208] "India Mariana vs. Francisco Pomet."1791. Spanish Judicial, Box 62, Document # 2677, File 13.
[209] Stephen Weber, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana," 124.

indicating that he was born in Louisiana.[210] Sarasin's mother, Marie Jeanne, was an enslaved woman who claimed to be the daughter of a black man and a Native American woman. She also sued for her freedom in 1793 citing her mother's pure Indian ancestry.[211] She then claimed that her children, Marie, was a *grif* (born to a black father) and that her son, Antoine, was a *metizo* (with a French father), and she tried to sue for her freedom based on her mother's ancestry.[212] Marie Jeanne won her freedom suit, based on Spain's liberal policy regarding enslaved Native Americans, but her children were less fortunate, and not given their freedom. Sarrassin's owner, Julian Poydras (it is unclear when Sarrassin is purchased by Poydras, and if he was ever owned by his father, Antoine Sarrassin), even petitioned Governor Carondolet in 1794 to end the freeing of Indian slaves, since he, like other French planters, thought this policy was slowly eroding away at his power as a slaveowner. Antoine Sarrassin's failed freedom suit left him disillusioned with the system, perhaps indicating why he and others endeavored to destroy the system of slavery completely.[213] Sarrassin's disappointment with the limitations and ambiguity of the Spanish court system led to his involvement in a radical plan, and these political events led him to take his liberty "by force" ("ils étaient décidé à prendre leur liberté par force"[214]).

Sarrassin's story was not unique in the Louisiana territory or the wider Atlantic world. Enough people of African descent, enslaved and free, and people of mixed Afro-Indian ancestry

---

[210] "Confession of Antoine Sarassin (Poydras), May 16, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.* The text reads, "Qu'il est vrai qu'il s'appelle Antoine Sarrasin qu'il est Créole a ce poste qu'il est arrête pour l'affaire du complot pour massacre les blancs."
[211] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 341.
[212] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 128.
[213] Historians have discussed the historical relationship between enslaved people and the shifting geopolitical landscapes, and in particular, how enslaved and free people of African descent navigated these legal landscapes in the changing Atlantic world for their own benefit. For some of the most recent work, see Ariela Gross and Alejandro de la Fuente, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020), *Justice in a New World: Negotiating Legal Intelligibility in British, Iberia, and Indigenous America* (Brian Owensby and Richard Ross, eds. New York: New York University Press, 2018), and Nancy O. Gallman, "Reconstituting Power in an American Borderland: Political Change in Colonial Nancy O East Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (2015): 169-91.
[214] "Declaration of Ami (Widow Barron)." May 10, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*

became enraged with their status as slaves that they decided to take matters into their own hands. They were able to plan these revolts using a space provided in the landscape of French plantations: the backswamps, or cypress swamps, and even if their revolts were thwarted, the fact that people were able to congregate and plan revolts indicates a successful creation of a rival cultural landscape within the French and Spanish political landscape on the plantation.

The Plantation as a Political Landscape & Rival Cultural Landscapes

Indeed, plantations are perhaps the best example of a political landscape in a colonial setting. On plantations, we can see how power unfolded unequally on the ground, and how the planter's power over his physical plantation was always tenuous despite his intentions to inscribe his authority on the ground. Planters in colonial America designed plantations to be processional, or ceremonial, and planters designed plantations to highlight their prestige and social domination.[215] Certain members of society, like French or Spanish colonists, moved through the plantation in an organized, hierarchal way. They walked down the carefully contrived road or path to the planter's home, seeing only what the planter wanted to them to see—gardens, formal parks, lines of trees, organized and tidy dependencies. The planter was at the center of this processional landscape, and all roads and paths led to him at the center of this physical manifestation of political, colonial power. The planter was unable to control *all* aspects of the plantation, however. Enslaved people used the fringes of the plantation—in the case of French plantations, the backswamps—to exert a modicum of control and power over their own space, and to challenge the power of the planter on the same disputed landscape. Archaeologist Suzanne Spencer-Wood argued that enslaved people using parts of the plantation landscape "in ways that

[215] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia,*" Places Journal* (1984,): 1. And Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 507.

were not intended by their owners" challenged planter hegemony.[216] Nowhere is this clearer than on the plantations at Pointe Coupée in the 1780s and 1790s. We can analyze the conspiracies at Pointe Coupée, paying particular attention to role of the physical plantation landscape and how enslaved people and people of African descent created *rival cultural landscapes* in the cypress swamps, to then see if there are similarities between Pointe Coupée and the Arkansas Post regarding enslaved life and resistance.

In the Louisiana territory we can *see* French colonization by looking at the physical landscape. We know by the physical manipulation of the landscape that it is a French, not Spanish, or British colony. The actual method in which French plantations in the Louisiana territory were carved out of the physical landscape created backswamps in the Louisiana territory, including plantation complexes at both the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée. Colonial French plantations in North America and throughout the French empire were long and narrow, so that each land-owner had access to a navigable waterway and usually a natural levee at the back of their property for more efficient travel and for shipping of goods.[217] Plantation plats from both the Arkansas Post and Pointe Coupée show these backswamps at the end of individuals plantations. For instance, an 1818 land survey of Etienne Vasseau's plantation at the Arkansas Post is long and narrow, with the Arkansas River serving as the end point of his land grant (see Figure 3.3). In Pointe Coupée, Joseph DeCuir's 1802 land grant backs up to the False River (*Rio Fausse)*, with a variety of cypress swamps, bayous, and small bodies of water listed on the surveyor's plat (see Figure 3.4).

[216] Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 518.
[217] Peirce F. Lewis, *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976), 22-23.

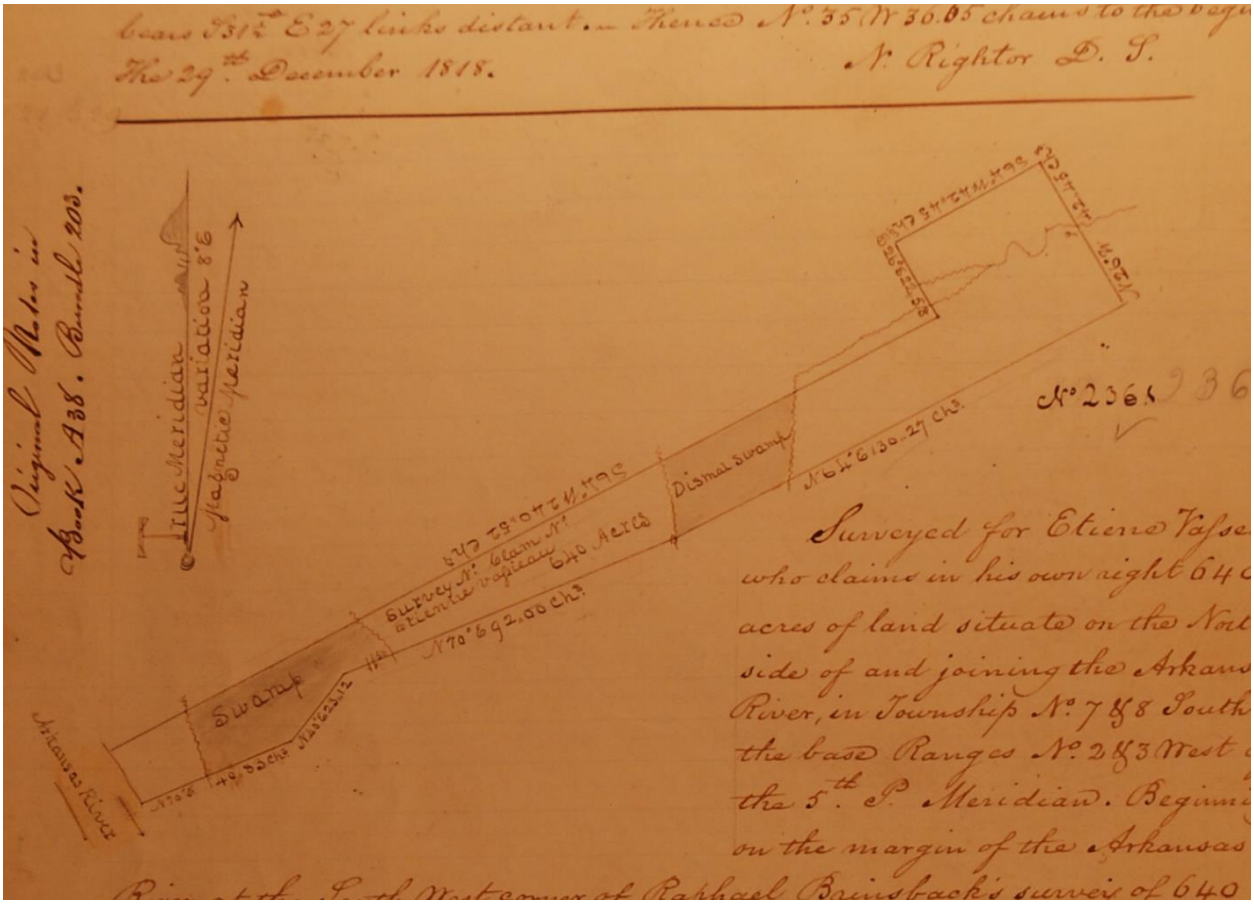


Figure 3.3: 1818 Survey of Etienne Vasseau at the Arkansas Post, Commissioner of Arkansas State Lands. *French Plantation Backswamp at the Arkansas Post, with a "swamp" and "dismal swamp" perhaps indicating an inaccessible space according to the surveyor*

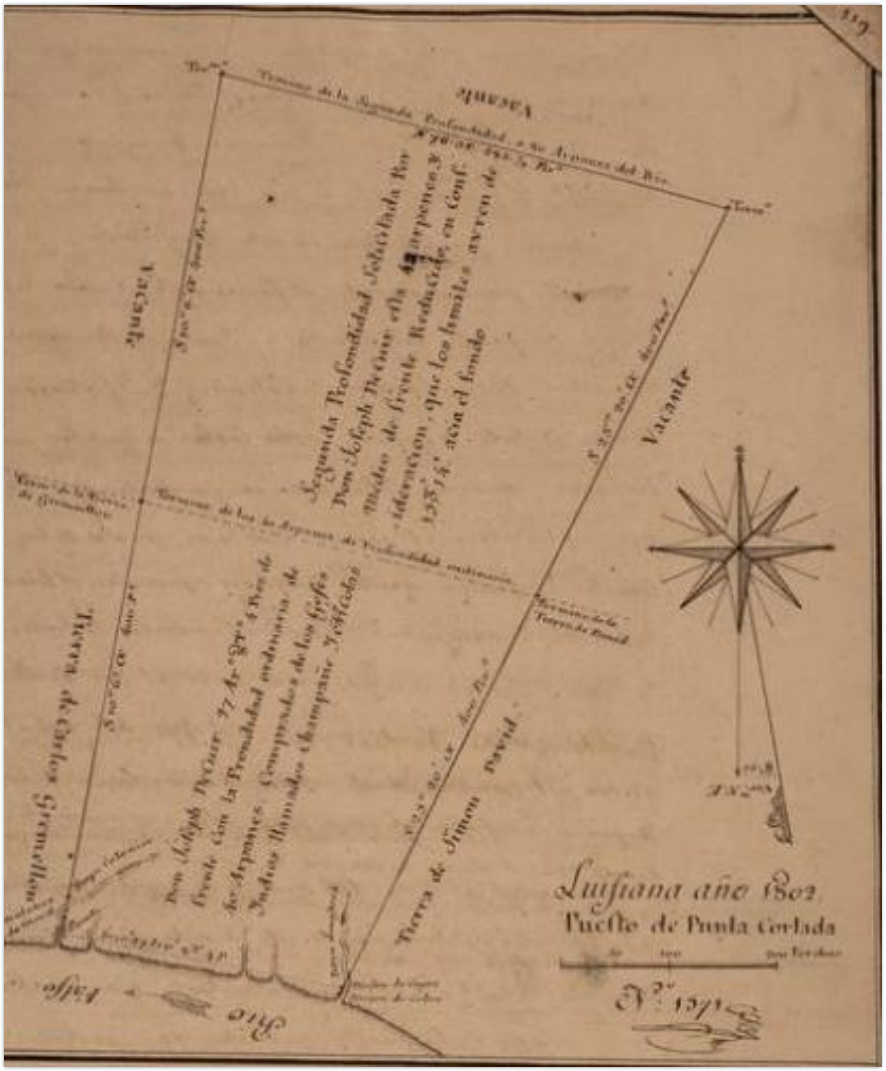


Figure 3.4: Joseph DeCuir's 1802 Plantation Plat at Pointe Coupée. Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado:collection

These bodies of water, whether a small port or bay along a river such as the Mississippi, tended to be surrounded by spaces of water that "trail[ed] off into cypress swamps and woodlands" according to historian Hall. French trading posts along the Mississippi River featured the cypress swamp, or *la cyprière*, and these spaces dominated the physical landscape of plantations in French and subsequent Spanish Louisiana, since Spaniards left these plantation layouts intact. These cypress swamps and "inaccessible" spaces were often listed on plantation plats at Pointe Coupée and the Arkansas Post. Seven extant plantation plats from the late-eighteenth century illustrate these cypress swamps and bodies of water within the plantation complex at Pointe Coupée. For example, an 1803 plat of a plantation belonging to Francisco Allain illustrated how his plantation was located along the Mississippi River and Bayou Sara. The 1795 plat of David Lamar and Luis Alston illustrated their land stretching back to the Mississippi river, as does the 1801 plat of Luis Richet.[218]

The importance of these inaccessible spaces, sometimes referred to as "dismal swamps," cannot be understated. Situated on the outskirts of the plantation along the Mississippi, the False, and the Arkansas, these backswamps offered spaces for enslaved people to engage in acts of resistance, from the small scale—meeting secretly, engaging in the trading and selling of goods, hiding out temporarily—to the larger scale—planning revolts and establishing *maroon* communities. Such was the case in southern Louisiana at Bas du Fleuve, between the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchatrain—one of the few successful maroon communities in North America

[218] These plats are available Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado:collection. Search "Pointe Coupée" for images of these particular plats or by the surnames, ""Lamar," Alsto" and "Richet."

that was so well-organized and powerful that it required Spanish military intervention to dismantle in 1784.[219]

We see the creation of a rival cultural landscape within the political landscape of French plantations in several instances in Pointe Coupée. Wealthy tobacco planter Claudio Trénonay's plat of his large estate from 1787 showed how his plantation went directly back to Bayou Sara, a tributary of the Mississippi River, with illustrations of the cypress swamps connecting the river with the bayou.[220] Trénonay was murdered by one of his enslaved men in 1791, a runaway who had been living in the cypress swamps on Trénonay's plantation for three weeks.[221] This self-emancipating runaway, named Latulipe Ibo, indicating whence he came in West Africa, turned the cypress swamp into a rival cultural landscape within the political landscape of his master's plantation. Latulipe Ibo hid in the cypress swamp and stockpiled weapons so that he could plan a well-orchestrated attack on his master. The Spanish Judiciary responded to this bold assertion of power by executing and dismembering Latulipe, and placing his body parts on posts throughout Trénonay's plantation—a similar demonstration of political power through manipulation of the same disputed landscape (see Figure 3.5).

[219] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* Chapter 7, "Bas du Fleuve: The Creole Slaves Adapt to the Cypress Swamp," pgs. 201-236.
[220] See Figure 3
[221] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 253.

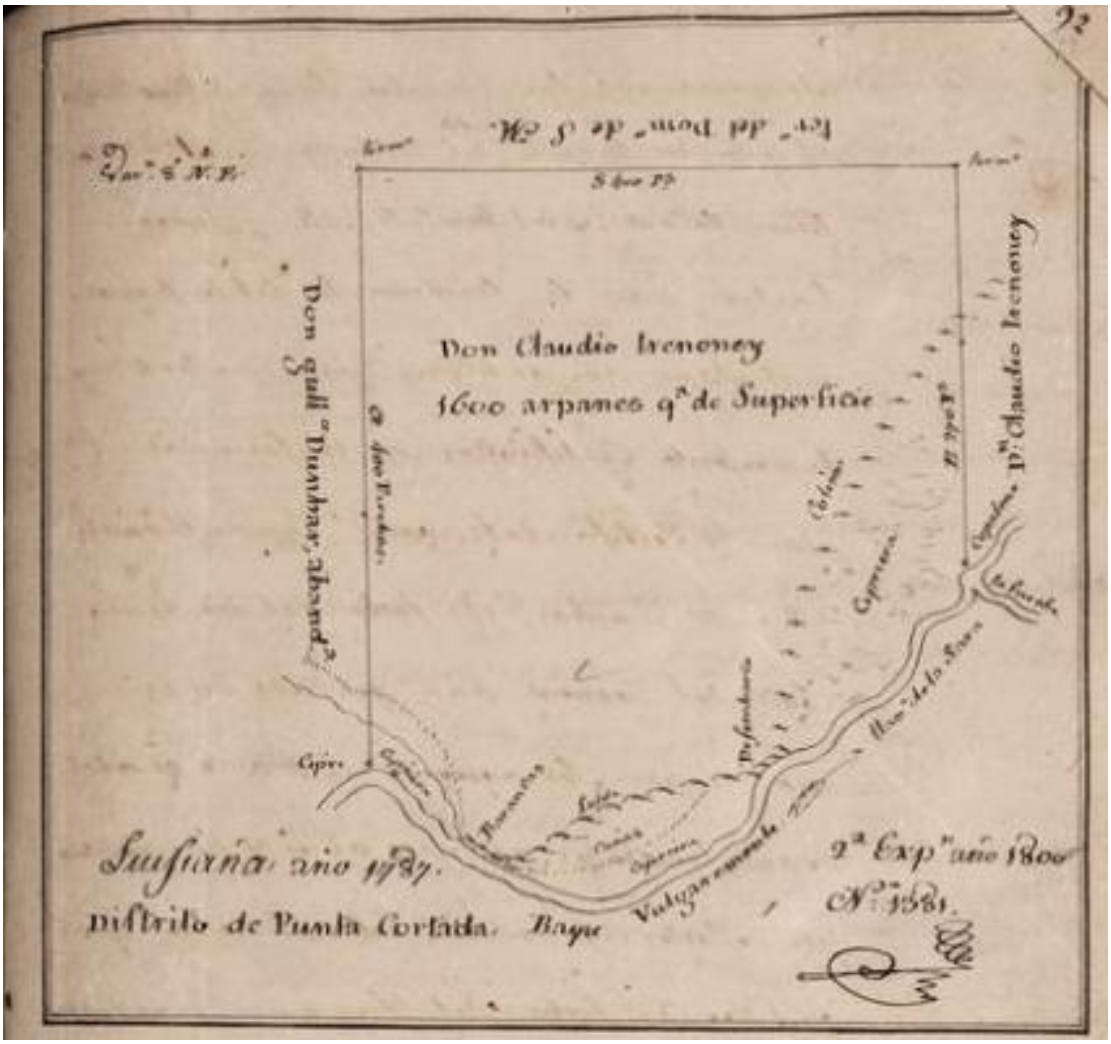


Figure 3.5: 1787 survey of Claudio Trénonay Estate. Note where the *cipre* is indicated near Bayou Sara. Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library.

Based on extant court records from the French Superior Council (1714-1769) and the Spanish Judicial Records (1769-1803), enslaved people and free people of African descent used cypress swamps in smaller acts of resistance as well. Indeed, these court cases highlight that the cypress swamps were problematic and dangerous areas where colonial control remained tenuous. In 1737, the French Superior Council examined a runaway slave, Geuila, who had "marooned in

the cypress tract" on his owner's plantation.[222] In 1748, Francois, an enslaved man, was charged with theft and *marronage*. He detailed his experiences using the cypress swamps on his master's plantation to hide successfully for several weeks, thus illustrating how enslaved people used the swamps for small acts of resistance.[223]

During the Spanish occupation of the Louisiana territory, an enslaved man, Bizago, was arrested and imprisoned for theft and maroonage. In February of 1767, Bizago was imprisoned for maroonage, and his owner claimed him missing for nearly four years before being apprehended. Bizago testified that he lived in the woods and swamps between various plantations, and supported himself by "killing rabbits which he sold" to several people.[224] He was accused of stealing goods from other enslaved people and selling them, including to another maroon, Louis, who also lived in the "Cypress Grove" where they had set up temporary housing.[225] Bizago had an obvious knowledge of the Louisiana landscape; in the trial, he said that he found a canoe and filled it with stolen goods. The Spanish Judiciary said that he "had taken a small canoe….on the other side of the river….setting it adrift…to have even built a hut to hide some goods."[226] Bizago obviously knew the plantation landscapes of Louisiana, most likely near New Orleans, since he was imprisoned in the New Orleans jail and stated in his interrogation that he had "spent his time away from the city, since he was a runaway" in order to live as a maroon. He was able to survive and carve out a space for himself on the plantation

[222] "Examination of Runaway Geula," French Superior Council Record, January 10 ,1737, No. 37. Reprinted in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 5 no. 3 (1922-1923): 386.
[223] "Interrogation of Francois, slave of M. Bousclair Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, 19, no. 3 (1936): 769-771. Original in French, "Suit against Francois, negro slave of Mr. Boisclaire and accomplice." 18 May, 1748. Document No. 48/84. *Louisiana Colonial Documents.* http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/document/8042
[224] "Examination of Bizago, a Negro." Spanish Judicial Records. February 21, 1767. Document #2041.
[225] "Interrogatory of Bizago, Negro." Spanish Judicial Records, March 12, 1767 Document #67.
[226] "Confrontation of Bizago." Spanish Judicial Records, March 12, 1767. Document #2058.

landscapes of southern Louisiana, and the fact that he did so for four years is a testament to his knowledge of this particular environment. [227]

The cypress swamps were also spaces of collaboration with Native American groups and individuals. Francois, owned by M. Boisclair, lived on a plantation near the German Coast, located north of New Orleans on the east side of the Mississippi. He was accused of *marronage* along with an Indian behind the plantation ("derrière la plantation") and stealing provisions from slave cabins. With Joseph, a Choctaw slave, Francois found five other runaway slaves, three of whom were from Pointe Coupée, living behind the Boisclair plantation in the woods and swamps. They lived in these liminal spaces of the plantation for several weeks before being found by a French commander and tried for theft of provisions and *marronage*. The familiarity of this particular landscape—the backswamps between the German Coast and Pointe Coupée—enabled these enslaved people to remain out of view of slave masters for a short amount of time, and these actions resulted in the creation of a rival cultural landscape within the networks of plantation landscapes.

Native American and African slaves sometimes ran away together, thus adding more anxiety for planters. For instance, in 1727 a runaway Indian slave was accused not only of marroonage, but of "enticing an Indian slave girl, belonging to Mr. Saint Amand, to rob her mistress and run away with him, to join some fugitive slaves who had set up a village."[228] This court case does not mention where Amand's plantation was located. However, an extant plantation plat from a M. Alexandre Daspie de Saint Amant survives, which places this

[227] "Examination of Bizago, a Negro." Spanish Judicial Records. March 14, 1767. Document #2065.
[228] "Motion to Try Runaway Indian Slave." French Superior Council. April 9, 1727. Reprinted in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 3, No. 3 (1920): 444.

plantation near Valanzuela, Louisiana (a settlement near Bayou LaForche).[229] This plantation, belonging to a Mr. Saint Amand was located on the Chetimachas River, about fifty miles southeast of Louisiana, nearer to the Gulf of Mexico. If this was, in fact, the plantation where these absconded slaves lived, the village to which the Spanish Judiciary was referring could have been any number of fugitive marron communities between New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico, like the maroon community near Bas du Fleuve, where upwards of fifty fugitive slaves lived before the Spanish militia had to intervene to take down and execute the fugitive leader, Juan San Malo in 1784.[230]

Rival Cultural Landscapes Set in Motion: The 1791 Mina Conspiracy and the 1795 Pointe Coupée Conspiracy

Beyond these declarations of everyday resistance and intra/inter group collaboration between enslaved and Native peoples, two major events unfolded in Spanish Louisiana in which enslaved and free people of Afro-Indian descent created rival cultural landscapes for much more radical purposes. In 1791 near New Roads, Louisiana in the Pointe Coupée district, enslaved Mina people at several different plantations, owned by a widow, Madame Provillar, devised a plan for rebellion. These enslaved people referred to as Mina and Bambara all spoke a certain dialect from the Mina Coast near the Bight of Benin in West Africa, and their shared language gave them a sense of comradery, according to Hall. These individuals planned a conspiracy to meet from their various plantations at the False River to plan a revolt to kill the white residents at their respective plantations.[231]

---

[229] "Plan No. 1485 : Alexandre Daspie de Saint Amant. Valanzuela, 1801." *Pintado Papers.* Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado%3A663

[230] For more on this maroon community at Bas de Fleuve, see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, chapter seven, "Bas du Fleuve: The Creole Slaves Adapt to the Cypress Swamp."

[231] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* pg. 320-321.See "Declaration of Jaco (Fabre)," July 11, 1791, *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies,* where he mentions meeting people at the False River.

The cypress swamps located on these plantations offered places for these enslaved people to meet and plan their revolt. Only two plantation plats from the False River (*Rio Fausse)* exist, though the plats indicate the intricate networks of rivers and bayous that served to connect enslaved people. For instance, a 25-year old Mina named Jacó was accused and imprisoned after this conspiracy. He had been owned by a man named Fabre. A plantation plat of a Fabre living along the False River survives, with a "grand bayou" shown on the plat of his neighbor, a possible space where Jacó could have met neighboring enslaved people and planned this revolt.[232] The same illustration of plantation plats belonging to various plantations lists a "Bayou du Diable" (Devil's Bayou, see Figure 3.6). How this bayou got its name is unclear, and the date of when these plantation plats were created is not given. Perhaps the surveyor penned these plantation plats after the events unfolded in 1791, and gave the name to this bayou because of its role in the planning of the Mina Conspiracy by enslaved people. Perhaps this name, Devil's Bayou, was a way to mark and remember this event on the landscape.[233]

[232] "Plan no. [none]: Pierre Fabre; Robert Quarrel; Alexander Decuir; False River." Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado%3A1412

[233] The surveyor, Vicenete Pintado, was hired by Governor Carondolet to survey and plat lands held by individuals in Spanish Louisiana in the 1790s up until 1803.

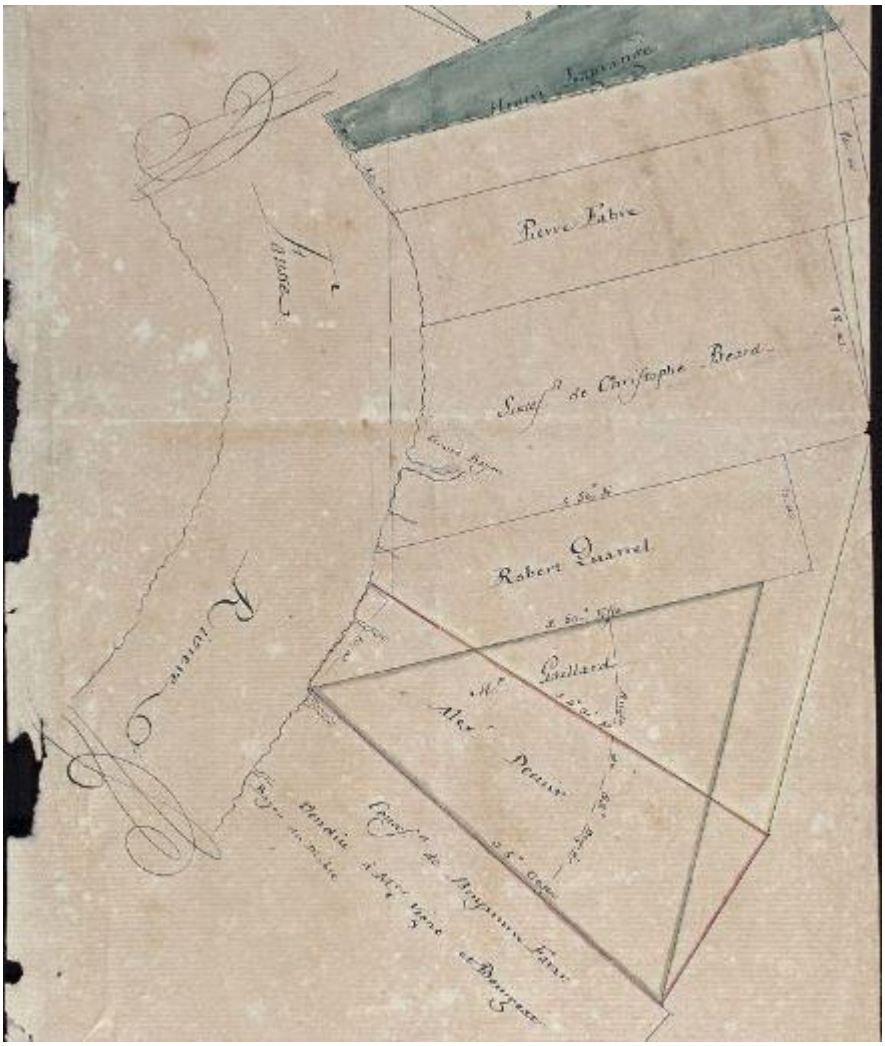


Figure 3.6: Plantation plat (no date) of Pierre Fabre, whose enslaved man, Jacó, was accused of planning the Mina Conspiracy. Perhaps the demarcation of "Bayou du Diable" was the surveyor's indication of the use of this bayou by enslaved people to plan a rebellion in 1791. Plan no. [none]: Pierre Fabre; Robert Quarrel; Alexander Decuir; False River. Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado%3A1412

Although the Mina Conspiracy was planned a month before the slave rebellions in Saint Domingue began to occur, there were some similarities among the planning. Similar to how the Mina Conspirators organized in the cypress swamps, the slaves in Saint-Domingue planned an uprising in the woods, called "Bois Caïman." In these woods, several *vodou* priests led

ceremonies in which animals were sacrificed and plans to burn down French planters' buildings were organized among priests, free people of African descent, and enslaved people. That night, August 14, 1791, the first iteration of the Haitian Revolution occurred which would continue until 1804.[234] Perhaps the planning in the *alligator woods* (Bois Caïman) influenced the subsequent Pointe Coupée conspirators, or maybe even the Mina conspirators who used *la cyprière* in Louisiana influenced these Haitian revolutionaries.

After the Mina Conspiracy was discovered, seventeen enslaved people were apprehended, imprisoned, and sent to New Orleans for trial. The men and women questioned feigned ignorance of the plan, and because their labor was desperately needed by their owners in Pointe Coupée, they were returned to their respective plantations. In response to the 1791 Conspiracy, the Governor of Louisiana, Francisco Louis Hector, the Baron de Carondolet, passed a law that encouraged slave owners to be more humane and to treat their slaves better, since these imprisoned Mina slaves complained about the violence, inhumane punishments carried out by their masters, and lack of food and clothing on their plantations.[235] Governor Carondolet's compassionate response to this conspiracy enraged French planters. They accused the governor of being too lenient on enslaved people and questioned his methods to make slavery in Louisiana more humane. He, on the other hand, believed that he had stifled a revolution by appeasing and listening to the enslaved people, and thought that his liberalization of slavery in Louisiana would keep rebellion off the minds of Louisiana's slave population.[236]

---

[234] See Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 100-103.

[235] Ulysses S Ricard. "The Pointe Coupée Slave Conspiracy of 1791." *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 15 (1992): 127.

[236] Royal Decree of October 21, 1798, Council of the Indies, AGI, leg. 2531 "Those settlers ought to realize that Negroes are men and under the protection of the laws, that their masters can correct in a paternal fashion their excesses and indolence and denounce their crimes to the Superior Government so that they may be investigated and proven in due form, and that may be punished following that formality which is hereby commanded." Quoted in

In May of 1795, however, another slave conspiracy was discovered at a different plantation in Pointe Coupée. This time, more drastic measures were taken with the accused conspirators, since the French and Haitian Revolutions were picking up speed and becoming more violent, and more people of European descent were fleeing from Saint-Domingue to Louisiana to seek refuge from the increasingly bloody and radical revolution.[237] Knowledge of these Atlantic revolutions, particularly the one in Saint-Domingue, in which free people of African descent and enslaved workers took up arms to abolish plantation slavery, influenced Antoine Sarrassin and others in Louisiana.[238] Similar to the slave conspiracy in Saint-Domingue, the Pointe Coupée conspiracy involved more people, including enslaved people, free people of African descent, enslaved people of Afro-Indian descent, and even free Europeans from New Orleans who were politically associated with the Jacobins and influenced by radical French revolutionary thought.[239]

How might rebels living in Spanish Louisiana have heard about these radical currents from Saint-Domingue and other spaces in the Atlantic world? Julius Scott has argued that enslaved and free people of African descent who worked on boats spread this revolutionary fervor via their commercial trade routes throughout the Atlantic basin. By traveling from one port city to the next, and talking to people from disparate parts of the Atlantic world, mariners spread news and gossip which connected Europe with the Caribbean, the Caribbean with Spanish

---

Jack D. Holmes, "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795, *Louisiana History* 11 no. 4 (1970): 344.

[237] Jack D. Holmes, "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795, *Louisiana History*,.11, no. 4 (1970): 344.

[238] Wim Klooster, 'From Prize Colony to Black Independence: The Revolution in Haiti," in *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), pgs. 84-116.

[239] Wim Klooster, "The French Revolution," in *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History,* pg. 65-67. For more specific information on Jacobinism in New Orleans and Louisiana, see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* chapter 10, "Unrest during the Early 1790s," pgs. 317-320.

Louisiana, and port cities with plantations.[240] What fostered these transmissions of knowledge, Scott argued, in addition to these commercial networks was the tradition of news among Afro-Americans. Indeed, he argued that unlike European traditions of spreading news through print, Afro-Americans in the Caribbean transmitted news, rumors, and information verbally.[241] These "scraps of news, conflicting interpretations, elusive facts, and shifting rumors" spread through port cities via enslaved and free people of African descent along with the goods that went from the port cities to the hinterlands and plantations.[242] Indeed, boatmmen spread their knowledge and gossip from one port city to the next, from French Saint-Domingue to British Kingsport, and Dutch Curaçao to Spanish New Orleans. Enslaved people from plantations came to these port cities to load and unload cargo, and discussed political and social currents with these boatmen from disparate parts of the Caribbean; runaway slaves found work in these large Atlantic cities, and spread gossip and rumors from one runaway to the next, who might go back to the plantation and spread this news. Scott found that information travelled quickly in the Atlantic world via commercial trading routes, especially among people of African descent, so it should come as no surprise that enslaved people in Pointe Coupée were highly aware and invested in the rumors of rebellion and revolution stemming from Saint-Domingue.

Europeans in Spanish Louisiana blamed Atlantic revolutions for this revolutionary fervor in Louisiana. Armand Allard DuPlantier, a Pointe Coupée resident and member of the French Calvary, wrote a letter to his brother in 1795 in the aftermath of these conspiracies. He believed there was an Atlantic connection to the conspiracy, writing: "we were not calm until peace was announced. The example of St. Domingue still causes us to tremble." He told his brother he

[240] Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London and New York: Verso Press, 2018).
[241] Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind*, 77.
[242] Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind*, 77.

regretted purchasing slaves from that island, and that he had plans to sell them if their value were to increase.[243] DuPlantier believed, therefore, that enslaved people from Saint-Domingue were to blame for bringing these revolutionary ideas to his plantations in Louisiana. What DuPlantier may not have known, or failed to recognize, was that ideas circulated quickly in the Atlantic world, and revolutionary zeal may have been spread to his Pointe Coupée plantation well before any physical bodies from Saint-Domingue forcefully arrived.

Sarrassin tapped into these communication networks swirling around the Atlantic basin through his access to the False and the Mississippi River. He testified that he heard that the King of Spain had freed the slaves in Louisiana. He said he heard this from a group free people of African descent, who were on a boat on their way to Natchez ("eussent parler de liberté il dit qui oui, qu'environ deux mois il avait passé un bateau qui allait aux Natchés dont le patron était Pierre et que deux mulâtres l'un se George Veuve Maran au Bayou St. Jean….que tout [sic] les esclaves étaient tout libres par le Roy.")[244] Sarrassin's experience of hearing rumors regarding slavery and emancipation was not an isolated event: enslaved people in Martinique believed slavery had been abolished in 1789 during the French Revolution, since at the same time members of the Estates General in France were discussing gradual emancipation.[245] Similarly, enslaved people in Guadeloupe believed slavery had ended for them since the French revolutionaries had "dethroned their king" in 1790.[246] These events, among others that Sarrassin experienced in Pointe Coupée, highlight the historical support of royalism among enslaved

[243] Armand Allard DuPlantier Letter to his brother, Guy Allard Duplantier, January 10, 1795. "*Cela nous n'étions pas tranquille jusqu'a au moment où Lon nous a publie La Paix, l'exemple de St. Domingue nous fait encore trembler, j'ai bien du regret d'en avoir acheté un nombre, s'il reprenoit un peu de valeur, je ne tarderois pas à men défaire*." Armand DuPlantier Family Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections. *Louisiana Digital Library.*

[244] "Declaration of Antoine Sarrassin, Poydras. May 11, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[245] Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World,* 98.
[246] Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World,* 98.

people and people of African descent in the Atlantic world, and these rumors regarding slavery, abolition, and emancipation indeed connected marginalized groups of people and revolutionaries across the Atlantic, in remote places like Pointe Coupée and perhaps even the Arkansas Post.[247]

In addition to Antoine Sarrassin, close to seventy people were accused of planning a violent, well-organized overthrow of white mastery in Pointe Coupée, and because the Spanish government allowed enslaved people to testify and state their case, court records stating their versions of the story survive.[248] The conspirators and those accused of being involved stated their plan was to set fire to plantation buildings, seize weapons, and kill all whites within the Pointe Coupée district. Most of the enslaved people accused of planning this revolt lived at plantations belonging to Julien Poydras, who owned four large cotton and sugarcane plantations along the Mississippi River in both Pointe Coupée and Baton Rouge. Sixty-three people were arrested and imprisoned in New Orleans. Twenty-three men were executed, including Antoine Sarrassin. Unlike the Mina Conspiracy, the Pointe Coupée Conspiracy involved a diverse group of planners, including enslaved people living on various plantations, free people of African descent, people of Afro-Indian descent, and even a handful of Europeans who lived in New Orleans.[249]

---

[247] For a brief overview of the historiography of popular royalism among diverse groups of people in the Atlantic world, see Marcelle Echeverri's "Presentation: Monarchy, Empire, and Popular Politics in the Atlantic Age of Revolutions" *Varia hist* .35 no.67 Belo Horizonte (Jan./Apr. 2019).

[248] The original documents from the Pointe Coupée conspiracy are located in the Pointe Coupée Parish Courthouse in New Roads, Louisiana. A new website has recently been created at the University of California-Berkley called *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies*, in which a team of historians, translators, and web designers have uploaded images, transcriptions, and translations of the original documents regarding both the Mina and Pointe Coupée Conspiracies. See https://lsc.berkeley.edu/ for the website and its information. All citations from the Mina and Pointe Coupée Conspiracies have been from *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies* unless otherwise noted.

[249] Gwendolyn Hall most famously contends that the Pointe Coupée Conspiracy was a manifestation of the French and Haitian Jacobin spirits in Louisiana, citing that "A copy of the Declaration of the Rights of Man" was found in the cabin of certain enslaved people in Pointe Coupee, but she has no evidence or footnotes to corroborate this claim. See Gwendolyn hall, "The 1795 Slave Conspiracy in Pointe Coupée: Impact of the French Revolution," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, 15 (1992): 130-141. She makes this claim about the Declaration of the Rights of Man on page 137.

According to the testimonies of those accused of being part of the conspiracy, the planners of this rebellion relied upon the backswamps of these plantations to plan their attack, and *la cyprière* was mentioned quite often in these court testimonies as a specific place where everyone knew to meet. Perhaps the use of *la cyprière* by the enslaved indicated that these spaces were unknown or inaccessible to the white population; maybe they were used because of the density of these cypress swamps, and that they could meet in secret without being seen or heard by others—the sounds of birds chirping, fish thumping, and insects humming—could drown out soft voices. The use of the cypress swamps also indicates that enslaved people *knew* how to navigate these swamps, and knew which ones were more secretive and better to meet in than other spaces, outside of the white gaze. Indeed, whereas some historians cite the environment of the Lower Mississippi River Valley as carceral because of its inhospitable features, including swamps, these spaces were actually helpful and central for establishing communication networks among enslaved people at Pointe Coupée.[250]

La cyprière was mentioned as a central space of planning this revolt. In Francoise's testimony, an enslaved Tunica woman who told her master about the conspiracy, said that she overheard the slaves who belonged to Widow Lacour planning the revolt while they were working in the cypress swamp ("la cyprière où étoit à travailler les négres de dame veuve Lacour.")[251] When Ami, an enslaved woman belonging to the Widow Barrow testified about his knowledge of the rebellion, he declared that most of the planning unfolded in these spaces,

[250] Walter Johnson claims the Lower Mississippi River Valley was a carceral landscape for those enslaved in his work *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), in chapter 8, "The Carceral Landscape." For an examination of how enslaved people utilized these "marginalized" swamplands in antebellum and postbellum Arkansas and Louisiana, see Tessa Evans MA Thesis, "From swamps to swamping: The usage and perceptions of swamps by African-Americans in Antebellum and Postbellum Arkansas and Louisiana" (2014). *Masters Theses*. 196.
[251] Declaration of Francoise, April 27, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*

including electing Antoine Sarrassin to serve as the leader.[252] Indeed, Jacob, who belonged to Widow Lacour, testified that these enslaved people had met in *la cyprière* to discuss these plans, though he was not part of the conspiracy; he was simply in the same cypress swamp when he overheard them talk ("il dit qu'il ne connait point cela étant reste à la ciprière, et qu'il n'a su autre chose, ayant été a veuve Barron a la dite Ciprière, il lui dit que les esclaves voulaient tuer les blancs pour avoir leur liberté, et qu'il fallait)."[253] Timothée, who belonged to Widow Lacour, testified that other slaves from the Lacour plantation met in the cypress swamp to organize supplying arms and ammunition ("Jean Baptiste a Veuve Lacour qui venait de la point coupée à la ciprière et qui parlant avec Philipe son père que Jean Baptiste commandeur au Sieur Poedras [sic] devait fournir armes et munitions pour tuer les blancs.")[254] Louis, a slave belonging to Goudeau, stated in his declaration that all of the plans were made in the cypress swamp ("il ajoute que le complot était faire a la ciprière."[255])

Joseph Mina said in his testimony that part of the plan included hiding out in the cypress swamps until the leaders gave the word to strike ("attendaient que les negres [sic] nommés Jean Louis, J. François a Veuve Barron que étaient à la ciprière.")[256] Antoine Sarrassin held secret meetings in his cabin to plan the revolt. In his declaration regarding his involvement, he admitted that another leader, Jean Baptiste, came to his cabin to discuss the plans ("qui lui a été lue il dit qu'elle est vrai que quelques jour avant Paques le dit Jean Baptiste était venus à son chantier.")[257] In another testimony from a European who lived in New Orleans, Marcos Lich,

[252] "Il devait s'en informer que quelques jours avait lui déclarant était à la cyprière arrivent son frère François et Jean Louis esclave a la Veuve Barron, envoyé par le camp a Mr Poedras [sic] pour lui proposer de la faire chef de la révolution "Declaration of Ami, Widow Barron. May 10, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[253] "Declaration of Jacob, Widow Lacour, May 13, 1795, *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[254] "Declaration of Thimothée, Widow Lacour, May 14, 1795, *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[255] "Declaration of Louis, Goudeau, May 8, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[256] "Declaration of Joseph Mina," May 9, 1795, *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[257] "Declaration of Antoine Sarrasin (Poydras). May 11, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*

said that he and others met in Sarrassin's cabin ("Si quelqu'un des présents a été celui que a parlé dans la cabane de Sarrassin.")[258] We do not know on which particular Poydras plantation Sarrassin lived when planning this revolt, but some of Poydra's plantation plats exist.[259] One extant plantation survey depicts a plantation along Bayou Sara, which flowed into the Mississippi River.[260] It might be in these cypress swamps on Bayou Sara where Antoine Sarrasin planned this rebellion. Another plantation plat places one of Poydras's plantations along the Mississippi River, and near the plantations owned by others whose bondsmen and women were involved in this conspiracy, which illustrate these spatial communication networks within the plantation network.[261]

Other enslaved people who were involved belonged to slave owners Widow Lacour, Goudeau, Duflour, Tournoir, and Vigne, all of whom lived either along the Mississippi River or the False between Pointe Coupée and Baton Rouge. Some of the plantation plats of these spaces exist, giving us a glimpse into the intimate spaces where enslaved and free people of African and Indian descent met to plan this conspiracy. For example, Pedro Goudeau's estate backed up to "Arroyo Sarah," indicating Bayou Sara, most likely, similar to one of the plantations of Julien Poydras.[262] The estate of Martin Bourgeat, where several enslaved people were tried for rebellion, was located along the False River, and his nearby neighbor was Julian Poydras.[263]

---

[258] "Confrontation of Marcos Lich and his crew with Jeanne and Others." May 15, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*
[259] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 362.
[260] "Juan Beauvais; Julian Poydras; Carlos Beauvais; Armando Duplantier; Huberto Powel" Plantation Plats, no date. *Pintado Papers,* Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library, https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/search/Poydras?type=edismax&cp=lsu-sc-pintado%3Acollection
[261] See Poydras Estate under "Places," *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.* https://lsc.berkeley.edu/places
[262] Plan no. [none]: Pedro Goudeau; Feliciana, 1801. Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado%3A1249. See figure 4.

Sarrassin called for a meeting in the slave quarters of Widow Bourgeat, though there were ample spaces for them to meet on this plantation, including some bayous, cypress swamps, and paths near the False River (see Figures 3.7 and 3.8).[264]

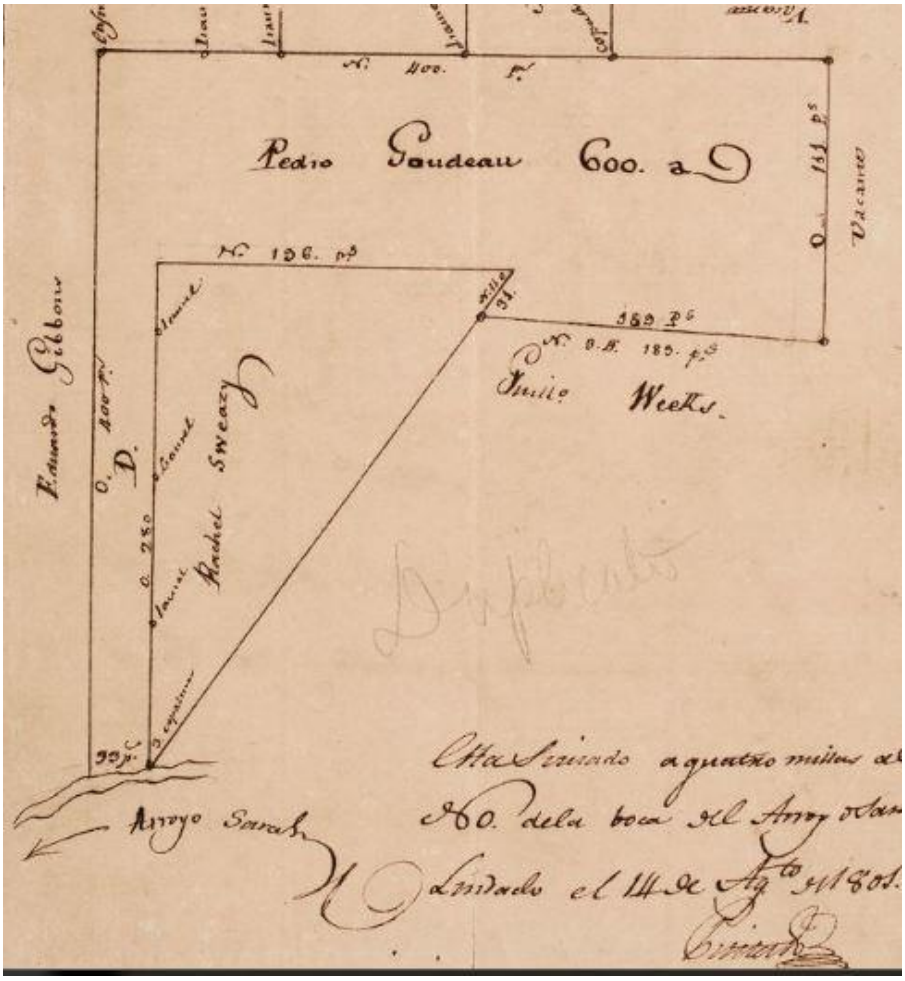


Figure 3.7: Pedro Goudeau's 1801 plantation plat along Bayou Sarah ("*Arroyo Sara*")

[264]Antoine Sarrassin mentions in his Declaration that they met at one point on the Bridge at False River ("l'affaire de l'assemblée au pont du chemin de la fausse rivière.") "Declaration of Antoine Sarrassin." May 11, 1795. *Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.*

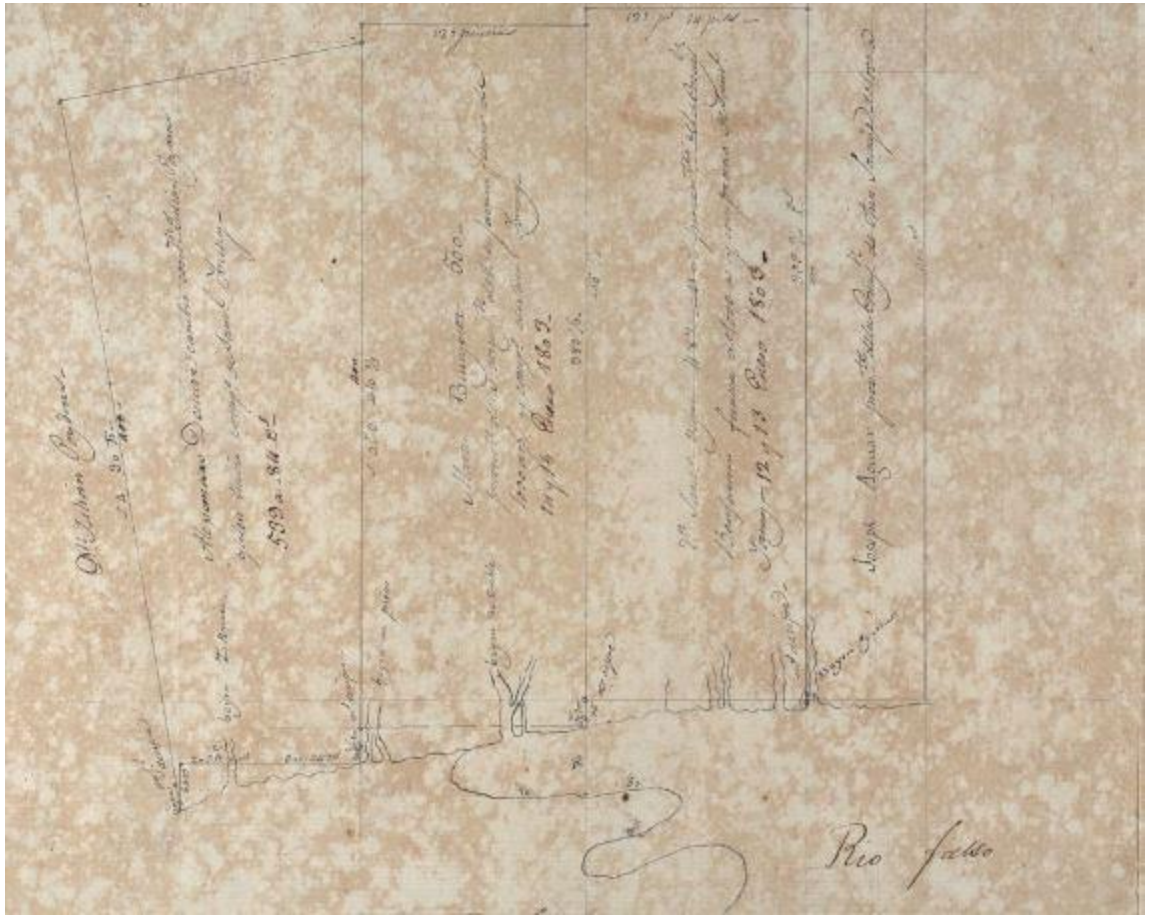


Figure 3.8: Estate of Martin Bourgeaut, with neighbor Julian Poydras. Notice the many bayous indicated and the *cipre* indicated on Poydra's estate, especially, perhaps where Antoine Sarrasin held meetings with neighboring enslaved people. Plan no. [none]: Alexander Decuire; Martin Bourgeat; Joseph Aguiar; 1803. Pintado Papers, Louisiana State University Special Collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado%3A1459

The Spanish response to this rebellion culminated in a political statement made the on the same disputed landscape. Just as Antoine Sarrassin and other enslaved people used portions of the plantation landscape to make a rival cultural landscape, the Spanish manipulated the same landscape to make a visceral political statement to terrify others from following suit. After the accused were hanged, including Antoine Sarrassin, their heads were severed from their bodies and placed on pikes around the plantations of Pointe Coupée. The sentence read, "'Et les têtes des chefs nommés Antoine Sarrasin, Jean Baptiste commandeur, Ami and Auguste one été postés dans les camps de Sr Poedras, Veuve Lacour, Veuve Barron, et dans le chemain de traverse de la Fausse Rivière."[265]

Six others heads became mobile, and were strategically placed along the Mississippi River at the posts of Baton Rouge, Iberville, La Fourche de Chetimachas, Cabahonocey, and the German Coasts near New Orleans. Indeed, while these enslaved and free people of African descent used *la cyprière* to plan and organize a rebellion, the horrific response to those with power sent a clear political message through the manipulation of the same landscape. Louisiana slaveowners were not the only ones who used the body to terrorize enslaved people and to make a political statement of their power. Historian Vincent Brown wrote about the mutilation of enslaved people in Jamaica, and argued that slaveowners used these dead to enhance their authority by not allowing the deceased to travel back to their ancestral homes in Africa, a belief that many West African people held.[266] Indeed, what he writes about Jamaica rings true of these dismembered heads in Louisiana: "such ghoulish displays served clear purposes. They used dead bodies, dismembered and disfigured as they were, as symbols of the power and propriety of slave

[265] "Execution of the Sentence of Point Coupee Conspiracy." May 29, 1795. Louisiana Slave Conspiracies.
[266] Vincent Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaica, *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003): 24-53.

masters." He continues, "Severed heads stood sentry over the plantation landscape, watching passers-by, white, black and brown, conveying warnings to potential rebels and assurance to supporters of the social order."[267] Brown's description of slaveowners mutilating the enslaved in Jamaica replicates the exact response of Louisiana planters following the Pointe Coupée Conspiracy, whose vitriolic response of mutilating the bodies of the enslaved sought to reestablish their political power. The same paths along the False and Mississippi that Sarrassin walked, where he heard rumors of the King of Spain freeing slaves, that the new Spanish Governor would outlaw Indian slavery, and that the Afro-Creoles, just like himself, were gaining momentum in Saint-Domingue, became the final resting place of Antoine Sarrassin—though his dismembered body could not expect much eternal peace typically offered in death.

The aftermath of these two failed conspiracies varied in Spanish Louisiana. Governor Carondolet did in fact show consideration to the enslaved population by not executing everyone involved in the conspiracy: of the sixty-three indicated in the planned revolt, twenty-three were executed, while thirty-one others were banished from the colony. Similar to his approach following the Mina Conspiracy, Carondolet encouraged planters to treat their enslaved workers better, by proving food, shelter, clothing, and time off from working so that they could have more leisure time. He believed that these failed conspiracies were a direct result of inhumane French-slaveholding practices. He also declared that enslaved people could ask the Spanish government to be transferred from one plantation to another if the master was found cruel or unusual in their treatment of slaves. Yet Carondolet also wanted to appease the French planters, so he came up with a plan to reimburse the planters whose enslaved workers were either executed or banished, since they lost a huge sum of money in their investments of human

[267] Vincent Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaica, 28-29.

laborers. He left it up to individual planters in various parishes, however, to contribute to this fund to repay the Pointe Coupée planters, and very few contributed. All of the Arkansas Post slaveholders, except one, contributed to this fund, thus indicating that the Post slaveholders felt sympathy for the Pointe Coupée slaveowners, and perhaps felt anxiety that this could happen on their respective plantations.[268]

Carondolet's response to these conspiracies was the culmination of weak colonial measures to control enslaved people and slaveowners in Louisiana, beginning with the French occupation. Louisiana governors, both French and Spanish, tried throughout the eighteenth century to keep enslaved people and people of African descent from congregating together, carrying weapons, and having too much mobility. In 1751, French Governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil tried to establish more order and severe punishments for enslaved people, free people of African descent, and Native Americans who disobeyed laws. Some of these measures included forbidding tavern-owners from selling liquor to people of color, not allowing people of African descent to carry guns, and he forbidding enslaved people from holding assemblies.[269] Vaudreuil found that it was difficult to implement these measures throughout the entire Louisiana colony, and Spanish governors following Vaudreuil endeavored to pass similar legislations but were unable to enforce it. Slave rebellions and conspiracies continued to be uncovered in Louisiana well into the nineteenth century.[270]

---

[268] Jack D. Holmes, "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795, *Louisiana History* 11, no. 4 (1970): 355. Morris Arnold writes that no Arkansas planters contributed to this fund in his chapter "Indians and Colonists" in *Arkansas: A Concise History* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2019), pg.70-71.
[269] Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 1999), 29-30.
[270] For example, the 1811 German Coast Uprising comprised of enslaved and free people of African descent near New Orleans sought to bring about their freedom through force. Some of the conspirators were accused of being from Sainte- Domingue and bringing revolutionary fervor to the state of Louisiana. See Julius Scott *The Common Wind* pgs. 186-187.

Possible Rival Cultural Landscapes at the Arkansas Post?

Beyond hearing rumors which circulated throughout the Atlantic basin, how else might enslaved people at the Arkansas Post have heard about these conspiracies from their neighbors in the Pointe Coupée district? There are some connections between the two places, though some are more tangential than others. As we have already discussed, François Sarazin was the brother of Antoine Sarrassin, and lived at the Arkansas Post his entire life. It is possible that François Sarazin's family at the Arkansas Post traveled to Pointe Coupée to see his brothers, thus bringing information back to the Post. Since the population of the Arkansas Post remained so small throughout its life, it is possible that even non-slaveholders talked with, socialized, and spread news to Post slaveowners.[271] It is important to note, as well, that while the Arkansas Post was a society with slaves, and not a slave society like Pointe Coupée, that did not mean that enslaved people's lives or existences were any less important or visible; it simply means there were fewer enslaved people living at the Arkansas Post, and therefore fewer sources to document their lives.[272]

Other Post residents had connections to the Pointe Coupée district, like Michel Petersell, a native of that district and resident of the Post in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He married Jeanne Camel at the Arkansas Post in 1793. Jean Baptiste Duchassin, a local slaveowner, served as a witness.[273] According to an 1817 survey, Michel Petersell owned 640 acres of land at the Arkansas Post along the Arkansas River.[274] An 1830 baptism record indicates

[271] In 1798, for example, there were 400 Arkansas Post residents, with about 60 enslaved people listed on the Census. *Arkansas: A Concise History,* 68.
[272] For the definition and distinction between slave societies and societies with slaves, see Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 10-12.
[273] His surname is spelled differently in various documents, highlighting the inconsistent and often phonetic spelling practices of notaries. *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas, 1764-1858* (Pine Bluff: Arkansas Printing, printed for the Grand Prairie Historical Society), 21.
[274] "1817 Survey of Michel Petersell" *Spanish Land Grants*. Arkansas Commissioner of State Lands. COSL.org.

that he owned an enslaved child, Marguerite, and that her godfather was Francois, and her godmother was Victoire, a slave of Joseph Bogy at the Arkansas Post.[275] Bogy was one of the largest slaveholders at the Arkansas Post, and many of the enslaved people from his household were baptized in the Catholic Church throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[276] When Petersall died in 1832, his last will and testament indicated he owned seven slaves. He left his wife "one negro man Peter one negro man Randolph one negro woman Lucy and her three children Margaret, Peter, and Zachariah." He also made plans to bequeath to his stepson, Francis Menard, these aforementioned enslaved people when his wife died. To Francis Daigle he bequeathed "one negro man named Randolf a slave for life. I also give to Mary Daigle…one negro girl named Margaret a slave for life and her descendants."[277] We do not know whether any of these enslaved people were from Pointe Coupée originally, or if they were from the Arkansas Post, or maybe another city, like New Orleans or Natchez. His stepson, François Menard, a wealthy storekeeper and slaveowner at the Arkansas Post, also owned a house in New Orleans. These slaves could have easily travelled back and forth with Menard, stopping at Pointe Coupée along the way, and hearing rumors and stories about slavery and slave life at this remote Post, and how it was similar or different to their own experiences at the Arkansas Post.

Some enslaved people living at the Arkansas Post were firmly connected to New Orleans, or were sent to New Orleans for sale if their enslavers died and the estate had to be dissolved.

---

[275] *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 51.

[276] Numerous enslaved individuals belonging to a Mr. Bougy (Bogy) are recorded in the baptism records of the Arkansas Post. There are also extant records of Mr. Bougy buying slaves at the Arkansas Post. In 1825, Bougy bought a mulatto child (Book D, pg. 443); in 1809 Joseph Bougy bought an enslaved woman and her three children from a William Mabbit (Book A, pg. 24); in 1809 he bought a mulatto child (Book A, pg. 26), in 1815 Bougy bought an enslaved boy (Book B, pg. 61); and in 1818 Bougy bought five slaves (Book B, pg. 489). In 1836 the Bougy family, including Joseph and Charles Bougy, bought 9 enslaved people from Louis Placy in 1836. Deed and Mortgage Book E, Page. 213, January 31, 1836. Grantor: Louis Placey. Grantees: Joseph Bogy, Charles Bogy, Marie Vaugine, Louis Bogy, and Ingnace Bogy." Arkansas County Court House, Dewitt Arkansas.

[277] "Last Will and Testament of Michael Petersall/Perset." Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry.

For instance, in 1809 before Marie Languedoc died, she decided to sell her slaves from the Arkansas Post to New Orleans so that the money made from these transactions could be divided among her eight children. She wrote, "all of my slaves and mulatoes, eight in number, know, two men known, two women with their infants at the breast, a young mulatto and a young negro that I want them to be sent to New Orleans to be sold in six months but of terms and the money provided will be equally shared among my eight children" ("tous mes esclaves et mulâtre au nombre de huit, savoir, deux hommes saits, deux negressess avec leurs enfants à la mamelle, un jeune mulâtre et un petit negrillon que je désire qu'ils soient envoyés à la nouvelle orléans pour y être vendre a six mais de termes et l'argent qui en proviendra sera également partage entre mes huit enfants").[278] These enslaved individuals from the Arkansas Post could have been sold in New Orleans to slaveowners in the city of New Orleans, to plantations in the Pointe Coupée district, or even back to the Arkansas Post. Unfortunately, we do not know their fate, but these situations highlight the possibility of communication networks spreading from the Arkansas Post to other spaces in the Lower Mississippi River valley.

In 1798 an enslaved child named Julien, who was owned by Nicolas La Vergne, "resident of Point Couppee" [sic] was baptized. The child's godfather was Louis Burk, a slave belonging to the widow Valière, who lived at the Arkansas Post, and the godmother was an enslaved woman named Julie, a slave of Mr. Nuisement, who may have lived at Pointe Coupée or elsewhere along the Mississippi, since no records of the Arkansas Post list this surname.[279] A land plat of the Valliere plantation listed 160 arpents including a bayou, and was next to the estate of Etienne Vasseau.[280] His appraisement of his estate included four slaves, including three

[278] "Last Will and Testament of Marie Languedoc," 1809. Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry. Translation my own.
[279] Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas, 34-35.
[280] "1818 Claim of Mad. Fra. Valliere." *Spanish Land Grants,* Arkansas Commissioner of State Lands. COSL.org

"negro" children named Burd, Agatha, Antoine and "one mulatto girl," Clarice.[281] It is possible that Julien, the slave belonging to a planter in Pointe Coupée, communicated with some of these other slaves, and discussed the comings and goings of their slaveowners between the two locales, and may have known about Antoine Sarrassin through discussing of his cousin, the Quapaw Saracen.

In the 1790s, an enslaved person walking through the small Arkansas Post might hear French and Spanish voices whispering about "revolution," "rebellion," and hear names like "Toussaint" and "Napoleon." The names Juan San Malo, Cofi Mina, and Antoine Sarrassin might be evoked in anger and fear by slaveowners, and overheard by enslaved people, who then took these names and this information back to *la cyprière*, where they could talk freely with each other, and corroborate stories, or add fuel to rumors. On December 28, 1799, an unidentified enslaved woman living at the Arkansas Post had her three-month old son baptized in the Catholic Church.[282] This event is not remarkable; most enslaved women baptized their children in their owner's faith. What is remarkable about this story is what she chose to name her baby: Toussaint. Maybe this enslaved woman overheard her owner, Monsieur de Vaugine, talking about what another Toussaint was accomplishing on an island several hundred miles away—actions that would horrify her master, yet give her—and her family—hope. Her decision to name her child after this heroic figure may have been an attempt of small-scale resistance against her owner, naming her child after an Afro-Creole hero in the Atlantic world, yet adversary for French planters and those who supported slavery. Maybe naming her child Toussaint was an indication of her optimism that her child might have a different life than she had, different from

[281] Appraisement of Etienne Vasseau Estate. No date. Arkansas County Court Records, Dewitt, Arkansas.
[282] *Abstract of the Catholic Register of Arkansas, 1764-1858.* (Compiled and edited by Dorothy Jones Core. The Grand Prairie Historical Society. Pine Bluff: Second Printing, 2017), 39.

the fate of Antoine Sarrassin, if similar types of radical Atlantic reverberations made their way up the Mississippi River and into the Arkansas Post.

As we shall see, revolutionary ideas were not the only rumors and fragments of knowledge that travelled through these Atlantic port cities to remote places along the Mississippi like Pointe Coupée and the Arkansas Post, a "common wind" that served to connect disparate Afro-American communities throughout the Atlantic, as Scott argued.[283] The topic of this next chapter is how ideas about freedom and mobility offered in port cities, notably New Orleans, made their way up the Mississippi to the Arkansas Post, and how these ideas influenced enslaved individuals to take a chance of becoming a fugitive in the Atlantic frontier: perhaps the clearest manifestation of making a *rival cultural landscape* by leaving the plantation landscape completely.

[283] Julius Scott, *The Common Wind,* pg. 118.

Chapter Four: Forging Atlantic Connections: Fugitive Slave Activity in Arkansas

In 1855, Frederick Douglas wrote, "Every slaveholder seeks to impress his slaves with a belief in the boundlessness of slave territory, and of his own almost illimitable power. We all had vague and indistinct notions of the geography of the country."[284] In this chapter I argue that for some enslaved people in Arkansas and the Lower Mississippi River valley, this statement did not apply. As we shall see, enslaved people living at the crossroads of the continent along the Mississippi river in the Arkansas territory possessed a knowledge of their geopolitical environment, and cultivated a specific type of geographic literacy that extended well beyond the plantation on which they lived and into the wider Atlantic world. How did the physical geography of the Arkansas Post—located along various bayous and tributaries of the Mississippi and the Mississippi River itself—enable enslaved people to forge connections with the wider Atlantic world by becoming fugitives? Expanding beyond the Arkansas Post and to the other spaces in the Arkansas territory, how did enslaved and free people of African descent conceptualize the Atlantic world and its port cities?

Because of Arkansas's location along the Mississippi and its international boundaries (the southwestern corner of Arkansas was an international boundary, since Texas was part of the Mexican Empire until 1836), fugitive slave activity unfolded in a unique manner in Arkansas. The choice to become a fugitive on the landscape represented the clearest example of an individual creating a *rival cultural landscape,* by leaving the (political) plantation landscape entirely and seeking a different landscape—either in a bustling port city like New Orleans or Natchez, or maybe even a Spanish-held territory where race was more fluid and Spanish elites needed allies. As we will see, examining extant runaway slave advertisements suggests that

[284] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom,* (New York: Miller, Orton, and Mulligan,1855), 281.

enslaved people in Arkansas recognized the unique spaces they occupied. In fact, they even used the territory's physical geography (Arkansas did not become a state until 1836) to forge Atlantic as well as international dimensions to fugitivity, leading them to spaces where slavery and race looked different than in the United States.[285]

Historian Stephanie Camp has argued that enslaved people created "rival geographies" within the plantation and in spaces in the wider Southern frontier that "conflicted with planters' ideals and demands."[286] The creation of these rival geographies within the plantation, she continued, were acts of everyday resistance. These acts were on a spectrum of resistance that included these small everyday acts, along with large-scale, outright resistance like rebellion, both of which we saw in the previous chapter with Antoine Sarrasin. These acts gave enslaved people a modicum of temporary freedom, but these actions did not "threaten to overthrow American slavery."[287] Unfortunately, we cannot know if the individuals in question saw their decision to flee as a challenge to the system of slavery, or if they simply sought temporary solace and freedom. Regardless of their motivations, it is clear that becoming a fugitive and leaving the plantation landscape constituted an act of resistance.

This chapter also speaks to a historiographical intervention regarding how historians conceptualize mobility when discussing slavery. Historian Rashauna Johnson argued that although slave masters wanted to control the mobility of enslaved people by creating a "geography of containment," slaves sometimes experienced movement and mobility that rivaled this "geography of containment" even when they were not seeking freedom. Johnson

---

[285] These data were gathered from the Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisement project compiled by Dr. Charles S. Bolton. Available online at *Documenting Runaway Slaves* by the National Parks Services, housed online at the University of Southern Mississippi. http://runawayslaves.usm.edu/about.html

[286] Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 7.

[287] Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 7.

demonstrates how enslaved people in New Orleans experienced unprecedented mobility by accompanying their masters to disparate places in the Atlantic world. This mobility led to the creation of "geographic literacy," which is a term she employed to describe knowledge about the physical and social world. Therefore, mobility did not necessarily equal freedom in the Atlantic world, though the knowledge that they accumulated about political and cultural landscapes while traveling was still valuable, nevertheless.[288] Thus, enslaved people acquired types of geographic literacy, which, in theory, they could then apply to plans to escape.

The majority of this chapter builds on the work of Camp and Johnson by applying their theories of rival geographies and geographic literacy to the specific group of self-emancipators from Arkansas. Despite the fact that Johnson's historiographical intervention discussed the problematic implications of mobility for enslaved people in New Orleans, I argue that mobility was valuable for enslaved people in Arkansas, especially when planning to escape from the plantation networks. I base these conclusions on instances in which enslaved men, in particular, experienced a modicum of mobility in various lines of work, such as working on steamboats, which helped them formulate plans to become fugitives and leave Arkansas.

I rely heavily on runaway slave advertisements placed in Arkansas newspapers from 1820-1865. Dr. Charles Bolton of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock has created transcriptions of runaway slave advertisements to use as a Historic Resource Study for the National Park Service's National Underground Railroad online resource. Dr. Bolton's data sets were an important source for a variety of reasons. First, his sources are diverse. He not only compiled advertisements about runaways found in Arkansas newspapers, but also cites advertisements from other state newspapers which mention enslaved people who ran away from

[288] Rashauna Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6-7.

Arkansas. Furthermore, his compilation is the most comprehensive, since his work covers a longer period of time, from 1820-1863. As a matter of comparison, the best nineteenth-century newspaper archive, the Library of Congress's *Chronicling America,* does not have newspapers from Arkansas before the 1850s.

Even though these advertisements are problematic primary sources for a number of reasons (they only provide one voice, such as the subscriber, jailer, or slaveowner), and only rarely do we hear the voice of the enslaved, they are overall extremely helpful. Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, they provide a "presumed destination," or a specific place the slaveowner believed his fugitive went.[289] These advertisements illustrate the geographic literacy of the enslaver, the geographic literacy of the enslaved, and the alternative, rival geography on the physical landscape created by the individual's actions to become a fugitive. Because we do not know if these individuals were successful in their flight, or where they actually ended up going, we cannot tell whether the geographic literacy of the enslaver and enslaved were commensurate. Nevertheless, tracking and analyzing these "presumed trajectories" of runaways helps historians recreate a narrative of *where* these enslaved people might have gone, and *why* they might have gone there.[290] My analysis of these runaway advertisements allows me to do three things: determine the specific destinations of where runaways from Arkansas most often fled, including Spanish territories and Atlantic port cities, suggest why these spaces were seen as accessible and possible spaces for freedom from plantations in Arkansas, and finally, examine in detail what this Arkansas-based geographic literacy looked like, and how enslaved people cultivated this specific knowledge while enslaved.

---

[289] Rashauna Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions,* 20. Johnson's methods section in her introduction go into more detail in how she uses runaway slave advertisements in addition to other archival sources to recreate narratives for enslaved people.
[290] Ibid.

Atlantic Arkansas

The first part of this chapter analyzes the role of Mexico (present-day Texas). Specifically, why did some enslaved people choose to flee to Mexico in the nineteenth century? What type of social and political contexts were offered there that attracted people of African descent? The second part of this chapter discusses the Atlantic port cities along the Mississippi, including New Orleans, which was a prevalent choice among fugitives. How did enslaved people hear about these cities' reputations? What might be offered for a person of African descent if he or she successfully fled to one of these places? How did these cities' treatment of people of African descent and fugitive slaves change throughout the nineteenth century? These are some of the questions we can endeavor to ask by looking at these runaway slave advertisements.

The history of the Arkansas territory is typically not characterized as Atlantic history, or connected to the wider Atlantic World. This may be because, at first glance, the cities near the Post, such as Helena and Point Chicot seem to be only small Arkansas ports along the Mississippi. Historically, cities like Helena, the Arkansas Post, Montgomery's Point, and Point Chicot have little in common with other major port cities in the Atlantic World, including New Orleans, Pensacola, Havana, and Bridgetown. Ports in southeastern Arkansas did not possess to the same extent the cosmopolitan qualities of these larger metropolises: urban planning, banks, customs houses, multiple ports for shipping, and, most notably, a large population of diverse and transient people, many of whom came to the large city for work opportunities.[291] Colonial Arkansas residents of Spanish and French descent experienced a specific and different type of Atlantic world based on trade, commerce, and travel up and down the Mississippi to larger cities

[291] Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pgs. 16-17.

like New Orleans and St. Louis.[292] These Atlantic connections, however, are not the subject of this chapter.

Rather, this chapter seeks to understand how the Arkansas Post and the Arkansas territory, more broadly, was integrally connected to the wider Atlantic world in the minds and through the actions of enslaved and free people of African descent, who created a unique and imagined Atlantic world through fugitive slave activity. This chapter argues that enslaved and free people of African descent in antebellum Arkansas pushed the territorial—and later, state—boundaries through fugitive slave activity. For many enslaved people, these porous and uneven boundaries provided fluidity, malleability, and extensions well beyond the limited demarcations of space as indicated on a map, and well into the wider Atlantic world. This study of enslaved people attempting to leave Arkansas provides an excellent opportunity to apply Camp and Johnson's theories about mobility, rival geographies and geographic literacy.

Part of the process of creating a geographic literacy required tools that could then be used to leave Arkansas. Some of these tools were maps and compasses, which provided practicality and knowledge. These types of tools helped fugitives literally navigate the Lower Mississippi River valley and the Atlantic world. Another tool were steamboats, which allowed people to traverse the hydraulic landscape. Many of those who absconded were familiar with steamboat travel, including the routes of individual boats and shipboard practices that allowed people to pass for free while on board. Other tools were more ephemeral, including certain language skills to perhaps pass as a free person of African descent in a larger port city, to ask for directions or help from a diverse group of people, or even to feign a lack of understanding when talking to jailers. The ability to pass for free, especially in large port cities like New Orleans, reflected the

[292] For an excellent and comprehensive history of colonial Arkansas, see Morris Arnold *Colonial Arkansas 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991), 63.

fugitive's understanding that there were free people of African descent who occupied these spaces with a modicum of success.[293]

Fleeing to "Spanish" Spaces—but Which?

In 1836, slaveowner Thomas Bayliss placed a somewhat poetic advertisement about a man he claimed as slave. After Edmond absconded from his Pine Bluff plantation, Bayliss wrote, **"**I have dreamed, with both eyes open, that he went toward the Spanish county; but as dreams are like some would be thought honest men-quiet uncertain-he may have gone some other directions."[294] Bayliss wrote that Edmond was twenty-four years old, and because of his light complexion, could easily pass as a free person of color. Bayliss recognized that for Edmond, the possibilities to abscond successfully from Arkansas were plentiful. According to a white man like Bayliss, the most advantageous route to freedom was to the Spanish country. Bayliss thought Edmond might make it safely to Spanish territory, but he did not specify *which* Spanish territory. The idea of fugitive slaves seeking out "Spanish" spaces occurs in a few instances in Arkansas; yet, this historical phenomenon was much more widespread in border states, including Louisiana and Georgia. Historians have written about the propensity of fugitive slaves to flee to Spanish territories beginning in the seventeenth century, but continuing well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are a few reasons why Spain's colonial holdings in North America and the Caribbean became almost mythical spaces where enslaved people could be granted their freedom.

---

[293] Historians have studied the actions of enslaved people to discuss forms of resistance, from everyday forms of resistance to large-scale forms of resistance. Anthony Kaye and Stephanie Camp, in particular, have discussed how enslaved people used space to engage in everyday forms of resistance. See Anthony Kaye Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) and Stephanie Camp's Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004,) for in-depth analyses of enslaved people and resistance.

[294] *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 December 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*

Spain had a tradition of granting freedom to fugitives from Protestant colonies, notably the British colonies, if they made it to Spanish soil and converted to Catholicism.[295] This sanctuary policy was first implemented in Trinidad in 1680, then Florida in 1693, and in Spanish Louisiana in 1789.[296] The policy encouraged fugitivity among asylum-seekers, especially runaway slaves throughout Spanish colonies in North and South America and the Caribbean, though freedom was not always acquired if an individual made it to Spanish soil, especially in North America. Historians have argued that Spain passed this royal decree so that they could use fugitive slaves as "pawns of international diplomacy," especially with British and subsequent American settlers who shared ill-defined land borders with Spanish Florida and Spanish Texas.[297] Spanish administrators on the ground did not always implement this decree, and the Spanish crowned revoked it in Spanish Louisiana in the 1790s following fears of revolutionary activity in the Atlantic world.[298]

Spanish administrators had to decide whether to grant asylum and freedom for the particular fugitive, or return the individual back to his or her owner, and local power dynamics often influenced the outcome. Indeed, one historian claimed that Spanish asylum policies in North America were "improvised on the ground rather than designed in the metropolis," and this was particularly true at the Texas-Louisiana border, which was ill defined until the Adams-Onis

[295] Bran Hoonhout and Thomas Mareite, "Freedom at the Fringes? Slave Flight and empire-building in the early modern Spanish Borderlands of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas" *Slavery and Abolition* 40, no.1 (2018): 61.
[296] For more on sanctuary policies in the Caribbean, see Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition and the Politics of Profit* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), Part IV.
[297] Jane Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (January 1984): 297.
[298] Eric Herschthal, "Slaves, Spaniards, and Subversion in Early Louisiana: The Persistent Fears of Black Revolt and Spanish Collusion in Territorial Louisiana, 1803-1812," *Journal of the Early Republic* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 283-311.

Treaty of 1819.[299] Regardless of how frequently or infrequently fugitives were restituted to their owners in the United States, enslaved people still viewed Spanish territory, and even former Spanish holdings, as spaces to reach to gain possible freedom. This should come as no surprise, since Spain had implemented this asylum policy in the seventeenth century, coupled with Spain's legacy of frequent legal manumissions for people of African descent, which remained a powerful force among would-be fugitives, especially those who lived near former Spanish territory, like in Louisiana, Arkansas, or Florida. This played out in Arkansas, where some fugitives tried to reach Spanish spaces, though the particular Spanish space was ambiguous.

Edmond could have made for former Spanish Texas which, in 1836, became its own republic. Pine Bluff to the southwestern corner of Arkansas (that bordered Mexico) was roughly 150 miles, which Edmond could have completed on foot, passing through southern Arkansas. He could have also absconded to southwestern Arkansas by water, though in a much more indirect way: he would have had to take the Arkansas River from Pine Bluff to Little Rock, and walked on foot to eventually catch the Red River in southwestern Arkansas, which could have taken him south to Louisiana into the Republic of Texas. It is unlikely that the man who claimed Edmond as a slave was referencing the former Spanish territory in Florida, since he placed these advertisements in Arkansas and Louisiana newspapers (this particular advertisement was placed in the Alexandria and Natchitoches, Louisiana newspapers, indicating a western and central Louisiana readership).

Enslaved people living in the Louisiana territory crossed the Sabine River to reach Spanish-held Texas, where they had access to legal measures to obtain freedom in the Spanish empire. Some Spanish administrators took it upon themselves to actively enforce the 1789

[299] Bran Hoonhout and Thomas Mareite, "Freedom at the Fringes? Slave Flight and empire-building in the early modern Spanish Borderlands of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas," 62.

decree, including Nemesio Salcedo, a general commander of the Eastern Internal Provinces. He granted fugitive slaves their freedom in the early 1800s to undermine the expansion of the United States and to weaken the power of Louisiana planters, who petitioned their territorial governors to give them the power to invade and get their fugitive slaves back, or to make a new deal with Spanish representatives. There are many examples of enslaved people being granted their freedom in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and being able to stay in Nacogdoches, Texas, where they raised livestock, worked in cultivation, or in domestic services, and experienced legal freedom.[300] Sometimes, fugitives were removed to the city of Trinidad de Salcedo to ease tensions between Spain and the United States, since they were further from the Louisiana-Texas border, and could cause less friction between Spanish and American governors and administrators.[301]

More fugitives were returned to their owners during the mid-1800s, when Louisiana planters were gaining power and threatened armed invasions of the Spanish territory in Texas if Spanish administrators refused to return their enslaved fugitives. Neither the United States nor Spain wanted to wage war with each other, and at the same time, Spain's power over its colonial holdings began to wane in the mid-1800s. Therefore, many enslaved people who made it to Spanish Texas were restituted, and the Spanish policy of asylum was enforced less often, though it was still decided on a case-by-case basis depending upon the particular context of the situation. With the Adams-Onis treaty of 1819, a firm boundary was defined between Texas and Louisiana, and fewer fugitives were able to effectively escape to Spanish territories, especially after Mexico's war of Independence in 1821.

[300] Bran Hoonhout and Thomas Mareite, "Freedom at the Fringes? Slave Flight and empire-building in the early modern Spanish Borderlands of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas," 72.
[301] Ibid, 74.

If Edmond left Pine Bluff in 1836 (before Texas became its own Republic and was still part of the Mexican Empire), what might he expect to find as a person of African descent? Some historians have written about fugitive slaves who fled to Mexico after its War of Independence in 1821, and what type of options, like freedom and citizenship, would have been offered to them. Historian Sara Cornell wrote about some of these thousands of people who went from the deep South to Mexico, particularly those enslaved in Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. She found that slave fight to Mexico was problematic for slaveowners in these states, and was one factor that led to the United States' invasion of Mexico in 1846.[302] She argued that many fugitive slaves found freedom after Mexico's War of Independence, since race was more fluid and methods for obtaining citizenship, though cumbersome, were available. Some of these paths to Mexican citizenship included serving in the Mexican Army, or petitioning the Mexican Government to receive a *carta de seguridad*, or a visa, though these were difficult to obtain for freedpeople.[303] Without Mexican citizenship or a *carta*, fugitives in Mexico faced possible imprisonment and repatriation back to the United States.

During the period between Mexico's War of Independence and the Mexican-American War, Mexican officials were lax about returning fugitive slaves, which added to the allure of Mexico for runaways. By 1833, Mexican government officials refused to extradite fugitives from Mexico back to the United States, thus giving them some sense of permanent freedom.[304] Cornell found that enslaved people may have heard about Mexico and its lack of slavery (Mexico formally abolished slavery in all of its territories by 1830) through Mexican workers in port cities like New Orleans. Additionally, Mexican laborers, though smaller in number than

[302] Sarah Cornell, "Citizens of Nowhere: Fugitive Slaves and Free African Americans in Mexico, 1833-1857," *The Journal of American History* 100, no. 2 (2013), 357.
[303] Ibid, 368.
[304] Ibid, 356.

enslaved African Americans, were sometimes hired by planters in Arkansas and Louisiana, and may have spread news about Mexico and its stance on slavery to enslaved workers.[305]

The Mexican-American War in 1846 solidified boundaries between the United States and Mexico, and forced Mexican officials to return runaway slaves to the United States. The United States Army was used by individual slaveowners to find and capture fugitive slaves who had made their way to Mexico, and reenslavement of fugitives in Mexico occurred much more often in the 1850s.[306] The future of those fugitives who may have remained in Mexico and avoided reenslavement were less promising than in the decades before. Mexico used a cumbersome "patchwork approach" for people of African descent who applied for citizenship, and therefore many of these freedpeople were denied citizenship and rights.[307] Moreover, many of these freedpeople found freedom in name only, and Cornell argued that many of these people were faced with cultural challenges, such as language differences and religious differences, which proved difficult for them to overcome and therefore blend into Mexican society (although some runaway slaves did speak Spanish, which certainly would have aided their transition into Mexican life—more on that later).

Despite the uncertainty of citizenship and the feeling of belonging in Mexico, some of these former Spanish possessions were logical places for an enslaved person to run away to or dream of living as a free person—even more so if the absconding individual had only heard good things about these specific places and was not aware of the harsh reality they might face once they got to a place like Mexico. Edmond may have indeed dreamed of going to Mexico, or maybe another former Spanish territory, though we do not know, since Edmond's story ends

[305] Sarah Cornell, "Citizens of Nowhere: Fugitive Slaves and Free African Americans in Mexico, 1833-1857," 360.
[306] Ibid, 366.
[307] Ibid, 367.

with the terse language of the runaway slave advertisement stating his disappearance and hope for his return.

Another instance of vague terminology connects fugitivity with former Spanish territories in the United States. Cammel was a fugitive who found himself jailed in Miller County in southwestern Arkansas in 1834. In the advertisement written about him, the jailer relayed Cammel's words: "he says he ran away from his master when he was about to move away from the old Creek nation to the Spanish country."[308] At first glance, a reference to the Old Creek Nation makes the contemporary reader think of northern Florida, part of the ancestral home of the Muscogee Creek Indians. Perhaps Cammel was previously enslaved in the newly-minted U.S. territory of Florida, where his master referenced the former Creek Nation who had lived there for hundreds of years before forced removal west. Did Cammel's owner want to move to another part of Florida, which may have been referred to as Spanish country as late as 1834, since Florida was part of the Spanish empire until 1821? This might be a possibility, since in 1834, fewer than fifteen years had passed since Florida became part of the United States and ceased being part of the Spanish empire. However, the fact that Cammel was jailed in southwestern Arkansas begs the question whether his owner was headed toward another former Spanish country in Texas. The vague terminology of "Spanish" country remains elusive to define, though the *idea* of Spanish territory retained a powerful presence for fugitivity in Arkansas, and its mythical allure continued to pull enslaved people well into the nineteenth century.

[308] *Arkansas Gazette,* 27 May, 1834, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*

Navigating Spaces in the Atlantic World: New Orleans and Its Opportunities for Freedom-Seekers

Fugitives from Arkansas also endeavored to reach large port cities, such as New Orleans, according to extant runaway slave advertisements. Similar to fugitives seeking out former Spanish territories, fugitive slaves trying to reach port cities was not an isolated phenomenon. Indeed, Julius Scott wrote that Caribbean and North American port cities offered jobs for people of African descent, who could find work from loading and unloading shipments, working as boatmen, to even navigation jobs.[309] Scott argued that as commercial networks expanded to include disparate parts of the Atlantic world, including the Caribbean and North America, these port cities acted as "magnets" that pulled in diverse individuals who sought refuge, mobility, work, and a sense of anonymity.[310] Scott and other historians, including Matthew Clavin, reflect the historiographical trend to reorient how we conceptualize the Underground Railroad and various routes to freedom utilized by fugitives. Like Scott, Clavin found in his work on Pensacola, Florida that many fugitives looked s*outh* in the Caribbean and port cities, not north to find freedom, and that fugitivity in the American South connected disparate places in North America to the Atlantic world.[311]

New Orleans certainly had these characteristics of an Atlantic port city, and people from the Arkansas territory endeavored to reach this city often. Like other cosmopolitan cities in the Atlantic world, New Orleans was a racially diverse society in the eighteenth century, in which free people of African descent (*gens de couleur libres*) were able to carve out spaces for themselves and live among Europeans and other people of mixed-ancestry with a relatively high

[309] Julius Scott, *The Common Wind*, 70.
[310] Julius Scott, *The Common Wind*, 20.
[311] Matthew Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

amount of social freedom and mobility, as seen in other Caribbean cities.[312] Although the city, like other spaces in the United States, became bipartite in legal views on race in the nineteenth century, it still afforded people of African descent certain freedoms and mobility in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which is why many enslaved fugitives from the Arkansas territory endeavored to reach New Orleans.

Atlantic world events in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century made New Orleans an even busier port city, with people of African descent and Europeans migrating from the Caribbean following the escalating Haitian Revolution. Some people of African descent found Louisiana a logical space to migrate to in 1803, when Napoleon tried to reestablish slavery in Haiti and war intensified again. Thousands of freed people left the island, and many ended up in the city of New Orleans, where they worked as skilled artisans in a variety of sectors.[313]At the same time that Haiti became a republic that outlawed slavery, however, other slaveholders in the Atlantic world tried to fill this labor vacuum and expanded slavery into other spaces, including Cuba, Brazil, and the Lower Mississippi River valley. Therefore, although some free people of African descent from Saint-Domingue found refuge in New Orleans, other Europeans from Saint-Domingue fled to New Orleans, too, and brought with them their enslaved property.[314] Rashauna Johnson has found that most (18,000) of these individuals wound up in Cuba, but more than 10,000 fled to Louisiana, an event she called "multiple diasporas" in the Atlantic world.[315] This population surge heavily influenced the culture of Louisiana, according to

[312] Whitney Nell Stewart, "Fashioning Frenchness: *Gens de Couleur Libres* and the Cultural Struggle for Power In Antebellum New Orleans," *The Journal of Social History* 51, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 526-556.
[313] Nathalie Dessens, "St Domingue Refugees in New Orleans; Identity and Cultural Influences." In *Echoes of the Haitian Revolution, 1804-2004* (Martin Munro and Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw, eds. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2008), 28-29.
[314] Rashauna Johnson. "From Saint-Domingue to Dumaine Street: One Family's Journeys from the Haitian Revolution to the Great Migration," *Journal of African American History* 102, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 427-43.
[315] Ibid.

historian Nathalie Dessens, who based her claims on the fact that New Orleans's population in 1785 was only 5,000, and close to 20,000 refugees ended up settling somewhere in the Lower Mississippi River valley, and often the city of New Orleans, from 1805 until the 1810s.[316]

This massive influx of people of African descent into New Orleans made the port city particularly busy and highly-trafficked, perhaps creating a pragmatic space for enslaved people in Arkansas to imagine living in and fleeing to. In 1852, a man named Charles was jailed in the New Orleans prison. When questioned, he claimed that he belonged to a Mr. Draper near Columbus, Arkansas, located in the southwestern corner of the state.[317] Five years later, another fugitive named William was jailed in New Orleans in 1857 after he ran away from his owner in Arkansas.[318] Before they were caught and jailed for running away, where might Charles and William been living or working in New Orleans? Rashauna Johnson's scrupulous research on that city offered some potential places where fugitive slaves could have lived, and one in particular was called the Faubourg Marigny neighborhood. Frenchmen and New Orleans resident Bernard de Marigny inherited a large swathe of land downriver from the French Quarter in 1805. Instead of turning the land into a sugar or cotton plantation, he decided to design a suburb, complete with a housing development and parks aimed at low-income European residents.[319] The Faubourg Marigny neighborhood became the home of many transient peoples like sailors, but

---

[316] Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), 1.

[317] "Brought to the Police Prison, 1st District." *Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865.* LSU Libraries Special Collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80%3A253

[318] "Was Brought to the City Police Jail." *Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865.* LSU Libraries Special Collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80%3A2736

[319] Rashauna Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in the New Orleans During the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016),91-2.

also attracted poorer emigrants from Saint-Domingue and Europe, some of whom brought their slaves in tow.

Free people of African descent lived in this neighborhood, as well, which created a diverse space where enslaved and free people lived in close quarters to one another, away from the richer population of people who lived further upriver in nicer neighborhoods. In fact, Johnson found that by 1810, seventy percent of the population of this neighborhood were people of African descent, since it was one of the few spaces in the city where they were allowed to live and congregate (the total population from 1810 was 1,943, including 511 enslaved people).[320] The neighborhood was located directly on the Mississippi, and could have been accessed by fugitives escaping from other spaces via steamboats and other watercrafts, making it a space of transient people. Congo Square was a relatively short walk from Faubourg Marigny; the park was one of the few black spaces in the slaveholding South, where people of African descent were able to "enjoy a curated and contained blackness," as Johnson articulated.[321] Although we have no way of knowing, it is possible that Charles and William lived in the Faubourg Marigny neighborhood, finding work in taverns or living there while working on steamboats.

But it was not a place of absolutely safety. Despite the relative freedom and mobility that many people of African descent had while living in this particular neighborhood, Johnson discussed the violence and crime that Faubourg Marigny witnessed because of its reputation as a low-income neighborhood with many taverns that served illegal alcohol, allowed gambling, and was notorious for sex work and brothels.[322] Women of color were especially vulnerable to the

[320] Rashauna Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis,* 93.
[321] Ibid, 117.
[322] There is a rich historiography on the history of sex work and the role of brothels in antebellum New Orleans. For instance, see Emily Owens, "Promises: Sexual Labor in the Space Between Slavery and Freedom." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 58, no. 2 (2017): 179-216, Edward E Baptist, ""Cuffy," "Fancy Maids," and "One-Eyed Men": Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the

inherent perils of living in this neighborhood. In 1831, a woman named Anna was caught and imprisoned on a steamboat when it stopped at Point Chicot along the Arkansas River. Anna admitted that she had been born a slave in Culpepper, Virginia, but sold to a master in New Orleans where she had "recently" acquired her freedom (though she did not mention how or what "recently" meant—a few months? A few years?) The jailer did not believe Anna's story, and thus placed the advertisement in the paper hoping for her owner to step forward or he would sell her as a slave. In spite of Anna's testimony, although presented one-sided in this advertisement, the jailer wrote of Anna, "This Negro woman pretends that she is free."[323] We do not know if she legally acquired her freedom in New Orleans, though it would not have been unusual or rare. Perhaps Anna lived in the Faubourg Marigny neighborhood, and decided to leave New Orleans because of the possibility of coercion into sex work in a large cosmopolitan city. For Anna, the negative implications of being an enslaved or fugitive woman of African descent added to her already heavy burden.

Additionally, the danger of reenslavement was a pervasive problem and a likely scenario for many fugitives in New Orleans. Johnson discussed the reenslavement process in New Orleans, trying to shift the historiographical trend that viewed New Orleans as a unique space of freedom and mobility for people of color, to the more realistic truth that many people were reenslaved there after gaining their freedom elsewhere in the Atlantic world, like Haiti or Cuba. New Orleans was, in fact, the capitol of the slave trade.[324] To evade reenslavement, some fugitives claimed free status, or tried to pass as a free person of color when in larger port cities.

United States." *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001): 619-650, and Jennifer Spear, Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

[323] *Arkansas Gazette,* July 20, 1831, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*

[324] See Johnson's work *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), particularly her chapter "Neighborhood Spaces."

Maybe Charles, the aforementioned runaway from Arkansas jailed in New Orleans tried to pass as a free man, since he was described by the jailer as a "griff." (a person of mixed African and Indian ancestry).[325] William, too, was described as a "griff boy" and the writer presumed he may try to pass as a Native American or a free man of African descent based on his light complexion, and endeavored to blend in to the free population of people of African descent in New Orleans.[326] Indeed, the legal status for many of these individuals as enslaved or free was ambiguous, and the terse language from these runaway slave advertisements did not clear up matters. Unfortunately, we do not have a fugitive's point of view or story when trying to recreate their fugitive narratives, though it is important to note that they endeavored to pass as free in certain places, so it must have had some success rate.

Reenslavement was not just a threat in New Orleans, but in Arkansas, as well, making the process of fugitivity perilous regardless of location. In 1840, Henry was jailed in Phillips County Arkansas, though originally enslaved in New Orleans. When questioned of his status, he responded that not only was his father a free man in New Orleans, but he had been given his freedom as well.[327] A year later in 1841, William Everson was jailed in Chicot County, though he claimed he was a free man of color and had been living and working in New Orleans.[328] Perhaps Henry and William thought their freedom secured in New Orleans would travel with them wherever they went. However, as historians have aptly argued, the threat of reenslavement was everywhere in the Atlantic world and United States in the nineteenth century. Slave owners

[325] "Brought to the Police Prison, 1st District." *Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865.* LSU Libraries Special Collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80%3A253
[326] "Was Brought to the City Police Jail." *Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865.* LSU Libraries Special Collections, Louisiana Digital Library. https://www.louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80%3A2736
[327] *Arkansas State Democrat Herald,* November 13, 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[328] *Arkansas Gazette,* June 2, 1841, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

and jailers feared free people of African descent and the destabilizing forces they posed to the racial hierarchy in the Lower Mississippi River valley, where race and slavery were becoming more firmly attached to each other. For example, a slave owner living near Little Rock in 1844 placed an advertisement for the return of Moses, a man he claimed as slave. He voiced his anxiety and the dangers posed by free people of African descent living nearby, when he claimed it was possible that Moses was "stolen, or seduced away by any white man or free Negro or mulatto."[329] Moses's owner may have feared free people of African descent, who set a dangerous precedent by exposing racial boundary of slavery and freedom as a mere legal fiction.

Tools of Freedom in Atlantic Creole Worlds

Speaking a language other than English and being multilingual in a cosmopolitan port city like New Orleans may have helped absconded individuals blend in and establish new lives in new settings. Many fugitives from Arkansas did speak various European languages, as cited in these runaway slave advertisements, and these people may have even spoken regional dialects, as well, which were hidden from their masters.[330] Being multilingual reflected not only a pragmatic tool for blending in to a large, diverse port-city, but Atlantic sensibilities, as well, reminiscent of an earlier time in the Atlantic world. Indeed, Atlantic Creoles, or free people of African descent who lived through the Age of Revolutions in the Americas and Caribbean often spoke multiple languages, including French, Spanish, African languages and various dialects, reflecting their Atlantic experiences and abilities to facilitate interactions in diverse settings.[331] As Ira Berlin argued, multilingual bondspeople "understood how to navigate the convoluted shoals of

[329] *Arkansas Gazette,* August 21, 1844, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*
[330] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The Frist Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 64. Jane Landers discusses enslaved people communicating with the Seminole people in Florida: *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 182.
[331] See Jane Landers's work *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010) and Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) for a thorough investigation of Atlantic Creoles and the role of language.

European-American culture and, as elsewhere, immediately pressed for greater independence, within slavery if necessary, outside of it if possible."[332]

These Atlantic Creoles, as defined by Ira Berlin, and later updated by Jane Landers, emerged in the eighteenth century, during a time of massive political, economic, demographic, and social changes in the Atlantic world, as we saw in the previous chapter on slave conspiracies in Pointe Coupée and Antoine Sarrassin's experiences. Berlin and Landers argued that key to the definition of an Atlantic Creole was the ability to speak multiple languages, since speaking different languages helped Creoles carve out spaces for themselves in a shifting Atlantic world, with the ability to communicate with groups of diverse people in different cities—be they people from West Africa, Europe, or Indigenous people in North America and the Caribbean. Enslaved people in Arkansas did not fit the exact definition of Atlantic Creoles as defined by Berlin and Landers, since they lived decades after the Atlantic age of revolutions and the height of the Atlantic slave trade. Regardless, some of these fugitives from Arkansas carried with them a legacy of the Atlantic Creole generation with their ability to speak multiple languages.

Unfortunately, it remains unknown to us whether these enslaved individuals learned French and Spanish from their plantation owners, or learned these languages by speaking with other enslaved people throughout the Lower Mississippi River valley to communicate in a more clandestine fashion. In her work on missing person advertisements in early American colonies, historian Sharon Block discussed the importance of language. She argued that the Atlantic slave trade fostered the environment for enslaved people to learn European languages, which "reflected their geographic pathways and associations with a wide range of European

[332] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The Frist Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, 64.

heritages."[333] Block also found that while advertisements placed for indentured servants of European descent often included the persons' country of origin (Ireland or England, for example), people of African descent's place of origins were always omitted, but language acquisition was substituted for their place of origins. For example, if a person of African descent had the ability to speak French, she argued that we can infer that they lived in a French colony—but a contemporary reader of this advertisement would not have thought this person of African descent *was* French. Block emphatically argued that enslaved people's histories, whether their African languages or place of origins in Africa, were often erased by these advertisements, and reduced the person's identity to how they fit into this new, Atlantic world of slavery and race.[334]

At least seven extant runaway slave advertisements placed in the *Arkansas Gazette* and other territorial newspapers mentioned fugitive slaves as possessing the ability to speak different languages, often French or Spanish, demonstrating Arkansas's enduring colonial legacy as both a French and Spanish colonial holding. In two cases, the placer of the advertisement did not mention which primary language the fugitive spoke, but rather stated their English was "broken."[335] In one case in 1836, a fugitive named David was jailed at the Arkansas Post. David relayed the information to the jailer that he belonged to a "Capt. Tuff, of New Orleans, and was sent by his master last summer to Little Rock" where he then took the opportunity to abscond. The jailer also testified that David "speaks the French and Spanish languages fluently," perhaps reflecting his owner's native tongue spoken in New Orleans. In 1837, another man, James, who was enslaved in New Orleans, ran away after taking a steamboat to Little Rock. The man who

[333] Sharon Block, *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 116.
[334] Block, *Colonial Complexions,* 117.
[335] See, for example, the *Arkansas Gazette* July 3, 1844, and the *Arkansas Gazette* May 31, 1849, where two men are described as speaking broken English, but their proficient language was not given.

placed this advertisement in the *Arkansas Gazette* noted that James spoke both English and French.[336]

As late as 1840, by which time Arkansas had achieved statehood for four years with Anglo-American customs taking root in the former territory, John was jailed in Chicot County, Arkansas.[337] He claimed he lived in New Orleans and ran away to Chicot County, and the jailer stated he "speaks both English and French, broken."[338] In 1841, Frederick Notrèbe, a large land-owner and slaveholder near the Arkansas Post, recorded that he was missing an enslaved man, Alexander. Notrèbe wrote of Alexander, "[he] speaks very well French and rather broken English," which suggests Notrèbe spoke French on his plantation with his enslaved workers, or maybe these enslaved individuals picked up this language listening to their owner. [339] If Alexander was able to use his French-speaking skills to leave his plantation in Arkansas, it would have surely angered Notrèbe that he was part this transmission of knowledge that perhaps led to Alexander's freedom.

Regardless, the fact that slave owners and jailers emphasized the language abilities of their fugitive slaves speaks volumes. The ability to speak more than English in the mid-nineteenth century perhaps aided fugitive slaves navigate the diverse Lower Mississippi River valley and wider Atlantic world, since speaking a different language might have signified a different status than that of a slave or made it more difficult to communicate between the runaway and a person whose intentions were to return the absconded slave to his or her owner, or

---

[336] *Arkansas Gazette,* 25 July 1837, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

[337] For more information about the transition from Spanish and French to Anglo-American occupations in Arkansas, see Morris Arnold Unequal Laws Unto a Savage Race*: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas, 1686-1836* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1985).

[338] *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 August 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

[339] *Arkansas Advocate,*7 June 1841 from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

jail the fugitive.[340] This multilingual dimension to fugitive slave activity reflects connections to the older Atlantic Creole generations, like we saw with Antoine Sarrasin in the 1790s. Maybe fugitivity in Arkansas had more historical baggage and connections to the Atlantic world than previously argued, and we can extend the periodization of the Atlantic Creole definition to include certain individuals who had Atlantic sensibilities well into the nineteenth century.

Maps & Compasses as Technologies to Abscond

If an enslaved person in Arkansas heard about the possibility for legal freedom in Mexico, or relative mobility in a place like New Orleans, how might this freedom-seeker literally reach these spaces? Some enslaved people employed special technologies and tools to navigate the physical Atlantic world. In two separate instances in runaway advertisements placed in Arkansas newspapers, enslaved people had in their possession maps and compasses, which would have greatly aided an absconding individual in their flight to a different part of the country, given that he or she knew how to interpret a map and use a compass. Historian Stephanie Camp discussed the importance of slave cabins as spaces for creating a rival geography, since enslaved women were able to shape these spaces into semi-private homes to raise families and exercise a modicum of control. In two instances Camp found that women brought abolitionist propaganda into their homes and displayed it proudly on the walls of their cabin; in this instance, the slave cabin became the locus of the rival geography. Camp characterized these actions as part of the larger culture of resistance to slavery, since these women actively opposed slavery by using the literal space in their private homes.[341]

[340] John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) discuss language practices and dialect among runaway slaves beginning on page 225.
[341] Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, chapter Four "Amalgamation Prints Stuck Up in her Cabin: Print Culture, the Home, and the Roots of Resistance," 93-116.

The act of appropriating objects, such as abolitionist print culture that Camp discussed, certainly constituted an act of resistance, and we see this unfold in the process of fugitivity in Arkansas in two instances, as well. In 1850, Jonas ran away from his plantation in Texas and his owner thought he would try to get to the "Indian Nation in Arkansas."[342] The owner also told the readers of the newspaper that Jonas "can read and write" and more importantly, "had with him a pocket compass."[343] If it were important enough that Jonas could read and write, according to his owner, then we can infer that Jonas would also have known how to use the compass to reach Arkansas from Texas. In this particular case, the subscriber emphasized the geographic and textual literacy of his enslaved property, when he mentioned that Jonas, although working in Texas, was raised in Missouri. Thus, this slave owner relayed to the readers that Jonas had the tools (compass) and knowledge of the geography of Texas, Missouri, and Arkansas, to abscond successfully. In another instance in 1840, Carter, an enslaved person living near Hot Springs, Arkansas, left the plantation. The ad placer stated that he crossed the Arkansas River on horseback at Little Rock, and "he had with him a pocket map of Arkansas and a pocket compass."[344] A pocket map from 1847, perhaps one like Carter possessed, is shown in Figure 4.1:

[342] *Arkansas Gazette,* 27 December 1850, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[343] Ibid.
[344] *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 June 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

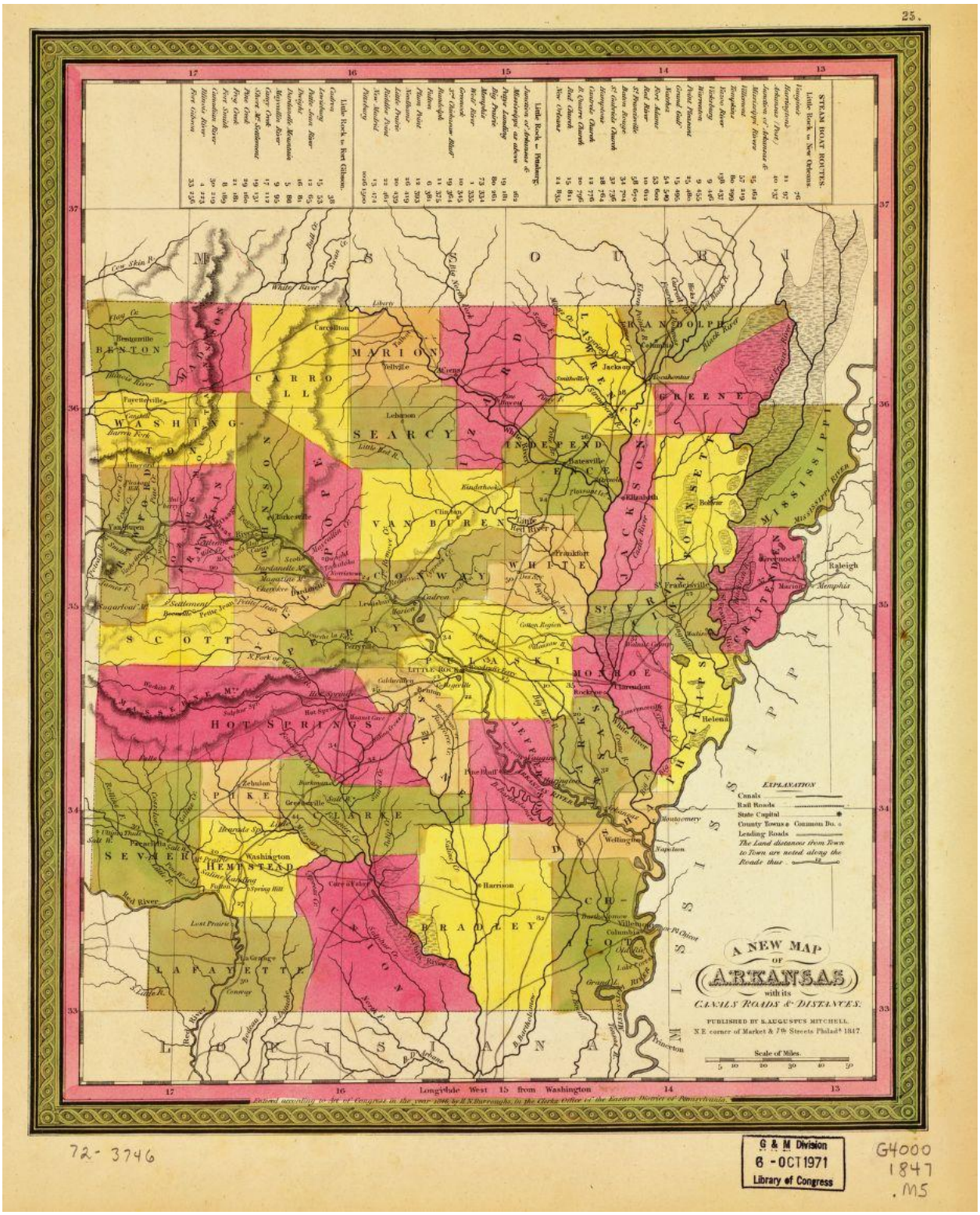


Figure 4.1: *An 1847 pocket map of Arkansas, complete with a timetable of steamboat distances from ports in Arkansas to various other port cities.* Samuel Augustus, *A new map of Arkansas with its canals, roads & distances*. Map. 1847. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm72003746/

Carter may have used a map like the one shown above to see how to leave the state of Arkansas successfully. Regardless of Carter's ability to read or write, there is an important takeaway from this story: Even if Carter could not effectively interpret a map or compass, the act of possessing them, and at his disposal while traversing the Arkansas River, helped him pass as a free person of color (reminiscent of an Atlantic Creole), a Native American, or, on a more basic level, conveyed that he was someone who gave the impression that he *knew* where he was going, even if he was figuring it out. For Jonas and Carter, the cultivation of a geographic literacy required tools, either for finding a particular space in the Southern frontier and Atlantic world, or simply giving the impression that they knew where these spaces were located, and that they belonged on that particular landscape.

Steamboats and Fugitivity

With or without a map, enslaved people could rely upon the technological innovation of the steamboat to reach various Atlantic port cities. Indeed, steamboats most immediately connected enslaved individuals in Arkansas with the wider Atlantic world. The idea of enslaved people utilizing the technology of the steamboat, however, is historically ironic. As Walter Johnson has recently argued, the steamboat was the clearest physical manifestation of capitalism moving into the Lower Mississippi River valley, since the steamboat's technology endeavored to control the environment—in this case, the capricious nature of the Mississippi and its "spatial and temporal scale"—and became a mobile machine for spreading "imperialism and dispossession."[345] Because of its nature as a public space, however, the steamboat could be characterized as a "theater" where defiance and resistance could unfold, as historian Robin D. G.

[345] Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 75-76.

Kelley called public forms of transportation in the Jim Crow era. He argued that buses and streetcars, in particular, became important spaces of resistance and defiance, and were ultimately democratized through these quotidian actions.[346] Despite the fact that steamboats were utilized to efficiently ship cotton and other goods harvested, packed, and loaded by enslaved workers, they were also public places where people—regardless of status—could shape or challenge the limits of mobility dictated by slavery.

Because of its location along the Mississippi, many fugitive slaves in Arkansas did take advantage of the steamboat and its potential to connect to other port cities and spaces in the larger Atlantic world. Steamboat travel certainly provided the quickest, most efficient route from one point along the Mississippi to the next, while also going to northern and southern destinations (the same aforementioned 1847 pocket map of Arkansas detailed the route from Little Rock to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, along with a table of the mileage from one port to the next).[347] We do not know how many stops a steamboat would make in different rivers in Arkansas, and some relatively close distances appear as a long voyage via the steamboat (Little Rock to Memphis, for example, would take 73 hours to go 334 miles, whereas via roads it is only 140 miles from Little Rock to Memphis). From the Arkansas Post, described as "Junction of Arkansas & Mississippi Rivers," New Orleans would be a 25 hour journey to go 162 miles.[348]Advertisements often cited enslaved people using the steamboat to escape one area, suggesting their relative familiarity with steamboat travel, its routes, and its possibilities for mobility and even freedom. In 1838, several men ran away from a plantation in Clark County,

[346] For more on public spaces and the everyday acts of resistance to achieve desegregation, see Robin D.G. Kelley "'We are not what we Seem': Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South *Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (June 1993): 75-112.
[347] Samuel Augustus, *A new map of Arkansas with its canals, roads & distances*. Map. 1847. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm72003746/
[348] Mitchell, S. Augustus, "A New Map of Arkansas with Its Roads, Canals, and Distances." Philadelphia: 1847. Library of Congress.

Arkansas, and their owner stated that "they will probably try to take a boat at Little Rock."[349] Clarke County is roughly 80 miles to Little Rock, yet steamboats in Little Rock could theoretically take a group of people, enslaved or free, to a variety of destinations in the Southern frontier.[350]

Enslaved men, in particular, often took advantage of the mobility provided through steamboat and other boat travel, and were even hired out by their owners to work on steamboats. In some instances, these individuals used their work on the steamboat to escape their conditions. Scholars like Jeffrey Bolster and Walter Johnson found that steamboats and water work, more generally, "became an occupation for slaves and recent freedmen" and offered almost unprecedented freedom in the American South. [351] Bolster found that many African-American men found jobs and opportunities in sailing and on steamboats in America, which gave mobility for these men who worked on these ships. He found that on the water, people of African descent were able to create identities, carve out spaces for themselves in a strict binary society, make money, and spread communication throughout the frontier South[352]

Indeed, these insights about mobility on the water ring true in nineteenth century Arkansas. At the same time that steamboats were increasingly used for transportation and shipping, self-emancipating fugitives were using steamboats to escape. For instance, in 1836 a runaway slave

---

[349] *Arkansas Gazette,* 9 February 1838, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[350] Walter Johnson, through a close analysis of steamboats on the Mississippi river, found that some of the quickest steamboats could make exceptionally good time. He cites the *Robert E. Lee* in 1870 that went from New Orleans to Helena, Arkansas in 1 day, 23 hours, 25 minutes. Helena, Arkansas is located 365 miles North of New Orleans. Closer to the Arkansas Post was the town of Napoleon (which has since fallen into the Mississippi River and disappeared), which took the *Robert E. Lee* 1 day, 16 hours, and 22 minutes to reach from New Orleans (325 miles). Fugitive slaves most likely did not take these racing steam boats, yet other steam boats could have reached the final destination in New Orleans within a few days. See Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), page 106 for a table of other recorded times of steamboats on the Mississippi river.
[351] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4.
[352] Julius Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso Books, 2018), 44.

was jailed in Phillips County "from the steam boat Orleans, on her passage up…says he belongs to Mr. MOOTE of Mobile, and was hired by Mr. MCBRIDE of New Orleans, who put him on the coast, and being displeased with his employment says he got on board the Orleans to escape."[353] This one man's familiarity and knowledge of steamboat travel helped him to escape from a bad situation in New Orleans to as far as Phillips County, in southeastern Arkansas. In June 1837, a man wrote in the *Arkansas Gazette* that his slave, Bill, was stolen from his plantation at Montgomery's Point, at the Mouth of the White River. He stated Bill was "formerly the property of Dr. DICKSON, late governor of Mississippi, who sold him at this landing [Montgomery's Point] where he was a waiter at the Hotel of Mrs. Ellen Wooten, for a considerable time. He was formerly Steward on a boat that traded to Little Rock. He is thought to be a steward or waiter on some boat now."[354] This story is illuminating for a variety of reasons: Montgomery's Point was a peninsula on the Mississippi, and was also the location of Montgomery's Tavern. A map of Montgomery's Point is shown below in Figure 4.2:

[353] *Arkansas Gazette,* 26 May 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.
[354] *Arkansas Gazette,* 22 June 1837, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

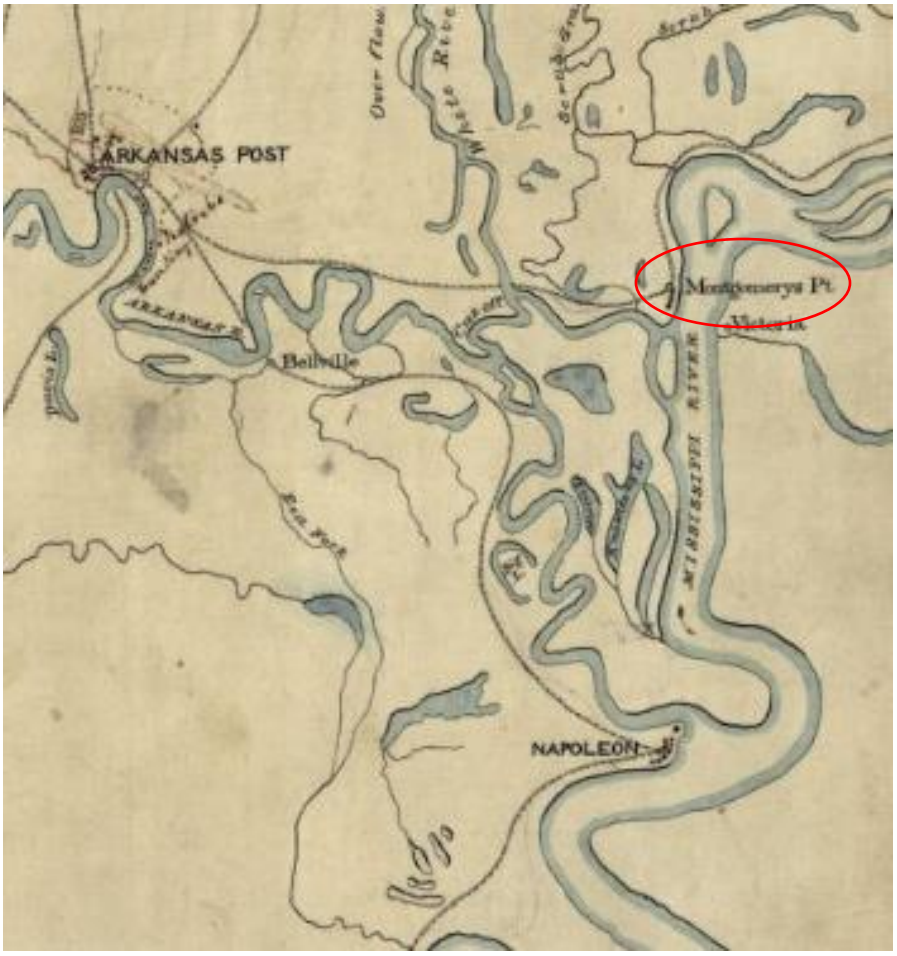


Figure 4.2: An 1863 map of the Arkansas Post and Montgomery's Point, located further east of the Post. "*The environs of Arkansas Post, Ark. January*. 1863. Map. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2006635251/

The map of Montgomery's point challenges the assumption that Bill was stolen and offers an alternative understanding of his disappearance: he used his geographic literacy to run away. Bill would have seen many steamboats, flatboats, keelboats, canoes and other vessels coming and going along the river near where he lived. He may have also gone to Montgomery's tavern, like men in maritime spaces around the Atlantic world, and overheard diverse groups of people talking and sharing news, discussing places where work was needed and when certain boats were

leaving and going to New Orleans or another large city.[355] Bill may have talked to a free person of African descent who told him how to pretend to be free, or forge freedom papers, or how to plan an escape. Furthermore, the fact that Bill applied his knowledge as a former waiter at a hotel to then get a job on a steamboat reflected a pragmatic understanding of skills needed for steamboat capitalism, which might have led to some freedom and mobility elsewhere, if he were never returned to his owner at Montgomery's Point (Figure 4.3)[356]

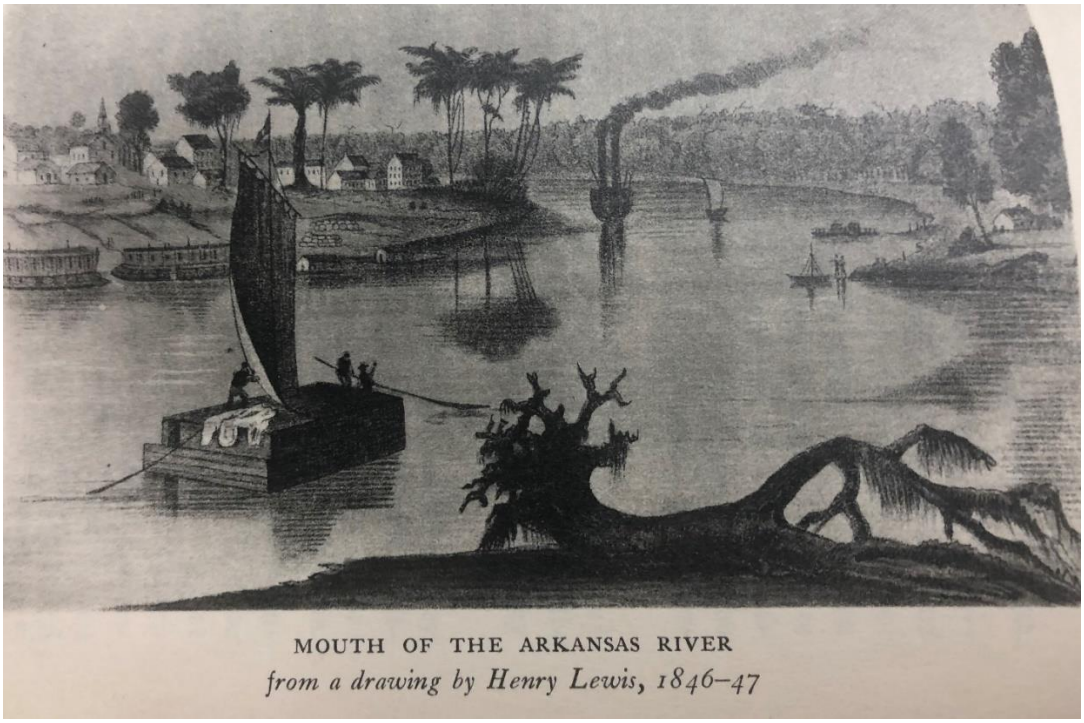


Figure 4.3: Image of the Mouth of the Arkansas River, from *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*, John Francis McDermott, ed. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 163.

[355] Julius Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2018),44.
[356] W. Jeffrey Bolster writes about enslaved and free people of color and steamboats and sailing in his work *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Other fugitives applied their geographic literacy of the Mississippi, paired with their knowledge of steamboat travel, to plan their escape. For instance, in July of 1833, Hillary was jailed, and said that he had escaped "via the steamer Tippecanoe," which brought him to Chicot county.[357] Although the advertisement does not say where his original destination or point of departure was, we can assume it was another large port city along the Mississippi, either New Orleans, Natchez, or Vicksburg. Jo was jailed in Little Rock and said he and three others were on "their way down river, on board the steamboat Swiss boy, [when] they left the boat at Point Chicot, and made their escape."[358] One member of this fugitive group was still missing, and the advertisement suggested "he is still on the road between this place and the South."[359] This ambiguous advertisement did not give details as to where he might be located in the "South," though from Point Chicot, Jo could access many spaces in the Southern frontier, including Natchez, Vicksburg, Baton Rouge or New Orleans by following the Mississippi.

Point Chicot was a port and shipping center along the Mississippi River in an ox-bow bayou (a curved bayou that has been cut off from the river, like Pointe Coupée). In the 1822, another fugitive from Baton Rouge, Jack, was jailed in Point Chicot, Arkansas territory.[360] It is roughly 260 miles from Baton Rouge to Point Chicot, Arkansas, but a person could make this trip directly on the Mississippi, passing through other cities like Port Gibson and Vicksburg. Another notice from 1836 read that five people, including Randal, Aaron, Maria, Hiram, and an unnamed woman ran away from Helena and "intended crossing the Mississippi about Old River

[357] *Arkansas Gazette*, 4 July 1833, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.
[358] *Arkansas Gazette*, 15 January 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[359] Ibid.
[360] *Arkansas Gazette*, 17 December 1822, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

Lake, near Point Chicot." Helena was about one hundred miles from Point Chicot, but could be reached floating down the Mississippi.[361]

A familiarity with water, whether an ox-bow bayou or tributary of the Mississippi enabled some fugitives to escape. Henry ran away from Helena, and his owner wrote that he "was left on shore by the steamer Native, on her last trip up. He was left somewhere between the Mouth of the Arkansas and Columbia." The advertisement did not state whether he had permission from his owner to travel or if he worked on a steamboat.[362] One individual cited in a runaway slave notice lived in a somewhat convenient location for becoming a fugitive. In 1836, William was jailed in Helena, Arkansas and said he "belongs to a Mr. JOHNSON living opposite the steam boat landing in New Orleans."[363] This location of William's owner's home proved a valuable and vital escape route for him, and he made it from New Orleans to Helena, Arkansas by simply going to the steamboat landing close to his home. The 1847 pocket map of Arkansas listed Baton Rouge 704 miles from Little Rock, and estimated that it took 34 hours to get to Baton Rouge from Little Rock via the steamboat.[364] In 1822, an advertisement stated that a fugitive, Abraham, escaped from a plantation in Baton Rouge and might be heading back to Natchez where he formerly lived, which is why the slave owner placed this advertisement in an Arkansas paper.[365]

Like all spaces in the Southern frontier, steamboats did not offer complete freedom or security from the prospect of being caught and reenslaved. Many people were caught on steamboats and jailed as fugitives, regardless of whether they were free people of Africa descent

[361] *Arkansas Gazette,* 18 February 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[362] *Arkansas Gazette,* 5 March 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[363] *Arkansas Gazette,* 31 March 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

[365] *Arkansas Gazette,* 19 March 1822, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

or working on a steamboat crew. A short notice placed in 1840 stated that a man named Lewis had "runaway from Steamboat Winchester," from New Orleans, and he was jailed in Little Rock.[366] Another placed in 1840 stated that a fugitive, Stepto, was found on the steamboat Diana, and was allegedly "owned by someone in St. Louis, Missouri," though he was jailed in Phillips County. Stepto might have been on his way to Natchez, Vicksburg, or New Orleans.[367] Unfortunately for us, many fugitive stories are cut short by these terse advertisements. However, with some historical imagination and historic reconstruction with other examples, we can try to speculate where these people came from, where they were trying to go, and how they chose the given method of transportation that they did. [368]

Applying Environmental Knowledge to Successfully Escape

Beyond the threat of reenslavement, the Lower Mississippi River valley posed physical threats to those who traversed the landscape and endeavored to remain off the grid and invisible to surveillance. As we have seen, fugitives benefited from knowing which spaces may have offered a modicum of freedom or mobility (like former Spanish holdings or New Orleans); knowing how to acclimate to new city with diverse people (through speaking different languages, or pretending to be a free person of color); and pinpointing *how* to make this escape, whether by steamboat or with the aids of technology like maps or compasses. A fugitive would also have to possess knowledge about the physical environment on their chosen route to freedom. Were certain rivers navigable, or dangerous to cross? Were animals like snakes and alligators a major threat to a fugitive? Would leaving the plantation in the summer make more

[366]*Arkansas Gazette*, 25 May 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.
[367]*Arkansas Gazette*, 15 May 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

sense, when the weeds and plants were high and could cover a person, or during the winter, when there were fewer mosquitoes, snakes, and alligators to worry about? Regardless of whether a fugitive planned to go to a Spanish territory, or use a steamboat or canoe to try and get to New Orleans, or use the road system, a type of geographic literacy would have been highly necessary to abscond a plantation in Arkansas, and to safely reach further spaces in the Southern frontier without bodily harm.

As we saw in Chapter One, informants on the ground often supplied geographic and environmental knowledge to cartographers, who transferred their insight and knowledge onto maps. Furthermore, people who worked on the Mississippi and traveled on waterways may have spread helpful knowledge regarding the natural world, as well, similar to how they may have shared rumors and information from the wider Atlantic World to more remote places. For instance, an 1833 map of the Lower Mississippi River valley labeled "B [ayou]. Crocodile" southwest of Natchez. This might be an account of an exchange between the cartographer and a possible informant, like we saw in chapter one, or perhaps the cartographer is transferring the name of a body of water that was given by locals (Figure 4.4).

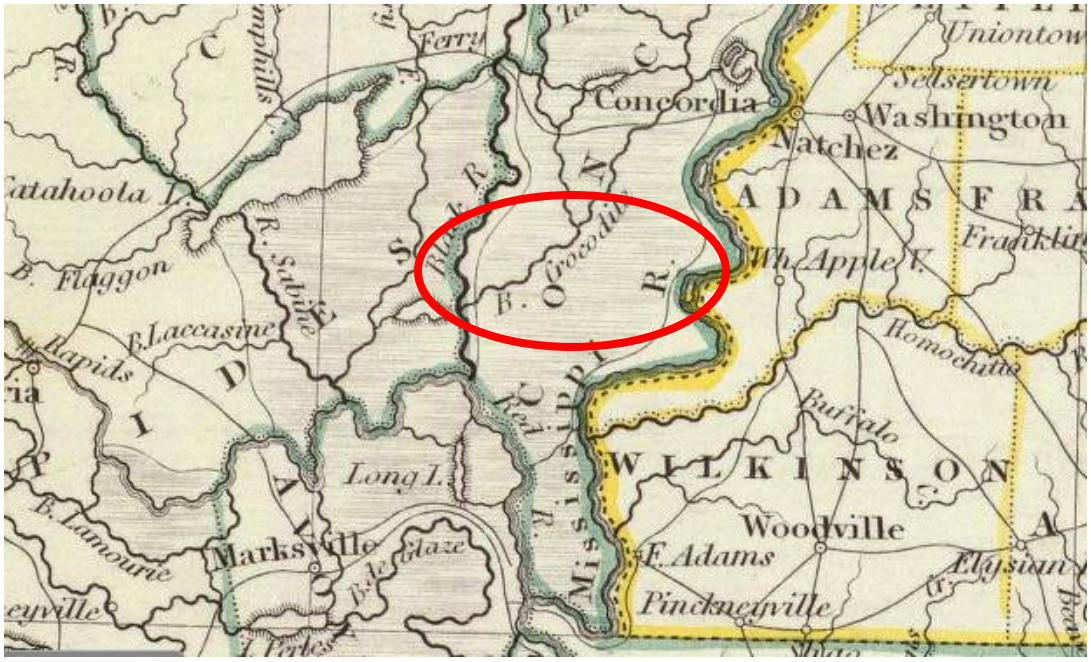


Figure 4.4: *An 1833 illustration of the Lower Mississippi River Valley, with "B. Crocodile" labeled, presumably indicating a bayou with alligators*. Chapman and Hall. *Pts of Louisiana, Ark., Miss., Ala., Florida*. London, 1833. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. www.davidrumsey.com

Similarly, an 1825 Dutch map of Arkansas and Louisiana places alligators below Pointe Coupée, as denoted in the names of these bodies of water (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: Alligators Lake. Johann Nepomuk Diewald. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.* Nuremberg, 1825. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. www.davidrumsey.com

Taking into consideration that enslaved people often did not have access to maps, how would they know which spaces in the Lower Mississippi River valley contained threats, like alligators, and which did not, especially if the individual were not from that space? Unfortunately for historians, we do not have a written answer for this question, since few if any primary sources created by enslaved people at this time period survived, or were created in the first place. We can hypothesize that an enslaved person may have asked a Native American in Southeastern Arkansas, like a Quapaw, or a Tensas in northeastern Louisiana, whether a river or bayou contained alligators, or if they posed a real threat. Solomon Northup recalled his perilous journey from Louisiana, and described encounters with alligators in his autobiography. While

traversing through the swamps and bayous of Louisiana, he acquired methods to evade alligators. He wrote that before crossing water, he would "strike the water with a stick. If the waters moved, I would go around it, if not, would venture through."[369] Northup also realized that alligators could slither and lunge at short distances, but could not turn easily. He described his conclusions about dealing with alligators: "I would start back, run a short way round, and in that manner shun them. Straightforward, they will run a short distance rapidly, but do not possess the power of turning. In a crooked race, there is no difficulty in evading them."[370] Like Northup, self-emancipating fugitives would have learned from their own experiences on the ground, and from locals, as did a cartographer of this 1801 map, who stated "les alligators ne remontrent pas plus haut," stating that alligators did not come further North than that point on the map, near the Arkansas Post (Figure 4.6).[371]

[369]Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1855), 140.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Zebulon Montgomery, "*Première partie de la Carte de l'Intérieur de la Louisiane"* 1801. Les archive nationales d'outre mer.

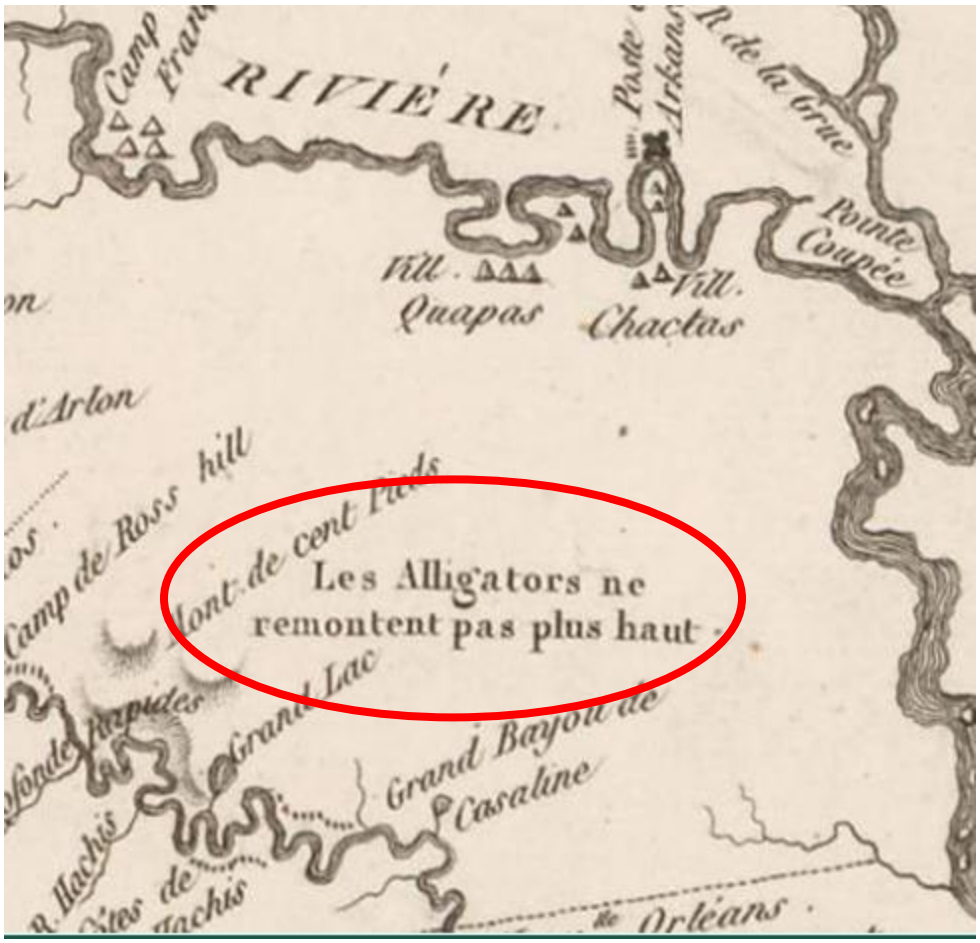


Figure 4.6: Zebulon Montgomery, "*Première partie de la Carte de l'Intérieur de la Louisiane."*Paris: 1801. Les archive nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM). http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr

Certainly, enslaved people choosing to run away had to know about the physical characteristics of the landscape through which they traversed to abscond successfully and with minimal dangers. Here is a clear example of knowing about a natural feature of the landscape—in this case, Bayou Bartholomew—demonstrated how a cultivated knowledge, or geographic literacy was applied to efforts in running away (Figure 4.7).

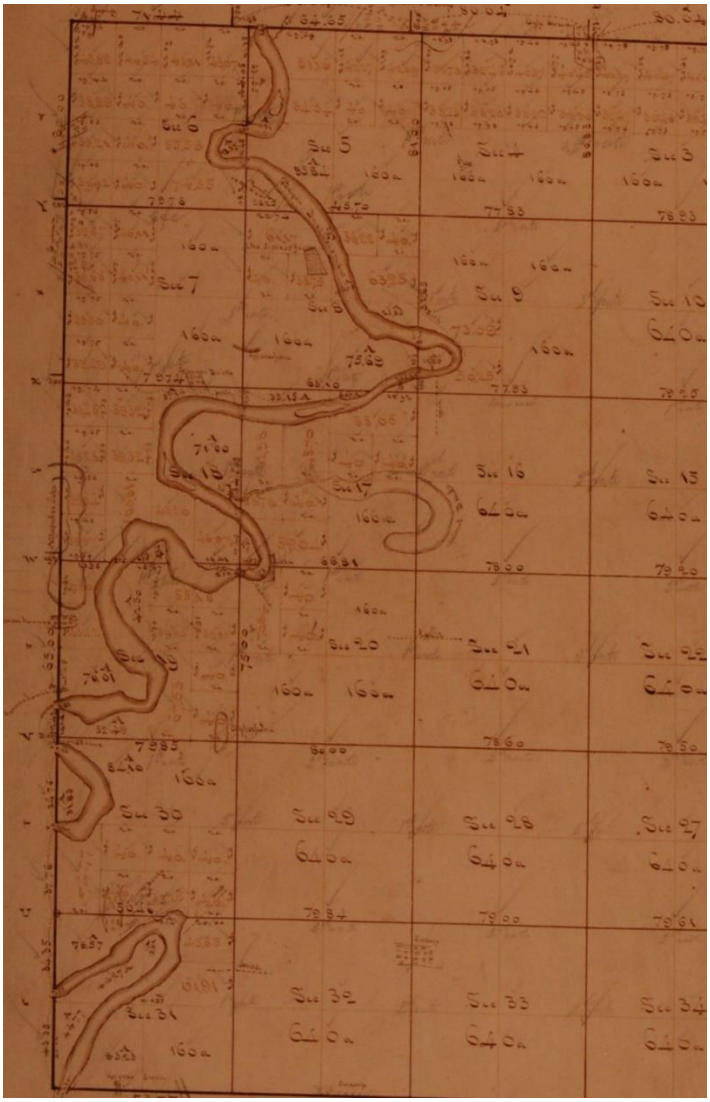


Figure 4.7: Louisiana Purchase Plat Maps, Quarter: SW, Township 14, Range 4. 1839. Plat. Commissioner of Arkansas State Lands. One section of Bayou Bartholomew in southeastern Arkansas.

In 1834, two enslaved men, Daniel and Bill, were captured in Union County, Arkansas, and claimed to have absconded from their master's plantation near Bayou Bartholomew in

Louisiana.[372] Bayou Bartholomew is the largest bayou in the world, traversing over 300 miles from Arkansas to Louisiana, making it a major hydraulic confluence and space of interchange. Daniel and Bill, who lived in the interior of Arkansas, tapped into the bayou to connect with the Atlantic world, since its key location—connecting Arkansas and Louisiana—blurred the officially demarcated lines of these two states. An individual traversing Bayou Bartholomew could get to Monroe and Natchitoches, Louisiana to the west, or Natchez to the east across the Mississippi River based on the numerous rivers that fed into the bayou. Alexandria, Baton Rouge and New Orleans lay to the South. Not only did the physical body of water make state lines more porous and fluid (quite literally), this bayou connected people with Atlantic port cities along the Mississippi, and large trading posts to the West. Perhaps Bayou Bartholomew also represented a place of jurisdictional fluidity—because of its size and twisting nature, policing the bayou would have been a difficult feat.

Fugitive slaves had to possess a geographic literacy of their surroundings and of the physical world around them. In addition to knowing which rivers and bayous were navigable, runaways also had to possess a knowledge about the natural world around them, and possible dangers. One advertisement placed in May of 1831 essentially gives us as readers a glimpse into a route that some enslaved people chose to take. A rare episode of a family unit becoming fugitives, including Bill, his wife Haney, Ben and his wife Hetty, and Nancy, Hetty's sister, ended with them all caught and jailed in St. Francis County. The jailer explained their journey:

> Bayou Fidelle, Thirty-Five miles above the Grand Gulph, on the Mississippi, and that they ran away about the middle of December last, and took with them, a rifle and shot gun…stolen from different persons on their route by way of the Post of Arkansas, White River, and the United States' road, to this neighborhood [St. Francis County] where they were taken up…They say there was another Negro man in

[372] *Arkansas Gazette,* 8 July 1834, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

> their company….who left their company about 45 miles below the Post of Arkansas.[373]

The journey from Grand Gulph, Mississippi, to St. Francis County is roughly 250 miles, and the distance from Grand Gulph to the Arkansas Post was 185 miles. The most direct route from Grand Gulph would be to follow the Mississippi river north to Vicksburg (33 miles), and to then continue north towards Point Chicot or the Arkansas Post, both of which were small port towns by the mid-nineteenth century. Beyond Vicksburg, this route was good for hiding out—no major cities and few small towns—although it would be difficult to maneuver with the swamps, sloughs, bayous, and flooded lowlands dominating this landscape. This family must have had an intimate knowledge of the landscape to make it from Grand Gulph to St. Francis County. The fact that they left in December, during the winter when insects, snakes, alligators, and other nuisance and possibly dangerous creatures were in hibernation, suggests that they recognized the natural dangers inherent in this trek, and planned accordingly. Their plan seemed well-thought out, too: in addition to taking guns with them, they took a rifle, a shot gun, two axes, "sundry bed clothing and wearing apparel," and ten dollars, indicating that they had plans to survive living in a camp or in the woods long-term, until they reached their final destination.[374]

In 1827, a jailer wrote that Henry, an enslaved runaway, had been captured in Phillips County, Arkansas territory. In this statement for the owner to come forward, the jailer wrote that Henry "was well acquainted on the coast between Natchez and New Orleans, and has probably run away from some farm on the coast,"[375] thus telling the reader of this advertisement that a knowledge of the landscape could lead to a temporarily successful escape. Enslaved and free people of color in the Arkansas territory cultivated a geographic literacy of their world around

[373] *Arkansas Gazette,* 8 May 1831, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[374] *Arkansas Gazette,* 8 May 1831, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[375] *Arkansas Gazette,* 4 September 1827, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

them, which was reflected in their fugitive activity in the diverse landscape of the Lower Mississippi River Valley. This geographic literacy, in turn, connected them to a wider Atlantic world. This Atlantic sensibility was sometimes made manifest in language practices; the frequency with which enslaved people escaped to other port cities in the Lower Mississippi River valley also highlights Atlantic dimensions. People of African descent living in the Arkansas territory possessed both a knowledge about the physical landscape, including bayous that led to navigable rivers, rivers that were navigable, and steamboat routes, that were then applied to find spaces of freedom. Slaveowners and those who placed advertisements in the *Arkansas Gazette* also recognized this intimate familiarity enslaved people had about the physical landscape, and sometimes noted the familiarity enslaved people had with the world around them.

As we have seen, enslaved people and self-emancipating fugitives in Arkansas *did* know about the geography and physical world in which they lived, and applied this knowledge to endeavor to escape. If we reconceptualize historic spaces, and how particular groups of people and individuals viewed the world they made, we might see a very different image than one portrayed on a map. Indeed, for many enslaved people in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Arkansas territory extended into the northern fringes of the Mexican Empire, the bayous of Louisiana, and the port cities in the Lower Mississippi River valley, which blurred the boundaries of states, thus making the Arkansas territory a space of slavery and possible freedom. As we shall see in the next chapter, however, these Atlantic cities became less promising spaces of freedom as the nineteenth century wore on, as race-based slavery, capitalism, and more rigid social hierarchies took root in the Lower Mississippi River Valley and cosmopolitan cities, like New Orleans, and enslaved people living in Arkansas began to look for alternate routes to possible freedom.

Chapter Five: Dispossession from the Landscape: Forced Indian Removal & Slave Fugitivity

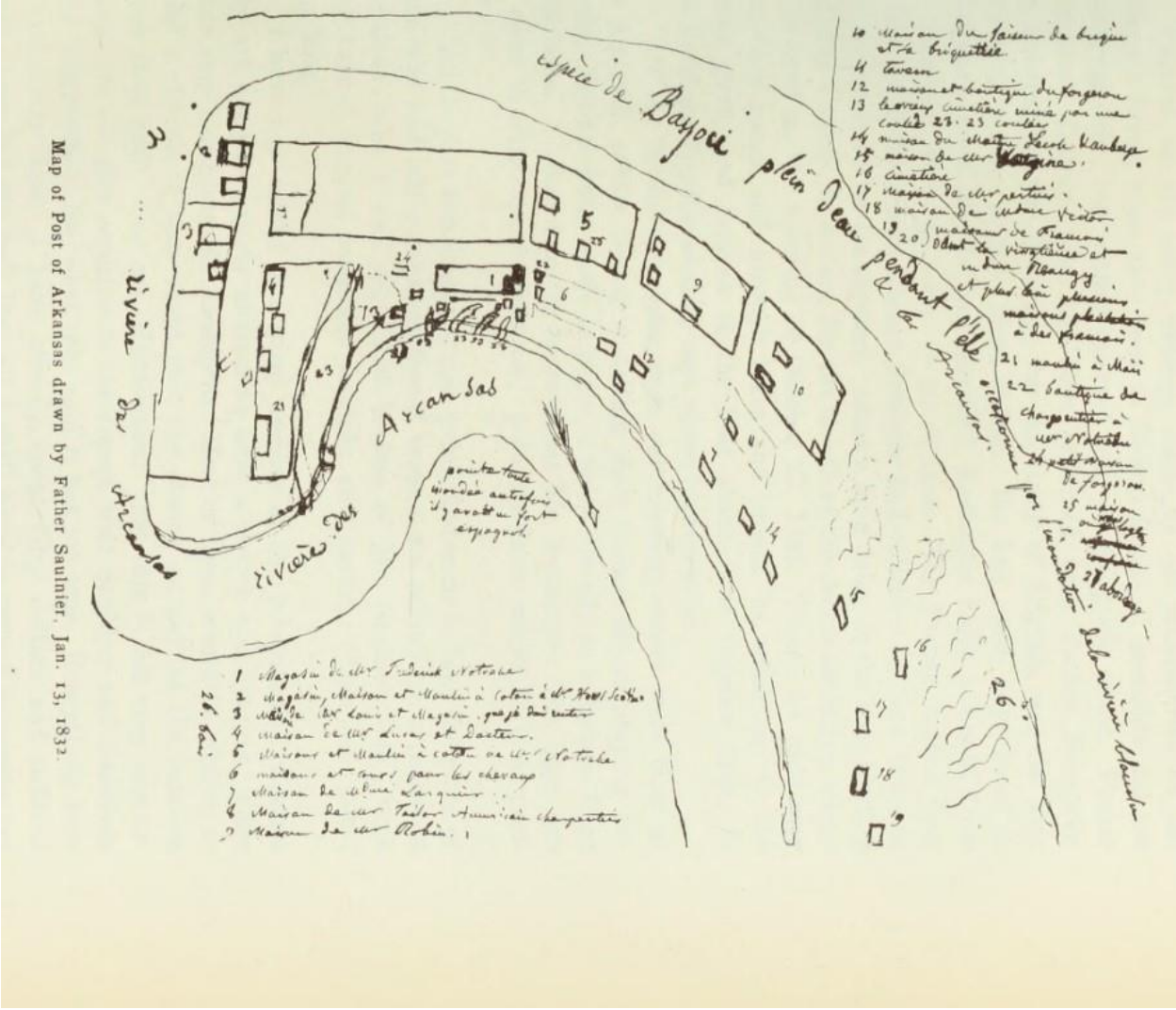


Figure 5.1: The Arkansas Post, drawn by Father Saulnier, January 13, 1832. Image copied from *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in its various stages of development from A.D. 1673 to A.D. 1928* by Rev. John Rothensteiner. St. Louis, Mo: Blackwell Wielandy, 1928. Available online at HathiTrust. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005922109

By the 1830s, Anglo-American settlers were pouring into the Arkansas territory. Fewer plantation owners spoke French and Spanish, and more were speaking English. These newcomers from places like Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas brought their enslaved people with them. Cherokee Indians from the Southeast were coming to Arkansas, too, some of whom were bringing enslaved people in tow. The Cherokee population in Arkansas was close to twenty-percent in 1819, thus Arkansas bore witness to another new type of native ground made by Indigenous people. In the fields, enslaved were forced to immediately begin planting and harvesting cotton in the rich alluvial soil in southeastern Arkansas. In their personal lives, they were also forced to create new lives, establish new kinship networks, and try to obtain, if possible, some sense of normalcy in an entirely new place.

What would these enslaved people hear and see once they got to the Arkansas Post? Some might have heard stories of successful fugitives who left the plantations near the Arkansas Post and headed for New Orleans or Mexico. Others might have seen individuals who tried to flee, but were unsuccessful, and these individuals would have been returned to their owners on plantations, after being jailed and questioned about their plans. Their names and terse biographies were placed in regional newspapers like the *Arkansas Gazette,* and their punishments for trying to escape spread from plantation to plantation.

Those with mobility would have seen and heard a bustling town at the Arkansas Post, like we see in Figure 5.1. Next to the blacksmith's shop and the home of the brick-maker and brickyard was the town's tavern, most likely owned by William Montgomery.[376] In the 1830s this tavern was likely abuzz with news of important events told from transient individuals

[376] Patrick E. Martin, *In Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Research Series No. 11, 1977).

traveling along the Mississippi. Enslaved people working at the tavern may have even overheard some of these conversations.[377] Some of the topics of discussion might have been President Andrew Jackson's formal Indian "policy," in which close to 60,000 Native Americans from places like Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida, would be passing through on their way to Indian Territory, carved out of Western Arkansas. In time, they would not only see, but also participate in this act of Indian Removal, and the results of this policy would influence and shape their own lives in southeastern Arkansas.

Indian Removal and Fugitivity

Some historians of Native American history are beginning to emphasize the idea of a "Long Removal" process beginning in the late eighteenth century, which culminated with Jackson's Federal Indian Policy in 1830. Historian Julie Reed has argued that two decades of treaties and endeavors to diminish Cherokee claims to land eroded Cherokee sovereignty and threatened their individual liberties. This process began after the Revolutionary War, when Cherokees were encouraged to cede their land to Anglo-settlers. Thomas Jefferson hastened this process when he proposed to remove Cherokees west of the Mississippi in 1806. Subsequent land cessions lead to major differences among the Cherokee Nation on how to navigate this tumultuous political moment.[378] Even after Cherokee and Upper Creek men fought with Andrew Jackson on behalf of the United States against the British and Red Stick Creeks in the War of 1812, land cessions (total 2.2 million acres, Reed found) continued apace.[379]

[377] See Vaughn Scribner, Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society (New York: New York University Press, 2020) for more information on the role of tavern culture in early America.
[378] Julie L. Reed, *Serving the Nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800-1907* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 62.
[379] Ibid.

Despite treaties and negotiations, and some successful legal and political wins, the Cherokee, among other Southeastern Indians, were losing the battle to hold on to their land titles and claims, and members of the United States government, especially Andrew Jackson, worked diligently to remove Indian people from their ancestral homes in the Southeast. Therefore, although the "official" Removal process began in earnest after the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the United States had been working to diminish Native land claims and coercing Native Americans to cede their land to the United States for several decades.

The Choctaw were the first to be forcibly removed, and therefore the first to come through Arkansas (1831-1832) on their march to Indian Territory. The Creeks followed in 1836, and roughly 2,5000 individuals went through the Arkansas Post. Of the 15,000 Creek Indians who were forced to leave Florida to go to Indian Territory, 3,5000 died.[380] In 1838, Chickasaw Chief Kin-hi-che led 175 individuals to Indian Territory through Arkansas, but Chickasaw Removal continued until 1851. From 1838-1839 16,000 Cherokee people moved through Arkansas, and more than 4,000 individuals died along the way—making it truly a trail of tears.[381] Lastly, beginning in 1836, Chief Holahte Emathla led the first group of Seminoles from Florida to Indian Territory via New Orleans and the Mississippi, and by 1842 the removal process was complete, though some Seminole people remained in Florida and avoided removal.[382]

The impact of this Native American movement on the enslaved at the Arkansas Post should not be underestimated. An enslaved person at the Arkansas Post might hear talks of buying horses to sell to the Choctaw who were on their way from Memphis on a steamboat. They might hear people discuss what would happen with the overland trek if the wagon roads were

[380] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 177-179.
[381] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians,* 256.
[382] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians,* 370.

washed out? Would a thousand horses, oxen, and mules be enough for the four incoming steamboats into the Post from Memphis? Would these Choctaw people be like the Cherokee who had already come through the Arkansas territory with their enslaved people in tow, or would they be more like the Quapaw people who had intermarried with the French, who were more likely to hunt game than plant cotton? Would there be enough food for these Native peoples if the crops yielded less due to rains or storms, and would they be stranded at the Arkansas Post for several weeks? Why did some of the Seminole people look like they were of African descent, and what were their views about slavery? Did their name, Seminole, really mean *cimarroon* (the Spanish word for runaway/maroon) and would these individuals be willing to help an absconding slave from Arkansas? Where were these people going, anyway, and why were the white residents excited about the money they would make from provisioning these foreigners? Most important was the question: Would they be willing to help with an escape?

Enslaved people living in Arkansas relied upon Atlantic routes to find possible avenues of freedom in the early nineteenth century, as seen in the previous chapter. These avenues were narrowing as the nineteenth century wore on, however, as cities like New Orleans were transitioning from tripartite to bipartite societies, and the spaces carved out by free people of African descent—where they exercised a degree of autonomy and mobility—became circumscribed.[383] At the same time that Atlantic spaces, including cosmopolitan cities like New Orleans and former Spanish spaces in the Mexican Empire, became less hospitable towards fugitive slaves and free people of African descent, Arkansas witnessed a population surge of forcefully removed Native Americans from the Southeast, who literally walked thousands of

[383] Whitney Nell Stewart discusses this phenomenon in "Fashioning Frenchness: *Gens de Couleur Libres* and the Cultural Struggle for Power In Antebellum New Orleans," *The Journal of Social History,* Vol. 51, no. 3 (Spring 2018), pgs. 526-556.

miles west from their ancestral homes in places like South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia and Florida, through southeastern Arkansas. But like Atlantic routes, these new Native allies offered uncertain freedom. This phenomenon of fugitivity is most clearly seen during the Removal Era (1830-1850), during which time thousands of Southeastern Native peoples trekked across the southeastern Arkansas landscape where cotton plantations were most dense, and where the majority of enslaved people lived.[384]

The enslaved population in southeastern Arkansas was also growing in the 1830s-1850s and becoming a slave majority, based on the rise of plantation-based agriculture. In Chicot County, for instance, in the southeastern corner of Arkansas along the Mississippi, the slave population in 1830 was twenty-three percent. By 1850, the enslaved population rose to seventy-eight percent (3,984 enslaved people with only 1,122 white people). With the population of enslaved people increasing in the 1830s-1850s, paired with the movement of thousands of Southeastern Indians in southeastern Arkansas, we see an uptick in runaway activity. Indeed, as the population of Native Americans coming through southeastern Arkansas surged from the 1820s to the 1840s, enslaved people began to follow these tear-stained Indian paths to find other spaces of freedom.

To be sure, people of African descent living in Arkansas recognized the unique spaces they occupied at this time, and used these changing demographic contexts for their own benefit. Enslaved people in Arkansas did not abandon Atlantic routes, however: evidence from extant runaway slave advertisements suggested that enslaved people continued to traverse through the

[384] "Prosperity and Peril: Arkansas in the Late Antebellum Period in *Arkansas: A Concise History* (Jeannie Whayne, Thomas DeBlack, George Sabo II and Morris Arnold, eds. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2019), 132.

Lower Mississippi River valley, with people trying to reach New Orleans and Natchez up until the 1850s, though Native routes to freedom became exceedingly prevalent.[385]

At this time of social and political turmoil for Southeastern Indians who endured unimaginable tragedies, death, grief, suffering, and displacement in this era, the routes they forged through Arkansas gave a logical, perhaps more accessible opportunity for people of African descent to follow in order to find freedom from plantation landscapes. Once again, examining specific instances of fugitive slave activity forces us to reconceptualize how we view Arkansas not as a landlocked, insular space, but as a space where African Americans were both integrally connected to a wider Atlantic world, intimately connected to Indian nations in Indian Territory, and continually pushed the physical boundaries of Arkansas as demarcated on a map, to create porous, fluid boundaries that were easily—and quite often—transgressed.

As we have seen, enslaved and free people of African descent in Arkansas always continued to look for spaces of possible freedom. Even before the era of Forced Removal, enslaved people in Arkansas had a history of looking towards Native bands, tribes, and even Native individuals for refuge, and as we have seen in the Point Coupée chapter. These close relationships that some enslaved people forged with Native peoples was a political and social issue that plagued French, Spanish, and subsequent Anglo-American rule, and challenged the political structures of slavery in the nineteenth century. In this specific historical moment, enslaved people began to look towards Indian Territory, where forcibly relocated Southeastern Native peoples were being placed and forced to make new homes.

[385] A search through the Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisement project, compiled by Dr. Charles S. Bolton. Available online at *Documenting Runaway Slaves* by the National Parks Services, housed online at the University of Southern Mississippi. http://runawayslaves.usm.edu/about.html, indicates that enslaved people continued to flee to spaces like New Orleans and Natchez well until the late 1850s, and slaveowners and jailers continued to try and return these fugitives.

In order to get an idea of where Native people were located in Arkansas more broadly, the first part of this chapter provides a detailed overview of the Native history of Arkansas, expanding beyond the Quapaw people. The second part of this chapter discusses the attitudes that various Native nations had towards slavery, and whether their outlook changed over time. Particular attention will be given to the Cherokee Nation, since their presence in Arkansas spanned the late eighteenth to nineteenth century. Similar to forging Atlantic routes, enslaved people relied upon certain tools to try and escape towards Indian Territory or blend in with groups of Native peoples. These tools included language practices, like we saw with Atlantic routes, the appropriation of material culture, including clothing, and objects (like canoes, certain rifles and traps), and masquerading as Native Americans.

Native Americans in Arkansas Before Removal

Native Americans were always visible in Arkansas, well before the era of Forced Removal. To begin, let us look at the Quapaw people, with whom we are by now very familiar, to see what their views on slavery were. The historic relationship between the Quapaw people and enslaved people at the Arkansas Post is difficult to characterize, since so few sources exist from both groups of people. One incident stands out, however, which perhaps illuminated how the Quapaw people viewed African-based slavery. In 1769, five fugitive slaves escaped from their plantation in St. Louis, and found themselves near the Arkansas Post. A Spaniard then found these individuals in the home of a Quapaw Chief, and when he asked the Chief to return them, he refused. The reason for his refusal was: "because a man of the slaves' color is born to freedom as soon as he enters the house of a chief."[386] In this short interaction, told through a letter to a Commandment from the Arkansas Post Officer Alexander de Clouet, this particular

[386] This story is relayed in Morris Arnold's *Colonial Arkansas 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History*, pg. 65. The citation that Morris used for this quotation is De Clouet to Commandment, 4 August 1796, AGI, PC, *leg.* 107.

Quapaw person stood up against the Spanish commander and defied him, making a statement that he disavowed race-based slavery. We do not know what happened with these five unnamed fugitive slaves from St. Louis who made their way to a Quapaw Chief's home; perhaps they did in fact get their freedom, and went to a larger city like New Orleans or even Natchitoches where they could live among other free people of African descent; maybe the Chief later decided to return them to their respective owners to keep implied trade deals intact. Whatever their fate, which unfortunately remains unknown to us, this particular incident indicated that Quapaw people did not engage with race-based slavery as introduced by the Spaniards and French, at least in the 1760s, and no records indicate that they owned slaves themselves while living in Arkansas.[387]

Beyond the Quapaw at the Arkansas Post, the Cherokee had a long history in Arkansas beginning in the late eighteenth century. As early as 1796, Chief Connetoo (also known as John Hill) led a faction of the Cherokee Nation to Spanish Louisiana in order to escape American conflict and to carve out spaces for themselves away from white settler expansion.[388] These Old Settlers, as they were called, established settlements in the St. Francis River Valley, and by 1806 there were roughly six hundred Cherokees living there with their own governing body, separate from the reserveees, including the North Carolina Cherokees, known today as the Eastern Band of Cherokees who remained in the ancestral homelands further east.[389] Then in 1809, a

[387] I have found no sources regarding the Quapaw people indicating that they owned African slaves like the Spaniards and French, and the only slavery they engaged in was the captive-taking during war in the eighteenth-century, similar to other Southeastern Indians. Christina Snyder cites a few examples in which the Quapaw take Natchez slaves after the Natchez Massacre in 1729. See her work *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), pg. 118. Perhaps the Quapaw people in Arkansas did not engage in the slave trade since they had been so negatively impacted by the Chickasaw raids in the eighteenth century which served to decimate their populations.
[388] Charles S. Bolton, "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2003): 264.
[389] Julie Reed, *Serving the Nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 77.

delegation from the Lower Towns went to Washington where they met with Thomas Jefferson, who viewed the Louisiana Purchase as a space for Native Americans to emigrate to, where they could establish farms, schools, towns, and become "civilized."[390]

The New Madrid Earthquakes in 1811-1812 greatly affected Cherokees in Arkansas, many of whom lived directly in the earthquake's seismic zone and experienced substantial aftershocks. Historians have written about the reactions to these earthquakes among the Cherokee people, and how individuals struggled to interpret the meaning of these events in cosmologic and cultural terms.[391] The earthquakes led to a major concern over Cherokee autonomy, sovereignty, and tradition, or lack thereof, which encouraged some Cherokee people to abandon their Euro-American practices, like Christianity and plantation farming, to embrace a more "traditional" Cherokee way of life. Therefore, the earthquakes led to a type of spiritual rebirth, according to some historians, with social and political repercussions.[392] Some Cherokees left Arkansas and went back to the ancestral Cherokee homelands further east; others moved further west beyond Little Rock, where the geography of the mountains and foothills looked similar to their ancestral homes in the Appalachian mountains, and offered a space where they could practice more "traditional" Cherokee ways of life.[393]

A substantial number of Cherokee people remained in the St. Francis River valley, however, and more Cherokees from the east soon moved to Arkansas. Some Cherokees went to

---

[390] Charles S. Bolton, "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory," 267.
[391] Jonathan Hancock, "Shaken Spirits: Cherokees, Moravian Missionaries, and the New Madrid Earthquakes," *Journal of the Early Republic,* 33, no. 4 (2013): 673.
[392] Conevery Bolton Valencius, *The Lost History of the New Madrid Earthquakes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), especially chapter three, "Earthquakes and the End of the New Madrid Hinterlands" where she discusses the reactions to the New Madrid earthquakes in the divided Cherokee Nation. Also, "Cherokee" entry in the *Encyclopedia of Arkansas,* Central Arkansas Library System, https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/cherokee-553/
[393] Jonathan Hancock, "Shaken Spirits: Cherokees, Moravian Missionaries, and the New Madrid Earthquakes," 648.

the Arkansas territory following the War of 1812 and the Red Stick War, in which many Cherokee men fought for the United States. Some of these war leaders began to sign treaties that gave more land cessions in the Cherokee Nation for lands in Arkansas.[394] More political strife surrounding Cherokee autonomy led to the creation of the Western Cherokee Nation, commonly referred to as the Old Settlers, in Arkansas from 1817-1828, as stated in the 1817 U.S. Treaty with the Cherokee. In this controversial treaty, land was given to the Cherokee in the White and Arkansas River regions of Arkansas territory, while their land claims in North Carolina were diminished—almost 2.2 million acres of land, leading to more tensions between the Old Settlers and the Eastern Cherokee.[395] These Old Settlers numbered around 3,500 individuals, and were scattered throughout the Arkansas territory. Some of these people lived on plantations where they amassed wealth and owned enslaved laborers, like Tom Graves who lived on Rocky Bayou, and in 1822 bought a cotton gin.[396] Others lived on small farms where they grew corn and raised livestock.[397] Many of the Old Settlers hunted game like deer, buffalo, bear and raccoon, and these traded furs, tallow, and pelts with other Native Americans, like the Quapaw at the Arkansas Post, along with French and Spanish settlers at the Arkansas Post, New Madrid, and St. Genevieve. Decreased numbers of game led to clashes over hunting rights, since Cherokee hunters had to keep moving to find more game to hunt and often went into other Native spaces. Hunting game in western Arkansas led to tensions between the Osage, whose territory was in the Ozarks in northwestern Arkansas, and the Cherokee, who continued to fight over hunting rights to land throughout the early nineteenth century until the 1820s. These hunting right land disputes

[394] Julie Reed, *Serving the Nation,* 44.
[395] Julie Reed, *Serving the Nation,* 45.
[396] Joseph Patrick Key, "Indians and Ecological Conflict in Territorial Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2000): 145. See also Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 19.
[397] Joseph Patrick Key, "Indians and Ecological Conflict in Territorial Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 59, no. 2 (2000): 143.

involved the United States, French settlers, and other Indian nations.[398] By 1819, twenty percent of Arkansas' population was Cherokee, and despite the fact that Jefferson and others in Washington viewed Arkansas as a Indian Territory, removal began when white settlers wanted to expel these Native Americans in order to get their fertile lands, and began the process of dispossession through treaties.[399]

In addition to the population of Old Settlers living throughout Arkansas, other smaller populations of Native Americans lived in the Arkansas territory, too, some of whom may have had contact with enslaved and free people of African descent. About 500 families lived Near New Madrid in northeastern Arkansas, including refugees and emigrants from the Delaware, Shawnee and Miami tribes who came to Arkansas to hunt.[400] The Shawnee, in particular, had a presence in Arkansas from 1800-1830s. In 1779, some of the Shawnees moved west after allying with the British during the American Revolution, and settled in the Ozark mountains in northwestern Arkansas where they founded Yellville as a Shawnee town. Once there, they allied with the Old Settlers to fight against the Osage, and kept moving further and further west to avoid Osage attacks.[401] Cherokee pressures and treaties with the United States forced the Shawnee to move further west, and these people went to Kansas and modern-day Texas, at that time part of the northern Mexican Empire, to maintain their tribal sovereignty.[402]

In an early iteration of forced removal, some Choctaw people were forcibly removed to Arkansas following the Doak Treaty of 1820, in which the Choctaw ceded almost half of their

---

[398] Joseph Patrick Key, "Indians and Ecological Conflict in Territorial Arkansas," 133.
[399] Charles S. Bolton, "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory," 270. For an excellent summation of the internal division between the Old Settlers and the Eastern Cherokees, and internal factions between the Eastern Cherokees and treaty-making, see Faye Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*, especially the introduction where she provides a quick overview.
[400] Charles S. Bolton, "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory," 264.
[401] George E. Lankford, "Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. 58, no. 4 (1999), 404.
[402] George E. Lankford, "Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks," 413.

remaining lands in Mississippi (close to five million acres) to the United States government in exchange for land in western Arkansas and what would become Indian Territory.[403] The Choctaw received thirteen million acres in southwestern Arkansas along the Arkansas river, and tracts of land in what would become Indian Territory. Some of the Choctaw who removed to Arkansas did own slaves. In a census taken before another iteration of forced removal in 1833, 521 enslaved people were included in the census (out of 17,963 Native peoples).[404] Therefore, enslaved people already in Arkansas would see the Choctaw slowly coming into the Arkansas territory, some of whom had slaves in tow, and others as non-slaveholders, which might confuse people of African descent as to how these people, as a whole, viewed slavery.

Race, identity, and status were complex and ever-changing among various Native Nations in the nineteenth-century, and the era of Forced Removal only further complicated the role of people of African descent in various Native nations. Historians have just recently begun to analyze the legal and social dimensions for enslaved and people of African descent living in Indian Territory, especially in the Cherokee Nation. These historians argued that although race was more fluid and dynamic in the Cherokee Nation in the nineteenth century, over time, the Cherokee Nation adopted more binary concepts of race modeled after what they experienced in the American South.[405]

A famous legal case from the Cherokee Nation illustrated how the Nation's attitudes towards race, identity, and freedom changed over time. Shoe Boots (Tarsekayahke), a Cherokee war hero, lived with an enslaved woman, Doll, with whom he fathered children. In 1824, he

[403] Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr. *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1970), 65.
[404] Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr. *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians,* 137.
[405] Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

petitioned the Cherokee Nation to free his children and allow them to be full citizens of the Cherokee Nation, even though they were of partial African ancestry.[406] The Cherokee Nation's council allowed his children to become citizens of the Cherokee Nation, but upbraided him for having sexual relations with a woman of African descent. The Council stated that any further children from this union would not be offered citizenship in the Nation. As historian Yarbrough stated, "The Cherokee Council's response to Shoe Boot's petition represents a transition moment in Cherokee racial thinking: the protentional for people of African descent to become legitimate members of the Cherokee nation…was diminishing."[407] Although many free people of African descent lived in the Cherokee Nation "unmolested" for many years in the early nineteenth century, ideas of citizenship in the Cherokee Nation became more associated with *not* being black, especially after Removal when the Cherokee Nation had to reorganize its governing bodies and create new laws. These legal and social changes created a struggle for citizenship and identity for the many people of African and Afro--Indian descent living in the Cherokee Nation and the other so-called "Five Civilized Tribes," which continued well into the twentieth century.[408]

More generally, what did these emigrating groups of Southeastern Indians look like to enslaved people in Arkansas, and why did enslaved people consider running away at this time? Enslaved people in Arkansas would certainly have seen a diversity of people in these emigrating groups, including various Native Americans, some of whom shared at least partial African ancestry, like the Seminole. Perhaps more than the other Southeastern tribes, the Seminole may

[406] Fay Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century,* 39.
[407] Fay Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century,* 55. See also Tiya Miles' *The Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) for a complete analysis of the story of Shoe Boots and Doll and their family.
[408] Fay Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century,* 26.

have looked the most appealing to fugitive slaves. Historian Andrew Frank argued that becoming "Seminole" was a long process in Florida history, since those who chose to break off from the Creek Nation and become Seminoles were remnants from other tribes. Some of these Seminole people welcomed fugitive slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where people of African descent were able to become Seminoles. Frank wrote that "Africans and Indians began to dress the same, living in similarly constructed homes, and otherwise share many of the same daily experiences" in Florida.[409] Some of these Seminoles of African descent also owned slaves.[410] Seeing these freed Seminole families of African descent, and Seminoles with enslaved people in tow would have been a confusing sight for enslaved people in Arkansas, though it may have served to encourage them to run away and follow these groups to Indian Territory.

Other Native emigrants passing through Arkansas certainly had enslaved people in tow. Historian Barbara Krauthamer estimated that close to 7,000 enslaved people were owned by Native American individuals, and quite often these slave owners relocated from the Southeast to Indian Territory with their enslaved property so that they could replicate their Southeastern plantations in Indian Territory.[411] Some of these enslaved people who emigrated with their Indian masters still endeavored to escape, like we see in a newspaper advertisement looking for Simon. He was enslaved in Alabama, and "sold to Winey, a Creek Indian woman, with whom he immigrated to the Creek nation west." Simon left the emigrating group in Little Rock, however, and tried to get back to Alabama, "by the route the immigrants came."[412] Simon, apparently, did

---

[409] Andrew Frank, "Red, Black, and Seminole: Community Convergence on the Florida Borderlands, 1780-1840" in *Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America's Contested Spaces, 1500-1850* (Andrew Frank and A. Glenn Crothers, eds. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 58.
[410] Andrew Frank, "Red, Black, and Seminole: Community Convergence on the Florida Borderlands, 1780-1840" in *Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America's Contested Spaces, 1500-1850* (Andrew Frank and A. Glenn Crothers, eds. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), 52.
[411] Barbara Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013),1.
[412] *Arkansas Gazette,* 18 Nov. 1837, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

not want to emigrate with his new owner to Indian Territory, and took this chaotic moment of mobility and movement to make his escape back to where he was raised.

This diverse cultural landscape in the Arkansas territory would have been difficult for an enslaved or free person of African descent to maneuver, and most likely required knowledge that spread via word of mouth to know whether certain Indian Nations were accepting of people of African descent, or if they supported slavery and owned enslaved people. Perhaps enslaved people in Arkansas heard of Shoe Boots and Doll's children, and thought that emigrating Cherokee people might be more accepting of them, and would offer them citizenship and freedom. Because of a drastic uptick in fugitive slave activity in the 1820s-1840s in southeastern Arkansas, we can ascertain a few things: one, enslaved people living in Arkansas must have possessed the knowledge of which Native tribes practiced slavery and which were more accepting, or two: that an influx of bodies moving across the landscape in a chaotic time proved an opportune moment to escape, regardless of the slaveholding practices of these emigrating peoples, as we will see during the era of Forced Removal.

Arkansas Post: The Center for Trail of Tears

The Arkansas Post was at the center of the Choctaw Trail of Tears (1831-1832), and became a site of suffering and death for many Choctaw people. Groups of Choctaw emigrants were to leave their ancestral homes in Mississippi, and either go to Memphis or Vicksburg on horseback, to then board steamboats to travel to the Arkansas Post to then begin the overland trek to Indian Territory through Little Rock. But tragedy awaited in the winter of 1831, when four steamboats landed at the Arkansas Post just as a blizzard hit.[413] There was not enough shelter, supplies, or food for the forcefully removed Choctaw, many of whom were barefoot and

[413] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 56-7.

lacked basic necessities.[414] Steamboats kept pouring in to the Post, and close to 2,5000 Choctaw individuals and one-thousand horses and mules were stranded at the Arkansas Post for two to four weeks, waiting for the weather to clear up so that they could use the wagon roads to travel to Little Rock. Choctaw chiefs set up temporary tents to camp and endure the brutal coldness and winter storm, while the United States Army sought to fix bridges and repair wagon roads that had washed out. Throughout the next four weeks, groups of Choctaw emigrants slowly left the Post to make their way to Little Rock on foot and wagon to finally reach the respective reservations in Indian Territory.

Nothing as extreme as the Choctaw starvation and suffering of 1831-1832 occurred again at the Arkansas Post, though the Post continued to serve as a main artery for westward passage of eighteen parties of Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole until 1839. From the early nineteenth century until the end of Forced Removal, historians estimate that close to 60,000 individuals from the Southeast went through Arkansas on their way to Indian Territory, many of these individuals disembarking from steamboats and keelboats at ports including Helena, Montgomery's Point, and the Arkansas Post—the same small port towns that we encountered in Chapter Four.[415]

For enslaved people working in the cotton fields, swamps, and small ports of southeastern Arkansas, the scene of thousands of Southeastern Indians, some of whom shared at least partial African ancestry, like the *Estelvste*—or Creek Indians of African descent—others

[414] Theodore Catton, *A Many Storied-Place. Historic Resource Study, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas.* The National Park Service. pg. 175.
[415] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal,* 158-9. Other Native Americans experienced Removal, as well, and removal policies were not just aimed at Southeastern Indians. See John P. Bowes' *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), who analyzes the removal of Native peoples in the Ohio River valley, including the Delaware, Seneca-Cayugas, and Wyandots, among others, who endeavors to argue that the history of Removal should expand to include other Native tribes beyond the Cherokee and other Southeastern Indians.

with enslaved individuals in tow, must have been a terrifying, exciting, confusing sight that stirred emotions and perhaps caused discussion among individuals about fugitivity.[416] For some, it was an opportune moment to finally run away. Peter and Ben were jailed in St. Francis County, Arkansas (northeast of the Arkansas Post) from Mississippi. They "were taken up on the road leading from Memphis to Little Rock, A.T., in company with the emigrating Choctaw Indians."[417] Although a horrendous time of upheaval for the Choctaw, Peter and Ben viewed their emigration as a key moment to flee Mississippi.

Lewis, an enslaved man living in Middle Tennessee, also heard about the emigrating Native Americans, possibly from his home in McMinn County, Tennessee, part of the former Cherokee Nation. He decided to escape with these emigrating people. His owner stated that "this boy…made an attempt last fall, to get in with a party of emigrating Indians to Arkansas, and may now be in that part of the territory set apart for the Cherokees."[418] Sam, also, viewed the tumultuous time of the late 1830s as a good time to try and run away from Arkansas and find new opportunities West. The man who claimed Sam as a slave wrote that "he has probably made for the Cherokee nation west, with some gang of Indians."[419]

Tools: Indian Languages

It should come as no surprise that many enslaved people in Arkansas were familiar with Native American languages, and applied their language skills to leave their plantations. Indeed, similar to speaking European languages, runaway individuals sometimes spoke Indigenous languages and slaveowners noted this information in these advertisements. Learning and speaking an Indigenous language, like Choctaw, Cherokee, or Chickasaw, certainly served a

[416]Gary Zellar, African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).
[417] *Arkansas Gazette,* 13 Nov. 1833, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[418] *Arkansas Gazette,* 1 Feb. 1839, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[419] *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 August 1838, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

pragmatic purpose for a person of African descent living in the Southern frontier with plans to escape. David Wheat discussed how languages reflected complex social interactions among Indians and people of color in eighteenth century Mobile in his work, and how learning different Indigenous languages and dialects was a means of resistance among marginalized groups.[420] Arkansas territory and later, the state of Arkansas, played a crucial role in Native American culture and history.

The ability to speak an Indigenous language may not only have deterred some people from thinking these fugitives were slaves as a manifestation of self-fashioning and embodiment, similar to the appropriation of Indigenous material culture, but perhaps more importantly, these language skills served a pragmatic role.[421] The ability to communicate with other people, including Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, all of whom were migrating through Arkansas from the Southeast in the 1820s and 1830s, would have given more opportunities for the exchanges of knowledge to take place. If a fugitive were able to speak Cherokee or Chickasaw, for example, the ability to ask an emigrating Indian for help, directions, aid, food, or other assistance would have proven invaluable for a fugitive slave.

An 1830 advertisement discussed four enslaved individuals who absconded from their master's plantation near the Chickasaw Nation. The ad-placer wrote that the man, Bill, "speaks the Chickasaw tongue very well. Also a black woman about the same age…speak Chickasaw; also two small children….speaks Chickasaw only."[422] The statement that Bill and this unnamed woman (maybe Bills' wife, with their two children?) spoke the Chickasaw language well is

[420] David Wheat, "My Friend Nicolas Mongoula: Africans, Indians, and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Mobile" in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*. Richmond Brown, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
[421] Sophie White's *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) provides an excellent study of embodiment theory and material culture in colonial Louisiana.
[422] *Arkansas Gazette,* 21 September 1830, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

interesting; the fact that they daughter, presumably, could *only* speak the Chickasaw language raises questions about the cultural and social interactions that led to this event: was either the man or the woman in this advertisement of Chickasaw descent? Was this young girl a Chickasaw, who somehow ended up with two fleeing enslaved individuals? Was Bill and his wife owned by a Chickasaw slave owner, which fostered the environment to learn this language? As historian Tiya Miles has argued, enslaved people owned by the Cherokees often spoke the Cherokee language, and maybe only spoke Cherokee, depending on the particular owners and the other enslaved people on the plantation.[423] This advertisement, unfortunately, remains ambiguous and does not answer these questions. It does, however, serve to highlight the complex cultural and social interactions in Arkansas that often culminated in language appropriations between people of color and American Indians.[424]

In 1833 an advertisement stated that two men, Charles and Jim, ran away from Long Prairie, Arkansas. The presumed owner declared that Jim "can speak the Cherokee language very well."[425] Was Jim previously owned by a Cherokee master, and sold to another owner in Long Prairie, Arkansas? Was he maybe of Cherokee-descent? An 1840 advertisement gives us more contextual clues about fugitive slaves and their perceived Indian ancestry. A Louisiana slaveowner placed an advertisement that stated four men, Turner, Jack, George and Peter, were "stolen" from his Red River, Louisiana plantation, though we cannot take this statement at face

[423] Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 88-89.
[424] Arkansas slave narratives collected in the 1930s by the Works Progress Administration also discuss complex relationships between Indians and people of color, including Indians being mistaken for slaves and being sold into slavery, and Indians marrying people of color (enslaved and free). Many of these interviews discuss the history of Arkansas directly before and after the Civil War, though some of these stories are illustrative of complex, blurred lines between Indians and people of color that existed well after the Civil War. See George Lankford, *Bearing Witness: Memories of Arkansas Slavery from the 1930s WPA Collection* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2006).
[425] *Arkansas Gazette,* 28 July 1835, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

value, since it is likely they ran away. Regardless, the advertisement stated that Turner, Jack, George and Peter "were seen by Indians passing through the Choctaw nation, along with three white men, all armed…I am inclined to think their aim was to get into the mountains, probably about the Washita Cove, and may pass on to the Cherokee country, as I believe one or two of the men with them could speak Indian, and partly mixed with Cherokee."[426] This relatively detailed advertisement gives us a glimpse into the social context of these men, who may have tried to escape to the Cherokee Nation west of Arkansas, since they were of Cherokee ancestry. The fact that they were with white men, who were armed, however, indicates that perhaps they were in fact stolen from this Louisiana plantation, and were being sold to slaveowners in Arkansas or Indian Territory.

In 1847, Cato ran away from his owner's plantation in Napoleon, Arkansas, close to the Arkansas Post (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

[426]*Arkansas Gazette*, 22 November 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

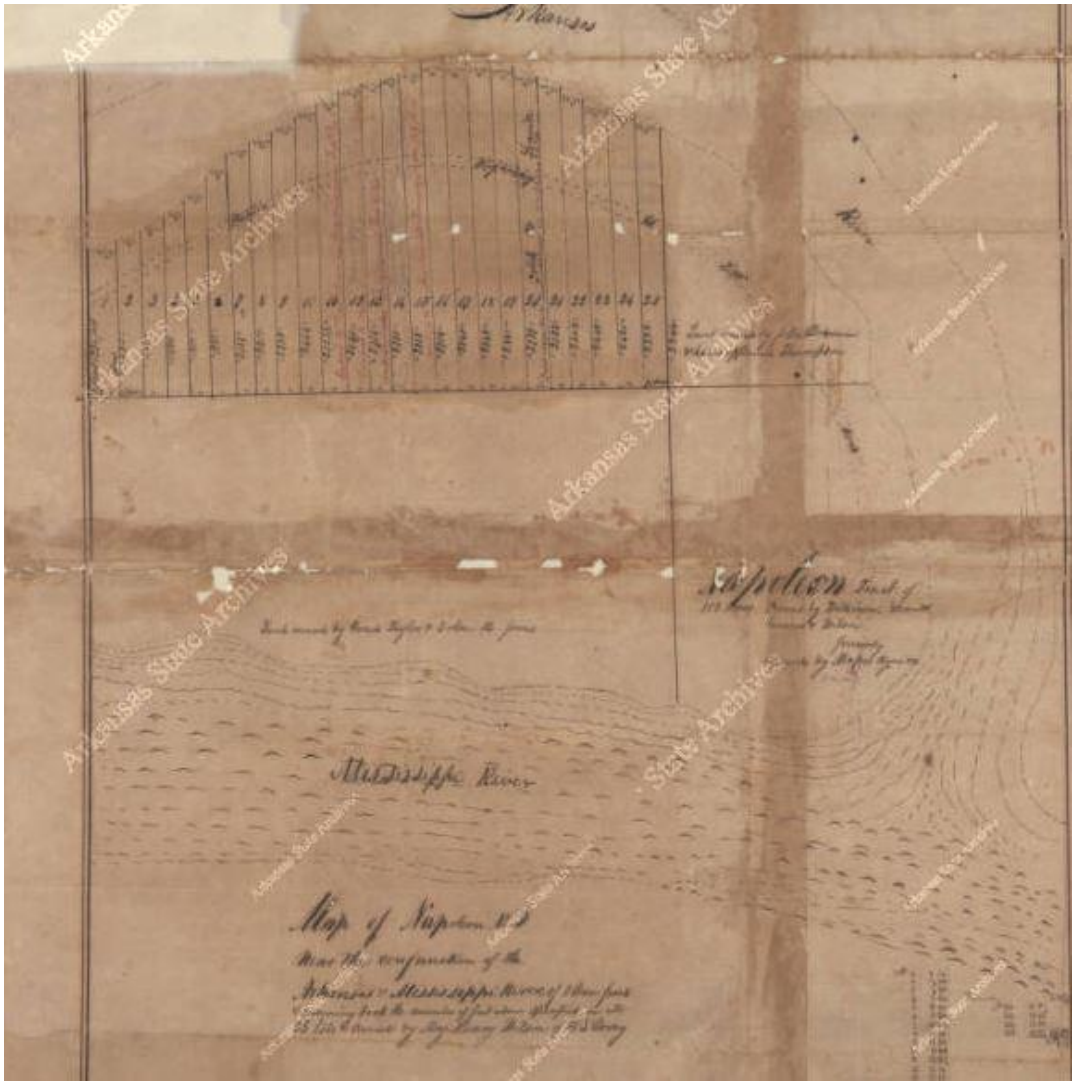


Figure 5.2: A map of Napoleon, Arkansas, in Desha County, similar to the Arkansas Post in that it was located at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers. In 1874 the banks of the town eroded, and the town fell into the Mississippi. Map of Napoleon Arkansas No. 2. 1845-1860. Hand drawn map. Historic Maps Collection, Arkansas State Archives. http://ahc.digital-ar.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16790coll5/id/3/rec/1



Figure 5.3: An 1871 image of Napoleon, Arkansas, close to the Arkansas Post. Although drawn in 1871, this may be what the small town looked like when Cato ran away in 1847. The Historic New Orleans Collection. Alfred and William Waud Collection. Louisiana Digitial Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/hnoc-aww%3A2379

Cato's presumed owner stated that Cato was raised "in the Indian Nation" (though he does not specify *which* Indian nation), and that he only speaks an Indigenous language ("he can speak but few words in English).[427] Although the advertisement -placer did not state, maybe Cato was Native American, and was making his way to where he grew up; perhaps a Cherokee reservation in northeastern Arkansas, or somewhere in Indian Territory. Or perhaps Cato was enslaved by an emigrating Choctaw or Chickasaw, and escaped while his owners were trekking across the Arkansas landscape. Cato's ability to speak an Indigenous language most likely served him well, as he could either feign ignorance of the English language and pretend to be a Native American (and therefore not a slave), or at least ask for help with directions, food, or shelter from emigrating Native Americans, if he spoke the same language.

Material Culture

[427] *Arkansas Gazette*, 29 May 1847, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

Material culture constituted another tool employed by people of African descent to help maneuver Native paths. Quite often, enslaved people were described as being dressed as Native Americans and appropriating Indian material culture, in particular guns, traps, and horseback riding gear, in order to evade surveillance. Indeed, during the period of forced Indian Removal, especially peaking in the 1830s and 1840s, an enslaved person could perhaps find a modicum of anonymity and blend into emigrating Native American groups by dressing the part and employing pieces of Indigenous material culture.

Although the ad placers typically did not describe what constituted Indigenous clothing, they often stated that runaways appropriated these clothes in order to escape. In 1840, Carter ran away from his owner's plantation near Hot Springs, Arkansas. The owner stated that "he crossed the Arkansas river, at this place, passing himself off for an Indian, being dressed similar to an Indian, and has possibly started for Illinois, or some other state, although he inquired for Fort Smith."[428] Carter's owner did not state *which* Indian Carter dressed as, though it is important to note that Fort Smith served as the agency for the newly relocated Choctaw Nation, as stated in the 1825 U.S. Treaty with the Choctaw.[429] It is possible that Carter saw forcefully removed Choctaws in Arkansas, and tried to follow them to Fort Smith, mimicking their dress. In Alabama in 1834, Colin and David absconded from their plantations and "were seen going down

[428] *Arkansas Gazette*, 10 June 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.
[429] See "The 1825 Treaty of Washington City," or "Treaty with the Choctaw," 1825. Jan. 20, 1825. 7 Stat., 234. Proclamation, Feb. 19, 1825 Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II, (Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), which designated Fort Smith as the agency for the Western Choctaw Nation who were removed from Mississippi. Article 1 states "The Choctaw Nation do hereby cede to the United States all that portion of the land ceded to them by the second article of the Treaty of Doak Stand, as aforesaid, lying east of a line beginning on the Arkansas, one hundred paces east of Fort Smith, and running thence, due south, to Red river: it being understood that this line shall constitute, and remain, the permanent boundary between the United States and the Choctaws; and the United States agreeing to remove such citizens as may be settled on the west side, to the east side of said line, and prevent future settlements from being made on the west thereof."

the Tennessee river in a canoe, dressed as Indians, and passing themselves as such."[430] The ad-placer also relayed that both men spoke the Chickasaw language, and believed that "their disguise is so complete that it will be difficult to detect them."[431]

People of African descent also appropriated Indian material culture, including certain guns, Spanish saddles, canoes, and traps during their escapes, which reflected a need for survival. An 1842 advertisement stated that Anderson ran away from his plantation in Sevier County, Arkansas, wearing a wool hat and carrying a "large bore Choctaw rifle." [432] When Mitch ran away from his plantation near Crittenden County, Arkansas, in 1836, he took with him "a rifle-gun and hunting apparatus."[433] Another advertisement indicated Native American tools employed by people of African descent. In 1834, a slave owner wrote that Harry ran away from his plantation and took with him "one rifle gun, ten beaver traps, one falling axe, and a canoe."[434] These items would have helped a runaway escape via river using the canoe, and survive living off the land by using a trap and gun. The falling axe maybe indicated that Harry had plans to make a makeshift home in the woods using logs. Fugitives also employed saddles employed by Indians, called Spanish saddles—like we saw in the chapter two on material culture at the Arkansas Post. An 1853 advertisement stated that William ran away from his plantation, and he "took with him a black horse mule, [and] Spanish saddle, such as are used by the Indians."[435] In 1840, similarly, an enslaved man stole a "fine blooded, sorrel mare" along with a "saddle of the Spanish order."[436] Historian Sophie White has found French settlers in eighteenth-century Louisiana frequently appropriated Native American material culture in their spartan villages, like

[430] *Arkansas Gazette,* 18 February 1834, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[431] Ibid.
[432] *Arkansas Gazette,* 17 August 1842, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[433] *Arkansas Gazette,* 5 April 1836, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[434] *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 May 1834, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[435] *Arkansas Gazette,* 21 January 1853, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[436] *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 June 1840, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*

buffalo hides and moccasins, reflecting the exchange of material goods that influenced European dressing patterns.[437] In the mid-1800s, two enslaved fugitives took similar pieces of material culture. In 1829 a jailer wrote that a man named Gabriel ran away and "took with him an old blue cloth big coat, and a buffaloe [sic] robe, with a number of articles of clothing."[438] In 1833, Kit took flight with a variety of clothing, which the jailer described in great detail. The advertisement read:

> He had on when he went away, a brown linsey roundabout and a pair of yellow linsey pantaloons patched with blue cloth, an old white hat, and a pair of low quartered square toed shoes. He took with him a pair of black fustian pantaloons, a pair of dark gray cassinet pantaloons and roundabout of the same; 2 cotton shirts and 1 tow linen shirt, a buffaloe [sic] robe, 1 quilt, 1 blanket, and an old rifle gun with a new lock.[439]

Gabriel and Kit may have grabbed these personal belongings in haste, reflecting informal trade networks that African Americans had with neighboring Native Americans. Maybe, though, they decided to take some of these particular items, like the buffalo robes, because they saw other emigrating people with these items in hand, which could be used for bedding or for dress, as was custom with Native peoples.[440] Indeed, the power of material culture and dress could have played out in a variety of ways for fugitive endeavoring to escape and dress the part.

Historians who study missing persons advertisements, most recently Sharon Block, have long noted that clothing played a key role in a person's ability to transform their status and outward identity.[441] Especially salient in choosing to mimic the dress of a Native American,

---

[437] Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians.* White discusses buffalo hides and other pieces of Native American material culture in French households in Chapter 1, "Their Manner of Living."
[438] *Arkansas Gazette* 15 July 1829, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[439] *Arkansas Gazette,* 1 January 1833, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements.*
[440] White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana,* 45.
[441] Block, *Colonial Complexions,* 124.

Block argued, was the anxiety it induced in white planters who feared collaboration between Native Americans and people of African descent. She wrote, "appearance was directly associated with free status; looking like an Indian meant matching a culture outside of an Anglo-American slave system."[442] Similar to how people of Afro-Indian descent posed many problems for the Spanish government in the 1780s and 1790s (as discussed with Antoine Sarrassin in the previous chapter on Pointe Coupée and Spain's reissuing laws that outlawed Indian slavery in 1769), these problems continued to plague nineteenth-century slaveowners.

Some of these absconded individuals endeavored to look Native American, and therefore could have been difficult to jail and reenslave and may have even passed as a free Native American. Various runaway advertisements state these types of anxieties. For instance, a Louisiana newspaper ran an advertisement for John, an enslaved man from Arkansas who escaped while on the steamboat *Cotton Plant.* The enslaver described John as a "griff, [with] something of the Indian appearance."[443] John may have passed for a Native American, and therefore secured a modicum of security and freedom, if he were able to escape from Arkansas. In 1842, Joe, who lived on a plantation in Helena, absconded. His owner placed an advertisement, and relayed the information that Joe "has the appearance of an Indian and when runaway passes himself as one," making it sound like Joe had run away before and masqueraded as a Native American.[444] Jordan, who lived in central Arkansas, ran away in 1850, and when his presumed owner placed an advertisement for his return, he relayed that Jordan might have been successful in his flight because of the way he looked. He said of Jordan, "said boy may probably attempt to pass himself off as part Indian or as free, and in either case might succeed for a while,

[442] Ibid.
[443] "Ten Dollars Reward." Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865. LSU Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Libraries. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80%3A2152
[444] *Arkansas Gazette,* 5 Feb. 1842, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

as he has a strong resemblance to an Indian."[445] Dressing the part, and looking like a person with Native ancestry, may have helped John, Jordan, or Joe successfully leave their respective plantations, but as with the nature of the sources, their stories end with these terse advertisements, and their futures remain unknown.

Indeed, during the period of Indian Removal, an enslaved person could change his or her outward identity to find a modicum of anonymity and perhaps even blend in to emigrating Native American groups by dressing the part and employing certain items, like a buffalo robe or canoe. The same tear-soaked paths that so many thousands of forcefully relocated Southeastern Indians walked across became crucial spaces for enslaved people in Arkansas to finally put in motion their plans to escape. It is in this critical moment of Arkansas history, that the same foot paths and trade paths that had been utilized by the Quapaw, the Cherokee, and thousands of other Native peoples in Arkansas history, were repurposed and reshaped by enslaved people to fit their own needs. These paths on the landscape became paths to uncertain freedom when enslaved people in Arkansas chose this particularly dreadful yet auspicious time to escape, and these paths were repurposed from a native ground to an underground. Overlooking these actions as they unfolded on the landscape overlooks a large piece of Arkansas history, and how people shaped and utilized the landscape to create a new reality.

[445] *Arkansas Gazette*, 24 May 1850, from S. Charles Bolton's *Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisements*.

Conclusion

A traveler along the Arkansas and Mississippi in the mid-nineteenth century would have seen the markers of a small antebellum Southern town in the Arkansas Post: a tavern, several trading houses, cotton mills, corn mills, cotton warehouses, a butcher's shop, a blacksmith's shop, and some of the elite homes of wealthy French-descended individuals, like Monsieur Notrèbe and Monsieur Vaugine. The Post in its prime may have looked like a much smaller New Orleans, where many of the wealthy residents traveled and even owned second homes. A traveler in a steamboat would have seen the horizontal rows of cotton planted along the lowlands surrounding the Post, and seen enslaved individuals carrying, packing, and shipping bales of cotton along small docks in the backswamps. This traveler would have heard French, Spanish, English, Creole, Sioun, and African dialects. They would have seen a diversity of people—Quapaw, French, Spanish, Anglo and African-Americans—going about their business, making lives in this small yet dynamic outpost, which was connected to the wider Atlantic world, was the center of the Trail of Tears, and which witnessed more history than you'd imagine in a small, remote, humble post.

The past is distant, but the Arkansas Post's past seems even *more* distant—maybe because the physical Post doesn't exist anymore. The modern-day traveler to the Arkansas Post has to go looking for the Arkansas Post—really looking. In fact, my mother who grew up in eastern Arkansas with family in southeastern Arkansas, had never even heard of the place. She was shocked to learn that she grew up near the first permanent European settlement in the Lower Mississippi River valley, and had never heard of it. Maybe it's because the environment was not kind to the Post and its legacy. In the late 1890s, it fell into the waters of the Mississippi, leaving

no buildings, homes, cemeteries, or trace of its past to give an indication of what it witnessed over time.

Southeastern Arkansas is still overwhelming rural, with an emphasis on agriculture (cotton and rice mostly), and duck hunting. The land surrounding the former post was private farm land up until the 1960s, when the National Park Service bought 757 acres surrounding where the original Post stood, and designated the area into a National Memorial. This act protected the land for subsequent archaeological excavations and sought to bring tourism efforts to southeastern Arkansas. The National Park Service erected a small visitor's center with artifacts from the colonial and antebellum period, information about the wildlife that inhabit the bayous and swamps of the Post, and a small assortment of books for further reading on the history of this area.

The Post is located off of rural Highway 165 (six-tenths of a mile, to be exact), and the narrow Post road traverses through bayous, sloughs (one even named "Alligator Slough"), and flooded lowlands from the Arkansas River. Local residents often go to the Post's lands to fish, though hunting is off-limits. The National Park Service hosts public history events periodically, field trips for local children, and even works with the Quapaw Nation to host pottery demonstrations. On any given day, though, the Arkansas Post National Memorial is a quiet, bucolic, serene wildlife preserve, where cell phone service is lost, and the only sounds you'll hear walking through the paths along the waterways are dulcet birds chirping, water splashing along the muddy banks, and the occasional large splash of resident alligators dunking back into the water after sunning in the hot southeastern Arkansas heat all day.

How could this remote, humble, rarely-visited and difficult to find National Memorial be home to the stories of thousands of people—people with fascinating, colorful, daring,

heartbreaking histories? We have read about the Quapaw warriors who fended off Chickasaw attacks, and later allowed the Cherokee to hunt on their lands to buttress their political power; the French and Spanish settlers who hunted and trapped game for their meals, and traded their meager goods with local Indians; the enslaved people working, tending to gardens, sewing clothes, slaughtering hogs, and loading cargo on small keelboats, that soon became steamboats, who heard wild stories about people in spaces as far away as Saint-Domingue and Canada, and as close as New Orleans; the Anglo-settlers who saw dollar signs in the fertile lowlands of the Delta, and who would stop at nothing to transform the land to make cotton, to make money, and to usurp power? This manipulation of the physical environment to suit the needs of cotton plantation owners ultimately caused the Post's decline. Soil erosion and changes in the Mississippi's course obliterated what was left of a once thriving post, along with its history of many people and events.

The Post does not have an archive, and the sources surrounding the Post's history are scattered throughout the United States and even world—some a few miles away in the Arkansas County Courthouse in Dewitt; others in New Orleans, some in Baton Rouge and St. Louis, and even more in Aix-en-Provence, France, Havana, Cuba and Seville, Spain. So, how does an aspiring historian even begin to write the history of a small place that no longer exists, about people who are no longer alive, and with fragments of documents scattered throughout the country? For me, I started with an argument: This place matters. Despite its meager setting now, way off the beaten path—this place must have been a dynamic, diverse, ever-changing space where people experienced an array of events and emotions.

Centering the importance of the physical landscape of the Arkansas Post was a logical choice, since the physical environment is overwhelming: the alligators, the mosquitoes, the

snakes, the lily pads, the bald cypress trees, the Spanish moss. How did anyone make a life in this remote place, where disease was rampant, and the closest towns were many miles away—by boat. Everyone interacts with the landscape—historically and contemporarily—and looking for instances in which individuals enter the historical record, no matter how fragmentary, and pairing it with a historical landscape framework. Imagining how people interacted with the unique space of the Arkansas Post brings details about their lives into view. In this project I theorized how diverse people interacted with and shaped the political and cultural landscapes in Arkansas by looking at traditional primary sources to see how individuals navigated various historical processes—like colonization and race-based slavery—from the Post's colonial inception in 1686 up until the Trail of Tears. Individuals whom we met in this dissertation actively reacted to these major historical changes in their own diverse ways—ranging from Tah-Chee, who appropriated both European and Indigenous material culture to represent himself a certain way while in Washington, to Carter—who mimicked the dress of a Native American during the height of Forced Removal in Arkansas to run away from his plantation.

I argue that historians *do* have the ethical obligation to conduct better history, and to write better history. I hope this dissertation is the beginning of recovering voices who did not have the privilege to record and influence their own histories, and argues that in spite of these archival and methodological difficulties—it can be done, and it can be an enjoyable, meaningful experience.

Epilogue

In the fall of 2018, the Quapaw Nation in Quapaw, Oklahoma, made the momentous decision to return home to southeastern Arkansas. The Quapaw Nation fought and won legislation to build a casino in Pine Bluff, near their ancestral homelands, and the news of the Quapaw returning to Arkansas kindled excitement and new interest in the history of the Quapaw people in Arkansas.

This was not the first time the Quapaw people returned to southeastern Arkansas, though, and part of this dissertation has sought to prove that some of the Quapaw never left in the first place. Here is a short story about the Quapaw people returning to southeastern Arkansas, and calling upon their *métis* brethren for help. In 1883, the Quapaw Nation faced an all-time population low from a measles outbreak in 1852, and many of the Quapaw had moved to the Osage reservation in the 1860s. The Treaty of 1833 stipulated that the Quapaw could only have access to their own reservation in Indian Territory as long as most of the nation lived on the Quapaw reservation—not the Osage. Only forty-nine Quapaws lived on the Quapaw reserve, and the Quapaw nation was at risk of losing their title to the land and their sovereignty as a tribe.

Deciding to take action, Chief Charles Quapaw asked the first councilman, Alphonsus Vallier, to travel to southeastern Arkansas and recruit individuals who were part of the *métis* population. His goal was to convince them to sell their land and move to the Quapaw Reservation in Indian Territory.[446] Once in Pine Bluff, Vallier was directed to Abraham Dardenne, a man whose family we met earlier when discussing the material culture of the *métis* and Indigenous people at the Arkansas Post. Dardenne decided to take Vallier up on his offer, and moved his family to the Quapaw Reservation in 1886. Then more families followed: the

[446] Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Nation Timeline." Quapaw Nation. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawtribalorder.htm

Imbeaus, the Vallieres, the Rays—many *métis* people whose families we met in chapter two, all of whom were part of this "small migration" that doubled the population of individuals living on the Quapaw Reservation.[447]

Vallier also recruited "homeless" Indians from other tribes including the Miami and Mohawk, among others, and added one hundred people to their reservation.[448] Of course, these ways of recruiting and incorporating other Native peoples (and perhaps even people of European descent) caused controversy for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who deemed this increase of population "artificial" and not "natural"[449] (even though the Quapaw and other Southeastern Indians had incorporated and welcomed other "homeless" Indians into their tribes for many years to increase their populations).[450] Regardless, in 1890 the Quapaw Nation completed a new roll of all Quapaw enrollees with 193 names, and this roll was approved by Secretary of the Interior John Noble. Through the actions of these *métis* families, including the Imbeaus, Dardennes, and Vallieres, who finally let go of their cultural landscape that had been maintained for so many years, the Quapaw and *métis* families finally lost hold of their native ground in southeastern Arkansas, but helped reaffirm Quapaw sovereignty in Indian Territory.

Before the Quapaw Nation recently decided to return home after so many years of absence in Arkansas, visitors to Pine Bluff and southeastern Arkansas—myself included—would not have known of their long, historic, significant presence there. Now, billboards stating that the "Original" Arkansas residents are "coming back" home festoon the highways and roads in Little Rock, perhaps prompting some unsuspecting Arkansans to dig a little further back in history to

---

[447] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* 128-9.
[448] Risë Supernaw Proctor, "Quapaw Nation Timeline." Quapaw Nation. http://www.quapawtribalancestry.com/quapawtribalorder.htm
[449] W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People,* 135.
[450] Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 120.

see *why* the Quapaw chose to come back, and why they were expelled in the first place. Indeed, those who may have done some research would have read about the powerful force the Quapaw people were in spite of French and Spanish colonization, the resiliency individual Quapaws showed in face of Anglo-American encroachment of their lands, and the heartbreak of racialized politics culminating in Forced Indian Removal.

In addition to returning to their homelands, one reason the Quapaw people decided to build a casino in Pine Bluff surrounded the Nation's desire to invigorate the failing economy of Pine Bluff for its current residents. In one news article, Quapaw Tribe Chairman John Berrey said the Quapaw Nation wanted to build a casino and hotel in Pine Bluff to help the county and city economy that is currently in "dire straits."[451] The city's population, once 49,083 in the 2010 Census, declined to 42,271 in 2018, with more people leaving than coming in to the town. In 2009, the city was voted one of the top ten most impoverished cities in the United States.[452] With a demographic composition of 76 percent African-American, Pine Bluff represents a typical Delta town in Arkansas: white-flight to suburbs, exurbs, and nearby cities like Little Rock which took job opportunities out of the city, blighted neighborhoods, lack of public resources, and high crime—to the extent that the city is dubbed "Crime Bluff."[453] The top employers in the city are Tyson Foods, the Arkansas Department of Corrections, the Pine Bluff Army Arsenal, and the Union Pacific railroad.[454] Pine Bluff has tried to get people to visit the city, but with little

[451] Michael R. Wickline, "Casino Plan for Arkansas proposed to benefit roads" *The Arkansas Democrat Gazette,* January 6, 2018.
[452] "Quick Facts, Pine Bluff City, Arkansas." *United States Census Bureau,* 2019. https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/pinebluffcityarkansas

[453] Mercedes Mackay, "Viewing the Pine Bluff crime-rate through two different lenses." THV Little Rock News. https://www.thv11.com/article/news/community/viewing-the-pine-bluff-crime-rate-through-two-different-lenses/91-9e94411e-5f88-496f-98f6-6c33799f73cd

[454] "Major Employers." Economic Development Alliance and Chamber for Jefferson County, Arkansas. https://jeffersoncountyalliance.com/

success. The Casino may change this, at least that is the goal. The Mayor of Pine Bluff, Shirley Washington stated in a news conference in February 2020, ""Today, we are known for more than our challenges," she said. "We are counted among the best and brightest in Arkansas."[455] The Quapaw's decision to move to Pine Bluff has already helped the city immensely.

Chairmen of the Quapaw Nation and director of the Pine Bluff Casino, John Berrey, is not modest when it comes to the Quapaw Nation's successes in Pine Bluff thus far. He stated that the casino and hotel would employ at least one-thousand people in Pine Bluff, and some of the taxes placed on the gambling profits would go towards fixing Arkansas's roads. He said on February 13, 2020:

> This homecoming is causing a ripple effect across the region…Since its opening last fall, the Annex has drawn visitors from all over Arkansas. This is just the beginning. When we open the casino this summer, you'll see a draw from all across the south. As a result of this draw, you'll see businesses open and expand. These are all things vital for a vibrant community. We're proud to be a part of the renewal you're seeing take place here.[456]

Mayor of Washington and the county judge of Jefferson County, Hank Wilkins, are equally excited and optimistic about this new venture, and are looking forward to a partnership among the city residents of Pine Bluff, Jefferson County and the Quapaw Nation.[457]

If members of the Quapaw Nation and African American residents of Pine Bluff collaborate in the business of a casino in a mutually beneficial manner, then this event, I argue, will represent the creation of a new native ground in southeastern Arkansas. As we have seen in this dissertation, people of African descent often collaborated with Native Americans in a variety

---

[455] Dale Ellis, "Pine Bluff's mayor upbeat, says future is bright." *The Northwest Arkansas Democratic Gazette,* Feb. 20, 2020.
[456] "Saracen Casino Marks Milestone," *The Pine Bluff Commercial,* Feb. 13, 2020. https://www.pbcommercial.com/news/20200213/saracen-casino-ceremony-marks-milestone
[457] Michael R. Wickline, "Casino Plan for Arkansas proposed to benefit roads" *The Arkansas Democrat Gazette,* January 6, 2018.

of ways—from being enslaved together by French and Spanish settlers in the eighteenth century, to living in close proximity at the Arkansas Post and engaging in a frontier exchange economy, to enslaved people literally running towards emigrating groups of Native peoples during the era of Forced Removal in the 1840s. People of African descent and Native peoples in Arkansas have a long, complicated, messy history, and the opening of this particular casino in Pine Bluff represents a new chapter. A new *rival cultural landscape*, that pushes back against poverty, institutionalized racism, and other structures in the deep South that seek to keep African Americans from accessing wealth and power, may be in the midst of creation, and I for one am excited to see it unfold.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Arkansas County Courthouse (Dewitt, Arkansas)
    Arkansas County Deed and Record Books
Arkansas State Archives (Little Rock, Arkansas)
    Henry H. Haizlip Collection
    The Knight Collection
    Refeld Family Papers
    Small Manuscript Collection
The Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, Central Arkansas Library (Little Rock, Arkansas)
    Morris S. Arnold Colonial Arkansas Collection
    Rare Map Collection
    Stanley Faye Collection
The Huntington Library (San Marino, CA)
    Vaudreuil Papers
The Newberry Library (Chicago, IL)
    The Ayers Collection
    The Letter Book of the Arkansas Trading House M142, Record Group 75, National Archives (microfilm)
    The Ruggles Collection
The Sequoyah National Research Institute (Little Rock, Arkansas)

Online Databases

"Mapas y Planos, Florida y Luisiana." Archivo General de Indies (AGI). http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/19132

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. https://www.davidrumsey.com/

Les Archives Nationales D'Outre-Mers (ANOM). "Cartes et images." http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/ulysse/

Armand DuPlantier Family Papers. Louisiana State University Special Collections. *Louisiana Digital Library.* https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll34:collection

Arkansas Runaway Slave Advertisement project compiled by Dr. Charles S. Bolton at the University of Arkansas-Little Rock. Available online at *Documenting Runaway Slaves* by the National Parks Services, housed online at the University of Southern Mississippi.

"Colonial Arkansas Post Ancestry." University of Arkansas Special Collections. https://digitalcollections.uark.edu/digital/collection/CAPA

"Colonial Documents Black Books." Louisiana State Museum, Historical Collections. https://www.crt.state.la.us/louisiana-state-museum/collections/historical-center/colonial-documents/index

"History and Archives." The Commissioner of Arkansas State Lands. http://history.cosl.org/

Indian Pioneer Papers Collection. *Western History Collection.* The University of Oklahoma. https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/

The John Carter Brown Library Image Collections. https://jcblibrary.org/collection/digital-images

Library of Congress Map Collection. https://www.loc.gov/maps/collections/

Louisiana Colonial Documents Digitization Project. The Louisiana Historical Center. http://www.lacolonialdocs.org/
Louisiana Runaway Slave Advertisements, 1836-1865. Louisiana State University Special Collections, *Louisiana Digital Library.* https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-p16313coll80:collection
Louisiana Slave Conspiracies. University of California—Berkeley. https://lsc.berkeley.edu/about
"McKinney and Hall Indian Tribes of North America." University of Washington Digital Collections. https://content.lib.washington.edu/mckenneyhallweb/index.html
Pintado Paper Louisiana State University Special Collections. Louisiana Digital Library. https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/lsu-sc-pintado:collection
Quapaw Language. Quapaw Nation of Oklahoma. http://www.quapawtribe.com/89/Quapaw-Language
"Robe of the Three Villages" ca. 1750. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/639997

Primary Sources (Published & Unpublished)

Adair, James. "A History of the American Indians; particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, east and west Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia: Containing an account of their origin, language, manners, religious and civil customs, laws, form of government, punishments, conduct in war and domestic life, their Habits, Diet, Agriculture, Manufactures, Disease and Method of Cure, and other Particulars sufficient to render it a Complete Indian System." London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775.
Arnold, Morris S. and Dorothy Jones Core, eds. *Arkansas Colonials, 1686-1804.* Pine Bluff, AR: Arkansas Printing, 1986.
A Baptismal Record of the Parishes along the Arkansas River, August 5, 1796, to July 16, 1802. Pine Bluff: Grand Prairie Historical Society, 1977.
Audubon, John James. *Selected Journals and Other Writings.* Ben Forkner, ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.
Bossu, Jean Bernard. *Nouveau voyages dans l'Amerique septenrionale.* Amsterdam, 1777.
The Catholic Register of Arkansas (1764-1858), an abstract of baptisms, marriages, and burials by Catholic priests in the Parish of Arkansas. Dorothy Jones Core and Nicole Hatfield, eds. DeWitt, AR: Arkansas Printing for the Grand Prairie Historical Society, 2017.
Davis, Hester A. "The Cherokee in Arkansas: An Invisible Archeological Resource." *Visions and Revisions: Ethnohistoric Perspectives on Southern Cultures*, eds. George Sabo III and William M. Schneider, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 20, series ed. Mary W. Helms. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1987. 50.
Din, Gilbert C. "The First Spanish Instructions for Arkansas Post November 15, 1769." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 3, 1994: 312-19.
Douglass, Frederick. *My Bondage and My Freedom.* New York: Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, 1855.
Featherstonehaugh, G.W. *Excursion Through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico; with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices.* Vol II. London: John Murray, 1844.

Flint, Timothy. *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley.* Volume 1, 1828.
Joutel, Henri. *Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage: a reprint.* London: 1713.
Martin, Patrick E. *In Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern.* Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Research Series No. 11, 1977.
Northup, Solomon. *Twelve Years a Slave.* New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1855.
Nuttal, Thomas. *A Journal of Travels in the Arkansa Territory During the Year 1819.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966 (first published in 1819.)
Pope, William F. *Early Days in Arkansas: Being for the most part the Personal Recollection of an Old Settler.* Little Rock: Frederick W. Allsopp, 1895.
Stoddard, Amos. *Sketches, Historical and Description of Louisiana.* Philadelphia: Mathew Cary, 1812.
Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XIX, Arkansas Territory: 1819-1825. Compiled and edited by Clarence E. Carter. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953.
The Western Journals of Washington Irving. Edited and Annotated by John Francis McDermott.. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944.

Secondary Sources: Articles, Chapters and Conference Proceedings

Arnold, Morris S. "Eighteenth-Century Arkansas Illustrated." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1994): 119-36.
Arnold, Morris S. "Barthélémy Dit Charlot, a Colonial Arkansas Métis and Voyageur." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2015): 1-17.
Arnold, Morris S. "François Ménard, a Colonial Arkansas "Marchand" and "Habitant."*The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2015): 303-26.
Arnold, Morris S. "The Relocation of Arkansas Post to Ecores Rouges in 1779." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1983): 317-31.
Anschuetz, Kurt F., Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick. "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 157-211.
Barr, Juliana. "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 5-46.
Bolton, S. Charles. "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2003): 253-71.
Bowen, Blair. "Indian Rights: Native Americans versus American Museums: A Battle for Artifacts." *American Indian Law Review* 7, no. 1 (1979): 125-154.
Bowers, Shirley H. "'Captured on Canvas": McKenney-Hall's History of the Indian Tribes of North America. *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (January 1993): 339-347.
Brennan, Mary. "Archaeology of Kinship at Treat, Arkansas: Intersections of Past Lives, Memory, and Identity on the Landscape." *Historical Archaeology of Arkansas: A Hidden Diversity.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2016.

Brown, Vincent. “Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaica, *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003), 24-53.
Burton, Sophie H. and Todd Smith. “Slavery in the Colonial Louisiana Backcountry: Natchitoches, 1714-1803." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 52, no. 2 (2011): 133-88.
Burton, H. Sophie. "Vagabonds along the Spanish Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1769–1803: "Men Who Are Evil, Lazy, Gluttonous, Drunken, Libertinous, Dishonest, Mutinous, Etc. Etc. Etc—And Those Are Their Virtues." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 4 (2010): 438-67.
Carson, James Taylor. “Horses and the Economy and Culture of the Choctaw Indians, 1690-1840.” *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 495-513.
Chambers, Ian. “A Cherokee Origin for the ‘Catawba’ Deerskin Map.” *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 65, no.2 (2013): 207-216.
Cipolla, Craig. “Native American Diaspora and Ethnogenesis.” *Oxford Handbooks Online.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
Core, Dorothy. “Colombage.” *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin.* (October, 1978): 34.
Cornell, Sarah E. "Citizens of Nowhere: Fugitive Slaves and Free African Americans in Mexico, 1833-1857." *The Journal of American History* 100, no. 2 (2013): 351-74.
Dart, Henry Plauché. “A Gentleman of Pointe Coupée.” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 5 (1922): 462-502.
Delle, James A. "The Landscapes of Class Negotiation on Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica: 1790-1850." *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (1999): 136-58.
Dickinson, Samuel Dorris. "Don Juan Filhiol at Écore à Fabri." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (1987): 133-55.
Din, Gilbert C. "Arkansas Post in the American Revolution." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 1. (1981): 3-30.
Din, Gilbert C. "Carondelet, the Cabildo, and Slaves: Louisiana in 1795." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 38, no. 1 (1997): 5-28.
Din, Gilbert. C. "Empires Too Far: The Demographic Limitations of Three Imperial Powers in the Eighteenth-Century Mississippi Valley." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 50, no. 3 (2009): 261-92.
Din, Gilbert C. ""For Defense of Country and the Glory of Arms": Army Officers in Spanish Louisiana, 1766-1803." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 43, no. 1 (2002): 5-40.
Din, Gilbert C. "The Spanish Fort on the Arkansas, 1763-1803." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 3. (1983): 271-93.
Drexler, Carl. “Introduction: Arkansas Historical Archaeology through Time.” *Historical Archaeology of Arkansas: A Hidden Diversity.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2016.
Dubuisson, Ann. "François Sarazin: Interpreter at Arkansas Post during the Chickasaw Wars." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2012): 243-63.
DuVal, Kathleen. ""A Good Relationship, & Commerce": The Native Political Economy of the Arkansas River Valley." *Early American Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 61-89.
DuVal, Kathleen. “Cross-Cultural Crime and Osage Justice in the Western Mississippi Valley, 1700-1826.” *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 4 (2007): 697-722.

DuVal, Kathleen. “Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2008): 267-304.
DuVal, Kathleen. "Debating Identity, Sovereignty, and Civilization: The Arkansas Valley after the Louisiana Purchase." *Journal of the Early Republic* 26, no. 1 (2006): 25-58.
Echeverri, Marcelle. “: Monarchy, Empire, and Popular Politics in the Atlantic Age of Revolutions.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91 no.2 (2011): 237-269.
Edwards, J.D. “Upper Louisiana’s French vernacular architecture in the greater Atlantic World.” *Atlantic Studies* 8, no. 4 (2011): 411-455.
Frank, Andrew K. “Creating a Seminole Enemy: Ethnic and Racial Diversity in the Conquest of Florida.” *Florida International Univeristy Law Review* 9 no. 2 (2014): 1-18.
Gallivan, Martin D. “Powhatan’s Werocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, CE 1200-1609.” *American Anthropologist* 109, no. 1 (2007): 85-100.
Gallman, Nancy O. "Reconstituting Power in an American Borderland: Political Change in Colonial East Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (2015): 169-91
Gatewood, Willard B. "Sunnyside: The Evolution of an Arkansas Plantation, 1840-1945,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 1, (1991): 5-29.
Hancock, Jonathan. "Shaken Spirits: Cherokees, Moravian Missionaries, and the New Madrid Earthquakes." *Journal of the Early Republic* 33, no. 4 (2013): 643-73.
Heath, Barbara, Eric G. Schweickart and Daniel Brock. “Power, Persistence, and Change in a Lower Potomac Valley Landscape.” Unpublished article, 2016.
Herschthal, Eric. “Slaves, Spaniards, and Subversion in Early Louisiana: The Persistent Fears of Black Revolt and Spanish Collusion in Territorial Louisiana, 1803-1812,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 36, no. 2. Summer 2016. 283-311.
Hine, Darlene Clark. "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (Summer 1989), Vol. 14, no. 4, pg. 912-920.
Holmes, Jack D. “The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795.” *Louisiana History* 11, no. 4 (1970): 342-362.
Hoonhout, Bran and Thomas Mareite. “Freedom at the Fringes? Slave Flight and Empire-Building in the early modern Spanish Borderlands of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas.” *Slavery and Abolition* 40, no. 1 (2018): 61-86.
House, John H. "WALLACE BOTTOM: A COLONIAL-ERA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE IN THE MENARD LOCALITY, EASTERN ARKANSAS." *Southeastern Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (2002): 257-68.
Hutchinson, Elizabeth. “From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier.” *Journal of American Studies* 47, no.2 (May 2013): 313-337.
Johnson, Rashauna. "From Saint-Domingue to Dumaine Street: One Family's Journeys from the Haitian Revolution to the Great Migration." *Journal of African American History Special Collection: Art Across Frontiers* 102, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 427-43.
Jones, Linda C. "Nicolas Foucault and the Quapaws.” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2016): 4-26.
Kelley, Robin D. G. ""We Are Not What We Seem": Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South." *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): 75-112.
Key, Joseph Patrick. "The Calumet and the Cross: Religious Encounters in the Lower Mississippi Valley." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2002): 152-68.

Key, Joseph Patrick. "Indians and Ecological Conflict in Territorial Arkansas." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2000): 127-46.
Key, Joseph Patrick. ""Outcasts upon the World": The Louisiana Purchase and the Quapaws." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*62, no. 3 (2003): 272-88.
King, Julie A., Mary Kate Mansius and Scott M. Strickland. "'What Towne Belong you to?' Landscape, Colonialism, and Mobility in the Potomac River Valley." *Historical Archaeology* 50, no.1 (2016), 7-26.
Kosiba, Steve and Andrew M. Bauer. "Mapping the Political Landscape: Toward a GIS Analysis of Environmental and Social Difference." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20, (2013):61-101.
Landers, Jane. "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (January 1984): 296-313.
Lankford, George E. "Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (1999): 390-413.
"Louisiana Indigo Plantation." *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1926):566-589.
Myers, Robert A. "Cherokee Pioneers in Arkansas: The St. Francis Years, 1785-1813." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1997): 127-57.
Perdue, Theda. "Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South." *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 4 (Fall 2004): 701-723.
O'Brien, Greg. "The Conqueror Meets the Unconquered: Negotiating Cultural Boundaries on the Post-Revolutionary Southern Frontier." *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 1 (2001): 39-72.
O'Sullivan, Aidan. "Crannogs: Places of Resistance in the Contested Landscapes of Early Modern Ireland." *Contested landscapes: movement, exile and place.* New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001.
Ricard, Ulysses S. "The Pointe Coupée Slave Conspiracy of 1791." *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 15 (1992): 116-29.
Richmond, Douglas W. "Africa's Initial Encounter with Texas: The Significance of Afro-Tejanos in Colonial Tejas, 1528-1281." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 26, no. 2 (April 2007): 200-221.
Shannon, Timothy J. "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, No. 1, Material Culture in Early America (Jan. 1996):13-42.
Smith, Angèle. "Mapped Landscapes: The Politics of Metaphor, Knowledge, and Representation on Nineteenth-Century Irish Ordnance Survey Maps." *Historical Archaeology* 41, (2007): 81-91.
Spear, Jennifer. "Colonial Intimacies: Legislating Sex in French Louisiana." *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 60, no. 1 (2003): 75-98.
St. Jean, Wendy. "The Chickasaw-Quapaw Alliance in the Revolutionary Era." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2009): 272-82.
Stewart, Whitney Nell. "Fashioning Frenchness: *Gens de Couleur Libres* and the Cultural Struggle for Power In Antebellum New Orleans," *The Journal of Social History,* Vol. 51, no. 3 (Spring 2018):526-556.
Taylor, Gertrude C. "Etienne de Vaugine: Solder, Planter, Trader." *The Attakapas Gazette* XV, no. 2 (1980): 53-55.
Toudji, Sonia. ""The Happiest Consequences": Sexual Unions and Frontier Survival at Arkansas Post." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2011): 45-56.

Upton, Dell. “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia.” *Places Journal* 2, no. 2 (1984): 1-12.
Turgeon, Laurier. “A Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object.” *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1-29.
Usner, Daniel H. "American Indians on the Cotton Frontier: Changing Economic Relations with Citizens and Slaves in the Mississippi Territory." *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 2 (1985): 297-317.
Walthall, John A. "AN ANALYSIS OF LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CERAMICS FROM ARKANSAS POST AT ECORES ROUGES." *Southeastern Archaeology* 10, no. 2 (1991): 98-113.
Webre, Stephen. "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1803." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25, no. 2 (1984): 117-35.
Wheat, David. “My Friend Nicolas Mongoula: Africans, Indians, and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Mobile.” *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century.* Richmond Brown, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
White, Sophie. “Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Goods.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 229-248.
White, Sophie. “’Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his collar, and elsewhere about him’: Slaves’ Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans.” *Gender and History* 15 no. 3 (November 2003): 528-549.
Winberry, John J. “The Geographic Concept of Landscape: The History of a Paradigm.” Carolina’s Historical Landscapes. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997.
Wisdom, Harold W. and Carmen Del Coro Wisdom. “Wood Use in the American Furniture Industry.” *Journal of Forest History* 27, no. 3 (1983): 122-125.
Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 498-52.
Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth. “Introduction: Close Attention to Place-- Landscape Studies by Historical Archaeologists” *Landscape Archaeology Reading and Interpreting American Historical Landscape*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996.

Monographs and Edited Collections

Arnold, Morris. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.
Arnold, Morris. *Unequal Laws unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas, 1686-1836.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1985.
Arnold, Morris. *Rumble of a Distant Drum: The Quapaws and Old World Newcomers, 1673-1804.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.
Baird, David W. *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.
Baptist, Edward. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism.* New York: Basic Books, 2014.
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.
Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History.* New York: Vintage Books, 2014.

Bender, Barbara and Margot Winer, eds. *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place.* New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001.
Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Bernard, Shane K. *Teche: A History of Louisiana's Most Famous Bayou.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2016.
Block, Kristen. *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition and the Politics of Profit.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.
Block, Sharon. *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America.* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
Bolster, W. Jeffrey. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
Bond, Bradley G., ed. *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005.
Bowes, John P. *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
Brown, Richard, ed. *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
Bruckner, Martin. *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
Camp, Stephanie. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
Catton, Theodore, Principal Investigator. *A Many-Storied Place: Historic Resource Study, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas.* Omaha, NE: National Park Service, Midwest Region, 2017.
Clavin, Michael. *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontiers.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.
Cobb, Charles R. *The Archaeology of Southeastern Native American Landscapes of the Colonial Era.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019.
Coleman, Roger E., ed. *The Arkansas Post Story: Arkansas Post National Memorial.* Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional papers, no. 12. National Park Service, Southwest Region, 1987.
Cumming, William P., ed. *The Southeast in Early Maps.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
Dawdy, Shannon Lee. *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
DeRosier, Arthur H., Jr. *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1970.
Dessens, Nathalie. *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.
Din, Gilbert. *Fransisco Bouligny: A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
Din, Gilbert. *The Imperial Osage: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

Din, Gilbert. *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: the Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803.* College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1999.
Din, Gilbert. *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight Against William Augustus Bowles.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.
Dubcovsky, Alejandra. *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
DuVal, Kathleen. *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution.* New York: Random House, 2015.
DuVal, Kathleen. *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
Ethridge, Robbie and Sheri M. Schuck-Hall. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
Fiege, Mark. *The Republic of Nature: An Environmental History of the United States.* Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2012.
Finley, Randy. *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freemen's Bureau in Arkansas, 1865-1869.* Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1996.
Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.* Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.
Frank, Andrew K. and Glenn Crothers, eds. *Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America's Contested Spaces, 15001850.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017.
Franklin, John Hope and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Fullagar, Kate. *The Warrior, the Voyager, and the Artist: Three Lives in an Age of Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.
Fuentes, Marisa. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence and the Archive.* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
Gallay, Alan. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of an English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
Galloway, Patricia. *Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Construction Narrative.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
Greene, Lance and Mark R. Plane, eds. *American Indians and the Market Economy, 1775-1850.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010.
Gross, Ariela and Alejandro de la Fuente. *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020.
Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.
Hamalainen, Pekka. *The Comanche Empire.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Heerman, M. Scott. *The Alchemy of Slavery: Human Bondage and Emancipation in the Illinois Country, 1730-1865.* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Holden, Jack D., H. Parrott Bacot, Cybèle T. Gontar, eds. *Furnishing Louisiana: Creole and Acadian Furniture, 1735-1835.* New Orleans, LA: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 2010.
Hudson, Charles. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.
Hudson, Angela Pulley. *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
Huskey, Rebecca DeArmond. *Bartholomew's Song: A Bayou History.* Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001.
Johnson, Walter. *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
Johnson, Rashauna. *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
Klooster, Wim. *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History.* New York: New York University Press, 2009.
Krauthaumer, Barbara. *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
Landers, Jane. *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.
Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
Lee, Jacob. *Masters of the Middle Waters: Indian Nations and Colonial Ambitions along the Mississippi.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019.
Lewis, Malcolm. *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Lewis, Peirce F. *New Orleans: The Making of an Urban Landscape.* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976.
Loren, Diana DiPaolo. *The Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010.
Martin, Patrick E. *An Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern.* Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 1977.
McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
McMichael, Andrew. *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008.
Miles, Tiya. *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
Miles, Tiya. *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
Milne, George Edward. *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015.
Moore, John Preston. *Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976.
Munro, Martin and Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw, eds. *Echoes of the Haitian Revolution, 1804-2004.* Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2008.

Nassaney, Michael S. *The Archeology of the North American Fur Trade.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015.
Naylor, Celia. *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.
Orser, Charles E. *An Archaeology of the English Atlantic World, 1600-1700.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
Paulett, Robert. *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012.
Perdue, Theda and Michael D. Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents.* New York: Bedford Books, 1995.
Postma, Johannes. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Price, Richard. *Alabi's World.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
Price, Steve. *America's Wild Horses: The History of the Western Mustang*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2017.
"Quapaw Tribal Information in Chronological Order." The Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma.
Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Shaw, Jenny. *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013.
Snyder, Christina. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.
Spear, Jennifer. *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
Reed, Julie L. *Serving the nation: Cherokee Sovereignty and Social Welfare, 1800-1907.* Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.
Reinhart, Theodore R and Dennis J. Pogue, eds. *The Archaeology of Seventeenth Century Virginia.* Virginia Foundation for the Humanities Public Policy, Special Publication No. 30 of the Archaeological Society of Virginia. Courtland, VA: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1993.
Rothensteiner, John. *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis n its various stages of development from A.D. 1673 to A.D. 1928*. St. Louis, Mo: Blackwell Wielandy, 1928.
Rothschild, Nan A. *Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: The Spanish and Dutch in North America.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003.
Rushforth, Brett. *Bonds of Alliance Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
Sayers, Daniel O. *A Desolate Place for a Defiant People: The Archaeology of Maroons, Indigenous Americans, and Enslaved Laborers in the Great Dismal Swamp.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014.
Scott, Julius. *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution.* London: Verso Press, 2018.
Scribner, Vaughn. *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society.* New York: New York University Press, 2020.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
Truettner, William H. *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710-1840.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
Usner, Daniel. *Indians Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783.*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
Valencius, Conevery Bolton. *The Lost History of the New Madrid Earthquakes.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.
Vidal, Cécile. *Caribbean New Orleans: Empire, Race, and the Making of a Slave Society* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.
Walker, Tamara J. *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
Waselkov, Gregory A., Peter Wood and Tom Hatley, eds. *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
Weeks, Charles. *Paths to a Middle Ground: The Diplomacy of Natchez, Boukfouka, Nogales, and San Fernando de las Barrancas, 1791-1795.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
Whayne, Jeannie, Thomas A. DeBlack, George Sabo III and Morris S. Arnold, eds. *Arkansas: A Concise History*. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2019.
Whayne, Jeannie, ed. *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in Arkansas*. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1995.
Wheat, David. *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.
White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, empires, and republic in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
White, Sophie. *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
White, Sophie. *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.
Yarbrough, Fay A. *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century.* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
Zellar Gary, *African Creeks: Estelvste and the Creek Nation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

Vita

Tess Evans received her BA in history from Lynchburg College (now the University of Lynchburg) in 2012, and her Master's Degree from James Madison University in 2014. Her master's research examined how enslaved and free people of African descent perceived and appropriated swamp lands in Arkansas and Louisiana throughout the nineteenth century. She argued that although many of the white settlers perceived these spaces as dangerous, unhealthy, and even carceral, many enslaved and free people of African descent did not view swamps in the same way. Rather, some enslaved people found a modicum of freedom and solace in these swamps and utilized the swamps to engage in acts of everyday resistance—through running away to the swamps temporarily or with plans to stay, using the swamps to participate in religious activity, and even collecting products from the swamps to trade in informal exchange economies, which continued well after the Civil War. Tess came to the University of Tennessee in 2015 to work with Dr. Kristen Block and wanted to continue analyzing the relationship between humans and the environment in the Arkansas Delta, and how the physical environment informed colonization and slavery in this region. After taking courses in history and anthropology, she decided to focus upon one specific place—the Arkansas Post—to see how diverse groups of people carved out spaces for themselves in this small, highly disputed part of early America from its colonial inception in 1686 until the mid-nineteenth century, using the landscape as a category of historical analysis. Her research has been supported by research awards from the Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, the Newberry Library, the Huntington Library, the National Society of Colonial Dames, as well as fellowships and travel grants from the University of Tennessee Department of History and the Humanities Center at the University of Tennessee.