

Document #1793-02-15-04 – Mariana Secures Freedom for her Sister, Pelagia

K4BL Abstract: Mariana Marcos (*alias* Voisin), *negra libre*, filed a freedom suit to compel the emancipation of her sister, Pelagie, who is enslaved by Pierre Olivier D'Anneville, for the price of her fair valuation. Successful in her suit, Mariana's sister Pelagie is ordered free by the Spanish *audiencia* at New Orleans. As an example of the *coartación* process, it not only demonstrates the changes that were made to slave law during the Spanish period, but it also highlights the importance of kinship to both enslaved and free people of color in Louisiana.

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WPA Abstract: Suit brought by Mariana Voisin (Mariana Marcos), free black woman, to compel the emancipation of her sister, Pelagie, slave of Pierre Olivier Darmeville [*sic*].

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Gov./Ximenez

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Names: White - Darmeville, Pierre Olivier; D'Erneville, Pierre Olivier; D'Anneville, Pierre Olivier; Don Pedro Olivier; Canes, Francisco Ramon; Canes, Juan Ramón "*el Curro*"; Carondelet, Francisco Luis Hector Baron de; Guinault, Felipe; Guinault, Santiago; Liotau, Luis; Liotau, Loüis; Vidal, Nicolás María; Ximenez, Carlos; Ximenes, Carlos
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Año de 1793	Year 1793
Promovidos por Mariana Marcos contra D ⁿ Pedro Olivier sobre que sale estime para obtener su Libertad____	Proceedings for Mariana Marcos versus <i>Don Pedro Olivier</i> in order to get an estimate to obtain her freedom.
N. ^o 119____	No. 119____
juez el s ^{or}	Judge, the Lord
Gov. ^{or}	Governor
Esc. ^{no} Ximenes	Notary, Ximenes
[moderno, a lápiz rojo] #3059	[modern, in red pencil] #3059
[moderno, a lápiz] Feb 15, 1793	[modern, in pencil] Feb. 15, 1793
[moderno, a lápiz rojo] #2981	[modern, in red pencil] #2981
[f. 0 verso] [dig.3]	[p. #2] [dig.3]
[en blanco]	[blank]
[f. 1r] [dig.4]	[p. #3] [dig.4]
Mariana Marcos alias Voisin	Mariana Marcos, <i>alias</i> Voisin,
negra libre vecina de esta Ciudad, ante V.	negra libre, householder of this city, [comes]
como mas haya lugar en drô paresco y digo	before you,
que tengo una hermana mia esclava de	in conformity with the law, stands and states:

<p>Dⁿ Olivier Darmeville llamada Pelagia alaqual deseando dar la libertad por el precio de su Justa tasacion paraq^u se verifique nombro por mi Apreciador D^r [Francisco] Ramon Cane [Canes] <i>alias</i> de Curro suplicando a V_____ haberla por nombrado precediendo su accep^{on} y Juramento y hacer saber a la otra parte nombre el suyo dentro del termino de dos dias y de lo contrario se elegir de oficio paraq^u ambos procedan a dha estimacion por tanto</p>	<p>That I have a sister of mine, <i>esclava</i> of <i>Don</i> Olivier D'Anneville, named Pelagia, for whom I wish to grant freedom for the price of her fair valuation, so for that reason I have named as my appraiser <i>Don</i> [Francisco] Ramón Canes, known as <i>el Curro</i>,ⁱ pleading of Your Lordship to have the aforenamed, following your acceptance, take [his] oath, and make known to the other party [to] name their [appraiser] within two days, otherwise he shall be chosen <i>ex officio</i>, so [that] both [parties] can proceed with the said estimate, thusly.</p>
<p>AVs Sup^{co} se sirva prover y mandar como pido con Justicia costas Juro no ser de malicia y enlo neces^o &.[~]</p>	<p>Your Lordship, I beg you to provide and order as I request with due justice, costs, and I swear to not be of malice, and as is necessary, etc.</p>
<p>Por Mariana Voisin [Firmado:] Felipe Guinault</p>	<p>For Mariana Voisin, [Signed:] Felipe Guinault</p>
<p>[f. 1v] [dig.5]</p>	<p>[p. #4] [dig.5]</p>
<p>Por presentada: Y atento à ser la dili- gencia, que se pide por la suplicante para el fin, que propone de la liber- tad de la Negra Pelagia, procedase à la estimacion de esta; para la qual se ha por nombrado por su parte al su- geto que se expresa procedase, à quien se hará</p>	<p>Filed: And [in] consideration of the proceedings that have been initiated by the supplicant, for the purpose [of] proposing the freedom of the <i>negra</i> Pelagia, proceed to the valuation of her, for which has been appointed the named subject [Canes] as expressed, to whom will be made</p>

saver para Su aceptacion, y Juramento, que se comete, instruyendose de la presente Solicitud, y de esta Providencia á D.ⁿ Olivier Darneville, que se dice ser amo de la referida Esclava, á quien se prevendra, que dentro de segundo dia nombre otro apreciador de su satisfaccion con apencerimiento que de no complirlo se executará de Oficio.

[Rubrica, Carondelet] [Rubrica, Vidal]

Proveyolo el S. Don Francisco Baron de Carondelet Cavallero de la Religion de S.ⁿ Juan Cornel de los R.^s Extōs Gov.^{or} Vise Parrono è Ynt.^c Gräl, de esta Provincia dela Luiciana por S.M. con dictamen y á cuerdo del S.^{or} D.^{or} D.ⁿ Nicolas Maria Vidal Th.^e de Gov.^{or} Auditor de Guerra

[f. 2r] [dig.6]

y Asesor Gräl del Gobierno qué lo rubricaror en esta Ciudad de la Nueva Orleans a quinze de Febrero de mil setecientos noventa y tres años

[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenes

aware for his acceptance, and oath, which is to be committed, [and] communicate the present request, and this ruling, to *Don Olivier D'Anneville*, who is the said master of the referenced slave, to whom it will [also] be advised that within two days he shall name another appraiser of his satisfaction [on his behalf] with warning that if he does not comply, it will be executed *ex officio*.

[Rubric, Carondelet] [Rubric, Vidal]

Thus ordered: [By] the Lord *Don Francisco Baron de Carondelet*, Knight of the Religious [Order] of St. John[of Jerusalem], Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Vice-Patron, and Intendant-General of this Province of Louisiana by His Majesty, with dictum and agreement of the Lord Dr. *Don Nicolas Maria*, Lieutenant-Governor, Civil Legal Advisor,

[p. #5] [dig.6]

2

2

and Advisor General of the Government, which is signed in the City of New Orleans on the 15th of February seventeen-hundred and ninety-three.

[Signed:] Carlos Ximenes

<p>N.ⁿ En dho dia hise saver el Dec.^{to} que antesede a Mariana Marcos Voisin Negra Libre doy fee</p>	<p>Notarized: On the same day, I made known the preceding decree to Mariana Marcos Voisin, <i>negra libre</i>. I attest,</p>
<p>[Firmado:] Ximenes</p> <p>N.ⁿ En diez y seis del dho Yo el Esc.^{no} hise saver a D.ⁿ Olivier Derneville el Dec.^{to} que antesede doy fee</p>	<p>[Signed:] Ximenes</p> <p>Notarized: On the 16th of the aforementioned [month], I, the notary, made known to <i>Don Olivier D'Anneville</i> the preceding decree. I attest,</p>
<p>[Firmado:] Ximenes</p> <p>En dho dia mes y año Yo el Escrivano hise saver el Nombramiento de estimador que por el Dec.^{to} que antesede a D.ⁿ Fran.^{co} Ramon Canet; y entenado de su contenido Dixo</p>	<p>[Signed:] Ximenes</p> <p>On the same day, month, and year, I, the notary, made known [to] the appointed appraiser of the preceding decree, <i>Don Francisco Ramón Canes</i>, and understanding of its contents,</p>
<p>[f. 2v] [dig.7]</p> <p>que aceptava accepto y hixo por Dios y la Cruz de haver vien y fielmente su en cargo y lo firmó sigue doy fée_____</p>	<p>[p. #6] [dig.7]</p> <p>said he accepted, and [will] do, for God and the Cross, well and faithfully [of] his charge, and he signed as follows. I attest,</p>
<p>[Firmado:] Juân Ramon Canes</p> <p>[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenes</p> <p>[moderno, a lápiz] 2</p>	<p>[Signed:] Juan Ramón Canes</p> <p>[Signed:] Carlos Ximenes</p> <p>[modern, in pencil] 2</p>

<p>En la Ciudad de la N.^a Orleans en diez y ocho de Febrero de mil Sete ciéntos noventa y tres, ante mi el Ess.^{no} parroc.^o el Ten.^{te} del Regim.^{to} Jur.^o de la Luicianá Dⁿ Pedro Olivier, y Dijo: que correg.^{te} ala su liertad de Marianá Marcos Negra libre en el Esento assim^{to}, y de lo que es mi Virtud de la preceptiva nombraba, y mesdír desde lugar como estimador per mi parte,</p>	<p>In the the City of New Orleans on the 18th of February seventeen-hundred ninety-three, [came] before me, the notary [of the] parish, Lieutenant of the Military Jurisdiction of the Louisiana [Province], <i>Don Pedro Olivier</i>, and states: That in regard to her liberty by Mariana Marcos, <i>negra</i> <i>libre</i>, in the ordered event and of which will be [done] by virtue of the mandate, name and appoint [as] estimator on my behalf,</p>
<p>[f. 3r] [dig.8]</p>	<p>[p. #7] [dig.8]</p>
<p>3</p> <p>para el aprecio vien Si amba nombrada Pelaxia, e el Cap.ⁿ D.ⁿ Pedro de Marigny, su plicando ami sriâ, que haci endolo por tal tenga aver mandar se proseda a la Di- lig.^a pend.^{te}, presedidas las for malidades nesesarias, y fir mo de que doy fée_____</p>	<p>3</p> <p>for the property [to be] valued [by] both, [the] named Pelagie, the Captain <i>Don Pedro de Marigny</i>, pleading of Your Lordship, that doing as has been ordered, will proceed to the pending ruling, following the necessary formalities, and I sign as such. I attest,</p>
<p>[Firmado:] Pierre Olivier [Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez</p>	<p>[Signed:] Pierre Oliver [Signed:] Carlos Ximenez</p>
<p>Se ha por nombrado a D.ⁿ Pedro de Marigny segun se pide en la diligencia antecedente</p>	<p><i>Don Pedro de Marigny</i> has been appointed, as requested in the antecedent proceedings, to</p>

á quien se hara saver para su aceptación y Juramento que se comete, dandose noticia a la otra parte para su inteligencia; y fecho procedase a la estimacion prevenida en la forma ordinaria.____

F.[irmado:]

[Rubrica, Carondelet] [Rubrica, Vidal]

Proveyolo.

[f. 3v] [dig.9]

el S.^{or} D.ⁿ Fran.^{co} Baron de Carondelet
Cavallero de la Religion de S.ⁿ Juan
Coronel de los R.^s Extōs Gov.^{or} Vise Pator
no è Ynt.^e Grāl de esta Provincia de
la Luisiana por S.M. con dictamen y
acuerdo del S.^{or} D.^{or} D.ⁿ Nicolas Maria
Vidal Th.^{te} de Gov.^{or} Auditor de Grra~, y
Asesor Grāl del Gov.^{no} que lo rubricaron
en esta Ciudad de la Nueva Orleans á
nueve de Febrero de mil setecientos Noven
ta y tres años____

[moderno, a lápiz] 2

[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez

En dho dia hise saver el Dec.^{to} que ante
Sede á D.ⁿ Pedro Olivier doy fee____

whom it will be made known for his acceptance, and oath, which is to be committed, giving notice to the other party for their knowledge, and summoned to proceed to the estimation. Prepared in the standard way,

[Signed:]

[Rubric, Carondelet] [Rubric, Vidal]

Thus ordered:

[p. #8] [dig.9]

[By] the Lord *Don* Francisco Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Religious [Order] of St. John [of Jerusalem], Coronel of the Royal Armies, Vice-Patron and Intendant-General of this Province of Louisiana by His Majesty, with dictum and agreement of Lord Dr. *Don* Nicolas Maria Vidal, Lieutenant-Governor, Civil Legal Advisor, and Advisor General of the government, which was signed

in this City of New Orleans on the
9th of February, seventeen-hundred
ninety-three.

[modern, in pencil] 3

[Signed:] Carlos Ximenez

On the same day, I made known the preceding decree to *Don* Pedro Olivier. I attest,

[Firmado:] Ximenez	[Signed:] Ximenez
En dho dia lo hise saver á Mariana Marcos Voisin doy fee___	On the aforementioned day, I made this known to Mariana Marcos Voisin. I attest,
[Firmado:] Ximenez	[Signed:] Ximenez
[f. 4r] [dig.10]	[p. #9] [dig.10]
4)	4)
En Veinte del dho Yo el Esc. ^{no} passe alas casas de la Morada de D. ⁿ Pedro de Marigny y le notifique en su persona el nombramiento de estimador que por el Dec. ^{to} , que antesede se le hase y enterado de Su cont. ^{do} Dixo que aseptava aseptó y Juro por Dios y la Cruz de haser vien y fielm. ^{te} su encargo y lo firmo de que doy fee___	On the 20th of the said [month], I, the notary, went to the house of residence of <i>Don</i> Pedro de Marigny and notified him in person of the naming of [him] as appraiser by the preceding decree, which he was made aware of its contents. He said he would accept, [and having] accepted swore before God and the Cross, to make good and faithful of his oath and he signs, which I attest.
[Firmado:] Pedro DeMarigny	[Signed:] Pedro de Marigny
[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez	[Signed:] Carlos Ximenez
[moderno, a lápiz] 4	[modern, in pencil] 4
En la Ciu. ^d de la Nueva Orleans, en bein te y uno de Febrero de mil set. ^s noventa y tres años: consecuente à lo dispuesto a solicitud de Mariana Marcos mo rena libre, parecio a la precenz. ^a de D. ⁿ	In the City of New Orleans, on the 21st of February seventeen-hundred and ninety- three, in accordance with the provisions of the request from Mariana Marcos, <i>morena</i> <i>libre</i> , ⁱⁱ appearing in the presence of <i>Don</i> Pedro de Marigny of the [Royal and Military]

Pedro de Marigny del orden de S.ⁿ
Luis Cap.ⁿ de milicias de las de esta
Ciu.^d y de D.ⁿ Fran.^c Ramon Canes
terceros nombrados, la Negra
Pelagia esclava del Th.^{te} D.ⁿ Pedro
Olivier à efecto de proceder a su
estimas.^{on}; y haviendo la reconosido

[f. 4v] [dig.11]

hechos Gargo de su edad, y demas
circunstanz.^s dixeron: que desde luego Ta
zaban dha Negra Pelagia, en la Cant.^d
de quinientos pesos, en que han combe
nido de acuerdo, y conformidad; cuy-o
precio es el que Jusgan valer, y en el
que la aprecian; con lo qual Se con
cluyó esta diligenz.^a, que firmaron
de que doy fee _____

[Firmado:] Pedro DeMarigny

[Firmado:] Fran.^{co} Xamon Canes

Ante mi:

[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez

Autos y vistos: Se declara por legitimo
valor de la Negra Pelagia, Esclava de
D.ⁿ Pedro Olivier, la cantidad de quinientos
pesos, en q.^e ha Sido apreciada por los
Estimadores que nombraron las partes:

Order of St.
Louis, Captain of the Militias of this
City, and of *Don* Francisco Ramón Canes, the
aforenamed third party, the *negra*
Pelagia, *esclava* of Lieutenant *Don* Pedro
Olivier, for the purpose of proceeding to her
estimate, and making known the

[p. #10] [dig.11]

facts of her age, and any additional
considerations, they said that since, they
appraised the said *negra*, Pelagia, at the amount
of 500 *pesos*, in which they have both
agreed in conformity, [that] the said price is what
they judge her to be worth, and in
which they valuate her, with which
these proceedings are [now] concluded, [to] which
they have signed. I attest,

[Signed:] Pedro de Marigny

[Signed:] Francisco Ramón Canes

Before me

[Signed:] Carlos Ximenez

Decided and decreed: It is declared the legitimate
value of the *negra* Pelagia, *esclava* of
Don Pedro Olivier, the amount of 500
pesos, in which she has been valued by the
appraisers appointed by [both] parties,
by virtue of which, shall be delivered the

<p>en cuya virtud entregandola expresada</p> <p>[f. 5r] [dig.12]</p> <p>suma, Mariana Marcos, alias Voisin, ó la misma Pelagia, procedase por el dho d.ⁿ Pedro Olivier, à otorgar à la ùltima la correspondiente Escritura de libertad; y taseeste las costas, que Satisfará con diez reales de asesoria la citada Negra Mariana que ha promovido esta Ynstan.^a _____</p> <p>F.[irmado:] El Baron de Carondelet [Rubrica, Carondelet] [Firmado:] Nicolas M.^a Vidal [Rubrica, Vidal]</p> <p>Proveyolo el S.^r D.ⁿ Frān.^{co} Baron de Carondelet Cavallero de la Religion de S.ⁿ Juan Coronel de loz R.^s Extōs Gov.^{or} Vise Patrono è Ynt.^e Grāl de esta Prov.^a de la Luisiana por SM. con dicta men y acuerdo del S.^{or} D.^{or} D.ⁿ Nicolas Maria Vidal Th.^{te} de Gov.^{or} Auditor de Grra~ y Asesor Grāl del Gov.^{no} que lo firmaron en esta Ciudad de la Nueva Orléans à veinte y tres de Febrero de mil Setecientos Noventa y tres años _____</p>	<p>expressed</p> <p>[p. #11] [dig.12]</p> <p>sum, [by] Mariana Marcos, <i>alias</i> Voisin, or [by] Pelagia herself, shall [then] proceed [with respect to] the aforementioned, <i>Don</i> Pedro Olivier, to grant the latter [Pelagia] the appropriate Deed of Freedom, and assessed of the costs, shall be paid with 10 <i>reales</i> by the stated <i>negra</i>, Mariana, who brought forth this process.</p> <p>[Signed:] The Baron de Carondelet [Rubric, Carondelet] [Signed:] Nicolas Maria Vidal [Rubric, Vidal]</p> <p>Thus ordered: [By] the Lord <i>Don</i> Francisco Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Religious [Order] of St. John [of Jerusalem], Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Vice-Patron and Intendant-General of this Province of Louisiana by His Majesty, with dictum and agreement of Lord Dr. <i>Don</i> Nicolas Maria Vidal, Lieutenant-Governor, Civil Legal Advisor, and Advisor General of the Government, which is signed in this City of New Orleans on the 23rd of February seventeen-</p>
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	<p>hundred ninety-three.</p> <p>[modern, in pencil] 5</p> <p>[Signed:] Carlos Ximenez</p> <p>On the aforementioned day, I made know the decree</p> <p>[p. #12] [dig.13]</p> <p>which precedes to <i>Don Pedro Olivier</i>. I attest,</p> <p>[Signed:] Ximenez</p> <p>Notarized: On the same day, I made [it] known to Mariana Marcos Voisin. I attest,</p> <p>[Signed:] Ximenez</p> <p>On the same day, I, the notary, made known the decree</p> <p>which precedes to <i>Don Luis Liotau</i>, Public Assessor,</p> <p>and being aware of its contents, he said that he accepted, and swore by God and the Cross to do well and faithfully [of] his oath, and he signs as such. I attest,</p> <p>[Signed:] Luis Liotau</p> <p>[Signed:] Carlos Ximenez</p> <p>Assessment of costs of the proceedings</p>
[moderno, a lápiz] 5	
[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez	
En dho dia hise saver el Dec. ^{to} q. ^e	
[f. 5v] [dig.13]	
antesede a D. ⁿ Pedro Olivier doy fee___	
[Firmado:] Ximenez	
N. ⁿ En dho dia lo hise saver à Mariana Marcos Voisin doy fee___	
[Firmado:] Ximenez	
En dho dia Yo el Esc. ^{no} hise Sauer el Dec. ^{to} que antesede a D. ⁿ Luis Liotaud Tasador Pu. ^{co} y enterado de Su con. ^{do} Dixo que azepta va aseptó, y Juro por Dios y la Cruz de haser vien y fielm. ^{te} Su encargo y lo firmò deque doy fee___	
[Firmado:] Luis Liotaus	
[Firmado:] Carlos Ximenez	

<p>Tas.^{on} de Costas de las Diligencias practicadas por Mariana Mar cos sobre precendes Se le de Libertad á Pelagia su hermana, con prestos de __ en conformidad de lo mandado y segun Aranc.¹</p> <p>[Rubrica, Carondelet] Al S.^r Baron de Carondelet de la Relig.^{on} de S.ⁿ Juan Gov.^{or} è Ynt.^e Gral</p> <p>[f. 6 r] [dig.14]</p>	<p>undertaken for Mariana Marcos pertaining to granting freedom to Pelagia, her sister, with payment in <i>reales</i>, in conformity with what was ordered and taxed accordingly.</p> <p>[Rubric, Carondelet] To Lord Baron de Carondelet of the Religious [Order] of St. Juan [of Jerusalem], Governor and Intendant-General</p> <p>[p. #13] [dig.14]</p>
<p>6) de esta Prov.^a de la Luisiana p.^r S.M. Ocho r.^s por dos medias firmas y una entera _____,,,,8</p> <p>[Rubrica, Vidal] Al S.^{or} D.^{or} D.ⁿ Nicolas Maria Vidal Th.^{te} de Gov.^{or} Auditor de Grra~, y Ase Sor gräl del Gov.^{no} diez r^s por la As.^a q.^e Se asigno á _____,,,, 10</p>	<p>6) of this Province of Louisiana by His Majesty, 8 <i>reales</i> for two half-signatures and one whole _____ 8</p> <p>[Rubric, Vidal] To Lord Dr. <i>Don</i> Nicolas Maria Vidal, Lieutenant-Governor, Civil Legal Advisor, and Advisor General of the Government, 10 <i>reales</i> for the judicial affairs assigned to him</p> <p>10</p>
<p>[Firma notariada, Guinault] A D.ⁿ Felipe Guinault Procurador Pu.^{co} cinco r.^s por una Peticion _____,,,, 5</p> <p>[Firma notariada, Marigny] A D.ⁿ Pedro de Marigny onze r.^s por la estimaz.^{on} q.^e verifco à _____,,,, 11</p>	<p>[Notarized Signature, Guinault] To <i>Don</i> Felipe Guinault, Representing Public Attorney, 5 <i>reales</i> for one petition _____ 5</p> <p>[Notarized Signature, Marigny] To <i>Don</i> Pedro de Marigny, 11 <i>reales</i> for the estimate, which I verify _____ 11</p>

[Firma notariada, Canes] A Fran. ^{co} Ramon Canet onze r ^s por igual razon _____,,,,11	[Notarized Signature, Canes] To Francisco Ramón Canes, 11 <i>reales</i> for the same reason _____ 11
[Rubrica, Ximenez] Al Esc. ^{no} por sus drōz de lo actuado escrito y ocupacionez cinquenta y tres reales _____,,,, 53.	[Rubric, Ximenez] To the notary, for his rights in what was done, written, and [his] services performed, 53 <i>reales</i> _____ 53
[Firma, Liotau] Al Taz. ^{or} por la asignacion de esta doz reales _____,,,, 2	[Signature, Liotau] To the [Public] Assessor for the assignment of this [task], 2 <i>reales</i> _____ 2
Nueva Orleans, 23 de Febrero de 1793. {,,100 {12.p. ^s 4r ^s	New Orleans, February 23, 1793. {100 total {12 <i>pesos</i> , 4 <i>reales</i>
[Firmado:] Luis Liotau [Rubrica, Liotau] [moderno, a lápiz] 6	[Signed:] Luis Liotau [Rubric, Liotau] [modern, in pencil] 6

Please note that what appear to be typos (missing spaces, abbreviations, misspellings, strikeouts, superscript) appear in the original manuscript, but are corrected in the more modernized translation. For more on our editorial practices see <https://docs.k4bl.org/bestpractices>.

i. “Curro” was a local term used to refer to free Black men in Havana. *Los curros* had never been enslaved, traced their ancestors to Andalucia, Spain, and occupied a freedom attached to land and space. In Cuba, the term also reflected a growing fear of free Black residents of the city; *curros* were said to dress outside of their station, live in marginal Black areas of the city, and speak with distinct “Spanish” dialect. In the document, Don Francisco Ramón Canes, Mariana’s appraiser, is referred to as “el curro.”

ii. In the Spanish colonial system, “morena/o” was used to refer to mixed-race people. Under the Spanish *casta* system that quantified race, however, *morena/o* was not a racial designation; rather, the term was typically used to describe physical attributes (in this case, an olive complexion) instead of a legal racial category.