

# Marie-Joseph Angélique and Marie Manon: *Remembering Slavery in Canadian History*

Emily Macgillivray

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*Abstract: Focusing on twentieth and twenty-first century representations of slavery in eighteenth-century New France, including in a play, a documentary film, and podcast episodes, demonstrates how centering the African diaspora successfully counters Eurocentric narratives by emphasizing the historical roots of anti-Blackness in Canada. However, as an unintended side effect, these works minimize the dominant mode of slavery in eighteenth-century New France—the enslavement of Indigenous peoples. This lack of engagement with Indigenous histories is illustrated by the little attention paid to the relationship between Marie-Joseph Angélique, an enslaved woman of African descent who was executed for setting a fire that burned Montréal in 1734, and Marie Manon, an enslaved woman of Indigenous descent who played an important role in Angélique’s trial. Remembering Manon demonstrates how historians, authors, playwrights, and artists can grapple with and narrate complicated, entwined histories of Black and Indigenous peoples within the development of the Canadian patriarchal settler state.*

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In late 2016 a visual display called *Cité Mémoire* debuted in Montréal as part of the city’s 375th anniversary. *Cité Mémoire* projects over twenty-five tableaux about the city’s history on buildings and in alleyways. One scene shows Marie-Joseph Angélique, an enslaved Black woman, running from a house engulfed in flames. Angélique was accused of burning down the city in 1734.<sup>1</sup> After her trial she was tortured and executed. While little attention was paid to Angélique for centuries, over the past several decades, academics, writers, and artists have worked to recover and commemorate Angélique’s story—their work is reflected in her inclusion in *Cité Mémoire*.<sup>2</sup>

These twentieth- and twenty-first-century representations of slavery in eighteenth-century New France (the French colony along the St. Lawrence River where Montréal was located) center the African diaspora, correcting centuries of erasure of Black people from Canadian history. In these works, Black historians, artists, and journalists share their own stories on their own terms. Their cultural representations, productions, and performances highlight new ways of knowing that counter the historical erasure of Blackness in Canada.<sup>3</sup> However, as an unintended side effect, these works also contribute to the minimization of Indigenous histories, illustrated by the scant attention paid to the relationship between Angélique and Marie Manon, a *panis* (enslaved woman of Indigenous descent).<sup>4</sup> Manon lived on the same street as Angélique and was a witness who testified against Angélique during her trial. Contemporary histori-

cal scholarship and cultural representations mention Manon's testimony but do not examine her experiences as an enslaved Indigenous woman.<sup>5</sup> Remembering Manon illustrates ways for historians, authors, playwrights, journalists, and artists to grapple with and narrate complicated, entwined histories of Black and Indigenous peoples within the development of the Canadian patriarchal settler state.

The lack of attention paid to the relationship between enslaved women like Angélique and Manon also reflects how there is comparatively little historical scholarship exploring connections between Indigenous and Black peoples in Canada.<sup>6</sup> While American scholarship on Black-Indigenous geographies often focuses on the American South, recent works also demonstrate the intertwined lives of Black and Indigenous peoples in cities along the United States and Canadian border, like Detroit.<sup>7</sup> However, there has been little attention on connections between Indigenous and Black peoples in Canada from the late seventeenth through the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Glimpses of women like Manon appear in archival sources, but their lives are shrouded. African American literary critic Saidiya Hartman points out the limits of archives: "to read the archive is to enter a mortuary; it permits one final viewing and allows for a last glimpse of persons about to disappear into the slave hold."<sup>9</sup> Focusing on how enslaved peoples in eighteenth-century New France are remembered illustrates how multiple forms of gendered violence arose from the intersection of colonialism and slavery, including the enforcement of heteronormativity, gendered racialization, and sexual violence. These junctures highlight several interconnected questions: What do Indigenous histories add to our understanding of Angélique's story? How does focusing on contemporary and cultural representations of Angélique and Manon expand our understanding of the ways gendered and racialized hierarchies shape Canadian history and patriarchal settler society? In particular, how can cultural representations designed to counter Eurocentric narratives further enforce and entrench gendered racialization in Canadian historical narratives? And finally, what is gained by shifting the focus of modern depictions to Angélique *and* Manon, and how can this shift productively challenge national understandings of Canadian history and identity in the present?

Founded in 1642, Montréal is situated along the St. Lawrence River in New France. Before the arrival of the French and the founding of the colony, St. Lawrence Iroquoians were stewards of the land and waterways where the city was built. The location also served as an important meeting place for Wendat, Abenaki, Innu, Anishinaabe, and Algonquin peoples.<sup>10</sup> Historians have only recently begun to reckon with how Atlantic slavery in North America played important roles in Indigenous diasporic histories.<sup>11</sup> New France reflects this reality: in the first half of the eighteenth century, there were more enslaved Indigenous peoples than enslaved Black peoples. In his foundational study on slavery in Canada, historian Marcel Trudel shows that in New France between 1689 and 1713, there were 145 enslaved peoples of Indigenous descent and thirteen enslaved peoples of African descent.<sup>12</sup> Even after French colonial officials formally recognized the legality of slavery in the colony in 1709 and sought to increase imports of enslaved peoples of African descent, they lacked sufficient resources

to enforce these higher rates.<sup>13</sup> Thus, as an Indigenous person, Manon represented the dominant mode of slavery in New France. Her story illustrates how colonialism and slavery were interconnected systems rooted in patriarchal systems of authority.

Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor asks, “Would a hemispheric perspective expand the restrictive scenarios and paradigms set in motion by centuries of colonialism?”<sup>14</sup> In a similar vein, can expanding Canadian history to include Black—Indigenous connections like the relationship between Angélique and Manon help scholars move beyond the limited paradigms set in motion by centuries of colonialism and systemic racism that manifest in tensions between remembering Indigenous and Black histories? Centering the experiences of both women emphasizes the distinct but interrelated enslavement of Indigenous and Black peoples and the historical roots of gendered violence and anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism in Canada. By reckoning with the relationship between Angélique and Manon, Canadians of various backgrounds can confront shared historical moments that are uncomfortable because of their complexity and violence. These moments illustrate how colonialism, slavery, heteropatriarchy, and systemic racism are intertwined in Canadian history and in contemporary ways of knowing. Grappling with these histories is integral to both reimagining Black-Indigenous geographies and a more just future for Black and Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Marie-Joseph Angélique was born in Portugal, bought by a Flemish man, and shipped to New England. At some point after her transatlantic journey, she was sold to an owner in Montréal, François Poulin de Francheville.<sup>15</sup> Angélique’s journey to Montréal included the violence of the Middle Passage across the Atlantic Ocean and then another voyage within North America, which some scholars consider a second Middle Passage.<sup>16</sup> Francheville was as a merchant living in a home on St. Paul Street—known as the heart of slavery in the city.<sup>17</sup> He was part of a bourgeois social and economic group whose “*raison d’être* was commerce.”<sup>18</sup> He made his wealth in the fur trade and an iron business.<sup>19</sup> In 1731 the Francheville household consisted of François, his wife, Thérèse de Couagne, three enslaved people (Angélique and two Indigenous people), and indentured servants of French descent.<sup>20</sup> Francheville died in November 1733, and his wife inherited the house and those he had enslaved.<sup>21</sup>

Many Francheville family members were witnesses at Angélique’s trial, including de Couagne and her cousin. Other witnesses included people who lived in the neighborhood, like Marie Manon and Manon’s owner, François de Berey. During the trial Marie Manon explained that she heard Angélique say her owner would not be in her home for long. She also saw Angélique staring at the roof and that after the fire started, Angélique looked pale and struggled to shout fire. Angélique responded to Manon’s testimony by calling her a liar.<sup>22</sup>

Manon was a Meskwaki (also known as Fox) woman.<sup>23</sup> Meskwaki people are closely related to Sauk and Kickapoo peoples through geographic proximity, intermarriage, language, and culture. Traditionally located in the St. Lawrence Valley, the Great Lakes, and the eastern edges of the Plains, Meskwaki territory in the early eighteenth century lay mainly along the Fox River west of Lake Michigan, an important route

to the Mississippi River.<sup>24</sup> While originally allied with the French, Meskwaki people clashed with the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous allies of New France between the 1710s and 1720s, leading to the breakdown of the French and Meskwaki alliance. This series of conflicts is known as the Fox Wars, and thousands of Meskwaki people were captured by the Anishinaabeg and their allies and traded into slavery.<sup>25</sup> In fact, Meskwaki people were the main source of enslaved labor in the St. Lawrence Valley in the early eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup> We do not know when Manon was captured, but we know her birth occurred amid a power struggle between Indigenous polities in the Great Lakes and French attempts at colonization.

Manon was likely born between 1715 and 1720. She was a teenager at the time of Angélique's trial in 1734. Her parents named her in the Meskwaki language, which was erased after she was enslaved and later christened Marie Manon.<sup>27</sup> Her enslavement and christening also gave her a new identifier: *panise* (the feminine form of panis). In the early eighteenth century, French colonial officials labeled enslaved Indigenous peoples as members of "the Panis nation"—regardless of where they came from or their actual political affiliation. In this way, the creation of the "Panis nation" functioned as a counterpart to the creation of the African kingdoms dubbed "La Nigritie": colonizers imagined these areas as geographically distant and demographically robust nations who were at war with closer allies, thereby making these nations legally and morally enslaveable.<sup>28</sup>

By the early eighteenth century, panis became the presumptive ethnicity of enslaved Indigenous peoples in New France, and the term became a synonym for an enslaved Indigenous person.<sup>29</sup> Brett Rushforth, a historian of New France and Indigenous slavery, explains how the term created "a degree of legal clarity intended to allow Indian slavery without the continual justification of each captive's enslavement under the law of nations."<sup>30</sup> People viewed panis as legally enslaveable under New France Intendant Jacques Raudot's 1709 ordinance, which gave owners of enslaved peoples motivation to intentionally deceive religious and civil record keepers of enslaved Indigenous peoples' actual identities.<sup>31</sup> Rushforth also notes that historians studying slavery in Canada have "accepted the French designation of Panis as a more or less straightforward identification of the modern Indian tribe known as the Pawnees, who in the eighteenth century lived in the middle reaches of the Missouri River and its tributaries."<sup>32</sup> However, the eighteenth-century Indigenous slave trade could not exclusively target a single nation, and the Pawnee and other Missouri River polities were initially one of New France's most important suppliers of enslaved Indigenous peoples. By calling Manon panise at her christening, the priest reinforced her status of nonpersonhood by drawing on a "legal fiction designed to justify her body bondage by categorizing her as a legitimate target of enslavement."<sup>33</sup>

As enslaved women living on St. Paul Street, Angélique and Manon were acquainted with one another and may have been friends before Angélique's trial: they greeted each other through the windows of the homes where they worked, and in their limited free time they played games and joked together.<sup>34</sup> While discussing Angélique's

childbirths, Afua Cooper—a preeminent scholar in Black Canadian studies who studied Angélique's life for decades—surmises, “Madame Francheville might have been present, as might Marie-Manon, the slave woman owned by the de Berey neighbors. But what other female community would come together to support the slave woman at this trying time?”<sup>35</sup> From her research, the only two women in Angélique's life Cooper imagines might have been present during her childbirths were her owner's wife and Manon.

While it is impossible to know the specific nature of the women's relationship, focusing on the city where they lived explains the systems that brought them to live on the same street in a state of bondage. Located on the St. Lawrence River near its confluence with the Ottawa River, Montréal was a transitional space connected through a series of waterways to the Atlantic World and the vast Indigenous worlds north to Hudson's Bay and west to the interior Great Lakes, and eventually the Plains. In the early eighteenth century, most enslaved Indigenous peoples came to Montréal from Native polities allied to the French.<sup>36</sup> Before the French arrival in the Great Lakes, Indigenous people participated in reciprocal slave raiding, trading, and negotiating during conflicts. These forms of slavery were driven by the political and cultural imperatives of enslavement and the desire to create alliances within the diverse social and political world of the Great Lakes. Since Indigenous peoples did not maintain a state structure controlled by coercion, there were few options of dealing with prisoners of war other than executions and enslavement.<sup>37</sup> Captured enslaved peoples were adopted into their new communities to varying degrees, sometimes transforming into fully integrated members of a family and other times marked by a distinct lower rank.<sup>38</sup>

When French fur traders traveled throughout the Great Lakes in the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, they made alliances with Indigenous polities requiring the French to partake in Indigenous customs and diplomatic culture, including captivity practices. Francheville, Angélique's owner, may have participated in slave raids during his travels to Dakota territory in 1733.<sup>39</sup> Indigenous peoples found political advantages to trading the people they enslaved to French fur traders rather than incorporating them into their own communities. Most of these enslaved peoples ended up in New France, where they were owned by French colonizers. In this way, slavery in the Great Lakes transformed from an Indigenous form of captivity based on political conflicts to trading in enslaved Indigenous people as commodities.<sup>40</sup> For the first 150 years of New France's existence, approximately two-thirds of enslaved peoples were Indigenous, and more enslaved people lived in the city than any other settlement in New France. Before 1740 more than 90 percent of known enslaved Indigenous peoples in the St. Lawrence Valley lived between the cities of Montréal and Québec.<sup>41</sup> As an enslaved Indigenous woman, Marie Manon was not an anomaly in eighteenth-century New France. She was representative of a broader pattern.

Enslaved Black peoples were comparatively rare in Montréal and represented a family's wealth, privilege, and status.<sup>42</sup> However, enslaved peoples of African and Indigenous descent performed similar types of labor, including work as domestic servants, soldiers, sailors, fishermen, hospital workers, boatmen, cooks, nursemaids, and

executioners. Enslaved women contributed to the household economy through washing, sewing, needlework, gardening, childcare, and purchasing household items.<sup>43</sup> In some cases, an enslaved person's identity affected their work: enslaved Indigenous women often drew on childhood skills to process animal skins for the fur trade by scraping, waterproofing, and tanning hides before shipping them overseas or transforming them into items like moccasins.<sup>44</sup>

Enslaved women in New France were vulnerable to multiple forms of violence. A basic element of enslaved Indigenous women's experience was the widespread knowledge that masters took advantage of enslaved peoples' vulnerability.<sup>45</sup> Historian Tiya Miles, who focuses on the history of slavery, explains that the French viewed enslaved Black peoples as an inferior racialized group that could not be incorporated into French families and societies. However, they often obtained enslaved Indigenous peoples from their Native allies, who allowed some degree of social incorporation of enslaved peoples. As a result, the French allowed for a degree of incorporation of enslaved Indigenous peoples, but this often took the form of taking enslaved Indigenous women as sexual consorts and domestic help. Miles explains, "If black slaves were held at a social distance by French colonists in the North, Indian slaves were held with a dangerous degree of intimacy."<sup>46</sup> By looking at marriage records in Detroit, Miles argues that enslaved Indigenous women's lack of marriages strongly suggests that white male owners claimed sexual rights to the enslaved peoples they owned, leaving little room for Indigenous women to marry enslaved men—even in a society that sanctioned these unions. Similarly, Rushforth explains, "A number of enslaved Indigenous women and girls were able to carve out space for themselves as free women, mothers, and wives in these communities. But . . . sexual violence permeated the slave experience . . . so that negotiating a rise to social acceptance and freedom sometimes required prolonged submission to what could be defined as serial rape."<sup>47</sup> In contrast, the French viewed enslaved Black women as completely distinct and unable to be incorporated into French families.<sup>48</sup> However, Black women were also targeted for sexual violence, sexual gratification, and sexual reproduction.<sup>49</sup> Afua Cooper argues that the relatively large mixed-raced population in New France illustrates that white men often fathered the children of Black women. Most of the women involved in these relationships were enslaved, and their children were born into slavery.<sup>50</sup>

While Angélique and Manon's lives were bound together by their legal status, daily routine, and possibly friendship. However, scholars and artists have often viewed the histories of Indigenous and Black peoples in Canadian history as separate.<sup>51</sup> Yet, Indigenous and Atlantic slaveries created a complex set of racialized and gendered hierarchies that women like Manon and Angélique needed to navigate to survive in a city where white men and women viewed them as property. As Angélique steered herself through these structures, the gendered and racialized violence of slavery led to her torture and execution.

On the other hand, Marie Manon's fate is unknown.<sup>52</sup> It is possible the enslaved Manon who testified against Angélique is the same Manon who, in 1750, was accused of

stealing a silver fork and spoon from the home of her owner, Montréal notary Nicolas-Auguste Guillet de Chaumont.<sup>53</sup> This elder Manon was brought to trial but absolved of the crime.<sup>54</sup> For the final eleven years of her life—until her death in 1761—she cared for Chaumont and his family. Rushforth says there are several indications the two Manons are the same person. First, their ages line up. In 1734 Manon was about fifteen years old, and in 1750 she was about thirty years old. Second, Chaumont knew the young Manon's owner and presided over Angélique's trial. Finally, the elder Manon was likely brought to Montréal between 1725 and 1735, when she was a teenager and when the majority of captives entering the colony were Meskwaki.<sup>55</sup> However, there are questions about whether they are the same person since the younger Manon could write her name and the elder Manon claimed to be unable to write her name. Rushforth believes this might indicate they are different women, but it is also possible that Manon "simply did not wish to repeat an act that helped secure her friend's conviction."<sup>56</sup>

Just as we are uncertain of Manon's fate, her motivations for testifying against Angélique are also unclear. Would Manon face possible repercussions from her owners if she did not testify? If so, was testifying a move to protect herself? In this scenario, she preserved her own safety by implicating a friend—an act she knew would lead to her friend's death.<sup>57</sup> French Canadian historian Denyse Beaugrand-Champagne published a French-language monograph on Angélique in 2004. She concludes the fire was accidental, caused by a poorly cleaned chimney and a cooking fire in a neighboring house. She also suggests Manon may have started the cooking fire, giving her significant motivation to direct suspicions away from herself and toward Angélique.<sup>58</sup> There is neither consensus on the cause of the fire nor about Manon's role in it. Afua Cooper argues that Angélique started the fire as revenge and a chance to escape to freedom.<sup>59</sup>

We do not know the specific cause of the fire, the reasons for Manon's testimony, or whether she was later charged with theft. We do know her statements had violent consequences for Angélique, who was brutally tortured and executed. Regardless of the motivation for her testimony, Manon carried the weight of her decision with her after the trial. Under the linked systems of colonialism and slavery, for enslaved peoples, witnessing racial violence reminded them of their own precarity.<sup>60</sup> This may have affected Manon's actions later in life (such as claiming to be unable to write her name as an act of refusal in 1750).<sup>61</sup> Questions and archival gaps about Manon's life after the trial obscures what violence she may have experienced while also illustrating the violent erasure enslaved women experienced in the colonial archive.<sup>62</sup>

Recognizing that Manon represented the dominant mode of slavery in New France is integral to understanding how twentieth- and twenty-first-century depictions of slavery in Canada unintentionally marginalized Indigenous peoples. The works of Black artists, cultural producers, and journalists from the turn of the twentieth century, such as Lorena Gale's play *Angélique*, Tetchena Bellange's film *Black Hands: Trial of the Arsonist Slave*, and journalist Kyle G. Brown's podcast episode "Canada's Slavery Secret: The Whitewashing of 200 Years of Enslavement," do much-needed work. They successfully demonstrate how Black artists and cultural producers can narrate history

in their own voice to illustrate deeper roots to Canada's contemporary anti-Black racism. They remind Canadians that the history of slavery is shared by descendants of the owners of enslaved people and the enslaved, that it is particularly significant to have Black peoples reclaim these stories with their own voices.<sup>63</sup> Charmaine Nelson, a Black Canadian art historian, explains: "Arguably representation by and for the traumatized group can serve to activate a collective memory which is deliberately antagonistic to the hegemonic colonial narratives of slavery deployed by the state and the dominant white populations."<sup>64</sup> While these representations center Black voices and experiences, they struggle to show the complicated entwined histories of patriarchy, slavery, and settler colonialism that illustrate the violence experienced by both Black and Indigenous peoples in a patriarchal settler society founded on racial hierarchies.

Gale's play *Angélique* premiered in Calgary in 1998 and was performed at major cities throughout North America, including Toronto, Montréal, Detroit, and New York. Gale explains that Americans are more willing to stage a play about racial issues than Canadians are because "race is a very large question that American society has tussled with. . . . There's not the same willful ignorance about it that exists in Canada. I feel like an alien in Canadian theatre for the things I want to write about, but [in the US] it's very different."<sup>65</sup> The play juxtaposes Canadian slavery in the 1730s with the turn of the twentieth century to show how they overlap, and it emphasizes the ongoing legacies of the enslavement of Black peoples to push back against the erasure of historical Blackness in Canada.<sup>66</sup> However, Gale simultaneously portrays Indigeneity through limited, essentialist stereotypes.

Essentialized depictions of Indigeneity begin when Gale first introduces Manon and identifies her as a Huron.<sup>67</sup> Huron is the name the French gave to the Wendat (also known as Wyandot or Wyandotte), an amalgamation of Khionontateronon or Petun peoples. When the French arrived in the southern Great Lakes in the early 1600s, they found 20,000 to 40,000 Wendat peoples between the north shore of Lake Ontario and the southern shores of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay. Between 1648 and 1650, Haudenosaunee peoples from south of Lake Ontario attacked Wendat communities. A particularly devastating attack in March 1649 led to the Wendat dispersing; some went to the Ohio Valley, others to the St. Lawrence River, while others took refuge with their allies, such as the Anishinaabeg.<sup>68</sup> However, Gale never engages with Wendat history, Meskwaki history, or the history of Indigenous slavery in the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great Lakes. Instead, by calling Manon "Huron," she attempts to portray her as having an instinctual connection to the land because of her Indigeneity:

Angélique: What do you see when you look to the river? *Manon does not respond.*  
What do you hear? (*They look at each other.*) How fast your heart must beat when you look in that direction. Knowing home is close and yet impossible to reach. Does not your spirit yearn to fly this place? Are not your memories still fresh? How do you stop your feet from taking you to where you belong?

Manon: I am where I belong.<sup>69</sup>

Manon's response during the exchange—"I am where I belong"—suggests she is both naturally connected to the lands of Montréal and comfortable in her position of servitude. Angélique implies that, for Manon, home must be close by, "across the river." However, as a Meskwaki woman born in the eighteenth century, Manon was almost certainly born outside of the St. Lawrence Valley, further west into the Great Lakes. While Manon did not travel across the Atlantic Ocean, she traveled across part of a continent. Her presence in the city highlights the scope of the Indigenous slave trade within North America—not that she was born near Montréal.<sup>70</sup>

Later in the scene, Manon tells Angélique, "We are not the same. I serve. I do not slave."<sup>71</sup> These interactions echo distinctions made by eighteenth-century slave traders and owners who naturalized African bondage and justified the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Through processes of racialization, Blackness and Indigeneity were positioned as fundamentally different, with whiteness always at the top of the hierarchy. Blackness became a symbol of enslavability; regardless of where they were from, Black people were seen as property to be owned. On the other hand, being racialized as an Indigenous person meant being born free—with members of the imagined "Panis nation" being the enslavable exception.<sup>72</sup> This hardening of racial categories marked Indigenous peoples as uncivilized (which the French termed savagery).<sup>73</sup> French and British (and later American) settler colonists drew on notions of civilization and critiques of Indigenous peoples' use of land and property to dispossess them, leading to centuries of removal attempts, coercive treaties, and other land grabs.<sup>74</sup> The racialization of Black people as enslavable and Indigenous people as uncivilized was integral to the founding of Canada and other settler nations in North America.

In fact, the racialization of Indigenous peoples as uncivilized and unfit for slavery became so widely accepted that it has persisted in twentieth- and twenty-first-century explanations for why peoples of African descent were enslaved in higher numbers than peoples of Indigenous descent in most periods of North American history.<sup>75</sup> This is also expressed in the play: Angélique is constantly searching for freedom and a way out of the city, whereas Manon is "where she belongs."<sup>76</sup> Manon is free: she "serves," but unlike Angélique, she does not "slave." However, she is also seen as naturally connected to the land and uncivilized—until she is tamed by being enslaved by French colonizers and becomes content "to serve" and be where she "belongs." Manon's position of servitude is naturalized, differentiating it from slavery and obscuring the fact that that most enslaved people in the city were of Indigenous descent.

Gale's play also reinforces heterosexist and patriarchal tropes by explaining the relationship between Angélique and Manon in terms of entangled romantic interests. Gale emphasizes the relationship between Angélique and Thibault, her owner's French indentured male servant. The two engage in friendly banter and drink together, bonding over the mutual desire to escape the household and Montréal.<sup>77</sup> However, Gale also suggests that Francheville forced Angélique to have a child with Jacques Cesar, an enslaved Black man. Gale also implies that Francheville is the father of one of Angé-

lique's children, since both his wife and friend question the paternity of the child by mentioning "the baby was awfully pale."<sup>78</sup>

Gale draws Manon into the coerced relationship between Angélique and Cesar. When Manon first appears in the play, she silently witnesses Angélique interacting with Thibault and Cesar. At the end of the act, Cesar exits the stage, Manon follows him, and he pushes her away.<sup>79</sup> When Manon appears next, she is visiting with Angélique, who attempts to joke with her about their owners. Manon is not amused, remains silent, and turns to exit. Angélique stops her: "Manon . . . I am only trying to be your friend. I know I get lonely sometimes. Don't you? So far from home. I wish I had a friend."<sup>80</sup> Manon responds with jealousy: "Cesar was my friend! He made me laugh! He spoke my language."<sup>81</sup> Angélique is surprised about Manon's feelings and apologizes, but Manon blames Angélique: "He will never be free of you."<sup>82</sup> Enslaved Indigenous and Black people in the same neighborhood speaking the same Native language signals the interconnected, complex histories of colonialism and slavery in eighteenth-century Montréal. Yet Gale does not explain these histories or put them in context for her audience.

Instead, in this interaction between Angélique and Manon, Gale implies that Manon's testimony is driven by heterosexual jealousy. However, Gale never acknowledges how this trope of jealous heterosexual desire is complicated by the enslaved statuses of Angélique, Manon, and Cesar. The decisions they make in their lives reflect strategies to mitigate the violence of slavery and attempts to find routes to freedom. Cooper notes that a possible relationship with Thibault offered Angélique legal and economic benefits not found with Cesar: "[Angélique] may have genuinely fallen in love with Thibault. However, he also offered her a way out—something that Jacques Cesar could not do. Thibault was white, he was French, and he was male. If Angélique escaped with him, he could pose as her slave master."<sup>83</sup> Cooper surmises, "even if Angélique was in love with the Frenchman, she had other practical reasons for entering into an affair with him."<sup>84</sup>

Throughout the play, Gale successfully brings attention to Canada's history of slavery by showing the racialized violence Black women experienced. However, she relies on essentialized notions of Blackness and Indigeneity and on heterosexist stereotypes that ignore the dangers of the sexual violence enslaved women faced. Blackness is equated with being from elsewhere, being enslavable, and having an innate desire to resist slavery. Indigeneity is equated with being free but uncivilized and naturally connected to the land. As a result, Manon's lived experience, the larger Indigenous history of the region, and the dominant mode of slavery in New France is obscured.

*Black Hands: The Trial of the Arsonist Slave* is a documentary film produced by Tetchena Bellange.<sup>85</sup> At the beginning of the film, Bellange describes how she always loved the stories of enslaved Black peoples from the United States following the North Star to freedom in Canada. However, during her upbringing, she never heard the story of Marie-Joseph Angélique, so Bellange "went off to find her and felt a strong need to tell her story."<sup>86</sup> At the conclusion of the documentary, Bellange states, "My quest for

Angélique ends here with this film. . . . Thanks to my encounter with Marie-Joseph I have reappropriated a piece of my history—that of Blacks in Quebec and in Canada. So I too have roots here.”<sup>87</sup>

*Black Hands* portrays enslaved people of African descent as complex, multidimensional people by interweaving visits to archives, interviews with historians with expertise on Angélique’s trial and Black slavery in Canada, and historical reenactments (Bellange plays the role of Angélique).<sup>88</sup> The film also includes interviews many of the actors in the reenactments, including Franck Sylvestre, who plays the Black executioner Mathieu Léveill  , and Sonia Gadbois, who plays Th  r  se de Couagne. The film shows how Ang  lique and L  veill   share experiences as enslaved Black peoples, suggesting the characters could be allies if the colonial French legal system did not separate them, culminating in L  veill  ’s eventual execution of Ang  lique. However, in contrast to her nuanced analysis of Blackness, Bellange essentializes gender by excluding Indigeneity. In the documentary, Ang  lique and de Couagne are shown as having a natural affinity based on their shared gender, even though de Couagne owns Ang  lique. Meanwhile, Ang  lique and Manon are shown as inherently different from each other, despite sharing experiences of enslavement.

Manon first speaks in *Black Hands* during a scene before the trial where she is working alongside Ang  lique. Manon explains that she saw Ang  lique with Thibault and wonders what he wanted. Ang  lique says he came to get the wages owed by de Couagne and mentions that Thibault offered to buy her freedom, but de Couagne refused. Manon is skeptical of Thibault’s intentions and suggests he may try to sell Ang  lique if they successfully escape Montr  al. Manon is next seen during the reenactment of the fire. She is part of a crowd and yells, “it started at the Francheville’s! I saw the Negress go in just before.” Other characters, including a French soldier and Manon’s owner, condemn Ang  lique, demanding, “Hang her” and “Roast her hands.”<sup>89</sup> De Couagne stands silently, looking concerned. The film cuts to a scene after the fire with Ang  lique comforting de Couagne. Then, soldiers arrive and Ang  lique is arrested. In this scene, the two women are shown as natural allies based on their gender. Manon is excluded from this bond of womanhood and ironically lumped in with French men who are property owners. Like Ang  lique, Manon was viewed *as* property. In this scene, Manon is present, but her experiences as an enslaved Indigenous woman are erased.

In *Black Hands*, Black and white actors explain their relationship to their character, leading to rich, multilayered depictions of Ang  lique, de Couagne, and L  veill  . However, Sounia Balha, a French Canadian woman who plays Manon, has not been interviewed. Interviews in the film with Sonia Gadbois (a French Canadian woman who plays de Couagne) discuss how her character had a natural affinity with Ang  lique because of their gendered experiences as women. This is particularly strange since historical evidence show the woman had a strained relationship after Francheville’s death.<sup>90</sup> De Couagne also continued to own enslaved people after Ang  lique’s execution—hardly showing remorse for her involvement.<sup>91</sup> Yet, in the interviews, Ang  lique

and de Couagne are shown sharing a common bond based on gender, while Manon—an Indigenous woman who is enslaved like Angélique—is excluded.

It is unfortunate that there is not an Indigenous actor playing Manon in the documentary. Including interviews with this actor would be an opportunity to bring in the perspective of an Indigenous woman in her own voice (rather than mediated through archival documents or the scripts of a play or historical reenactments). Instead, there are no Indigenous voices in the documentary, and Indigenous peoples are largely excluded from the discussion of race. One of the only explicit discussions of Indigeneity occurs when Beaugrand-Champagne provides a short description of Manon and Indigenous slavery in the Great Lakes, noting that there were more enslaved Indigenous peoples than enslaved Black peoples in eighteenth-century New France. However, she incorrectly explains the origins of panis as coming from the Pawnee nation and implies that people labeled as panis are members of this nation.<sup>92</sup>

Overall, Indigeneity plays an important but tokenistic role in the film. While Manon informs viewers that there was a fire burning, Bellange never engages with her perspectives or experiences as an enslaved Indigenous woman. The film minimizes the centrality of Indigenous slavery in Montréal and the role of Manon in the trial. Race is framed solely in terms of Blackness and whiteness; Manon is described as a non-descript “Amerindian woman,” and specifics on how the Indigenous slave trade affected Montréal are absent both in the reenactments and the interviews.<sup>93</sup>

Unlike Gale, Bellange successfully avoids essentializing Blackness. However, *Angélique* and *Black Hands* both rely on essentialized views of gender. Gale illustrates the importance of Black Canadian history while also reinforcing essentialized depictions of Indigeneity and Blackness as inherently different within a heterocentrist love story. Bellange shows the complexity of Black experience. However, enslaved Black women are shown as sharing a bond with the white women who own them, while enslaved Indigenous women are portrayed as fundamentally different. In both cases, Black experiences and history are successfully highlighted, but the enslavement of Indigenous peoples and the gendered violence they experienced is minimized.

In 2018 Kyle Brown created two episodes focusing on the history of slavery in Canada for the podcast *Ideas*, produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC, a public broadcaster for radio and television). One episode, “Canada’s Slavery Secret: The Whitewashing of 200 Years of Enslavement,” illustrates how slavery has been minimized in Canadian historical narratives. Brown interviews several historians, including Cooper and Rushforth. In the first ten minutes, Cooper states, “Slavery is probably Canada’s best kept secret.”<sup>94</sup> She explains that the systemic denial of slavery in Canada means Black people are constantly visible due to their physicality while rendered invisible when discussing Canadian history and national consciousness. Cooper’s statement is true: slavery probably *is* Canada’s best kept secret. However, framing this exclusion only in terms of the enslavement of Black peoples—without discussing the enslavement of Indigenous peoples—contributes to the erasure of certain types of slavery. The extent of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples and historical connections

between enslaved Black and Indigenous peoples are the least-discussed parts of this larger secret, which have been buried and hidden multiple times over.

Indigenous peoples are first mentioned when Brown brings up the 1709 ordinance in New France issued by Jacques Raudot, which clarifies that the enslavement of Indigenous and Black peoples is legal in New France.<sup>95</sup> When quoting the ordinance—which mentions both “panis” and “negroes”—Brown interjects to clarify that panis is “a colonial term for Indigenous peoples.”<sup>96</sup> Like Beaugrand-Champagne’s definition of panis in *Black Hands*, Brown’s definition is inaccurate. Panis is a term specific for enslaved Indigenous peoples, not a synonym for any Indigenous person.

The enslavement of Indigenous peoples is next mentioned during a segment with Rushforth, who explains the differences between Indigenous and Atlantic chattel slaveries. Rushforth emphasizes that Indigenous systems of enslavement were about kinship. They were not permanent, not meant to be inherited, and not about the production of wealth or commodities. While Europeans spent a lot of time monitoring exit routes of enslaved peoples, Indigenous societies were focused on forced assimilation of enslaved peoples to integrate them into the culture of their enslavers.<sup>97</sup> Rushforth discusses this topic for approximately one and a half minutes before the podcast transitions into how European slavery operated as a commercial system.

At this point in the episode, the term *panis* has been (incorrectly) defined by Brown, and Rushforth provides a short (accurate) overview of the differences between Indigenous and Atlantic slaveries. However, there has been no discussion about the prevalence of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples or how this was the dominant mode of slavery in New France. Rushforth’s scholarship emphasizes the prevalence of Indigenous slavery in New France and throughout North America, so the lack of attention paid to this subject seems to reflect Brown’s editing choices.<sup>98</sup>

Brown also makes it seem as if the forced labor of Black peoples replaced the forced labor of Indigenous peoples. He explains that “in the 1700s amidst growing demand for forced labor, French slave raids on First Nations brought violent reprisals, increasingly they sought the labor of Africans who were isolated and posed no such threat. Once here, they lived lives of servitude and brutality.”<sup>99</sup> However, the reality is that in the eighteenth-century Black and Indigenous enslavement overlapped, and Black and Indigenous peoples were enslaved together in colonial towns along the St. Lawrence River and in the Great Lakes region through the eighteenth century.

An example of Indigenous and Black peoples’ shared enslavement appears during a discussion of the Babys, a prominent family in the Detroit River region, whose house is on the National Historic Site of Canada and part of the of the Windsor Museum in Ontario. François Bâby, the head of the household, was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada and owner of approximately twenty enslaved Black and Indigenous people.<sup>100</sup> Brown notes, “A lot of these people are Indigenous people, some of them from Africa via the U.S., and yet all of them have classic French forenames.”<sup>101</sup> His wording subtly indicates the prevalence of enslaved Indigenous peoples: *a lot* of the enslaved people owned by the Bâby family were Indigenous, while

only *some* of them were from Africa via the United States. Yet, once again, there is no sustained discussion on what it means that Black and Indigenous peoples continued to be enslaved together—sometimes in the same households (demonstrated by the Bâby family) or on the same street (illustrated by Angélique and Manon). The enslavement of Indigenous peoples and connections between Black and Indigenous lives haunt the podcast: briefly appearing, then receding like apparitions.

This haunting presence continues when the podcast transitions to Rushforth's explanation about the undercounting of enslaved Indigenous peoples in archival records. He notes that some of these enslaved peoples are marked by the term *panis*, while others are described euphemistically as members of the household or as adopted.<sup>102</sup> Other limitations include archival sources for this period; most of the records are from Catholic parishes, which only count people (free or enslaved) who were Catholic. Similarly, the inclusion of enslaved people in court records is a matter of chance: they are only included if they are accused of committing a crime (like Angélique), witness a crime, or know a person accused of a crime (like Manon).<sup>103</sup> There were also incentives for owners of enslaved people to hide information about the people they owned, including to avoid taxes. Careful listeners might wonder how Rushforth's comments connect to the earlier statement by Brown that the forced labor of Black peoples was increasingly desired in the eighteenth century and replaced the forced labor of Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples continue as a haunting presence during Brown's other episode, "Slavery's Long Shadow: The Impact of 200 Years of Enslavement in Canada." This episode briefly mentions how institutional racism is the foundation for the historical enslavement of Black and Indigenous peoples.<sup>104</sup> However, this episode pays even less attention to Indigenous experiences. This absence is particularly glaring since the systemic injustices discussed in the episode—including surveillance, policing, and mass incarceration—target Black and Indigenous peoples.

One of the poems commissioned to accompany Brown's episodes challenges the lack of attention to Indigenous experiences. Black Canadian poet George Elliott Clarke's sestina, "On the Pro-Slavery (Canuck) Unconscious: A Sestina Denouncing Continued Oppression," focuses on how systemic violence in Canada is born from the shared histories of colonialism and slavery, which affects Black and Indigenous peoples.<sup>105</sup> While he does not mention Indigenous slavery, Clarke brings up specific moments of Indigenous history, including the lynching of Métis leader Louis Riel in 1885; the genocidal policies of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, toward Indigenous peoples in the second half of the nineteenth century; and Indigenous peoples' assertion of land rights in the twentieth century, including the Oka Crisis in 1990 and the Ipperwash Crisis in 1995. By interweaving these moments into his poem, Clarke provides a model for highlighting connections between Black and Indigenous people in Canada's past and present.

In their varied and diverse cultural productions, Lorena Gale, Tetchena Bel-lange, and Kyle Brown successfully center Black Canadian history and experiences

by drawing connections between slavery and racial violence in the present. However, to fully understand the expansiveness and pervasiveness of slavery in Canada's past and create a more just future for Black and Indigenous peoples, Canadian histories need to grapple with the intertwined experiences of Black and Indigenous peoples, including under slavery. Manon's testimony against Angélique is a stark reminder of the violent consequences of European arrival in Canadian history for Indigenous and Black women. The women's experiences are a reminder of how colonizers built Canada on Indigenous lands with the forced labor of Indigenous and Black peoples. Under the linked systems of colonialism and slavery, women were particularly vulnerable.

The relationship between Angélique and Manon also demonstrates the need to explore the historical connections between Black and Indigenous peoples in Montréal and other areas of Canada. Their experiences exemplify how Native politics of the Great Lakes collided with the Atlantic World, creating new Black–Indigenous geographies that ripple out and extend beyond New France. For instance, there is evidence of Indigenous peoples helping enslaved Black people escape from Montréal to British colonies, despite settlers attempting to intervene by hiring Indigenous peoples to track and find the escaped enslaved peoples.<sup>106</sup> During the time of the American Revolution, some Indigenous leaders such as Joseph and Molly Brant (Mohawk) and Sally Ainsie (Oneida) owned enslaved Black people.<sup>107</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, there is evidence of Indigenous communities in the Great Lakes helping enslaved peoples of African descent escape to freedom by crossing the border to Canada.<sup>108</sup>

Throughout the St. Lawrence River Valley, the Great Lakes, and beyond, there is growing evidence of connections between Black and Indigenous peoples in Canadian history—connections formed in violence and alliance. Afro-Indigenous (Saginaw Chippewa) historian Kyle T. Mays was raised in the United States–Canada borderlands and clearly explains the importance of recognizing these connections: “To put it simply, Black people are Indigenous North America's destiny, and Native people are Black America's destiny. And for those non-Black and non-Indigenous people of color and white allies who want to hop onto the Black and Indigenous freedom train, just check your anti-blackness and anti-Indianness before you board. Collective liberation is possible, and we will need everyone.”<sup>109</sup> One example of how Canadians can come to terms with these interconnected histories to create a more just future is a public art installation by Camille Turner and Camal Pirbhai in Union Station in Toronto (Ontario) in 2021. The installation displays eighteen enslaved people owned by the Bâbys. Turner and Pirbhai also produced an accompanying teaching guide identifying the enslaved people and offering short biographical sketches.<sup>110</sup> This project draws public attention to interconnected Black–Indigenous histories and commits to making these histories accessible through the teaching guide.<sup>111</sup> In this way Turner and Pirbhai's work reminds us how, as Mays states, collective liberation is for everyone.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>*Cité Mémoire* continues to operate in 2023. Angélique's tableaux is shown on 408 Saint-François-Xavier Street. *Cité Mémoire*, last accessed July 1, 2023, [https://www.montrealenhistoires.com/en/cite\\_memoire/#tableaux](https://www.montrealenhistoires.com/en/cite_memoire/#tableaux); John Oseid, "Cité Mémoire: Montreal Honors Its Past with A Rich Multimedia Street Show," *Forbes*, December 14, 2016, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/johnoseid/2016/12/14/cite-memoire-montreal-honors-its-past-with-a-rich-multimedia-street-show/?sh=11cbe441f6>; and Cigdem Talu, "The Placing of Angélique," *Race + Space*, April 16, 2021, <https://www.mcgill.ca/race-space/article/reading-group-contributions/placing-angelique>.

<sup>2</sup>Maureen G. Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits: Black Women and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica* (New York: Garland, 1999); Lorena Gale, *Angélique* (Toronto: Play Wrights Canada Press, 1999); George Elliott Clarke, "Raising Raced and Erased Executions in African-Canadian Literature; Or, Unearthing Angélique," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 75 (2002): 30–61; Denyse Beaugrand-Champagne, *Le procès de Marie-Joseph Angélique* (Montreal: Libre Expression, 2004); Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007); Tetchena Bellange, dir., *Black Hands: Trial of the Arsonist Slave* (Montréal: Bel Ange Moon Productions, 2010); Afua Cooper, "Confessions of a Woman Who Burnt Down a Town," *Nova Scotia Advocate*, February 11, 2017, <https://nsadvocate.org/2017/02/11/confessions-of-a-woman-who-burnt-down-a-town-a-poem-by-afua-cooper/>; and Victor Arroyo, dir., *Anna O and the Case of Displaced Memory* (Montréal: Pollo, 2018).

<sup>3</sup>Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>4</sup>"Indigenous" and "Native" are used interchangeably in this article.

<sup>5</sup>Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*; McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*; Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*; and Clarke, "Raised Raced and Erased Executions."

<sup>6</sup>Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Barbara Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South* (Chapel

Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>7</sup>Gregory Wigmore, "Before the Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom in the Canadian-American Borderland," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 437–454; Tiya Miles, "Of Waterways and Runways: Reflections on the Great Lakes in Underground Railroad History," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 50, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 434–441; Tiya Miles, "Slavery in Early Detroit," *Michigan History* (May–June 2013): 33–37; Karolyn Smardz Frost and Veta Smith Tucker, eds., *A Fluid Frontier: Slavery, Resistance, and the Underground Railroad in the Detroit River Borderland* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2016); Tiya Miles, *The Dawn of Detroit: A Chronicle of Slavery and Freedom in the City of the Straits* (New York: New Press, 2017); and Kyle T. Mays, *An Afro-Indigenous History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon, 2021).

<sup>8</sup>For examples of scholarship that include Black and Indigenous connections in Canadian history, see Ivor Miller, "The Genesis of African and Indian Cooperation in Colonial North America," *Ethnohistory* 56, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 287–290; Kenneth Donovan, "Slaves in Ile Royale 1713–1758," *French Colonial History* 5 (2005): 25–42; Zainab Amadahy and Bonita Lawrence, "Indigenous Peoples and Black People in Canada: Settlers or Allies?" in *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada*, edited by A. Kempf (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), 105–136; Paula C. Madden, *African Nova Scotian-Mi'kmaw Relations* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood, 2009); and Emily J. Macgillivray, "Sally Ainsie and the Intersection of Black-Indigenous Histories in the Thames River Valley, 1780–1865," *Histoire Social/Social History* (May 2022): 1–25.

<sup>9</sup>Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 17.

<sup>10</sup>Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires, and Land in Early Modern North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 145–152.

<sup>11</sup>Brett Rushforth, "'She Said Her Answers Contained the Truth': Listening to and with Enslaved Witnesses in Eighteenth-Century New France," *Hearing Enslaved Voices: African and Indian Slave Testimony in British and French America, 1700–1848*, ed. Sophie White and Trevor Burnard (New York: Routledge, 2020), 131. For the scale of Indigenous slavery in North America, see Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*; and Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

<sup>12</sup>Marcel Trudel, *Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2013), 35.

<sup>13</sup>Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute for History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 393 (appendix B); and Trudel, *Canada's Forgotten Slaves*, 35.

<sup>14</sup>Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, xvi.

<sup>15</sup>Afua Cooper, "A New Biography of the African Diaspora: The Life and Death of Marie-Joseph Angélique, Black Portuguese Slave Women in New France, 1725–1734," in *Sisters or Strangers?*

*Immigrant Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, 2nd ed., ed. Marlene Epp and Franca Iovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 23–43, 27; and Afua Cooper, “Marie-Joseph Angélique,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, article published February 18, 2014; last edited March 4, 2015, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/marie-joseph-angelique>.

<sup>16</sup>Charmaine A. Nelson, “Buried in a Watery Grave: Art Commemoration and Racial Trauma,” in *Imagining, Writing, and (Re)Reading the Black Body*, ed. Sandra Jackson, Fasil Demissie, and Michele Goodwin (Pretoria, South Africa: Unisa Press, 2009), 135–140; and Charmaine A. Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 7.

<sup>17</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 301, 352.

<sup>18</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 107.

<sup>19</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 107–130.

<sup>20</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 128.

<sup>21</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 128.

<sup>22</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 132; and Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 223–227.

<sup>23</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 132.

<sup>24</sup>“The Meskwaki Nation’s History,” Meskwaki Nation, last accessed July 1, 2023, <https://www.meskwaki.org/history/>; and Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 23.

<sup>25</sup>Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 292–297; and Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 198–221.

<sup>26</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 197–198.

<sup>27</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 130.

<sup>28</sup>Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 165–173.

<sup>29</sup>Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 173.

<sup>30</sup>Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 165.

<sup>31</sup>Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 173; and Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*, 14–16.

<sup>32</sup>Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 165.

<sup>33</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 130; See also Brett Rushforth, “‘A Little Flesh We Offer You’: The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003): 777–808, 787; and Miles, *Dawn of Detroit*, 42.

<sup>34</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 132.

<sup>35</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 166.

<sup>36</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 167–169.

<sup>37</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 59–70.

<sup>38</sup>Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 286, 302; Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekawitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26; Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 103; and Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 24–29, 51–59.

<sup>39</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 133.

<sup>40</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 196–197, 244–246, 341.

<sup>41</sup>Rushforth, “A Little Flesh,” 789, 793; Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 29, 290–292; and White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 103. For more on Native peoples’ reciprocal slave raiding, trading, and negotiating throughout the Great Lakes, see Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 122–123, 142, 232, 310.

<sup>42</sup>Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*, 5; and Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 75.

<sup>43</sup>Cooper, “A New Biography,” 29; McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, 113; Miles, *Dawn of Detroit*, 43–44; Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*, 12–13; and Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 15. For more on Black women’s labor post-1760, see Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*.

<sup>44</sup>Catherine Cangany, “Fashioning Moccasins: Detroit, the Manufacturing Frontier, and the Empire of Consumption, 1701–1835,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): 265–304.

<sup>45</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 254–58; and White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 27.

<sup>46</sup>Miles, *Dawn of Detroit*, 47, 61.

<sup>47</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 256, 261–263. Rushforth provides one example of a Native woman named Barbe who lived in the 1750s in Detroit. Barbe achieved the right to her own body and her one surviving child after seven years of sexual companionship with a French man (or possibly men), five pregnancies, and the deaths of four of her children.

<sup>48</sup>Miles, *Dawn of Detroit*, 47, 61.

<sup>49</sup>Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 67.

<sup>50</sup>McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, 113; and Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 89.

<sup>51</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 132.

<sup>52</sup>For more on the archival challenges of focusing on enslaved Indigenous women, see Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 318.

<sup>53</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 119, 135–136.

<sup>54</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 128.

<sup>55</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 130.

<sup>56</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 136.

<sup>57</sup>Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 132.

<sup>58</sup>Beaugrand-Champagne, *Le procès de Marie-Joseph Angélique*. For a description of Beaugrand-Champagne’s work in English, see Victor Arroyo, “Seeing Blackness: Found Footage and the

Archives as Modes of Investigation in the Hanging of Marie-Josèphe Angélique," *AM Journal*, no. 15 (2018): 147–158, 148.

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<sup>60</sup>Nelson, "Buried in a Watery Grave," 139.

<sup>61</sup>Indigenous women were targeted for violence in other areas of French territory. See the discussion of Indian Woman X in Carl J. Ekberg, *Stealing Indian Woman: Native Slavery in the Illinois Country* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 133–180.

<sup>62</sup>For more on gender, race, and archival erasures, see Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*; McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*; and Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

<sup>63</sup>For a discussion of the opportunities and limits of representations of slavery, see Nelson, "Buried in a Watery Grave," 135, 139–144.

<sup>64</sup>Nelson, "Buried in a Watery Grave," 141.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in Martin Morrow, "New York Theatre Embraces Canadian Play," *Calgary Herald*, Entertainment C3, May 30, 1999.

<sup>66</sup>For further discussion on the erasure of Blackness in Canada, see Rinaldo Walcott, *Black Like Who: Writing Black Canada* (London, ON: Insomniac Press, 2008); McKittrick's *Demonic Grounds*; and Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*.

<sup>67</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 63.

<sup>68</sup>Michael McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2015), 31; and Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 46. For Wendat migration to Anishinaabe territory on the southwest shores of Lakes Superior, see Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 67–68. For an in-depth look at Wendat dispersal and community formation after the mid-seventeenth century, see Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013); Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds., *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience 1650–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); and Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic: Life Stories from Seven Generations* (Montreal: Queens-McGill University Press, 2021).

<sup>69</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 54.

<sup>70</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 245, 290, 302, 309, 35.

<sup>71</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 55.

<sup>72</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 362–364, 380–381.

<sup>73</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 362.

<sup>74</sup>Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 269–270, 374–375, 381, 400–415; and Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 19–20.

<sup>75</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 381–382. For more on how Indigenous slavery has been under-represented in North America, see Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*.

<sup>76</sup>Nelson echoes this distinction by discussing how enslaved Black peoples were more likely to resist slavery by trying to escape. Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 77.

<sup>77</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 11–13.

<sup>78</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 18, 25.

<sup>79</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 41–47.

<sup>80</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 50.

<sup>81</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 50.

<sup>82</sup>Gale, *Angélique*, 51.

<sup>83</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 171.

<sup>84</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 171. For more on relationships between enslaved peoples and French colonists, see Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 326.

<sup>85</sup>Bellange now goes by Ayana O’Shun. The documentary is based on the play *Black Hands* written by Pascal Brullemans in 2009. “Bios,” *Black Hands: Trial of an Arsonist Slave*, last accessed July 1, 2023, <http://www.blackhandsfilm.com/bios.html>.

<sup>86</sup>*Black Hands*.

<sup>87</sup>*Black Hands*.

<sup>88</sup>Bellange never interviews Cooper, even though Cooper’s monograph was first published in November 2006, four years before *Black Hands* was released. As discussed earlier in this article, Beaugrand-Champagne and Cooper take differing views on how the fire started.

<sup>89</sup>*Black Hands*.

<sup>90</sup>Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 175–187.

<sup>91</sup>By 1741 she owned seven enslaved people. Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 136.

<sup>92</sup>*Black Hands*.

<sup>93</sup>*Black Hands*.

<sup>94</sup>Kyle G. Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret: The Whitewashing of 200 Years of Enslavement,” *CBC Ideas*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/canada-s-slavery-secret-the-whitewashing-of-200-years-of-enslavement-1.4726313>; and Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*, 68.

<sup>95</sup>Rushforth notes that many scholars state this ordinance legalized slavery in New France. However, since slavery was never illegal in the colony, the ordinance clarified the legality of slavery. Rushforth, *Bond of Alliance*, 393 (appendix B).

<sup>96</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>97</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>98</sup>Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*; Rushforth, “A Little Flesh”; and Rushforth, “She Said Her Answers,” 131.

<sup>99</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>100</sup>“Maison François Baby House,” City of Windsor Ontario Canada, last accessed July 1, 2023, <https://www.citywindsor.ca/residents/culture/windsors-community-museum/exhibits/Maison-François-Baby-House-Exhibits>.

<sup>101</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>102</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>103</sup>Brown, “Canada’s Slavery Secret.”

<sup>104</sup>Kyle G. Brown, “Slavery’s Long Shadow: The Impact of 200 Years of Enslavement in Canada,” *CBC*, February 25, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/slavery-s-long-shadow-the-impact-of-200-years-of-enslavement-in-canada-1.4733595>.

<sup>105</sup>George Elliott Clarke, “On the Pro-Slavery (Canuck) Unconscious: A Sestina Denouncing Continued Oppression,” *CBC*, July 12, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1275567683786>.

<sup>106</sup>E. B. O’Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 10 (Albany, NY: Ward, Parsons & Company, 1854), 131, 138, 140.

<sup>107</sup>Benjamin Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery. The Refugee: or the Narratives of the Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1856), 192–195; Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits*, 28–30, 92–93, 136–137; James Sullivan, ed., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 12 (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921–1965), 1070; and Macgillivray, “Sally Ainse.”

<sup>108</sup>Miles, “Of Waterways and Runways,” 437.

<sup>109</sup>Mays was raised in Michigan and has family roots in Detroit, a city on the border between the United States and Canada. Mays, *An Afro-Indigenous History of the United States*, ix–x, 107. For more on thinking about how histories of connections can counter histories of colonialism, see Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

<sup>110</sup>Camal Pirbhai and Camille Turner, “House of Bâby,” *Camal and Camille*, last accessed July 1, 2023, <https://www.camalandcamille.com/house-of-baby>.

<sup>111</sup>Natasha Henry, “Beyond the Underground Railroad: A Guide for Teachers on the Histories and Legacies of Enslavement in Ontario,” last accessed July 1, 2023, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hZoqhvXa8Gxz4nCI4Wpa\\_YLwvOFgzsAM/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hZoqhvXa8Gxz4nCI4Wpa_YLwvOFgzsAM/view).