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## The Role of Free Blacks in Civil War New Orleans

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The Role of Free Blacks in  
Civil War New Orleans

A Senior Honors Thesis

Submitted to Dr. Donald DeVore and the Honors  
College of the Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural And Mechanical College

by  
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## INTRODUCTION

The American Civil War was the single crucial event in history. The war lasted for four years as neighbor fought against neighbor and brother against brother. The long and traumatic conflict affected the life of each and every American, though in different ways. How the war altered the lives of white families attracted attention of writers shortly after Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant and scholarly interest has continued. In addition scholars have written numerous volumes on the experiences of slaves and their transition to freedom. Free blacks (those free before the war), however, have not garnered that same level of scrutiny. There appears to be little mention of this particular population in general high school or college American history classes

In this era whites considered free blacks as second class citizens. They lived an intensely segregated society. The free black men and women played a important role in the Louisiana military theater and they contributed to the education and relief programs of newly freed slaves in New Orleans. They also experienced ordeals like no other group, as they occupied a position between lowly slaves and exalted whites. Free blacks were in a different situation because they aspired to be part of a society which looked down on thier race. They had to prove to be exceptions to their race and different from the slaves, and they had to assimilate into white society. Despite their ambiguous status, they accomplished much and achieved even more. Numerous sources exist to document their labors: manuscripts, census reports, and secondary sources. This study will examine their trials and tribulations, achievements and accomplishments in five sections. The first section examines several areas of free black life prior to the Civil War. The second explores race relations between free

blacks and whites, covering the behavior of both Confederate and Union forces. The third, using detailed statistical analysis, examines the economic and social conditions of free blacks. The fourth section focuses on their military experiences from the onset of the war to the critical victories in the battle of Milken's Bend and Port Hudson. The fifth section examines the efforts to gain political participation and equal rights after the capture of New Orleans.



## I

The background information on free blacks during the antebellum period is vital in setting the stage for thier life during the war. Analysis of a sample of the free population of New Orleans in 1860 started with identify every free black in Gardner's City Directory of 1860. I recorded each name identified as either f.m.c. (free man of color) or f.w.c. (free woman of color). Information recorded included an individuals, occupation, and address. The research disclosed a total of 786 free men or women of color listed in the directory. I then cross matched these names in the census directory for 1860. Only 405 of the 786 names appeared in the census directory. This suggests that census takers omitted many free blacks and casts doubt on the accuracy of 1860 census. Obvious flaws exist in the census system. For example, census takers failed to list the prominent free black Andre Callioux, though he was listed in the city directory. The census reported a total of 10,939 free blacks in New Orleans in 1860.<sup>1</sup> This number is probably inaccurate, as indicated by the discrepancy between the city directory and the census. An examination of census entries revealed additional questionable reporting techniques. After marking the census page number on the city directory entry, I then realized that the members of the census bureau who compiled the index had omitted some crucial information. They listed the page number but not the reel number or the ward where the person resided. This omission proved to be crucial because there are four reels for every page number in the index, Margeret Wise for example, is listed as being on page 154, yet there is a page 154 on reels 415, 417, 419, and 421. The only way

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<sup>1</sup>Blassingame, John W., Black New Orleans, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973) 9.

to determine which one contains information on Margaret Wise is to examine all four reels. In researching the census and directory other problems occurred. First of all, 161 of the names were impossible to locate because the city directory or the census listed their initial, not their full name. In addition, the search of the census revealed that numerous free blacks omitted in the city directory appeared on the census. I recorded this information on the data sheets and added them to the to names from the directory to complete my sample. After examining census entries of Wards One, Four, Six, and Three, Seven, and Eight, I had data on 498 heads of households and their families.

The 498 records used for the sample reveal a great deal about free blacks of New Orleans. Most free blacks were Louisiana natives, with 68 percent of the heads of households reporting Louisiana as place of birth. (table 1). Of the eighty-six people who reported the city of birth, seventy-two listed New Orleans. (table 2). Of the free blacks not born in Louisiana, 20.4 percent were from other southern states, with Virginia listed by 10.6 percent of the respondents. The number of free blacks born in a foreign country was relatively small. Nevertheless, 3.18 percent of the free black population listed St. Domingo as the place of birth. These statistics clearly indicate that the free black community was an established part of New Orleans.

Table 1

State Or Country Of Birth Of Heads Of Households

	Number	Percent
Alabama	6	1.27

Arkansas	1	0.21
Barbados	1	0.21
Bavaria	1	0.21
Cuba	8	1.69
DC	3	0.64
France	2	0.42
Georgia	3	0.64
Guana	1	0.21
Haiti	4	0.85
Indiana	2	0.42
Italy	1	0.21
Kentucky	1	0.21
Louisiana	321	68
Maryland	17	3.60
Mexico	1	0.21
Mississippi	2	0.42
North Carolina	3	0.64
New York	5	1.06
Ohio	4	0.85
Pennsylvania	7	1.70
Portan Prince	1	0.21
South Carolina	5	1.06



St. Domingo	15	3.18
Tennessee	2	0.42
Virginia	50	10.6
All	472	100

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 2

City Of Birth

Alexandria	1
Baltimore	5
Boston	1
Baton Rouge	1
New Orleans	72
Philadelphia	3
St. Yagod	1
Tampico	1
Washington	1
All	108

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

The statistical information on family composition revealed that the number of female heads of households exceeded the number of males heads of household by sixty-four, 281 to 217. Only 33.5 percent of the 498 heads of households were married, with 65.4 percent of males married and 8.93 percent of the females. There were 277 children reported in this sample. That translates to an average of 2.4 children per household that reported having children. The ward which reported the highest average was ward one with 2.9 and ward six had the lowest, 2.2 percent. (table 3). Census takers often failed to note the number of children attending school. Educational status appears inconsistently recorded in the research material. For example, census takers put the number of illiterate free blacks at 36, a figure that appears implausible given the low number of persons attending school. There were also 900 other persons registered among the residences, these include mates, live-ins, family, and friends.

Table 3

Average Number Of Children Per Household Reporting Children By Ward

Ward	Percent
1	2.9
3	2.7
4	2.3
6	2.2
7	1.6
8	
All	2.4

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Restrictions encountered by the free men and women of color, one must consider the impact of education on the professional and social status of this population. There were few schools for free blacks in Louisiana. Private schools, such as St. Baete Academy, the Institution des Orphans in New Orleans, and the Grimble Bell school in Opelousas, provided educational opportunities to free men. Wealthy free blacks funded schools in several urban areas, but their efforts fell far short of meeting the educational needs of this group. And public education remained closed to free blacks in antebellum Louisiana. The result, according to one scholar was that many free blacks were "almost as illiterate as the slaves".<sup>2</sup> Inadequate education severely restricted the professional and economic opportunities of free blacks. Individuals in rural areas suffered more disadvantages than those in cities such as New Orleans.

Racial prejudice also proved problematic in antebellum Louisiana. Free men and women of color experienced considerable racial prejudice. William Johnson, a free man in Natchez who owned a plantation and a barbershop, kept a journal during the antebellum years that presented clear examples of racial hostility during this period. One diary entry in 1842 recounted Johnson's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a state room on a riverboat because of his race. In another entry, Dec. 16, 1848, he wrote that a white man, threatened to give him "a real nigger beating" because Johnson called his hogs near the man's home.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>McPherson, James M., Marching Toward Freedom, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) 4.

<sup>3</sup>Davis, Edwin Adams, and Hogan, William Ransom, William Johnson's Natchez, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951) 599.

The free men in New Orleans, though wealthier and more educated than the free black in rural areas, still encountered racial segregation and discrimination. The free black population of Louisiana was overwhelmingly located in or near New Orleans. And could still hear the tales of, "Before Louisiana was sold to the United States by France, free blacks had enjoyed the rights and protection of free citizens".<sup>4</sup> The free men of New Orleans engaged in many activities in an attempt to maintain their citizenship rights, especially after the sale of Louisiana to the United States in 1803. In the war of 1812 they fought valiantly with Andrew Jackson in New Orleans. He encouraged them to "anticipate considerable advancement toward equality with the white population after 1815."<sup>5</sup> These men never fully received the rights and freedoms promised, and as Andrew Jackson left, so did their dreams. The white population constantly monitored free blacks, and legislators passed laws "for the dual purposes of keeping down the number of free negroes and reducing their contacts with the slaves".<sup>6</sup> The white population feared the influence of free blacks on the slaves.

Free blacks constantly encountered new restrictive laws throughout the antebellum period and lost many freedoms as the Civil War approached. The free blacks of New Orleans had to register their freedom with the city. In addition, they had to keep their registration papers on them at all times. If white officials challenged them, they had to produce their

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<sup>4</sup>Ripley, Peter C., Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1976) 175.

<sup>5</sup>Evertt, Donald E., "Demands of the New Orleans Free Colored Population for Political Equality, 1862-1865.", The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, 38 (April, 1955): 43.

<sup>6</sup>Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Civil War, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1953) 43.

registration or face possible imprisonment. They lived in constant fear that they might be kidnapped and sold into slavery. The new laws forced them to either "endure the conditions or find whatever protection they could in paternalistic relationships with white New Orleanians".<sup>7</sup> The legislature passed laws restricting their right to assemble, possess firearms, and move freely through the streets.

Free blacks and slaves experienced a complex relationship. They would "form home guards whose primary responsibility was to prevent slave insurrections."<sup>8</sup> The planters acknowledged that they were in a different social class than slaves. A considerable number of free blacks utilized slaves, for "in 1860 fully a quarter of all free Negroes' conveyances involved either the selling or purchasing of slaves".<sup>9</sup> These men showed particular indifference to the slave because of their color and status. The free black community did not want whites to compare them to the slaves. Indeed, free mulattoes expressed pride in their non-slave ancestry. One member of this group, Larzard A. Rodrigues, reflected: "I am a colored man. I was born free. I am a hereditary freeman. My parents were free. I had no slave ancestors at all, that I know of".<sup>10</sup> Evidence of their beliefs that slaves were very primitive can be seen in the memoirs of Elizabeth Jefferson, the daughter of a black planter.

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<sup>7</sup>Logsdon, Joseph and Bell, Caryn Cosse, "The Americanization of Black New Orleans, 1850-1900", Creole New Orleans, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992) 215.

<sup>8</sup>Ripely, 102.

<sup>9</sup>Rankin, David Connell, The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870, (Ann Arbor Mich.: University Microfilms, 1980) 154. \*this book will be the Rankin short reference henceforth\*

<sup>10</sup>Rankin, 141.

"They would have suffered so much", Jefferson commented, "had they been freed in the North they were so ignorant, so childlike, incapable of taking care of themselves".<sup>11</sup>

The treatment of slaves by their free black masters varied from household to household. Isolated incidents of abuse did occur. For example, in 1857 a policeman arrested a free black woman "for nearly beating her slave to death with a cowhide".<sup>12</sup> There were also cases where free blacks separated slave families for profit. On the other hand, many free blacks purchased family members and freed their slaves upon the masters' death. Moreover, free blacks often purchased members of slave families to keep them together.

Despite the discrimination free blacks encountered in Louisiana, they had the privilege of enjoying "a status far superior to that attained by free Negroes elsewhere in North America".<sup>13</sup> They enjoyed some rights uncommon to other free black communities, including the right to testify in trials against whites. Free blacks were economically important to New Orleans, and "owned more than \$15 million worth of property in 1860".<sup>14</sup> In addition, they engaged in many of the same business practices as whites.

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<sup>11</sup>Jefferson, Elizabeth, papers, *Reminiscences of plantation life* p.11.

<sup>12</sup>Rankin, 157.

<sup>13</sup>Rankin, 56.

<sup>14</sup>Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980) 165.

Free blacks could legally marry, a right withheld from slaves. And by law they could marry outside their race. Custom and social pressure, however, successfully prevented what the law allowed. In New Orleans, however, a system of "placage" fostered intimacy between the races. This system involved "a well-to-do white man maintaining a free Negro woman".<sup>15</sup> White men had the opportunity to meet the women at the "quadroon balls", dances held exclusively for white males and free black females. This practice continued throughout the antebellum period for several reasons: love, lust, money, and fear. Specific rules governed these arrangements, all designed to limit the ability of black females to inherit wealth from white paramours. Several Louisiana laws restricted "the eligibility of free coloreds for inheritance and the size of donations they could receive".<sup>16</sup> These laws sometimes devastated members of both races because some white men had genuine love for free black women and wanted them included in their estates. White females and black males loathed these arrangements and wanted tougher laws to curtail the practice. Free black males urged their daughters to avoid these arrangements and when "financially possible they raised their daughters in seclusion, enrolled them in private schools, and sent them to the West Indies or Europe to live."<sup>17</sup> Although they worked hard to end these relations, they failed. For example, "35% of the 2,413 free colored births reported at City Hall between January 1849 and April 1862 were illegitimate. In both registers a sizeable number of fathers were white."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Franklin, 166.

<sup>16</sup>Rankin, 96.

<sup>17</sup>Rankin, 100.

<sup>18</sup>Rankin, 102.

Table 4

Total Value Of Real Estate By Wards  
Excluding Lacroix, Francois

1	32100
3	22400
4	41400
6	98300
7	
8	1000
All	195200

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 5

Total Value Of Personal Real Estate By Wards  
Excluding Lacroix, Francois

1	1952
3	55850
4	69250
6	59660
7	
8	200
All	194480

Source: U.S. Census, 1860



Table 6

Average Value Of Real Estate By Wards  
Excluding Lacroix, Francois

1	2918
3	2800
4	2957
6	3511
7	
8	1000
All	3148

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 7

Average Real Estate By Wards  
Including Lacroix, Francois

1	2918
3	6933
4	2957
6	3511
8	1000
All	3733

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 8

Average Value Of Personal Estate By Ward  
Excluding Lacroix, Francois

1	353
3	1074
4	1004
6	489
7	
8	200
All	718

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 9

Average Value Of Personal Estate By Occupational Group  
Excluding Lacroix, Francois

Unreported	200
Merchant	1236
Professional	1664
Skilled	405
Unskilled	330
All	718

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Despite their precarious position in the city's racist and social order, free blacks experienced some economic success during the Antebellum period. Thomy Lafon, for example, left a had 500,000 dollars estate at the time of his death. Furthermore, their wealth as a community can be seen through the 1860 census reports of personal and real estate wealth. The real estate summary indicates a total of 195,200 dollars, with an average of 3,148 dollars (tables 4 and 6).

This summary excludes the estate of Francios Lacroix, an extremely wealthy tailor who lived in Third. Lacroix reported 40,000 dollars in real estate and 50,000 dollars in personal wealth. The inclusion of Lacroix's wealth would overstate the average wealth of free blacks. (table 6 and table 7 for comparison). Residents of Ward Six possessed the most real estate wealth (98,300 dollars) and had the highest average real estate value (3,511 dollars) (table 6). The sample group of free blacks had personal wealth of 194,480 dollars, with Ward Four reporting the most with 69,250 dollars (table 5). Free blacks in Ward Three had the highest personal estate average, 1,074 (table 8).

In determining wealth according to occupation, the census indicated that professionals had an average personal estate of 1,664 dollars. Merchants (anyone involved with the renting or selling of goods) had an average personal estate of 1,236 dollars, and skilled laborers had an average personal estate of 405 dollars. Unskilled laborers had the lowest average 329 dollars (table 9). This important to note because the of free blacks sampled thirty nine percent were skilled laborers and thirty one percent were unskilled laborer (table 10). While examining occupations in correlation to ward the data shows that fifty seven percent of the professionals recorded lived in Ward Six (table 11). This therefore is an explanation for the

high average real estate value of Ward Six (table 5). Ward Three had the highest personal estate value (table 8), in part, because of the many diverse occupations in this ward (table 11).

Table 10

Occupational Groups Of The Free Population Of New Orleans

Unreported	4	1.33
Merchant	74	24.6
Professional	14	4.65
Skilled	117	38.9
Unskilled	92	30.6
All	301	100

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

Table 11

Percent Of Free Population Of New Orleans Of Occupational Groups In Each Ward

	Unreported	Merchant	Professional	Skilled	Unskilled	All
1	0	8.11	0	18.8	13	9.24
3	50	24.3	21.4	7.69	9.78	15.1
4	25	43.2	14.3	15.4	20.7	28.1
6	25	24.3	57.1	57.3	56.5	46.4
7	0	0	7.14	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0.85	0	0.2
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: U.S. Census, 1860

A Close examination of average personal estate by occupations provided interesting insight of segments of the free black community. (see appendix). For instance the average personal estate of a laborer (366 dollars) exceeded that of many merchants and some skilled laborers, such as the tinsmith's average of 150 dollars. Members of the highly skilled carpenter and bricklayer occupational groups possessed an average wealth of 419 and 416 dollars. New Orleans expanding economy provided good employment opportunities for carpenters and bricklayers throughout the 1840's and 1850's.

Free black women managed to find a niche in the city's economy and gained dominance in several categories. They operated 93.3 percent of the boarding houses. And this lucrative occupation produced an average personal estate of 1,485 dollars. Many woman secured employment as sempstress had an average personal wealth of 600 dollars. Members of other occupational groups-- hairdressers, midwives, and cooks-- possessed some personal wealth. The personal wealth held by free black women remained, throughout the Antebellum period, important to the black community.

There was wealth and property accumulation in the free black community in New Orleans because they were very strong and economically viable. The free blacks of New Orleans had, "mastered essential trades and held vital interstitial positions in an emerging planation economy which neither salves nor whites could fill".<sup>19</sup> They had found their economic base in many different skilled trades. Though the majority had found jobs as skilled or unskilled laborers, they still had members of their community with budding professional

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<sup>19</sup>Rankin, 58.

and merchant careers. They were undeniably a pivotal part of the New Orleans economy in 1860.

## II

The treatment of free blacks by the majority white population is important in study of free blacks during the war. The Civil War started as a war to maintain the Union but evolved to a conflict to end slavery. An examination of race relations in New Orleans, however, revealed that the dominant white society treated blacks with indifference and hostility throughout the war. Free blacks encountered the same treatment from both southerners and northerners. With few allies in a hostile environment, black soldiers and black community leaders petitioned, lobbied, and protested for basic civil rights and improved race relations.

When the war started in April 1861, southerners refused to allow free blacks and slaves to join the army. Whites in New Orleans followed a different policy. Confederate commanders decided to bring back the Native Guard that had experienced success in the war of 1812. The free blacks of the city formed this group but never saw any action. Members of the white community respected the freedmen for joining the Confederacy. "The people of Louisiana, especially New Orleans," a scholar observed, "long has honored the memory of the free blacks who had helped defeat the British... [and] inclusion of free blacks in the great Confederate troop parades of November 1861 and January 1862 had been a slight welcome to Louisianians".<sup>20</sup>

When New Orleans fell to Union forces in April 1862, Confederate soldiers fled the

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<sup>20</sup>Westwood, Howard C., Black Troops, White Commanders and Freedmen during the Civil War, (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992) 46.

city. But the native guard stayed and offered their services to the Union army. Southern whites experienced and displayed two emotions -- fear and anger. Most southern legislatures enacted laws "for the dual purpose of keeping down the number of free blacks and reducing their contacts with the slaves".<sup>21</sup> The white fears of slave insurrections that existed during the antebellum period intensified during the war. The letters and diaries of numerous whites revealed their fear of free blacks during the war. In a letter by Robert Newell, a confederate soldier, to his wife, he warned her to watch her talk of the war around the neighborhood because "negroes will get hold of it especially the free ones".<sup>22</sup> There is further evidence of these fears in the correspondence of Stephan Duncan.

Confederate soldiers hated free black soldiers and treated them differently on the battlefield. They vehemently opposed the idea that free blacks and ex-slaves should fight in the war. The refusal of whites to recognize blacks as soldiers had dire consequences, for "black prisoners were often shot, sold into slavery, or released to planters as laborers."<sup>23</sup> The southerners hated the men who helped to bring down their beloved system of human bondage. Through battle experiences, however, the free blacks earned the respect of many whites. "They despised, ridiculed, and murdered blacks in uniform, but the rebel soldiers came to respect and fear them as fighters."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Mays, Joe H., Black Americans and their contributions Toward Union Victory in the American Civil War, 1861-1865, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984) 5.

<sup>22</sup>Newell, Robert papers. Letter dated March 5, 1863.

<sup>23</sup>Ripley, 123.

<sup>24</sup>Ripley, 123.

The occupation of New Orleans by Union troops produced little improvement in race relations. The liberators from the North brought with them their own prejudices and notions of white superiority. Beginning in 1862, New Orleans free blacks interacted with three groups of Union military personnel.

The first group consisted of the ground troops, that is, the men in the field and low ranking officers. The Union troops, with the exception of a few abolitionist, usually refused to accept black soldiers. They believed that blacks did not belong on the battlefield, and many of them refused to serve under black officers. Some soldiers even condemned the war and "wrote critically about serving with the 'niggers' and about fighting 'a damn nigger war.'"<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, an entry in William Johnson's diary revealed that the Union troops were hostile to the free black planters. Johnson noted that "troops had come down the river and landed here for a while and proved to be very reckless in character".<sup>26</sup> Free blacks in New Orleans also experienced the "reckless" behavior of Union troops. An article from the New York Herald called attention to union soldiers who would, "run the negroes beyond our (the Union) lines and sell them to slave traders within the Confederate lines".<sup>27</sup> Never the less, some Union soldiers treated blacks with dignity and respect. But the overwhelmingly majority treated them with malice. The Provost Marshall and the high ranking officers treated free blacks worse.

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<sup>25</sup>Ripley, 124.

<sup>26</sup>Johnson, William papers, Diary entry dated March 11, 1865.

<sup>27</sup>Civil War scrapbook, p. 61.



The Provost Marshalls were in charge of Union occupied districts during the war. These men often cooperated with the planters. Indeed, they allowed planters to keep slaves as "paid" workers and were very unsympathetic to the needs of the black population. Provost Marshalls willingly yielded "to pressure from local whites and more often than not identified with planters at the expense of blacks".<sup>28</sup> The work system they imposed proved onerous to New Orleans black community. This work system would take free blacks out of New Orleans and force them to work on plantations. Blacks received low wages, and the work routine resembled slave labor. The Provost Marshall's retained the system because he thought it would prevent the total collapse of the Southern economy. The Provost Marshall also put into effect a stringent pass system that compelled free blacks to prove their identity and reveal (and justify) their destination. The Provost Marshalls, though ordinarily honorable men, unscrupulously "played on the black's trust in the Yankee blue, and they often disregarded Gen. Banks' regulations with impunity".<sup>29</sup>

The third and most important group to interact with free blacks was the high- ranking Union officers. They exercised considerable influence because they established and implemented civil and military policy in this period. The high ranking officials in New Orleans also passed laws limiting the movement of freedmen. When he took Upon command in New Orleans, Major General Benjamin F. Butler had an "initial policy to avoid disruption

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<sup>28</sup>Ripley, 58.

<sup>29</sup>Blassingame, 53.

of slavery in Louisiana."<sup>30</sup> Disrupting the slave system, General Butler reasoned, could produce two undesirable outcomes: opposition by whites and rebellion by slaves. Butler and his officers feared a slave revolt and tended to appease white New Orleanians rather than help the blacks. When approached by the Native Guard to serve in the Union Army, Butler initially opposed the idea. Once the Union's need for troops to maintain its position in New Orleans became apparent, however, Butler relented. Even though Butler liked the idea of enlisting free blacks, many of his officers voiced their opposition. In addition, Butler's troops refused to serve with blacks. Though wearing a different uniform, members of the Native Guard found themselves, once again, performing labor assignments.

After Major General Nathaniel P. Banks replaced Butler conditions worsened for the freemen. Banks, like his predecessor, did "his best to accommodate planters".<sup>31</sup> And he passed even stricter laws of impressment to force blacks into the military. Under his direction the number of black soldiers increased, especially the number of ex-slaves. Their increased presence in the military, however, initially brought few tangible benefits. New Orleans free blacks continued to lose many of the rights and privileges they had enjoyed before the war. The free black population had no immediate Union officials they could trust, so they placed their collective hope in President Lincoln. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and his concession to allow blacks to fight, led many free blacks to place their trust in him. Nevertheless, free blacks had a very rocky relationship with the Union, because of the cruelty and

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<sup>30</sup>Westwood, 39.

<sup>31</sup>Ripley, 47.

segregation they experienced during the first two years of the war.

### III

Advancing Union forces brought military defeat and economic decline to the city. Free blacks in New Orleans suffered a loss in their economic status as well. In fact, the economic collapse had an impact on free blacks all over the state. The black planter William Johnson's lamented: "I am restless and wakeful my mind goes back to the time when we were happy thoughtless children. When the Earth seemed to be one abode of happiness".<sup>32</sup> Though few free blacks could honestly recall such an idyllic past, Johnson accurately captured the pessimism and anxiety felt by many free blacks during this period. The free black population had other hardships to endure but economic concerns loomed large. A study of free blacks by David Rankin indicated that over three-fourths of the wealthy free blacks experienced an economic loss between 1861 and 1865.<sup>33</sup> Several factors contributed to their loss in wealth: death, loss/change of jobs, relocation, increased discrimination and the burden of economic assistance to the ex-slaves.

First of all, the free black class assumed many of the financial burdens of the newly freed slaves. "They collected funds, donated land, labor, buildings, and books, and often supplied the staff. Many times they did so without the aid of the military or northern aid societies".<sup>34</sup> They accepted this burden because government officials provided little help to the

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<sup>32</sup>Johnson, William papers, Diary entry dated May 10, 1864.

<sup>33</sup>Rankin, David Connell, "The of the Civil War on the Free Colored Community of New Orleans," Perspectives in American History 10 (1977-1978): 397.

<sup>34</sup>Ripley, 143.

newly freed slaves. In fact, government officials started to impress "vagrant" blacks. Vagrant was an elastic term, used to include "any black on the streets during working hours".<sup>35</sup>

Officials assigned the fit men to the army, and women and unfit men to neighboring plantations. The Superintendent of Negro Labor, George Bell, indicated his support to the acting mayor of New Orleans. "There is a great demand for plantation labor," Bell wrote, "and a great many vagrants".<sup>36</sup> Free blacks could do little to end the program. They managed, however, to help these men to learn to read and find jobs to avoid harassment by the Union troops.

The war also hurt their economic chances because of the release of slaves and the lack of jobs and job training programs. The granting of freedom to the slaves greatly increased the number of free blacks in New Orleans seeking employment, but there were no jobs for them to find. Indeed, Banks' implemented his vagrant program to address high black unemployment. This program proved was unsatisfactory to black leaders because the vagrants would be collected and sent out to work on plantations. There were also many cases in which free black would be mistaken as vagrants and taken out of New Orleans. The black part of the city was becoming crowded and although there was a growing base of landowners, they saw their average property value fall from 3000 dollars in 1860 to 1500 dollars in 1870.<sup>37</sup> This was a direct result of the all the unemployed newly freed slaves in this vicinity, with no where to live

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<sup>35</sup>Ripley, 109.

<sup>36</sup>Bell, George papers, letter to Capt. Stephen Hoyt dated February 13, 1864.

<sup>37</sup>Blassingame, 69.

and no job or education.

Furthermore, they began to experience more discrimination and segregation than they had before the war. The white community had resented their addition to the Union troops. And the increased number of blacks that were a direct result of the fall of the city angered many white New Orleanians. Whites vented their anger by refusing to support black businesses, and the Louisiana legislature passed segregation laws worse than those enacted before the war.

The Northern "liberators" brought other problems: the Union troops. David Rankin's study provides an excellent example of the financial strain quartering placed on wealthy free black families. Rankin commented on the experience of Francois Lacroix who lost valuable rent money because, "Union soldiers refused to pay rent while living on his property".<sup>38</sup> The free black community could do little to stop this, for they had no voice within Banks' administration. Leaders of the black community grew tired of the abuse and decided to confront the problems. They developed an "economic philosophy centered on racial uplift, cooperation, and resistance to white exploitation of blacks".<sup>39</sup> They hoped to rebuild their society by working together.

This strategy encompassed many areas of aid to newly freed slaves. Many wealthy free blacks, including future reformer Jean Baptiste Roudanez, formed the New Orleans's Freedman's Aid Association. They assessed each member twenty dollars annually to help run

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<sup>38</sup>Rankin, David Connell, "The Impact of the Civil War on the Free Colored Community of New Orleans," 402.

<sup>39</sup>Blassingame, 59.

their programs. The Association sought "to rent and lease plantations, to give loans, and to furnish supplies, education, and useful information to freedman".<sup>40</sup> The program experienced some success until the end of the war and the return of ex-confederates. Once the confederates returned, they reclaimed their land from the government, leaving the freedmen landless. The Freedman's Aid Association, little to show for its efforts, soon collapsed.

They attempted to organize private schools in 1862, but their efforts failed. Several problems plagued them in the attempt to establish schools: inadequate funds, few teachers, and hostile whites. General Banks, however, managed to establish several public schools in 1863. The schools operated despite the type of serious problems that blacks encountered. A lack of teachers and inadequate classroom space hindered Banks' educational effort. For example, several schools had a ratio of more than 65 students to a teacher.<sup>41</sup> In addition, free black leaders began to oppose the schools because they remained segregated. They supported education but wanted integrated education. They maintained that segregated schools harmed race relations farther apart. Banks refused to listen and continued his policy of segregated education.

Some free blacks began to turn to the church for strength. Since most religious denominations had supported slavery and white dominance, the Civil War provided the free black population with a new feeling of confidence and empowerment. They no longer wished to hear sermons that used the Bible to support claims of white superiority. They started their

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<sup>40</sup>Blassingame, 57.

<sup>41</sup>Blassingame, 109.

own churches and fashioned them to meet the needs of a free community. Even the Catholic Church lost thousands of members because it was seen as "a defender of slavery and white supremacy".<sup>42</sup> The church became a very important institution to the free blacks of New Orleans during the war. In buildings large and small they gathered to find spiritual and communal help in their fight for civil rights. This proved very supportive as the war raged on.

#### IV

New Orleans' free blacks hoped that military service in the Civil War would aid in their quest for full citizenship. They had played a very important role in the military history of Louisiana. As early as 1728, free blacks served within the French army against the Indians. And in the late 1770's they assisted the Spanish against the British. Their militia had "earned a bright military reputation for defending Louisiana".<sup>43</sup> After the Louisiana purchase, Governor Claiborne wanted to retain this black unit, but the Legislative Council refused. Whites feared a possible alliance between slaves and free blacks. A reluctant Governor Claiborne disbanded the unit. When a slave revolt erupted in 1811, a group of free blacks offered to assist local whites in ending the rebellion. White leaders accepted the offer, and many of the prejudice against them disappeared. The Legislative Council changed its position and allowed Governor Claiborne to establish a militia of free blacks.

In the war of 1812 free blacks again had an opportunity to demonstrate their solidarity

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<sup>42</sup>Reinders, Robert C., "The Churches and the Negro in New Orleans, 1850-1860," *Phylon* 23, (1961): 247.

<sup>43</sup>McConnell, Roland, C., Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968) 32.

with the white population. They were allowed to fight along side white troops, given the same pay, and rations. When they marched to meet the British a thirteen year old boy named, Jordan Noble, led them. He gallantly led their way to their first real battle for the United States of America. They fought very valiantly. A favorable account of their activities appeared in Baltimores Niles Weekly Register on January 8, 1815. The reporter indicated that "they fought like desperadoes and deserved distinguished praise".<sup>44</sup> For their efforts they received praise not only from General Andrew Jackson, but also from the Legislative Council. The unit remained for years until the Louisiana legislature passed stringent laws on free men and their right to bear arms.

It was military necessity as well as respect that enabled them to join the Confederate Army at the beginning of the war. New Orleans was the only city in the Confederacy to welcome free black soldiers. Jordan Noble, the drummer boy of the War of 1812, led the effort to enlist free blacks. Noble commanded more than 1500 free blacks.<sup>45</sup> Free black nurses also offered their services to the Confederate army. According to several scholars, free blacks voluntarily joined the Confederate Army for a variety of reasons. Benjamin Quarles argued that they joined not to defend slavery, rather, "like thousands of white Southerners who personally hated slavery... these free Negroes had sense of community responsibility". David Rankin, in his study of free blacks, furnished evidence that supported Quarles' theory and also maintained that at least fifteen members of the Native Guard joined because they feared and

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<sup>44</sup>McConnell, 88.

<sup>45</sup>Rankin, 167.



wanted to be accepted by the southern whites. Some free blacks, like others in the South and North, probably joined for simple and more complex reasons that will forever elude the rational reasons advanced by historians. Nevertheless, no matter what the reason, they joined the confederacy, and, after arming themselves, they started their duties as Confederate soldiers.

Once in the Confederate army, however, whites treated them as second class soldiers. Their duty was "restricted to mindless drills and flag ceremonies; even their request to guard Union Prisoners was denied".<sup>46</sup> Their stint in the Confederate army was short; in April 1862 the Union forces captured New Orleans. They decided to leave the Confederate army and chose to remain in the city.

Several days after the start the Union occupation of New Orleans blacks leaders of the native guard approached the Union commander in charge, Major General Benjamin F. Butler, and asked to join the Union army. He denied their requests. Rebuffed but determined to serve, they met with renegade Union officer General John Phelps to inquire about his efforts to arm free blacks and fugitive slaves.<sup>47</sup> Phelps made camp outside New Orleans and invited free blacks to join his regiment. Butler voiced his disapproval but took no action to stop Phelps.

Eventually Butler embraced the use of black troops and allowed them to enlist. He revealed his motives for enlisting them in a letter to his wife: "I shall arm the 'free blacks', I think, for I must have more troops, and I see no way of getting them save by arming the black

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<sup>46</sup>Rankin, 172.

<sup>47</sup>Logsdon and Bell, 220.

brigade that the rebels had."<sup>48</sup> Butler wrote directly to President Lincoln asking to enlist the troops. He never received an answer from the President. And although some of his superior officers advised against it, he went ahead with the enlistment of blacks. The North had yet to enlist black soldiers, when, "on September 27, 1862, this group of free Negroes was mustered in as the 'First Regiment Louisiana Native Guards', thus becoming the first Negro Soldiers mustered as a unit into the United States Army during the Civil War."<sup>49</sup>

They experienced many hardships upon entering the Union ranks: "slurs, segregation, intimidation, and racial insults in the form of habitually poor duty assignment".<sup>50</sup> They guarded railroads and bridges because the white soldiers did not want them on the battlefield. Despite these tribulations they became skilled soldiers and sometimes gained praise from white officers. One commander, Lieutenant T. E. Gammons, observed that with proper instruction "they make very faithful sentinels. I shouldn't dare to trifle with a colored sentinel at night".<sup>51</sup>

In early 1863, Major General Nathaniel F. Banks assumed control of New Orleans. Under his command black enlistment increased because the need for more soldiers had increased. Discontented over mounting casualties and Confederate military success, President Lincoln finally had authorized and encouraged the enlistment of blacks. As a result, a full scale effort to enlist blacks started in New Orleans. Banks formulated a plan to create eighteen regiments of his Corps d' Afrique. Some free black leaders opposed the recruitment effort for

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<sup>48</sup>Westwood, 43.

<sup>49</sup>Quarles, 117.

<sup>50</sup>Ripley, 125.

<sup>51</sup>Gammons, T.E. papers, Tulane Manuscripts.

several reasons. The main reason for their discontent involved impressment. The white officials would "conscript all able-bodied blacks".<sup>52</sup> One man, P. Bourgeois, claimed that soldiers and city policemen invaded his "house to solicit his enlistment." He testified that "they beat him, knifed him three times and then took him away".<sup>53</sup>

They also endured ill-treatment by their officers. The well-trained, superior white commanders often refused to lead black troops. Still, Banks refused to appoint additional black officers or support the advancement in rank of the black officers of the Native Guard. This hurt black troops severely because the few black officers they had threatened to resign. P.B.S. Pinchback in his resignation to Banks captured the mood of his fellow black officers. "I find nearly all the officers inimical to me, and I can foresee nothing but dissatisfaction and discontent", he wrote, "which will make my position very disagreeable indeed. I would therefore, respectfully tender my resignation".<sup>54</sup> With the loss of black officers and the disrespect of the well-trained white officers, the "sadistic misfits or incompetents often led the black regiments".<sup>55</sup> These commanders inflicted stricter rules and harsher forms of discipline on the black troops.

Furthermore their work details reflected the hostility of white officers. According to one scholar, "once in the army they often performed many of the same duties they had during slavery. Black soldiers built dams, repaired levees and roads, constructed fortifications, and

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<sup>52</sup>Westwood, 32.

<sup>53</sup>Ripley, 109.

<sup>54</sup>Rankin, 183.

<sup>55</sup>Ripley, 114.

generally spent considerable time on fatigue duty".<sup>56</sup> They often saw their white counterparts doing the things they wanted and offered to do. They continually protested against the assignments they received and the segregation they endured. They knew, however, that their complaints fell on deaf ears.

They also experienced discrimination in their pay allotment and supplies. Butler promised the black soldiers thirteen dollars a month. An act of the United States Congress cut their pay well below that of the white soldiers. To the chagrin of national black leaders like Frederick Douglas, "the legislation authorizing the president to take black troops had provided that a black soldier would be paid only 10 dollars a month".<sup>57</sup> In addition, morale remained low because received the worse supplies and rations.

Throughout the war New Orleans black in the Union Army faced considerable adversity. Many of them surrendered to despair and some quit. But most felt that they had something to prove. They were motivated to prove their manhood and worth to the Union forces and all Americans. James Ingraham, of the First Native Guard, noted: "we are still anxious, as we have ever been, to show the world that the latent courage of the African is aroused, and that, while fighting under the American Flag, we can and will be a wall of fire and death to the enemies of this country, our birthplace."<sup>58</sup> They eventually received their golden opportunity to prove their worth in battle.

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<sup>56</sup>Ripley, 114.

<sup>57</sup>Westwood, 49.

<sup>58</sup>Blassingame, 40.

They set out to prove that they could fight as well as the white soldiers. Their first opportunity to prove this occurred at the Battle of Port Hudson. In that battle they lead six frontal assault charges. In the last charge their leader Capt. Andre Callioux was shot, but he continued to fight with his men. He died on the battlefield, but his heroics brought respect and acclaim to his regiment. The first day of battle produced high casualties, was very bloody, and ended in a military stalemate. "Yet the behavior of the black regiments was one bright spot".<sup>59</sup> After the valiant attack Banks wrote to General Henry Halleck that "whatever doubts may have existed heretofore as to the efficiency of black regiments, their performance at Port Hudson proves conclusively to observers that black troops will provide effective defenders of the government".<sup>60</sup> The black troops had performed well enough to convince whites that they stood ready and able to fight. They had won a very important battle because "had they flinched under fire, the future of the Negro soldier would have been jeopardized".<sup>61</sup>

The next big test occurred at the Battle of Milliken's Bend. This battle was as meaningful as the Battle of Port Hudson. The conduct of New Orleans' free blacks and ex-slaves indicated that their courage at Port Hudson was not a fluke. The battle took place ten days after Port Hudson. At the beginning of the battle the Confederates led a bayonet charge against the Union forces. So fierce was this charge that many of the white soldiers ran, but as reported by a commander of the Confederates, "this charge was resisted by the Negro portion

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<sup>59</sup>Quarles, 219.

<sup>60</sup>Mays, 36.

<sup>61</sup>Quarles, 219.

of the enemy forces with considerable obstinacy".<sup>62</sup> If any doubts had remained about their fighting abilities, their bravery at Milliken's Bend put them to rest. In fact, the Assistant Secretary of War reported that the high commanders who "had sneered at the idea of the negroes fighting express themselves after that (Battle of Milliken's Bend) as heartily in favor of it".<sup>63</sup> The battle was a decisive victory for the Union, and it helped wash away any misconceptions concerning the courage of black troops.

The Union army began to use the soldiers in more diverse functions. With growing confidence Union officers used them in areas of espionage, for "they knew the countryside better than most white soldiers and could pass themselves off as slaves, they were used extensively as spies".<sup>64</sup> They prove quite willing and able to perform this function, even with the knowledge that capture would surely lead to death. They were recruited as navigators and pilots on riverboats and other naval vessels. Many free blacks before the war had worked in the riverboat industry. Their knowledge and experience of the Mississippi made them a valuable asset to the Union naval and supply vessels.

Thousands of free blacks fought in the battles of the American Civil War. In Louisiana they played such an important part that by the end of the war Louisiana had given "over 24,000 Negro soldiers to the Union army, more than any other state".<sup>65</sup> These individuals struggled to gain acceptance into the Union Army. Between 1862 and 1865 many returned to

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<sup>62</sup>McPherson, 95.

<sup>63</sup>McPherson, 95.

<sup>64</sup>Franklin, 222.

<sup>65</sup>Rankin, 176.

New Orleans to join other free blacks in the quest for racial equality.

## V

On August 23, 1865, Bellazine Meullion signed an amnesty oath to denounce the South and become a citizen of the United States of America. He became a citizen but did not have the same rights as others because he was black. Throughout the war many other free blacks signed the same oath and received the same treatment. Some of them accepted this treatment without complaint but many fought to break down the barriers of New Orleans segregated society. They wanted to enjoy, as other New Orleanians did, the advantages of suffrage, office-holding, and public education. They also wanted an end to segregation and racial exclusion. Moreover, free blacks often paid taxes for services that they could not receive. The suffrage issue emerged as one of their key strategies for equality. Political participation had eluded the free black population throughout the antebellum period. Many thought that they would gain the vote after they fought in the battle of 1812. They still did not. Leaders of the free black community realize there was a new battle to fight, and it was a political one for empowerment and equality.

Several leaders started a newspaper to voice the needs of the free black community. They named the paper L'Union, and its editor, Paul Trevigne, became a leader in the movement for black equality and suffrage. In the first issue on September 27, 1862, Trevigne boldly claimed: "We inaugurate today a new era in the destiny of the South".<sup>66</sup> He truly viewed the oncoming years as the black man's turn to make his mark in the new society. The

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<sup>66</sup>Rankin, 212.

paper urged "the free colored population to view fighting for the Union as a way of demonstrating their manhood and achieving equality".<sup>67</sup> The paper was a success with the free black community, as it gave them a constant voice within the city. L'Union also contributed to the development of leadership within the community.

There were many potential leaders within the free black community, for it contained men of wealth and prominence. David Rankin's study of the 201 men who eventually became leaders of the movement contains several pertinent and interesting pieces of information. The overwhelming majority, 91.2 percent, of black leaders during the Civil War were mulattoes. They had an average age of 35. And 79.2 percent of them worked as skilled laborers or professionals. They possessed 40 percent of the wealth of the free black community and 98.1 percent were literate.<sup>68</sup> These men represented the cream of the crop of the free black community. They undertook a massive challenge as they simultaneously battled the white Union government and faced challenges within their own community over questions involving the status and needs of the newly freed slaves.

On November 5, 1863, free black leaders and white radicals held their first meeting. They met together at Economy Hall to devise a strategy to gain political influence. They believed that blacks were citizens and deserved suffrage, "but if they were not citizens they should not be subject to the military draft".<sup>69</sup> They started to organize and L'Union to gain

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<sup>67</sup>Rankin, 212.

<sup>68</sup>Rankin, 198, 202, 204, and 205. Taking people of my sample from the same strata, professional and merchant, would yield the same statistics.

<sup>69</sup>Evertt, 45.



public support. They soon decided to take their case for suffrage to Washington D.C. Paul Trevigne and other leaders drafted a petition to submit Congress and the President. They elected two representatives, E. Arnold Bertonneau and Jean Baptiste Roudanez, to make a historic trip to the North, including visits to New York City and Washington, D.C. On the journey they met several influential national leaders such as Senator Charles Sumner and Frederick Douglass. When they arrived in the nation's capital they met with President Lincoln. Their meeting with Lincoln had limited success. "He listened intently to our address and sympathized with our object," Roudanez later recalled, "but said he could not aid us on moral grounds, only as military necessity".<sup>70</sup> Lincoln was very impressed and secretly sent a letter to the governor of Louisiana, Michael Hahn. Lincoln favored limited suffrage and recommended to Hahn that "the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks" should gain the right to vote.<sup>71</sup> Hahn refused to support this idea and at the constitutional convention it failed.

The suffrage campaign suffered a near fatal blow when the L'Union encountered financial problems. Dr. Charles Roudanez filled the void created by the demise of L'Union when he established the New Orleans Tribune. This paper proved invaluable to the black community in its efforts for full equality. The editors soon came under fire from Banks and his political allies because they pushed for universal suffrage. Banks and his supporters had opposed free blacks gaining the right to vote and considered the idea of ex-slaves joining the

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<sup>70</sup>Rankin, 219.

<sup>71</sup>Logsdon and Bell, 226.

political process an outrage. The conflict between the paper and Banks led to an unexpected but welcomed result -- a greater unity among free blacks in New Orleans. Tribune supporters brought into their ranks James Ingraham, an officer in the local chapter of the National Union Brotherhood Association. Ingraham had extensive political contacts and "linked the political efforts of The New Orleans radicals to a national organization of black Americans, the National Equal Rights League."<sup>72</sup> At their summer convention he persuaded NERL leaders to make New Orleans their first Louisiana chapter and won their support in the voting effort. The Ingraham and Trevigne factions had developed a promising coalition that would have to contend with several potentially divisive issues.

The trouble began as various religious and humanitarian groups began to help the newly freed blacks in New Orleans. There were many differences in the way the two main groups gave out their aid. The traditional Creole Catholic groups awarded aid as needed. The Protestants, however, adhered strictly to aid based on color lines. The free blacks of New Orleans wanted to promote increased contact between the races. They did not want separate institutions of relief. Protestant ministers criticized the loose, festive Louisiana lifestyle and tended to condemn many actions of black creoles. And when "black creoles tried to raise funds for an orphanage or schools by holding raffles the clerics denounced them as gamblers and urged their fellow protestants not to cooperate."<sup>73</sup>

The divisions intensified at a very critical time in the voting rights campaign. The

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<sup>72</sup>Logsdon and Bell, 231.

<sup>73</sup>Logsdon and Bell, 236.

battle with Banks and his supporters grew worse after Lincoln approved a plan to allow Louisiana back into the Union. Louisiana re-entered the Union despite a new state constitution that denied suffrage to blacks. Furthermore, Banks established a new black paper, the Black Republican, and selected as editors two black baptist ministers. This paper opposed universal black suffrage and served as a propaganda tool for Banks and his programs. The differences between the two black papers caused considerable dissension within the free black community. Banks used this paper to undermine the Tribune effort and to foster unrest within the free black community.

In addition, a new leader emerged in the movement who opposed universal black suffrage. He was an abolitionist from the north in the Union army, Major B. Rush Plumly. He had trained and knew numerous free blacks within New Orleans area and believed that the black community contained "colored creoles who do not believe in freedom for the black. There are others who would limit colored suffrage to their own class".<sup>74</sup> He lectured at Economy Hall for limited suffrage and helped to heighten the feelings of dissension within the community. The free black community became weak and fragmented because of the rivalry between the two factions.

Still, dedicated black leaders such as Roudanez would not give up their fight for universal suffrage. In January 1865 they called for a convention to reunite the community. Opposition remained from those who believed that rights should be given only to members of the higher classes. This view found expression in a proposal by S.W. Rogers and Charles

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<sup>74</sup>Rankin, 231.

Logan to develop "a committee to draft a petition to the Commanding General, asking that certain classes of colored persons be admitted in the city railroad cars".<sup>75</sup> This resolution failed. And by the end of the convention the delegates agreed that all members within their movement had to support universal black suffrage. Those that wanted limited suffrage formed their own group, the Grand Council. This group received limited support and had to withstand severe criticism from the Tribune and many members of the black community.

The suffrage campaign gained momentum when a new group tried to win black participation in the election for the United States Congress. This group, Friends of Universal suffrage, requested the governor to allow free blacks to vote in the upcoming elections. He refused. The suffrage leaders remained steadfast and started a registration drive without the governor's support. The interracial group held a convention with the Republicans and nominated a ex-Union soldier, Henry Clay Warmoth, for the United States Congress. In the November election "over 16,000 Negroes voted for Warmoth at the voluntary polls which the Republicans boldly set up along side official polling places".<sup>76</sup> The Republicans then sent Warmoth to Congress to challenge the nominee sent by the Louisiana legislature. Congress refused to seat either candidate. The decision of Congress represented a partial victory for two reasons. Cooperating with Republicans, electing Warmoth, and sending him to Congress directly challenged traditional political power in Louisiana. Moreover, Congress rejected the Democratic candidate as well.

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<sup>75</sup>Rankin, 236.

<sup>76</sup>Rankin, 242.

Black leaders and their white allies remained committed to the suffrage fight. And the turbulent times they experienced after the passage of black codes failed to lesson their resolve. Indeed, the race riots and civil strife that occurred as society after 1865 convinced them that they needed suffrage more than ever. They desired those seemingly simple rights that whites took for granted. Their battle for equality was a long and hard one that would not end until one hundred years later. And in many ways the struggle for racial equality remains elusive still.

# Appendix

## TOTAL VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE BY WARD: EXCLUDING LACROIX, FRANCOIS

	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>ALL</u>
				150		150
BARBER	500	250				375
BRICKLAYER	150	1000	100			417
BUTCHER	300			250		267
BUTLER						
CABIN BOY		50				50
CAKE SELLER				30		30
CARPENTER	558		200	394	200	419
CARRIAGE DRIVER	163		2000			775
CARTMAN				200		200
CIGAR MAKER						
CIGARS	300			967		800
CLERK				110		110
COFFEE	450	300		350		363
COOK			500	300		400
COOL & WOOD		100				100
COOPER	400					400
DENTIST		5000				5000
DRAYMAN		433	300	600		440
DRESS MAKER				150		150
DYER				400		400
FRUIT	800					800
FUR ROOMS		1934	1185			1485
GROCER				1533		1533
GUN SMITH				60		60
HACKMAN				50		50
HAIR DRESSER				800		800
HASTLER		50				50
LATORER	400		300			367
MASON				162		162
MASON & WHITEWASHER						
MATH TEACHER						
MATRESS MAKER				1000		1000
MECHANICS						
MEG DEALER				80		80
MERCHANT			600			600
MIDWIFE			550			550
NURSE						
PAINTER			200	50		125
PLASTERER						

PORTER		100	300			150
POULTRY DEALER				450		450
REVEREND		100				100
SEMPSTRESS	273			681		600
SHOEMAKER	150	500		396		378
SODA SHOP			200			200
STABLE KEEPER			1000			1000
STABLE REPAIR				800		800
STEAMBOATMAN			500	227		295
STWEARD		775				775
STOCK BROKER				3000		3000
* TAILOR				478		478
TEACHER						
TIN SMITH	150					150
UNDERTAKER			1750			1750
VETABLE DEALER				1600		1600
WAITER						
WASHERWOMAN	150		200	321		288
WEIGHER						
WHITEWASHER						
WOOD DEALER			1800			1800
ALL	353	1074	1004	489	200	718

\* Including Lacroix, The Tailor average would be 8732.

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