

CREOLE ANGEL: THE SELF-IDENTITY OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR OF
ANTEBELLUM NEW ORLEANS

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This thesis is about the self-identity of antebellum New Orleans's free people of color. The emphasis of this work is that French culture, mixed Gallic and African ancestry, and freedom from slavery served as the three keys to the identity of this class of people. Taken together, these three factors separated the free people of color from the other major groups residing in New Orleans – Anglo-Americans, white Creoles and black slaves.

The introduction provides an overview of the topic and states the need for this study. Chapter 1 provides a look at New Orleans from the perspective of the free people of color. Chapter 2 investigates the slaveownership of these people. Chapter 3 examines the published literature of the free people of color. The conclusion summarizes the significance found in the preceding three chapters and puts their findings into a broader interpretive framework.

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INTRODUCTION

Free people of color, or *gens de couleur libres*, were men and women of either African or mixed African and European ancestry that were legally free from slavery, yet were proscribed in their social condition by the law. These men and women had always played a significant role within New Orleans. This was due, in part, to their sheer numbers. In New Orleans in 1840, for instance, free people of color numbered 19,226 of a total population of 102,193 or 18.8% of the population. Only Baltimore, Maryland could claim relatively similar numbers of free people of color. Of Baltimore's total population of 102,313 in 1840, 17,967 or 17.5% were free people of color. Other southern cities did not even come close to approaching such levels. In the same year, in Charleston, another southern city in which a significant population of free men and women of color resided, only 5.4% of the population or 1,588 of a total population of 29,261 were free people of color.¹

The important role of free men and women of color within New Orleans was also due to the fact that until the implementation of American order in Louisiana in 1803, there had existed a tripartite socioracial stratification within the city, along the Latin model. This non-Anglo socioracial stratification allowed the *gens de couleur libres* to enjoy more social rights than free people of color in any other area of North America, in

¹ Department of State, *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as Obtained by the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census...* (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1841), 29-31, 44-46, 60-2; Despite the relatively low percentage of free people of color as a part of the population of Charleston, that city has enjoyed a large amount of scholarly attention concerning its population of free nonwhites. See: Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985), Michael P Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), Michael P Johnson and James L. Roark, *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

addition to near-equality with whites in regards to legal rights. In the Anglo-dominated United States, a binary socioracial hierarchy existed that placed free people of color at the same level as enslaved men and women of color.²

The tripartite socioracial stratification of colonial New Orleanian society was one of fracture and fragmentation (see Table 0.1). One's place in society was determined by economic and racial factors. As with most societies, individuals in antebellum New Orleans were categorized based upon their economic status. Individuals were wealthy, poor, or somewhere in between.

Factors of racial ancestry complicated a purely economic classification. Individuals, regardless of their economic status, were labeled white, black or "of color" (somewhere in between). In antebellum New Orleans, an individual's racial phenotype took precedence over wealth. As a result New Orleanian society was first ordered by skin color, then, within each of the three separate racial groups, by economic condition.

Within this Latin-style tripartite social stratification, the free people of color occupied the middle strata. As occupants of the middle strata, free people of color were viewed as socially "below" whites (of whatever economic condition) and "above" all black slaves.

² Christian Alcindor, "Les Gens de Couleur Libres de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1803-1865" (unpublished master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 1995), 1-2, 6, 9; David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 11-2; Auguste Lebeau, *De la condition des gens de couleur libres sous l'ancien régime, d'après des documents des Archives coloniales* (Paris: Guillaumin & Cie, 1903), 1; Frederick Law Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observation on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* (New York: Modern Library, 1984), 235-6; Michel Séigny, *Homme libre de couleur de la Nouvelle-Orléans: nouvelles et récits*. Edited by Frans C. Amelinckx (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1998) , 19; Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, historical and descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey A. Small, 1812), 151; Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey A. Small, 1812), 321; Edward Larocque Tinker, *Creole City: Its Past and its People* (New York: Langmans, Green & Co., 1953), 260.

Table 1 – Socioracial Stratification in Colonial New Orleans

Top Strata – Whites

- 1-A) Upper-class whites
- 1-B) Middle-class whites
- 1-C) Lower-class whites

Middle Strata – Free People of Color

- 2-A) Upper-class free nonwhites with 15/16 or more parts of European heritage
- 2-B) Middle-class free nonwhites with 15/16 or more parts of European heritage
- 2-C) Lower-class free nonwhites with 15/16 or more parts of European heritage
- 2-D) Upper-class free “octoroons”³
- 2-E) Middle-class free “octoroons”
- 2-F) Lower-class free “octoroons”
- 2-G) Upper-class free “quadroons”
- 2-H) Middle-class free “quadroons”
- 2-I) Lower-class free “quadroons”
- 2-J) Upper-class free “mulattos”
- 2-K) Middle-class free “mulattos”
- 2-L) Lower-class free “mulattos”
- 2-M) Upper-class free “griffes”
- 2-N) Middle-class free “griffes”
- 2-O) Lower-class free “griffes”
- 2-P) Upper-class free blacks
- 2-Q) Middle-class free blacks
- 2-R) Lower-class free blacks

Lower Strata – Slaves

- 3-A) Slaves with 15/18 or more parts European heritage (extremely rare)
- 3-B) Enslaved “octoroons”
- 3-C) Enslaved “quadroons”
- 3-D) Enslaved “mulattos”
- 3-E) Enslaved “griffes”
- 3-F) Enslaved blacks

³ The terms “griffe,” “mulatto,” “quadroon,” and “octoroon” are contemporary terms that refer to the amount of African ancestry in a person. The term “griffe” designated someone who was $\frac{3}{4}$ African in heritage. “Mulatto” either meant anyone of mixed African and European heritage or more specifically, someone of even $\frac{1}{2}$ African and $\frac{1}{2}$ European ancestry. “Quadroon” meant someone of $\frac{1}{4}$ African heritage. “Octoroon” mean someone of $\frac{1}{8}$ African heritage.

Fragmentation within the middle strata occupied by free people of color was problematic due to the myriad of skin tones of free people of color. Some were purely of African ancestry. Some labeled as “mulattos,” “quadroons,” or “octoroons” were considerably pale complexioned. Those whose phenotype was more European saw themselves as closer to the occupants of the highest strata of the hierarchy – the whites—than to the darker members of their own socioracial classification; these paler men and women of color eschewed social intercourse with those whose African parentage was more pronounced, those that resembled more closely the occupants of the lowest strata of the tripartite socioracial hierarchy – African slaves. As a result, the middle strata was fragmented and stratified along a color scale that resembled that which guided the tripartite socioracial hierarchy as a whole.⁴

Within each color-based sub-strata of the middle strata there was further division along economic lines. Those that were “almost white” and extremely wealthy were seen as the social superiors of those of a similar hue of skin of more modest means, and so on and so forth through out all of the shades of free men and women of color. It is important to note that this intra-stratification was significant since, in New Orleans, the free nonwhite population was overwhelmingly of mixed race. In 1850, 8,041(80.7%) of

⁴ C.R.L. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1963), 42-44; Grace King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 335-6, 347-9; Tinker, *Creole City*, 260; Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1938), 128; Sir Charles Lyell. *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849), 94-5; Helen Tunncliff Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, III* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 649; François-Marie Perrin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas* (London: J.G. Barnard, 1807), 94; Henry Didimus, *New Orleans As I Found It* (New York: Harper, 1851), 29; David Rankin, “The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1976), 139; Alcindor, “Les Gens de Couleur Libres,” 7; Samuel Wilson, Jr., *New Orleans Architecture, Vol. IV: The Creole Faubourgs* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974), 26-27.

the free people of color where listed as “mulatto,” while only 1,920 (19.3%) were listed as “black.”⁵

Racial and economic differences aside, all of the occupants of the middle strata of colonial New Orleans’s socioracial hierarchy shared one element in common – free status. How then did such a large portion of the city’s nonwhite population obtain this cherished condition?

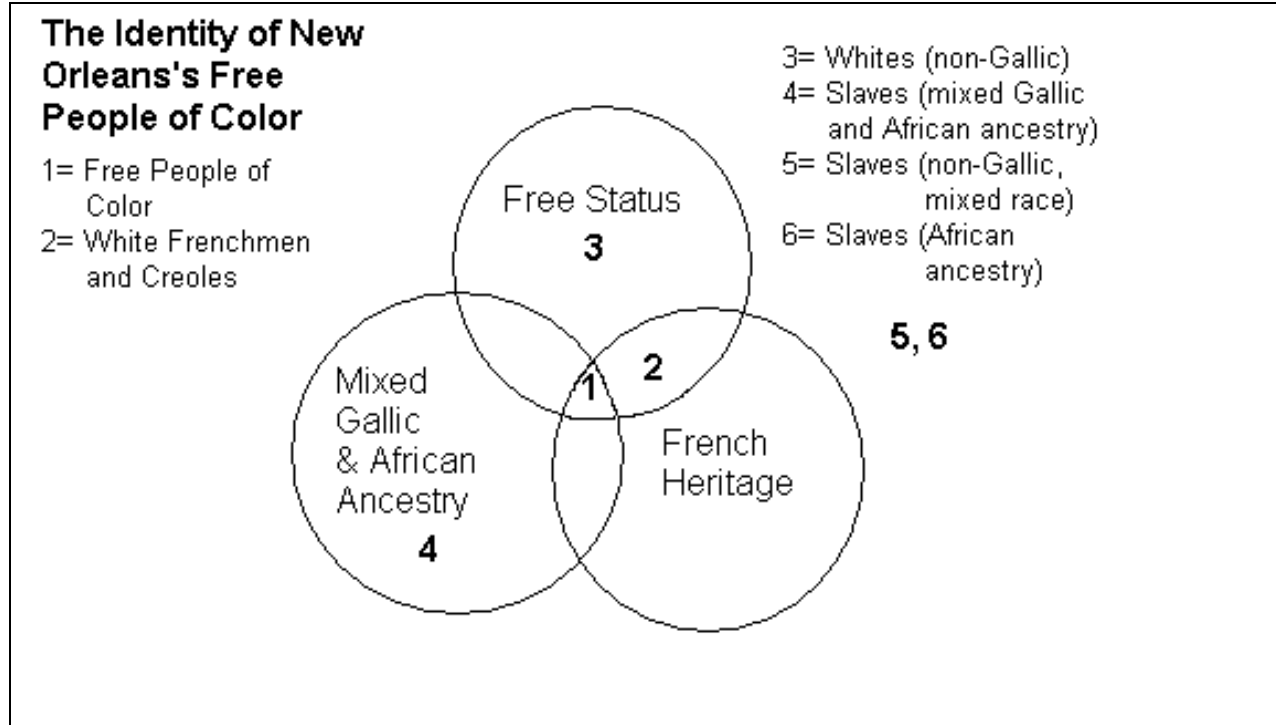
There were, in fact, many avenues by which men and women of color obtained their freedom. Some industriously labored to purchased their freedom. Others were emancipated by the state or their owners for meritorious military duty, faithful service, saving a life, by last will and testament, or because complications resulting from old age prevented them from producing a profit for the slaveholder. Other men and women of color were never enslaved. Some, usually men and women of mixed race, who were known at the time as “mulattos,” “quadroons,” or “octoroons” were free because they were the children of their mother’s master, while others, usually “quadroons” and “octoroons,” were the offspring of black or mixed-raced parents that were legally free.⁶

The historical study of these free men and women of color has enjoyed growing attention in recent decades. There are two monographs and two dissertations that deal directly with this group of people in New Orleans. Kimberly S. Hanger’s 1997 monograph, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New*

⁵ J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States, ... Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, ...* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1854), 68; Deirdre Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 73; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 3-6.

⁶ Claude C. Robin, *Voyages dans l’intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride Occidentale, et dans les isles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue, Tome II* (Paris: F. Buisson, 1807), 119-20; Tinker, *Creole City*, 261-2; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 235-6; Cohen, *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 5-7; Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter*, 126-7; Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 108-9; Alcindor, “Les Gens de Couleur Libres,” 47-53.

Figure 1 – The Identity of New Orleans’s *Gens de Couleur Libres*



Orleans, 1769-1803, was the first monograph to be published that deals directly with free black men and women in New Orleans. In contrast to subsequently discussed works, Hanger’s study examines the free people of color of New Orleans during the period of Spanish rule, which ended half a century before the scope of subsequently discussed works begin. Hanger’s study is also unique in that her monograph does not emphasize change; the author elucidates the condition of New Orleans’s free people of color at a fixed period of time.⁷

Caryn Cossé Bell’s 1997 monograph, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868*, in spite of its all-encompassing title, is a second monograph that studies the free people of color of New Orleans. For the most

⁷ Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997),

part, the study's timeframe, like that of the two dissertations, spans the Civil War and Reconstruction years. Unlike the other studies, whether dissertations or monographs, Bell argues that the revolutionary protest tradition of free blacks culminated in the ratification of Louisiana's radically-idealistic 1868 state constitution.⁸

David Connell Rankin's 1976 dissertation, "The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870," investigates the ways in which the experiences of the Civil War and Reconstruction changed the identity of New Orleans's free people of color, as well as how the experiences and identity of this group of people differed from that of those men and women of color that were freed as a result of the outcome of the Civil War.⁹

The other major dissertation on the subject investigates the same people during the same time frame, but through a different interpretive lens. Shirley Thompson's 2001 dissertation, "The Passing of a People: Creoles of Color in Mid-Nineteenth Century New Orleans," investigates how the free people of color "passed" from a Francophone culture to an Anglophone culture in addition to how the social milieu of New Orleans "passed" from a fluid notion of race to a black/white binary.¹⁰

Understandably, this master's thesis incorporates aspects of these four studies while offering an original contribution to the historiography. Similar to Hanger's work, the first chapter of this study seeks to develop a description of New Orleans during a fixed period of time. The overall emphasis is not, however, on recreating the spatial and

⁸ Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

⁹ David Connell Rankin, "The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1976.

¹⁰ Shirley Elizabeth Thompson, "The Passing of a People: Creoles of Color in Mid-Nineteenth Century New Orleans," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 2001.

societal world of free men and women of color, as it is with *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places*. This study concerns an introspective analysis of free black identity during the antebellum period.

Similar to one chapter of Bell's work, chapter three of this thesis includes an examination of the published literature of New Orleans's *gens de couleur libres*. While both Bell and I look at many of the same documents, these documents are examined through different interpretive lenses. Bell and I extrapolate different themes from these documents as well. Bell is concerned with finding revolutionary themes to facilitate an explanation of why Louisiana's state constitution of 1868 was so radical. Chapter three of this thesis seeks to find pervasive themes in the literature of the free black literati in an effort to understand who the writers were, not to explain their actions during the Reconstruction period.

While these two monographs were important to this study, the author derived much more from the two dissertations. Much like the work of Rankin, "Creole Angel" is concerned with an examination of the identity of New Orleans's free people of color. This work, however, seeks to closely examine the discrete parts of the identity of these people and attain a stronger sense of who these people believed they were and where they believed their proper social position was in antebellum society, while Rankin erroneously takes this group's identity as something that is already well-understood and examines how outside events, such as the Civil War and Reconstruction, broke down, altered and recast that identity.

This work was significantly influenced by the dissertation of Shirley Thompson. Where Thompson explains how the French culture and notions of race held by New

Orleans's free people of color changed from 1850-1870, this work examines how French culture and notions of race were two of three key parts of the identity of New Orleans's *gens de couleur libres* during the antebellum period (the other key trait of their identity being free status). These three traits when taken together separated the free people of color from all other groups of people in antebellum New Orleans. It is hoped that this work provides a solid, albeit terse, examination of the identity of New Orleans's free people of color that has been lacking in previous scholarship.

CHAPTER 1

THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR'S ANTEBELLUM NEW ORLEANS

Antebellum New Orleans was a place of cultural conservatism, contradiction, and ultimately change in the form of a cultural synthesis. That is to say – a dialectical transformation occurred from 1803 to 1860. The American domination of the city took place after almost one hundred years of Latin control, which was evidenced in the resident social and cultural spheres. As the antebellum period progressed over the 1820s and 1830s, the social and cultural mores of immigrants from the United States clashed with the traditional values of the Creole, French and Spanish residents of the city. By the close of the 1850s a synthesis of the cultures of these two groups had taken place.¹¹

The cultural struggle between Latin and Anglo groups in New Orleans is best viewed from the standpoint of the city's population of free people of color. This is because the free people of color had the most to lose if the social and cultural hegemony of the Latin cultures faded and the Anglo model of society and race relations was imposed. At this period of time the free people of color's established socioracial middle ground between (free) whites and (enslaved) blacks was under attack by the ruling Anglo Americans. As a result, the free people of color, especially the elites of this

¹¹ A dialectical progression is one in which a thesis is stated, a contradictory antithesis is presented, and a synthesis results out of the clash. Here, the thesis is colonial society, the antithesis is Anglo American society, the synthesis is the cultural amalgam that results from the blending of these two opposing social structures. On sectionalism and cultural strife in antebellum New Orleans: Didimus, *New Orleans As I Found It*, 21; Jim Fraiser, *The French Quarter of New Orleans* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), 170; A. Oakley Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans; or, Phases of "Crescent City" Life* (New Orleans: J. C. Morgan, 1851), 34-5; Perrin du Lac, *Travels*, 90; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans" in Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 131-6; Paul Wilhelm, *Travels in North America in 1822-1824* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 33.

cohort, went out of their way to distance themselves from slaves; alternatively, these free men and women of color sought to align themselves with whites of French and French Creole extraction. Their purpose in trying to convince Latin whites that they were their equals was to escape classification as “non-whites” if and when the two-tiered Anglo American socioracial hierarchy replaced the three-tiered colonial model.¹²

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a look at antebellum-era New Orleans from the perspective of the population of free people of color. By looking at where the free people of color lived, learned, worked, played, prayed, and were buried a sense of the layout of the city and a look at cultural clash is gained. By examining if the free people of color were successful or not in their attempts to maintain a separate identity from enslaved people of color, we can gain a sense of the successes or failures of Anglo American acculturation in New Orleans.

New Orleans stands on the east side of the Mississippi River, about one hundred miles from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. The heart of the city was known as the first municipality, or the *vieux carré*, which was essentially a neighborhood comprised of seven parallel streets intersecting twelve perpendicular streets at a concave bend of the river. The first municipality's borders were on all sides: the river, Canal Street, Rampart Street, and Esplanade Street. Suburbs, or *faubourgs*, extended from the municipality in all directions. Across the river were Algiers and McDonoughville. Extending above Canal Street, that is to say, away from the mouth of the river and toward the north and Baton Rouge, were the suburbs Faubourg-Ste.-Marie, Lafayette, Faubourg-les-

¹² In this thesis I use a variety of ethnic terminology. “White French” are Caucasian men and women that were born in France. “White Creoles” are Caucasian men and women that were born in Louisiana. “Creoles” are men and women that were born in Louisiana of whatever racial or ethnic heritage.

Annonciations, and Carrollton. Of these suburbs, Faubourg-Ste.-Marie was incorporated into the city in 1852 as the “second municipality.” Extending below Esplanade Street, toward the mouth of the Mississippi, were the suburbs Faubourg-Marigny, Faubourg-Daunois, and Faubourg-Declouet. Faubourg-Marigny was incorporated into the city in 1852 as the “third municipality.” Extending past Rampart Street, away from the river and toward Lake Pontchartrain, was Faubourg-Tremé.

While free people of color lived in each of these parts of New Orleans, as can be seen from a perusal of the census enumerations, there were areas of town where this class of people predominated. The most important of these areas was the third municipality, Faubourg-Marigny.¹³

Faubourg-Marigny came into existence at the dawn of the American possession of Louisiana. As Bernard-Xavier-Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville, the *concession* holder that owned the entirety of the land that was to comprise Faubourg-Marigny, successively lost his wealth due to his lascivious lifestyle and gambling losses, he began to sell off portions of his *habitation*. As early as the second decade of the nineteenth century the *faubourg's* inchoate shape began to form. The moat that surrounded the *vieux carré* was filled in; warehouses and quays were constructed on or near the riverfront. Developers and homeowners constructed blocks of residences down the Esplanade ridge and along the course of Elysian Fields Street. Some of the wealthier inhabitants owned grandiose mansions on the lower side of Esplanade; other residents, such as merchants and *placées* (non-white mistresses of white men), lived in the more modest one story white frame houses that dominated the neighborhood.

¹³ Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 138; Wilson, *New Orleans Architecture*, 26; *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*.

Travelers wrote of the scent of coffee and *gumbo filé* emanating from the kitchens of the quaint white houses. Additionally, it was remarked that the small flower gardens attached to these humble homes were filled with clusters of creeping Spanish jessamines. Their scent somewhat relieved the visitor from the stench of the quarter's less attractive elements.¹⁴

During the antebellum era, the streets of Faubourg-Marigny were narrow, unpaved, and due to the high humidity and frequent rainfall in the region, regularly a mixture of thick mud, garbage and feces. It was not uncommon for dead dogs, birds and the occasional human body to be found in the streets. Travelers often remarked that the quarter was “dreadfully unclean” and that the streets “emit putrid vapours” and “foul and nauseous steams.” Due to the fact that the city was below sea level, portions of New Orleans did not have an operating underground sewage system until the first decade of the twentieth century. According to city directories and travel accounts, surface water running from the river was used to wash away sewage in the streets; however, garbage and waste from homes was carted off by slaves or hired servants and dumped into the river.¹⁵

Not surprisingly, leprosy abounded in the region. This contagious bacterial disease claimed numerous victims in Faubourg-Marigny as well as in other sections of the city. A leprosarium named *La Terre aux Lépreux* existed behind Faubourg-Marigny alongside Bayou St. John. It was here that one of New Orleans's most celebrated

¹⁴ A *concession* is a land grant; An *habitation* is a plantation; Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was*, 154-5; King, *New Orleans*, 259-274; Séligny, *Homme libre de couleur*, 172.

¹⁵ Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was*, 154-5; Frasier, *The French Quarter of New Orleans*, 171; Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom*, 267-7; Perrin du Lac, *Travels*, 90; Schultz, *Travels*, 196; Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide, with Descriptions of the Routes to New Orleans, Sights of the City Arranged Alphabetically, also, Outlines of the History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: New Orleans News Co., 1885), 29,44.

literary figures, Alexandre Latil, wrote a collection of poems about his condition titled, *Les Éphémères*.¹⁶

Additionally, the mud and stagnant water in the streets compounded with the subtropical heat of the summer to produce high levels of disease-carrying mosquitoes. As a result, waves of malaria and yellow fever epidemics continually plagued New Orleans. During the antebellum era, 29,267 people died in the city from yellow fever alone.¹⁷

Many of the early residents of this municipality were free people of color. There are two main reasons why these people congregated in Faubourg-Marigny. First, free people of color lived in this *faubourg* because this is where wealthy white males “established” their mixed-race mistresses. Purchasing a home in the third municipality was an attractive option because it kept the mistress or *placée*, at a safe distance away from a man’s “legitimate” white wife and children. The latter of these would live in the first or second municipalities on the other side of town. In this instance, the white men that chose to enter into *plaçage* with a free woman of color were forcibly segregating people of mixed-race from area whites.¹⁸

Second, free people of color also “self-segregated” to this community. This is demonstrated by the fact that many free men of color opted to purchase homes in

¹⁶ King, *New Orleans*, 128-9; Alexandre Latil, *Les Éphémères: essais poétiques* (Nouvelle-Orléans: A. Moret, 1841); Charles Testut, *Portraits Littéraires de la Nouvelle-Orléans* (Nouvelle-Orléans: Imprimerie des Veillées Louisianaises, 1850), 25-8.

¹⁷ George Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever* (New Orleans: Searcy and Pfaff, 1909); Jo Ann Carrigan, “The Yellow Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1795-1905,” (PhD dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1961); Séigny, *Homme libre de couleur*, 60; For this data set the years 1820 to 1860 were examined.

¹⁸ Asbury, *French Quarter*, 129-31; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 143; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1962), 16-17; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 236-7; Robin, *Voyages*, 119-20; Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans, Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles* (New York: Isaac Ripley, 1810), 196; Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans*, 73.

Faubourg-Marigny rather than in the *vieux carré*. Most likely, this was the case because they desired to build a sense of mixed-race community and autonomy. Perhaps these men were the sons of brothers of the *placées*. The fact that free people of color dominated the demographics of this particular *faubourg* suggests that these people had more control in this region than in other municipalities.

One outward sign of municipal sovereignty is displayed in local signage. Architect and writer, Frederick Law Olmstead, wrote that signs in Faubourg-Ste.-Marie were predominately in English, while in Faubourg-Marigny, French signs dominated “ten to one of English.” Additionally, street signs were changed once they crossed Esplanade, the border, between the *vieux carré* and Faubourg-Marigny. Condé Street became Moreau Street; Old Levee became Victoire (Victory); Royal became Casa Calvo; Dauphine became Grands Hommes (Great Men); Burgundy became Crapeaud (Craps); Rampart became Amour (Love); St. Claude became Bons Enfants (Good Children).¹⁹

Needless to say, not all free people of color lived in Faubourg-Marigny. Some lived in white households in the first and second municipalities due to financial restraints or because they were apprentices. A large portion of the wealthier slaveholding free people of color also did not live in Faubourg-Marigny. For the most part, these individuals chose to live in the less developed areas above the American-dominated second municipality, Faubourg-Ste.-Marie, where there was more undeveloped land available for the construction of larger estates on which to work their enslaved laborforce. In 1830, for example, only 100 of the slaveholding free people of color lived

¹⁹ Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was*, 154-5; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 226-7

in Faubourg-Marigny and surrounding Faubourg-Daunois, while 651 lived in *faubourgs* above the *vieux carré*.²⁰

The first of these upper *faubourgs* was Faubourg-Ste.-Marie, or the second municipality. Anglo-American settlers that flocked to the region following the Louisiana Purchase dominated this suburb. Consequently, this municipality was noticeably different than Faubourg-Marigny. The Americans brought with them to Faubourg-Ste.-Marie different values and ideas that were wholly novel to their Latin neighbors in the *vieux carré* and Marigny. To provide but three examples, the buildings constructed in the American municipality were mostly made of brick, whereas they were made of cypress in the other municipalities. Second, the Americans paved their streets, while they were dirt and mud in the other sections of town. Lastly, the Americans were the first to institute a form of a sewage system, which did not exist in Faubourg-Marigny for several more decades. Despite these salubrious improvements, the Francophone populations of New Orleans stubbornly referred to Faubourg-Ste.-Marie as the *quartier des damnés*.²¹

Unhealthy living conditions aside, education was another problem for the free people of color in New Orleans. Generally speaking, only the extremely wealthy and the orphaned among the free people of color received the benefits of schooling. The former were well educated because their parents had the money to pay for schooling; the latter were educated because the Catholic Church established and operated

²⁰ See Appendix A; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*.

²¹ "The quarter of the damned;" Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was*, 324; King, *New Orleans*, 259; Olmstead, *Cotton States*, 227.

schools for orphans. These ecclesiastical schools were segregated – separate schools existed for the children of whites and free people of color.²²

It is possible that the lack of education among the *gens de couleur libres* was in part due to the fact that until 1841 there were no public schools in New Orleans.

Although it is unclear, yet doubtful, that free people of color were admitted into these schools once they were established. In the available literature, any mention of free people of color attending schools, has concerned the choices of the elite of their class between the various private institutions.²³

The wealthier free people of color had several options when deciding where to send their children. If they opted to have their children educated in New Orleans, they could enroll their children into classes at Michel Séligny's l'Académie Sainte-Barbe on Saint Phillip Street in the *vieux carré*, or J. L. Marciacq's school at Union and Love Streets in Faubourg-Marigny. In these schools, that were run by men of color for the privileged youth of their class, students learned grammar and composition in French, Spanish, English and Latin as well as arithmetic. Young women cultivated their musical and literary tastes while young men learned geometry, linear design, land surveying, the

²² Benjamin Moore Norman, *Norman's New Orleans and Environs: Containing a Brief Historical Sketch of the Territory and State of Louisiana and the City of New Orleans, From the Earliest Period to the Present Times; Presenting a Complete Guide of all Subjects of General Interest in the Southern Metropolis; With a Correct and Improved Plan of the City, Pictorial Illustrations of Public Buildings, etc.* (New Orleans, B. M. Norman, 1845), 163-5; Stoddard, *Sketches*, 308-9, 322.

²³ On the creation of public schools in New Orleans see Mr. Hoa's, "Acte autorisant les municipalités de la ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans à y établir des écoles publiques" in the *Journal du Senat, Première Session, Quinzième Législature* (Nouvelle-Orléans: Alexander C. Bullitt, Imprimeur d'Etat, 1841), 58, 60, 62; Norman, *Norman's New Orleans*, 163-5.

art of drawing up plans, and accounting. All practical subjects these students would need to know in the working world.²⁴

The wealthiest parents, which were few in number, usually opted to send their children to Paris for their education because their children were treated as equals in French schools, which were not segregated. In Louisiana, they would be treated as social pariahs, despite their parents' wealth and community status. In addition to sparing their children from race prejudice, education in France according to historian Edward Larocque Tinker formed the identity of these students in a French cultural mold. Tinker wrote:

They were filled with French thoughts, French art, and French literature, so much that they returned to Louisiana with an authentic French culture that was an imitation of that which existed in Paris. Once they had returned to Louisiana, these men imported their furniture, their tables, their clothing, their books, their wine, and their ideas from France. That is why they, although living under the American government, although for the most part born under the American flag, were always of heart and spirit, more strongly attached to France than to the United States.²⁵

While the orphaned children of the *gens de couleur libres* were unlucky in that they did not have the benefit of growing up in a traditional household, they were lucky to receive an education, something that most free people of color could not claim.

L'Institution Catholique des Orphelins Indigents (The Catholic Institution for Indigent Orphans), was founded in 1848 for this purpose after years of setbacks and white opposition. The school, which was located at the corner of Great Men and Union, was bequeathed for the purpose of educating "the orphans of color of Faubourg-Marigny" by

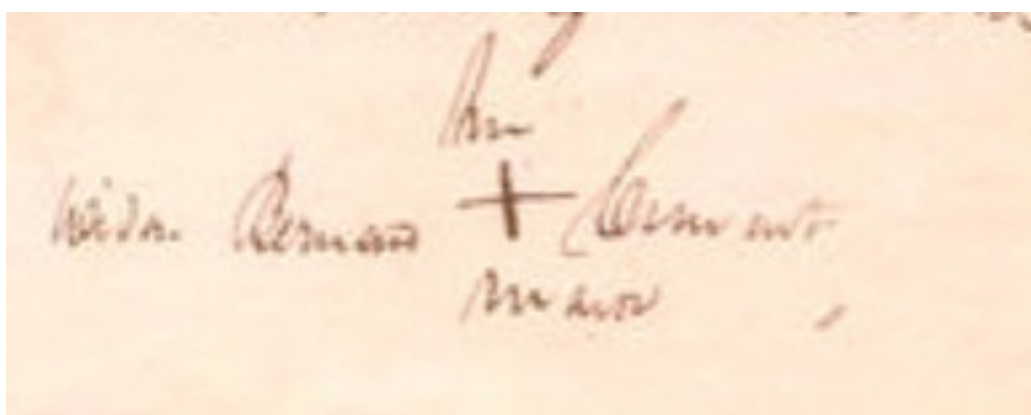
²⁴ Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 238; Tinker, *Creole City*, 262; Séligny, *Homme libre de couleur*, 13-5, 24; Tinker, *Les écrits de langue française en Louisiane du XIXe siècle: essays biographiques et bibliographiques* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), 431.

²⁵ Asbury, *French Quarter*, 128; Tinker, *Creole City*, 262; Tinker, *Les écrits de langue française*, 4.

the will of Marie Couvent, a former slave turned slaveowner. At this school, orphans received instruction from some of the most accomplished free men of color. Armand Lanusse, an accomplished writer and poet, administered the school. The poet Joanni Questy taught students French, English and Spanish, while the prominent architect Louis-Nelson Fouché taught mathematics.²⁶

In regards to education, the middle classes of the *gens de couleur libres* often suffered the most. This can be witnessed in a perusal of the notarial records. Men and women that owned considerable property and possibly were even small slaveholders could neither read nor write. Marie Couvent was one such woman. She signed conveyance records with an “X,” while the notary wrote, “the mark of Widow Bernard Couvent” around the marking. The case of Couvent was typical among the free people of color. Despite considerable property ownership, these men and women had to work diligently to maintain their level of income and rarely had the spare income to pay for schooling, not to say passage and boarding if they were to send their children to Paris.

Figure 2 – The Mark of Marie Couvent on a Notarial Document²⁷



²⁶ Tinker, *Les écrits de langue française*, 272, 384; Testut, *Portraits Littéraires*, 171-2, 183-4.

²⁷ New Orleans Notarial Archives, New Orleans.

In 1854, the census bureau published a table listing the occupations of New Orleans's free men of color above the age of fifteen. A perusal of the jobs listed in this table demonstrates that very few would have the substantial amount of expendable money required to provide their children with a classical education or other amenities. According to the census bureau, in 1850, the following numbers of free men of color were engaged in trades and professions: 355 carpenters, 278 masons, 179 laborers, 156 cigar makers, 92 shoemakers, 82 tailors, 64 merchants, 61 clerks, 52 mechanics, 43 coopers, 41 barbers, 39 car men, 37 boatmen, 28 painters, 26 cooks, 25 market men, 19 cabinet makers, 18 boardinghouse managers, 18 butchers, 15 blacksmiths, 12 teachers, 11 overseers, 10 coachmen, 10 mariners, 9 brokers, 9 gardeners, 9 peddlers, 9 stewards, 8 upholsterers, 7 stevedores, 7 students, 6 ship carpenters, 5 jewelers, 4 apprentices, 4 bookbinders, 4 capitalists, 4 doctors, 4 gunsmiths, 4 musicians, 3 hostlers, 3 hunters, 2 barkeepers, 2 brick makers, 2 collectors, 2 pilots, 2 planters, 2 sail makers, 1 architect, 1 baker, 1 lithographer, 1 minister, 1 music teacher, and 1 sexton.²⁸

Most likely, those listed as capitalists, doctors, ministers, planters and students constituted the upper elites of the *gens de couleur libres*. Those engaged in these occupations comprise only 0.7 percent of the population of working adult males. The large portion of the working free people of color either practiced the same jobs as when they were slaves – those occupations that they had used to purchase their freedom – or if they were born free, they likely occupied jobs that were “reserved” for free non-whites, these men and women were barbers and tailors.

²⁸ J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States, ...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census,...*(Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854), 80-1; Donald Everett, “Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865,” (Ph. D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1952), 194-229.

Regardless of occupation or income, free people of color enjoyed their diversions. In New Orleans there was no shortage of activities to consume the leisure hours of the population. Common to other Creole groups in New Orleans, many free people of color enjoyed taking a daily promenade through the *faubourg*, attending the theatre, the opera, balls, gambling, or heading to a bar or brothel.²⁹

Taking a promenade or a long walk was a pastime enjoyed by all groups of people in New Orleans and the *gens de couleur libres* made no exception. Walks were generally enjoyed during the late afternoon and lasted as long as two hours. Promenades were occasions to meet friends and acquaintances as well as to get some light exercise. In Faubourg-Marigny, the most common routes were up and down Esplanade, the border between the *faubourg* and the *vieux carré*. This route was most likely taken by the wealthier of Faubourg-Marigny since the lower portion of Esplanade was lined with mansions. The other route was up Elysian Fields Street to Washington Square, the public park of the *faubourg*. Here, men and women walked under rows of oaks and around a fountain at the center of the park. Depending on which day of the week it was, when the promenade was over, men and women would return home to have dinner and then prepare for a performance at a nearby theatre or opera.³⁰

Theatres in New Orleans usually held performances on Sunday night at eight o' clock in the evening. For the cost of seventy-eight cents to two dollars, free people of color could attend plays at any of the theatres in town; however, certain of them forbid them from sitting in the parquet or the first tier of box seats. Other theatres had no such restrictions. One such theatre was the Théâtre St.-Philippe located in the *vieux carré*,

²⁹ Didimus, *New Orleans As I Found It*, 52; King, *New Orleans*, 344.

³⁰ Norman, *Norman's New Orleans*, 181; Séligny, *Homme libre de couleur*, 172; Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide*, 31, 117,

which was frequented primarily by free people of color and even performed plays written by members of their social class, such as those of Camille Thierry and Victor Séjour. Additionally, the dress code at the St.-Philippe was less formal than other theatres in town and patrons could focus less on “being seen” than in seeing the performance.³¹

Gens de couleur also attended the theaters in which they were required to sit in the upper balconies because these theatres, most notably the Théâtre d’Orléans and the St. Charles Theatre, hosted performances featuring the most celebrated European *prima donnas* and starlets. In addition it was a necessity among the extremely privileged residents to show up to the Théâtre d’Orléans on Sunday night to be seen wearing the latest French fashions. Young women, if they were beautiful and light-skinned enough, had the duty to receive callers at their booths during intermission.³²

For free men and women of financial means, Tuesday and Saturday evenings were similarly spent at the Théâtre d’Orléans, but not for enjoying plays. On these nights, opera was held. Tuesdays were reserved for *grande opéra*, while on Thursdays *opéra comique* were performed. As when plays were held, anyone with any pretensions to social standing dressed in their finest clothing and made sure to attend. The intermissions were times of mingling and social visits just as they were on Sundays.³³

The end goal for free women of color attending the theatre and opera in all of their extravagant sartorial grandeur was to “marry” into the white class, so that they

³¹ Anonymous, *An Immigrant of a Hundred Years Ago; A Story of Someone’s Ancestor* (Hattiesburg, MS: Book Farm, 1941), 32, 35; Testut, *Portraits Littéraires*, 161-2; Tinker, *Les écrits de langue française*, 470; Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide*, 31.

³² Didimus, *New Orleans As It Was*, 52; King, *New Orleans*, 344; Norman, *Norman’s New Orleans*, 177-9.

³³ Asbury, *French Quarter*, 122-4; Fraiser, *French Quarter*, 174; Lyell, *A Second Visit*, 93; Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans*, 29; Tinker, *Creole City*, 261.

would be further removed from the social stigmatism of “blackness.” Their children, if they were to “marry” a white, would be one shade lighter and closer to passing for white. While mingling between extremely light-skinned free women of color and whites took place at theatres and opera houses, arrangements for long term relationships were set up at *bals du cordon bleu*, or “quadroon” and “octoroon balls.”³⁴

The most exclusive of the quadroon balls were held on Wednesday nights from November to February at the Salle d’Orléans (Orleans Ballroom) or the Washington Ballroom, both of which were located in the *vieux carré*. For the price of two dollars, a young white suitor (free men of color were excluded) could meet with young, often wealthy, elite free women of color. If all went well, a near-marriage or *plaçage* was arranged. White men and women of mixed-race entered into the institution of *plaçage* in lieu of marriage because interracial marriage was illegal in Louisiana. Additionally, *plaçage* insured the white “husband” a degree of sexual freedom, which was absent in a traditional marriage, while the *placée* was ensured financial security.³⁵

According to travelers to the city, such as Olmstead, the mothers of the young women, acting as negotiators, offered their daughters to the man with the best offer. The young woman, once a *placée*, was guaranteed a small house, usually located in Faubourg-Marigny, and a sum of money for each child that came as a result of the relationship. In this manner, if the man ever left his *placée* for a “legitimate” white wife,

³⁴ Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 236-7; Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans*, 73

³⁵ Alcindor, “Les Gens de Couleur Libres,” 66, 81-2, 87-95; Asbury, *French Quarter*, 130-1; Karl Bernhard, *Travels Through North American During the Years 1825 and 1826*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Carey, 1828), II, 62; Theodore Clapp, *Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections: During a Thirty-Five Years’ Residence in New Orleans* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1857), 235; George William Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 2 vols., (London: John Murray, 1844), II, 265-9; Martineau, *Society in America*, 16-7; Ronald R. Morazan, “‘Quadroon’ Balls in the Spanish Period,” *Louisiana History* 14 (1973): 310. Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 236-7; Robin, *Voyages*, 119-20; Anna Lee Stahl, “The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 25 (1942):308; Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans*, 73.

she would be financially secure for the rest of her life. Regardless of whether or not the relationship endured, *plaçage* was a tolerated social institution by which free women of color ameliorated or conserved their social status within the framework of the rapidly fading colonial paradigm of socioracial stratification. That is to say, *plaçage* kept the *placée* from dropping from her middle ground, under whites and above blacks, into the lowest class, by aligning herself with a white man and producing children that would be even lighter-skinned than she herself was.³⁶

The quadron balls that were held at the Salle d'Orléans and the Washington Ballroom were reserved for the wealthiest and most elite of both the white and free non-white classes; other balls existed for the *demi-monde*. Balls were similarly held at the Globe Ball Room where admission was only fifty cents, one-fourth of the price of the *cordon bleu* balls. It must be said that most free women of color had not the wealth, income, or light-skinned phenotype to acceptably present themselves at quadron balls. Many free people of color were barely distinguishable from slaves and competed with them for jobs. Most liaisons between whites and free women of color were in the form of concubinage and prostitution.³⁷

The activities of the *gens de couleur libres* were not always centered on the arts and social improvement. The free people of color also frequented, bars, brothels, gambling houses and cock fights. For these diversions, free people of color and others went to the rear of the *vieux carré*, specifically to Dauphine, Burgundy and Basin streets. These streets crossed multi-cultural zones. Where Canal intersected

³⁶ Alcindoor, "Les Gens de Couleur Libres," 88; Asbury, *French Quarter*, 129; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 138. Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 236-7.

³⁷ Alcindor, "Les Gens de Couleur Libres," 81-86; Anonymous, *An Immigrant of a Hundred Years Ago*, 34-6.

Dauphine, Burgundy and Basin streets, the cultural spheres of the American Faubourg-Ste.-Marie met the French Creole world of the *vieux carré*. While these streets ran to Canal Street at one end, Basin halted at Congo Square on the other, the meeting ground of the city's African and Franco-Creole slave community.³⁸

Throughout the antebellum period, gambling pervaded the entirety of this district. Gambling was briefly made illegal in 1821; however, the law had no effect in halting gambling in private houses and taverns. Frenchmen and Creoles both white and black, free and slave, furtively met in these establishments to play *vingt-et-un* (twenty-one), *crapaud's* (craps), canasta, and billiards. By 1823, the law was seen as so ineffectual in curbing the practice of gambling that the 1821 law was repealed and a new law authorized the establishment of six gambling houses. Each house, according to the law, would pay \$5,000 each year to the Charity Hospital and the Collège d'Orléans.³⁹

Aside from gambling, prostitution was the main attraction to those who frequented the *vieux carré* - Faubourg-Tremé border. In this area, "white women and Negresses crowded together indiscriminately and were patronized by men of all races and colors..." Prostitutes ranged from those that lurked in the alleys between the bars and cabarets and charged ten cents to those who rented out rooms in elegant homes from "madames" or "landladies" and charged upwards of thirty to fifty dollars. The average price for an "amorous encounter," however, was about fifty cents. Many of the non-white prostitutes were black and mixed-race slaves and free people.⁴⁰

³⁸ Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was*, 156; Frasier, *French Quarter*, 172-3.

³⁹ Victor Debouchel, *Histoire de la Louisiane, depuis les premières découvertes jusqu'en 1840* (Nouvelle-Orléans: Librairie de J. F. Lelievre, 1841), 140; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 138, 147; Stoddard, *Sketches*, 322.

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *An Immigrant*, 34-36; Asbury, *French Quarter*, 337- 347, 350-2. 358-9, 388; Frasier, *French Quarter*, 172-3, 337; Tinker, *Creole City*, 261.

While it may seem from a discussion of the leisure activities of the free people of color that their time was wholly consumed with secular affairs, this was not the case. The *gens de couleur libres* were assiduous churchgoers. They attended services at St. Louis Cathedral. Most free people of color were baptized and married there as well. Within the confines of the cathedral, religious services were celebrated alongside white Catholics; unlike the realm of education, public gatherings, and other public spheres, the Catholic Church was not segregated. As the ubiquitous Olmstead remarked upon entering St. Louis Cathedral, “Dark shadows, and dusky light, and deep, subdued, low organ strains pervade the interior; and on the bare floor, here are the kneeling women – ‘good’ and ‘bad’ women – and ah! Yes, white and black women, bowed in equality before their common Father.”⁴¹

Travelers’ accounts almost always mentioned seeing free men and women of mixed race in St. Louis Cathedral because these men and women were very orthodox Catholics. In this manner they were closely tied to the white French and French Creoles; slaves and free blacks that lacked any portion of European ancestry were, however, more likely to mix Catholicism with retained African and Caribbean beliefs. Other slaves and free blacks rejected Catholicism altogether.⁴²

Those *gens de couleur libres* that lived and died as Catholics during the antebellum period were interred at St. Louis Cemetery #1 or St. Louis Cemetery #2. St. Louis Cemetery # 1, which opened in 1789, was the older of the two cemeteries. It

⁴¹ Fraiser, *French Quarter*, 60; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 138; Lyell, *A Second Visit*, 93; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 228.

⁴² Marc Fiehrer, “The African Presence in Colonial Louisiana: An Essay on the Continuity of Caribbean Culture.” in Robert R. MacDonald, John R. Kemp, Edward F. Haas, *Louisiana’s Black Heritage* (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1979), 3-31; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 301-2; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 137-40; King, *New Orleans*, 352.

occupied a single city square on Basin Street. In this cemetery, whites and free people of color were often buried next to each other and sometimes were interred in the same tomb. The burial society of the free people of color, *Dieu Nous Protège* (God Protects Us), operated a tomb here that was completed in 1814. In St. Louis Cemetery #2, another burial ground for Catholics of French heritage, which opened in 1823, the racial equality that existed in the older cemetery was absent. The remains of people of mixed race were confined to one section of the cemetery – the square that was located closest to Canal Street was set aside for the tombs of the free people of color, while the three remaining squares were reserved for whites. Evidently, by 1823 the French and Spanish culture of the city had been, to some extent, Americanized.⁴³

A look at the areas of New Orleans where the free people of color lived, learned, worked, played, prayed and were buried has demonstrated that Anglo American culture altered the Latin culture of New Orleans. One important aspect that was affected was the placement of free people of color within the city's society. In discussing the geographic areas of the city where the free people of color lived, it was demonstrated that very few free people of color escaped being categorized as non-white. The institution of *plaçage* provided an escape hatch for a minute portion of wealthy, well-educated, and light-skinned free women of color. Even so, for these few, that institution proved a double-edged sword. These women allied themselves with whites and produced children that were even further separated from slavery and "blackness" than they themselves were. Yet, at the same time by being established in homes outside of the *vieux carré*, their white "protectors" segregated them away from whites and placed

⁴³ Robert Florence, *City of the Dead: A Journey Through St. Louis Cemetery #1, New Orleans, Louisiana* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies), 30, 34-6; King, *New Orleans*, 334; Norman, *Norman's New Orleans*, 107; Stanforth, *Romantic New Orleans*, 80; Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide*, 64.

them in an area of town known to be predominately for free people of color, thus they entrenched their status as non-whites. *Placées* aside, for the most part, the examination of the living arrangements of the free people of color demonstrated a complete failure on the part of the *gens de couleur libres* to convince Latin whites that they were their equals. By living in a *faubourg* apart from the majority of the white elite of New Orleans, they were seen as “others.”

Similarly, an examination of the education of free people of color exhibited that very few escaped being classified as black. By and large, free people of color were uneducated or were educated in segregated facilities. The fact that the children of the free people of color were educated apart from the children of whites is indicative of a rejection by Latin whites to accept the *gens de couleur libres* as their equals. The only *gens de couleur libres* that were educated alongside whites were those that were sent to France for their education. This percentage of the population is so small that it is almost negligible.

As in the realms of living quarters and education, in the sphere of leisure activities and entertainment a dual construct existed. Free people of color were concomitantly admitted into and segregated from the spaces of Latin whites. This is indicative of the insistence on the part of the Latin whites that the colonial-era three-tiered socioracial hierarchy be maintained. Both whites and free people of color frequented the same theatres, operas and ballrooms, while enslaved individuals were denied entry; however, within these spaces, there were separate zones in which free non-whites could not venture such as the parquet and the first-tier boxes. The insistence of Latin whites that the *gens de couleur libres* be kept below them socially is

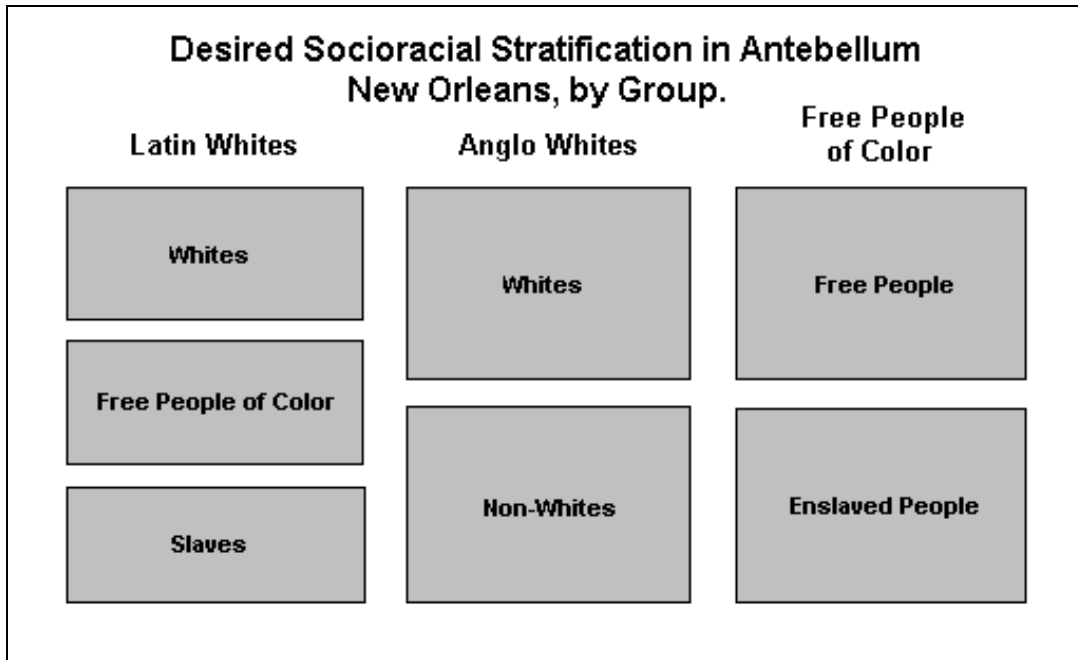
further demonstrated in the realm of entertainment and leisure by the fact that the restrictions that separated the two races within these public places applied only to the *gens de couleur libres*. White men could frequent the upper-tier boxes of these establishments to visit young women of color during the intermissions, if they so pleased.

The St. Louis Cathedral was the only space of antebellum New Orleans examined in which a sense of equality existed. Whites and free people of color prayed side by side within the cathedral throughout the early to mid nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the equality inside the cathedral did not translate into equality in the burial ground.

In all of the spaces of the city that the *gens de couleur libres* occupied, the cemeteries best exhibit the cultural synthesis that took place during the antebellum years. In cemeteries where Anglos were not buried, the Anglo American sense of racial propriety took hold as early as the 1820s, when the tombs of mixed-race men and women were separated from those of whites.

Although the *gens de couleur libres* would always see themselves as superior to enslaved people of color, the *gens de couleur libres* failed to maintain their middle position within New Orleans's society. This occurred because each group within the city (Latin whites, Anglo whites, free people of color) saw the situation of the free people of color differently. Before the Americans took possession of the city in 1803, the *gens de couleur libres* occupied a safe middle position between whites and the enslaved. Once the mores of the United States began to pervade the region, the middle ground began to fade and in an attempt to reject the United States notion that all non-whites were

Table 2 – Desired Socioracial Stratification in Antebellum New Orleans, by Group



slaves, they struggled to demonstrate their equality with whites. This did not mean necessarily that these men and women claimed that they were white. It did mean, however, that they argued that they should be classified with whites.

The white French and French Creoles viewed the situation differently from the free people of color and rejected the attempts of the latter to gain social equality with them for two reasons. First, while this cohort, together with the *gens de couleur libres*, struggled to reject Anglo culture, they did not see the free people of color as equal with them due to racist reasons. In their minds, free non-whites could not be equal to Latin whites because the white Gallic ancestry of people of color was “tainted” by their African traits. Additionally, Latin whites rejected the attempts of the free non-whites to become classified with them within a two-tiered socioracial hierarchy because this binary construct was an Anglo one. To accept the free people of color as their social equals within a two-tiered socioracial stratification would be to concede a cultural victory to the

American newcomers; even though the middle ground of the *gens de couleur libres* was fading, Latin whites insisted that free people of color remain in their middle ground, below them.

The obstinacy of the French whites did not prevent the wealthiest of the free people of color from rejecting race as the determining factor for social stratification and attempting to order society along a colorblind free/slave binary. To this end, the elites of the free people of color highlighted their allegiance to the slave system and highlighted their status as free men, rather than simply men of color, by purchasing black and mixed-race men and women as enslaved laborers.

CHAPTER 2

THE SLAVEHOLDING OF NEW ORLEANS'S FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR, 1820-1840

The study of free black slaveownership has enjoyed substantial attention in the past thirty years. Studies published in recent years have made it increasingly evident that despite the racial similarities between slaveholding free people of color and their slaves, most slaveholding free people of color owned slaves to exploit their labor. However, despite these profit-minded motives, a slaveowner might engage in a benevolent act such as the manumission of a slave. This chapter seeks to examine the slaveownership of New Orleans's free people of color during the antebellum period in an effort to find out more about who these financially privileged free blacks were, as well as a little bit about their self identity during a time in which the Crescent City underwent rapid Americanization.

The scholarly study of slaveholding free people of color began in 1924 with the publication of Carter G. Woodson's *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, which is essentially a list of every free black slaveholding head of household along with the number of slaves owned by those in that home in 1830. Woodson makes no effort to analyze his data in any substantial manner; however, he conjectures that from a cursory glance of the data that most slaveowning free people of color appear to have possessed their human property "from a point of philanthropy." Woodson points to isolated incidents in which a husband purchased a wife or some other relative. He finds that due to strict laws regarding manumission in the South, these enslaved relatives were not freed; they simply remained slaves in a legal sense. Citing this analytic

evidence, Woodson posits that most slaveholding free people of color holding one to three slaves were likely to be granting *de facto* freedom to their slaves. That is to say, they were not exploiting their slave's labor for profit.⁴⁴

Woodson's interpretation of the nature of free black slaveownership held sway for over a half of a century. Historians such as U. B. Phillips, John Hope Franklin, and Kenneth Stampp, when briefly mentioning slaveholding free blacks in their works, accepted Woodson's theory *en face* and footnoted his publication.⁴⁵

In 1976, Woodson's theory of benevolent slaveownership faced its first substantial criticism in Richard Halliburton's article, "Free Black Owners of Slaves: A Reappraisal of the Woodson Thesis." Without conducting new research, Halliburton analyzed the same 1830 census rolls as Woodson and concluded that Woodson "may be the creator of a myth." By examining the white slaveholders enumerated in the census in addition to Woodson's data for free black slaveowners, Halliburton found that most white slaveowners, like black slaveowners, owned very small numbers of slaves.⁴⁶

In 2005, David L. Lightner and Alexander M. Ragan published the article, "Were African American Slaveholders Benevolent or Exploitative? A Quantitative Approach," which essentially strengthened the argument Halliburton made thirty years earlier. Lightner and Ragan find that free black slaveownership was not as rare as previously thought because all the slaves in a free black household are assigned to the head of

⁴⁴ Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830, Together with Absentee Ownership of Slaves in the United States in 1830* (Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1924), 2.

⁴⁵ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 224; Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1963), 172; Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York,: Knopf, 1956), 194.

⁴⁶ Richard Halliburton, Jr., "Free Black Owners of Slaves: A Reappraisal of the Woodson Thesis," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 76 (July, 1976), 129-142.

household when they could, in fact, be the property of others in the home. Therefore, the numbers of black slaveowners in the 1830 census are greatly understated. Using quantitative analysis, they find a high correlation between the numbers of slaves owned by both white and black slaveowners across the South. Due to a lack of divergence between the percentages of black and white slaveowners with one to four slaves, they believe that both groups were most likely similarly motivated to own slaves – to make a profit. Lightner and Ragan’s article reopens the debate as to whether the slaveholding free person of color, especially the slaveholder owning one to three slaves, was benevolent or profit-minded.⁴⁷

Post Halliburton studies have not all simply reanalyzed Woodson’s data. There have been a few monographs published concerning individual free black slaveowners. These slaveowners were never the common slaveholding free persons of color with one to four slaves; rather, this special scholarly attention has focused on free black members of the planter class. A couple of regional studies have examined small clusters of free black slaveowners near Natchitoches, Louisiana and in Louisiana’s “bayou country.” And lastly, there has been one study to examine free black slaveownership on a municipal level – Larry Koger’s *Black Slaveowners*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ David L. Lightner and Alexander M. Ragan, “Were African American Slaveholders Benevolent or Exploitative? A Quantitative Approach,” *Journal of Southern History*, 71 (August 2005), 535-568.

⁴⁸ Studies of Individual Slaveowners: Edwin A. Davis and William R. Hogan, eds., *William Johnson’s Natchez: The Ante-Bellum Diary of a Free Negro*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: Norton, 1984); Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston’s Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Juliet E. K. Walker, *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier*. University of Kentucky Press (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1983); David O. Whitten. *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Regional Studies: Carl A. Brasseaux et al, *Creoles of Color in the Bayou Country*, University Press of Mississippi (Jackson, 1996); Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River’s Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977); Municipal Study: Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free*

In the general vein of Koger's examination of Charleston, this chapter will examine the slaveownership of New Orleans's free people of color during the middle antebellum years (1820-1840) to provide a better understanding of both their benevolent and exploitative slave practices. In a departure from previous studies of slaveholding free blacks, it is hoped that such an examination will provide a better comprehension of who the *gens de couleur libres* were in addition to a better understanding of their self-identity in a period during which New Orleans was becoming rapidly Americanized.⁴⁹

The historiographical debate has focused on the big picture and has come to conclusions based upon broad, generalized census enumerations. The years 1820-1840 were chosen for this study because of the wide acceptance among historians that 1830 marked the peak of the free people of color's economic and social privilege. All major studies of the slaveholding of free people of color have examined the institution during 1830 due to the fact that historian Carter G. Woodson, in 1924, compiled a listing of all of the slaveholding free black heads of household in the United States in that year. This study takes those 752 slaveholding heads of household that Woodson lists as residing in Orleans Parish in 1830, where New Orleans is located, and finds their slaveholdings in both the 1820 and 1840 slave schedules as well. It is hoped that an expanded look at the numbers of slaves held in these households, as they are

Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1985), 80-101.

⁴⁹ "Benevolent slaveownership" would either entail the purchase of a slave with the intent of freeing that slave as soon as possible or the holding of a slave while not working him as such and thereby granting that enslaved person *de facto* freedom. "Exploitative slaveownership" is the possessing of a slave or slaves for the purpose of exploiting their labor for financial gain; Lewis William Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana," in Vaughn Burdin Baker, ed., *Visions and Revisions: Perspectives on Louisiana Society and Culture* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2000).

enumerated in three antebellum era censuses, rather than in solely the 1830 census, will provide for a clearer look at the nature of the *gens de couleur libres*'s slaveholding practices.⁵⁰

The expansion of the Woodson data to include the census enumerations for 1820 and 1840 reveals that the number of free black slaveholders changed drastically from year to year. This becomes readily apparent when one takes note of how large a percentage of free black slaveholders listed in Woodson's data for 1830 are not listed in the 1820 or 1840 censuses. Eighty-five percent of New Orleans's 1830 free black slaveholding heads of household were not listed as such in 1820; ninety percent are likewise absent in the 1840 census of New Orleans.

Those not listed as a head of household in 1820 may have lived elsewhere. Séraphine Andry is an example of such a slaveholder. Woodson lists Andry as a slaveholding head of household in Orleans Parish in 1830; however, she lived in East Baton Rouge Parish in 1820. An absence from the 1820 census may have also been due to a person being a dependent of another person, either too young or too poor to live on his or her own. It may also be the case that the slaveowner is listed as a widow in 1830 and in 1820 she was still married. Absence from the 1840 census can be explained by a slaveowner leaving the parish, by marriage if the 1830 slaveowner is listed as a single female, or by death as was the case with Joseph Cabaret's absence

⁵⁰ See Appendix A; Woodson, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves*, 2; Halliburton, "Free Black Owners of Slaves," 131; Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 80; Lightner, "African American Slaveholders," 547.

from the 1840 census. In Cabaret's place, the head of household is listed as "Widow Joseph Cabaret."⁵¹

The flux in the census records does not solely apply to slaveholders, but to slaves as well. An increase from census to census in the number of slaves in a given household is relatively easy to explain. Either a slaveowner who previously had not been living in that household has moved in and brought with him his slaves, a female slave in the household has had children in the time since the previous census was taken, or someone living in that household has received slaves through purchase or the transfer of property.

There are more possibilities when considering why a drop has occurred in the number of slaves held in a specific household. The decrease in the number of slaves could be due to the death of a slave, a slaveholder moving from one household to another, the transfer of slave property out of the household, the manumission of a slave (or slaves) or the sale of a slave (or slaves). It is also possible that the sale of a slave or large numbers of slaves was due to a slaveowner's deteriorating financial condition. While the cause of a decrease in the number of slaves at a household is equally likely to be caused by the death of a slave as by the departure of a slaveowner (and his slaves) not listed as a head of household, the slave transactions recorded by notaries reveal a drastic disparity between the number of slave manumissions and transfers when compared to the large amount of slaves purchased and sold.⁵²

⁵¹ See Appendix A; *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820, Schedule I, II*, New Orleans, Louisiana; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Schedule I, II*, New Orleans, Louisiana; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Schedule I, II*, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁵² *Notarial Records of Christoval de Armas, 1817-1829*, New Orleans Notarial Archives, New Orleans (hereafter cited as NONA); *Notarial Records of Michel de Armas, 1809-1823*, NONA; *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux 1816-1826*, NONA; These three notaries, in particular Michel de Armas and Philippe Pedesclaux, were overwhelmingly the notaries of choice of New Orleans's slaveholding free

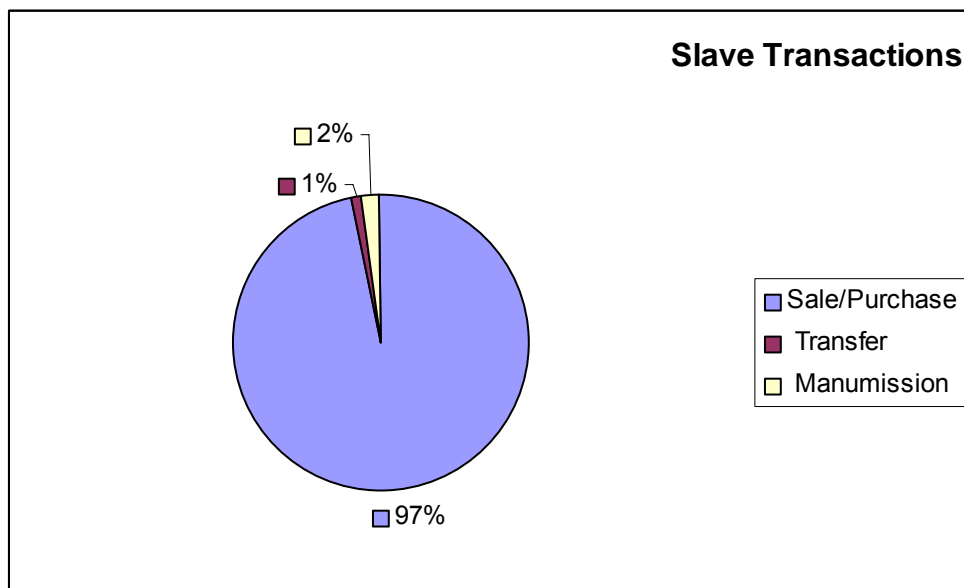
A look at the slaveholding free people of color over three censuses rather than simply the 1830 census has highlighted the amount of movement that occurred between slaveowners and slaves. Slaveowners that previous historians have noted, by referencing the Woodson data, as having one to three slaves and therefore as being benevolent (Woodson, Phillips, Stamp, Franklin) or exploitative (Halliburton, Koger, Lightner, Ragan) are now seen in a clearer light. While this expanded scope does not prove that the free people of color who owned small numbers of slaves were exploitative of their slave property, the fact that their slaveholdings were in flux coupled with the fact that in Orleans Parish manumission was a feasible (though rarely exercised) possibility at least suggests the prospect that slaveholders with one to three slaves were not holding onto relatives as slaves in a benevolent fashion.⁵³

The census records of Orleans Parish have suggested that free black slaveowners did not merely hold onto slaves. Alternatively, over time, they acquired, sold, and to a lesser extent, transferred and manumitted their slaves. A look at the individual notarial records of slave transactions of New Orleans's free people of color – those that Woodson lists as living in Orleans Parish in 1830 – will provide a more personal glance at the slaveowning free people of color, namely, a look at who they were buying, selling and manumitting. It is likely that this detailed look at the *gens de couleur libres*'s slave transaction habits will reveal something about who these men and women were and what comprised their self-identity.

people of color. For instance, in 1820, these three notaries recorded all but two of the slave transactions involving a free person of color from Woodson's list of free black heads of household.; James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Knopf, 1982). Oakes notes a high turnover rate in slaveownership among whites, especially those whites who owned a small number of slaves; Oakes argues it was because of fluctuating economic conditions.

⁵³ Appendix B demonstrates that emancipating slaves was feasible for free people of color. This reality contrasts the verbiage of the existing laws, which are best detailed by Sterkx; H.E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Antebellum Louisiana*. (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972) 91-150.

Figure 3 – Percentages of slave sales/purchases, transfers and manumissions in the slave transactions of New Orleans’s slaveholders of color, 1820s.⁵⁴



While each purchase, sale, transfer or manumission of a slave is unique, these records can be grouped into similar types of transactions. The first grouping of records are those in which a free person of color is purchasing a slave. For example, many of the notarial records reveal a tendency during the antebellum period among the *gens de couleur libres* to purchase English-speaking slaves from Virginia. In 1822, free man of color, François Petitjean purchased twenty-two year old “*négresse*,” or “black woman,” Sally of Norfolk, Virginia, from J. Noba and P. Martel for \$512. The proclivity to acquire bondsmen from Virginia was not unique to free people of color. Ever since the 1808 congressional ban on the importation of slaves from abroad, many slaveowners across the western South in states such as Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas purchased their

⁵⁴ Notarial Records of Christoval de Armas, Michel de Armas and Philippe Pedesclaux, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives, New Orleans.

slaves from Virginia where slaveowners were willing to sell slaves to labor-hungry regions for high prices.⁵⁵

New Orleans's slaveholding free people of color also purchased biracial slaves from Virginia. Rosalie Chesne, a free woman of color, purchased the twenty-year-old Virginia-born *mulâtresse*, or "mulatto woman," Belinda from Jean B. Moussier in 1822 for \$550, only to sell this slave three years later for a \$50 profit to the widow of the prominent (white) notary, Michel de Armas.⁵⁶

The records reveal that the *gens de couleur libres* did not solely acquire their bondsmen from the "Virginia Trade." Black and mixed-race slaves were also purchased from area whites and to a lesser extent from other free people of color. For example, free man of color, Germaine Boucher, went to a local white slave trader named Jacques Aubry to purchase a slave in 1822; while, Louis Cornié's sale of the forty-year-old English-speaking *négresse*, Maria, to Charles Porée in 1821 demonstrates an example of a slave transaction between two *gens de couleur libres*.⁵⁷

Gens de couleur libres also purchased Francophone slaves listed as either black or as of mixed race. These slaves usually were Louisiana-born, though some originated from Saint-Domingue. Agathe Fanchon, free woman of color, sold the fifty-eight year old *négrette* Marie, a French-speaker, to Mrs. C. Montreuil for \$350 in 1821. In another

⁵⁵ J. Noba and P. Martel to François Petitjean. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #16. Notarial Act #1033, 5 November 1822, NONA; Monetary unit of exchange in French-language records of Orleans Parish are "piastres," which is a French word for "dollars."

⁵⁶ Jean B. Moussier to Rosalie Chesne. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #16. Notarial Act #721, 17 June 1822, NONA; Rosalie Chesne to Widow Michel de Armas. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #20. Notarial Act #155, 9 April 1825, NONA.

⁵⁷ Jacques Aubry to Germaine Boucher. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #16. Notarial Act #1016, 23 October 1822, NONA; Louis Cornié to Charles Porée. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #19. Notarial Act #682, 9 June 1821, NONA.

instance, in 1826, Julie C. Boise, free woman of color, sold Louis, *nègre*, a twenty-one year old Francophone, to Pierre Monett, free man of color, for \$200.⁵⁸

Although extremely rare when contrasted to the rate of profit-minded purchases, records exist of free people of color purchasing slaves with a stated intent within the notarized document of freeing the slave in question. In 1821, Joseph Cabaret purchased the thirty-one year old *nègre*, Salomon, from a white slaveowner, Étienne Debon, with the intent of manumitting him *aussitôt que possible*.⁵⁹

The second grouping of records concerns the sale of slaves by *gens de couleur libres*. The notarial records also demonstrate that the *gens de couleur libres* sold slaves at a frequency comparable to that at which they purchased slaves. Free people of color most often sold non-mixed-race, black slaves to whites. This is due in part because there were more black slaves than mixed-race slaves. To provide but one example of the most common type of slave sale, in 1823, free woman of color, Oursine St. Ours, sold Sourite, a *négresse*, and her two children to Joseph Sauvinet.⁶⁰

Although not as often, free people of color also sold slaves of mixed race to whites. In 1827, Widow Dupiton sold an eighty-eight year old woman listed as a *griffonne* to Marie-Joseph Pierre for \$325. The exploitative slaveowner seems to have

⁵⁸ Agathe Fanchon to Mrs. C. Montreuil. *Notarial Records of Michel de Armas, 1809-1823*. Roll #23, Notarial Act #36, 17 February 1821, NONA; Julie C. Boise to Pierre Monett. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #21. Notarial Act #179, 17 June 1826, NONA.

⁵⁹ "Aussitôt que possible" means "as soon as possible"; Étienne Debon to Joseph Cabaret. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #13. Notarial Act #104, 2 February 1821, NONA.

⁶⁰ Oursine St. Ours to Joseph Sauvinet. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #20. Notarial Act #125, 18 March 1825, NONA.

cared little about the racial make-up of his bondsmen whether he was “black,” “mulatto,” “griff,” or “quadroon.”⁶¹

The sale of slaves was not always to whites; slaves and money also exchanged hands between free people of color. In 1821, Louis St. Amant sold four slaves to Pierre St. Amant for \$5,700. Seven months later, Pierre sold twenty-one slaves to Louis for \$30,160. Despite the close connection between these two free men of color, the slaves were sold, not transferred, and at competitive prices.⁶²

When slaves switched hands from one owner to the next, they were not always sold. Sometimes bondsmen were simply transferred from one slaveholder to another. In 1823, a white resident of New Orleans named Antoine Bouiquet transferred José to free woman of color Suzette Castanedo on the condition that Castanedo free José as soon as possible. The notarial act leaves out José’s race and does not explicitly state that José is related to Castanedo (or to both Castanedo and Bouiquet), though the nature of this benevolent transfer does hint at that possibility.⁶³

Another important, but comparatively rare, type of slave transaction record is the emancipation petition. These records, which were written up in both English and French, list the name of the slaveowner, the name of the slave, how long the slave has been in the possession of the slave and directs anyone with an objection to the manumission of the slave in question to present their complaint to the Orleans Parish Court House. A notary writes on the back of the document if any complaints were

⁶¹ Widow Dupiton to Marie-Joseph Pierre. *Notarial Records of Christoval de Armas, 1817-1829*. Roll #13, Notarial Act #115, 1 May 1827, NONA; “Griffonne” usually designates a female of black and native American parentage, though it can also mean a female of black and mulatto parentage.

⁶²Louis St. Amant to Pierre St. Amant. *Notarial Records of Michel de Armas, 1809-1823*. Roll #23, Notarial Act #117, 2 April 1821, NONA; Pierre St. Amant to Louis St. Amant. *Notarial Records of Michel de Armas, 1809-1823*. Roll #23, Notarial Act #117, 2 April 1821, NONA.

⁶³ Antoine Bouiquet to Suzette Castanedo. *Notarial Records of Michel de Armas, 1809-1823*. Roll #26, Notarial Act #17, 18 January 1823, NONA.

received over the manumission of the slave in question though the author has never found an emancipation petition on which a resident had objected.

The notarial records also document the purchasing, selling and emancipating of slaves by slaveholding free people of color that were not listed by census enumerators as heads of household or were not recorded by Woodson as such in his study. One such overlooked slaveowner is Marie-Magdalene Allemand. Allemand was not a head of household and as a result, her name is absent from census lists (and her actions would be absent from census-based quantitative studies); however, the notarial records are heavily peppered with her slave transactions. Allemand sold and purchased at least seven slaves over the antebellum period and even emancipated one slave in 1827.⁶⁴

Another such slaveowner is one that has been mentioned, Widow Rosalie Chesne. Chesne is present in the 1820 census and is listed as owning three slaves; however, she is no longer listed as a head of household in either 1830 or 1840, though she freed five slaves and purchased and sold several others during this time. Chesne is consistently listed as both a widow and a resident of New Orleans. Although it was common for widows to be heads of household, Chesne and her slave property were most likely enumerated in the census in the household of a relative. Possibly in one of the many St. Amant households as Chesne's maiden name is St. Amant.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Record of Allemand selling a slave: M.M. Allemand to Delogny. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #15. Notarial Act #84, 26 January 1822, NONA; Record of Allemand purchasing a slave: Pierre Lamarre to Marie Allemand. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #13. Notarial Act #346, 26 February 1821, NONA; Allemand manumitted a slave named Marie in 1827, see Appendix B.

⁶⁵ Rosalie Chesne is variably listed as "Rosalie Chesne, Veuve St. Amant," "Rosalie Chesne, Veuve St. Amand," "Rosalie Chesne," "Rosalie Chesneau," "Rosalie Chusaux," "Rosalie Chenan," or "Rosalie Chernan." The "Chesne" spelling is preferred because that is how Chesne signed her name in legal documents; Chesne manumitted Sanitte in 1816, Marie-Zilia in 1819, Marie-Madeleine and Marie-Joseph in 1820 and Pamela in 1829.

One final type of record found were those containing the names of slaveholders that Woodson lists as slaveholding free black heads of household but are not listed as such in the document. Ever since the Louisiana Civil Code of 1808 was passed by the territorial legislature all free people of color within the state of Louisiana were obligated to add “f.p.c.” (free person of color), “f.m.c.” (free man of color), or “f.w.c.” (free woman of color) after their names on all legal documents. Bernard Castilliaux, Joseph Perilliot, and J. B. Noël are examples of slaveholders that Woodson lists as free men of color but notarial documents list as white by the absence of the three-letter badge of color. Woodson’s information was derived from the Federal Census of 1830, which does not list the race of any head of household, whether white or of mixed race. So one cannot be sure how Woodson came to believe these men were people of color. It is possible, however, that if these men were of mixed race that they “passed as white.”⁶⁶

An analysis of the census enumerations and documented slave transactions reveal three trends. First, when selling or purchasing a slave for exploitative use, the *gens de couleur libres* do not discriminate between black or mixed race slaves when the slave in question is Anglophone. The records are filled with free people of color buying and selling slaves from areas such as Virginia regardless of their racial make-up. These blacks are purchased and exploited alongside “mulattos” and “griffs.” For example consider the case of Laïs Bertonnaux, f.w.c.. Bertonnaux, like many other New Orleans slaveowners showed a proclivity to purchase both black and biracial English-speaking slaves. The fourteen-year-old *mulâtresse* Jane and the seventeen-

⁶⁶ Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition, 1718-1868*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 71.

year-old *négresse* Lucy, who were purchased at the same time, were both Anglophones.⁶⁷

Second, when purchasing a purely black slave for exploitation, *gens de couleur libres* were not averse to acquiring Francophones in addition to Anglophones. For instance, Oursine St. Ours, f.w.c., worked Sourite, Émile, and Mathilde, all black Francophone slaves, alongside the black Anglophones Matilda, Nancy, Mary, Edward and Moses.⁶⁸

Third, if a *gens de couleur libre* chose to petition to the Orleans Parish Police Jury to manumit a slave, they overwhelmingly petitioned to manumit biracial slaves with French heritage. For example, Jean Lambert, who Woodson lists as a free person of color, petitioned to free Jeanne, while keeping his other slaves, such as Bill, in servitude. Over the period of 1814 to 1843 when the Orleans Parish Police Jury dealt with slave emancipations, 301 different free people of color petitioned to free 364 slaves. Of these 364 slaves, 306 had French names, and some of these were listed as the relative of the slaveowner. Of the fifty slaves with English, and Spanish names, the liberator was often a free person of color with Anglo or Spanish heritage. No single linguistic group dominated in the manumission of Arabic or African-language speaking slaves.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ G. B. Philippe to Laïs Bertonneaux. *Notarial Records of Christoval de Armas, 1817-1829*. Roll #14, Notarial Act #193, 1 May 1828, NONA.

⁶⁸ Charles Lomine to Oursine St. Ours. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #16. Notarial Act #1112, 12 December 1822, NONA; Charles Lomine to Oursine St. Ours. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #17. Notarial Act #26, 10 January 1823, NONA; Oursine St. Ours to Joseph Sauvinet. *Notarial Records of Philippe Pedesclaux, 1819-1830*. Roll #20. Notarial Act #125, 18 March 1825, NONA.

⁶⁹ See Appendix B; Index to Slave Emancipation Petitions, Parish Court (Orleans Parish), 1814-1843, City Archives of the New Orleans Public Library; Gertrude Daigle to Jean Lambert. *Notarial Records of Christoval de Armas, 1817-1829*. Notarial Act #256. 28 January 1818, NONA.

Figure 3 – Number of slaves manumitted by free people of color in Orleans Parish, 1814-1843, by language⁷⁰

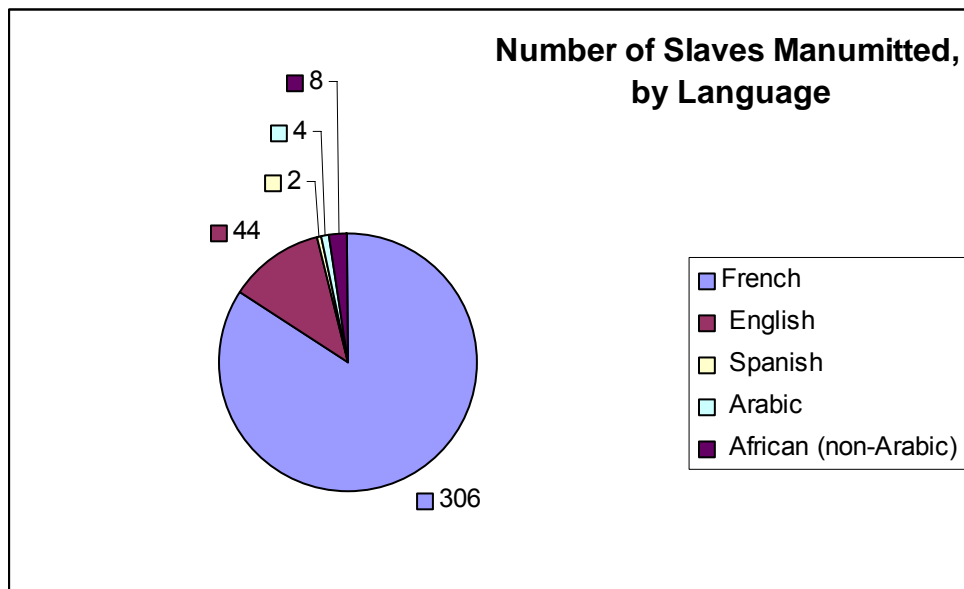
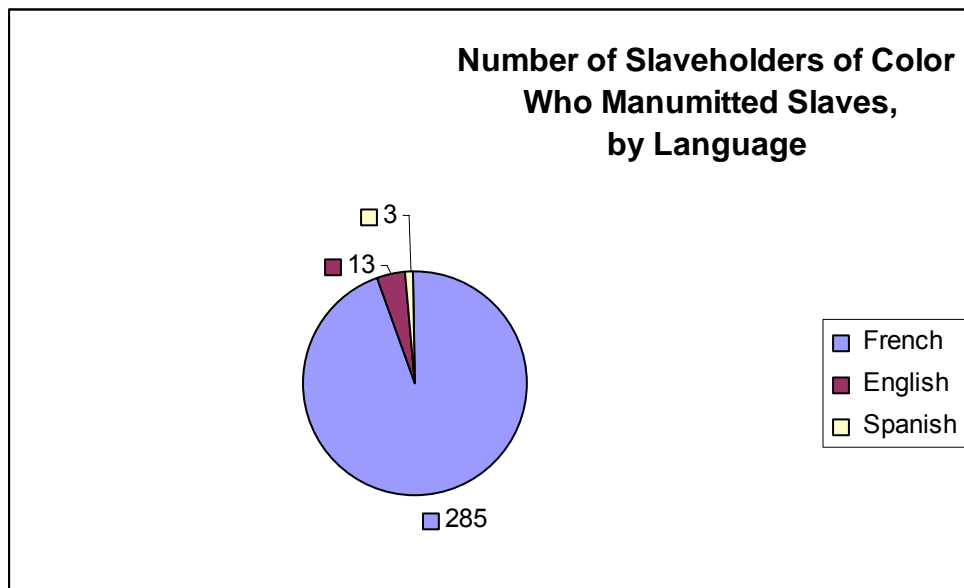


Figure 4 – Number of slaveholders of color who manumitted slaves in Orleans Parish, 1814-1843, by language.⁷¹



⁷⁰ Slave Emancipation Petitions, 1814-1843, City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

⁷¹ Slave Emancipation Petitions, 1814-1843, City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

By an expansion of Woodson's 1830 data of slaveholding free people of color in Orleans Parish to include those slaveowners' slaveholdings in 1820 and 1840 one can see that both slaveholders and the number of slaves they owned were in constant flux. This trend upholds the increasingly popular historiographical argument that free black slaveholders were for the most part exploitative of their slaves' labor rather than being benevolent, as previous generations of historians have suggested. An examination of the individual slave transactions of these same *gens de couleur libres* suggests that two key traits of the self-identity of New Orleans's free people of color were their portion of Gallic ancestry and their free status. Black slaves, regardless of their familiarity with the French language, lacked any degree of white French parentage and so due to their lack of both free status and Gallic ancestry were seen as "others" by the *gens de couleur libres*. Similarly, the biracial slaves purchased from the Upper-South in states such as Virginia were seen as "others" that were acceptable to exploit for financial gain. Despite having a portion of white ancestry, these enslaved people's modicum of European parentage was most-likely Anglo and not French. As a result, their Franco-biracial masters did not identify with them. It seems that a lighter phenotype mattered little to the slaveholding *gens de couleur libres* if the heritage of the slave was not French. It was demonstrated most often that when a slave and the master shared what the master believed to be a similar racial makeup – one part African, one part Franco-Caucasian (Gallic) – that the slaveholding *gens de couleur libres* sought to bring a slave into their class by granting the second key trait of their self-identity to the slave – free status.

The *gens de couleur libres* rarely sought to emancipate non-Gallic slaves of mixed race, because the antebellum years were a time of cultural conflict. It was

important to New Orleans's free black community that their society remained French. To this end, free people of color sought to reaffirm their French culture and reject Americanization by maintaining separate living spaces from American immigrants within the city, by attending French plays and operas, and through the publication of French-language literature.

CHAPTER 3

THE LITERATURE OF NEW ORLEANS'S FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR, 1837-1845

Beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, a small cadre of free black and mixed-race literary figures emerged in New Orleans. For the most part, these highly educated writers, poets, and playwrights saw themselves as active participants in the French Romantic movement. Many of the writers published their work in newspapers, such as the quickly suppressed *Le Libéral* (*The Liberal*). Others published their poetry and stories in literary journals such as New Orleans's *L'Album littéraire, journal des jeunes gens, amateurs de littérature* (*The Literary Album, the journal of young men, literary amateurs*) or Paris's *La Revue des Colonies* (*The Colonial Review*). The publication in 1845 of *Les Cenelles: choix des poésies indigènes* (*The Mayhaw Berries: Selections of Indigenous Poetry*) marked the first tome of poetry to be published by non-whites in North America. Their stories and verses are filled with grandiloquent accounts of love and sexual purity, as well as of melancholy and suicide. When taken as whole, their body of work is not vast. For example, no free person of color ever published a novel. Regardless, these works doubtless played an important part for the elite of the city's free people of color, who, despite their wealth and education, worried about the fate of their precarious middle ground amongst the rapidly changing society of mid-nineteenth century New Orleans.

Romanticism, the literary movement in which these writers took part, was an artistic and intellectual movement that originated in the late eighteenth century. French Romantics stressed strong emotions such as trepidation, awe and horror as aesthetic

experiences. The individual imagination was viewed as a critical authority that permitted freedom from classical notions of form in art and the overturning of social conventions, particularly the position of the aristocracy. There was a strong element of historical and natural inevitability in its ideas, stressing the importance of what was "natural" in art and language. Romanticism is also noted for its elevation of the achievements of what its authors' perceived as heroic individuals.⁷²

Despite the fact that many of New Orleans's free black writers were actively engaged in the French Romantic movement and sought to travel to Paris to further their careers, very few made it to Paris. This is a testament of these writers' belief that New Orleans and its environs was still very much a satellite of the French metropole. While desirable, a trip to Paris was not necessary to legitimately engage in the French literary movement. Not only was a moiety of the city's inhabitants either French immigrants or descendants of Frenchmen, but these Francophone Americans remained part of the French cultural sphere. They read French newspapers, novels and poetry and went to see the latest French operas and plays.⁷³

Nevertheless, only those few that moved to Paris gained any enduring notoriety or remunerative success as writers. Victor Séjour, a New Orleans native, was one of those few – he became one of France's most popular nineteenth century playwrights. Séjour, who was the son of a white planter and a *mulâtresse libre* from the French colony of Saint-Domingue, immigrated to Paris at the age of nineteen. In France, he

⁷² André O. Hurtgen, *Tous les poèmes pour le cours avancé* (New York: Longman, 1988), 55; Régine Latortue and Gleason R. W. Adams, trans. *Les Cenelles: A Collection of Poems by Creole Writers of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979), ix, xii; William F. Thrall, William Harmon and C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1960), 429-31.

⁷³ King, *New Orleans*, 347; Lyell, *A Second Visit*, 94-5; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 236; Edward Larocque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de Langue Française en Louisiane au XIXe Siècle: Essais Biographiques et Bibliographiques* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), 1-4; Tinker, *Creole City*, 268.

wrote several plays including *Richard III*, befriended Alexandre Dumas, who was also of mixed race, and ended up working as Napoléon III's secretary.⁷⁴

The purpose of this chapter is not, however, to detail the commercial successes or failures of those works published by the free black writers of New Orleans. Nor is the purpose to rate or pass judgement on the aesthetic beauty of their corpus of work. This chapter seeks to examine the writings of New Orleans's free people of color for the purpose of extracting a better understanding of their identity as well as their views on their restricted social condition, if such views are mentioned in their works.

The French identity or mentality of the writers becomes apparent by reading almost any of their poems or short stories. Aside from the superficial fact that these works were written in the French language, one sees that there are many meaningful attributes of their work that lead the observer to believe that these writers were Frenchmen before they were "Americans" or, arguably, even free people of color.

First, it was previously noted that one aspect of Romantic literature is its elevation of the achievements of perceived heroic individuals. When they lauded the

⁷⁴ Clint Bruce and Jennifer Gipson, " 'Je n'étais qu'un objet de mépris' : degrés de résistance dans la littérature des Créoles de couleur en Louisiane au XIXe siècle" 17 *Francophonies d'Amérique* (2004), 7; Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire; notices biographiques accompagnées de réflexions et de souvenirs personnels, hommage à la population créole, en souvenir des grands hommes qu'elle a produits et des bonnes choses qu'elle a accomplies* (Montréal: Arbour et Dupont, 1911), 38-9; Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 74; Shelby Thomas McCloy, *The Negro in France* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), 165; Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 105-106; David O'Connell, "Victor Séjour: Ecrivain américain de langue française," *Revue de Louisiane*, I (Winter, 1972), 60-61. Charles Edwards O'Neill, *Séjour: Parisian Playwright from Louisiana* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1995), Chap. 1; John Perret, "Victor Séjour, Black French Playwright from Louisiana," *French Review*, 57 (December, 1983), 187; ; J. Charles Roussève, *The Negro in Louisiana: Aspects of his History and his Literature* (New Orleans: Xavier University Press, 1937), 66-83; Edward Larocque Tinker, *Les écrits de langue française en Louisiane du XIXe siècle: essais biographiques et bibliographiques* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), 428; Auguste Viatte, *Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française des origines à 1950* (Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1954), 265.

actions of an individual with encomium in their poetry, the *gens de couleur libres* of New Orleans overwhelmingly chose Napoléon. Victor Séjour's poem, "Le Retour de Napoléon," ("The Return of Napoleon") which was published in *Les Cenelles: choix de poésies indigènes*, a collection of poetry written exclusively by free people of color of New Orleans, finds the glory and honor of his own people to be inextricably linked to that of the French and the memory of Napoléon:

Oh! It is thus, thus that France was beautiful!
 * * *

For nothing...all is finished...Farewell, oh captain
 Farewell, oh my consul with the dignified demeanor.
 You were august and grand; superb and handsome;
 You passed in front of Hannibal and Pompée,
 Europe obeyed under the weight of your sword...
 How can such a tomb contain you?
 * * *

No, it is not me but undignified England
 Like a captive lion, held on this land:
 Noble France, it is you.
 It is you, your future, your power, your glory,
 Your twenty years of combat and victories;
 It's not me, it's not me!
 * * *

People, wake up...let out the cry of alarm...
 Soldiers, old veterans, grab your arms
 In the name of your honor,
 Frenchmen, do not let your hate subside;
 We have two dead inscribed at St. Helena,
 Glory and the Emperor.⁷⁵

Similarly in Manuel Sylva's poem, "Le Rêve," ("The Dream") which was also published in *Les Cenelles*, there is a longing for French glory. Sylva writes of a friend's dream that he were Napoléon back in the days of republican and imperial France:

⁷⁵ The poems are English translations of the French. The English translations are not meant to preserve rhyme and meter, but to be as accurate to the meaning of the original words as possible; Victor Séjour, "Le Retour de Napoléon" in Armand Lanusse, ed., *Les Cenelles: choix de poésies indigènes* (Nouvelle-Orléans: H. Laue et Cie., 1845) 159-165; On the meaning of the term "les Cenelles": Jerah Johnson, "Les Cenelles: What's in a Name?" 31 *Louisiana History* (Nov., 1990), 407-410.

There! I sang of Adèle and my dear mother,
And all agreeable about my beautiful nation.

* * *

He dreams, he's in France, powerful and rich,
The honors at his feet fly like a dog's steps,
He dreams now about the French republic,
He's the president, due to his politics,

* * *

The two Napoléons are at the same level,
At the peak of his joy he wakes up,
And finds again what was the day before.⁷⁶

In addition to celebrating the glory of the emperor, the writings of New Orleans's free blacks frequently mentioned living in or traveling to France as something that is desired or expected of them. The poet "Valcour B.," wrote a song called "L'ouvrier louisianais" ("The Louisianan Worker") in which he points out how Armand Lanusse, the editor of *Les Cenelles*, admonished him to go to France, Valcour wrote:

Then, he told me, you must go to France,
See her children, learn her songs
To soften the suffering of your brothers
One doesn't need to take lessons,
Misunderstood son of New Orleans,⁷⁷ ...

Along the same lines, another free black poet, Pierre Dalcour, while in France, wrote a poem about his longing for a certain blonde-haired, blue-eyed Creole girl waiting for him back in New Orleans:

⁷⁶ Manuel Sylva, "Le Rêve," *Les Cenelles*, 187-8..

⁷⁷ Valcour B., "L'ouvrier louisianais," *Les Cenelles*, 145-7; Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 90; Clint and Gipson, "Je n'étais qu'un objet de mépris," 6; Latortue and Adams, *Les Cenelles*, ix; C. R. L. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1963), 39; Auguste Lebeau, *De la condition des gens de couleur libres sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Guillaumin & Cie, 1903), 1-16; Chris Michaelides, *Paroles d'honneur: écrits de Créoles de couleur néo-orléanais, 1837-1872*. (Shreveport: Les Editions Tintamarre, 2004), 11; Roussève, *The Negro in Louisiana*, 82; H. E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Antebellum Louisiana* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1972), 253, 268-273; Testut, *Portraits Littéraires*, 183-4.

Anglo-Protestant groups in both regions served to bolster the role of Catholicism in local French communities. Despite the loss of government offices to Anglo newcomers, Francophones retained dominance within the Catholic Church.

Of the writings of New Orleans's free people of color that contain Catholic themes, two of the poems take a counterintuitive stance by arguing that the social changes of the antebellum period have *weakened* the Catholic Church. More than likely the authors of these poems were lamenting the arrival of significant numbers of Protestants to the city, not writing because black and white Francophones were actually abandoning the Church *en masse*. Mirtil-Ferdinand Liotau in his poem "Une impression" ("An Impression") states that:

Saint Louis Cathedral, old temple, shrine,
You are now empty and deserted!
Those who were entrusted in this world to your care,
Scorning the needs of the sacred tabernacle,
Have led the Christian phalanx elsewhere.
* * *

You that saw me as a child within these walls
Receive on my forehead the signs of baptism;
Alas! Did I grow up to see you today
Deserted, abandoned perhaps forever?
Pure & august asylum where one's soul is ravished
When sacred liturgy is sung in chorus,
Will you always remain bereft of honors?
Since we never pray to the Almighty in vain,
Christians, let us unite; when this tutelary God
Has shed all of his blood for us on Calvary,
Let us hope that this day, all mighty and strong,
Granting our prayers, He will change our destiny;
Let us pray if, through His mercy, we wish Him
To destroy amongst us hatred and discord.
* * *

Christians, another effort will tip the scale
Undoubtedly toward peace, we can be sure;
And we will see again, as in the past,

The people everyday fill up the forsaken temple! – ⁸⁰

While it is relatively easy to note the French identity of the free people of color by reading their literary works, it is far more difficult to gauge their French identity in perspective with other identity factors such as their portion of African heritage. Were these writers Frenchmen before they were men of color? Were they primarily men of color that happened to be French? Did these identifying factors exist concomitant to one another, with neither one nor the other factor taking precedent? Unlike the poems that mention longing for France, Africa is never mentioned.

Despite the conspicuous absence of an African nation being mentioned in the works of the free people of color, four poems refer to the more African traits of their phenotype. Pierre Dalcour writes of his longing for a Creole of color in his poem, “Vers écrits sur l’album de Mademoiselle ***” (“Verses written in the album of Mademoiselle ***”).

The star shining in the vault of heaven,
he sweet light of the star at night,
Are less pleasant to see than a glance from
Your eyes
From under your brown eyelids.

Similarly, Mirtil-Ferdinand Liotau’s, “À Ida,” (“To Ida”) mentions a young woman with African traits:

What pleases me about you,
What I admire and love,
Is not, Ida, your sixteen years, your youth.
It is not your black eyes but an extreme love
That knew how to replenish my heart.
It is not even your long ebony hair. ⁸¹

⁸⁰ Mirtil-Ferdinand Liotau, “Une impression,” *Les Cenelles*, 162-3; Armand Lanusse, “Epigramme,” *Les Cenelles*, 48.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, in contrast, three of the free black writers' poems mention distinctly European traits in the women that inspire them. One of the poems, "Un an d'absence," ("One Year of Absence") by Pierre Dalcour, which mentions Dalcour's longing for a blonde-haired, blue-eyed Creole, was previously mentioned when discussing the authors' ties to the French metropole. "Valcour B." writes the other two poems, which feature a woman named Coelina, whose face was "pale" and eyes were "azure blue."⁸²

Therefore, their literature demonstrates that these writers saw themselves as both Frenchmen with European traits as well as people of mixed race with African traits. In the preface to *Nos hommes et notre histoire (Our People and Our History)*, a history of these free black literary figures, Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes remarks that "above all else, they were French," but also cautions his reader that:

What does skin color matter? His [white Creole] father came here from Marseille or maybe Bordeaux, my own ancestors left from Hâvre, Provence, Guyenne, or Normandie, it's all France, right? No, I don't want to, like the down-to-earth Anglo-Saxon or the strict protestant, pretend that my Latin blood was corrupted when it was mixed with African blood. From the French part I get my mentality, a sense that vibrates all of my senses in heart felt unity; Catholic, I bow before the Black work of the Creator and confess that the part of me that merits the Passion of the Christ is not as large as his. Oh! So more than ever I feel in a *portion of myself* what exists for them.⁸³

A reading of the literature of New Orleans's *gens de couleur libres* informs us of more than the French or African identity of its authors. Drawing from the Romantic

⁸¹ Pierre Dalcour, "Vers écrits sur l'album de Mademoiselle ***," *Les Cenelles*, 193; Mirtil-Ferdinand Liotau, "A Ida," *Les Cenelles*, 134-5. Other poems that mention African traits are: Pierre Dalcour, "Acrostiche," *Les Cenelles*, 120; Camille Thierry, "Parle toujours," *Les Cenelles*, 189-190.

⁸² Pierre Dalcour, "Un an d'absence," *Les Cenelles*, 42-3; Valcour B., "Mon rêve," *Les Cenelles*, 158-9; Valcour B., "A mademoiselle Coelina," *Les Cenelles*, 185-6.

⁸³ Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire*, 3-4.

Movement, these writings contain lamentations and words of protest against the heightened racism directed toward their class and the rapid Americanization of the region. Somewhat shockingly, although none of the literary elites of New Orleans's free black population were slaveholders, their writings are silent on the issue of slavery. Only one short story, "Le Mulâtre" ("The Mulatto") by Victor Séjour, condemns the institution of slavery. There are two possible reasons for the scarcity of literature concerning slavery.⁸⁴

First, ever since March 1830, a state law in Louisiana banned the publication and dissemination of "inflammatory literature." The law stated that:

...whosoever shall make use of any language in any public discourse...having a tendency to produce discontent among the free coloured population of this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves therein, or whosoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state, any paper, pamphlet or book, having such tendency as aforesaid, shall on conviction thereof, before any court of competent jurisdiction, suffer imprisonment at hard labour, not less than three years, not more than twenty-one years, or death, at the discretion of the court.

This made it extremely difficult and unlikely that literature that denounced the South's slave society would be published in New Orleans. It is important to note that Séjour's "Le Mulâtre" was published in 1837 in France; however, it was not published in Louisiana until 2004. The fact that very few of New Orleans's free black writers made it to France, where it was possible to publish literature that denounced slavery, could be considered as a possible reason why there is such a dearth in abolitionist literature penned by free blacks; however, it must be pointed out that out of all of the free black

⁸⁴ Although, none of the literary elite personally owned slaves, the families of Victor Séjour and Mirtil-Ferdinand Liotau owned slaves; Michaelides, Clint and Gipson, "Je n'étais qu'un objet de mépris," 7-8. *Paroles d'honneur*, 10, 23, 40-1;

writers that immigrated to France, only one short story from one author was ever published.⁸⁵

Second, it is very likely that a majority of free people of color, especially those that owned slaves or were of mixed race, felt socially and racially elevated above African slaves and as a result did not identify with them or their plight. Historian Cyril R. L. James, writing about feelings of class disparity and racism among people of color in the French colony of Saint Domingue stated that, “Black slaves and Mulattoes hated each other...the man of colour who was nearly white despised the man of colour who was only half-white, who in turn despised the man of colour who was only quarter white, and so on through all the shades.”⁸⁶

Despite the silence in regards to the racism felt towards black slaves, the free people of color were very vocal against the racism felt toward their mostly mixed-race class. Some authors, when mentioning the racism of whites toward them, wrote of a desire to escape. In a previously mentioned poem by “Valcour B.,” we learned that travel or immigration to France was seen as a way to “soften the suffering” of the “misunderstood son[s] of New Orleans.”⁸⁷

This desire to flee racism reappears in “Le nautonier,” (“The Sailor”) by Camille Thierry. Thierry writes that:

⁸⁵ *Acts passed at the second session of the ninth legislature of the state of Louisiana: begun and held in Donaldsonville, on Monday, the 4th day of January, A.D. 1830, and of the independence of the United States of America the fifty-fourth* (Donaldsonville, LA: C.W. Duhy, State Printer, 1830), 96 (hereafter cited as *Acts of Louisiana, 1830*); Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition*, 93-97; Victor Séjour, “Le Mulâtre,” 9 *Revue des Colonies* (Mars, 1837), 376-92; Sterkx, *The Free Negro*, 98.

⁸⁶ James, *The Black Jacobins*, 42-44; For another source on animosity between free people of color due to differences in skin tone see: Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition*, 92; King, *New Orleans*, 335-6, 347; Latortue and Adams, *Les Cenelles*, xiv. Sterkx, *The Free Negro*, 247-8, 279-282.

⁸⁷ Valcour B., “L’ouvrier louisianais,” *Les Cenelles*, 145-7; Camille Thierry, “Le nautonier,” *Les Cenelles*, 85-6.

This old man, this old man refused me your hand,
All while damning my race
So I erase all human sentiment for this old man
from my soul!

* * *
Let us flee these shores – to plow the seas
my ship is ever ready,
Les us flee – I will find some small deserted islands
[where I can] shelter my head!

Not all writings that broached the subject of racism, sought flight from it. The narrator of Joanni Questy's short story, "Monsieur Paul," stands up for himself when his racial makeup is put into question. In the story, the narrator and Monsieur Paul made each other's acquaintance at night. When they meet a second time during the light of day, Monsieur Paul, a white Frenchman, is embarrassed that he had, in fact, been conversing with a Creole of color.

As I ascended the staircase, Monsieur Paul, full of joy, rushed to greet me with a cigar in the mouth, but as soon as he saw me closely, his face took another expression; he appeared visibly embarrassed and bothered that he had seen me in such detail. He rushed to shake my hand to try to cover up his embarrassment.

Ah! It's you, he told me. Pardon...I...I...didn't recognize you at first. I had thought that...

You were fooled? I interrupted briskly, in direct response to his thoughts...

Monsieur Paul, I said to him, you took me for a white, didn't you? He nodded in affirmation.

It is important to note that in this story, the narrator does not run away from the racism felt toward him; he and Monsieur Paul become close friends that take part in a duel against an American newcomer to the region.⁸⁸

Questy's portrayal of violent conflict between Francophone and Anglophone in New Orleans is a common theme in the literature of the period. Apart from racism, the

⁸⁸ Joanni Questy, "Monsieur Paul," *La Tribune*, 25 October – 3 November, 1867. The author of "Monsieur Paul" is also the author of three poems in *Les Cenelles*; Testut, *Portraits Littéraires*, 171-2.

works of New Orleans's free black writers protest the Americanization of the city. Ever since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, a steady stream of immigrants from the United States poured into New Orleans and its environs and gradually wore down the hold that Francophone groups had traditionally held in the city.⁸⁹

An anonymous contributor to *L'Album Littéraire* wrote in an article entitled "Crime Everywhere," in 1843 that the influx of Anglo-Americans to New Orleans caused the deterioration of the moral legacy of the Americans' revolutionary figures such as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. The authors lamented that since the American domination of the city, the rate of crime and "atrocities" had increased. He likened the Anglo-Americans of New Orleans to "those executioners who once upon a time killed Christian virgins on the chevalet, they have taken Louisiana's honor, and have bathed it in the sewer and drenched it in the filth of the arenas."⁹⁰

Armand Lanusse, in his short story, "Un mariage de Conscience," ("A marriage of Conscience") attacks the system of *plaçage*, whereby a woman of mixed race is "married" to a white man. In his story, the narrator, who is a chaste young woman, is sent to a quadroon ball with her not-so-chaste sisters so that she can find a wealthy white "husband." Lanusse's narrator remarks:

I decided, thus, to attend, so as to obey her [her mother], several of these balls that make me shiver with fear; for in the middle of a group of men, *speaking a different language*, with piercing stares and rude gesticulations, a girl cannot count on a brother whose protection could serve as shelter; not

⁸⁹ Paul F. LaChance, "The Foreign French," in *Creole New Orleans*, 101-130; Lewis William Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana" in Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *Louisiana Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1995); Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans," in Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 131-188.

⁹⁰ *L'Album*, August 1, 1843, 101-105; Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition*, 105-8.

one of these women [will have] a legitimate husband with a name honorable enough to put an end to this avid turbulence of brutal pleasures.

In this powerful passage, Lanusse is portraying the newly arrived American population as strange, rude, immoral, illegitimate, and dangerous. The author clearly grants the moral high ground to the Francophones of the region, with whom he identifies. His message is for young women of color to avoid Anglo-American men and to seek protection from their avarice. This theme is common to much of Lanusse's work, including some of his poetry in *Les Cenelles*.⁹¹

No doubt in response to the message of some of the free black authors, restrictive legal measures put a halt to their efforts in the late 1840s and 1850s. As a result, the publication of *Les Cenelles* in 1845 marked the culmination of free black literary success during the antebellum period. It would not be until after the Federal Army occupied New Orleans during the Civil War that Creoles of color would reemerge as publishing literary figures.

Despite the fact that racism and legal restrictions limited the body of work published by free people of color in New Orleans to a trickle, the work that was printed provides a propitious glance at the mentality of the free black elite of the American South's largest city on the eve of the Civil War. By reading the literature of these writers it becomes evident that the free black elite were actively a part of the French Romantic movement, which sought to reject and overturn accepted social conventions, such as the social and political domination that white Anglo-Americans had recently gained over New Orleans's society.

⁹¹ *L'Album*, August 14, 1843, 130-137; Olmstead, *Cotton Kingdom*, 238.

Furthermore, these writings reveal much about the author's cultural, national and ethnic identity. Culturally, the authors were clearly French. Everything that they read or wrote was wrapped up in what was going on in Paris. Similarly, in regards to their feelings of national identity these writers felt that they were French citizens before they were American. Their poetry appeals to Catholicism, Napoleon and a return to the glory of the French Empire, not to Protestantism, Washington and the American sense of republicanism. Ethnically, the free black literary elite saw themselves as both Franco-European and African. The poems of *Les Ceuilles* demonstrate that they found beauty in both their "azure blue eyes" as well as their "ebony hair." Nevertheless, their acceptance of the African traits of their phenotype did not translate into an amicable bond between themselves and enslaved blacks.

CONCLUSION

“Speak Forever!”

Speak forever, childlike virgin;
like a divine power,
tear out from my bleeding heart
the thorn,
And you will see a poor infant
crying! ...

Speak forever, and the storm,
that is going to batter my youth,
will stop and carry its rage,
far from me,
As soon as you will tell me:
“For you, my word!”

Speak forever, so that your words,
Dark-eyed angel, Creole angel,
make me the joyous idol
of your heart,
And so that I will see, finally, the skies
Completely blue! ...

Speak forever, I love to listen:
Your sweet voice makes me understand
that I will once again lay claim to
happiness,
For I have, to chase away my sadness,
Your heart! ...

– Camille Thierry (1845)⁹²

The words to Camille Thierry’s poem effectively capture the spirit and mentality of New Orleans’s free people of color. Contained within its lines are allusions to all three of the major keys to the self-identity of the *gens de couleur libres* — their French culture, their mixed Gallic and African ancestry, and their freedom from slavery. The imagery of the virgin angel hints at the deep commitment of the *gens de couleur libres* to the Catholic faith, a trait shared by all of those in New Orleans who aligned themselves culturally with France. Second, the angel’s dark, black eyes are pointed out

⁹² Thierry, Camille. “Parle Toujours!” *Les Cenelles*, 189-190.

to set them in stark contrast to her other pale, white, angelic traits, a clear allusion to a woman of mixed race. Most importantly, however, the angel represents liberty and safety from the increasingly hostile situation evolving in the New Orleans of the mid-1840s. In the poem, Thierry, like most free people of color in 1845, is perturbed by his rapidly deteriorating condition, which he likens to a raging storm that is set to hit at any moment. He calls upon the “Creole angel” to redirect the storm so that he, like an angel in flight, can finally see the sky completely clear of trouble.

This study has sought to examine three discrete aspects of the lives of New Orleans’s free people of color – their place within the city, their slaveownership, and their literature – with the hope of better understanding who they felt they were. In the first chapter, the areas of New Orleans where the free people of color lived, learned, worked, played, prayed and were buried were examined. While exploring the city in this manner it was found that during the antebellum era the free people of color felt that the three-tiered socioracial hierarchy of the colonial era was giving way to the two-tiered model of the Anglo Americans. In each aspect of their lives it became evident that these men and women were attempting to form a bond of equality with Latin whites in an effort to not be classified with slaves once the Anglo model of racial order took hold.

In the second chapter, the slave schedules of the 1820, 1830, and 1840 censuses were examined and large discrepancies in the slaveholdings between these enumerations were found. The large amount of flux in both the numbers of slaveholders and slaves held suggests that free slaveholders of color did not merely hold onto enslaved relatives while granting them *de facto* freedom. It is more likely,

rather, that the discrepancies in the slaveholdings over this twenty-year period are due to a large number of slaves being purchased, sold, transferred and manumitted.

Notarial records were consulted to get a more personal, individual glance of whom *gens de couleur libres* purchased, sold and freed. It was found that slaves of various linguistic and geographic backgrounds were bought and sold; however, slaveholding free people of color overwhelmingly chose to free those slaves with whom they identified. More often than not in New Orleans, these emancipated slaves were Francophones of mixed-race. In essence, the liberators of these slaves were granting these newly freed men and women the final of the three keys to *gens de couleur libre* identity – free status.

In the third chapter, the published literature of New Orleans's *gens de couleur libres* was examined in an effort to gain a sense of the mentality of the free black authors. When reading these poems to gain a sense of the author's social milieu, values and struggles, it becomes apparent how deeply rooted these men and women were in French culture, religion, and politics. Nevertheless, it was also ascertained that their strong ties to France and their near-obsession with their French heritage did not prevent them from occasionally finding beauty in their African traits as well; strangely however, their acceptance of their "dark eyes" and "ebony hair" did not extend to acceptance of enslaved blacks. It seems that while free people of color shared blood ties to the enslaved, and as a result knew these men and women to be morally responsible beings; their similar blood ties to the ruling race prevented a socially acceptable connection between themselves and "socially dead" black slaves.⁹³

⁹³ On the natal alienation and social death of slaves read: Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); Perrin du Lac, *Travels*, 94.

Given the findings of these three chapters, a sense of the writers' perceived place within New Orleans's rapidly shifting social and racial hierarchy is gained. Since the French establishment of New Orleans in 1718, the free black elite felt that they occupied a distinct middle ground between the whites on the top of the racial hierarchy and the blacks on the bottom. This security began to deteriorate with the imposition of American rule in 1803, which brought with it the notion of a two-tiered racial hierarchy. That is to say, the Anglo American construct that only two racial strata existed – whites over non-whites. The Anglo American rejection of the Latin tripartite racial order that existed in colonial New Orleans made the middle ground that the *gens de couleur libres* occupied precariously held at best. The three-tier racial hierarchy of the French and Spanish regimes steadily collapsed into a two-tiered racial order, along the same lines as that which existed in the southern United States throughout the antebellum period.

Faced with the prospect of the socioracial stratification of the southern United States, which eliminated their middle ground, free blacks struggled to reject race as the basis on which society was ordered. In its place, many free blacks preferred stratification based upon economic class. In this mold, free blacks would be safely elevated above slaves who owned no property; the more financially successful free blacks would be able to elevate themselves to the status of whites.⁹⁴

It is within this uncertain context of the collapsing three-tiered, racially-stratified social order that Joanni Questy wrote in "Monsieur Paul" about how a white Frenchman and a free person of color put aside their racial differences to win a duel against an American newcomer to the region, Ernest Day. It is also within this context that the literary figures of the *gens de couleur libres* were, with the exception of Victor Séjour,

⁹⁴ Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 110; Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 136.

silent on the issue of slavery and the racism directed by whites and free blacks toward slaves. If the top and bottom strata of the rapidly fading three-tiered racial hierarchy were closing in and eliminating their middle ground, the *gens de couleur libres* sought to align themselves with white Creoles and not black slaves in the hope that, within a two-tiered racial order, they would emerge, like Camille Thierry's "Creole angel," on top "to finally see the skies completely blue."

APPENDIX A
CENSUS SLAVE SCHEDULES, 1820-1840

This appendix consists of Carter G. Woodson’s listing of slaveowning free black heads of household in Orleans Parish in 1830, which he derived from census rolls, expanded to include the slave schedules of the 1820 and 1840 censuses.

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
ABEJAN, Joseph	not listed ⁹⁵	1 slave	not listed
ALEXANDRE, Cata	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ALEXIS, Eglée	0 slaves	1 slave	not listed
ALLEGRE, Rosiette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ALMAZOR, Mary	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
AMBROSES, T. B.	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
AMOTE, Widow	2 slaves	2 slaves ⁹⁶	not listed
ANATHOL, Cyprien	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ANDRÉ, Judice	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ANDRÉ, Magdelaine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ANDRÉ, Mortimer	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ANDRY, Séraphine	not listed	8 slaves	7 slaves
ANGÉLIQUE, Widow	4 slaves	4 slaves	not listed
ANGNANT, Louise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ANODIN, M. B.	not listed	1 slave	not listed

⁹⁵ “Not listed” means that the slaveholding head of household was not found as a slaveholding head of household in Orleans Parish by a census enumerator in that year. It is possible that the slaveowner is not listed because he lived in a different parish or in a different household.

⁹⁶ Amote is listed in the 1830 census as “Amoth, Veuve.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
ANOREAUX (?), Ste.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ANTOINE, Baptiste	not listed	1 slave	not listed
APLANAS, Méondine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
APOLLON, Jacques	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ARMAND, Modeste	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ARNAUD, Gertrude	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
ARNAUD, Léandre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ARNAUD, Mimie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
ARSÈNE, Désirée	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ARTHEBUYS, Gustave	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ASQUIER, Jean-Louis	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
ATHANASE, Désirée	not listed	11 slaves	not listed
AUBERT, Elis. (Widow)	1 slave	3 slaves	not listed
AUBERTINE	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
AUGUSTE, François	2 slaves	6 slaves	1 slave
AUGUSTIN, Aimée	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
AUVERGNE, Philippe	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
AZUR, Isador	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
AZUR, Marcelite	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
AZUR, Philippe	4 slaves	3 slaves ⁹⁷	4 slaves
BACCHUS, Eulalie	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BADON, Rémond	not listed	6 slaves	not listed

⁹⁷ Philippe Azur is listed in the 1830 census as "Azur, Philip."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
BAJOLIARE, R. E.	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
BAJOLIÈRE, Edouard	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
BAPTISTE, Alexandrine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BAQUE, Zelmire	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BAQUET, François	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BARBE, Bonite	1 slave	3 slaves ⁹⁸	not listed
BARBET, Cloë	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BARBET, Delphine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BARJON (?), D.	not listed	8 slaves	2 slaves
BARNABÉ, Jean-Bapt.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BAUDIN, Gèneviève	1 slave ⁹⁹	2 slaves	not listed
BAULOS, Hortaire	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BEAUGUIS, François	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BEAULIEU, Guilbert	2 slaves	1 slave	not listed
BEAUROCHER, Fred.	2 slaves ¹⁰⁰	5 slaves	not listed
BEAURPEAU, Noël	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BEAUVAIS, Marie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BÉGUIN, Agathe	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BELISAIRE, Sévérin	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
BELLOTTE, Pognone	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BELLOUARD, John	not listed	3 slaves	not listed

⁹⁸ Bonite Barbe is listed in the 1830 Census as “Barbe, Miss.”

⁹⁹ Gèneviève Baudin is listed in the 1820 census as “Badine, G.”

¹⁰⁰ Frédéric Beaurocher is listed in the 1820 census as “Baurecher.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
BÉNÉTAUD, Estelle	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BÉNITE, Michel	not listed	3 slaves	1 slave
BENJAMIN, Antoine	0 slaves	2 slaves ¹⁰¹	0 slaves
BENJOUIN, Charles	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BENOÎT, Ursin	not listed	4 slaves ¹⁰²	not listed
BERBET, Céleste	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BERGER, Théodule	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BERNARD, Guillaume	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
BERRARD, N. B.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BERTHOLIN, Paul	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BERTHOLL, Eugenie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BERTONNAUX, Laïs	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁰³	0 slaves
BERTRAND, Rosalie	6 slaves	6 slaves	5 slaves
BESSON, A.	0 slaves ¹⁰⁴	1 slave	not listed
BIENAIMÉE, B.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BIERRA, Rose	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
BIROT, Piron	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BIZOTTE, Françoise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BLANCHE, Lse.-Mia.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BLINVAL, Adolphe	not listed	3 slaves	not listed

¹⁰¹ Antoine Benjamin is listed in the 1830 census as "Benjamen, Anthony."

¹⁰² Ursin Benoît is listed in the 1830 census as "Benoist, Ursin."

¹⁰³ Laïs Bertonnaux is listed in the 1830 census as "Bertheno, Laïsse."

¹⁰⁴

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
BLOIS, Edmond	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BLOUIN, Augustin	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BLUZEAU, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BOISSEAU, Manon	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
BONDELLIE, Bonne	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BONSEIGNEUR, Arsène	not listed	1 slave	1 slave
BONSEIGNEUR, J.-B.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BONSEIGNEUR, Nerestan	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
BORBEAU, Noël	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BORDEAUX, Jeanne	enslaved ¹⁰⁵	2 slaves	2 slaves
BORDIER, Pétronie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BORÉE, Paul	5 slaves	4 slaves	not listed
BOREL, Charles-Louis	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BOREL, Melanie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BOROSÉE, Fred	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BORRÉ, Madeleine	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
BORRYS, L. A.	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BOTTS, Cupids	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BOUCHER, A. G.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
BOUGÈRE, Rosette	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BOUNY, Marie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed

¹⁰⁵ Jeanne Bordeaux was manumitted in 1829 by “Bourdeaux, J. Andoine de, alias Bordeaux,” along with her children, Sopie, Josephine, Lise, and Adèle.

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
BOURDILLES, Ursule	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BOURGOIN, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BOURJON, André	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BOUTÉ, François P.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BOUTIMÉ, François	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BOUTIN, Leon	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
BOUTIN, Victorine	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BOYER, Lucy	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
BOZAN, Annette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BRAQUEMART, Victoire	not listed	1 slave	not listed
BRESKY, Jacob	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BRION, Artemise	0 slaves ¹⁰⁶	5 slaves ¹⁰⁷	not listed
BRODEQUIN, Marie	1 slave ¹⁰⁸	6 slaves	not listed
BRONZE, Judique	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BRULÉE, Similien	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
BRUN, Charles	2 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
BRUNEL, Philip	not listed	15 slaves	not listed
BRUNETTE, Betzi	0 slaves ¹⁰⁹	2 slaves	not listed
BRUNETTE, Carmelite	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BRUNO, Edme	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹⁰⁶ Artemise Brion is listed in the 1820 census as "Brian, Artemise."

¹⁰⁷ Artemise Brion is listed in the 1830 census as "Brion, A."

¹⁰⁸ Marie Brodequin is listed in the 1820 census as "Broudegoin, Marie."

¹⁰⁹ Betzi Brunette is listed in the 1820 census as "Brunet, Betsi."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
BULLIE, Widow C.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
BUMCHARTREAN, H.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
BURNEL, Achille	2 slaves	1 slave	not listed
BURTHE, Benjamin	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
CABARET, Joseph	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
CABARET, Lise	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CABARET, Marguerite	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CAIBLET, Ben	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CAILLAVETTE, Aristide	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CALVIN, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CAMBRE, Thérèse	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CAMISAC, Résinette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CAMPANEL, Barthélémy	2 slaves ¹¹⁰	3 slaves	14 slaves
CANDIDE, Théo	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CAMFRAN, Misse	5 slaves ¹¹¹	10 slaves	not listed
CANUEL, Julien	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CARLON, Étienne	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CARRIÈRE, Widow Noël	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CASABON, Widow	not listed	3 slaves	2 slaves
CASBIN, Pierre	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CASIMIR, Widow	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹¹⁰ Barthélémy Campanel is listed in the 1820 census as "Cawpanel, Barthole."

¹¹¹ Misse Camfran is listed in the 1820 census as "Camfranc."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
CASSON, Pulchérie	3 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
CASTANETTE, Suzette	2 slaves ¹¹²	1 slave	not listed
CASTIAUX, Bernard	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CASTILLON, Victor	1 slave ¹¹³	9 slaves	not listed
CAULBET, Veuve	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CAVANARD, Lolote	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CAVILLIER, Catherine	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
CAZOT, Jean	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CÉLESTIN, Widow	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CÉZAIN, Tymothée	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CHADIRAC, Fany	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CHALAMBERT, Marie-J.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CHAMPIO, Victoire	0 slaves ¹¹⁴	2 slaves	not listed
CHAN, Adolphe	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CHANAL, Martin	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CHAPDU, Caroline	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CHARBONNET, Céleste	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CHATELAIN, Carlos	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
CHERIDAN, Emiliana	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CHERY, Christée	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CHERY, Ernest	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹¹² Suzette Castanette is listed in the 1820 census as "Castanedo."

¹¹³ Victor Castillon is listed in the 1820 census as "Castellin."

¹¹⁴ Victoire Champio is listed in the 1820 census as "Chau***, Victor."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
CHEVAL, Léandre	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CHEVAL, Léandre P.	1 slave	1 slave	not listed
CHEVAL, Louise P.	6 slaves	8 slaves	not listed
CHEVAL, Paul	4 slaves ¹¹⁵	3 slaves	6 slaves
CHRISTOPHE, Firmin	1 slave	1 slave	not listed
CINET, Étienne	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CLAIBORNE, Augustin	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CLAIRE, Marie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CLÉMENT, Cécille	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CLÉMENT, Richard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
COBET, Caliste	not listed	1 slave	not listed
COLVIS, F.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
COMPIGNY, J. L.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CONAND, Amède	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CONSTANCE	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CONSTANTIN, H.	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
COQUILLOT, Noël	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CORBET, Julien	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CORDEVOLLE, Ignace	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CORNELIEUS, Amélie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
CORNIER, L.	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
COURCELLE, Mirtille	not listed	8 slaves	2 slaves

¹¹⁵ Paul Cheval is not listed as a free person of color in the 1820 census.

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
COURSEL, Martil	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
COUSSIN, Marie	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CRAIG, James	not listed	1 slave	not listed
CROSAIT, Lisida	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
CUVILLIER, Barthélemy	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DABOVAL, Jules	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DAFAUCHARD, Louis	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DALBY, Céleste	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DALCHÉ, Louise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DALEZ, Estelle	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DALON, Auguste	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DAMIEN, Alfred	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DANACHE, Charles	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DANORANERO, D. V.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DAQUIN, Sylvain	2 slaves ¹¹⁶	5 slaves ¹¹⁷	not listed
D'ARNEVILLE, Pélagie	1 slave ¹¹⁸	4 slaves	not listed
DASINCOURT, Maurice	not listed	1 slaves	not listed
DAUPHIN, Catische	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DAUPHIN, Maire	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
DAUPHIN, Pélagie	not listed	3 slaves	4 slaves
DAUPHIN, Widow	not listed	9 slaves	not listed

¹¹⁶ Sylvain Daquin is listed in the 1820 census as "Daquin, Silvane."

¹¹⁷ Sylvain Daquin is listed in the 1830 census as "Daquin, Silvain."

¹¹⁸ Pélagie D'Arneville is listed in the 1820 census as "Dernerills, Pelagu."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
DAUTELONNE, M. C.	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
DAVIER, Carmelite	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
DAW, Camille	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DEALE, Marie-Thérèse	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DEGRUYS, François	not listed	1 slave	11 slaves ¹¹⁹
DELÉANDRE, Gèneviève	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DELERRY, A.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DELILLE, Félix	not listed	2 slaves	2 slaves
DELPHIN, Ives	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DEMARE, Marie	1 slave ¹²⁰	2 slaves ¹²¹	not listed
DENAUUX, Anne	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DEPRÉ, Manette	not listed	9 slaves ¹²²	not listed
DERBANNE, Alcide	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DERIBON, Widow	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DERSAC, Ignace	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DESCUIRS, Françoise	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DESVIGNES, Hellen	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DIGGS, James	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DIMBA, Phillips	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DIVIVIER, Louise	not listed	17 slaves	not listed

¹¹⁹ François Degruys is listed in the 1840 census as “The widow of François Degruys.”

¹²⁰ Marie Demare is listed in the 1820 census as “Damous, Marie.”

¹²¹ Marie Demare is listed in the 1830 census as “D’Emert, Me.”

¹²² Manette Depré is listed in the 1830 census as “Despres, Manette.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
DIZT, Gustave	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DOLLIOLE, Joseph	not listed	5 slaves	1 slave
DONAUT, Henri	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
DONET, Ernest	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
DORFEUELLE, Marie	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DORIAUCOURT, Marianne	2 slaves	1 slave	1 slave
DOROTHÉ, Agathe	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DOUBLET, Maurice	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DRUILLET, A.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUBOIS, Eulalie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DUBRANEL, Charles	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUBREIULLE, Marie	0 slaves	1 slave	not listed
DUBRUNY, Edouard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUCHESNE, Ferdinand	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUCOUDRE, Charles	2 slaves ¹²³	2 slaves ¹²⁴	not listed
DUCRAIX, Marianne	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUDLEY, Alphonse	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUEHEMIN, Aimée	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUFORGE, Cantrelle	not listed	11 slaves	not listed
DURENE, Jean-Louis	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DUGUNGE, Amélie	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹²³ Charles Ducoudre is listed in the 1820 census as "Ducoudre, C."

¹²⁴ Charles Ducoudre is listed in the 1830 census as "De coudwux, Charles."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
DUHARLET, Rose	3 slaves ¹²⁵	4 slaves	not listed
DUHART, Ant.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DUNAND, Charles	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DUNN, James	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUPAIN, Miss C.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUPART, Clerck	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
DUPAS, Mary	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUPERAIN, M.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
DUPERRIER, Daniel	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
DUPITON, Widow	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DUPRÉ, Céleste	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
DUPRÉ, Eulalie	1 slave ¹²⁶	2 slaves	not listed
DUPUIS, Mademoiselle	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
DUPUY, Adélaïde	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
DUPUY, Magdaleine	not listed ¹²⁷	11 slaves	not listed
DURAINÉ, Jean	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
DURAND, Pierre	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
DUREL, Justine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DURNEVILLE, André	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
DUVAL, Annette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUVAL, Gaston	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹²⁵ Rose Duharlet is listed in the 1820 census as "Duchatclet, Rosette."

¹²⁶ Eulalie Dupré is listed in the 1820 census as "Dupri, Edlalu."

¹²⁷ Magdaleine Dupuy is listed in the 1830 census as "Dupuy, Mgne."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
DUVAL, Salinette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
DUVALLON, Widow	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
DUVERLET, Francis	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
EDWARD, Stephen	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ELLEY, John	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ELLIOT, Maria	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
EMILLIEN, Fred	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ÉNARD, Siméon	not listed	1 slave	6 slaves
ESCAUT, Antoine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ESCAUT, Louison	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
ESPAGNETTE, Marie	0 slaves	3 slaves	not listed
ÉTIENNE, Widow	0 slaves	4 slaves	not listed
EVRARD, Omer	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
FABRE, Françoise	not listed	5 slaves	1 slave
FANCHON, Françoise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FAURY, Miss Antoinette	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
FÉLICIE, Jean-Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FERNAND, Gérard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FERON, Marie Dastuge	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FERRAUD, Célestin	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FERRON, Modeste	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FILIE, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
FLAVIEN, Noël	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FLECHEU, Henry	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FLEMMING, Jean	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FLEURIAU, Mannette	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FONDALE, John	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FORESTAL, Pauline	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
FORMORETTE, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FORNERET, Joseph	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
FORTIER, Étienne	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
FORTUNÉ, Bonnie	0 slaves	3 slaves	not listed
FOUCHÉ, Nelson	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
FOUCHER, Modeste	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FOUCHET, Odèle	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FOUREADE, M.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FOURNIER, Camille	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
FRANCIS, George	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FRANCIS, John	0 slaves	2 slaves	0 slaves
FRANCK, Adélaïde	not listed	1 slave	not listed
FRANÇOIS	0 slaves	1 slave ¹²⁸	0 slaves
FRANÇOISE, Marie	0 slaves	1 slave	not listed
FRÈRE, Rosette	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
FROMENTIN, Françoise	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹²⁸ François is listed in the 1830 census as "Francis."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
FRUMENCE, F.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
FUSILLER, François	0 slaves ¹²⁹	1 slave	not listed
GABRIEL, Sanon	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GABRIELLE, Charles	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GAILLARD, Raimond, Jr.	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
GALLO, Lewis	4 slaves ¹³⁰	2 slaves	not listed
GALLO, Widow Noël	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GAMBAL, Ant.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
GANACHEAU, Annette	not listed	4 slaves	0 slaves
GARAUT, Rose	1 slave ¹³¹	2 slaves	not listed
GARCIA, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves	0 slaves
GARCIN, Iris	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GARRIDEL, Miss Fanny	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
GARRIQUES, Louise	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GAUDIN, Pelagie	3 slaves ¹³²	1 slave	not listed
GAUDRY, Estelle	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GAUTREAU, B.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GAYAC, Anathole	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GAYARD, Poupone	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GAYARD, Raimond, Sr.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed

¹²⁹ François Fusillier is listed in the 1820 census as “Fussilu, Francois.”

¹³⁰ Lweis Gallo is listed in the 1820 census as “Galot, L.”

¹³¹ Rose Garaut is listed in the 1820 census as “Gourdain.”

¹³² Pelagie Gaudin is listed in the 1820 census as “Gourdain.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
GENCAU, Rosette	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GENTILLES, Louise	not listed	1 slave ¹³³	not listed
GERARD, Rosalie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GIRARDEAU, Bruno	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GIRARDY, Widow	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GOFTE, Adolphe	5 slaves ¹³⁴	3 slaves	not listed
GORDIEN, Désire	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
GOUENGO, Irène	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GOUGIS, Leda	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GOURGE, Poupone	0 slaves ¹³⁵	4 slaves	not listed
GRAMMONT, Jean	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GRANDMAISON, Sanite	0 slaves	13 slaves	not listed
GRAVIER, Joseph	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GRONGE, Savarie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
GUENON, Hursin	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GUERINGER, Ant.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
GUÉRINGER, Ernestine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
GUILBAUT, Josephine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
GUILLAUME, Toussaint	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
GUIRAMAND, R.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
GUIRAMOND, Barite	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹³³ Louise Gentilles is listed in the 1830 census as “Gentilles, Lse.”

¹³⁴ Adolphe Gofte

¹³⁵ Poupone Gorge is listed in the 1820 census as “Gourgun, Poupomu.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
GUIROT, Claudine	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
GUYONESSE, Baptiste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
HAMELIN, Julien	not listed	1 slave	not listed
HARDOUIN, Eugenie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
HARDY, Jacques	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
HARTFIELD, Joseph	not listed	1 slave	not listed
HASHPY, Nelson	not listed	1 slave	not listed
HAZUR, Prosper	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
HENRIETTE	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
HENRY, Marie R.	1 slave ¹³⁶	1 slave	not listed
HERMAN	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
HILAIRE, H. A.	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
HILAIRE, Rosine	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
HILDEVERT, Philip	not listed	1 slave	not listed
HONORÉ, Elizabeth	not listed	1 slave	not listed
HOPKINS, Cécilia	not listed	2 slaves ¹³⁷	not listed
HOSPINETA, Julie	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
HURTIN, Felicianna	not listed	1 slave	not listed
IMBERT, Eléonore	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ISIDOR, Telside	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ISIDORE, Prosper	not listed	9 slaves	not listed

¹³⁶ Marie R. Henry is listed in the 1820 census as "Veuve Henry."

¹³⁷ Cécilia Hopkins is listed in the 1830 census as "Hopkins, Cicilia."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
JANVIER, Ursin	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JENKINS, Edward	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JERREAU, Théodule	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
JOHNSON, Anna	not listed	2 slaves	1 slave
JOHNSON, William P.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JOLIBOIS, Gèneviève	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JOLIVET, Poupone	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
JOLLY, Ant.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JOLLY, Henriette	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
JOLLY, Urbain	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JONAU, Antoine	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
JOSEPH, Bazile	not listed	1 slave	16 slaves
JOSSE, Adélaïde	0 slaves ¹³⁸	7 slaves	not listed
JOSSPOT, J.S.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JOUACINTHE, Ralph	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JOUBERT, Mathilde	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JOUBLOTTE, Sanite	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
JOUBLOTTE, Sanite	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
JOUNIN, Cadet	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JOURDAN, Widow C.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
JOVIOLLE, Henriette	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
JULIETTE	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹³⁸ Adélaïde Josse is listed in the 1820 census as “Jassy.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
JUPITON, Manette	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
JUSTINE	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
KEATING, Ann B.	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
KELAN, Phillip	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
KEY, Richard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LABORDE, Eulalie	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
LABORDE, Joseph	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LABORDE, Uranie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LABRETONNIÈRE, M. L.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LABRUYÈRE, Désirée	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LACHAISE, Catherine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LACOËSSE, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LACOSTE, Catiche	not listed	1 slave	12 slaves
LACOSTE, Constance	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LACOSTE, Pedronille	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LACROIX	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LACROIX, Pierre	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LACROIX, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LAFFERIÈRE, B.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LAFITTE, Guillaume	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAFITTE, Siméon	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAFOSTE, Eglé	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
LAGRANGE, Adèle	not listed	3 slaves	1 slave
LAGRANGE, Depit	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LAHOUSSEY, Simon	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LAIGNEL, Jean	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LAIRE, M. Annette	not listed	4 slaves	0 slaves
Lajoie, Julien	not listed	1 slave	4 slaves
LAJONCIÈRE, Célestin	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAMBERT, Jean	5 slaves	3 slaves	6 slaves
LAMBERT, Richard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAMOTTE, Widow	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LANCELLAY, Jérôme	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LANDRIN, Mathieu	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
LANGE, Florisse	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
LANNA, Désiré	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LANOIX, Rose	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAPITTO, Marie-Rose	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LARDAY, Fanchette	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
LARIEN (?), J.	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
LAROCHE, Josephine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAROCHE, Victoire	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LAROCQUE, Eduoard	not listed	2 slaves ¹³⁹	not listed
LATAPIE, Poupone	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹³⁹ Eduoard Larocque

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
LATAURE, Severin	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
LATHROPE, Eulalie	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
LATIOLET, Magdelaine	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LAURENT, Pierre	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LAURENT, Widow	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LAVARIE, Josph, Jr.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LAVAU, Jarde	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LAVINSANDIER, Charlotte	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
LAWRENCE, Francis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LE CHASTE, Aristide	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LÉBASTIEN, Jean	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LEBOUH, Marie-Victoire	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
LECLAIR, Joseph	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LEFEBRE, Eugenie	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
LEFEVRE, Jacques	15 slaves	3 slaves	not listed
LEGARDEUR, Adrien	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LEGARDEUR, Arthur	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
LEGARDEUR, Charlot	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LEGIAN, François	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LEGOESLER, Erasme	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LEGON, Ariste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LEGOUVÉE, Marie-Louise	not listed	1 slave	not listed

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
LEMOINE, Bauvais	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
LEON, Thomas	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LEROND, Henriette	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
LEROUX, Widow	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LEROY, Mathilde	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LESENNE, Adeline	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LEUFROY, Jean	not listed	6 slaves ¹⁴⁰	not listed
LEVASSEUR, Mirabin	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
LEWIS, Miss Charlotte	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
LINGUO, Alexandrine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LIOTAU, Elize	not listed	4 slaves ¹⁴¹	not listed
LIOTAU, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁴²	not listed
LONNY, Luce	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
LOUISE, Marie	0 slaves	2 slaves ¹⁴³	0 slaves
LUEGUARDE, Bazile	not listed	1 slave	not listed
LUSIGNAN, Valsin	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
MACARTIS, Sophie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MACARTY, Brigitte	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
MACARTY, Hiophile	2 slaves ¹⁴⁴	6 slaves	not listed
MACARTY, Jason	not listed	4 slaves	not listed

¹⁴⁰ Jean Leufroy is listed in the 1830 census as "Leufroy, John."

¹⁴¹ Elize Liotau is listed in the 1830 census as "Liataud, Elize."

¹⁴² Pierre Liotau is listed in the 1830 census as "Lioteau."

¹⁴³ Marie Louise is listed in the 1830 census as "Lousie, Mu."

¹⁴⁴ Hiophile Macarty is listed in the 1820 census as "McCarty, Hiophile."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
MACARTY, Silvanie	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MACÉDONE, Thérèse	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MACOSTE, Widow D.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
MADELEINE, Marie	1 slave	2 slaves ¹⁴⁵	not listed
MAGLOIRE, Donatien	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MAGLOIRE, Juliens	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MAGNAC, Charles	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MALLET, Augustin	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MAMMES, Hélène	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MANDEVILLE, Eulalie	not listed	13 slaves	not listed
MANDELVILLE, Judique	0 slaves ¹⁴⁶	1 slave	0 slaves
MANGONNA, Virginie	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
MANICE, Blaise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MANUMISSION, Jacob	2 slaves ¹⁴⁷	5 slaves ¹⁴⁸	not listed
MANY, Marie	not listed	1 slave	5 slaves
MARAIS, Pierre-Charles	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MARCOS, Eloise	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁴⁹	4 slaves
MARIA	0 slaves ¹⁵⁰	3 slaves	0 slaves
MARIE, St. Jean	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹⁴⁵ Marie Madeleine is listed in the 1830 census as "Madeleine."

¹⁴⁶ Judique Mandeville is listed in the 1820 census as "Mandeville, Judith."

¹⁴⁷ Jacob Manumission is listed in the 1820 census as "Manumechou, Jacob."

¹⁴⁸ Jacob Manumission is listed in the 1830 census as "Manuishon, Jacob."

¹⁴⁹ Eloise Marcos is listed in the 1830 census as "Marcus, Eloise."

¹⁵⁰ Maria is listed in the 1820 census as "Marie."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
MARQUET, Louis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MARTIAL, A.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MATHIEU, Valmont	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
MATHURIN, Auguste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MAURET, Louis	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
MAURICE, Jeannette	not listed	1 slave	1 slave
MAURILLE, Euphemie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MAURIN, Bellone	3 slaves ¹⁵¹	4 slaves	not listed
MAURIN, Cécé	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
MAURIN, Charlotte	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
MAURIN, Merandine	0 slaves	1 slave	not listed
MAURIN, Poupone	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
MAURIVEZ, D.	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MAXIMIN, Germain	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MAYERO, Toussine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MAYET, Henriette	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
McCARTY, Cécée	not listed	32 slaves ¹⁵²	not listed
MÉNADIER, Rose	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
MENAS, Stephanie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MERCIER, Félix	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MERCIER, Séraphine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹⁵¹ Bellone Maurin is listed in the 1820 census as "Marie."

¹⁵² McCarty is listed in the 1830 census as "McCarty, Cécée."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
MERIEUX, Agathe	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
METSINGER, Benedique	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MILLER, Caroline	6 slaves ¹⁵³	13 slaves	not listed
MINICHE, Orphise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MIRBEL, Neuris	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
MOISE, Justine	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
MONDELLY, Sanon	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
MONÉRIE, Alexandrine	not listed	1 slave ¹⁵⁴	not listed
MONET, Pierre	not listed	4 slaves ¹⁵⁵	not listed
MONTAMAR, V.A.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MONTANNO, Albert	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
MONTARLER, Désirée	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
MONTASSA, Emile	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
MONTFORD, Heliopolis	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
MONTGOMERY, Charles	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MONTRELLE, Mimie	2 slaves ¹⁵⁶	2 slaves	not listed
MONTREUILLE, Félicité	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MONTROSE, Nas.	not listed	4 slaves	0 slaves
MOORE, William	not listed	6 slaves	7 slaves
MORANGE, Sylvie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed

¹⁵³ Caroline Miller is listed in the 1820 census as "Moorine, Belone."

¹⁵⁴ Alexandrine Monérie is listed in the 1830 census as "Monnery, A."

¹⁵⁵ Pierre Monet is listed in the 1830 census as "Monnet, Pierre."

¹⁵⁶ Mimie Montrelle is listed in the 1820 census as "Montel, Rosette."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
MORCAU, Cécile	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
MOREAU, Manuel	0 slaves ¹⁵⁷	3 slaves	4 slaves
MORRISON, Charles	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
MORTIMER, Pepite	not listed	1 slave	not listed
MOTHÉLOSE, Gabriel	not listed	11 slaves	not listed
MURAT, Gaston	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
NAVARD, Modeste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
NÉRÉAUD, Benjamin	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
NÉRÉE, Petronille	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
NEUVILLE, Ant.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
NICHOLAS, Jenny	not listed	1 slave	not listed
NICHOLAS, Popote	not listed	1 slave	not listed
NOËL Bel., Ant.	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
NOËL, Marie	0 slaves	6 slaves	not listed
NOFFRE, Hélène	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
NOURICE, Marie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
OBRY, Marguerite	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
OBRY, Zelia	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PARGON, Barthélémy	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PARGROUX, Zénon	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PARILLIAT, Margueritte	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PARVIS, Cécille	not listed	7 slaves	not listed

¹⁵⁷ Moreau is listed in the 1820 census as "Moro."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
PASCAL, Isidore	1 slave ¹⁵⁸	1 slave	not listed
PASSEMENT, A. B.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
PATTY	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
PAULIN, Alexis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PAVIEN, Louis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PAVIS, André	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
PÉLÉRIN, Modeste	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
PÉPRIN, Aglae	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PERCY, Héloïse	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
PERDREAU, Maurice	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PERDREUX, Clovis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PERDRON, Eloise	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
PERNET, Madelaine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
PERODIN, Widow	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PERRAUTA, Savinien	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PERRILLIOTO, Joseph	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PERRIN, Rosette	0 slaves ¹⁵⁹	3 slaves	not listed
PETITGEOT, François	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
PEYROUX, Aug.	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
PHILISTIN, Widow	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PIERCE, George	not listed	5 slaves	not listed

¹⁵⁸ Ididore Pascal is listed in the 1820 census as "Paschal."

¹⁵⁹ Rosette Perrin is listed int the 1820 census as "Perren."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
PIERRE, Elisa	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
PIERRON, Zéline	2 slaves ¹⁶⁰	1 slave	not listed
PILON, François	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PINTA, C. B.	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
PINTA, Donatien	not listed	1 slave ¹⁶¹	not listed
PIOREAU, Lauren	not listed	13 slaves	not listed
PIRON, Emélie	1 slave ¹⁶²	2 slaves	6 slaves
PLAISSY, A.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
PLANTEVIGNE, V.	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
POINSET, Thémire	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
PONPONNEAU, Clara	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
PONTIER, François	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
POPOTTE	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
POPULUS, Antoine	7 slaves	7 slaves ¹⁶³	8 slaves
POPULUS, Doroté	not listed	1 slave	not listed
POPULUS, Maurice	2 slaves	2 slaves	2 slaves
PORÉE, Charles, Sr.	not listed	2 slaves	2 slaves
PORTÉ, François	not listed	1 slave	not listed
POULEAU, Maurice	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
POYREAU, Miss Ména	not listed	2 slaves	not listed

¹⁶⁰ Zéline Pierron is listed in the 1820 census as "Puron, Zelime."

¹⁶¹ C. B. Pinta is listed in the 1830 census as "Pinta, Danatien."

¹⁶² Emélie Piron is listed in the 1820 census as "Piron, Amela."

¹⁶³ Antoine Populus is listed in the 1830 census as "Populus, Anthony."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
PRADEX, Rosiette	not listed	2 slaves	5 slaves
PRAUVERT, Cephise	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
PRIET, Henriette	6 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
PRIEUR, Sanite	not listed	1 slave	not listed
PRUDENT, Zenon	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
PURDOM, Narcisse	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
PRUDON, Avenila	not listed	1 slave	not listed
RABOUL, Ant.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
RABY, Rodolph	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
RACHAL, Lucien	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
RAHTON (?), Marguerite	not listed	1 slave	not listed
RAMOS, Philippe	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
RAPHAEL, Hyacinthe	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
RAPHAEL, Widow	2 slaves	3 slaves	not listed
RAQUET, Antoinette	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
RAYMOND, Adolphe	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
RAYMOND, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves	0 slaves
REBAUDY, And.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
REBAULD	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
RÉGIO, Antoinette	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
RENALD, Auguste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
RENALD, Mimie	not listed	1 slave	not listed

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
RENAUD, Jacques	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
REYTRE, Jeannette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
RIGOBERT, G�enevi�eve	not listed	16 slaves	not listed
RILLIEUX, Elizi�e	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁶⁴	not listed
RILLIEUX, Honor�e	0 slaves ¹⁶⁵	0 slaves	not listed
RIVERT, Constance	not listed	17 slaves	not listed
RIVI�ERE, C�eleste	not listed	1 slave	6 slaves ¹⁶⁶
ROBERT, Louverain	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ROCHE, Athalie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ROCHEBRUNE, Cath.	6 slaves	7 slaves ¹⁶⁷	not listed
ROCHON, Rosette	0 slaves	2 slaves	5 slaves
ROMAIN, P.	0 slaves ¹⁶⁸	2 slaves	4 slaves
ROQUES, Derchal	not listed	11 slaves	not listed
ROSINE, M.	2 slaves	1 slave	not listed
ROSS, Eduoard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ROST, Eduoard	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ROUBIOUX, Rosette	1 slave ¹⁶⁹	3 slaves	not listed
ROUPELIN, Osmin	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ROUPPON, Pierre	not listed	13 slaves	not listed

¹⁶⁴ Elizi e Rillieux is listed in the 1830 census as "Rilieux."

¹⁶⁵ Honor e Rillieux is listed in the 1820 census as "Rilluux."

¹⁶⁶ C eleste Rivie ve is listed in the 1840 census as "River, Constance."

¹⁶⁷ Catherine Rochebrune is listed in the 1830 census as , "Rochiblanc, Rochebrune."

¹⁶⁸ P. Romain is listed in the 1820 census as "Romagne."

¹⁶⁹ Rosette Roubioux is listed in the 1820 census as Rabiau, Rozette."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
ROUSSEAU, T.	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
ROUSSEAU, Widow P.	0 slaves	1 slave	not listed
ROVIAUX, Gaston	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ROVIAUX, Judique	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
ROY, Usanie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SABAS, Olympe	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SABIN, Lolote	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
SACRISTE, Juliette	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
SALBRIER, Patry	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SALCAS, Fillette	not listed	2 slave	not listed
SAMBA, Marie-Louise	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
SARAMON, Henriette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SAULET, Félicité	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SAVARY, Emile	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
SAVARY, Marie	0 slaves	2 slaves ¹⁷⁰	not listed
SAVOIE, Françoise	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SCHMIDT, J.R.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SÉJOUR, Louis	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
SENNETTE, A.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SEPINE, F.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SERADIN, Antoinette	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
SERAPHIN, Aglaë	not listed	1 slave	not listed

¹⁷⁰ Marie Savery is listed in the 1830 census as "Savary, M."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
SERRESOLE, Louis	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
SÉVÉRIN, Agathe	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SÉVÉRIN, Apauline	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
SHERBURNE, Maurice	not listed	6 slaves	not listed
SIDNEY, Louis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SILVA, François	not listed	1 slave	0 slaves
SILVERE, Gervais	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SIMMONS, Sophia	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SIMON, L.	0 slaves	2 slaves	not listed
SMITH, Becky	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SMITH, Diana	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
SMITH, Hellen	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SMITH, Henry	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SMITH, Peggy	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
SMITH, Thomas	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
SNAER, Ambroise	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SOSTHENE, F.	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SPALLINO, Vallery	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
ST. AMAND, M. J.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
ST. AMAND, Henriette	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ST, AMAND, Sophie	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
ST. AMANT, Eloise	not listed	2 slaves	4 slaves

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
ST. AMANT, Louis	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ST. ARMAND, Pierre	not listed	17 slaves	not listed
ST. CLAIRE, Marguerite	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ST. LAURENT, Widow	3 slaves	3 slaves	not listed
ST. OURS, Oursine	5 slaves ¹⁷¹	3 slaves	not listed
ST. TOËGUO (?), Polenar	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
ST. VICTOR, Joseph	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
STERLING, Rose	not listed	1 slave	not listed
SULLY (?), C.	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
TAGUIN, Harnot	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
TALHAND, Pierre	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
TALLAREY, Eugenie	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TEO., Théodule	not listed	1 slave	not listed
TERNIEN, Miss	not listed	1 slave	not listed
TERVALLON, F.	not listed	2 slaves	7 slaves
TESSIER, Sanite	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
TETA, Louis	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TEYOVAL, Judique	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
THÉRÈSE, Agatha	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
THIOT, Zélie	not listed	8 slaves	not listed
THOMAS, Flora	enslaved ¹⁷²	1 slave	not listed

¹⁷¹ Oursine St. Ours is listed in the 1820 census as "Oars, Oarcien F."

¹⁷² Flora Thomas was manumitted in 1827.

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
THOMAS, Widow R.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
THOMASSIN, B.	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TIMPÊGUE, Louis A.	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
TINSLEY, Nancy	not listed	7 slaves	not listed
TORAME, Charles	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TORRÈS, Marie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
TOUNENCE, Zizite	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
TOUSSAINT, Louise	0 slaves	1 slave ¹⁷³	not listed
TOUSSINE, Marie	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TOUTANT, Amélie	not listed	1 slave	not listed
TREVIGNE, Auguste	not listed	5 slaves	not listed
TREVIGNE, Garçon	not listed	1 slave	not listed
URBAIN, Jeanne	not listed	9 slaves	not listed
URBAIN, Jeanne	not listed	1 slave	not listed
URSIN, Magnola	1 slave ¹⁷⁴	2 slaves	not listed
VALENTIN, François	1 slave	1 slave	6 slaves
VALENTIN, François	not listed	4 slaves	4 slaves
VASSANT, Célestin	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
VEMBLEMES, Jacob	not listed	1 slave	not listed
VERMILLION, Eulalie	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁷⁵	not listed
VILLARD, Catiche	not listed	5 slaves	not listed

¹⁷³ Louise Toussaint is listed in the 1830 census as "Toussaint, Louise."

¹⁷⁴ Magnola Ursin is listed in the 1820 census as "Ursen, M."

¹⁷⁵ Eulalie Vermillion is listed in the 1830 census as "Vermillon, Eulalie."

Name of Slaveowner:	Slaves in 1820:	Slaves in 1830:	Slaves in 1840:
VILLARD, Marie Louisa	not listed	1 slave	not listed
VILLEMONT, Josephine	not listed	1 slave	not listed
VILMO, Widow Céleste	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
VIVANT, Louison	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
VIVIER, Charles	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
VOLTAIRE, Maurice	7 slaves	2 slaves ¹⁷⁶	not listed
VOLUNT, Mimite	not listed	10 slaves	not listed
WHITE, Charlotte	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
WHITE, Palmin	not listed	1 slave	not listed
WILFRIDE, Caliste	not listed	4 slaves	not listed
WILTZ, Victoire	not listed	1 slave	not listed
WOODS, George	not listed	1 slave	not listed
ZACHARIE, Euphrasie	not listed	3 slaves	not listed
ZAMOR, Madeleine	not listed	2 slaves	not listed
ZÉNON, Louis A.	not listed	2 slaves ¹⁷⁷	not listed

¹⁷⁶ Maurice Voltaire is listed in the 1830 census as "Votaire, Maurice."

¹⁷⁷ Louis Zénon is listed in the 1830 census as "Zenon, Louis A."

APPENDIX B
EMANCIPATION PETITIONS, 1814-1843

This appendix consists of a listing of all slaveholding free people of color who petitioned to emancipate a slave in Orleans Parish between the years 1814 and 1843. An (*) indicates that the slaveowner is not listed in the emancipation petitions as being a free person of color, yet he is listed as such by Carter G. Woodson.¹⁷⁸

* * *

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
ALEXANDER, Eugene	Marianne	1820
ALLEMAND, Marie	Marie	1827
ALMAZOR, Joseph	Elizabeth	1829
AMÉLIN, Joseph	Adélaïde	1817
ANDRÉ, Catherine	Francine	1824
ANDRY, Séraphine	“her children” : Marie-Pauline Marie-Amanda Marie-Louise Victoire	1829
ANSTINE, Marie	Catherine	1817
ARNOULD, Bénédicte	Félicité	1818
ARNOULD, Guy	Jeanne	1834
ARSÈNE, Marguerite	Céline	1838
AUBERT, Widow, and	Marie-Joseph	1829

¹⁷⁸ Index to Slave Emancipation Petitions, 1814-1843. Louisiana Parish Court (Orleans Parish). City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
FREYE, Francis (white)		
AUGUSTE, François	Jean	1834
	Julie	
AZEMARD, Jean-Baptiste	Narcisse	1827
BABET	Eulalie	1842
BADOUILLE, Béléfine	Lannitte	1829
BAHAM, Baptiste	Célestin	1819
BAPTISTE	Marie-Claire	1821
BAPTISTE, Blaise-Jean	Julie	1838
BAPTISTE, Jean	Jean-Louis (his brother)	
BAUDOIN, Caroline	Placide	1814
BEAULIEU, Adélaïde	Delphine	1829
BEAULINE, John Lewis	Mary	1816
	Mélite	
BEAUREGARD, Isabelle	Marie-Egle	1825
BEAUVAIS, Charles	Antonio	1825
BELLEVUE, Louis	Hélène	1815
BENEDICTE, Amoul	Marguerite	1815
BENJAMIN, Antoine	Marinette	1814
	Pierre	
	Marie	1818
	Louise (his sister)	1833

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
	Honoré	1835
	Grand José	
	Montplaisir	
BERNARD, Charlotte	Calydon	1814
BERTEL, Suzanne	Colinnette	1817
BERTONNAUX, Laïs ¹⁷⁹	Marie-Lannitte	1831
BERTRAND, Rosalie	Joseph	1838
	Marie-Angélique	
BIDAN, Catherine	Jeannette	1821
BOBET	Jim (her son)	1834
BOISDARÉ, Adélaïde	Marie	1820
BONNE, Jean-Baptiste	Rosette	1822
BORDEAUX, Antoine*	Willis	1829
BORÉE, François	Constance	1825
BORÉE, Paul	Françoise	1818
	Louis	1819
	François	
	Pauline	1827
BOULARD, Marie-Elizabeth	Marie-Joseph EULALIE	1825
BOULIGNY, Charlotte	Marie-Thérèse	1818
BRACQUEMARE, Marie	André-Charles AIMÉ	1820
	Marie	1830

¹⁷⁹ Laïs Bertonnaux is listed in the Emancipation Petitions as “Bertoneau, Laïs.”

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
BRADY, Manuel	Jean-Pierre	1827
BRION, Bazile	Artémise	1820
BRULÉ, Raimond	Gertrude (alias Adja)	1829
BUTEAU, François	Fatime	1817
CABARET, Marguerite*	Marguerite (alias Avril)	1827
CABARET, Joseph	Marie-Louise	1814
	Salomon	1821
CAMPANEL, Barthélémy	Hanna	1821
	Joseph	1835
CAMPANEL, Lubel	Séraphine	1827
CAPUCINS, Constance de	Ferdinand	1820
	Juliette (her niece)	1831
CARLOS, François Don	Henriette	1827
CARRIÈRE, Eugénie	Marie-Jeanne	1825
CARRIESSE, Iphigénie	Betsy	1835
CASANAVE, Peter	Maria	1827
CASEAU, Jean	Armide	1834
	“children of Armide” :	
	Telasco	
	Joseph	
	Eugénie	
CASTANEDO, Suzette	Marie-Louise	1814

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
	José (alias Joseph)	1827
CASTILLON, Jacques-François	Swift	1820
CAVELIER, Théophile	Vincent	1842
CAVELLIER, Bernard Jules	Louisa	1837
	Rosa (Louisa's child)	
CAYETANO	Fortunée	1819
CELAY, Elizabeth	Marie-Marthe	1814
CESAR, Lubin	Mérantine	1818
CHARBONNEAU, Lorence	Merlie	1829
	Aglae	
	Pierre-Louis	
	Jean-Baptiste	
	Samite	
	Pepe	
CHARLES, Frédéric	Marie-Louise	1825
CHARLES, Pierre	Abel Jules ZOË	1835
CHARLOTTE	Joseph	1829
CHAUVIN, Marie-Louise	Cilésie	1824
CHENAN, Rosalie	Sanitte	1816
	Marie-Zilia	1819
	Marie-Madeleine	1820
	Marie-Joseph	

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
	Pamela	1829
CHEVAL, Louison	Charlotte	1825
	Mathilda	1835
	Edouard	
	Sydney	
CHIAPELLA, William Jerome	Catherine	1819
CLAIRE, Marie	Michel	1835
CLAY, John	Henry	1832
COLIN, Joseph	Franchonette	1824
COLLIN, Marie-Louise	Thomas	1820
CONTI, Elizabeth	Vénus	1834
COUPRY, Rosette	"children of R. COUPRY"	1829
	Joseph COUPRY	
	Berney	
	Jacqueline	
	Joseph	
	Rosa	
COUCELLE, Myrtille*	Zach (alias Alexandre SMITH)	1835
COUVENT, Bernard, and	Pauline	1821
CIRNAIRE, Marie-Justine		
CUPIDON, Gertrude	François	1834
DAQUIN, Sylvain	Désirée	1818

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
DAUPHIN, Pélagie*	Joséphine (her niece)	1831
	Prosper (her nephew)	
DAVIO, Jean-Charles	Medée	1825
	Label	
	Charlotte	
DAVIO, Medée	George (her son)	1829
DE LA HOUSSAYE, Vénus	Rosette	1817
	Esther	
DEBRUY, Rosalie	Chalinette	1824
DECANT, François	Françoise	1818
DEFLANDERS, Marguerite	Victoire	1819
DELIOLLE, Rosette	Josephine	1827
	Griffonne	
DELORME, Geneviève	Maria	1822
DEMARE, Widow Maria*	Marie-Fantine	1827
DEMOUY, Hyacinthe	Manette	1827
DEPRÉ, Manette*	Adélaïde	1824
DERANGES, Nicolas	Tourmentine	1827
DERNOUI, Marie-Louise	Charlotte	1825
DESTREHAN, Honoré	Marie LA LUZ	1821
DEVEL, Damarisse	Mimi	1834
	Hortense	

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
	Jean-Baptiste	
	Constant	
	Patrice	
DEZQUEZOU, Joujoue	Zémire	1816
DOLLIOLE, Marie-Françoise	Jean-Baptiste (her son)	1834
DOMBARD, Luce	Sophia (her mother)	1817
DOUGHTY, Charles	Patience	1838
DRAKE, David	Esther	1819
	Jacob	1829
	Hawkins	
	François	
DUBREUIL, Elizabeth	Baptiste	1825
DUFAU, Thereze	Rose (alias Médée)	1819
DUFOUR, Pierre and Suzi	Louis BAUDOIN	1838
	Thérèse	
	Eliza	
DUNN, James	Marie (his wife) and his children ¹⁸⁰	1832
DUVERNAY, Mollier	“his children” :	1834
	Mollier	
	Molliercine	
	Marie-Rose	

¹⁸⁰ Neither the names or the number of children are listed in the document.

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
ÉTIENNE, Louise (alias Baptiste)	Marthe	1825
EUPHROSINE, Jeanne	Hilaire	1819
FAUBLER, Daphne	Marie	1822
FERNANDES, Julie	Baptiste	1815
FLORENT, Guillaume	Rosalie	1817
FONDALE, John	Jean-Octave	1835
FONTAINE, François-Jules	Magdelaine	1821
FORTIER, Étienne	Phrosine (his mother)	1831
	“his children” :	
	Edmond	
	Célestin	
	Henri	
	Armand	
FRANÇOIS, Auguste	François	1816
FRANÇOIS, Jacques	Hélène	1816
FRANÇOIS, Jean-Louis	Louise	1835
FROSINE	Jean-Pierre	1835
GALBOIS, Catherine-Sophie	Catherine-Brigitte	1816
GALLOCHE, Mary Andrew	Frances	1818
GELIN, John	Manette	1817
GEROME, Gabriel	Margeritte	1820
GRAMMONT, Jean, and	Rosette	1825

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
GRAMMONT, Etienne*		
GRAVIER, Jeanne	Joseph (her son)	1817
GRAVIER, Joseph	Marie-Noëlle	1835
GUILLAUME, Toussaint*	Adéline	1825
	Julienne (alias Julie)	1834
	Marie-Catherine Jean-François (alias François-George)	
HARDY, Augustin	Marie-Louise HARDY	1840
HARDY, Baptiste, Jr.	Papote	1822
HAZEUR, Baptiste	Louise GOUNGNON	1836
HAZEUR, Marguerite	Tonton, her mother	1829
HAZEUR, Philippe	Ysidor	1825
	Baptiste	1829
	Nina	
HEARTWELL, Thomas	Ellen (his wife)	1834
	“his children” :	
	Ferriday	
	Charles	
	Mary	
HEBERT, Périne	Marie-Catherine	1816
HENRY, E. Maximilien	Rosine LISTEAU	1838
HERNANDEZ, Marie-Desanges	Louise GLISSENE	1824

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
HOCER, P��rri��ne	Joseph	1822
JASON, Jean (alias Bonnant)	Marguerite JASON	1825
JASON, Marguerite	Joseph JASON	1824
JEANNE, Marie	Marie-No��lle (alias Victorine) (her daughter)	1829
JOACHIM (alias Porche)	Sainte	1821
JOHNSON, William	Hannah	1831
JOS��, Manuel	Marie-Za��re	1827
JOSEPH, Voltaire	Constance	1822
JULES, Jean-Baptiste	Renette	1835
JULIOTTE, Jeanne	Jean-Edmond	1834
JUNCADELLA, Fran��oise	Marianne	1819
KEATING, James	��his children�� : Cicilia Mathilda Olivia	1839
LABAUDE, Marie	Lindor	1829
LA BROSSE, Henriette	Th��r��se	1822
LACHAISE, Catherine	Marianne	1828
LACLOTTE, Laurence	Fatima	1821
LACOMBE, Louisa (��Widow Bauhaus��)	Jacques	1819

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
LADNER, Eugene	Hypolite	1838
LAGRAIRE, Blancfois	Victorine	1816
LAGRANGE, Adèle	Marguerite	1825
LAINET, Marguerite	Augustin	1821
LAMAR, Françoise (Estate of)	Rosalie	1821
LAMBERT, Jean	Jeanne	1827
LANGHICHE, Julien-Pierre	Constance	1834
LARCHE, Françoise	Valsin	1827
	Barthélémy	
	Philippe	
LEAUMONT, Ninon	Carmélite	1827
LECLAIR, Charlotte	Henry	1822
LECTOR, Bonne	Victoire	1835
LEE, Edward	Catherine	1817
LEFEBRE, Marie Nicole	Madelaine	1818
("Widow Dupiton")		
LEGRAND, Widow Oudard	Marie-Joseph (alias Honorine)	1825
LEMINE, Marie-Pauline	Manette	1827
LENNOT, Marguerite	Delia	1829
LEPAGE, Hélène	Nina	1834
LEVILLE, Louis	Lucille	1819
LOUISEBARRE, Sanite	Pierre	1829

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
LORRAINE, Pauline	Marie-Caroline (her daughter)	1831
LOUISE, Marie	Jean-Baptiste (alias Vincent)	1838
LUBIN, Peter Lewis	Marie-Jeanne	1819
MADELEINE, Betsey	Mary	1834
MADOWNEY, Elisa	Larkin (alias Larkin TALLOMER)	1834
MAGLOIRE, Louis	Agnès	1824
MONTREUIL, Widow C., and,	Maximilien	1834
MAIGNIER, Constance		
MANDEVILLE, Nicolas	Marie	1818
(Estate of)	Marie-Thérèse	
MANUEL, François	Julien	1829
MANUMISSION, Jacob	Amy GRIFFIN	1816
MARC, Maniche	Louis	1818
MARCOS, Eloise	Marie-Louise	1825
	Jacob	1829
MARIANNE	Julie	1835
MARIANNE, Madeleine	Louison	1814
MARSHALL, George	Susan	1818
MARTIN, Prudence	Suzanne	1834
MATHEWS, John	Kitty	1818
MAZET, Louis	Jean-Louis	1840
MENARD, Charles, and,	Geneviève	1817

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
MENARD, Thérèse		
MICHEL, Hélène ("Widow Breton")	Jean LATULISSE	1814
MONÉRIE, Alexandrine	Marie-Louise	1834
MONET, Pierre	Jeanne (alias China)	1822
MORANGE, Widow*	Josephine	1834
MOULET, Cyrille	Laurette	1816
NICHOLAS, Marie-Victoire	Judith (her daughter)	1834
NICHOLS, Jane	Ben	1829
NICOLAS, Célestin	Louisa (alias Charlotte, her daughter)	1835
NOISETTE, Rose	Geneviève	1834
NOTA, Marie-Françoise	Orphée	1827
ORFÈVRE, Marie-Louise	Rosine	1819
PAIGNER, Françoise	Julie	1834
PAMELA, Marie-Sainte	Zo	1824
PARENT, Bernard	Alexandre	1816
PATUS, Cécile ("Widow Contador")	Manette	1829
PAUL, Marie-Marthe	Nicolas	1827
PEGNIN, Françoise	François	1819
PENNICOT, Bonne	Popotte	1829
PERCY, Adélaïde	Elizabeth	1838

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
PERRET, Charlotte	Fragile	1842
PERRON, Victoire	Zabeau	1820
PICQUARD, Widow François	Thomas	1827
PIERRE, Marie-Joseph	Dimanche	1834
	Jean-Pierre	
PIRON, François	Joseph JONGUY	1817
PRESSOT, Eugenie ("Widow Joseph SAVARY")	Sanite and her children:	1829
	Valon Zoë	
PREVOST, Colas (Estate of)	Jean-Baptiste RAYMOND	1816
PREVOST, Geneviève (alias Ser) Marthe		1818
PREVOST, Thérance	Céleste	1817
PRIETO, Clarice	Josephine (her daughter)	1834
PRIETO, Joseph	Charlotte	1815
	Babet	1825
	Madeleine	
PROFIT, Pierre	François	1820
	Grand Jacques	1824
	Pierrot DAMBA (alias Piro)	1829
RAMIS, Stéphanie	Françoise	1821
RAQUET, Adélaïde	Marie-Françoise CLAIRE	1825
RÉMY, Eléonore	Maria (alias Maraya)	1818

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
RILLIEUX, Honoré	Louison	1825
RILLIEUX, Marie	Josephine (her daughter)	1834
RIVIÈRE, Simon	Pierre FIFE	1821
ROBERT, Jeannette	Geneviève	1827
ROBERT, Marie-Françoise	Françoise	1819
ROBERT, Norbert	Jenerette ROBERT (his mother)	1821
ROCHEBLAVE, Catherine	Garcilian	1834
ROY, Hélène	Zuma	1816
ROY, Zuma	Laure	1831
SAINET, Marguerite	Catherine	1816
SAULET, Zénon	François	1825
SCOTT, John	Henny	1834
	Joseph (son of Henny)	
SÉJOUR, Louis	Étienne	1834
SINDOS, Victoire	Madeleine (her daughter)	1834
SMITH, John	Dinah (alias Diana)	1820
SMITH, Robert D.	Waters (alias Jim)	1829
SOULIE, Norbert	Charles	1829
ST. OURS, Oursine	Magdeleine LILITE	1831
THÉRÈSE, Agatha	Rosalie	1822
THERET, Lise	Hélène	1825
THOMAS, Harry	Flora	1827

Name of Slaveowner:	Name of Those Freed:	Year of Petition:
TOUIN, Ursule	Rosetta	1820
VERRET, Nelly	Julien	1820
VICTOR, Lenon	Jérôme	1838
VICTORINE	“her children” :	1829
VIGNAUD, Manon	Leveille	1835
VILLARD, Antoine	Beatric	1821
VILLÈRE, Étienne	Étienne	1816
VILLIER, Rosette	Norbert (her son)	1816
VOISIN, Térance (Estate of)	Balam	1821
VOLTAIRE, Marie-Rose	Frosine (alias Euphrosine)	1833
WILTZ, Jean-Baptiste	Goshon	1821
YBART, Jean-Baptiste	Madeleine-Céleste	1819

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