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Households and Neighborhoods Among Free People of Color in New Orleans: A View from the Census, 1850-1860

Frank Joseph Lovato
University of New Orleans

Households and Neighborhoods Among Free People of Color in New Orleans: A View from the Census, 1850-1860

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Frank Joseph Lovato

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Dedication

To my lovely wife, Betty Thorpe Lovato, who endured with me the years I devoted to this effort and offered encouragement and patience throughout the long process that resulted in this thesis.

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My most sincere thanks go out to my initial thesis director, Dr. Joe Louis Caldwell (1943 – 2010), who sadly passed away before he could help me bring together this final version. It was Dr. Caldwell who not only helped me channel a curiosity about the Free People of Color in Orleans into this work but also suggested the subject matter and the use of the U.S. Census as the basic source of primary data. Special thanks also go to Dr. Mary Niall Mitchell who took over as my thesis director after Dr. Caldwell became too ill to continue and I will always be in her debt for the advice, direction, and patience she gave so generously to a seventy-year old retired civil servant who wanted to build a second career as a history teacher. In addition I owe a debt of gratitude to the people at the Earl K. Long Library Special Collection and the New Orleans Public Library who helped me find original documents, unpublished studies, and never seemed to tire of helping me when the microfilm readers seemed to be determined to frustrate me at every turn. Last but surely not least, I wish to thank my committee members, Dr. Michael Mizell-Nelson and Dr Connie Atkinson for their advice and encouragement.

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Abstract

Historians have debated to what extent the free people of color in New Orleans were members of a wealthy privileged elite or part of a middle or working class in the South's largest antebellum city. This study steps outside the debate to suggest that analysis of the censuses of 1850 and 1860 shows correlations between neighborhoods, household structures, and occupations that reveal a heterogeneous population that eludes simple definitions. In particular this study focuses on mixed-race households to shed light on this segment of the free colored population that is mostly unstudied and generally misrepresented. This study also finds that immediately prior to the Civil War, mixed-race families, for no easily understood reason, tended to cluster in certain neighborhoods. Mostly this study points out that by the Civil War, the free people of color in New Orleans had evolved into a diverse mostly working class population.

Origins

Censuses

Mixed-race Families

Neighborhoods

Property Values

Introduction

The census takers who traveled up and down the streets of New Orleans taking the census of 1850 could not have helped notice that most free people of color with declared property worth over $10,000 were concentrated in the centrally located 1st Municipality, 4th, 5th, and 6th Wards. (See MAPS - MUNICIPALITIES and WARDS 1847) At the top of the economic ladder was a 55 year-old single male mulatto landlord, Erasine Leyoaster, who lived in the 1st Municipality, 4th Ward and was the wealthiest free person of color in the city with a net worth of $150,000.[1] The next wealthiest was another landlord, 36 year-old married male mulatto named Leon Sandoz, who lived in the 1st Municipality 7th Ward who declared a net worth of $60.000.[2]

A surprising discovery in the 1850 census was forty year-old married mulatto grocer, T. A. Daroux, who declared property worth $50,000 and 52 year-old single male Mulatto named Edward Dupuy who gave his occupation as "capitalist" with declared property worth $25,000. Both men lived in the poorer 3rd Municipality, 1st Ward ((which by 1860, was included in the newly drawn 7th Ward)) and together they owned over ten percent of the declared wealth of the entire 7th Ward.[3] Neither they nor their businesses were listed in either the 1850 or 1860 City Directory.

By 1860 population of the free people of color in New Orleans had remained about the same but their total wealth had declined sharply from 1850, and inexplicability their concentration of wealth had moved from the 4th, 5th, and 6th Wards upriver to the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Wards. In 1860 the wealthiest free person of color in New Orleans was 50 year-old Cuban born tailor named Francois Lacroix who lived in the 3rd Ward and

[1] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1850, 1st Municipality, Wards 5, 6, & 7, Roll 236.
[2] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1850, 1st Municipality, Wards 1, 2, 3, & 4, Roll 235.
[3] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1860, 3rd Municipality, Ward 7, Roll 419.

declared a total of $90,000 in property and possessions.[4] Lacroix is known to have speculated in various properties in the city and eventually amassed an estate valued at over $262,000.[5] He was also noted to be a philanthropist who was an incorporator of both the Société Pour L'education des Orphelins des Indigenes de la 3me District and La Société de la Sainte Famille. As noted in the census of 1860, Lacroix was a widower living with his son, 21 year-old Victor, who was killed in the riot of June 30, 1866 at the Mechanics' Institute on Baronne Street. The elder Lacroix died on April 15, 1876.[6]

The next wealthiest free person of color was 60 year-old Joseph Zumora who lived in the 4th Ward and although not listed with an occupation, declared $46,000 in total property and possessions. Zumora was living with a 45 year-old female mulatto named Theresa with no last name given and three children with ages ranging from fourteen to twenty-three also with no last name given. The next wealthiest free person of color was a married 49 year-old married male mulatto honey broker named D. B. (Drauzin Barthélemy) Macarty who declared property and possessions worth $35,000.[7] Macarty probably understated his real net worth to the census taker since according to New Orleans tax-ledger data his new worth actually exceeded $60,000.[8] D. B. Macarty is also interesting since he was the son of the famous Eulalie d'Mandeville Macarty who by the mid-1840s had amassed a personal fortune of $155,000.[9]

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[4] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1860, Ward 3, Roll 417.

[5] Loren Schweninger, "Antebellum Free Persons of Color in Postbellum Louisiana", The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Autumn 1989), 345 - 364.

[6] http://nutrias.org/exhibits/lacroix/planbook.htm

[7] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1860, Ward 5, Roll 418.

[8] David C. Rankin, "The Origins of Black Leadership in New Orleans During Reconstruction," The Journal of Southern History, (Aug., 1974), 417 – 440.

[9] Schweninger, 101-102; Juliet E. K. Walker, "Racism, Slavery, and Free Enterprise: Black Entrepreneurship in the United States before the Civil War, (The Business History Review, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 343-382

Because of the great disparity net worth declared in both 1850 and 1860 between the typical free person of color and a few who were very wealthy, statistical manipulations of the economic data such as averages and medians serve no purpose but it is quite obvious that a few free people of color had successfully amassed relatively large amounts of wealth. Although these relatively wealthy free people of color may have understated their net worth to remain as inconspicuous as possible, there is no evidence that in either 1850 or 1860 even a modest number of free people of color could be considered members of a wealthy privileged elite. This study will provide a window into this population and using the census of 1850 and 1860 as guide, show most were in the working or middle class.

The Origins of the Free People of Color in Louisiana

The history of free people of color in New Orleans is deeply rooted in the European colonial competition of the eighteenth century. At the time the French had existing colonies in the New World but their colonization of Louisiana was largely a strategic ploy. By controlling the mouth of the Mississippi River along with their existing colonies in Canada, the French could outflank the rival English colonies on the American eastern seaboard and by colonizing the Mississippi River valley dominate North America.[10] But when the decade long War of Spanish Succession ended in 1714, the French population was exhausted and the government was in no financial position to undertake a large colonization effort. Still it was imperative that they devise a way to keep the English in check. Unwilling to send its more useful citizens as colonists, the

[10] Gwendolyn Mildo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* (Baton Rouge, 1994), 2.

French government began to arrest and deport the dregs of its population - prisoners, prostitutes, paupers - to Louisiana. They soon proved ill equipped or unwilling to face the exacting demands of life on the frontier of Louisiana. After great domestic dissent and even riots in France to protest this practice, on May 9, 1720, further deportation of undesirables from France to Louisiana was banned.[11]

Without dependable and willing colonists the colonial government looked to Africa as a source of labor. Initially the French government rejected the idea but later acceded and the capture and commercial importation of African captives into Louisiana began in June 1719.[12] Between 1719 and 1723, ten ships arrived in Louisiana with 2,082 African captives. Although the Africans generally survived better than the European colonists in the hot and generally unhealthy Louisiana climate, the general state of famine in the colony resulted in the widespread loss of lives even among the Africans so that by 1726, only 1,540 remained.[13]

The lack of white women in this frontier environment coupled with the absolute power white masters had over their African slaves caused many French slave owners to take enslaved African women as sexual partners. Some of these slave owners took responsibility for the resultant mixed race children and some even provided them with an education or training for a trade through apprenticeships.[14] After freeing their concubines and their children, these white fathers sometimes bequeathed them property that with the

[11] Hall, 2-6.
[12] Hall, 57.
[13] Hall, 73.
[14] An example of providing for apprenticeships for slaves can be found in the Records of the Office of the Mayor of New Orleans tabulated by Paul Lachance in "Index to New Orleans Indentures, 1809 – 1843"and can be found at http://neworleanslibrary.org/~nopl/inv/indentures/ind-intr.htm.

biological inheritances of light skin literally changed the complexion of New Orleans and helped create a population of free people of color.[15]

In 1685, Louis XIV issued the *Code Noir* or Black Code to govern and control black slaves in the French Caribbean colonies. In 1724, the Code was applied in Louisiana so now slaves could be legally freed or manumitted by petition of their masters for reasons approved by the Supreme Council.[16] Freed slaves often included those being rewarded for valor and faithful service and the enslaved concubines and their children fathered by their white masters. In 1769, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. The French C*ode Noir* was largely retained but the Spanish adaptation also allowed for *coartaçión*, the right of self-purchase at market price.[17] Under Spanish law slaves could still hire themselves out in their free time or be hired out by their masters and share in their income.[18] Enslaved persons who were adept at negotiating might eventually buy their freedom and the freedom of their wives, husbands, children, and other relatives. The French and Spanish colonial slave codes encouraged not only growth of the population of the free people of color in New Orleans but also growth in their wealth and influence.[19]

Between 1791 and 1804, the enslaved black population in the French colony of San Domingue revolted. By 1803 thousands of free people of color, some of them slave owners themselves, fled fearing for their lives. Many free people of color migrated to

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[15] Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*. ed. Sybil Kein. (Baton Rouge, 2000) 6; Virginia R. Domínguez, *White by Definition*. (New Brunswick & London, 1997), 5-12.

[16] http://www.blackpast.org/?q-primary/louisianas-code-noir-1724.htm.

[17] Emily Clark and Virginia Meacham Gould, "The Feminine Face of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans, 1727-1852,"*The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (April, 2002): 434.

[18] Violet Harrington Bryan, "Marcus Christian's Treatment of *Les Gens de Couleur Libre*," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color.* Ed. Sybil Kein. (Baton Rouge, 2000). 48-49.

[19] H. E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana*. (Rutherford, New Jersey, 1972) 36 - 42; Kimberly. S. Hanger. *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places*. (Durham, 2002), 55 – 87.

Cuba, and San Domingue became the independent nation of Haiti. In the aftermath of Napoleon's invasion of Spain, many of these refugees were forced by the Spanish government to leave Cuba and many migrated to Louisiana. Although not particularly welcome, between May 1809 and January 1810, 9,059 Haitian refugees immigrated to New Orleans. Of these were 3,102 free people of color who greatly added to both their numbers and economic status in New Orleans.[20]

Although officially prohibited by the *Code Noir,* inter-racial relations were common in colonial and antebellum New Orleans and some were formalized. Quasi-legal marriages called *placage* were sometimes arranged between free women of color and white men. Although p*lacage* did contribute somewhat to the growth in population and influence of the free people of color, it was not a wide spread practice.

In 1803 American system of law was introduced in Louisiana that undermined the existing French and Spanish legal systems but it did contain some changes advantageous to the black slaves. Of major importance was the newly adopted Louisiana Civil Code that empowered slaves to enter into contracts and initiate lawsuits specifically dealing with their freedom. Although many slaveholders in New Orleans had already freed their slaves, state lawmakers were becomingly increasingly concerned over the continued population growth and influence of the free people of color. The Louisiana legislature gradually began passing tighter restrictions on manumissions until finally in 1856 they were prohibited entirely.[21]

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[20] Paul Lachance, "The Foreign French," in *Creole New Orleans; Race and Americanization*, ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, (Baton Rouge, 1992) 103-107.

[21] Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free, Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846 – 1862,* (Baton Rouge, 2003), 1 – 14.

Historiography of the Free People of Color in New Orleans

Life for the enslaved Africans in New Orleans during the French colonial period could be cruel and violent. Slaves were often maltreated and brutalized but some historians claimed that free blacks and mulattos were not considered sub-human or intrinsically inferior to whites. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall writes, "There is no evidence of the racial exclusiveness and contempt that characterizes more recent times. …. In French Louisiana, Africans and their descendents were competent, desperately needed, and far from powerless."[22] Evidence of such a lenient official governmental attitude toward free people of color is found in the numerous recorded lawsuits they successfully filed against whites.[23] Also touted by historians as a key factor that tempered the French attitudes and treatment of blacks was Roman Catholic religious precepts and practices. Supported by the *Code Noir,* during the colonial period Capuchin missionaries integrated black people in New Orleans into the life of the Catholic Church. Everyone was allowed to receive the Catholic sacraments at the same time and place regardless of race or condition of servitude. Free people of color were even married in the church.[24] But the relationship between the Catholic Church and enslaved Africans and in particular African women was not as simple as mere acceptance.

Slave traders did not go into Africa blindly capturing people as they found them. The process of capture and enslavement was far more selective than that. Women were mostly desired to serve as domestic servants and slave traders were convinced women from the West African coastal region of Senegambia were more sophisticated than

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[22] Hall, 155.

[23] Donald Edward Everett, "Free People of Color in Colonial Louisiana." Diss. Tulane University, 1952, 18 – 21.

[24] Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana 1718 – 1868* (Baton Rouge, 1997), 11-12.

women from the interior and therefore more suited for domestic duties. Senegambian women also had not been as greatly influenced by the Muslim presence in the African interior and within their society were themselves religious practitioners who took responsibility for the religious training of their daughters. Enslaved Senegambian women with religious traditions were most often employed as domestics and those living in New Orleans had a greater opportunity to become drawn to and become active in the religious practices of the Catholic Church than enslaved black men who mostly worked in the fields. As free people of color emerged from slavery these women tended to maintain their Catholic faith and pass it on to their children.[25] But as important as the assimilation practices of the Catholic Church were to creating a measure of acceptability for a rising class of free people of color, a shortage of skilled workers in the rapidly growing economy was probably just as influential. To alleviate the need for skilled workers, the colonial government began apprenticing slaves to experienced tradesmen, thereby gradually creating a class of skilled black artisans.[26] These two conditions expanded the process by which the unique free black Creole culture in New Orleans was created.

Kimberly Hanger probes a more demographic analysis of the growth of the culture of the free people of color during the Spanish period. After the importation of Africans was banned, the percentage of native-born free people of color grew from 3.1 percent in 1771 to 19.0 percent in 1805; Hanger contends that the increasing proportion of native born black Creoles was as important as sheer numbers in creating "group consciousness" that permitted them to establish kinship networks and other social

[25] Clark and Gould, 409-448.

[26] Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana 1718 – 1868*. 15.

organizations that exerted influence on the colony.[27] But Hanger does not discount the thesis of historian Frank Tannenbaum that credited the Catholic Church for fostering more humane treatment of slaves and increasing their access to freedom. Tannenbaum blames the Anglo-Americanization of Louisiana for the harsh treatment of the free people of color after 1803.[28] Hanger also agrees with Tannenbaum that the Catholic Spanish and Portuguese were more likely to free their slaves than the more rigid Protestant English or Dutch, but she further contends that business cycles probably played as big a role as culture or religion in the manumissions that helped to increase the numbers of free people of color.

Hanger reasons that when the economy was growing, slave owners would be unwilling to give up their increasingly valuable slaves and when the economy was declining and the price of slaves decreasing, slaveholders would need to keep their slaves to return to prosperity. But it the top of the business cycle, slaveholders would be more likely to manumit slaves, especially those who could afford to pay inflated prices for their freedom. Inversely at the bottom of the business cycle, slaveholders would want to get rid of less valuable slaves such as the older or less productive.[29] But Hanger concludes that by the end of the Spanish period, the sheer numbers of the free people of color population that made up about a third of the New Orleans population was far more important than the role of culture or religion and economic cycles in obtaining and maintaining social

[27] Hanger, 17.
[28] Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans, The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819,* (Knoxville, 1999) 318-319.
[29] Hanger, 19-20.

status. Ira Berlin adds that many even "shared bonds of blood" with the dominant whites.[30]

Another important factor in the growth of social status of the free people of color was the long history of free black militias during the colonial period. Ira Berlin makes the point that to protect the colony from the Indians, to counter possible slave insurrections, and to recapture runaway slaves, the French organized African slaves into militias by promising them freedom and even allowing them to serve under their own officers. The Spanish continued this policy when they acquired Louisiana in 1763.[31] Donald Everett argues that, " … in retrospect, the precedence established by the military service of these men of color is of greater significance than their contribution as soldiers in defense of the colony."[32] Military service gave free blacks social status, created a black officer tradition, and made them highly independent.

When the United States took control of Louisiana in April 1803, William C. C. Claiborne was appointed Governor, but establishing an American government in New Orleans was an extremely difficult task. Very few people in Louisiana and New Orleans spoke English and were of questionable loyalty.[33] It was as if the Americans had captured a foreign city on American soil. In addition to the ticklish situation with the white French and Spaniards, Claiborne faced a large armed population of free men of color who were accustomed to rights and powers Claiborne never imagined. Pressured by the white Creoles and the newly arrived Americans, Claiborne gradually tried to defuse the

[30] Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters, The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, (New York: 1974) 112-114.

[31] Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters, The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* , 114.

[32] Everett, 21.

[33] Joseph Stoltz III, " 'An Ardent Military Spirit'; William C. C. Claiborne and the Creation of the Orleans Territorial Militia, 1803-1805" Masters Thesis, University of New Orleans, 2009, 1.

situation by reducing the ranks of the free black militia, imposing white officers, and finally allowing the legislature to disband it completely.[34]

In a generation or two the policy of "Americanizing" the old racial order in New Orleans might have worked to subvert the influence of the free people of color but a slave revolt in 1811 upriver from New Orleans in St. John the Baptist Parish and the British invasion of Louisiana in 1815 caused the American authorities to rethink their position.[35] The American authorities were well aware of the reputation of the black militias during the colonial period so their remaining members were incorporated into the rag-tag American defenses of New Orleans. With their help, New Orleans was saved from the British army that was soundly defeated in the Battle of New Orleans. Although the American General Andrew Jackson had promised them equality, neither he nor the free black militia members pressed the issue but they did gain a renewed respect for their military abilities.[36] From 1815 until the 1830s, the free people of color continued to maintain their unique social status.

Possibly the greatest disagreement among historians who have studied the New Orleans free people of color has centered on their economic and social influence in antebellum New Orleans. Independent scholar Mary Gehman argues that as the economy grew, much of the wealth amassed by the free people of color was invested in presumably safe real estate so that by 1830 they owned about $2.5 million in property. She also argues that free people of color were a tight knit society who tended to live on the same

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[34] Stoltz, 30.

[35] Joseph Logsdon and Caryn Cossé Bel, "The Americanization of Black New Orleans" in *Creole New Orleans; Race and Americanization*, eds. Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, (Baton Rouge, 1992) 204-207.

[36] Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters, The Free Negro in the Antebellum South,* 128-130.

streets, attend the same churches, socialize almost exclusively with each other, and arrange marriages with families of the same relative economic and social standing.[37]

By the late 1830s, the free people of color began experiencing increased difficultly in maintaining their relative prosperity. Loren Schweninger contends the most important economic problem facing the free people of color at this time was competition from white workers who insisted they were entitled to the better jobs simply because they were white.[38] White political pressures and outright violence led the legislature and the city to pass increasingly harsh laws limiting the economic influence of the free people of color. But passing laws did not necessarily mean they were enforced. Family links between the free people of color, slaves, and whites created social and family ties that laws could not necessarily undermine, so the harshness of these laws was largely circumvented or tempered by the local population.[39]

Not all historians agree that the French and Spanish cultural and religious traditions tempered the treatment of slaves and that conditions worsened after the arrival of the Americans in1803. Thomas Ingersoll agrees that Tannenbaum raised important points on the differences in the American and the French/Spanish treatment of the Africans, but he asserts the relatively benign treatment of the both slaves and free people of color in New Orleans was the result of urbanization and not from cultural and religious influences. "The town's urban condition became the single most determinant of its character. More important than any cultural factors were the decline of the proportion of the population living on plantations, the extraordinary demand for a flexible labor supply

[37] Mary Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction.* (New Orleans, 1994) 53-55.

[38] Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790 – 1915.* (Chicago, 1997) 112-113.

[39] Hanger, 89-93.

to meet the port's seasonal marketing demands, the increased anonymity possible for individual in the large population, and the existence of huge numbers of transients and settlers from outside New Orleans."[40] Ingersoll quotes David Rankin's argument: "Louisiana's Latin heritage failed to soften slavery, encourage manumission, and foster egalitarian race relations." To further his argument, Ingersoll cites the writings of travelers who visited New Orleans during the period. He quotes Benjamin Latrobe's *Impressions Respecting New Orleans* in which Latrobe writes he had heard "the locals treated their slaves harshly" and how the "locals were hard task masters by comparison to the Anglo-Americans." Latrobe also disapprovingly writes that blacks were either allowed or required to work on Sunday and how he "had heard" that slaves were cruelly beaten by their mistresses if they failed to bring in enough money to keep up the house. Ingersoll quotes another visitor, Amos Stoddard, who wrote in his *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive,* "The scenes of misery and distress constantly witnessed along the coast of the Delta . . . torture the feelings of the passing stranger and wring blood from his heart."[41] Ingersoll may use these comments by visitors to correct what he believes is over-emphasis of the supposedly kindly treatment of slaves by the French and Spanish rather than merely trying to defend the somewhat tarnished Americans image.

In 1835, white workers in New Orleans began to publicly protest the employment of free people of color and slaves in the mechanical arts. Conditions began to worsen during the 1850s when the legislature began passing laws designed to reinforce the divisions between slavery and freedom. In 1855, the Louisiana legislature continued to weaken the rights of free people of color by prohibiting the incorporation of

[40] Ingersoll, 317.
[41] Ingersoll, 319-320.

organizations composed of free people of color and barring out-of-state free colored from Louisiana.[42] To reinforce the state laws, the New Orleans city government allowed free people of color who had entered Louisiana illegally to be committed to work houses, made it illegal for them to keep businesses that served liquor, and permitted them to re-enslave themselves to be allowed to stay in Louisiana.[43]

Paul Lachance is another historian who questions the premise of an economic elite free people of color in New Orleans. Using data sources such as marriage contracts and property inventories, Lachance concludes, "... free colored property owners were demonstrably less wealthy than whites in antebellum New Orleans. The free colored economic elite fell short of the white elite in the amount of property it acquired and its share of its group's wealth."[44] Lachance seems to have missed the point that it was not important that the propertied free colored did not rival their white counterparts in actual wealth but it was important that in New Orleans a colored elite existed at all. Limited as they were, free people of color in New Orleans were accustomed to freedom, so before and particularly after the Civil War, they maintained leadership roles and served as spokesmen for all the people of color.[45]

Methodology Used for Data Gathering

To obtain as broad an understanding as possible of the economic and social lives of the free people of color in antebellum in New Orleans, I decided to utilize data from the

[42] Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790 - 1915.* (Chicago, 1997) 112-113.

[43] Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans 1850 – 1860.* (New Orleans, 1998) 24.

[44] Paul Lachance, "The Limits of Privilege: Where Free Persons of Colour Stood in the Hierarchy of Wealth in Antebellum New Orleans" in *Against The Odds: Free Black in the Slave Societies of the Americas,* ed. Jane G. Landers (Portland, 1996) 79-80.

[45] James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War*, (Baton Rouge, 1995), 104-109.

microfilm reproductions of the original 1850 and 1860 census forms. Other primary sources of information such as city directories, records of marriage contracts, and property inventories and transfers are also available but were not used extensively since this study is mainly concerned with those free people of color not likely to have been included in these sources.

Information entered on the census forms included name, age, sex, race, occupation, birthplace, and the declared value of real estate and personal property. Collecting data from the census forms for free people of color was made easier by a law passed in 1808 that required every business entry concerning free people of color to have the racial description of each. The designations mb (male black), mm (male mulatto), fb (female black), and fm (female mulatto) were used and greatly simplified the process of locating sought after data. Accepting these racial categories as part of the census data is not meant to suggest that these categories were objective rather than subjective. A person's racial classification often depended upon who the census taker was and how he chose to describe them. Nonetheless, lacking other means to combine race and location within the city, I have chosen to use these classifications as rough indicators of household composition. Only data related to free people of color and those white males who might possibly be part of mixed-race families were tabulated.

For several reasons, information compiled from the census rolls may be suspect. Because of the North-South tensions over slavery and the rising fear among whites that free people of color could spawn a slave revolt, some living in New Orleans illegally or the more prosperous may have chosen to pass for white or avoided the 1860 census to

remain inconspicuous.[46] Another problem with using census data is that financial information was volunteered and cannot be completely trusted to provide viable numbers but can be used for trend analysis. Another problem with using the census data is that the entries were handwritten and the florid handwriting style of the day makes deciphering some very difficult. (See Census Forms) Coupled with handwriting styles is the poor quality of the ink and its tendency to fade. Many entries were obviously overwritten and many could not be read. Although accurate spelling of the French, Spanish, and Creole names is often questionable, most of the other information could be read. Over eighteen thousand census entries were tabulated.

The raw numbers of the census of 1860 (See Table 2 1860 New Orleans Census) show the majority of free people of color resided in the 5th, 6th, and 7th Wards but it is interesting to note that the mixed-race famlies mostly lived in the 4th and 5th Wards. In 1860 as many as eighty-eight possible mixed-race famlies lived in New Orleans and of these fifty-six or almost sixty-five percent lived in an area bounded by Canal Street on the west and St. Philip Street on the east. (See Maps WARDS – 1852)[47] This area is the present day French Quarter and the Iberville, Treme/Lafitte, Bayou St. John, and Mid City neighborhoods. (See MAPS - New Orleans Neighborhoods)[48] The other thirty-one possibly mixed-race families were widely scattered throughout the other seven wards.

Although there is data that can be construed to show mixed-race couples tended to live close to one another, no evidence was found that indicates any association of free people of color by wealth or occupation other than an odd circumstance of the occupation

[46] Schafer, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free, Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846 – 1862,* xxi.
[47] Earl K. Long Library, Special Collection.
[48] City Planning Commission of New Orleans, www.gnocd.org.

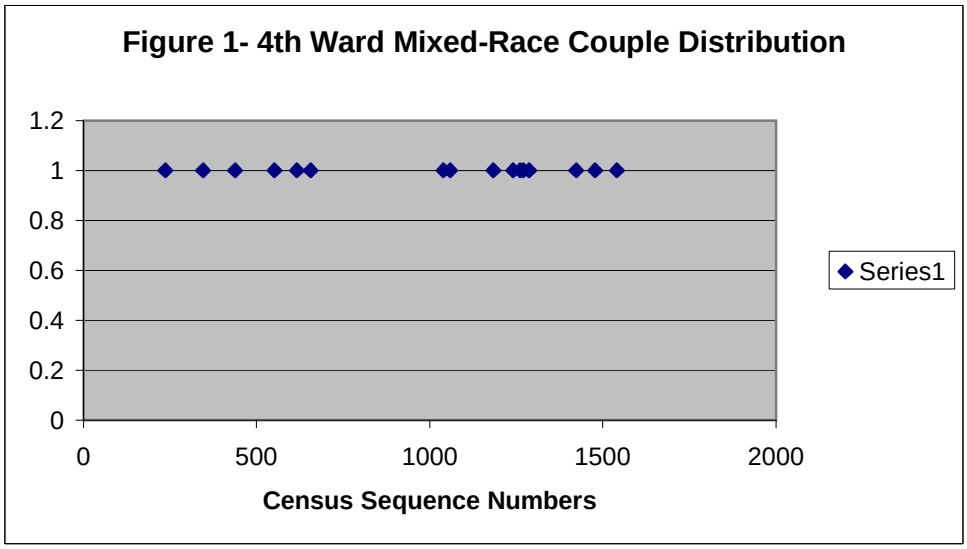
of "rooming house" in the 3rd and 4th Wards. Mixed-race families listed in the New Orleans census of 1860 did exhibit some economic diversity. White males, mostly born abroad or in New Orleans, headed all mixed-race families but contrary to the impression left by some historians, only four of these families might be considered as reasonably well off. Occupations listed for the white males were quite diverse although clerk and laborer were the most common occupations. Other occupations included jeweler, paper carrier, carpenter, grocer, shoemaker, wood dealer, merchant, hairdresser, peddler, cigar maker, cooper, mason bookkeeper, laborer, bricklayer, fish dealer, police officer, and butcher. One white male was a 56 year-old physician from Connecticut who with his 42 year-old Louisiana born wife had three children but he declared only $1,500 in property so it appears he did not have a thriving practice. Remarkably the families of four white males listed as policemen did live in close proximity in the 4th Ward possibly prompted by their common occupation and marital status.

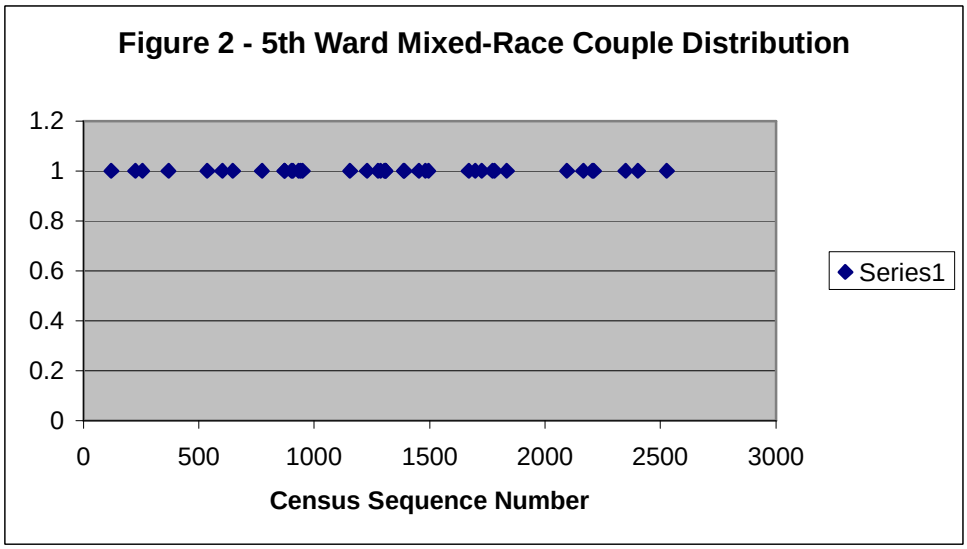
To determine if a family was mixed-race I assumed a white male living in the same dwelling with the free colored female and sharing the same last name constituted a "marriage." Undoubtedly, there were some mixed-race relations between a white woman and a free man of color or a slave but these were not common and were deterred by the participants being subject to arrest.[49] In analyzing the census forms for possible mixed-race families an interesting condition emerged. Street addresses were not included in the census forms but whether it was a house or an apartment, every dwelling was assigned a visit sequence number by the census takers. To gain insight into the housing patterns and possible social cohesion of mixed-race families, I assumed the census takers moved about the city wards in a systematic manner rather than moving randomly from block to block.

[49] Sterkx, 255.

Based on this assumption the dwelling sequence numbers were used to determine if mixed-race families deliberately chose to live close to one another.

Figure 1 and Figure 2 show that mixed-race families tended to live in clusters within the two wards. Because of the small number of mixed-race families in the 4th Ward, charting those census sequence numbers versus an imaginary x-axis, groupings are not as evident as in the 5th Ward.





The economic situation for the mixed-race families in 1860 New Orleans was quite similar to the free people of color not in a mixed-race relationship. Most mixed-race families declared very little or no property. Property valued between $1000 and $2000 probably represented a house since the average value of a house at that time was about $1000.[50] One white male doctor declared real estate valued at $7000 that possibly represented the family home plus some rental property. Only one free female member in a mixed-race family declared personal property and real estate and she was a free black female who listed "furnished rooms" as her occupation. Two other white males, the doctor and a steamboat captain, declared personal property or real estate worth more than $5000. The average net worth of these mixed-race families was slightly less than $1150.

Economic Role of the Free People of Color in Ante-Bellum New Orleans

Popular history has assumed African captives brought to the New World were devoid of skills but fully two-thirds of those brought to New Orleans came from Senegambia, a region in West Africa with a rich cultural and artistic history.[51] The French desperately needed agricultural labor but West Africans were also prized for skills without which the colony might have failed. West Africans brought with them the seeds and land drainage expertise necessary to cultivate rice that became the only reliable food source in south Louisiana.[52] In 1712 the native indigo plant was noticed and the West Africans, familiar with processing indigo in Africa, provided the technical knowledge necessary to process the native indigo. The later introduction of better quality indigo seed

[50] Everett, 215.
[51] Jerad Johnson, Introduction in Marcus Christian, *Negro Ironworkers of Louisiana 1718 – 1900.* (Gretna, Louisiana, 2002), 5.
[52] Hall, 121.

from France created an industry that during the last year of the French period, $100,000 worth of indigo was exported.[53] This amount far exceeded the worth of other exports at the time.[54] In the 1790s, businessman Etienne de Boré enlisted the aid of free black sugar makers who used a process they had learned in San Domingue to produce granulated sugar and created another industry that had an immediate economic impact.[55]

Besides industry and agriculture, Africans also greatly influenced the architecture of New Orleans since the skills that created the wrought iron grills and balcony rails so identified with the city were also brought from West Africa.[56] Dr. Alain Locke, credited by noted New Orleans historian Marcus Christian as being the most famous interpreter of Negro art, writes in his book *Negro Art: Past and Present*, "The most authentic tracing of any considerable school of master craftsmen has been in connection with the famous Negro blacksmiths of New Orleans who furnished the hand- wrought iron grilles that ornamented the balconies and step-balustrades of the more pretentious homes."[57]

As the African slaves and their descendents attained their freedom they not surprising became an integral part of the commerce of the city. Some plied the same trades they had practiced when hired out by their masters but generally lacking education or formal training most free blacks were restricted to menial work. Those who did manage to obtain an education were generally excluded from the professions. Law was a jealously protected profession, so teaching and medicine were the only professions free people of color were allowed but even these were restricted since they had to obtain their

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[53] Jack D. L. Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas," (The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn, 1967), 329-349)

[54] Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana - The French Domination.* (Gretna, Louisiana, 1974) 355.

[55] Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," in Creole: *The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color.* ed. Sybil Kein. (Baton Rouge, 2000) 16.

[56] Gehman, 55.

[57] Christian, *Negro Ironworkers of Louisiana 1718 – 1900,* 18.

training elsewhere.[58] Others looked to private business and the trades for a livelihood and the city soon became dependent upon them for many of the daily necessities. Free men of color came to dominate skilled trades, and many worked as tailors, cigar makers, ironworkers, stonecutters, marble cutters, masons, plasterers, boatmen, and shoemakers. Others became businessmen such as shopkeepers or grocers and some became relatively wealthy.[59]

Free women of color were also important to the labor market. Because of the generally unhealthy conditions in New Orleans and the periodic epidemics, nursing became a viable profession for free women of color. These nurses were the most capable and experienced and could charge as much as $10 per day for care.[60] Needlework, lodging, housekeeper, food selling, and the ever- present brothels also provided a livelihood.[61] Also noted from the census of 1860 was that free mulatto women tended to have occupations such as seamstress, schoolmistresses, vegetable dealers, and midwives while free black women were consigned to menial occupations such as washerwoman. A possible explanation could be that education and training were withheld due to bias based on skin color.[62] Another possibly more valid speculation is that mulatto women may have had family connections that assisted them in obtaining the required education or training.

One unexpected result of the relations between white men and black females was the gravitation of wealth to black females and its effect on the caste and status of free men and women of color within their society. In 1806, the state legislature enacted a law

[58] Everett, 194.
[59] Everett, 195.
[60] Everett, 200.
[61] Everett, 199-202.
[62] Jane E. Dabel, "'My Ma Went to Work early Every Morning': Color, Gender, and Occupation in New Orleans, 1840 – 1860", *Louisiana History*; The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Spring, 2000), 217-229.

prohibiting free men of color from entering the territory but oddly enough no such prohibition was made against free women of color. Possibly white society had less reason to fear free black females but more likely they were more connected to white society through family than black males. According to the records of the Eighth District, by 1858 free women of color owned nearly twice as much property as free men of color.[63]

Community Organizations

During the French and Spanish colonial periods there were few organizations free people of color could rely on for support but many had a long and close association with the Catholic Church and for many the Church was part of every-day life. The liturgy and dogma of the Catholic Church seemed to strike a chord with African spirituality and in particular females.[64] In the 1830s, as the Anglo-American's influence created a "line of distinction" between whites and blacks and tried to replace the more tolerant attitude of the Latin Catholic tradition, the local Creole blacks remained devoted to the Catholic Church.[65] In 1842, a group of free colored women formed a religious order called the Sisters of The Holy Family that was dedicated to serve the black poor, orphans, the sick, and the elderly. Believing education was essential and being barred from the public schools partially paid for with their taxes, the free people of color established their own schools. In 1842, a bequest by Marie Justin Camaire established the *L'Institution Catholique des Orphelins dans I'Indigence* (Catholic Institute for Indigent Orphans). The bequest allowed black poor children or orphans to attend for free but the tuition for others

[63] Bryan cites Marcus Christian's "Free Colored Class of Louisiana" in which he quotes from G.W. Featherstonbaugh, *Excursion Through the Slaves States* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841) 50.

[64] Clark and Gould, 434.

[65] Stephen J. Ochs, *A Black Patriot and a White Priest, Andre Cailoux and Claude Paschal Maistre in Civil War New Orleans,* (Baton Rouge, 2000), 51.

was not excessive.[66] Schools had become part of the institutions or organizations that free people of color relied upon for support and social organization.

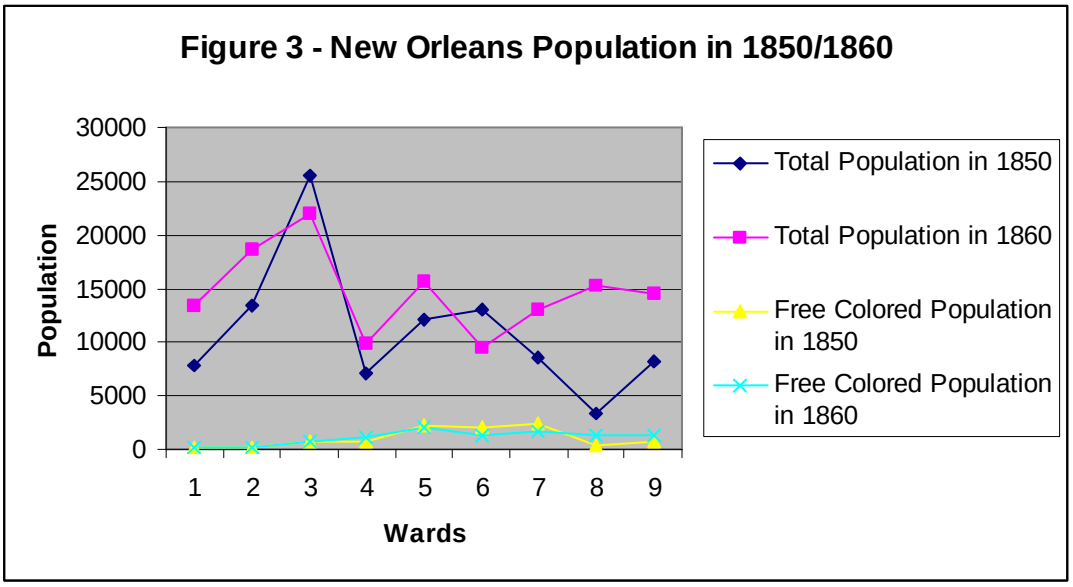
Having no one to look after them in times of need, the free people of color also prompted the establishment of societies that provided mutual aid and proper burial services when necessary. The Friends of Order and Mutual Assistance was one of the most prominent of these organizations. Of interest is the relation between the Friends of Order and the Masonic Orders. Although condemned by the Pope, Freemasonry had flourished since the eighteenth century even within the Catholic community. Some French lodges even admitted free black men.[67] Free men of color led by Oscar J. Dunn, who would become the first African-American Lieutenant Governor elected in the United States, established lodges of the English York-rite Prince Hall Masons that provided another mutual aid and support mechanism.[68] Previously mentioned, the free black militias also created a group of people who provided social organization and pride.[69]

Neighborhoods and the Free People of Color

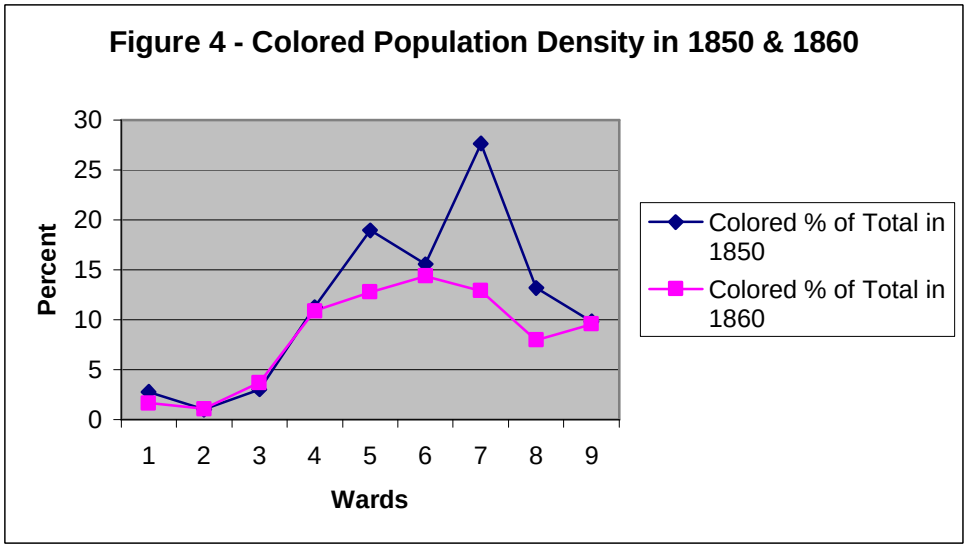
Between 1850 and 1860, profound changes had occurred in New Orleans and in particular in the neighborhoods of the free people of color. As depicted in Figure 3, between 1850 and 1860 there was a marked increase in total population of New Orleans but the free people of color did not share in the growth, their numbers stayed about the same. (Table 1 - 1850 New Orleans Census and Table 2 - 1860 New Orleans Census)

[66] Mary Niall Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future After Slavery* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), chap. 1.
[67] Bell, 182-183.
[68] Logsdon and Bell, 234 - 235.
[69] Hollandsworth, 104.

Only the 3rd and 6th Wards lost total population.



In 1850, most of the free people of color lived in the 5th, 6th, and 7th Wards, but their numbers had only increased from 9711 in 1850 to 9985 in 1860 or 2.82 percent. Figure 4 shows that by 1860 the free colored population density or percent of total population had fallen so that in no ward in the city did the free colored population exceed fifteen percent of the total population while in 1850 three wards had more than fifteen percent free colored population. In 1850 the largely Anglo dominated 1st and 2nd Wards had over twenty thousand total population with only 375 free people of color. Of these, just fifty-two were listed with an occupation. All were male and more than half were bricklayers, carpenters, mechanics, blacksmiths, and barbers. In 1850, only twenty-six free people of color living in the 1st Ward had an occupation. By1860, eighty-three or



nearly every adult male and female person of color was listed with an occupation. Carpenters, bricklayers, cigar makers, laborers, and drivers were the most prevalent occupations. For women, domestic, washerwoman, and seamstress were the most common occupations. Of interest is the relatively large number of free people of color in the Anglo dominated 1st and 2nd Wards who were born in Virginia or Maryland. In 1850, 13 people of color living in these wards were listed as being born in Virginia and Maryland and 12 were born in other states excluding Louisiana. In same area in 1860, 44 people of color were listed as being born in Virginia or Maryland while 26 were born in other states also excepting Louisiana. Possibly they came to New Orleans with the Americans as slaves, were freed, and were dependent upon the Americans for employment.[70]

In 1850 the 3rd and 4th Wards (between Julia and St. Louis streets) with a population of 32,508, were the most populated wards in the city but contained only 1,562 free people of color or slightly less than five percent of the total. Of these, 215 were listed

[70] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1860, Ward 1, Roll 415; United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1860, Ward 2, Roll 416.

as having occupations. Laborers, carpenters, bricklayers, and draymen (drivers) were the predominate occupations in the 3rd Ward while boatmen, barbers, and bricklayers predominated the 4th Ward.[71]

By 1860, the 3rd and 4th Wards still had the largest combined population in the city, 31,874, with still only a very small free colored population of 1886 persons or 5.9 percent of the total population. Of these, only two hundred and fifteen were listed as having occupations but a startling change had happened in the previous decade. Of the two hundred and fifteen free people of color in the 3rd and 4th Wards with an occupation, one hundred or 46.5 percent listed their occupation as "rooming house."[72] Almost all the carpenters, bricklayers, and laborers had disappeared. Everett quotes from the New Orleans *Bee* of September 3, 1835, "furnished chambers are generally rented out by colored persons, who usually charge from 18 to 30 dollars a month for a single room: such as could be obtained in Paris or London for as many francs."[73] Of interest is that all of the males and females listed as having an occupation of "rooming house" declared some real estate or personal property. It seems the 'rooming house" business was quite profitable.

In 1850, the remaining five wards had a total population of 40,374 with 7792 free people of color or eighteen percent of the total. In 1860, these five wards the total population had grown to 68,175 whereas the population of the free people of color had fallen to 7,673 free people of color or only eleven percent of the total. The building trade occupations again predominated throughout the five eastern wards.

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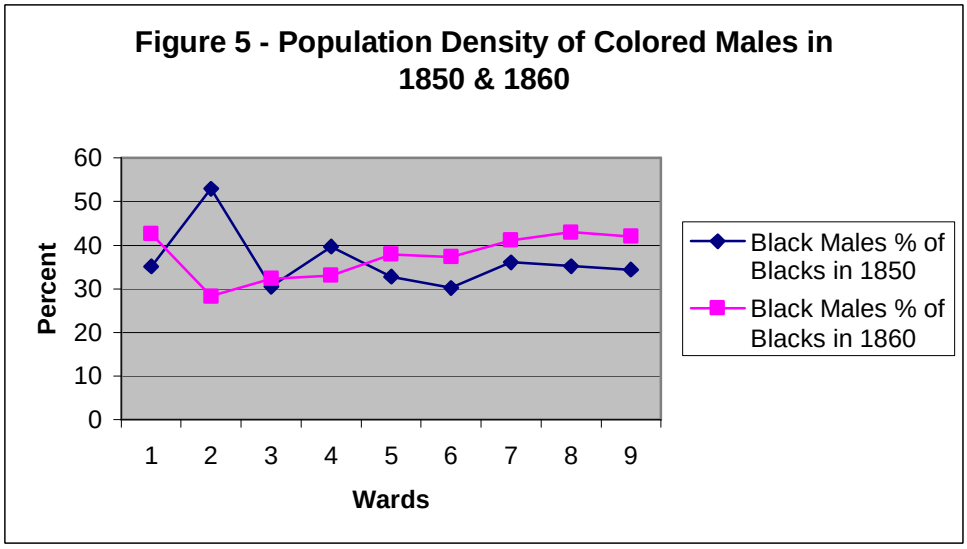
[71] United States Census Reports, Schedule I, 1850, 2nd Municipality, Wards 5, 6, & 7, Roll 234.
[72] Everett, 200-202.
[73] Everett, 201.

Although the population of the free people of color had decreased slightly in the ten-year period, two drastic changes had occurred. As shown in Figure 5, in 1850 free black males in the five eastern wards had made up about thirty-five percent of the free colored male population but in 1860 their proportion had increased to above forty percent.



The other noticeable change in the censuses of 1850 and 1860 was the difference in life styles. In 1850 many free blacks of both genders lived individually or in extended families that included children, mothers and possibly grandmothers and grandfathers but two-parent families were not common. By 1860 the two-parent household had become commonplace throughout New Orleans. Although this change in family structure cannot be readily explained by the census data, it is interesting to look at the property values of the black portion of the free people of color. Analysis of the New Orleans censuses of 1850 and 1860 shows a dramatic shift of wealth within the community of free people of color. (See Table 5 – Property Value of the free People of Color in 1850) In 1850 the total property value for the free people of color was $3,105,080 while in 1860, property

value had dropped by $1,045650 to $2,059,430 or by almost 34 percent. (See Table 6 – Property Value of the Free People of Color in 1860) Of interest is that the loss was concentrated within the free mulatto portion of the community of free people of color. In 1850 the total property value held by free mulattos was $2,830,430 while in 1860, the property value had dropped by $1,184,740 to $1,645,690 or by 41 percent. In 1850 the total property value for the free black portion of the community of the free people of color was $251,150 while in 1860, the value had risen by $162,590 to $413, 740 or by almost 65 percent. Delving deeper, the total property value for free black males in 1850 was $110,150 while in 1860 property value had risen by $30,690 to $140,840 or by 28 percent. In 1850 the total property value for free black females was $143,000 while in 1860 it has risen by $129,900 to $272,900 or by an incredible 91 percent. Although not enough to offset the total loss it appears the relative prosperity of the black portion of the community of free people of color had greatly improved and possibly this increase in property value helps explain the noted increase of two-parent black families in 1860.

Free People of Color and the Prelude to the Civil War

As previously noted, during the colonial period children fathered by propertied slave owners were sometimes provided an education and inheritances that propelled them into a unique class among the free colored society. Though not the social equal to the dominant whites, they were superior compared to working-class free blacks or slaves. Kimberly Hanger quotes from Arnold A. Sio's *Marginality and Free Colored Identity*, "group consciousness among free people of color occurred in conjunction with an

increase in population size and density and with the growth of social organization."[74] To paraphrase Sio, when the population of a group of people with common interests or identity reaches a "critical mass" a society is created that is capable of producing economic and social classes. As natural increase and immigration increased the population of free people of color in New Orleans, some began to amass wealth and formed an economic and social upper class of their own.

But by the 1830s, the formation of a distinct economic and social upper class was being frustrated as the Anglos began moving into Louisiana causing the free people of color to gradually lose the ability to freely exercise their talents through the imposition of restrictive legislation. By 1850, only fifty free people of color declared property and of these five declared property valued at over $50,000 and ten declared property valued at more than $25,000. These fifteen people held more than half of the property held by the free people of color. By 1860, either the legislative restrictions or the recession of 1852 or a combination of the two, had reduced the number of free people of color with over $50,000 to one and the number with more than $25,000 to five. None of the fifteen wealthiest free people of color listed in the 1850 census were included in the wealthiest in 1860 census.

During the 1850s, attempts were made to defuse the impending North-South political crisis dealing with slavery in the United States by encouraging free colored people to leave Louisiana and some did. France had long provided a haven for the more gifted or prosperous free people of color, so several exceptional artists, musicians, and writers moved to France where their talents could be developed and appreciated. A few free people of color moved to Liberia with the aid of the American Colonization Society

[74] Hanger, 17.

but finding it alien, many returned. Others moved to Mexico while others were invited by the Haitian government to immigrate there. By 1860 free people of color had lived in New Orleans for about one hundred and fifty years. It was home and despite the political and ideological importance to free people of color in New Orleans, these migration efforts failed to recruit a large number of emigrants[75]

In November 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. Although New Orleans had supported unionist candidates, the rural votes went to the Democrat John C. Breckinridge from Kentucky and Lincoln who was not even on the ballot was elected President. Governor Thomas Moore called a special session of the Louisiana Legislature where he proclaimed the right of secession and called for a special election. The secessionist won the election and Louisiana joined the Confederacy.[76]

The wealthy free people of color both in New Orleans and the rural areas were in a difficult position. Together they owned about $15 million in property that included slaves so talk of freeing the slaves jeopardized their plantations and estates and threatened their unique socio-economic status. On the other hand, they also were closely aligned with the black slaves to whom many were related and they realized the status quo was unsustainable. To say the least, their loyalties were split.[77] As Louisiana prepared for war, fifteen hundred free men of color gathered to show their support for the Confederacy and within days a regiment called the Louisiana Native Guards was organized. On November 23, 1861, a grand military review lined Canal Street that included the Native Guards side by side with white Confederate soldiers. At first it seems strange that free people of color would volunteer to defend a society that drastically limited their actions

[75] Reinders, 25; Mitchell, chap.1.
[76] Reinders, 239-243.
[77] Gehman, 86.

and socially degraded them, but there were many reasons for them to join with white southerners. Some enlisted for fear of their lives but many others joined to protect their property and their unique social position in the city. But things did not go well for the Native Guards. Snubbed by the Confederate Commander of New Orleans and regulated to largely ceremonial duties, the Native Guards participated in two grand reviews but they were still not provided uniforms and arms. What they had, they provided themselves.

The whole situation became irrelevant when a Union flotilla commanded by Captain David Farragut fought its way past the Confederate defenses on the lower Mississippi River and on April 26, 1862 anchored off the New Orleans levee. On May 1, 1862, Union troops under General Benjamin Butler occupied the city. The Native Guards were allowed to become part of the Union forces but regardless of the bravery demonstrated in battles at Port Hudson and Mobile, the negative prejudice encountered from the Union officers and men never allowed them to become part of the Union forces. All but one of the free colored officers in the Native Guards was forced to resign. After the war, the members of the Native Guards were proud of their military accomplishments and expected black civil rights would be extended to include the right to vote. To this end, former Native Guards officers assumed leading roles in the Equal Rights League.[78]

But white Louisianans had no intention of giving black men the right to vote so in 1866 the Louisiana legislature, largely controlled by former Confederates, passed a series of laws designed to create a form of legalized slavery. New Orleans blacks and some radical whites countered by reconvening the constitutional convention of 1864 to amend the Louisiana constitution. A riot broke out when a crowd aided by the New Orleans

[78] Hollandsworth, 105.

police attacked an organizing assembly. Thirty-eight free people of color were killed and many more injured. The reaction in the U. S. Congress was to pass a series of Reconstruction Acts in 1867 that divided the Southern states into military districts and gave black men the right to vote. Military district commander General Phillip Sheridan called an election to authorize a constitutional convention that was largely boycotted by the whites. Many delegates were veterans of the Louisiana Native Guards. The organizational skills learned in the militia were utilized in the Equal Rights League, which until the end of Reconstruction, helped many religious, educational, social, mutual aid, and fraternal organizations established by free people of color to sustain and protect their community.[79]

Conclusion

In the final analysis social status is largely determined by financial success and the logical deduction can be made from the tabulated census data of 1850 and 1860 that the storied economic elite free people of color is largely a figment of imagination. The conclusion can also be made that mixed-race families were generally more prosperous than the average free colored family but no class of economically elite free people of color was evident in either census. Mixed-race families may have constituted a distinct economic middle class that was relatively comfortable but not large enough or wealthy enough to fit into the stereotype of history.

[79] Hollandsworth, 108.

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United States Census Reports, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of the County of Orleans, State of Louisiana (microfilm in the University of New Orleans Library), 1860, Ward 7, Roll 419.

United States Census Reports, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of the County of Orleans, State of Louisiana (microfilm in the University of New Orleans Library), 1860, Ward 8 Roll 421

United States Census Reports, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of the County of Orleans, State of Louisiana (microfilm in the University of New Orleans Library), 1860, Ward 9, Roll 422.

TABLES

Ward	Total Population	Colored Population	Mulatto Population	Black Population	Mulatto Males	Mulatto Females	Black Males	Black Females
1st	7770	218	181	37	76	105	13	24
2nd	13,440	139	105	34	46	59	18	16
3rd	25,494	772	667	105	240	427	32	73
4th	7014	790	697	93	241	456	36	57
5th	12,104	2,296	2006	290	725	1281	95	195
6th	13,062	2019	1652	367	656	996	111	256
7th	8526	2357	1889	468	823	1066	169	299
8th	3276	432	344	88	159	185	31	57
9th	8106	688	476	212	211	265	73	139
Total	98,792	9711	8017	1694	3177	4840	576	1116

Table 1 – 1850 New Orleans Census

Ward	Total Population	Colored Population	Mulatto Population	Black Population	Mulatto Males	Mulatto Females	Black Males	Black Females
1st	13,462	225	17	54	73	98	23	31
2nd	18,564	201	148	53	54	94	15	38
3rd	22,080	820	721	99	295	426	32	67
4th	9794	1066	915	151	343	572	50	101
5th	15,615	1995	1439	556	604	835	211	345
6th	9,560	1375	946	429	372	574	160	269
7th	13,120	1691	1329	362	619	710	149	213
8th	15,360	1223	951	272	443	508	117	155
9th	14,520	1389	1106	283	471	635	119	164
Total	132,075	9985	7726	2259	3274	4452	876	1383

Table 2 – 1860 New Orleans Census

Ward	Colored % of Total	Mulatto % of Total	Black % of Total	Mulatto % of Colored	Black % of Colored
1st	2.80	2.33	0.48	83.03	16.97
2nd	1.03	0.78	0.25	75.54	24.46
3rd	3.03	2.62	0.41	86.40	13.60
4th	11.26	9.93	1.33	88.23	11.77
5th	18.97	16.57	2.40	87.37	12.63
6th	15.46	12.65	2.81	81.82	18.18
7th	27.64	22.16	5.49	80.14	19.86
8th	13.19	10.50	2.69	79.63	20.37
9th	8.49	5.87	2.62	69.19	30.81
Total	9.83	8.12	1.71	82.56	17.24

Table 3 – Population Density for Colored, Mulatto and Blacks in the 1850 New Orleans Census

Ward	Colored % of Total	Mulatto % of Total	Black % of Total	Mulatto % of Colored	Black % of Colored
1st	1.67	1.27	0.40	76.00	24.00
2nd	1.08	0.80	0.29	73.63	26.37
3rd	3.71	3.27	0.45	87.93	12.07
4th	10.88	9.34	1.54	85.83	14.17
5th	12.78	9.22	3.56	72.13	27.87
6th	14.38	9.90	4.49	68.80	31.20
7th	12.89	10.13	2.76	78.59	21.41
8th	7.96	6.19	1.77	77.76	22.24
9th	9.57	7.62	1.95	79.62	20.38
Total	7.56	5.85	1.71	77.38	22.62

Table 4 – Population Density for Colored, Mulatto & Blacks in the 1860 New Orleans Census

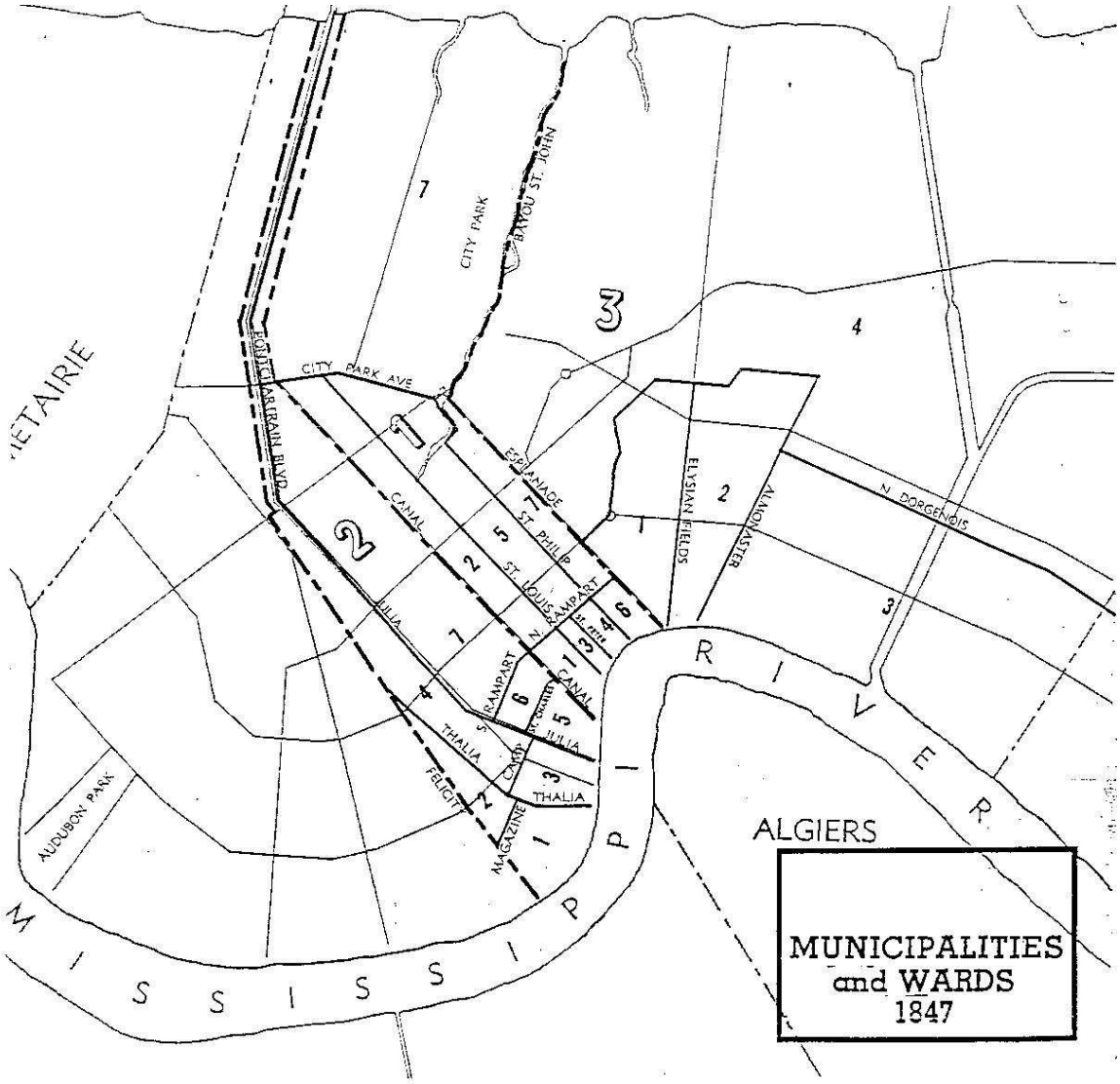
1860 Wards	1850 Municips. & Wards	Total FPC Property Values (number)	Total Free Mulatto Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Male Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Female Property Value (number)
#1	2nd M/Wds 1&2	$ 37,700 (19)	$ 24,000 (15)	$ 13,700 (4)	$ 5,500 (1)	$ 8,200 (3)
2	2nd M/Wds 3&4	19,800 (6)	13,300 (4)	6,500 (2)	1,500 (1)	5,000 (1)
3	2nd M/Wds 5,6&7	980,250 (184)	914,000 (162)	66,250 (22)	28,750 (12)	37,500 (10)
4	1st M/wds 1&2	63,000 (9)	55,000 (8)	7,500 (1)	7,500 (1)	0 (0)
5	1st M/Wds 3,4&5	918,200 (119)	859,750 (103)	44,950 (16)	5,950 (6)	39,000 (10)
6	1st M/Wds 6&7	503,600 (73)	471,100 (65)	22,500 (8)	16,000 (4)	8,500 (4)
7	3rd M/Wd 1	407,980 (219)	358,680 (176)	49,300 (43)	23,250 (20)	26,050 (23)
8	3rd M/Wd 2	123,490 (54)	123,490 (44)	19,050 (10)	10,700 (3)	8,350 (7)
9	3rd M/Wds 3&4	51,060 (81)	51,060 (50)	21,400 (31)	11,000 (18)	10,400 (13)
		$ 3,105,080 (762)	2,830,430 (627)	251,150 (97)	110,150 (66)	143,000 (71)

Table 5 - Property Values of the Free People of Color in 1850 New Orleans

1860 Wards	.	Total FPC Property Values (number)	Total Free Mulatto Property Values (number)	Total Free Black Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Male Property Value (number)	Total Free Black Female Property Value (number)
#1	$	53,145 (33)	$ 39,745 (25)	$ 13,400 (8)	$ 1,150 (4)	$ 12,250 (4)
2		50,625 (37)	46,175 (22)	4,500 (15)	2,575 (5)	1,925 (10)
3		370,915 (192)	321,275 (159)	49,640 (33)	15,440 (15)	34,200 (18)
4		297,250 (152)	263,050 (124)	34,200 (28)	12,600 (8)	21,600 (20)
5		512,350 199)	301,600 (145)	210,750 (54)	39,300 (20)	171,450 (34)
6		212,525 (203)	178,125 (146)	34,400 (57)	25,825 (24)	8,575 (33)
7		220,100 (102)	196,950 (85)	23,150 (17)	16,500 (10)	6,650 (7)
8		222,100 (100)	200,700 (74)	21,400 (26)	10,150 (17)	11,250 (9)
9		120,420 (79)	98,120 (58)	22,300 (21)	17,300 (14)	5,000 (7)
		$ 2,059,430 (1097)	1,645,690 (838)	413,740 (259)	140,840 (117)	272,900 (142)

Table 6 - Property Values of the Free People of Color in 1860 New Orleans

MAPS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BAYOU ST. JOHN
CITY PARK AVE
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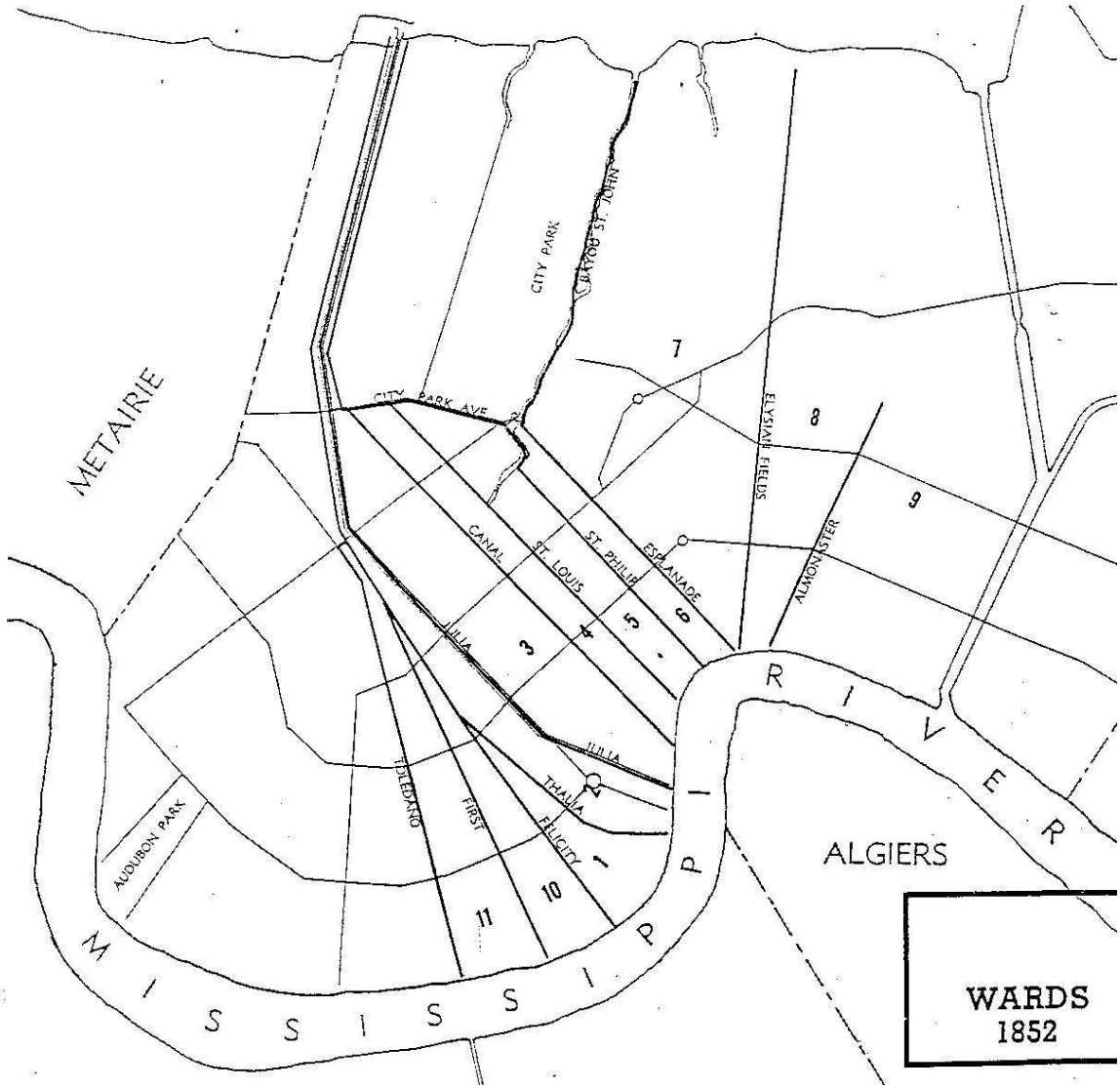
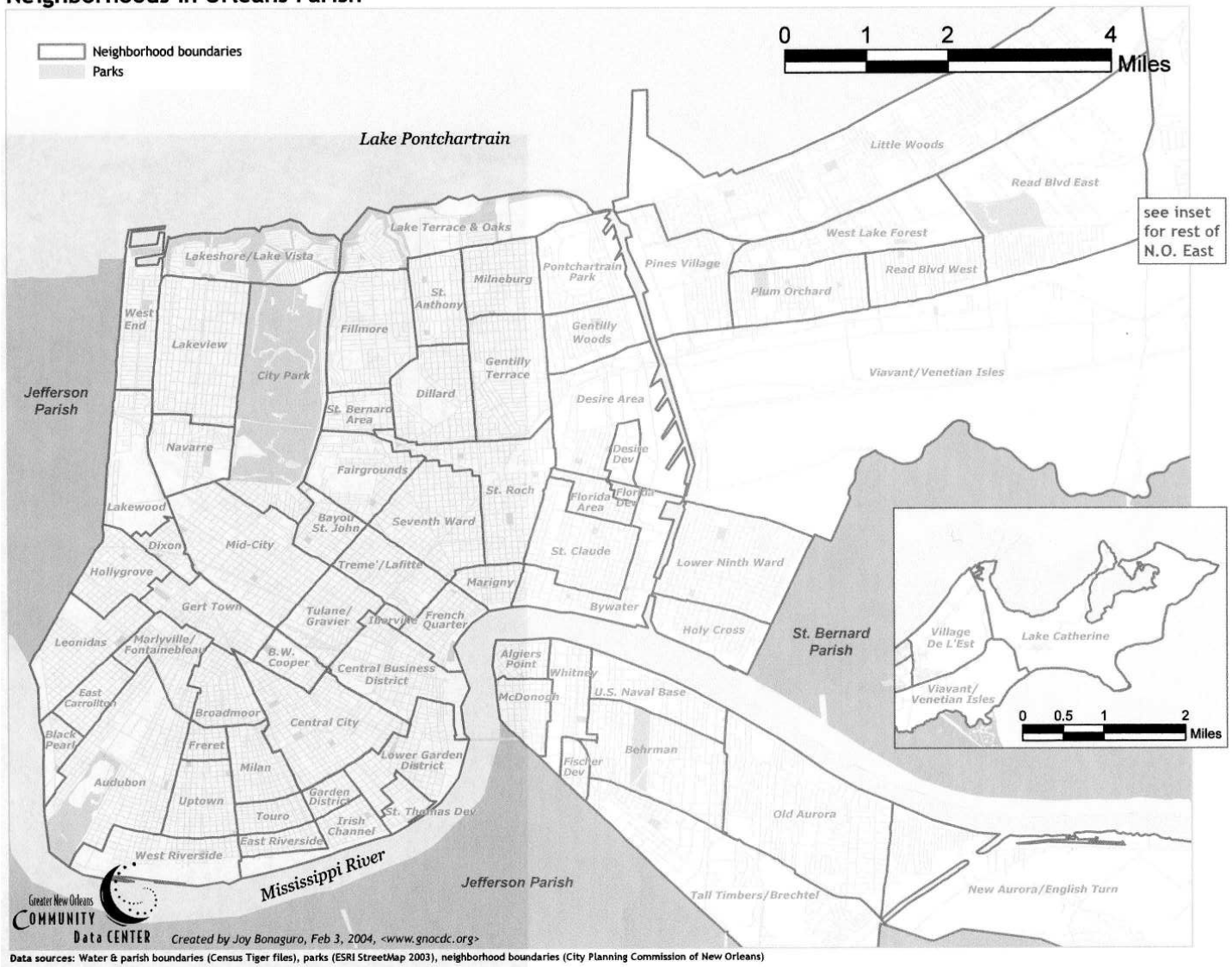
N. DORGENOIS
ALVAR
CANAL
ST. PHILIP
ST. LOUIS
ST. PETER
JULIA
RAMPART
THALIA
FELICITY
MAGAZINE
AUDUBON PARK
ALGIERS
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
MUNICIPALITIES
and WARDS
1847


METAIRIE
CITY PARK
BAYOU ST. JOHN
CITY PARK AVE.
7
8
9
ELYSIAN FIELDS
ALMONASTER
ESPLANADE
ST. PHILIP
ST. LOUIS
CANAL
JULIA
3
4
5
6
JULIA
THALIA
FELICITY
FIRST
TOLEDANO
AUDUBON PARK
11
10
1
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
ALGIERS
WARDS
1852

Neighborhoods in Orleans Parish



Data sources: Water & parish boundaries (Census Tiger files), parks (ESRI StreetMap 2003), neighborhood boundaries (City Planning Commission of New Orleans)

CENSUS FORMS

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATION

Microcopy No. 432

POPULATION SCHEDULES OF THE

SEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES

1850

Roll 235

LOUISIANA

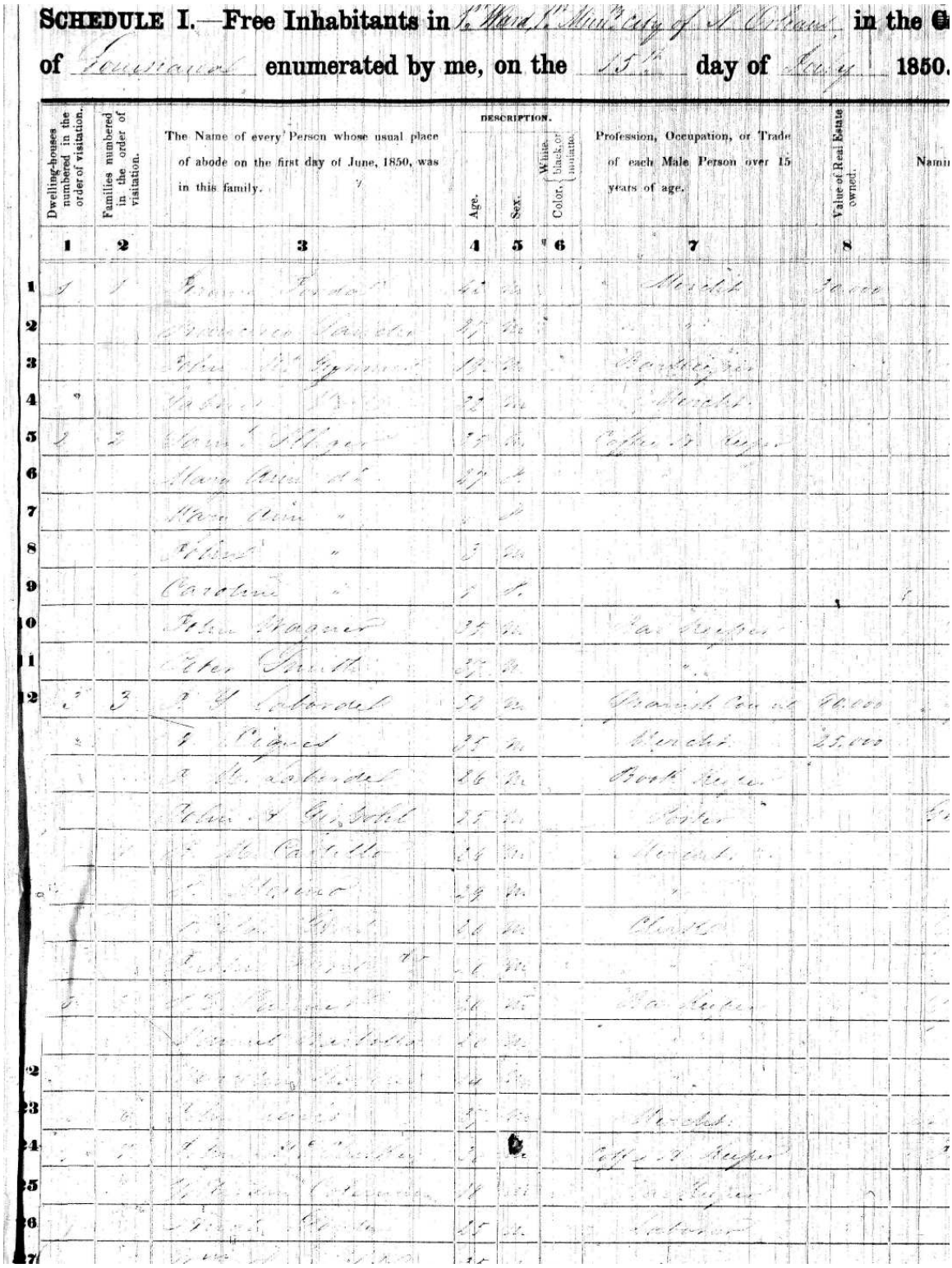
City of New Orleans

Wards 1-4 (1st municipality)

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Washington: 1963

Title Page 1st - 4th Wards (1st Municipality)

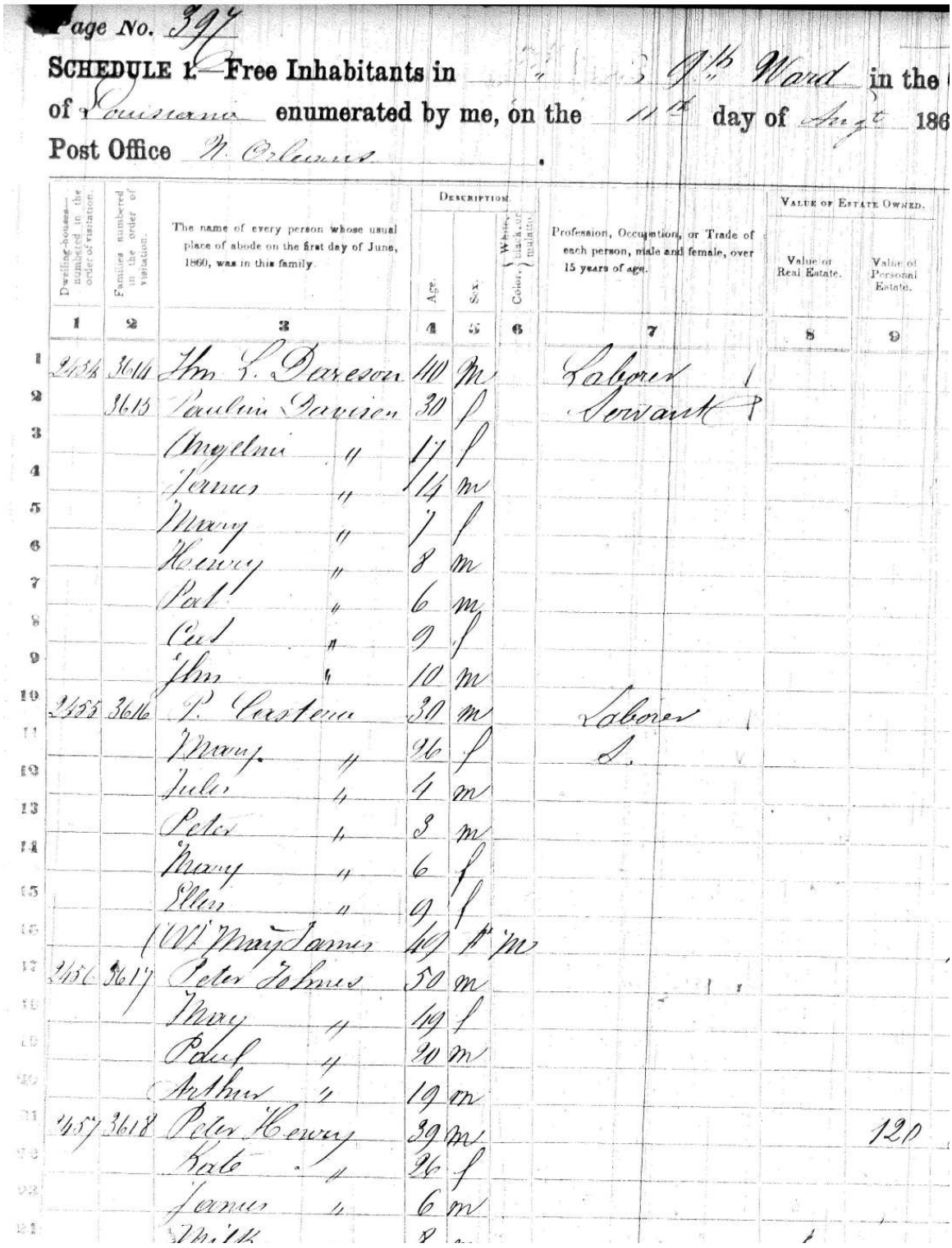


SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in 1st Ward 1st Municipality of New Orleans in the

of Louisiana enumerated by me, on the 15th day of Aug 1850.

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION. Age.	Sex.	White, black, or mulatto.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Name
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	1	[illegible]	42	M		Merchant	70000	
2		[illegible]	37	F		"		
3		[illegible]	18	M		Bookkeeper		
4		[illegible]	21	M		Merchant		
5	2	[illegible]	35	M		Cotton Factor		
6		[illegible]	29	F				
7		[illegible]	5	F				
8		[illegible]	3	F				
9		[illegible]	1	F				
10		[illegible]	25	M		Cotton Factor		
11		[illegible]	27	M		"		
12	3	[illegible]	50	M		Spanish Consul	60000	
		[illegible]	35	M		Merchant	25000	
		[illegible]	26	M		Book Keeper		
		[illegible]	25	M		Factor		
		[illegible]	24	M		Merchant		
		[illegible]	24	M		"		
		[illegible]	24	M		Clerk		
		[illegible]	4	M				
		[illegible]	24	M		Merchant		
		[illegible]	20	M				
22		[illegible]	4	M				
23		[illegible]	2	M		Merchant		
24		[illegible]	2	M		Cotton Factor		
25		[illegible]	28	M		Merchant		
26		[illegible]	25	M		Cotton Factor		
27		[illegible]	25	M				

1st Ward, 1st Municipality - 1850



Page No. 397

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in 9th Ward in the

of Louisiana enumerated by me, on the 11th day of Aug 186

Post Office N. Orleans

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Description: Age.	Sex.	Color, (white, black, or mulatto).	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Estate Owned: Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2458	3611	Wm L. Dawson	40	m		Laborer		
	3613	Pauline Dawson	30	f		Servant		
		Angelina "	17	f				
		James "	14	m				
		Mary "	7	f				
		Henry "	8	m				
		Paul "	6	m				
		Carl "	9	f				
		John "	10	m				
2455	3616	P. Costeau	30	m		Laborer		
		Mary "	26	f		S.		
		Jules "	4	m				
		Peter "	3	m				
		Mary "	6	f				
		Ellen "	9	f				
		(Col) Mary James	40	f	m			
2456	3617	Peter Johns	50	m				
		Mary "	49	f				
		Paul "	20	m				
		Arthur "	19	m				
2457	3618	Peter Henry	39	m				120
		Kate "	26	f				
		James "	6	m				
		[illegible]	8					

9th Ward - 1860

VITA

Frank Lovato was born on November 25, 1939 in Raton, New Mexico. He attended the public schools in Dalhart, Texas graduating from Dalhart High School in 1958. He graduated from the A&M College of Texas in College Station, Texas in January 1963 with a B.A. Degree in Mathematics. Mr. Lovato spent much of his early career as a contractor in support of the NASA manned and unmanned space program. In 1982 he went to work for NASA. In 1988 he transferred to the Naval Oceanographic Office at the Stennis Space Center in Mississippi where he helped design and implement the Navy's supercomputer center. He is married to the former Betty Thorpe Ryals and together they have five children and nine grandchildren. He retired from the Federal Civil Service on January 2, 2009.