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Violence, Sexual Slavery, and Survival: Reflections on *Louisa Picquet, The Octoroon*

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Abstract: Historically, victims of sexual violence have rarely left written accounts of their abuse; so while sexual violence has long been associated with slavery in the United States, historians have few accounts from formerly enslaved people who experienced it first-hand. Through a close reading of the narrative of Louisa Picquet, a survivor of sexual violence in Georgia and Louisiana, this essay reflects on the scale of sexual slavery and its associated violence. Picquet provided unique insights into the ways that enslaved women coped with and survived institutionalized sexual labor, and underscored the importance of family and friendships in mounting a cognitive and emotional resistance to slavery.

Keywords: slavery; sexual violence; violence; race; gender

In 1860, Reverend Hiram Mattison, a New York Methodist minister and abolitionist, recorded the life story of a formerly enslaved woman, Louisa Picquet. By distributing her story, Picquet had wished to gather funds from sympathetic northern churchgoers in order to purchase the freedom of her Mother, still enslaved in the South. Picquet was the daughter of an enslaved 'seamstress' and her married master; she had suffered sexual harassment from a young age, lived under sexual slavery from the age of fourteen, but had then been freed by her abuser after his death. With her 'fair complexion', 'rosy cheeks', and a flowing head of hair with no perceptible indication to curl', Mattison described her appearance as that of an 'accomplished white lady'; indeed he hinted at the possibility that she was the granddaughter of the infamous 'John Randolph of Roanoke'. Picquet, with her white skin and noble blood, was used by Mattison to convey the extent to which sexual violence had permeated slavery in the South. Mattison's belief in measurable blackness was reflected in the description of Picquet as an 'octoroon', and the layers of generational sexual violence that Picquet's skin chronicled was the evidence that sexual violence had become part of everyday life in the South.

Background to the narrative

Picquet was born in Columbia, South Carolina in around 1828. She was the daughter of a fifteen-year-old enslaved seamstress, Elizabeth, and her married white owner John Randolph. John Randolph's wife had a baby who was just two weeks younger than Picquet, and Picquet informed Mattison that she looked so similar to this baby that Madame Randolph "got dissatisfied", and she and her mother were sold to a plantation owner in Georgia when she was around two months old.[i] The family was purchased by another married slave owner, Mr Cook. During their time with him, Mr Cook fathered three children with Picquet's Mother, though only one brother survived.

Picquet, her mother and brother later migrated with Mr Cook to Mobile, Alabama.[ii] While they were residing in a boarding house, Cook began to pursue the teenage Picquet, yet because of a subtle intervention by a white female boarding house owner, she narrowly escaped sexual violence at this point. She did, however, suffer the psychological attack of having lived with the constant threat of rape, and survived violent physical attacks through whippings with the "cowhide" when she refused to submit to her would-be rapist.

When she was approximately thirteen years old, financial trouble forced Mr Cook to sell Picquet and her family. Her mother was sold to Mr Horton, who lived in Texas; seemingly to be a sex slave for the third time at just age 28, and Picquet was sold to Mr Williams in New Orleans. Williams, who had "parted" with his wife some time previously, had three white sons.

After a painful goodbye to her beloved mother and younger sibling, Picquet was informed by Mr Williams of her new role: "He said he was getting old, and when he saw me he thought he'd buy me, and end his days with me. He said if I behave myself he'd treat me well: but, if not, he'd whip me almost to death".[iii] In the following years she had four children by Mr Williams, whilst throughout praying "that he might die". Williams eventually allowed for Picquet's emancipation after his death through his will.[iv] After Williams died, and his brother threatened to re-enslave Picquet as he had originally lent the money to purchase her (money which had not been repaid), she quickly moved as a free person to Cincinnati, Ohio. There, she married Henry Picquet, who was also the son of a slave owner and an enslaved woman. Louisa Picquet began working to free her mother and brother, who were still enslaved in Wharton County, Texas. She was eventually successful in securing the

funds to buy her mother's freedom, but at the time of publication of the narrative she remained unsuccessful in convincing the same slave-owner to sell her brother.

Rev. Hiram Mattison's name regularly appeared in New York newspapers through the mid-1850s and until the Civil War. In 1859 he described slavery as a "terrible crime against humanity", and it is clear that a special part of his outrage was the involvement of churchmen, like himself, in slaveholding.[v] Mattison believed that the church's tolerance of slaveholding pastors was "a disgrace to Methodism and our common Christianity, and a stumbling block to unbelievers". He wanted the church to be absolved of what he called the "great sin".[vi] The account of the physical and sexual abuse of Louisa Picquet reinforced Mattison's previous sermons, which discussed the emotive topics of forced breeding, sexual violence and the burning alive of slaves. In 1860 it was reported that his antislavery sentiments caused him to be looked down on as an "alien" and a "heretic" within the church, but to great personal sacrifice he continued with his antislavery efforts.[vii]

In this particular narrative, Mattison took great care to construct a link between the immorality of slavery and the tolerance of the church. He made sure to ask about Picquet's non-attendance at church when she was enslaved, and exposed the hypocrisy of the church when she was spoken to as a "wife" after Mr Williams had died. Picquet told Mattison that the minister in New Orleans acted as though he knew her as Mr Williams' wife and "talked about the vows I had made to the Lord about my husband".[viii] Mattison was keen to point out that this occurred in a Southern Methodist church and that Picquet's church in the North did not commune with slaveholders. Additionally, when Picquet revealed that Texan slave-owner who had bought Picquet's mother twenty years previously for $600 now demanded $900 for her "old and calloused flesh", and moreover he was a member of the Baptist church. Mattison exclaimed, "[m]ay Heaven save the heathen from the curse of such a Christianity!"[ix]

While sexual slavery is often documented in ex-slave narratives from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the account of Picquet's life is perhaps the most revealing of sexual slavery in the South that is available to historians today. Sexual violence, as Mattison declared, "turns up as naturally, and is mentioned with as little speciality, as walrus beef in the narrative of the Arctic expedition, or macaroni in a tour in Italy".[x] Picquet's narrative has much to say about the culture of slavery, including the role of violence (sexual, and non-sexual) in society, but also how

enslaved people coped with this violent culture through familial and extra-familial support networks and friendships.

Picquet's narrative is a unique antebellum account of a victim of sexual slavery who exercised both resistance and resilience within the confines of her enslaved status without, as far as we know, an attempt to escape. While other book-length narratives by formerly enslaved women such as Harriet Jacobs and Sojourner Truth refer to sexual violence, Picquet addressed this explicitly throughout her narrative.[xi] Nevertheless, Louisa Picquet was for a long time largely overlooked in studies of sexual violence under southern slavery. Picquet remained illiterate throughout her life, and as such Mattison recorded her story. It is precisely because of Mattison's involvement as amanuensis that the narrative has failed to be included in influential studies such as Frances Smith Foster's *Witnessing Slavery.*[xii] The near-exclusion of Picquet's narrative from the traditional historiography of the slave narrative genre reveals more about changing interpretations of abolitionist motivation rather than the content of the text.[xiii] While some studies have commented on the Picquet narrative, their interest has generally been her language use and relationship to Mattison. Historical works have paid little attention to the significance of the reports of sexual violence in the Lower South that Picquet described, and her important comments on how she coped with it.[xiv]

Picquet's narrative is set in the Lower South, and most of her time under slavery was spent in Georgia and Louisiana. Louisiana, and particularly New Orleans, has long been associated with interracial sex and violence. But while Judith Schafer has found references to sexual slavery in travellers' accounts, records of slave traders, antislavery literature, ex-slave interviews, and even in probate cases brought to the Louisiana Supreme Court cases (where sex slave owners had attempted to free the woman by will after their death and this had been challenged by 'legitimate' heirs), references to sexual slavery can be found in studies that have focused on areas throughout the southern states.[xv] The significance of Emily Clark's recent work on *The Strange History of the American Quadroon* (2013) is its evaluation of New Orleans as an imagined space in which Americans could neatly "quarantine" the threat that the quadroon posed. As Clark has written, "[a]nxiety over the destabilizing potential of procreation across the colour line was assuaged as America ignored its own interracial population and practices, preoccupied itself with the migrant quadroon, and found a way to cordon off the newcomer from the nation".[xvi]

Interracial sex was neatly contained in this southern urban space to create the impression that this was not occurring elsewhere, whereas we know from the work of Joshua D. Rothman, Philip Troutman (both Virginia), and Cynthia Kennedy (Georgia) that this abusive culture extended throughout the South.[xvii] Nevertheless, it was in the infamous New Orleans slave market, where perhaps women destined for lives of sexual slavery were marketed more freely and more boldly than elsewhere, that Louisa Picquet was sold at the age of fourteen. The narrative of Louisa Picquet builds a picture of sexual violence as so common that it was institutionalized in both the slave market and in the white family home, indeed it formed part of the essential culture of the South.

The normalization of long-term forced sexual relationships under slavery is reflected in the naming of some enslaved women living under sexual slavery as 'concubines'. The term 'concubine' groups enslaved women with other women in various times and places who were more able (because they were not enslaved) to consent to such an arrangement. Sexual relationships between white men and enslaved women have often been seen as consensual, sometimes even paternalistic, but they are more accurately understood as sexual slavery. Sexual violence exists on a continuum, and sexually violent practices rarely fit into a discrete category. Sexual slavery consisted of elements of rape, coercive sex, sexual harassment, domestic violence, and forced breeding practices. In the context of southern slavery, women living under sexual slavery were long-term victims of rape by the same man over an extended period of time. Such a woman would live inside a family home, or in separate living quarters; either on the slaveholding unit or elsewhere, and none of these living arrangements depended on the marital status of the man involved. Women living under sexual slavery often gave birth to the offspring of their abuser but there was no guarantee that their children would not have been sold like those of any other slave.

In recent years, scholars have been willing to engage with a more inclusive conceptualisation of 'violence' and its role in shaping southern lives. Sergio Lussana, Saidiya Hartman, Jeff Forret and Walter Johnson have all engaged with violence as a conceptual tool for understanding human relations on slaveholding unit.[xviii] With the work of these scholars, the history of slavery has become aligned with a broader field of violence studies in bringing systemic structural and institutional violence, psychological trauma and social trauma alongside analysis of behavioural violence in

order to understand how intentional cruelties and manifestations of power shaped the lived experience in slaveholding societies, for both slaveholders and the enslaved.[xix]

The violence in Picquet's narrative includes behavioural violence (sexual violence and physical punishment), structural violence (systems of racial oppression, including the slave market), and emotional violence (the threat of harm experienced daily by Picquet, and the sorrow when she was separated from her mother and brother). Emotional torment permeated Picquet's childhood and adult life; though it is because of Picquet's honesty in relation to these matters, readers are afforded hints of the mechanisms for survival of sexual abuse, both on an individual level and within the enslaved community. Exploration of Picquet's life story adds to the expanding literature on the emotions of enslaved people. While Heather Andrea Williams has documented the grief and emotional torture felt by enslaved people separated from family by the domestic slave trade; others, such as Sergio Lussana, have argued that the ability to continue to feel emotional and form attachments under slavery allowed enslaved people to mount opposition to slavery in the course of everyday life. Lussana demonstrated how homosocial friendships served the emotional needs of certain enslaved people.[xx] Similarly, Picquet had a network of light-skinned enslaved people to whom she was connected during slavery, and after, and she maintained a deep love for her mother and went on to establish a family life and help others through the Underground Railroad. It was precisely the acknowledgement of the abuse by the community and the networks of support that arose out of sheer necessity that I will argue had helped women to go on to form loving marriages and family lives without being significantly affected by the 'soul murder' described by Parent and Wallace, and later Nell Irvin Painter.[xxi]

Sexual slavery in the Picquet narrative

Through the course of Picquet's narrative, she revealed the details of the experiences of five enslaved women, all of whom lived under sexual slavery. All but one of these women was specifically described as light-skinned (the significance of which shall be discussed later), and all women worked under the veneer of domestic slavery. Women mentioned by Picquet were without black partners, all light-skinned domestic workers and were most commonly described as 'seamstresses'. Picquet's association of 'seamstresses' with sexual violence could add further intricacy to what we know about the victims of sexual abuse, but also about a previously unrecognized 'language

of abuse', and can enlighten us further on the cultural mores of the South. This link between occupation and sexual violence, unlikely to have been alluded to in documents written by southern whites because of the façade of paternalism, was embedded in the southern mind-set and slaveholding culture.

It is because of the various ways that sexual violence was codified, as well as the reluctance of victims to discuss their experiences (at least with outsiders), that the scale of sexual slavery is difficult to quantify. Research is hampered by the sensitive nature of the topic and the language employed by the abusive culture whereby enslaved women living under sexual slavery were sometimes known by job roles that masked their sexual labour. Louisa Picquet's testimony demonstrates that women who lived under sexual slavery were commonly referred to as 'seamstresses' and 'housekeepers', though these two terms are likely to just scratch the surface of language of abuse employed by slaveholders. The Picquet narrative intricately details a self-replicating cycle of abuse amongst generations of enslaved domestic women.

Elizabeth Randolph

The sexual violence in the Picquet narrative begins with the conception of Louisa, who was born to a fifteen-year-old enslaved 'seamstress', Elizabeth. Invoking the well-known diary of Mary Boykin Miller Chesnut, a slaveholding woman born in South Carolina in 1823 who stated that "the mulattoes that one sees in every family exactly resemble the white children", [xxii] Picquet told Mattison:

> Mother's master, Mr. Randolph, was my father. So mother told me. She was forbid to tell who was my father, but I looked so much like Madame Randolph's baby that she got dissatisfied, and mother had to be sold.[xxiii]

The jealous mistress in this case demanded that the young victim of abuse was sold along with the infant Picquet, a child born of her husband's rape and child sexual abuse. Picquet's mother, a light-skinned domestic 'seamstress', was sold with her light-skinned child in the slave market.

Elizabeth Randolph was sold to Mr Cook, who would father an additional four children by her, though only one boy survived. Cook was obviously aware from the outset that the teenage Elizabeth had been a past victim of white male-perpetrated sexual violence, as evidenced by the presence of the very light-skinned Louisa. When the enslaved children were lighter in skin tone than their mother, this was likely to have had an effect on the way they were viewed by potential purchasers. Walter

Johnson has written that, in the slave market, "as the slaves were paraded before them, slave buyers began by reading the slaves' skin color, groping their way from visible sign to invisible essence".[xxiv] The marketing of the darker skinned mother with the lighter skinned child would have been a visible sign that the woman had had a sexual relationship with a white man. Elizabeth was twice sold with her light-skinned children, and both times she began a new life of sexual slavery.

Lucy

In Cook's household, readers are introduced to Lucy, an enslaved woman living under sexual slavery and who had "light hair and blue eyes". Lucy was another "seamstress" in Mr Cook's family. She was remembered as having 6 or 7 "right white" children, fathered by white men, but no husband.[xxv] Picquet told Mattison that "she sew in the house all day, and then go to her room, off, at night". And when asked if slave women like Lucy usually have husbands, Picquet responded that "some of them do; but some of them do not. They can't have any husbands, because their masters have them all the time". Lucy and her children were sold in New Orleans at the same time as Louisa Picquet, and each of the white men, by whom Lucy had been abused or had a semi-consensual relationships with, bought their children.[xxvi] Lucy's sexual labour in the household of Cook was certainly much different to the experience of Louisa Picquet in the household of Mr Williams. Whilst it is possible that Mr Cook fathered one or more of her children, the fact that other men were allowed sexual access to Lucy meant that there is no clear evidence for the jealousy that was often a characteristic of the owner–sex slave relationship. Williams would not allow Picquet any involvement with other men. Picquet told Mattison that Williams "was always so jealous. He never let me go out anywhere".[xxvii]

"Light girl" from Charleston

The fourth victim of sexual violence mentioned in the narrative (after Elizabeth, Lucy, and Louisa) is an unnamed woman, referred to as a "very light girl" from Charleston. The girl's owner was also the master of an unnamed light-skinned enslaved man who Picquet, for anonymity, referred to as "T". Picquet had once planned to marry "T". "T"'s owner kept the "very light girl" in separate quarters and it was the job of "T" to bring the woman living under sexual slavery to the master whenever he wanted her. Picquet told Mattison that the time came when another

dark-skinned male, jealous of favouritism shown by the master towards the lighter-skinned enslaved man indicated to him that the "T" and the "light girl" were in a relationship. The owner believed it and "whipped him [T] awfully" and then sent to woman "off to New Orleans".[xxviii]

Mr Picquet's Mother

In a section of the narrative named "Another Southern Household", Mattison introduced Henry Picquet, Louisa's husband, and the son of a slave owner and an enslaved woman. Picquet told Mattison that Mr Picquet's father

> bought my husband's mother, and live with her public. I knew all about it there, before I left Georgia. She had four other children, but he never uses them as slaves. They are his children…. when he got married, he sent them all to Cincinnati, the mother and five children. It would be unpleasant for them all to stay there together (i.e., his wife, his sex slave and her children).[xxix]

While Mr Picquet's father had lived with his mother "in public", he also cast her aside when the time came for him to marry a white woman. The abolitionist, James Redpath, asserted that "not one per cent of the native male whites in the South arrive at the age of manhood morally uncontaminated by the influences of slavery".[xxx] Evidence, in fact, points to sexual relationships with enslaved women as a sinister part of growing up as a slaveholding male in the pre-Civil War South. Picquet's narrative reveals that Mr Randolph, Mr Cook and Mr Williams all had white wives and/or children.

Mr Williams had four children, all boys, and while Picquet did not mention her relationship with these children, they were doubtlessly aware that they lived with four half-siblings with the status of 'slave'. There is no indication that they maintained contact with the woman who took the place of the mother in their household and the reader is left to speculate on the effect this had on their future behaviour, especially relationships with women, black or white. From this, however, we can deduce that young southern males were culturally educated in the legitimated practice of sexual slavery; the ideas, language, and practice of sexual slavery were passed from generation to generation of white males to become either part of a life cycle or a way of life. This was open between white male family members, and

Picquet later revealed that Williams' brother lent him money to purchase her as a 'housekeeper'.

Mr Picquet's first wife

Picquet told Mattison that her current husband, Henry Picquet, had been married to an enslaved woman previously. They came to part when the enslaved woman's owner sold her away from Henry. Henry Picquet was able to borrow money from his white father with the intention of purchasing his wife's freedom from her new master, but when he arrived in her new home of Macon, Georgia "he found he could not have her any more for his wife. You see, the gentleman had bought her for himself". The slave owner told Mr Picquet that he could buy his child, so that's what he did, and raised the child himself. Picquet described the girl as the "smartest one" and the "darkest one" in the house. She did betray her white ancestry through her straight hair that was, "only little bit wavy".[xxxi] The slave owner was not willing to part with the woman whom he had purchased specifically to sexually assault, though he was willing to separate her from her child. The new owner clearly had little respect for the marriage between the black woman and the free man of colour.

The experiences of the women living under sexual slavery listed in Picquet's narrative all differ slightly, though all indicate a sexual relationship with the master that was coercive, violent, and psychologically distressing; women were abused from an early age and separated from their children and other loved ones. Additionally, their position led to a high chance of sale, frequently placed back into the 'fancy trade'.

At the slave market, Louisa Picquet was clearly marketed for sexual slavery. Historians have found that there was a specific demand for light-skinned enslaved women in the slave markets of the South. Michael Tadman discovered that whilst the prices for light-skinned slaves were generally lower than for those with darker-skin, light-skinned women generally gained a higher price at the slave market.[xxxii] These women were labelled "fancy women", or "fancies", and while they were most often sold under the guise of domestic servants, buyers would know that they were to be exploited for explicitly sexual purposes.[xxxiii] The auctioneer later told potential buyers that Louisa was

> a good-lookin' girl, and a good nurse, and kind and affectionate to children; but I was never used to any hard work. He told them they could see that. My

> hair was quite short, and the auctioneer spoke about it, but said, 'You see it good quality, and give it a little time, it will grow out again.'[xxxiv]

Though there was no explicit description of Louisa as a "fancy", the slave trader described her in terms that implied the role for which she was destined. Her outward appearance of light skin was first pointed out to the potential buyers. Maurie McInnis, through her research of abolitionist art and the American slave trade, wrote that slave traders took care to point out the gradations in skin tone in order to imply the popularity of lighter-skinned women in the slave market, especially in places such as Natchez and New Orleans.[xxxv] The auctioneer layered this with the description of Picquet as having little experience of "hard work", and projected a special image of Picquet out onto the buyers who were fluent in the language of abuse, and knew exactly the life to which she had been predestined for by her skin color and clear familial history of sexual slavery.

Williams purchased Picquet as his "housekeeper". Picquet told Mattison "Everybody knew I was housekeeper, but he never let on that he was the father of my children".[xxxvi] Historian Emily Clark wrote that one of the mainstays of the "mulatresse" identity in Haiti maintained by the refugees landed in New Orleans was that of the role of the "menagerie" or housekeeper. The free women of colour who took on this role could be expected to be a housekeeper and a sexual partner. This arrangement could last a few weeks, or until the white man married a white wife. It evolved into what became known in New Orleans as "plaçage".[xxxvii] The institutions that developed in New Orleans in the antebellum period allowed men of all socio-economic backgrounds sexual, exploitative and abusive access to free women of colour and of enslaved women. Picquet's narrative tells us that the sexual abuse of black women of all skin tones was not limited to elite white men. While rich men could afford a more permanent arrangement with a free woman of colour, for which they could provide a house and security for any children produced, men with more limited resources, such as Mr Williams, could borrow money to purchase a woman who served the dual purpose of keeping his house and becoming his sexual partner. Williams himself borrowed money from his brother, again indicating that abuse was open, naturalized and morally permissible amongst southern males.

In spite of the demand for light-skinned women in the slave market, sexual slavery was not entirely reserved for women with lighter skin. Walter Johnson has written that "whiteness" and "blackness" was mapped onto bodies in the slave market

according to imagined coordinates; certain 'lightening' or 'darkening' characteristics, such as occupation and dress indicated to slave buyers that a woman was destined for a life of sexual slavery.[xxxviii]

<u>Whiteness and sexual slavery</u>

Through the layering of these experiences of sexual violence, Picquet described a slave system where sexual slavery had become normalised, legitimised, and endemic. While Picquet had "every appearance" of a white lady, in the slave market there were "plenty" of "white" girls like her who underwent physical examination before being purchased for their sexual labour.[xxxix] Picquet and her amanuensis were keen to impress upon the reader the significance of the light-skinned persons encountered by Picquet, and then to intricately link this skin tone to the intergenerational nature of sexual violence.[xl] Skin colour and occupation interacted to form a special potential for abuse, which was created and sustained, not just in the mind of an individual, but in an entire culture.[xli]

Picquet was quizzed on the skin colour of every person she brought into her story: "[w]as your mother white?"; "[w]ere there any others there white like you?"; "[w]ere your children Mulattoes?"; "[w]ho was this Lucy?...[w]hat was her color?"; "[i]s she as white as you are?"; "[i]s he a white man or colored?"; "[i]s she as white as your children?". The linking of the words "as" and "white" reflected Mattison's acceptance of the instability of race. Proslavery theorists had sought to deepen white anxieties that the abolition of slavery would lead to inter-marriage and the degeneracy of the 'races', but here Mattison demonstrated a point he had already made in the *New York Herald* a couple of years earlier, that "[s]lavery is the foster parent of fornication and adultery", not abolition.[xlii]

Louisa was asked about her mother's previous masters and implied sexual violence in order to establish the 'whiteness' of herself, her mother and younger brother. Mattison asked if she had ever had a husband and tried to determine who had fathered her mother's children. Mr Cook had fathered the other children, as far as Louisa knew. Peculiarly Mattison also asked if her mother was "white", an interesting choice of words, considering Mattison was aware that she was living under slavery at that time. Louisa replied; "yeah she was pretty white; not white enough for white people. She have long hair, but it was kind a wavy".[xliii] By trying to determine the extent of her 'whiteness', Mattison was layering the particular moments of

interracial sex and potential, but not explicitly stated, sexual violence. From this, intergenerational sexual exploitation emerged as an embedded, systemic, and self-replicating feature of American slavery.

Nowhere were 'blacks' and 'whites' seen more as binary opposites than in the intellectual and legal culture of the nineteenth century slave South. Scientific racism, especially through the American School of Ethnology, advanced a biological argument for black inferiority based on real or imagined physiological and anatomical differences. In a culture in which privilege was based on skin colour, to minimize the visible differences between the 'races' was a threat to inequality. The work of Mattison and other abolitionists, after the Dred Scott case in 1857 that denied American citizenship to all non-whites, was, in effect to reverse the view of whites and blacks as polar opposites.[xliv] In this pamphlet, Mattison recast a new theory of race, in which people were not categorized, but put on a spectrum. Mattison encouraged readers in the North to think about race in a similar manner to whites in the South, whites in the South were very aware of gradations in skin tone and Mattison wished to link this with sexual violence.

Behavioural Violence and Pain

Slavery rested on a complex web of societal, psychological, emotional and political technologies that constituted its peculiar 'structural violence'. The most well known form of this violence was the behavioural violence that Thomas Jefferson referred to as, "the most boisterous passions", and "the most unremitting despotism" in slave-owners. According to Thomas Jefferson, "our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal". Southern children, according to Jefferson were "nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny". The process described by Jefferson in this instance was how direct violence ("boisterous passions" and "unremitting despotism") became normalised as part of the enabling structures of slavery.[xlv]

Edward Baptist has recently discussed the 'violent supervision' of overseers on plantations. Space on slaveholding units was organised in order that the largest possible audience witnessed exemplary punishment. Similarly, the scourged backs of enslaved people served as a visual reminder and proof that extreme violence was always a real threat for enslaved people. Threats of death such as Mr Williams' warning to Louisa that if she didn't "behave" then he would "whip her to death",

served as a psychological reminder to enslaved people of of the disposability of the enslaved body.[xlvi] While sexual violence and non-sexual violence could be considered two separate technologies of slaveholding with potentially separate motivations and cognitions of the offender, the narrative of Picquet can highlight the way that these two processes became linked in the subjugation of enslaved people. Picquet was repeatedly whipped for sexual insubordination.

Picquet described both opportunistic and calculated violence. At age fourteen, Cook began to sexually harass Picquet. She recounted an instance where Cook had asked her to come to his room to see him, she remembered him telling her

> if I didn't he'd give me hell in the morning…I promised him I would, for I was afraid to say any thing else… Then I came to conclusion he could not do any thing but whip me--he could not kill me for it; an' I made up my mind to take the whippin'. So I didn't go that night.[xlvii]

Cook carried through with the punishment. She remembered he 'whip me with the cowhide, naked, so I 'spect I'll take some of the marks with me to the grave. One of them I know I will." Mattison included an aside that '[Here Mrs. P. declines explaining further how he whipped her, though she had told our hostess where this was written; but it is too horrible and indelicate to be read in a civilized country.][xlviii] In order to convey to the reader the pain of the violence that she was subjected to, Mattison asked "Did he whip you hard, so as to raise marks?" She responded, "Oh yes. He never whip me in his life but what he leave the mark on, I was dressed so thin. He kept asking me, all the time he was whippin' me, if I intended to mind him."[xlix]

In Cook's violent punishment of Louisa, there is a calculated decision to cause harm. In making Picquet strip before whipping her he ensured that her lack of clothing would both make her feel humiliated, and feel the maximum amount of pain – thus increasing the chances of the violent episode having the desired effect (of her changing her decision-making in future). That this violent episode was linked to a sexual desire for Louisa meant that there may have been irrational factors that affected the severity of the attack: Picquet may have insulted Cook's 'honor', thus potentially increasing his aggression. She also remembered that he would often be violent when drunk "He had two or three kinds of drunks. Sometimes he would begin to fight at the front door, and fight every thing he come to. At other times he would be real funny."[l] The violent episodes served to remind the enslaved girl that her sexual

potential, like her labouring potential, was not her own.

The physical pain that Picquet described during this episode is a theme in the narrative. Mattison chose to end the piece with a chapter entitled “slave-burning”; here he included numerous newspaper accounts of the burning alive of enslaved people, and not just light-skinned slaves. While simultaneously demonstrating the barbarity of slavery, and the humanity of black people, he also sought from his audience sympathy for all enslaved people, dark and light-skinned alike.[li] ‘Pain’ had become ever more racialized as the slavery debate gained fervour. Ideas of the insensitivity of Africans to pain had been around since at least the sixteenth century when travellers to Africa told tales of the insensitivity of African women to pain during childbirth.[lii] In one New Orleans medical journal in 1851, physician Samuel Cartwright described a condition called “Dysaesthesia Aetiopis”, where African American victims were insensitive to pain when subjected to punishment”.[liii] Through stressing the ‘whiteness’ of the abused people under slavery in the United States, Mattison fostered sympathy in the audience and condemnation for the brutal institution of slavery.

Emotional Violence and Emotional Resistance

The emotional impact of slavery was a multi-pronged attack on enslaved people that included the constant threat of violence or sexual violence from an early age, real or threatened separation from loved ones, and ritualised humiliation. Picquet described her humiliation in the slave market’s inspection room:

> They began to take the clothes off of me, and a gentleman said they needn’t do that, and told them to take me out. He said he knew I was a virtuous girl, and he'd buy me, anyhow. He didn't strip me only just under my shoulders.

This was the second time in the narrative, after her violent whipping, that Picquet had been ordered by white men to remove her clothes. Young girls under slavery were, however, likely to have been prepared for sexual violence and this kind of humiliation from a young age. Louisa’s mother became a victim of sexual violence some time before she was fifteen, the age at which she gave birth to Picquet. Louisa’s description of her time spent at a boarding house in Georgia reveals the extent to which the abuse of children had been normalised in slaveholding culture. Picquet was just fourteen when Mr Cook began to sexually harass her. In the section entitled, “Intrigues of a Married ‘Southern Gentleman’” she remembered, “I was a little girl,

not fourteen years old. One day Mr Cook told me I must come to his room that night, and take care of him…I was afraid to go there that night."[liv]

Mrs Bachelor, a white Scottish woman who ran the boarding house, tried to protect Picquet against Mr Cook's persistent advances, yet he did not cease his harassment. Mrs Bachelor hid Louisa when Mr Cook sent for her once more and told the cruel master that perhaps she "had gone out with some children, and got to playin', and didn't know it was so late". This tragic element of the narrative is a direct acknowledgement that Picquet was still a child, even by the standards of nineteenth century sexual maturity.[lv] Harriet Jacobs described the age of fifteen as a "sad epoch" in the life of a slave girl when her master began to whisper "foul words" in her ear.[lvi] Picquet, who, like Jacobs, was not a rape victim at this stage, was nonetheless the victim of sexual harassment as a child.

Other emotional attacks on enslaved children included the separation of mother and child in the slave market. We see throughout the narrative that the slave market is used as a rhetorical device both by Picquet, but also by the slaveholders. The threat of the slave market was omnipresent, and Picquet told Mattison that Mr Williams would often threaten to put her "in his pocket". It was also used as punishment in the case of the "light girl" whom the slave-owner suspected was having a relationship with Louisa's friend "T". Picquet and "T" were separated through this episode, as "T" was forced to run away in order to avoid punishment.[lvii] Threats of the slave market represented the power that slaveholders had both over the bodies of enslaved people – but also the assault on emotional wellbeing formed through familial relationships.

Interestingly, we meet "T" again later in the narrative; he had passed into white society and married a white woman who was unaware of his racial status. Louisa did not mention his real name, as she was afraid that he would be discovered, Mattison declared, "if only the public knew!" By this point in the narrative it is clear that Picquet and her mother were not isolated cases but part of an oppressed community of light-skinned slaves. It is Picquet's connectedness with this network of enslaved people that were supportive and had similar experiences that demonstrates the survival mechanisms of enslaved people.

Historians have argued that enslaved people may have undergone a form of "soul murder" in which they were rendered unable to form attachments and relationships, yet Picquet remained loyal to her mother, had a healthy marriage to Mr

Picquet, and would also aid fugitives who were escaping slavery.[lviii] Walter Johnson has highlighted the relationship of "everyday" forms of resistance to "revolutionary" forms of resistance that have misleadingly been put in opposition. In demonstrating an everyday psychological strength and ability to survive the violence that she suffered, Picquet subverted the aims of slavery's violence, and undermined the mechanisms on which its subjugating structures were built.[lix]

Recent studies have shown that supportive and reassuring responses when sexual abuse is reported can significantly reduce feelings of shame, guilt, anxiety or depression and also aid the maintenance of close relationships with both men and women.[lx] Louisa Picquet went on to form a seemingly healthy marriage to Henry Picquet, and her intricate knowledge of the abuse suffered by her husband's female family members clearly demonstrates that sexual abuse under slavery had been discussed openly amongst the couple. Louisa Picquet was also connected to a mainly light-skinned network of people who were either children born of rape, or had lived lives of sexual slavery. Louisa's mother was a rape victim, as was her future husband's mother and first-wife. Picquet's narrative builds a picture of a slave sub-community that was understanding, supportive, and resilient. Louisa Picquet and her mother Elizabeth Randolph both lived lives of sexual slavery from their young teenage years, yet they were able to go on to form loving families and maintain a close bond. Deborah Gray White in her important work on enslaved women described the functions of enslaved female networks. She wrote that few women would have been able to survive sexual harassment or exploitation "without friends, without female company".[lxi] The friendships and familial networks that Picquet was able to maintain, with black and white women alike, allowed her a sense of emotional wellbeing and ensured that she was somewhat emotionally and psychologically resilient in the face of the inevitable sexual violence that lay ahead.

Sociologists list willing submission to rape as a cognitive measure that allows women a sense of agency when the risk of direct physical resistance is too high.[lxii] Picquet demonstrated control over her body through opting to submit to her inevitable abuse. The first time she demonstrated this cognitive resistance strategy was when she was a young teenager and staying with Mr Cook at the boarding house. Picquet told Reverend Mattison that

> when he [Mr Cook] was whippin' me so awfully, I made up my mind 'twas of no use, and I'd go, and not be whipped anymore…I

> saw he was bent on it, and I could not get Mrs. Bachelor to protect
> me anymore.[lxiii]

In this instance, Picquet opted to submit to avoid further physical punishment and repercussions for the white lady who had tried to protect her. She did this again with her next master, Mr Williams. Picquet recalled that her Williams told her that he would "blow my brains out" if she dared to escape his abuse. Picquet thought to herself, "if that be the way, all I could do was just to pray for him to die".[lxiv] In neither case was Picquet a passive victim, by choosing to submit she refused to allow her potential rapist to control over events and therefore have complete power over her. Louise Kelly described this as "learned helplessness", a form of coping when the options to resist are very limited.[lxv]

When the victim of sexual abuse was a child, resistance strategies were further confined. Picquet demonstrated, however, that even young enslaved girls found ways to protect their physical and emotional wellbeing. As well as using avoidance strategies by limiting the time spent in Mr Cook's company and hiding from him when he searched for her, Picquet maintained a psychological strength in other ways. She made fun of Mr Cook, telling Mattison that when Cook asked her if she would "mind him" while he was whipping her, "of course I told him I would, because I was gettin' a whippin". She was both resilient and strong in this instance.[lxvi]

In another example of childhood resilience, there was an incident in which Mr Cook, after drinking alcohol, gave her some money in return for her sexual submission. As he was drunk at the time, she managed to get away, and bought a dress with the money. While she knew that Mr Cook wanted the money back, she told Mattison that she "had sense enough to know he would not dare tell anyone that he gave me the money, and would hardly dare to whip me for it".[lxvii] The dress that she purchased became a symbol of her resistance to sexual violence. After Picquet was sold to Williams, she recalled, "I wanted to go back and get the dress I bought with the half-dollars…. Then I thought mother could cut it up and make dresses for my brother, the baby…I had a thought, too, that she'd have it to remember me".[lxviii] She transformed it to an item that demonstrated the close bond of family, in spite of the sexual violence endured by multiple generations of their women.

According to cognitive theories, an individual has sets of pre-existing beliefs and models of the world, of others, and of themselves, which are products of prior experiences.[lxix] As abuse was so endemic in the southern United States, it was

unlikely to be "incompatible" with established world-views. Louisa Picquet demonstrated her knowledge of sexual slavery from an early age, she was a product of the practice, and grew up in an environment with at least two other women who had experienced it (Lucy and her mother). As a young girl, before her sexual harassment started, she even had conversations with Mrs Cook, her mistress, regarding the immorality of the practice under slavery. The sexual abuse of enslaved women was a part of Picquet's world-view from a very young age.

There are signs that Picquet suffered adverse mental health, she told Mattison that Mr Williams was so disagreeable that she wished he would sell her, as she "had no peace at all" and said that she would "rather die than live in that way".[lxx] In the chapter of her narrative entitled, "Inside views of another Southern family", Picquet spoke frankly of what she felt was the immorality of her situation. Mrs Cook, Picquet's previous mistress had imposed these feelings on her through her animosity to the sex slave "Lucy". Mrs Cook told her that "when folks had children that way they must be married like she was to her husband. It was adultery to stay with anyone without bein' married".[lxxi] But while Louisa was deeply troubled by the morality of the position she was in, she did not lose sight that it was the white abusers that were to blame.[lxxii]

Picquet's narrative is revealing of the inner structures of slavery; the mechanisms of subjugation employed by slaveholder, but also the emotional tools that enslaved people utilised in order for them to resist absolute psychological enslavement, and strive for their own space within the institution of slavery. This space could be forged through family, religion, or another cultural form; or outside of slavery, through making practical plans for freedom through emancipation, or escape. Picquet cared deeply for both her family and friends; she had a deep knowledge of the similar experiences of her enslaved friends, but also sacrificed herself to a whipping in order that Mr Cook did not cause trouble for Mrs Bachelor, the white boarding house owner whom Picquet considered "the best friend I had".[lxxiii] The narrative poses additional lines of inquiry for scholars. While Deborah Gray White and Sergio Lussana have done important work on friendships intra-gender friendships, the role that men played in helping enslaved women through sexual violence has yet to be fully probed. The close knowledge of sexual violence that "T" and Henry Picquet related to Louisa Picquet indicates that men might have played a closer role in aiding

the emotional survival of enslaved women, especially when their close female friends or family members had been victims.

The narrative demonstrates the scale on which sexual slavery was occurring in the southern States and that this sexual violence was a reality for women from a young age. It adds further intricacy to what we know about the demand for "fancy girls" in the domestic slave trade.[lxxiv] The 'language of abuse' which linked physical appearance and occupation to sexual victimhood was being developed in the slave market in order to gain a higher price for women such as Louisa Picquet, and the presence of women living under sexual slavery in alongside children in abusive slaveholding households meant that the language was learned and the cycle of sexual violence was perpetuated. Sexual violence was just one part of a number of broadly conceptualized violences including both emotional violence and behavioral punishment that had become mechanisms of subjugation. This violence was a deeply embedded and toxic element of the culture of the slaveholding South.

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[i] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 6.
[ii] For discussion of the movement of enslaved people by planter migration see Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, pp. 228-36.
[iii] *Ibid.,* p. 18.
[iv] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[v] *The Liberator* 29 August 1856 (Boston, MA), in ‘An Appeal To All Members of the Great Methodist Family, Affiliating with the Methodist Episcopal Church, Throughout the World’.
[vi] *The Liberator* 29 July 1859 (Boston, MA)
[vii] *New York Herald* 01 October 1859, 26 October 1860 (New York, NY).
[viii] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 24.
[ix] *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 24, 29, 33.
[x] *Ibid*., pp. 6, 51.
[xi] H. Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) [Originally Boston: Thayer & Eldridge, 1858] ; S. Truth, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* Minneola: Dover Publications, 1997 [Originally Boston: The Author, 1850]
[xii] Foster wrote in the introduction to the second edition of her book that her decision to exclude all third-person accounts, along with other sampling decisions, left her study with only one female slave narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* Foster, *Witnessing Slavery*, pp. *xxi-xxii*.
[xiii] In the 1960s scholars began to reject many aspects of Ulrich B. Phillips’ work, which had described abolitionists as needless ‘fanatics’. Despite this, there was still a tendency to focus on the abolitionists attempts to absolve themselves from a ‘morally corrupting proslavery culture’, rather than on their forcing that culture to change. See discussion in Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, pp. 3-9. Abolitionist exploitation was a prominent theme in proslavery propaganda. On 5 December 1859, *The New York Herald* printed an article which implied that abolitionism was not an altruistic activity, “…the topic of slavery was seized upon by some of the new school sensation preachers, whose idea of preaching Christ and Him crucified consists in making the largest amount of money in pew premiums. The cross they bear is stamped with the Mintmark. They are martyrs who are well known in Wall Street...’, in other words, the abolitionists were catering to a public demand for their own pecuniary profit, rather than out of a humanitarian enthusiasm for antislavery.
[xiv] Fulton, *Speaking Power: Black Feminist Orality in Women's Narratives of Slavery*, pp. 22, 26, 40-43; R. Ferguson described ‘mulatta texts’ which are often built on a power struggle between the oral narrator and the amanuensis, Ferguson, ‘The Mulatta Text and the Muted Voice’, p. 49; Barthelemy, *Collected Black Women’s Narratives*, p. *xli*.
[xv] Schafer, *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana*, pp. 180-200.
[xvi] Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon*, p. 9.

[xvii] Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood*; Kennedy, *Braided Relations, Entwined Lives*; Troutman, 'Slave Trade and Sentiment in Antebellum Virginia'; Troutman, ''Black' Concubines, 'Yellow' Wives, 'White' Children'.
[xviii] Lussana, 'To See Who Was Best on the Plantation'; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection;* Forret, *Slave Against Slave: Plantation Violence in the Old South;* Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams.*
[xix] Lee, Causes and Cures I: Toward a New Definition, pp. 199-203. In 2002, the World Health Organisation defined violence as 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.' Krug et al, Word Report on Violence and Health p. 5.
[xx] Lussana, 'No Band of Brothers Could Be More Loving'; Williams, *Help Me to Find My People.*
[xxi] Painter, *Southern History across the Color Line*, pp. 15-40; Parent and Wallace, 'Childhood and Sexual Identity under Slavery', pp. 363-401.
[xxii] Boykin Miller Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, p. 29.
[xxiii] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 6.
[xxiv] Johnson, *Soul by Soul,* p. 139.
[xxv] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 50.
[xxvi] *Ibid.,* p. 21.
[xxvii] *Ibid.,* pp. 18-9.
[xxviii] *Ibid.,* pp. 8-10.
[xxix] *Ibid.,* p. 26.
[xxx] Redpath, *The Roving Editor,* p. 222-23.
[xxxi] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 27.
[xxxii]Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, pp. 125-27.
[xxxiii] Michael Tadman, Edward Baptist, Walter Johnson -- and more recently Maurie McInnis -- have all written on the subject of "fancies" in the internal slave trade. Walter Johnson described the process by which the 'whiteness' of the light-skinned enslaved woman was packaged by the traders and 'imagined into meaning' by the slave-buyers, Johnson, 'The Slave Trader, the White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination in the 1850s'. In the correspondence of slave traders, Baptist found mulatto women described in terms of 'commodity fetishism', Baptist, 'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One-Eyed Men': Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States'. McInnis wrote that slave traders took care to point out the gradations in skin tone in order to imply the popularity of lighter-skinned women in the slave market, especially in places such as Natchez and New Orleans. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale*, p. 139.
[xxxiv] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 17.
[xxxv] McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale,* p. 139.
[xxxvi] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 19.
[xxxvii] An enslaved "housekeeper", such as Louisa, could have been purchased in the early nineteenth century for $1500 to $5233. Clark, *The American Quadroon,* pp. 63, 164-65.
[xxxviii] Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, p. 139.
[xxxix] Picquet*, The Octoroon*, p. 3.
[xl] The identities of Picquet's readers are unclear. Frances Smith Foster, in her book-length study of slave narratives, wrote that they were likely to have been written for three types of reader, 'those who seek improvement, those who seek entertainment, and those who seek both amusement and entertainment'. Writers and amanuenses of ex-slave narratives did to some extent play on the sensationalism inherent in stories of enslavement, the issues tackled in Picquet's narrative and in this entire genre were both valid and worthy of the attention of their readership. Foster, *Witnessing Slavery*, p. 64. References to sexually abused light skinned women appear throughout the Picquet narrative. See Picquet*, The Octoroon,* pp. 6 (abuse of Louisa's mother by John Randolph); 7-8 (abuse of Louisa's mother by Mr Cook); 8 ('Very light' girl kept as a sex slave); 10 (start of Louisa's harassment); 16 (Louisa stripped at auction); 17 (Auctioneer's description of Louisa; 18 Mr Williams tells Louisa that he bought her to be his sex slave); 19 (Louisa tells Mattison that she had four children by Mr Williams); 20 (abuse of Lucy a 'right white' woman by numerous white men); 21 (Louisa laments that enslaved women cannot have husbands because of the abuse by white men); 21 (Lucy had two sisters who were 'kept' by white men); 26 (case of Mr Picquet's mother who was kept as a 'sex slave' before being sent away when her master married); 27 (Mr Picquet's first wife is sold as a 'sex slave').
[xli] See Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood*, esp. pp. 92-129 where the role of time and place in the formation of the link between black women and sexual availability is discussed. See also Baptist, 'Cuffy," "Fancy Maids," and "One-Eyed Men": Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade

in the United States'; McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale*, pp. 139; Troutman, 'Slave Trade and Sentiment', pp. 101-115.
[xlii]*Ibid.,* pp. 8, 16, 19- 20, 25-27; H. Mattison, sermon reprinted in the *New York Herald,* 12 Dec 1859.
[xliii] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* pp. 7-8.
[xliv] Dred Scott was an enslaved man in the United States who unsuccessfully sued for his freedom and that of his wife and their two daughters in the Dred Scott v. Sandford case of 1857. The Supreme Court ruled that 1. No black person could be a citizen of the United States and 2. Slavery could not be constitutionally prohibited in American territories. Introductory studies to the Dred Scott decision and the increased polarization of race after this see M. A. Graber *Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil* (New York, 2006) and D. T. Konig, P. Finkelman & C. A. Bracey (eds.), *The Dred Scott Case: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Race and Law* (Athens, OH, 2010).
[xlv] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* p.298-9.
[xlvi] *Ibid.,* p. 18.
[xlvii] *Ibid.,* p.12
[xlviii] *Ibid.,* pp.14-15
[xlix] *Ibid.,* p.12.
[l]*Ibid.,* p. 7.
[li] For further discussion on racialized/gendered perceptions of the pain of others see M. Pernick. *Calculus of Suffering: Pain, Professionalism and Anaesthesia in Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York, 1985).
[lii] See J. L. Morgan "Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder": Male Travellers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770, in *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 1 (1997), especially pp. 187-192. Morgan discussed the discourse created by travellers on both the fecundity of African women and their capacity to bear children without pain.
[liii] See T. Dormandy, *The Worst of Evils: The Fight Against Pain* (New Haven, 2006), p. 295.
[liv] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 10
[lv] *Ibid.,* p. 15.
[lvi] Jacobs, *Incidents in the life of a Slave Girl,* p. 44.
[lvii] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 19.
[lviii] Emotional survival means the ability to reconstruct one's life in order that the sexual attack does not continue to have a lasting and negative impact. Sociologist Liz Kelly has defined "survival" as "continuing to exist after the life threatening experience that is a part of many instances of sexual violence": survival can be emotional or physical Kelly, *Surviving Sexual Violence,* p. 162-3.
[lix] See also, Lussana, 'No Band of Brothers Could Be More Loving'.
[lx] Campbell, Ahrens, Sefl, Wasco, & Bames, 'Social reactions to rape victims'; Ullman, 'Social reactions, coping strategies and self-blame'.
[lxi] White, *Aren't I a Woman,* p.141.
[lxii] Burgess and Holstrom, 'The Coping Behavior of the Rape Victim', pp. 413-18.
[lxiii] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p.10.
[lxiv] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[lxv] Kelly, *Surviving Sexual Violence,* p. 181.
[lxvi] *Picquet, The Octoroon,* p. 12.
[lxvii] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[lxviii] *Ibid.,* p. 19.
[lxix] Vees-Gulani, *Trauma and Guilt*, p. 30.
[lxx] Picquet, *The Octoroon,* p. 19.
[lxxi] *Ibid.,* pp. 19-20.
[lxxii]*Ibid.,* p. 19.
[lxxiii] *Picquet, The Octoroon,* p. 14.
[lxxiv] Recently reemerging debates on the broader changes occurring in the rapidly modernizing economy of the South have linked the commodification of enslaved women (sex slaves) to other financial behaviours of slaveholding men. Sex slaves were not just sexual partners for white men, they were commodities on which they had speculated. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told,* p. 243; Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams,* p. 195; Kaye, *The Second Slavery,* pp. 627-50.