

Introduction

It was February 1694, in the north of the island of Martinique. Père Labat had arrived in Macouba to an enthusiastic welcome. In the recently constructed church, aided by two altar-boys, he had said Mass before the small community of French colonists. After his sermon, he asked his parishioners for a list of the names of those to be prepared for the sacraments. These were children of communion age, and those ‘adult slaves’ (or as Labat wrote, ‘nègres adultes’) who had not yet been baptised who required instruction.¹ He implored his parishioners to let him know whenever anyone became ill in the future. ‘Day or night, in good or bad weather’, he said, he would be ‘always ready to assist them as soon as he was called’; if he was obliged to be away from the parish on other business, his sacristan would know where to find him. These words, the priest noted, were ‘appreciated by everybody’. At the end of the Mass, after a baptism, all of his parishioners were at the door of the church, and gave him ‘great thanks’ for his promises of help. In turn, they assured him, they would make sure to carry out the other instructions the priest had made during the Mass.

The rest of the day continued in a similarly welcoming vein. Accompanied by most of the attendees to his presbytery, he received assurances that they would contribute to financing the enlargement of the building. Invited to dine at the house of a Captain Michel, Labat was offered the use of Michel’s own horse. During lunch, the neighbouring cleric, Father Breton, arrived, greeted Labat warmly, and joined the company. After a long, pleasant meal, the Captain

and others began to play cards (Labat, somewhat coyly, refused to participate, but consented to Michel's offer to put half of what he might win aside for him or for furnishings for the presbytery). Labat stayed for supper (another generous meal) and was lodged, he says, in an excellent room. The Michel family were to prove of further assistance. Having noticed that Labat was suffering from a skin irritation caused by ticks, the lady of the house sent a female servant to pick a selection of herbs and leaves and to boil them. Before going to bed, Labat writes, a bowl containing the mixture was brought, and his feet and legs were washed. This treatment was repeated over the following days, much of which Labat passed in social visits, interspersed with religious offices and, following a visit to Michel's sugar plant, designing a garden for the captain.

The account of Labat's arrival in his new parish which has been summarised here figures in his copious description of the Caribbean, the *Nouveau Voyage*, which would be published in the early 1720s.² Within, we can glimpse the importance of the priest in assuring the spiritual needs of his parishioners, the privileged place he occupied within the community, and the serenity of the newly arrived *curé*. Yet, at over three centuries since his arrival in Macouba, one is also struck by what remains unsaid in his account. Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* is characterised by the minutiae of commercial detail and his often merciless observations about the colonial population. Yet, on numerous levels, spoken and unspoken, Labat's *Voyage* is marked by the labour of slaves. In Macouba, they were sent to spread the news amongst the planters that their new parish priest had arrived. It was a slave who informed the diners (who 'had not yet finished the soup') of the arrival of Father Breton, and it was a slave who treated Labat's tormented legs.³

These passing mentions of unnamed slaves illustrate the fundamental absences within first-hand accounts from the era of early modern slavery. Much of the specificity of human interaction, from the gestures and expressions of slaves and colonists, or the uses of language, to the subjectivities of the participants, is lost to the textual record. Slaves, in Labat's account, seem to be undifferentiated as they carried out their labour, delivering messages, washing feet and announcing arrivals. The concentrated labour which enabled the planters' comfortable existence on the islands seems to be hinted at, obliquely. Michel's sugar plant deserves the briefest of mentions, while the most striking feature of another of

Labat's parishioners, Boissière, was his insobriety, rather than the 'reasonable number of *nègres*' with which he and his brother-in-law cultivated cacao, annatto and livestock.⁴

Labat's account is, nonetheless, based on the lived experience of slavery. How such depictions reflect the interactions between the slave-holding stratum and those they held in perpetual servitude have in large part motivated this book. Its principal focus is the body of textual and, to a lesser extent, graphic depictions of colonial life produced in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Although often discreet about practices of slavery, accounts of the early French Caribbean colonies reflect thinking about human interactions, from those that took place between individual colonists and slaves up to the coexistence of entire populations within society. What such narratives can tell us about the culture of the early modern slave society is the subject of this book. There are three principal domains of investigation. First, this study analyses how, and in what ways, certain human beings could come to be understood as marginalised, commodifiable entities. Secondly, it explores how the practice of colonial power was conceptualised, most particularly on the bodies of chattel slaves, and in turn, how limits to this corporeal power were also acknowledged. Thirdly, it explores how colonial-era narratives reflect power. It examines their reflections of the use of *strategies* within Caribbean slavery, for such aims as conversion, profit or social control; one such strategy, the use of the *script* in which we now apprehend testimony about early slavery, will be a consistent focus.

Before embarking on this search for the traces of the past, the context of the interactions between slaves and masters will be sketched out in three parts. The first discusses the context of human mobility within the Atlantic and the Caribbean during this era. The second gives an overview of the socio-economic, religious and intellectual climate of the era of French Caribbean slavery. The third elaborates on the questions of the social status of the slave and the importance of the *corporeal* to understanding slavery, and introduces the distinct ways narrative reflects early colonial power.

Atlantic and Caribbean narratives

The colonial society described by Labat was both recognisable and fragile. Its religious rites and leisure activities testify to how

European practices were transferred to new spaces. With his request to his parishioners to send their slaves for baptism, he also testifies to how these practices were adapted within new societies. Behind the apparent stability of planters and priests whiling away the time on a Sunday were the constant demographic and cultural transformations of colonial settlements.

The earliest accounts of the colonisation of the Caribbean testify to these transformations. Hazardous Atlantic voyages, and violence, disease and famine laid the foundations of plantation life in the Antilles. Through the circulation of human beings, flora and fauna, enormous transformations were wrought on its ecologies, demography and social systems. Over the decades, language, conceptions of what are now called 'ethnic' groupings and even religious practices were reconfigured within the Caribbean. There could also, as Caroline A. Williams has observed, be considerable 'fluidity of national, religious, and cultural loyalties and identities' according to the needs of the mobile populations of the early Atlantic world.⁵ There were important transformations in economic structures and consumption patterns around the Atlantic, and new sites of production of commodities and culture developed in the colonies and in Europe itself.⁶

The focus of this book is rather on the narratives and ideas that developed within this great movement of peoples. This was a context in which new contacts and cohabitations around the peripheries of the Atlantic gave rise to novel transfers of such narratives and ideas. The changing demographics of the Caribbean and the contacts between diverse settled and transplanted populations could be a rich source of such transfers. The contexts of contact between European, African and Amerindian populations were very diverse. The early encounters with peoples in Africa and the Americas took place in often-charged conditions of communication, mediated through interpreters or speakers of *linguae francae*, or on an unfamiliar linguistic terrain. Exchanges of information were of considerable value to the crews or collectivities around the Atlantic peripheries. This (inter-)cultural capital was the fruit of varying degrees of contact between human societies and economies. Certain colonial actors attached great importance to understanding specific domains of Amerindian and African cultures; missionaries, for example, displayed a recurring interest in understanding alternative spiritualities.

There were also substantial concerns about communication and knowledge, in contexts of sustained coexistence of human populations. In the French possessions, colonial settlement continued the progressive distancing (or elimination) of indigenous Amerindian peoples that had begun with the arrival of Europeans. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also saw the importation of great numbers of African slaves into the French plantations, as with those of the other European colonial powers. The cultural productions of the colonial era also reflect how uneasy the coexistence of these populations might be. They demonstrate the importance of rumour, of now-unfamiliar forms of exchange of information, and of often violent forms of signifying authority and power. They testify to the importance of restricting specific types of knowledge so as to ensure military and economic domination. There were also preoccupations with the limits to the knowledge of planters and of missionaries, who might be confronted with alternative forms of knowledge.

This book is a study of the textual and graphic productions of the first century of accelerated French Atlantic mobility. These reflect an era of significant transformation, from the first organised settlements in the Antilles up to the early stages of the flourishing plantation society that would make Saint-Domingue so renowned. They also demonstrate the diverse preoccupations of early colonial actors. There are letters from missionaries who tell of attempts to convert slaves in the plantations, or accounts of voyagers to coastal Africa who relate peripheral contacts with slave-trading societies. There are also extensive, multi-volume, printed accounts (like Labat's), which describe the economies, and what would now be considered the ecology, of the Caribbean. The corpus reflects the diverse concerns of indentured labourers or mariners, of missionaries or of military officers. Their responses are also remarkably informative about the distinct ways Europeans saw themselves in this era.

This book focuses on accounts of the Atlantic and its peripheries, most particularly the French Antilles and the west coast of Africa. This allows the exploration of contexts beyond the immediate 'colonial' space of the plantation environment, but some restrictions in this approach must be acknowledged. It is geographically restrictive; a focus on Atlantic slavery is, after all, itself a delimitation of trade and demographic circuits which extended far beyond the peripheral European contacts with sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ There were

also sites of early modern French slavery beyond the Caribbean, with which there were differences and commonalities in theory and practice. Brett Rushforth has extensively explored the differences between Caribbean slavery and the ‘alliance’-based slaveries of the *Pays d’en Haut* in his 2012 *Bonds of Alliance*.⁸ Frédéric Régent’s study of over two centuries of French slavery examines such further sites as Louisiana and La Réunion; even in such a wide ‘synthesis’, Régent identifies approaches to such significant areas of understanding as ‘colour’ and *métissage* that were specific to different French colonies.⁹ Caribbean slavery was the most important of the French forms in sheer numerical terms, but other practices existed, and with specificities that went beyond the use of mass labour. There were significant, regional, disparities in forms of slavery, while the practices of slavery were themselves ever-changing, over time, within each of the colonies.

This was a context marked by its diversity, but the narratives of the early modern French Atlantic do reflect a number of shared preoccupations. They were produced within the socio-economic conditions of so-called ‘New World’ slavery, with its ‘aggregations of male slaves’ destined for plantation labour.¹⁰ Those Europeans who themselves laboured in the Caribbean settlements were subject to labour regimes distinct from those of African peoples. In the coexistence of Europeans (labouring or not) and populations originating in Africa, a number of questions recur. Interrogations inspired throughout Europe by conquest and colonisation were reflected in the French Atlantic environment. These included such questions as the nature of human difference, the legitimacy of power, and the implications of miscegenation or conversion. There were concerns about the extent to which one could know the peoples and cultures of these new environments, and how they might be controlled. There were also concerns about the nature of the community and of society within the early colonies. Among the many interrogations reflected in the cultural productions of the French Atlantic, those relating to the practice of slavery and the experience of the enslaved are among the most charged.

France, the colonies and slavery

The texts and images that are the focus of this book were produced during the earlier stages of French colonial installation in the

Antilles and later, Saint-Domingue. The durable French settlement of the Antilles from the second quarter of the seventeenth century followed a series of unsuccessful initiatives in South America. That which most recently preceded the settlement of Saint Kitts was the failed initiative to settle Maranhão (northern Brazil) in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The mission was allocated to the Capuchin order and generated considerable publicity within France itself.¹¹

The dynamism of early French presence in the *Petites Antilles*, and their 'regular contacts' with 'multiracial' Amerindian societies who held 'European and African captives' has been stressed by Jean-Pierre Moreau.¹² After an initial reconnaissance mission in 1625 encountered some scattered inhabitation on Saint Kitts, a French settlement was implanted on the island in 1627, dividing it with the English colony.¹³ These were difficult beginnings; there were serious food shortages and consequent mortality in Saint Kitts among the French, and conflicts with indigenous populations and with English and Spanish forces.¹⁴ The establishment of colonies on Guadeloupe and Martinique from 1635 on led to further conflicts with their Amerindian populations, and in the case of Guadeloupe, to famine.¹⁵ The focus of settlement would evolve significantly in the following decades. Most notably, France would lose Saint Kitts to the English in the early 1700s, and Saint-Domingue would evolve from a frontier colony in 1665 to become the most important focus of French settlement in the eighteenth century.¹⁶

This was an era in which early settlers were confronted with significant ecological and cultural frontiers. The 'frontier era' is a term used by Philip P. Boucher to qualify the early decades of French settlement, which he characterises as a period of dealing with hostile Amerindians and a hostile environment, while importing European and then slave labour. For Boucher, this ended in the 1660s with the transition to 'colonial' settlement proper.¹⁷ James Pritchard, in a study of the French 'empire' between 1670 and 1730, stresses that French immigration to its colonies was consistently low in comparison with its European neighbours. Pritchard's model of the 'frontier' settlement pattern is wider in extent and duration than Boucher's; he depicts colonies in large part independent from the metropolis, characterised by diverse social practices, and with often transient populations living in often perilous climatic conditions.¹⁸ These various frontier contexts were the site

of new forms of production, and which demanded new forms of human labour.

The growth in cash-crop agriculture over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was instrumental in the socio-economic transformation of the Caribbean. Philip D. Curtin's study of the 'plantation complex' describes how a combination of climatic and geological advantages with mid-seventeenth-century market and technological conditions favoured the 'forward movement' of the 'sugar revolution' to the Caribbean.¹⁹ Among those critics who have stressed the unique social consequences of the transformations in production, Robert Chaudenson distinguishes the 'homestead' society ('characterized by constant contact between' colonising community and slaves) from the 'plantation' society (with mass immigration of slaves, less 'direct contact with the white community' and a class of relatively privileged Creole slaves in between).²⁰ The transformations of production on Saint-Domingue in the eighteenth century were particularly radical, with booms in the production of sugar, and then, from mid-century, coffee.²¹

The cash-crop economy necessitated substantial sources of manual labour. European indentured labourers were an important source of labour from the beginnings of French colonisation, but France would quickly find itself immersed within the Atlantic slave economy.²² The trade in slaves led to great demographic change in the Caribbean. In a letter sent from Saint-Domingue in 1725, the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Margat de Tilly estimated that 18 missionaries looked after the spiritual needs of approximately 50,000 slaves; by 1743, he wrote that this population had swelled to over 150,000.²³ This had substantial consequences on the proportions of slaves to colonists and 'free coloureds'. One survey has shown that slaves already significantly outnumbered the two latter groups on Martinique, Guadeloupe and Saint-Domingue at the turn of the eighteenth century, and suggested that the disproportion grew to a point where there were approximately fifteen slaves for every white settler on Saint-Domingue by the beginning of the French Revolution.²⁴ Other factors determined the interactions of slaves and masters. Frenchwomen were consistently outnumbered by men, and the sexual exploitation of female slaves has been well documented.²⁵ This change in the labour regime permeated all aspects of colonial existence. Boucher, for example, distinguishes the 'frequent face-to-face contacts' between slaves and masters that he sees as

characteristic of the early decades of the island colonies from the more distant (or nonexistent) relationships of the later, plantation model.²⁶ This was a novel environment in social, as well as labour, terms.

Concepts of identity and culture were being constantly negotiated in the changing political, socio-economic and ethnic environments of the colonies. The transformations in their political status over the seventeenth century are indicative. An early regime of governorship gave way to the prosperous period of the 'autonomous governor-proprietors'.²⁷ Political consolidation took place from 1664 with the creation of the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, and ten years later the French Caribbean colonies became part of the royal domains.²⁸ Legislation developed to deal with the social and political challenges of the colonies. The 1685 royal edict which came to be known as the *Code Noir* is perhaps the best known enactment. It was in large part concerned with ensuring religious orthodoxy in the colonies; it ordered the expulsion of Jews, limited public religious practice to Catholicism and declared non-Catholics 'unable to contract a legitimate marriage'. It also established legislation to deal with the slave population. The second article ordered their baptism, and the edict also set out such conditions as their nourishment, their sale, their punishment and the conditions of an eventual manumission.²⁹ This was, as Yvan Debbasch points out, legislation which both drew heavily on precedent in Roman law and on consultation with colonists and administrators.³⁰

From early on in the colonial initiatives, Catholic religious orders settled on the islands. Capuchins were sent to look after the spiritual needs of the population of Saint Kitts in 1635 (they would be expelled in 1646). The Dominicans accompanied the new settlement of Guadeloupe in 1635.³¹ The Jesuits arrived in Martinique in the 1630s, and they would have an important influence in Saint-Domingue.³² The role of the ecclesiastical orders in colonial slavery was particularly complex. That Dominicans and Jesuits possessed considerable tracts of land and numbers of slaves is well known.³³ However, the relationship of ecclesiastical orders (or even individual clerics) with colonial authorities and even planters was not unproblematic. In Cap Français (Saint-Domingue) in 1730, one Jesuit (apparently with the permission of his superior) preached a vigorous sermon against both the violence of French colonists towards their slaves, and the laxity of judges in dealing with this.³⁴

There were also significant differences in the practices of the various religious orders in the colonies. For Gabriel Debien, the Jesuits 'saw themselves as the defenders' of slaves, while Pierre Pluchon characterises the Jesuits as essentially opposed to the interests of masters and administrators, even tending towards 'autonomous' organisation of the slave population.³⁵ In turn, how ecclesiastical orders were viewed would evolve along with the great changes in the colonies, as Sue Peabody has demonstrated; she observes that the 'missionaries' interventions on behalf of slaves and free people of colour [were] increasingly treated as threats by colonial officials', in the context of increasing social control in the plantation economy.³⁶

Slavery was implemented in the early modern French Caribbean in a context of interrogations about the practice. The question of slavery had been discussed in Jean Bodin's well-known analysis in 1576. This was long before the French settlement of the Antilles, but a time in which other forms of slavery were practised in the Americas, and in the polities of the Barbary coast, for example. Indeed, Bodin considered that 'the whole world is full of slaves, excepting certain countries in Europe (which since also by little and little receive them)'.³⁷ He was preoccupied by two main questions: the degree to which slavery was 'natural and profitable', and the extent of the 'power the lord of right ought to have over his slave'.³⁸ With recourse to the classical heritage and French and Church jurisprudence, he refuted Aristotle's justification of slavery in 'natural law', according to which 'some [were] naturally made to serve and obey, and others to command and govern'.³⁹ Bodin acknowledged that the 'long continuance' and the ubiquity of slavery might make it seem a natural phenomenon, while the principle of reducing a prisoner to servitude so as to guarantee his life appeared morally justifiable. He countered the first, 'natural' justification by noting that many morally upright and wise men had been themselves enslaved to their inferiors, and that the widespread cruelty of human practices meant that one could not 'measure the law of nature by men's actions'. He refuted the second justification by questioning, for example, the motives for sparing a prisoner's life, or the extent of the service demanded from a captive slave.⁴⁰ Bodin also considered slavery to be problematic for the social order. Drawing from a wealth of precedent in Antiquity, he considered the practice to be based on a relationship that encouraged disloyalty between master and slave, sedition on the level of the *res publica*, which was

manifested in the ‘fear that cities and commonwealths had of their slaves’.⁴¹ Although he considered slavery to have almost died out in Christendom and in Muslim lands by 1200, it continued to exist as adherents of these two faiths refused to liberate those who had converted to their religion.⁴²

Bodin’s analysis is telling about three central strands in early modern French thinking about slavery. The first is that slavery reflected, by necessity, on the conception of the kingdom. Bodin thought of France as a kingdom which fundamentally refused slavery on its soil, and it was a question that, as Peabody has shown, would become extremely contentious during later French Atlantic slavery.⁴³ The metropolitan refusal of slavery has further implications for such wide concepts as the nature of society, or of the individual. It calls attention to what it was that defined early modern French concepts of society; France was certainly a distinct national culture, but there were commonalities of thought within Europe (Winthrop D. Jordan, for example, suggests that the concept of a distinct rejection of slavery on home soil was shared in Tudor England).⁴⁴ David Eltis considers the ‘slave-free dialectic’ (which allowed Europeans to use non-Europeans – but never other Europeans – as slaves in the Americas) as an ‘exceptional’ phenomenon stemming from the unique way Europeans situated rights in the ‘individual’. This has considerable implications for how the person – or as Eltis writes, the ‘individual’ – was understood.⁴⁵ Understanding how those who thought themselves full members of a society saw themselves is essential to understanding how they viewed the others who, in various ways, they excluded.

Bodin’s analysis, secondly, hints at the importance of religion to understanding early modern slavery. Christian thinking about slavery in this period has been discussed in studies exploring the basis for slavery in Scripture and canon law, and the controversies generated by the encounter with non-Christian peoples outside Europe from the fifteenth century onwards.⁴⁶ There are two themes which recur in the following chapters. The first can be summed up by the remark of a Jesuit missionary, Jean Mongin, in a 1682 letter from Saint Kitts. Mongin criticised Protestants who did not convert their slaves, noting that while Christians were not allowed to enslave prisoners of war who were also Christian, their faith ‘would have [them] make a Christian of a slave’.⁴⁷ This allows us some insight into why so many missionaries appear preoccupied

with the treatment of slaves rather than their liberty. For reasons which will be returned to frequently in this book, the African slave was thought to have been subjected to an ineluctable state (of *captivity*, as Mongin saw it) in the temporal domain before he or she had been transported to the Caribbean.

A further theme is the degree to which, as Orlando Patterson writes, the slave in Christianity was marked by 'exclusion ... on the secular level' and 'inclusion in the sacred community'. For Patterson, it was 'relegating each [marginality and inclusion] to a separate domain of cultural existence' that allowed Catholicism to both 'declar[e] slavery a sin' and condone it (in contrast, he characterises Protestant English planters as 'abandoning' the religion of slaves).⁴⁸ With some exceptions, the majority of French testimonies about Atlantic slavery were produced by Catholics, and this factor determines the confessional focus of this study. Its fields of enquiry will include questions concerning the extent of the 'separation' of domains described by Patterson, further sites of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion', and the very nature of the 'community' itself.

Bodin, thirdly, illustrates the importance of antique accounts of slavery, of Roman jurisprudence and of more recent controversies based in natural law to early modern European thinking about slavery. This complemented Christian thought to various degrees; Christian theorists looked for precedents in Antiquity, and they engaged with theories of natural law and the *ius gentium*. The 'revival of classical learning', as David Brion Davis writes, was essential to understanding the perpetuation of 'traditional justifications for human slavery' throughout Europe.⁴⁹ The sixteenth-century controversies stemming from the Spanish colonisation of the Americas had given rise to a body of works which provided a legal framework for understanding the enslavement of Amerindians (and which could be marshalled by other Europeans opposed to Spanish colonisation).⁵⁰ The classical heritage could be authoritative in certain areas, and less so in others; Chapter 1 will further discuss the way this heritage influenced French understandings of slavery, and of the distinct social relationships between masters and slaves.

What this short examination of thinking about slavery will have illustrated is that it was a concern in certain domains, and far less so in others. Some early modern accounts such as Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* might seem to testify to the easy acceptance of

slavery within France and the colonies. However, it is not the case that, as William B. Cohen concludes, 'slavery was not a moral problem for Frenchmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.⁵¹ Justifications of slavery, or even criticism of its excesses, are not uncommon in testimonies of this era. One of the interrogations of the present book is what was specific about such moral hesitancy.

While questions of morality are implied in the discussion of systems of servitude, the present study widens the focus considerably. There were further interrogations, such as social cohesion and control, that were of concern to colonial populations whose interests lay, for the most part, in the perpetuation of slavery. The present study focuses on three interrelated strands: the socio-economic condition of slaves, the corporeal labour they carried out, and how accounts of slave societies reflected approaches to power.

Condition, the corporeal and the power of the narrative

This book is a study of French approaches to slavery in an extensive corpus of texts (and less frequently, images) dating from the early years of French colonisation in the Caribbean up to approximately 1750. This unique body of source material, for the most part little-studied, was produced at a time of considerable social transformation within the early French colonies. These narratives reflect often destructive, mass human displacements, and allow us to observe the coexistence of diverse populations during a period of substantive transformations. They also enable us to study the perspectives on colonial, theological, even 'racial' discourses of those French subjects who encountered populations around the Atlantic. The reasons for the geographical focus have already been discussed. In being restricted chronologically to French colonisation of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, this study focuses on a socio-economic and intellectual context that pre-dates the great demographic expansions in the colonies during the second half of the 1700s. The distinct conditions of the latter half of the eighteenth century have been demonstrated by Debbasch, who describes the increasing importance of what is now thought of as 'ethnicity' to social distinction on Saint-Domingue.⁵² More recent studies have stressed, for example, the implantation of 'a more explicitly biological racism' in the place of a 'social definition of racial categories' in Saint-Domingue (John Garrigus), or the progressive distancing of

the *libres de couleur* from the colonial class through legal measures (Frédéric Régent).⁵³ The conditions of the earlier colonies, however, warrant a sustained examination which acknowledges their complexity, and which looks beyond the much more substantial (and more frequently studied) textual production of the second half of the eighteenth century. That the 1600s and early 1700s might, as Madeleine Dobie writes, seem to be an era in which French ‘cultural representation of the colonial world ... was extremely limited’ calls for a sustained analysis of this period.⁵⁴

The present book studies three aspects of narratives of early modern slavery. It explores the *condition* of commoditised ‘marginal’ slaves, the domain of the corporeal, and the implications of the text as a strategy of domination within a slave society. The first interrogation concerns how the slave was imagined within a circumscribed, proprietary relationship with a master. This will be approached in later chapters which explore such themes as the conception of the slave as a ‘captive’, or the importance of accumulation to distinguishing slave and colonist. What was distinct about slaves can be glimpsed by a French term which was often used to refer to one’s place in society: one’s *condition*. *Condition* had a very wide range and, according to an early eighteenth-century edition of the lexicographer Furetière’s *Dictionnaire*, could encapsulate birth, rank, status (‘état’), employment and in ‘popular’ speech, the ‘right to claim the same things as others’.⁵⁵ In the colonies, these were all aspects of one’s existence that determined, or were determined, by whether one was freeborn, freed, or a slave. As the present study will show, *condition* (in italics when referring to the French use) was also a concept through which early modern commentators understood what it fundamentally *meant* to be a slave.

This way of thinking about the distinctness of the slave reflects on the models of ‘marginality’ that have for long been a centre of interest to social scientists and anthropologists. The ‘marginality’ of the slave is explored in Miers and Kopytoff’s classic study, which characterises African slavery as a process in which ‘the individual was wrenched from his own people, losing his social personality, his identity and status’, making of him/her ‘[a] stranger ... in a new setting, be it a new kin group, community, region, or even country’.⁵⁶ Miers and Kopytoff stress the considerable variations in this ‘marginality’; these ‘acquired outsiders’ might be used for many purposes beyond labour, and there might be considerable ‘variation

in [slaves'] social position' in different African cultures.⁵⁷ At the heart of this analysis are what they call 'rights-in-persons', which they see as inherent in 'almost all social relationships', as varying across cultures according to factors such as sex, or paternity or social status; they understand slavery as the possession of certain 'rights' over another.⁵⁸ Miers and Kopytoff also stress the uniqueness of slavery in the Americas, in which a 'narrower specialization in the use of slaves ... was conducive to the formation of a discrete stratum', and in which 'a cultural insistence on the slaves' racial marginality to society ... closed to them a whole range of higher occupations'.⁵⁹

A second essential paradigm in the theorisation of African slavery is that of Claude Meillassoux (who disputes such aspects of Miers and Kopytoff's analysis as the extent of 'rights-in-persons' or an implied 'assimilation' of African slavery to forms of kinship).⁶⁰ In Meillassoux's Marxist-influenced analysis, the slave is an 'alien' distinct from other outsiders in the incapacity to obtain the full social privileges that accompany integration and the creation of a descendance. For Meillassoux, the 'essence' of slavery lies in the '*social incapacity of the slave to reproduce socially*', or the '*antithesis of kinship*'. He writes that slavery as a '*mode of exploitation*' depends on the constitution of a '*distinct class of individuals*', a class which must be '*renewed constantly*'.⁶¹ He describes the 'state' of the slave as 'permanent [and] unalterably attached to the captive', after an initial process of 'desocial[isation]' and ultimately of 'depersonal[isation]'. It is this 'original and indelible stigma' that enables the master to put the slave to work at 'any task'; the tasks slaves carry out define their '*condition*', but the slave is incapable of gaining a 'status' within a slave society.⁶² What Meillassoux means by the *condition* of slaves is their function, or the labour they carry out; what he calls their *state* most closely approximates to what early modern French commentators meant by *condition*.

A further paradigm of 'marginality' is that described in Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death* (1982). This is a comparative study of sixty-six slave-owning societies, which characterises the 'social death' to which slaves are subjected in a host society as the 'essence of slavery'; the slave 'lives on the margins between community and chaos, life and death, the sacred and the secular'.⁶³ For Patterson, the possession of the slave was not merely an economic attribute. He writes, for example, that the slave was 'in all slave

societies ... considered a degraded person', who would feed the master's 'sense of honour'. He characterises this as one aspect of a 'parasitical' social system in which 'the slave's natal alienation and genealogical isolation made him or her the ideal human tool', one who 'existed only through the parasite holder, ... the master.'⁶⁴

The use of such paradigms as an analytical tool for understanding the early modern French Caribbean must be subject to some caution. The models proposed by Miers and Kopytoff, and by Meillassoux, are principally concerned with the very distinct cultures of West Africa, with their significant linguistic, socio-economic and religious diversity. Patterson's paradigm, in turn, has been criticised by, for example, Vincent Brown for its 'abstract' nature, as a 'distillation' which can be applied with difficulty 'to explain the actual behavior of slaves', and which neglects forms of slave resistance.⁶⁵ In another study, Joseph C. Miller criticises Patterson's '[exclusion of] historical context by definition'.⁶⁶ In the place of what he sees as Patterson's reduction of 'relational beings embedded in social ... contexts' to the 'master-slave dyad', Miller stresses the 'inherently historical' character of slavery (in fact, Miller's own thesis is that slaving is a phenomenon itself carried out by 'marginal' individuals 'to convert their marginality toward centrality').⁶⁷ These are criticisms that resonate when thinking about the socio-economic contexts of the Antilles from its early settlement onwards. There was constant mutation in the social conditions of slavery during these centuries of great socio-demographic transformation.

Conversely, a number of discussions of Patterson and, to a lesser extent, Meillassoux in, for example, Srividhya Swaminathan and Adam R. Beach's *Invoking Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Imagination*, have demonstrated what can be gained by the use of 'structural' models of slavery.⁶⁸ I am more cautious about qualifying as 'slavery' the relatively wide social and labour contexts that have been suggested on occasion in Swaminathan and Beach's volume.⁶⁹ The reasons for this will be seen in a later chapter of the present book, which explores the occasional comparison of the existences of slaves and, notably, European indentured labourers by commentators on the early Caribbean; both groups were distinguished precisely by social position rather than labour.

What debates surrounding models of the 'marginal' existence can do (and despite Patterson's limited focus on the early modern French Caribbean) is alert us to the many socio-cultural layers in

which practices of slavery were embedded. These paradigms are instructive about the importance of 'rights' over another, and of the importance of property and accumulation. They illustrate the centrality of *condition* (or, more approximately, status) to slavery; this was a further attraction, beyond profit, for those who possessed slaves, and lack of status was one strand in understanding the 'degraded' slave. Such paradigms also alert us to how subtle the distinctions between free and enslaved people might be. Forms of slavery intruded on existence in ways that went far beyond the master's control of labour and capacity to inflict violence. That slavery could also be reflected in rites, social interactions and even gestures demonstrates the multiple spheres of slaves' distinctness.

There were further, subtle reflections of what could be thought of as social marginality, or even 'social death' in the texts and images that depict the coexistence of slaves and masters. The absence of the *voice* of African slaves in early modern cultural productions is perhaps the most striking manifestation, and on the rare occasions when the slave's voice was transcribed, it was considerably mediated. This kind of 'narrative' issue can be illuminated by thinking about *condition*, using paradigms of marginality that are nuanced by an awareness of context. It means, on one hand, acknowledging the constant transformations of the colonial era. Each narrative account of colonial life is a representation of societies which were in constant change, in which the relationships of its inhabitants were in constant evolution. On the other hand, each account is nevertheless a coherent (even synchronic) vision of the human relationships and exclusions in these societies at a given time. In each case, as this book contends, they have the potential to reflect such significant aspects of existence as status, honour and the ownership of human beings.

The second strand of the present study, the *corporeal*, explores the new configurations of the human body within colonial labour. These texts were produced as Western European economies were transformed, extending their reach to Africa and the Americas, and using indentured and slave labour in the nascent plantations of the Caribbean. It was the energy, the very corporeality of slaves, that would be channelled into the production of cash crops for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European markets. There were ambiguous responses to this displacement of human beings forced into labour, ranging from apparent acceptance to interrogations

and anxieties. Understanding of the slave was shaped not just by his or her social marginality, but also by discourses concerning labour. The cultural productions of the colonial era might describe the *results* of labour in detail and even with pride; indeed, some of the missionaries who vaunted the success of slave and heretic conversions also demonstrated considerable interest in colonial labour and profit. Yet labour was also disdained and disavowed.

This labour context inflected on thinking about the *corporeal*. Writing about the body was inherently fraught; there were theoretical and moral imperatives that influenced the apprehension of the body, and one significant source of interdicts, restrictions and limits was Judaeo-Christian culture itself. Manifestations of the body in the early modern Americas could fascinate, as shown by the rich textual and graphic representations of Amerindian populations from the first contacts with Europeans.⁷⁰ However, the slaves who were increasingly transported to the French Caribbean from the seventeenth century were quite distinct. New discourses concerning physiognomy or, in time, 'race' would, as is well known, grapple with their difference. There were also moral and other interrogations about the limits to which the body of the slave could be possessed, controlled or infringed. Mastering the body could be a source of pride, as the portraits of productive, even serene, colonial labour illustrate; depictions of the violence exacted on slaves also demonstrate how fraught it could be. The corporeal was a domain shaped by religious, socio-economic and proto-racial discourses formed between Europe, Africa and the Americas, and is a unique site at which to understand early modern slavery.

The third focus of this book concerns how colonial narratives reflect power within a slave society. There are two forms of this power, the use of strategies, and the use of the script, that are of interest. My concept of *strategies* goes far beyond those which inform Malick W. Ghachem's concept of 'strategic ethics', in an important 2012 study of the legal environment of Saint-Domingue; by this, Ghachem means 'pragmatic' legal approaches to contentious issues such as manumission and slaveowner violence (two issues in which he identifies significant tensions between the interests of colonial authorities and planters).⁷¹ The types of strategies I mean are those used by individuals or groups in early Caribbean society for such diverse purposes as understanding and mastering the environment, influencing the spirituality of others, and obtaining temporal

gain (as well as maintaining civil order). These include the strategies of gathering and evaluating information in oral and textual form. Specific strategic approaches were also used for spiritual purposes in the colonies in instructing neophytes, and they were reflected in the accounts of their conversion that reached European readers. A great range of strategic approaches were used in temporal matters that varied from laying out a plantation, or maximising profit, to controlling the movement of slaves. The forms of such strategies will be discussed in later chapters, but it is important to emphasise what they imply at this stage. They acknowledge that human interactions were contextual and variable, and perhaps even unpredictable. They also imply that there were resistances to colonial power.

That we apprehend these narratives through script (except for a limited number of printed images) is a consideration so obvious that we overlook it. Yet the medium of the script, the text at its most fundamental level, is essential to understanding how Europeans imagined their shared culture, and thought of culture itself. It is fundamental to the early modern colonisation of the Antilles. Europeans were conscious of the power of the script to transfer information, and that the invention of printing had multiplied that power. In the early seventeenth century, the tragedian-turned-*économiste* Antoine de Montchrestien thought of printing as an ‘art’ that, as well as transmitting moral instruction, could conserve the ‘memory’ of worthy individuals and ‘bring to light and conserve’ the ‘labours’ of the learned. Noting that it was now a ‘possession’ of ‘all the Christian peoples’ (‘peuples chrétiens’), he hints that it had become a strand of their very identity.⁷²

What this implied in the encounter with non-European and/or colonised peoples can be illuminated through Michel de Certeau’s important study of ‘orality’ in a sixteenth-century account of a transient French colonial initiative in Brazil, Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage en Terre de Brésil*.⁷³ The Protestant Léry’s account of the warrior *Tupi* was immensely popular, and would inform Michel de Montaigne’s vision of the *Cannibales*.⁷⁴ As de Certeau writes, it is the capacity of the text to surpass the limits of time and space that means the script ‘makes history’ (‘fait l’histoire’); it is a process that ‘accumulates’ and ‘stocks’.⁷⁵ This was a capacity of which, as de Certeau notes, Léry was intensely conscious, and which he saw as distinguishing the ‘nations [of] ... Europe, Asia and Africa’ from the inhabitants of the New World.⁷⁶ Further manifestations of

the script/'orality' distinction can be seen, notably, in the Spanish Catholic tradition.⁷⁷ In the settlement of the French Antilles, the consciousness of possessing the script was to be of renewed significance for those French subjects who now lived alongside substantial populations of African slaves. These colonists prided themselves on their access to a unique body of tools for the conservation and distribution of information. How they considered those they thought deprived of these tools will be a recurrent theme in this study.

There is another side to this focus on the script and the text. In methodological terms, the ironies of looking for testimony about early plantation life in text will be apparent. It means that we are limited to a medium which was inaccessible to slaves themselves (at least during early colonisation). We can at no stage have access to the unmediated slave 'voice'. However, the use of the script was only one strand in the processes of control of enslaved populations, and it was a process subject to a number of ambiguities. Colonists were to encounter limits to the capacity of these tools to dominate, particularly within the plantation environment. They also reflect other types of knowledge conceived of as non-textual and perhaps even non-verbal; how early French subjects confronted certain forms of knowledge will show how subversive they were thought to be.

One further consideration of the reflections of power in colonial narratives must be underlined at this stage. These narratives performed a variety of functions in early modern society, and might be intended for wide distribution. Descriptions of slaves in such narratives were ultimately constructed by members of the socio-economic strata which, to various extents, were profiting from slave labour. However, there were also dissenting, critical voices within the 'colonial' corpus. These were narratives that describe the collective and individual interests of free Europeans, but they also throw into question the supposed homogeneity of colonial discourse.

In approaching the slave society through questions of marginalisation, of the body, and of narrative and power, this study has itself been confronted with the many absences in knowledge about slaves. An attempt has been made to acknowledge them throughout this book. The texts destined for French readers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries often hint at how knowledge was formed beyond the reach of the script. They reflect the multiple flows – of labour, products, data, and even lost oral tales – that constructed

the colonial world, perhaps as much as the volumes reserved for a select public. In considering the textual corpus as the residue of encounters, of interactions and of struggles, we can acknowledge what is lost to us from this world. Through lending an ear to what remains, we can hope to illuminate new aspects of it.

Perspectives and sources

This book is based upon a corpus of first-hand accounts of labour and slavery dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These include personal and administrative correspondence, missionary narratives, pamphlets, agricultural manuals, and diverse narratives which include *nouvelles* or the *histoires* of freebooters. Many of these texts were published contemporaneously or near contemporaneously, and/or were intended for other types of diffusion. As was the case with other Europeans, French participants in colonisation and enslavement were members of diverse human networks. They were participants to various degrees in religious, commercial and military initiatives. They had uneven access to what is now thought of as colonial power, and might be in sometimes ferocious competition with other participants in these ventures. So while their texts demonstrate that certain ideas (about slaves and slavery, for example) could be widely shared during the development of the colonies, it must also be remembered that they were intended for diverse readerships, in which they had diverse functions.

One strategy that I have tried to avoid in this study of early modern slave systems is a teleological approach, which would tend to read slave systems in the light of their ultimate dismantling (to consider slavery on eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue principally in the light of the Revolutionary-era violence, for example).⁷⁸ As Christopher L. Miller characterises it, such an approach implies ‘look[ing] for prefigurations [and] signs that foretell the satisfying conclusion’ of abolitionism, and is ‘inevitable’ within the study of slavery.⁷⁹ The present book, as will be seen, eschews reading such ‘prefigurations’ within accounts of slavery, and it is hoped that this will prove that such teleological readings are not ‘inevitable’.

There has also been much criticism engaging with the legacy of colonial memory in France and its former colonies. Christopher L. Miller’s *The French Atlantic Triangle* (2008), for example, explores

the 'silences about the slave trade' in domains of French cultural production such as historiography, film and commemorative initiatives. Miller's is an explicitly political stance, 'attempt[ing] to reckon with and to recognize the past' in contemporary France, and urging 'new ways to shuttle between' 'past and present'.⁸⁰ However, there has been little focus on the early *Ancien Régime* colonies among specialists in postcolonial French studies. What focus there is in representative titles such as Marsh and Frith's *France's Lost Empires* (2011), Hargreaves's *Memory, Empire, and Postcolonialism* (2005) and Forsdick and Murphy's *Postcolonial Thought in the French-Speaking World* (2009) has either taken the Haitian Revolution as a departure point, or (in the last title) limited discussion of the pre-revolutionary colonies to the late eighteenth century.⁸¹ Such postcolonial perspectives help us to understand the post-revolutionary and post-abolitionary environment of the French Caribbean, but tend to tell us far less about the earlier colonies.

I have instead attempted to understand what is specific to the cultural productions that reflect the coexistence of colonial populations. The focus on the areas of the social and the corporeal seeks to engage with what is most evidently shared within these narratives: the concepts relating to the exploitation of an ever-expanding stratum of colonial labourers. In thinking about narrative and power, I have tried to acknowledge further dynamics. Colonial narratives illustrate that the text was thought fundamental to the control of knowledge and, ultimately, of people. However, those Europeans who acted in and wrote about the colonies had diverse preoccupations. This book seeks to understand the implications of such diversity for thinking about early forms of colonial slavery.

There are two further challenges to this approach which must be acknowledged. The first is inherent in a primary corpus that spans more than a century of cultural productions. The socio-economic environments in which slaves lived and laboured changed enormously over this time; one can at best apprehend different configurations, different moments, in this period of great transformations. The second stems from the consciousness that the present study is itself the product of a precise historical moment. It is informed by determined historically situated critical perspectives, and is written at a remove of many centuries from its source material. These are challenges that call for some humility in apprehending sources.

Nonetheless, it is precisely an approach that stresses the unfai-

miliarity of the past that has been aimed for in this book. Texts and images reflecting the early French Caribbean must be approached with the awareness of how singular they were. They were produced by the members of a society which was undergoing what was a tentative, hazardous expansion on many fronts. In what is now thought of as the 'colonial era', concepts such as community, the individual or the nature of society itself differed radically from those which would be current in later centuries. Questions such as the control of a subservient population, or the capacity to master the tools of domination were of some urgency to early colonists. Social relations were inflected with unfamiliar concepts of marginality, and thinking about the body encompassed realms that went far beyond what is now thought of as the 'biological'. Colonial-era narratives reflect these domains of the marginal and the corporeal in sharing knowledge about people and resources, and about how to control them.

Acknowledging this unfamiliarity will allow us to ask questions about the role of narratives within the transforming societies of the French Atlantic. It will allow us to consider the role of interest groups and actors in narrative production, and how this might change our understanding of colonial power. In the strategies they furnish for social control, they instruct us about where the dominant thought their superiority lay. They are, in turn, telling about the resistances to power and about anxieties surrounding its continuity. These will allow us to explore the functions of narrative within a society negotiating new economic and cultural thresholds. Ultimately, it will lead us to ask how these narratives reflect the understanding of that most marginal of entities, the slave, within the early French colonies.

To attempt to answer such questions, this study has benefited from the insights of scholars including historians, theorists of narrative and literary studies, anthropologists and social scientists. The corpus of archive-based studies bequeathed by Gabriel Debien remains an essential foundation to understanding the geographical, socio-economic and demographic context of early modern slavery.⁸² Historical studies have analysed the economic and social structures of French Caribbean slavery. Although the studies of Stewart R. King and of John Garrigus focus on a social context which postdates that studied in this book, their explorations of Saint-Domingue illustrate the changing nature of concepts of human difference.⁸³ For both, 'race' must be understood alongside other

significant markers of identity encapsulating the socio-economic. In the case of the 'free coloureds' of late eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue, King has noted the importance of avoiding an 'unreflective racialist [theorisation]', or '[thinking of their] skin color as the only thing about their lives that mattered'.⁸⁴ Garrigus's account of a 'mid-[eighteenth] century shift in the way French colonists on Saint-Domingue defined their own identity' includes a number of case studies which, he writes, 'suggest that early eighteenth-century colonists thought [that] African ancestry' might not necessarily have to be 'the dominant feature of [one's] identity'.⁸⁵

The value of interdisciplinary approaches in exploring the intellectual background and social context of early modern slavery has been demonstrated by a number of studies.⁸⁶ These include Rushforth's *Bonds of Alliance*, which combines archival research with sources including Jesuit relations and European travel narratives. Studies incorporating anthropology and the social sciences include those of Patterson, and of Miers and Kopytoff, which have already been mentioned. Further studies in these fields explore the 'public' and 'hidden transcripts' that lie under wide-ranging systems of domination (James C. Scott).⁸⁷

Literary studies offer further perspectives on the relationships between culture and colonial power. Mary Louise Pratt's well-known concept of the 'contact zone' stresses 'the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis', and alerts us to the ways culture is renegotiated in the coexistence of colonising and colonised populations.⁸⁸ Two more recent studies directly explore mechanisms of colonial representation in French literary production. Doris Garraway's *The Libertine Colony* furnishes a rich examination of *libertinage* conceived of as 'a sexual economy that undergirded exploitative power relations among whites, free people of color, and slaves'.⁸⁹ Garraway, noting that 'what has been kept out of the canon reflects the most disavowed aspects of a culture', moves beyond focus on canonical texts to situate the cultural products she studies 'within the environment in which they emerged'.⁹⁰ The present study shares with Garraway's an appreciation of the need to explore precisely such an environment, but foregoes an approach which privileges 'evaluating slavery as a system of sexual domination', a system in which 'interracial sexual fantasies' could '[legitimate] white ... social and racial supremacy while ... repressing the brutality and sexual violence of racial slavery'.⁹¹

Madeleine Dobie's 2010 study of eighteenth-century slavery focuses on the 'mechanisms of avoidance' which maintained the 'low profile of the colonial world in French culture' and which resulted, for example, in an 'asymmetry': 'the bifurcated ... representation of indigenous Americans and diasporic Africans'.⁹² For Dobie this resulted in an essential 'cultural displacement of colonial slavery' (onto the topos of oriental despotism, for example).⁹³ Her study includes discussion of Labat, and another Dominican who will be frequently discussed in the present book, Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre.⁹⁴ While the present work focuses on the earliest sources dealing with the Caribbean, it is informed by the awareness that 'impediment[s] to representation' similar to those identified by Dobie must be acknowledged and analysed (Dobie emphasises two: the moral, and the 'absence of a discursive framework').⁹⁵

While informed by the insights of such studies, this book differs considerably in its focus and its approach. Its principal novelty is its consideration of narrative and textual production as strategies used by the myriad interests that came together to colonise the early Caribbean. This means, on one side, acknowledging what was shared by this diverse group. They shared a religious and moral heritage which determined significant aspects of their views on slavery. They had in common other views, much more difficult to situate precisely, about who could be enslaved, and who could not. They were conscious of the importance of exclusive forms of knowledge, and of the role of the script in maintaining power, two areas which are extensively discussed in this book. They often adopt a prescriptive tone, demonstrating the consciousness of shared interests with their wide readership. Colonial commentators also acknowledge that there existed alternative knowledges which subverted their common interests and even their faith. These are unequivocally the characteristics of a 'dominant' colonial stratum.

However, this study also questions the dynamic within the 'colonizing group'.⁹⁶ The stratum in which power, wealth and certain forms of specialist knowledge were concentrated was also characterised by some heterogeneity. There was considerable diversity in the social status of the individuals and groups who wrote about slaves and servitors. Factors which varied from human demographics to the minutiae of social interactions were ever-changing within the settlements of the Caribbean.⁹⁷ The 'colonial' text is perhaps as often the site of conflict between ideas and individuals as it is of

homogenous responses to dominated peoples. Within, the traces can often be read of individuals and collectivities, jockeying for political and economic favour between the *métropole*, Africa and the Americas.

A further particularity of this book is how it considers the question of colonial labour within the context of the French encounter with the Atlantic triangle. Representations of French slavery as a labour phenomenon have not been the object of a dedicated study. Yet it was this that was the principal motivation for transporting significant human populations across the Atlantic. As later sections of this book will illustrate, a focus on labour gives insight into the further social and cultural contexts in which slavery was understood. Slaves were employed in banal, intense and repetitive activities that rarely merited attention except in the most prescriptive of texts. Yet labour was the force that lay under the ever-changing forms of Caribbean slavery, and the narratives that described it.

Primary texts

This is a study of the accounts of initiatives involving numerous actors from various socio-economic and religious milieux. There were human displacements to coastal South America, the Antilles, and Saint-Domingue which might entail significant and sometimes spectacular losses of money and life. Many testify to the development of systems of intensive production powered by the labour of Europeans and Africans.

The manuscript of an anonymous French *flibustier* published by Jean-Pierre Moreau is the first direct testimony of slavery in the Antilles in the present corpus.⁹⁸ It recounts a voyage from France between 1618 and 1620, which included a stay of approximately ten months in the *Petites Antilles*, during which the narrator witnessed the existence of African slaves in the Caribbean. Another early testimony is that of Guillaume Coppier, who crossed the Atlantic as a member of a French crew, and who would for a time be an indentured labourer on Saint Kitts; his *Histoire* was published in 1645.⁹⁹

Among the texts which have remained in manuscript form until more recent times are the journal and letters of the Jesuit Jean Mongin. His 1676 journal is informative about the conditions of the Atlantic crossing.¹⁰⁰ Mongin's correspondence includes impor-

tant testimony on the conversion initiatives in the Antilles. Copies exist of two letters sent from Martinique to the Jesuit Provincial of Toulouse, the first in September 1676 (consulted in Médiathèque de Carcassonne Agglo holding), and a second in May 1679 (Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris). A third letter, a copy of which is held in Carcassonne, was sent from Saint Kitts to a gentleman from Languedoc enthused by the missionary initiative (May 1682). The Archives jésuites de la Province de France, Vanves now holds (Fonds Brotier, MS 185) an alternative copy of the letter to the Languedocian gentleman; Marcel Chatillon, who has published a number of Mongin's letters, notes that this copy incorporates 'detail on the slave trade', and information on Creole partly derived from an earlier Jesuit source (Pelleprat).¹⁰¹ A later, particularly vivid Jesuit letter is that sent from Saint-Domingue by Claude Bréban in 1732, in which he describes to his brother the 'character' and 'labour' of its slaves. It is held in the Archives départementales du Cher (a transcription was published in 1997).¹⁰²

A high proportion of printed texts were bequeathed by the members, like Mongin and Bréban, of the religious orders present in the Caribbean. This reflects what Gordon K. Lewis has identified as the preponderant role of ecclesiastics in early Caribbean intellectual life from the beginnings of the Hispanic colonies.¹⁰³ As we have seen, despite the socio-political and economic relationships between these orders and colonial authorities, one must be wary about simply conflating missionary and 'colonial' discourses. Identifying a characteristic Catholic discourse in the Antilles is not without its own interrogations. Missionaries belonged to orders which had determined goals and strategies for conversion, and these orders might even be in competition with one another. The readers of their publications, or the letters they sent to metropolitan France, might respond vigorously to their efforts, as Mongin's correspondence with the gentleman from Languedoc makes clear.

One challenge in the use of ecclesiastical narratives for understanding Caribbean slavery lies in how they jar with what is considered *empirical*, according to later standards. Many ecclesiastical narratives describe missionary initiatives; they focus on edifying conversions, and they might acknowledge divine interventions. In some ways, qualifying these as 'spiritual' narratives is an artificial distinction. A great diversity of early modern French accounts of the colonies were conceived of within a similar spiritual universe.

Even the founding act of the *Compagnie des îles de l'Amérique* in 1626 designates conversion as the primary aim of the initiative, and its financial success as determined by divine intervention.¹⁰⁴ Missionary narratives also describe interactions with those slaves and labourers who inhabited the lowest socio-economic strata of the colonies. How their voices were refracted within these narratives can tell us much about these early populations.

Ecclesiastical texts were also a constant, regular, source of testimony throughout the settlement of the Caribbean. Missionaries were among the earliest witnesses to (and participants in) French settlement. The Jesuit Jacques Bouton (1592–1658) described the colonisation of Martinique at a time when the island was still in part occupied by Caribs, in a *relation* published in 1640 (there is also a manuscript version with some variations in the Archives nationales d'outre-mer).¹⁰⁵ Another Jesuit, Pierre Pelleprat (1609–67), left for the Americas in 1651. He travelled from Martinique to modern-day Guyana in 1653, but illness forced him to return to France the following year. He published a *Relation des missions* in 1655.¹⁰⁶ The Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Le Pers (1675–1735) spent a quarter of a century on Saint-Domingue from 1704/05 and left manuscripts, including diverse versions of a *Histoire* of the colony, now held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Archives jésuites de la Province de France. These were in part to be the basis for his confrère Charlevoix's *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue* which was published in 1730–31; it was Le Pers's dissatisfaction with Charlevoix's work that inspired him to write a further *Histoire*, which would remain in manuscript form (the development of these texts has been extensively studied by Jacques de Dampierre).¹⁰⁷ The Jesuit *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* are another source of correspondence intended for a wide public, and include, for example, the letters of Margat from Saint-Domingue in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Missionaries of other orders include Capuchins such as Pacifique de Provins (1588–1648), who left a short 1645 account of a voyage to the Antilles, and the Carmelite Maurile de Saint Michel (1615?–69), who left a description of his mission to the French colonies in the late 1640s.¹⁰⁸ A number of texts exist for which reliable biographical information is lacking, and they have been assembled by Bernard Grunberg et al. in a collection entitled *Voyageurs anonymes aux Antilles*.¹⁰⁹ The editors identify a Capuchin (whom

they call ‘l’Anonyme de Saint-Christophe’) and a Dominican (‘l’Anonyme de Grenade’) but they consider the identity of the ‘Anonyme de Saint-Vincent’, author of a post-1697 *Description de l’île de Saint-Vincent*, to remain unclear. Highlighting its similarities with a 1722 manuscript in Latin by the Jesuit Adrien Le Breton, Grunberg et al. speculate that Le Breton may have been a source for the *Description*.¹¹⁰

Dominicans include André Chevillard, whose account of the implantation of the French colonies includes descriptions of a range of edifying conversions.¹¹¹ Another Dominican, Godefroy Loyer, claimed that reading Chevillard inspired him to embark on a missionary route that took him to the Caribbean (Grenada and Saint-Domingue) for several years, and later to the coast of West Africa at the turn of the eighteenth century. After surviving shipwreck and serious illness, Loyer would eventually return to France, probably in 1706.¹¹²

Another Dominican, Raymond Breton, was proficient in the language of the indigenous Carib peoples. Breton arrived as part of an expedition to colonise Guadeloupe in 1635, where he was to remain for much of his eighteen years in the Antilles. He spent a total of five years on the island of Dominica, to which the Caribs had fled following continual conflicts with the French (it appears that Breton attempted to mitigate the violence of French colonists in these conflicts).¹¹³ Breton’s Carib–French dictionary was published in 1665, and his manuscripts in French and in Latin were published in a modern edition in 1978.¹¹⁴

Two further Dominican sources are essential to the present study. Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre resided on Guadeloupe from 1640 to 1642 and from 1643 to 1646/47, then on Martinique for a short period before returning to France in 1647 (he also visited the Antilles for a short time as part of a scheme to colonise Grenada in late 1656).¹¹⁵ Two manuscripts attributed to him and dated to 1648 are held by libraries in Paris, the *Histoire de la Guadeloupe* (Bibliothèque nationale) and the *Histoire des Isles de la Guadeloupe* (Bibliothèque Mazarine). These are written in the same hand and appear to be copies of the same work, although with occasional variations.¹¹⁶ More significant structural changes were made to Du Tertre’s *Histoire générale des Isles de Saint-Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l’Amérique*, which was based on these manuscripts and printed in 1654. It was greatly

enlarged and republished as *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* in 1667–71.¹¹⁷ The second printed edition saw the establishment of the French in the Antilles now allocated an entire volume (volume 1), while the description of the slaves of the Antilles was, tellingly, expanded from a mere nine pages in 1654 to well over fifty.¹¹⁸ This constitutes an unparalleled source of information about the treatment of the Amerindian and slave inhabitants of the Antilles during this era.

We have already had occasion to discuss Jean-Baptiste Labat, the second principal Dominican source in this study. Labat's *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* is another extensive text which was the fruit of an extended sojourn in the Americas. Labat arrived in Martinique in January 1694 and was to stay until mid-1705; after a voyage to Europe, he appears to have been refused permission to return to Martinique due to tensions with the Governor General of the island.¹¹⁹ Labat was intimately implicated in the plantation economy. His *Nouveau Voyage* furnishes a wealth of economic data and advice on maximising production, with detailed illustrations of techniques, tools, and plantation space. Labat was preoccupied with the question of efficiency, and is an invaluable source of information about plantation labour. He claimed that two thousand copies of the first Paris edition were published, and a further two thousand in the 'pirated' Amsterdam edition of 1724.¹²⁰ Although he never set foot on African soil, he also edited a five-volume description of West Africa in 1728 which he claimed to have based on the memoirs of an administrator of the *Compagnie du Sénégal*, André Brue (it has been claimed that most of this content is in fact attributable to the memoirs of a previous administrator, Michel Jajolet de La Courbe).¹²¹

Another important source, this time bequeathed by a Protestant, is the *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique* of Charles de Rochefort (1604–83), which first appeared in 1658.¹²² Rochefort was accused both of substantial plagiarism (of Du Tertre), and even of never having been to the Caribbean.¹²³ His work went through several editions, with later ones incorporating correspondence from readers, and that of 1665 including two significant illustrations of the production of sugar and of Poincy's residence in Saint Kitts.¹²⁴ Rochefort also left a *Relation de l'Isle de Tabago* (1666) which depicts an idyllic colony in the early stages of plantation.¹²⁵ Another Huguenot, Jean Barbot, left a journal in

French in which he relates the purchase of slaves on the African coast in the late 1670s. A *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea*, based on a later manuscript of Barbot's, was published in English in 1732.¹²⁶ A 1694 manuscript description of the Carib people bequeathed by another Protestant, Moïse Caillé de Castres, was published for the first time in 2002. Caillé was for a time a company administrator for the Danish and the Brandenburg Companies on Saint-Thomas (Virgin Islands) in the 1680s, during which he appears to have been supervisor of a considerable number of slaves assigned to cotton production.¹²⁷

The seventeenth-century French expeditions to settle coastal South America inspired several printed *relations*. The testimony of the initiatives commanded by Brétigny (1643–44) and Royville (1652) illustrate their often fraught circumstances. The unpopular Brétigny was imprisoned by colonists in Cayenne, and Royville was murdered on board ship before his expedition arrived in the Americas.¹²⁸ Those who had participated in these expeditions include a military officer (Laon) and an unpopular curate accused of Jansenism, and worse, Antoine Biet.¹²⁹ Biet's first-hand testimony on slavery is mainly restricted to the practice on Barbados; he was forbidden to land on Martinique, and refers his reader to Du Tertre for a description of Guadeloupe, on which he sojourned.¹³⁰

A third participant in the expeditions to colonise coastal South America, Le Febvre de La Barre, Lieutenant-General of *la France Equinoxiale*, furnished a *Description* which was the result of thirteen months in Guyana from 1664–65.¹³¹ A 1671 text attributed to Le Febvre de La Barre (hereafter referred to as the '*Relation* of 1671') recounts the circumstances surrounding the transfer of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the mid-1660s. The second volume of this *Relation* includes the *Journal du voyage du Sieur Delbée*, an account of a French expedition to coastal Africa to buy a substantial cargo of slaves in 1669.¹³² Delbée's journal, in turn, integrates an account of the service of a Sieur Du Bourg (who had died on the return journey) for the *Compagnie*.¹³³

Although it has been consulted in an edition which lies outside the chronology of this study, one prescriptive source, Élie Monnereau's *Le Parfait Indigotier*, gives insight about comparative plantation conditions. Begun in 1736, this is a mid-eighteenth-century manual written by a planter on Saint-Domingue who had passed 38 years 'sur les lieux' at the time of the second 1765 edition.¹³⁴ Monnereau

had read Labat, whom he considered an authority on the production of indigo (he had less respect for a number of other well-known sources).¹³⁵

Other texts are more challenging to qualify in terms of genre. Alexandre Oexmelin (Exquemelin)'s well-known *Histoire des aventuriers* contains interesting first-hand testimony about the condition of indentured labourers (the author had been one for a time), as well as an account of the existence of the *boucaniers* (hunters of feral livestock) on early Saint-Domingue.¹³⁶ A collection of three anonymous *Nouvelles de l'Amérique* (1678) relate dramatised interactions between black slaves and Spanish masters in continental South America, between French indentured labourers and masters on the islands, or *boucaniers* hunting on Saint-Domingue. With its improbable plots, it is of interest for stereotyped representations of masters and slaves.¹³⁷ The *Voyages aux côtes de Guinée et en Amérique* of a 'Mr de N***', printed in Amsterdam in 1719, includes testimony about the purchase of African slaves in Ouidah (in modern Benin) where the narrator claimed to have spent four months, and the sale of 600 slaves in Portobelo (in modern Panama). It contains isolated tales (*contes*) of questionable provenance and taste, and frequent anti-Catholic diatribes. The author reserves particular ire for the clergy, whom at one stage he depicts intimately examining female slaves for purchase in Portobelo.¹³⁸

This corpus of printed sources has been accompanied by exploration of archival sources, the most significant of which has been the Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence. The correspondence of the governors and other administrators of colonies includes Saint-Domingue (series C9^A); this has proved a rich source of information about labour practices within the colonies. Among the papers in the *Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry* (F3) are reports of colonial administrators on diverse islands, extracts concerning rebellious slaves, or recommendations for further colonisation.

Plan of chapters

The first of this book's six chapters, entitled *Narrating servitude*, analyses early modern strategies for understanding and depicting practices of slavery. It evaluates the role of biblical and classical intertextuality, and explores the historicising strategies that imposed

signification on the peoples who inhabited the early colonial environment. It considers potential responses to colonial representations, evaluating what textual strategies and engravings can tell us about their reach, and how they might constitute knowledge and contemplations of the power exercised over other human beings.

The second chapter, *Slave economies*, explores how accounts of encounters in West Africa and the Americas reflect understandings of the nature of enslavement. The environment of the early plantation was thought of as one of the many systems of slavery throughout the world, but one that was quite distinct in how it maximised production. There were also troubling questions about the place of Christianised slaves in this environment. This is followed by a chapter entitled *The labouring body*, which explores the role of slaves within intense production processes. This analyses the perception that Europeans possessed a unique body of techniques enabling the mastery of production and of time itself. This supposed mastery was belied by practical and moral concerns about the domination of slaves; controlling their corporeality was a source of significant ambiguities.

Chapter 4, *Spheres of knowledge*, moves away from discussion of transtextual and labour discourses to focus on the interactions between populations in the Caribbean. It discusses the coexistence of populations thought to inhabit distinct cultural, religious and linguistic spheres. Here, the question of the slave consciousness is a constant, often troubling interrogation. Chapter 5, *Tensions, order, and the body*, considers the preoccupation with the ordering and surveillance of the slave within the colony. Despite the development of processes of discipline and corporeal control, this chapter shows that the mastery of the slave was thought of with considerable ambiguity.

A final chapter, entitled *Society and slaves*, explores how accounts of slavery reflected the concept of society in the colonies. There were concerns about the cohesion of a society built on slaves, and anxieties about the internal and external frontiers of the colony. These were manifested in accounts of exclusions, or of alternative forms of society and sociability. One further significant concern was a context in which *métissage* and manumission determined the nature of colonial society. This will lead to concluding interrogations about collective representations of the slave *condition*.

Notes

- 1 The term *nègre* has generally been left untranslated, or the terms 'slave', 'black slave' or 'African' used according to context. On terminology and the risk of 'anachronisms' see April G. Shelford, 'Race and scripture in the eighteenth-century French Caribbean', *Atlantic Studies*, 10:1 (2013), 69–87 (p. 81, note 1). For further reflections on terminology see Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 141, note 1.
- 2 Jean-Baptiste Labat [1663–1738], *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, contenant l'histoire naturelle de ces pays, l'origine, les mœurs, la religion et le gouvernement des habitans anciens et modernes*, 6 vols (Paris: Guillaume Cavalier and P.-F. Giffard, 1722); repr. 2 vols (The Hague: Husson et al., 1724); 1722, vol. 1, pp. 145–59.
- 3 Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 1722, vol. 1, pp. 145, 152, 155.
- 4 'ils avaient un assez bon nombre de nègres, ils cultivaient du cacao, faisaient du roucou et élevaient des bestiaux et des volailles', Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 1722, vol. 1, p. 159.
- 5 Caroline A. Williams, ed., *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 12; on the 'interaction and co-operation' in Brazil, see pp. 17–20.
- 6 See Trevor Burnard and Allan Potofsky, 'Introduction: the political economy of the French Atlantic World', in *French History: Special Issue, The French Atlantic and the Caribbean (1600–1800)*, 25:1 (March 2011), 1–8 (p. 6). See also Williams, *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World*, pp. 22–26.
- 7 On Islamic slave routes across the Sahara, see Jacques Heers, *Les Négriers en Terres d'Islam: VII^e-XVI^e siècle*, coll. Tempus (Paris: Perrin, 2003).
- 8 Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
- 9 Frédéric Régent, *La France et ses esclaves: de la colonisation aux abolitions (1620–1848)* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2007), p. 9; on the uniqueness of questions of 'colour' in La Réunion, see pp. 199–201.
- 10 See Joseph C. Miller, 'Slaving as historical process: examples from the ancient Mediterranean and the modern Atlantic' in Constantina Katsari and Enrico Dal Lago, eds, *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 70–102 (p. 93).
- 11 See Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des Pères Capucins*

- en l'Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisines* (Paris: François Huby, 1614).
- 12 Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Les Petites Antilles de Christophe Colomb à Richelieu (1493–1635)* (Paris: Karthala, 1992), p. 217.
- 13 Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre [1610–87], *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François*, 3 vols (Paris: Thomas Jolly, 1667–71), vol. 1, pp. 4–15, 28–31.
- 14 Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 4–7, 20, 63.
- 15 Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 77–81.
- 16 On population trends see James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 16–18, 43–71; on Saint Kitts, pp. 46–50; on the evolution of Saint-Domingue, p. 65.
- 17 Philip P. Boucher, *France and the American Tropics to 1700: Tropics of Discontent?* (Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 116, 167.
- 18 Pritchard, *In Search of Empire*, pp. xxi, 16–17; on social practices, p. 73; on climate, pp. 76–77; on ‘transience’, p. 98.
- 19 Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 73–85 (p. 73).
- 20 Robert Chaudenson, *Des îles, des hommes, des langues: essai sur la créolisation linguistique et culturelle* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992), revised with Salikoko S. Mufwene and trans. by Sheri Pargman et al. as *Creolization of Language and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2001); *Creolization*, pp. 96–123 (pp. 121, 123).
- 21 Stewart R. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue* (Athens; London: University of Georgia Press, 2001), pp. 18–19.
- 22 For statistics on the use of indentured labourers and their continuing presence in the French Caribbean ‘well into the eighteenth century’ see Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, p. 84. On French indentured labourers in early Saint Kitts, see Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 39–40. On slavery as an ‘Atlantic’ phenomenon, see Philip D. Morgan, ‘The cultural implications of the slave trade: African regional origins, American destinations and New World developments’, in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds, *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 122–45.
- 23 Jean-Baptiste Margat de Tilly, Letter of 27 February 1725 to unnamed Jesuit, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. 7 (Paris: J. G. Merigot, 1781), pp. 107–29 (p. 111) and Letter of 20 July 1743 to Procurator General of Missions, pp. 185–255 (p. 186). Two more of Margat’s

- letters from Saint-Domingue are published in the same volume: Letter of 20 November 1730 to Père de la Neuville, pp. 130–48; Letter of 2 February 1729 to Père de la Neuville, pp. 149–85.
- 24 Sue Peabody estimates there were 465,429 slaves on 1789 Saint-Domingue, with 30,826 ‘whites’ and 27,548 ‘free coloureds’. Peabody, ‘“A dangerous zeal”: Catholic missions to slaves in the French Antilles, 1635–1800’, *French Historical Studies*, 25:1 (winter 2002), 53–90 (p. 75).
- 25 On the proportions between the sexes, see John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 56.
- 26 Boucher, *Tropics of Discontent*, p. 164.
- 27 Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492–1800* (London; New York: Verso, 1997), p. 282. See Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 438–42.
- 28 On consolidation, see Boucher, *Tropics of Discontent*, pp. 168–201. The ‘edict of establishment of the Company’ is reproduced in Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1671, vol. 3, pp. 43–60. On the steps of political integration see for example Malick W. Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 33–35.
- 29 *Le Code Noir ou Édit du Roy servant de règlement pour le gouvernement et l’administration de justice et la police des Iles françoises de l’Amérique, et pour la discipline et le commerce des nègres et esclaves dans ledit pays* (Paris: Veuve Saugrain, 1718); ‘incapables de contracter à l’avenir aucun mariage valable’, article 8, pp. 4–5.
- 30 Yvan Debbasch, *Couleur et liberté: le jeu du critère ethnique dans un ordre esclavagiste*, vol. 1: *L’Affranchi dans les possessions françaises de la Caraïbe* (Paris: Dalloz, 1967), p. 21. On the respective roles of Roman law and consultation with colonists and administrators, see pp. 30–31.
- 31 On the Capuchins, see Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 58–59, 303–04. On the Dominicans, pp. 71–75.
- 32 On the suppression of the Jesuits see Peabody, ‘“A dangerous zeal”’, pp. 80–87.
- 33 Bernard David gives figures of 200 slaves owned by Jesuits and 90 by Dominicans on Martinique at the turn of the eighteenth century. David, ‘L’Histoire religieuse de la Martinique au XVII^e siècle (et documents)’, *Annales des Antilles: Bulletin de la Société d’Histoire de la Martinique*, 27 (1988–91), 21–75 (p. 36).
- 34 *Mémoire qui regarde les esclaves nègres des isles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue*, addressed to Cardinal Zondadari (1732), Rome, Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide (ASPF), *Scritte*

- Riferite nei Congressi America-Antille*, vol. 1 (1634–1760), fols 441r–442v.
- 35 ‘les esclaves regardaient les jésuites comme leurs protecteurs, et les jésuites se regardaient comme leurs défenseurs’, Gabriel Debien, *Les Esclaves aux Antilles françaises* (Basse-Terre: Société d’Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1974), p. 285. Pierre Pluchon, *Vaudou, sorciers, empoisonneurs de Saint-Domingue à Haïti* (Paris: Karthala, 1987), pp. 34–44 (p. 42).
- 36 Peabody, “A dangerous zeal”, p. 78.
- 37 Jean Bodin [1530–96], *Les Six Livres de la République* (Paris: Jacques Du Puis, 1576); Latin edn as *De Republica Libri Sex* (Paris: Jacques Du Puis, 1586); trans. into English as *The Six Books of a Commonweale* by Richard Knolles (London: G. Bishop, 1606); *Six Books*, p. 32. Knolles’s translation is used in all quotations in English from Bodin in this book, although I have modernised the spelling.
- 38 Bodin, *Six Books*, p. 33.
- 39 Bodin, *Six Books*, p. 33.
- 40 Bodin, *Six Books*, pp. 33–35.
- 41 Bodin, *Six Books*, p. 38.
- 42 ‘l’an MCC les servitudes étaient quasi abolies par tout le monde’, Bodin, *Six Livres*, p. 43. The English translation gives 1250 as the approximate year when ‘Christians had shaken off from their necks all bondage’, *Six Books*, p. 40.
- 43 Bodin, *Six Books*, p. 42; Peabody, ‘*There are no Slaves in France*’, p. 12.
- 44 Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 49. For distinctions between European legislations, see Peabody, ‘*There are no Slaves in France*’, pp. 5–6.
- 45 David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 22, 24.
- 46 See notably David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 84–111. For one recent summary, see Patricia Gravatt, *L’Église et l’esclavage* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2003).
- 47 ‘elle veut bien que d’un esclave on fasse un chrétien’, Jean Mongin [1637–98], Letter of May 1682 to unnamed gentleman from Languedoc, Carcassonne, Médiathèque de Carcassonne Agglo (MdC), MS 73, fol. 82r; letter reprinted in adapted form in *L’Évangélisation des esclaves au XVII^e siècle*, ed. by Marcel Chatillon, *Bulletin de la Société d’Histoire de la Guadeloupe*, 61–62 (1984), 73–125 (p. 76).
- 48 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative*

- Study* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 71–72.
- 49 David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, p. 107.
- 50 See for example Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 87, 100–02.
- 51 William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans* (Bloomington; London: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 41–42.
- 52 Debbasch, *Couleur et liberté*, p. 68; on ‘respect’ to whites, see p. 75.
- 53 Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 8; Régent, *La France et ses esclaves*, pp. 192–211.
- 54 Madeleine Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 35–36.
- 55 ‘prétendre les mêmes choses que les autres’, Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, revised by Henri Basnage de Beauval and Jean Brutel de la Rivière, 2nd edn, 4 vols (The Hague: Pierre Husson et al., 1727), vol. 1, entry *condition*, non-paginated.
- 56 Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, ‘African ‘slavery’ as an institution of marginality’, in Miers and Kopytoff, eds, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), pp. 3–81 (pp. 14–15).
- 57 Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, pp. 46, 55.
- 58 Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, pp. 7–11.
- 59 Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, pp. 48, 58.
- 60 Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. by Alide Dasnois (London: Athlone Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 13–15.
- 61 Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, pp. 35–36; emphasis in the original.
- 62 Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, pp. 100–01.
- 63 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, p. 51.
- 64 On honour, see Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, pp. 79, 81; on ‘parasitism’, pp. 334–42 (p. 337).
- 65 Vincent Brown, ‘Social death and political life in the study of slavery’, in Gad Heumen and Trevor Burnard, *Slavery: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, 4 vols (London: Routledge, 2014), vol. 1: *Origins, Varieties of Enslavement and the Slave Trade*, pp. 63–83 (pp. 65, 73).
- 66 Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 20.
- 67 Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History*, pp. 20–24 (p. 24).

- 68 Adam R. Beach, 'The good-treatment debate, comparative slave studies, and the "Adventures" of T.S.', in Srividhya Swaminathan and Adam R. Beach, *Invoking Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Imagination* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 21–35 (pp. 26–27).
- 69 On crossovers between slaves and 'indentured servants and transported criminals who were essentially slaves themselves', see Swaminathan and Beach, introduction, *Invoking Slavery*, pp. 1–18 (p. 13).
- 70 See for example Le Clerc's engraving of a male and female Amerindian in Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 2, pp. 356–57.
- 71 Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution*, pp. 8, 11.
- 72 Antoine de Montchrestien, *Traicté de l'Economie politique* (n.p.: n.pub., [1615]), repr. ed. by Th. Funck-Brentano (Paris: Plon, 1889), pp. 88–89. On Montchrestien as 'économiste', see introduction to 1889 edition, pp. x–xii.
- 73 Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 215–48; Jean de Léry [1536?–1613?], *Histoire d'un voyage en Terre de Brésil*, 2nd edn (Geneva: Antoine Chappin, 1580); repr. ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1994).
- 74 Michel de Montaigne [1533–92], *Des Cannibales*, in *Les Essais*, ed. by Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), Book 1, Chapter 31, pp. 208–21.
- 75 De Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, p. 224. See also Michael Harrigan, 'Mobility and language in the early modern Antilles', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 34:2 (2012), 115–32 (pp. 130–31).
- 76 De Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, p. 223. 'les nations qui habitent ces trois parties du monde, Europe, Asie, et Afrique', Léry, *Histoire*, 1994, pp. 381–82.
- 77 Aside from Lopez de Gomara's *Historia de las Indias* referred to by Léry (see de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, p. 223; Léry, *Histoire*, 1994, pp. 381–82), see Sepúlveda's qualification of the Amerindians ('nulla retinent rerum gestarum monumenta, praetor tenuem quandam, et obscuram nonnullarum rerum memoriam, picturis quibusdam consignatam, nullas leges scriptas') during the Valladolid controversies of 1550. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Demócrates Segundo o de las justas causas de la guerra contro los Indios*, bilingual Latin–Spanish edn trans. by Angel Losada, 2nd edn (Madrid: Instituto Francisco de Vitoria, 1984), p. 35.
- 78 On the 'hesitations and reversals' that complicate a teleological approach in French history, see Christopher L. Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 83–84. See also Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History*, pp. 5–9.
- 79 Christopher L. Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle*, p. 83.

- 80 Christopher L. Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle*, pp. 34–35, 37–39, 387–88.
- 81 Yun Kyoung Kwon, “Remember Saint-Domingue”: accounts of the Haitian Revolution by refugee planters in Paris and colonial debates under the Restoration, 1814–1825’, in Kate Marsh and Nicola Frith, eds, *France’s Lost Empires: Fragmentation, Nostalgia and La Fracture Coloniale* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), pp. 17–30; Catherine Reinhardt, ‘Slavery and commemoration: remembering the French abolitionary decree 150 years later’, in Alec G. Hargreaves, ed., *Memory, Empire, and Postcolonialism: Legacies of French Colonialism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 11–36; Nick Nesbitt, ‘A singular revolution’, in Hargreaves, pp. 37–50; Laurent Dubois, ‘The end of the Ancien Régime French empire’, in Charles Forsdick and David Murphy, *Postcolonial Thought in the French-speaking World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), pp. 195–204.
- 82 See, for example, Debien, *Les Esclaves aux Antilles françaises*.
- 83 King focuses on notarial acts from Saint-Domingue in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in his *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, and Garrigus on notarial acts ‘from the 1760s’ onwards. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, p. 18.
- 84 King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig*, p. 179.
- 85 Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, pp. 4, 48–49.
- 86 See also Blackburn’s discussion on the development of French colonisation which explores several of the authors in the present study, most especially Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre; *The Making of New World Slavery*, pp. 277–306.
- 87 James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1990).
- 88 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 6–7.
- 89 Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 2005), p. xiii.
- 90 Garraway, *The Libertine Colony*, pp. 15–16.
- 91 Garraway, *The Libertine Colony*, pp. 22, 24.
- 92 Dobie, *Trading Places*, pp. 6, 128.
- 93 Dobie, *Trading Places*, p. 11.
- 94 Dobie, *Trading Places*, pp. 131–39, 139–46.
- 95 Dobie, *Trading Places*, p. 12.
- 96 Garraway, *The Libertine Colony*, p. 21.
- 97 For an analysis of these challenges as a ‘historical problem’ and an illustration of the myriad of such factors, see Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History*, pp. 18–29.

- 98 Anonymous, MS 590 (L595), Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, published as *Un flibustier français dans la mer des Antilles 1618–1620*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Moreau (Paris: Payot, 2002).
- 99 Guillaume Coppier, *Histoire et Voyage des Indes Occidentales* (Lyon: Jean Huguétan, 1645).
- 100 Jean Mongin, *Journal d'un voyage à la Martinique en 1676*, Carcassonne, MdC, MS 73, fols 1–31 (I have used the updated pagination for this manuscript which gives 119 folios); reprinted [published as Mangin] in *Annales des Antilles*, 10 (1962), 35–58.
- 101 The copies of Mongin's letters consulted are as follows: Mongin, Letter of September 1676 (to Jesuit Provincial), Carcassonne, MdC, MS 73 (former code Ma 82, inv. no. 2459), fols 32–41 (updated pagination), reprinted in *L'Évangélisation*, 37–48; Letter of 10 May 1679 (to Antoine Pagez, Jesuit Provincial), Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine (BM), Fonds Chatillon, Ant MS 9, fols 23–39, in *L'Évangélisation*, 49–72 (an alternative copy exists in MdC, MS 73, fols 51–68); Letter of May 1682 (to Languedocian gentleman), MdC, MS 73, fols 79–119 (updated pagination; pages 73–78 and final pages of this letter are missing), published with modifications in *L'Évangélisation*, 73–125; Alternative copy of 1682 letter to Languedocian gentleman, Vanves, Archives jésuites de la Province de France (AJPF), Fonds Brotier, MS 185 [fols 1r–9r reprinted in *L'Évangélisation*, 127–36]; for bibliographical detail, see *L'Évangélisation*, 6–9. My thanks to the staff of the MdC for generously supplying digital facsimiles of Mongin's correspondence, and to the staff of AJPF for facilitating access to Fonds Brotier documents.
- 102 Claude Bréban [1695–1735], *Lettre, au Cap Français, île et côte de Saint-Domingue, le 19 de janvier 1732*, Bourges, Archives départementales du Cher (AdC), 2F 788. Bréban's letter begins with folio 2r. My thanks to the staff of the AdC for generously supplying a digital facsimile. Nicole Dyonet, 'Le Père Bréban, missionnaire berrichon à Saint-Domingue: lettre inédite de janvier 1732', *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des espaces atlantiques*, 8 (1997), 103–30. References to the edition of the *Bulletin* held by the BnF (8° G 23098) are given where original material also features; an alternative, more complete version also exists.
- 103 Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492–1900* (Baltimore, MD; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 90–93.
- 104 '[participer] au profit et à la perte qu'il plaira à Dieu d'y envoyer', see Du Terre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, pp. 8–11.
- 105 Jacques Bouton, *Relation de l'établissement des Français depuis l'an 1635 en l'isle de la Martinique, l'une des Antilles de*

- l'Amérique...* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1640). The manuscript (ANOM, F3 41) gives full publication details of the Cramoisy edition and certain sections appear to have been written in a different hand.
- 106 Pelleprat, *Relation des Isles de l'Amérique*, part 1 of *Relation des missions de P.P. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Isles et dans la Terre Ferme de l'Amérique méridionale* (Paris: Sébastien and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1655), *Relation de la Terre Ferme*, part 2 (separate pagination).
- 107 Jean-Baptiste Le Pers, *Mémoires pour l'histoire de l'Isle St Domingue*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS Fr 8990; *Histoire de l'Isle de St Domingue*, BnF, MS Fr 8991 and *Histoire civile, morale et naturelle de l'Isle de Saint-Domingue*, BnF, MS Fr 8992 (MS Fr 8992 after 1731). Manuscripts Fr 8990 and Fr 8991 were in part the sources of Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue, écrite particulièrement sur des mémoires manuscrits du P. Jean-Baptiste Le Pers...*, 2 vols (Paris: Jacques Guerin, 1730–31); see Dampierre's *Essai sur les sources des Antilles françaises (1492–1664)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1904), pp. 157–67. On the date of Le Pers's arrival in Saint-Domingue, see Dampierre, p. 158, footnote 5. Le Pers and Charlevoix, Correspondence and other documents, AJPF, Fonds Brotier, MS 171; Le Pers, *Histoire de l'Isle de St Domingue, livre second* (incomplete), AJPF, Fonds Brotier, MS 187; Le Pers, *Portrait ou miroir de St Domingue*, AJPF, Fonds Brotier, MS 188 (1726? See fol. 22r).
- 108 Pacifique de Provins, *Brève Relation du voyage des îles de l'Amérique* (Paris: Nicolas et Jean de la Coste, 1646) and Maurile de Saint Michel, *Voyage des Isles Camercanes en l'Amérique* (Le Mans: Hierôme Olivier, 1652); repr. in *Missionnaires capucins et carmes aux Antilles*, ed. by Bernard Grunberg, Benoît Roux and Josiane Grunberg (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013).
- 109 Bernard Grunberg, Benoît Roux and Josiane Grunberg, *Voyageurs anonymes aux Antilles*, coll. Corpus Antillais (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013), composed of 'Anonyme de Carpentras' [=Anonymous, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine de Carpentras, see note 98], *Relation d'un voyage infortuné*, pp. 17–111; 'Anonyme de Saint-Christophe', *Relation des îles de Saint Christofle, Gardeloupe et la Martinique* (1641–42), pp. 113–32; 'Anonyme de Grenade', *L'Histoire de l'île de la Grenade en Amérique* (1659–60), pp. 133–263; 'Gentilhomme écossais', *Relatione delle isole americane*, pp. 265–78; 'Anonyme de Saint-Vincent', *Description de l'île de Saint-Vincent*, pp. 279–325. Information on dates and circumstances of publication is based on the editors' introduction, pp. 5–13; the names given by the editors to these authors are used in the present book.

- 110 Grunberg et al., *Voyageurs anonymes*, pp. 7–10. For the ‘Anonyme de Saint-Christophe’ the editors note the hypothesis of Jacques Petitjean-Roget according to whom the manuscript was based on ‘notes edited by La Grange-Fromenteau [lieutenant-general of Saint Kitts]’, p. 9. On Le Breton [1662–1736] as potential source, see p. 13. Le Breton, *De insulis Karaybicus relationes manuscriptae* (1722), Paris, Muséum national d’Histoire naturelle, Ms 939, trans. by Robert Lapiere as ‘Relation historique sur l’île Caraïbe de Saint-Vincent’, *Annales des Antilles*, 25 (1982), 35–118.
- 111 André Chevillard [16 ?–1682], *Les Desseins de son Éminence de Richelieu pour l’Amérique, ce qui s’y est passé de plus remarquable depuis l’établissement des colonies* (Rennes: Jean Durand, n.d. [1659 or after]).
- 112 Godefroy Loyer, *Relation du voyage du royaume d’Issyny, Côte d’Or, Païs de Guinée, en Afrique* (Paris: Seneuze and Morel, 1714), pp. 1–2.
- 113 On Breton’s objections to early French violence in Guadeloupe, see Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, p. 88.
- 114 Raymond Breton [1609–79], *Dictionnaire caraïbe-françois* (Auxerre: G. Bouquet, 1665); *Relations de l’île de la Guadeloupe*, vol. 1 (Basse-Terre: Société d’Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1978). For a comprehensive biography of Breton, see *Relations*, pp. 9–24; on his five years on Dominica, see p. 206.
- 115 For a biography of Du Tertre, see Dampierre, *Essai sur les sources*, pp. 108–14.
- 116 *Histoire de la Guadeloupe*, BnF, Nouv. Acq. Franç. 9319; *Histoire des Isles de la Guadeloupe*, BM, MS Ant 7. My thanks to Dr Goran Proot for facilitating the consultation of the Mazarine manuscript in electronic format. On the dating of the BnF manuscript see Dampierre, *Essai sur les sources*, pp. 105–06.
- 117 Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Isles de Saint-Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l’Amérique* (Paris: Jacques and Emmanuel Langlois, 1654). Annotated edition in Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 30604 [Res].
- 118 Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1654, pp. 473–81; 1667, vol. 2, pp. 483–539.
- 119 See the anonymous letter entitled G. B. Labat, *contro il Governatore* (1705), Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Asst. Gall. 106, fols 365r–366v (fol. 365r).
- 120 Labat makes the claim in his *Voyages du P. Labat de l’Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs en Espagne et en Italie*, 8 vols (Paris: J.-B. and Charles J.-B. Delespine, 1730), vol. 1, preface, p. ii.
- 121 Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l’Afrique occidentale*, 5 vols (Paris: Guillaume Cavelier, 1728), vol. 1, p. 47; on La Courbe as a source see Prosper Cultru in Michel Jajolet de La Courbe, *Premier Voyage du*

- Sieur de La Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685* (Paris: Champion and Larose, 1913), introduction, pp. v–viii.
- 122 Charles de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam: Arnould Leers, 1658); 2nd edn (Rotterdam: Arnould Leers, 1665); repr. 2 vols (Lyon: Christofle Fourmy, 1667). I have preferred my own translation to John Davies's [as *The History of the Caribby Islands* (London: Thomas Dring and John Starkey, 1666)]; Davies excludes letters and elements such as the description of Poincy's residence.
- 123 For the accusation of Rochefort's plagiarism see Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1667, vol. 1, preface, non-paginated [1–2/5 pages]. For a biography of Rochefort see introduction to his *Histoire*, 2 vols, ed. by Bernard Grunberg, Benoît Roux, Josiane Grunberg (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 9–19; Labat makes both the accusation of plagiarism, and that Rochefort had never been to the Caribbean, *Nouveau Voyage*, 1722, vol. 1, preface, pp. xi–xii.
- 124 The illustration of sugar production is in Rochefort, *Histoire*, 1665, pp. 332–33; that of Poincy's residence between pp. 52 and 53.
- 125 Charles de Rochefort, *Relation de l'Isle de Tabago ou de la nouvelle Oüalcre, l'une des isles Antilles de l'Amérique* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1666).
- 126 Jean Barbot [1655–1713?], *Journal d'un voyage de traite en Guinée, à Cayenne et aux Antilles fait par Jean Barbot en 1678–1679*, ed. by Gabriel Debien, Marcel Delafosse, Guy Thilmans, *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, 40, series B, 2 (April 1978), 235–395; biographical information pp. 237–39; a 1688 manuscript in French written by Barbot has been translated into English in *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678–1712*, ed. by P. E. H. Hair, Adam Jones, Robin Law, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1992). It was augmented and published as *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 6 vols (London: John Walthoe et al., 1732), vol. 5, pp. 1–588.
- 127 Moïse Caillé de Castres, *De Wilde ou les Sauvages Caribes Insulaires d'Amérique (1694)* (Fort de France: Conseil Général de la Martinique, 2002). For an outline of Caillé's biography, see the study by J.-C. Germain in Caillé de Castres, *De Wilde*, pp. 14–54; on Caillé's role as *commandeur*, p. 31.
- 128 On Brétigny's 'tyranny' see Du Tertre, *Histoire*, 1671, vol. 3, p. 11.
- 129 J. de Laon, Sieur d'Aigremont, *Relation du voyage des François fait au Cap du Nord en Amérique* (Paris: Edmé Pepingué, 1654); Antoine Biet [1620–16 ?], *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'Isle de Cayenne entrepris par les François en l'année MDCLII* (Paris: François Clouzier, 1664). On Biet's supposed Jansenism, p. 302.

- 130 Biet, *Voyage*, p. 312.
- 131 Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre [1622–88], *Description de la France Equinoctiale, cy-devant appelée Guyanne et par les Espagnols, El Dorado* (Paris: Jean Ribou, 1666).
- 132 Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre (?), *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique pendant la dernière guerre avec l'Angleterre ... avec un Journal du dernier voyage du S. de la Barre en la Terre-Ferme, et Isle de Cayenne ... le tout recueilly des mémoires des principaux officiers qui ont commandé en ces pays, par I.C.S.D.V.*, 2 vols (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1671). The *Journal du voyage du Sieur Delbée*, vol. 2, pp. 347–493. The authorship of the *Relation* has also been attributed to J. de Clodoré [16?–1731] in *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale: auteurs*, 231 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1897–1981), vol. 30, p. 51; Le Febvre de La Barre is said to be the author in Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 1722, vol. 1, preface, p. xii.
- 133 Delbée, in Le Febvre de La Barre (?), *Relation*, vol. 2, pp. 386–87.
- 134 Élie Monnereau, *Le Parfait Indigotier ou description de l'indigo* (Paris: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1748; repr. Amsterdam; Marseille: Jean Mossy, 1765) [1765 edition consulted]; p. 112, footnote (a); p. 186.
- 135 Monnereau, *Parfait Indigotier*, p. 24; on Labat, see p. X.
- 136 Alexandre Oexmelin (Exquemelin) [1646–1717], *Histoire des aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*, 2 vols (Paris: Jacques Le Febvre, 1686); 2nd edn as *Histoire des aventuriers flibustiers*, 2 vols (1699).
- 137 *Nouvelles de l'Amérique ou le Mercure américain, où sont contenues trois histoires véritables arrivées de notre temps* (Rouen: François Vaultier le Jeune, 1678); *Histoire de Don Diego de Rivera*, pp. 5–115; *Histoire de Mont-Val*, pp. 116–89; *Le Destin de l'homme, ou les aventures de Don Bartelemy de la Cueba, Portugais*, pp. 190–267.
- 138 Mr de N***, *Voyages aux côtes de Guinée et en Amérique* (Amsterdam: Étienne Roger, 1719), pp. 70–71, 213–14.