

THE FREE NEGRO IN ALABAMA PRIOR TO 1860

by

Morris Raymond Boucher

State University of Iowa
LIBRARY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I	Manner Of Acquiring Free Negro Status	1
	Emancipations Prior To Statehood	2
	Emancipations By Legislative Action.	8
	Efforts To Check Population Increase	23
	Emancipators Avoid Legislative Restriction	34
	Free-Born Negroes And Their Difficulties	46
	Freedom Gained By Self Purchase.	61
	Quasi-Free Negroes	70
II	Numbers And Distribution Of The Free Negro Population	77
	Avenues Of Distribution Of Free Colored.	78
	The Free Negro In Alabama In 1830.	84
	Free Negroes Move Toward Urban Areas	90
	Alabama Population Trends In 1850.	96
III	Legislation Affecting The Status Of Free Negroes	107
	General Legislation.	107
	General Legislation Imposed Further Restrictions.	113
	Servile Insurrections Affect Alabama Legislation	115
	Special Legislation For Mobile Area.	122
	Alabama Resorts To More Restrictive Legislation	135
	Free Negroes Could Select White Guardians.	140
	Free Negroes Could Voluntarily Become Slaves.	146
	Municipal Legislation.	148
	Purpose Of Restrictive Legislation	160
IV	Property Holding And Occupations.	163
	Free Negroes Owned Slaves.	169
	Free Negroes Of Tuscaloosa County.	182
	Prosperity Of South Alabama Free Negroes	203
	Occupations Of Alabama Free Negroes.	216

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

Chapter

V	Colonization And Abolition.	223
	Colonization Movement Organized In Alabama	225
	Colonization Movement Falls Into Disrepute	238
	Anti-Abolition Sentiment In Alabama. . . .	244
	Free Negroes Reluctant To Leave Alabama. .	252
	Interest In Colonization Renewed	254
	State Colonization Society Organized . . .	263
	Abolition Movement Detrimental To Colonization.	271
VI	Social Factors And Personalities.	280
	Relations Between Whites And Free Negroes.	281
	The Free Negro And Religion.	286 ✓
	Alabama Churches Disturbed By Abolition Sentiment	296
	Educational Facilities For Free Negroes. .	304
	Mobile Free Negroes Challenge Educational Restrictions.	310
	Medical Treatment Of Alabama Free Negroes.	320
	Social Life Of Alabama's Free Negroes. ✓ .	323
	Appendices:	
	Introduction	338
	A Agricultural Reports Of Free Negroes In Alabama, 1850 Federal Census	342
	B Free Negro Heads Of Families In Alabama - 1820	348
	C Free Negro Heads Of Families In Alabama - 1830	349
	D Free Negro Heads Of Families In Alabama - 1840	356
	E Mixed Families In Alabama According To 1840 Federal Census.	365
	F Free Negroes In Alabama - 1850.	368
	G Free Negroes In Alabama - 1860.	438
	Bibliography.	508

TABLE OF MAPS

I.	Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes In 1820	82
II.	Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes In 1830	88
III.	Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes In 1840	94
IV.	Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes In 1850	100
V.	Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes In 1860	104

TABLE OF TABLES

I.	Population In Alabama By Counties, 1820. . . .	81
II.	Population In Alabama By Counties, 1830. . . .	87
III.	Population In Alabama By Counties, 1840. . . .	92
IV.	Population In Alabama By Counties, 1850. . . .	98
V.	Population In Alabama By Counties, 1860. . . .	102

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Peter Still	69
II. John Godwin's Monument.	213
III. J. T. Rapier, Negro Politician.	319
IV. Office and Hospital of Dr. Sims	322
V. Gravestone of Solomon Perteet	335

INTRODUCTION

The free Negro in Alabama posed a problem for the legislators of the commonwealth from the time Alabama became a state in 1819 until the Negro population as a whole was emancipated following the Civil War. The free Negro occupied a larger place in legislative affairs than his numerical strength would seem to justify. This was due to his relationship to the institution of slavery and the anomalous position which he occupied in a social and economic order that was based upon servitude. His life was spent on a shadowy borderline between complete freedom and virtual enslavement. On occasions the courts regarded him as having the same rights and privileges as a white man; at other times he was regarded as were the bondsmen. Tolerance and intolerance were his lot. Never received socially by the ruling group, he could always be looked upon as a threat to the economic well-being of a certain group of whites; or he could be regarded as a threat to the whole social order. Quite often literate, free (to a large extent) to move about the state, he could be seen by many as the willing tool of abolitionists, as the inciter of servile uprisings, or the expediter of escaping

servants. His ability to write could result in forged passes or certificates of freedom for slaves; his ability to read could make abolitionist literature doubly dangerous, and his very freedom of movement could induce dissatisfaction in the minds of those who were still in bondage.

The number of free Negroes in the state enlarged in the decades from 1820 to 1860. The rate of increase was not as high after 1830 because of restrictive legislation, but there were over 2,000 more in the area by 1860 than were present in 1820. This growth, though slow, indicated that in spite of legal strictures, the free Negro was making a place for himself in an order that, apparently, was dedicated to his eradication as an element within that order. Various attempts to remove him from the state, both by internal and external forces, were never successful. This was due largely to the human factor involved in practically every case: the leniency of the whites who could not help but let their personal feelings enter into their treatment of the individual Negroes, and the natural disinclination of the free Negro to leave what was as much home to him as it could have been to any other person.

The people of Alabama, coming as they did from older slave-holding states, usually patterned their legislation concerning free Negroes on the existing statutes

of older commonwealths. This was done in spite of the fact that the problem of what to do with that element had not been solved in any satisfactory manner in any state.

Chapter I

MANNER OF ACQUIRING FREE NEGRO STATUS

Long before Alabama became a commonwealth, there were free Negroes living in the area now embraced by the state. The city of Mobile, established in 1702 by d'Iberville, and moved to its present location in 1711, was sparsely settled by a few colonists, soldiers, and Negro slaves. As the settlement grew and more colonists and slaves were brought in, there came into being a group of people classed as free Negroes. Their color ran the scale from black to almost white, indicating the admixture of white blood with that of the pure Negro strain. Among the French and Spanish settlers of the Mobile area, there was not the apparent antipathy to miscegenation that was evident among the Anglo-Saxon settlers who moved in later.

The names of the free Negroes of Mobile bear witness to the intermingling of blood strains, although similar designations did not always indicate blood ties or relationship. Some Negroes who had never had other than one name adopted that of their master when they were emancipated,

1. A. B. Moore, History of Alabama, p. 40.

or were given their master's name while they yet remained slaves. The Spanish and French strains are quite evident, however, in such appellations as Augustin Rochan, Francoise Proviere, Sebastian Barrios, Cyprienne Baudin, Lucien Sauvage, Etienne Laurent, Michel Baptiste, Maria Barsalo, Louise Jugeant, Toussaint Vivares, Foloe Pinta, and Onesime Larant.²

The fathers of children by slave women were quite often as fond of their offspring as if they had been born in lawful wedlock and of white mothers. They evidenced this in numerous cases by emancipating the children, and, at times, the slave mother along with the children. This led to an increasing number of free Negroes, and was true not only in the Mobile area, but throughout the state.

EMANCIPATIONS PRIOR TO STATEHOOD

On June 1, 1788, Euphrosina, a mulatto daughter of Maria Juana, Negress, and slave of Simon Daudrie, was pronounced free at the baptismal service.³ On August 23, 1818, an interesting case occurred. Petronila, daughter of Clarice, slave of Baptiste Frenier, was first baptized as a slave, then later in the same day, was baptized as a

2. Burial Register for Coloured People of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception of Mobile, Alabama, 1828-77.

3. Baptista Nigrorum, 1781-1828, p. 133.

free person. An explanatory note, inserted by the recorder between the records of the two ceremonies, stated that "the particulars received by the priest pertaining to the child were not clear," so the child was rechristened and given its freedom in the later ceremony. In the second record the following notation occurs: "August 23, 1818, Petronila, daughter of Clarice, slave of Baptiste Frenier, who for love of the child and commiseration of the mother, presented the child with its freedom at the time of its christening."⁴ These are but two cases among the hundreds that followed.

Early Mixture Of Blood Strains

In 1805, Simon Andry, a white man of Washington County, then a part of Mississippi Territory, placed on record in the County Court an act of emancipation.⁵ This granted freedom to Jane or Jean Seymour, a Negress who had lived with Simon and had borne him several children.⁶ The record read in part: "I, Simon Andry, . . . in and for the consideration of natural love and affection and also divers

4. Baptista Nigrorum, 1781-1828, pp. 381-82.

5. Washington County Records, Deed Record A, p. 121.

6. Dupree vs The State, 33 Ala. 380. A witness in the case testified the Jane Seymour "was a griffe; and had white blood in her - was dark in color, but not entirely black . . . that Jane never had any other husband than Simon Andre, and everybody recognized her children as his."

other good considerations, . . . have given unto the said Jane, a negro woman, . . . her freedom forever." The seven children, who were also given their freedom were Louise, Romain, Euphrosine, Maximilian, Silvester, Felix, and Anastasia.

Euphraise Lacoste of Mobile County, impressed by the loyalty and devotion of his Negro slave woman, Mary, directed in his will that she be freed from and after the moment of his decease. He and his family were all sick, and Mary attended to and nursed them. The will of Lacoste was recorded in June of 1815.⁷

The fact that emancipated Negroes might have some difficulty in proving their freedom was recognized at an early date. John Chastang, a white man of Mobile County, who had a free Negro woman as his wife, felt the need for protecting her liberty as well as that of her children. In addition to bequeathing her a large estate of land, dwellings, and Negro property, he included in his will, drawn up in 1805, a statement that showed his desire to prevent any difficulty after his death. He wrote regarding his wife, Louison, and the children:

whereas the said Louison, who was born a slave, was in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty emancipated and made free according to the laws of Spain under which she then lived,

7. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, p. 19.

and has ever since been free; but lest any doubts should be entertained respecting her title to freedom, and lest my legal representatives should after my decease, claim her and the mulattoes, herein before mentioned, as their property derived from me, now to remove all doubts and with the intent to set aside all such claims and pretensions, I hereby declare that they are free, and that if under the laws of this state there exists in me any title or color of title to her or them or any of them as slaves, that they, the said negro Louison, and the said mulattoes Basille, Philip, Zenon, Eugene, Auguste, Edward, John, Baptiste, Marguerite, Isabelle, Louise, and Francoise, shall be, . . . at the time of my decease fully and completely free and emancipated. 8

Conditional Emancipations

Conditional emancipations were numerous in the early records. Quite often some reason was given for specifying that emancipation take place at some future date, or after certain conditions had been complied with. In numerous cases, the date of emancipation was to be determined by the death of the master, the master's wife, or one of his children to whom he wished to bequeath property. James Brewton, who died in Madison County in 1816, made such provisions in his will. His wife, to whom he left the home place, was also given a Negro slave woman named Fanny. Fanny was to have her freedom if either of two things occurred: if Mrs. Brewton moved away from the home place or if

8. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-52, p. 112.

she died. Evidently Brewton did not wish Fanny to become the property of a strange master in the event that his widow should decide to marry again, or he did not wish her to have to become accustomed to a new home. In the third part of his will, he gave to his "son Sanuel Brewton, one negro man named Sam and the Bay horse Logan, the negro to be free at my son's death."⁹

A simple declaration was resorted to by some men who felt that they had a perfect right to dispose of their "property" as they saw fit. Moses Kindill of Limestone County put such a document on record in 1820 when he freed his Negro Jim: "This is to certify that I Moses Kindill hath this day set my negro slave Jim free from all slavery whatsoever, given under my hand and seal this day and year above written."¹⁰

Judge Harry Toulmin of Washington County was more verbose in expressing himself when he made provisions to emancipate his slave Toney. He wrote:

. . . It has long been my intention to emancipate Toney the son of Becky on account of his faithful and affectionate services; but more especially because I think he can act discreetly as a free man

9. Madison County Records, Will Book I, pp. 219 ff.

10. Limestone County Records, Deed Record I, 1819-25, p. 115.

I do not wish to petition our Alabama Assembly about his emancipation. . . I scorn to petition for what I believe to be a right. Let him be sent with proper passport and extracts from this my will and money to bear his expenses to Daniel Gerrard in Kentucky. I believe he can be made free by the laws of that state, but if he cannot, let him have liberty to go to any state where he can obtain freedom. 11

Thomas McAdory of Jefferson County stated in his will in 1820 that he was leaving all his property to his wife with the exception of his "trusty negro woman Adny." He wished Adny to be set free at the age of forty years. ¹² John Johnson of Baldwin County not only freed two of his Negro servants, but provided in his will for their care and good treatment during the period of time that might be required for legislative action on the emancipation. His will read:

I will and direct that my old negro slaves, Tomy and Sarah, his wife, be emancipated. The said negroes Tomy and Sarah are at liberty immediately on my decease to choose any one of my legatees to live with, and in case the emancipation of said negroes cannot be effected agreeable to law within two years from my decease, they are at liberty to live with any of my children as long as they like the treatment. It is my will that if any of my executors refuse or neglect to make proper exertion within the time prescribed, viz, two years, to cause the said negroes to be emancipated, then I will and direct that their share of property be forfeited to the heirs of my body.13

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11. Washington Co. Records, Record of Wills, 1820-99, p. 7.
 12. Jefferson Co. Records, Deeds and Wills, 1818-36, p. 29.
 13. Mobile County Records, Will Book 1, p. 62.

EMANCIPATIONS BY LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Whether the slave owners recognized the power of the state legislature or not, it was still true that an act of emancipation was not complete until that body had given its permission for such an act to take place, or until the owner of slave property had complied with such regulations as were set up by the commonwealth. Alabama inherited its laws pertaining to slavery and emancipation from the legis-¹⁴lation that had been set up by Mississippi Territory.

These statutes prohibited the emancipation of slaves unless the owner could first prove to the satisfaction of the General Assembly that the liberated persons had performed some meritorious act either for the benefit of the Territory or the owner. Bond or security had to be posted with the governor in order to prevent the individuals so emancipated from becoming a public charge, and even after emancipation, a former slave could be sold to satisfy a debt contracted by his former owner prior to the act of emancipation. This measure was passed in 1805 and subsequently¹⁵ became a part of the Alabama code.

14. United States Statutes at Large, vol. III, pp. 371 ff.

15. Harry Toulmin, Digest of the Laws of Alabama, p. 632.

Under this law a number of slaves were emancipated by the Territorial Legislature of Alabama and an increasing number set free by Legislative action after Alabama became a state in 1819.

Free Negroes Emancipate Slaves

At the first session of the First General Assembly of the Alabama Territory in February, 1818, Honore Colin, a free mulatto in Mobile, was permitted to free a Negro slave, Rosetta, and John S. Divin was given the authority to liberate Robin, alias Robert Long. Daniel Reed, a free Negro of Washington County, was permitted to emancipate his wife, Rose.¹⁶ Some of Daniel's children had been born of a slave woman, and he made a determined effort to purchase all of them. A blacksmith by trade, he was able to accumulate enough money to purchase and emancipate some of them, post bond for their good behavior, and leave a small estate to his family when he died. In December, 1820, Reed was permitted to free his children,¹⁷ Judah and Eliza. Eight years later he purchased his son George from Young Gaines of Perry County in Mississippi. He paid Gaines five hundred and twenty-five dollars,¹⁸ and George

16. Harry Toulmin, Digest of the Laws of Alabama, p. 642.

17. Acts of the Second Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, p. 104.

18. Washington County Records, Deed Book G, October 21, 1829.

was emancipated by an act of the Legislature at its eleventh session held in 1829. Eight of the children of Daniel and Rose had their freedom attested to by the Judge of the County Court in Washington County.¹⁹ There were two of his sons, however, who were apparently enslaved for life or until the general emancipation following the end of the Civil War. Joseph Johnston of Washington County owned Daniel and Bultitch or Boltish. His will directed that the two boys were to be given to his wife Clara during her natural lifetime or until she should marry again. In either case, the two slaves were eventually to be given their freedom and fifteen acres of land. Five acres were to be theirs in fee simple, and they were to have a life estate in the other ten. Their father, Daniel Reed, was "to have all power possible to enforce the complete emancipation of the two boys."²⁰

In November, 1818, David Norris was permitted to free his slave woman Nancy,²¹ and at the first session of the Alabama State Assembly in 1819, Thomas Johnson of Madison²² County was authorized to liberate his negro slave, Martin.

19. Washington County Records, Deed Book K, p. 211.

20. Washington County Records, Wills, 1820-89, pp. 74-76.

21. Acts of Alabama Territorial Assembly, Second Session.

22. Acts of the First Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, p. 144.

Caesar Kennedy, a free Negro of Madison County, petitioned the General Assembly to permit him to free his wife Hannah and her seven children. Permission was granted, and although it took Caesar two years to make the necessary arrangements to post bond for his whole family, he issued a personal emancipation proclamation in February of 1821. In this document he granted immediate freedom to his wife Hannah and such of his children as had reached the age of twenty-one years. The minor children were to be given their freedom as soon as they attained the age of twenty-one.²³

John Bethany of Clarke County was authorized to emancipate his Negro woman Lydia and her six mulatto children. Lemuel, a quarteroon child, was also released at the same time. These eight Negroes were freed in November of 1819.²⁴

Freed Negroes Avoid Leaving State

In December of 1820, three white men were given permission by the Legislature to set free a total of six slaves, and Daniel Reed, a free Negro, was authorized to free his two children, Judah and Eliza.²⁵ At the next

23. Madison County Records, Deed Book E, p. 271.

24. Acts of the First Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, p. 145; (hereinafter referred to as Acts).

25. Acts, Second Session, pp. 62 ff.

session of the Legislature, Leonard Abercrombie was "authorized to manumit and set free a colored woman named Fanny, alias Fanny Martin, and her ten children. She and her children were to leave the state after being freed, and were warned that if they stayed in the state, they would have to remain in slavery. Fanny was evidently a resourceful Negro, or else she had the good fortune to have white friends, for she did not leave the state, nor did she remain in slavery. She adopted the expedient of moving into another county some eighty miles away.²⁶ She concealed her identity in 1840 by telling the census taker that she did not know where she had been born, and claimed that her children had been born in Georgia. In 1850 she gave her name as Rachel Martin, but did not bother to change the names of her children.²⁷

Two hundred and sixteen slaves were emancipated by legislative authority in the ten year period following 1820. These enactments did not account for all the manumissions. The peak of legislative emancipations in the decade was reached in 1829 when a total of fifty-eight slaves were freed. One of these acts was repealed the following year, but only one negro was involved.²⁸ There were petitions from

26. Acts, Third Session, p. 99.

27. U. S. Census, 1840, 1850.

28. Acts, 1820-1830.

sixteen counties in 1829; Mobile led all of them with twenty-four emancipations.

Some slave owners, wishing to avoid the difficulties involved in presenting a petition to the Legislature, either took or sent their slaves out of the state to have them freed. Others made provisions in their wills to have this done by some one of their heirs or the executors of their wills. John Gray, of Greene County, whose will was recorded in 1826, stipulated that he wanted his Negro woman Celia to be hired out annually until 1834, at which time she was to be set free.²⁹ John Baptiste Trenier, of Mobile, set his slave woman Fanchon and her child Champey free in 1828.³⁰ The will of A. P. Dade, recorded in 1824, left his Negro woman Rachel "to work and do for herself as long as she lives If Rachel cannot be freed, I then leave her with her children to Bennus Daid."³¹

The story of Venus, the black slave woman, is not told clearly in the will of her master, Frank Mitchell, but the words of an Act of the state legislature throw light upon a relationship that was not uncommon in the early history of Alabama. Mitchell's will reads in part:

29. Greene County Records, Deed Book A, pp. 69-70.

30. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 1, 1813-37, p. 165.

31. Ibid., p. 113.

Item 1. I give and bequeath unto my two natural sons named Julien and Francis and my natural daughter named Margarett all of my estate. . . and in case all of my said children should die before lawful age and without issue, it is my will and desire the same should go to Venus, a black woman.

Item 2. Whereas the above named Venus is a slave to me, and whereas I am desirous that she should be free, and in case the Legislature of this state should refuse to emancipate her, then it is my will and desire that my executor should send her to some one of the emancipating states for the purpose of her gaining her freedom, all of which expenses that may be incurred in so doing are to be paid out of my estate.

The will was written on August 16, 1824, and filed for probate on May 21, 1825.³² The act of the Legislature approved December 2, 1824, read:

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted; That Venus a black woman and her two children, viz. Francis a mulatto boy aged about six years, and Margur-ete a mulatto girl aged about ten months, slaves of Frank Mitchell of Mobile, be, and they are hereby emancipated.

A bond of three thousand dollars had to be posted to assure the governor that the former slaves would be provided for, and the girl and boy named were to be educated and maintained until they were eighteen and twenty-one years of age respectively.³³ There is no mention in the emancipatory act of Julien, the other son mentioned in

32. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 1, p. 108.

33. Acts, Sixth Annual Session, p. 122.

Frank Mitchell's will.

Legislative Restrictions

These emancipations took place in face of the fact that Alabamians began to regard the free Negroes as a troublesome lot, and the further fact that the Legislature began to require emancipated slaves to leave the State in a given time after they had achieved their freedom.

Gilbert Taylor of Limestone County was authorized to emancipate nine of his slaves in 1822. They were to leave the State within ten months, and were warned never to return. They were also subject to sale as long as they stayed in the State, in order to satisfy any debt that might have been contracted by their master prior to their emancipation.³⁴

Henry Taylor of Wilcox County was authorized to set free three of his slaves. The provisions of the act required Taylor to post a bond of \$1,000; the slaves had to leave the State within twelve months, and they, too, were subject to sale for their master's debts.³⁵ Nicholas Pope of Mobile County was given the right to free his slave boy, Willis, but Willis was allowed to remain in the State until he reached the age of twenty-one.³⁶

34. Acts, Fourth Annual Session, 1822-1823, p. 135.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p. 136.

The Legislature approved the provisions of the will of Thomas Ragland, and freed Margaret, a slave woman, and her children. She was given permission to remain in the State until her youngest child was five years old, and the children could continue therein until they each reached the age of twenty-one.³⁷

The legislators often indulged in particularities in an emancipatory act. On December 31, 1823, they approved an act that read, "Be it enacted, . . . that Nancy M'Gee, Peggy, Jane, William, and Dixon, children of Lynn M'Gee of Baldwin County by a woman of color, said woman before and at the time of her intermarriage with said Lynn M'Gee having been his slave, he and they . . . are hereby forever emancipated and set free . . . "³⁸

The executors of the will of Bailey M. Woods were empowered to carry out the provisions of his will and emancipate Letitia, a negro girl. She was, however, to be bound out to service until she was eighteen years of age; then she was to leave the State and never return.

William Blake's negro slave, Jacob, was emancipated with the usual provisions about bond, rights of creditors, and leaving the State within twelve months. The second

37. Ibid.

38. Acts, Fifth Annual Session, p. 77.

section of the act stated that "If the negro returns to the State to reside, he is to be sold by the Sheriff of the County. . . and the proceeds appropriated to county purposes."³⁹

The harshness of the provision requiring emancipated slaves to leave the State was often modified by special provisions. Rebecca Fletcher of Lawrence County was authorized in 1823 to emancipate her slave, John Spaniard. Before his year of grace was up, the legislature repealed the part of it that would have forced Spaniard to leave the State:

Whereas it has been represented to this General Assembly by the petition of many respected citizens of Lawrence County, that John Spaniard. . . is a good and industrious citizen, contributing by his labor not only to his own support, but to the maintenance of his former mistress, who is aged and infirm, and moreover, that the said John Spaniard has a wife and two children in bondage; . . . it is the desire of said petitioners that the provisos of said act should be repealed. 40

At the sixth annual session of the legislature, Mary Ann Kennedy, a free negro woman of Franklin County, was permitted to emancipate her negro man slave, Joshua Therman. Joshua avoided leaving the State, and was still⁴¹ in the same county sixteen years later.

39. Ibid., p. 78.

40. Ibid., p. 79; also Acts, Sixth Annual Session, December 14, 1824.

41. Acts, Sixth Annual Session, p. 114; see also U. S. Census, 1840.

The "Creoles" Of Mobile

The Negroes of Mobile were usually represented in their petitions to the legislature as being descendants of the ancient Creole population," and were accorded special rights and privileges. Where permission was granted to emancipate, the usual bond had to be posted, and the rights of creditors guaranteed, but there was no demand that the liberated slaves leave the State. In addition to these provisions, the master usually was obligated to educate and maintain the former slave until the age of majority was reached. The liberated females were to be kept and educated until they were eighteen years or until they married. In the case of male slaves, they were to receive the same treatment until they were twenty-one. Thus John Frenier of Mobile, on December 2, 1824, freed three of his slaves: Celine, the mulatto daughter of a black woman, Carmelete, a black woman, and her child, Marian. Frenier had the responsibility of caring for Celine for sixteen more years, and for Marian over a period of sixteen and one-half years. Fermin Frenier, on the same date, liberated a slave woman and her two children. He obligated himself to post a bond of \$3,000 and to maintain and educate the two minor children until they were eighteen years of age. Ulysees J. Barnard and Joseph Journun emancipated female slave children, and they, too, were

obligated for maintenance and education.⁴²

Value Of Freed Negroes

These emancipations took place at a time when the economic value of slaves was rather high.⁴³ John Taylor paid his master seven hundred and fifty dollars for himself; Daniel Reed bought his son out of slavery for five hundred and twenty-five dollars; and others, who were skilled in some trade, brought even higher prices.⁴⁴ Thus, in addition to the loss of the slaves' future earning power, the master took upon himself the added cost of food, clothing, and education. This was true, of course, only in the Mobile area. There is no record of similar requirements being exacted of emancipators anywhere else in the State.

Jacob Johnston of Madison County petitioned the legislature to permit him to free his Negro slave, John Taylor, in 1825. John had purchased his freedom from Johnson with the understanding that his master would make every effort to have the legislature give its official approval. Permission was granted, and the Negro avoided leaving the State by moving into an adjoining county. He was still in

42. Acts, Sixth Annual Session, pp. 122 ff.

43. U. B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, p. 178.

44. See Chapter IV, "Property Holding and Occupations."

the State in 1840 and was the head of a family consisting of himself, his wife, and three children. In addition to providing for his family, he had also become the owner of three slaves.⁴⁵

Hugue Dubroca of Mobile executed deeds of manumission for his several children whose mother was a slave. He died without having these deeds approved and recorded by the Spanish Commandant, who ruled Mobile at the time of Dubroca's death. His brother, Maximilian, in order to protect the children, submitted these deeds to the Alabama Legislature in 1825, and the records were approved. The manumissions were declared to "be valid and good in law for the purpose of enfranchising and freeing from slavery the said persons therein mentioned."⁴⁶

General Emancipation Criticized

Emancipations continued in Alabama, although the Legislature issued a sharp rebuke to the states of Delaware, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, upon receipt of a resolution from these states which proposed the general emancipation of all slaves. This resolution, passed by the legislature of Ohio on January 7, 1824, together with one

45. Acts, Seventh Annual Session, p. 97; also U. S. Census, 1840.

46. Acts, Seventh Annual Session, p. 77.

from New Jersey, which proposed a system of foreign colonization, and the entire emancipation of slaves, was considered meddling and impertinent by the Legislature of Alabama. The joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives stated that

the frequent interference of the non-slave-holding states in a matter so purely internal and domestic is alike impolitic and incompatible with the rights and interests of the slave-holding states; and that the dictates of policy forbid the too frequent agitation of a question which, by the Constitution of the United States, and of the several slave-holding states, is beyond the exercise of legislative control.⁴⁷

In spite of this expressed attitude on the part of the legislature toward general emancipation, there were fifteen acts of emancipation in 1827, forty-two in 1828, and fifty-eight in 1829.

John P. Neale, the agent of William A. Powell of Madison County, was authorized to emancipate John Robinson, a mulatto slave, in 1828.⁴⁸ The Census returns for 1830 list Robinson as the head of a family of seven, and as the owner of four slaves. He was wealthy enough to hire slaves and to purchase property in the city of Huntsville. At least three of the slaves that he owned were members of his family, for in 1830 the legislature authorized him to emancipate his

⁴⁷. Acts, Eighth Annual Session, p. 116.

⁴⁸. Ibid., p. 106.

wife Ann, and her two children, Lelia Ann and Lafayette.⁴⁹

At the tenth annual session of the General Assembly, beginning in November, 1828, slaves were set free in Madison, Mobile, Autauga, Lawrence, Jefferson, Tuscaloosa, Perry, Pickens, and Montgomery Counties. Hector Garret, a free man of color of Autauga County, was authorized to set free his wife Melissa and their five children. In Tuscaloosa County, Solomon Perteet and Zadock Love, both free men of color, were given the authority to free their wives and children. They were required to post bond of \$1200. each, and none of the slaves they manumitted were required to leave the State.⁵⁰

During the next year, there were fifty-eight slaves emancipated in fifteen counties by legislative action. The executors of the will of Richard Rapier were authorized to manumit a male slave named John H. Rapier.⁵¹ This freed slave was the foster father of the Rapier who at a later date served in the national legislature as a Congressman from Alabama.

An unusual act was passed by the legislature on January 20, 1830. "Sally Phagan, woman of color, who has

49. Acts, Twelfth Annual Session, p. 37.

50. Acts, Tenth Annual Session, p. 92.

51. Acts, Eleventh Annual Session, p. 36.

been purchased by contributions by sundry citizens of Madison County for the purpose of emancipating, he and is freed from bondage and slavery." The citizens who purchased her freedom were required to post only one hundred dollars as bond.

EFFORTS TO CHECK POPULATION INCREASE

Two events occurred in the early part of the decade beginning with 1830 that slowed the rate of emancipations and of the increase of free Negroes within the State. The Alabama Supreme Court in 1830 ruled that "slaves could not be emancipated by will."⁵² In 1831, the whole South was swept by a wave of fear when a slave in Virginia led his followers in the massacre of nearly sixty whites. This rebellion or insurrection led to the imposition of harsher and more restrictive legislation for the control of negroes in the Southern states. In Alabama, the Anti-Immigration Act of 1832 was a direct outcome of this fear of servile uprisings. The act, approved January 16, 1832, read in part:

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of January next, it shall not be lawful for any free person of

52. Isbell vs. Stamp, 6 Porter 293.

color to settle within the limits of this State, . . . they shall, on notice of this act, depart within thirty days, or shall be liable, on conviction, before any justice of the peace, to receive thirty-nine lashes; . . .

For failing to heed this warning the person so punished could be sold into slavery for a year, and if the offender was found in the State after that period of servitude, he could be sold as a slave for life.⁵³

Restrictions Affect Increase

Only four hundred and sixty-seven persons were added to the list of free persons of color in the decade between 1830 and 1840. Thirty-two of these were manumitted by acts of the legislature. In 1830 Anson Smith of Lowndes County, was authorized to free two mulatto children, Edwin, a five-year-old boy, and Caroline, a girl about three years old.⁵⁴ A thirty-seven-year-old negro man, called Frank, was emancipated by William R. Pickett of Autauga County.⁵⁵ In Wilcox County, Henry Taylor emancipated Jim, a mulatto, and Dick, another male slave, was freed by Elizabeth Grierson of Shelby County.⁵⁶ In 1831, the legislature authorized James

53. Acts, Thirteenth Annual Session, pp. 15-16.

54. Acts, Twelfth Annual Session, p. 50.

55. Ibid., p. 55.

56. Ibid., p. 56, Secs. 1 and 2.

Doran of Jackson County to free twelve slaves, provided that he would, prior to their emancipation, convey to the judge of the Jackson County court six hundred and forty acres of land to be held in trust forever as security. The next year Doran was given permission to set free two more of his slaves.⁵⁷ John Robinson, a free man of color in Madison County, was authorized to emancipate two of his sons, William and John, but they were required to leave the State as soon as they were twenty-one years of age.⁵⁸

In an act approved by the legislature meeting in 1833, William Wilson of Dallas County was given permission to free Jim and Livinia, but they had to leave the State within twelve months. Section two of the act decreed that if they should ever return they were to be apprehended by the sheriff, advertised, and sold as slaves for life. The money from their sale was to be placed in the county treasury.⁵⁹

Nancy G. Marr, wife of one of the wealthiest men in Tuscaloosa County, was permitted to emancipate her mulatto slave girl, Martitia, by an act approved January 6, 1836.⁶⁰

57. Acts, Fourteenth Annual Session, p. 90.

58. Acts, Thirteenth Annual Session, p. 90.

59. Acts, Fourteenth Annual Session, p. 137, Secs. 1 & 2.

60. Acts, Sixteenth Annual Session, p. 100.

Martitia was allowed to post bond and to remain in the State. To set the record of Babb, former slave of Horatio G. Perry, in order, the legislature of 1837 approved an act that made his emancipation official. Babb, who had left the state of Alabama under the impression that he was a free man, was permitted to continue his residence in Tennessee, but was refused permission ever to come back to Alabama.⁶¹ Some of the problems of the free Negro were brought to light in an act of the 1839 legislature.

Whereas, it appears from the petition of Carlo Fernandez and many other citizens of Mobile, that Marie Hypolite, a young girl of color, now held as a slave of Carlo Fernandez, was in all probability, born of free parents, but could not without difficulty and expense beyond her reach, establish the fact; therefore, be it enacted . . . that the said Carlo Fernandez be . . . authorized to emancipate and set free the said Marie Hypolite.⁶²

Supreme Court Ruling

The Supreme Court of Alabama ruled in January⁶³ of 1830 that "slaves could not be emancipated by will." Despite the ruling and the events of the early thirties that caused legislative restrictions to be imposed upon the freed Negroes, the people of Alabama continued to make

61. Acts, Eighteenth Annual Session, p. 109.

62. Acts, Twentieth Annual Session, p. 116.

63. Isbell vs. Stamp, 6 Porter 293.

provisions in their wills for the emancipations of their slaves. In 1832, Jeremiah Smith of Autauga County stated in his will:

Item 6th. I wish Gabe and Jim to serve five years after my death, then to be free and at their liberty.

Item 7th. I wish Aimey and Emeline to be free and at their liberty at my death. ⁶⁴

Robert Motley of the same county set his Negro man, Jacob, free, requested his executors to apply to the Legislature of Alabama to sanction his emancipation, and further re-
⁶⁵quested his sons to take Jacob under their protection.

Alexander Morton in 1838 gave directions in his will for the freeing of three male and four female slaves. The three men were to receive \$300 each from his estate, and the four women were to get \$250 each. If the negroes decided to leave
⁶⁶the State, their expenses were to be paid out of the estate.

Thomas Welch of Dallas County freed his servant, Flora, and her two children, John and Julias. Other items set forth in his will provided a small income to be paid to the three slaves over a period of five years. He relinquished to Flora a sum of \$250 which she had earned and

64. Orphans Court Minutes, 1836-42, Autauga County, Book 4.

65. Autauga County Records, Reports C, vol. 3, 1834-38, p. 243.

66. Ibid., p. 567.

deposited with him. John, twenty years of age, was to be bound as an apprentice to some good blacksmith for two years before he was fully free.⁶⁷

Many of the slave owners who emancipated negroes recognized the need of the freed men for financial aid during the period of adjustment to their new status. James McMillan left two thousand dollars to the three females that he freed by will in 1836, and gave his brother Drury McMillan one thousand dollars to administer the fund and care for the Negroes.⁶⁸ Michael Kenan made wise provisions for his "faithful servant John." John was a barber by trade, and Kenan's executor was authorized to advance as much money to the Negro as would be necessary to build and equip a barber shop. John was then to be allowed to purchase himself, and the executor was to adopt such means as would secure John's freedom.⁶⁹ In Henry County, William Cureton set Stephen and Suckey free in 1832.⁷⁰

Slave-owners Aid Freed Negroes

These efforts to set their Negroes free,

67. Dallas County Records, Will Book A., p. 83.

68. Ibid., p. 116.

69. Ibid., p. 137

70. Henry County Records, Deed Book A, October 1, 1832.

irrespective of legislative action, were not attempts on the part of slave-holders to rid themselves of unprofitable or aged slaves. In nearly every instance money was awarded or land was granted or the care of the free Negroes was entrusted to some person in whom the donor had utmost confidence. These emancipations, unblessed by legislative action, created a class of quasi-free Negroes who nominally enjoyed the status of any other free person of color, but who, legally, were not free.⁷¹ Ordinarily, these people were furnished certificates of freedom based upon the provisions of the will of their former master, and were recognized as free persons. The legislature could pass laws prohibiting such emancipations, but individuals were responsible for seeing to it that the laws were put into effect. In these cases, as in so many others, the severity of the laws was often tempered by personal acquaintance with and long knowledge of those against whom the law might be directed. Free Negroes in general were railed at in the press of the 1800's, but individual free Negroes often had the sympathy and help of those who knew them. This attitude of whites toward the free Negro is excellently illustrated by an article that appeared in a Tuscaloosa newspaper in 1857:

71. Isbell vs. Stamp, 6 Porter 293.

Free Negroes

The following communication from a gentleman of high standing contains valuable suggestions and we recommend it to the attention and consideration of our citizens. In our own city there are some of the population here spoken of who have a strong hold upon the sympathies of the public. Their good conduct has won for them good character and there is a proper desire for their comfort and success, but unfortunately the mass of free negroes are not duly reliable, but are actually mischievous and dangerous to the interests of slave-holding states. 72

The editor probably had in mind, when he referred to individuals of good character, such colored men as Solomon Perteet, James Abbott, Ned Berry, and others who were good business men of Tuscaloosa, and were liked by the white citizens of the town. 73

Emancipations Continue Despite Restrictions

The years between 1840 and 1850 were marked by increasing restrictions on the free Negroes as a group, but the legislature continued to pass emancipatory acts. In 1841, Augustin Demoury of Mobile was permitted to emancipate a female slave, Francoise, and her two sons, Emile and Louis. A daughter, Camilla by name, was also included in the Act. These Negroes were permitted to remain in the State. 74

72. The Monitor, Tuscaloosa, August 6, 1857.

73. See Chapter iv, "Property Holding and Occupations."

74. Acts, Twenty Second Session, p. 11.

Hortense Collin, wife of Maximillian Collin, and her two children, Francis Voltair and Louise Pievei (known as Louise Baudin) were freed by a legislative act of December 31, 1841. Eugene, Hortense, Marie, Adelaïd, and Registe who were children of Louise Baudin were also emancipated by the same statute.⁷⁵

At the session of the 1842 legislature, an act was passed confirming an emancipatory decree issued by the Clarke county court. This decree had emancipated Cicily, Mary, Squire, Pino, and David, who had been the property of Thomas Rile. They were given the right to stay in the State until 1845.⁷⁶

Louisa Rafael, who had been emancipated in 1836 had recorded her "free papers" in Escambia County in Florida Territory. She had, since her emancipation, given birth to a female child, Isabella. Louisa wished to live in Alabama but she did not know whether her freedom would be recognized. She was given permission to remain in the state by a legislative act.⁷⁷ Charles, the property of Honore Collin, was emancipated and permitted to remain in the state.⁷⁸

75. Ibid., p. 157.

76. Acts, Twenty-third Session, p. 182.

77. Ibid., p. 183.

78. Ibid., p. 186.

Baptiste, slave of Joseph Johnston of Washington County was given his freedom by his master's will. Baptiste had "preserved the life of his master in a conflict with a band of runaway outlawed slaves." The legislature of 1842 confirmed the emancipation and gave Baptiste permission to remain in the state. Daniel Reed, a free Negro, and James Johnston, administrator of the will, were required to post a bond of \$5,000 for the good behavior of Baptiste so long as he remained in the state.⁷⁹ Jacob Lacey, a free man of color, and his family were authorized to reside permanently⁸⁰ in Lauderdale County.

At the next yearly meeting of the General Assembly Abraham Shanklin, a free man of color, was permitted to emancipate his wife, Keissey. They were required to remain in Mobile County on penalty of forfeiting a bond of \$1000 should they move elsewhere.⁸¹ In a joint resolution approved January 10, 1844, Lorenzo Walker and his wife Pheraba, both free Negroes, were given permission to remain in the state. The resolution stated:

Whereas, Lorenzo Walker, a free man of color, and his wife, Pheraba, who are both now, and for some

79. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

80. Ibid., p. 204.

81. Acts, Twenty-fourth Session, p. 21.

years have been citizens of the county. . . by their industry, perseverance, and general good deportment. . . have accumulated property. . . and have ample testimonials of good character. . . be it resolved. . . they are hereby allowed and permitted to remain in the said county of Fayette. 82

In the next year, Julie Allain of Mobile County set Gertrude free, and Patrick McCluskey of the same county liberated his negro boy William. Josephine Dubroca of Baldwin County gave Nora and his wife Dinah their freedom.⁸³ Jack Demery of Montgomery County was given permission to emancipate Eliza and her three children, Frances Elizabeth, aged five, John, aged three, and Amanda Victoria, aged two.⁸⁴ In Autauga County, Esther, a Negro woman slave, was given her freedom according to the provisions of the will of her deceased mistress.⁸⁵

In 1845, Horace King of Russell County was emancipated by his master, John Godwin.⁸⁶ Horace, an excellent bridge builder, was to serve as a duly elected representative to the Alabama legislature during the Reconstruction period. Act number 303 of the same session authorized the emancipation of Judy Spence of Madison County.

82. Ibid., p. 197.

83. Acts, Twenty-fifth Session, pp. 55 ff.

84. Ibid., p. 99.

85. Ibid., pp. 168-9.

86. Acts, Twenty-sixth Session, p. 207.

EMANCIPATORS AVOID LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS

These legislative measures, as usual, do not account for all the emancipations that took place in Alabama during any decade. Richard B. Harrison of Dallas County left a will in 1847 that provided a substantial estate and income for his Negro woman Harriet and five other Negroes who were apparently her children. Harrison appointed Ephriam Pool of the same county as his executor, with the injunction that Pool was to carry out the following provisions: first, the six Negroes were to be freed by legislative action and be permitted to remain in the state, if possible. If legislative action were not taken, then the six slaves were to be carried out of the state, freed, and provided for out of the trust set up for them. Second, Pool was made trustee of twenty-six slaves belonging to Harrison on condition that the proceeds from their labor be used for the exclusive benefit of Harriet and her five children. Third, Pool was made trustee of four hundred and twenty acres of land which he was to keep and manage for the sole use of the six emancipated Negroes. Other provisions in Harrison's will were that the trust for the Negroes was to be an inheritable trust, and one of the male slaves was to be sent to school and given a liberal education. Evidently Pool was faithful in his

88. Dallas County Records, Will Record A, pp. 213-214.

execution of Harrison's will, for in his own will, recorded in 1857, there is no mention of the six Negroes in connection with his estate, and he gave directions to his executor to have his own slaves carried to Cincinnati, Ohio, and⁸⁹ liberated.

White Fathers Provide For Mulatto Children

The will of John Hooper reveals a desire to take care of a group of slaves who were apparently Hooper's children. The will, probated in 1848, in Dallas County, read in part:

Third. It is my wish that my executor. . . take Harriet, a yellow woman and her six children, namely Elen, William, Mary Jane, Zachariah, Eliza Ann, Joseph, to the State of Ohio and Free them there, settle them comfortably in the county, not the city. . . place in some solvent bank in Ohio the sum of ten thousand dollars to be used in the following manner, they Harriet and her six children are to be supported from the interest of the ten thousand dollars, the principal is not to be used unless Harriet marries, then she may draw her proportional part of the principal, and the same may be done with each child's. . . part as they become of age or marry.

Fourth, it is my wish that Harriet and her six children have all of my beds and bed clothes and set of knives and forks.

The executor was requested to pay all the expenses of conveying and settling Harriet and her children out of

89. Dallas County Records, Will Record B., p. 163.

Hooper's estate before any division of the estate took place.⁹⁰

A will, similar to that of Hooper's, was left by John C. Pickens of Greene County in 1842. Pickens was presumably a bachelor, for he left his entire estate to his brother Samuel and the heirs of Samuel. There was one exception made in the bequest. John wished his Negro woman, Caroline, and her child, Sarah Ann, to be set free and given an annuity of \$300, and "the annuity is to be extended to her children during their lives. I mean the children she has during my lifetime are to receive the annuity, or any child that may be born nine months after my death."⁹¹

James H. Foster, with seemingly mixed feelings of humanitarianism and economy, stated in his will that he wished all his slaves freed as they arrived at the age of fifty years if this could be done by the law of the land.⁹²

William Staylor of Mobile County stated that he wished his "negress slave Norma, . . . sometimes called Jenny" to be emancipated and set free immediately after his death.⁹³ John Maynard of the same county, fearing that the

90. Dallas County Records, Will Record A, p. 330.

91. Greene County Records, Deed Book C, pp. 72-73.

92. Greene County Records, Deed Book B, pp. 271-272.

93. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, p. 64.

emancipatory laws of Florida Territory might not guarantee the freedom of his Negro slave Hester and the children that he had by her, enjoined the executors of his will to make every effort to protect them. He had freed Hester and one male child according to the laws of the Territory of Florida. He claimed the child as his natural son, and by his will adopted the child and named him John Maynard, Jr. Hester was to receive one-third of Maynard's estate, and the child was to inherit two-thirds. A female slave, Mary, who was also the child of Hester, but apparently not the issue of Maynard, was to be freed after his death, but was to have no part in the estate as an heir. In a codicil recorded two years later, Maynard explained that "the said negro woman named Hester or Esther has given birth to another child named Jeanne, a female now of the age of about eleven months, and which girl Jeanne, I acknowledge to be also my natural child, and to whom I also give my name, and whom I acknowledge to be free born." The codicil provided for Jeanne in that she was to share equally in the portion of the estate left to Maynard's son, John. Mary, whom Maynard did not claim as his child, was to inherit if Hester and the other two children⁹⁴ were dead at the time the will was filed for probate.

94. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, pp. 81 ff.

Legal Difficulties Of Free Negroes

Tom Smith, or Free Tom, of Dallas County, was emancipated by legislative action in 1829, and by 1850 there were thirty-five free persons of color included in his family, as well as fifteen slaves. Tom died in 1850, and because it was discovered that one of Tom's widows and her children had not been legally emancipated, letters of administration were granted to Garland Gardner, a white man of the county. Having been accepted as free persons for over two decades, the heirs of Free Tom took the case into the courts. In 1852, the state of Alabama legally emancipated all of the Negroes belonging to Tom's estate, and disclaimed any right in the property involved. The slaves were emancipated on condition that they leave the State within two years. In 1854, the Supreme Court ruled that Tom had never been legally married to either of his "widows", and therefore had no legal heirs. To make matters more complicated, both of the "widows" were named Charity and both of them had borne children by Tom. The State having emancipated all the Negroes, and having relinquished its rights in Tom's property, the Supreme Court further ruled that the Negroes involved could receive the estate as a gift from the state. The estate was settled in this manner, and the Smiths, according to the law, were required to leave the state. There is evidence in the census returns for 1860 that

they did not all leave. There were twenty Smiths living in Dallas County in 1860, and Smiths who bore the same names as those who were involved in the Supreme Court decisions, lived in adjoining counties.⁹⁵

John Bell, Negro slave of William R. King, was set free in 1854, after the death of his master. King's will, written in Washington, D. C., and filed for probate in Dallas County, made provisions for several of his slaves. In order to prevent any difficulties arising after his death, he placed the following provisions in his will:

My servant man John Bell, is permitted to select his residence either in Liberia or any one of the free states, or in the district of Columbia, and my Executor will pay over to him two thousand dollars, and my nephew will take measures to insure his safe arrival at the place selected by him. If my sister Kennegay will sell Hannah Blount, I wish my Executor to purchase her and together with her husband, Andrew Jackson, deliver them to the agent of the Colonization Society to be household to Liberia. My Executor will advance to the agent five hundred dollars to be handed them after paying their expenses. I wish also my Executor to purchase from my sister the negro boy Ashen, my nephew to take charge of him and either send him to Liberia or to one of the free states as he may prefer when leaving Alabama. My Executor will pay him five hundred dollars. 96

Bell was not required to post bond and was authorized to

95. Malinda and Sarah vs. Gardner, 24 Ala. 719. The census figures were taken from the original manuscript, Alabama State Census for 1850 and the Federal Census for 1860.

96. Dallas County Records, Will Record A, p. 83.

remain in the State "in the enjoyment of Freedom."⁹⁷ It is quite possible that King's political prominence as Vice-president of the United States had something to do with the lenient attitude of the legislature toward his former slave.

Garland Gardner, of Dallas County, left a will in 1856 that provided for the emancipation of his Negro woman Harriet and her two girls Mary and Martha. His brother, Virgil Gardner, was to take the three female slaves out of the State, have them emancipated, and give one thousand dollars to the mother.⁹⁸ Edward Jones left two mulatto slaves to his wife on condition that they be freed when they had reached the age of twenty years. They were to be carried out of the State, and given two hundred dollars each. He also gave directions that two mulatto women and a child were to be carried out of the State and freed immediately after his death. Their traveling expenses were to be paid,⁹⁹ and they too were to receive two hundred dollars each. William Collins freed Wiley, the child of Rachel, and left him under the control and guardianship of his executor until¹⁰⁰ the boy should arrive at the age of fifteen years.

97. Acts, Fourth Biennial Session, p. 144

98. Dallas County Records, Will Record B, p. 142.

99. Ibid., pp. 180-181.

100. Ibid., p. 207.

E. D. Whitehead of Greene County left his servant boy, Robert, to his brother in trust "for the purpose of setting him free in some one of the non-slave-holding states of the Union." The sum of two thousand dollars was to be taken from Whitehead's estate and given to Robert when he was emancipated. ¹⁰¹

Albert Abercrombie of Montgomery County left six slave children to his friend, Robert Ware. Ware, under the provisions of the will, was to "take care of, protect, govern, and control" until the children became of age. He was then to emancipate them, either in Alabama or some free state, compensate himself for his services, and give the six children and their mother the balance derived from the sale of Abercrombie's estate. ¹⁰²

William Graham did not wish to leave his slave child Zachariah under the influence of a slave-holding society. He directed in his will that his executors "remove my mulatto slave boy named Zachariah (sometimes called Coon) aged about three years as soon after my death as practicable to some state in the American Union where African slavery is not known and recognized...." The executors of his will were then to have a guardian appointed for Zachariah and put

101. Greene County Records, Deed Book C, pp. 502-504.

102. Montgomery County Records, Will Records, Vol. 3, pp. 111-113.

\$500 in a trust fund for the child.¹⁰³ Benjamin Hassell left instructions for the removal of ten of his slaves to New York State where they were to be emancipated. The sum of nine thousand dollars was set aside to be used to purchase land and homes for them. In addition to this, they were to be given a total of four thousand and three hundred dollars in cash after they were set free.¹⁰⁴

Three Negro slave children belonging to Nathan Harris may have looked forward to immediate emancipation upon the death of their master, but he was wise enough to arrange for them a period of adjustment to a new type of life. The two girls were to serve an apprenticeship of five years in the trade of sewing and dressmaking, and the boy was to be taught a mechanical trade over a like period of time. At the expiration of five years, they were to be hired out to some "kind and humane" person until they should reach the age of twenty-one years. They were then to be carried to some free state, emancipated, and given the sum of three hundred dollars each. A fourth slave, William, was to be carried immediately to some free state, emancipated, and given one hundred dollars.¹⁰⁵

103. Montgomery County Records, Will Records, V. 2, pp. 11-14.

104. Ibid., Wills No. 4, pp. 54-62.

105. Ibid., pp. 71-75.

Lewis Neville Shelton's will was a rather pathetic document. Written in New Orleans, Louisiana, and filed for record in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1859, it told the story of an only son and his concern for a slave child. The will read in part:

My name is Lewis Neville Shelton. I was born in Newberry District in the State of South Carolina on the fourteenth day of February, 1802. I have never been married, therefore I have no descends, neither have I brothers, sisters, or decendants of brothers or sisters; nor accendants. I give and bequeath unto my slave boy Joshua, born my slave on the 12th day of Dec. 1851, the sum of five thousand dollars to be paid unto him when he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years
 . . .

Shelton expressed a wish that his little slave be provided for out of the interest from the money, carried out of the state and manumitted, and given a thorough classical education. A further bequest was an annuity of two hundred and fifty dollars to Sophia Bowen whom he described as "an old woman of color and free."¹⁰⁶

Benjamin Ivey of Sumter County was not willing to wait or depend upon the Alabama Legislature to emancipate his slaves. He directed the executor of his will to convey Harriet and her four children to Indiana, Illinois, or Ohio, where the slaves were to be set free. He left the sum of five thousand dollars to defray the expenses of removing the

106. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

slaves to free territory with the provision that the remainder of the money was to be invested for their support.¹⁰⁷

Legal Difficulties Prevent Some Manumissions

Some wills in which the testator expressed a desire to have certain of his slaves freed were declared void because they did not comply with the laws of Alabama. The Supreme Court of Alabama held in several cases that "slaves can only be made free in the mode provided by statute."¹⁰⁸ A legislative act of 1834 provided that a slave had to be removed from the state before an act of emancipation could take place.¹⁰⁹ There was nothing contained in the law or constitution of Alabama that would prevent a slave owner or the executor of his will, from carrying or sending slaves out of the state in order that they might be freed elsewhere.¹¹⁰ After the slaves were emancipated they could inherit property, benefit from an established trust,¹¹¹ or become the recipients of a specific bequest.

107. Sumter County Records, Wills, Book 2, 1850-72, p. 153

108. Alston vs. Coleman, 7 Ala. 795.

109. Acts, Fourteenth Annual Session, p. 29.

110. Atwood's Heirs vs. Beck, Administrator, 21 Ala. 590;
Pool's Heirs vs. Pool's Executors, 35, Ala. 12.

111. Jones vs. Jones' Executors, 37 Ala. 646.

The wills of the two Townsend brothers of Madison County illustrate the difficulties that beset some slaves on the death of their master. Even though Edmund Townsend expressed a definite desire to emancipate his two mulatto daughters, Elizabeth and Virginia, he did not make specific provisions to have them carried out of the state to be emancipated. On the contrary, he wanted his executors to have the girls freed by the Alabama Legislature, and secure permission for them to remain in the state.¹¹² This was clearly impossible, according to the law of Alabama, and because of the wording of his will, the two girls and an estate valued at \$500,000 fell into the hands of heirs. The two girls remained in slavery until they were purchased by the executors of the will of Samuel Townsend, brother of Edmund. Elizabeth and Virginia were sent to Xenia, Ohio, in 1860. They were there emancipated and placed in Wilberforce University. Elizabeth, in a letter written from Ohio, told one of her brothers in Alabama that she was happy, and that her sister Virginia had professed religion in a revival held on the campus the week before.¹¹³

Samuel Townsend died in 1856, just three years

112. Madison County Records, Will Book I, p. 9.

113. Frances C. Roberts, An Experiment in Emancipation of Slaves by an Alabama Planter, p. 35.

after the death of his brother Edmund. Having seen what happened to his brother's mulatto children, he was determined to avoid similar trouble for nine mulatto children that had been borne to him by various slave women. In addition to the emancipation of this group, he wished to secure the freedom of thirty-one others, with the increase of any females in the group, if such were born prior to his death.¹¹⁴ The will was contested by Townsend heirs, but his carefulness in wording the document prevented the will from being declared inoperative. All of the Negroes were carried out of the state and freed.

FREE-BORN NEGROES AND THEIR DIFFICULTIES

Another group of Negroes who augmented the free colored population of Alabama were those who were born free. The Alabama Supreme Court ruled that the child partook of the status of its mother.¹¹⁵ Thus the children of a free Negro woman were legally free, even if their father was a slave. Any child born to an emancipated Negro woman slave was free if it was born after the emancipatory act took place. Due to this fact, there were numerous families in Alabama that were part slave and part free.¹¹⁶

114. Madison County Records, Will Book I, pp. 167-177.

115. Sidney vs. White, 12 Ala. 728; Winter and Scisson vs. State, 20 Ala. 39; Bank vs. Benham, 23 Ala. 143.

116. See Appendix, Census Returns, 1820-1860.

Free Papers

Numerous Negroes were careful to carry certificates or identification papers that would prove that they were free born or had been emancipated. This was especially true of Negroes who were coming into the slave-holding territory from a "free" state, because in slave-holding territory, a man of color was presumed to be a slave, and the burden of proof as to his status was upon him. Many colored parents were anxious to preserve the freedom of their children, and did so by placing evidence to that effect on record. In order to prevent the misuse of these certificates of freedom, they quite often contained a minute description of the bearer.

Damon, who was freed in Virginia in 1806, brought a copy of his emancipation record when he moved to Alabama in 1820, and had it duly recorded at the Limestone County Court House. Damon was a mulatto, and was about forty years of age when he came to Alabama to live. ¹¹⁷ John Wake, also of Virginia, came to Alabama as a free man in 1827. He registered in Madison County and his certificate described him as a "black man about twenty-five years of age, about five feet five and one-half inches high, scar on his right

117. Limestone County Records, Deed Record I, 1819-25, pp. 251-253.

hand and a scar on his left hand, thigh and foot, by occupation a blacksmith."¹¹⁸

An interesting document was recorded in Mobile by David Lowber, a mulatto and former servant of William King of Alabama:

Know ye that David Lowber an indentured servant whose time of servitude I purchased from Major John A Burd of the U. S. Army on the 15th day of March, 1817, having served out the full period for which he was held to bondage, is hereby declared free. . . .

To prevent any abuse of this certificate of freedom, here follows a description of the said David Lowber. He is 5 feet 10 inches in height stout and well made of a mulatto complexion and about twenty one years of age. 119

In 1820, Mariah Evans, a free woman of color, set her husband Richard free by legislative action. In order to protect him in the future, she recorded the transaction in the Madison County Court House in 1823, and declared Richard free from all authority "except the Laws of the Land and the Laws of God."¹²⁰

Benjamin Lawrence of South Carolina emancipated "Abraham or Abram" in 1813, in accordance with the will of Benjamin's brother, John, who had owned "Abraham or Abram."

118. Madison County Records, Deed Book L, p. 237.

119. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes From the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court, 1819-1884, p. 164.

120. Madison County Records, Deed Book H, pp. 194-195.

A record of this emancipatory act was filed in South Carolina along with a further statement that the "character and ability of Abraham or Abram to earn a support on his own account recommended by John T. Lewis. . . ." This recommendation was subscribed to by five white property owners. When "Abraham or Abram" came to Alabama in 1824, he brought a certified copy of this document with him and had it placed on record in Jefferson County.

Moses, of Kentucky, was freed in accordance with his master's will in 1806, and was careful enough to bring a copy of his certificate of freedom to Alabama in 1825.¹²¹ Moses apparently remained in a state of "single blessedness" for there is no record in the census returns for 1830 to show that he might have become the head of a family.

Despite the fact that some free negroes were arrested as fugitive slaves, it was not true that the whites were overly anxious to take advantage of them. Nine white men accompanied Charles Chavious, a free negro, to the Jefferson County Court House and there made affidavit that Chavious had lost his certificate of freedom which he had brought from North Carolina, but that each of them had seen the papers, and knew that Chavious was a free man.¹²² This

121. Limestone County Records, Deed Record 2, 1825-26, pp. 31-32.

122. Jefferson County Records, Deeds and Wills, 1818-1836, Vol. I, p. 311.

testimony was accepted by the courts of Jefferson County, and, indeed, hearsay evidence to prove freedom was accepted in several cases by the Supreme Court of Alabama.¹²³ When James Abbott of Tuscaloosa County wished to certify to the fact that his children were free born, several prominent white men in the city of Tuscaloosa furnished him with documents that tended to prove Abbott's free condition as well as that of his wife. These men wrote of the excellent character of James and Fanny, and certified that they had been¹²⁴ legally married.

In 1828, H. J. Gripet and Jessie Farrow, white men of Monroe County, went before the Probate Court and recorded the following document:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed affirm that Gordon, a free boy of color, known by the name of Gordon Leach, has with his mother passed for free people of color and being informed that he has lost his papers pertaining to his freedom, we do certify that they have ever been recognized in this county for free colored people. 125

Gordon had these papers registered when he moved into Mobile.

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123. Winter and Scisson vs. State, 20 Ala. 39; Becton vs. Ferguson, 22 Ala. 599; Tucker vs. State, 24 Ala. 77; Haden and Downing vs. Ivey, 51 Ala. 281.
124. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book U, pp. 177-178.
125. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes from the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court for 1819-1844, p. 168.

The "free" papers of Moses were certified to by a Notary Public in the state of New York, and deposited for record in Mobile. They read, "I, Henry M. Western, . . . do certify that Moses, a black boy now aged six years and six months, with "negro hair", black eyes, about three feet six inches in height, light complexion, and slight build - Is a free child born of free parents at the town of Orange in the state of New Jersey."¹²⁶

Coloured seamen often carried a certificate which stated that they were free-born citizens of the United States. This was due to the fact that persons of color were not included in the Congressional Act "For the relief and protection of American Seamen", and no provisions were made for them to secure such certificates at a custom house. These certificates of citizenship protected them while in foreign ports, and were useful if their ship docked at a port in slave-holding territory. They also helped the Negro if he decided to leave his ship and remain in a slave-holding state. Moses Henson placed such a document on record in Jefferson County in July of 1827. It was a simple matter for him to have this record transmitted to the Limestone County Court House when he moved to that county in November of the same year. The possession of

126. Ibid., p. 141.

these records also protected him while in transit. The certificate issued to Henson described him as being "about forth-six years old. . . five feet six and three-quarter inches in height, a scar on the breast, and is a free man, born in Baltimore, Maryland."¹²⁷

A document recorded in Madison County in 1828 certified that Nancy Hunter and her children had been set free by Doctor Anderson Watkins of Augusta, Georgia, in 1819. The doctor added that Lewis Hunter, the husband of Nancy was a free man from birth, having descended from free parentage on both sides. Watkins further stated that both Lewis and Nancy had "maintained a reputation unimpeached and of orderly department."¹²⁸ In the federal census returns for 1830, Nancy Hunter is classed as the head of a family of eight free persons of color, and as the owner of one slave.

Edmund Scott, a man of color, was bound to Thomas Lanier of Tennessee until he reached the age of twenty-one years. During the time of Scott's servitude, Lanier moved to Alabama, and there in 1831, he gave Edmund a certificate

127. Jefferson County Records, Deeds and Wills, 1818-36, Vol. 2, p. 469; Limestone County Records, Deed Record 2, pp. 125-126.

128. Madison Co. Records, Deed Book M, 1828-30, p. 122.

showing that the former servant was from thenceforth a free
¹²⁹ man. The "free papers" of Charles Jumper, recorded in
 Henry County could not have been used by any other Negro,
 because Henry was rather minutely described. The document
 stated that "Charles Jumper, a free man of color, five feet
 eight inches and one fourth of an inch high, light complexion
 with two scars on the right side of an inch in length, and a
 round scar about the size of a quarter of a dollar on the
 right side of the belly, thick bushy head and a broad face,
 twenty three years old and formerly bound to William Norman
 of Henry County, was this day duly registered." Charles
 Jumper transferred his records to Madison County in 1833,
 and had them recorded at the county court house,¹³⁰ secured
 a job as blacksmith, and was still living in the county in
 1850.¹³¹ Sally Snoddy had a similar set of papers recorded
 after she was emancipated by legislative action in 1830.
 Joseph Wayland, a white citizen of Madison County, went
 before a local Justice of the Peace and testified that he
 knew Sally as being the same woman who had been freed, and
 described her as follows:

129. Limestone County Records, Deed Record 4, 1830-35, p.
 200.

130. Madison Co. Records, Deed Record U, 1832-44, p. 317.

131. U. S. Census, 1850.

Sally, a black woman, aged about thirty-six years, of rather a yellow cast, about five feet six inches high of slender form with a small scar on her forehead and about the center of it, with full mouth of large teeth showing plainly in conversation and laughter, speaks readily and converses with much ease for a person in her condition, who in general has the appearance of a genteel servant. . . . 132

Levina Bert of Madison County was born free in Hartford County, North Carolina, in 1814, and came to Alabama in 1835. Before she left North Carolina, she secured a certificate of freedom which was signed by three Justices of the Peace. This document was duly recorded by the clerk of the county court of Madison County.¹³³ Mariah Scott of Limestone County, served out her term of indenture in 1835, and Thomas Lanier duly certified to Mariah's state of freedom. Mariah and her brother, Edmond, who was released by Lanier in 1831, had been born of free parents, for there was no emancipatory clause in the record, nor was there any reference to legislative action.¹³⁴

Jenny, or Jane, Findley lived in Huntsville, Alabama, for several years before she recorded her evidence of freedom. Jenny, born in the state of Virginia, was the child

132. Madison Co. Records, Deed Record P, p. 134.

133. Ibid., p. 297.

134. Limestone Co. Records, Deed Record 4, 1830-35, p. 665.

of a free colored woman who was of mixed Negro and Indian blood.¹³⁵ In 1830, the census taker for Madison County, Alabama, reported Jenny as being the head of a family of two persons and as the owner of one slave.¹³⁶

Zadock Love, a free man of color of Tuscaloosa County, wished to protect the status of his son William in 1844, so he placed a document on record in the Tuscaloosa County court house. The document stated:

I, Zadock Love, a free man of color, the father of William Love, a free man aged about 21 years dark yellow complexion, strait black hair, over 5 feet high, do certify that said William Love was born free of a mulatto woman named Anna who was herself born free and died about the year 1824, and who was my wife. 137

Daniel Reed, in Washington County, did the same thing for eight of his children in 1844. His children were specified by name, and competent persons were secured to attest to the fact that the children had been born of free parents.¹³⁸ The Non-Immigration Act of 1832 and the further restrictions imposed upon free negroes in 1839 and 1840 made every negro in the state anxious to prove that he or his parents

135. Madison Co. Records, Deed Record P, p. 372.

136. U. S. Census, 1830.

137. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Book U, p. 224.

138. Washington Co. Records, Deed Record K, p. 211.

had been in the state prior to 1832.¹³⁹

Nancy Mayo of Madison County was born free in Virginia in 1800. She was bound out at the age of twelve to Abram Bransford of the same state by the Overseer of the Poor, and was to serve him until she became eighteen years of age. Bransford brought Nancy to Alabama where she lived with him or near him for twenty-nine years. The relationship must have been mutually satisfying to the master and servant, for Nancy's indenture expired one year after she came to Alabama, but she stayed on with Bransford until 1846. Nancy gave birth to her first child when she was nineteen years of age. Isham, a bright mulatto, was followed at two year intervals by George, Sarah Ann, and Frances, all described as bright mulattoes. After an interval of seven years, Margaret was born, to be followed at three year intervals by Alexander and Jack. The second group of children were of a dark copper color, indicating that some changes in parentage may have occurred. Some of the older children wished to leave the state, and Bransford, being "an old man of feeble health," desired to furnish the children proof of their free-born status. The facts pertaining to their mother were put on record at the Madison County court house

139. See Chapter II, "Legislation."

by Bransford in 1846.¹⁴⁰ In 1850, Nancy and four of her¹⁴¹ children were still living in Madison County.

John Robinson, a free man of color of Huntsville, Alabama, in order to provide a permanent means by which his children could at all times be identified, and their names ascertained, recorded their names and ages at the Madison County court house. He declared in the document that "they¹⁴² are my own children, born free, and in lawful wedlock.

The facts in the case of Malinda, or Linder, read more like the plot of a novel than the events of every-day life. In 1812 a child was born to a white woman living in the city of Mobile. The child's birth revealed the fact that the woman had been cohabiting with a negro man, which, evidently, was frowned upon by the people of Mobile, even though miscegenation was not a rare thing. In an effort to conceal the event, she sent the child into an adjoining county and left her in the care of a family who agreed to rear the girl as a free person. Malinda grew up as a free mulattress, and at the age of seventeen, she fell in love with and married a slave. After her eighth child was born, Malinda decided that she wanted to move to the city of Mobile, and

140. Madison County Records, Deed Record W, p. 102.

141. U. S. Census, 1850.

142. Madison County Records, Deed Record W, p. 632.

was permitted to do so. Life in the city had more difficulties than she was prepared to cope with; so after ten months in Mobile, she moved back to her foster home. After a period of seven years, Malinda expressed a wish to remove once more to the city of Mobile, declaring that she was prepared to spend the rest of her life there. Her three girls were old enough to hire out, and her five boys could take care of themselves and each other.

The woman in whose care Malinda had been placed was concerned lest the mulattress and her family be imposed upon, or find themselves faced with some legal entanglement. In an effort to avoid any such happening, she went before the county court of Baldwin County on May 22, 1849, and recorded the information that would prove the free-born status of Malinda and her children. A portion of the document read:

Linder has always been regarded by me and my family as free, neither myself or any of my family have ever claimed her as a slave or exercised any other rights over her and her children than those of protection. . . if her freedom should ever be impeached she will find many friends ready and willing to establish the rights that she and her decedants are entitled to as free persons.

Free Negroes As Apprentices

William Patterson, another free person of color who was bound out or apprenticed at an early age, had his

free-born status certified to by Joseph Carothers in 1851. William was the son of Jenny, a woman of color who had lived in Huntsville for "many years," and was always reputed to be free, and acted as a free woman.¹⁴³ William did not seem to have gained much from his apprenticeship, for in 1850 he was listed in the census returns as being illiterate and as having no occupation.

The idea of parents binding their children out to serve an apprenticeship was sometimes used as a means of protection for the children. Rachel, a free woman of color in Mobile, used this means to provide for her two children, and to further enable her to keep the family together she bound herself to two years of servitude. Harriet, her ten-year-old daughter, was to serve John Geandreau for six years, and her son, Jack, was bound to ten years of service. Harriet and Jack were to be taught the trade of serving people, and were to receive their food and clothing. They were to be released at the specified dates, after being provided with a new suit of clothes. This arrangement seems to have been made as a continuation of a situation that already existed. Geandreau had been supporting Rachel and her two children for some time, so the drawing up of the articles of agreement was largely a legal formality. Rachel

143. Madison County Records, Deed Book Y, pp. 535-536.

had a home and care for herself and her two children and
 Geandreau had the services of the three negroes.¹⁴⁴

Name Changes Confuse Records

Making the task of the courts more difficult was the fact that, for various reasons, Negroes were prone to change their first or last names. Because of this, numerous Negroes had to secure witnesses who had known them over a long period of time and were aware of these changes. Isaac Clemon had seven white men to certify that they had known his mother, Lavisa Finley, and knew that she was a free woman.¹⁴⁵ Richmond Terrell sought aid from the Chancery Court in order that he might show that his mother, Lucy Valentine, was born free, and that the mother of his children was born of free parents. The court secured depositions from men who had known both of the Negroes and their parents over a period of forty years, and these documents¹⁴⁶ were accepted as evidence. Francois Martin and Victoire Michell, married in Mobile in 1831, had their names changed

144. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes from the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court for Mobile, 1819-1884, p. 172.

145. Madison County Records, Deed Book Y, p. 537.

146. Madison Co. Records, Chancery Court Records, 1851-54, pp. 245-247.

by the Circuit court of Mobile in 1838. Their newly-acquired names were Noel Manuel Fournier and Victorine Fournier.¹⁴⁷ The son of Francoise Chastang, a free woman of color in Mobile, was known as Antoine Trullett.¹⁴⁸ Norma, the Negro slave woman of William Staylor, was also known as Jenny, and Euphrosine Andry's children all went by the name of Dubroca.¹⁴⁹ Faustine and Maximilian, children of Honore Collins were "commonly called Jacques and Polisene."¹⁵⁰

FREEDOM GAINED BY SELF PURCHASE

Owing to the labor system on a number of Alabama farms, or a relationship that existed between master and slave, some of the slaves were enabled to purchase their freedom. Slaves were often permitted spare time during which they might accumulate money for their labor. If their master gave his permission, slaves could pay an agreed sum for their own hire, and retain all that they accumulated above that sum. Others were permitted to purchase themselves for a small sum because of some personal feeling on

147. Marriage Register for Colored People of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mobile, Alabama.

148. Mobile Co. Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, p. 22.

149. Ibid., Wills No. 1, 1813-37, p. 104.

150. Ibid., p. 76.

the part of their master. Some were simply discharged by their masters from all duties and permitted to live as free men.

These practices did not meet with the approval of all slave owners. The editor of the Cotton Planter presented the views of one Alabamian, who in 1858, wrote a letter presenting his ideas as to the proper management of slaves. The editorial comment was as follows:

A correspondent from Lowndesboro. . . . expresses himself on the management of slaves. . . . He strongly deprecates the encouragement of slaves to the performance of labor by giving them the opportunity of cultivating crops of cotton or corn of their own. To do this, he says, would encourage them to cupidity, which would result in theft. Knowing that they could have such articles, they would be tempted to steal from the master's gin house or corn crib. He further deprecates the privilege often accorded of allowing the negroes to work in their patches until nine or ten o'clock at night, because it will be often found that they abuse the privilege by visiting the neighbor's henhouse or pig yard, or perhaps 'get a mule and take a turn of corn to some market and barter it for a jug of whiskey or something of little more value'. The further observation is made that it is a bad practice to allow such a course, because the money which would result from the sale of cotton would have a bad effect in many ways. . . . He says that the negroes having money are made vain and arrogant, and that they will develop a spirit of independence which is disastrous to good discipline. 151

This feeling did not prevent individuals from

151. Cotton Planter, January, 1858, pp. 20-21.

giving some of their slaves privileges or the opportunity to purchase their freedom. John Treigner of Mobile permitted his mulatto female slave Fanchon to pay six hundred dollars for herself and her infant son, John, in 1823.¹⁵²

In the same year, Jacob Johnston of Madison County acknowledged the receipt of five hundred dollars as a partial payment on the full purchase price of John Taylor. Johnston bonded himself to secure the full freedom of Taylor when the balance, amounting to two hundred and fifty dollars, should be paid. John Taylor was emancipated by legislative action in 1825.¹⁵³

Daniel Reed, in 1828, paid Young Gaines five hundred and twenty-five dollars for George, a son of Daniel.¹⁵⁴

Solomon Perteet, a free man of color in Tuscaloosa County, bought a Negro man named Ned from Gideon Berry in 1831 for seven hundred dollars. The Negro Ned purchased himself from Solomon Perteet for the same sum, paying the purchase price in installments over a period of thirteen months' time.¹⁵⁵ Harry J. Thornton, one of the Judges of

152. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes from the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court for 1819-1844, Mobile, p. 192.

153. Madison County Records, Deed Book H, p. 367; see also Acts, Seventh Annual Session, p. 97.

154. Washington Co. Records, Deed Book G, Oct. 21, 1829.

155. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Book J, p. 212.

the Supreme Court of Alabama, aided Joe Commons, a slave, to buy himself free in 1835. Judge Thornton recorded a document at the court house in Madison County that explained his interest in Joe, and his activity in the black man's behalf. The document read in part:

The bearer of this paper is named Joe Commons, a black man about 34 years of age. Having had for many years an opportunity of observing the honesty, humility, and other praiseworthy traits in the character of a slave, which this boy possessed, I was induced to aid, as far as I could, in effectuating the kind intention of his owner to sell him his freedom. He paid to his master all the price demanded for him except one hundred dollars, for which sum I executed my note and took a bill of sale to myself. Joe has since paid me this hundred dollars, and is fully entitled to his freedom. By the laws of Alabama, as they now stand, the only mode of securing him in his just right, is by act of the Legislature, which I will endeavor to procure the passage of. In the meanwhile, he has my fullest permission to go wherever he may please, and I do hereby request all persons not to molest him, but to give him such treatment. . . as a continuance of his past good behavior will entitle him to from all humane and generous people. 156

Joe made good the claim for his character. He was a dyer by trade, and by 1860, he had reared a family of three children and had accumulated property valued at eighteen hundred dollars.¹⁵⁷

Taylor Ragland, through his wife, Mollie Lee, purchased his freedom from his former mistress in 1835. He was

156. Madison Co. Records, Deed Record Q, pp. 581-82.

157. U. S. Census, 1860.

able to accumulate the money by being allowed to hire his own time. Such an agreement usually stipulated that the slave should pay a certain amount annually to his owner, the balance being kept by the slave for his own use.¹⁵⁸ Abner Winn of Tuscaloosa County allowed his Negro Jack to hire himself and to pay rent on Winn's blacksmith shop. In this manner, Jack was able to buy himself, his wife, his son Jerry,¹⁵⁹ four other children, and the blacksmith shop.

Albert, a barber by trade, bought himself from John B. Hogan of Mobile County. The transaction was carried on through Albert's wife, Meavey Miller, who handed Hogan one thousand dollars in 1838 and received Albert's "free papers." Meavey acted as agent for her husband since she was a free woman of color, and could make a contract.¹⁶⁰ John, slave of Michael Kenan of Dallas County, was also a barber. Kenan made provisions in his will for John so that he would be able to have his own shop, and buy himself from the estate. The terms of the will indicate that Kenan

158. Madison Co. Records, Deed Book P, p. 455.

159. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Deed Book 3, p. 35; also Lillian Finnell, "Free Negroes During Slavery Times," unidentified Tuscaloosa newspaper.

160. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes from the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court for 1819-1844, p. 90.

was anxious for John to be free and independent, but felt that it would be better for the slave to be for a time under the protection of the executor of Kenan's will. ¹⁶¹

William Jones, a free colored man of Mobile County, stated in his will that he had purchased himself from the heirs of Benjamin Bennet of Perry County and was emancipated in 1834. He then bought his wife Nancy and his daughter Louisa out of bondage, but had not been able to have them freed by legislative action. He ¹⁶²prayed that the executor of his will might have this done.

Alexander Erskine, of Madison County, had a certificate of freedom recorded for his former slave, Alfred. Alfred bought himself from Erskine in 1832 or 1833, but was unable to get the legislature to act upon a petition for emancipation, so he decided to leave Alabama and move to a non-slave-holding state. Since he was fearful of being arrested as a runaway slave, Doctor Erskine provided Alfred with a statement certifying that he had bought his freedom, and had ¹⁶³the statement recorded.

Mary Beall of Tuscaloosa sold her Negro slave woman Adaline, to Celia Burgess, a free colored woman of the same

161. Dallas County Records, Will Book A, p. 116.

162. Mobile Co. Records, Wills No. 2, p. 12.

163. Madison Co. Records, Deed Book Q, p. 617.

place. This transaction took place in October of 1847, and involved a cash payment of five hundred dollars. Three months later, Celia Burgess recorded the following document at the Tuscaloosa County Court House:

Received this day of Adaline in full for her services for the ballance /sic/ of her lifetime five hundred dollars. the said Adaline I Bot /sic/ of Mrs. Mary Beall as by Bill of Sale given October 19, 1847, and hereby renounce all claim and title to the said Adaline both for myself and heirs. 164

Levi, mulatto slave of William Robertson, was fifty-five years of age when his master "for the consideration of one hundred and fifty dollars. . . and for the further consideration that said negro has been faithful slave and servant. . . " ¹⁶⁵ gave Levi his freedom. Two years later in 1849, Thomas Jones, Negro slave of William Marrast, of Tuscaloosa, paid his master five hundred and fifty dollars which he had saved with the knowledge and consent of Marrast. Upon receipt of the money, Thomas was given a certificate of freedom, and the details ¹⁶⁶ of the transaction were recorded at the county court house. In 1859, James Tucker of Limestone County allowed his slave Frederick Tucker, to purchase himself for seven hundred

164. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Deed Book W, pp. 585-586.

165. Ibid., p. 273.

166. Ibid., p. 565.

dollars.

The story of Peter Still, who bought himself free in 1850, is told in two books by different authors. Out of a mass of rather lurid details, the following facts seem to be true. The slave mother of Peter and his brother Levin, left her children and escaped from Maryland into a free state. At that time, Peter was eight years of age, and Levin was two years younger. Peter's brother William wrote that "the two children were hurried to a Southern market and sold by an enraged owner."¹⁶⁷ Peter, himself, said that he and his brother, alone after their mother left them, were lured into a buggy by a slave dealer, and carried¹⁶⁸ away to be sold.

Peter was brought to Alabama in 1819 by John Gist and there helped in the establishment of a new home for the Gist family. He married a slave woman and reared a family, but was eager to be free. He finally persuaded his owner to sell him to Joseph Friedman, a merchant of Tuscumbia, Alabama. Friedman paid the purchase price of five hundred dollars with the understanding between himself and Peter that the slave would be set free when he repaid Friedman. Peter worked at odd jobs in the town of Tuscumbia, and in fifteen

167. Peter Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 37.

168. Kate Pickard, The Kidnapped and the Ransomed, pp. 40 ff.



PETER STILL,
THE KIDNAPPED AND RANSOMED.

months had accumulated and paid the five hundred dollars to Friedman. The first payment was made in January, 1849, and the last installment was receipted by Friedman in April, 1850. On April 16, 1850, Peter was given a bill of sale and his freedom. He left Alabama, and traveled through the Northern states begging for money that he might buy his family out of slavery. In 1854, he and his family were reunited in "free" territory.¹⁶⁹

QUASI-FREE NEGROES

If Peter had returned to Alabama, he would have been classified with the "quasi-free," along with numerous others who were never emancipated by legislative action. In Alabama, a slave owner wishing to free his slaves either had to have the approval of the state legislature or had to transport the slaves or have them transported from the state into a state or territory where they could be legally emancipated. Even slaves who had been freed in another state, after having been removed from Alabama, were considered slaves in Alabama, and could be treated as such if they returned to the state. It was this group of "quasi-free" Negroes that sometimes became entangled in legal difficulties, and

169. Ibid., p. 231.

upon which the hand of tragedy was apt to descend. As long as their masters were alive, the slaves who had been granted liberal privileges could expect to retain them, but these were privileges and not rights. Slaves could not inherit money, land, or property of any sort. They could not make a legal contract, so any business that they might transact was illegal. They could be sold to settle an estate or to pay the debts of their master. A slave marriage was not valid in the sight of the law, and children of a slave marriage, or of a slave mother, were considered slaves. They might be bought by their parents after the emancipation of the parents, but they were still slaves until freed according to the laws of the state.

The children of Lewis Young, a free colored man of Mobile, had thought for years that they were free people. Their father died in 1834 without having disposed of his estate by will, so a friend of his took charge of the estate and administered it. The children of the deceased Lewis Young sued for an accounting of the administration and discovered to their dismay that their mother had been bought by their father, but he had never had her manumitted. She was, therefore, a slave, and her children were slaves, and as
170
such had no recourse at law.

170. Bentley et al vs. Cleaveland, 22 Ala. 814.

In the case of Broadhead versus Jones, the Supreme Court of Alabama heard the following testimony:

Dick. . . was permitted by the plaintiff, his owner. . . to go at large, and hire himself out. . . Dick Herrington, commonly known as Free Dick. . . had belonged to John Herrington, who died. . . in 1850 or 1851; that said slave, since the death had hired himself out, made his own contracts, and received the money that he earned. . . That he followed ditching for a considerable portion of the time, and made a good deal of money in that way; . . .

Dick had a shoe shop and had hands employed under him in making shoes which he sold to the community at large. He also had a shop where he sold candy, cheese, tobacco, and other commodities. He had purchased two Negro boys that he held as slaves.

The court decided that Dick was still a slave, even though he had acted as a free man for several years. Dick's testimony would not be admitted in a case where whites were involved, and any contract he might have made was void. Money that Dick owed to white men could not be collected, because, legally, he could not own anything. His purchase of the negro boys was illegal, and void, as was any business transaction which he might have conducted.

Bartholemew Smith in 1847 added five more slaves to the ranks of the "quasi-free." He directed in his will

171. Broadhead vs. Jones, 39 Ala. 96.

that his desire was that "King, Old Sophia, Old Bob, and Betty, his wife, and Becky, be all regarded as free and supported by those of my legatees to whom they have been specially bequeathed."¹⁷²

Robert McCann of Greene County stated in his will:

. . . my servant woman, Byria, leave her her choice to live with any of my children she may choose, not as a slave, for if the law would permit her emancipation, I would do it, for she has been a trusty, honest, faithful servant to me, and I give her one cow and calf to be her own choice of the stock, and if she is displeased after her choice, that she may remove to any of my other children.¹⁷³

Abraham and Priscy, slaves of Francis Ashhurst, were to be set free, and Ashhurst explained in his will that he wanted R. J. W. Crockett to be the sole executor of his will and to see that Abraham and Priscy were cared for. Ashhurst evidently knew that the slaves would not be free according to the laws of Alabama, but he did not wish them to be treated as slaves.¹⁷⁴

Thompson Watkins left three of his servants in a "quasi-free" condition when he stated in his will:

Item Third. I will and direct that my old servants Joe and Judy shall have entire exemption and freedom from all servitude and labor not voluntarily rendered, as a poor and inadequate

172. Dallas County Records, Will Book A, p. 322.

173. Greene County Records, Deed Book A, pp. 236-237.

174. Montgomery Co. Records, Wills No. 2, pp. 161-162.

requital for a long life of patient and honest service, and for this purpose and object, with full confidence in the execution of the trust, I transfer and bequeath the said Joe and Judy together with an idiot woman named Cilia to my son James F. Watkins enjoining him to give them support, guardianship, and protection. 175

Thomas Brown evidently felt something more for his slave man, Austin, than a property owner would feel for a cow or horse, because he made special provisions for Austin in his will. Item six of his will read:

. . . it is my wish as the best return I can make for the honesty and faithfulness of my servant Austin that he should have the privilege of selecting his master from among my sons and that son is to pay him annually fifty dollars, so long as Austin shall live. . . I also desire that the son whom Austin shall select as his master shall receive Austin's wife and children at valuation. . . .

Thus Austin was given freedom of choice, an annual income, assured of a kind master, and having his family with him as long as he lived. ¹⁷⁶

In 1860, N. H. Cobbs gave freedom to his woman slave, Mary, "as far as she can be free under the laws of Alabama." ¹⁷⁷ Benjamin Jones of Sumter County wished his three slaves, Clark, Mauson, and Molly, "to enjoy the privileges of freedom. . . without the disadvantages of being

175. Ibid., pp. 264-267.

176. Ibid., pp. 277-281.

177. Ibid., Wills No. 4, pp. 333-334.

free." He gave the slaves in trust to his children who were to care for the three slaves, provide for their wants, and treat them humanely. The slaves were not to be required to perform the labor of slaves, nor were they to be treated as slaves; in fact, they were to be slaves in name only. Clark and Molly were fifty-five years of age, and Mauson was forty-two when Jones died, so they had quite a few years to enjoy their virtual retirement.¹⁷⁸

Joshua Holbert, who died in Tuscaloosa County in 1842, placed his Negro woman slave, Sidney, under the guardianship of his son Lucius. He wanted Sidney to be free and directed Lucius to see that "she is not hired out for money or any other improper motive or, abused in any manner whatever, her labor to be for the clothing of her self and children." Hannah, another slave of Holbert's, was to be free to live with any of Holbert's children that she might choose as her guardian, and her guardian was to see to it that she was taken care of and not suffered to travel from one place to another.¹⁷⁹

Even into the mid years of the Civil War, Alabamians were granting virtual freedom to their slaves, and making provisions for their care. These grants of freedom were,

178. Sumter County Records, Record of Wills, Book 2, pp. 161-64.

179. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Will Book 2, p. 233.

of course, extra legal, and Negroes were still slaves in name, but they were assured of care and humane treatment, and a freedom of movement that gave them the privilege of a free Negro without the responsibility of providing for themselves or their families. This system might be classified as a pension system, or an early plan of old age security.

Chapter II

NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE FREE NEGRO POPULATION

The free Negroes in Alabama were not the product of an overnight change in the social system of the state. They were a part of the westward movement of the population from the Atlantic Seaboard states. As the whites pushed into the interior of the continent, so did the Negroes - both slave and free. Some of the latter came as slaves and gained their freedom later, but others experienced the same motivations as the whites. There was land to occupy and develop, homes to be built, and farming implements to be repaired. Many free Negroes were prepared to fit into the new state as land holders or as skilled workmen. Some came because their husbands or wives were slaves, and their feelings for each other were the same as those experienced by other human beings.

The Mobile area, which had once constituted a part of West Florida, had a heritage of free Negroes, or "Creoles" left over from Spanish and French rule. There were, however, free Negroes in other parts of what is now Alabama even before the area acquired statehood. In the census returns of the Mississippi Territory, free persons of

color were listed in those counties that later formed a part of Alabama. Washington County, a portion of which later was included in Alabama Territory, reported twenty-three such as early as 1800.¹ A decade later the counties of Madison, Washington, and Baldwin contained a total of fifty-nine free Negroes.²

AVENUES OF DISTRIBUTION OF FREE COLORED

Migration into the state tended to follow along the waterways. Broad river-bottom lands were ideal for cotton planting, and the streams furnished a means of getting goods to and from the markets. In the northern part of the state, the lands along the Tennessee were settled rapidly. Towns sprang up along the banks of the river, and the population increased. By 1820, there were 40,906 whites, 18,924 slaves and 252 free persons of color in the seven counties that lay on either side of the Tennessee River.

Settlers drifting in from the north and east found good lands along the Black Warrior River, which flowed south into the Tombigbee, and then into Mobile Bay. Navigation was possible over this water route during the winter and

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1. Negro Population in the United States, pp. 44 ff; also A Century of Population Growth, p. 57.
 2. Abstract of the Census of the Mississippi Territory, 1810.

spring seasons. As early as 1816, a small settlement had sprung up at the head of navigation on the Black Warrior, and by 1820, it was a thriving little town. The town of Tuscaloosa became a trading point for the large cotton growing area surrounding it. The river valley began to fill up with settlers, and by 1830 there were twenty-one steamboat stops between Tuscaloosa and Mobile.

The counties lying in the area served by the Black Warrior, Tombigbee, and Mobile Rivers were not as thickly populated in 1820 as were those of the Tennessee River valley, but the seven counties that stretched along the length of this waterway held a total of 19,431 whites, 10,395 slaves, and 323 free persons of color. Of this last group, 183 were concentrated in the vicinity of Mobile.

The Alabama River, which furnished transportation for the produce of planters in portions of eastern Alabama wound its way through the counties of Montgomery, Dallas, Wilcox, and Monroe, and served the towns of Montgomery and Selma. Steamboats had twenty-two "points of call" on the Alabama between Mobile and Montgomery by 1830. The four counties had a high percentage of slaves, for the number of whites present, which would indicate the presence of some large landholders. The census returns for 1820 show a total of 13,835 whites, 10,480 slaves, and 47 free persons of

color.³

Early Census Returns Inaccurate

In 1820 the first Federal census returns for the newly-created state of Alabama gave a total of 633 free persons of color for the state as a whole. The slave population had increased to 41,879, and the white population to 85,451; so the free Negroes formed but a small percentage of the whole. The difficulty of presenting a true picture as to numbers is evident when a comparison is made between the printed compilations of population returns and the manuscript returns that have been preserved. A check of the handwritten returns and a correction of the figures of the printed returns give a total of 633 free Negroes in the state of Alabama in 1820.⁴

3. The figures pertaining to Alabama's population in 1820 are based on the printed U. S. Census Records. The manuscript returns for only eight counties have been found. These are deposited in the Department of Archives and History in Montgomery, Alabama. There are no manuscript returns for this decade in either the Library of Congress or the National Archives.

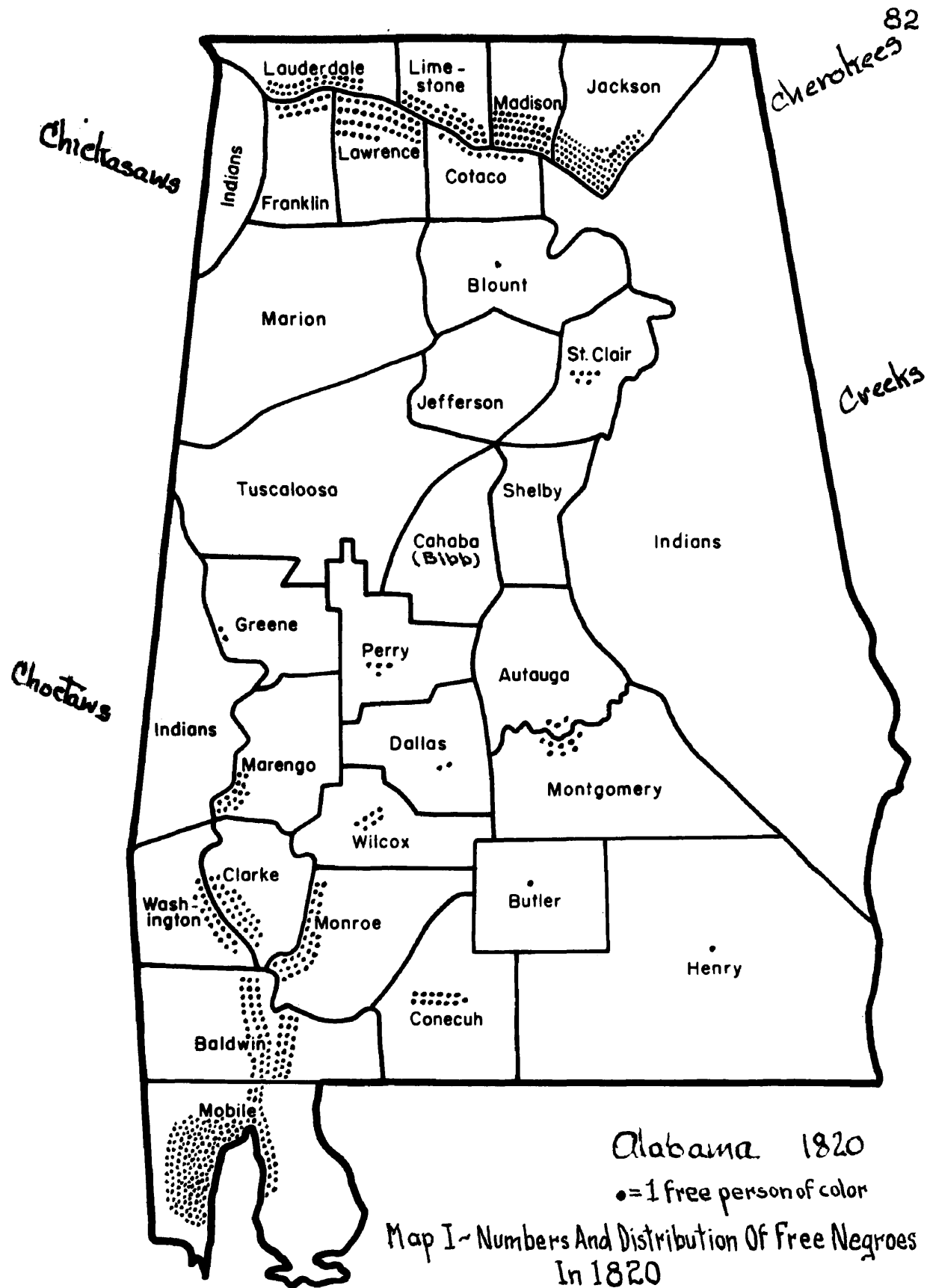
4. In any study of the census returns there must be borne in mind the fact that the returns for the early decades were not always accurate. Some census takers were careless; others did not know the territory that they were supposed to cover; and others were not much more literate than some of the "backwoods" settlers.

An effort has been made to adhere to the use of the Federal Manuscript returns in the presentation of maps and tables. This information has been supplemented in the Appendix by the use of state census returns, in order that a more complete picture of the population may be presented.

Population in Alabama by Counties, 1820

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Autauga	2,203	1,647	3	3,853
Baldwin	651	1,001	61	1,713
Bibb	2,930	746	-	3,676
Blount	2,239	175	1	2,415
Butler	835	569	1	1,405
Cataco	4,394	858	11	5,263
Clarke	3,778	2,035	26	5,839
Conecuh	3,769	1,931	13	5,713
Dallas	3,324	2,677	2	6,003
Franklin	3,308	1,667	13	4,988
Greene	2,861	1,691	2	4,554
Henry	2,011	626	1	2,638
Jackson	8,129	539	83	8,751
Lauderdale	3,556	1,378	29	4,963
Lawrence	5,784	2,941	40	8,765
Limestone	6,922	2,919	30	9,871
Madison	8,813	8,622	46	17,481
Marengo	2,052	866	15	2,933
Mobile	1,653	836	183	2,672
Montgomery	3,941	2,655	8	6,604
Monroe	5,014	3,794	30	8,838
Perry	2,721	988	4	3,713
Shelby	2,011	405	-	2,416
St. Clair	3,607	553	6	4,166
Tuscaloosa	5,894	2,335	-	8,229
Washington	2,542	1,631	18	4,191
Wilcox	1,556	1,354	7	2,917
Totals	96,498	47,439	633	144,570

Compiled from the Fourth Census of the United States. Marion, Morgan, and Jefferson Counties are missing.



Importance Of City Of Mobile

The increase in population between 1810 and 1820 may be largely attributed to immigration, but the natural increase by birth and the emancipation of some slaves by Alabama slave-holders also helped to swell the ranks of the free Negro population. Mobile became the magnet which drew free persons of color from other parts of the state. This was owing, in part, to its cosmopolitan character as a seaport with a heterogeneous population, but largely to the fact that the legal and social discriminations practiced in other parts of the state were not so rigid in Mobile. In the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, by which Spain relinquished West Florida to the United States, there was a stipulation that those persons who had enjoyed the rights and privileges of citizenship under Spanish rule would continue to enjoy them after the territory was ceded to the United States.⁵ This resulted in special privileges and a greater amount of freedom for the Negroes of Mobile, and as a natural outcome of this, over one-third of the free Negro population of the state was eventually concentrated in that geographical area in and around Mobile.⁶

5. Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States, p. 193.

6. In 1860, 1,195 out of a total of 2,690 free colored in the state were in Mobile. U. S. Census of 1860, (Population).

THE FREE NEGRO IN ALABAMA IN 1830

By 1830 there was an increase in the number of free colored in the state that brought the group up to a total of 1,572. The 216 emancipations legalized by the state legislature in the preceding decade contributed to this increase, but the free Negroes still formed a very small portion of the state's overall population. White society had increased to a total of 190,406, and the slave population had grown in ever greater proportion. In 1830 there were 117,549 slaves in Alabama.⁷

The county of Mobile was still the center of the free Negro group, for in 1830 it had a population of 546 free persons of color. This was over one-third of the total free colored population of the state. Three hundred and seventy-two of the Mobile County group were concentrated in the city of Mobile. Madison County, lying in the valley of the Tennessee River, was next in numbers of free colored. Huntsville, the county seat of Madison, was a gathering place for the free Negro in the northern part of the state. In 1822 there were twenty-five in the little town,⁸ and in the next six years their number had almost doubled. By 1830,

7. U. S. Census Returns, 1830.

8. Alabama Republican, June 21, 1822; Southern Advocate, April 7, 1826, April 18, 1828.

Madison County had a free colored population of 158.⁹

Gradual Movement Of Free Colored Toward South Alabama

In the seven counties lying along the Tennessee River, there were 370 free persons of color in 1830. This was an increase of 118 persons during the decade beginning with 1820. The counties that lay toward the south showed the largest growth in the free colored population. The census returns for 1830 show an increase of 446 free Negroes in the area served by the Black Warrior, Tombigbee, and Mobile Rivers. There were 769 in the area in 1830, in comparison with a total of 323 in 1820. There was not a gradual increase in each of the counties, however, because most of the growth of the free Negro population occurred in Mobile County. This county had tripled its population of free colored in ten years.

The area served by the waters of the Alabama showed a steady increase of free Negroes in every county. This was not even affected by having a new county carved out of the area. Lowndes County was created in 1830 out of parts of Montgomery, Dallas, Butler, and Henry Counties. The four Alabama River counties with the addition of newly-created Lowndes had a total free colored population of 240

9. U. S. Census Returns, 1830.

in 1830. In 1820, there had been only fifty-eight free persons of color in this same area. Montgomery County had increased its free Negro population since 1820 from eight to sixty-five, while Dallas County showed an increase of sixty-one over the 1820 total of two.

Condition Of Free Negro Family In 1830

In 1830 the free Negro family over the state had an average of over six persons in each household, and only thirty-four free Negroes were listed as living alone. Eighteen families had ten or more members, and this computation excludes those families in which part of the members of the household may have been actual slaves. Large families were more numerous in those counties in which the larger towns were located; ie, Mobile, Madison, and Montgomery. There were, however, large families in other counties. Daniel Reed in Washington County had a family of ten; Isah Hadsen of Shelby County had a family of twelve, one of whom was classified as a slave. In Pickens County Stephen Dunsan had a family of ten persons, while in Baldwin County, Bazeel Alexan (Alexandre) reported a family of fourteen, as did Rachel King of Dallas County.

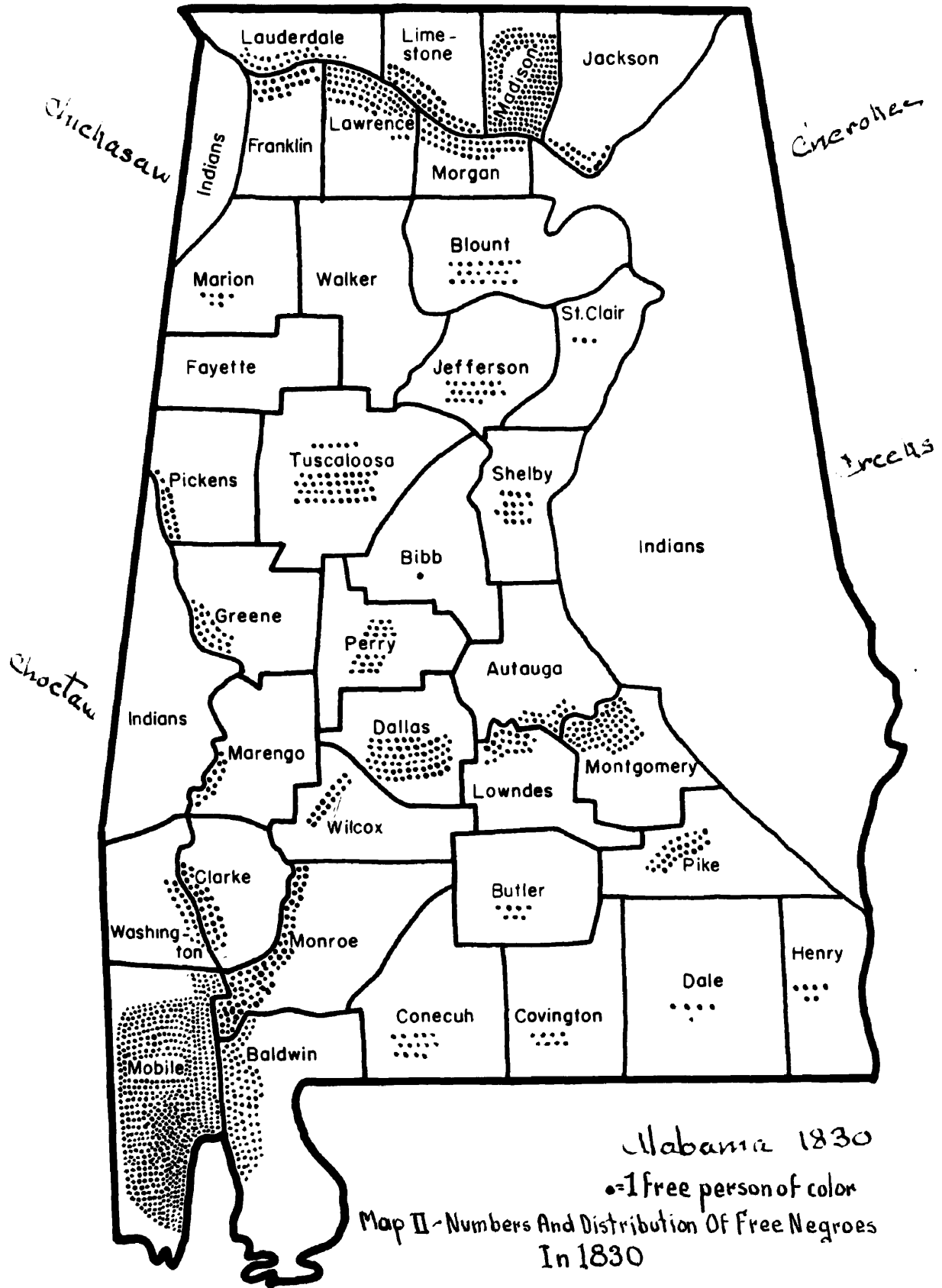
These large families and slave ownership are indicative of the fact that, regardless of restrictive laws and economic handicaps, the free Negro was not always the

TABLE II

Population in Alabama by Counties, 1830

Name of County	Whites	Slaves	Free Negroes	Total
Autauga	5,687	5,990	17	11,694
Baldwin	965	1,263	96	2,324
Bibb	5,113	1,192	1	6,306
Blount	3,882	330	21	4,233
Butler	3,904	1,739	7	5,650
Clarke	3,894	3,672	29	7,595
Conecuh	3,812	3,618	14	7,444
Covington	1,118	396	8	1,522
Dale	1,757	269	5	2,031
Dallas	6,794	7,160	63	14,017
Fayette	3,035	512	-	3,547
Franklin	6,069	4,988	21	11,078
Greene	7,585	7,420	21	15,026
Henry	3,005	1,009	6	4,020
Jackson	11,418	1,264	18	12,700
Jefferson	5,121	1,715	19	6,855
Lauderdale	7,960	3,795	26	11,781
Lawrence	8,361	6,556	67	14,984
Limestone	8,077	6,689	41	14,807
Lowndes	5,001	4,388	21	9,410
Madison	13,855	13,977	158	27,990
Marengo	4,549	3,138	13	7,700
Marion	3,452	600	6	4,058
Mobile	3,440	2,281	546	6,267
Monroe	5,165	3,541	76	8,782
Montgomery	6,180	6,450	65	12,695
Morgan	6,126	2,894	42	9,062
Perry	7,149	4,318	23	11,490
Pickens	4,974	1,631	17	6,622
Pike	5,204	1,878	26	7,108
Shelby	4,549	1,139	16	5,704
St. Clair	4,818	1,154	3	5,975
Tuscaloosa	8,807	4,793	46	13,646
Walker	2,034	168	-	2,202
Washington	1,924	1,532	18	3,474
Wilcox	5,442	4,090	16	9,548
Total	190,406	117,549	1,572	309,527

Compiled from the Fifth Census of the United States.



impoverished, vicious, and idle person that was pictured in speeches and editorials about the group. Governor C. C. Clay, while granting that some of the free Negroes were "sober, industrious, and honest," said that "many of them are idle, intemperate, and vicious."¹⁰ This statement might have been truthfully made about many of the whites that inhabited Alabama in the 1830's.¹¹

Alabama Indians And The Free Negro

The Indians along the eastern border of Alabama had long been a source of trouble for the new inhabitants of the state. The large area controlled by the Cherokees and Creeks not only served as a refuge for fugitive slaves, but also aroused the greed of land-hungry whites. By a series of treaties and the use of Federal troops and state militia, the last of the Indians were removed from their former holdings by 1839.¹² Out of this area several new counties were formed and both whites and colored began to move into them before the Indians had been completely removed. There were some free Negroes in the area who

10. House Journal, 1835, p. 49.

11. For an interesting account of social customs and past-times in Alabama during its formative period, see Moore, op. cit., Chap. VII.

12. A. B. Moore, History of Alabama, p. 32.

retained their holdings, but others sold their land to the incoming whites. The new settlers found evidences of a progressive civilization in the territory that had been occupied by the Cherokees.¹³ Over on the western boundary of Alabama, the newly formed county of Sumter reported a total of 116 free Negroes within its bounds. Evidently there were numerous Negroes living with and among the Choctaw Indians, for it was from Choctaw territory that Sumter County was formed in 1832.

FREE NEGROES MOVE TOWARD URBAN AREAS

During the decade between 1830 and 1840, there was a perceptible drift of the free Negro population in the southern part of the state toward the city of Mobile. Counties adjacent to Mobile show a loss of free Negroes, while the free colored population of Mobile had increased from 546 in 1830 to a total of 787 in 1840. The city of Mobile felt this increase more than did the county as a whole. In 1830, the city had a free colored population of 372, but by 1840, the total number living within the city had increased to 541. Outside the city, the county had

13. It was estimated in 1825 that they (the Cherokees) had a population of 15,000, and possessed 1300 slaves, 22,000 head of cattle, 10 sawmills, 31 grist mills, 8 cotton gins, 18 schools, and 18 ferries. See Moore, History of Alabama, p. 33.

increased its population in the ten year period by seventy-two.

The thriving counties of Montgomery and Tuscaloosa showed gains in their free colored population, but unlike Mobile, their gains were felt in rural areas more than in the towns. The free Negroes in these counties turned to agriculture, while those of Mobile entered other trades that were in keeping with the enterprises of a large seaport.

In the Tennessee River valley, there was discernible a drift of the free colored population toward Lauderdale County. The town of Florence evidently was the attraction there, for the majority of the free Negroes listed in the census returns from Lauderdale in 1840 were engaged in manufacturing or trades other than farming. In the other counties lying along the Tennessee, the principal occupation of the free colored group was that of agriculture.

Non-Immigration Law Affects Free Negro Population

The forty-nine counties of Alabama reported a total of 2,039 free Negroes for 1840, but the white population had increased to 335,185, while the slave population had risen to 253,532. Thus the whites had nearly doubled their numbers since 1830, and the slave population had more than doubled. The decline in the rate of increase for the free colored may be attributed to the non-immigration law

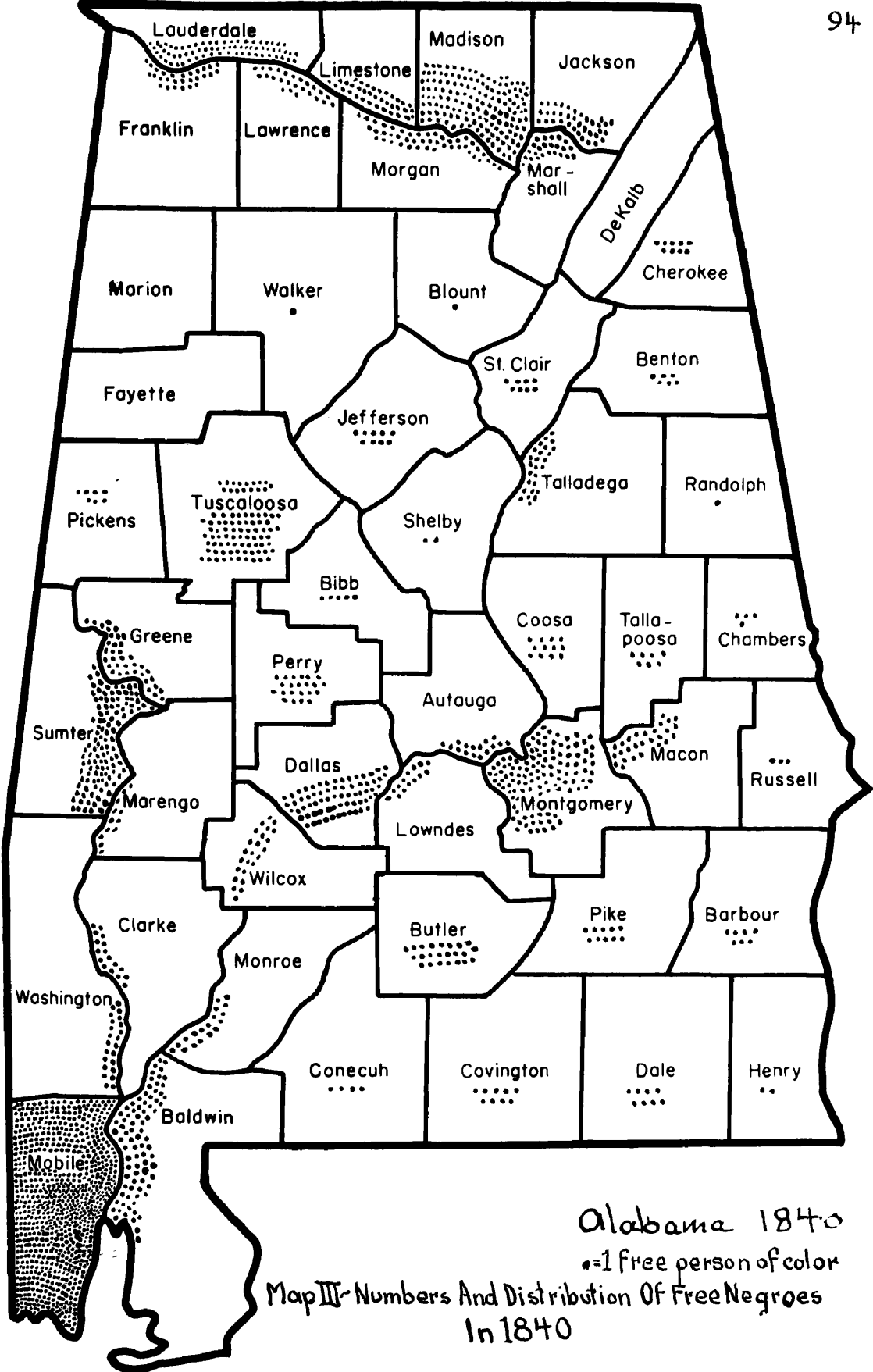
Population in Alabama by Counties, 1840

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Autauga	6,217	8,109	16	14,342
Baldwin	1,161	1,707	83	2,951
Barbour	6,469	5,548	7	12,024
Benton	11,360	2,894	6	14,260
Bibb	6,256	2,023	5	8,284
Blount	5,225	344	1	5,570
Butler	6,192	2,470	23	8,685
Chambers	10,188	7,141	4	17,333
Cherokee	7,652	1,112	9	8,773
Clarke	4,228	4,395	17	8,640
Conecuh	4,376	3,817	4	8,197
Coosa	4,858	2,125	12	6,995
Covington	2,055	371	9	2,435
Dale	6,809	580	8	7,397
Dallas	7,922	17,208	69	25,199
DeKalb	5,589	340	-	5,929
Fayette	5,961	981	-	6,942
Franklin	8,236	6,005	29	14,270
Greene	7,556	16,431	37	24,024
Henry	4,701	1,084	2	5,787
Jackson	13,863	1,816	36	15,715
Jefferson	5,486	1,636	9	7,131
Lauderdale	9,447	4,969	69	14,485
Lawrence	7,143	6,145	25	13,313
Limestone	7,498	6,840	36	14,374
Lowndes	6,956	12,569	14	19,539
Macon	5,369	5,851	27	11,247
Madison	12,297	13,265	144	25,706
Marengo	5,350	11,902	12	17,264
Marion	5,094	753	-	5,847
Marshall	6,688	841	24	7,553
Mobile	11,763	6,191	787	18,741
Monroe	5,370	5,292	18	10,680
Montgomery	8,972	15,486	116	24,574
Morgan	6,580	3,216	45	9,841
Perry	8,721	10,343	22	19,086
Pickens	9,347	7,764	7	17,118
Pike	7,987	2,111	10	10,108
Randolph	4,446	526	1	4,973
Russell	6,244	7,266	3	13,513
St. Clair	4,505	1,125	8	5,638

Population in Alabama by Counties, 1840 (cont'd)

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Shelby	4,494	1,616	2	6,112
Sumter	13,901	15,920	116	29,937
Talladega	7,663	4,898	26	12,587
Tallapoosa	4,424	2,013	7	6,444
Tuscaloosa	9,943	6,554	86	16,583
Walker	3,820	211	1	4,032
Washington	2,843	2,434	23	5,300
Wilcox	5,960	9,294	24	15,278
Total	335,185	253,532	2,039	590,756

Compiled from the Sixth Census of the United States.



Alabama 1840
 •=1 free person of color
 Map III-Numbers And Distribution Of Free Negroes
 In 1840

of 1832 which prohibited any more free Negroes from entering the state. The increase in this group for the decades between 1830 and 1860 was due to birth rate rather than to an influx of free Negroes from the older states.

The effectiveness of the law of 1832 may be judged by the sharp decline in the ratio of increase of the free colored as compared to that of the white and slave population. These figures, however, must be considered also in the light of the rapid growth of the state population during the formative years of the state, which was accompanied by the buying and use of the best land in the state. These factors caused a decline in the ratio of increase for all three of the population groups within the state. The ratio of increase from 1820 to 1830 for the whites was 122.82; for the slaves it was 180.68; and for the free colored, 175.03. The next decade, 1830-1840, showed a decline in ratio of increase for all three groups, but the sharpest decline was in the figures for the free colored. The whites had a ratio of increase of 76.02; the slave influx was leveling off with a ratio increase of 115.68; while the free colored population took a drop to 29.07.

Mobile County Absorbs Increasing Number Of Free Negroes

By 1850, the population of free colored in Alabama had grown to a total of 2,265. This was an increase

of 226 over the figures for 1840, but the census figures for this period are not accurate and do not furnish a true picture of the urban population. The figures for only nine cities are given in the Federal Census returns, and places such as Tuscaloosa, Demopolis, and Selma are not included. There was, however, no significant shift in population away from urban centers. Mobile County had increased its free colored population from 787 in 1840 to 951 in 1850, and out of that total, 715 were reported as being inhabitants of the city of Mobile. The increase in Mobile County absorbed all but seventy-two of the total increase for the state as a whole.

Madison County in North Alabama listed 164 free Negroes, with seventy residing in the city of Huntsville. Montgomery had ninety-eight within the city limits, with only seventeen scattered throughout Montgomery County. Tuscaloosa County reported a total of 132 free colored for 1850, but no distinction was made between town and county dwellers.

ALABAMA POPULATION TRENDS IN 1850

The almost impossible task of accounting for all the free Negroes in the state at any given time is well illustrated in the 1850 census returns. According to the

printed Federal Census returns, there were only eight free Negroes in Tuscaloosa County, and none were listed for the town of Tuscaloosa. The state census of 1850 records 132 free colored in Tuscaloosa County with twenty-two heads of families. Several of these were definitely living in the town of Tuscaloosa. Solomon Perteet, Ned Berry, Fanny Gould, Shandy Jones, and James Abbott were residents of Tuscaloosa for a long period of years.

In Dallas County the Federal Census of 1850 shows a total of eight free persons of color. The compiler evidently overlooked the thirty-five Smiths who were included in the slave section, but were specifically classified as free Negroes. These negroes were included in the Free Tom Estate as it was recorded in the 1850 census. Free Tom was emancipated in 1829, and had an estate consisting of thirty-five free persons of color and fifteen slaves.¹⁴ In addition to the Free Tom Estate, the state census listed fifteen heads of families and a total of ninety-one free colored in the county.

Effectiveness Of Non-Immigration Law

In 1854 James Jones, a free Negro residing in

14. Malinda and Sarah vs. Gardner, 24 Ala. 719.

TABLE IV

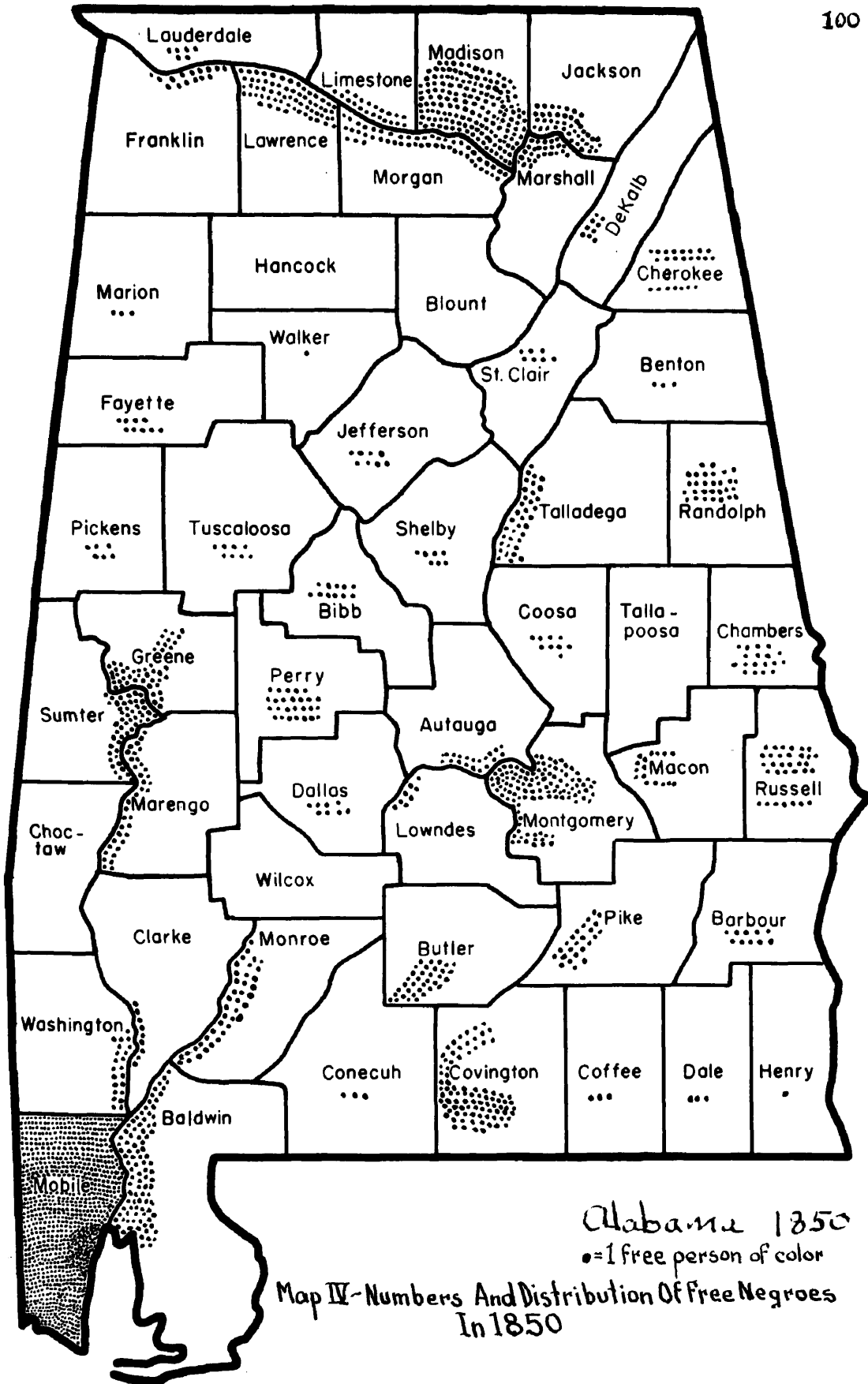
Population in Alabama by Counties, 1850

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Autauga	6,264	8,730	19	15,023
Baldwin	2,100	2,218	96	4,414
Barbour	12,842	10,780	10	23,632
Benton	13,397	3,763	3	17,164
Bibb	7,097	2,861	11	9,969
Blount	6,941	426	-	7,367
Butler	7,162	3,639	35	10,806
Chambers	12,784	11,158	18	23,960
Cherokee	12,170	1,691	23	13,884
Choctaw	4,620	3,769	-	8,389
Clarke	4,901	4,876	9	9,786
Coffee	5,380	557	3	5,940
Conecuh	4,925	4,394	3	9,322
Coosa	10,414	4,120	9	14,543
Covington	3,077	480	88	3,645
Dale	5,622	757	3	6,422
Dallas	7,461	22,258	8	29,727
DeKalb	7,730	506	9	8,245
Fayette	8,451	1,221	9	9,681
Franklin	11,398	8,197	15	19,610
Greene	9,265	22,127	49	31,441
Hancock	1,480	62	-	1,542
Henry	6,776	2,242	1	9,019
Jackson	11,784	2,292	42	14,118
Jefferson	6,714	2,267	8	8,989
Lauderdale	11,097	6,015	6	17,118
Lawrence	8,342	6,852	64	15,248
Limestone	8,399	8,063	21	16,483
Lowndes	7,258	14,649	8	21,915
Macon	11,286	15,596	16	26,898
Madison	11,937	14,326	164	26,427
Marengo	7,101	20,693	37	27,831
Marion	6,922	908	3	7,833
Marshall	7,952	868	26	8,846
Mobile	17,303	9,356	941	27,600
Monroe	5,648	6,325	40	12,013
Montgomery	10,169	19,427	115	29,711
Morgan	6,637	3,437	51	10,125
Perry	8,342	13,917	26	22,285
Pickens	10,979	10,534	6	21,512
Pike	12,102	3,794	24	15,920
Randolph	10,616	936	29	11,581

Population in Alabama by Counties, 1850 (cont'd)

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Russell	8,405	11,111	32	19,558
St. Clair	5,501	1,321	7	6,829
Shelby	7,153	2,376	7	9,536
Sumter	7,369	14,831	50	22,250
Talladega	11,617	6,971	36	18,624
Tallapoosa	11,511	5,073	-	15,584
Tuscaloosa	10,571	7,477	8	18,056
Walker	4,857	266	1	5,124
Washington	1,125	1,496	22	2,643
Wilcox	5,517	11,835	-	17,352
Totals	426,514	342,844	2,265	771,623

Compiled from the Seventh Census of the United States.



Georgia was permitted to move into the state of Alabama,¹⁵
The Non-immigration law of 1832 was set aside in his specific case, but there was no general nullification of the law. Out of the total of 2,265 free Negroes in the state in 1850, 1,641 were born in the state, and 589 were born in other states. Eleven free Negroes had been born in foreign countries, and twenty-four did not know, or did not care to tell, where they had been born.

During the decade between 1840 and 1850, the three population groups increased but the ratio of increase was reduced greatly from the high of 1830. The whites had a numerical increase that brought the total up to 426,514, but the ratio of increase was only 27.24. The slave population had risen to a total of 342,844 by 1840, with a ratio increase of 35.22. The free Negro population totaled 2,265 in 1840, and showed a ratio of increase of 11.08. The slave population, then, showed a definite tendency to lag behind the other two groups in rate of increase, while the free Negro ratio compared favorably with that of the whites.

Free Negro Population Continues To Move Southward

Mobile, during the next decade, held its place as the center for the free Negroes of the state. In fact,

15. Acts, Fourth Biennial Session, p. 108.

TABLE V

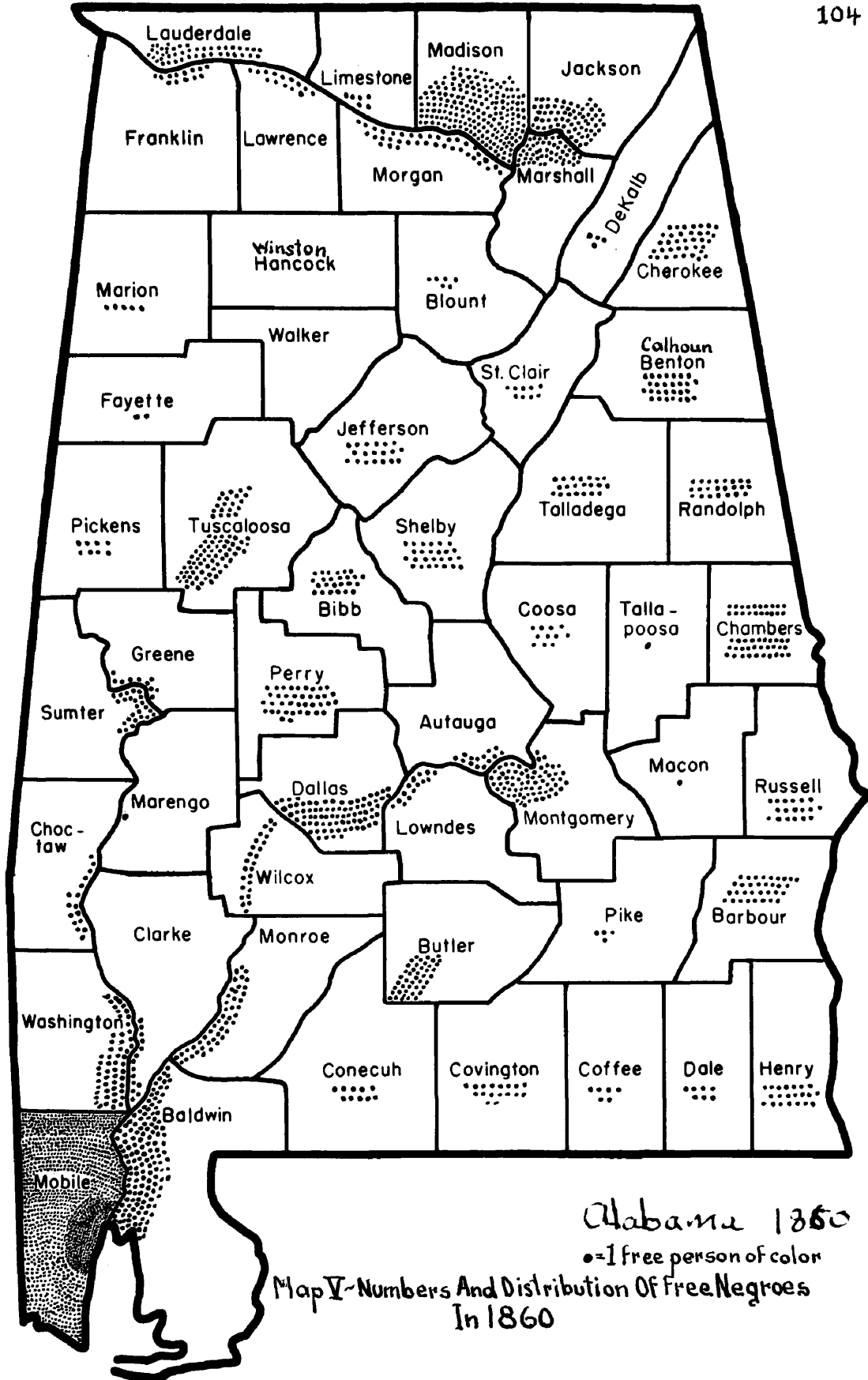
Population in Alabama by Counties, 1860

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Autauga	7,118	9,607	14	16,739
Baldwin	3,676	3,714	140	7,530
Barbour	14,629	16,150	33	30,812
Bibb	8,027	3,842	25	11,394
Blount	10,193	666	6	10,865
Butler	11,260	6,818	44	18,122
Calhoun	17,169	4,342	28	21,539
Chambers	11,315	11,849	50	23,214
Cherokee	15,321	3,002	37	18,360
Choctaw	6,767	7,094	16	13,877
Clarke	7,599	7,436	14	15,049
Coffee	8,200	1,417	6	9,623
Conecuh	6,419	4,882	10	11,311
Coosa	14,050	5,212	11	19,273
Covington	5,631	821	17	6,469
Dale	10,381	1,809	7	12,195
Dallas	7,785	25,760	80	33,625
DeKalb	9,853	848	4	10,705
Fayette	11,145	1,703	2	12,850
Franklin	10,119	8,495	13	18,627
Greene	7,251	23,598	10	30,859
Henry	10,464	4,433	21	14,918
Jackson	14,811	3,405	67	18,283
Jefferson	9,078	2,649	19	11,746
Lauderdale	10,369	6,737	44	17,420
Lawrence	7,173	6,788	14	13,975
Limestone	7,215	8,085	6	15,306
Lowndes	8,362	19,340	14	27,716
Macon	8,625	18,176	1	26,802
Madison	11,686	14,573	192	26,451
Marengo	6,761	24,409	1	31,171
Marion	9,894	1,283	5	11,182
Marshall	9,600	1,821	51	11,472
Mobile	28,560	11,376	1,195	41,131
Monroe	6,916	8,705	46	15,667
Montgomery	12,122	23,710	70	35,904
Morgan	7,592	3,706	37	11,335
Perry	9,479	18,206	39	27,724
Pickens	10,117	12,191	8	22,316
Pike	15,646	8,785	4	24,435
Randolph	18,132	1,904	23	20,059

Population in Alabama by Counties, 1860 (cont'd)

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Russell	10,936	15,638	18	26,592
St. Clair	9,236	1,768	9	11,013
Shelby	8,970	3,622	26	12,618
Sumter	5,919	18,091	25	24,035
Talladega	14,634	8,865	21	23,520
Tallapoosa	17,154	6,672	1	23,827
Tuscaloosa	12,971	10,145	84	23,200
Walker	7,461	519	-	7,980
Wilcox	6,795	17,797	26	24,618
Winston	3,454	122	-	3,576
Total	526,271	435,080	2,690	964,041

Compiled from the Eighth Census of the United States.



nearly one-half of the total free Negro population was to be found in the city of Mobile and in Mobile County. There were 1,195 in the county as a whole, and 817 of these lived within the city. The eleven other towns that reported separately in the census of 1860 had a total of 368 free Negroes living within their limits. Of the 2690 free persons of color in the state in 1860, a total of 1,185 were living in the urban areas. The towns in the northern part of the state were gradually losing their free Negro inhabitants, while those in the southern area were showing a definite increase.

One important factor that is indicative of the true condition of the free Negro in Alabama is to be found in a comparison of the ratio of increase of the three population groups within the state in 1860. The ratio of increase for the free Negro had risen from a low of 11.08 in 1850 to 18.76 in 1860. This was not true of either the whites or the slaves. Both of these groups showed a decline in their rate of increase during the decade. The whites had dropped to 23.38 from 27.24 in 1850; while the slave population had declined from an increase ratio of 35.22 in 1850 to 26.90 in 1860.

The free Negro in Alabama, then, was not being eradicated by either the persuasions of the colonization

movement or the seeming harshness of discriminatory laws. It is true that a few individuals who had reported themselves for several decades as free persons of color, in a seeming effort to evade the restrictions of the laws, classified themselves in 1860 as Indians.¹⁶ Since there was intermarriage between Alabama Indians and Negroes, it is impossible to determine now whether the classifications were the result of the census taker's mistake or due to a deliberate effort to evade the law.

As a group, the free Negroes were definitely a minority element, but they formed a minority that was gathering strength through increasing numbers and economic betterment with the passing of each decade.

16. See Appendix, Census Returns for 1860.

Chapter III

LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE STATUS OF FREE NEGROES

The State of Alabama inherited much of its legislation from the lawmakers of the Mississippi Territory. The early laws of the State reflected the thinking of the State as a whole, but as more towns were incorporated and were given the right to make and administer their own laws, there came into being a body of municipal ordinances. These were, of course, in line with general legislation, but in some cases they reflected the mood or character of the town for which they were designed. As a consequence of that fact, it has been thought fitting to present the general or State statutes first, then to deal with those of particular municipalities.

GENERAL LEGISLATION

One of the earliest acts pertaining to emancipation of slaves was passed July 20, 1805, by the General Assembly of Mississippi Territory. It placed restrictions upon indiscriminate emancipation and provided that the person desirous of freeing slaves must prove to the satisfaction of the General Assembly that: "such slave or slaves

have done some meritorious act, either for the Territory or for the benefit of said owner." The owner of the slaves so freed had to give bond and security to the governor of the Territory so that the freed Negro would not become a public charge, and provisions were made for attaching the former slave as property to satisfy the payment of any debt that the former owner may have contracted while the slave was still his property.¹

Negroes claiming their freedom were to be protected by the county or circuit courts. They could petition the court in the county in which their master or owner resided, and the court was given the authority to demand of the owner a bond and to compel the appearance of master and slave in the court. The slave claiming his freedom was to abide by the decision of the court, as was the master, and in the event of a decision adverse to the petition of the slave, the costs of the procedure were to be borne by the slave.

In 1815, this act was amended in such a way as to take the jurisdiction out of the county or circuit courts, and place such cases in the hands of "superior courts of law and equity alone." The judges of these courts were

1. Harry Toulmin, Esq., Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama, Chapter II, p. 632.

empowered to "take bond and recognizance" out of court,
as well as in court.²

In the year 1805, further legislation was enacted to prevent the intermingling of whites and blacks, or free persons of color and slaves. The law stated:

if any white person, free negro, or mulatto, shall at any time be found in company with slaves, at any unlawful meeting, or shall harbour, or entertain any slave, without the consent of his or her owner, such person being. . . convicted. . . shall forfeit and pay twenty dollars for every such offence to the informer. . . .

Any justice of the peace, sheriff, or other officer who knew of any such meeting or incident, and who failed to hale the culprits into court, could be fined ten dollars for such failure.³

This measure was strengthened in 1812 by making it the duty of each military patrol to visit all Negro quarters or other such places suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of slaves or other disorderly persons. If any free persons were found in such assemblies, they were to be taken before the nearest justice of the peace, and there dealt with according to the law.⁴

2. Ibid., p. 638.

3. Ibid., p. 628

4. Ibid., Chap. X, p. 639.

When the General Assembly of Alabama passed an act to incorporate the city of Mobile, the Mayor and Aldermen were given the authority to "restrain and prohibit the nightly and other meetings or disorderly assemblies of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes."⁵ Slaves were to receive twenty lashes for violation of this ordinance, and free Negroes could be fined up to fifty dollars, or in the event of their inability to pay the fine, they could be sentenced to labor for three months.

Free Negroes Denied Right To Vote

The Constitution of 1819 prohibited Negroes from voting and from holding office. It stated that no person should be a representative unless he was a white man and a citizen of the United States.⁶ The franchise was granted to every white male of the age of twenty-one or upward who was a citizen of the United States. In order to vote, such a person had to have resided within the State for one year,⁷ and within the county, city, or town for three months.

This did not exempt the free Negro from the payment

5. Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, First Session, pp. 128-29.

6. Constitution of the State of Alabama, Sec. 4, Art. 3.

7. Ibid., Sec. 5, Art. 1.

of poll tax or from labor upon the roads of the State. At the second session of the General Assembly, a poll tax of five dollars was levied upon all free Negroes over twenty-one. At a called session of the Assembly in 1821, this act was amended, and the tax reduced to an amount equivalent to that paid by the white males over twenty-one. Provisions were made for refunding any overpayment that had been made by the free Negroes.⁸ This provision was current for one year only, however, for at the third annual session, free Negroes over twenty-one were taxed one dollar,⁹ while white males over twenty-one were taxed fifty cents.

At the sixth annual session, the legislature, in an act passed "Concerning Roads, Highways, Bridges, and Ferries in the county of Mobile," provided that: "Persons liable to militia duty, and free males of color who have no property, or whose state or county tax does not amount to six dollars, shall work three days in each year on the roads."¹⁰

Free Negroes Had Access To Courts

The legislature, while passing laws that restricted

8. Acts, Called Session, 1821, pp. 3-5, sec. 10-11.

9. Ibid., Third Annual Session, p. 49, sec. 3.

10. Ibid., Sixth Annual Session, p. 135, sec. 19.

free persons of color, did give them the protection of the courts. In 1822, the prosecution of free Negroes for capital offenses was taken out of the jurisdiction of the county courts and given over to the circuit courts. There the Negro was to be given a trial "conducted in the same manner and under the same rules except as to evidence, as the trial of free white citizens." The evidence of slaves and persons of mixed blood was not acceptable in the trial of a white person.¹¹

At this same session, free persons of color were prohibited from retailing any kind of spirituous liquors within the state. For a first offence, a fine of ten dollars was exacted, but for a second offence, a maximum of twenty-five lashes could be laid upon the offender's bare back.¹² The act specifically excluded from its provisions all free Negroes who had become citizens of the United States by the treaty with Spain. This treaty included the Negroes in the Mobile area.

11. Dupree vs. the State, 33 Ala. 380; also Helen Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, pp. 228-229. This case involved the testimony of children of a mulatto woman by a white man. The paternal ancestors of the children for three generations were white men, but the Supreme Court ruled that they were still Negroes and, could not testify against a white man.

12. Acts, Fourth Session, p. 61.

GENERAL LEGISLATION IMPOSED FURTHER RESTRICTIONS

In the latter part of the twenties, a note of harshness crept into the laws regarding free Negroes. An Act passed in December of 1826 went beyond discrimination and reverted to the primitive measures of the early colonial period. Any slave or free person of color who was found guilty of the crime of manslaughter, committed on the body of another slave or free Negro would receive a minimum of thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. The maximum number of lashes was set at one hundred. In addition to being whipped, the guilty person was to be branded in the forehead with the letter M.¹³ It must be remembered that this legislation took effect in what was a primitive society. Jails were scarce, stocks were still being used to display unfortunate offenders, and justice,¹⁴ as meted out even by the courts, was harsh.

Then, too, the Alabama Legislature was being annoyed by what it termed "impertinent communications" from the law making bodies of some of the Northern states. These resolutions proposing the general emancipation of

13. Acts, Eighth Annual Session, p. 42, Sec. 1.

14. For a good discussion of early frontier society in Alabama, see A. B. Moore's History of Alabama, Chapter VII.

slaves and a system of foreign colonization were not well received in a society where the difference between the total number of blacks and whites was never very large.¹⁵

Society demanded some sort of punishment for wrong doing, and if it were not possible to exact a fine from the offender, some other means of punishment had to be provided for. Since slaves owned no property, and the average free Negro was not possessed of important worldly goods, the lash was prescribed for them. An example of this type of legislation is found in an Act passed in 1828. Designed to prevent wanton destruction of bridges throughout the state, the act read:

That if any free negro, slave, or person of color shall injure any bridge in this state, they shall on conviction before any justice of peace for said county in which the offence shall be committed, receive not exceeding thirty-nine lashes on their bare back, well laid on.

White men convicted of the same offence were to be fined a sum not exceeding \$200.¹⁶

At the next session of the legislature the death sentence was made mandatory for any slave or free person of color who should attempt to commit a rape on any free

15. U. S. Census, 1830.

16. Acts, Tenth Annual Session, p. 34, Sec. 3.

white female,¹⁷

SERVILE INSURRECTIONS AFFECT ALABAMA LEGISLATION

Nat Turner's Rebellion in Virginia brought a rash of restrictive laws over the South. Alabama was one of the states that began to impose more rigorous legislation on all persons of color. In January of 1832 an Act was passed to provide for the more speedy trial of slaves and free persons of color. A court composed of the judge of the county court and two justices of the peace, or three justices of the peace, if no judge was available, was given jurisdiction over the trial of slaves or free persons of color who were charged with any crime or misdemeanor of a higher grade than petit larceny. It was necessary for the justice to examine only the witnesses of the prosecutor, and if guilt was established or even probable, the person so charged could be put in jail immediately. Notice was to be given immediately to the two other officials necessary to conduct the court, and the trial was to be held not less than ten days or more than fifteen days from the time of such notice. A jury of twelve was to be formed in the regular manner, but if

17. Ibid., Twelfth Annual Session, p. 13, Sec. 1.

the panel of jurors was exhausted by challenges, then jurors could be drawn from the by-standers. No indictment was necessary. The prosecutor need only write out a brief statement of the crime charged against the defendant and sign his name to the statement. The court could appoint a counsel both for the prosecution and the defense of the accused, and a fee of ten dollars was to be paid to either or both of them. Thus the accused was assured of counsel even if he was unable to pay the cost himself.

If the accused was found guilty of a capital crime, the day of execution was to be set not less than five nor more than ten days from the date when sentence was passed. An exception was made in cases of conspiracy, insurrection, or rebellion, for which crimes the guilty party was subject to an immediate execution of the sen-
18
tence.

Nine days later the General Assembly approved an act that prohibited any free persons of color from settling in the state. Thirty-nine lashes was the first penalty for the newly-arrived settler. If he persisted in staying in the state, he could be sold as a slave for one year. If this year of servitude was not enough to

18. Acts, Thirteenth Annual Session, pp. 10-12.

convince the offender that he was not welcome, he could, after a grace period of twenty days, be sold into slavery for life.

Free Negroes Denied Educational Privileges

The act further prohibited anyone from teaching a slave or free person of color to spell, read, or write. This section of the act was evidently aimed at white persons, for the penalty for this offense was not the lash, but a fine which had a minimum of two hundred and fifty dollars and a maximum of five hundred. It may be assumed that the fear of abolition literature and its effect upon literate slaves or free Negroes led to the phrasing of this section of the Act.

Free persons of color who should be found guilty of writing a pass or free papers for any slaves were to be given thirty-nine lashes and banished from the state forever. If the offender should return to the state at any time and be apprehended, he or she could be sold into slavery for ten years.

Free Negroes were forbidden to buy from or sell to any slave without a written permission from the master, owner, or overseer of the slave. The written permit was to specify the articles to be bought or sold, and any deviation from this was punished by thirty-nine lashes.

Written permission had to be obtained before a free Negro could visit slaves in any kitchen, outhouse, or Negro quarter, and the same was true for any slave who wished to visit a free Negro. The free Negro, if found guilty of violating either section of this act, was to be whipped. This part of the act worked a hardship upon those free Negroes who may have formed marital connections with any slave, but the legislators were determined to suppress any clandestine communications between the two groups of Negroes.

Gatherings Of Negroes Restricted

Even religious gatherings of Negroes were to be held under the supervision of "five respectable slaveholders." Free persons of color and slaves could attend public worship if the service was being held by white persons. Colored preachers, either slave or free, could not preach to their colored brethren unless they were ordained or licensed by "some regular body of professing Christians immediately in the neighborhood, and to whose society or church such negro should properly belong." 19
Even then the five white slave holders had to be present.

19. Ibid., pp. 17 ff.

Newspapers Express Public Sentiment

Public apprehension was very real during this period, and many people became excited over the possibilities of servile insurrections. Many false rumors led to editorials in Alabama newspapers. The editor of the Southern Advocate was particularly clamorous on the subject. In October, 1831, a long article appeared in this paper calling for a strengthening of the patrol laws.²⁰ The next month's issues included an article on free Negroes and mulattoes. It was stated that the former in the state "were betwixt freedom and servitude" and "more vicious than slaves." They were also said to be a "source of demoralization the consequence of which we cannot conjecture."²¹ The next week's issue called loudly for a revision of militia and patrol laws in order to strengthen the supervision of assemblies of free Negroes and other unruly persons. The Legislature was begged to prohibit the free colored from entering the state, and to stop further emancipation of slaves.²²

The Tuscaloosa papers made room for numerous articles on abolition, emancipation, patrol laws, and free

20. Southern Advocate, Oct. 15, 1831

21. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1831.

22. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1831

Negroes. The town, being the capital of the State at that time, was crowded with legislators from over Alabama, and discussions took place in the barber shops, bar rooms, and hotel lobbies. Resolutions were introduced in an attempt to set up some agency or mode of getting rid of the free persons of color.²³ A bill to guard against the insurrection of slaves was introduced. This bill prohibited the introduction of slaves into the state for "sale or merchandizing." People were to be allowed to bring in slaves for their own use, or those that they may have acquired by will or inheritance. Slaves who were brought into the state contrary to this proposed act were to be colonized in Liberia.²⁴ Two days later, before the bill was passed, the governor sent a message to the Senate, stating that he had just received information that a slave had arrived from North Carolina, and that the said slave had come into the state for the express purpose of distributing seditious publications (ie. abolition literature). The governor recommended the passage of a law that would prohibit the introduction of slaves into Alabama. This message brought the desired results. The before-mentioned bill received

23. Spirit of the Age, Dec. 2, 1831.

24. Spirit of the Age, Dec. 3, 1831.

its third reading that same day, and was passed.²⁵

In a letter to the Governor from J. G. Carroll, Adjutant and Inspector General of the Alabama Militia, the fears of some Alabama people were pointed up. Carroll said:

It is my opinion exceedingly desirable, situated as we are, that the public arms equal in number our militia, so that, should necessity ever require it, there would be a gun to be placed into the hands of every militia man in the state, for it cannot be concealed that we have a population among us that may at some day give us reason to rejoice that we are prepared. 26

In spite of this apprehension, the legislature authorized the emancipation of twelve slaves in the month following the passage of the most severe laws that the State had put upon its statute books up to that time.²⁷ The excitement died down; there was no mass uprising of the Negroes in Alabama, and the State settled back for a period of comparative lassitude as far as the Negro question was concerned.

Further emancipatory legislation was enacted at the 1830 session of the General Assembly. The act provided for the regulation of emancipation by the judges of the county courts. An owner, wishing to free any slave

25. Ibid., Dec. 5, 1831.

26. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1831.

27. Acts, Thirteenth Session, p. 98.

or slaves, had to advertise his desire to do so in the county newspaper nearest to him. He was required to give the number and a description of such slaves, as well as the date and place of his intended application to the court. At the end of sixty days from the slave owner's first printed notice, his petition could be filed with the judge of the county court. The judge, at his discretion, could "emancipate and set free" the slave or slaves so named on the condition that they leave the State within twelve months after such emancipation and never return. If the former slaves returned to the State, they could be imprisoned, and after thirty days, sold as slaves.²⁸

This last condition, that of removing from the State, was disregarded in a number of cases. Martitia, the slave of Nancy G. Marr, was permitted to remain in the State indefinitely after her emancipation.²⁹ Marie Hypolite, of Mobile, was not required to leave, nor were any of the Negroes emancipated in the Mobile area forced to leave the state.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR MOBILE AREA

The peculiar relationship of the free Negroes

28. Acts, Fifteenth Session, p. 29.

29. Acts, Seventeenth Session, pp. 99-100.

of Mobile and Baldwin counties because of rights and privileges granted to them by the Spanish Treaty of 1813, forced the General Assembly of Alabama to take special measures for the protection of those rights. It also passed legislation that would prevent this area from becoming a hotbed of trouble and a place of easy entry for abolition literature and agents.

As early as 1824, the House of Representatives attempted to tax the free Negroes of Mobile and Baldwin counties so heavily that they would be forced to leave the area and the State as well. This measure also would have had the effect of preventing other free Negroes from gravitating toward that part of the State. Governor Pickens vetoed the bill and gave the following reasons for doing so:

Both the preamble of the bill and the necessary effect of the heavy tax on each free person of color (\$100) together with the strong sanctions under which its payment is enforced, declare this bill to be a measure for preventing this description of persons from migrating to, or continuing within that portion of the state included by the counties named, whether they may have been citizens of other states of this Union or not. Viewing it in this light, I cannot reconcile it with the first clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states. 30

30. Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, p. 171.

As a further safeguard to the constitutional rights of the inhabitants of the two counties, the General Assembly passed an act in 1833 providing for educational facilities for the children of the "free Colored Creoles" in those areas. The mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile were given power to "authorize and license such person and persons, as they may deem suitable to teach and instruct, for limited periods, the free colored Creole children, residents within the limits of the city and counties of Mobile and Baldwin."³¹

Schools For Free Colored

Schools for the free colored were set up, and money was appropriated for their maintenance. The Catholic Church in Mobile operated a Public Free School in which "Creole or free colored children of both Sexes" were instructed in "elements, and the ordinary and most useful branches of a good practical English education. . . ."³² Funds for the support of this school and others were provided by the Board of School Commissioners."³³

This respect for the constitutional rights of

31. Acts, Fifteenth Session, p. 68.

32. Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners of the Year 1845, flyleaf.

33. Ibid., pp. 54 ff.

the free Negro citizen of Mobile and Baldwin counties did not prevent the legislators of Alabama from recognizing the danger to the slave system that could easily come from this quarter. The citizens of the state became more and more concerned over the growth of abolition sentiments in the North, and the flood of literature that was pouring into the South from abolition presses. Governor Gayle, on the 17th of November, 1835, delivered a message to a joint meeting of the two legislative houses in which he said:

The whole country has recently been much agitated by a disclosure of the measures which have been adopted, and the attempts which have been made and are now making, to interfere with and destroy the institution of slavery, as it exists in the South. The purpose of this interference, as avowed by its authors, is the immediate abolition of slavery at any hazard and by whatever means they may deem necessary to its accomplishment. The expedient of sending to the South, for distribution among our slave population immense numbers of tracts, misrepresentations and pictures, calculated to render them dissatisfied with their condition and to incite them to rebellion against their masters, has been adopted as the readiest way to introduce the bloody scenes of the drama which has been deliberately plotted for our ruin, and which, influenced by the dark spirit of fanaticism, they are resolved to perform.

This attempt to interfere with an institution, peculiar and entirely our own, . . . has roused the whole South as one man, to the highest peak of indignation.

Arthur Tappan and the infuriate demoniacs associated with him, gravely maintain, that the freedom

of opinion, and the liberty of the press. . . .
 give them a warrant for overflowing this country
 with their licentious and incendiary publications.
 . . . they appealed, in a printed and formal docu-
 ment, to the American people to sustain them. . . .
 in their efforts to light up our land by the mid-
 night conflagration of our dwellings, and to effect
 the indiscriminate slaughter of our wives, of our
 sons, and of our daughters. 34

This speech was followed ten days later by
 another in which the newly-elected Governor Clay recom-
 mended a revision of the patrol laws, which he deemed
 almost entirely ineffectual. He also suggested the pro-
 priety of further legislation in reference to free persons
 of color. He said in regard to this group:

While some of them are sober, industrious, and
 honest, . . . many of them are idle, intemper-
 ate, and vicious. The pernicious effects of
 their bad habits and examples upon our slaves,
 and the corrupting tendency of their inter-
 course with them, must be well understood by
 all. 35

These speeches were probably inspired in part
 by an incident that occurred in Mobile in August, 1835.
 The ship Warsaw arrived from New York with four free
 Negroes aboard. It was found that one of the Negroes,
 Parker by name, had a quantity of abolition literature in
 his possession. The literature was from the press of

34. Journal of the House of Representatives, of the State
 of Alabama, pp. 6-15.

35. Journal of the House of Representatives, pp. 49 ff.

Tappan, and was considered inflammatory. Parker was whipped by a mob, and the four Negroes were then returned to New York by the same ship.³⁶

Mobile Harbor Laws

It was not until February of 1839 that specific legislation was enacted by the General Assembly to prevent a recurrence of such an incident. Free Negroes, regardless of the capacity in which they might be employed, were not to be brought into any port or harbor of the state. It was the duty of the harbor master to report any violation of this act to the sheriff of the county, and the free Negro was to be placed in jail until the vessel should leave the harbor. The costs of his detention were to be borne by the master of the vessel, and a master who did not abide by this section of the law could be fined one thousand dollars and imprisoned for six months. The offending Negro's name and description were recorded and the sheriff warned the culprit never to re-enter the State. Should the unfortunate Negro be left by the captain of his vessel, or return to the State after having been once warned, he was to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. If, after this punishment was inflicted, the Negro

36. Mobile Commercial Register and Patriot, Aug. 21, 1835.

remained in the state over twenty days, he was liable to seizure and sale into slavery for life. Sections six and seven of the act also made it lawful to seize and enslave for life any free person of color who had come into the State since February 1, 1832.³⁷

These last two sections were repealed in February of the next year.³⁸ The strictures of the whole act were softened somewhat in 1848 when an amendment was passed which gave permission to the master of a vessel to convey a seriously ill free Negro to the Hospital of the United States. The Negro, however, was to be carried back aboard the vessel as soon as he was discharged from the hospital.³⁹

The Mobile Harbor laws brought protests from ship owners who were trading in Mobile. It took time for the captain of the vessel to register and describe every free Negro that he might have on board, and unpleasant relations developed when a local sheriff boarded his ship and arrested his cook or steward, in the event that they were free Negroes. If his steward could not show for produce while the ship was docked, extra work was thrown on

37. Acts, Twentieth Session, pp. 134 ff.

38. Acts, Twenty-first Session, p. 16.

39. Acts, First Biennial Session, pp. 130-131.

the captain or some member of the crew. The bond required of a vessel's master, and the inconvenience of having to wait while the free Negro was being conveyed back to the ship, were other annoyances. To these was added the sincere feeling on the part of some that the free Negro was a citizen of the United States, and as such had a right to the privileges and immunities that were enjoyed by any other citizen.

40 Masters of foreign vessels were usually unmolested, but northern ship owners received very little sympathy, even though their protests were carried to Congress. Representatives in Congress of the northern group complained that commerce was being hampered by the intimidation or imprisonment of free Negroes who might be employed in Northern shipping, while the Southern Representatives argued that these men might be dangerous to the peace and welfare of Southern life.

40. Charles O. Paullin and Frederic L. Paxson, Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States Since 1783, pp. 112-114. Three Negroes were taken from a British vessel in Mobile harbor and imprisoned according to the law prohibiting the immigration of free persons of color. It so happened that the Negroes were British subjects. Duly noted in Consular reports, the plight of these British subjects brought a strong protest from England, which resulted in the removal of restrictions on free Negro subjects of foreign countries. This relaxation of laws, however, was not extended to free Negroes employed by Northern shippers. See James B. Sellers, Slavery in Alabama, Chap XIV, p. 12.

Penal Code Of Alabama Revised

With the building of a State penitentiary, there came a modification in the sentences for various crimes. The State was no longer forced to resort to extreme measures to punish criminals, but could place this part of its population within the confines of a penal institution. A portion of the penal code was an act of 1840 entitled "An Act Regulating Punishments under the Penitentiary System." The second chapter of this code dealt with offences against the white inhabitants of the state. The act read in part:

If any free person shall aid and assist, or be in any wise concerned with any slave or slaves, in any actual or meditated rebellion or insurrection against the white inhabitants of this State; or shall in any manner advise, consult, or plot with any slave or slaves for the purpose of encouraging, exciting, aiding, or assisting in any such rebellion or insurrection either actual or meditated; such free persons shall, on conviction of any one of the offences declared by this section, suffer death; or confinement in the penitentiary for life, at the discretion of the jury trying the same. ⁴¹

The second section of the act was evidently aimed at white persons as well as free Negroes, for it provided for a ten year term in the penitentiary for any person who should write, print, draw, paint, or engrave upon any substance, with intent to circulate the same, any-

⁴¹. Acts, Twenty-Second Session, Sec. 2, p. 121.

thing that was calculated to excite discontent, insurrection, or rebellion amongst the slaves, or free persons of color. The possession of such material, with intent to circulate the same, carried with it the same ten year sentence in the penitentiary.⁴² The death penalty or ten years in the penitentiary awaited any person who was found guilty of knowingly circulating or aiding and abetting the circulation of material calculated to create disturbances among the colored population of the State.

There were evidently some abuses of the law of 1839 which permitted any one in the state to enslave for life any free person of color who had come into the state after February 1, 1832. The practice of kidnapping or decoying free Negroes for the purpose of selling them as slaves was one of the evils connected with the domestic slave traffic.

At all times the free negro was subject to the hazard of kidnapping, to arrest as a suspected fugitive, and to ultimate reenslavement. If seized by an official and charged with being a runaway slave, he was not permitted to testify in his own behalf and was at the mercy of unscrupulous officials who were rewarded by fees for his "recapture". . . Slaves were stolen; criminal slaves were sold on false assurances of character; free negroes were kidnapped. Indeed it has been reasonably conjectured that

42. Ibid., Sec. 3.

the number of free men kidnapped and subjected to slavery was equal to the number of slaves who escaped bondage. ⁴³

The practice of kidnapping or decoying free Negroes for the purpose of selling them as slaves seems to have led to an amendment of the 1839 law, and to its complete abandonment in 1841. Section twenty-four of the penal code stated that:

Every person who shall forcibly confine or imprison or shall inveigle or kidnap any free person within this state against his or her will, or shall forcibly cause any free person to be confined or imprisoned in this state, against his or her will, with intent to remove such person without the limits of this state without lawful authority for such removal: upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not less than ten years. ⁴⁴

Every person found guilty of buying or selling any free person for a slave, knowing the person so bought or sold to be a free Negro was to be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than ten years. A maximum term of ten years in the penitentiary could be given to any person who brought into the state a free person of color for the purpose of holding or disposing of such person as a slave. ⁴⁵

43. J. G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction, pp. 52 ff.

44. Acts, Twenty-Second Session, Sec. 24, p. 125.

45. Ibid., Secs. 26, 27.

It was very difficult for a free Negro to prove himself free if he had lost or neglected to obtain a certificate of freedom. The testimony of a white could usually invalidate that of a free Negro, and the Negro's color stood as testimony against him.⁴⁶ The burden of proof was upon the free Negro, and if he could not produce documents or legal proof of his free status, he was apt to be considered as a slave. The plight of such free Negroes may be seen in a notice that appeared in a Tuscaloosa paper in 1842:

Committed to the jail of Tuscaloosa County on the third day of October, 1842. . . a negro man as a runaway, who calls his name John Thompson and says that he is free and was decoyed away from McMinn County, Tennessee, by a white man and sold near Coffeerville in the state of Mississippi about four months ago. John is a tall black slim fellow about twenty-two years of age, very likely, and near six feet high. . . The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges and take him away as the law directs. 47

If John was not called for within the legal time limit after such notice was put in the paper, the sheriff could

46. Becton vs. Ferguson, 22 Ala. 599. (The Alabama Supreme Court held in this case that "The effect of the proof offered to rebut the presumption arising from his color, was for the jury to decide.") See also Catterall, op. cit., p. 187.

47. Flag of the Union, Tuscaloosa, Nov. 30, 1842.

auction him off as a runaway slave to the highest bidder. The money obtained for such a sale was supposed to be used to cover the cost of feeding the prisoner and any court costs that may have been incurred.

The attempt to commit the crime of rape on any white female or the actual commitment of the crime by a slave or free Negro brought the death penalty to the one convicted.⁴⁹ Any one who was found to be an accessory before the fact in any of the crimes mentioned in the code was deemed a principal even though the person actually committing the crime should evade capture and trial.

The Penal Code of 1841 still gave the sheriff of the county the right to seize and imprison any free Negro who came into any port in Alabama on a ship. The Negro so arrested and confined was to be warned, upon his release to leave the state and never to enter it again. If he remained despite this warning, he was to be re-arrested at the expiration of twenty days. Upon conviction of having disregarded the law, he was to be sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. At the expiration of his sentence, he was given thirty days to leave the state. For failing to do this, he could be sentenced to five years

48. Turner vs. Thrower, 5 Porter 43; also Catterall, op. cit., p. 143.

49. Acts, Twenty-Second Session, p. 188, Sec. 3.

in the penitentiary.

These same penalties were to be applied to any free Negro who had come into the state since February 1, 1832. It was made the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other judicial officers to warn all such Negroes that they could not legally remain in the state.

The Mobile Harbor Act was amended in December, 1841, so as to place all vessels that might be within the Bay of Mobile under the jurisdiction of the sheriff and city marshall. Two dollars were to be paid to any individual giving information that would lead to the apprehension of a free colored person who might enter the state unlawfully. The penalties imposed upon the master of a ship guilty of leaving a free Negro from his crew or passenger list in the state, were to be imposed also upon any person who should bring a free Negro into the state in any other way.

ALABAMA RESORTS TO MORE RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION

At the first bi-ennial session of the legislature held in Montgomery, the new capital of the state, there was an increase of legislation pertaining to free

persons of color. These new laws of 1848 marked further restrictions on a class of people who found it difficult enough to survive economically. Taxes on free persons of color were set as follows:

On all males over ten and under sixty years of age, two dollars; and on all females over ten and under forty-five years old, one dollar; and if any such person shall fail to pay the tax aforesaid, the collector shall at public auction, hire out such defaulting negro or mulatto to any one who will take him or her the shortest time for such tax. 51

In an act entitled "An Act to Prevent Frauds in Sampling Cotton," free Negroes were excluded from sampling cotton. Any person "engaging, employing, permitting, or suffering any free person of color to sample cotton" was guilty of a misdemeanor and was subject to a maximum fine of one thousand dollars. The Supreme Court in that same year limited the apparent scope of this act by stating that "negroes. . . are prohibited from sampling cotton. . . in those cases only, where the cotton does not belong to the person employing the slave or free person of color."⁵² The Mobile Harbor Act was again changed in such a way that the master of the ship could prevent the sheriff or city marshall of Mobile from coming on board

51. Acts, First Biennial Session, p. 26, Sec. 83.

52. Wragg vs. State, 14 Ala. 492.

his ship by posting a bond of from two to five thousand dollars with the mayor of Mobile. The condition of the bond was that he would not permit any free person of color to leave the ship and go ashore, and that he would guarantee to carry such persons away with him on leaving the harbor. The ship must not come within three miles of the city of Mobile, nor within one mile of the shore, except in passing out of Mobile Bay. No communication could be carried on between such free persons of color as might be on board ship and any free Negro on shore. The ship's master was given three days in which to post bond, and was allowed to bring any free person of color to the Hospital of the United States in the event such person was seriously ill. Any infraction of these regulations would result in forfeiture of the bond, and loss of such privileges as were conferred by the act.

53

Free Negroes Heavily Taxed

Free Negroes were again subject to a heavier tax in 1850 than were white persons. Male free Negroes between the ages of twenty-one and fifty were subject to a per capita tax of \$2.00. Female free Negroes between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five were assessed \$1.00

per capita. White male citizens between twenty-one and forty-five were assessed only fifty cents per capita, and no tax was imposed on white females.⁵⁴

Retailers of spirituous liquors were prohibited from employing any free Negro as a clerk or agent for the purpose of retailing or selling such liquors. For a violation of this law, the offending licensed retailer could be fined up to one hundred dollars and costs, or could be imprisoned for a maximum of six months in the county jail.⁵⁵

The necessity for building new roads and repairing old ones caused whites, free colored, and slaves alike to be called out in Coosa and Benton counties. The age limits for whites subject to such work was a minimum of eighteen and a maximum of forty-five. Free colored and slaves were exempt below the age of sixteen and above fifty. Ministers of the gospel, postmasters, and the physically unfit were exempted. There was no mention of color lines being drawn in the case of the three last named groups.⁵⁶

In 1852, the legislators prohibited the sale of

54. Acts, Second Biennial Session, 1849, p. 12.

55. Ibid., p. 50, sec. 2.

56. Ibid., pp. 402, 404.

spirituous liquors to any free person of color. A maximum fine of five hundred dollars could be imposed for a violation of this act. In a case tried two years later under the law of 1852, one Tucker was indicted for this offense, and convicted in the lower courts. He was charged with selling spirituous liquors to Dade Massey, a free person of color. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, where the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. An interesting sidelight in the case was produced when the higher court admitted hearsay evidence to prove the free status of the Negro. Massey apparently had no proof that he was a free Negro, but witnesses stated that "he has acted as a free man, residing in. . . Alabama for more than twenty years, . . . that, from hearsay and general reputation, they had always considered him a free person." The fact that such evidence was admitted would seem indicative of the court's desire to maintain the Negro's state of freedom, even though he could not produce any documentary evidence of such.⁵⁷

In a similar case, tried in the same year, one Lodane was convicted in the lower court of selling liquor to Jones, a free Negro of Mobile. Lodane, on the plea that Jones was a descendant of parents who were protected by the treaty of

57. Tucker vs. State, 24 Ala. 77.

cession from Spain, and was thus exempt from the provisions of the law of 1852, carried the case to the Supreme Court.

The court held that:

in order to exempt the free persons of color protected by the treaty of cession from Spain to the United States from being included in the Act of 1852, it should have been declared in the Act itself that the terms used. . . should not apply to them. 58

This decision must have come as a rude shock to those inhabitants of Mobile and the surrounding areas who had been accustomed to the feeling that they were exempt from the restrictive measures applied to free persons of color in other parts of the state.

FREE NEGROES COULD SELECT WHITE GUARDIANS

An indication that the state was interested in preserving the legal rights of the free Negroes is found in an act of 1852 that authorized the appointment of guardians at law for this group of people. Under the provisions of this act, a free Negro could, upon application to the judge of the probate, have a guardian appointed for himself, even if such free Negro was over the age of twenty-one. The guardian had to enter into bond to the judge, and was held fully accountable by the court for the administra-

58. *Lodane vs. State*, 23, Ala. 64.

tion of the free Negro's estate. The guardian was to:

faithfully take charge and faithfully account for all such effects, goods, and moneys of such free persons as may come to his possession, and pay and deliver the same over to such free person of color, if of age, whenever demanded by him; or if under age, as he may be ordered by the court, and shall account to the court and be liable as other guardians. 59

The free Negro could also enter suit through his guardian which gave him increased protection in the acquisition and holding of personal property. Other considerations than that of property holding entered into these guardianship arrangements. In the case of Jacob Freeman, a free Negro of Wilcox County, there is the possibility that he wanted the protection of being the ward of a white man. R. R. Rodgers was appointed Jacob's guardian, but was not required to enter into bond and security, since Jacob had no property.⁶⁰ This was not true in the cases of Elcey, a free Negress of Macon County, and Henry Knight, a free Negro of the same county. Their guardians had to post a bond of five hundred dollars, and were held accountable to the courts just as if their wards were white persons.⁶¹

59. Acts, Third Biennial Session, p. 81.

60. Probate Minutes, Wilcox County, p. 133.

61. Record of Bonds, Macon County, pp. 247, 322.

The judge of probate was empowered to appoint guardians for all free persons of color under fourteen years of age, and if the judge thought proper, free Negroes under twenty-one could be bound out to some person competent to teach them a trade. If the Negro involved were over fourteen but under twenty-one, he could not be bound as an apprentice against his will or that of his guardian.⁶²

Principles Governing Apprenticeship

It had long been customary to bind out the children of indigent or pauper parents in Alabama. This was a means used to relieve a burden on the tax-payer, and to avoid the building and maintenance of poor-houses. Overseers of the poor were appointed in the various districts, and it was their duty to make provisions for the care of paupers and the insane. If the parents of a child or children were deemed incapable of supporting them, or "bringing them up in honest ways," the overseer of the poor could be ordered by the judge of the Orphan's court to apprentice the children until they were of age. Male children were bound out until they became twenty-one years of age, and females were bound until they reached

62. Acts, Third Biennial Session, p. 49, sec. 3.

the age of sixteen.

In Madison County, then a part of the Mississippi Territory, the overseer of the poor in 1817 was ordered to investigate the case of Belzy Davis, a free woman of color, to determine if she were capable of rearing her children properly. If she was found incapable, the children were to be apprenticed.⁶³ In 1837 in the same county, the four children of Judy, a free woman of color, were bound out to James W. McClung, in the Huntsville beat.⁶⁴

In May 1833, Peter Williamson, Judge of the Regular Commissioners Court of Lowndes County, ordered Mary Finley, a free colored child, bound out as an apprentice until she was sixteen years of age.⁶⁵ At the August term of the court in the following year, James Smith, "a free child of color and a pauper," was bound out "on the best terms . . . for the benefit of the county" until he was twenty-one years of age.

Three acts that were approved at the 1854

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63. Orphan's Court Minutes, 1810-1819, Madison Co. p. 96.
64. Minutes of Commissioners Court of Roads and Revenue, 1831-1844, Madison County, p. 211.
65. County Court and Commissioners of Roads and Revenue, May Term, 1833, Lowndes County.

session of the General Assembly reflect the mixed feelings of the legislators in regard to the free Negro problem. James Jones, a free person of color of the State of Georgia was permitted to move into the state of Alabama. The act stated that "the said James Jones shall enjoy all the rights and privileges and be under all the liabilities of persons of like description that are now citizens of this state."⁶⁶ John Bell, a man slave who belonged to the estate of William R. King, was emancipated and authorized "to remain in the State of Alabama in the enjoyment of freedom. . . ."⁶⁷

In this same session, the act that incorporated the town of Tuskegee was amended so as to give the corporate authorities the power to:

prevent slaves and free persons from keeping dealing in, selling, vending, bartering, or giving away any kind or quality of intoxicating liquors: to prevent them from keeping eating establishments; to prevent slaves and free persons of color from keeping, owning, or carrying any fire arms or other deadly weapons, . . . to prevent trading with slaves in the night time and on the Sabbath Day, and to pass all laws necessary and expedient to keep slaves and free persons of color under proper control and subordination. 68

66. Acts, Third Biennial Session, p. 108

67. Ibid., p. 144.

68. Ibid., pp. 263-264.

If James Jones and John Bell had read this act, it might have caused them to wonder about the rights and privileges and the freedom that they were authorized to enjoy.

Gambling And Idleness Prohibited

In 1858, a further restriction was imposed upon the free Negroes of the State. They were prohibited to play at any game of cards or dice, or with any substitute for the same. Any offender could be arrested with or without a warrant and carried before a justice of the peace. If found guilty, the offender was given from ten to thirty-nine lashes by the constable. The constable and justice of the peace each received for his services the sum of one dollar. This amount was to be paid by the guilty party.⁶⁹

In addition to the preceding act, another was passed that, while it was seemingly directed largely at white keepers of saloons, hotels, and other places where spirituous liquors were sold, its practical purpose was to prevent free persons of color from loitering near any of these places. The act stated that:

the keeping of every house in this state where spirituous liquors are sold, retailed or given away, and which. . . free persons of

69. Acts, Sixth Biennial Session, p. 35.

color habitually visit, assemble, or stop at or loiter about, is hereby declared to be a public nuisance; Provided the general reputation of such house or of the keepers thereof as to trading or trafficking with slaves, is bad. 70

Three witnesses were necessary to establish the reputation of the place in question, and the penalty upon conviction, could be a maximum of one thousand dollars and six months in the county jail. A second conviction for the same offence resulted in the loss of the offender's license.

FREE NEGROES COULD VOLUNTARILY BECOME SLAVES

A final blow, in the period under study, was struck at emancipation in an effort to keep down the free Negro population. In 1860, it was made impossible to emancipate any Negro slave by last will and testament, and slave owners were prohibited from authorizing their slaves to be carried from the State for the purpose of emancipating them. All gifts or bequests left by any slave owner for the purpose of financing the removal of any slave beyond the limits of the State so that they might be emancipated were declared null and void.⁷¹

70. Ibid.

71. Acts, Seventh Biennial Session, p. 28; see also Cresswell's Executor vs. Walker, 37 Ala. 299.

At the same session an act was passed making it possible for free Negroes to select a master and become slaves. The law was phrased so as to protect the free Negroes of the state from enslavement against their will, and those who became slaves could not be sold for the debts of their master. The petition to become a slave had to be filed by the Negro seeking to be enslaved, and the second section of the act provided that:

if on trial of said petition the Judge of Probate shall be convinced of the proof of disinterested witnesses, and from all the facts and circumstances of the case that the petitioners filed the petition voluntarily and free from undue influence, and that the petitioner . . . really desires to surrender freedom and to become the slave . . . of the person named in the petition, it shall be the duty of the Judge of Probate to decree the petitioner . . . the slave . . . of the person named they have selected. . . ." 72

Several free Negroes made use of the act and voluntarily placed themselves back in slavery. In Russell County the Short family consisting of five adults and six children petitioned the court to allow them to become the slaves of Young Edwards. These Negroes were living on Edwards' place at the time of their petition.⁷³ Ned Adkins and Lucy Green of Coosa County,

72. Acts, Seventh Biennial Session, p. 63.

73. Ibid., p. 662

Lewis Witherspoon of Pike County, Tarleton Mass of Pickens County, and William Patterson and Cora of Blount and Chambers County respectively all petitioned the courts⁷⁴ to allow them to become slaves.

No evidence has been found that many free Negroes made use of the law or that there was any concerted effort on the part of the whites to force free Negroes into slavery. The lot of the free Negro under these general laws was not a very happy one, but the laws were not always enforced, and the average slave owner who thought enough of a slave to emancipate him or her, also thought enough of them to grant them some measure of protection even after they were free. Too many slave owners made financial provisions in their wills or at the time of emancipation, for credence to be attached to any idea that Negroes were turned adrift to fend for themselves. The same feeling that prompted emancipation might also prompt a degree of protection and care.

MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION

These things must be borne in mind when considering the restrictions imposed upon free Negroes by the

74. Ibid., pp. 599 ff.

laws of several towns within the State. In the towns the free Negroes formed an element of competition for the whites who were engaged in various trades. They formed a class that was not as restricted in their movements as were the slaves; therefore they had access to wharves, docks, and means of transportation. They could, if not restrained, bring in or receive and distribute abolition literature. Some of them, because of a lack of training, competition in the trades, or lack of desire, became burdens upon the county. Others, due to their own energy and business ability, became persons of property. The laws, even in times of excitement, did not bear as heavily upon some as upon others.

The municipal laws generally followed the trend of state laws. There were a few exceptions which, as a rule, served to point up discrimination as to mode of punishment rather than mere difference in that which was forbidden.

Mobile, with its large free Negro population, had restrictive measures written into its charter of incorporation. The city authorities were empowered to prohibit nightly and other meetings or disorderly assemblies of free Negroes. Any free person of color found guilty of violating this ordinance was subject to a

maximum fine of fifty dollars, or confinement and labor for three months.⁷⁵ This provision was regularly written into the charter of the various towns over the state as they were incorporated. Montgomery, in 1820, gave the members of the military patrol orders to visit Negro quarters, break up unlawful assemblies, to kill all dogs owned by Negroes and to take all firearms found in the possession of free Negroes or slaves.⁷⁶ Dogs could give warning of the approach of a patrol and give the Negroes time to disperse, and firearms were considered as dangerous to the white population and the night patrols. The city marshall of Montgomery was authorized in 1829 to "apprehend all free negroes, mulattoes, or slaves loitering on the streets, or guilty of drunkenness or disorderly conduct."⁷⁷ Any free Negro, upon conviction, could receive any number of stripes in addition to paying the court costs. If he was unable to pay the court costs, he could be given ten additional lashes. These punishments were not mandatory, but could be changed upon payment of a fine. John Brown, a free black of Mobile, was in

75. Acts, First Session, pp. 128-129.

76. Record of the Corporation of Montgomery, 1820-1834, pp. 28-29.

77. Ibid., p. 70.

trouble several times in 1821, but there was no record of his being whipped. On September 25, 1821, John was arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct - disturbing the neighbors at night."⁷⁸ He was fined eight dollars and costs. A little later, John was arrested on two successive week ends. For being "drunk about the streets after midnight," he was fined three dollars and twenty-five cents. The next week-end proved to be a little more costly for Brown. John Wood, a white man, had Brown arrested for the use of abusive language and striking him. This time John Brown was fined fifteen dollars and fifty cents.⁷⁹

In November of 1829, Edward Wallis, a free colored man of Mobile, was charged with the murder of Elick, also a free Negro. "The defence was handsomely managed by Isaac H. Erwin, Esq., and was, we understand, his first professional effort. The trial resulted in a verdict of manslaughter; punishment, six months imprisonment and a fine of fifty dollars."⁸⁰

Laws Were Not Rigidly Enforced

78. Mayors Court Records, City of Mobile, 1820-25, p. 33.

79. Ibid., pp. 102-103.

80. Mobile Commercial Register, November 23, 1829.

After 1830 more stringent regulations began to appear in the municipal ordinances. It had been found that the existing patrol system was not effective, and after the scare of Nat Turner's Rebellion, there was an insistence upon some other means of regulating the number and conduct of the free Negroes. The editor of the Democrat, a Huntsville paper, was very much disturbed about the conduct of the free Negro population. He wrote a scathing denunciation of the patrol system, in which he said:

Is it not strange that a country situated as this is, with the black population fast approximating to one-half of the whole. . . should, without a seeming apprehension for the consequences, suffer that population to go at large night and day, work day, holiday, and Sunday - scour the country in gangs and meet in crowds at midnight revels with no eye to watch their movements. And yet it is so. Such a thing as a patrol company coming to your kitchen or negro quarters is never heard of now. . . Crowds of negroes are seen in every direction on the Sabbath, and to our knowledge, fashionable parties at night have been almost as frequent, if not more so, of negroes in this town during the last twelve months than among the whites. . . . To come to the gist of the matter, we must have a patrol, a regular efficient patrol at all hazards, and upon any terms. 81

The Committee of Vigilance of Lawrence County petitioned the Legislature as follows:

81. The Democrat, Huntsville, September 9, 1835.

In view of the domestic circumstances by which we are surrounded, there is nothing calculated to produce more uneasiness than the existence of free colored people among us, who are annually and rapidly increasing; - their houses are the harbors of runaway slaves and receptacles for stolen goods received from slaves, and paid for generally in spirits. 82

The petition proposed that a tax of twenty dollars be placed on all free colored persons over twenty-one years of age; fifteen dollars on those under twenty-one but over fifteen years; and ten dollars on all under fifteen and over ten years. If these taxes could not be paid, then the free colored were to be hired out for a term sufficient to pay the tax, and the funds collected used to transport those who might desire to go to Liberia.

At a meeting of the citizens of Huntsville, on the twenty-third of November, 1835, a series of resolutions were drawn up which show the concern of the town people over the Negro problem. In addition to those which pertained specifically to slaves, there were some directed at the free Negro population. The resolution read in part:

4th. Resolved that it be made the duty of the captain /ie. of the militia/ to appoint seven patrol companies to consist of six men each, and to appoint a company to each night, so that one company will ride each night in the week and one on Sunday.

82. Ibid., October 21, 1835.

5th. Resolved that all corn shuckings, quiltings, and all assemblages of blacks of every description be done away. 83

The expedient of excessive taxation was resorted to by a number of towns, in an effort to rid themselves of the free Negroes. Montgomery, in 1830, taxed all free colored persons over twenty years of age, the sum of three dollars. White males were assessed one dollar. The tax assessment for the next three years was reduced to two dollars for free Negroes, but in 1834 free persons of color were taxed five dollars, while the assessment for white males continued to be one dollar annually. In 1848 and 1849 the tax rate jumped to ten dollars for every free Negro male over ten years of age, and every female of this class was required to pay five dollars if she were fifteen years of age or over. If the taxes were not paid, the free Negro could be hired out for the amount of the tax.

Free Negroes In Towns Required To Post Bond

These taxes were imposed in Montgomery in addition to a bond of two hundred dollars that every free

83. Ibid., December 2, 1835.

84. Records of the Corporation of Montgomery, 1820-34, pp. 77 ff.

85. Montgomery City Ordinances, 1838-1850, p. 50.

Negro had to post with the mayor upon entering the city with the intention of residing within the corporate limits. This bond had to be renewed annually, and was forfeited for a failure to conduct themselves in an orderly manner, or to observe all the ordinances of the city.⁸⁶

It was rather difficult for the free Negro to live very long in Montgomery without violating some ordinance. He could not buy spirituous liquors by the drink; he could not own or gallop a horse within the city limits; and to shoot a gun of any sort within the city limits could cost him up to forty dollars.⁸⁷ If he kept a dog he had to pay a tax of five dollars for each dog so kept. For a failure to pay the tax, he could be fined twenty dollars.⁸⁸ For being absent from home after 9:15 p. m. without a reasonable excuse, he could receive fifteen lashes, and for disorderly conduct, he could expect, upon conviction, up to twenty-five lashes.⁸⁹ If a free Negro obstructed a drain or sewer within the city, he could be given thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. He could not buy anything from, hire, employ, or be in company with

86. Alabama Journal, Montgomery, March 9, 1842.

87. Montgomery City Ordinances, 1820-34, pp. 110 ff.

88. Ibid., 1834-38, p. 31.

89. Montgomery City Ordinances, 1838-50, p. 9.

any slave within the city limits unless the slave had the written permission of his master or overseer.⁹⁰

Discriminatory Taxation Applied By Municipalities

The city of Tuscaloosa in 1832 taxed free Negroes by assessing each of them over sixteen years of age the sum of one dollar. White males between twenty-one and forty-five years of age were taxed only twenty-five cents.⁹¹ For selling or bartering liquor to any slave, a free Negro could be fined twenty dollars, and not less than fifteen lashes on the bare back.⁹² If a free person of color bought farm produce from a slave, without a written permit from the owner or agent of the slave, he would receive, upon conviction, a total of thirty-nine lashes, well laid on.⁹³

By 1844 the ordinances of Tuscaloosa made it extremely difficult for a free person of color to reside within the city limits. The laws regarding their residence in Tuscaloosa were as follows:

1. No free person of color shall settle or

90. Ibid., pp. 36 ff.

91. Spirit of the Age, Tuscaloosa, April 18, 1832.

92. Ibid., April 25, 1832.

93. Ibid., June 6, 1832.

reside within the corporate limits of this city without first producing to the mayor his or her free papers and satisfactory testimonials of good character.

2. Before any free person of color shall settle within the limits of this corporation he shall obtain from the mayor a written permission to that effect and shall pay to the mayor for the use of the city, the sum of two hundred dollars.

3. Every free person of color who shall settle and reside in this city shall upon obtaining his permission as aforesaid, furnish to the mayor the name of some respectable white citizen who will consent to act as his guardian during his residence in this city.

4. The mayor of the city shall keep a book in which he shall record the name of every free person of color who may obtain permission to reside in this city, the occupation or trade of such free persons of color, and the name of his guardian. . . .

5. Every free person of color who shall reside in this city without complying with the foregoing provisions shall be dealt with as a runaway slave.

6. If any free person of color shall keep any house of entertainment, any disorderly house, or house of ill fame, or shall be guilty of any disorderly conduct, or shall vend any goods, wares, or merchandise, or spirituous liquors, or provisions, cakes, beer, cider, or any drink other than is manufactured by said free person of color, in the course of his business, the said free person of color shall. . . be fined. . . not less than twenty dollars nor more than fifty dollars. . . .

7. Any free person of color within this corporation who shall neglect or refuse to pay any fine imposed upon him or her shall be compelled to work on the streets or other public improvements. . . at ordinary wages until the amount of such fine be discharged.

The last section gave permission to any free person of

color who had obtained a license as a baker to carry on his business without interference.⁹⁴

Taxation Without Representation

The city patrol could arrest any free Negro who might be found on the streets after nine o'clock at night, and either put him in the guard house for safe-keeping or release him upon his promise to keep the peace and appear before the mayor at the next court.⁹⁵ Only white males over eighteen were required to pay a poll tax in the city in 1844, but both male and female free Negroes were taxed. Those under twelve years of age were taxed fifty cents, while those over twelve and under sixty years of age were assessed two dollars each.⁹⁶

The town of Talladega in Talladega County had its charter amended in 1840 so that while taxing white males over twenty-one years of age only fifty cents annually, it could tax both male and female free Negroes a maximum of twenty-five dollars.⁹⁷ Girard, a town in Russell County was incorporated in 1844 with the usual provisions empowering the municipal authorities to prohibit

94. Democratic Gazette, Tuscaloosa, May 8, 1844.

95. Ibid., April 24, 1844.

96. Ibid., May 9, 1844.

97. Acts, Assembly of 1840, p. 28.

meetings of free Negroes or slaves, and to restrain all trading between free Negroes and slaves without a written permit from the slaves' owner or overseer.⁹⁸

The city of Mobile required free Negroes resident within the city to report by the first day of each year, to the mayor. At that time, they had to give their name, height, sex, and general description; place of birth, the time in which they had been residents of Mobile, and the location of their residence. Bond, with good security, was required, and for failure to post the bond, the offender could be committed to the city prison for four months. Free Negroes were not permitted to go at large after ten o'clock at night unless they had a special pass from a city official. Even with a pass, they could not be out after midnight. Violators of this ordinance could be fined twenty-five⁹⁹ dollars.

If a free Negro in Mobile drove his team through the streets of the city at a speed faster than "the common walk of a horse," he could be fined five dollars and costs. This same ruling applied to white persons, while slaves guilty of violating the ordinance could receive up to ten

98. Acts, Assembly of 1843, p. 34.

99. The Code of Ordinances of the City of Mobile with the Charter and an Appendix, pp. 119 ff.

lashes, unless his owner wished to pay the fine and court costs.¹⁰⁰

PURPOSE OF RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

The laws of the state that applied to free Negroes were usually directed toward the control of their relationship with the slave population. It was natural that, with a few exceptions, the free Negro should find his companionship among his kind or race. Many of them had been slaves; some were married to slaves either before or after their emancipation, and their attitude toward the white man was the same as the attitude of the slaves. Since they were not accepted socially by the whites, there was really no other group than the slaves to whom the free Negro might turn for companionship, recreation, or marriage.

In urban centers such as Mobile the free Negro could find enough of his own kind to establish a social order within the class to which he belonged. This was not true, however, over a large portion of the state, and the natural tendency of the free Negro, set apart from the whites by his color and racial characteristics, was

100. Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile, Jan. 27, 1834.

to seek to establish some congenial relationship with a group in which he would be accepted. The free person of color could be a disturbing influence in the slave quarters, so the slave owners tried to reduce the contact between the two groups to a minimum. A fear of servile uprisings was always present in the minds of the whites, so it might be expected that they would take every precautionary measure possible to prevent trouble.

The county and city authorities were anxious to keep to a minimum the number of persons that were not engaged in any gainful employment. A portion of the laws of the state were directed toward the prevention of idleness and the eradication of loafers and drifters. The free Negro who was busy at some trade or occupation was rarely disturbed or even affected by the laws that pertained to his group. There were no laws, other than social customs, which prevented the free colored from finding a place in the economic structure of the state. None of the trades were closed to him, and he could become as prosperous as his initiative and skill would allow.

There were efforts, through legislation, to prevent the growth of the free colored group, but these laws were directed against an influx of free Negroes from other states more than they were against the Negroes who

were considered legitimate inhabitants of Alabama. The slave states, as well as the "free" states, did not care to have to provide for a large element that might be difficult to absorb into their economic structure.

It must be remembered, in reviewing the legislation of these early years, that Negroes had come to be regarded as "property," and a property that was at times difficult to handle or restrain, because it had human characteristics and emotions that could be aroused. Disturbing elements had to be kept to a minimum in order to preserve the delicate balance between peace and order and what could easily become terror and insurrection.

Regardless of all laws, the free Negro population continued to increase and, in some measure, prosper. His legal rights were guaranteed and upheld by the courts, and his personal relationships with the whites were conditioned by the social customs of the times.

Chapter IV

PROPERTY HOLDING AND OCCUPATIONS

The idea that the free Negro in Alabama was a poverty-stricken, indigent, vicious loafer was based largely upon the editorials of newspapers published during times of fear of servile uprisings, and from the florid oratory of legislators seeking to curry favor with their constituents. It was certainly not based upon a knowledge of the actual economic condition of the free Negro as a group. It is true that there were free Negroes who were idle loafers, and others were burdens upon the county in which they lived. In 1817, Belzy Davis, a free woman of color, had her children taken from her by the courts because she was unable to support them.¹ In Madison County in 1833, the Commissioners Court ordered the County treasurer to pay John H. Bingham five dollars for making a coffin in which to bury an infant child of Rachel Hunt, a free woman of color. Daniel Patterson, a free Negro, was paid three dollars for digging a grave and burying

1. Orphans Court Minutes, 1810-1819, Madison County, p. 96.

the child.² Judy, a free woman of color, of the same county, had her four children taken from her and bound out because she was unable to care for them.³ In 1839, the county treasurer was ordered to pay to Vicey Finley, a free woman of color, thirty-six dollars "for her trouble and expense in taking care (including funeral expenses) of Benjamin Mason, a free man of color."⁴ Coffins for Milley and Julia, both free women of color, cost the county twelve dollars in 1852.⁵ A like amount went to the Coroner for holding an inquest over the dead body of Emeline, a free woman of color.⁶ Three years later, Dublin, a free Negro was carried to the poor house.⁷ These cases were not the rule, however, because the county always had the legal right to call upon the former owner of an emancipated slave for the amount of the bond that had been posted. James Doran of Jackson County was authorized by the Legislature in 1832 to emancipate certain of his slaves

2. Minutes of Commissioners Court, 1831-1844, Madison County, p. 74.

3. Ibid., p. 211.

4. Ibid., p. 295.

5. Ibid., 1849-1854, p. 174.

6. Ibid., p. 187.

7. Ibid., p. 347.

at his discretion:

Provided, he shall previously convey to the judge of the county court. . . six hundred and forty acres of land on which he now resides. . . in trust forever for the use of said slaves, as security that they shall not become chargeable on any city, town, or county in this state. 8

Doran failed to convey the land to the judge of the county court, but deeded it to the Negroes, evidently thinking that this would comply with the law. After Doran's death and the death of his widow, the Negroes sued for their freedom. The Supreme Court ruled that security had not been posted with the county court as the law directed, therefore the Negroes were still slaves.⁹ If security, in the form of the six hundred acres of land, had been posted with the county court, that security could have been made use of to prevent the Negroes from becoming public charges.

Mobile had its trouble with the idle and criminal elements among the free people of color. A petition to the Mayor, written in 1839 and signed by a number of citizens, stated:

Gentlemen, permit the undersigned respectfully to urge your interference to suppress a negro

8. Acts, Thirteenth General Assembly, 1831, p. 98.

9. Jack et al (slaves) vs. Dorans Executors, 37 Ala. 265.

establishment, a House of Ill fame, which exists in our neighborhood to the great disgrace of the same. . . . Said establishment is under the direction of one Maria Bryant, coloured woman, at No. 13 St. Francis Street. . . . The midnight revels which there take place are reprehensible not merely on account of their noise and disturbance, but as the cause of reducing and corrupting our servants. . . . 10

The Mobile Register, reporting activities of the Mayor's Court, revealed evidence of vagrancy, gambling, fighting, and disorderly conduct on the part of free Negroes.

Jim Thomas, a notorious free man of color, unless he can bring testimony required will have to undergo the infliction of 15 stripes and pay fine of \$50 or four months imprisonment for associating with slaves, and for sundry misdeeds. If, however, the city can get clear of him, permanently, he will be forced to leave. 11

The sentence was much milder than it might have been.

Jim received the fifteen stripes, but the fine and imprisonment were remitted. He was not forced to leave the city, even though he had been found guilty of associating with slaves, failing to give bond, vagrancy, and being a scamp in general.

William and James Turner, free Negroes, were caught gambling with two slaves. The slaves received

10. Interesting Transactions from the City Documents of the City of Mobile for 1823-1844, June 15, 1839.

11. Mobile Register, October 26, 1859.

twenty stripes, while the two free Negroes were fined fifty dollars each. Laura, a slave, was given thirty-nine stripes for "entertaining a vagabond free negro and her white paramour."¹² Jack Jenkins, a free man of color, was fined ten dollars for breaking open a colored woman's window and abusing her with his tongue.¹³

These cases were paralleled by those of white men, also charged with gambling, drunkenness, and disorderly conduct. Shandy Jones, a free man of color in Tuscaloosa, got into trouble because he permitted white men¹⁴ to use a room over his barber shop for gambling purposes.

Montgomery was not without its idle and violent groups. One writer, in picturing the early history of the town, said:

To be sure, indecorum and vice did exist and often tempers ran high. Gambling on cock fights and horse races was an accompaniment of lottery sales. There were a few occasions of nocturnal disorders, one case of slave stealing, one robbery, and four murders. Occasionally letters to the newspapers from pious citizens decried card playing in hotel rooms.¹⁵

12. Ibid., October 30, 1859.

13. Mobile Register, November 11, 1859.

14. Moore vs. State, 30 Ala. 550.

15. Clanton W. Williams, Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery; a Black Belt Constituency, p. 501-502.

Viewed as a part of a pioneer social order, and with the knowledge that the free Negro occupied a rather difficult position in that order, it is surprising that so many of them were peaceful and law-abiding, and managed to accumulate and hold property, both real and personal. Some of the colored Creoles of Mobile and Baldwin Counties were made mention of in written articles before 1860. One rather interesting account, written in 1858, said of this group:

From Cold to Cedar Creek the forest is broken but by a few settlements and these are generally the abodes of the colored creole population who abound in this part of the country. . . It is said that (with perhaps one exception) none of them has ever been brought up before a numicipal or judicial tribunal for any offense against the laws.

Zenon Chastang of Chastang's Bluff is the very patriarch of the colored creoles. . . . Zenon, like some others of his class, is a man of substance, and possesses broad lands, as well as horses, cattle, and slaves of his own. 16

Zenon inherited at least a portion of his estate from his father, Jean or John Chastang, who was classified in the Census of 1810 as a white man.¹⁷ There were free Negroes who were owners of property even before Zenon

16. Democrat, Clarke County, July 29, 1858. Reprinted from the Mobile Register.

17. Census of Mississippi Territory, Baldwin County, 1810.

inherited his part of his father's estate. On August 3, 1798, Euphrosine Andry, a free mulatto woman of Mobile, petitioned the Governor General of Mobile to grant her an unused lot in Mobile. The lot had formerly belonged to her father, Simon Andry, a white man. The petition was granted on August 13, 1798.¹⁸ Simon had lived with Jean Simon, or Jane Seymour, and they were accepted as man and wife in "Spanish times."¹⁹

FREE NEGROES OWNED SLAVES

In 1810, Simon was recorded as having nine free persons of color in his family, and as owning eight-²⁰een slaves. William Mitchell, another white man, had a rather large family by two free Negro women. He was listed in the census for 1810 as having eight free persons of color in his family, and a total of fifteen²¹ slaves. In the same census returns, Jean Chastang reported eight free colored in his family, and owned

18. Mobile Probate Court Records, 1715-1812, p. 221.

19. Dupree vs. the State, 22 Ala. 380.

20. Census of Mississippi Territory, Baldwin County, 1810.

21. Ibid.

fifteen slaves. Simon Andry had a family of nine free colored and eighteen slaves.

Census returns and tax receipts for the years of 1815 and 1816 do not seem to coincide. This, of course, might be attributed to the difficulties that early census takers experienced in gathering their information, and to the disinclination of people to make full returns of their taxable property. Maximian Andry paid taxes on three slaves in both 1815 and 1816, but the census returns of 1816 list him as owning twenty-three slaves.²² These same tax reports show that Bazeal Chastang paid the taxes for two years on seven slaves, but there is no record of him in the 1816 census reports. Louisa Chastang paid the tax for one Negro slave in 1816 but the census returns credit her with a total of thirteen slaves. Eugene and Zenon Chastang were assessed taxes for one slave each, which coincides with the census returns. Nanette Durette was taxed in 1815 for thirteen slaves and seven hundred and seventy-five acres of land. There was no tax record for Mrs. Durette in 1816, but the census returns listed her as having four free Negroes and fourteen slaves in her household.

22. List of Taxable Property for the Year 1815 in Baldwin County, and List of Taxable Property for the Year 1816 in Baldwin County. See also Census Returns for Mississippi Territory, Baldwin County, 1816.

Auguste Colin of Mobile County owned and paid taxes on nine slaves in 1816, and Registe Durette was taxed for one slave. In 1817 the tax reports of Mobile County listed Registe Bernody as being the owner of three slaves.²³ Monroe County in 1816 had six free Negroes who paid taxes on slave property. Samuel Munac was assessed for thirty-three slaves, while John Munac and Eathen Stroud were taxed for one each. Josiah Fisher paid \$3.12½ as tax on five slaves; Arthur Sizemore taxes on four slaves, and George Stiggins was taxed for ten.²⁴

William Mitchell, a white man of Mobile County, was a wealthy man, but he had to divide his property among three sets of children. He had children by two free colored women and one white woman, and made provisions in his will for all of them. Most of his property was left to a free Negro woman named Margarett, Margueritte, or Rosette, with whom he was living at the time of making his will. To her he left his town house in Mobile together with all the household furniture in said house, and all the furniture of his plantation home. In addition to the

23. List of Taxable Property for the Year 1816 in Mobile County; also for 1817. (Manuscript, Ala. Department of Archives).

24. List of Taxable Property for the Year 1816 in Monroe County. (Manuscript, Ala. Dept. of Archives.)

preceding, she was to get one-half of all crops growing or gathered of the plantation, and all the hogs. All cattle which bore the brand of Margueritte were reserved for her, and she was given four slaves outright, and a fifth slave was to be hers if he could not be emancipated. The slaves that she was to receive consisted of three females, Henrietta, Charlotte, and Jeane, the child of Charlotte; and two male slaves, Joe and a boy Philip, who was the slave of Mitchell, but a son of Margueritte. It was the last named slave, Philip, that Mitchell desired to be set free.

To the two children that he had by Margueritte, namely, Margueritte and Auguste (commonly called Jim), he left one slave each, and the property that had been willed to their mother was to be divided equally between the two upon the death of the mother. The rest of the property was disposed of in the following manner:

Item, the rest and residue of my property both real and personal, that is to say my land, slaves, horses, cattle, (not including the cattle owned by the before mentioned free negro Margueritte, and which have her brand, or such as she may own at the time of my death), I give and bequeath to a mulattoe man named Zeno whom I acknowledge to be my son, a shoemaker by trade and now living in Mobile, to a mulattoe woman named Margueritte who I acknowledge to be my daughter now living in New Orleans who is not the woman herein-before mentioned, and to Therese Lorendine who poses for my daughter, the two

first being children I had by the free mulattoe named Margueritte Lucien (now deceased) and the last, to wit, Therese Lorendine, a child I had by Marie Defiley, afterwards Madam Cadett (also now deceased) . . . and the said Zeno and Marguerite . . . and Therese . . . shall severally hold forever the property hereby bequeathed equally to be divided share and share alike. . . .²⁵

Honore Collins of Mobile made provisions for the mulatto woman, Rosette, who had been living with him as his wife and had borne him four children. She thus became a property owner, because she received the house and household furniture of Honore, and the lot in Mobile on which the house stood.²⁶ Frank Mitchell, of Mobile, left all of his estate to three children who had evidently been born of his slave woman, Venus.²⁷ Daniel Jugan left one thousand dollars to his five "children of colour" and stipulated in his will that he wished his executor, Thomas Newbold, to see that the children were given an education.

Eilaire Dubroca, also of Mobile County, after arranging to have his debts and funeral expenses paid from the sale of one hundred head of cattle belonging to him, gave the rest of his estate, including the stock "such as hogs and horses and also all and singular the moveables and

25. Will Book No. I, 1813-1837, Mobile County, Ala., pp. 96 ff.

26. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

27. Ibid., p. 108.

household furniture "of which he died possessed, to Isabelle, a coloured woman and the five children she had borne²⁸ by him.

Regis Bernody, a free man of color, citizen of Mobile and an accepted member of the Catholic Church in that city gave a lot situated on St. Francis Street in Mobile to three children that he had by Isabelle Barthelene, a free woman of color. To Catherine, the free woman of color, who was living with him at the time he drew up his will, he gave one thousand dollars. In a codicil, he revoked this monetary gift, and provided that she share equally with the children of the two unions that he had formed in his lifetime. There were nine children and Catherine to share the estate "both real and personal consisting of lands, town lots in the cities of Mobile and Pensacola, stocks of cattle, horses, household furniture and ready money." Bernody had already advanced to four of the children over fifteen hundred dollars in cash. This sum he wished credited to their share of the estate when the²⁹ division of his property was made.

Free Negro Property Owners Not Restricted To Specific Areas

28. Ibid., pp. 115-116.

29. Ibid., pp. 170 ff.

Free Negroes in other parts of the state were managing to accumulate property. Polly Lee, a free woman of color of Madison County, paid to Leroy Pope the sum of fifty dollars for a half acre of land south of Huntsville, Alabama.³⁰ This transfer of land took place in 1828. In 1833, John Robinson, a free man of color, added to the lot that he already owned a part of a lot that lay next to it. He paid one hundred and seventy-five dollars for the partial lot, known as "lot number seventeen in the plan of the Town of Huntsville." The plot of ground measured forty-three by one hundred and twenty-nine feet, and was evidently purchased to enable Robinson to expand his livery-stable business.³¹ Prior to the purchase of this lot, Robinson had been able to hire slaves to work for him by the year.³²

Andrew Winn bought a plot of ground in 1828 from Henry Bibb and his wife, residents of Madison County. The land lay just outside and south of the City of Huntsville. In 1835, he sold the plot, measuring more than one-half acre to Anthony Seaward, another free man of color, for

30. Madison County Records, Deed Book Q, p. 520.

31. Ibid., Deed Book P, p. 705; also William's Huntsville Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror, Vol. I, 1859-60, p. 79.

32. City of Huntsville Minutes, 1828-1834, p. 158.

one hundred and twelve dollars.³³ Molly Lee, a free woman of color, paid three hundred dollars for part of lot number four in the town of Huntsville. The purchase was made in 1835 from Susannah Young, a free Negress, who had bought the property in 1826. This gave Molly a lot which measured fifty feet by one hundred and fifty feet, and she was willing to pay for the extra land because her house stood in the southeast corner of the lot.³⁴ In March, 1836, London Urquhart, a free Negro paid four hundred dollars for part of lot number ninety in the city of Huntsville.³⁵ Three months later, he and John Robinson together paid five hundred dollars for a corner lot which measured one hundred and forty-seven feet by fifty-four feet.³⁶

Anthony Seaward did not manage to keep the lot that he bought from Andrew Winn in 1835 for one hundred and twelve dollars. For some reason, not explained, he sold the lot in 1836 to Daniel Turner for fifty dollars.³⁷ London Urquhart, in a rather peculiar will written in 1837,

33. Madison County Records, Deed Book Q, pp. 82-83.

34. Ibid., Deed Book P, p. 530.

35. Ibid., p. 680.

36. Ibid., Deed Book Q, p. 50.

37. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

made use of his real estate to take care of his Negro woman Judy, who was also his wife. The will stated:

That James T. Gee shall have the lot of ground in Huntsville, in fee simple which was conveyed to me by Thomas Fern and wife and Alexander Erskin and wife. . . and that the said James T. Gee shall have my negro woman Judy, who is my wife, also during her natural life, upon this trust and confidence that he shall permit her, during her life, to enjoy her freedom and the use and benefit of said lot and its appurtenances. . . the lot and appurtenances to be his absolutely after her death. I will and devise the balance of my estate real and personal absolutely and in fee simple to William H. Gee. 38

Free Negroes Considered Slaves As Property

John Evans, a free Negro, finding himself in debt to James Clemens to the amount of two hundred and forty-eight dollars and eighty cents, mortgaged his slave, Archy, to pay the debt. He was given one year from January 1, 1848, to redeem the slave.³⁹ Evans was not the only free Negro in Madison County who owned a slave or slaves. In July, 1842, at a session of the Orphans Court, held in Huntsville, Catherine Butcher, a free woman of color, was authorized to emancipate her man slave, Tom Walker, on the condition that the said Tom Walker leave the state within

38. Madison County, Probate Record, No. 8, p. 153.

39. Madison County, Deed Book W, pp. 523-24.

twelve months and never return.⁴⁰

The Census reports for 1830 list twenty-two free colored heads of families in Madison County, and nine of these held a total of fifteen slaves. John Robinson held four slaves, while the other eight had one or two each. Some of these slaves were probably relatives who had been bought by the family, but never emancipated.⁴¹

Richmond Terrell, who operated a barber shop and bath house in the basement of the Madison House, had three slaves in 1840, and was able to help his son William to set up his own barber shop in the basement of the court house in Huntsville.

Clarke County in the southern part of the state had five heads of families listed as slave holders. Three of these were probably holding members of their families in the status of slaves, since only four slaves were listed for the group. Others, however, evidently held slaves for commercial purposes. P. T. Harris, a free woman of color, was listed as the head of a family of twenty-five

40. Madison County, Orphans Court Minutes, 1840-42, vol. 8, p. 480.

41. U. S. Census Returns, 1830, Madison County.

42. U. S. Census Returns, 1840, Madison County; also Williams Huntsville Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror, Vol. I, pp. 84 ff.

with twenty-four of the group being classified as slaves. David Monack, a free man of color, had twenty-eight in his household, and twenty-seven of these were classed as slaves.⁴³

Mobile County had thirteen heads of families who were paying taxes on a total of fifty-five slaves. Eleven male slave-holders had a total of twenty-eight slaves, while three female slave owners also had a total of twenty-eight. Two of these women, Jane Simore (Seymour) and Louisa Chastang held ten and fifteen slaves respectively.⁴⁴

In the city of Mobile, six males held twenty-four slaves, while four females held a total of thirty. Of the thirty slaves held by women, Madame Boshong had a total of sixteen. Burnadez Rozieste, of the males, had fourteen slaves, while the rest of the group, male and female had only a few each. In the city, thirty-two females were listed as heads of families, with thirty-one males claiming that distinction. In the rural area of Mobile County, sixteen males were heads of families, while only eight females were classified as such. Of the thirty-two females listed as heads of families in the city, twenty-eight had a total of one hundred and sixty-six people in their households, while there were four females

43. U. S. Census, 1830.

44. Microfilm of Original Census Returns, 1830.

listed as living alone. It seems, thus, that the city held more attractions for females, particularly those who were single, than did the rural areas.⁴⁵

Monroe County had two free colored slave holders listed in the 1830 census. Arthur Sizemore held three slaves and Suzanne Sizemore held two. Okey Fowler and Joseph Lanton, in Montgomery County, had one and two slaves respectively. Frederick Thomas in Perry County, had a family of eight, with one of them classified as a slave. In Shelby County, Isah Hadsen held one slave, and John Saunsha of Washington County reported two of his household of three people as slaves. John Martin of Wilcox County had three people in his household, also, with one person classified as a slave.⁴⁶

It is reasonable to assume that, in numerous cases where small families were involved, the one or two slaves listed were the children or relatives of the head of the household. The head tax to be paid on slaves was much less than that required of free persons of color. Lawrence County, in 1835, wished to impose a tax of twenty dollars on all free colored persons over twenty-one

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

years of age; fifteen dollars on those under twenty-one and over fifteen, and ten dollars on those under fifteen and over ten years of age.⁴⁷ If this petition had been acted on favorably by the Legislature, Ezekial Porter would have found it extremely difficult to pay his head tax. Of course, there were property taxes that would have added to his burden. Ezekial was a free colored male under thirty-six years of age, with a family of nine, all free. Assuming that Ezekial's wife was over twenty-one, and that four of the seven children were under twenty-one, but over ten, his head tax alone could have amounted to eighty dollars.

In addition to the financial problem involved, there was the difficulty of getting a petition for emancipation before the Legislature. This often became a long drawn-out affair. Molly Lee, a free woman of color in Madison County, purchased Taylor Ragland, a Negro man, with the avowed intention of setting him free. Being unable to do so by legislative action, Molly was finally forced to give Taylor a free pass which was recorded at the Madison County court house in 1835. The pass reads in part:

I, Molly Lee, a free woman of color, . . . purchased of Ursula Ragland. . . a negro man slave,

47. The Democrat, Huntsville, Alabama, October 21, 1835.

named Taylor, commonly called Taylor Ragland, . . . Being his wife it was then understood and intended that I should emancipate the said boy Taylor at the succeeding session of the Legislature; but from some cause or other it was delayed by those to whom it was confided, until certain circumstances in Virginia induced the Legislature of the state to refuse to pass any emancipation bill unless the person applying for it would enter into bond that the person emancipated should leave the state in twelve months. Hitherto neither the said boy Taylor nor the undersigned have felt willing to leave the state and the passage of the Bill with that condition has not been pressed. 48

FREE NEGROES OF TUSCALOOSA COUNTY

In Tuscaloosa County, Solomon Perteet was beginning in 1830, to accumulate an estate that later on was to make him one of the wealthiest free Negroes in the State. Even before 1830, he had accumulated enough money to rear his family, and to post the necessary bond to have his slave wife and her children emancipated. In January of 1829, the legislature authorized Solomon Perteet to "manumit his wife, Lucinda and her child Jackson, also William, the son of his wife when he shall have attained the age of twenty-eight years." ⁴⁹ Solomon was required to post a bond of twelve hundred dollars before the emancipatory provisions of the act should take effect. 50

48. Madison County Records, Deed Book P, p. 455.

49. Acts, Tenth Annual Session, p. 92.

50. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book G, p. 289.

Perteet was a man of several accomplishments, being a plasterer, store-keeper, and real estate speculator during his life time. He became a well-known figure in the life of the people of Tuscaloosa, and received some publicity in the writings of Sir Charles Lyell, the British traveler and scientist. In writing of his second visit to the United States, Sir Charles said:

. . . That men of color can sometimes make large fortunes in trade was proved to me by a fact which came accidentally to my knowledge. One of them, by standing security for a white man, had lately lost no less than 17,000 dollars or 3400 guineas; yet he was still prospering, and kept a store, and being a free man would willingly have sent his son to the college of Tuscaloosa, had he not been prevented by the prejudices of a white aristocracy, ostentatiously boasting of its love of equality. 51

On October 8, 1830, Perteet bought eighty acres of land in Tuscaloosa County.⁵² In January of the next year he bought a Negro slave from Gideon Berry of Tuscaloosa County and paid Berry seven hundred dollars cash for the slave. This particular case illustrates very clearly how some Negro slaves obtained their freedom. The legal language, however technical, conveys a story of labor

51. Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S., A Second Visit to the United States of North America. II, p. 71.

52. Alabama State Tract Books, Tuscaloosa Co., Vol. I, p. 11.

and initiative.

Gideon Berry, on January 11, 1831, recorded the sale of a Negro man:

Received 11 January 1831 of S. Perteet a colored man of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, \$700 in full compensation for a negro man named Ned, aged about 34 years, sold by me to him today, the title to said negro man I hereby confirm to the said Perteet or assigns forever - witness my hand and seal - date above. 53

Immediately following this record was one placed there for Solomon Perteet, in which he stated:

I, Solomon Perteet, have this day purchased of Gideon Berry, a negro man named Ned, aged about thirty-five years, for the sum of \$700, with the understanding and agreement that whenever the said sum of \$700 is refunded to me, S. Perteet, by said negro man, Ned, I am to liberate him from me, . . . and I hereby engage upon said condition to do so. . . . 54

Ned paid three hundred dollars to Perteet the same day the transaction took place, and in one year's time paid the balance and was a free man. These payments were duly recorded by Perteet as follows:

March 3, 1831	-	\$88.00
April 23, 1831	-	82.00
June 7, 1831	-	50.00
December 8, 1831	-	60.00
January 18, 1832	-	20.00
February 23, 1832	-	100.00

53. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book J, p. 211.

54. Ibid., p. 212.

It must have been quite a moment for Ned when Solomon Per-teet completed the transaction by writing the words, "Payment in full," after the record.

Ned's ability to pay this sum in so short a time was due to the fact that he had a regular occupation. A Tuscaloosa woman, whose father had known Ned personally wrote that:

Ned Berry, as his occupation was then styled, was a wagoner. Owning a wagon and four good horses, he successfully competed with the white men who hauled for the public. In Ned's day, Tuscaloosa had no railroads and the transferring of freight during the seasons in which boats plied between Tuscaloosa and Mobile was a very lucrative business. Ned always received his share of this hauling, no discrimination ever being made against his obtaining work on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. 55

Ned prospered enough to become a land holder in Tuscaloosa County a few years after he was freed. In 1837, Berry bought portions of two lots in what is now the west portion of the city of Tuscaloosa. These lots were adjoining property that he already owned, and cornered on the intersection of Orange and Bay Streets according to the original maps of Newtown.⁵⁶ In 1839, he purchased eighty acres of land near Tuscaloosa, and farmed the place with

55. Lillian Finnell, "Free Negroes During Slavery Times", Article from unidentified Tuscaloosa newspaper, filed in the Anderson Collection.

56. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book N, p. 148.

slaves of his own.⁵⁷

Free Negro As Land Speculator And Property Owner

The purchase of Ned Berry and the tract of land that preceded that transaction was not the only venture of Solomon Perteet into the buying of slave property or real estate. In January of 1836, Perteet bought eighty acres of land near Tuscaloosa,⁵⁸ and in September of that same year, he bought a forty acre tract close by the first eighty.⁵⁹ To add to this, on October 1, 1836, Perteet paid five hundred and ninety dollars at public auction for eighty more acres in Tuscaloosa County.⁶⁰ Two months later he sold five and one half lots in Newtown, adjoining the city of Tuscaloosa, for twelve hundred and fifty dollars. This was property that he was living on at the time of its sale, and amounted to less than one acre. A communal well, on one of the lots, was reserved from the sale, since Perteet was not the owner,⁶¹ but had only an interest as "a subscriber to said well."

57. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book P, p. 178. Also Microfilm of Manuscript, 1840 U. S. Census.

58. Ala. State Tract Book, Tuscaloosa Co., II, p. 210.

59. Ibid., p. 125.

60. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book N, pp. 15-16.

61. Ibid., p. 19; also pp. 82-82.

William Hawn, the buyer of the five and one half lots, on the same day bought two more adjoining lots from Perteet⁶² for two hundred dollars.

On December 7, 1837, Perteet lent five hundred and eighty dollars to A. G. Robertson, a white man, and accepted as security "a negro woman by the name of Eliza, twenty-two years of age, copper colored. . . "⁶³ In the same month, he paid over four thousand dollars for one thousand and ninety-three acres of land at Cahaba in Dallas⁶⁴ County. Cahaba had been the state Capital until it was replaced by Tuscaloosa in 1826. In April and May of 1838, he bought three city lots for which he paid a total of one hundred and forty dollars.⁶⁵ Two of these lots were in the city of Tuscaloosa, and the third was located in Newtown. In January of 1839, Perteet bought forty acres of land near Tuscaloosa and fifteen lots in Newtown for which he paid one thousand dollars.⁶⁶ In addition to this property, he acquired in the same month two hundred acres

62. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

63. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book P, p. 126.

64. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book N, p. 334.

65. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book P, pp. 365, 14.

66. Ibid., p. 500.

near Tuscaloosa for nine hundred and fifty dollars.⁶⁷

In January of 1840, Solomon bought a slave named Daniel from Gideon Berry, and two days later transferred the title to the slave to Ned Berry for a consideration of seven hundred dollars.⁶⁸ The slave Daniel was probably a son of Ned Berry, the former slave of Gideon, who had purchased his freedom in 1832. Two months later Perteeet sold eighty acres of land in Tuscaloosa County for two hundred and forty dollars.⁶⁹ On June 12, he bought a one-acre lot in Newtown at public auction for one hundred and forty dollars.⁷⁰

In 1841 he lent five hundred dollars to Erasmus Cooper, a white man, and "accepted as security a Negro woman slave aged twenty-eight, named Sarah."⁷¹ To start the next year, Solomon bought a three-story brick building in the heart of the city of Tuscaloosa and the lot adjoining the one on which the building stood. The building was bought for three thousand dollars from Dr. Samuel

67. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book Q, p. 68.

68. Ibid., p. 312.

69. Ibid., p. 438.

70. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book S, p. 222.

71. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book R, p. 337.

Meek, who had practiced medicine and operated a drug store in Tuscaloosa for several years.⁷²

Free Negroes Had Access To Courts

In 1844, Solomon was a busy man. In February he sold one hundred and twenty acres of land for seven hundred dollars;⁷³ in March he lost a case in Chancery court and judgment was obtained against him. Land belonging to Solomon was put up at auction in order to satisfy the judgment and court costs. The lot to be sold adjoined the brick building that he had bought in 1842, so Solomon bid one thousand and twenty-five dollars in order to retain the lot.⁷⁴ In April he lent one hundred and sixty dollars to J. D. Blackburn, who gave him a mortgage for two years, then transferred it to Daniel Johnston, a white man, for one hundred and twenty-six dollars and sixty cents.⁷⁵ In July he lent four hundred and forty dollars to Eliza Perkins and took a mortgage on a Negro man slave. Three years later, in 1847, he acknowledged satisfaction

72. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book S, p. 99; also Flag of the Union, Tuscaloosa, Ala., April 7, 1841.

73. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book U, p. 71.

74. Ibid., p. 20.

75. Ibid., p. 58.

of the debt.⁷⁶ Madison Stubblefield, the proprietor of the State Exchange Coffee House, borrowed two hundred and eighty-five dollars from Perteet. In August, 1844, Perteet's patience was exhausted and he placed the debt in the hands of an officer for collection. Stubblefield pled for more time, which was granted on the condition that he give Perteet a mortgage on all the property and fixtures of the Coffee House.⁷⁷ On the last day of that same month Solomon bought another lot in the city of Tuscaloosa for which he paid one hundred dollars.⁷⁸ In September he lent T. L. McGehee fifty-four dollars for which he took a mortgage on some land as security. This debt was paid twelve months later.⁷⁹

Solomon and his wife Lucinda sold two tracts of land in 1845. Two forty acre tracts were sold for a total of ninety dollars.⁸⁰ In 1853 Solomon netted one thousand, nine hundred and fifty dollars in three transactions. He sold part of a city lot for one thousand dollars; another

76. Ibid., p. 114.

77. Ibid., p. 147.

78. Ibid., p. 158.

79. Ibid., p. 120.

80. Ibid., pp. 109, 154.

city lot for one hundred, and two hundred acres of land⁸¹
 in Tuscaloosa County for eight hundred and fifty dollars.
 In the next year Perteet sold eighty acres of land for four⁸²
 hundred dollars; then in 1857, he sold another partial
 lot in the city of Tuscaloosa to Stephen Miller for two⁸³
 hundred dollars. On September 22, 1859, he sold "to
 Chas. Snow for \$2300 . . . 28.61 acres of land" lying
 just north of and across the river from the city of Tusca-⁸⁴
 loosa. This transaction was partly off-set by a damage
 suit that Solomon brought against V. Hart, a white man,
 who owed him a debt of eight hundred and forty-five dollars.
 Solomon recovered judgment; Hart's property was put up at
 auction, and Solomon bid in the one hundred and eighty⁸⁵
 acres of land for twenty-five dollars.

Free Negroes Competed Successfully With White Craftsmen

In 1850 Solomon Perteet was listed in the Census
 Returns as a plasterer with five thousand dollars real and
 personal property.⁸⁶ This seems to be a slight underesti-

81. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book AA, pp. 264, 331, 520.

82. Book 2, (1854-55), Jan. 18, 1854.

83. Vol. 4, (1856-57), p. 171.

84. Vol. 6, (1859-60), p. 187.

85. Ibid., p. 66.

86. U. S. Census of 1850 (microfilm of original manuscript).

mate of the real worth of his estate at that time, but he was working at the trade of a plasterer. In 1833 the Legislature authorized "that the sum of \$39.50 be paid to Solomon Perteet for work done on the State Capitol."⁸⁷ In the 1836-37 session he received for work done on the State Capitol a total of forty-five dollars and fifty cents.⁸⁸ The next year Solomon turned in a claim for twenty-two dollars for work done for the state and he received payment.⁸⁹ In 1841, he was paid the sum of \$10.75 for repairs done on the State Capitol, by order of the door-keeper of the House of Representatives.⁹⁰

In 1840 Solomon had one slave; in 1850 he had a household of nine people, three of whom were listed as slaves.⁹¹ According to a county census taken in 1855, there were four free persons of color in his family, and he was the owner of seven slaves.⁹² His will, recorded in 1861, bequeathed eight thousand dollars to his daughter

87. Acts, 1832-33, p. 125.

88. Acts, 1836-37, p. 142.

89. Acts, 1837-38, p. 127.

90. Acts, 1841-42, p. 170.

91. U. S. Census Returns for 1840 and 1850.

92. County Census Book, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1855, p. 24. Original manuscript on file in Tuscaloosa County Court House.

Martha. Martha had married James Abbott, a free Negro who had operated a barber shop in Tuscaloosa for several years. Solomon's daughter Sarah Frances was left two hundred dollars, and his son Jackson received five hundred dollars. Five hundred dollars was to go to a grand-daughter named Satilla. His will further provided for his wife:

I give and bequeath to my beloved wife Lucinda Perteet all the balance and remainder of my Estate both real and personal, and all my Bills of Exchange, notes, accounts, memoranda, and evidences of debt which are due, or may become due, and also all the money I may have on hand at my death, and also all my Household and kitchen furniture.

His wife Lucinda was made executrix and was not to be required to give bond in order to handle the affairs of the estate.

93

Solomon Perteet died in 1863, and was buried in the Greenwood cemetery in Tuscaloosa. This cemetery was reserved for white people, so his interment there reflected the esteem in which he was held by the people of the city. His lot is surrounded by a well preserved iron fence with the family name on the gate. The epitaph on his gravestone can be clearly read:

Solomon Perteat
A free man of color, born in Wilkes County,
Georgia, died at his home near this city,

Oct. 3rd, 1863, aged 76 years. By an industrious, sober, frugal, and honest life, he earned and left to his wife and children a handsome and comfortable estate. ⁹⁴

Zadoc Love, another free Negro of Tuscaloosa was permitted in 1829 to free his wife and three children, and his wife's daughter, Serena. In order to effect the emancipation of these five slaves, Zadoc had to post a bond of twelve hundred dollars. ⁹⁵ In that same year, Zadoc paid William Tierce the sum of five hundred dollars for eighty-one and one-half acres of land lying near the town of Tuscaloosa. ⁹⁶ Two years later, Zadoc, and his wife Margaret, sold twenty-five acres of this same tract of land to James Abbott. For some inexplicable reason, Zadoc sold land that had cost him six dollars and seventeen cents an acre for only two and one-half dollars an acre. ⁹⁷ It seems that James Abbott was a sharp trader, or the fact that he, too, was a free man of color entered somehow into the sale. Love, in 1830, was listed in the Census returns

94. Copied from Perteet's grave stone in Greenwood Cemetery, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The spelling on the gravestone does not correspond to that on the gate nor to that in courthouse records.

95. Acts, Tenth Annual Session, p. 92.

96. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book G, p. 289.

97. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book H, p. 592.

as being the head of a household of seven persons.⁹⁸ In 1840 he had the same number in his household, and two of the seven were recorded as being slaves.⁹⁹ In order to protect his eldest son's freedom, Zadock, in 1846, put on record in the Tuscaloosa County Court House the following document:

Know all men by these presents that Zadock Love a free man of color, the father of William Love, a free man, aged about 21 years, dark yellow complexion, strait ~~black~~ ^[sic] black hair, over five feet high, do certify that said William Love was born free of a mulatto woman named Anna, who was herself born free and died about the year 1824, and who was my wife. . . . 100

In that same year, in order to provide protection for himself in his old age, Zadock conveyed to his youngest son James eighty acres of land lying just north of the tract upon which Zadock lived. James was to have the land for "\$1.00 and life-time care of Zadock," and this life-time care was to include "anything that Zadock¹⁰¹ requested."

Free Negro Craftsmen Prospered

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98. U. S. Census Returns, Alabama, 1830, microfilm of original.
99. U. S. Census Returns, Ala., 1840, microfilm of original.
100. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Book U, p. 224.
101. Tuscaloosa Co. Records, Book V, p. 70.

James Abbott, also a free Negro of Tuscaloosa, and a barber by trade, managed by his diligence to secure property and to rear a large family. James in 1829 married a free Negress named Fanny Burgess. It may be assumed that this marriage was the basis for at least a portion of Abbott's later success, for Fanny and her mother, Celia, were both women of good character. Henry W. Collier, an early white settler and an outstanding lawyer in Tuscaloosa testified of the two women that:

I was acquainted with the wife of James Abbott from A. D. 1827 up to the time of her death, which occurred about 1843. Her name was Fanny Burgess, the daughter of Celia Burgess, a free woman of color, resident in Tuscaloosa. Fanny was emancipated by her mother under authority of an Act of the Legislature of Alabama. Both herself and mother were woman [sic] remarkable for their neatness, industry, and integrity of character. 102

Abbott began practicing his trade in 1829 or a few years before. In 1831, he bought a partial lot near the center of Tuscaloosa, and operated a barber shop there for a number of years. ¹⁰³ In order to finance the purchase of the lot, he borrowed three hundred dollars from Levin

102. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book U, pp. 177-178.

103. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book H, pp. 328-329.

Powell, a white resident of Tuscaloosa.¹⁰⁴ Abbott had enough initiative and capital to advertise his business in the Tuscaloosa weekly paper. In addition to his barbering, he carried a sideline of razors, perfumes, and cigars for sale.¹⁰⁵

Abbott also bought in 1831 twenty-five acres of land in Tuscaloosa County from Zadock Love, another free Negro of the county.¹⁰⁶ In 1842, Abbott paid three hundred dollars for four acres of land adjoining the south margin of the city of Tuscaloosa.¹⁰⁷ Two years later he had a certificate of freedom recorded at the Tuscaloosa County court house. Henry Collier, a prominent white citizen, stated that:

I have been acquainted with James Abbott, a free man of color, by occupation a barber for 15 years or more, during all that period, he has resided in the city of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. He is reputed an honest, industrious and pious man, and in my opinion well entitled to this character. . . . Jas. Abbott and Fanny were married according to legal form in the city of Tuscaloosa - as well as I can remember in 1829. . . . 108

104. Ibid., pp. 344-45; also Factors in the History of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1816-1846, Bound thesis, University of Alabama Library.

105. Flag of the Union, June 14, 1837.

106. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book H, p. 592.

107. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book S, p. 297.

108. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book U, pp. 177-178.

A second certificate of freedom for the protection of Abbott's children was put on record in 1849.¹⁰⁹ Between 1850 and 1852, James Abbott married for the second time. His second wife was a daughter of Solomon Ferteet, a wealthy free Negro of Tuscaloosa. In September of 1852, Abbott and his wife Martha Ann sold a part of lot number 116 in the city of Tuscaloosa.¹¹⁰ In 1850 James had a family of three sons, the survivors of a group of some six or eight children by his first wife. In 1860 his family had increased by five children who were the result of his second marital venture. So within a period of forty years, James Abbott had been a successful barber in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, a property holder, and the father of a family of twelve or fourteen children.¹¹¹

Free Negroes Aided Financially By White Men

In 1835, Martin Greer, a free Negro of Tuscaloosa County,¹¹² purchased forty acres of land in that county. This purchase was made in January, and in the next month

109. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book X, pp. 62-63.

110. U. S. Census of 1850; also Tuscaloosa County Records, Book AA, p. 45.

111. U. S. Census for 1860, (microfilm of original).

112. Alabama State Tract Book, Vol. I, Tuscaloosa Co., p. 210.

he paid seventy-five dollars for forty acres adjacent to his home place.¹¹³ In November of 1838, Greer sold four hundred and two acres of land for two thousand dollars.¹¹⁴ In 1848, he bought one hundred and sixty acres of land in Tuscaloosa County for five hundred dollars.¹¹⁵ In order to pay for the place, he had to borrow four hundred dollars from J. R. W. and J. M. C. Foster of Tuscaloosa. In return for this loan, he gave a mortgage on his newly acquired land.¹¹⁶ During the course of the following year, he borrowed money as his notes came due, paid off the mortgage on his land, and then mortgaged his forty-five acre cotton crop to meet the further indebtedness that he had incurred. Greer agreed to "cultivate and pick out or gather said cotton crop consisting of 45 acres."¹¹⁷ If he made a fair crop that year, he should have been able to pay his indebtedness easily. Cotton was selling for ten cents a pound, and Greer and his four older children could have

113. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book K, p. 241.

114. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book W, p. 189.

115. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book X, p. 53.

116. Ibid., p. 54.

117. Ibid., p. 96.

118

handled the yield.

The story of Jack Winn, of Northport, is of interest. Jack was the slave of Abner Wynn, a white resident of Northport, a small town north of and across the river from Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Jack was the blacksmith in a shop which Mr. Wynn owned; and from the time he was fifteen years of age, Jere (his son) was the striker for his father. In order to accumulate the money with which to purchase his freedom, Jack conceived the plan of hiring his time and that of Jere's, also of renting the blacksmith shop. He effected this arrangement, paying for his own hire \$200 per annum and for that of Jere and the shop \$150 each. Little by little from the money saved above these amounts, Jack made out the sum of \$2,000, the valuation put upon him by his master. As soon as he could thereafter, he paid \$500 for his wife - being sickly she had not been valued high - and for Jere \$1800. Jere soon added to his work of striking that of keeping his father's books. . . Jack and Jere purchased the blacksmith shop from Mr. Wynn, after which they bought the remaining children of the family: Margaret for \$700; Frances for \$800; Alford for \$130, and Mary, the youngest, for \$600. 119

Jack Winn was free before 1847, because he bought and sold property in his own name by that year. He transferred a claim of one hundred and seventy-seven dollars that he had against the estate of A. Ray, and his

118. Mildred Gwin Barnwell, Cotton Magic, p. 109; also U. S. Census of 1850 for Tuscaloosa County.

119. Lillian Finnell, "Free Negro During Slavery Times," article from unidentified Tuscaloosa newspaper. Anderson Collection, University of Alabama Library.

interest in a house and four lots in Northport to Robert Jemison, Jr. in August of 1847.¹²⁰ In 1853, he sold three lots in Northport to Nathaniel Lloyd for eighty-five dollars,¹²¹ and two years later, he bought forty acres of land near Northport.¹²² In 1850, Jack was listed in the State census returns as being the head of a family of four.¹²³ Five years later, he was the head of a family of eight.¹²⁴ In fifteen years or less, Jack Winn had saved seven thousand, six hundred and thirty dollars with which he purchased the freedom of himself and his family, paid five hundred dollars a year for several years for the hire of himself, his son, and the blacksmith shop, and finally paid the purchase price of the shop. In addition to this, he was the owner of real estate in Northport, and was able to provide for his family. Sarah Frances, a daughter-in-law, had accumulated sixteen hundred dollars by 1860, and was a washer-woman by occupation. Alford, a son, became a blacksmith, and Jere, the eldest son, owned a neat home

120. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book 3, p. 658.

121. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book AA, p. 386.

122. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book 3, p. 246.

123. Alabama State Census, 1850, Tuscaloosa County.

124. Alabama State Census, 1855, Tuscaloosa County.

in Tuscaloosa, from which he went back and forth to the blacksmith shop in Northport until a few weeks before his death at the age of eighty.¹²⁵

Free Negro Woman Holds Husband As Slave

Fanny Gould, a free Negress of Tuscaloosa, purchased her freedom by making and selling gingerbread. After she became free, she purchased her husband, Posh, but he never received his freedom. Posh was half-witted, but was an expert brick-maker. Fanny bought him from his former master for four hundred dollars. She then proceeded to hire him out for one dollar a day and his board. In the labor contract, Fanny specified that the money for Posh's hire be paid directly to her.¹²⁶ In 1860 Fanny was one hundred and three years old, but was still baking and selling gingerbread, and had managed to accumulate one hundred and fifty dollars in property.¹²⁷ Peggy Dunlap, another free Negress of Tuscaloosa, bought lot number two hundred and thirty-one in the city in 1837.¹²⁸

125. Finnell, loc. cit.; also Census for 1860.

126. Finnell, loc. cit.

127. U. S. Census for 1860.

128. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book N, pp. 81-82.

PROSPERITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA FREE NEGROES

In Dallas County, Tom Smith was freed in 1829,
and in the 1830 Census was reported as having a family of
fourteen and four slaves.¹²⁹ Frederick V. Thomas in Perry
County had a family of eight and owned one slave.¹³⁰ Daniel
Reed of Washington County, bought his son George from
Young Gaines of Mississippi in 1828. The sum involved in
the sale was five hundred and twenty-five dollars.¹³¹ In
1842, Reed and James Johnston jointly posted a bond of
\$5,000 for the good behaviour of a newly liberated slave.¹³²
In making his will in 1844, Daniel Reed disposed of his
property in the following manner:

After paying my just debts, first I give and
bequeath unto my dearly beloved wife all my
lands and tenements, also my hogs and cattle,
also sheep and horses, I also give and bequeath
unto my. . . daughter Lucretia Reed four calves,
to. . . Emerline E. Reed eight heifer calves,
also to Ballrose, my. . . son three two year
old heifers. I also give and bequeath unto my
son. . . William Reed my blacksmith tools. 133

129. Acts, Tenth Annual Session, 1828, p. 83; U. S. Census,
1830, Dallas County.

130. U. S. Census, 1830, Perry County.

131. Deed Book G., Probate Records, Washington Co., Oct.,
1829.

132. Acts, Twenty-third Session, 1842, pp. 192 ff.

133. Will Book B, p. 69, Washington County Records.

After the death of Daniel Reed, his wife, Rose managed to retain the property, rear her family, and leave them something at her death. Her will written in 1873 provided for an equal division of her stock of cattle and hogs among her seven surviving children. She expressed a desire for one of the children to accept the dwelling house, land, and buildings thereon at an appraised value and "pay the other heirs a proportionate share of the appraisement."¹³⁴

Some Mobile County Free Negro Property Owners

In Mobile County, in addition to the names of free colored holders of property already mentioned, numbers of others may be added. Maximilian Dubroca gave all his real estate and five hundred dollars in personal property to Euphrosine Andry, a free mulatress who had lived with him and was the mother of his six children. The children were provided for out of the residue of his property.¹³⁵

Geanty Mejt left his free colored mistress well provided for. He acknowledged that two of the children of Nanette Fouche were his children, and gave to Nanette the house and lot in Mobile in which he was then living. She was to have "all the furniture, effects, jewels, and generally all

134. Washington Co. Records, Will Book B, p. 136.

135. Mobile Co. Records, Wills No. 1, 1813-37, p. 131.

the articles "which were within the house at the time of Mejt's death, and a further gift of five hundred dollars in cash. He bequeathed a lot of ground and the buildings thereon to two children that were the offspring of Nanette by a previous connection, and gave two lots of ground to Nanette's brother.¹³⁶

Margaritte Frouillet, a free woman of color of the city of Mobile, provided in her will for her two children and their father, Foloe Pinta. To the three she left two tracts of land in Baldwin County, three lots and four houses in the city of Mobile. In addition, she also left her undivided right in one hundred head of cattle.¹³⁷

Bazile or Bazeal Chastang left property to Nancy, his common law wife, and to their eight children.¹³⁸ In 1833, the will of Battiste Serra was recorded, and its provisions were:

I give unto Emilie Daniel, she being a free woman of color with whom I have been living for a great number of years and by whom I have had six children, all my property, real and personal. ¹³⁹

Francoise Chastang, a free woman of color in Mobile, left

136. Ibid., p. 135.

137. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 1, 1813-37, p. 176.

138. Ibid., p. 177.

139. Ibid., p. 202.

her estate to her son Antoine Trullett and her granddaughter, Emeline Lloyd. The property was to be theirs if they married legally. She also provided for the care¹⁴⁰ of her mother out of the income from her estate.

In 1838, William Jones of Mobile County, in an effort to protect his property and his family, made his will as follows:

I am a colored man, was once a slave, but now am free, having purchased myself of the heirs of Benjamin Bennet of the County of Perry and State of Alabama, and was duly emancipated in the year 1834. I have also purchased and paid for my wife Nancy, and my daughter Louisa. Now it is my will and my desire that my wife and daughter take care to pay my tract debts and that my daughter take care of, nurse, and comfort my wife, Nancy, as long as she lives.

Jones had intended to have his wife and daughter emancipated but had failed to do so. In his will he enjoined¹⁴¹ his executor to have this done.

Romeo Andry of Mobile County expressed the wish in his will that his estate be equally divided

among my three children, namely Seymore Andry, Euphrozine Andry, and Daniel Andry, share and share alike. My said three above mentioned children were begotten to me of one Jenny, then a slave of the late George W. Owen, dead; but they were afterwards bought and paid for by me, and were duly emancipated at my instance by

140. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, p. 22.

141. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 2, 1837-57, p. 12.

an act of the Legislature of the State of Alabama. 142

Meany Miller, a free woman of color in Mobile, was living with Albert, a slave of John B. Hogan. Albert was a barber, and by the joint effort of the two Negroes, Meany was able to save one thousand dollars, which was the purchase price set upon Albert by his master. In 1838, the purchase was made and Hogan made out a bill of sale and an instrument of manumission.¹⁴³

Free colored barbers in Mobile were able to make a very good living, and some few of them prospered. In addition to Albert, husband of Meany Miller, there was Elam Page at 56 Royal Street, Charles Blocker on Claiborne Street, Jack Straw at No. 3, St. Emanuel, and George McBride at No. 19, St. Francis Street.¹⁴⁴ McBride's establishment was perhaps the most elaborate, and he felt prosperous enough to pay for a full page advertisement in the City Directory of 1839. He advertised himself as

142. Mobile County Records, Wills No. 3, p. 641; also Acts, Ninth Annual Session, 1828, p. 112.

143. Interesting Transactions and Cataloging Notes from the Miscellaneous Books of the Probate Court for 1819-1884, p. 90.

144. The Mobile City Directory for 1837; Fay's Mobile Directory for 1839; also Mobile Directory or Strangers' Guide, 1842.

BARBER AND HAIR DRESSER
 No. 19, St. Francis Street
 In the basement story of the Alabama Hotel
 at the sign of the
 TEMPLE OF ADONIS

Has lately made great additions
 and refurnished his Toilet Rooms
 elegantly - having eight first rate
 HAIR CUTTERS AND SHAVERS
 independent of ten boys in constant attendance;
 he flatters himself that he can give as much
 satisfaction in this line as can be obtained
 at any similar establishment in the United States.
 He returns his sincere thanks to his
 customers, who can be accomodated at
 all hours, day or night, either at his
 shop or their private residences.
 PERFUMERY, HAIR OIL, COSMETICS, etc. 145
 always on hand, for sale, in great variety.

Polly Collins "fitted up her house" as a coffee
 shop, and advertised that she was prepared to serve coffee
 and chocolate, at all reasonable hours, day or night, in
 first-rate style. In addition to this, she promised the
 public that she would keep "a supply of Fruits, Cakes, Ice
 Cream, (in suitable season), Cigars and Tobacco, together
 with a variety of Confectionaries, Cordials, Candies, and
 other articles called for in this line."¹⁴⁶

Varied Occupations Of Mobile Free Negroes

Free persons of color in Mobile entered into prac-
 tically every field of work except the learned professions.

145. Fay's Mobile Directory, 1839, p. 33.

146. Fay's Mobile Directory, 1839, p. 31.

There were no lawyers, doctors, or teachers listed, but the trades were well represented. In 1837, the City Directory listed nineteen occupations for free persons of color.

There were carpenters, grocers, shop keepers, washers, and ironers, butchers, ministers, tailors, bricklayers, steam-boat stewards, and pilots, shoemakers, draymen, water carriers, jobbers, hunters, and fishermen, laborers, wood merchants, and one proprietor of a book shop and circulat-

ing library.¹⁴⁷ The 1839 Directory added to this list the occupations of blacksmith, coffee house proprietor, midwife,¹⁴⁸ and fruiterer.

Due to the fact that the 1840 census for Alabama listed the occupations of only the heads of families, it is impossible to determine the type of work performed in those counties where the free colored were reported as being a part of a white household. From the list of counties that did report free Negroes as heads of families, the conclusion may be drawn that the majority of the free colored population were engaged in farming. In seventeen counties there were one hundred and thirty-three working on the land; forty-five were classed as being in manufacturing and trade,

147. The Mobile City Directory for 1837, pp. 9ff.

148. Fay's Mobile Directory, 1839, pp. 12ff.

149

three in navigation, and one in commerce.

Free Negroes And Indians

In Macon County, two free Negroes became holders of property in 1839. Juba and Mary, both free Negroes, bought three hundred and twenty acres each on August 9 of that year.¹⁵⁰ John McQueen, in 1842, purchased the same amount of land in that county.¹⁵¹ Three other free Negro property holders sold their holdings in Macon County. Dick, a free Negro, sold three hundred and twenty acres to Abraham H. Chappell in 1842, and three years later, Betsy and Sandy conveyed a like amount to James A. Graham and George Stone, respectively.¹⁵² These Negroes had evidently intermarried with the Creek Indians of Alabama, for the lands mentioned were both bought and sold in accordance with the Creek Treaty of 1832.¹⁵³

George P. Wright, an enterprising free Negro, erected a floating grist mill on the Tombeckbee River just

149. U. S. Census, 1840.

150. Alabama State Tract Book, Macon County, p. 69.

151. Ibid., p. 78

152. Ibid., pp. 66 ff.

153. This treaty was the Treaty of Cusseta, and the defeated Creek Indians were told that "those who wanted to stay were to be allowed to become citizens, and each family was to have six hundred and forty acres of land, but the whites found ways of defeating this provision of the Treaty, and only a few Indians remained." See A. B. Moore, History of Alabama, p. 31.

north of Gainesville in Sumpter County. His action was not only approved by the Alabama State Legislature, but he was protected from competitors. The Act read in part:

Sec. 3, And be it further enacted, That no person or persons shall be permitted to erect any mill or mills of the like character on said Tombeckbee River, within less than five miles of the one herein granted. 154

One of the best-known free Negroes of the state was Horace King of Russell County. Horace was part Negro and part Catawba Indian, and was brought from South Carolina to Alabama as a slave by John Godwin. John Godwin was a building contractor and King learned the art of building houses and bridges while in Godwin's service. 155 In 1846, Horace King was given his freedom, and was permitted to remain in the state. 156 He was successful in business as a bridge builder, and achieved some fame locally in that line of work. 157 In 1850 the census returns listed King

154. Acts, 1835, p. 129.

155. Montgomery Advertiser, February 19, 1948.

156. Acts, 1845, pp. 207-208.

157. Ticknor's poem, "Reminiscences," in The Poems of Francis Orray Ticknor, edited by his granddaughter, mentions King's fame as a builder:

Childhood! The Chattahoochee's banks,
 My scene of summer playing;
 The first to cross the first planks
 Of the first bridge - King's laying.
 See also Charles Jewett Swift, "The Last Battle of the Civil War," paper read at the Columbus Historical Society, 1915.

as a mechanic, and as being the head of a family of six.

By 1859, he had his own firm with a white man as a silent partner in the firm.¹⁵⁹ In that same year, John Godwin,

King's former master died, and Horace erected a large monument over his grave in the Godwin family cemetery at Girard, Alabama. (See picture and inscription on following page.)

During Reconstruction days in Alabama, following the Civil War, Horace King served in the State Legislature as a representative from Russell County.¹⁶⁰

A case which came into the Supreme Court of Alabama in 1853 indicated property holding, and the difficulties that could arise through the habit of some Negroes of holding members of their families as slaves. The principals in the case were the children of Lewis Young, a free Negro who died intestate in 1834. At the time of Lewis Young's death, he owned a lot, several tenements, two slaves, and two soldier's land warrants, each for one hundred and sixty acres in Arkansas. Cleaveland, a friend of Young, took charge of the estate, and through the year 1853, had given no account of his administration to Young's wife or

158. U. S. Census Returns, 1850.

159. Ingersoll vs. Robinson, 35 Ala. 292.

160. Thomas McAdory Owens, History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography, p. 1219; also Montgomery Advertiser, September 26, 1948.



John Godwin

Born

Oct. 17, 1798

Died

Feb. 26, 1859

This stone was placed here by
Horace King
in lasting remembrance of the love
and gratitude he felt for his lost
friend and former master

children. The children sued for an accounting, and control of the property. Their suit was denied, because it was shown that their mother was a slave, "the property first of Dr. Gannard, and then, by purchase from him, of Lewis Young, deceased, . . . and she was never manumitted by her husband according to the laws of this state." The children of Lewis Young were therefore slaves and, as such, had no standing in a court of chancery in the state of Alabama.¹⁶¹ They were unable to inherit property or become owners of property, and could therefore, require no accounting of the administration of their deceased father's estate.

White Masters Provided For Emancipated Slaves

John C. Pickens, a white man of Greene County, left a will in which he provided for an annuity for his slave woman, Caroline, and her children. In addition to making Caroline the recipient of an estate, the will revealed a relationship that existed between slave and master.

My negro woman, Caroline, I desire to be set free, and also her child, Sarah Ann, and all the children of the said Caroline to be free and to receive \$300. Three hundred dollars annually during her life, and this annuity to

161. Bentley vs. Cleaveland, 22 Ala. 814. For status of children born to a slave woman, see Sidney vs. White, 12 Ala., 728.

be extended to her children during their lives. I mean the children she has during my lifetime are to receive the annuity, or any child that may be borne during nine months after my death. 162

John Pickens appointed his brother, Samuel, the guardian of Caroline with the strict injunction to carry out the provisions of the will.

Thomas Morton in Autauga County, in freeing seventeen of his Negroes, gave them two thousand three hundred dollars in cash, in addition to one horse, a mule, and a year's provisions.¹⁶³ Abram Pope of the same county, acting as guardian of and agent for Silas Pope, a free man of color, sold two hundred and forty acres of land for Silas and acknowledged the receipt of one thousand and eighty dollars.¹⁶⁴

Eliza, Negro slave of Pleasant Craddock of Tuscaloosa County, became a free woman and a property holder after Craddock's death. His will, recorded in 1855, contained the following provisions for Eliza:

My will is that my negro woman, Eliza, be free and set at liberty and absolved from all servitude as a slave ever after my death and I do hereby charge my estate with a comfortable house

162. Greene County Records, Deed Book C, pp. 72-73.

163. Autauga County Records, Vol. 6, Reports F, 1845-50, p. 356.

164. Autauga County Records, Deeds and Mortgages, D-F, Vol. 11, p. 749.

and home and two or three acres of land attached to and round the same with fire wood and such other timbers that she may need for other purposes. Also I charge my estate with a negro girl worth about five hundred dollars to help her and wait on her. 165

Eliza had been the personal attendant of Craddock's afflicted wife who for a period of nearly twenty years was unable to walk. Eliza had carried the invalid in her arms wherever she wished to go.

Thomas Jones, Negro slave of William Marrast of the City of Tuscaloosa, saved enough money to purchase his freedom in 1849. He did this with the consent and encouragement of his master, who permitted Thomas to keep the money that he received from the hire of himself. ¹⁶⁶

OCCUPATIONS OF ALABAMA FREE NEGROES

It is possible to draw further information about the individual free Negro in Alabama from the Federal Census of 1850. Questions about occupations, personal property, education, and birthplace were asked by the census taker. The answers to these questions give a better overall picture of the population, but the returns must not be considered as entirely correct. Individuals and whole

165. Tuscaloosa County Records, Will Book 3, pp. 24-26.

166. Tuscaloosa County Records. Deed Book W, pp. 565 ff.

families were left out of the final returns,¹⁶⁷ and the free Negro was just as reluctant to evaluate his holdings correctly as were some of the whites.

Forty occupations were listed over the state as a whole. The largest single group that were gainfully employed or that were self-employed were classified as farmers. One hundred and forty-eight free colored gave farming as their occupation. The next largest group was that which included laborers. In this category were one hundred and nineteen individuals. Free Negroes were working in practically every skilled or semi-skilled trade. There were forty-three carpenters, twenty-five blacksmiths, twelve barbers, ten brick masons, eight shoemakers, five cigar makers, five shop keepers, four mechanics, four painters, and three plasterers. Among other trades requiring more than the average ability and skill, and given as the occupation of one or more individuals were these: cabinet maker, bridge builder, gun smiths, coppersmith, ship carpenter, pottery maker, and steward, and tailor. In addition to these there were brick molders, livery stable owners, and

167. The Federal Census Returns for 1850 listed five counties as having no free colored negroes, while the available state census for the same year shows twenty-five free persons in two of those same counties.

attendants, cooks, gardeners, boatmen, hunters, mattress-makers, waggoners, confectioners, butchers, merchants, stock keepers, millers, seamen, waiters, farmhands, and
 168
 laundry women.

Economic Condition of Free Negroes Improved.

The 1860 census returns presented a rather optimistic picture of the economic condition of the free Negro throughout the state. Again, it must be said that the census returns do not present the full facts as to property
 169
 holding or occupations. Even so, one fourth of the free Negro population of Alabama in 1860 was gainfully employed. This figure includes all those for whom no occupations were listed as well as those free women of color who were apparently being supported by some white man.

It is true that the free colored population, according to the census returns, had shown only a slight increase between 1850 and 1860, but this was due, in large part, to the Non-immigration Act of 1832. Some of the increase was caused by the emancipation of slaves who managed to avoid leaving the state, but more was due to natural

168. U. S. Census Returns, 1850 (manuscript).

169. The twenty-six free negroes of Wilcox County are not listed as having any occupation or property of any sort, and in other counties the census takers neglected to obtain information about numerous families.

birthrate.

Free Negroes Became Successful Farmers

The property holding of those who reported in 1850 had increased materially in the decade ending in 1860. In 1850, thirty-five farmers reported a total holding of thirty thousand and ninety dollars.¹⁷⁰ In 1860, forty-eight farmers who reported over one thousand dollars in real and personal property had a total of two hundred and seventy-three thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars. Thirty farmers were reported in 1860 as having one thousand dollars or less in property of all kinds. A few comparative figures are given which are indicative of the increasing wealth of the free colored population:

Name	Real and personal	
	1850	1860
Zeno Chastang	\$1,000	\$33,900
M. Collins	4,000	23,000
M. Dubroca	1,200	16,000
N. Dubroca	300	16,500
L. Andry	500	10,500
S. Pope	3,300	4,000
Z. Chastang, Jr.	300	1,800
F. Chastang	150	3,000
Rose Reed	100	2,600
L. Jacobs	300	1,300

170. For a cross section of the average free Negro farmers holdings see the Agricultural reports, Appendix A.

It might be expected that the free Negro would be unable to compete with slave labor in the field of agriculture, but according to the 1860 census returns, four hundred and thirty-seven of the two thousand six hundred and ninety free colored people in the state were engaged in farming or were directly dependent upon the farm for their living. This does not take into account numerous families who were evidently tenants and engaged in farming.

Free Negroes in 1860 were engaged in forty-eight different occupations, ranging from highly skilled craftsmen to common laborers. The 1860 census lists the following:

Occupations of free Negroes in 1860.

Farmer	Tailor
Laborer	Tinsmith
Seamstress	Druggist
Ditcher	Moulder
Baker	Gunsmith
Mattress Maker	Upholsterer
Porter	Gardener
Wheelwright	Clerk
Well digger	Cigar Maker
Livery Stable owner	Fisherman
Horse Trainer	Cooper
Carting	Wood Seller
Midwife	Miller
Omnibus Driver	Cotton Sampler
Basket Maker	Coppersmith
Shoemaker	Trader
Saddler	Barber
Grocery Merchant	Brickmason
Hostler	Blacksmith
Cake Seller	Butcher
Stage Driver	Carpenter
Painter	Domestic

Wagon Maker
Dyer

Laundress
Minister

The largest part of the wealth in the possession of the free colored was found in the southern portion of the state. In eighteen southern counties, free Negroes reported property holdings amounting to \$430,068. If the holdings of the Negroes of Mobile are excluded from the figures, there was still a total of \$122,623 concentrated in the southern counties. In twenty-three northern counties that contained free Negro property holders, there was a total of \$88,621 reported. The free Negro inhabitants of seven counties were listed in the 1860 census returns as having no real or personal property. The most prosperous free Negroes in the state, with few exceptions, were living in the counties of Mobile, Baldwin, Butler, Madison, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa.

The economic picture of the free Negro in 1860 was not a discouraging one. They were not anxious to leave Alabama to go to some other state or to emigrate to Liberia. Their numbers were being added to by the natural process of births, and those who were energetic were gradually accumulating money and property. There were those, it is true, who were living on the economic border line between comfort and poverty, but that was true of a great many whites in the state. The free Negroes were moving out into

new trades or occupations, and many of them had earned the respect of the whites in whose midst they lived. The discriminatory laws of the state had very little effect upon the average free Negro who made an effort to support himself and his family, and abide by the laws that governed everyone in Alabama.

Chapter V

COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION

In any discussion of the free Negro in Alabama, the effect of the American Colonization Society and the rise of the Abolition movement must be set forth. The Colonization movement did not receive the publicity in Alabama that it did in some other states, but where its agents presented the cause, there was a very encouraging response. Editors of papers, church organizations, and prominent men joined together in what they thought was an excellent solution to the problem occasioned by the presence of the free Negro in their midst. It is true that the motives that prompted some to encourage the colonization movement were caused by fear, but others were undoubtedly expressing feelings of humanitarianism.

Alabamians did not really become concerned about the matter of colonization until after 1830. One reason for this was the release of census returns which seemed to indicate that the free Negro population was multiplying at a rapid rate. At a meeting of an auxiliary society held in Baldwin County, a feeling of apprehension was voiced in the report of a committee. The report gave as a

reason for the society's moving in the matter the following:

. . . in 1820 Alabama contained only 571 free blacks, in 1830 she had 1510, and in 30 years from the present time at the same ratio of increase, she will contain approximately 50,000 upwards. Mobile alone now has 567, being about as many as the whole state had in 1820. In our own county, with our entire population of less than 3,000, there are 69 free blacks. 1

Officers were elected and a contribution of one hundred and seventy-five dollars was sent to the national society headquarters.

A Tuscaloosa newspaper published a short article on the history of the colonization society in an effort to acquaint its readers with the organization and work of the movement. The article, taken from the Nashville Herald, read:

The managers of the American Colonization Society have published an address to the public from which we are enabled to collect the following facts: The Society was formed in 1817 and soon after a tract of country was purchased on the western coast of Africa, and the colony of Liberia was established. Since that time, nineteen expeditions have been fitted out, and 1857 emigrants, including recaptured Africans, have been landed on the African shore. To each family a farm or town lot or both has been given. Three towns, Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburgh have been formed, and are in a flourishing condition.

1. African Repository, Vol. 14, pp. 89-92.

With the exception of some expenses paid by the General Government and the contribution of \$1000 from the state of Maryland and a small donation from . . . the state of Virginia, the funds of the Society have been derived from individual contributions. The whole sum thus contributed from 1820 to the present time amounts to \$112,851.89; the expenses for the same period amounts to \$106,457.72, leaving in the hands of the treasury \$6,384.17.

The cost of each emigrant including his subsistence from his embarkation to his landing in Liberia is about twenty-three dollars; his subsistence for six months after his arrival is estimated at 13 dollars. 2

COLONIZATION MOVEMENT ORGANIZED IN ALABAMA

Prior to this announcement through the papers, agents of the society came into the state and were not only cordially received, but were also encouraged by monetary gifts. At a meeting held in the State House in Tuscaloosa in January, 1830, those present decided to organize an auxiliary society. The events of the evening were reported in the local weekly paper as follows:

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2. Spirit of the Age, Tuscaloosa, Dec. 28, 1831. "The origin of American interest in Africa was the establishment by the American Colonization Society, with the assistance of the United States Navy, of a colony of freed Negroes in Liberia, on the coast of Guinea in 1821. All told about 15,000 negroes were transported thither by 1870. . . It continued to be a convenient distant dumping place for American free negroes and liberated Africans." Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States, p. 566.

At a meeting held in the State House on Monday night, Jan. 11th, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a society for colonizing the free people of color of the U. S. The Hon. J. Gayle was called to the chair and the Rev. Dr. Kennan acted as Secretary. After an address from Mr. Polk, an agent of the parent institution for several of the western states, explanatory of the objects and operations of the society, the Rev. Joseph McDowel moved the following resolution which was unanimously adopted: Resolved: That we highly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and that we feel it as an imperative duty to cooperate in its benevolent and patriotic designs by forming ourselves into an association auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Polk then offered the . . . constitution, which was received and signed by a number of the most respectable citizens of Alabama, among whom were five judges of the Supreme Court and many members of the bar and of the Legislature and other professional gentlemen from various sections of the state. More than \$200 were immediately subscribed 141 of which were promptly paid and forwarded. . . to the treasurer of the Parent Institution at Washington City. 3

Polk, the agent of the society, was evidently a good campaigner. He selected the Capital city of the state at a time when the Legislature was in session; had the meeting held under the auspices of the state government and, indeed, the Governor of the State served as chairman of the meeting. Thus, the organization seemed to get off to a splendid start, and was supported by an intelligent

3. Alabama State Intelligencer, Tuscaloosa, Jan. 15, 1830.

and influential group. In the years that lay out ahead, the movement was to fall into some disrepute, for it came to be associated in the minds of Alabamians with the Abolition movement, and the feeling arose that the national leaders of the society were not so much concerned with the free Negro as they were with freeing slaves.

This feeling did not prevent some Alabamians from supporting the organization with money and by making provisions for their freed slaves to go to Liberia if they wished. Doctor Henry Tutwiler, one of Alabama's most noted educators, contributed regularly to the funds of the society. Henry W. Collier, a governor of Alabama, was elected vice president of the American Colonization Society in 1852,⁴ and William R. King, when vice president of the United States, made provisions in his will for four slaves to go to Liberia in 1853. King arranged to pay all expenses of the Negroes' transportation, and provided for them to receive a total of three thousand dollars after they landed on the African coast.⁵

Early Interest In Colonization Society

As early as 1826, people in Alabama were interest-

4. African Repository, Vol, 30, p. 44.

5. Dallas County Records, Will Record A, p. 83.

ed in the society and sought to organize an auxiliary in the state. From a "Gentleman in Alabama" came a request for information about the society and the expression of a desire to raise an auxiliary society in Alabama. His letter contained a fervent wish that "the most sanguine hopes of the society may be realized." A contribution of fifty-five dollars was sent to the society from Huntsville, Alabama, as a result of a collection made in that town.⁶

The next year brought more correspondence from the "Gentleman in Alabama," whose letter stated, "Though I did not raise an auxiliary in my field of labour, yet I circulated the Journal, which has hushed the tongue of slander, and at least led those who have read for themselves to give up their prejudices and view your society as acting from good motives." The writer sent in a total of seventeen dollars, part of which was to be applied on the work of the society. The other part was to pay for subscriptions to the society's paper.⁷ Another Alabamian wrote, "I have just seen a number of the African Repository and from a cursory reading of it, am induced to entertain a more favorable opinion of the motives and objects of the

6. African Repository, Vol. 2, p. 24.

7. African Reppsitory, Vol. 3, p. 116.

society by whose order the work is published, than I had done before." The writer stated further that he no longer entertained any doubts as to the benevolent intentions of the original founders of the Colonization Society, but that he was certain that there were men actuated by a kind of mistaken enthusiasm, and others by a spirit of mischievous intent who had "attached themselves to the Society, and regardless of consequences would plunge us all into the miseries that would result from an indiscriminate emancipation of slaves, to gratify their mistaken ideas of humanity." He felt that this impression was prevalent in Alabama, but that it could be altered by a correct knowledge of the principles which actuated the society. In order to do his part toward dispelling the prejudice which he felt existed, he asked that the Repository be sent to him for a year. ⁸ During the course of the year, contributions were sent to the national headquarters from several counties in Alabama.

James G. Birney, Colonization Agent

In 1828, the name of James G. Birney of Huntsville, Alabama, appears in the list of those who contributed

8. African Repository, Vol. 3, p. 116.

money to the Colonization Society.⁹ Birney was to have a stormy career in Alabama because of his connection with and sympathy for known Abolitionists. At one time in the history of the State, he was a member of the Legislature and his intellect and judgment was so well thought of by Alabamians that he was selected by the trustees of the newly-built University of Alabama to look for and engage a president and four faculty members for the infant institution.¹⁰ This was in 1830, but six years later, his name had become anathema to the people of the state and he had been forced to leave Huntsville and flee to the North. He held honorary membership in the University's Philomathic Society for a time, but was expelled from it in 1836 because of "his espousal and endeavors to propagate opinions which militate and are at direct variance with the rights of the South, the peace of society, and the perpetuity of our government."¹¹

Before his expulsion from the state, Birney had become an agent for the society, and was offered free

9. Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 191.

10. A. B. Moore, History of Alabama, p. 341.

11. James B. Sellers, "Student Life at the University of Alabama before 1860," The Alabama Review, Vol. II, p. 285.

passage on numerous steamboat lines to any point within
the bounds of his agency.¹² The papers throughout the
state published articles and notices sent to them by Birney
and the editors seemed anxious to cooperate with him and
to give as much publicity as possible to the work of the
Colonization society. At a meeting of the Huntsville aux-
iliary of the society in 1833, Birney was appointed as one
of a committee of three to draw up a memorial to the Legis-
lature on the matter of appropriating state funds to trans-
port free Negroes to Liberia.¹³ Two years later, a public
meeting of the citizens of Limestone County met for the
purpose of planning some means to combat Abolition move-
ment. Part of the written resolutions read:

. . . and whereas from recent developments of
an organized band of abolition fanatics of the
northern states, headed in part by Garrison,
Tappan, Cox, Thompson, May, and James G. Bir-
ney of Kentucky, and others, whose sole object
is to sow the seed of discord, rapine, and murder
among the slaves of the South. . . Be it resolved
That a committee of vigilance to consist of twenty
be appointed, . . . to take such measures as they
may deem proper. 14

Colonization Movement Spread Rapidly

Before Birney's expulsion from the state and

12. The Democrat, Huntsville, Nov. 15, 1832.

13. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1833.

14. The Democrat, Aug. 26, 1835.

following the organization of the auxiliary society in Tuscaloosa in 1830, auxiliaries were formed rapidly in numerous counties, and contributions were sent into the national headquarters in increasing amounts.¹⁵ In addition to the contributions from Tuscaloosa in 1830, money was sent from newly-formed organizations at Tuscumbia, Florence, and Huntsville. The Methodist Church in Huntsville sent fifteen dollars to Washington and the Presbyterians collected eighteen dollars for the society. The state auxiliary at Tuscaloosa sent in an additional sixty-three dollars in December, 1830, and "the avails of the labor of the Female Gleaning Society of Huntsville, Alabama" amounted to fifty dollars.

The colonization movement seemed to be the answer to a question that was in the minds of many Alabamians. Their questions and sentiments were well expressed in an article written after the formation of the society in Tuscaloosa in 1830. In the florid style of his day, the author expressed his delight that so many prominent men had encouraged the society, and elaborated further:

What shall we do with the people of color?
 What can we do for their happiness consistently
 with our own? are questions often asked by the
 thinking mind. The desire to make others

15. African Repository, Vol. 6, pp. 126 ff.

happy has often been felt, but the difficulty of devising and accomplishing an efficient plan has hitherto appeared too great for humanity to accomplish. The mind shrunk back from the attempt, the time was not arrived, the servitude of the sons of Ham, described by Noah in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the future conditions of his posterity was not terminated. At present, as if from divine impulse, men of virtue, piety, and reflection are turning their thoughts to the subject and seem to see the wished-for plan unfolding in the gradual separation of the white from the black population by providing for the black some situation where they may enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled by nature and their Creator's will. 16

Interest Aroused In Emigration Of Free Negroes

In January of 1832, the Legislature, stirred perhaps by the spread of the colonization movement, began to show a definite concern over the problem of the free Negro and the slaves within the state. A resolution offered in the Senate read: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of forming some general laws relative to the emancipation of slaves, and of having all free persons of color transported to¹⁷ Liberia."

Measures were taken that would prevent any more

16. Alabama State Intelligencer, Jan. 22, 1830.

17. Spirit of the Age, January 11, 1832.

free persons of color from coming into the state, but nothing was done by the Legislature to finance the removal of free Negroes from the state.¹⁸

The state of Maryland was attempting to solve the problem of the free Negro, and advocated that a fund be raised by taxation for the removal of free persons of color, and that each person who emancipated a slave must provide fifty dollars to transport that slave to Liberia.¹⁹ This may have prompted the editor of the Spirit of the Age to reprint and comment upon an article from the Nashville Banner. The writer discussed the growing sentiment for emancipation and abolition and the steps that some states were taking to remove free Negroes from within their borders. The state of Maryland was said to have "appropriated \$200,000 to the purpose of colonizing free blacks" and Virginia legislators were engaged in debate upon similar measures. The editor's comment was:

In many of the states, emigration is made a consideration of emancipation. It is so in this; but no provision has yet been made for aiding those to emigrate who may be so inclined. Would it not be proper and expedient for the Legislature at its next session to create an emigration fund by a small tax on slaves, a tax of 10¢ on each slave in this state would create

18. Acts, Thirteenth Session, pp. 15-16.

19. Spirit of the Age, Mar. 28, 1832.

a fund of \$12,000 a year with which many important objects might be accomplished, if judicially applied. It is a subject about which the people should reflect, and if satisfied of the expediency of such a measure, let them so instruct their members. 20

While discussions were taking place through the newspapers of the state, and in the legislative halls, new auxiliaries were being formed, and more Alabamians were becoming interested in the work of the society. At a "numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of Marion and its vicinity" the Perry County Colonization Society was organized on February 10, 1832.²¹ A new auxiliary at Courtland, Alabama, contributed over fifty dollars through the treasurer of the state organization, and J. G. Birney of Huntsville sent fifty-one dollars from the Madison County Society.

In August of 1832, there came concrete evidence to the members of the various auxiliaries throughout the state that the national society was functioning. An announcement was carried in the Tuscaloosa paper pertaining to the sailing of a ship from Norfolk, Virginia, with emigrants to Liberia. The article read:

A vessel will sail from Norfolk with emigrants to Liberia in the course of a few days. The

20. Spirit of the Age, May 30, 1832.

21. Ibid., February 29, 1832.

great number of free persons now seeking a passage to the African colony renders it most important that the friends of the American Colonization Society should leave no means untried which may add to its funds. We understand that above 200 of the most respectable free people of color of Charleston, S. C., have resolved to emigrate to Africa in the autumn. They will be assisted, it is believed, by the benevolent and pious of that city, who begin seriously to consider the claims of the colonization society to public favor, and to see what all reflecting and benevolent men must soon see, that it is an institution of a truly unexceptionable and Christian character. 22

The Colonization movement gathered strength in 1833. More auxiliaries were formed, and J. G. Birney, now an agent for the society, bombarded the newspapers of five southern states with long articles on colonization.²³ The Huntsville Democrat carried a series of articles by Birney, in which he asked for the support of southern people and assured the southern states that the colonization movement was not connected in any way with the abolition movement.²⁴ Birney was in high favor in Alabama, and could travel the length of the state with no expense to himself for transportation. In addition to the free passage on the steamboats that plied the waters of the Tennessee River in the northern part of the state, he

22. Spirit of the Age, August 8, 1832.

23. The Democrat, May 16, 1833.

24. Ibid., May 30, 1833.

was offered free passage on the stage coaches from Tuscaloosa to Montgomery. In Montgomery he had the choice of four of the steamers that made regular trips to Mobile.²⁵ He announced the date of sailing a vessel from the port of New Orleans, a vessel that would transport two hundred emigrants to Liberia and asked for the financial support of Alabamians in carrying out this laudable enterprise.

Birney's letters to the papers began to show a change of tone or emphasis. In his first long article, printed in the Huntsville Democrat in 1832, he appealed for support of the colonization movement on rather high principles. He began by stressing the fact that none but free colored people were aided to emigrate by the society, then wrote:

Surely it must give a generous man a high and heartfelt gratification to aid in restoring the other half to the worth of the human being; to the highminded votary of Freedom, that he is extending the blessings of Civil Liberty over a whole quarter of the Globe, and to the zealous follower of Christ that he is contributing to the support of a colony which has already established His gospel among the heathen inhabitants of Africa. 26

In the twelfth article by Birney, published nine months later, there were strong hints of possible slave

25. The Democrat, January 17, 1833.

26. Ibid., November 29, 1832.

uprisings, and of the mischief that could be done through the influence of the free Negroes over the slaves. He stated:

If it be true, as we attempted to show in the last article, that there is and ever must be at heart among the free colored people a spirit hostile to those civil and social institutions by which they consider themselves degraded and oppressed, the next inquiry of the reflecting mind will be, "Are these causes now operating, or that will so operate in the future, as to bring our country into a condition to invite an eruption of this spirit?" 27

It is very certain that the free colored people can not in their own unaided strength, for a long time, at least, engage in any successful enterprise against the peace of the country. It is only from the influence which their peculiar relation to the slaves gives them so many facilities for exerting over them that they can either now or for many years to come, give us any molestation. As it has been found impossible by penal enactments to restrain in any good degree, much less to prevent entirely, their intercourse with the slaves - and as the latter, in the event of any disturbance growing out of the discontent of the free colored population must be the instruments of mischief, it will be necessary to consider the present and probable future conditions of the slaves. 28

COLONIZATION MOVEMENT FALLS INTO DISREPUTE

This was a different approach to the subject of

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27. The subject of the preceding article was "The Evils of the Free Colored Population," The Democrat, July 18, 1833.
28. The Democrat, July 25, 1833.

colonization, and there was material to stir the fears of Southerners in whose minds the details of the Nat Turner rebellion were still fresh. There was talk of insurrection, revolt, and the possibility of a slave uprising led by an intelligent and bitter group of free Negroes. These were matters that slave owners did not care to think of, much less broadcast through the newspapers. Many free Negroes could read and write; they could travel rather freely throughout the state, and could easily carry seditious and inflammatory literature if they were so inclined.

S. Wesley Jones, a free Negro of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, became interested in the colonization movement and carried on a correspondence with the Reverend William McLain, agent of the American Colonization Society. Jones, in a letter written in 1848, told McLain of his plans to make a tour through North Alabama, and stated that he would probably extend his trip into Tennessee. He mentioned the fact that he had traveled quite a bit during the winter and had contacted numerous free people on the subject of Liberia.²⁹ He did go to Huntsville in the northern part of the state, and there he moved freely among the

29. Carter G. Woodson, The Mind of the Free Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860, p. 64. The letters from S. Jones were published in the African Repository, Vols. 24, 28.

Negro population of Madison County. He wrote to McLain in April of 1848 that "I have been in this place two weeks today. I have visited nearly all the free families here and made it convenient to talk to them about Emigrating to Liberia. . . I visited yesterday a family fifteen miles from this place named Sampson. . . . I have to leave here for Tuscaloosa, on the 19th.³⁰ Perhaps S. Wesley Jones confined his remarks and correspondence strictly to colonization and Liberia, but a grandson of his wrote that:

You know Grandpa was a barber-surgeon, plied his profession and taught several of his sons including Charlie. His personal friends were mostly abolitionists. . . . Grandpa was instrumental in Reconstruction Days and during the war in protecting and saving much wealth and bodily damage to the inhabitants from the ravages by conferring with Yankee officials in behalf of certain abolitionists who owned much of the better real estate. . . . After the emancipation, he was elected by the abolitionists, carpetbaggers, and negroes to the state legislature of which term he served very little. KKK's and "Patarollers" menaced his existence in Tuscaloosa. So the United States government made him Inspector of Port at Mobile. 31

The year 1834 marked the further spread of the colonization movement in the state, particularly in the northern counties. The people of Lauderdale and Morgan

30. Ibid., pp. 71-72.

31. Excerpt from a letter written by H. S. O'Rourke to Georgia J. Taylor, July 30, 1945.

Counties organized auxiliaries and sent their contribution along with that of the Madison County Society, to the treasurer of the national society.³² Several events occurred in the next year, however, that influenced the minds of Alabamians and made them more suspicious of any movement or organization that was not, strictly speaking, inspired and directed by men well known for their Southern sympathies.

Crime Affects Alabamians' Attitude

In Baldwin County, a brutal murder occurred, followed by an attempted assault upon two young white women. The events, as reported by the papers, were given wide publicity throughout the state. Two school children, one a girl eleven years of age, disappeared as they were walking home from their school. The fact that their mother was a widow served to arouse the sympathy and concern of the neighbors, who instituted a thorough search for the children but were unable to find them.³³ Three weeks after the disappearance of the children, two young women were riding horseback through some woods near their home. The paper reported that

32. African Repository, Vol. 10, p. 62.

33. Commercial Register and Patriot, March 18, 1835.

. . . A negro suddenly rushed upon them in such a manner as to frighten their horses. One young lady was thrown from her horse and the scoundrel, probably thinking himself secure of her, set off in pursuit of the other, whose horse ran with her through the woods. 34

Both young women escaped, secured help, and the assailant was captured. During the course of the questioning, the prisoner confessed that he had murdered the two school children who had disappeared, and that the bodies would be found in a nearby mill creek.

Conspiracy In Adjoining State

While this case was still fresh in the minds of the people, there came news of a "horrible conspiracy" that had been detected and frustrated in the adjoining state of Mississippi. In July the planters or slave owners in Madison County, Mississippi, began to notice that their slaves were gathering in little groups and indulging in secret or rather mysterious conversations. Some of the slaves were questioned by their masters and revealed the existence of a planned insurrection that seemed to be quite fantastic, but upon further examination, the investigators found that the stories that the Negroes had told apparently had an element of truth in them. Two white men were

34. Ibid., March 20, 1835.

implicated by the confessions of the Negroes, so a group of planters quickly arrested the two and called a meeting of the citizens of the county in order to investigate the plot and determine what should be done.

A committee of thirteen was appointed by the meeting and the committee began the examination of evidence against the two white men, Cotton and Saunders, and

discovering that the evidence of a conspiracy having been formed were perfectly conclusive, and that the guilt of Cotton and Saunders was placed beyond doubt, with but little delay, ordered them to a public execution by hanging, which took place in the town of Livingston on Sat. July 4. Before Cotton was hung, he made repeated confessions of his guilt, both privately and publicly in the presence of an immense multitude, and furnished a detail of the plan of operations agreed on, and a list of the prominent conspirators. . . . The project embraced the whole slave region from Maryland to Louisiana, and contemplated the total destruction of the white population of the slave states. 35

The town of Vernon was to be attacked at night, the population slaughtered; then the insurgents would march on the towns of Livingston and Clinton. Claiborne and Warren Counties were to be devastated, and "the whole country. . . was to be ravaged and inundated with the blood of men, women, and children."

As fantastic as this may sound, the matter aroused

35. Flag of the Union, July 25, 1835.

the fears of Mississippians, and resulted in the hanging of several Negroes and at least two white men. Cotton, one of the executed men, implicated about fifty white men in a confession made before his death, and nineteen of these men had been apprehended and jailed in less than four days after the alleged plot was discovered.

ANTI-ABOLITION SENTIMENT IN ALABAMA

The news of this event spread rapidly over adjoining states, and the people of Alabama began to look for abolitionists and trouble makers in their own communities. Public meetings were held, and committees of vigilance were appointed to watch for any sign of a servile uprising. The citizens of Mobile held a public meeting on the thirteenth of August, 1835, in order to discuss the arrival of bundles of abolition literature at the Mobile postoffice and the recent happenings in Mississippi. Resolutions were prepared and read. The Commercial Register and Patriot reported the resolutions as follows:

Evidences of the existence of a widely extended scheme to destroy the peace of the slave-holding states of the American Union having reached the city of Mobile, its citizens have convened to express in public and authentic form the sentiments which the disclosure of such an organized scheme excites. . . .

Publications containing appeals to a large mass of

our population calculated to arouse among them a spirit of insubordination and to induce scenes of cruelty and bloodshed revolting to philanthropy are now in the course of distribution throughout the whole slave-holding region. The fanatical spirit which has originated and is now disseminating these messengers of discord is blind alike to the cause of patriotism and of humanity. It disregards the constitutional rights of the citizens of the South and seems to delight in the anticipation of their domestic inquietude. 36

Six days later, meetings were held in Huntsville, Alabama. At the first meeting, it was decided to appoint a committee of twenty-one "to determine upon such measures as deemed necessary and expedient in all cases connected with the subject of abolition and other matters which have recently so much disturbed and agitated the public mind." At the evening meeting held on the same day resolutions were drawn up in relation to the "Anti-Slavery Associations of the North and the wicked attempt of their fanatical leaders to send emissaries to disseminate incendiary publications throughout the Southern and slave-holding states."³⁷

The same issue of the paper that reported the two meetings in Huntsville contained an account of a similar meeting held in Limestone County in which abolition leaders were denounced by name, and a committee of vigilance

36. Flag of the Union, August 29, 1835 (reprinted from Commercial Register and Patriot)

37. Democrat, August 26, 1835.

was appointed. On August 22, a public meeting was held at Courtland in Lawrence County, where committees were appointed, and resolutions were drawn up pertaining to the Abolition movement.³⁸ Jefferson County held its meeting on September 7, and "approved of the resolutions adopted by the citizens of Tuscaloosa, Madison, and Mobile Counties."

Bitter Feelings Aroused

Feelings ran high, and editors became violent in their denunciation of the Abolition movement and its leaders. Language was unrestricted as may be seen from the following editorial:

But yet it is a duty incumbent upon our northern brethren, a duty they owe to themselves, to their patriotism, and to us as citizens of one common country and complexion, to denounce and suppress, aye, completely annihilate the exertions of these deluded and unholy fanatics, who if they were to succeed in their cherished projects, would bring misery and misfortune upon a large portion of our beloved country. . . They talk of the sufferings, the misery, and the degraded conditions of our slaves. Let them look to their own starved and degraded poor. Let them feed their beggars, clothe their paupers, and instruct their own ignorant and miserable peasantry - aye, instruct themselves in the truths of knowledge, virtue, and philanthropy, and they may then talk to us, with something like complaisance, and consistency of "the miserable condition of our slaves." Until then, we say emphatically - Let us alone. 39

38. Ibid., September 16, 1835.

39. Flag of the Union, Sept. 19, 1835.

In the midst of all the excitement, resolutions and editorial interpretation, there came the news from Mobile that four free Negroes from New York had been brought into the port and were found to have abolition literature in their possession. The Negroes were arrested, and due to the illness of one of the Negro women, all of them were first confined to the hospital. On being transferred to the city jail for safe keeping, one of the Negro men was roughly handled by a mob, but was returned to the officers of the law. After an investigation, the four were escorted back to the vessel upon which they had arrived, placed on board, and the captain was ordered to return them to New York. There were some rash individuals in Mobile who wished to hang all four of the Negroes or any of them, but the city officials carried on the whole affair according to the laws of the state and city. The editor of the Commercial Register and Patriot, in writing of the affair, made the statement that:

It is not against such miserable instruments of iniquity as these that the indignation of the South is awakened. It is the master spirits of the conspiracy, the Tappans, the Buffums, the Garrisons, and Thompsons that must be made to feel their resentment. Their infamous career must be arrested. 40

40. Commercial Register and Patriot, August 21, 1835.

In a succeeding issue of the Register, the editor commented:

Yesterday (Sept. 1) the free blacks whose arrival here in the Warsaw a week or two ago, produced much excitement in this community, . . . were taken from prison and reshipped to New York in the same vessel. It is a subject of congratulation that, with the exception of the Lynch discipline inflicted in the first instance upon that one of them upon whom circumstances seemed to fix plausibly the suspicion of being an agent of mischief, the whole affair was left where it rightfully belonged, in the hands of constituted authorities. 41

A short article appeared in an October issue of the Register that told of trouble in Liberia:

There has been a dreadful disaster in the African colony in Liberia. One of the settlements of the Colonization Society at Port Curson was attacked by the native negroes on the 13th of July last, and 17 of the immigrants massacred. Cause of occurrence was not stated. The remaining emigrants of that place escaped to the other side of the river, and the neighboring settlements were put in a posture of defence. King Joe Harris was the leader of the hostile tribe. The Legislature and the Executive Council of Liberia have formally declared war against him and taken measures to raise men and procure supplies. The colony is, of course, in a state of much anxiety. 42

Efforts Made To Solve Problem

The fate of the little colony did not get the attention or sympathy in 1835 that it might have in 1833. Alabamians were concerned with their own troubles. The

41. Ibid., September 2, 1835.

42. Ibid., October 21, 1835.

state was being invaded by way of the post office, and through the devious channels known to the distributors of abolition literature. Slaves were running away, and the free Negro was looked upon with increased suspicion. The people of the state turned to the Legislature, and the Legislature could think of no solution to the problem other than to pass more restrictive laws against the free Negro in order to prevent contact with the slaves. Heavy penalties were to be exacted from those who might circulate or cause to be circulated any material that would tend to arouse slaves to rebellion. These harsh measures were directed also against any white "abolitionist" who might venture into Alabama.

Some municipalities sought to drive the free Negro from their midst by placing burdensome taxes upon them. The committee of vigilance of Lawrence County proposed to the Legislature that free Negroes be taxed as high as twenty dollars each, and if they were unable to pay, they should be exposed to public hire for a term sufficient to pay the tax. The funds collected from this source were to be used to transport others to Liberia. The Committee also suggested that the testimony of slaves be permitted in cases where free Negroes were involved.⁴³

43. Democrat, October 21, 1835.

The editor of the Democrat, a Huntsville paper, berated the people of the state for their carelessness in letting slaves and free Negroes run at large. He declared that the Negroes of Huntsville had held more fashionable parties at night during the year than had the white people of the town. The lack of an efficient patrol system had enabled the Negroes to become so filled with pride and insolence that ultimate confusion and insurrection could be the only result.⁴⁴ An echo of the fear of the whites was found in an act passed at the sixteenth annual session of the General Assembly. This act provided that no druggist, apothecary, or other person could sell "arsenic or corrosive sublimate" to any slave or free person of color without a written order from some respectable white person. A fine of five hundred dollars could be exacted for a violation of this act, and if the poison sold should cause the death or serious injury of anyone, the person guilty of selling the poison would be treated as an accessory before the fact.⁴⁵

The Grand Jury at Tuscaloosa went so far as to return a true bill against Robert G. Williams, the editor

44. Ibid., September 9, 1835.

45. Ibid., January 21, 1835.

of The Emancipator. He was pronounced guilty of "circulating within our state pamphlets and papers of a seditious and incendiary character, . . . tending. . . to excite to insurrection and murder our slave population." ⁴⁶ The governor of Alabama demanded of the governor of New York that Williams be sent to Alabama to be tried on the charges. The editor of the Commercial Register and Patriot stated in a lengthy editorial that, "The demand. . . has, as was expected by reflecting men, been refused. . . it is to be regretted for the general cause of the South that it should have been made." ⁴⁷

The citizens of Huntsville met again in December of 1835 and passed a long list of resolutions. If these had been carried out, the Christmas season would have held little cheer for the Negroes of the county. All assemblies of Negroes were to be prohibited, and no pass should be given to a Negro if the time of his departure and return was not specified. Negroes would not be permitted ⁴⁸ out after dark, unless they had a wife away from home.

46. Ibid., October 14, 1835.

47. Commercial Register and Patriot, January 9, 1836.

48. Negro slaves living on different plantations often "married" with the consent of their respective masters. Some free persons of color also had wives or husbands who were slaves. Cohabitation, in these cases, was normally confined to the week-ends.

No monthly passes were to be issued, and no corn-shuckings or quiltings were to be held by the Negroes. Patrols were to ride every night, patrolling roads, checking slave and free quarters, and keeping a special watch for suspicious whites who might be found associating with any blacks.

FREE NEGROES RELUCTANT TO LEAVE ALABAMA

The American Colonization Society lost favor and support in the state, for it was linked, in the minds of many, with the Abolition movement. Then, too, there had been a definite feeling of reluctance on the part of the free Negroes themselves to leave their homes in Alabama. The ones who might have welcomed the opportunity to emigrate were usually not able financially to provide passage and a new start for themselves. Those who had money enough to take their families did not care to leave their business and their homes. Wesley Jones of Tuscaloosa protested over a period of more than ten years that his heart was set on going to Liberia. He was an ardent advocate of colonization, even when, as he said, "of all the states of this great Republic, colonization has less friends in Alabama than in any other."⁴⁹ He encouraged others to go, and

49. Carter G. Woodson, The Mind of the Free Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, p. 67.

stated that he could lead a company of over a hundred from Alabama, but he was never quite ready to go. He was even offered free passage to Liberia, and six months' support after he reached there, but he declined the offer.⁵⁰ John Robinson of Huntsville could have gone; Solomon Perteeet had money enough for himself and his family, and there were numerous other free colored men who were financially able to make the trip and to support themselves for some time in Liberia. It is possible, however, that they had dreams of their own, dreams that did not coincide with those of the colonization society. The answer may be found in the words of Wesley Jones. He wrote to McLain:

And I doubt not that the day is not distant when there will be an uprising of the free people of color - not only in Alabama - not only in the much persecuted South, where it is said by fanatics that we are sorely opprest, and inhumanely treated, but in the liberal and philanthropic North. We are treated about as well here, at least those who behave themselves, and conduct themselves as they should, as the same class of persons in the North. 51

Despite its fall from public favor, the colonization movement still retained the support of some Alabamians. From Mobile in 1836, contributions were noted in the

50. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

51. Ibid., p. 69.

52

Repository:

Hon. H. Hitchcock, \$100 annually for five years. \$100.
 Charles Gascoigne. 30.
 Geo. O. Cleaveland. 30.
 Wm. G. Ledyard. 30.

Encouraging voices were still heard through the press. In an article signed "A gentleman from Alabama," the writer after reviewing the work of the Colonization Society stated

And when we reflect on the useless nature of the free black population throughout the country and on its dangerous character in the slave-holding state, it is a matter of surprise that, at the South, where the chief danger is to be apprehended from such a population, there should be opposition to a Society whose main object is to remove this incubus from the community. 53

INTEREST IN COLONIZATION RENEWED

The auxiliary society in Baldwin County met in December of 1838 to elect new officers and made a plea for contributions. As a result of the renewed interest in the movement, a total of one hundred and seventy-five dollars was sent in to the national headquarters. This was followed by a period of two years when very little was done, but in 1841, the friends of colonization in Huntsville made a contribution of fifty dollars.

52. African Repository, Vol. 12.

53. Ibid., vol. 14, p. 234 (reprinted from the Mobile Chronicle, June 30, 1838.)

In 1843, the list of passengers on the ship Mariposa bound for Liberia included a "venerable colored minister of the Baptist Church from Alabama, who had received his freedom as a reward of merit, embarked with his wife and three children, in the hope that his other children for whom he has paid more than \$7,000 will follow him."⁵⁴ It is possible that this was the same Negro who was purchased by the Alabama Baptist Association in 1828, given his freedom, and employed by the church as a missionary to the Negroes on the plantations.⁵⁵ Florence, Alabama, had a lone contributor in 1843. Willis Nowland of the United States Navy sent in five dollars. In Mobile there were five subscribers to the Repository who sent their money through H. M. Lewis, the agent for the Colonization Society.⁵⁶

Colonization Agent Well Received In Alabama

Another reason for the apparent stagnation of the colonization movement within Alabama may be found in the columns of the African Repository. In an article, entitled

54. Ibid., vol. 19, p. 77.

55. B. F. Riley, Makers and Romance of Alabama History, p. 604.

56. African Repository, vol. 19, pp. 163 ff.

"Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama," the editor struck a rather optimistic note. He wrote of the possibility of engaging two agents who would commence operations in the states mentioned and stated also, "It is now a long time since anything like a regular system of collections has been attempted in the western states. It may therefore require some time for an agent to bring the subject fairly and fully before the people, but we anticipate ultimately very large accessions to our funds from these agencies."⁵⁷

The hopes expressed by the editor were realized in some degree in 1845. The Reverend J. B. Pinney started his work in Alabama, and contributions were sent into national headquarters from several points in the state. Several new subscribers to the African Repository were secured and one hundred and seventy-two dollars were added to the funds of the society. The Reverend Mr. Pinney lost no opportunity to present the cause. He even delivered his message on board the steam boats as he traveled the length⁵⁸ of the state, and of course, called for an offering.

News traveled rather slowly in the 1830's, for even while Pinney was in the midst of his labor, the Repository was lamenting the fact that some of the Southern

57. Ibid., vol 20, p. 319.

58. Ibid., Vol. 21, pp. 64 ff.

states were doing very little for the cause. The editor stated that there were no state societies in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, or South Carolina, and that he felt that the lack of interest was due to the fact that no agent had been at work in the states, and that the pastors of various churches had neglected to bring the subject of colonization before the people. Pinney's work began to show fruit, however, for in 1846, Daniel Wheeler of Mobile gave fifty dollars which he wished the society to use in the purchase of new territory. A good meeting was held at Tuscaloosa and friends of the colonization movement there donated one hundred and eight dollars. From Stockton in Baldwin County, donations amounting to one hundred dollars were recorded. A. Knapp and C. Gascoigne of Mobile gave thirty dollars each "to constitute themselves life members," W. J. Ledyard gave twenty dollars and the Second Presbyterian Church collected nineteen dollars. Doctor J. A. Tait of Black Bluff, Alabama, sent in fifty dollars to the society, and there were subscriptions to the Repository from several places in the state.

Slave Preacher Gains Freedom

In 1846, the story of the "learned blacksmith"

59. Ibid., Vol 22.

attracted the attention of Southern people, and was discussed in the columns of newspapers and religious journals. The blacksmith, Harrison W. Ellis, was a slave who had been brought to Alabama when he was about twenty-five years of age. He was born in Virginia, and carried to Tennessee when but a child. There he was seized with a desire to learn to read. He had seen ministers read from the Bible, and had heard them refer to the words that they read as the "word of God!" He learned to read and to write, and having a thirst for knowledge, he commenced the study of Latin. He was handicapped by a lack of books and instructors, but he gained a very good knowledge of the language after which he attempted the study of Greek and Hebrew.

Ellis felt the call to preach, and under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, developed to such an extent that his freedom was purchased by the Synods of Alabama and Mississippi.⁶⁰ The church authorities wished to send him to Liberia, and he expressed his willingness to go. He was introduced as a candidate for the ministry at a meeting of the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa, where he was examined as to his qualifications. Those

60. Herald And Tribune, August 12, 1846 (article reprinted from the Eutaw Whig.)

present were astonished at his ability to express himself, and at the amount of reading that he had done in the field of philosophy and theology. He read a sermon of his own composition which was so well written that some of the members of the Presbytery suggested that it should be published. One who was present at this unusual meeting wrote of the occasion:

It certainly looked and sounded very strange. It was almost incredible to see and hear one who had been all his life a slave, with none but the ordinary privileges of a slave, reading a composition so correct in language, so forcible in style, so logical in argument, abounding in quotations, from the Bible, and so intelligently and pertinently applied. 61

The members of the Presbytery were so well satisfied with the talents and learning of Ellis that they decided to ordain him as a minister and send him as a missionary to Liberia under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Missions. He and his family were to have all their expenses paid by the church, and Ellis, for a time was to serve as an assistant to some of the missionaries who were already there.⁶² Sir Charles Lyell in writing of his second visit to the United States, mentioned the case of Ellis. After a refer-

61. African Repository, Vol. 23, p. 46 (article reprinted from the New Orleans Protestant.)

62. Ibid., p. 46; Herald And Tribune, August 12, 1846.

ence to other free Negroes in and near Tuscaloosa, he wrote:

Frequent mention was made during our stay in Alabama of a negro named Ellis, a blacksmith, who had taught himself Greek and Latin. He is now acquiring Hebrew, and I was sorry to hear that the Presbyterians contemplate sending him as a missionary to Liberia. If it were the object in the South to elevate the blacks, he might be far more instrumental in forwarding the cause of civilization and Christianity by remaining at home, for the negroes like a preacher of their own race. 63

Ellis sailed for Liberia and arrived there in March of 1847. In a letter written by him to a minister in Gainesville, Alabama, he had glowing words for the place of his future home. He wrote:

We arrived at Monrovia 14 March, 1847, and sir, I was never more disappointed (though very agreeably) in my remembrance. A view of Monrovia as taken by travelers on the high seas, standing as it does upon the lofty and beautiful promontory is sublime and inviting to a sea-weary traveler in an eminent degree, especially when viewed by one who expects to make this long-expected city his future home, the stage of his future action, a free and happy home for his children. 64

Another Alabama friend of the "learned blacksmith" received a letter in which Ellis spoke in glowing terms of Liberia and its prospects. He was studying the

63. Sir Charles Lyell, Second Visit to the United States, pp. 71 ff.

64. African Repository, Vol. 24, p. 151 (reprinted from the Presbyterian Herald)

language of two "wild tribes," in order to be able to preach to them in their own language. He stated also that the Mandingoes claimed him for their countryman because his grandfather was born in Africa.⁶⁵

Liberated Slaves Sent To Liberia

About this time Wesley Jones wrote from Tuscaloosa to McLain in the city of Washington, and began his letter by saying, "I am proud to be able to inform you that colonization is growing in favor rapidly in the State among the blacks and whites."⁶⁶ This was apparently true, for a five hundred dollar contribution was sent from Montgomery, and a large body of former slaves were shipped to Liberia. The Reverend Witherspoon of Alabama died in 1848, and left his twenty-two slaves in trust to Henry Clay, with the provision that they be sent to Liberia. The legal and financial details pertaining to their passage were handled by Judge Thornton of Eutaw, Alabama. The Repository in its issue for March, 1848, included a list of the slaves and the amount necessary to pay for their passage. Under the heading of "Receipts Jan. 20-Feb. 20, 1848" was the notice, "For outfit and passage of slaves bequeathed to the Hon.

65. Eufaula Democrat, January 2, 1848.

66. Woodson, op. cit., p. 68.

Henry Clay, per Judge Thornton, Eutaw, Alabama, \$801.50."⁶⁷

During the course of the next year, contributions were sent in from Mobile, Huntsville, Florence, and several smaller towns. Part of the contribution from Mobile consisted of a gift of ten dollars from a colored missionary society.⁶⁸ In addition to the contributions sent to nation-headquarters, nine liberated slaves had their passage paid on the barque Laura, and sailed for Liberia on January 22, 1849.⁶⁹

The agent in Alabama was busy during 1850. Contributions went in from Gainesville, Eutaw, Greensborough, Marion, Valley Creek, Montgomery, and Mobile. A proposition was put before Congress by Bryan from Alabama for the building of four large steamers to be used in carrying passengers and mail to Liberia. Wesley Jones of Tuscaloosa wrote that if this were done, there would not be a free person of color left in the South within ten years after the first steamer left to the United States.⁷⁰ An enthusiastic letter came from H. W. Ellis, in which he wrote

67. African Repository, Vol. 24, pp. 60 ff.

68. Ibid., Vol. 25, pp. 32 ff.

69. Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 63.

70. Woodson, op. cit., pp. 68-69

optimistic accounts of Liberia. He added a word of advice and consolation to his colored friends in Alabama.

I am a pure and undefiled African in every honorable sense of the word; I hope to live and labor and die in Africa; I love my color, indeed and in truth, and my unadulterated friendship and gratitude to the white man of the South well endure, if possible, longer than his mortal life....I do not think it to be the will of the Heavenly Father that you should leave home and go to any place except Africa. If your superiors say, Go to Liberia, come right along. But excepting Liberia, go to no place from Alabama under Heaven. 71

STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY ORGANIZED

In 1851, the work of the Alabama agents of the Colonization Society was rewarded by the formation of a State Colonization Society. A statement addressed to the general public and signed by a number of prominent men in Alabama was placed in papers throughout the state. It contained a call to meet in Montgomery in December for the purpose of organizing a "State Colonization Society for the purpose of aiding the emigration of free persons of color to Liberia."⁷² The meeting was held on December 11, and a State Colonization Society was formed with J. J. Ormond of Tuscaloosa as its president.⁷³ The Mobile

71. African Repository, Vol. 27, p. 2.

72. Crystal Fount, December 12, 1851.

73. African Repository, Vol. 28, p. 141.

Emigration Society was formed that same year for the same purpose as the State Colonization Society, and John Gayle,⁷⁴ former governor of Alabama, was elected president.

Dilemma Of Alabama Free Negroes

From 1830 through 1851, only forty-nine Negroes had sailed from Alabama to Liberia, and at least thirty-two of these were liberated slaves who had very little choice in the matter. The average free Negro of Alabama was not anxious to leave his native state for the "doubtful blessings" of Liberia. Some of them felt that they would be giving up too much, while others feared the unknown dangers of what was, to their minds, a wild and uncivilized country. One Negro woman near Tuscaloosa declared that she would rather be a slave in Alabama than to go to Africa and die of starvation or be eaten by the natives.⁷⁵ A choice for the free Negroes as to where they should live was rather difficult to make. They could remain in Alabama subject to the restrictions of the laws of the state; they could emigrate to Liberia and face the unknown difficulties of life in a strange land; or they

74. Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's as Seen by British Consuls," Journal of Southern History, Vol 1, pp. 29 ff.

75. Woodson, op. cit., p. 73.

could attempt to settle in some one of the Northern states. This last avenue was being closed to them in the 1850's, however, for several "free states" passed laws which would prevent any free Negroes from coming into their borders. When the news reached the South that Indiana had passed a law excluding the free Negroes from the state, the editors of Alabama papers had a wonderful time. One editor wrote:

The State of Indiana has given us an example of the glorious inconsistency and hypocrisy of the Abolition spirit. It forbids any free negro coming into and settling within its boundaries. It denies to a man, whom it pretends to regard as the equal of any white man, a right to get his living by his own honest efforts. It will not tolerate even the presence of a free black, so much and so sincerely does it love its proteges. 76

As other Northern states closed their borders to the free Negroes, or passed laws that were discriminatory in character, a few more free Negroes of Alabama sailed for Liberia, but the majority of them elected to stay at home, attend to their business, and avoid publicity as much as possible. Even as Wesley Jones identified himself with the section in which he lived, so did numerous others of his kind. As has been pointed out in a preceding chapter on the legal status of the free Negro, the treatment accorded them was not as harsh as the phraseology of the laws

76. Spirit of the South, September 16, 1851.

that were passed concerning them.

Alabama Emigrants To Liberia

In 1852 two groups of Alabama Negroes sailed from the port of New Orleans. The first group left port in January on the ship Julia Ford, and consisted of a total of ten Negroes. Four of the Negroes had been purchased by their father; the other six were free persons of color. In the group of ten, there were three who were literate and six of them were listed as having a trade. The second group, who sailed on the brig Zebra in December of 1852, was made up of several families totaling twenty-one in number. January Birch, an eighty-two year old slave, had purchased his own freedom and that of four of his children. He had seen his children leave for Liberia early in the year, for they sailed on the Julia Ford. This must have been some consolation to the former slave when he realized that he would never see his "land of promise" or his children. January died on board ship after it left the port of New Orleans. Penry, the wife of Thomas Wilson, had long been free, having been emancipated by John Campbell of Alabama. She purchased the freedom of her husband, Thomas, and the two of them with their family of six freeborn children took passage for Liberia. Penry may have wished that she had remained in Alabama, for her husband and two of

the children died on the trip. Calvin Witherspoon, with his wife and three children, all free persons of color, left Pike County to go to Liberia. Calvin could read and write, and being a young man, might have done well in their new home, but he failed to make the trip. He and his four year old daughter Laura died before the vessel reached Liberia. Susannah and her two children, Agnes and George, were emancipated by J. H. Cocke of Greene County. They, too, sailed on the Zebra, but Agnes succumbed to the same disease that took the lives of six of her shipmates.⁷⁷

In this year, too, came the rather discouraging news that the Reverend H. W. Ellis, the former slave who had been purchased by the Presbyterian church and sent to Liberia as a missionary, had strayed from the "straight and narrow path." Because of charges preferred against him which involved his Christian character, his appointment as a missionary of the Foreign Mission Board was withdrawn,⁷⁸ and he was dropped from the rolls of the Presbytery.

In 1852, according to the reports of the American Colonization Society, the people of thirty states contributed to the work of the society and subscribed to its

77. African Repository, Vol. 29, pp. 69 ff.

78. Ibid., Vol. 28, pp. 369-370.

periodical, the African Repository. The states of New York and Virginia stood at the head of the list in the order named. Mississippi was in the third place, and Alabama was nineteenth, with a total contribution of \$828.50. In the number of emigrants sent out to Liberia, Virginia stood first with a total of 241, New York ranked eighth with seventeen, and Alabama was in the ninth place with a total of sixteen. These sixteen sailed from Savannah, Georgia, one in June and fifteen in December.⁷⁹ Squire Grant, a free Negro of Glenville sailed in June, and was followed in December by a group composed of eight emancipated slaves, and seven free persons of color. Seven of the slaves were emancipated by John McConnell of Madison County, and one of them, Priscilla Jones, had been an emancipated Negro for over twenty years. She sailed with her six freeborn children and grandchildren.

A family of four emancipated slaves went out in the next year. W. Hadley, a farmer, his wife and two children, were given their freedom by Luther Hadley. Hadley expended over \$500 in providing the Negroes with transportation and sufficient clothing and equipment to give them a

79. Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 35.

80. Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 57.

start in Liberia. He also promised his former slaves that he would send more money to them at a later date.⁸⁰

Frederick and Charlotte of Tuscaloosa were born into slavery. They were emancipated at the ages of thirty-two and twenty-eight respectively, by Lincoln Clark of Dubuque, Iowa. They were listed as passengers bound for Liberia aboard the Elvira Owen in 1856. Three other former slaves left Norfolk, Virginia, that same year aboard the ship Mary Caroline Stevens, bound for Robertsport, Liberia. Edenborough Carrole and his wife, Nancy, purchased their freedom, as did Abel Garner of Mobile. Abel paid his own passage and deposited enough money with the Colonization Society to provide for his support for six months.⁸¹

Alabama Negroes Write From Liberia

In a report from the Colonization Society, printed in 1857, there were listed a total of 104 Negroes who had gone from Alabama to Liberia in the period between 1830 and 1856. War broke out in Liberia late in 1855, and news of it reached Alabama in 1856. Willis Blount, who went to Liberia from Montgomery County in 1852, wrote a long letter back to a white friend in 1856, in which he gave the distressing details of the effects of war on his community

81. African Repository, Vol. 33, pp. 25 ff.

and asked for help. Willis wrote that:

In the month of November '55, owing to some difficulties between the American settlers and the natives, the latter committed some depra-dations on one of the American settlements, from which a war between the parties above mentioned was the consequence, which has continued with more or less violence ever since. The little settlement in which I lived and which bore my name, was burned to the ground; every vestige of anything that had been reared by civilized man perished by the hand of the savage. Every dollar's worth of property I owned was in the settlement, and as a matter of course perished. I and my wife and child narrowly escaped by flight. I have . . . been in the army, but the army is now disbanded, and the people are . . . in a state of starvation . . . Everything in the country has by the war been thrown out of gear; all the vocations of this country are suspended . . . most persons are prohibited from cultivating their farms on account of fear of the natives, as all are hostile to the settlers.

Famine and pestilence. . . are with us in their most fearful form. . . About one-sixth of the inhabitants have either been carried off by starvation and sickness. 82

The fate of the little colony was lost in the storm of events that were sweeping over the United States in those last eventful years preceding the outbreak of the hostilities between North and South. There was never a time in the history of the Colonization movement when the Negroes showed any eagerness to leave the state. Over a period of more than thirty years, only 104 emigrated, and many of these were emancipated slaves who would have had

82. Weekly Alabama Journal, Montgomery, September 27, 1856

to leave the state in order to be free. Contributions for the Society were sent in through 1860, and Alabamians continued to subscribe to the Repository, but the state as a whole was more interested in looking for abolitionists and in the suppression of any possible uprising of slaves or free blacks that might occur as a result of the leadership of Abolition agents. Even so, Alabamians contributed a total of \$8428.47 to the cause of Colonization through 1860, of which total, \$540 went to pay for subscriptions to the official publication of the organization.

ABOLITION MOVEMENT DETRIMENTAL TO COLONIZATION

The rising tide of the Abolition movement in the North rebounded to the detriment of the free Negro in Alabama. The Southern mind invariably connected the work of the Abolitionists with the free persons of color in the state. This led to a general feeling of apathy and indifference in the matter of colonization. The efforts of some ardent believers in general emancipation and the fact that some Northern states refused to receive the free Negroes exasperated some Alabamians to such an extent that they advocated the elimination of the free Negro as a group. They suggested that all free Negroes should either be removed from the state or return to the "blessings" of slavery.

One writer seeking to justify slavery in the South expressed these views in a letter to the editors of the Montgomery Advertiser. He expressed his contempt for abolitionists and the colonization movement in rather verbose style:

Messrs. Editors: . . . A peripatetic utilitarian from the land of wooden nutmegs, travelling not long since in a neighboring county. . . was observed to take occasion very frequently and very gratuitously, to introduce as a topic of conversation the subject of slavery. Of course he had his eyes about him in selecting his audience; and of course, too, he took good care to put in a disclaimer against his being considered an abolitionist himself. . . though the sole aim of all his arguments was to convince the poor, benighted Southerners that the South could never come up to what he was pleased to call "the improvements of the age," until she had abolished the "curse of slavery."

I mention this fact for the purpose of calling public attention to it, and also for the purpose of expressing the opinion. . . that we have hundreds of these miscreants skulking about in our midst, improving every opportunity. . . to plant deep in a genial soil the seeds of future mischief, rebellion, and bloodshed. Indeed, the Abolitionists boast of having their spies in every county in the Southern States. . . . 83

After several more paragraphs of vitriolic comment, he assailed the colonization movement by writing:

We hear much said of the great results to be accomplished through the agency of this colony of free and freed negroes of Liberia. For my part, I have no faith whatever in the success of the scheme. It may continue to flourish to a certain degree, so long as it continues to

83. Montgomery Advertiser, June 13, 1855.

receive fresh accessions from the ranks of our civilized and Christianized slaves, and continues to be guided by the counsel of enterprising white men; but the moment it shall be deprived of these advantages, it will, in my opinion, begin to fall into a course of rapid decline.

Alabama editors seized with glee upon any admission from a Northern man that the free Negro of the North was not considered as an equal in the "free" states. These reports were used as further evidence that the abolitionists were wrong in their outlook and that the presence of the free Negro could have nothing but a disrupting influence upon society as a whole. The Southern Advocate quoted Henry Ward Beecher, to whom the editor referred as "one of the great new lights in the moral North who preaches abolitionism from the pulpit instead of the gospel of Christ." Beecher was reported to have said:

How are the free colored people treated in the North? They are almost without education, with but little sympathy for ignorance. They are refused the common rights of citizenship which the whites enjoy. They cannot even ride in the cars of our city railroad. They are sniffed at in the House of God, or tolerated with ill-disguised disgust. . . . We take them and then refuse to allow their children to go to our public schools. We tax them and then refuse to sit by them in God's House. We heap upon them moral obloquy more atrocious than that which the master heaps upon the slaves, and notwithstanding all this, we lift ourselves up to talk to the Southern people about the rights and liberties of the human soul, and especially the African soul. 84

84. Southern Advocate, Dec. 7, 1859.

This may have been balm to the minds of some Alabamians, but it was of no help to the free Negroes within the state. In another article published at an earlier date, the connection in the minds of the Alabamians between the Abolition movement and the free Negro was brought out rather clearly:

The free negroes of Cincinnati (about 300 families) are represented as being in a horrible state of destitution and suffering. They are all objects of charity. . . . The negroes in a free state are the least of God's creation, and they are left by the Abolitionists to suffer and starve while they (the Abolition hypocrits) affect to shed oceans of tears over the condition of our slaves, who have more comforts and more advantages than the laboring classes in any country on the face of the globe. 85

With the free Negro and the abolitionist thus linked in newspapers, speeches, and everyday conversation, it was inevitable that a slaveholding society should begin to clamor for the expulsion of the free Negro. The editor of the Southern Advocate advocated the adoption of strong measures in dealing with the free Negro element within the state. He was evidently more intent upon the punishment of the Abolitionists in the North than he was upon harming the free Negro. He said of the situation:

This is a question of grave import, and certainly demands the attention of our next General Assembly.

85. Southern Advocate, February 12, 1857.

In many parts of the cotton-growing South, free negroes have become not only a nuisance, but a loathsome pest. And if they be permitted to remain in contact with slaves, and the law sanctioning emancipation remains in force, great danger may be apprehended from its baneful influence. . . . Let each and every slaveholding state pass a law making it a penal offense to emancipate negroes and suffer them to remain in the state. Nor should the prohibition end here. There should be a clause in the act requiring the removal of every free negro from the state. . . . The North would in a few weeks be so completely overrun with free negroes that the Yankee Abolitionists would die in agony, with disgust.

The editor suggested that the Alabama Legislature follow the example of Louisiana. Louisiana had passed a law forbidding the residence of free Negroes within the state, and if Alabama would pass such a law, all the other cotton states would soon "follow in the wake." By this course, according to the editor, "the South will add Negro paupers to the whites of the North, and thus inflict an everlasting curse upon all intermeddlers with Southern slavery." ⁸⁶

Freeing Of Slaves By Will Prohibited

The Legislature responded to this outcry, finally, by passing laws that prohibited the freeing of any more slaves by "directions contained in any last will and testament," and further declared null and void any will that directed the removal of slaves from the state for the

purpose of emancipating them. This of course, was a blow struck at the work of the Colonization Society which had transported numerous slaves from Alabama to Liberia as a result of the will of some deceased slave holder. At the same session of the Legislature, a law was passed that made it possible for the free Negroes to select a master and become slaves.⁸⁷ There was nothing obligatory about this, and the Judge of Probate was instructed to make every effort to prevent any undue influence being exerted on any free person of color. No free person who thus became a slave could be sold for the debts or liabilities of his or her master, neither could he be sold in order to settle the affairs of an estate. The condition into which a free person of color entered under this law was little more than that of establishing a guardianship for himself, and a few Negroes made use of the law.

As the year 1860 drew to a close, there was little evidence to show that the free Negroes of Alabama were interested in creating a disturbance or in becoming parties to insurrection or riot. There were disturbances among the slaves, which, of course, caused all Negroes to be suspected, and which caused great apprehension and alarm amongst

87. Acts. Seventh Biennial Session, 1859.

the whites.

In November of 1860, the Negroes of Montgomery County were suspected of setting fire to a number of buildings. The Montgomery Advertiser reported that:

We are creditably informed that the negroes in the vicinity of High Log in this county are becoming rebellious and applying the torch to buildings whenever an opportunity offers. On Thursday night last, the gin house of Mr. Christopher Thompson within three miles of High Log was consumed. . . . Negroes are suspected of the deed. We further learn that the negroes in the same vicinity held a meeting in the woods on Sat. night, and amused themselves by dancing and drinking. On Sunday night following, the Academy at High Log was fired. A man by the name of Sowell who has been in the county for five or six years was suspected of having incited the negroes to these nefarious acts. 88

It was easy for an excited mind to picture plots and bloody uprisings, and in a time when the whole nation was discussing the fate of the institution of slavery; it was also easy for all Negroes to be classed together, whether they were slave or free. The Montgomery Mail in December of 1860 stated that there was evidence to show that 15,000 free Negroes in Ohio voted for Lincoln. The editor then asked the question: "Has it come to this? Has it come to pass in our history that the people of the South are to be voted down and governed by a band of negroes?"⁸⁹

88. Montgomery Advertiser, November 17, 1860.

89. Montgomery Mail, December 10, 1860.

Further excitement was aroused in Montgomery County by the discovery of "an insurrectionary plot. . . amongst the negroes somewhere between Dublin and Pine Level in this county." ⁹⁰ Two white men were believed to have been involved, and the whites in the vicinity decided to hang them along with several slaves. The next issue of the paper brought the news that the citizens had formed a committee of investigation and had unearthed evidence which proved that there was a planned uprising of the Negroes, and that they were to be led by two white men. The editor stated that "a strict and careful watch should be kept by everybody and when a white man is detected, hang him to the nearest tree."

A letter, signed by eleven whites of the disturbed area, was published by the editor of the Montgomery Advertiser on December 19. In the letter the details of the alleged plot were laid bare:

The plot is this: they (the negroes) are to make a general rise during the Christmas holidays. We are now whipping the negroes, taking them as they come. We hear some startling facts. They have gone far enough in the plot to divide out our estates, mules, lands, and household furniture. Their plan is this. They are to kill the families on a certain night, (that they live with), and then get together and take the county. They look for aid from Lincoln

90. Ibid., December 13, 1860; also white, loc. cit.

and the Northern people. 91

The whole affair resulted in the hanging of one white man and four Negroes. The only evidence that any free Negro had anything to do with the plot was the statement made by the Montgomery Mail that the white man had a dash of Negro blood in his veins. Two Negroes and one white man were reported to have been hung in Autauga in connection with an insurrectionary plot discovered in that county.⁹²

In spite of all the rumors and trouble in the state, there was no concerted effort to drive the free Negro out. Free persons of color continued to carry on their trades or occupations, rear their children, and attempted to improve their lot in much the same way that the whites did. The Abolition movement cast a cloud of suspicion over them as a whole, but the failure of the Colonization movement in Alabama is evidence enough that their life was never made so difficult as to force them to leave the state.

91. Weekly Advertiser, Montgomery, December 19, 1860.

92. Weekly Advertiser, Montgomery, December 30, 1860.

Chapter VI

SOCIAL FACTORS AND PERSONALITIES

There was no separate social circle for the average free person of color that would distinguish his life from that of the thousands of slaves in the state of Alabama. The social factors that entered into the make-up of the life of the free Negro were the same as those that were enjoyed by the slaves. It was only natural, under the existing social system, that this should be so. The fact that a Negro had been emancipated or had even been born a free person did not set him apart in the minds or thinking of the white population. The whites learned to have confidence in some free Negroes and respected their initiative and integrity, but there was no thought of accepting them as social equals. There might even develop a sense of familiarity in the association of individuals in the two races, but if the free Negro ever presumed upon this relationship to the extent of showing an air of equality, the whites were quick enough to resent it and to take measures that would prevent its recurrence.

RELATIONS BETWEEN WHITES AND FREE NEGROES

That numerous free Negroes were well thought of in Alabama is evidenced by the fact that several of them were given their freedom by means of a popular subscription. The whites in some community would give enough money to buy the Negro from his or her owner and set the individual free. Pierre Chastang of Mobile was said to have been bought and freed by popular subscription in recognition of his services in the war of 1812 and in the yellow fever epidemic in 1819.¹ Sally Phagan of Madison County was bought free by citizens of the county, and her emancipation was confirmed by legislative action in 1830. Those who petitioned for her freedom were asked to post bond of only one hundred dollars, which was indicative of Sally's ability to care for herself and of an absence of fear that she would become a burden on the county.²

Negro Ministers

H. W. Ellis was purchased by the Presbyterian churches of Alabama and Mississippi, and he and his family

1. U. B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery, p. 248; also D. W. Mitchell, Ten Years in the United States, p. 235.

2. Acts, Eleventh Annual Session, p. 38.

were sent as free people of color to Liberia.³ Caesar Blackwell, a slave of John Blackwell of Montgomery County, was purchased by the Baptist churches of the Alabama Baptist Association and ordained as a minister. While he was never legally emancipated, Caesar lived as a free man. He visited churches within the bounds of the Association, and preached to both colored and white. He was provided for in his old age by the Association, and at his death, was buried in the family graveyard of the Reverend James McLemore, a white minister belonging to the same Association.⁴

Special acts of the Alabama General Assembly were passed to remove restrictions from some free Negroes who were well liked in the communities in which they resided. John Spaniard of Lawrence County, was permitted to remain in the state after his emancipation in 1823 because it was represented to the General Assembly in "the petition of many respectable citizens of Lawrence County that John Spaniard. . . is a good and industrious citizen."⁵

Harry J. Thornton, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Alabama, helped Joe Commons of Madison County to purchase

3. See Chapter V, "Colonization and Abolition."

4. Southwestern Baptist, Tuskegee, Alabama, October 13, 1859.

5. Acts, Sixth Session, Dec. 14, 1824.

his freedom in 1835, because Judge Thornton had "for many years. . . observed the honesty, humility, and other praiseworthy traits" in the character of Joe.⁶ The mayor and aldermen of Huntsville, Alabama, met in session on October 12, 1831, and passed an ordinance making it unlawful for a free person of color to hire a Negro slave. John Robinson, a prosperous free Negro, petitioned the group to exempt him from the operation of the ordinance because he had a hired slave and would lose almost four months of his time if the ordinance was enforced. The mayor was empowered to grant the exemption in the case of John Robinson, and to "extend the indulgence in all similar cases where the applicant be deemed worthy."⁷

William Chavis was elected constable in Autauga County. In 1859, a white man named Heath was indicted for resisting arrest when Chavis attempted to serve a warrant. Heath questioned the legality of Chavis's election as a constable on the grounds that Chavis's great-grandparents were mulattoes, and stated that he (Heath) had a right to prevent himself from being arrested by a free Negro. The Supreme Court of Alabama excluded the evidence

6. Madison County Records, Deed Book Q, pp. 581-82.

7. Minutes, City of Huntsville, 1828-34, pp. 127-128.

that Heath submitted, and held that Chavis was an officer de facto, and that his ancestry could not be called in question.⁸

The Free Negro As A Soldier

The story of Jeffrey Lockilier of Mobile is indicative of the place that some free Negroes won for themselves in the hearts of a community. After Jeffrey's death in 1830, an account of his life was published in the Mobile Commercial Register. Jeffrey had been a distinguished soldier in the Indian Wars and the War of 1812, and the writer of the article paid him fitting tribute:

Died: On the 22nd inst. at the residence of Col. Armstrong in this town, . . . Jeffrey Lockilier, a free man of color, commonly called Major Jeffrey, aged about 42 years. The deceased resided in this town for upwards of twenty years; and though a very humble member of society, still it may be said but few enjoyed the esteem and good will of the community to a greater extent than he did. His universal benevolence was a distinguished trait in his character, and it seemed to be the business and the pleasure of his life to serve others without the expectation of reward, and none could boast of a heart more devoted to his country's cause. . . He was present at almost every Southern battle which was fought during the whole of that war, . . . and he was distinguished for his valor. . . But his military career did not close with the Indian campaigns. He followed the standard of Gen. Jackson to the siege of New

8. Heath vs. State, 36 Alabama 273.

Orleans, and participated in the action of the Twenty-third as well as that of the Eighth. . . . At the breaking out of the Seminole War he again took the field. . . . His military services terminated only when his country ceased to have enemies.

He enjoyed in a high degree, the good opinion and friendship of his old commander, Gen. Jackson; and the president, on his return visit to Nashville, hearing of the sickness of his fellow soldier, in company with Gen. Coffee, visited his sick couch, and spent an hour in his company.

Peace to his manes! The simple annals of the poor and humble are devoid of interest; but one should not be soon forgotten who bestowed his best days to the service of his country; who lived a life of active benevolence and died praising the goodness and mercy of his God. 9

It is true that not all the free Negroes of Alabama held this place of esteem, but there was always the possibility that their personal relationships with the whites could be marked by mutual respect and liking. In the social order of the nineteenth century, the Negro was supposed to "know his place," whatever that rather indefinable position was, and the Negro who was industrious and orderly in his conduct was rarely, if ever, molested. The idea that all free persons of color were idle, shiftless, and vicious is not substantiated by the evidence that has been accumulated. Many of them were

9. Mobile Commercial Register, October 23, 1830.

engaged in skilled trades, were literate enough to trans-act business, and had managed to accumulate enough money to live on a plane that was above that of the group of whites known as "poor whites" or "poor white trash."¹⁰

The free Negro did not seek publicity, and rarely received any. Ordinarily their names did not appear in the papers of the day unless they had run afoul of the law.

THE FREE NEGRO AND RELIGION

In the realm of religion, the free Negro was ministered to by the same group of preachers that conducted services for the whites or slaves. Quite often these two functions were performed at one time by the same minister in the same building, although many Negroes were licensed to exhort or preach and some of them became regularly ordained ministers in the church of their choice. Slaves and free persons of color who joined the church in the early years of Alabama's growth, joined the same church that the whites joined, and were seated in the same auditorium with the whites. Some churches provided a balcony

10. For a discussion of the economic status of the free persons of color before the Civil War, see Carter G. Woodson's The Negro in Our History, Chapter XIV; also Arnett J. Lindsay's "The Negro in Banking," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.

or gallery that was reserved for the colored members, while in others a section of seats in the one room of the church was set aside for their use. In an Alabama church served by this writer for several years, the low panels that formed a partition setting off the Negro section in the one large room were still in place as late as 1936. A separate entry was provided for this section. Back of the church lay the burial ground in which both whites and colored were interred. There, too, was a line of separation, but the position of the graves in adjoining sections was the only indication that the line existed.¹¹

Early Church Records Interesting

The early records of the Roman Catholic Church in Mobile, dating back as far as 1781, were carefully kept, and contain the names of hundreds of free persons of color who were baptised, married, or buried according to the rites of the church. Separate registers were kept for the colored members of the church, but free males,

11. This church was The State Line Methodist Church, Madison County, Alabama. The writer served the church as its pastor for three years, 1936-39. Another interesting feature of the church, one of the oldest in the state, was the partition that divided the rest of the auditorium space into equal sections. One side had been reserved for women and small children, while the older boys and men sat on the other.

regardless of color, were allowed to vote for trustees at the first election in January, 1823. Free colored members of the church were also permitted to buy pews, which indicates that they worshipped at the same time as the whites. At a meeting held in 1823 for the purpose of organizing the church, the only qualifications necessary to vote in the ensuing election of officials was that the individual should be a free male member of the age of twenty-one or over. The names of free Negroes appear on the list of those who were declared eligible to vote.¹²

The baptismal records are particularly interesting. They seem to indicate a rather high rate of illegitimate births among the free colored females prior to 1830, but this may be due to the fact that common law marriages were not recognized by the early French and Spanish priests. They did distinguish between cases where only one parent was known and those cases where both parents were present at the baptismal ceremony. In the case of the first, the child was usually designated as illegitimate, and a notation to the effect that "the father was unknown" was included in the records. Where both parents were present, but were not united in marriage, the child was referred to

12. Church Records of the Catholic Church, Mobile, January, 1823.

as being the "natural child" of the two.¹³ One indication of the priest's ideas about matrimony is given in an entry made by a French priest in 1786. He recorded the baptism of the infant son of two Negro slaves, the slaves having been legitimately married: "Honore, legitimate son of Jacque and Marie Jeanne, these two being joined in legitimate marriage and slaves of Monsieur Narbonne, Captain in the infantry of his Catholic Majesty. Baptized September 10, 1786."¹⁴ This was unusual in that the "marriage" of slaves was ordinarily not considered a legitimate contract.

The records were also valuable in that they enabled free persons of color to preserve their status and that of their children by having the facts of their birth registered in the documents of the church. Quite often masters freed their slave children at the baptismal ceremony, and this act was duly noted and the facts in the case were preserved by the priest. The six year old son of Jeanette, slave of Ursine Rabi of Mobile, was given his freedom at his christening, and Joseph Rabi stood as the

13. Baptista Nigrorum, 1781-1828. These records are written in Spanish and French. The first entry by an English priest was inserted May 3, 1825.

14. Baptista Nigrorum, entry No. 103.

sponsor or godfather of the child who was given the name of Louis.¹⁵ In this same manner, "Edward, mulatto son of Emily, slave of Joseph Colin" was baptized May 10, 1828, and declared free by his master on the same day.

In the marriage register examined, there were 112 marriages between free persons of color recorded between April 8, 1830 and December 19, 1860.¹⁶ It must be remembered that the Roman Catholic Church, while perhaps the oldest church in the Mobile area, was not the only church. It did, however, keep its records more efficiently than some of the other churches.

These marriages and baptisms are indicative of the fact that the free colored persons of the Mobile area and of the state were not living in a condition marked by immorality and vice. There were loose marital relationships and miscegenation, but these things were not common to the free colored element alone. They were more the result of the social structure of their day.

By 1837 the Negroes of Mobile who were not affiliated with other churches could attend the African church

15. Ibid., entry No. 6, May 4, 1828.

16. Marriage Register for Coloured People of the Cathedral of the Immaculate conception at Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1860.

at 111 St. Michael Street between Franklin and Lawrence. The pastor of the church was the Reverend Richard Field, a free man of color.¹⁷ This was a Methodist Church, but a Baptist African Church was listed in the city directory for 1842.¹⁸ Its location was given as "Wilkenson, near old graveyard."

Negroes And Whites Members Of Same Church

Elsewhere in the state, there is evidence that the free Negroes as well as the slaves were members of the church and worshipped either with the white congregation or in the same building at a different hour. In some places in Alabama, the colored congregation outnumbered the whites. The Greensboro Methodist Church had 146 white members and 285 Negro members at one time, and the Demopolis Methodist Church in Sumter County had 76 whites and 100 Negro members.¹⁹

Part of the business session of the Quarterly Conferences held at Methodist churches in Montgomery was usually given over to the needs of the colored congregation.

17. The Mobile City Directory for 1837, p. 24; also Mobile Directory, 1839.

18. Mobile Directory or Stranger's Guide, 1842.

19. Boyd, Minnie Clare, Alabama in the Fifties (A Social Study), p. 167.

Negroes were licensed to exhort, to preach, or to serve as class leaders. In 1830, the Quarterly Conference renewed the licenses of Billy Goode and Thomas Allen. These two were authorized to "exhort," which meant that they could preach but were not permitted to administer the ordinances of the church. In 1832, the license of Thomas Allen was renewed, and John Brown had his license renewed on August 3, 1833. The authority to act as an exhorter was again conferred upon Billy Goode in 1834, along with Ephriam Mayhew. Scipio, a coloured preacher, had his license renewed at the Second Quarterly Conference of that same year.

Smart Boyd applied for a license to exhort, but his application was refused in 1835. No grounds were given for the refusal, and the applications of three other colored men were accepted, but the conference relented in 1837, and Smart Boyd was licensed to exhort.

At the third quarterly conference held in 1839 the group present decided to relegate the licensing of the colored preachers to the Leaders' meeting. This, of course, meant that the Negro preachers would not have a license based upon the authority of the church, but would merely be serving under the direction of one of the Class Leaders

of the church without a regular license.²⁰ This situation was not remedied until August, 1850, when, at the request of the pastor, the quarterly conference restored to the colored preachers their proper credentials.²¹

At the second quarterly conference held June 13, 1840, the preacher in charge reported members received into the church up to the second quarterly conference as follows: "white members, 18; colored members, 54." A year later, the minister reported seventeen new white members and twelve new colored members. By April, 1851, there were 417 colored members in the Methodist Church in Montgomery. Not too much attention was paid to the law passed in 1832 which required "five respectable slave holders" to be present at any religious service conducted by a Negro minister for a Negro congregation.²² At the First quarterly conference of the Montgomery Methodist Church held in March, 1848, the conference secretary recorded the following bit of church business, "On motion, Richard Jones appointed to take charge of the Coloured Congregation to superintend their

20. Quarterly Conference Minutes, 1830-1847, Court Street Methodist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.

21. Montgomery Station Records, Alabama Conference, M. E. Church South, 1848-1873, Quarterly Meeting.

22. Acts, Thirteenth Annual Session, p. 18.

meetings, and protect them in their Public Services."²³

Negro Church Services Supervised By Whites

The Negro congregation had grown so by 1848 that they were meeting in the afternoon in the same building that the whites used for morning services. Complaints were made that the Negroes were extending the time of their services beyond a reasonable limit, so the Quarterly Conference in 1849 instructed their "Superintendent" to close the services at "5 o'clock, extending it to one-half past 5, at his option, but no later."²⁴ This recommendation did not seem to accomplish the desired result for in 1851, "Brother Jack Thorington offered the following resolution: Resolved that the Colored Congregation be requested to disperse immediately after preaching on Sabbath afternoon and that the usual class meeting thereafter, be suspended. Which was adopted."²⁵

In 1855 the Sunday School of the Colored Church was reported to be in a flourishing condition, and the church was said to be prospering. At a Quarterly Conference, held in 1857, several of the Negro preachers or

23. Montgomery Station Records, First Quarterly Conference, Mar. 13, 1848.

24. Ibid., Second Quarterly Conference, April 30, 1849.

25. Ibid., Second Quarterly Conference, July 19, 1851.

exhorters asked that their licenses be renewed. The Secretary of the Conference wrote that "The Colored Exhorters were then called. The following had their characters examined, and their licenses renewed: Silas Lehman, Nelson Nickel, Allen Hamner, William Drisch, America Freeman, and John Jenkins."²⁶ In 1860 a report was made to the second quarterly conference that stated that the Colored Church was in "a prosperous condition. There have been received 14 probations, and in full connection 19 and by certificate 3 - 7 infants baptized; adults 7 and 7²⁷ dropped and 1 expelled. In Sunday School 60 pupils."

St. John's Episcopal Church of Montgomery had a register in which the names of free colored were listed with those of the other colored members of the congregation. They were distinguished as such up through 1865, when entries are found noting the confirmation of Elladon Thomas, a free colored woman, and the baptisms of John Burch and Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, both children of free colored parents.²⁸ In Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the Episcopal Church, along with the other churches of the town, held

26. Ibid., Fourth Quarterly Conference, Nov. 28, 1857.

27. Ibid., Second Quarterly Conference, May 28, 1860.

28. Parish Register, St. Johns Episcopal Church, Montgomery, Alabama, pp. 31 ff.

services for the Negroes in the same building that was used for the whites, and both groups worshipped at the same hour. Bishop Cobb of the Episcopal Church made his home in Tuscaloosa from 1845 to 1850, after which time he moved to Montgomery. Before he left Tuscaloosa, he succeeded in raising money enough to provide the Negro Episcopalians of the town with a separate house of worship.²⁹ All of the Tuscaloosa churches made provisions for places of worship for the Negroes, and the Methodist church carried on an active missionary program for the Negroes throughout the state. The Tuscaloosa Methodist Church had a roll of 210 colored members in 1831, and by 1835, this number had increased to 335. This, of course, included the slave membership as well as the free colored persons who were members. Nine Negroes were listed in an official capacity in the church; five of them were local preachers, two were exhorters,³⁰ and two were class leaders.

ALABAMA CHURCHES DISTURBED BY ABOLITION SENTIMENT

The churches of the state were disturbed in the decade between 1830 and 1840 by the efforts of the

29. Tuscaloosa Times, October 28, 1896.

30. Register of the Colored Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1831.

abolitionists, and made strong protests against their public utterances. At a meeting of the Alabama Baptist State Convention in 1835, the brethren put on record a rather strongly worded resolution:

Whereas, certain individuals, mostly residing within the northern part of these United States, calling themselves abolitionists, but who are properly called in this country, fanatics, have formed themselves into societies for the purpose of interfering with the relation of master and slave, and of acting throughout the press upon this relation:

Therefore, Resolved unanimously, by the Baptist State Convention of Alabama, in full assembly met, That we regard with feelings of strong disapprobation, the proceeds of such fanatics, believing their efforts are inconsistent with the gospel of Christ; are calculated to oppress the slave, to arm the assassin, to shed the blood of the good people of our state, and to alienate the people in one state from those in another, thereby endangering the peace and permanency of our happy republic. . . . 31

The Coosa River Association of United Baptist churches, at a meeting held in October, 1835, resolved that they could not "have fellowship with those who may interfere with our internal concern on the subject of slavery."³² Five years later the language of the brethren

31. Minutes of the Twelfth Anniversary of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, Held at Oakmulgee Meeting Perry County, commencing Saturday, Nov. 7, 1835.

32. Minutes of the Coosa River Association of United Baptist Churches, October 10-13, 1835.

was even stronger. Having received some anti-slavery literature from a convention held in the North, they approved the following resolution:

whereas the anti-slavery convention of the North have had the unchristian impudence to send us one of their instruments which we are disposed to treat with the utmost contempt, and in no wise thank them for their presumed kindness, therefore Resolved that we recommend to our churches that they commit to the flames all such instruments that may be received by any of them. 33

Churches Continue Ministry To Negroes

In spite of these aggravations, the churches of Alabama continued to enroll both free and slave Negroes in their churches and to extend their missionary efforts. Tom Threat was registered as a member of the Hayneville Methodist Church for a period of ten years, beginning in 1845.³⁴ In 1847 the Quarterly conference of the Blount County Circuit, in the course of its business, recorded that "John, a coloured Bro. was recommended from the society of which he is a member as a suitable person to be licensed to preach the gospel, whereupon the Conference upon an examination into his gifts, graces, and usefulness gave him License."³⁵

33. Ibid., September 19-21, 1840.

34. Class Book for Colored Members, Hayneville and Lowndesboro Station, 1845-1855.

35. Quarterly Conference Minutes, Blount County Circuit, M. E. Church, 1832-49, August 13, 1847.

Sir Charles Lyell, an English traveller, writing of his second visit to the United States, made the statement that "I was glad to find that the Episcopal clergyman at Montgomery had just established a Sunday School for the Negroes. I also hear that a party in this church are desirous that the Negro congregations should be represented in their triennial conventions which would be an important step toward raising the black to a footing of equality with the whites."³⁶

Outstanding Negro Ministers In Alabama

The story of H. W. Ellis has been told in the preceding chapter. He was a former slave who had learned Latin and some Greek and Hebrew. His eloquence and learning attracted the attention of the Presbyterians who bought him from his master and gave him his freedom. He was ordained as a Presbyterian minister and sent to Liberia as a missionary.

The story of Caesar Blackwell also indicates the fact that Negroes could and did rise from the ranks of slavery and become men of note in the state. Caesar was purchased from his master by the Baptist churches of

36. Sir Chas. Lyell, Second Visit to the United States, p. 43.

Alabama, and while he was never legally freed, he exercised all the privileges of a free man. He was furnished with a horse to ride, and having an extensive library, he spent much of his time in reading and study. He attended regularly the meetings of the Alabama Baptist Association, and on the Sabbath the preaching committee always assigned him an hour to preach. One writer, who knew Caesar personally, stated that whenever it was announced that Caesar would preach,

crowds of persons, both black and white, would gather around him to hear from his eloquent lips the message of salvation. He had a tall figure, a clear musical voice, and graceful elocution. He never became boisterous, and was remarkably fastidious in regard to preserving order during religious services. 37

Although Caesar was legally a slave, he accumulated property and at his death, owned a house and lot in the city of Montgomery. After his death in 1845, he was buried in the McLemore family graveyard, and a marble monument was placed at his grave. The inscription read in part:

Sacred to the memory of
REV. CAESAR BLACKWELL
who departed this life Oct. 10th, 1845
in the 76th year of his age.
He was a colored man, and a slave. But
he rose above his condition, and was 40
years a faithful and acceptable preacher of

37. Southwestern Baptist, Tuskegee, Alabama, October 13, 1859.

the Gospel.
 This stone is reared as a tribute of respect
 to his memory by his brethren of the
 Alabama Baptist Association

The editor of the Southwestern Baptist noted that Caesar joined the church in 1821, and was licensed to preach in 1823; therefore he could not have been a preacher for more than twenty-three or twenty-four years.

The influence of some of these Negro religious leaders extended beyond their own race. The Reverend James King, in telling the story of his life and religious experience, wrote:

In 1800 I attached myself to the Methodist Church. The Society which I joined was composed of six women and one free black man - he being the leader of the class. . . . In 1803, I was appointed the leader of the class which I had joined.

These events took place in North Carolina, but King moved to Alabama and served the church as a minister during the remainder of his life, which was a very lengthy one. He died in Wilcox County in 1870, having reached the age of ³⁸ eighty-seven years.

In 1843, the American Colonization Society reported that among the emigrants bound for Liberia on the ship Mariposa,

38. B. F. Riley, History of Conecuh County, Alabama, pp. 79 ff.

A venerable colored minister of the Baptist church from Alabama who had received his freedom as the reward of merit embarked with his wife and three children, in the hope that his other children for whom he has paid more than \$7,000 will follow him. 39

Douglas Taylor, a Negro preacher in the Methodist Church, purchased his freedom in 1847 for \$1300 and bought his wife free at the same time. Douglas had learned to read and write while still a slave, and his wife had learned to read. They, with their four year old daughter, Daphne Ann, sailed for Liberia in 1851.⁴⁰

In an item taken from the New York Observer there was information about Negro churches in Alabama:

There is a colored congregation in Mobile of the Methodist denomination that pay their pastor an annual salary of \$1200, besides giving liberally to charitable purposes, as was shown by a collection taken recently for domestic missions amounted to \$120. There are several other churches of the same stamp, but this is rather the largest. It is called the "Colored Charge" and is located on State Street in Mobile. 41

The Presbyterians of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, reported that

By far the most interesting and hopeful field of labor in our Presbytery is to be found in the negro population within our bounds. Now, as for a long time before this, Ethiopia is stretching

39. African Repository, vol. 19, p. 77.

40. Ibid., vol. 27, p. 152.

41. Ibid., vol. 36, p. 29.

out her hands to God. There is undoubtedly an increasing attention to this class among us, the custom of devoting a special service to them on the Sabbath is becoming more general. The experience of the past year, though limited, has been sufficient to impress the conviction upon us of the necessity of separate instruction especially adapted to them. 42

The editor of the African Repository wrote of the work of Alabama Presbyterians: "From the narratives of the Southern Presbyteries it appears that the gospel is especially preached to them (the negroes) by nearly all of their pastors. We have before us abundant evidence that the gospel as thus preached has not been unattended by the blessings of God."

Attitude Of The Church Toward Negroes

The work of the church among the free colored persons in Alabama was on the same plane as that among the slave population. The Negroes were not prevented from having ministers of their own race, and while the laws of Alabama demanded a strict surveillance of all Negro gatherings, there is evidence to show that, by tacit consent of the slave holders, these laws were relaxed and, at times, ignored. Whites and Negroes worshipped together for years, then as the congregations grew larger, separate

42. This article in volume 36 of the African Repository, p. 60, was reprinted from a Presbyterian publication.

accommodations were provided where possible. Negroes joined the church of their choice, and it was possible for them to become licensed exhorters, preachers, and even regularly ordained ministers.

The restrictive measures imposed upon their gatherings were not directed at the religious worship of the Negroes, but was a preventative measure taken to keep them from contact with abolition agents or literature. This, of course, must have made public gatherings a difficult matter for Negroes at times, but in this, as in other matters, the law was often invalidated by common consent. Nullification was practiced by the citizens of Alabama before it was brought into such prominence in South Carolina.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR FREE NEGROES

The Sunday Schools and churches proved to be an entering wedge for the education of the free Negro. There was little objection to persons of color learning to read the Bible and the Sunday School material; in fact, this was considered a part of the Christianizing process. Other motives entered into teaching Negroes to read and write. Some masters of slaves encouraged them to become literate in order that they might transact business, while others

learned in consequence of the sympathy and kindness of a white friend.

Jere or Jerry Winn of Northport, whose father purchased him from his master, Abner Winn, worked in his father's blacksmith shop as a striker and bookkeeper. "Among some written questions sent to Jere for some of the facts. . . about his family was one asking how he obtained sufficient education to keep books. His reply in legible script was: My Mistris lurned me."⁴³

Laws Prohibiting Education Disregarded

One survey made of education in Alabama states that "such literacy as negroes possessed when emancipated was of the sort that young masters and mistresses had chosen to give in disregard of the law, to their favorite servants."⁴⁴ Another writer on the subject of the education of the Negro in Alabama follows the same line of thought:

The condition of servitude of the colored people of the South previous to their emancipation precluded any organized effort to instruct them in schools or by regular teachers, but even before the war there was a disposition in many quarters to give them, as opportunity permitted, oral instruction in the rudiments of knowledge, and a few, through the instrumentality of the master's

43. Lillian Finnell, loc. cit.

44. An Educational Study of Alabama, Bulletin no. 41, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1919.

family, were taught to read, and even became tolerable scholars. 45

John Hope Franklin wrote of the education of the free Negro:

Free negroes in the South experienced greater difficulty (in education). Public interest in education was extremely low. Since the responsibility for educating youth was largely a private one, the free negro, who would not have benefitted directly from public education, did not receive even the indirect benefits of contact with a more intelligent white populace. There was, moreover, very strong sentiment against educating free negroes, because they were likely to imbibe seditious and incendiary doctrines through their reading. All the Southern states made it very difficult for them to secure an education by passing laws making it unlawful to instruct free negroes. A surprisingly large number of them, nevertheless, learned at least the fundamentals. 46

General Education Neglected In Alabama

The opposition to general education or indifference to the education of the masses was typical of Alabama for several decades.

In the state at large, little progress was made with public school education before the Public School Act of 1854. There was no genuine appreciation of the need of it, and the people generally were more concerned with material progress than with education. . . the deep-rooted opposition to paying taxes and to the expansion of state authority

45. Willis G. Clark, History of Education in Alabama, p. 269.

46. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes, p. 226.

constituted an unfavorable soil for the development of state supported and state supervised schools. Education was conceived to be a private, personal matter and not an obligation of the state. . . 47

There were no real free public schools in the modern sense. Tuition fees were required of those who could pay, but some who were too poor to pay were permitted to attend without the payment of fees. The public schools came to be regarded as "pauper schools," and those who could afford to pay tuition preferred to keep their children in private schools or hire a tutor who instructed them in their homes. In 1848 "it was estimated that out of 130,000 white children between five and fifteen, only 28,380 were at school during the year."⁴⁸

Opposition To Negro Education Explained

This general indifference made easier the passage of laws restricting the education of free Negroes, but it did not prevent many of them from learning to read and write. Out of the fifty-eight Negroes who emigrated from Alabama to Liberia after 1851, there were sixteen who were literate.

47. Albert B. Moore, History of Alabama, pp. 328-329.

48. Ibid., p. 331. Moore discusses fully the "Education in Alabama Prior to 1860" in Chapter 14.

One of the indications of the number of Negroes who were literate is to be found in the newspaper advertisements offering rewards for the return or capture of runaway slaves. If a fugitive slave could secure "free papers," or a "free pass," he stood a very good chance of making his escape to a free-soil state, or of passing himself as a free man in some town or city. This was one of the reasons for the law of 1832 that prohibited anyone from teaching a free person of color or a slave to read, write, or spell.

Nearly all of the advertisements expressed the apprehension of the slave-owner that the fugitive would either write himself a pass or secure one from some free Negro who could write. A few of these advertisements will serve to illustrate the situation that perturbed slave-owners and legislators:

\$50 Reward will be given for the apprehension of my negro fellow Gilbert who ran away on the 6th inst. . . he is an extraordinarily intelligent fellow and has the tact to pass himself as a free man. . . as he reads well and writes a little. . . . 49

In the same issue of the paper was another: "Twenty dollars Reward. Ran away from the subscriber a negro boy about 16 . . . named Eli. He is a smart intelligent boy and would

49. Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile, March 18, 1834.

probably pass himself as free."

Another Negro was smart enough to provide himself with free papers at the expense of a free person of color. James B. Craighead of Marengo County advertised for his runaway slave in 1836: "\$200 Reward. Ran away from my plantation in Marengo County on March 6, a mulatto man by name of Jackson. . . has pleasing look. . . very likely . . . he likewise took the free papers of a black man by the name of Daniel Patteson."⁵⁰

Irwin Adams of Mobile County asked the general public to "Stop the Runaway! Ran away from the plantation of Irwin Adams, about the middle of Sept. last, a negro man named Ishmael. . . He may have obtained a free pass from some unprincipled white person."⁵¹ Henry Borough lost two of his slaves from his plantation in Marion County, Alabama, in 1836. He offered a reward of \$200 for the capture of Sam and Henry. Of Sam he wrote, ". . . said negro, it is believed, can both read and write, and it is to be supposed will have free papers."⁵²

50. The Democrat, Huntsville, March 30, 1836.

51. Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile, Jan. 16, 1836.

52. Flag of the Union, Tuscaloosa, Dec. 16, 1836.

MOBILE FREE NEGROES CHALLENGE EDUCATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

None of the restrictive measures kept the free Negroes from learning to read and write. The "Creoles" or free persons of color in Mobile challenged the legality of the law of 1832 as applied to them, claiming exemption because of the wording of the French Treaty of 1803. The state was forced to concede that those who were inhabitants or descendants of inhabitants of the territory ceded by Spain in 1819 could not be deprived of educational facilities, if such were provided for the whites of Mobile. At the legislative session of 1833, an act was passed authorizing the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile to select and license suitable persons to instruct the free colored Creole children of the city and counties of Mobile and Baldwin. The names of the children were to be recorded in order to prevent the education of such free colored as had no claim under the terms of the treaty.⁵³

Church Schools Aid Free Negroes

The legislature had created a board of school commissioners for the county of Mobile in 1826. The task of setting up schools for the Creole free colored devolved

53. Acts, Fourteenth Annual Session, p. 68.

upon this group. Instead of instituting a separate system of schools, the commissioners resorted to the plan of dividing the educational fund among the existent denominational, private, or parochial schools which were already engaged in teaching the free colored. School affairs in Mobile were for several years in a rather precarious condition. The unwise use of money, the erection of Barton Academy as a public school at a cost of \$100,000, and a general confusion as to what constituted public school education all contributed to a poor educational system. The usual struggle between denominational schools and state supported institutions developed. The Methodist Free School was authorized to share in the educational fund, despite the plea of the commissioners to be released from such a stricture.⁵⁴ The denominational schools put up a strong fight for continued appropriations. In the minutes of the Board of School Commissioners for 1851 is found evidence of this fact.

The Committee recommend that there be appropriated to the several City Free-schools the following sums - under the proviso that, according to their [sic] ability and with the approbation of the Board or Committee, branches be extended to destitute localities, viz:

54. Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, Mobile, 1845-52, December 27, 1847.

To Methodist Free School	\$350.
" Bethel	" "	650.
To Trinity Parish Free School...		300
" Catholic do		500
" Creole do		200
		<u>\$2000</u>

Four schools out in the county having but a small and irregular attendance, received appropriations of \$150 each. The secretary recorded that it was understood that competent teachers could be engaged at from \$350 to \$500 per annum.⁵⁵

In April of 1851 the Board authorized appropriations totaling \$702.50 for the same group of schools with two of the schools out in the county receiving \$37.50 each.⁵⁶ By November of the same year two "Creole" schools were functioning in the city and were in good financial condition for it was not deemed necessary to make a separate appropriation to take care of any deficit in their funds.⁵⁷

The conductors of the "Catholic Public Free School of Mobile" became apprehensive lest the commissioners decided to decrease the appropriation that had been given to them for several years. A lengthy printed memorial was sent in to the commissioners in 1852:

The following memorial of the Conductors of the Catholic Public Free Schools of Mobile respect-

55. Ibid., January 16, 1851.

56. Ibid., April 23, 1851.

57. Ibid., November 5, 1851.

fully sheweth: That for seven years past they have had organized and in operation Public Free Schools for both sexes: That for the first five years these schools were supported at their own expense and at many sacrifices. That two years ago. . . the Board of School Commissioners. . . appropriated. . . funds towards the support of the aforesaid schools. . . and continued their liberality, increasing their appropriation last year from \$500 to \$1,200; That in these schools during the past school year. . . an aggregate of 600 and an average of 400 pupils were instructed. . . That these schools have been lately reopened and are now in full operation: That they consist of seven different departments, two of these departments being for the sole use of the Creoles of free colored children of both sexes.

The memorial went on at length discussing the value of the schools already established, and asking for a continuation of the appropriation.⁵⁸

School System Extended Over Mobile County

In November of 1852, claims for funds were submitted from eight free schools in the city and country. Of these, four were church schools, and the other four were located outside the city. The county school having the largest number of Creole free colored pupils was located at Chastang's Bluff.⁵⁹ The Creole free colored in the

58. This printed document was pasted to the flyleaf of the Book of Minutes of the Board of Commissioners. The available documents are deposited in a vault at Barton Academy, Mobile, Alabama.

59. Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, 1852-57. November 3, 1852, Book 3, p. 16.

city of Mobile seemed anxious to have a school of their own, for from September 6, 1852, to November 22, 1852, they made five different applications to the Board of Commissioners for a Creole school. These five applications were submitted to the commissioners at a called meeting of the group on November 22.⁶⁰ On December 1, these petitioners were referred to a special committee, and it was also decided to pay a "Mrs. Randolph for services as teacher of Creole School for the month of November." Evidently Mrs. Randolph had been hired on a temporary basis, and a Creole school put into operation while awaiting definite action on the part of the board.

The school for the free colored must have been at least a partial success, for in January of 1853, the Commissioners decided to organize the school on a permanent basis by electing local commissioners for the school and by setting up a system to regulate the payment of teachers and the collection of tuition fees.⁶¹ At the February meeting of the Board, a verbal report was made stating that the Creole free colored school was in successful operation, but that it would need an appropriation of

60. Ibid., p. 18.

61. Ibid., Book 3, p. 33.

\$150 over the amount received from tuition fees. The
commissioners voted to give the amount asked for.⁶² In
May the secretary noted that the Commissioners had "received
from the Creole school \$11.50 for tuition and had expended
\$12.50 for rent for the Creole School house."⁶³

The Creole school began operations again in
November of 1854 with a total of forty-five students of
both sexes, and maintained that number through February,
1855. The Commissioners were asked to establish separate
schools for the white and free colored pupils at Chastang's
Bluff in Mobile County. This request was referred to the
Executive Committee with power to act.⁶⁴

Effort Made to Discontinue Schools

The year 1856 marked a time of fear and excitement, and this is reflected in the next step of the Board of School Commissioners. The executive committee recommended that the Creole school be discontinued for the remainder of the term. There was much talk throughout the state of insurrection and servile uprisings in 1856, and Alabamians were looking with suspicion at everything done by or for

62. Ibid., p. 39.

63. Ibid., p. 130.

64. Ibid., p. 234.

the free colored of the state.⁶⁵ The school commissioners knew that they could not legally close the schools of the Creole free colored, but they could prevent other free colored persons from attending. It was resolved at the September meeting that this could be done by taking a census of all the school children between the ages of six and twenty-one. Those who could prove that they were descendants of Creole inhabitants who resided in the territory at the time of the Treaty of Cession of 1803 would be permitted to attend school. Others were to be excluded since they did not have the rights of citizenship that had been⁶⁶ of necessity conferred on the Creole free colored. The census was duly taken and when the figures were compiled, it was found that there were a total of 5,708 white children and 212 Creole free colored of school age in the county. Of these, 3458 whites and 162 Creoles were in the city of Mobile. There were 50 Creole school children out in the county, and over one-half of these were living at Chastang's Bluff. This was the home of the Chastangs, and the 1850 census lists fifty of them.

65. For a discussion of this period, see Chapter V.

66. Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, 1852-57. Book 3, p. 295.

Free Negro Education In 1850

The 1850 census lists fifty-eight free colored as attending school in Mobile County, while only twelve adult free Negroes were classified as illiterate. This did not hold true for the rest of the state. The census returns show one attending school in Clarke County, three in Covington County, one in Jackson County, and four in Perry County. Others were learning to read and write, but were not attending school.

A Creole free colored school was operating in Baldwin County, for the 1860 census records lists Philip and Sophia Verclas from Germany as being teachers in a Creole school in Baldwin County. They were living with a free colored family. In Mobile County, ninety free colored children were reported as attending school in 1860, while thirteen were reported in other parts of the state.

Some Mulatto Children Favored

Some wealthy planters who had mulatto children, sent them out of the state to be educated. James Thomas Rapier, who achieved some political prominence after the Civil War, was born the mulatto son of a North Alabama planter and a slave woman. He was educated in private schools in Alabama, and was later sent by his father to Canada for further study. He came back to Alabama and

became a cotton planter. After the Civil War he served successively as a Notary Public, member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1867, and was elected as a Republican to the United States House of Representatives in 1872. He served there from March 4, 1873 to March 3, 1875.⁶⁷ Rapier died in 1883 and was buried in St. Louis, Missouri. (See picture on following page).

William Atwood, born in 1839 in Wilcox County, was the son of Henry S. Atwood, a white planter, and his slave woman Mary. William was freed after his father's death, carried to Ohio, and there received some formal education. His father left him \$8000 to defray the expense of his education and for his future use.⁶⁸ Atwood is classified in one source as a "Lumber merchant and Capitalist Orator."⁶⁹ Atwood, in later years, stated that since he was the son of a white man, he did not feel the curse of slavery, except in the want of school training.⁷⁰

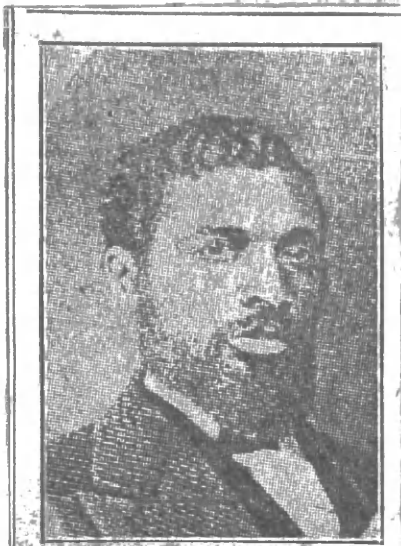
Regardless of all restrictions, many free Negroes

67. H. M. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, pp. 16-17; also Arthur Smith, The Negro in the Political Classics of the American Government.

68. Wilcox County Records, Bonds and Wills, Book 3, pp. 120-124.

69. William C. Simmion, Men of Mark, pp. 390-393.

70. Bond, op. cit., pp. 16-17.



J. T. RAPIER
Negro Member of Congress from Alabama

learned to read and to write; some, in a public or private school, and some gained their education in a more informal manner. The rate of literacy for the population as a whole was not good. In 1860 there were 28,060 persons over twenty years of age who could not read or write, and this total included 455 free Negroes.⁷¹

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF ALABAMA FREE NEGROES

Medical treatment, from the standpoint of care of the slaves, has been amply discussed by U. B. Phillips and others.⁷² Some planters depended upon their wives or upon some Negress who was skilled in the administration of home-made remedies. Others hired physicians at an annual rate, or paid for treatment on the basis of individual cases.

Doctors, in the early Alabama history, were not well trained in the medical profession. Many of them combined "doctoring" with some other calling. Numbers of them were ministers; some became wealthy land owners and slave owners. "Quack" doctors and "steam" doctors preyed upon a people who were at times desperate enough to resort to

71. U. S. Census for 1860.

72. U. B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, Chapters 10-11.

any one who seemed to know a cure for their illness.⁷³
 Whites, free Negroes, and slaves received the same treatment. One of the few doctors who mentioned his work among the free Negroes or left any record of his professional activities, was J. Marion Sims of Montgomery. After having practiced medicine in the rural areas for some years, Sims moved to Montgomery. He had a struggle there to build up a practice, and his first patients were the free Negroes of the town. In writing the story of his life, he said:

I had to begin at the very bottom. The first people who took me up were free negroes. Finally, I became physician to the Jewish population of the town of whom there were several. . . . At the end of two years, I was getting into practice amongst the rich people of the city.⁷⁴

Sims built a small hospital of eight beds in one corner of his yard. There he took care of his Negro patients, and attended them during their convalescence from surgery or illness.⁷⁵ This was an unusual situation, however, and did not prevail over the state. Hospitals of any sort

73. Morris Boucher, Factors in the History of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1816-46, pp. 46 ff.

74. J. Marion Sims, The Story of My Life, p. 233. A manuscript copy on file in the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

75. Ibid., p. 253.



No. 2.

Office of Dr. Marion Sims, in Montgomery, Ala., in 1840-1853. No. 19 Perry street, between Walnut and Court—now occupied by a plumber. It was identified by Dr. Henry, still living in that city, and the last surviving student of Dr. Sims in that very office.

"I had a little hospital of eight beds, built in the corner of the yard, for taking care of my negro patients and for negro surgical cases; and so when Lucy came I gave her a bed." (Story of My Life, p. 230). Here Lucy, Betsey and Anarcha were the first patients experimented upon and cured.



Hospital in yard of Dr. Sims' home where free Negroes were treated.

were scarce, and most patients preferred to be treated at home.

SOCIAL LIFE OF ALABAMA'S FREE NEGROES

The social life of the free Negroes was a limited one, but no more so than the life of numerous small income groups. Attending church was one of the big events of the week. Here they could worship in their own way, particularly if their service was held separate from that of the whites. If they felt exuberant, they could shout. The Reverend Caesar Blackwell at times cautioned his colored auditors about their shouting by telling them it was all right for them to let their cup run over, but that they should not tilt it any. Other Negro ministers were not such sticklers for formality, and had no objection to the audible comments and encouragement offered by their listeners. After church services, they could gather in groups and talk, just as church-going people do today. The minister's sermon could be gone over thoroughly; work and crops could be discussed; and plans could be made for visits during the coming week. Singing formed a part of the religious service, and it was through the songs that the Negro could often release his pent-up feelings or express his resentment over treatment on this earth and his hope

for better things in the world to come. It was good to know that there would come a day when "burdens would be laid down" in a place where rest and a crown awaited every one. The most interesting part of their religious experience was, perhaps, the baptizings. Usually conducted in some nearby stream, they were occasions for rejoicing. Notice having been given beforehand of the time and place, the banks of the stream would be lined with spectators, both white and colored. The minister would some times be assisted into the water by some officials of the church, and from there he would address the crowd. The candidates for baptism, clad in their white robes, would be then led into the water and immersed. On the banks, the choir sang while relatives or friends received the new members with open arms and a dry wrap. There was beauty and sincerity in these happenings, and as Christians they stood on a footing of equality with all other Christians.

Visiting in the homes of other free persons of color or in the slave quarters was another phase of their social life. The latter came to be frowned upon by slave-owners because they felt that the free Negro was a disturbing element among the slaves. There could be plots and conspiracies hatched in the dark hours, and the plantation owner or slave-owner did his best to forstall

anything of this kind.⁷⁶ There is very little evidence to show that the Negroes of Alabama were particularly interested in fomenting plots or rebellions, but in the slave-owners' minds, there was always this possibility, and the further possibility that his slaves were using the free Negro to engage in disposing of stolen produce.⁷⁷ The average slave-owner was rather lenient about granting passes to his slaves in order that they might spend the weekend with their "husband" or "wife" if they should have established a union with a free person of color or a slave on another farm. Free Negroes who had married slaves might get permission to visit the "quarters" and remain overnight or longer.⁷⁸

Marriage Customs

These marriages between free persons of color and slaves were usually entered into with the consent of the owner of the slave, and ordinarily, no ceremony was observed. This depended upon the master, and in some instances, he performed the marriage himself. In other cases a minister might be called in, even for the marriage

76. See Chapter V, "Colonization and Abolition."

77. The Democrat, Huntsville, October 21, 1835.

78. The Democrat, Huntsville, December 2, 1835.

of two slaves. The average free person of color who married another free person of color secured a license and was married according to the rites of the church. Many such marriages were performed by the Catholic priests of Mobile and there is every indication that the parties involved were true to their vows.⁷⁹ Their children were baptized in conformity with the rites of the church, and in death they sought the church again.⁸⁰

In testifying to the free status of James Abbott of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Henry W. Collier made the statement that Abbott and his wife, Fanny Burgess, "were married in this place in 1820 by a Minister of the Gospel under a license from the County Court."⁸¹

Free Negro And Indian Intermarriage

Franklin states that "The free negro family evolved as a result of three lines of social relations:

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79. Marriage Register for Colored People of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1860.
80. Burial Register for Coloured People of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Mobile, Alabama, 1828-1877.
81. Tuscaloosa County Records, Book X, pp. 62-63; see also Hansford vs. Hansford, 10 Ala. 561. This pertains to a case in which a free Negro had apparently married a white woman. He sued for divorce on grounds of adultery and was granted the divorce and custody of the children.

marriage within the group; marriage to slaves; and relations (legal or clandestine) with whites and Indians."⁸² Indians and Negroes in Alabama intermarried rather freely in Alabama, but there is little chance of showing the exact extent of these relations, for marriage among the Indians was not a matter of legal record. The Alabama courts decided that "the marriage among the Indian tribes must generally be considered as taking place in a state of Nature." In a second case, the decision was practically the same:

It was proved that under the law and customs of the Creek tribe, a man was allowed to take a wife, and abandon her at his pleasure, and that this worked an absolute dissolution of the marriage state, and that the parties were not allowed to marry again until after the succeeding annual green corn dance. 83

Free Negroes were living in Creek Indian Territory in Alabama, and were intermarried with the Indians. In the Creek Treaty of 1832, the government agreed to allow each Indian family that wished to stay in the state the privilege of becoming a citizen and of retaining 640 acres of land. In the case of the Chickasaw Indians, none were allowed to stay, but the government agreed to sell their

82. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 223.

83. J. H. Johnston, "Relation of Negroes and Indians," Journal of Negro History, Vol 14, pp. 25 ff.

land at auction and give them the proceeds of the sale. Several free Negroes took advantage of these terms and either bought or allowed to be sold their 320 acres. Between 1839 and 1845 three free Negroes, Juba, May, and John McQueen, living in what is now Macon County, bought their lands and retained them. During that same time, three others, Sandy, Betsy, and Dick, sold their land under the terms of the treaty.⁸⁴

Numerous persons in Alabama, who had been classified as free persons of color for several decades, reported themselves in the 1860 census returns as Indians. Samuel Moniac and his family of Baldwin County were classified in 1850 as mulatto free persons of color. In 1860 they reported themselves as being Indians. This was true also of Nancy McGhee and her family; while Jack Coon's ancestry seemed to be even more a puzzle to the census takers. In the 1850 Federal census Jack Coon and his family were listed as white, but in the State census for the same year they were all classified as mulatto free persons of color. By 1860 another change had occurred, and the Jack Coon family became Indians.⁸⁵

84. Alabama State Tract Book, Macon County, pp. 69 ff.

85. U. S. Census for 1850; U. S. Census for 1860; also Appendix, Census Returns for Baldwin County, 1850-60.

Master Supports Slave

Some Negroes seemed to enjoy visiting and gossip more than they did work. This led to a rather amusing situation in Montgomery, Alabama. Charley Cobb, a free Negro living in Montgomery had, by reason of his trade as a carpenter, accumulated enough money to purchase a slave and a horse. Charley's problem was to find a means of making his slave, George, and the horse self-supporting. He rented a field of about twenty acres from a white man named Hale, giving his note for the rent. The rent was to be paid in cash after Charley's crop was sold. George, the slave, was sent to the field to begin his crop and to earn his keep. The first morning in the field, George became thirsty; so taking his water jug with him, he strolled over to a well in Hale's yard. There he met Flora, one of Hale's servants, and the two became enamored of each other. Every morning and every afternoon during the crop season, George and Flora just happened to meet at the well, and an hour or so would be consumed in conversation under the shade of a big oak that stood near the well. Charley, the free Negro owner of George, was working at his trade in town and could not supervise the farming. The note fell due, and Charley discovered that it would take all of the crop and more too, to pay off the debt. Charley, the

master, had worked for the support of George, the slave.

Visiting of Negroes Discouraged

Visiting sometimes brought trouble also, especially in the years just preceding the Civil War. The law forbade the association of slaves and free persons of color without the consent of the owner of the slave. This did not keep the two groups from meeting together, but they were liable to punishment or fine if they were caught. Jim Thomas, a free man of color of Mobile, was given fifteen stripes for having been found associating with slaves, and for the additional charge of vagrancy.⁸⁷ James Murphey, also of Mobile, was caught in the kitchen of "Indian Mary" or Mary Joseph. They were both free persons of color, but there were slaves present also. Murphey was given the choice of leaving Mobile or posting bond of \$500. Mary Joseph received fifteen stripes.⁸⁸ Laura, a slave woman, was sentenced to receive thirty-nine stripes for enter-⁸⁹taining a vagabond free Negro and her white paramour.

86. Calvin D. Wilson, "Negroes Who Owned Slaves," Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 81, Oct.-Dec., 1912, p. 487.

87. Mobile Register, October 30, 1859.

88. Ibid., October 27, 1859.

89. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1859.

Somerville, a free man of color, was fined \$25 for "being caught in the company of a wicked white woman."⁹⁰

Forms Of Recreation

Another diversion of the free Negro draymen in Mobile and Montgomery was to race their teams through the streets of the town. The streets of both towns were narrow, and this was a rather dangerous sport. The free Negroes were not the only ones guilty of this, for whites were named in the ordinances that prohibited this form of amusement.⁹¹

Drinking and gambling were two other forms of diversion for the free colored. These were frowned upon by the legislature, and were also forbidden by municipal ordinances. Free Negroes were prohibited by state law in 1822 from selling any kind of spirituous liquors.⁹² In 1851, the free Negroes of the state were deprived by law of the right to buy liquor for their own use.⁹³ This law did not always prevent free Negroes or slaves from getting

90. Ibid., September 27, 1859.

91. Records of Corporation of Montgomery, 1820-1834, p. 115; also Commercial Register and Patriot, Mobile, Jan. 27, 1834.

92. Acts, Fourth Annual Session, p. 61.

93. Acts, Third Biennial Session, p. 80.

spirituous liquors. The Montgomery Advertiser in 1860 stated the Negroes in the vicinity of High Log community had held a meeting in the woods on Saturday night, and had amused themselves by dancing and drinking.⁹⁴ At a dance and drinking party in Mobile, a free Negro was killed when he objected to the presence of another Negro who had not been invited to the affair. The party lasted until two o'clock in the morning, which seems to show that curfew laws were not observed, neither was there a strict enforcement of the prohibition on liquor.⁹⁵

The editor of the Huntsville Democrat was very perturbed in 1835 because, as he wrote:

Crowds of Negroes are seen in every direction on the Sabbath, and to our knowledge fashionable parties at night have been almost as frequent if not more so, of negroes in this town during the last 12 months than among the whites. . . . A passion for dress, speaking the language and fashions of the whites. . . are all getting fast hold on the black man. 96

A "house of ill-fame" operated by a free colored woman of Mobile was the source of complaint in a petition addressed to the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile

94. Montgomery Advertiser, November 7, 1860; also Tucker vs. State, 24 Ala. 77; Lodane vs. State, 23 Ala. 64.

95. Felix, a slave vs. State, 18 Ala. 720.

96. The Democrat, Huntsville, September 9, 1835.

in 1839. The neighbors complained that it was a

kind of rallying point where a great number of persons resort for licentious purposes. . . The midnight revels which there take place are reprehensible not merely on account of their noise and disturbance, but as the cause of reducing and corrupting our servants. 97

Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, and Huntsville passed municipal ordinances against the operation of such houses by free
98
Negroes.

Prevailing Social Customs

Corn shuckings and quiltings were two other
99
opportunities for the gatherings of free Negroes. The latter diversion is still an excuse for a social gathering in some sections of Alabama, even among the whites. The free Negro liked to loiter on the public square or around the tavern or store, as did the whites. Solomon Perteet enjoyed sitting in one of the stores of Tuscaloosa and either listening to the conversation of the farmers or taking part in their talk. Perhaps he best exemplified the manner in which the whites of his day expected a free Negro to act. Solomon was a wealthy man, owned slaves,

97. Interesting Transactions from the City Documents of the City of Mobile, 1823-44, June 15, 1839.

98. Democratic Gazette, Tuscaloosa, May 9, 1844.

99. The Democrat, Huntsville, December 2, 1835.

and in addition to his farm near Tuscaloosa, had a town house. In an article published in a Tuscaloosa paper, it was said of Solomon:

In personal appearance Solomon is described as being a bright-colored man of about two hundred and fifty pounds in weight. In those days it was the custom for the planters who came into town for the day to congregate with their gentlemen friends around town, in the back rooms of stores to discuss the topics of the day. Solomon frequently resorted to these places with the white men. Ever humble and respectful to white people, his conduct on these occasions was most exemplary. He never engaged in the conversations or discussions unless first addressed by some of the gentlemen. He seated himself apart from the white men; occupying in winter a seat behind the outermost circle of those gathered around the fire and always rising and respectfully resigning his seat to anyone who entered. 100

Solomon Perteet was well liked in Tuscaloosa and was even buried in the cemetery reserved for whites, but he was careful to observe the rather rigid social code of his day.

Free Negro Talent Rewarded

Another who was rewarded for his skill and character was E. T. Page, of Mobile, Alabama. Page had been a barber on Royal Street in the city of Mobile, but had turned to painting upon his retirement from his

100. Finnell, loc. cit.



Gravestone of Solomon Perteet
(Complete epitaph on page 193)



Gate to lot where Perteet is buried

profession. His skill and natural talent was such that he was awarded a silver cup for his entry, a portrait of Hon. F. S. Lydon, at the West Alabama Agricultural Society Fair held in Demopolis, Alabama. The Mobile Mercury commented in writing of Page:

He is of unblemished character, of strict integrity, and highly esteemed by his white acquaintances. Portrait painting seems to be a natural gift to Page, which he has pursued, so far as we know, without any instruction. Such illustrations of talent in the African race occasionally occur amongst us, as if to remind the world that the South is the region where they are protected and fostered and all the worth of their character is encouraged to develop itself. 101

The free Negro of Alabama, in 1860, was no worse off economically than numerous whites. Some of them were prosperous, literate, and had the respect of their white neighbors. If he was skilled at some trade or art, he could practice it. Many of them competed successfully with the "so-called" cheap labor of slaves, and became good farmers. He was restricted in many phases of his life by legislation, but the laws were poorly, and sometimes never, enforced. His chance for success depended largely upon his own initiative and his ability to remain inconspicuous in a social order based upon white supremacy. There was no apparent desire on the part of

101. Southern Advocate, November 30, 1859, reprinted from the Mobile Mercury.

Alabama's free Negroes to leave the state, nor was there ever a concerted effort made to drive them out. They were set apart from the whites by their color, but they could and did appeal to the courts of the state for justice and secure it. They were deprived of two things: the right to vote, and social equality with the whites. Other deprivations were usually temporary, and were never of such nature that the free Negroes as a group were prevented from increasing in numbers and economic well-being.

Appendix

INTRODUCTION

The appendix is a presentation of the census returns of the free colored population of Alabama over a period of five decades. Alabama became a state on the fourteenth of December, 1819, and the first Federal census was made for the decade ending with 1820. These returns were not comprehensive enough for the student to get a complete picture of the population of Alabama. The census was taken in order to arrive at a figure upon which Congressional and state representation might be based. Since the free Negro was excluded by the state constitution from voting privileges, little care was exercised to include him as an individual in the early census returns. It was enough that he be registered as a free inhabitant in order that the numbers of his group might help to swell the representation in Congress.

The state had rough terrain in some of its parts, and roads were the exception rather than the rule. Cabins of both whites and blacks might well be hidden from the eyes of one who was not thoroughly familiar with the trails and paths of the "backwoods." It may be

presumed that a tired census taker, after a day spent on horseback or on foot, would be tempted to skip a family or even a small settlement, and rely upon the information of some cross-roads store keeper or the proprietor of the nearest tavern.

As the state grew and more information about its inhabitants became necessary, the records were better made and kept. Roads and transportation had improved and the task of the census taker was made less difficult. Even with these problems solved in part, the task was not easy. Squatters, runaway slaves passing as free men, and mixed couples living in a rather loose marital relationship were not prone to give information about themselves or their families. Representatives of the Federal government were regarded with suspicion and sometimes with fear. These feelings remain today in some parts of the state, even as they do in other areas where men "just wish to be let alone."

The illiteracy of a large number of free Negroes makes the task of analyzing census returns a difficult one. Not knowing how to spell or write their own names or to keep family records often caused the Negro to guess at names and ages. He was apt to accept the suggestion of the census taker as to the spelling of the family or

given names, or, as was the case in some instances, the free Negro deliberately gave a name that would conceal his real identity. Ages and places of birth were given from memory, which often proved to be faulty. Free Negro women were as prone to regulate their ages as were the females of a lighter hue.

Numerous discrepancies in numbers of free colored have been discovered by comparing the extant manuscript returns of state census records with those of the Federal Census returns. Corrections have not been made in the Federal returns, but attention has been drawn to errors or information has been supplemented by means of footnotes. The original spelling of names has been preserved, and there has been no attempt made to prove or to disprove the prevalence of or lack of miscegenation.

In order to conserve space, two symbols have been adopted and used in the presentation of the census returns for 1850 and 1860. An x has been used to denote illiteracy, and it will be found in Column VII of the tables for the above-mentioned decades. An asterik * has been used to designate those individuals who were attending school during the year in which the census was taken. It, too, will be found in Column VII of the tables for 1850 and 1860.

In the tabular presentation of the returns for 1850 and 1860, the Roman numerals at the top of the columns are used to designate the following:

- I - age of the individual
- II - sex
- III - color, whether mulatto or black
- IV - occupation
- V - amount of real and personal property
- VI - birthplace
- VII - as explained in preceding paragraph.

In addition to the census returns that are presented in Appendices B through Q, a cross section of farm reports has been given in Appendix A. This report does not represent the highest income group among the free Negro farmers of Alabama, nor does it include the most impoverished. The individual farmers whose holdings are listed were representative of the average small farmer of the state in 1850.

Appendix A

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS OF FREE NEGROES IN ALABAMA 1850 FEDERAL CENSUS

Baldwin County

Jeff. Hollenger: 15 acres land valued at \$105, equipment valued at \$5; 3 horses, 25 cows, 8 sheep, 100 hogs, 50 other cattle, livestock valued at \$792. Two bushels rye, 20 bu. corn, 140 lbs. rice, 20 lbs. wool, 100 bu. sweet potatoes, 90 lbs. butter; home-made manufactured articles valued at \$32, animals slaughtered, \$70.

Richard McGee: 25 acres improved land, \$500 value, equipment, \$80. 5 horses, 3 mules, 75 cows, 217 other cattle, 44 sheep, 100 swine, live stock value, \$1955. 200 bu. corn, 88 lbs. wool, 600 bu. sweet potatoes, 550 lbs. butter, 250 lbs. cheese, 1 ton hay.

Jack McGee: 1 horse, 1 mule, 16 cows, 2 oxen, 24 other cattle, 70 swine, value live stock, \$425. 200 lbs. butter, 100 lbs. cheese.

Covington County

Arthur Dannelly: farm equipment value, \$5. 2 horses, 7 cows, 2 oxen, 3 sheep, 18 other cattle, 50 swine, value livestock \$300. 150 bu. corn, 15 bu. peas and beans, 60 bu. sweet potatoes, 100 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$30; value animals slaughtered \$40.

Thomas Hathcock: Farm equipment value \$15; 1 horse, 2 oxen, 3 other cattle, value livestock \$100. 1 bale cotton, 100 bu. corn, value home manufactured articles \$10, value animals slaughtered \$20.

John Martin: farm equipment value \$120. 2 horses, 50 cows, 6 oxen, 60 other cattle, 30 swine, value

Covington County (continued)

livestock \$900. 200 bu. corn, 230 bu. sweet potatoes, 300 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$150; value animals slaughtered \$100.

Cindy Williams: 2 horses, 2 cows, 6 sheep, 10 swine, value livestock \$160; value home manufactured articles \$75; value animals slaughtered \$15.

John Matthews: farm equipment value \$15. 1 horse, 26 swine, value livestock \$75. 125 bu. corn, 160 lbs. rice, 6 bu. peas and beans, 100 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$20; value animals slaughtered \$40.

William Peavy: 40 acres improved land, value \$100, equipment value \$75. 1 horse, 6 cows, 2 oxen, 12 other cattle, 40 swine, 10 bu. wheat, value livestock \$200. 150 bu. corn, 10 bu. oats, 20 bu. rice, 1 bale cotton, 3 bu. peas and beans, 3 bu Irish potatoes, 25 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$25; value animals slaughtered \$40.

Gideon Jeffers: farm equipment value \$10. 18 swine, value livestock \$25; value home manufactured articles \$30; value animals slaughtered \$50.

L. B. Jeffers: farm equipment value \$12. 19 swine, value livestock \$30. 200 bu. corn, 150 bu. sweet potatoes; value home manufactured articles \$30; value animals slaughtered \$40.

William Hathcat: farm equipment value \$5. 1 horse, value livestock \$50. 130 bu. corn, 10 bu. peas and beans, 35 bu. sweet potatoes; value home manufactured articles \$15; value animals slaughtered \$75.

Dallas County

Abner McGough: 10 acres improved land, value of equipment \$75. 3 horses, 2 cows, 2 other cattle, 10 hogs, value livestock \$220. 200 bu. corn, 10 bu. oats, 20 bu. sweet potatoes, 26 lbs. butter, 1 ton hay, value animals slaughtered \$45.

Dallas County (continued)

- Shade Toodle, free man: 46 acres improved land, 256 acres unimproved land, value \$3600, value equipment \$50. 7 horses, 5 cows, 4 oxen, 15 other cattle, 4 sheep, 50 swine, value livestock \$776. 400 bu. corn, 50 bu. oats, 3 bales cotton, 6 lbs. wool, 100 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, 2 tons hay, value home manufactured articles \$10; value animals slaughtered \$120.
- Tom Smith, free man: 200 acres improved land, 200 acres unimproved land, value \$2000; 4 horses, 3 mules, 7 cows, 2 oxen, 4 other cattle, 80 swine, value livestock \$1015. 1000 bu. corn, 100 bu. oats, 5 bales cotton, 250 bu. sweet potatoes, 50 lbs. butter, 2 tons hay, value animals slaughtered \$70.
- T. Smith, free man: 10 acres improved land, 40 acres unimproved land, value \$250, value equipment \$30, 2 horses, 3 mules, 3 cows, 3 other cattle, 41 swine, value livestock \$285. 500 bu. corn, 6 bales cotton, 25 bu. sweet potatoes, 2 tons hay, value animals slaughtered \$35.
- Lindy Smith, free woman: 20 acres improved land, 25 acres unimproved land, value \$215, value equipment \$15. 2 horses, 3 cows, 18 swine, value livestock \$117, 300 bu. corn, 4 bales cotton, 200 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, 1 ton hay, value animals slaughtered \$52.
- Sarah Smith, free woman; 40 acres improved land, 5 acres unimproved land, value \$225, value equipment \$20. 2 horses, 1 mule, 3 cows, 3 other cattle, 12 swine, value livestock \$132. 200 bu. corn, 50 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, 2 tons hay, value animals slaughtered \$50.
- Ann Smith, free woman: 45 acres improved land, value \$250. equipment value \$10. 2 horses, 5 cows, 4 other cattle, 20 swine, value livestock \$1800. 300 bu. corn, 121 bales cotton, 300 bu. sweet potatoes, 365 lbs. butter, 20 tons hay, value animals slaughtered \$750, value home manufactured articles, \$100, 400 lbs. wool.
- Rachel, free woman: 20 acres improved land, value \$160. equipment value \$25. 2 horses, 3 cows, 2 other

Dallas County (continued)

cattle, 10 swine, value livestock \$135. 250 bu. corn, 2 bu. oats, 90 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, 1 ton hay, value animals slaughtered \$36, value home manufactured articles \$15.

Lauderdale County

Prince Willis: 80 acres improved land, 80 acres unimproved land, value \$800, value equipment \$75. 2 horses, 2 cows, 2 oxen, 6 other cattle, 5 sheep, 20 swine, value livestock \$175. 20 bu. wheat, 500 bu. corn, 50 bu. oats, 2 bales cotton, 7 lbs. wool, 5 bu. sweet potatoes, 100 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles, \$8. value animals slaughtered \$68.

Nathan McAphee: 35 acres improved land, 25 acres unimproved land, value \$600, value equipment \$100, 1 horse, 2 cows, 1 other cattle, 20 hogs, value livestock \$100. 750 bu. corn, 4 bales cotton, 10 bu. Irish potatoes, 15 bu. sweet potatoes, 25 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$15, value animals slaughtered \$30.

James Hill: 100 acres improved land, 380 acres unimproved land, value \$1200, value equipment \$125, 8 horses, 3 cows, 2 oxen, 6 other cattle, 25 sheep, 40 hogs, value livestock \$600. 750 bu. corn, 12 bu. wheat, 5 bales cotton, 30 lbs. wool, 11 bu. peas, 100 bu. sweet potatoes, value home manufactured articles \$30; value animals slaughtered \$45.

Samuel Porter: 40 acres improved land, 40 acres unimproved land, value \$40, value equipment \$10. 1 horse, 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 hogs, value livestock \$50, 250 bu. corn, 10 bu. oats, 5 bu. Irish potatoes, 15 bu. sweet potatoes, 5 lbs. butter, value home manufactured articles \$10; value animals slaughtered \$6.

Monroe County

Charles Weatherford, tenant: \$400 value farm, \$150 value equipment, 1 horse, 50 cows, 2 mules, 2 oxen, 100

Monroe County (continued)

other cattle, 6 sheep, 30 swine, value livestock \$1310. 40 bu. rye, 400 bu. corn, 440 lbs. rice, 2 bales cotton, 200 bu. sweet potatoes, 400 lbs. butter, value animals slaughtered \$400.

Perry County

James, free Negro: 40 acres improved land, 15 acres unimproved land, value \$500, value equipment \$10. 1 horse, 2 cows, 2 oxen, 2 other cattle, 30 hogs, value live stock \$150. 200 bu. corn, 1 bale cotton, 300 bu. sweet potatoes, one ton hay, value home manufactured articles \$6.

Pike County

Wiley Lucas: 20 acres improved land, value \$75, value equipment \$10, 1 horse, 1 cow, 1 other cattle, 15 swine, \$80 value livestock, 250 bu. corn, 4 bales cotton, 30 bu. sweet potatoes, value home manufactured articles \$20; value animals slaughtered \$30.

W. Lucas: 65 acres improved land, 95 acres unimproved land, value \$300, value equipment \$100, 2 horses, 4 cows, 2 oxen, 5 other cattle, 40 swine, value livestock \$320. 300 bu. corn, 9 bales cotton, 150 bu. sweet potatoes, 40 lbs. butter, 50 lbs. beeswax and honey, value home manufactured articles \$50; value animals slaughtered \$40.

Washington County

John Secret: 20 acres improved land, 60 acres unimproved, value \$100, value equipment \$5. 1 horse, 20 cows, 40 other cattle, value livestock \$500. 50 bu. corn, 15 lbs. wool, 75 bu. sweet potatoes, 20 lbs. butter.

Rose Reed: 20 acres improved land, 16 acres unimproved, value \$100, value equipment \$25. 2 horses, 20 cows, 2 oxen, 10 other cattle, 22 sheep, 20 swine, value livestock \$500. 100 bu. corn, 15 lbs. wool, 18 bu. peas and beans, 6 bu. Irish potatoes, 170 lbs. butter 280 bu. sweet potatoes, 19 lbs. beeswax, value home

Washington County (continued)

manufactured articles \$24; value animals slaughtered \$35.

Thomas Reed: 20 acres improved land, 10 acres unimproved, value \$100, value equipment \$14, 4 horses, 30 cows, 2 oxen, 20 other cattle, 14 sheep, 30 hogs, value livestock \$500. 150 bu. corn, 18 bu. peas and beans, 5 bu. Irish potatoes, 16 lbs. wool, 175 bu. sweet potatoes, 200 lbs. butter, home manufactured articles value \$40, value animals slaughtered \$15.

Appendix B

FREE NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ALABAMA - 1820

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
BALDWIN COUNTY			
Chastang, Louisa	29	13	42
Andra, John	14	15	29
Dubrocar, M.	10	12	22
Durette, Nannette	6	13	19
CONECUH COUNTY			
Honeford, Daniel	10	-	10
DALLAS COUNTY			
Benton, Mires	1	-	1
LIMESTONE COUNTY			
Taylor, John	1	-	1

The manuscript returns for only eight counties have been found. These are deposited in the Department of Archives and History in Montgomery, Alabama. There are no manuscript returns for this decade in either the Library of Congress or the National Archives. For the number of free colored in each county for 1820, see Table I, page 81.

The figures given in the column headed Slaves indicate the number of slaves owned by the person named in the first column.

Appendix C

FREE NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ALABAMA - 1830

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
AUTAUGA COUNTY			
M. Garseth	7	-	7
BALDWIN COUNTY			
Lucey Roberson	10	-	10
Bazeel Alexan	14	-	14
Judicke Boden	7	-	7
BUTLER COUNTY			
Nero Hurley	2	-	2
CLARKE COUNTY			
James Meggs	1	1	2
Joanner Bandyham	8	-	8
Jourdan Artis	2	-	2
P. T. Harris	1	24	25
James Boni	3	-	3
William Hatcher	1	2	3
Joseph Stapleton	1	1	2
David Monack	1	27	28
CONECUH COUNTY			
Lydia Bethany	8	-	8
DALLAS COUNTY			
Rachel King	14	-	14
Bennet Proctor	5	-	5

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Geo. Locklier	9	-	9
Tom Smith	10	4	14
John Locklier	4	-	4

FRANKLIN COUNTY

James Price	6	-	6
Robert Tuscumbia	1	-	1
Jas. Hill	1	-	1
Julia Maranthe	2	-	2
John Kennedy	6	-	6
John Kennedy	1	-	1
Mark Miles	1	-	1
John Black	1	-	1

GREENE COUNTY

Geo. P. Wright	5	-	5
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JACKSON COUNTY

Lewis Willis	3	-	3
Joshua Wurford	2	-	2

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Susan Watton	1	-	1
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LAUDERDALE COUNTY

Thos. Sands	1	-	1
Charles Bowland	1	-	1
Fred Gowen	4	-	4
Quiler Prater	1	-	1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
LAWRENCE COUNTY			
Winnie Brownlow	4	-	4
Lewis Royall	2	1	3
Edward Smith	4	-	4
John Byrd	5	-	5
Nathan Bird	6	-	6
Riley Goin	2	-	2
Osburn Locati	6	-	6
William Byrd	5	-	5
Ezekial Porter	9	-	9
LIMESTONE COUNTY			
Will Scott	3	-	3
John Lewis	3	-	3
John Thurman	5	-	5
MADISON COUNTY			
Betsey Davis	6	1	7
James F. Stewart	1	2	3
Lucy Wafford	7	-	7
Taylor Ragland	2	-	2
James Matthews	2	-	2
John Robinson	3	4	7
Paschal Blanks	2	2	4
Lewis Hunt	3	1	4
Nancy Hunster	7	1	8
Mourning Vining	1	-	1
Jerry Findley	1	1	2
Lucy McKinley	1	-	1
John Kelly	1	-	1
Wm. Richardson	1	-	1
William Stoneham	1	-	1
Jeremiah Smith	5	-	5
John Evans	2	1	3
Milly Fennell	5	-	5
Andrew Winn	1	2	3

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Charles Sampson	5	-	5
Burwell Jacobs	5	-	5
Isaac Jacobs	8	-	8
John Jacobs	13	-	13

MOBILE COUNTY

Mary Louise Craze	6	-	6
John Brown	1	-	1
Erlina Lang	3	-	3
Maximillian Collins	8	-	8
Minni	5	1	6
Lawrence Key	7	4	11
Theresa Chastang	1	2	3
Felix Simore	9	1	10
Simore Colderen	5	3	8
Sylvester Andre	8	2	10
Maximilian Andre	9	6	15
Jane Simore	3	10	13
Basil Chastang	9	1	10
Batiste Chastang	2	1	3
Zeno Chastang	2	1	3
Charles Chastang	1	-	1
James Seare	1	-	1
Zeno Chastang	10	5	15
Louisa Chastang	4	15	19
Mary Theresa	1	-	1
David Weaver	8	-	8
Joseph Yummer	1	-	1
Nancy George	4	-	4
Jasma Nicholas	2	3	5

CITY OF MOBILE

Frances Rutgeron	1	1	2
Margaret Collier	6	-	6
Clara Favre	2	4	6
Minette Nicholas	3	-	3
Jemina Barton	3	-	3
Venis Godfrey	1	-	1
Richard Field	2	-	2
Joseph Collins	3	-	3
Delila C. Silver	1	-	1
Alexen Bodena	3	-	3
Cyrus Jarvis	1	-	1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Eliza Barington	2	-	2
Frank Batiste	10	-	10
Nancy Faunce	8	-	8
Constance Vollair	1	-	1
Louisa Durand	4	-	4
Benj. Laurendine	6	1	7
Burnandez Rozieste	18	14	32
Mad. O. Guile	6	4	10
Joshua Chastang	1	-	1
Joseph Collins	3	-	3
Jani Larock	2	-	2
Louisa Constance	1	-	1
Frances Chastang	6	1	7
Dianna Pilma	5	-	5
Mary La Caste	2	-	2
Mad. Marony	4	-	4
Pier Chastang	3	-	3
Grace Sharp	8	-	8
Finnie Trenier	8	-	8
Lewis Joseph	2	-	2
Frances Gregg	6	2	8
Mad. Mary	2	6	8
Madame Farnum	2	-	2
Pier Rozieste	8	6	14
Madame Marye	3	-	3
Madame Girrard	6	-	6
Isabella Morel	2	-	2
Madame Louisa	5	-	5
Rosette Gironne	5	-	5
Pier Laurendine	3	-	3
Mary Zera	7	-	7
Edy Cooper	2	-	2
Charles LeLong	2	-	2
Rozieste Alexandre	12	-	12
Margaret Gerett	7	-	7
Jenette Rozieste	7	-	7
Monsette Bodille	5	-	5
Francis Marion	4	-	4
Jose Pih	7	-	7
Oras LeLong	10	-	10
Phillip Jose Goodboy	5	-	5
Charles LeLong	17	-	17
Marsaline Bodil	5	-	5
David Scott	1	-	1
Baxter Omstead	1	-	1
Sylvester Babe	1	-	1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Thomas Deacon	1	-	1
Joseph Espajo	1	-	1
Madame Boshong	7	16	23
William Wise	4	-	4
Joseph Torbert	4	-	4
Thomas Lewis	1	-	1

MONROE COUNTY

Jane Lynch	6	-	6
Hampton Hughes	2	-	2
Sinai Harris	4	-	4
Thomas Hathcock	3	-	3
William Smith	7	-	7
Arthur Sizemore	5	3	8
Susanna Sizemore	5	2	7
Phillip Gibbs	3	-	3
Gadsey Lynch	3	-	3
Daphney Hail	1	-	1

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Buckner George	8	-	8
George	2	-	2
Oxey Fowler	2	1	3
Gerard Manciford	5	-	5
Allen	2	-	2
Arthur Evans	9	-	9
William Hilliard	11	-	11
Joseph Lanton	9	2	11
Frankey Dimery	4	-	4

MORGAN COUNTY

Rebecca Goen	7	-	7
Joseph Porter	9	-	9
Rhoda Martin	6	-	6
Sally Johnson	5	-	5

PERRY COUNTY

Frederick V. Thomas	7	1	8
Wiley Chavis	1	-	1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Free</u> <u>Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
PICKENS COUNTY			
Abraham Mansoe	2	-	2
Stephen Dunsan	10	-	10
PIKE COUNTY			
John J. Joy	2	-	2
John Hagan	1	-	1
SHELBY COUNTY			
Isah Hadsen	11	1	12
TUCCALCOOSA COUNTY			
James Abbott	4	-	4
C. Harrison	1	-	1
James Fenner	3	-	3
Levin Johnson	1	-	1
Solomon Pertete	6	-	6
Zaddock Love	7	-	7
WASHINGTON COUNTY			
Jack Sewell	2	-	2
Daniel Reed	10	-	10
John Saunsha	1	2	3
WILCOX COUNTY			
John Martin	2	1	3

Appendix D

FREE NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ALABAMA - 1840

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
BALDWIN COUNTY				
Bazil Alexandre		9	-	9
Jessie Denton		2	-	2
Lucy Sincer		7	-	7
Regis Voltaire		5	-	5
Anne Williams		13	-	13
BUTLER COUNTY				
Wm. Frost		3	5	8
Joshua Matthews		7	-	7
James Hammons		10	-	10
Harry Pierce	manufacturing	2	-	2
COOSA COUNTY				
Ned Thwart		1	-	1
Jeffrey Geoffs		1	-	1
G. W. Hansford	manufacturing	6	-	6
COVINGTON COUNTY				
Fanny Martins	farming	7	-	7
FRANKLIN COUNTY				
Reuben Jones		2	-	2
Charles Clark		1	-	1
Vince Farrow		1	1	2
Joseph White		1	-	1
John Thermon		2	-	2

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mary Taylor		4	-	4
July Meriweather		3	-	3
Becky Rhae		2	-	2
DALE COUNTY				
George Sizemore		4	-	4
DALLAS COUNTY				
Polly		1	-	1
E. Chapman		4	-	4
Silas Pope		1	-	1
Harriet Smith	farming	8	1	9
Tom Smith	farming	3	15	18
Frederick Jackson	farming	4	-	4
A. Johnson	farming	2	1	3
A. Johnson	farming	1	-	1
Henry Harding	farming	5	-	5
S. Tutel		6	-	6
T. Wiggins		1	-	1
JEFFERSON COUNTY				
Hetty Steel		3	-	3
LOWNDES COUNTY				
Zilpha Jacobs		7	-	7
JACKSON COUNTY				
Isac Hutchinson	farming	8	5	13
John Estes		7	-	7
Thor Poller		3	-	3
Elizabeth Willis		4	-	4
LAUDERDALE COUNTY				
R. Cipper		3	-	3

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
John Rapier	manufacturing	7	1	8
John Bliss	farming	8	-	8
John Lewis		1	-	1
Jacob Lacey	manufacturing	4	-	4
Eliz. Martin		6	-	6
C. Childress		1	-	1
Polly Goin		1	-	1
Sally Houghnogin		1	-	1
B. Wallis	navigation	1	-	1
P. Wiley	farming	1	-	1

LAWRENCE COUNTY

Asburn Lockster		7	-	7
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LIMESTONE COUNTY

John Lewis	manufacturing	4	-	4
John Thurman	farming	6	-	6
John Taylor				
Thomas Locklen				
William Scott	farming	4	-	4

MADISON COUNTY

Jacob Broyles		1	1	2
Burwell Jacobs	farming	4	-	4
George Smothers	farming	4	-	4
Charles Sampson	manufacturing	10	-	10
Richmond Terrell		3	3	6
Thomas Jacobs	farming	3	-	3
William Jacobs	farming	3	-	3
David Jacobs	farming	3	-	3
Fanny Jacobs	farming	5	-	5
Rebecca Jacobs		3	-	3
Anothony Sewell		3	-	3
Peterson Stewart	mfg. & farming	4	-	4
Jacob Wilson	farming	3	-	3
Nancy Jones		1	1	2
Elizabeth Barker		12	1	13
John Thurman	manufacturing	3	-	3
Mourning Vining		2	-	2
Morilla Flournoy		5	-	5

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jane Braham		2	-	2
Matilda Hester		2	-	2
Isaac Jacobs	farming	4	-	4
Martin Hogan		1	9	10

MARSHALL COUNTY

James Bidly *	farming	3	1	4
John Furlow	farming	11	-	11
Sarah M. Steele		4	-	4

MOBILE COUNTY

James Weaver	farming	3	-	3
Baptese Chastang	farming	10	2	12
John Chastang (1)		6	-	6
Louisa Chastang	farming	1	6	7
Agnes Chastang		7	20	27
Zeno Chastang	manufacturing	11	1	12
Shutre Andrey	farming	6	15	21
Jeane Simeone	mfg. & agric.	1	3	4
Jisamo Andry	farming	3	14	17
Felip Andry		9	3	12
Maximillian Andry	mfg. & agric.	10	2	12
Clair Dubroca (2)		10	4	15
Madam Dubroca	mfg. & agric.	16	20	36
Lawrence Brew	farming	6	1	7
Silves Dubroca		5	2	7
Edward Dubroca		2	-	2
Vincent Chorana	farming	4	-	4
Mary George		4	1	5
Lewis LeLaun		4	-	4
Maximillian Collin		8	3	11
Scott Pittman		2	-	2
Tishey Manlee		2	-	2
Edward Chastang		10	1	11
Amy Leland	farming	6	-	6
John Collins	manufacturing	5	-	5
Fostin Collins	manufacturing	8	3	11
John Many		7	-	7

* Three white females are listed in this household.
 (1) Several Chastangs are listed as whites.
 (2) One white female is listed in this family.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
John G. Collin		6	2	8
John Roberts		1	6	7
Margaret Collin (1)	manufacturing	4	2	7
Louisa Barnes		4	1	5
Mary Laughlin		3	1	4
Benj. Laurendin (2)	manufacturing	9	4	14
Mary Joseph (3)		5	1	9
Sally Bryant (4)	navigation	6	4	11
Horace Deland	manufacturing	9	3	12
Margaret Collins		5	7	12
Antoine Aldery	manufacturing	1	2	3
Annett Collin	manufacturing	1	2	3
Paul Farrow		7	-	7
Clair Favre (5)		6	5	12
James Mitchell	manufacturing	5	-	5
Mary John		2	-	2
Joseph Durett	manufacturing	12	-	12
John Lanier	manufacturing	5	2	7
Noel Tranier		6	-	6
Fedore Durett		3	-	3
Lacy Meggs		2	-	2
Silves Billaux	manufacturing	4	-	4
Patsy Shane		1	2	3
Benjamin Jackson		2	-	2
Peter Boling		4	1	5
Thos. Cafron	navigation	1	-	1
James Pope	manufacturing	8	-	8
Nathan Jones		7	-	7
Mary Jones		2	1	3
Totile Collins (6)		9	-	10
D. DeSilva		1	-	1
A. Bonzason		11	-	11
C. B. Joseph		2	-	2
G. P. Wallery		16	-	16
A. Jasmer	commerce	2	2	4
Louis Fontaine	manufacturing	9	-	9
Richard Peples		2	-	2
Ed. Parker		4	2	6

-
- (1) One white male, 30-40, is listed in this household.
(2) One white female, 40-50, is listed in this group.
(3) Three white males, one 10-20, one 20-30, one 30-40, listed.
(4) One white male 30-40 listed.
(5) One white male 30-40 listed.
(6) One white male 30-40 listed.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
Francis Gregons		7	-	7
Peas Laurendine	manufacturing	15	-	15
E. Bonite		7	1	8
Tens Nugent		1	4	5
Paul Chesamon		3	2	5
M. Long		1	4	5
Esther King (1)		12	-	15
Asa Mada		1	1	2
Stephen Langle		5	1	6
Nannette Durette		3	13	16
Barbey Durette		2	3	5
Catherine Atlove		1	3	4
Nannette Charles		8	2	10
Rusel Alexandre		3	1	4
Freeman Trenier		9	2	11
June Pollard		2	-	2
Hannah Durman		1	1	2
Rachael Mark		1	2	3
Massant		1	3	4
Cyrus Evans		2	-	2
John Parker		1	1	2
Sally Mong		3	1	4
Guy Graves		1	2	3
Arthur Taylor (2)		1	5	7
Abby Field		1	9	10
C. Beal		2	3	5
Eufrogenia Andry		1	1	2
Louisa Durant		3	1	4
Joseph Durant		5	1	6
Elizabeth Malone		3	-	3
Margaret Darington		5	1	6
Abraham Munroe		1	-	1
Gilbert Atlove		1	6	7
Clair Goya		5	-	5
Cyrus Eaves		5	1	6
Rebecca Hilliard (3)		4	1	5
Chuston Ronville		8	3	11
E. Durett		6	-	6
B. Dubroca		2	-	2
J. B. Andrews		2	2	4

(1) The white males 20-30 and one white male 30-40 listed.

(2) One white male under five years of age listed.

(3) One white male 20-30 listed.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
V. Mitchell		2	3	5
H. Medall		3	-	3
Bose Grove		1	2	3
L. Dubroca		1	5	6
May Chavana		9	1	10
Vincent Chavana		5	-	5
Jacob Magee		1	2	3
Bassett Alexander		4	-	4

MONROE COUNTY

John Grice	farming	1	-	1
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MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Rachel Hammond		3	-	3
C. Fowler	farming	2	2	4
Isaiah Lenthen	agriculture	8	5	13
January Burch	agriculture	2	4	6
George Lenthen	agriculture	2	-	2
Robert Ivey	agriculture	10	-	10
Adam Ivey	agriculture	7	-	7

CITY OF MONTGOMERY

Malzus Allen		7	-	7
Dick Blunt	mfg. & trade	3	-	3
Charles Cobb	manufacturing	4	1	5
John Denson	manufacturing	4	-	4
James Gowin	mfg. & trade	4	1	5
Aaron Goin		4	2	6
Joseph Ginafree		1	2	3
Anabel Ganes		1	-	1
Hannah Stewart		3	-	3
Wm. Walker	mfg. & trade	2	1	3

PERRY COUNTY

Malichae Latie	agriculture	1	-	1
James Wilson	agriculture	8	-	8
Mary King	agriculture	9	-	9

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
PIKE COUNTY				
Wyley Lucas (1)	agriculture	4	-	5
RUSSELL COUNTY				
P. I. Martin	agriculture	2	-	2
ST. CLAIR COUNTY				
Isaac Jacobs		1	-	1
Guy	agriculture	2	-	2
SUMTER COUNTY				
Dan Scott		1	9	10
Bessey Stanley		2	-	2
Geo. P. Wright		11	-	11
Moses Thom	agriculture	21	-	21
Joshua Man	agriculture	9	-	9
Sarah Thom	agriculture	11	-	11
Jack Thom	agriculture	10	3	13
TUSCALOOSA COUNTY				
Ned Berry	agriculture	3	3	6
William Goin		5	-	5
Stephen Dunstan		8	-	8
Gray Dunstan		1	-	1
Martin Greer		6	-	6
Zadock Love		5	2	7
Archibald McCoy		2	-	2
Solomon Perteet		6	1	7
Manuel Turner		4	-	4

(1) One white female 40-50 listed.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Free Negroes</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
CITY OF TUSCALOOSA				
James Abbott		6	2	8
Paschal Blank		2	3	5
Celia Burgess		7	-	7
David Lopper		3	-	3
Dade Neajson		1	1	2
James Fenver		1	-	1

The following counties list no free colored heads of families in the 1840 census: Autauga, Barbour, Bibb, Chambers, Clarke, Conecuh, Benton, Blount, Cherokee, DeKalb, Fayette, Greene, Henry, Macon, Marengo, Morgan, Marion, Pickens, Tallapoosa, Randolph, Talladega, Washington, Walker, Wilcox.

For number of free colored listed in these counties, see Table III, pages 92-93. For mixed families, see following page.

Appendix E

MIXED FAMILIES IN ALABAMA ACCORDING TO
1840 FEDERAL CENSUS

BALDWIN COUNTY

John Cook, white male, 30-40, listed with one free colored female 10-24, and five free colored males 10-24, and two free colored males under ten.

BENTON COUNTY

John C. Harris, white male, 40-50, listed with white wife, one white child under five years, and one free colored child under ten years of age.

BLOUNT COUNTY

One white woman under thirty years listed as having one free colored child under ten years of age, and as living in same household with two free colored males, one 10-20, and one 20-30.

DALLAS COUNTY

F. E. Markham, white male, 36-50, lists one free colored child under ten years of age.
Wm. Smith, white, lists ten free colored on his place.

GREENE COUNTY

J. A. Pearson, white, lists seven free colored and forty slaves on place.
Robert Van Hook, white male under forty, lists two free colored males under ten, one free colored female under ten, and one free colored female under twenty-four, also two slaves.

LAUDERDALE COUNTY

E. H. Garner, white male, under thirty, lists six free colored.

On another place, two families are listed, with one free colored child under ten listed.

LAWRENCE COUNTY

James Cooper, white male, lists five free colored, one male and three females under 24, and one female 24-36.

MACON COUNTY

Lockley Durant, white, lists 8 whites, 16 free colored, and three slaves.

MORGAN COUNTY

One family of whites lists one free colored child under 10.

MOBILE COUNTY

Simon Chastang, white, lists 3 whites, 10 free colored, and 5 slaves.

Isabel Chastang, listed white, with 12 other whites, 8 free colored, and 2 slaves.

Julian Beaudroux, is not marked either white or colored, but lists six free colored in total.

Pear (Pierre) Jugon, is not marked either white or colored, is listed with two white males, 30-50, and 9 free colored.

Allan Jude, listed white, with one free colored female under 36, one 10-24, and one under 10.

James Rochen, white male under 40, lists one free colored female 24-36, one under 10, three 10-24, one free colored male under 10, and 5 slaves.

Gaston Lombart, white male under 30, lists two f. c. males 10-24, one free colored female 10-24, one 24-36, and one 36-55.

- Peter Savage, white male under 50, lists one free colored male under 10, one free colored female 24-36, and three under 10.
- Clement Patanez, white, lists one white male under 15, and one free colored female under ten and one 24-36.
- John T. Keith, white, lists 8 white males, four free colored females, three male slaves and one female slave.
- Jas. V. Williams, white male, 30-40, lists one free colored female 24-36, one free colored male under 10, and two free colored males 10-24.
- A. Evans, white male, under 40, lists two free colored females under ten and three under 24.
- C. Gregons, listed as white male under 40, with two f. c. females under 10, two f. c. females 24-36, one f. c. female 55-100, and two f. c. male under 10.
- Ezekial Noel, listed white male, 20-30, with one f. c. male under 10, two f. c. males 10-24, two f. c. females 10-24, one f. c. female 24-36, and one 55-100, also two slaves.
- Wm. Larkin, white male under 40, lists one f. c. male under 10, one f. c. female 55-100.
- Peter T. Gentzuren, white male 60-70, lists one f. c. male under 10, one f. c. female under 10, one 10-24, and one 24-36.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

- Manuel Gamil, white male 20-30, lists one free colored male under 10, one 10-24, one 24-36, three free colored females under 10, four 10-24, one 24-36, and one 55-100.

SUMTER COUNTY

- One white male, 40-50, listed with free colored female 24-36, one 10-24, and one under 10.
- J. W. Horn, white male, 20-30, lists one white male 10-15, one f. c. female 24-36, three f. c. females under 10, and one f. c. male under 10.
- John Ping, white, 50-60, listed with one f. c. female 36-55.

Appendix F

FREE NEGROES IN ALABAMA - 1850

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
AUTAUGA COUNTY							
Silas Pope (1)	60	m	b	farmer	\$3300	Ga.	
Louis Fields	36	m	b	laborer		Ga.	
Caesar Terry	50	m	b	miller		N.C.	
Jim Horne	45	m	b	laborer		N.C.	
Louisa Jones	35	f	m			Ga.	x
Esther McCray	41	f	b			N.C.	
James	17	m	m			Ala.	
William L.	9	m	m			Ala.	*
Stephen L.	2	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine Zeigler	18	f	m			Ala.	*
John Moorland (2)	47	m	m	carpenter	\$200	Ga.	
Free Fanny	65	f	b			S.C.	x
Maria Fortune	50	f	b			Va.	x
Free Jacob	80	m	b	farmer		unknown	x
Free Cumbie	84	f	b			unknown	x
Silla	51	f	b			unknown	x
Bob Dodson	46	m	b	laborer		Md.	x
Mapil "	45	m	b	laborer		Md.	x
Tilda "	45	f	b			Md.	x
Eliza "	26	f	b			Ala.	x
Catherine Dodson	12	f	b			Ala.	
Cornelia "	7	f	b			Ala.	
Francis "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Becca "	10	f	b			Ala.	
BALDWIN COUNTY							
George	45	m	b			Ala.	
Sally	40	f	m			Ala.	

- (1). State census, 1850, credits Silas Pope with ten slaves.
(2). Moorland's wife and children are listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Rose	3	f	m			Ala.	
George	2	m	m			Ala.	
William	1	m	m			Ala.	
Morris	50	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Wm. McGee	39	m	m	blacksmith	\$250	Ala.	
Lizzie "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Oscar Mims	18	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Joe Mims	14	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Julia Browning	13	f	m			Miss.	
Eliza Saures (1)	20	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Frank Cady	16	m	m	seaman		Ala.	
Lucy Sincear	50	f	m		\$105	S.C.	
Lewey "	32	m	m	carpenter		Fla.	
Henry "	22	m	m	blacksmith		Fla.	
Cornelia "	20	f	m			Fla.	
Colbert Roberts	19	m	m	gunsmith		Ala.	
Camillia Farmer	14	f	m			Ala.	
Emma Foster	12	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Octavia Brantley	12	f	m			Ala.	
Robert Brantley	9	m	m			Ala.	
Massey Robinson	23	f	m			Fla.	
Delia "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline Beaudin	30	f	m			Ala.	
Razies Vottar	48	m	m			Ala.	
Clarice "	50	f	m			Ala.	
Jim "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Alexan "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Modez "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Setan Bodair	56	m	m			Ala.	
Louise "	38	f	m			Ala.	
John "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Constance "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Shoote "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Rayise "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Brunett "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Masatite "	3	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Peter Saures, 56, innkeeper from Fla. listed white; also another white male, 40, gardner, in same household.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Banara Bodair	1	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy Collins	25	f	m			Ala.	
Massa "	20	m	m			Ala.	
Clara "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Collins "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Loneazon Beader	59	f	m			Ala.	
Vinson "	23	m	m			Ala.	
Caron Beadar	21	m	m			Ala.	
Louisia "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Bigget Bodair	60	f	m			Ala.	
Frances "	35	m	m			Ala.	
Charles "	27	m	m			Ala.	
Carilit "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Maria "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Alexan Bodair	50	m	m			Ala.	
Astrine "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Nanite "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Gousa Wicks (1)	40	f	m			Ala.	
Delphine "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Oscar "	17	m	m			Ala.	
Kisey Denton	22	f	m			Ala.	
Cleo "	28	f	m			Ala.	
Jesse "	30	m	m			Ala.	
William Davis	3	m	m			Ala.	
John Monroe	20	m	m	steward		Ala.	
Richard McGee (2)	34	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Carmon "	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Rosannah "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
John "	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Sallie "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
James "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Richard "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Therease "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza M. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy McGee (3)	48	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	12	f	m			Ala.	*

(1). William Wicks, farmer, 50, & four children listed white.

(2). Wife is listed white.

(3). One white male, 20, listed in household.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
P. Ritcherson	44	f	m			Ala.	
William "	18	m	m			Ala.	*
Jack McGee	40	m	m			Ala.	
Maria "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Adam "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Jane "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Frances "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Virginia "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Peggy "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Josephine Bertrad(1)	35	f	m			Ala.	
Gassan (2)	55	f	b			Ala.	
Jatrude Bodar	53	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Batice	60	m	m	farmer		Haiti	

**

(1). Listed as living with Mr. Evans, German laborer, 32, and four white children, 13, 11, 5, 2, born in Ala.

(2). Listed with Peter Johnson, 38, fisherman, Germany.

** According to the State census, there were 184 free Negroes in the county in 1850, whereas the Federal census listed only 96. Several families designated as white in the Federal census were listed as free Negroes in the State census of the same year. The names of these are listed with the number of free Negroes in the family and the number of slaves they owned: Leicester Hall; Mary Sizemore, 5 free Negroes, 6 slaves; William Sizemore, 12 free Negroes, 47 slaves; Mrs. Mary Saunders, 3 free Negroes, 13 slaves; Louisa Tounstall, 6 free Negroes, 9 slaves; Alexander Weatherford, 5 free Negroes, 23 slaves; William Weeks, 8 free Negroes, 14 slaves. Others listed as free Negroes in the State census and omitted in the Federal Census were: Nicholas Augustine; Jean Denton; Charles Foster, 4 free Negroes, 2 slaves; Amelia Stiggins, 2 free Negroes, 5 slaves; Samuel Monac, 11 free Negroes; Latchlin Durant, 1 free Negro, 3 slaves; Robert Greenwood; Josiah Stiggins, 7 free Negroes; Jeff Hollenger, 7 free Negroes, Alexander Bodair, 7 free Negroes; Coles Bodair, 2 free Negroes; James Bodair; Jack Coon, 9 free Negroes.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
BARBOUR COUNTY							
Scipio	65	m	b	laborer		unknown	x
Charlotte Hope	63	f	m			S.C.	x
Bill Ruff	40	m	b			Ga.	
Searboro Stephens	62	f	m			N.C.	x
Clio Johnston	18	f	m			S.C.	
William Johnston	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
James Grant	23	m	b	waiter		Ga.	
Abraham Booth	42	m	m	laborer		Ga.	x
Elisha Houlin (1)	35	m	m	farmer		Ga.	x
Squire Grant	40	m	b	laborer		unknown	
BENTON COUNTY							
William Shaw	57	m	b	farmer		N.C.	x
Babe Allums	12	f	m			Ala.	
Polly Clark	65	f	b			Ala.	
BIBB COUNTY							
Elizabeth Coleburn	13	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah Axton	21	f	m			Tenn.	x
Mary Axton	1	f	m			Ala.	
Illegitimate child	3	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Williams	21	f	m			Ga.	x
Caroline "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Peyton "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Barbary "	4	f	m			Ala.	
William "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Leminsy " (2)	1	m	m			Ala.	
Artimita Rinard (3)	14	f	m			S.C.	
Tempy Ferguson	28	f	m			Ala.	x

(1). Wife and three children listed white.

(2). Lydia Williams, 41, and two children, 13, 15, white.

(3). Parents from S.C. and three other children, Ala., white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
BLOUNT COUNTY							
No free colored (1)							
BUTLER COUNTY							
Nero	84	m	b			Va.	
Benjamin Frost	68	m	m			S.C.	
Kisiah "	30	f	m			S.C.	
Mary "	18	f	m			S.C.	
Milly "	13	f	m			S.C.	
Joseph "	9	m	m			Ga.	
Eugenia "	6	f	m			Ga.	
John "	4	m	m			Ga.	
Henry Frost	36	m	m	farmer		S.C.	x
Elizabeth "	32	f	m			S.C.	x
Nancy "	9	f	m			Ala.	
William "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas Frost	25	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Sarah "	20	f	m			S.C.	
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	
William "	9	m	m			Ala.	
James "	8	m	m			Ala.	
James Hammonds	50	m	m	farmer		unknown	x
Nancy "	40	f	m			S.C.	x
Stephen "	20	m	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Addie L. "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Terina "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Wiley "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Wesley "	10	m	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
James	6	m	m			Ala.	
William Hammends (2)	20	m	m	farmer		N.C.	x
Elizabeth "	7	f	m			Ala.	
James "	6	f	m			Ala.	

(1). State census listed Marcus Mitchell, f.c., 2 in family.

(2). Wife listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
George Hammends	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Allyn "	1	f	m			Ala.	
**							

CHAMBERS COUNTY

Robert Martin	40	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	
Alfred May	40	m	m	farmer	Ga	Ga.	
William Gray (1)	80	m	b			N.C.	x
Hannah "	80	f	b			N.C.	x
Betty Chapel	75	f	b			unknown	
Margaret Belcher (2)	15	f	m			Ala.	
Isham Mandy	22	m	m	mason		Ga.	
Foster Watt	18	m	m	farmer		Ga.	
Fanny Nunn	45	f	b			S.C.	
Sally "	21	f	b			S.C.	
Jinny "	20	f	b			S.C.	
John "	18	m	b			S.C.	
Henry "	16	m	b			Ala.	
Harriet "	15	f	b			Ala.	
Jane "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Katie "	12	f	b			Ala.	
Orva "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Henry "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Tippy "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Martha Edway	20	f	b			Ga.	

** The State Census for the same year lists as free colored heads of families: Henry Ellis, James Hasle, Ellen Frost, George Frost, John Frost, Jack Matthis, in addition to those in the Federal census.

(1). These two are listed on Elizabeth Gray's place, a white female from N. C. The State Census for the same year lists no free colored on her place, only white females and 47 slaves.

(2). Mother and five children listed white. The State Census lists Margaret white also.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
CHEROKEE COUNTY							
Meriah	15	f	m			Tenn.	
Jane	11	f	m			Ala.	
Martha	9	f	b			Ala.	
Martha	100	f	b			Va.	
Nancy Whisler (1)	35	f	m			Ala.	x
Peg. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth	13	f	m			Ala.	
Willis Quick	65	m	m	agriculture	\$400	S.C.	
Sarah "	50	f	m			S.C.	
Hilliard Douson	15	m	m			N.C.	
Sarah Powell	17	f	m			S.C.	
Nancy "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Strickland	21	f	b			Tenn.	
Laura "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Mary Clark	13	f	m			Ga.	
Lewis Clark	10	m	m			Ga.	
William "	8	m	m			Ga.	
James "	5	m	m			Ga.	
Taylor "	3	m	m			Ga.	
Martha Shortnasy (2)	21	f	m			S.C.	
Elizabeth "	1/6	f	m			Ala.	
Wellcome Whorton	90	m	b			Md.	
Amber "	90	f	b			unknown	
**							

(1). Birthplace given as Cherokee Nation. Her color classification identifies her as an offspring of a mixed Indian and Negro marriage.

(2). Living with John Shortnasy, 30, white male, ditcher, from Ireland.

** The State Census lists also one Josiah L. Hix as free colored head of a family of two. The other member of the family was a white female over 21.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
CHOCTAW COUNTY							
** No free Negroes listed							
CLARKE COUNTY							
William Hatcher (1)	63	m	b	farmer	\$50	S.C.	x
Roady	33	f	m			Ala.	
Tom	12	m	b			Ala.	
Ishmael	8	m	m			Ala.	
Eleck	7	m	b			Ala.	
Luna	3	f	b			Ala.	
Violet	75	f	b			Va.	
Charlotte	47	f	b			Va.	x
William Calhoun (2)	15	m	m	farmer		Ala.	*
Harry	75	m	b	farmer		Ala.	x
COFFEE COUNTY							
Mitta	19	f	m			Ala.	
Bathania	-	f	m			Ala.	
James A. Tillis	21	m	m			Ala.	x
CONECUH COUNTY							
Dick Brantley	50	m	m	farmer		Ga.	x
David	60	m	b	farmer		N.C.	x
Chany	40	f	m			N.C.	x
COOSA COUNTY							
John Marshall	48	m	b	in prison, larceny		Va.	

** The State Census lists 23 free Negroes in county, but lists none as heads of families.

(1). Family consists of himself and two slaves.

(2). Rest of family listed as whites.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Dorster	30	f	b			Ala.	
Susan	10	f	b			Ala.	
John	6	f	b			Ala.	
Vianna Culpepper	2	f	b			Ala.	
Willis	40	m	b	farmer		unknown	
Tom	24	m	b	farmer		unknown	
Bill	24	m	b	farmer		unknown	

COVINGTON COUNTY

Mary Murphy (1)	37	f	m			S.C.	x
Rachael Martin	70	f	m			unknown	x
John M "	30	m	m	farmer		Ga.	x
Eliza "	28	f	m			Ga.	x
Levina "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Lillis "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Morgan "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Masour "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	8	f	m			Ala.	
William "	6	m	m			Ala.	
John " (2)	4	m	m			Ala.	
Jane Danelly	46	f	m			Ga.	
Arthur "	22	m	m	farmer		Fla.	x
Tulean "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	10	f	m			Ala.	
John "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Andrew "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine Livings(3)	19	f	m			Fla.	
Thomas Hathcot	44	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Rebecca "	41	f	m			S.C.	
William "	22	m	m	laborer		S.C.	

- (1). Husband and four children listed white. Two of the children attended school during the year.
- (2). Nancy, 30, white, from S.C., illiterate, in same house.
- (3). Husband, farmer from Ala., and two children, 1 year, and four months, listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Hathcot	20	m	m	laborer		S.C.	
James "	17	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Ann "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Charles "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Ann "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Calvin "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Lorance "	2	m	m			Ala.	
David "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	76	f	m			S.C.	
John Matthews (1)	25	m	m	farmer		S.C.	x
Elizabeth Lewis (2)	26	f	m			Ala.	x
William Peavy	49	m	m	farmer	\$150	S.C.	
Martha "	48	f	m			S.C.	
Sarah Ann "	25	f	m			S.C.	
Joannah "	22	f	m			Ga.	
John W. "	21	m	m	farmer		Ga.	
James "	18	m	m	farmer		Ga.	*
Joshua "	16	m	m	farmer		Ga.	*
Ichabod "	10	m	m			Ga.	*
William "	5	m	m			Ga.	
Gideon Jeffries (3)	57	m	m	laborer		S.C.	x
Martha "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
William "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	12	f	m			Ala.	
James "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Peggy "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah Presley	18	f	m			Ala.	
L. B. Jeffries (4)	26	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
William Johnson	12	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah McKinney (5)	27	f	m			S.C.	x
Frankey "	12	m	m			Ga.	
Eliza "	5	f	m			Ga.	
Edneann Thomas	9	f	m			S.C.	
William Jackson (6)	35	m	m	farmer	\$100	N.C.	x
Eliza	28	f	m			S.C.	x

- (1). Wife from Ga. and two children, Ala., listed white.
(2). Husband from Ga. and two children listed as white.
(3). Wife, 46, illiterate, from S.C. listed white.
(4). Wife and three children listed as whites.
(5). John McKinney, 60, farmer, S.C., listed white.
(6). Jane Jackson, 68, illiterate, from N.C. Listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Jackson	11	m	m			Ala.	
William "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Juleann "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Wiley "	5	m	m			Ala.	
James "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Lucinda Williams	27	f	m			Ala.	x
Jefferson "	9	m	m			Ala.	
William "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Robert "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Joshua "	1	m	m			Ala.	
William Hathcot	56	m	m	mechanic		S.C.	
Mahala "	45	f	m			S.C.	
Josiah "	16	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lucinda "	19	f	m			S.C.	
James "	16	f	m	farmer		Ala.	
George "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Ire "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Moriah "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Marida "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	75	f	m			N.C.	insane
John Beasley	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mahala Carroll (1)	23	f	m			Fla.	x

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DALE COUNTY

Ann Elliot	12	f	b			Ala.	
William Wise	14	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Husband, 35, farmer, from S.C. and two children white.

** State Census lists the following as free colored and heads of families: John J. Jackson, with two white females, one under 21 and one over 21; Duncan Jackson, with white female over 21; Cornelius Jackson with six free colored in family; and Andrew Jackson with two free colored in family.

*** The State Census of the same year lists Mary Batson as the free Negro head of a family with seven free Negroes in family.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
DALLAS COUNTY							
Charity Smith, free	40	f	b				
(1)	"	23	m	b			owned 12 slaves
	"	21	m	b			
	"	19	f	b			
Shadrick Smith,	"	36	m	m			
	"	29	f	m			
	"	11	f	m			
	"	7	f	m			
	"	5	f	m			
	"	3	f	m			
	"	1	f	m			
Billy Smith	"	35	m	m			
	"	22	f	m			
	"	4	m	m			
	"	4	m	m			
Lindy Smith	free	28	f	b			
Mary A. Smith	"	8	f	b			owned male slave, 23
	"	7	m	b			
	"	6	m	b			
	"	5	f	b			
Sarah Smith	"	26	f	b			owned male slave, 24.
	"	5	f	b			
	"	3	f	b			
	"	55	f	b			
Ann Smith	"	24	f	m			
	"	7	f	m			
	"	5	f	m			
	"	3	f	m			
	"	1	m	m			
Elvira Smith	"	22	f	m			
	"	75	f	m			
	"	18	f	m			
	"	7	m	m			
	"	5	f	m			
	"	3	m	b			
	"	50	m	b			

(1). All of the Smith families were listed free as shown, but were found in the Slave Section of the manuscript returns.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
A. L. McGough	40	m	m	mechanic		Ky.	
Eira "	30	f	b			S.C.	
Mary "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Jim DeJarnett	50	m	m			Tenn.	
Harriet "	35	f	m			Tenn.	
Tom "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Fanny "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
**							

DEKALB COUNTY

Andrew Goins	26	m	m	farmer		unknown	
Hugh Reaves	49	m	m	carpenter		N.C.	
Elizabeth "	27	f	m			S.C.	
John "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Margaretta	2	f	m			Ala.	
Neoma Massingale (1)	5	f	m			Tenn.	

** Names of free colored found in the Agricultural Report, of the Federal Census, followed by crop reports were: Shade Toodle, free man; Tom Smith, free man; Tom Smith, free man; Rachel, free woman.

The State Census of the same year lists as free colored heads of families: Henry Harrison, with nine free colored in family; James Edwards with one in family; Rachel W. Clayton, with six free colored and one slave; Owen, colored man; Josephus; Catherine Olaver; Shadrick Tuttle, with ten free colored and one slave; Joe Pace; Free Sally; Free Joe; Joseph Pheine; Elleck Jeter, with six free colored and two slaves; King Smith; Free Tom Estate, with thirty-five free colored and fifteen slaves; and Free Tom.

(The thirty-five free colored listed in the Free Tom Estate are the Smiths listed on the preceding page)

(1). Mother and one child listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Martha Massingale	3	f	m			Ala.	
James Taylor	10	m	m			Tenn.	
Margaritee "	7	f	m			Tenn.	

**

FAYETTE COUNTY

Benjamin Genkins	60	m	b			Ky.	x
Francis Wigfall	60	m	b	farmer		S.C.	x
Agee "	57	f	b			S.C.	x
Annika Blair (1)	7	f	m			Ala.	
Alabama "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Harris	8	f	m			Ala.	
L. D. Walker	47	m	b	farmer	\$350	Tenn.	x
Fereby "	49	f	b			N.C.	x
Phoebe Shepherd	25	f	b	in prison, (murder)		N.C.	

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Ephraim Hood	33	m	b	laborer		Ga.	
Phebe	100	f	b			unknown	
James Leach	50	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Sam	23	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Bill	21	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Solomon	15	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
John Thurman	70	m	b			Va.	
Nancy "	55	f	b			Va.	
Jane "	74	f	b			Va.	
William "	15	m	m			Va.	
Henry "	12	m	m			Va.	
Wm. Shelny	19	m	m			Va.	
John Thurman	36	m	m	barber	\$500	Ala.	
James Hill	45	m	m	laborer		Tenn.	
Sally "	45	f	b			-	

** The State Census of the same year lists Reuben as free colored.

(1). Mother, Eliza Blair, 46, listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
GREENE COUNTY							
Mary Barley	22	f	m			Va.	
Lewis "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	1 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Gellum Wright	58	m	m	carpenter		Va.	
Jack	80	m	b			Va.	
Birm Gray	50	m	m	carpenter		N.C.	
Martha A. Scott	29	f	m		\$200	N.C.	x
Wolsey A. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Emily Mitchell	28	f	m	laborer		Ga.	
Richard "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Newton "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Polk "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Mark Mills	52	m	m	shoemaker		N.C.	x
Lucinda Wright	35	f	m			S.C.	
Eveline "	14	f	m			S.C.	
Amanda "	7	f	m			S.C.	
Hanah "	5	f	m			S.C.	
Seley "	3	f	m			Tex.	
Mary A. "	1	f	m			Ala.	
William Goin	50	m	m	laborer		N.C.	x
Amy "	40	f	m			N.C.	x
Stephen "	15	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
Jane "	12	f	m			Ala.	
John "	7	m	m			Ala.	
William "	9	m	m			Ala.	
John N. Donaldson	8	m	m			Ala.	
Joe Ottison	70	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Armstead Walker	38	m	m	farmer		Va.	x
Mary "	27	f	m			N.C.	x
Starling Jones	35	m	m	laborer		S.C.	
Mary Thomas	40	f	m			N.C.	
Charles "	19	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Daniel "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Caroline "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Harriet "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Luella "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Ezekial Wright	32	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Nancy Donaldsen	32	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac Samonds	43	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
William Goin	30	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
Emma "	45	f	b			S.C.	x
William "	15	m	b	laborer		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Stephen Goin	13	m	b			Ala.	
Jane "	11	f	b			Ala.	
John "	9	m	b			Ala.	
John Scott	15	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Manley "	11	m	b			Ala.	

HANCOCK COUNTY

no free colored.

HENRY COUNTY

Alfred Blacksher (1)	22	m	m	farmer		Ga.	x
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JACKSON COUNTY

Jack Friend	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Elizabeth Shoemaker	40	f	m		\$600	Tenn.	
Emeline "	23	f	m			Ala.	x
Jane "	19	f	m			Tenn.	
Nathan "	16	m	m	farmer		Tenn.	*
Robert "	14	m	m			Tenn.	*
Miny "	16	f	m			Tenn.	
Elizabeth "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Fanny "	6	f	m			Ala.	
John Alexander	13	m	m			Ala.	
Alfred Taylor	12	m	m			Ala.	
John Shoemaker (2)	84	m	m	farmer	\$3000	S.C.	x
Ann "	66	f	m			S.C.	x
Henry Harris (3)	26	m	m	farmer	\$200	Ala.	
John Harris	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
John Estes	28	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Tempy	28	f	m			Ala.	
Ann	21	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Jas. Blacksher, 55, from Georgia, listed white.

(2). Another Mr. Shoemaker from S.C. and his family (in the adjoining house) listed white.

(3). Jane Harris, 20, listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
William	17	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Willis Wardlow	24	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Elizabeth Willis	45	f	m			Va.	
Emily "	20	f	m			Tenn.	
Sarah "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Ann "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	3	f	m			Ala.	
William "	9 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Hannah Young	3	f	m			N.C.	
John Ester	69	m	m	laborer	\$300	Va.	x
Elizabeth Ester	69	f	m			Va.	x
Betsy "	25	f	m			Va.	x
Mary "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Jim "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Lorden "	17	m	m			Ala.	
Sara "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Ann "	25	f	m			Ala.	x
Peter "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Mariah	50	f	m			Ala.	x
William	4	m	m			Ala.	
David Evans	60	m	b	laborer		N.C.	x
Mary E. Bridges (1)	11	f	m			Tenn.	
Nelson Sherlock	12	m	m			Ala.	
Ed. King	35	m	b	laborer		N.C.	x

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Etta Ann Russell	47	f	m			Conn.	x
Elisa "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Minerva "	9	f	b			Ala.	
Emily Russell	21	f	m			Ala.	
Preston "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Susan "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Christiana "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	3 mo.	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Mother and other children listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
LAUDERDALE COUNTY							
Nathan McAphee	53	m	b	farmer	\$600	Ky.	
Priscilla "	43	f	b			Ala.	
George "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	7	f	b			Ala.	
John "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Sarah "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Nathan "	3	m	b			Ala.	
America "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth Chapman	70	f	b			Va.	
Martha "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth Hill	50	f	b			Va.	
James "	22	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Indiania "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	10	f	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Brooks	3	m	m			Ala.	
Robert Smith	67	m	b			N.C.	x
Samuel Porter	70	m	b	farmer	\$50	N.C.	x
Malinda "	40	f	m			Tenn.	x
Joseph "	18	m	b			Ala.	
Robert "	16	m	b			Ala.	
Louisa "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	12	f	b			Ala.	
Pleasant "	9	f	b			Ala.	
Eli "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Provia "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Prince Willis	60	m	b	farmer	\$800	unknown	x
Martha "	40	f	m			unknown	x
Elizabeth Coat	10	f	b			Ala.	
Ann Coat	12	f	b			Ala.	
Isabella "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Margaret "	10	f	b			Ala.	
William Scott	35	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
James Coat	12	m	b			unknown	
Wash Davis	8	m	b			Tenn.	
Dolly Johnson	60	f	m			Va.	x
Nancy Franklin	25	f	m			Ala.	x
Ellen "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	6	f	m			Ala.	
John "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Milly Dean	70	f	b			Va.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane	72	f	b			unknown	
Eliza Leftwich	40	f	m			Va.	x
Eliza Armstead	50	f	m	pottery		Md.	x
Sarah "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Laniser "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Mahuldy "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Caladonia"	8	f	m			Ala.	
Beverly Gray	40	m	m	boatman		Ala.	
Martha Lewis	53	f	m	washing		S.C.	x
Lily Gorden	46	f	b	washing		Tenn.	x
Francis "	18	f	m			Ala.	
John Rapier	44	m	m	barber	\$200	Va.	x
Lucretia "	25	f	m			Va.	
John "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Rebecca	2	f	m			Ala.	
Jesse Gibson	67	m	m	farmer		N.C.	x
Rhoda "	74	f	b			N.C.	x
Macon Brooks	45	m	m	laborer		N.C.	

LAWRENCE COUNTY

George Harrison	40	m	b	blacksmith		Va.	x
Amy Rawls	30	f	m			Va.	x
Lelia "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Julia "	4	f	m			Ala.	
General Pride	60	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Mildred Allen	30	f	m			Va.	
Mary "	18	f	m			Va.	
Robert "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Garner "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Burt "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Polly Harrison	70	f	b			Va.	
John Allen	15	f	m	farm hand		Va.	
George Harrison (1)	40	m	b	blacksmith		Va.	x
Lotty Tanks	28	f	m			S.C.	x
Henry "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Tom "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Frances "	1	f	m			Ala.	

(1). In house with Mary Cravens, 38, and two children white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Isaac Majors	20	m	b	farmer		Ky.	x
Jame "	58	f	b			Ky.	x
James Goin	16	m	m			Ala.	
Anthony Dancy	26	m	m	blacksmith		Miss.	x
Osburn Lock	73	m	b	laborer	\$200	N.C.	
Lavina "	50	f	m			N.C.	
Mary "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Sarah "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Jessie "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Griddy "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Betsy "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Jessie Lock	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Jackson Lock	24	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Neomy "	21	f	m			Ala.	x
Dolly "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	2	m	m			Ala.	
John Goins	24	m	m			Ala.	x
Eli Goin	18	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Benjamin	11	m	m			Tenn.	
Riley Goin (1)	50	m	m	brickmason		Va.	x
Robert "	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Mary "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Aaron "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Benjamin "	12	m	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Dudely Ash	50	m	m	laborer		N.C.	x
Pompey McDaniel (2)	78	m	b	farmer	\$7500	N.C.	x
Joseph Portus	50	m	b			N.C.	x
Alfred McDaniel	28	m	b	laborer	\$400	Ga.	x
Isabella "	22	f	m			Ala.	x
William Goin	20	m	m	cabinet maker		Ala.	
Henry "	22	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Daniel Logwood	40	m	m	clerk	\$700	Va.	x
Delia "	40	f	m			Va.	x
Jane "	17	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Wife listed white.

(2). Wife listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
William Logwood	15	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Burt "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Jack "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Edwin "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Horace "	9	m	m			Ala.	

LIMESTONE COUNTY

William B. Scott	68	m	m			N.C.	x
Martha Ann "	36	f	m			N.C.	
Demarus E. "	20	f	m			Ala.	
William I. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
John M. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
James Scott	50	m	b	farmer		Tenn.	x
Demin Cox	60	m	b	hireling		Tenn.	x
Caty "	62	f	b	hireling		Tenn.	x
John Lewis	72	m	b			Va.	
Martha "	30	f	b			Va.	
Nancy "	15	f	b			Ala.	
Benjamin Jones	107	m	b	farmer		N.C.	x
Edy "	68	f	b			N.C.	x
Maria "	33	f	b			N.C.	x
Kessiah "	18	f	b			Ala.	
Weston "	15	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Amy "	13	f	b			Ala.	
Charles Aldridge	60	m	m		\$400	S.C.	
Isaac Powell	60	m	b	laborer		Va.	x
Chiny Hayes	40	f	b		\$450	N.C.	
Phillip Clay	50	m	b			Va.	
Candia "	48	f	b			Tenn.	
Elizabeth "	23	f	b			Ala.	
Phillip "	8	m	b			Ala.	

LOWNDES COUNTY

Nat Harris	26	m	b			Va.	
Wm. Revels	40	m	b			N.C.	
Jas. Hassell	45	m	b			S.C.	
John Edmondson	30	m	m	planter		Va.	
Wesley	18	m	b			Ala.	
Dolphus	16	m	b			Ala.	
John Stubbs	43	m	b	brick moulder		N.C.	
Thomas Threat	35	m	b	barber		unknown	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
James Hathcock (1)	30	m	b			S.C.	x

MACON COUNTY

Polly Knight	14	f	m			Ga.	
Milly Smother	30	f	m			Ga.	
Nancy Knight	36	f	m			S.C.	x
Lamirl "	18	f	m			S.C.	
James Knight	20	m	m	bridge builder		S.C.	
Polly "	16	f	m			S.C.	
Sally "	14	f	m			S.C.	
Harry "	11	m	m			S.C.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Catus "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Andrew Finch	40	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	
Sandy "	38	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	
Phillis "	90	f	b			Ga.	
Dick " (2)	16	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	

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MADISON COUNTY

George Smithers	35	m	m	farmer	\$150	N.C.	x
Prudence "	30	f	m			S.C.	x
Emily	11	f	m			Ala.	
Malinda J. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
William W. "	9	m	m			Ala.	
George W. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
James "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Mary E. "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. R. Jacobs	28	m	m	farmer	\$140	Ala.	x
Mary A. "	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Mahala	23	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Wife and child listed white.

(2). Lydia, 14, in Finch household listed as white.

**The State Census credits "Free Nancy" with 11 free colored and 1 slave.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Milbrey	5	f	m			Ala.	
Ann	3	f	m			Ala.	
Edmon	1	m	m			Ala.	
Henry Walker (1)	52	m	b	blacksmith	\$350	Va.	x
Charles Jumper	35	m	b	blacksmith		Va.	x
Mariah Hester	50	f	b			Va.	x
James McCrary	14	m	b			Ala.	
Charles "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Martha	30	f	m			Tenn.	x
Darby Lanier	65	m	b	farmer		N.C.	
Patience	70	f	b			N.C.	x
Charles Sampson (2)	52	m	m	blacksmith	\$1000	Tenn.	
Irena "	45	f	m			N.C.	
William "	24	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Charles "	18	m	m			Ala.	
John "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	12	f	m			Ala.	
William Sampson (3)	25	m	m	blacksmith	\$500	Ala.	
Lucy "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Jane "	1	f	m			Ala.	
George Washington	30	m	m	blacksmith		Tenn.	
George Mayo	25	m	m	blacksmith	\$200	Ala.	
Nellie "	21	f	m			Tenn.	
Ann Eliza "	2	f	m			Ala.	
John "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Hart	45	f	m			unknown	
Nancy Mayo	50	f	m			Va.	
Frances "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Gail (Jack) Mayo	7	m	m			Ala.	
Benjamin Williams	25	m	m	shoemaker		Ala.	
Sally Ann "	27	f	m			Ala.	
William "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Charles "	4	m	m			Ala.	

- (1). The State Census credits Henry Walker with four slaves.
- (2). The State Census credits Charles Sampson with two slaves.
- (3). The State Census credits Wm. Sampson with two slaves.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Thomas Williams	3	m	m			Ala.	
George Jacobs	25	m	m			Ala.	
John Jacobs	28	m	m			Ala.	x
Nancy "	72	f	m			S.C.	x
Unity "	33	f	m			S.C.	x
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Fanny "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Betsy "	3	f	m			Ala.	
George "	1	m	m			Ala.	
David "	43	m	m			Ala.	
Burrel Jacobs	49	m	m			S.C.	x
Elizabeth "	32	f	m			S.C.	x
John "	13	m	m			N.C.	x
David Jacobs	11	m	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Amanda "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Ruthy "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Tilda "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Visey "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas Jacobs	49	m	m	farmer		S.C.	x
Elizabeth Williams	23	f	m			Tenn.	x
Thomas J. Jacobs	8	m	m			Ala.	
Geo. W. "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Isaac Jacobs	47	m	m	farmer	\$300	S.C.	x
Caroline "	20	f	m			Tenn.	x
Noah "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Becka "	43	f	m			S.C.	x
William "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Stanhope "	1	m	m			Ala.	
John Hawkins	45	m	m	farmer		Va.	
William Terrel	32	m	m	barber		Tenn.	x
Caroline "	21	f	b			Ala.	
William "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Anna "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Ann "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Emanuel Austin	18	m	m			Mexico	
William Robinson	25	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	24	f	m			Ala.	x
William "	5	m	m			Ala.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Polk "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Susan "	1	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mehaley Armstead	14	f	m			Ala.	
John Robinson	56	m	m	livery stable	\$1000	Va.	x
Lafayette "	21	m	m			Ala.	
Frances Ann "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Adora "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac Clem "	21	m	b			Ala.	x
Margaret	25	f	b			Ala.	x
Sopha	25	f	b			Ala.	x
Mourning Vining	71	f	b		\$200	N.C.	x
Phillis Gray	50	f	b			Md.	x
Miley McBroom	36	f	b			Tenn.	x
Martha "	19	f	b			Ala.	
Jane "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Richmond Terrel	49	m	m	barber		S.C.	x
Richmond " , Jr.	9	m	m			Ala.	
James "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	70	f	m			Va.	x
Malvina	30	f	b			N.C.	x
Saler	11	m	b			Ala.	
Susan	9	f	b			Ala.	
Washington	7	m	b			Ala.	
Datherow	5	m	b			Ala.	
James	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	b			Ala.	
Augustine	3	f	b			Ala.	
Sarah Collins	60	f	b			Va.	x
Emeline "	17	f	b			Ala.	
Ann Causby	35	f	b			Va.	x
Nicholas "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Lilburn "	4	f	b			Ala.	
James M. "	1 mo.	m	b			Ala.	
Joanna "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Julia Pryor	27	f	b			Ala.	x
King "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Judah Mitchell	44	f	m			Ala.	x
Susan "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Peterson Stewart	64	m	b	carpenter		Va.	x
Mariah Bradford	84	f	b			Md.	x
Martin Hogan	64	m	b		\$300	Va.	x
William C. Patterson	28	m	m			Ala.	x
Nancy Huss	35	f	b			Tenn.	x
Sarah "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Abarilla Peters	35	f	b			Md.	
Priscilla "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Adaline "	13	f	b			Ala.	
John "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Marda "	9 mo.	f	b			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Henry Peters	18	m	b			Ala.	
Nancy McClung	19	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Julia Patterson	23	f	b		\$300	Ala.	x
Eliza "	5	f	b			Ala.	
James "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Joseph "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Sandy Ausburn	27	m	m			Ky.	x
Julia "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Smithers	64	f	m			N.C.	x
Alexander Finley	13	m	b			Ala.	
Emline Dickson	40	f	b			Ala.	x
Moseley Patterson	18	f	b			Ala.	
Charles Curtis	45	m	b			unknown	
Calvin Lucas	37	m	b	laborer		Ala.	x
Kiziah Jones	75	f	b			unknown	x
Maria Corsy	42	f	m		\$150	Ga.	x
Mary "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Ellender "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	8	f	m			Ala.	
John "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Fanny	10	f	b			Ala.	
Thomas Harris	45	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Dennis Jackson	45	m	b			Ala.	x
Oliver Jacobs	42	m	m	farmer		S.C.	x

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MARENGO COUNTY

Harry Curry	60	m	b			N.C.	
Sabry Green	65	f	b			S.C.	
Grandison	45	m	m	laborer		Va.	

** In addition to the above mentioned, the State Census of 1850 lists the following free colored as heads of families in Madison County: Nancy Bines with five in family, George Bines with four in family, C. Corsey with one in family, A. Dickson with four in family, Jas. Collins with five, S. Watson with one, Charity with two, A. Moore with four, W. Names with three, Sye Jones with three, M. Barnes with seven, J. Wilson with one, E. Patterson with one, Lewis with one, and M. Patterson with two.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Martha Davis	50	f	b			Va.	x
Seaborn "	60	m	b	farmer		Va.	x
Jane "	26	f	b			Ala.	x
Charles "	24	m	b	farmer		Ala.	x
Judy "	22	f	b			Ala.	x
Emanuel "	18	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Robert "	16	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Elizabeth "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Rachel "	11	f	b			Ala.	
Sarah "	10	f	b			Ala.	
Seaborn "	5	m	b			Ala.	
William "	4	m	b			Ala.	
Joseph "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	b			Ala.	
Anthony Long	26	m	b	brickmason		Ala.	x
Harriet "	20	f	b			Ala.	x
Rice Hinton	36	m	m	shoemaker		Va.	
John Kelley	50	m	m	shoemaker		Va.	
Harriet Caldwell (1)	54	f	m			Md.	
Martha "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Delila Fortner (2)	10	f	m			Ala.	
Casey Long	32	m	b			Ala.	
Aggy Dunning (3)	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Sterling	28	m	b	shoemaker		Ala.	
Isabella	40	f	m			N.C.	
Mary	10	f	m			Ala.	
Mary	26	f	m			Ala.	
Emily	2	f	m			Ala.	
Lurene	1	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Lee	40	m	m			Va.	
Sam Price	52	m	b			Va.	
Council Johnson	45	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Anna Scott	85	f	b			Va.	
Ben Steptoe	60	m	b			Va.	
Rachel	60	f	b			Va.	

(1). Husband, 62, and one child, 14, listed white.

(2). James Fortner, 19, listed white.

(3). Mother of child listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
MARION COUNTY							
Ransom Harris	45	m	b	farmer		Ala.	x
Lydia C.	64	f	b			unknown	
Philomon Roberts (1)	14	m	m			Ala.	
MARSHALL COUNTY							
Eady Goins	26	f	m			Va.	x
Lucinda "	23	f	m			Va.	x
Elizabeth "	18	f	m			Tenn.	
Robert Steele (2)	28	m	m	farmer		Tenn.	
Andy Steele	13	m	m			Ala.	
Pamela Bentzo (3)	32	f	m			Tenn.	
Sarah M. Steele	65	f	m		\$150	Ga.	
Mariah	23	f	b			N.C.	
Calvan	4	m	b			Ala.	
Mary	1	f	b			Ala.	
Harry Lee	40	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Thomas Bryan	90	m	b			Va.	x
Anna Day	7	f	m			Ala.	
William Lee (4)	35	m	m	farmer		S.C.	x
John Furlow (5)	35	m	m	farmer	\$200	S.C.	x
Cizziah Bidy	60	f	m			S.C.	x
Elizabeth "	29	f	m			S.C.	x
George "	30	m	m	farmer	\$150	S.C.	x
George Jeffries	17	m	m	farmer		Ala.	

(1). Remainder of family listed white.

(2). Wife listed white.

(3). Husband from Switzerland and child listed white.

(4). Wife, Mary, and six children listed white. The State Census of the same year lists William Lee as head of family of four free colored and one white female over twenty-one years old.

(5). Wife and children listed white. The State Census lists five free colored in family and one white female over twenty-one.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lucinda Jeffries	15	f	m			Ala.	x
John M. " (1)	12	m	m			Ala.	
James Moore	35	m	m	barber		Tenn.	
Aggy Goins	30	f	m			Tenn.	
Priscilla Jones	37	f	b			N.C.	x
Bety Day	31	f	m			Ala.	x
Alfred "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Laine "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
**							

MOBILE COUNTY

Mary Huntingdon	60	f	b			S.C.	
Sylva	60	f	b			S.C.	
Mary Hunt	60	f	b			Africa	
Sylvia McClary	40	f	m			Va.	
John "	14	m	m			Ala.	
William "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Saul "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Edward "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	b			Ala.	
Lucy "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Barnett	60	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Caroline "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Ann A. "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret Collins	25	f	m			Ala.	
Mermitt "	40	f	b	laborer		Ala.	
Edward "	5	m	m			Ala.	
James "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Rosaline Barnard	30	f	b			Fla.	
Dausa "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Poline "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Mary L. "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Oscar "	5	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Mother of these three listed white.

** The State Census lists other free colored heads of families: Sarah Biddy with two free colored in family, Kiziah Ferlow with three, Alen Murray with one, Sarah Duncan with three, Rebecca Carr with three, Dianah Jenkins with three, and Mary Cargyle with two.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Marcelline Barnard	1	mo.f	m			Ala.	
Louesa King	23	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	1	mo.f	m			Ala.	
John Cummings	30	m	m	laborer		Fla.	
Jane "	34	f	m			Va.	
T. Francia(Francoust)	63	f	m			Ala.	
Jesse Slater	45	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Kitty "	34	f	b			N.C.	
Frances "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Anthony Tou.min	45	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Rebecca "	70	f	m			Ala.	
Bazile Hollinger	100	m	b			Ala.	
Aggy "	80	f	b			N.C.	
Josephine Broux	45	f	m		\$1500	Ala.	
Catherine "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Maria "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Gustave "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Josef "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Clara Dubroca	44	f	m		\$1500	Ala.	
Lorine "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Paturn "	24	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Caroline "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Marcia "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Adaline "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Edward "	16	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Ambrose "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Phrogenia"	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Towza "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Felix Seymour	60	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Adolf "	14	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Lawrence Broux	52	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Charles Leavins	50	m	m	laborer		unknown	
Ann Leavins	50	f	m			unknown	
William Kennedy	27	m	m			Ala.	
Prozine "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Adelle "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Constance "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Johnson	55	f	m			N.C.	
William "	25	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Maria "	28	f	m			N.C.	
Ephriam " (1)	85	m	b	laborer		N.C.	

(1). In same household was Abram Burden, 5, listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Nathan Jones	49	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Jane "	43	f	m			Ky.	
Lewis "	24	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
John "	22	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Elizabeth Budreaux	28	f	m			Ala.	
Polite "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Boling	42	m	b	laborer)	prisoners	Va.	
Alfred Shorter	19	m	b	laborer)		Ala.	
John Burden	46	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Mary Ann "	45	f	m			N.C.	
Sarah Cunovello	40	f	m			Ireland	
Catherine "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Charles " (1)	13	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Roberts	40	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Garrison	20	f	m			Fla.	
Julian Aristeel	1	m	m			Ala.	
Jinney Green	75	f	m			Ind.	
Gatsey Lynch	41	f	m			N.C.	
Nancy Lynch	21	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Gatsey "	13	f	m			Ala.	
R. J. "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Charles " (2)	3	m	m			Ala.	
John Rainey	80	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Lucinda "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Eliz. Roberts	29	f	m			S.C.	
Oliver Jones	54	m	m	gardner		N.C.	
Margaret "	53	f	m			N.C.	
Betsy "	40	f	m			N.C.	
Abram "	13	m	m			Va.	
Rachael Allison (3)	18	f	m			Ky.	
Sarah Mullet	49	f	b			Va.	

(1). George H, 8, born in Alabama, was listed white.

(2). Mary and Charles Lynch, aged 6 and 3 respectively, were listed mulatto in the Federal Census and white in the State Census of the same year.

(3). In house with white man, R. Stockwell, clerk, Va.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mary Montgomery	90	f	m				Ga.
Sally "	45	f	m				Ala.
Malinda Evans	40	f	m				Ala.
Ellen "	20	f	m				Ala.
Maria "	21	f	m				Ala.
Louise "	17	f	m				Ala.
Louis "	9	m	m				Ala.
Lyon "	7	m	m				Ala.
Albion "	5	m	m				Ala.
Emanuel "	3	f	m				Ala.
Fanny Bryant	30	f	m				N.C.
Aggy McLeod	80	f	b				Ga.
Elizabeth Chastang	90	f	m				Ala.
Sophia "	50	f	m				Ala.
Arcene 22"	45	f	m				Ala.
Josephine "	30	f	m				Ala.
Margaret Darington	31	f	m				Ala.
Richard McGowan	75	m	b				Ala.
Betsy DeSilva	45	f	m				Md.
Robert Kennedy	80	m	m				S.C.
Sarah Shoon	5	f	m				Ala.
Polite Roshon (1)	18	f	m				Mass.
John Sheppard	20	m	m	boatman			Ala.
Eliza "	17	f	m				Ala.
Virginia "	1	f	m				Ala.
Rebecca Kinney	45	f	m				Ky.
Chas. Addison	50	m	b				S.C.
Mary "	47	f	m				Va.
Jackson Lynch	27	m	m	boatman			Ala.
L. Dubroca	45	m	m	laborer			Ala.
Phillis Brown	27	f	m				Ala.
Mary Allen "	4	f	b				Ala.
Margaret "	2	f	b				Ala.
Clary "	4 mo.	m	b				Ala.
Charles Allen	25	m	m	carpenter			Ala.
Mary Walker	25	f	b				Ala.
Phoebe Coleman	35	f	m				Ala.
Louisa J. Wooley	19	f	m				Ala. *
Chirama "	2	f	m				Ala.
Terrence Johnson	23	f	m				Ala.
Lucy Glover	58	f	m				Ala.

(1). Listed in household of six white females, all with different family names.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Emily Glover	8	f	m			Ala.	
Cyrus Chase	51	m	b	carpenter		Md.	
Cassin Swanson	60	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Maria "	40	f	b			Dist.	Col.
John "	18	m	b			Ala.	
Charles "	13	m	b			Ala.	
William "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Abraham "	7	m	b			Ala.	
S. J. Chastang	30	m	m	carpenter	\$800	Ala.	
Maria	26	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Alice "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Maria Evans	21	f	m			Ala.	*
Alexander"	1	m	m			Ala.	
Louis Laland	30	m	m	tailor		Ala.	
Estel "	32	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome "	17	m	m			Ala.	*
Claira "	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Jno. Trenier, Jr.	23	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Delphina "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Alex Andre "	19	f?	m			Ala.	
Wm. Andre "	21	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
John Trenier, Sr.	45	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Sabina "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Cecilia "	13	f	m			Ala.	*
N. "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Josephine "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Jerome "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Laurendine"	2	m	m			Ala.	
Bazile "	3	m	m			Ala.	
John "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Noel Fornia	40	m	m	bricklayer	\$1000	La.	lunatic
V. "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Isadore "	18	m	m	tinner		Ala.	
Mary "	16	f	m			Ala.	
John "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
John Martin	23	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
D. Thomas	60	m	b	carpenter		Md.	x
A. Durand (1)	30	f	m			Ala.	

(1). B. Pearce, 35, boatman, white Ala., listed in same household with A. Durand and the Pendergrass family.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Sophia Pendergrass	50	f	m			Ala.	
Adohin "	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Aremaise "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Amelin "	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Sarah Summerville	30	f	b			Ala.	
Mary Night	30	f	m			Ga.	
J. Hubbard	53	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Isabella "	39	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	21	f	m			Ala.	
Emelia "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Jane "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Jane Beasley	107	f	m			Ala.	
Henry Rea	70	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Dolly "	69	f	b			Va.	
Frank Mitchell	28	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Levina "	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary Williams	24	f	m			Ala.	x
York "	30	m	m	painter		Ala.	x
Jane "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Ann "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret Mitchell	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Jno. Mabet	35	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Emily "	33	f	m			Ala.	x
Eliza "	25	f	m			Ala.	x
William "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. Daniel	40	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
S. Sara	47	m	m	hunter		Miss.	
H. Bouden	45	m	m	shopkeeper	\$5000	Ala.	
Mary "	17	f	m			Ala.	*
Eugenia "	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Virginia "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Gelina "	29	f	m			Ala.	x
Jane Alexander (1)	54	f	m			Va.	
Jo Tissen (2)	30	m	m	bricklayer			
Sally Pope	60	f	m			Ala.	
Babe "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Willis "	30	m	m	laborer		Ala.	

(1). Listed as living with one white female.

(2). Listed in household of four white females, all of different names, ages 90, 37, 11, and 25.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Pope	19	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Wunnig "	90	f	m			Va.	
Jas. Loraint	50	m	m	carpenter	\$5000	Ala.	
Isabella "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	18	f	m			Ala.	*
Baletone "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Polina "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
Isabella "	16	f	m			Ala.	*
Louis "	5	m	m			Ala.	
James "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Alice "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Thos. Dresan	32	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Lelair "	28	f	m			Ala.	
James "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Latita "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Anatol "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Jesten Lorant	55	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa Durand	96	f	m			Ala.	
Morant Nicholas	90	f	m			Ala.	blind
Romine Duzans	35	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
James Lorant	45	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Thos. Lorant	40	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Wm. Cooper	50	m	m	carpenter		Eng.	
Jas. Cooper	12	m	m			N.Y.	
Martha Taylor	25	f	m			Va.	
Louisa Roba	24	f	m			La.	
Venus Young	25	f	b			Ala.	
Mary Thomas	43	f	b			Va.	
Jas. Thomas	15	m	b			Ala.	
William "	13	m	b			Ala.	
Wm. Roberts	40	m	m	carpenter		Fla.	
S. Andrew	30	m	m			Ala.	
Jane "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Arthur Taylor	80	m	b	laborer		N.C.	
Hanah "	68	f	m			Md.	
Venus Godfrey	75	f	b			Va.	
Harriet Thomas	28	f	m			S.C.	
Laura "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Hanah Cummings (1)	60	f	m			N.C.	
Delia Mullins	75	f	b			Penn.	deaf
Frank Green	56	m	b			Va.	

(1). Listed with Mary Cummings, white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Fanny Green	48	f	b			Va.	
William "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Jo "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth Franc	25	f	m			Ala.	
Clara "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Isadore "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Seymore "	1	m	m			Ala.	
F. Franc	30	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Z. Dubroca	60	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Sophia "	48	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet Clark	33	f	b			S.C.	
Manett Nicholas	50	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Jones	32	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Gertrude "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Eugenia "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
Ben Laurendine	26	m	m	bricklayer		Ala.	
Louisa Williams	24	f	m			Ala.	
Lucinda Brown	30	f	m			Ala.	
Mack "	35	m	m	matress maker		Ala.	
Josef "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Thomas "	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Malinda Gibson	22	f	m			S.C.	
Margaret "	12	f	m			S.C.	
Harriet King	1	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas Grant	45	m	m	cook		Va.	
Lassy Mason	41	f	m			S.C.	
Rebecca "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Oroline "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Rufus "	20	m	m	boatman		Ala.	
Dorcas "	15	m	m			S.C.	
Susan Barnett	35	f	m			La.	
Henry "	11	m	m			Fla.	*
Ben "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Jacob Anderson	45	m	m	carpenter		S.C.	
Harriet "	44	f	m				
Jane "	3	f	b				
Zelina Sauvage	41	f	m			Ala.	
Ann "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Setonia "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Eujine "	7	m	m			Ala.	*
Eujinia Sauvage	4	f	m			Ala.	
J. Laurendine	26	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Clara Laurendine	22	f	m			Ala.	
Adelle "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Emeline "	17	f	m			Ala.	
James "	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Amile "	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Eliza "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Octave "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Geo. Eddy	8	m	m			Ala.	*
Antonio Savage	22	m	m	shoemaker		Ala.	
Julia "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Laurendine	18	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome Salvade	40	m	b	shopkeeper		Italy	
Caroline Ross	45	f	b			Ohio	
Fanny Fitts	80	f	b			N.C.	
V. Durrett	36	m	m	mason		Ala.	
Lucy "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet Windham	27	f	m			Ala.	
Robert	80	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Susan (1)	23	f	m			Fla.	
Catherine George	38	f	b			N.C.	
Catherine "	14	f	m			Ala.	
J. Marshall (2)	63	m	b	laborer		Va.	
John Gasson	36	m	m	segar mfg.		La.	
Amanda "	29	f	m			La.	
C. A. Lafive	14	f	m			France	
Mary Kennedy	31	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Frances	17	f	m			Ala.	
Adalade Tankersley	53	f	b			Ala.	
Manet Rochon	71	f	m			Ala.	
J. Davison	12	m	m			Ala.	
wilson Rochon	43	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Irene Armstrong	22	f	m			Ala.	
Modes Lavison	45	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Josey	65	f	b			Ala.	
Louisa	12	f	m			Poland	
Mary Elgranier	27	f	b			France	
Maria "	2 mo.	f	b			Ala.	

(1). Listed with John Lewis, white, cook, from France.

(2). Listed in household of J. D. Kreit, white merchant.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Sarah Williams (1)	21	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Batond	50	f	m			Fla.	
Antonet "	27	f	m			Fla.	
Margaret "	21	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas Paris	5	m	m			Ala.	
Victor	3	m	m			Ala.	
Charles	10	m	m			Ala.	
Robert Turpey	1	m	m			Ala.	
F. Collin	53	m	m		\$3000	Ala.	
Jane "	32	f	m			Ala.	
S. "	33	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
O. "	31	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
V. "	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Rosalie "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Felicie "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Amia "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Clara "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
H. "	9	m	m			Ala.	*
D. B. Hubbard	40	f	m			Fla.	
V. King	17	f	m			Ala.	
B. King	7	m	m			Ala.	
Rachel Wilson	110	f	m			Md. blind	
Victoria Rothan	9	f	m			Ala.	
Clement Joseph	44	m	m	shopkeeper		Ala.	
Ellen "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Clementine "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Augustine "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Victor "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Ann Gunter	13	f	m			Ala.	
P. A. Joseph	42	f	m		\$1500	Spain	
John	21	m	m	segar manuf.		Spain	
August	20	m	m	segar manuf.		Spain	
William	16	m	m	segar manuf.		Ala.	
Reigman	15	m	m	segar manuf.		Ala.	
Sarah	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Betsy	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Henry	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Catherine	8	f	m			Ala.	*

(1). In same household with Sarah Williams, the Federal Census lists Geo. Lago, 40, shopkeeper, as white, and Geo. aged 1 mo. also as white. The State Census of the same year lists Geo. Lago as mulatto, and Geo. aged 1 mo. as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Andrew	7	m	m			Ala.	*
Felix	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Louisa Barnes	50	f	b			S.C.	
Franklin "	19	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret Collins	40	f	m			Ala.	
A. Stewart (1)	23	m	m	cabinet maker		Ala.	
J. A. Stewart	22	f	m	mason		Ala.	
Rosaline "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Delphine "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Odelea "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Chasey Stewart	40	f	m			N.C.	
Jno. Thomas	14	m	m			Ala.	
Eve "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Hercules Strong	45	m	b			Ga.	
Catherine "	24	f	b			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	b			Ala.	
B. Joseph	50	f	m			Ala.	
Kate Thorpe (2)	50	f	m			N.C.	
James Fleaden	49	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Mary Wade	14	f	m			Ala.	
John "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Mary J. Ward	9	f	m			Ala.	
Alex Jones	7	m	m			Ala.	
Frank Crawford	45	m	m			S.C.	
Margaret Mitchell	55	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret	16	f	m			Ala.	
Oras	8	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Polite	18	f	m			Ala.	
Julia Soto	41	f	m			Ala.	
Espa "	22	m	m	coppersmith		Ala.	
Jane Howell	70	f	b			Eng.	
H. Loland	67	m	m	farmer	\$2000	Ala.	
C. Laland	66	f	m			Ala.	
M. M.	33	m	m			Ala.	
Erstine	20	f	m			Ala.	
Milly Foster	28	f	b			Ala.	
Allen "	5	n	b			Ala.	
Gilbert	1	m	b			Ala.	

(1). The State Census lists the Stewart family mulatto; the Federal Census lists them white.

(2). Listed with E. Thorp, 47, white, farmer, from Va.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
G. Laurendine	29	m	m	bricklayer		Ireland	
Mary "	26	f	m			Ireland	
Clementine "	6	f	m			Ireland	
Mannet "	27	f	m			Ireland	
Boghi "	24	m	m	confectioner		Ireland	
Pier "	20	m	m	segar manuf.		Ireland	
Rosette "	18	f	m			Ireland	
Oscar "	15	m	m			Ireland	
John "	12	m	m			Ireland	
Polite "	11	f	m				
Willis Moon	2	m	m				
Mary Laurendine	1	f	m				
Caroline Lee	38	f	m			Ala.	
Clara Nicholas	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Adolph	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Alfred (1)	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Coralie	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Julia Nichols	3	f	m			Ala.	
Cornelia	1	f	m			Ala.	
A. Chunse	25	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine Higgins	1	f	m			Ala.	
Z. Gregory	44	f	m			La.	
Frank	22	m	m	butcher		Ala.	
Abul	20	m	m	painter		Ala.	
Julia	18	f	m			Ala.	
Mary	15	f	m			Ala.	
Emeline	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Amy	5	f	m			Ala.	*
Chas. Harris	47	m	m	barber		Penn.	
Sultana	10	f	m			Ala.	
P. A. Blanks	46	m	m	barber		Va.	
Louisa "	30	f	m			Ga.	
P. J.	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Margaret	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Walkley	3	m	m			Ala.	
George	2	m	m			Ala.	
Robert	1/4	m	m			Ala.	
Polite Collins	40	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Jas.	18	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	

(1). Alfred and Coralie listed mulatto in the Federal Census and white in the State Census.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Cornelia Collins	15	f	m			Ala.	*
John "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Elmira "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Julia "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
Robert "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Harriet "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus	80	f	m			Ala.	
Ambrose	56	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Nancy Flowers	45	f	b			Fla.	
Ann "	25	f	b			Fla.	
Thos. Foster	8	f	b			Ala.	
William Royal	58	m	m	shopkeeper \$1000		Va.	
Elizabeth "	36	f	m			Ala.	
William "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Alabama V. "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Abram "	1	m	m			Ala.	
G. Currie	45	f	b			Va.	
C. Gregory	40	f	m	merchant		Ala.	
T. M. Bedun	23	m	m	tinner		Ala.	
Jerome	20	m	m	painter		Ala.	
Matilda	16	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine	12	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Barrett	25	f	m			Ala.	
Mary F. Hayes	6	f	m			Ala.	
Helen E. "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Harry Barrett	29	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
I. Dubroca	45	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Ellen Monjer	50	f	m			Fla.	
Thomas Leavens	35	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Mary "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Floyd "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Jordan Lynch	46	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Victoria Baranca (1)	3	f	m			Ala.	
Azul "	1	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Victoria and Azul were listed with two white men, aged 30 and 45, fishermen, from Spain.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Antonie Thompson (1)	1	m	m			Ala.	
Mad. Doleras	45	f	m			Fla.	
**							
Mary Johns	40	f	b			Florence	
Charles	11	m	m			Ala.	
H.	9	m	m			Ala.	
F.	2	m	m			Ala.	
P.	1	m	m			Ala.	
L. A. Henderson	21	f	m			Va.	
Julius "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Allen "	1 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Amy Taylor	19	f	b			Ala.	
Isaac "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Tranier	19	f	m			Ala.	
Jno. Denton	1	m	m			Ala.	
Michel Lachise	27	f	m			Ala.	
Julia Autre	28	f	m			Ala.	
Albert Chastang	30	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
B. Lachise	8	m	m			Ala.	
E. Jackson	45	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Catherine "	41	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah Bryant	23	f	m			Ala.	
Clara "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Jno. Beall	75	m	b	laborer		N.C.	
Thrace "	70	f	b			N.C.	
Emma Hanway	27	f	m			N.C.	
Euphronia Owen	32	f	m			Ala.	
J. Montgomery	36	m	m	plasterer		Ala.	
Mary "	38	f	m			Va.	
Sally Bryant	35	f	m			Ala.	
Maria "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Missouri "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Euphrozine"	2	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Antonie was listed with two white men, aged 32 and 26, bookkeepers, from France and Sweden respectively.

** Listed as white in the Federal Census and mulatto in the State Census were: James Geft, 25, plasterer, Ruth Carver, 30, from Kentucky, V. Cummins, 23, from Fla. and Albert Gamble, two months, from Ala.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Ann Bryant	26	f	m			Ala.	
P. Bryant	4	m	m			Ala.	
Thos. "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa Vail	25	f	m			N.C.	
John "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Charles "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Esther Bates	68	f	m			Va.	
William	80	m	m			Ga.	
Charles Joseph	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
F. Tranier	27	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Elizabeth	24	f	m			Ala.	
Clara	3	f	m			Ala.	
Frank	2	m	m			Ala.	
Lemon	1	m	m			Ala.	
D. Toulmin	18	f	b			Ala.	
Edward "	3	m	m			Ala.	
William	1	m	m			Md.	
A. Tankersley	50	f	b			S.C.	
Adam Sewell	90	m	b			N.C.	
Hania Lopiz	100	f	b			N.C.	
Mary O. Savona	40	f	m			Ala.	
Edward "	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Louisa "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Michel "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Emelia "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Glasgow Ruis	95	m	b	laborer		Va.	
Fanny Watson	65	f	b			N.C.	
Saml. Rowan	53	m	b	laborer		N.C.	
York Collin	58	m	b	carpenter		N.C.	
Alice	53	f	m			Va.	
Eveline Bonderham	30	f	m			S.C.	
Robert	18	m	m	boatman		Ala.	
William	17	m	m	boatman		Ala.	
John	13	m	m			Ala.	
John	50	m	m	carpenter		S.C.	
J. Grampee	37	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Louisa	25	f	m			S.C.	
William	3	m	m			Ala.	
Eliz. Bethany	40	f	m			S.C.	
Mary	25	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Tucker	14	m	m			Ala.	
Chas. J. Watson	6	m	m			Ala.	
Maria Dizon	18	f	m			Ala.	
Malvina	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	

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Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane Denton	20	f	m			Ala.	
Reuben	1	m	m			Ala.	
Lewis Zingon	23	m	m	ship carpenter		Ala.	
Ellen Pepp	18	f	m			Ala.	
Charlott Thom	16	f	m			Ala.	
E. Pierce	30	f	b			Ala.	
Virginia	12	f	b			Ala.	
Mary	15	f	m			Ala.	
C. Chastang (1)	25	f	m			Ala.	
Victorine "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Isabella "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Ben "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Julia "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus "	25	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
F. Gomez	25	m	m	coppersmith		Fla.	
Rosalie "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Soladine "	3	f	m			Ala.	
T. "	1	m	m			Ala.	
James Davis	14	m	m			La.	
Edw. Pollard	27	m	m	carpenter	\$1000	Ala.	
J. J. "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Jo. Rabby	17	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
C. P. Collins	29	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Elizabeth "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Mary "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Jantry	21	f	m			Ala.	
J. Bosage	50	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Jones (2)	16	f	m			Ala.	
Cornelia Pope	25	f	m			Ala.	
R. L. (3)	7	m	m			Ala.	

(1). This family listed white in the Federal Census and colored in the State Census.

(2). Mary is listed with white man, clerk, from S. C.

(3). Cornelia and R. L. listed with white man, R. A. Lewis, aged 32, from Va.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Frank Starke	40	m	m			Ala.	
Malinda	30	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Anderson	32	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Mary "	42	f	m			Ala.	
Susan "	16	f	m			Ala.	
J. Lafer (1)	52	m	m			La.	
Isabella Lafer	60	f	m			La.	
Angenett "	40	f	m			La.	
Celeste Chastang	55	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Gertrude "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Benjamin "	21	m	m			Ala.	
Edward "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Minerva "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Emma	3	f	m			Ala.	
Nanette Punch	52	f	m			La.	
Antoine "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah Rabby (2)	40	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Pope	50	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Lorena "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Ann Collins	37	f	m			Ala.	
Celeste Trona (3)	29	f	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Martin "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Susan Rayfield	45	f	m			Ala.	
Emma "	20	f	m			Miss.	

- (1). The Lafers were listed white in the Federal Census and colored in the State Census.
- (2). Sarah is listed with John Peno, 55, white, merchant from Spain.
- (3). Listed in the same household with the Tronas was L. Russell, 40, white, laborer from Spain.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Latacea	19	f	m			Ala.	
Clara	6	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet	38	f	m			Ala.	
Gertrude	25	f	m			Miss.	
Lewis	5	m	m			Miss.	
Josephine Chastang	35	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine	14	f	m			Ala.	
Isabella Petre	14	f	m			Ala.	
Clara Battiste	80	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Williams	30	f	m			La.	
Mary Chastang	50	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome	11	m	m			Ala.	
Batt	9	m	m			Ala.	
Lydia Meshier	50	f	m			Ala.	
Louis	10	m	m			Ala.	
Brazile	6	m	m			Ala.	
Josephine	7	f	m			Ala.	
John A. Collin	50	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Isabella "	43	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Emma "	16	f	m			Ala.	
John "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza Jassamin	34	f	m			Md.	
Ellin Clark	10	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline Wright	40	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Amanda "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Amelia "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Martha	3	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Durette	60	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine "	56	f	m			Ala.	
Pauline "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Constantine "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Edward "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Jane	13	f	m			Ala.	
Justin Ronville	19	m	m			Ala.	
Baptiste Sarah	26	m	m			Ala.	
Arthur	4	m	m			Ala.	
Exhiva	2	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
M. Lewis	40	f	m			Ala.	
Jno. Roberts	27	m	m	laborer		Fla.	
Mary "	31	f	m			Fla.	
Amanda "	7	f	m			Fla.	
Cornelia "	2	f	m			Fla.	
Victorine (1)	20	f	m			Ala.	
Henry Jackson	50	m	m			Ala.	
Tiny	30	f	m			Ala.	
William Duggar	30	m	m			Ala.	
Harriet	35	f	m			Ala.	
Ann West	46	f	m			Ala.	
Amanda	8	f	m			Ala.	
Clarissa (2)	24	f	m			Va.	
Henry	12	m	m			Ala.	
V. Savannah	44	m	m			Ala.	
Catharine	38	f	m			Ala.	
Corene	15	f	m			Ala.	
Vincent	11	m	m			Ala.	
Ego	8	m	m			Ala.	
M. Bazile	50	f	m			Ala.	
Massey	6	f	m			Ala.	
Jno. Page	35	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
M. Hubbard	50	f	m			Ala.	
Emily	11	f	m			Ala.	
Paul	5	m	m			Ala.	
Henry Moody	35	m	m			Ala.	
Daly "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Henry Jones	30	m	m			Ga.	
Louisa "	29	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	6	m	m			Ala.	
William "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Francis	12	f	m			Ala.	
P. Trayner	61	m	m			Ala.	
Corene	14	f	m			Ala.	
Zedore	13	m	m			Ala.	
Caswell	8	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Listed with Edwin Mullin, white, carpenter, from Pa.

(2). Clarissa and Henry listed in household with Jas. Williams, 25, white, bricklayer from Ala. The State Census lists James Williams as a free Negro with two in family.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Diego	6	m	m			Ala.	
Phillis	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Francis	40	f	m			Ala.	
S. Reed (1)	25	f	m			Ala.	
Sidney Bethany	80	f	m			Va.	
Mary Bruce	16	f	m			Ala.	
Ann	18	f	m			Ala.	
Henry	10	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Glover (2)	16	f	m			Fla.	
Jane Sooder	1 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac Collins	50	m	m	laborer		La.	
Arian Barnett (3)	19	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline Burgess	5	f	m			Ala.	
D. Sweeney (4)	70	m	m	laborer		La.	
L. Daniels	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
A. Ballizit	52	f	m			La.	
Valorie Petite	65	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	46	f	m			Ala.	
Valorie "	30	m	m			Ala.	
Julianna "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Clement "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Alexander Petite	11	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret	9	f	m			Ala.	
Florestine	3	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore Petite	27	m	m			Ala.	
Jane	20	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth	4 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Robert Instant	25	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza	20	f	m			Ala.	
Emma	4	f	m			Ala.	

- (1). Listed with B. F. Chapman, 36, white.
- (2). Mary and June listed in household with two white men, aged 23 and 33, sailor and clerk.
- (3). Listed in house with white man, 40, carpenter, England.
- (4). The State Census lists white female, aged 52, and child, aged eight months, with D. Sweeney. The Federal Census lists them as mulattoes.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mary	2	f	m			Ala.	
Adelle Petite	112	f	m			Ala.	
Clara Chicazola	36	f	m			Italy	
Ann "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Angeline Brown	95	f	m			Ala.	
Jean Le Tour	31	m	m	boatman		Ala.	
Robert Roberts	4	m	m			Ala.	
Camilla Jugan (1)	28	f	m			Ala.	
Clemancia "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Lacrum "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Adelinar "	1	f	m			Ala.	
O. T. Martinez (2)	19	f	m			Ala.	
Clara "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia (3)	32	f	m			Ala.	
Victoria	10	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome	7	m	m			Ala.	
Ouvrine	5	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander	3	m	m			Ala.	
Eurcline	38	f	m			Ala.	
William	19	m	m			Ala.	
Clara	13	f	m			Ala.	
Labanus	11	m	m			Ala.	
Adelph	10	m	m			Ala.	
Alphonse	9	m	m			Ala.	
Julia	5	f	m			Ala.	
Camilla	2	f	m			Ala.	

- (1). Listed in household with Clement Nicholas, white, bar-keeper, from Alabama.
- (2). Listed with white man, butcher, from New York, property valued at \$3500.
- (3). The thirteen mulattoes beginning with Virginia, listed in household with William Nicholas, clerk, white, from Alabama.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Frances (1)	27	f	m			Ala.	
Orelia	3	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine	1	f	m			Ala.	
Charles Rider	23	m	m	butcher		Ala.	
Samuel	11	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah Mase	27	f	m			Ala.	
Susan "	15	f	m			Ala.	
John "	10	m	m			Ala.	
George "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Martha King	29	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Jane "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Ophelia (2)	20	f	m			Ala.	
Nannette Reushon	77	f	m		\$3000	Ala.	
Wilson	43	m	m	blacksmith		Ala.	
Arnine Armstrong	26	f	m			Ala.	
Julius	12	m	m			Ala.	
Modes	10	f	m			Ala.	
Alice	8	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy George	50	f	m			Ala.	
Philip Gambol	38	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Cain	25	f	m			Ala.	
John	6	m	m			Ala.	
Frances	3	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Jane	1	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline Travis	40	f	m			Ala.	
Francoise	30	f	b			La.	
William George	32	m	m	butcher	\$1400	Ala.	
Eliz. "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Fanny "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Jane "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Judy Reed	38	f	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Elitha	11	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Frances and the four mulattoes following listed in the same house with John Neily, 29, butcher, from Ohio, listed white.

(2). Ophelia listed in household with white butcher.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lewis Landen	35	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Martha "	35	f	m			Ala.	
Ovid "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Jarman "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Julius "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Maximilliam Collins	68	m	m	farmer	\$4000	Ala.	
Hortense "	50	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Myer "	27	m	m			Ala.	
Victorine "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Pierre "	24	m	m			Ala.	
John "	20	m	m			Ala.	
Capinier "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Lorine "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Stuart "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Julius "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Tabitha "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Amanda "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Hortense "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Maximilliam "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Celestine "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Alistye "	1 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Betsy "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Adolphus Leland	40	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Batre Durrett	45	m	m			Ala.	
Zedo "	70	m	m			Ala.	
Lavina (1)	24	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza Reed	34	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	18	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Sabina "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Florentine"	13	f	m			Ala.	
James "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Rowena "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Maximillian Dubroca	41	m	m	farmer	\$1200	Ala.	
Annette "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Nelson Dubroca	39	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Mary "	31	f	m			Ala.	
Ramo Chastang	27	m	m	farmer		Ala.	

(1). Lavina listed with B. R. White, white man from Georgia.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Felicia Dubroca	33	f	m			Ala.	
Edward Dubroca	5	m	m			Ala.	
Felicia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
John "	1 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Sylvester Dubroca	32	m	m	farmer	\$300	Ala.	
Mary "	32	f	m			Ala.	
Frozine "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Sylvester "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Ananci "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Marcelete "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Patram Chastang	13	m	m			Ala.	
Pierre Dubroca	42	m	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Seymour "	15	m	m			Ala.	
B. "	17	m	m		\$800	Ala.	
Elizabeth "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Annin "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Bennins Cardron	22	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Clara Chastang (1)	30	f	m			Ala.	
Andrew "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	4	f	m			Ala.	
George "	2	m	m			Ala.	
William "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Sylvester Andrea	58	m	m	farmer	\$500	Ala.	
Alexina "	50	f	m			Ala.	
Sylvester "	22	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Rosaline "	21	f	m			Ala.	
Maximilliam Andrea	60	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Louisa	54	f	m			Ala.	
Helen	35	f	m			Ala.	
Irene	33	f	m			Ala.	
Maximillian	30	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Leonard	28	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Emma	23	f	m			Ala.	
Gertrude	21	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore	14	m	m			Ala.	

(1). A white man from Switzerland in house with Clara.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Theodore Collins	45	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Jane "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	21	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Rose "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Reuben "	17	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lewis "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Julius "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Emma "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Octavia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Pauline "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret Chastang	35	f	m			Ala.	
Edwar "	2	m	m			Ala.	
John Chastang	57	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Nannette "	36	f	m			Ala.	
Camilla "	17	f	m			Ala.	
John "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Edward "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Isabel "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Mina "	89	f	b			Ala.	
Zeno ", Jr.	36	m	m	farmer	\$300	Ala.	
Petronney "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Zeno "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Rosella "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Zeno "	67	m	m	farmer	\$1000	Ala.	
Mary "	57	f	m			Ala.	
Alphonse "	28	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Joseph "	24	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lewis "	22	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lustang "	20	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Edward "	18	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Catharine "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Frances Chastang	25	m	m	farmer	\$150	Ala.	
Louisa "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Philomien "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	1	f	m			Ala.	
John "	35	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
John J. "	47	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Bridget "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Astazia "	13	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	63	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Jerome Andrey	31	m	m	farmer	\$200	Ala.	
Louisa "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	11	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Alphonso Andrey	9	m	m			Ala.	
Anastasia	7	f	m			Ala.	
Marsarha	5	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome	3	m	m			Ala.	
Zeno	1	m	m			Ala.	
Foster Chastang	40	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Delphine "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Sedman "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Lustang "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Cora "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Edward "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Adolph "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	1	f	m			Ala.	
William (1)	2	m	m			Ala.	
Franklin (2)	3	m	m			Ala.	
David Weaver	57	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Thomas "	19	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lorene "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Tiny "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	14	f	m			Ala.	
David "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Albert "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Alfred "	4	m	m			Ala.	
John "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Lemuel Byrd	55	m	m	farmer		N.C.	
Ann "	60	f	m			Ga.	
Washington "	21	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Lemuel "	19	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Martha "	16	f	m			Ala.	
William "	30	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Jessee Weaver	16	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Joseph "	20	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Jane "	6	f	m	farmer		Ala.	
Edward Parker	40	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Sarah "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Alfred "	25	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Listed in white family, named Gibson.

(2). Listed in white family, named Hopkins

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
MONROE COUNTY							
Martha Ann Perrey	19	f	b			Ala.	
William Scott	19	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Robert Wells	70	m	m	farmer		Va.	x
Percilla "	65	f	m			Va.	x
Edey Rivers (1)	57	f	b			Ga.	x
Simeone "	31	f	b			Ala.	x
Nancy "	26	f	m			Ala.	x
George "	20	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Roda "	23	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	17	f	m			Ala.	
James "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Hetty Hollinger (2)	50	f	m			Ala.	x
Elick "	24	m	m	stockkeeper		Ala.	
David "	22	m	m			Ala.	
William "	17	m	m			Ala.	
Nahbonerah Neuman(3)	6	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Charles Weatherford	46	m	m	farmer	\$400	Ala.	
Betsy "	(4)44	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. "	21	m	m			Ala.	
Charles "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Elisa "	25	f	m			S.C.	
Thomas Hathcock (5)	40	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Betsey "	49	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	20	m	m			Ala.	
James "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. "	16	m	m			Ala.	
John "	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Milly "	32	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Joel Rivers, coachmaker, from Va., \$250, listed white.

(2). Wm. Hollinger, farmer, \$7000, listed white.

(3). Husband, wife, and eight other children listed white.

(4). State Census Chas. Weatherford with eleven slaves.

(5). Vacey, aged 14, and Susan, 19, listed white. State Census credits two white females under 21 in this family also.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Seburn Hathcock	10	m	m			Ala.	
Silas "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Sady Hughes	90	f	b			S.C.	
Matilda Taylor (1)	20	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Moor	75	m	b			Va.	
Emily Lynch	23	f	b			Ala.	
Betty "	10	f	m			Ala.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Jim "	4	m	b			Ala.	
Alfred "	3	m	m			Ala.	
James "	2	m	m			Ala.	

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Amos Montgomery	40	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
Kesiah Jones (2)	14	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Malicain Gunter	35	m	b			S.C.	x
Louisa Blackman	21	f	m			Ala.	
Hector Scott	80	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
Delphy Dennis	45	f	b			Ga.	x
Mariah "	12	f	b			Ala.	
David "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Harriet "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Leander "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Mary Haney	26	f	b			Ga.	
John "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	1	f	b			Ala.	
John Coleman	58	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Betsey "	51	f	m			Ga.	
Betsy Harmon	10	f	m			Ala.	
Frederick (3)	6	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy Medlock	40	f	m			Ga.	

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- (1). Geo. Taylor and two young children listed white.
- (2). Listed with Bennet Jones, a farmer from N.C., aged thirty-eight, white.
- (3). Two white paupers listed in household; Mary Arnold, aged 35, from Ga., Mary Arnold, 10, Ala., and one mulatto pauper in household, John Arnold, 1, Ala.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Harriet Medlock	12	f	m			Ala.	
Robert R. "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Briant "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Marion "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Lantan	78	m	m	farmer	\$1000	Del.	
Nancy "	54	f	m			S.C.	x
William "	28	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Obadiah "	26	m	m	blacksmith		N.C.	
Nancy "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Rachel Merret (1)	27	f	m			N.C.	
James "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Susan "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Eliz. Lanton	29	m	m			N.C.	
James Lucas	50	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Aaron Goin	55	m	b	barber	\$200	Va.	
John Goin	7	m	m			Ala.	
Henry Rodgers (2)	27	m	m	carpenter	\$500	S.C.	
Wm. Joseph	20	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Robert Irwin	80	m	b			Va.	x
Mary Garret	21	f	b			Ala.	
Wm. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Rose Riley	30	f	m			Ga.	
Margaret Tracy	23	f	m			Md.	x
Laura S. "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Hall	40	m	m	carpenter		S.C.	
Louisa Reed	11	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Wilson	44	f	b			S.C.	
Georgiana "	14	f	b			S.C.	
Eladora "	11	f	b			Ala.	
David "	9	m	b			Ala.	
James A. "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Morris W. "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Virginia C"	$\frac{1}{4}$	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline McCalfrey	29	f	m			N.C.	

(1). Isaac Merret, 29 farmer, listed white.

(2). The manuscript census in Tuscaloosa lists Henry white; the one in Montgomery lists him mulatto, and his wife and five children, two of which had no names at the age of four and one, as whites.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Sarah Cates	28	f	m			Ga.	x
John "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Augusta "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Maria Suffreth	21	f	m			Mexico	
Nancy Huss	30	f	m			S.C.	
W. L. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Benj. F."	6	m	m			Ala.	
Abby Majors	36	f	m			S.C.	
Mary McCutcheon	28	f	m			S.C.	
Thos. "	11	m	m			Ala.	
George "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Josephine Hassell	17	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza Lumpkin	35	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Willis Blount	27	m	b	carpenter		N.C.	x
Margaret "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Penny Wilson	30	f	m			N.C.	
Leanore "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	10	m	m			Ala.	
John "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Susan "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Evaline "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Willis "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Mariah Ringstaff	40	f	m			Ga.	
Mariah Hansford	16	f	m			Ala.	
Theodosia "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Hill	35	f	m			S.C.	x
Febe "	13	f	m			S.C.	
Sarah "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Silvey "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Gowen	10	m	b			Ala.	
Rebeccah "	8	f	b			Ala.	
Nathan Ashabey	44	m	b	carpenter	\$2000	Va.	
Nancy "	39	f	m			Ga.	
Georgia "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac Alexander	23	m	b	bricklayer		Ala.	
Nancy Taylor	35	f	m		\$300	Va.	
Catherine Jacobs	32	f	m			S.C.	
Frederick "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Mary	40	f	b				
Emeline	22	f	b				
William	19	m	b				

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Daniel	13	m	b				
Melinda	9	f	b				
Solomon	7	m	b				
Stephen	5	m	b				
Elizabeth	2	f	b				
John	4	m	b				
Catherine Reynolds(1)	60	f	m		\$1200	N.C.	x
Elijah Nappee	35	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Lydia Carr	70	f	m			N.C.	
unidentified (2)	70	m	b				
unidentified	70	f	b				
unidentified	70	f	b				
unidentified	40	m	b				

MORGAN COUNTY

Edward Scott	36	m	b			Tenn.	x
Nancy Newman	35	f	b			Tenn.	
Adaline Allsbacks	14	f	b			Tenn.	
Izabella Keys	50	f	b		\$100	Va.	x
William Jacobs	28	m	m	cook		Ala.	
Sally Grigara	4	f	m			Ala.	
Polly Victory	8	f	m			Ala.	
Frank Johnson	30	m	m	day laborer		Ala.	
William Curry	56	m	b	farmer	\$300	N.C.	
Eliza "	39	f	b			N.C.	
William "	19	m	b			Ala.	
Josiras "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	7	f	b			Ala.	
Mary T. "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Henry B. "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Huadishas "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Scipio "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Isaac	14	m	b			Ala.	
George	16	m	b			Tenn.	
Rose	14	f	m			Ala.	

(1). John Reynolds, 24, farmer, Catherine Reynolds, 17, and Jenkins Reynolds, 16, farmer, listed white, from Ala.

(2). These four were listed living with a white farmer, and no names were given, nor birthplace.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Samuel Lacy	55	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Rohdy "	52	f	b	farmer		Ala.	
Sally "	38	f	b			Ala.	
Jinney "	36	f	b			Ala.	
Scipio "	25	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Rosey "	23	f	b			Ala.	
Elbin "	21	f	b			Ala.	
John "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Henry "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Polly "	20	f	b			Ala.	
Plesant "	19	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Edmond "	19	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Martha "	18	f	b			Ala.	
Emaline Lacy	17	f	b			Ala.	
Richey "	12	m	b			Ala.	
William R. "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Scipio "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Rohda "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Mary E. "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Sam "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Milton "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Henry Baker	25	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
John Banks	60	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	
William Taylor	4	m	b			Ala.	
Moses	9	m	b			Ala.	
Hardy	46	m	b			Ala.	
Lidia	35	f	b			Ala.	
Rose	53	f	b			unknown	
Cornelius	16	f	b			unknown	

PERRY COUNTY

Free Negro James	56	m	b	carpenter	\$200	S.C.	
Dacey "	40	f	b			S.C.	
Mary "	18	f	b			S.C.	
Franklin "	15	m	b			Ala.	
Francis "	13	f	b			Ala.	
David "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Huldy "	9	f	b			Ala.	
Joe "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Elias "	1	m	b			Ala.	
John Showers	38	m	b	hostler		N.C.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Hamilton Shields	24	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Archie "	22	m	m			S.C.	
Benjamin "	20	m	m			S.C.	
Wm. "	16	m	m			Ala.	
John G. "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Martha "	16	f	b			Ala.	*
Delaware "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Missouri " (1)	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Mary King	60	f	b		\$400	Tenn.	x
Peter "	25	m	b	farmer		La.	x
Simon "	25	m	b	farmer		La.	x
Hester "	23	f	m			La.	x
Nancy "	21	f	b			La.	x
George "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Tom "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Harrietta "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Sophonra E. Orr	27	f	m			Ga.	
Joshua Griffin	17	m	m			Ala.	
Aaron "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Townsend	24	f	m			Ala.	
Emily "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Geo. A. Marshall	3	m	m			Ala.	

PICKENS COUNTY

Martha Halsel	50	f	b			unknown	
Matthew (2)	6	m	m			Ala.	
Ginna	65	f	b			unknown	
Terra Hatcher (3)	30	m	m	farmer	\$200	S.C.	
Anna Watson	14	f	m			Ala.	
James "	17	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Wm. B. Shields, farmer from N. C., property \$12,660, listed white. Also four other whites listed in same household. The State Census lists 10 free colored on Shields' place.

(2). Listed in house with four white females.

(3). Rest of family listed as whites.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Stephen Dunstan	78	m	b	farmer	\$400	Va.	
Philada "	68	f	b			N.C.	
Elijah "	38	m	b			Ala.	
Oliff "	21	f	b			Ala.	
Peggy "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Dick Dunson	50	m	b			Ala.	x

PIKE COUNTY

Henry Ellis	35	m	b	laborer		Va.	
John Suggs	8	m	m			S.C.	
Saml. Weatherspoon	30	m	m	blacksmith		S.C.	x
Calvin "	24	m	m	blacksmith	\$100	S.C.	
Mary "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Laura " (1)	1	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza (2)	9	f	m			Ala.	
Stephen Revil (3)	45	m	m	laborer		unknown	x
Larkin "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Adaline "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Jackson (4)	47	f	m			S.C.	x
James "	24	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Jane "	17	f	m			S.C.	
Catharine "	16	f	m			S.C.	
Rebecca "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Wiley Lucas (5)	60	m	m	farmer		N.C.	x
Alfred "	21	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Jackson "	18	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
W. Lucas (6)	30	m	m	farmer	\$300	Ga.	x

- (1). Listed in same household with Weatherspoons is Mary Davenport, 35, white female, from S. C.
- (2). Mother and four other children, 18, 16, 14, 12, white.
- (3). Wife listed white, also two children, aged 5 and 3.
- (4). Jacob Jackson, farmer from S. C., listed white.
- (5). Wife listed white.
- (6). Nancy Lucas, 23, from Ga. listed white; also Mary Howard, 60, in same household listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane Lucas	7	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Ann Lucas	5	f	m			Ala.	
John "	1 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Catharine Crowder	9	f	m			Ga.	

RANDOLPH COUNTY

Tempey Meachem	8	f	m			Ala.	
Troup Walls	4	m	m			Ala.	
Newton Mruphey	18	m	m			Ga.	
Asa Summerlund	70	m	m			Va.	
Jane Meachem	6	f	m			Ala.	
Asbury Meachem	10	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Bradley	17	f	m			Ga.	
William N. Hale	4 ¹	m	m				X
Nancy "	57	f	m				X
Mahala "	19	f	m				X
Nancy "	16	f	m				
Rachel "	14	f	m				
Wm. " (1)	10	m	m				
Bill Cash	60	m	m	shoemaker		S.C.	X
Poll "	50	f	m			S.C.	X
Sall "	30	f	m			S.C.	X
Nance "	22	f	m			S.C.	X
Rache "	18	f	m			S.C.	X
Moll "	17	f	m			S.C.	X
Joe "	15	m	m			S.C.	X
Jack "	13	m	m			S.C.	X
Betts "	11	f	m			S.C.	X
Wash "	9	m	m			S.C.	X
Tom "	4	m	m			S.C.	X
Ranson Cash	10	m	m			S.C.	
Buford Cash	23	m	m			S.C.	X
Josiah Cash	40	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Betsey "	20	f	m			S.C.	
Pleasant Wilson	16	m	m	farmer		S.C.	

(1). Birthplace for Hale family not given.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
RUSSELL COUNTY							
Ryal Clarke	64	m	b			S.C.	
John	40	m	m			Dist. Col.	
Ann	25	f	b			Ga.	
Cornelius	8	m	b			Ala.	
Frank	6	m	b			Ala.	
Jane	4	f	b			Ala.	
James	2	m	b			Ala.	
Lennon	52	m	b			Ga.	
John	16	m	m			Mexico	
Betsey	40	f	b			N.C.	
Charles	21	m	b			N.C.	
Sarah	14	f	b			Ala.	
Harriet	13	f	b			Ala.	
James	11	m	b			Ala.	
Hesikiah	10	m	b			Ala.	
Adaline	8	f	b			Ala.	
Horace King	45	m	m	mechanic	\$300	S.C.	
Frances "	26	f	m			Ga.	
Washington King	10	m	m			Ala.	
Marshall "	8	m	m			Ala.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Frances "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Rachel Hanoway	60	f	m			Ga.	
June McMillan	18	f	m			Ga.	
Susan "	35	f	m			Ga.	
Molly "	30	f	m			Ga.	
Frank Lewis	50	m	b	mechanic		Ga.	
Nancy "	35	f	b			Ga.	
Frank "	4	m	b			Ala.	
John "	1	m	b			Ala.	
ST. CLAIR COUNTY							
Alabama Reed	5	f	m			Ala.	
James J. Turner	19	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Margaret Gibson	55	f	m			S.C.	x
Isaac "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Fortner "	10	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
SHELBY COUNTY							
Daniel Butler	15	m	b			S.C.	
Dave Butler	22	m	m	laborer		S.C.	
Frances "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Butler	24	f	m			S.C.	x
Mahala "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Barbary "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Martha "	3	f	b			Ala.	
Nancy Miller (1)	47	f	m		\$100	S.C.	x
SUMTER COUNTY							
Henry	35	m	m	barber		N.C.	
John Moss	45	m	m	laborer		Va.	
John Artis	56	m	b			N.C.	
Joe Artis	50	m	b	wood carpenter	\$75	N.C.	
Lewis Eddy	25	m	m	carpenter		N.C.	
Dolly Dennis	32	f	m			N.C.	x
Mary "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Sultana "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Maberry "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Polly Scott	45	f	m			S.C.	
Ceborn "	25	m	m			Ga.	
Ann "	22	f	m			Ga.	
Christopher Scott	9	m	m			Ala.	
Aplin "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Paralee "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Nicholas "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Benjamin "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Melvina "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Cyntha Basin	40	f	m			N.C.	x
Jerry "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Albert "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	3	m	m			Ala.	
John "	21	m	m			N.C.	x
Sarah "	18	m	m			N.C.	

(1). Eleven Miller children listed white, seven born in S. C., three in Ga., and one in Alabama.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Basin	1	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline Basin	14	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	24	f	m			N.C.	x
Matilda "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Marcena "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Susan Dabney	30	f	b			Md.	
Ann "	13	f	b			Ala.	
George "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Polly " (1)	6	f	m			Ala.	
John Moss	50	m	m	farmer		Va.	
Ned Henderson	66	m	b	shoemaker		Va.	x
Lucy Winston	53	f	m			Va.	
Suky "	70	f	b			N.C.	
Joseph Morgan	49	m	b	farmer		N.C.	
Shade	29	m	b	farmer		N.C.	
Rachel Amason	60	f	b			Va.	x
Gincy Jones	70	f	m			Ga.	
Julia Phillips (2)	30	f	m			Va.	x
Wm. H. " 4	mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Chanty	75	f	b	in poor house		N.C.	
Clarricy	80	f	b	in poor house		S.C.	blind
Toney (3)	100	m	b			Ala.	
Billy	80	m	b			Ala.	
Molly	80	f	b			Ala.	

TALLADEGA COUNTY

Jefferson Ford	17	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Silva Hanes	35	f	m			unknown	x
George "	8	m	m			Ala.	
John "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Franklin "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Lee "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Caleb Bradford	80	m	m			unknown	

- (1). Father in household listed white, farmer from Va.
- (2). Husband David, 28, manager, from Tenn., listed white.
- (3). These three old people listed as living with a white farmer.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lewis Jacobs	37	m	m	laborer		S.C.	x
Polly "	33	f	m			S.C.	x
Albert "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	10	m	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Francis "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Delilah Sumner	45	f	b			Tenn.	
Joseph "	17	m	m			Tenn.	
Susan " 14	14	f	m			Ala.	
Lucinda "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Francis "	9	f	m			Ala.	
James A. "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	20	f	m			Tenn.	
John "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Albert "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Charles Morgan	13	m	m			S.C.	
Laura Belamy	35	f	b			Ga.	x
Henry "	16	m	b	laborer		Ga.	
Prince "	13	m	b			Ala.	
Cora Belamy	11	f	b			Ala.	
Zarah "	8	f	b			Ala.	
William "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Joseph "	4	m	b			Ala.	

TALLAPOOSA COUNTY

no free colored listed.

TUSCALOOSA COUNTY

Nancy Conner	58	f	b			Va.	x
Dade Massey	62	m	m	barber		Va.	x
Clara Dunstan	43	f	m			N.C.	
Solomon Pertete (1)	41	m	m	plasterer	\$5000	Ga.	

(1). The State Census for the same year credits Solomon with six free colored in family and with three slaves.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lucinda Pertete	50	f	m			S.C.	
Martha "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Madison "	22	m	m			Ala.	
Shandy Jones	32	m	m	barber	\$500	Ala.	
Epilison "	28	f	m			Ga.	
Wm. H. "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Georgiana "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Evaline "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Mariah "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret Love	55	f	m			Va.	
Ned Berry	57	m	b	wagoner	\$500	Ga.	
Cynthia Berry	56	f	m			Va.	
Charlotte Lofer	25	f	m		\$400	Va.	
Milley Walker	50	f	b			Va.	x
William Anders	6	m	m			Ala.	
Martin Greer	40	m	m	farmer	\$200	S.C.	
Anderson W. Greer	18	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Mary E. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah A. "	10	f	m			Ala.	
James E. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Jack Winn (1)	30	m	b	blacksmith	\$500	Ga.	
Biddy Goyne	50	f	m				

**

WALKER COUNTY

Mariah Prescoat 5 f m Ala.

(1). Jack Winn's wife and children listed white in the Federal Census and colored in the State Census.

** Free colored listed in the State Census and omitted from the Federal Census are: Lewis McDuffey with two in family, Wm. Cobb with three, Jim Jones with three, Adam Washington with two, Nelly Boling with five, Jerry Gag with seven, Frank Owen, Jade Murphey, Sam Nail, Adalin Bell, Fanny Gould, Billy Martin with two, Jack Owen with three, Zadock Love with four, and Martin Greer is listed twice, once with five in family and once with seven.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
WASHINGTON COUNTY							
Richard Terry	30	m	m	painter		N.C.	
John Secret	94	m	m	farmer	\$100	Va.	
Phereby Martin (1)	51	f	m			S.C.	x
Mahilda "	27	f	m			Ala.	x
Susan "	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Thomas "	23	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
John "	21	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Rosa Reid	70	f	m		\$100	Miss.	x
Reuben "	26	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Matilda "	32	f	m			Ala.	x
Delia "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Eliza "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Sara "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Rose " (2)	1	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza " (3)	38	f	m		\$100	Miss.	x
Thomas "	18	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Ceburn "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Flora "	13	f	m			Ala.	
James "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Ann "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Adeline Catoe (4)	6	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Husband listed white.

(2). Rose has one slave, female, aged 10 years.

(3). Eliza has five female slaves, aged 45, 15, 13, 7, 4.

(4). Mother and four other children listed white.

Appendix G

FREE NEGROES IN ALABAMA - 1860

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
AUTAUGA COUNTY							
Maria Dennis	26	f	b	servant	\$25	Ala.	x
Daniel	20	m	b	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Harriet	19	f	b	servant		Ala.	
Elizabeth Clanew	20	f	m	steamship		Ala.	x
Leander Davis	14	m	b			Ala.	
Louisa Jones	45	f	m	washer	\$480	Ga.	x
Columbus	14	m	m			Ala.	
Isaac Alabama	30	m	m	bricklayer		Ala.	
Jiney Terry	80	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Richard Brauderax	100	m	b	farmer	\$300	Md.	x
John Horn	60	m	b	farm laborer		Ga.	
Easter McCray	70	f	b		\$35	unknown	x
Jupiter Prickett	70	m	b	farmer	\$1000	N.C.	x
Pheby "	68	f	b			N.C.	x
BALDWIN COUNTY							
Caroline Passey	22	f	m				
Charles "	5	f	m				
Fletcher "	4	m	m				
Milly "	2	f	m				
Infant "	4 mo.	f	m				
Alexander Bodare	34	m	b	cook		Ala.	x
Keziar Denton	30	f	m		\$400	Ala.	
Cornelia Riggs	8	f	m			Ala.	*
Richard Riggs	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Sarah Smith	37	f	m			Ga.	
William H. Head	23	m	m			Ala.	
John Taylor	14	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas Taylor	13	m	m			Ala.	
Augusta V. Taylor	11	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mary A. Taylor	10	f	m			Ala.	
Atwood L. Taylor	6	m	m			Ala.	
Arthur Taylor	3	m	m			Ala.	
Comfort Smith	60	f	m			N.C.	x
Jane Denton (1)	28	f	m			Ala.	
Fernandez People	10	m	m			Ala.	
Fredonia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Delarka "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah Denton (2)	35	f	m		\$1200	Ala.	
William Davis	15	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Davis	8	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy Davis	4	f	m			Ala.	
Malinda Denton	23	f	m			Ala.	
Maria Denton	25	f	m			Ala.	
Malvina Denton	10	f	m			Ala.	
Infant Denton	†	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Tranier (3)	25	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Charles A. Tranier	1	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas Denton	45	m	b	butcher	\$3000	Ala.	
Celia "	35	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Charles "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Bongate "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Kitty McKenzie	20	f	m			N.C.	
Jane "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Daniel "	9	m	m			Ala.	
David "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Lizzie McGee	27	f	m		\$200	Ala.	x
Julia Browning	27	f	m			Fla.	
Rozele Bodair (4)	38	f	m			Ala.	x
J. E. Eslava	10	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Listed in house with white man.

(2). Listed in house with white man.

(3). Listed in house with white man.

(4). Two white men listed in household, one from England and one named Eslava from Ala. He is listed as white overseer.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Adriane Eslava	9	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Emeline "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Sefronia "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret Weeks	32	f	m			Ala.	
Oscar "	27	m	m			Ala.	
Corine "	22	f	m			Ala.	
George "	21	m	m			Ala.	
Simon "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Camila " (1)	14	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph D. Weeks	31	m	m	farmer	\$1250	Ala.	
Rosalie "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Irene "	1 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Adelia Evans	5	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa Bodair	49	f	m		\$400	Ala.	x
Mary "	31	f	m		\$250	Ala.	x
Louisa "	29	f	m		\$150	Ala.	x
B.S. "	21	m	m	butcher	\$250	Ala.	x
Clementine "	18	f	m		\$100	Ala.	
Marshall "	12	m	m		\$50	Ala.	
Josephine "	7	f	m		\$50	Ala.	
Frances Voltair	53	m	m	carpenter	\$300	Ala.	x
Clarice "	50	f	m		\$400	Ala.	x
James "	25	m	m	wood cutter	\$400	Ala.	
Alex "	23	m	m	wood cutter	\$200	Ala.	
Catharine "	18	f	m		\$50	Ala.	
Martha "	16	f	m		\$50	Ala.	
Clementine Collins	6	f	m	(deaf, dumb)		Ala.	
Louis Collins	41	m	m	ship carpenter	\$350	Ala.	
Marcelite "	33	f	m			Ala.	x
Clara "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Wakine "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Annette "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Infant "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Rosale Bodair	70	f	m			Ala.	x
Francis Bodair	49	f	m		\$750	Ala.	
Nancy "	33	f	m			Ga.	x
Gertrude Cook (2)	63	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	36	m	m	stockminder	\$150	Ala.	

(1). William Weeks, also in household, listed as white man.

(2). John Cook, 66, farmer, Ala., \$7150, listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Cook	36	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Nicholas Cook	24	m	m	stock raising		Ala.	
Joachin "	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Louis "	17	m	m	wood chopper		Ala.	
Constance "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander Cook	38	m	m	boat bldr.	\$550	Ala.	
Modiste "	34	f	m			Ala.	
Vincent "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Sylvester "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Pauline "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Amaliza "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Adel Shultz (1)	41	f	m		\$900	Ala.	
John "	20	m	m	boat bldr.		Ala.	
Cecilia "	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Alexander "	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Henry "	8	m	m			Ala.	*
Jacob "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Jerome Cook	34	m	m	boat bldr.	\$1300	Ala.	
Laurine "	24	f	m			Ala.	
James "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Alfred "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Adolphus Evans	11	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret Taxshiola	70	f	b			Ala.	
Bill Morris	70	m	m				
Peter Alfonse	65	m	m	laborer	\$50	La.	
Polly Bonningham	53	f	m	wash & iron	\$700	Ala.	x
Henry C. (illegible)	30	m	m	laborer	\$100	Fla.	
Marcelle Robinson	33	f	m		\$800	Fla.	
Colbert Roberts	28	m	m	mechanic	\$1200	Ala.	
Edward Chastang	26	m	m	farmer	\$200	Ala.	
Catharine "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Ambrose Basin	20	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Sam Chastang	70	m	b		\$100	Ala.	x
Jinny "	65	f	b			Ala.	x
John Baptiste	55	m	b	farmer	\$100	Ala.	x
Emma Foster (2)	20	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	15	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Husband, oysterman, white, from Denmark.

(2). Father listed as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Blanche Foster	12	f	m			Ala.	
Priscilla Swarris	65	f	m			Va.	x
Catharine Keys	23	f	m			Ala.	
James "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. F. "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza Swarris	37	f	m			Ala.	
Charles Knox	10	m	m			Ala.	
Ada "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Sidney O'Neal	5	m	m			Ala.	
Perie "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Ebenezer Fisher	28	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
**							

BARBOUR COUNTY

Susan Brooks	8	f	m			Ga.	
James Martin	30	m	m	laborer		N.C.	x
Harris Dowdell	26	m	m	barber		Ga.	
Joshua "	43	m	m	barber		Ga.	
Mary Rains	29	f	m	laborer		Va.	
Mary A. "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Sally A. "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Auroraborealis Rains	3	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine Boyd	21	f	m	house servant		Ga.	x
John Allen	5	m	m			Ala.	
Lewis Henry	3	m	m			Ala.	
George Thompson	4 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
C. L. Comer	36	f	b		\$880	Ga.	
Hugh "	18	m	b			Ga.	

** Several were listed as Indians who had been listed in previous census returns as mulattoes. Mary Sizemore was listed white in the 1850 Federal Census, mulatto in the 1850 State Census, and Indian in the 1860 Federal Census. Jack McGee and family were listed as mulattoes in the 1850 Federal Census and as Indians in the 1860 Federal Census. Jack Coon and family were listed as mulattoes in the 1850 State Census, omitted from the 1850 Federal Census, and as Indians in the 1860 Federal Census. Samuel Monac and his family and also Jeff. Hollinger were listed in the 1850 State Census as mulattoes and as Indians in the 1860 Federal Census.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Comer	15	m	b			Ala.	*
George "	14	m	b			Ala.	*
Bragg "	9	m	b			Ala.	*
Fletcher "	6	m	b			Ala.	*
Edward "	4	m	b			Ala.	
Jack Gammon	102	m	m			Va.	x
Sarah Hugh	120	f	b			N.C.	
Kate	110	f	b			S.C.	
Nancy Williams	35	f	m		\$60	Ala.	
Lafayette "	12	m	m			Ala.	
John "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Casey "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Milly	110	f	b			Va.	x
Garret Young	51	m	m	farmer	\$200	S.C.	
Nancy "	51	f	b			Ga.	x
James "	29	m	m			Ala.	x
Garret "	15	m	m			Ala.	

BIBB COUNTY

Artemis Wires	28	f	m		\$72	S.C.	x
Alcanah "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Josiah Tubbs (1)	9	m	m			Ala.	
Rebecca "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Yarbour (2)	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Bert Roe	27	m	m			Ga.	x
Sarah R. Perry (3)	6	f	m			Ala.	x
Joanah	11	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Williams (4)	31	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Barbara "	13	f	m			Ga.	x
William "	12	m	m			Ala.	
John "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	7	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Parents (?) listed white.

(2). Listed with 49 yr. old white physician from Ga.

(3). Parents and one other child listed as white.

(4). Husband listed as white farmer from S. C.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Eliza Williams	5	f	m			Ala.	
Mariah "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Viney Warley (1)	30	f	m			Ala.	
James "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Jasper "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Charity "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Oliver	2	m	m			Ala.	
Mick	1 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa Mannet	18	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Amanda Andrews (2)	12	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	5	f	m			Ala.	

BLOUNT COUNTY

Lucinda Moore	22	f	b	domestic	\$25	Ga.	
Nancy A. "	5	f	b			Texas	
Mary "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	3	m	m			Texas	
Allen Foster	19	m	m			Ala.	

BUTLER COUNTY

Sue Williams	14	f	m			Ala.	
Fred "	3	m	m			Ala.	
M. Hammond	55	f	m	laundress	\$2200	S.C.	x
Ida "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	25	m	m			Ala.	x
S. Hammonds (3)	27	m	m	farmer		Ala.	x
Henry Harrison	32	m	m	farmer	\$2400	N.C.	x
C. J. "	35	f	m			Ala.	x
Joel "	18	m	m			Ala.	*
D. G. "	16	m	m			Ala.	*
M. E. "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Samuel "	9	m	m			Ala.	*

(1). Husband listed as white farmer from S. C.

(2). Lives in house with two white females, ages 50 and 30.

(3). Married during the year. Wife listed as 20 years old, white female.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
S. P. Harrison	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Wm. F. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
F. P. "	1	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	26	f	m			Ala.	x
J. H. "	25	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
John Bain	55	m	b		\$150	Ga.	x
J. Matthews	30	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Larkin Bays	3	m	m			Ala.	
H. L. Frost	36	m	m	farmer	\$12,785	S.C.	
Sarah Oliver	88	f	m		\$1000	S.C.	
M. J. Frost	23	f	m			Ala.	
John Frost	26	m	m		\$200	S.C.	
Alex Green (1)	4	m	m			S.C.	
W. B. "	4 mo.	m	m			S.C.	
Kisiah Frost	40	f	m			S.C.	
J. "	18	m	m			Ga.	
E. "	15	f	m			Ga.	
Henry Frost (2)	50	m	m	farmer	\$6000	S.C.	
W. H. "	14	m	m			Ala.	
John "	10	m	m			Ala.	
James "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	5	m	m			Ala.	
M. E. "	3	f	m			Ala.	
John Edmondson	42	m	m	laborer		Va.	x
T. J. Owen	31	m	m	barber	\$3200	Ala.	
B. S. McKenzie	8	f	m			Ala.	
T. M. "	6	m	m			Ala.	
L. B. "	3	f	m			Ala.	
N. M. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
E. Frost	16	f	m			Ga.	
B. Frost	23	m	m			Ga.	

CALHOUN COUNTY

Tandy	14	m	b	farmhand		Tenn.	
Mary Ann	38	f	b			S.C.	x
Ephriam	9	m	m			Ala.	
Tennessee	6	f	b			Ala.	

(1). Parents and two other children listed white.

(2). Wife listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lucinda Scales (1)	21	f	b	prostitute		Ala.	
Ellen "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Fanny Ross	30	f	b	washer	\$35	Va.	x
Anna "	11	f	b			Va.	
William Sylvester	17	m	m			Ala.	
Delfina Armstrong(2)	2	f	m			Ala.	
John Cobler	67	m	m	laborer	\$40	S.C.	x
Nancy "	67	f	m			S.C.	Insane
Lucy A. "	31	f	m			S.C.	x
Mahaley Mason	42	f	m			S.C.	x
Lucy	1	f	m			Ala.	
Mary A.	10	f	m			Ala.	
Frances B.	8	f	m			Ala.	
Ann Read	22	f	m			S.C.	x
Martha Ramsey	50	f	m			Ga.	
William "	10	m	m			Ga.	
Andrew "	8	m	m			Ga.	
Desta "	5	f	m			Ga.	
Emily "	2	f	m			Ga.	
Charles Willis	70	m	b			S.C.	
George Houston	1	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. Phillips (3)	25	m	m	farmer	\$150	S.C.	

CHAMBERS COUNTY

Robert Morten	50	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	x
Betty	70	f	b	cook	\$25	N.C.	x
Jerry	60	m	m	farm laborer	\$25	Ga.	x
Betty (4)	28	f	b	farmer		Ga.	x
Sarah	6	f	m			Ala.	
John	4	m	m			Ala.	

- (1). Lucinda and Ellen are listed as inmates of a house of prostitution, with four white girls, one woman, and one small boy.
- (2). Mother and one child white.
- (3). Phillips' wife and three children listed as whites.
- (4). Edmondson appointed guardian of Betty and seven children. See law of 1852, chapter III.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Cornelia	3	f	m			Ala.	
James	5 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
John	8	m	m			Ala.	
Matthew	6	m	b			Ala.	
Robert	4	m	m			Ala.	
Emily	17	f	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
John	1	m	m			Ala.	
Hannah (1)	26	f	b			Ala.	
Earnest	4	m	b			Ala.	
Louisa	3	f	m			Ala.	
Mary	2	f	b			Ala.	
Simon	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	b			Ala.	
Margaret Rountree (2)	22	f	b			Ala.	
Eliza "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Etta "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Mary "	4	f	b			Ala.	
George (3)	26	m	b			Ala.	x
Susan	16	f	b			Ala.	
Sarah Lannester (4)	59	f	b			S.C.	x
Fanny "	30	f	b			S.C.	x
Dick "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Charles "	9	m	b			Ala.	
George "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Frank "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	b			Ala.	
Eliza Tinsley (5)	24	f	b			Ala.	x
Elizabeth "	19	f	b			Ala.	
Ellen "	6	f	b			Ala.	
George "	7 mo.	m	b			Ala.	
Maria	11	f	b			Ala.	

- (1). A. H. Hammond appointed guardian of Hannah and four children.
- (2). Rountree appointed guardian for Margaret and four children.
- (3). F. Davis appointed guardian for George and Susan.
- (4). Thos. Lannester appointed guardian for Sarah and five following named.
- (5). S. P. Tinsley appointed guardian for Eliza and three others named.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Robert Roe	49	m	b	blacksmith	\$50	Ga.	
Lavina Bellinger	40	f	m		\$100	Ga.	x
Henry "	27	m	m	plasterer	\$400	Ga.	x
Prince "	23	m	b	plasterer	\$50	Ala.	x
Alexander "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Siney Fowler	18	f	m			Ga.	
Simon Hill	60	m	m	farm laborer	\$200	Ga.	x
David Jones	55	m	b	blacksmith	\$50	Ga.	
Eliza	22	f	b			Ga.	x
Mary J.	2	f	b			Ga.	

CHEROKEE COUNTY

Zack T. Adrian	12	m	b			Ga.	
Charles Strickland	30	m	b			Tenn.	
Elizabeth Whistle	21	f	m			Ala.	
Armina Downey	11	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Bogan	18	f	b			Ala.	
Francis "	3	f	b			Ala.	
William "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Eveline Jackson (1)	40	f	m			Ga.	
Robert "	17	m	m			Ga.	
Jesse "	15	m	m			Ga.	
Susan "	13	f	m			Ga.	
Jacob "	9	m	m			Ga.	
Moses Hampton	52	m	b				
Martha "	28	f	b				
Laura "	11	f	b				
Matthew "	8	m	b				
Thomas C. "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Adeline "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Hannah Strickland	55	f	b	washer	\$92	Tenn.	
Mary "	31	f	b	washer		Tenn.	
Charlotte "	19	f	b	washer		Tenn.	
Thomas C. Hampton	7	m	b			Ga.	
Matilda		f	b	pauper, blind			
Nancy Tucker	41	f	m	servant		Ala.	
Lewis A. Brick (2)	11 mo.	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Husband listed as white farmer, property valued at \$6500, from Ga.

(2). Mother listed as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Highland (1)	12	m	m			Ala.	idiot
Susan Brown	40	f	m			S.C.	
Isabella Brown	12	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Andy J. Williams	17	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	
Polly Clark	21	f	m			S.C.	
Laura "	8	f	m			S.C.	
Emeline "	10	f	m			S.C.	
Peggy "	45	f	m			S.C.	
Moses "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Willis Quick	70	m	m	farmer	\$2250	N.C.	
Sallie "	55	f	m			S.C.	
William Clark	16	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	

CHOCTAW COUNTY

Shadrick	46	m	m			Ala.	
W. Wallace	12	m	m			Ala.	
Sam	90	m	b	pauper		S.C.	
Charles	75	m	b	planter	\$100	Va.	x
Aggy	70	f	b			Va.	
Candace	25	f	m	cook		Ala.	x
Sam	11	m	b			Ala.	
Sandy	9	m	b			Ala.	
Mahaley	3	f	b			Ala.	
Lethe	28	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
Sam	2	m	b			Ala.	
unnamed infant	3 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
John	12	m	b			Ala.	
Martha (2)		f	b			Ala.	
George (3)	8	m	b			Ga.	
Emily	5	f	b			Ga.	
Lucy	70	f	b	pauper, blind		S.C.	x

(1). Mother listed as white.

(2). Listed with 29 year old male, Irish, peddler.

(3). Mother and one child, 4, listed as white, and George and Emily listed as colored.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
CLARKE COUNTY							
Frank Heathcock	36	m	m	day laborer			
Adeline "	20	f	m	sewing			x
Peter Thompson	56	m	m	farm laborer	\$300	Ala.	
Eliza Bethany	72	f	m	domestic		S.C.	x
Emeline Banderham	49	f	m	domestic		S.C.	x
Tom Darrington	45	m	b	farmer	\$6000	Ala.	x
Milley "	50	f	b			Ala.	
Rhody Dodridge	37	f	m	domestic		Ala.	x
Thomas "	21	m	m	servant		Ala.	
Wesley "	18	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Alexander "	16	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
London "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Rosaline "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Maria "	5	f	m			Ala.	
COFFEE COUNTY							
Met	28	f	m			Ala.	
Bethenia	12	f	m			Ala.	
George	6	m	m			Ala.	
Abla	2	m	m			Ala.	
Tom	1	m	m			Ala.	
James A. Tillis	30	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
CONECUH COUNTY							
David Field	65	m	b	farmer	\$200	Ga.	x
Clarisa "	60	f	m			Ga.	x
Malinda Mobley	90	f	b	baker		Md.	
Richard Brantley	66	m	m	farmer	\$3310	S.C.	
Sarah "	55	f	b			Ga.	x
Peggy "	90	f	b			S.C.	x
Michael Underwood	90	m	m	carpenter		Penn.	
Pecilla	65	f	m	baker		Va.	x
Charles	75	m	b	farmer	\$2000	S.C.	
Sarah Boseman	5	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
P. B. Holly	10	m	b			Ala.	
Caroline Boom	16	f	b			Ala.	
Bryant "	14	m	b			Ala.	
Marian "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Martin "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Green	19	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Vasky	40	f	m			Ala.	x
Lucy	18	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza	7	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph	5	m	m			Ala.	
William	3	m	m			Ala.	

COVINGTON COUNTY

George Hathcock	24	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Josiah B. Hathcock(1)	25	m	m	farm laborer	\$200	Ala.	x
Wm. B. "	(2)64	m	m	wheelwright	\$100	S.C.	
Melvin "	21	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Thos. O. "	19	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Elizabeth "	17	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Mary J. "	15	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Amanda "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Lucinda Horseman (3)	26	f	m	domestic		S.C.	x
Susannah "		f	m			Ala.	
Betty Cox	12	f	m			Ga.	
John Martin (4)	45	m	m	farmer	\$2175	Ga.	
Rachel "	80	f	b	domestic		S.C.	x
Geo. W. Donnelly (5)	9	m	m			Ala.	*
J. A. P. Mitchell(6)	28	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Sarah Flowers	27	f	m	cook		Ala.	

(1). Wife and child listed as white.

(2). Wife, named Mahala, domestic, aged 54, listed white.

(3). One child, 6, listed white.

(4). Sarah Martin, 44, domestic, and four children in household listed white.

(5). Parents and five other children listed white.

(6). Wife listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
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DALE COUNTY

Samuel Doil	25	m	m			Ala.	
Ann Ellis	21	f	b			Ala.	
Wesley	6	m	m			Ala.	
Henry	3	m	b			Ala.	
Amos	3 mo.	m	b			Ala.	
Thomas	15	m	m			Ala.	
Henry Simmons	14	m	m			Ala.	

DALLAS COUNTY

Lucy, free woman	22	f	m			Va.	
Sarah	5	f	m			Ala.	
Crayton Smith	56	m	m	farmer	\$450	N.C.	x
Rachel "	50	f	m			Ga.	x
Sealey "	58	f	m			N.C.	x
Sally "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Frederick "	21	m	m			Ala.	x
Wm. "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Narcissa "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet "	13	f	m			Ala.	
John Harford "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Rachel "	7 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Cyrus Summer	45	m	b	horse trainer		Mo.	
Lucy McNair	53	f	m	midwife		Ga.	x
Clarissa "	39	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Paralee "	21	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Ann Eliza "	15	f	b	washer		Ala.	
Elise "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Jenny Bondurant	80	f	b			N.C.	x
Candace Smith	26	f	m	washer	\$350	Ala.	x
Mahala "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Rosa "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	1 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Townsend	30	f	m	washer		Tenn.	x
Catharine "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Jane "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Holley "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Betsey Chapman	30	f	m	washer	\$100	Va.	x
Tansey "	27	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Louisa "	8	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Phillip Chapman	5	m	m			Ala.	
Phil Roberts	49	m	b	basket maker, blind		N.C.	x
Martha Chapman	30	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
William "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Woods	35	f	m	wash & iron		Ga.	x
Charity Smith	35	f	m	wash & iron		Ga.	x
Priscilla "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Aleck Peter	95	m	b	blacksmith		S.C.	blind
Ed. McBay	113	m	b	bricklayer		Ga.	
Eliz. Story	26	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Ed. Ernest "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Alice "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza Chapman	20	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Alex "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Leonidas "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Luellen Chapman	1	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Ephraim Wyanger	104	m	b	farmer		Va.	x
Chaney "	80	f	m	cook		Va.	x
Louis	20	m	b	bricklayer (appren.)		Ala.	x
Dora Smith	10	f	m			Ala.	
Elis Smith	19	f	m	house servant		Ala.	
Rosa S. "	15	f	m	house servant		Ala.	
Familia Irwin	33	f	b	house servant		Ala.	x
John "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Wilson	24	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	x
Sara "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Betty "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Isam	35	m	m	brickmason, jour.		Ala.	
N. B. Abercrombie	18	m	m	barber		Ala.	
Jack "	25	m	m			Ala.	
Nicholas "	20	m	m			Ala.	
David Alexander	50	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Shade Tootle	70	m	m		\$2000	N.C.	
Mariah "	42	f	m			N.C.	
Mary "	14	f	m			Ala.	
J. "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Amanda "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Emily "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Angeline "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Hester "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Paralee "	4	f	m			Ala.	
David "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Shade "	3	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
James Tootle	5	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	2	mo.	f	m		Ala.	

DEKALB COUNTY

James W. Taylor	20	m	m	domestic		Tenn.	x
Margaret "	18	f	m	domestic		Tenn.	
Hugh Reeves	57	m	m	carpenter	\$100	N.C.	
Betsy "	31	f	b			Ga.	
John "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	11	f	m			Ala.	

FAYETTE COUNTY

Ameritha Banister	(1)18	f	m			Ala.	
Alabama "	14	f	m			Ala.	

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Nancy Haskell	3	f	m	in poor house		Ala.	
Nancy	60	f	b	in poor house, blind,		unknown	
James	22	m	b	saddler		Ala.	x
Joseph Hill	65	m	b	farmer	\$300		
Sally "	60	f	b	washer		Va.	
Tom Benjamin	76	m	b			Ga.	x
Sandy Ansbern	36	m	m	barber	\$600	Tenn.	x
Julia "	26	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Rutha Jacobs	19	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Caroline Roberson	36	f	m	seamstress	\$600	Ala.	
Susan "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Francis "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	2	m	m			Ala.	

GREENE COUNTY

James Whit	70	m	b			Va.	x
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(1). James Banister, aged seven, listed in same household was not marked mulatto.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Stephen Dunstan	40	m	b	blacksmith	\$3000	N.C.	
J. Donaldson	23	f	m			Ala.	
F. Donaldson	72	m	m			Ala.	
Sam Goin	19	m	b			Ala.	
G. Chaney	90	f	b			S.C.	
Matilda	32	f	m			La.	
J. M. Donaldson	20	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Ransome	90	m	m	mattress maker		N.C.	
Faith "	60	f	m			Ga.	

HENRY COUNTY

Amanda Martin (1)	20	f	m			Fla.	x
Wm. Bunch	14	m	m			Fla.	
Jacob	100	m	b	pauper		N.C.	
Ezekial	70	m	m	blacksmith	\$150	Ga.	x
Caroline	29	f	m			Ga.	x
Ezekial (grandson)	7	m	m			Ala.	
Marion	5	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza	3	f	m			Ala.	
no name	2 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
John Goins	52	m	b			S.C.	
Nancy "	32	f	b			Ga.	
Elizabeth "	4	f	b			Ga.	
Elizabeth "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Alabama Cannada	24	f	m			Ala.	
James "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Thomas "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Dempsey "	26	m	b	farm laborer	\$200	Ga.	x
Nancy "	26	f	m			Ga.	
Wm. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Richard "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	1	f	m			Ala.	

JACKSON COUNTY

David Sherlock	22	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Wm. Gifford	10	m	m			Ala.	
Edward Russell	20	m	m	laborer		Tenn.	

(1). David Martin, 19, laborer, Ala., listed as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Benjamin Russell	10	m	m			Ala.	
Emily Willis	30	f	m		\$100	Tenn.	x
Wm. A. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Elison E."	7	m	m			Ala.	
Bettie Willis	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Richard Rouse	30	m	m	laborer	\$100	Tenn.	x
Matilda "	32	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary A. S."	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Salla Smith	18	f	m			Ala.	
James	16	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Sylvia	12	f	m			Ala.	
Martha	5	f	m			Ala.	
Benjamin	3	m	m			Ala.	
Mariah	1	f	m			Ala.	
Henry	2	m	m			Ala.	
Alice	2	f	m			Ala.	
James F.	2 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Lucy Smith	10	f	m			Ala.	
Mary A. Smith	16	f	m	servant		Ala.	
Sarah Smith	12	f	m			Ala.	
John	6	m	b			Ala.	
Thomas	3	m	b			Ala.	
Nelson Earles	40	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Margaret	16	f	m	house servant		Ala.	
Hannah Young	65	f	m	domestic		N.C.	
Wm. Prescott	38	m	m	farmer	\$200	S.C.	x
Elender "	36	f	m			Ala.	
Adaline "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Serena "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Jane "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Rachel "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Martin Evans	25	m	m	farmer	\$250	Tenn.	x
Catherine "	24	f	m			Tenn.	x
Rebecca "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	7 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Parker	30	f	m			Tenn.	
Georgia Cook	55	f	m	washer	\$260	Ga.	
Minerva Smith	26	f	m			Ala.	
William Estill	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Mary Smith	7	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah Willis	76	f	m	washer	\$400	Ala.	
Clovia	13	f	m			Ala.	
Willis Wardlow	36	m	m	blacksmith	\$200	Ala.	
Martha Taylor	11	f	m			Ala.	
Martha Morris	33	f	m	house servant		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Alabama Morris	7	f	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	7 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
E. A. Estice	49	f	m	washer		Va.	x
Elizabeth	70	f	b			Va.	x
Marthy "	35	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	29	m	m	farm laborer		Va.	x
Ben Smith	25	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Jordan Rowan	25	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	x
William Estice	15	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Peter "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Margaret "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Andrew Thompson	45	m	m	wagon maker	\$200	Tenn.	
Lucinda "	37	f	m			Tenn.	x
Jas. "	17	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
John "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	11	f	m			Ala.	
M. L. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
David Windford	69	m	m	farmer		Va.	

JEFFERSON COUNTY

William Payne	35	m	m	farmer	\$117	Ala.	x
Isabella	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Columbus	8	m	m			Ala.	*
Adelissa	4	f	m			Ala.	
Maria	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Susan A. Gillespie	3	f	m			N.C.	
Marion Prescott	18	f	m			Ala.	
Giles Sumter	24	m	m	farm laborer		S.C.	x
James Ogleby	84	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
H. S. Russell	56	f	m	seamstress	\$750	Conn.	
Emily "	29	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Minerva "	16	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Susan "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Christine "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Crisella "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Albert "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Bettie "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Ann Eliza "	3	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
LAUDERDALE COUNTY							
Bill Campbell	20	m	m			Ala.	
Joe Porter	25	m	m	livery stable		Ala.	
Mariah Woods	60	f	b				
Delila Thompson	65	f	m		\$280	Va.	
Hannah Hester	45	f	m			S.C.	
Sophia Terrel	21	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Hester	11	f	m			Ala.	
Victoria "	15	f	m			Ala.	
John Rapier	52	m	m	barber	\$7000	Va.	
Lucinda "	30	f	m			Va.	
James "	22	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Rebecca "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Osceola "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Susan "	1	f	m			Ala.	
James Gason	26	m	m	barber	\$200	Md.	
Maggie L."	26	f	m			Ala.	
Audrey "	3	f	m			Ala.	
James I. "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Celeste Childress	60	f	m	cook on ship	\$200	Tenn.	
Esther George	37	f	m			Ala.	
Celeste Allen	18	f	m			Ala.	
Francis Matthews	28	f	m			Ala.	
Wash Patton	23	m	m			Ala.	
Frank George	3	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza Scott	28	f	b			Ala.	
Ora Scott	8 mo.	f	b			Ala.	
Liza Hawkins	60	f	m		\$1087	Md.	
Sarah A. Armistead	57	f	m			Ala.	
Mahala "	28	f	m			Ala.	
Caledonia "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Abraham Mays	25	m	m	shoemaker		Ala.	
Samuel Baker	10	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Wilson	72	m	b	farming	\$350	N.C.	x
Mary "	75	f	b			N.C.	x
Prince Wiley	68	m	b	farmer	\$400	N.C.	
Frank Chaseman	45	m	b	farmer		Ga.	
Lynda "	45	f	b			Tenn.	
Matilda Scot	17	f	b	domestic		Ala.	
Frank "	14	m	b			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Edmond R. Scot	10	m	b			Ala.	
infant, no name	$\frac{1}{4}$	m	b			Ala.	

LAWRENCE COUNTY

Ben Gowin	21	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	
Elen Tankersley	17	f	m			Ala.	
Henery "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Ben Lynch	33	m	m			Ala.	
Nathan Manifee	65	m	b			unknown	
Aaron Gowin	27	m	m				
John "	16	m	m				
Thomas Tankersley	17	m	m				
Alfred McDaniel	61	m	b	farmer	\$1200	Ala.	
Isabella "	33	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet "	7	f	b			Ala.	
Nathaniel "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Vasti "	3	f	b			Ala.	
Lucy Denton	35	f	m			Ala.	

LIMESTONE COUNTY

Isaac	30	m	b			Va.	
John Scott	61	m	b	day laborer		N.C.	x
Frank Johnson	45	m	b			Tenn.	x
Nancy "	35	f	b			Ala.	x
Eliza	10	f	b			Ala.	

LOWNDES COUNTY

Jim Crowder	60	m	b	day laborer		S.C.	
Nat Roberts	35	m	m	ditcher		Va.	
Josiah Rapier (1) 1	mo.	f	m			Ala.	
James Thomas	23	m	m	barber	\$2000	Ala.	
Ella "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Duane	50	m	m	carpenter		Ca.	
Wm. Duane	8	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Five other members of the family listed as whites.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Obadiah Lantern	35	m	m		\$1200	Ala.	
Wm. McKnight	56	m	m	mechanic	\$800	S.C.	
Wm. McKnight	12	m	m			Ala.	
Hannah Faulke	24	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Crowley	75	m	m	farm laborer		S.C.	
Mary Carnes	20	f	m			Ala.	x

MACON COUNTY

Rilla	85	f	m			Ga.	
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MADISON COUNTY

Wiley Shavers	23	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Ellen Tra(illegible)	21	f	b		\$20	Ala.	
Sarah "	18	f	m			Ala.	
John S. "	17	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Quince "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Nancy "	1	f	b			Ala.	
Caleb Tyler	65	m	b	carting		Va.	x
Josephine Williams	11	f	m			Ala.	
Fannie Marshall	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Henry "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Cosa (Corsey)	60	m	m	farmer	\$800	Ga.	x
Mariah "	45	f	m			Ga.	x
Nancy "	17	f	m			Ala.	
John "	14	m	m			Ala.	
David "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Mollie "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Alexander	29	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Edy	71	f	b	washerwoman		N.C.	
Maria	60	f	b	washerwoman		N.C.	
Kissia	26	f	b			Ala.	
Caldonia	10	f	b			Ala.	
Burrel	8	m	b			Ala.	
William	6	m	b			Ala.	
Mary	5	f	b			Ala.	
Bud	1	m	b			Ala.	
infant, no name	1	f	b			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Edmund Martin	50	m	b	carpenter	\$500	Ala.	
Sarah "	46	f	b			Ala.	
Lucinda "	9	f	b			Ala.	
Reda Baker	16	f	m			Ala.	
George Daren	100	m	b	servant		Tenn.	x
Sally Johnson	60	f	m	servant		Tenn.	x
Tom Bun	31	m	m	hog feeder		Ala.	
Mose Ward	59	m	b	shoemaker		N.C.	x
Charles Sampson	61	m	m	blacksmith	\$500	Va.	
Arsena "	52	f	m			N.C.	x
Matilda "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Charles "	25	m	m			Ala.	x
John "	22	m	m			Ala.	x
Catherine "	17	f	m			Ala.	x
Ellen "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Burrel Jacobs	59	m	m	farmer	\$2150	N.C.	x
Betsy "	40	f	m			N.C.	x
Nancy "	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Imanda "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Mary F. "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	17	m	m			Ala.	
Visa "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	9	f	m			Ala.	
George "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Burrel Jr. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Julia "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Billy "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Laura "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Rebecca Jacobs	57	f	m		\$370	N.C.	x
Sarah A. "	38	f	m			Ala.	x
Martha "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Jackson "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Joel "	50	m	m	laborer		S.C.	x
David "	55	m	m	laborer		S.C.	x
Amey "	47	f	m		\$225	S.C.	x
Jack "	65	m	m	laborer		S.C.	x
Betsey "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Caty "	5	f	m			Ala.	
George "	10	m	m			Ala.	
David "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Baker Hill	60	m	b	laborer		Ga.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Martha Smith	11	f	m	domestic		Tenn.	
Isaac Jacobs	53	m	b	laborer	\$20	S.C.	x
Caroline "	28	f	b	domestic		Tenn.	x
Noah "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Richard "	8	m	m			Ala.	
William "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Hales	62	m	b	shoemaker		Tenn.	x
Delila "	65	f	b			Tenn.	x
Frances "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Abram "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Bettie "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	29	m	m			Ala.	
Prudence Caruthers	41	f	m	farmer	\$900	Tenn.	x
Emily "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Malissa "	18	f	m			Ala.	
William "	18	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
George "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Jas. "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Hezekiah "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Tandy "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	4	f	m			Ala.	
John Jackson	10	m	m			Ala.	
James "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Tyson "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Dennis Jackson	58	m	b	laborer		S.C.	x
Mary Walton	20	f	b	laborer		Ala.	x
Robert "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Isaac "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Sam Martin	60	m	b	laborer		N.C.	x
Joe Cruse (1)	14	m	b			Ala.	
Allway "	10	m	b			Ala.	
James "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Mary "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Richard "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Charles "	1	m	b			Ala.	
James McClung	25	m	b	plasterer		Ala.	
Eveline Dickson	46	f	b	washerwoman	\$1200	Tenn.	x
James "	24	f	m	plasterer		Tenn.	x
Nancy "	15	f	b	washer		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lewis Dickson	14	m	b			Ala.	
Alexander "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Sarah Williams	19	f	b	washer		Ala.	
John Robinson	65	m	b	livery stable	\$12000	Va.	
Pelina "	45	f	b			Ga.	
Larkin "	28	m	b	omnibus driver		Ala.	
John T. "	16	m	b	hostler		Ala.	
Sandy Bynum	33	m	m	stage driver		Ala.	
Frances "	24	f	b			Ala.	
John "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Solon Vest	20	m	b	hostler		Ala.	
Susan "	18	f	b	washer		Ala.	
Washington"	16	m	b	cook		Ala.	
Debia "	14	m	b			Ala.	
Augustine "	12	m	b			Ala.	
James "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Wm. Terrel	40	m	m	barber	\$2500	Tenn.	
Lelia Ann "	34	f	b			Ala.	
William "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Anna "	12	f	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Alonzo "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Robert "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Dora "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Sye Jones	63	m	b	dyer		Va.	x
Nancy "	45	f	b	washer		Tenn.	x
Sarah "	15	f	b			Ala.	
John Jacobs	22	m	b	blacksmith		Ala.	x
Thomas Clemens	6	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Commons	65	m	b	dyer	\$1799	N.C.	x
Eliza J. "	16	f	b			Ala.	
James "	11	m	b			Ala.	
Joe "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Wm. Patterson	25	m	b	moulder		Ala.	x
Alexander Lindsay	23	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	x
Judy McClung	55	f	m	washerwoman		Ga.	x
Susan "	15	f	b			Ala.	
Rilla Peters	50	f	b	washer	\$100	Md.	x
John "	20	m	b	bricklayer		Ala.	
Rilla J. "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Maxwell "	4	m	m			Ala.	
William Harris	78	m	m	Baptist minister	\$600	Va.	
Shadric Horton	65	m	b	gardner	\$350	Ga.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Amia Horton	62	f	b	washer		Pa.	x
Milly McBroom	5	f	b			Ala.	
Peter Stewart	65	m	b	carpenter		Va.	
Maria "	70	f	b			Va.	x
Sarah Collins	50	f	b	baker	\$50	Va.	x
Sucky Wiggins	50	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Emeline Petterson	25	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Margaret Martin	9	f	b			Ala.	
Sophie Williams	26	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Sarah Jacobs	27	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Mary Patterson	19	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Phillis Gray	65	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Thomas Harris	65	m	b	gardener		Va.	x
Isaac Clem	30	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	
Lewis Harris	55	m	m	drayman	\$500	Va.	x
Martha Martin	25	f	b	cook		Ala.	
Rhoda Baker	16	f	b	washer		Ala.	
Milton Martin	16	m	b			Ala.	
Land Boyd	30	m	m	brick mason		Va.	x
Isaac Swan	65	m	b	gardener		Md.	x
Richmond Terrell	60	m	m	barber		Tenn.	x
Richmond Terrell	20	m	m	barber		Tenn.	x
James "	12	m	m			Tenn.	
Nathan Williams	25	m	b	blacksmith		Ala.	x
Henry Sykes	35	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Julia McBroom	7	f	b			Ala.	
Martha "	26	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Mollie Sikes	13	f	b			Ala.	
Ann "	12	f	b			Ala.	
Edmund "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Priss "	7	f	b			Ala.	
Henry "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Sarah "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Jack "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	b			Ala.	
Mahalie "	35	f	b			Ala.	
John Goforth	10	m	m			Ala.	

MARENGO COUNTY

Seaborn Davis	60	m	b			Ala.	
Seaborn	15	m	b			Ala.	
Patsy	50	f	b			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane	45	f	b			Ala.	
Betty	25	f	b			Ala.	
Judy	40	f	b			Ala.	
Sallie Ann	22	f	b			Ala.	
Burrow	8	m	b			Ala.	
Juke	6	m	b			Ala.	
John	4	m	b			Ala.	
Lou	2	f	b			Ala.	
William	12	m	b			Ala.	
Grandison	60	m	b	mechanic		Va.	
Caper Long	45	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	

MARION COUNTY

Jesse Thomas	57	m	m			S.C.	x
Lewis Franck	19	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas	2	m	m			Ala.	
Isaac Morell	58	m	m	day laborer	\$30	S.C.	x
Susan	35	f	m	domestic		Ala.	x

MARSHALL COUNTY

Lou Blankingship	15	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
James "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Sue "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Lorena Langland	26	f	m	domestic		Tenn.	
Mary "	6	f	m			Ala.	
William "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Bill "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Philip Clark	100	m	b	farmer	\$200	Va.	x
Mary "	80	f	m	midwife		N.C.	x
Emily Blankingship	10	f	m			Ala.	
Dianah King	25	f	m		\$100	Ala.	
Elizabeth "	16	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Stephen "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Anne "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Jack "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Davey "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Anthony Dancy	36	m	m	blacksmith	\$275	Ala.	x
Martha "	28	f	m			Tenn.	x
Mary "	4	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Tempa Dancy	5	f	m			Ala.	
Admo Gowan	33	m	m	farmer	\$100	Tenn.	x
Lucinda "	36	f	m			Va.	x
Elizabeth"	26	f	m	(idiot)		Tenn.	x
Allen Meroney	60	m	b	blacksmith	\$100	Va.	x
Nancy Thomas	27	f	m	servant	\$50	S.C.	x
Jane	7	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy Uptain	6	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy Powell	48	f	m	domestic	\$56	S.C.	
Sarah "	28	f	m	domestic		S.C.	x
Rachel "	23	f	m	domestic		S.C.	x
Lafayette "	12	m	m			S.C.	
Pamelia "	11	f	m			S.C.	
Nancy "	10	f	b			Ala.	
Russell "	9	m	b			Ala.	
John "	8	m	b			Ala.	
Daniel "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Isabella "	8	f	m			S.C.	
Pamelia "	5	f	b			S.C.	
Samuel "	3	m	b			S.C.	
Abraham Washington	30	m	m	farmer		S.C.	
Fanny "	35	f	m			S.C.	
Betsy "	60	f	m			S.C.	
Alfred Day	13	m	b	farmhand		Ala.	
James "	10	m	m	farmhand		Ala.	
Elizabeth Day	40	f	m	farmhand		Ala.	
Benjamin "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Jane Day	8	f	b			Ala.	
Ann Day	14	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	11	f	m			Ala.	
George Hunter	30	m	b	farmhand		Ala.	
Harry Otey	45	m	b	farmhand		Ga.	

MOBILE COUNTY

Edward Chastang	25	m	m	brickmason	\$250	Ala.	x
Mary D. "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Benjamin "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Sylvester "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Gertrude "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Morris	12	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Sidoine J. Chastang	41	m	m		\$3000	Ala.	
Margaret "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Mary A. "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Odette "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Eloise "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Pierre Maons	46	m	m	carpenter	\$200	Ala.	x
Edward "	15	m	m			Ala.	*
Justine "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Celeste "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Lalie "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Adam King (1)	3	m	m			Ala.	
George "	9 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Noah Brown	37	m	m	farmhand		Ala.	
Edward Pollard	37	m	m	farmer	\$6500	Ala.	x
Josephine "	36	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Julia "	1	f	m			Ala.	
George Hati	17	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Sylvester Chastang	27	m	m	brickmason	\$150	Ala.	x
Merced "	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Benjamin "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Marie L. Croizant	75	f	m	farmer	\$5600	Miss.	x
Joseph Rabby	29	m	m	farmer	\$1200	Ala.	
Rosalie "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Julia Powers	23	f	m			Ala.	
Constantine	2	m	m			Ala.	
Roda	2 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Louis Ella	38	m	m	farmer	\$1600	Ala.	x
Adelaide "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	3 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa Baudin	28	f	m	seamstress	\$250	Ala.	x
Laurentia "	15	f	m			Ala.	*
Bernard "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Pollard	38	m	m	farmer	\$6500	Ala.	
Elizabeth "	31	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Mary M. "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	5	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Remainder of King family listed white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Angelique Pollard	3	f	m			Ala.	
Esther "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Stephen Lalande	58	m	m	fisherman	\$75	Ala.	
Maria "	40	f	m			D.C. Insane	
Louis Lalande	56	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Martha "	58	f	m			Ala.	x
Joseph Garner (1)	3	m	m			Ala.	
John Rochon	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Vincent Durette	47	m	m	farmer	\$4400	Ala.	
Catharine Durette	60	f	m			Ala.	
Lucienne "	48	f	m			Ala.	
Pauline "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	38	m	m	farmer	\$500	Ala.	
Isabelle "	21	f	m			Ala.	x
Annette "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Manette Nickilas	96	f	m	retired midwife	\$600	Ala.	blind x
Regis Durette	25	f	m			Ala.	
Constance "	25	f	m			Ala.	x
Edward "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Louis "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Marie "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Francis Durette	1	m	m			Ala.	
Eugene Baudin	35	m	m	laborer	\$300	Ala.	
Louisa "	24	f	m			Ala.	
David Robertson	40	m	m	brickmason	\$3400	Ala.	x
Emily "	36	f	m			Ala.	
David "	18	m	m			Ala.	*
Agnes "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
James Farmer	14	f	m			Fla.	*
Henry "	13	m	m			Fla.	*
James Zaretta	43	m	m	carpenter		Fla.	
Joseph A. "	41	m	m	brickmason		Fla.	
Pierre Collins	37	m	m	wood merchant	\$2000	Ala.	x
Berthilde "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Elsa "	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Matilda "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Pierre "	8	m	m			Ala.	*
John P. "	6	m	m			Ala.	

(1). Mother listed as white servant.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Joseph P. Collins	3	m	m			Ala.	
Adelia P. "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Isidore Durette	79	m	m			Ala.	
Don Pharon	8	m	m			Ala.	
John Collins	34	m	m	farmer	\$3500	Ala.	
Leonine "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Clementine "	4	f	m			Ala.	*
Marie "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Francois "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Balteri Durette	35	m	m	wood mcht.	\$2550	Ala.	
Catherine "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Simon "	16	m	m	farmhand		Ala.	*
Julius "	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Maximilian "	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Polisene "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Honorine "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
Marie C. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Adolphe Lalande	40	m	m	carpenter	\$1150	Ala.	
Victorie "	35	f	m			Ala.	x
Clementine "	17	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Emile "	15	f	m			Ala.	*
Hortensia "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Celestine "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Cecilia "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
Adolphe "	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Clara "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	1	f	m			Ala.	
John Pope	29	m	m	cotton sampler	\$250	Ala.	
Rosette "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Willis Moore	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Mary "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Julia A. "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Maximilian Collins	77	m	m	farmer	\$23,000	Ala.	x
Hortense "	60	f	m			Ala.	x
Maximilian "	40	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Casimer "	32	m	m	farmhand		Ala.	x
Jerome Lalande	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Martha Margaret	21	f	m	housekeeper		Ala.	x
Rosanna "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Piney Hutchinson	38	f	b	washerwoman		Ala.	x
Wm. Henry	2	m	m			Ala.	
Charles	66	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Edward Parker	53	m	m	farmer	\$10500	Md.	
Lavinia "	45	f	m			Va.	x
Francis Parker	25	m	m	woodgetter		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Marie J. Lassable	38	f	m			Ala.	x
Manuel Lartiguen	21	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
Guesippe "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Plaudie "	17	f	m	house servant		Ala.	
Ossilia "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Delphine "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Justin "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Jules "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Rosalie Bazil	70	f	m			Ala.	x
Elvira Briant	30	f	m	domestic	\$200	Ala.	x
Melvina "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	30	f	m			Ala.	x
Virginia "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Cordelia Pope	36	f	m			Ala.	
Reuben Lewis	16	m	m			Ala.	
Charles "	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Julia	17	f	m			Ala.	*
Thomas	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Cornelia	6	f	m			Ala.	*
Catherine	4	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy	2	f	m			Ala.	
Sylvania Grace	58	f	m			La.	x
Frances "	29	f	m	servant		Mo.	x
John A.	17	m	m			Ala.	
Ignace	9	m	m			Ala.	
Victor	7	m	m			Ala.	
Marcellus	5	m	m			Ala.	
Philomine	3	f	m			Ala.	
York	80	m	b			Va.	x
Ellen	80	f	m			Va.	x
Alexander Lafarge	34	m	m	merchant	\$3000	La.	
Mary "	33	f	m			Ala.	x
John "	15	m	m			Ala.	*
Alexander "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Louisa "	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Henry "	9	m	m			Ala.	*
Adolphe "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Emma "	1	f	m			Ala.	
George	37	m	m			Va.	
Jesse Denton	40	m	m	oysterman		Fla.	x
Minnette Journey	35	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
Onelia "	14	f	m	laborer		Ala.	*
Catherine "	12	f	m			Ala.	*

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Thomas Journey	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Elizabeth "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Romo Seymore	78	m	m	farmer	\$6800	Ala.	
J. "	67	f	m			Ala.	
David (or Frank)	26	m	b	farmer		Ala.	
Seymore Andry	40	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Jane "	45	f	m			Ala.	
John Chastang	67	m	b	farmer	\$5800	Ala.	
Janet Chastang	55	f	m			Ala.	
C. "	26	f	m			Ala.	
John "	24	m	m	farmer	\$300	Ala.	
Edward "	22	m	m			Ala.	
Isabella "	20	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	3	f	m			Ala.	
L. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
J. "	2 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
M. Dubroca	98	f	m			Ala.	
Zeno Chastang	78	m	m	farmer	\$33,900	Ala.	
J. Z. "	35	m	m			Ala.	
L. Z. "	33	m	m			Ala.	
S. Z. "	30	m	m			Ala.	
E. Z. "	27	m	m	trader		Ala.	
C. Z. "	24	f	m			Ala.	
M. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Alfred Z. Chastang	43	m	m	farmer	\$2050	Ala.	
L. "	30	f	m			Ala.	
V. "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Frances Z. Chastang	37	m	m	farmer	\$3000	Ala.	
Louisa "	35	f	m			Ala.	
F. "	13	f	m			Ala.	
M. "	11	f	m			Ala.	
L. "	9	f	m			Ala.	
F. R. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	6	f	m			Ala.	
J. Z. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
J. J. Chastang	57	m	m	trader	\$100	Ala.	
S. "	43	f	m			Ala.	
William Roberts	38	m	m	trader	\$300	Fla.	
Sarah "	37	f	m			Ala.	
Samuel Byrd	65	m	m	farmer	\$1200	N.C.	
Anne "	69	f	m			Ga.	
Martha "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Jordan	18	f	m			Ala.	
John "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Josiah "	15	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Washington Byrd	28	m	m	farmer	\$1400	Ala.	
G. W. "	13	m	m		\$1000	Ala.	
Jeremie Andry	41	m	m	farmer	\$1860	Ala.	
Louisa "	40	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Alfred "	18	m	m	farmer		Ala.	
A. "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Jeremia Andry, Jr.	14	m	m			Ala.	
L. "	9	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	5	f	m			Ala.	
N. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
J. Andry, Jr.	3	m	m			Ala.	
P. "	5 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Peter Chastang	36	m	m	trader	\$150	Ala.	
Mary "	25	f	m			Ala.	
D. "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Peter, Jr."	2	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	2 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
J. Chastang	50	f	m			Ala.	
A. S. Chastang	50	m	m			Ala.	
T. O. "	21	m	m	farmer	\$200	Ala.	
M. Dubroca	50	m	m	farmer	\$16,000	Ala.	
A. "	42	f	m			Ala.	
Nesin Dubroca	48	m	m	farmer	\$16,500	Ala.	
Mary "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Claira Chastang	36	f	m		\$2900	Ala.	
Andrew Dupree	14	m	m			Ala.	
M. J. "	13	f	m			Ala.	
George "	11	m	m			Ala.	
William "	10	m	m			Ala.	
F. Dubroca	42	m	m		\$4500	Ala.	
E. "	14	m	m			Ala.	
F. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
N. "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Z. "	7	m	m			Ala.	
E. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Edward "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Bazile Dubroca	50	m	m	farmer	\$1000	Ala.	
James "	17	m	m			Ala.	
E. "	16	f	m			Ala.	
J. "	15	m	m			Ala.	
C. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
William "	40	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Theidore Collins	59	m	m	tailor	\$280	Ala.	
Jane "	48	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Theodore Collins, Jr.	35	m	m	tailor	\$300	Ala.	
R. "	29	f	m			Ala.	
B. P. Collins	27	m	m	tailor		Ala.	
S. T. "	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
J. "	19	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	15	f	m			Ala.	
O. "	13	m	m			Ala.	
P. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
H. M. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
M. L. Chastang	9	f	m			Ala.	
Zeno Chastang, Jr.	46	m	m	farmer, trader		Ala.	
P. "	38	f	m		\$1800	Ala.	
Zeno " , Third	24	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
R. "	10	f	m			Ala.	
C. "	8	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	6	f	m			Ala.	
E. P. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Adel "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Foster Chastang	36	m	m	farmer	\$1850	Ala.	
D. "	43	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	19	m	m			Ala.	
J. "	16	m	m			Ala.	
A. "	14	m	m			Ala.	
A. T. "	11	f	m			Ala.	
L. "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Daniel "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Louisa Andry	64	f	m		\$10,500	Ala.	
Irene "	38	f	m			Ala.	
L. "	35	m	m			Ala.	
E. "	28	f	m			Ala.	
G. "	25	f	m			Ala.	
T. "	22	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Sylvester Andry	32	m	m	trader	\$1250	Ala.	
Gerome Chastang	24	m	m			Ala.	
Sousa Collins	78	m	m			Ala.	
Jane Byrd	37	f	m			Ala.	
James C. Byrd	28	m	m			Ala.	
Albert Weaver	14	m	m			Ala.	
Roda Rives	27	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	7	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
L. Rives	4	f	m				Ala.
C. "	2	f	m				Ala.
William T. Byrd	48	m	m	farmer	\$1300		Ala.
Wm. M. "	11	m	m				Ala.
Mary "	8	f	m				Ala.
M. E. "	1	f	m				Ga.
Elizabeth Gibson	27	f	m				Ga.
Klaver Andry	37	m	m	trader	\$280		Ala.
Eliza "	30	f	m				Ala.
Elizabeth Bone	25	f	m				Ala.
Ann Bone	7	f	m				Ala.
Sarah "	17	f	m				Ala.
Marion "	1	m	m				Ala.
James McClane	1	m	m				Ala.
Eliza King	27	f	m				Ala.
Victoria "	18	f	m				Ala.
Augustus "	2	m	m				Ala.
Eliza "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m				Ala.
Charles Rider	28	m	m	butcher			Ala.
Martha "	24	f	m				Ala.
M. J. "	18	f	m				Ala.
Samuel "	21	m	m				Ala.
C. "	6	m	m				Ala.
E. "	5	f	m				Ala.
R. "	3	f	m				Ala.
Osker "	$\frac{1}{4}$	m	m				Ala.
Frank Inerarity	26	m	m	butcher			Ala.
Julia "	22	f	m				Ala.
Edward "	5	m	m				Ala.
Frank "	3	m	m				Ala.
Charles "	18	m	m	butcher			Ala.
Milly Thom	30	f	m				D.C.
George "	30	m	m				S.C.
Charlott Fountain	50	f	b				Md.
William George	39	m	m		\$1200		Ala.
Elizabeth "	37	f	m				Ala.
Henry "	17	m	m				Ala.
Fo "	14	m	m				Ala.
L. "	14	f	m				Ala.
J. "	12	f	m				Ala.
Wm. George, Jr.	8	m	m				Ala.
Walter "	2	m	m				Ala.
Nancy George	60	f	m				N.C.
Phillip Gamble	50	m	m	carpenter	\$650		Ala.
C. "	38	f	m				Ala.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
John Gamble	14	m	m			Ala.	
F. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
M. J. "	11	f	m			Ala.	
C. "	9	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Thomas Pickins	30	m	m			Ala.	
Rebecca "	28	f	m			Ala.	
J. H. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
F. Pickins	4	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
William Nicholas	29	m	m	butcher	\$2400	Ala.	
P. Nicholas	24	f	m			Ala.	
E. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
A. "	8	f	m			Ala.	
J. "	6	m	m			Ala.	
W. J. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
C. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
V. "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Lydia Shorter	60	f	b			Africa	
Charles "	30	m	b			Ala.	
Alfred "	27	m	b			Ala.	
Basilia "	24	f	b			Ala.	
Eugene "	21	m	b			Ala.	
Moses Aster	76	m	m			unknown	
F. Strong	50	m	b	barber		Ga.	
F. Mitchell	34	m	m	carpenter	\$4000	Ala.	
L. "	31	f	m			Ala.	
S. J. "	14	f	b			Ala.	
L. "	8	f	b			Ala.	
M. "	28	f	m			Ala.	
A. M. Taylor	27	f	m		\$3200	Ala.	
Sarah Summerville	40	f	b			Ala.	
Jack Bridges	38	m	m	barber		Ala.	
Lewis Clark	31	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Sarah "	32	f	m	wash & iron		Va.	
Charles Hall	90	m	b			Va.	
Linney "	94	f	b			Va.	
Justine Lelande	26	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
Julia "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Maxcine "	49	f	b	laborer		Ala.	
Margaret Mitchell	58	f	m		\$4000	Ala.	x
Hiram "	15	m	m			Ala.	*
Reba Gordon	37	f	m			Ala.	
Adel "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
James Mitchell	35	m	m	carpenter	\$1000	Ala.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Margaret Mitchell	28	f	m			Ala.	
Jose "	24	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Loisi Mason	31	f	m	dress maker		Ala.	
Adeline "	34	f	m	dress maker		Ala.	
James Cook	2	m	m			Ala.	
Rufus Mason	31	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Benjamin Thornton	36	m	m	barber	\$100	Fla.	
Mary G. "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Frank Coyle	39	m	m	seaman	\$200	Ala.	
Fleming Joseph	34	m	m	groc.keeper	\$10,000	Ala.	
Ella D. "	33	f	m			Miss.	
Clementine "	19	f	m			Ala.	*
Augustine "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Victor "	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Martell "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Barbara Durett	76	f	m		\$2000	Ala.	
Catharine Joseph	38	f	m		\$1000	Havana	x
John "	76	m	m			Havana	
Augustine "	25	m	m			Havana	
Marshall "	24	m	m			Ala.	
Ramo "	23	m	m			Ala.	
Ira "	20	m	m			Ala.	
Maliscia "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Andrew "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Phillip "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Adaline "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Richard Burke	40	m	b			Ala.	
Rachel "	40	f	b			Md.	
Mary Dubroca	50	f	m			Ala.	
Georgine "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Ada "	7 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Laura Calamette	3	f	m			Ala.	
Betsy Catta	30	f	m			Ala.	
Betsy "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Nancy Jolin	40	f	b			Fla.	
Charles "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	17	m	m			Ala.	
Fitts "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Ann "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	32	f	m			Fla.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Margaret Semple (1)	21	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Adolph Leland	40	m	m	carpenter	\$300	Ala.	
Victorie "	36	f	m			Ala.	
Clementine "	17	f	m			Ala.	*
Amelia Leland	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Aloncia "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Philistine "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Clara "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
Adolph "	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Celia "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Lela Leland	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Boyce	27	f	m			Fla.	
Victoria "	12	f	m			Fla.	
Josephine "	8	f	m			Fla.	
Fronia Hellman	4	f	m			Ala.	
Phileice Traylor	46	f	m			Ala.	
Pett. "	78	m	m			Ala.	
Lewis "	21	m	m	cook		Ala.	
Martin Tuttle	20	m	m	oyster man		Ala.	
Mary I.	18	f	m			Ala.	
Louisa	15	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus	17	m	m			Ala.	
Charles	7	m	m			Ala.	
Mary L. Henry	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mariann Lewis	26	m	m			Spain	
Augustus Celestine	24	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Joseph Bellamy	55	m	m			Calcuttax	
Constance "	31	f	m			Ala.	x
Benj. "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Wm. "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Oscar "	10	m	m			Ala.	*
George "	8	m	m			Ala.	*
Celia "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
Louisa Pepp	54	f	m			Ala.	x
Leonard "	31	m	m	barber		Ala.	x
Mary "	31	f	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	35	m	m			Ala.	
John "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Benj. Jackson	60	m	m	steward		Md.	x

(1). Margaret and Mary were listed in the Catholic Orphans' Asylum.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Tiena Jackson	39	f	m			S.C.	x
Wm. "	35	f	b			Ala.	x
Nancy King		f	m			La.	x
Freeman Smith		m	m			Ala.	
Adaline Alvarez	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Estell Collins	38	f	m			La.	
Rosella "	26	f	m			Ala.	
Felicia "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Hugo "	17	m	m	coppersmith		Ala.	
Clair "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Victoria "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	12	m	m			Ala.	
May R. Savannah	46	f	m		\$800	Ala.	
Louisa "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Abraham Stewart	48	m	m	cook	\$1000	S.C.	x
Harriet "	34	f	b			Ala.	x
Octavia "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Abraham "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Vincent Savannah	30	m	m	ship carpenter	\$1000	Ala.	x
Catharine "	44	f	m			Ala.	x
Vincent, Jr. "	21	m	m	ship carpenter		Ala.	
Ed. "	19	m	m	ship carpenter		Ala.	
Ella Cordelle	17	f	m			Ala.	
Benj. "	30	m	m	laborer	\$800	Ala.	
Louisa Raphael	65	f	b	cake seller	\$400	Ala.	x
Rene Petite	43	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Roselle "	39	f	m			Miss.	x
Camile "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Marie "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Adel "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Edith "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Louis "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Willis "	3 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Oscar Francisco	7	m	m	blind		Ala.	x
Mary Bernard	49	f	b	laborer		Fla.	x
Antoinette "	26	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Frank "	19	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Octavia "	33	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
Mary L. "	31	f	m	laborer		Ala.	
John "	17	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Josephine "	15	f	m	laborer		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Aitharn Bernard	13	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Victor "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Julia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Corabel "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Pataillet	9	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Petite	3	m	m			Ala.	
Frank Starke	50	m	m	porter	\$1200	S.C.	
Malinda "	40	f	m			Ga.	
Fanny "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Georgia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Vincent Sorra	40	m	m	bricklayer		Ala.	x
Nanette "	26	f	m			Ala.	x
Matilda "	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Vincent "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Pauline "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Eveline "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Emily Daniel	60	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus "	27	m	m	shoemaker		Ala.	
Lucien Sarra	50	m	m			Ala.	
Peter Durette	24	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Octave Laurendine	1	m	m			Ala.	
May Williams	47	f	m			Ala.	
Charles Debner	17	m	m			Ala.	
Philomina "	15	f	m			Ala.	*
Duala "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Onelia Martinez	30	f	m			Ala.	x
Clara March	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Jane Oliver	35	f	m			Ala.	x
Lewis "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Espi Soto	35	m	m	tinsmith	\$1200	Ala.	
Matilda "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Agnes "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Casida Lanier	53	f	m		\$2000	Ala.	
Catherine Bonard	21	f	m			Ala.	
James Allen	42	m	m	upholsterer	\$700	N.C.	x
Margaret "	27	f	m			S.C.	
Caroline "	16	f	m			Ala.	*
Thomas Robindon	40	m	m	carpenter		Ga.	
Peter Bens	33	m	m	painter		Mexico	
Nora "	28	f	m			Va.	
Joseph Jones	38	m	b	laborer		N.C.	
Eliza "	56	f	b			Penn.	x
Elizabeth Joseph	55	f	b			Penn.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Eugene Joseph	19	m	b	cook		Ala.	
Alfred "	35	m	b	cook		Ala.	x
Josephine "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Mary C. "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Bazil "	16	m	b	cook		Ala.	
Charles "	28	m	b	cook		Ala.	x
James "	37	m	b	steward		Ala.	x
Ben Goube	34	m	m	gunsmith		Ala.	x
William George	33	m	m	butcher		Ala.	x
Mary Foster	69	f	b			Ala.	
Thomas "	18	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Mary Wilson	38	f	m			Va.	x
Elizabeth "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	17	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Evangelus "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Nathaniel "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Phillis Allen	38	f	b	wash & iron		Ala.	x
Mary "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Margaret "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Cessa "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Susan "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Noah "	4	m	b			Ala.	
Martha Allen	1	f	b			Ala.	
Noah Brown	42	m	b			Ala.	x
Thomas Leavins	47	m	m		\$1500	Va.	x
Mary "	35	f	m			Ala.	
Lloyd "	18	m	m	steward		Ala.	
Mary L. "	17	f	m	dress maker		Ala.	
John "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Turner "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Almer "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Annie "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Frank "	7 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Joseph	42	f	m	wash & iron		Ala.	x
Louisa "	23	f	m	wash & iron		Ala.	x
William Baptiste	23	m	m	bricklayer		La.	x
Elizabeth Coleman	38	f	m	wash & iron		Ala.	x
Manuel Gladnel	37	m	m	cab driver	\$150	Ala.	x
Sarah Bunch	54	f	m			Ala.	x
Wm. "	29	m	m	cook		Ala.	
Anne "	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Levina "	31	f	m			Ala.	
Lucy Markas	59	f	m			Fla.	x
James Mitchell	10	m	m			Fla.	*
Lucy Jackson	28	f	m			Ala.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Babet Cumins	½	f	m			Ala.	
Lucinda Smith	42	f	m	laborer		S.C.	
Mary Cumings	27	f	m			Fla.	
George Duret	12	m	m			Fla.	*
Wm. "	10	m	m			Fla.	*
Victorine Evans	50	f	m			Fla.	
William Royal	66	m	m	laborer	\$1000	Va.	
Eliz. "	33	f	b			Ala.	
Wm. "	30	m	m	steward		Ala.	
Henry "	15	m	m	cabin boy		Ala.	
Abraham "	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Eliza Mitchell	31	f	m			Ala.	
Mariah "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Lawrence "	25	m	m			Ala.	
Frances Gomez	34	m	m	tinner	\$3500	Fla.	
Rosalie "	27	f	m			Ala.	
Solidia "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Florida "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Frank "	2	m	m			Ala.	
M. "	½	m	m			Ala.	
William Hill	28	m	m			Fla.	
John Gegis	30	m	m	clerk		Ala.	
Louisa "	18	f	m			Ala.	
Amelia "	15	f	m			Ala.	
John Long	24	m	m	cook		Fla.	x
Polite "	24	f	m			La.	x
John B. Bernard	66	m	m	brick layer		Fla.	x
Ellen "	67	f	m			Ala.	x
Valera Petite	56	f	m		\$5000	Ala.	
Volna "	40	m	m	tailor		Ala.	
Thos. "	37	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Julia "	33	f	m			Ala.	
M. "	26	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Margaret "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Florentine "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Robert Instant	33	m	m	laborer	\$3600	Ala.	
Eliza "	29	f	m			Ala.	
Emma "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Robert "	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Eujine "	2	f	m			Ala.	
John Despont	38	m	m	cigar maker	\$500	La.	
John Joseph	37	m	m	cigar maker	\$500	Cuba	
Emma Harvey	36	f	m			S.C.	
Elsea Lee	56	f	b	wash & iron		Penn.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Adel Soto	29	f	m	seamstress		La.	
Clement Petite	38	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Josephine "	29	f	m			La.	x
Frances "	12	f	m			La.	*
Eliza "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Ellis R. "	9 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Armstead Walker	52	m	m	carpenter		Va.	x
Mary "	42	f	b			N.C.	x
Francis "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Arch "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Aaron Campbell	90	m	m			Va.	deaf
John Robert	49	m	b	shoemaker		Fla.	x
Edwin Posy	27	m	m	cigar maker		La.	
Levina "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Estella LaLand	44	f	m		\$250	Ala.	
Catharine "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Sidney "	16	m	m	tinner		Ala.	
Victorine "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Jerome Campene	25	m	m	sailor		Ala.	
Clara Tranier	12	f	m			Ala.	*
Milly Bridges	47	f	b	washer		Ga.	x
Fanny L. Robinson	29	f	m			La.	
George Pollard	30	m	b	laborer	\$1400	Ala.	
Eliza "	36	f	m			Ala.	
Abby "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Rebecca "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Adaline Bondeham	48	f	m			S.C.	x
William "	25	m	m	brick layer		Ala.	x
John "	21	m	m	brick layer		Ala.	x
Mary Regenia	26	f	m			France	x
George "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Mary D. "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Grampus	57	m	m	cook		Ala.	x
Louisa "	47	f	m			Ala.	x
Wm. "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Elam Page	46	m	b	cotton sampler	\$1200	Va.	x
Sophia "	40	f	m			Va.	x
George "	23	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Nelson "	16	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Josephine "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Dempsey Denton	23	m	m	oysterman		Ala.	x
Josephine "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Josephine "	9 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Alf. "	37	m	m	oysterman		Ala.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
James Denton	25	m	m	oysterman		Ala.	x
Mary Bruce	25	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	x
Eliz. Bethany	56	f	m			Ala.	x
W. A. Robb	5	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph Pepp	66	m	m	segar mfg.		Ala.	x
John " (1)	23	m	m			Ala.	x
Clare Henry	25	f	m			Miss.	x
Justin Poi	6	m	m			Ala.	*
Sophia "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Marvelot Johnson	40	f	m			Miss.	
Mary Poi	5	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore Petite	37	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Susan "	37	f	m			Miss.	x
Elizabeth "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Jean "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
Theodore "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Martha Bryant	37	f	m		\$2000	Ala.	x
Elvira "	13	f	m			Ala.	*
Min "	8	f	m			Ala.	*
Octavia "	7	f	m			Ala.	*
George "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Zoa Dauphin	55	f	m			La.	
Emily Gregory	20	f	m	wash & iron		Ala.	
Amy Debrier	25	f	m			Ala.	
Julia Henry	25	f	m			Miss.	
Alice Remy	2	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Hale	56	f	m	washerwoman		S.C.	x
Frances Henry	39	m	m		\$500	Miss.	
Francis "	37	f	m			Ala.	x
Vincent "	14	m	m			Ala.	*
Danl. "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Artemas "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Favant Trenier	39	m	m	carpenter	\$800	Ala.	
Victorine Henry	11	f	m			Ala.	
Rachel M. Penalo	53	f	b	wash & iron		Ala.	x
Mathew Parker	44	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Erasmus Clarke	31	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Albert Owens	34	m	m	cotton sampler		Va.	
Henry Archer	43	m	b	drayman		Va.	x
John Mitchell	90	m	b		\$300	S.C.	

(1). Mary Pepp, in same household, listed as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Louisa Thomas	24	f	m			Ala.	
Louis Gizart	19	m	m	ship carpenter		Ala.	x
Mary "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Peter Krebs	35	m	m			Ala.	
Oscar "	36	m	m			Ala.	x
Gabriel Batrar	65	m	m	carpenter	\$800	Fla.	
Julia "	56	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Harriet Ruby	16	f	m			Fla.	
Susan Roberts	35	f	b		\$300	Ala.	x
Adelph Baston	30	m	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	23	f	m			Ala.	x
Justin Russell	5	m	m			Ala.	
Polite Collins	58	f	m			Ala.	
John McClusky	23	m	m	brick layer	\$1800	Ala.	x
Julia Swan	16	f	m		\$1800	Ala.	*
Robert "	14	m	m		\$1800	Ala.	*
Harriet "	12	f	m		\$1800	Ala.	*
Oscar Laurendine	25	m	m	painter		Ala.	x
Elmira "	18	f	m		\$1800	Ala.	
Mary "	1/2	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	20	f	m			Ala.	x
Margaret Collins	100	f	m			Ala.	
Callen Lynch	39	m	m	ship steward		Ala.	x
Martha "	32	f	m	wash & iron		Ala.	x
Robert "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Matilda Watkins	24	f	m			Ala.	
Edwin M. Tariel	18	m	m	pantry man		Ala.	
Nancy Lynch	9	f	b			Ala.	
Celeste Chastang	63	f	m		\$1600	Ala.	x
Nancy Austin	39	f	b	washerwoman	\$200	Va.	x
Susan Burnell	19	f	b			Ala.	
Andrew Lewis	1	m	m			Ala.	
Maria Lamer	64	f	b	washer		Ga.	x
R. Jennings	82	f	b			Ga.	x
Milly Foster	35	f	b			Ala.	x
Allen "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Gilbert "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Robert "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Nancy Russell	13	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Posey	46	f	m		\$600	Ala.	
Claude "	18	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Josephine "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Amile "	11	m	m			Ala.	*
Mayana LaLande	35	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Ann Bryant	35	f	m		\$800	Ala.	x
Celia "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Tena "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	3	f	m			Ala.	
William"	1	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah Bryant	42	f	m		\$800	Va.	x
Maria "	25	f	m			Ala.	x
Clara "	16	f	m			Ala.	*
Missouri "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Frozine "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Antonio Bryant	2	m	m			Ala.	
Richmond "	40	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Gregory Laurendine	38	m	m	brick layer		Ala.	x
Mary A. "	34	f	m			Ala.	
Clementine "	35	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Gregory "	2	m	m			Ala.	
John Pope	32	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Rosette "	36	f	m			Ala.	
Willis "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Mary "	10	f	m			Ala.	*
Jesse "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Allen Syke	50	m	m	eating house		Va.	
Mary A. Borden	26	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Alexander "	5	m	m			Ala.	
John "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Catherine Vaughn	25	f	m	washer		Fla.	
Mary A. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Jacob H. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
George H. "	7 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Frederick Avery	60	m	m	cotton sampler		Va.	
Elizabeth "	29	f	m			N.C.	
Lucy "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	14	f	m			Fla.	*
Charles "	11	m	m			Fla.	*
Lucy Mays	35	f	m			Va.	x
Louisa "	40	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Frances Allen	20	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Rollen "	6	m	m			Ala.	
John H. "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
James Hubert	51	m	b	wood seller		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Isabella Hubert	49	f	b			Ala.	x
Julia "	35	f	b			Ala.	x
Amelia "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Virginia "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	11	f	b			Ala.	
Mary "	7	f	b			Ala.	
Hetty "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Ellen "	3	f	b			Ala.	
Armand Roussiau	26	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Louisa "	19	f	m			Ala.	x
Alice Drum	7	f	m			Ala.	
Drury Thompson	35	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Albert "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Polly Coleman	80	f	m			S.C.	x
Swan Winter	57	f	m	washer		S.C.	x
Willis Page	40	m	m	clerk, cotton		Ala.	
Fraie "	30	f	b			Ky.	
Isaac Arnold	38	m	m	servant		Va.	
Cinderella "	30	f	m			Va.	
Rutha "	12	f	m			Va.	
John Campbell	50	m	m	carpenter		N.C.	
Emily "	49	f	m			Ga.	
Harriet Grasty	26	f	m			Ala.	
Jacob Anderson	50	m	m	laborer		S.C.	
Lucy "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Simon Ash	40	m	m	cotton sampler		Va.	
Henry "	30	m	m			Ala.	
Ella "	21	f	m			Ala.	
John A. Collins	50	m	m	carpenter	\$4000	Ala.	
Isabella "	50	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	26	f	m			Ala.	
John "	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Vincent Henry	43	m	m	grocer	\$1000	Ala.	
Stephen "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Zelina Savage	65	f	m			La.	
Clara "	33	f	m			Ala.	
Antoine "	29	m	m	segar mfg.		Ala.	
Lavina "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Natalie "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Moline "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Elise "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Antoine "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Dimity Price	40	m	m	cigar mfg.		Ala.	
Theodore Romírez	32	m	m	cegar mfg.		Ala.	
Anniece "	21	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Peter Romirez	1	m	m			Ala.	
Juliane Sangeron	18	f	m			Ala.	
Jeane S.	19	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Eugenia "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Adele "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Matthew Jones	58	m	m	laborer		Ga.	
Jane "	52	f	m			Ala.	
Victoria Trenier	44	f	m		\$3000	Ala.	
Francis La Roucille	24	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Angela "	26	f	m			Ala.	
John M. "	22	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Alvins "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	4 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Wiben Trenier	3	m	m			Ala.	
Isidore Dubroca	69	m	b	laborer		Ala.	x
Sophie "	60	f	b			Ala.	
Elisa "	7	f	b			Ala.	
James Benton	45	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Matilda "	25	f	m			Va.	
Theopulus "	6	m	m			Ala.	
John Trenier	66	m	m		\$12,000	Miss.	
Aithou "	60	f	m			La.	
John F. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Auguste Nicolas	60	m	m	carpenter	\$2000	Ala.	
Savina "	38	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda Rompere	25	f	m			Ala.	
Cecilia Nicolas	22	f	m			Ala.	
Nicolas "	21	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Josephine "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Florentine "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
John "	10	m	m			Ala.	*
Basile "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Auguste "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Dolores "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Bernard "	6 mo.	m	m			Ala.	
Barceline "	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Flora Dowling	85	f	m			Ala.	
Basil Augustine	17	m	m			Ala.	
Mary A. Stickney	23	f	m			Ala.	
May A. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Ann Claudis	45	f	m			Va.	
Griffin Kinney	49	m	m	laborer		Va.	
Maria Evans	25	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Alexander "	7	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mary F. Evans	6	f	m			Ala.	
Daniel "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph Beale	95	m	b			N.C.	x
Janey "	90	f	b			N.C.	x
Gabriel Colger	50	m	m	cotton sampler		Va.	
Susan Rouse	40	f	b			Ala.	
Emily Maywood	45	f	b	washer		Ala.	x
Albert "	19	m	b	cotton sampler		Ala.	x
Hetty "	15	f	b			Ala.	
John "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Reuben "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Lucy "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Martha Maywood	4	f	b			Ala.	
Ellen Kennedy	75	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Mary "	37	f	m	washer		Ala.	x
Handy Carter	37	m	m			Ala.	
Reuben Kennedy	15	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Florence "	3	f	m			Ala.	
George King	33	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. Smith	28	m	m	pastry cook		Ala.	
Louisa "	28	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Malinda "	8 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Frank Taylor	28	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Alabama "	19	m	m			Ala.	
Asfasia "	2	f	m			Ala.	
David "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Angeline Williams	34	f	b	washer		N.C.	
James "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Annie "	4	f	b			Ala.	
Geo. W. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Mary Cooper	32	f	b	washer		Va.	x
Virginia "	13	f	b			Penn.	
Janie Handy	35	f	m			Va.	
Fanny "	1	f	m			Ala.	
G. Winn Johnson	35	m	b	day laborer		Ky.	
Lucinda "	40	f	b			Va.	x
Lucy Boncroft	20	f	m			Ala.	
Clara "	7	f	m			Ala.	
John P. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Lucy "	½	f	m			Ala.	
Seymore Andreys	40	m	m	laborer	\$1000	Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane Andreys	30	f	m			Ala.	
London Fenderson	55	m	m	laborer	\$2000	N.C.	
Patience "	39	f	b			Ala.	
Fanny Briant	30	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Martha Jamison	28	f	m	washer		Fla.	
Mary McFee	26	f	m			Ala.	
K. A. Steele	10	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret McVay(Fee?)	9	f	m			Ala.	
George "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Florence "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Morris "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Adaline McVay	3	f	m			Ala.	
Neena "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Hannah Smith	75	f	b			Ga.	
Chloe Hollinger	90	f	b			Ga.	
Rosalie Barnard	40	f	b	washer		Fla.	
Dennis "	24	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Pauline "	20	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Mary "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Oscar "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Walkeen "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Sylven "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Philomel "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Vincent "	$\frac{1}{2}$	m	m			Ala.	
Louis Mordecai	28	m	m	brick layer		Ala.	x
Eliz. "	24	f	m			Ala.	x
Frank "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Adolphe "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Chas. Soto	30	m	m	brick layer		Ala.	
Mary Soto	100	f	m			Ala.	
John Cummins	40	m	m	chicken peddler		Fla.	
Jane "	50	f	m			Va.	
Thomas "	22	m	m			Ala.	
Charles Harris	51	m	m	barber		Pa.	
Isabel Chastang	60	f	m		\$1000	Ala.	
Sarah Dubroca	40	f	m	washerwoman		Ala.	
Virginia "	30	f	m			Ala.	
Adolphe Sarah	26	m	m	butcher		Ala.	
Mary L. Lewis	10	f	m			Ala.	
Emily Chestnut	6	f	m			Ala.	
James "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Jessie Duningon	55	m	m	drayman		Ala.	
Kitty "	45	f	b			Ala.	
Francis "	15	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jane Duningon	11	f	m			Ala.	
John "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Jesse "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Antoine Toulmin	66	m	m	wood cutter		Ala.	x
Joe Stevens	50	m	m	drayman		Fla.	
Clara "	50	f	m			Ala.	
Baltiene Bernarda	40	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Marceline "	35	f	m			Ala.	
Baltiene "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Pericea Bernarda	6	f	m			Ala.	
Victoire "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Bernard "	18	m	m	bricklayer		Ala.	
Adonis Robinson	26	m	m	butcher	\$300	Ala.	
Barbara "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Merceria "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Ellis Chiruse	30	m	m	butcher		Ala.	
Isabella "	24	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Marie "	$\frac{1}{4}$	f	m			Ala.	
Romain Tresang	36	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Alexandrine "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Theodrine "	6	f	m			Ala.	
John "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy Johnson	64	f	m		\$1000	N.C.	
Juliann "	12	f	m			Ala.	
George "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Mary R. "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Casimer Kirsey	30	m	m			Ala.	
Council Johnson	40	m	m	laborer		N.C.	
Maria Kirsey	52	f	m			N.C.	
Lavinia "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Delia "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Frances Durette	58	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Guilliane Pulittea	64	m	b	drayman		Ala.	x
Lucy Dubroca	67	f	b			Ala.	x
Eveleen Dubroca	25	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Ephriasine "	23	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Sylvester "	24	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Clementia "	20	f	m			Ala.	
Matilda "	15	f	m			Ala.	
Theodore "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Macellite "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Genevieve "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Collins	31	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Edmond Collins	13	m	m			Ala.	
James "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Jeannie "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Nannette "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Marcellite "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Anna "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Abraham Shanklin	77	m	b	gardner		Va.	x
Kesiah Shanklin	60	f	b			Ala.	x
Lavinia "	3	f	b			Ala.	
Luverna "	3	f	b			Ala.	
Lucy Calderon	27	f	m			Ala.	
Anna Dubroca	15	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Constantine Perez	28	m	m	master tinner		Fla.	
Julia "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Constantine "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Rose "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
John Rigo	20	m	m	tinner		La.	
Robert Keiser	15	m	m	tinner		Fla.	
Felix Andrea	26	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Ophelia "	22	f	m			Ala.	
Josephine Bertrand	16	f	m			Ala.	
Basil Andrea	5	m	m			Ala.	
Silas "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Santa Anna "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Leon Gomez	32	m	m	hotel servant		Fla.	
Mary "	25	f	m			La.	
Florestine Louis	15	f	m			Fla.	
Leoni "	7	f	m			La.	
Sardinia "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Richard Le Roy	25	m	m	steamboat man		Ala.	
Henry Jones	40	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Louisa "	40	f	m			Ala.	
Henry "	15	m	m			Ala.	
William "	13	m	m			Ala.	*
Mary L. "	11	f	m			Ala.	*
Virginia "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
Oniva "	5	f	m			Ala.	*
Ella "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Annie "	9 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Pierre Laurantine	31	m	m	cigar mfg.		Ala.	
Emma "	37	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Catherine Lewis	60	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Renive Raiford	29	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Amelians "	16	f	m			Ala.	
Janette "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Rachel Glover	52	f	m	washer		Ala.	
James Summerville	53	m	m	cotton sampler	\$1700	N.C.	
Martha "	29	f	m			Va.	
Lydal Summerville	26	f	m			Ala.	
Martha P. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Alice "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Ella "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Stella "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Henry Miller	30	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Eliza "	29	f	m			Ala.	
John Cosley	29	m	m	laborer		France	
Caroline Hunt	46	m	m			Ala.	
Joseph George	55	m	m	bricklayer		Ala.	
John Martin	46	m	m	carpenter		La.	
Sarah Hunt	50	f	m			Ala.	
Decker Thomas	95	m	b	laborer		S.C.	
Sarah Jordan	21	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Mary A. "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Lenda Evans	36	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Mary Winkis	40	f	m	washer		Ala.	
Richard Mason	32	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Jane "	28	f	m			Ala.	
Samuel "	15	m	m			Ala.	
John "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Virginia Nicolas	40	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Victoria "	19	f	m			Ala.	
Jerome "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Arana "	15	f	m			Ala.	*
Alexander "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
Leida "	9	f	m			Ala.	*
John Barney	45	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
Henry "	35	m	m	steamboat man		Ala.	
Mary "	34	f	m			Ala.	
Caroline "	33	f	m			Ala.	
Robert "	30	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
William "	25	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Fanny "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Anan "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. Mifflin	4	m	m			Ala.	
Harriet "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Georgianna "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas Cumming	3	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Louis Cumming	3	m	m			Ala.	
Chas. Leavens	55	m	m	laborer	\$1500	Ala.	
Ann "	56	f	m			N.C.	
Armistead Saxon	38	m	b	cotton sampler		S.C.	
Mary Ann "	27	f	m			Ga.	
Emily "	17	f	m			Ala.	
Lorene "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Leanna Saxon	8	f	m			Ala.	
Sylvia "	8	mo.	f			Ala.	
Avis Daniels	20	f	m	washerwoman		Ala.	
Josephine "	22	f	m			Ga.	
Sylvia	90	f	m			Ala.	
Henry Clements	28	m	m	cotton sampler		Ala.	
Eliza Ann "	23	f	m			Ala.	
Augusta "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Dabney "	9	mo.	m			Ala.	
Wm. Bracey	50	m	m	drayman	\$1500	S.C.	
Letha "	40	f	m			S.C.	
Elizabeth "	12	f	m			S.C.	*
John Carson	23	m	m	steamboat man		Ala.	
Delilah "	21	f	m			Ala.	
Mary Ann "	1	f	m			Ala.	
John Burden	60	m	m	drayman	\$1000	N.C.	
Mary A. "	60	f	m			N.C.	
Mary Ash	70	f	m			N.C.	
Thomas Doran	53	m	m	laborer	\$2300	Ala.	
Isabella "	49	f	m			Ala.	
Isabella "	25	f	m			Ala.	
Bartolimeo "	22	m	m	copper worker		Ala.	
Pauline	18	f	m			Ala.	
Dennis Doran	15	m	m			Ala.	*
Joseph "	12	m	m			Ala.	*
John Ellis	9	m	m			Ala.	*
Josephine Rizo	42	f	m			Ala.	
Achille "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Elouise "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Diana	100	f	b			Va.	
Toney	110	m	b	church sexton		Va.	

MONROE COUNTY

Emily Rieter	37	f	m	farmer	\$130	Ala.	x
Polly "	18	f	m			Ala.	
John "	17	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Jim Rieter	10	m	m			Ala.	
Alfred "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Sally "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	9	f	m			Ala.	
Catharine "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Charles "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Savanna "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Lizzie Ritter	31	f	m			Ala.	
Adeline "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Tom "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Jackson "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Thadeus "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Arthene "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Richard "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Nancy "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Creola "	1 mo.	f	m			Ala.	
Tom Ritter	27	f	m	farmer	\$1000	Ala.	x
Alex "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Eliot "	7	m	m			Ala.	
William "	6	m	m			Ala.	
Henrietta "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Leonard "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Goodall "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Jane Ritter	60	f	m	farmer	\$100	Ala.	x
Jane "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Deak "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Laura "	7	f	m			Ala.	
Dorcas King	60	f	b	farm laborer		unknown	
Elizabeth Whitstock	6	f	m	pauper		Ala.	
Edy Weaver	57	f	m		\$200	Ga.	x
Nancy "	33	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary "	23	f	m			Ala.	x
Sarah "	13	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Joel "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Rhoda "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Martha "	6	f	m			Ala.	
James "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Augustus "	3	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	* IV	V	VI	VII
Josephine Lynch	15	f	m			Ala.	
Martha	24	f	m			Ala.	
**							
MONTGOMERY COUNTY							
Fanny Martin	40	f	b			Ala.	
Lucy Martin	25	f	b			Ala.	
London "	30	m	b			Ala.	
Carzilia "	20	m	b			Ala.	
Sarah "	18	f	b			Ala.	
Amanda "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Myre "	12	f	b			Ala.	
Richard "	35	f	b			Ala.	
Lydia "	25	f	b			Ala.	
Frank "	8	m	b			Ala.	
James "	6	m	b			Ala.	
Laura "	1	f	b			Ala.	
John Ivy	65	m	m		\$5500	S.C.	
Tempa "	60	f	m			S.C.	
Esthern Middleton	18	f	m			Ala.	
Wade W. Keys	2	m	m			Ala.	
Rebecca Anderson	18	f	b			Ala.	
Lutha "	1	f	b			Ala.	
William "	24	m	b	wagon maker		Ala.	
William Hall	46	m	m	drayman		S.C.	
Charlott	41	f	m	wash & iron		S.C.	x
Caroline Baker	42	f	m	seamstress		Va.	
John Peacock	26	m	m	teamster		Ala.	
Charles "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah A. "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Charles Rieves	57	m	m	farmer		Va.	x
Susan Robertson	101	f	m			La.	
Miles Robinson	21	m	m	tailor		Ala.	x
Frank Boyakin	78	m	m	farmer	\$4700	S.C.	x
Sarah "	50	f	m			S.C.	x
Josephine Hassell	28	f	m	sewing	\$5300	Ala.	x

** Several families, including the Hathcocks, Weatherfords, and Hollingers who were classified in the 1850 census as free persons of color, were listed in the 1860 census as Indians.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Mary Hassell	6	f	m			Ala.	
Polly "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Albert "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Ellen "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Alfred Hansford	25	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	x
Caroline Hassell	34	f	m	sewing	\$250	Ala.	
David Matthews	60	m	m	carpenter		N.C.	
Eliza Lumpkin	40	f	m	washing	\$1400	Va.	x
Mary A. "	22	f	m	dress maker		Ala.	
Rachel Merritt (1)	38	f	m			N.C.	
James "	16	m	m			Ala.	
Susan Merritt	14	f	m			Ala.	*
Matilda "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Isaac "	7	m	m			Ala.	
John "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth Lanton	39	f	m			N.C.	
William "	41	m	m			N.C.	
Nancy Taylor	42	f	m		\$1500	Va.	x
Mary "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah McLeod	33	f	b	dress maker		N.C.	x
Isaac Alexander	29	m	m			Ala.	x
Georgia "	22	f	m			Ala.	x
Nathan "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Sarah A. "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Lizzie "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Nathan Ellis	55	m	m	carpenter	\$2000	Va.	x
Nancy "	48	f	m	washer		Ga.	x
Mary F. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Thomas "	6	m	m			Ala.	
William Narramore	16	m	m	appren. carpenter		Ala.	
David Farley	47	m	b	butcher	\$3950	N.C.	x
Mary Garrett	39	f	b			Ala.	x
Sally Givens	57	f	b			Va.	x
Maria Ringstaff	51	f	m	washer		N.C.	x
Temesa Hansford	26	f	m			Ala.	x
Mary Catherine	7	f	m			Ala.	
Susie Hansford	3	f	m			Ala.	
Sarah "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Gabrielle Nicholas	18	f	m	servant		Va.	
L. L. Persons	45	m	m	overseer	\$100	N.C.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
MORGAN COUNTY							
George Jones, (1)	24	m	b				
Taylor Harris	21	m	b	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Sallie Grizzard (2)	11	f	m			Ala.	
Rose Welch	22	f	m	hireling		Ala.	
Cornelia "	2	f	m			Ala.	
Rose "	$\frac{1}{2}$	f	m			Ala.	
Jesse Sandlin		m	b	farmer	\$2580	S.C.	
Pleasant Martin	31	m	b	hireling		Ala.	
Wm. Curry	60	m	b	farmer	\$1100	S.C.	
Elisa "	47	f	b			S.C.	
Martin "	29	m	b	farm laborer	\$100	Ala.	
Cyrus "	21	m	b	farm laborer		Ala.	
Elizabeth "	18	f	b			Ala.	
Mary Jane "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Nancy "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Hugh "	13	m	b			Ala.	
Scippio "	20	m	b			Ala.	
Lucy Ann "	8	f	b			Ala.	
Emily "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Theo "	3	m	b			Ala.	
Rose	60	f	b	cook & washer		Ga.	
Cloves Jacobs	63	m	m	cooper	\$40	S.C.	
Mary A. "	4	f	m			S.C.	
Wm. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Lydia	62	f	b	washer	\$50	S.C.	
Scipio Martin	39	m	b	farm laborer	\$180	N.C.	
Elissa "	41	f	b			N.C.	
John Taylor "	17	m	b			Ala.	
Harry Neal "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Jane "	10	f	b			Ala.	
Elisa "	8	f	b			Ala.	
Ellen "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Calvin "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Alexander Benton	45	m	m	blacksmith	\$147	Va.	
Rosey "	40	f	b			Ala.	
Frank "	14	m	m			Ala.	
Elvira "	6	f	m			Ala.	

(1). Census taker added the note, "He was taken up as a slave, but says he is free."

(2). Mother and four children listed as white.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
PERRY COUNTY							
Joshua Griffin	21	m	m	farm laborer		Ala.	x
Horace "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Margaret	24	f	m	domestic		Ala.	x
Silas Pope	70	m	b	farmer	\$4000	Ga.	
Jas. Dejarnette	38	m	m	farmer	\$1340	Va.	
Harriet "	40	f	m	wife		S.C.	x
Thomas "	20	m	m	laborer		Ala.	x
Eliza "	11	f	m			Ala.	
Ann "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Jeldine "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Ethebert Dejarnette	7	f	m			Ala.	
Bat "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Benjamin "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Mary King	60	f	b	widow	\$613	Ala.	
Hester "	30	f	m	domestic		Ala.	
Peter "	39	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Simon "	39	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Greene "	28	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
George "	17	m	m	laborer		Ala.	
Crawford "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Joe "	9	m	m			Ala.	
Harriet "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Blenns "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Abner "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Wm. Wilson	30	m	m	farmer	\$50	Ala.	
Becky "	25	f	b			Ala.	
Thomas "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Wade "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Wesley "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Niles "	3	m	b			Ala.	
James "	1	m	b			Ala.	
Jas. Wilson	66	m	b	mechanic	\$200	S.C.	
Dicey "	52	f	b			S.C.	
Joe "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Elia King	8	m	b			Ala.	
David Wilson	20	m	m	mechanic	\$210	Ala.	
Geo. Anderson	13	m	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
PICKENS COUNTY							
Tom Brown	40	m	b	hostler		Ala.	
Patsey Jones	60	f	b	domestic	\$75	S.C.	x
Hulda Hester	36	f	m			Ala.	x
Anna Carr	23	f	m			S.C.	
Jas. P. Carr	17	m	m			S.C.	
Wm. B. Carr	1	m	m			Ala.	
Martha J. Foster	18	f	m			Tenn.	
Benjamin Jenkins	60	m	b	laborer		Va.	x
PIKE COUNTY							
Tucker Mills	72	m	b			S.C.	
C. Witherspoon	60	m	b	blacksmith		S.C.	
John Blue	50	m	b	farmer	\$465	Ala.	x
Sina	8	f	b			Va.	
RANDOLPH COUNTY							
W. Hale	56	m	m	farmer	\$140	Ga.	x
Polly "	65	f	m	housewife		Ga.	x
Mahala "	25	f	m			Ga.	x
Rebecca "	24	f	m			Ga.	x
Luraine "	22	f	m			Ga.	x
Wm. "	10	m	m			Ga.	
Tempy "	8	f	m			Ga.	
Nancy "	6	f	m			Ga.	
Jack "	5	m	m			Ala.	
John "	3	m	m			Ala.	
Simon "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Josephine "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Kim "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Asa Hamlin	68	m	m	farmer	\$50		
Rose "	10	f	m				
John Bunn	9	m	b			Ala.	
Nancy "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Eliza "	6	f	b			Ala.	
James Head	10	m	b			Ga.	
Rachel Cash	54	f	b	housewife	\$100	Va.	
James "	14	f	b			Ala.	
Francis "	15	m	m	farmhand		Ga.	
Free Susan	45	f	b	househand		N.C.	x

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
RUSSELL COUNTY							
John Crowell	55	m	m	day laborer		S.C.	
Amy "	20	f	b	housekeeper		Ala.	
John, Jr. "	13	m	b	day laborer		Ala.	
Sugar "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Thomas "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Mariah Moss	40	f	b	day laborer		Ga.	
Henry "	16	m	b	day laborer		Ga.	
Eliza Moss	8	f	b			Ala.	
Noah "	4	m	b			Ala.	
Lemuel Crowell	60	m	b	day laborer	\$200	N.C.	
Charley Rough	45	m	b	day laborer		Ga.	
Frank Mercer	9	m	m			Ala.	
Frank Lewis	55	m	b	mechanic		Ga.	x
Nancy "	45	f	b	housekeeper		Ga.	x
Elijah "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Scipio "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Susan "	6	f	b			Ala.	
Matilda "	2	f	b			Ala.	
ST. CLAIR COUNTY							
George, a slave				fugitive			
Peggy Gipson	55	f	b	farm laborer	\$25	S.C.	x
Sarah "	18	f	b	farm laborer	\$40	Ala.	
Gartner "	16	m	b	blacksmith		Ala.	
Wm. "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Infant "	2	mo.	f	m		Ala.	
Abbie	80	f	m			Va.	x
Jim	67	m	b	farmer		S.C.	
James J. Turner	20	m	m	millar		Ala.	x
SHELBY COUNTY							
Nelly Butler	32	f	b			S.C.	
Susan "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Margaret "	4	f	m			Ala.	
Free David	25	m	m	farmer	\$1000	S.C.	x
Free Barbey	16	f	m	cook		Ala.	
Mary, a free negro	36	f	m	cook		S.C.	x
Martha, " "	12	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Hannah, a free negro	8	f	m			Ala.	
Joseph, " "	1	m	m			Ala.	
Free Julia	28	f	m	cook		S.C.	x
Free Nettie	4	f	m			Ala.	
Free Dan	1	m	m			Ala.	
Jack Willard	4	m	m			Ala.	
L. G. Wyatt	16	f	m		\$1000	Ala.	
Margaret Harris	18	f	m	field hand		Ala.	
Gippy	3	f	m			Ala.	
Betsy	2	f	m			Ala.	
John	1	m	m			Ala.	
Whiloom Wison	36	m	m	barber		N.C.	x
Lucinda Wright	34	f	m			Ala.	
Evaline "	19	f	m			S.C.	x
Amanda "	18	f	m			Ala.	x
Mariah "	16	f	m			Ala.	
May A. "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Wm. D. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Robert Hood	29	m	m	farmer	\$800	Ala.	x

SUMTER COUNTY

Wm. Scott	31	f	b			Ala.	
Seburn "	32	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Agleton "	47	m	b	laborer		Ala.	
Polly "	20	f	b			Ala.	
Jamlin "	16	f	b			Ala.	
Dick "	12	m	m			Ala.	
Ben "	10	m	m			Ala.	
Adolphus "	7	m	m			Ala.	
Henry "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Polly "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Virginia "	1	f	m			Ala.	
Low Smith	15	m	b	apprentice		Ala.	
Cory	35	f	b			Ala.	
Julia	10	f	b			Ala.	
Mary	8	f	m			Ala.	
Jane	1	f	m			Ala.	
Narcis Magus	12	f	m			Ala.	
A. Connhell	40	m	b			Va.	
Adam	28	m	b			Ala.	
Joe Morgan	60	m	b	farmer	\$1600	N.C.	
Clara "	52	f	b			N.C.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Adelina	10	f	b			Ala.	
John Astest	68	m	b		\$200	N.C.	
John "	60	m	b		\$550	N.C.	
James Allen	30	m	b	carpenter		Va.	

TALLADEGA COUNTY

Kinsay	60	m	m			Va.	
Mary	60	f	b			Va.	
A. Jacobs ⁹	24	m	m	carpenter		Ala.	
S. Walker	32	m	m	barber	\$250	Ala.	
T. "	28	f	m			Va.	
C. "	1	f	m			Ala.	
J. Butler	8	m	m			Ala.	
L. Jacobs	51	m	m	farmer	\$1300	S.C.	
J. "	45	f	m			S.C.	
J. "	24	m	m			Ala.	
E. J. "	22	f	m			Ala.	
A. J. "	19	m	m			Ala.	
S. F. "	17	f	m			Ala.	
L. "	15	f	m			Ala.	
C. "	12	f	m			Ala.	
M. "	10	f	m			Ala.	
W. "	8	m	m			Ala.	
P. "	5	m	m			Ala.	
J. "	7	f	m			Ala.	
H. "	2	m	m			Ala.	
J. Harris	23	m	m			Ala.	

TALLAPOOSA COUNTY

Sallie	85	f	b		\$20	Ga.	x
Pheraby	25	f	b			Ga.	x
Sarah	45	f	b			Ga.	

TUSCALOOSA COUNTY

Alfred Winn	36	m	b	blacksmith		Ga.	
Maranda "	40	f	m			N.C.	
James Abbott	51	m	b	barber		Va.	
Martha "	31	f	m			Ala.	

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Lucy A. Abbott	8	f	m				Ala.
Sarah "	6	f	m				Ala.
Solomon "	4	m	m				Ala.
Martha "	3	f	m				Ala.
Maddison "	1	m	m				Ala.
Thos. Field	70	m	b		\$650		Va.
Kisey "	75	f	b		\$100		Va.
Julia Fields	25	f	b				Ala.
Phillis "	2	f	m				Ala.
Thomas "	1 mo.	m	m				Ala.
Hurbert Peak	70	m	b		\$100		Va.
Nancy "	70	f	b				Va.
William Gowin	70	m	m	waiter			Va.
Eliza "	56	f	m		\$750		Va.
Henry Dent	80	m	m	Meth. clergy	\$100		Fla.
Margaret "	63	f	m	washer			Fla.
Thomas Jones	70	m	b	longshoreman	\$100		Africa
Fanny Gould	103	f	b	gingerbread baker			Va.
Benjamin Aiken	101	m	b	laborer	(\$150)		S.C.
Peggy Bethy	45	f	m	washer	\$1000		Tenn.
Sarah "	14	f	b		\$150		Ala.
Albert F. Smith	40	m	b	druggist	\$800		Va.
Eliza "	24	f	b				Ala.
Columbus Jones	33	m	m	blacksmith	\$150		Ala.
Adeline "	22	f	m				Ala.
Shandy Jones	41	m	m	barber	\$3500		Ala.
Eveline "	38	f	m	seamstress			S.C.
Wm. "	21	m	m	barber			Ala.
Georgianna "	18	f	m	seamstress			Ala.
Parilee "	16	f	m				Ala.
Eodine "	13	f	m				Ala.
Elizabeth "	11	f	m				Ala.
Charles "	9	m	b				Ala.
Spotswood "	7	m	m				Ala.
Virginia "	2	f	m				Ala.
Haywood "	7 mo.	m	m				Ala.
Lelia "	7 mo.	f	m				Ala.
Jesse Langdon	24	m	m	well digger			Ala.
Eliza "	23	f	m				Ala.
Albert "	5	m	m				Ala.
Clara "	3	f	m				Ala.
Palim "	1	f	m				Ala.
H. Southoid	55	f	b	washer	\$200		S.C.
Louisa "	10	f	b				Ala.
Francis Bunn	25	f	m	washer			Ga.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Wansing, B. D.	1	mo.	f	m		Ala.	
Solomon Perteete	71	f	m	plasterer	\$5320	Ga.	
Lucinda "	60	f	m	gardner		S.C.	
Sarah Owen	23	f	m	seamstress		Ala.	
Sorletta "	5	f	m			Ala.	
Edward Berry	65	m	b	teamster	\$7750	Ga.	
Cynthia "	65	f	m			Va.	
Milly Watkins	70	f	b	washer	\$1500	Va.	
Thomas Butler	7	m	m			Ala.	
Shallot Lopher	48	f	m	washer	\$1500	Va.	
Francis Winn	37	f	m	washer	\$1600	Ga.	
F. Summers (1)	35	m	m	laborer		S.C.	
Mary Nuckles (2)	2	f	m			Ky.	
Reuben Jones	25	m	m	blacksmith		Ky.	
Jane "	13	f	m			Ky.	
Emily "	2	f	m			Ky.	
Daniel Hames	66	m	b		\$3600	Ga.	
Slater Allen	66	m	b		\$1000	S.C.	
Peggy Mather	54	f	m	washer	\$1100	Tenn.	
Sarah Smith	13	f	b			Ala.	
Mary Joy	65	f	b	washer	\$75	N.C.	x
Mary S. Nealey	29	f	b	washer	\$100	N.C.	
Henry "	12	m	b			Ala.	
Lydia "	9	f	b			Ala.	
Dandy "	2	m	b			Ala.	
Sophia "	4	mo.	f	b		Ala.	
Josephine Walker	25	f	b	servant	\$1000	Ala.	x
David	2	f	b			Ala.	
Robert Greene	6	m	b			Ala.	
Greene Jay	45	m	b	ditcher	\$380	N.C.	x
Amese Glenless	72	f	m	washer		Va.	
Frank Wickfell	65	m	b	farmer		S.C.	
Agnes "	68	f	b			Va.	
Bob	19	m	b	laborer		N.C.	

(1). Wife and four children were not listed as colored.
Wife listed as washerwoman, and two of the children
attended school.

(2). Parents and three children not listed as colored.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
WALKER COUNTY							
no free colored							
WASHINGTON COUNTY							
Hagar	78	f	b				Ga.
Patience Starke	65	f	b				S.C.
Lucy "	73	f	b				Va.
Patsy "	50	f	b				S.C.
Joshua Dubroca	60	m	m				Ala.
Phariba Martin	73	f	m				N.C.
Huldah " (1)	35	f	m				Ala.
Rose Reed	80	f	m	farmer	\$2600		Ala.
Matilda "	40	f	m				Ala.
Reuben "	38	m	m				Ala.
Virginia "	17	f	m				Ala.
Rose "	10	f	m				Ala.
Benjamin "	9	m	m				Ala.
Rebecca "	7	f	m				Ala.
Eliza "	4	f	m				Ala.
Lethe " (2)	2	f	m				Ala.
George Reed	48	m	m	farmer	\$650		Ala.
Ellen "	25	f	m				Ala.
Ophelia "	9	f	m				Ala.
Creasey "	7	f	m				Ala.
Reuben "	3	m	m				Ala.
Glorinia "	3	f	m				Ala.
Oscar "	1	m	m				Ala.
William Reed	46	m	m	farmer	\$775		Ala.
Louisa "	28	f	m				Ala.
John "	8	m	m				Ala.
Daniel "	5	m	m				Ala.
Emeline "	3	f	m				Ala.
Thomas "	2	m	m				Ala.
Rose "	1	f	m				Ala.
Emeline Dougherty	30	f	m				Ala.
Emma "	15	f	m				Ala.

(1). Husband and two children not listed as colored.

(2). Two white men, 48 and 46, listed in same household.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Wilbur Dougherty	30	m	m			Ala.	
Alexander "	11	m	m			Ala.	
Mary "	8	f	m			Ala.	
Franklin "	4	m	m			Ala.	
Martha "	1	f	m			Ala.	
James Weaver	50	m	m			Ga.	
Margaret "	50	f	m			Ala.	
William "	18	m	m			Ala.	
Robert "	25	m	m			Ala.	
Taylor "	13	m	m			Ala.	
Daniel " (1)	6	m	m			Ala.	
John Dougherty	35	m	m	farmer	\$4800	Ala.	
Emily "	33	f	m			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	14	f	m			Ala.	
Delilah "	12	f	m			Ala.	
Julia "	10	f	m			Ala.	
George "	8	m	m			Ala.	
Eliza "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Eliza Pagarde	46	f	m	farmer	\$2050	Ala.	
Thomas "	28	m	m			Ala.	
Abraam "	25	m	m			Ala.	
Flora "	22	f	m		\$8000	Ala.	
James "	16	m	m			Ala.	
America "	10	f	m			Ala.	
Lucinda "	6	f	m			Ala.	
Franklin "	2	m	m			Ala.	

WILCOX COUNTY

Polly Watson	7	f	m			Ala.	
Ern Watson	6	m	m			Ala.	
Martha J. "	3	f	m			Ala.	
Maria Matthews	45	f	m			S.C.	
Rachel "	20	f	b			Ala.	
Napoleon "	14	m	b			Ala.	
Nancy "	12	f	b			Ala.	
Ann Mason	46	f	m			Ala.	
Alek "	24	m	b			Ala.	x
William "	23	m	b			Ala.	x
John "	19	m	b			Ala.	

(1). Isabella Patrick, 7, listed white, in same house.

Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Henry Mason	17	m	b			Ala.	
Wade "	15	m	m			Ala.	
Rufus "	13	m	b			Ala.	
Thomas "	9	m	b			Ala.	
Alfred "	7	m	b			Ala.	
Richard "	5	m	b			Ala.	
Caroline Mason	26	f	b			Ala.	x
Laura "	20	f	b			Ala.	x
Joseph "	10	m	b			Ala.	
Washington "	5	m	m			Ala.	
Amanda "	8	f	b			Ala.	
Elizabeth "	5	f	b			Ala.	
Julia "	2	f	b			Ala.	
Steward "	2	m	m			Ala.	
Ben "	3 mo.	m	b			Ala.	

WINSTON COUNTY

No free colored.

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Epitaph copied from gravestone in Greenwood cemetery, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.