

Guide to Researching Slavery at the Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives (Province of St. Louise)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	1	K. Louisa Mahoney.....	15
II. Numbers and Calculations.....	2	L. Sam, Mary, and the Heard Family..	16
III. Mother Seton.....	3	M. Remus and Teney of the Troxell Family.....	17
IV. Maryland.....	4	N. Simon and his Wife.....	17
A. The Wash House.....	4	O. Catharine (Sr. Lucina) Simms/Simmes.....	17
B. St. Mary's Asylum, Baltimore.....	5	P. Little Family.....	18
C. Joe the Waggoner.....	6	Q. Quinn Family.....	18
D. Lewis and the Livers Family, 1819.....	7	V. Philadelphia.....	18
E. Clement Diggs.....	8	VI. St. Louis.....	21
F. Isabella Richardson and the Gillmeyer Family.....	10	A. Jane.....	22
G. George-Deluol Correspondence.....	11	B. Fanny	23
H. Joseph Maxwell Document.....	13	VII. New Orleans.....	24
I. Mary Dorsey Document.....	13	A. Charity Hospital.....	24
J. The Shorb Family.....	14	B. St. Theresa of Avila School and Parish.....	34
		VIII. Washington, DC.....	34

I. INTRODUCTION

This research guide derives from research conducted by the Provincial Archives between 2019 and 2021. It covers the time period when the American community was the independent Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's, founded by Mother Seton in 1809, and the time period between 1850-1865 when it was the United States Province of the Daughters of Charity.

Due to the nature of the Catholic Church and enslavement at the time, all original documents are not located in one place. Instead, they are in a mix of community, Diocesan, university, and state/county collections. All documents include proper sourcing as best as possible when in collections outside of the Provincial Archives in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Records held in this location can be provided on-site in physical format and remotely in digital format. Contact archives@doc.org for more information. The records are also not located in a single collection

even within the same collection, but in a variety of collections of different locations, meeting minutes, financial ledgers, correspondence, sacramental records, and narratives.

We also ask that researchers, when they see gaps in this research guide, contact the Archives at archives@doc.org. We remain interested in learning the fullest extent of the Sisters/Daughters involvement with enslavement and will update this guide as we become aware of more information. (Last updated July 2026)

The primary places where discoveries of the Sisters/Daughters utilization of enslaved labor are Maryland, St. Louis, and New Orleans. The Sisters/Daughters of Charity were also active in the slaveholding regions of Richmond, VA; Martinsburg, WV; Natchez, MS; Donaldsonville, LA; and Mobile, AL prior to the Civil War. To date, the Archives is not aware of any evidence of the utilization of enslaved labor by the Sisters/Daughters in these locations. Please contact us if you are aware of records indicating otherwise in these areas.

This guide was compiled using records from the following locations, in addition to the Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives: Mount St. Mary's University, Archdiocese of Baltimore, Archdiocese of St. Louis, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Ascension Parish Courthouse, St. Louis Courthouse, and Frederick Roots (web archive compendium).

If you believe you are a descendent of an individual mentioned in this report, please contact us at archives@doc.org. We would be interested in speaking with you.

This report does NOT aim to cover research about African American history at the Daughters of Charity Archives in total. Such research will find a variety of interactions and ministries, both positive and negative. This guide exclusively covers the Sisters/Daughters and their use of enslaved labor. See the Archives "Guide to Researching African American History at the Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives (Province of St. Louise)" for more information on this subject.

II. NUMBERS AND CALCULATIONS

There are no federal census records listing the Sisters or Daughters as owning enslaved individuals. However, records exist showing sales of individuals, acceptance of enslaved individuals as payment, use of rented enslaved labor, and acceptance of ministry work based in part on access to enslaved labor.

There are places in the records where the use of enslaved labor is difficult to discern or is ambiguous. Recordkeepers often did not discuss the lives of the enslaved or referred to them in passing reference with ambiguous terms such as "servant." These "servants" may have been paid for their labor; they also may not have been, and further context is necessary to determine whether or not the individual was free or enslaved.

At this point in the research, the Provincial Archives is able to definitively say that the Sisters/Daughters utilized the enslaved labor of 35 individuals, of which there are 21 for whom we have an identifiable first and last name, 12 with only a first name, and 2 with no names. In addition, there are 5 cases that remain ambiguous whether the individuals were enslaved or whether they were enslaved to the Sisters/Daughters, pending further research.

Finally, there are accounts of interactions with African Americans that are significantly more positive in the Provincial Archives and in the history of the Community prior to 1865, such as the Setons employing a free African American woman in New York City and the Community's accounts of the Briscoe and Lee families in Emmitsburg once they were manumitted. However, the purpose of this project is to examine the Sisters/Daughters and their complicity with enslavement. Those stories can be found in a companion research guide titled "Guide to Researching African American history at the Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives (Province of St. Louise)." This report, however, focuses specifically on the matter of slavery.

III. MOTHER SETON

Although it was before her founding of the Community, it is worth noting Mother Seton and the Seton family's direct connection with enslavement. Due to this instance occurring before her founding of the Community, it is not counted toward the total number of individuals.

Pursuant to the Will of Rev. Richard Charlton (Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise, Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton Collection, Box 4, Folder 1) (excerpt):

Of the rest of my estate I leave one-third to my son John, one-third to my grandson John Dongan, when he is of age, and one-third to the children of my daughter, Catherine Bayley, deceased. I leave to my granddaughter, Mary Bayley, a negro girl, and to her two sisters my Negroe Boy formerly named Brennus Item I give to my grandson John Charlton Dongan my Negroe man Adam and in case the abovementioned Legates do not arrive at their respective ages aforesd then the bequeathed negroes shall become my son John Charlton's property.

In her book *Elizabeth Seton: An American Saint*, Dr. Catherine O'Donnell speculates that Brennus self-emancipated in the chaos of the American Revolution in New York City and notes that he disappears from the historical record. Thus, it is likely that Mother Seton never actively enslaved Brennus.

This is not to say that she did not have personal experience with the institution of slavery. The 1790 census lists the household of R. [Richard] Bayley with 3 enslaved people. The other numbers match that this does in fact refer to the household of Dr. Richard Bayley at this time. He also placed an advertisement for a self-emancipated formerly enslaved person named Jessemy in August 1777. Brennus and Jessemy may have been the same person.

There is evidence that William Seton Sr., father of William Magee, did purchase enslaved people as part of his business dealings as well.

In the 1800 census, when Elizabeth and William Magee had their own household, they are listed as living with 1 person under the category "All other free persons". There is no other known evidence of Elizabeth and William Magee participating in enslavement in the New York period of their lives.

IV. MARYLAND

A. The Wash House

The Maryland portion of the Sisters/Daughters history is closely related to Mount St. Mary's University. Instances of the use of enslaved labor in the state come from instances of direct ownership and of "loaned" enslaved labor from Mount St. Mary's. There is no number of listed individuals discernable from this document alone.

When Sisters were on mission at Mount St. Mary's, one of their tasks was to oversee the wash room. This duty lasted from 1815 to 1851. From Mount St. Mary's Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary's, Folder 1 (quoted in full):

Regulations for the Coloured Servants at the Wash House to be enforced by the Sister who had charge of them

1st. They will obey all directions respecting their employments which are given by the Sister <<Miss Thompson or the person>> having charge of them & will receive orders from no one else except the principal Sister, who will generally send her orders by the <<person>> Sister who attends to the washing &-

2dly. They must on all occasions abstain from rude unbecoming noisy or detractor conversation & the Sisters <<Miss Henny>> is obliged in duty & Charity to use every means to prevent such conversations & if unable, She will report the offenders to the Sr. Servant or <<to the>> President of the College

3ly They will rise at a regular hour & be ready to begin their work in half an hour afterwards – They will go to breakfast & dinner at a regular hour also - & will return to work ½ hour after breakfast & 1 hour after dinner – Supper at a regular hour after which they may be employed for themselves or if they have no work of their own to employ them the Sister Servant will prudently dispose of their time & they must never be out after dark without the Sisters consent-

4- On Sundays, all will attend the last mass – even tho they may have heard another – unless they are ill, or have been appointed to stay below – or have the permission of the << for a visit of more than a day they must have the Presidents consent>> Sister Sevt. Who alone can grant such permission & that only for good reasons- On Sundays as well as at all other times they are not permitted to visit even the nearest neighbor without express permission of the Sister Sevt. for each visit- This Rule must be observed.-- They are not allowed to invite any one into the Quarter nor to the eating room. If any relation visits them they must obtain the Sisters permission for them to stay to meals & the Presidents permission to remain any longer time-

5.. They will never leave the wash house, except at meal time, without asking the Sisters permission-

6. All cases of sloth, or disobedience, or disrespectful & injurious language should be immediately (at least the same day) reported to the President or Sr. Servant

7thly. The Sister will carefully prevent or correct any forward or unbecoming conduct in the Servants, whilst they are about the Mill, spring or wood-pile especially when the students or strangers are passing—

8thly. The Sister will endeavor to learn the strengths & capability of of each one of them so as fairly to apportion to them their share of duty - & will use much firmness & discretion in exacting or diminishing it-

9—For their lesser offences the Sister at the Store House, mill, as a means of mild correction – Rudly admonish them – speak more authoritatively – Then Scold them!! – (you can be angry without sinning even against meekness)- If this will not answer give them disagreeable work to do - & add to their usual (ask deprive them of their usual recreation -& keep their Finery from them on Sunday) – Lastly complain to the President, who will only expect to hear complains when your own proper means of enforcing authority have been exercised in vain—

In the “Talks of the Ancient Sisters,” there is a reminiscence of Ann Coales, who was formerly enslaved at the wash house:

Ann Coales, colored - "I used to work down here at the washhouse in Mother Rose's time, bought my own freedom--ten dollars a month and allowed me nothing for my clothes. Sisters didn't like it. Sister Benedicta [Parsons], cashier, then Sister Josephine here (Sister Josephine Swope), whenever I'd go home wanted to know all about the Sisters, how they did and all about them. Her mother told me not to tell her." (43)

Thus, it appears that, at least at some points in time, the enslaved at Mount St. Mary's were compensated and permitted to keep their own money, even to purchase their own freedom.

References to Ann Coats, Mary Ann Coats, and Mary Coats begin to appear in Ledgers 58 and 94 in October 1823. These last through at least August of 1826. This corresponds to the time period of Mother Rose White and Sister Benedicta Parsons.

There are also payments in both of these ledgers to other members of the Coates family for washing, namely Jane and Mary. Stephen Coats is listed on the 1820 and 1830 census as owning several enslaved women – unsure if this is related or based on typos at this time.

We are unclear about how many people worked at the wash house over the time of its operation. This is being counted as one instance with a first and last name, pending further research.

B. St. Mary's Asylum, Baltimore

Of the pre-Civil War Baltimore missions, the only surviving act of incorporation in the Daughters archive is that of St. Mary's Asylum, located on the Cathedral grounds (Daughters of Charity, Provincial Archives, St. Mary's Asylum Collection). It includes the following section (excerpt):

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the most Reverend Ambrose Marechal, Archbishop of Baltimore, the Reverend Enoch Fenwick, Luke Siernaw, David Williamson, John White, and John Scott, members of the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Church of Baltimore, and their successors in office, who shall be duly elected in the manner hereinafter mentioned, be, and they are hereby declared to be, one community corporation and body politic, forever hereafter, by the name and style of Protectors of Saint Mary's Orphaline Female School in the City of Baltimore, and by that name they shall be and they are hereby made able and capable in law, to have, purchase, and receive, possess, enjoy and retain, to them and their successors as

aforesaid, lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents, annuities and pensions, in fee simple, or for a term of years, life, lives or otherwise and also goods, chattels, and effects, or what nature, quality, or kind so ever, by the gift, bargain, sale or devise, of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, capable to make the same, and the same to grant, demise, alien, or dispose of, in such manner as the said protectors, or a majority of them, may judge most conducive to the use and benefit of the said institutions; Provided always, that a majority of the protectors shall be necessary to form a quorum for the transactions of business, and also that the said corporation shall not at any time, hold or possess property, real, personal, or mixed, exceeding in value, yearly, the sum of five thousand dollars.

The reference to “chattels” may be a reflection of life at this ministry but is more likely a legal formality. Neither researchers, nor staff of the Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives were able to confirm any use of enslaved labor on the Cathedral grounds. Thus, this is being counted as an ambiguous instance with no addition to the total of individuals. It is dated 1817. The Sisters first began their ministry there in 1821.

C. Joe the Waggoner

From Rev. Simon Bruté's *In His Connection with the Community* (two excerpts quoted):

“Joe, that faithful is dying.

Alas! I have not given him Viaticum.

It is not his fault...may be mine.

Yet I must thank...I had confessed him yesterday afternoon.

At ten this night I gave him the holy Extreme Unction, and the indulgence for death.

I said the prayers of agony.

I said them again this morning.

Deliver him, O Lord !...

Depart, Christian Soul! Simple, honest, faithful, zealous, humble, affectionate friend of GOD, and of man, depart! and may my death be as holy, my judgment as easy!

Poor negro! No; happy child, so highly favored!

Poor priest rather, so highly favored too...another Christ, but of such a heavy account...of such duties not so faithfully discharged.

My Lord, pity Thy negro! Pity Thy priest!

Anina, Rebecca, Clauzel, Romeuf, innumerable whose grave he digged, receive him!

Mr. Byrne, whose grave was his own, that wet day he digged it...

O my GOD! The bell for Mass! I go...” (185-186)

“Write some notes for Joe...a few little anecdotes of waggoning, carrying Bec, his Christmas, Epiphanies, little books, so great affection and respect to the Sisterhood, digging graves, etc. I will then add something.” (187)

Joe is confirmed as enslaved through a page of Bruté’s diary with the assistance of a translator located at Mount St. Mary’s Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary’s, Folder 1 (excerpt):

15 7ber. Joe died

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with a first name, but no last name, enslaved by Mount St. Mary’s University but in service or borrowed for service by the Community.

D. Lewis and the Livers Family, 1819

Entry from Financial Ledger 55, page 258, Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise, dated May 1819 and titled as the page for Cecilia Livers:

To cash from Rd M DuBois that is credited to us in his
acct this sum the first 50 already credited to Caroline, 50
this sum by Lewis being bought by R Superior & credited
to our acct with [?] \$294.00

By Balance Carried to new acct 47.81

The next page, page 259, titled as the page for Mary Ann Livers, includes the following note:

“This will be paid for we have agreed to wait for it in consideration of her Father’s situation” 284.27

There is a corresponding ledger entry in Ledger 57, page 54, June 4th, 1819:

1819 Cash

June 4th To amt of her bill in full rendered to Mr Baugher 72. 63 ¼

& for which we are credited on his books

St. Mary’s Seminary Do Do Cecil W. Livers

By their assumption of this sum being the price of

the Black boy Louis sold by Mr. Livers to the

Seminary they agreeing to pay us 294.00

Also Cash paid by Mrs. Livers to Rd. J. DuBois

ascend thrice the same sum for us 50.00

A letter from Mount St. Mary’s Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary’s, Folder 4 includes a letter from John Purcell to Francis Jamison, dated September 10, 1830 (excerpted):

And I am particularly anxious that something decisive be done regarding our negroes. — Dan & Louis are gone off — and I can only say God's peace be with them! Abraham, Nace & Peter I have told to look out for Masters for themselves — but on second thought I sent them to their work as usual, until you return — If you could get, or agree with me on the propriety of it, I can easily procure white men who will come as lay brothers and work for us. I wish all the colored gentry at a very respectable distance from the premises.

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with a first name, but no last name. Even though there was no direct exploitation of Louis's labor by the Sisters, his status as an enslaved person was being used to satisfy and eliminate debts in a triangular financial arrangement. He is listed as a family member in other documents in this collection at Mount St. Mary's to several other enslaved people who have the last name Diggs, but their exact relationship to each other is unclear.

After these events, however, there is evidence that Louis was paid and permitted to earn money for extra work. On December 25, 1824, it is listed that money was paid "To Louis & Nace for driving wagon 1.50" (Ledger 58). Other payments were made to Nace and Abraham between March 1823 and December 1825, per Ledgers 58 and 94.

E. Clement Diggs

Excerpt from "Talks with the Ancient Sisters," in Daughters of Charity Archive, Province of St. Louise, RG 10-4 (p. 28-29):

Burning of Mt. St. Mary's:-- "I was there at the time and probably the first one who saw the fire—or one of the first. It burned at midnight—my bed was close to the window. The Sister Servant was late coming in that night."

(Note: The Sisters had charge of the boy's infirmary, besides other domestic departments of the college.)

"When she came in from the infirmary I told her to look out of the window and see the fire in the cupola. She did, and threw open the window and called to a black man in the yard 'Clem! Call fire!'" He looked as if he didn't care to—was slow about it, but did call "Fire!" It was set on fire —the man confessed it afterwards—he went from bad to worse until he was finally taken up for something else and then he confessed he had set the College on fire, and said he intended to set this house on fire the same night, but couldn't get a chance; there was so much passing back and forth between here and the mountain."

"What did he want to do it for?"

"Just for fun. He shot a colored woman in the neighborhood for fun—killed her. The College was burned Whitsunday night 1825, I reckon. Father Dubois sat watching the fire, his hands crossed—saying, "The next house I build, I'll correct so and so!"

(Poor Uncle Clem was not the incendiary)

HALF AN HOUR WITH SISTER HELENA ELDER, 1884.

"I was there the night the College—Mount St. Mary's—was burned. The Sisters used to be up there; had charge of some of the domestic departments. The next day was Whit

Monday. It used to be a holy day of obligation, you know, and Mother Augustine, who couldn't bear to play on the organ, always got out of it if she could, had sent me there to play. I had gone to bed. It was after nine o'clock. Sister Felicite had not yet come over from the boys' infirmary. I suppose someone was very sick or something kept her; I don't know what. When I looked out of the window I saw the flame. I was the first one who saw it, and I could have covered it with my apron. When Sister Felicite came in, I said: "See! The cupola of the College is on fire, scream "Fire!" She wouldn't do it but opened the window and a black man was just then passing, and she told him to give the alarm; but he only said "fire-fire" in a lazy moderate voice, and all the time the flames were gaining ground. Then the boys came down, pell-mell, heels over head, half-dressed, and they sent them back to get their clothes. My! What a lovely clothes were thrown out and ruined that night. Father Dubois, dear old Father, sat watching the flames, and said: "When I build the new College, I will make such and such improvements." When the fire was most over they prevailed on him to come over to the Sisters' house and try to get some rest. The tears just streamed down his cheeks."

Clement is mentioned in sacramental records of Mount St. Mary's held by the Archdiocese of Baltimore in relation to his wife, Monica:

[Monica Diggs] was the widow of Clement Diggs, who died about 26 years ago. Her husband and herself both come from St. Mary's County, & were for many years the servants of Mr. DuBois. May they rest in peace.

He is mentioned in an additional document from the Mount St. Mary's Archives as a family member to several other enslaved people. However, their exact relationship to each other is not described.

He is mentioned in a passage of *The Story of the Mountain* on page 169:

Bruté, Nov. 25, 1826, gives this list of the priests and others of the house:

Messrs. Egan, proprietor, president, spiritual father of children. McGerry, proprietor, administrator, pastor. Bruté, Theology, Philosophy, Exercises of Seminary, Sisters, bibliotheque, francais. Lynch, Purcell. Sisters: 1st, Superior, Sr. Benedicta Parson. 2, Kitchen, Sr. Sally Thompson. 3rd, Kitchen, Sr. Mary Magdalene. 4, Infirmary, Sr. Madaleine. White women: Polly, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Kelly. Girls: Betsy Bigham, Knott, Duffy. Negroes: Clem, Carpenter, Philip.

There is a deed of sale for Monica Diggs at Mount St. Mary's Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary's, Folder 3 dated December 9, 1829 detailing her sale from McGerry to Frances Jamison and John Purcell, the latter two of the Mount.

Based on Articles of Agreement between Rev. Jamison and Charles Lee at Mount St. Mary's Archive, RG VI; Slavery at Mount St. Mary's, Folder 4, we know that Monica and Clement had a daughter named Catherine, who married Charles Lee, with whom she had two daughters, Ann and Cecilia. Charles purchased the freedom of his entire family by 1833.

In Ledger 58, there is reference to paying "Cash to old Clem 0.25" in April 1822.

Although Clem was almost certainly enslaved by Mount St. Mary's, we have found no evidence of the Sisters utilizing his labor without pay.

F. Isabella Richardson and the Gillmeyer Family

Document signed and related to Teresa Gillmeyer, who entered the Community in 1825 as Sister Sophia Gillmeyer. It is dated March 1, 1831. From Father Jamison Correspondence at Mount St. Mary's University Archive (quoted in full):

Know all men by these presents, that S. Teresa Gylmire of Frederick County and State of Maryland, for the consideration of the sum of onehundred fifty [?] money, some on hand, paid by Fr. [?] Jamison on the County and state aforesaid, the receipt thwereof I so hereby acknowledge have granted, bargained, sold and delivered and by these present do grant, bargain, Sell and deliver unto the said Fr. B. Jamison my negro slave Isabella which said slave Isabelle I will warrant and defend to the said Fr. B. Jamison his executors, administrations and assigned, against me, my executors and administrators and against every other person or persons whomsoever. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my name and affixed my seal this first day of March one thousand eight hundred & thirty one

[Signatures by Francis Patrick Kenrick the Archbishop of Philadelphia, John Hughes, and Teresa Gillmeyer]

There is a card for a document, although the document itself is missing, in the Jamison correspondence dated June 5, 1835:

Owner of black slave, Isaac, writes asking Butler's advise concerning Isaac's wish to marry Isabella, a slave belonging to the Mt.

Isabella is listed on a document entitled "Estimate of the Costs of Clothing the Slaves..." in Mount St. Mary's Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary's, Folder 5 as Bella Richardson (quoted in full):

Granny, Mary & Prudence Plouden, Bella Richardson, Susan McRenna, Betsy Butler, Teresa Zeta [Geta?], William Richardson, Samuel Butler Matthews. Estimated clothing cost is \$225.82

In the sacramental register of Mount St. Mary's, held in the Archdiocese of Baltimore Archives, there is an entry on July 22, 1838:

Isaac and Isabella Camel' baptized a child, Mary Magdalene, at the College Church

The Story of the Mountain contains more information about this case:

On August 31, 1840, the College petitioned the legislature to authorize them to free William Richardson, Isabel Campbell, Susan Green, Ann Key and Betsey Butler, and on September 8th, the offer of a negro boy was declined.

—Bill Richardson and his wife Anne were, when the chronicler knew them, two old slaves of the College who lived in their latter days down at the Dry-bridge. When their cabin became uninhabitable a woman named Magraw took them into her house nearby, and they lived with her for three years, while the neighbors were accumulating the wherewithal to rebuild their hut. No one unacquainted with the feeling towards the negro that exists below Mason and Dixon's line can fully appreciate the natural heroism and sublime Christian charity shown by Mrs. Magraw. Bill and his wife lived in their domicile

many years thereafter, enjoying the good will and respect of all that knew them, and though the house was but a cellarless hut in a swamp, they received their visitors with a simple grace and dignity that would sit well on the President and the Mistress of the White House. Bill was a captive of rheumatism in his latter days, but we never heard him complain, and once when we brought him up for Christmas Mass and invited him to dine at the College, we were deeply impressed with the simplicity and piety with which he said grace. The seminarians admitted that he was a model in making the Sign of the Cross. In old times he had been a teamster at the College, and used to make a brave show with his horses and mules and their brilliant tassels and his cracking whip, but his great display was made in 1875 when he drove Cardinal McCloskey from Thurmont, then called Mechanicstown, to his Alma Mater. Bill was very much attached to his namesake, Bishop William McCloskey, of Louisville, whom he used always to speak of as "Father William," and the gentle, polite, respectful way in which he recalled old times and persons was charming to observe. Bill died at last (in 1902) in his ninetieth year, and his wife very soon followed him. The College clergy did honor to the remains of those excellent servitors." (408-409)

Although this is not being counted towards the total number of enslaved individuals, since this appears this is family business and not Community business, it does show personal connection to the individual members of the early Community. With a first and last name and the records that we already know about, it seems likely that further research would be able to uncover more information about this individual.

In ledger 94, there is a note in 1826 that reads "A little memorandum – August 8th Black Isabella by the Month in the Kitchen June 6th 1826." It is not clear whether this is the same Isabella or the free/enslaved status of this individual.

G. George-Deluol Correspondence

For several years, it had been believed that two letters between Sister Margaret George, at the time Treasurer of the Community, and Father Louis Deluol, former and future Superior referenced sale of two enslaved children due to the term "yellow boys." They are referenced as such in, among other publications: "Barbara Misner *Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies* (Routledge Library Editions, 1988); Joseph G. Mannard, "'We Are Determined to B White Ladies': Race, Identity, and the Maryland Tradition in Antebellum Visitation Convents," in *Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume 109, 2014; Rachel L. Swarns, "The Nuns Who Bought and Sold Human Beings," in *The New York Times*, August 2, 2019. The letters are 7-19-3 #5 and 7-10-3 #6 at the Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise. Quoted in Full

First letter (undated):

My Dearest child,

I have received to-day, your letter of yesterday, just after I had requested mat[sic] to give you my love.

To come to business all at once, this I will say: If you choose to keep your yellow Boys, you may do it; But if you find it more convenient or and advantageous or both, you may sell the fellows and get 10 or 12 per cent premium, without doing an injustice to anybody. There is a nubbin of Theology for you. Revd. Mr. Butler has gone to Cincinnati

to build another church what will you do with yours? I hope, before he went he put everything in a fair way for you. If you want anything done in Baltimore which either or Revd Mr. Elder can do I need not tell you that we will try to do our best.

God bless you, my Dearest child, pray for your affect. Father

L.R. Deluol

Sister Margaret George

Treasurer of St. Joseph's vale

near Emmitsburg Md

Second letter:

Baltimore November 28 1839

My Dearest Child

This life is a continual sacrifice. You wished to come to Baltimore, and I would have certainly be very glad to see you; But God has not willed it; Loit bénit!

Your yellow fellows which had leant out pandora's box, arrived safe-pity that you did not send them down ten or twelve days sooner-They would have brought from \$75 to a \$100 more- As it is, it is pretty well. They were sold on Monday at 10 o/o premium. A Sovereign was amongst the half Eagle and undoubtedly you had counted it for a half Eagle- The consequence is that it wants fifty cents to make up \$300 premium' So that I have now in bank for St. Joseph's \$3,299.50cts.

You wrote to Rev d Mr. Elder to pay Mr. McKim &c out of that money-well to the balance of the copper has arrived but late to-day, the bill could not be got; But as soon as it can be got, I'll give a check for it-In a word, the money is at your order.

I send you the account of the Brokers who bought the gold that you may see how the operation has been made.

You tell me that there is a mystery which you cannot unravel. There was a time when I would have been as much at a loss as you now are; But that time is gone by. However, Rev d Mr. Elder is ready to do anything you may request him to do in Baltimore-you may therefore write to him freely when you want his services.

Give my love to Patty, and tell her that I desire her to unite in prayer with her Dear God-Mother, for her and your ever affect. Father

L. R. Deluol

Sister Margaret George

St. Joseph's vale

near Emmitsburg MD

Further research and examination of the context has revealed that term "yellow boys" was a colloquial monetary term for a gold coin. These are no longer being counted as instances of

evidence of slaveholding. Furthermore, examination of historical accounts places this in a timeline of building a new chapel on the Sisters' campus.

H. Joseph Maxwell Document

Document from Archives of the Daughters of Charity, Province of St. Louise, RG 7-0-2 United States Community History Collection. Folder titled "Indentures, Correspondence, etc. related to slaves."

This is an indenture between Mary Thaddeus McGowan and Mary Ann McAleer on one side and Nathaniel S. Wilson and Henry Zedrick dated December 19, 1859. It is signed by Sister Thaddeus McGovern and Sister Mary Ann McCormick. There is a note along with it where Sister Thaddeus gives Sister Mary Ann the ability to negotiate on her behalf. It is signed by Father Francis Burlando, Provincial Director, as a witness. Excerpted:

[The] party of the first part hath hired to the said party of the second part as the conditions and considerations hereinafter set forth the negro boy, a slave for life of the party of the first part named Joseph Maxwell for the term of four years from the date of these presents: and the said parties of the second part agree and covenant with the said party of the first part that they will teach instruct and inform, or cause to be taught instructed and informed the said boy Joseph in their said business, craft, and occupation of Tanners..."

What remains unclear about this document is whether this was a conducting of Community or personal business. This is therefore being counted as an ambiguous instance of one individual with a first and last name.

There is a Nathaniel Wilson listed on the 1860 slave census as owning four individuals, two of them boys, in Allegany County, MD. We cannot, however, verify this as the same Nathaniel Wilson.

I. Mary Dorsey Document

From Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise, 7-9-3 #3, "Buildings & Grounds: Deeds, Lease Agreements, Contracts #209," quoted in full:

I, Henrietta S. Manning of Saint Mary's County in the State of Maryland, but now in the City of Baltimore in said State, being now indebted to the Sister of Charity of Saint Joseph's, a corporation by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of Maryland passed December Session 1816 Chapter 90 in the sum of Two Hundred and Twenty five Dollars & eighty three cents, with interest from the [cash?] hereof in consideration thereof and for the purpose of securing the payment of said debt and [?] cast, do hereby [?] and sell to Said Corporation Negro, Mary Dorsey, a slave for life, now in the family of Robert Fond in Leonardtown, Saint Mary's County aforesaid, aged about fifteen years – Provided however that if I the said Henrietta S. Manning shall pay to the said Corporation or its assigns, the said sum of Two Hundred & twenty five Dollars & eighty three cents, with interest thereon from the date hereof, on or before the Sixth day of July in the year eighteen Hundred & fifty nine then these presents shall be voids—

Witness may hand & seal this sixth day of July in the year eighteen Hundred & fifty sixth

Jas H. Bevans Henrietta S. Manning

Wm. H. Maynard

A corresponding document exists in the Frederick County Courthouse records:

State of Maryland

City of Baltimore Sct.

I hereby certify that on this sixth day of June, in the year eighteen hundred + fifty eight, before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace of the State of Maryland in + for said City, personally appeared Henrietta S. Manning, and acknowledged the foregoing mortgage to be her act. Wm H Maynard."

State of Maryland

Frederick County Sct.

I hereby certify that on this Tenth day of July in the year eighteen Hundred + fifty eight before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace of the State of Maryland in + for Frederick County aforesaid personally appeared to me Mother Regeana Smith President of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's, the Corporation named in the within mortgage and on behalf of said Corporation the within mortgagee, made oath in and form of law that the Consideration in the said mortgage is true + bona fide as therein set forth. James Knouff

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with a first and last name.

J. The Shorb Family

Council Records, June 12, 1828, from Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise:

The colored man of Mr John Shorb, now in our employ, is to be dismissed at the expiration of the year (Novr).

Ledger 60, Page 70, dated 1828, from Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise:

Nov. 1sr By 1 year's salary for himself & blk man 150.00

John Shorb is listed in the 1820 census as owning two enslaved people, one man and one woman, each between 14 and 26. He is the father of Sister Ann Alexis Shorb and lived in Emmitsburg by this time.

There is a letter in the Mount St. Mary's Archive, RG VI: Slavery at Mount St. Mary's, Box , Folder 4 dated September 3, 1831 from John Shorb to Rev. Purcell (Shorb portion in full):

Revd. Sir

I suppose you are not in the habit of marrying a slave without permission of their masters this is to inform you that I have no objections to Charity's getting married"

However, this letter may be from one of John Shorb's sons, also named John.

We have been unable to locate any wills or probate of John Shorb.

There is also a mention of Dr. James Shorb having a number of enslaved people escape slavery on their own accord in James Helman's *History of Emmitsburg* (page 90-91), and he is listed as owning a number of enslaved individuals. This is Sister Ann Alexis's brother, and we have not located evidence of the utilization of any of his enslaved labor.

While some of this language is ambiguous, the fact that no corresponding ledger entry exists for the laborer, only for Shorb, implies that this was an enslaved person. Thus, it is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with no first or last name.

K. Louisa Mahoney

From the article "The Pervasive Institution: Slavery and its Legacies in U.S. Catholicism" by Kelly L. Schmidt, April 5, 2022, <https://cushwa.nd.edu/news/the-pervasive-institution/>.

Few Catholic religious outright emancipated their enslaved people. Most bondspeople were only able to secure freedom by negotiating to purchase it, as did people enslaved to the Ursulines, Visitandines, and Jesuits. Several networks of families, claiming they were already free, initiated freedom suits against their Catholic enslavers in Missouri and Washington, D.C. One of them, Louisa Mahoney, was forced away from her kin network in Maryland when in 1836 Mount St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg gave her to Reverend Francis B. Jamison, who proceeded to help establish a contingent of the Sisters of Charity in St. Louis. Mahoney sued for her freedom in St. Louis in 1854, demonstrating that Jamison had ignored the college's stipulation that she be freed after five years, only to learn from the Sisters of Charity and officers of Mount St. Mary's College that the records validating her claims had been tampered with and destroyed.

Records of a freedom lawsuit related to Mount St. Mary's and Father Jamison. Can be found in its entirety at <http://repository.wustl.edu/concern/texts/hq37vp57t>. Contains portion where:

Your Petitioner further state that whilst in the state of Maryland , and whilst serving the said Francis B. Jamison in said state as aforesaid, she was informed by an officer or officers of said Mount St Mary's College that the said agreement in terms as aforesaid and upon the condition aforesaid was entered in writing upon the books of the said College; that she went to the said College to inquire about it and did inquire of then Procurator of the College whether the same was so enforced and was informed by him that it could be found; but that the books had been torn and defaced so that no records of that date could be found; that she was afterwards informed by the officers of the said College and by the President thereof who came into office after the reliving of the said Francis B. Jamison from the same position, that the said agreement in terms aforesaid had been made between the said Francis B. Jamison and the said College and that the same had been entered in writing on the Books of the said College; She was further informed by the sisters of Charity that the said books had been burned and destroyed or so defaced that no record of that date could be found

This could indicate involvement in Louisa's life, or it could be simple attestation of events. Many documents were destroyed in the Mount St. Mary's fire of 1825.

This is being counted as an ambiguous instance of one individual with a first and last name.

L. Sam, Mary, and the Heard Family

All described documents in this section come from Ledger 80 unless otherwise indicated. In 1833, Mathew Heald of Saint Inigoes, St. Mary's County, Maryland, deceased, had his estate settled. Ten African Americans were divided among his five children, one of them being Ann Heard, who had become Sister Ann Olivia Heard in 1831. She was left "1 negro boy Sam aged 6 years" and "1 negro woman Mary aged 28 years." The estate was settled by Peter Gough and Mr Langley. She was also to be given \$40 by her brother Matthew to make each child's shares even. Sam is valued at \$130 and Mary at \$280 to total \$410 in chattel and \$40 in cash.

This matter could be considered family business rather than community business, except for the fact that Sr. Olivia's entry in the entry ledger has a note that reads "To bring to the community all the property she has." This is backed up in the Council records of May 17, 1832. Her account listing in ledger 61 dates from October 22, 1831 to April 22, 1832 and lists an unpaid balance, but has a note that reads "This is settled So says Rvd. J. F. Hickey."

The matter of her family's estate was protracted due to the fact that Ann was only 20 years old at the time, not at the age in which a woman could receive this bequeathment. Hickey attests, in March 1833 that Ann Heard – whom he explicitly refers to as Sister Mary Olivia – was not 21 years old and that she "is in debt to St. Joseph's for her board & tuition &c, before she left the school, to become a Sister; for her entrance money as a Sister. I suppose then nothing can be done till she will be 21 completed." It seems likely that the arrangement for her property to go to the community when she became a Sister was a settlement of this debt.

A letter from January 5, 1835 from Parkin Scott to Miss Heard – presumably Ann's mother – reads in part, "In November last Sister Rose [White] enclosed to me a letter from you to Rev. Mr. Hickey in relation to the time when Miss Ann Heard had sent to me a power of attorney from her to Mr. Ignatius Langley authorizing him to receive from you her share of the personal estate of her father, and also authorizing him to sell her estate real and personal, which power of attorney I know enclosed to you." It further directs that "Miss Heard wishes her estate, real and personal converted into money without delay and remitted to her at St. Josephs, or to me at Baltimore."

Parkin Scott was the longtime attorney in Baltimore of the community.

The letter continues, "In our last conversation you made some mention of negroes belonging to the estate, which negroes it was desirable should be kept by someone of the children of Mr. Matthew Heard, and if I recollect right you recommended that a power should be given to Mr. Langley to act for Miss Heard."

Some of the letters are exceedingly difficult to read due to water damage in the past that has severely smudged the ink or created tears in the paper.

As of now, we have not located a matching entry for the transfer of this money to the community. Nonetheless, even without this final piece of evidence, the documentation seems likely enough that the sale of Sam and Mary went to the community per the agreement of Sister Olivia. Thus, we are considering this a definitive instance for the time being of two enslaved people, each with first names, but no last name.

M. Remus, Maria, and Teney of the Troxell Family

Ledger 16 includes account pages of Mrs. Mary Troxell (spelled Truxel here, as well as Trux or Trox elsewhere). On page 16, there is a charge for "39 ½ Days of Work of Remus 19.75." On page 43, a line reads "To 77 Days work for black man @00/50) 38.50." Page 51 includes "By 1 Days work for Remus [50 cents]." Due to the equal rates and the listed number of days, we can interpret this as renting the enslaved labor of Remus.

In Ledger 97, the entry of May 5, 1829 reads: "Paid Mary Troxell eight dollars sixty-nine cents for butter & washing done by her woman." The entry of November 5, 1830 reads: "Paid Mrs. Troxell for Maria's washing."

In 1810, Mary Troxell is listed as having 6 enslaved people (this census did not break this demographic down any further. In 1820, she had two enslaved men under age 14 and one woman under 14. In 1830, it is more difficult to locate her in the census, but by 1840, it seems she has moved to Creagerstown, MD. This is being counted as a definitive instance of two individuals, each with a first name, but no last name.

There are other references to paying Mrs. Troxell for washing in Ledger 75 at a rate of \$0.50/day, but with no more specifics than that.

In addition to these, there is another event in the life of the Troxell family that has no direct relationship with the Sisters/Daughters. In 1820, two enslaved people of the Troxells were put on trial, Bill and Teney, after Mary Troxell's barn was burned down. Bill was acquitted, but Mary was convicted and sentenced to be executed. Several people petitioned the Governor to overturn this conviction, including the judge in the case, Mary Troxell herself, and future Supreme Court Justice and Dred Scott author Roger Brooks Taney. They all praised Teney's loyalty over the years and said that they all believed Bill coerced her into the crime, with her being described as one "whose understanding appears to be unusually weak even for one in her degraded condition of life." Governor Spriggs did commute her sentence to, effectively, banishment. She was taken to another county and sold for life, presumably to the Deep South. In Ledger 77, there is an entry on November 12, 1812 that reads: "Dear Madam you will much oblige your friend If you will send by my Black Women else the Amount of this Accompt Wich is nine Dollars thirty four cents By so doing you will much oblige me. P.S. and this shall by your Receipt". It is signed by Mother Seton and Mary Troxell. Although this does not imply any use of this enslaved woman's labor, considering the date, there is the possibility that the woman is Teney.

N. Simon and his Wife

Entry from the Council minutes, November 9, 1830.

Agreed to help Simon in getting his wife free by some arrangement with her owner, & Simon~-

This is the only reference to Simon that we have yet discovered. Research is ongoing. We are not considering this a definitive or ambiguous instance.

O. Catharine (Sr. Lucina) Simms/Simmes

A letter from Father William Matthews to Mother Mary Augustine DeCount dated June 12, 1833 reads as follows:

Catharine Simms an old applicant has neither to been prevented from coming in consequence of the lingering illness of her Aunt, who brought her up from her infancy: but as there is no prospect of her Aunt's recovery I have advised her to go down the Country to a relative of her's & take the Steamboat to Balto without saying anything more to her aunt - she is now in the Country with all things ready waiting the word from you - you before consented to take her but as it is several months since, I thought it was best to receive a confirmation of your consent. her slaves I told her can be disposed after her arrival at St. Joseph's - you will therefore be pleased to let me know your decisions on this subject - in the meantime presuming on your former decision in her favor I shall this day write to her to proceed to Balto immediately Cath you know was regularly educated with the Sisters here & I am willing you should judge of the tree by the fruit - my compliments to Margaret O'Brien she may expect a letter from me in a few days - in great haste you humble Servt

Catharine Simms/Simmes joined the Community on October 24, 1833 and took the name Sister Lucina. She served as Treasurer from 1845 to 1847.

There is an entry note in the ledgers for her name: "Of Washington; Brought with her \$182.00 and on 15 March 1834 had \$151 sent to her. Born in Charles Co., MD." It is unclear whether this is money from such a sale. A note in the Council minutes on June 15, 1832 reads that "Cath. Simmes of Washington recd. As candidate to bring all her worldly goods-". A note later that year reads "Cath. Simmes arrived July 20th brought with her \$182 out of which she is to pay for a comb 31 1/4 cts. Afterwards received 151.00."

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with no first or last name.

P. Little Family

Ledger 59 has an entry on Martha Little's account on June 16, 1825 "to pay Black woman for washing 1.00." This is unusual for a student's account page and implies that the unnamed woman is receiving the payment. We are actively investigating this person for more information.

In the meantime, this is being counted as an ambiguous instance of one individual with no first or last name.

Q. Quinn Family

Ledger 59 has an entry for Rose and Margaret Quinn with an entry from March 1 to April 29, 1825 "By Black woman washing 38 days @ 50 cents 19.00." Rose became Sister Rosina Quinn in 1832. There are other accounts of her father paying for tuition through barter due to hardship, but this is the only one where we see mention of African American labor being used to pay for tuition for his daughters.

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with no first or last name.

V. Philadelphia

The Sisters of Charity began to operate St. Joseph's Orphan Home in 1814, their first mission outside of Emmitsburg. Although they ran the institution, they were not the owners of the institution, this being an incorporated group of Catholics priests and laypeople.

In 1815, there are a series of entries that describe how the late Mr. Isaac Hozey “bequeathed to the Institution the Remaining time of the black man, who has three years to serve.”

There are four entries concerning this matter. Quoted here in full:

At a Special Meeting of the Managers held at the Orphan House Monday the 13th of February 1815.

Members Present
 Edwd. Carrel Esq. V.P.
 Revd. Mr. Hurley
 Mr. Michl. Magrath
 “ Timy Currin
 “ Felix McQuaid
 “ John Gartland

Mr. Carrell informed the Board, that the late Mr. Isaac Hozey bequeathed to the Institution the Remaining time of the black man, who has three years to serve.

Messrs Carrell & Tiers were appointed to take possession of the man & have bound out or sell his term.

The Secretary was requested to procure a Copy of the late Mr. Hozey's Will & draw in the Treasurer for any Expense that may attend it.

Mr. Carrell read the Copy of a Note addressed to Mr. Nagle our last Collector of Requested the Secy to take charge of it.

Adjourned to Monday next 4 o'clock. P.M.

Timy. Desmond Secy. Proterm

At a Special meeting of the managers, held at the Orphan House Monday the 20th February 1815.

Members Present
 Edwd. Carrell Esqr. V.P.
 Revd. Mr. Hurley
 Mr. John Gartland
 “ Timy Desmond
 Timy Currin
 James Oellers
 Felix McQuaid

The Vice President informed the meeting that the Executors of Isaac Hozey Deceased, informed him that the Black Man left by his will was to be sold tomorrow at the Coffee House. Timy Desmond was appointed to attend his sale.

The trial of the will of Peter Chavalier comes on the 23rd Instant. The Committee appointed in this case were requested to wait on the Counsellor to do the requisites – adjourn to Monday next ½ past 4 o'clock.

Timy. Desmond, Secy. Proterm

At a meeting of the Managers held at the Orphan House Wednesday Evening March 22nd 1815.

Members Present
 Revd. Mr. Hurley
 " Edwd. Carrell V.P.
 " Michl. Macgrath
 " Felix Macquaid
 " Ty. Currin
 " Wm. Waltman
 " Jno. Parker
 " Edwd. Harland

The Vice President Reported that he Received a letter from John Mason announcing his resignation and also stating that he is no Member.

On Motion it was Resolved to bind one of the Girls to Miss Coffman. On Motion of the V.P. it was Resolved to appoint a Committee to binds out and take in children. Messrs Currin & Parker was appointed.

The former Building Committee was continued viz.

Currin & Desmond

Messrs. Hartland & O'Walterson was appointed to dispose of the terms of Mr. Isaac Hozey's Black boy I call on Mr. Tiers to know how far he has succeeded in the sale of the boy.

Adjourned

T. Desmond

At a meeting of the Managers held at the Orphans House, Monday April 10th 1815.

Members present.
 Revd. Mr. L. Barthe, V.G.
 " M. Macgrath
 " T. Currin
 " H. Macquaid
 " W. Waltman
 " E. Harland
 " J. Parker

Mr. Hartland stated the reason of calling this meeting was to pay to the Treasurer the amount of the sale of the Black Boy left by the wife of Mr. Isaac Hosey deceas'd, which was One Hundred Dollars, paid by Messrs. Harland & Waltman to Mr. Macgrath Treasurer.

On motion of the Revd. Mr. Barth. Resolved that all Donations & Legacies left to the Society should be for liquadating the debts of the Society. Carried unanimously.

Resolv'd that the Vice President be requested to present to the Board a Statement of the debts & income of the Society. Carried unanimously.

Messrs. Macgrath & Currin was appointed a committee to wait on Mr. Carrell to that effect.

Adjourned to Monday April 24th 4 ½ oclock p.m.

T. Desmond

Pennsylvania's gradual abolition law was passed in 1780, and the enslaved population of Pennsylvania was very low at the time. Under this law, all enslaved people born before 1780 remained enslaved for life, and all children born of enslaved mothers after 1780 were considered indentured servants until age 28. In Isaac Hozey's will, written in 1811, he instructs for the sale of "the unexpired time of my black man 'Jem'" and donation of the money to St. Joseph's Orphan Home. He makes plans for bequeathment of the unexpired time of three other identified African American people to different individuals.

Although Jem was technically an indentured servant and not an enslaved person, his time and service seem unlikely to have been voluntary. Working with a professor of the history of slavery, we have been advised that the term "bondsperson" may better describe Jem's situation. However, for the purpose of determine a total number of enslaved persons, we consider this a definitive instance of 1 enslaved person with a first name, but no last name.

This instance does carry the caveat that the Board of Directors did not have input from the Sisters in deciding to sell Jem's remaining term of servitude. It is worth noting that members of the Board at the time included Father Matthew Murley, the carrier of the Augustinian torch in the United States, along with the Vicar General of the Diocese of Philadelphia.

VI. ST. LOUIS

The Sisters went to St. Louis for the first time at the invitation of Bishop Rosati. His letter of invitation to the Sisters is below in full (Rosati to Mother Mary Augustine Decount, Correspondence, Women Religious. RG 01B Bishop Joseph Rosati, C.M., Papers 1774-1990, Archdiocese of St. Louis Archives, St. Louis, Missouri):

October 14, 1828

1st Sisters of Charity will be sent from Emmittsburg to attend at the Hospital, who are to continue in the obedience of their Superior General and of their Central Government near Emmittsburg; and remain in the free exercise of their religious duties; governing themselves according to their own rules & regulations.

2d For the well ordering of the management and general concerns of the Hospital the Sisters will be under the authority and control of the proprietors of the Hospital, or of the professors appointed by them to attend the Hospital.

3d The Sisters shall have the care, management and ordering of the interior concerns and labours of the Hospital and will have under them as many servants, Men & women

as the service of the House may require, which servants they are permitted to appoint at the expense of the Institution, and dismiss at pleasure and which hired servants shall be made be subservient to all or any of the Sisters. There may be also a steward appointed by the proprietors, who will not however interfere with the internal management of the House; he may make all the purchases, but if he fail in his duty, the Sisters themselves must be at liberty to procure what they may find necessary

4 The Sisters will be boarded at the Hospital according to their own rules & regulations, they will be furnished with all necessary Medicines, they are at liberty to select any one of the attending professors, for their physician. The proprietors will pay for the clothing of each Sisters in attendance, twenty one dollars, every six Months.

The Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis have been invaluable partners in researching the St. Louis area. While the papers and ledgers of Archbishop Peter Kenrick, Rosati's successor, are not in a user-friendly state right now, they are currently undergoing processing, and the archivists there are keeping us informed of any findings related to the Sisters/Daughters.

A. Jane

There are various entries from Bishop Rosati's ledger, St. Louis Archdiocesan Archive, related to an enslaved person named Jane and Sister Francis Xavier Love or Mullanphy Hospital (source: Financial Ledger 1830-1839, organized chronologically. Record number EXEC/01/T1000454. Bishop Joseph Rosati Papers, RG 01 B. Archdiocese of St. Louis Archives, St. Louis, Missouri):

[December 31, 1830] To a month's wages of my negro Woman Jane \$4

[January 14, 1831] Received of Sr Xavier for a month's hire of my negro woman Jane \$4

[March 4, 1831] Received from the Sr Supr of Mullanphy hospital for my negro girl Jane's two months hire \$8

[April 21, 1831] Received from the Supr. of Mullanphy Hospital for two months wages of my negro girl Jane \$8

[June 2, 1831] Received from Sr. Xavier Supr of the Hospital \$4 for my negro girl one month's wages, and \$16 for the Building of the Hospital, in all \$20

[August 18, 1831] [By Cash from Sr. Xavier] for Jane's 2 mts wages \$8

[October 18, 1831] Received from Sr. Xavier for the Negro girl Jane two months wages \$8

[December 15, 1831] Received from Sr. Xavier for Janes 3 month wages \$12

[January 28, 1832] Received of Sr. Xavier for Jane's wages \$4

[March 10, 1832] Received of Sr. Xavier Supr of the Hospl for 1 Mo. wages for Jane \$4

This is being counted as a definitive instance of one individual with a first name, but no last name.

B. Fanny

John Mullanphy's will includes the following clause (source: St. Louis City Recorder of Deeds Office):

I give and bequeath to the Sisters of Charity in St. Louis established on a Foundation created by me a mulatto child called Fanny, now aged about four years, and living with me; to have and hold to said Sisters of Charity until she shall arrive at the age of eighteen years. they are to learn her to read and write and treat her kindly; at the age of eighteen years the said Fanny shall be free absolutely, provided she shall in the mean time conducted with propriety; and upon her marriage to some decent orderly person after she shall become free, I give and bequeath to her, the sum of two hundred dollars.

At the end of the document is a statement from Mullanphy:

In reading the foregoing last will and testament, I perceive that I have made an omission in the fifth article respecting the mulatto child Fanny. The provision therein made for her I have been induced to make, from commiseration for her destitute situation, as I have sent her mother to a distance for her improper conduct, and from the interest excited in my, by the intelligence and smartness of the said Fanny and from her frequent entertaining and amusing me with her innocent prattle, and in order to rebut and prevent any suspicion or imputation that may exist in consequence of the notice of her in my will I solemnly declare before God that she is not my Daughter.

The date of the first will is approximately 1827.

The Archdiocese of St. Louis Archive contains a letter dated April 18, 1839 from Ann Biddle, Mullanphy's Daughter, to Bishop Rosati. Quoted in full:

Right Revd. Bishop Rosati

Right Revd. Sir

I take the liberty of addressing you in behalf of Fanny a little mulatto girl, whom my late Father left to the care of the Sisters of Charity & whom Mother Xavier [Love] of the Hospital & myself sent to the Kaskaskia Convent in Illinois (that in case the will of my late Father should be set aside) she should still be entitled to her freedom – It was my intention after leaving him a certain time with these ladies, to take her home & have her taught dressmaking, with a view of enabling her to support herself respectably. It appears that when I wrote to Kaskaskia to claim this child you (thinking it a matter of little consequence to me) authorized the ladies of the Visitation determining her – which they have continued to do – not understanding my having written to them since to send this child to me – I therefore beg you would favor me with a few lines to those Ladies – requesting them to send Fanny to me by the first opportunity – Miss Kane is going to Kaskaskia tomorrow & will be the Bearer of your note for which I will send tomorrow at nine o'clock A.M.—

I remain with profound respect your humble
obt. Servt.

18th April 1839..

Ann Biddle

There is a manumission in the Missouri State Archive dated on October 20, 1845, which has a number of connections to the same witnesses of the Mullanphy will:

Know all men by these presents that we John O'Fallon Richard Graham and Catharine his wife, Charles Chambers and Jane his wife, Ann Biddle, William L. Harney and Mary his wife, James Clemens Sr. and Eliza his wife, Octavia Delany and Bryan Mullanphy all of the County of St. Louis, State of Missouri for divers good and valuable causes and considerations as thereunto specially moving, as also for the sum of one dollar to us in hand paid the receipt whereof is here-by acknowledged, have emancipated, liberated manumitted, set free and discharged from service, slavery and bondage forever hereafter, Fanny sometimes called Francis Michael a mullatto woman, now about the age of twenty one years."

The highly unusual and generous conditions established for Fanny have spawned a widespread belief that Fanny is in fact Mullanphy's daughter, being expressed by the Archivists at the St. Louis Archdiocesan Archive, the head archivist of the St. Louis City Recorder of Deeds Archive, and by at least one academic, as in Martha A. Sandweiss' "Finding Fanny," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4(2), Spring 2011, 188. This article also points out that "John Mullanphy never sold his slaves, one of his granddaughters later wrote, but he did send them away, renting them out to other people and pocketing a fee for their unfree labor.[6] At the time of his death, he had two slaves rented out. A man named Abe, and a woman called Hannah. Hannah, leased out to a local plane maker named Moses Stout, must have been Fanny's mother." Fanny was also specifically listed to be called to Mullanphy's bedside in a medical emergency.

Sandweiss speculates that Fanny's mother, Hannah, another enslaved woman of Mullanphy, was murdered by William S. Harney, Mullanphy's son-in-law, and that she later took the name Fanny Sinn. Fanny Sinn is later identified in the household of General William S. Harney in the 1850 census, aged 25, although it is not completely accepted that Fanny Sinn is the same Fanny.

This is being treated as a definitive instance of one individual with a first and last name, with a caveat that this described experience may not have been for the purpose of labor.

VII. NEW ORLEANS

A. Charity Hospital

From the Daughters of Charity Archives, Province of St. Louise, Charity Hospital, New Orleans Collection, Box 2, Folder 5, "Notes on the Commencement & Progress of Charity Hospital" written by Sister Regina Smith, selected excerpts:

We can give few details of the management exercised previous to its being given in charge to our Sisters, which was on the 6th of January, 1831. All that concerned the Hospital was under the immediate direction of the house Doctor, and entrusted to the care of three matrons, each of whom had a special office assigned her. One acting as housekeeper, took entire charge of the kitchen and all connected therewith; a second attended to the and bedding and the third directed the duties in the wards. All the menial work was performed by sixteen slaves, who formed a part of the Hospital property.

There was also employed a porter and steward. The porter governed the slaves, directing their labors and supplying their wants. The steward provided for the wants of the house in general. (1)

The duties of the Sisters were constant and laborious, particularly that of the kitchen, so that Sister Regina [Smith] thought proper to change the Sisters in this office frequently; therefore, they all took turns of two weeks, and so great was the spirit of sacrifice which reigned among them, that each one would regret having to yield her place to another, wishing to reserve the hardest work for herself.

The slaves gave no help in the kitchen on account of the multiplicity of other wants. The wash-house was not such as we enjoy at the present time, with its many complicated and interesting machineries, but a little old shed, to get to which it was necessary to cross the yard on planks. This part of the City was mostly marshy land and very often the greater part of the Hospital yard was covered with water. The washing was done by the female slaves under the heat of the burning sun, and the ironing under the shed. This office required the constant attention of a Sister. Every article to be washed was sent to the washhouse, even the bandages.

We sometimes find real recreation in listening to incidents of those days. Among many is that of an old lady suffering from insanity. She occupied the first private room (now the drug store) and would never leave it except on such occasions as we are about to relate. All the bandages had to be bleached on the grass, and her most interesting employment was to watch these little narrow strips of muslin until they were dry, then she would very slyly gather them all up and sew them into an apron, when she considered herself very finely dressed. But to return to the Sister employed in the kitchen. She went at four-thirty a. m. to serve the slaves with a drink before beginning their work. (There were no water-closets in the Hospital, and all the buckets were placed in the hall until morning when they were emptied into large tubs, and the slaves carried them away on their heads.

The Sisters had to sleep in the midst of all this.) She then started the fire, attended to the butcher, baker and milkman, and often wheeled the coal, when there was no one else to do it. During Mass, one of the Sisters replaced her, each in her turn, a custom which is still in practice.

Two slaves called "carriers" carried the patients when admitted, if they were not able to walk, in their arms or on their shoulders to their respective wards. The house bell struck whenever their services were needed, three strokes if only one was wanted and six if both. In like manner did it strike for various purposes, saving much time and confusion. At nine a. m. and three p. m., it struck to notify the slaves, attendants and any others who had rendered the least service to the Sisters to come to the lunch which was then served, consisting of wine, brandy or beer, and crackers. This was continued until the late War, when the Hospital became so poor as to scarcely afford this refreshment to the sick.

One stroke called for Sister Regina when wanted in any office. At eight p. m., after tolling the hour, it struck nine times as a signal for the slaves and attendants to retire, and at eight-thirty everyone was quiet and the lights lowered. (6-8)

In 1837 and '38, the cholera and yellow fever were making the most frightful ravages, so that were the Hospital three times the size, it would not have been too large. When all the beds in the wards were taken up, small cot-beds were procured and placed all though the halls, both sides being lined, yet all this fell short of the number applying for admission and rather than refuse any, two were put in each bed.

The Sisters used to come from the Chapel, which was on the upper floor, to the refectory on the lower, to their meals, passing through this most appalling scene, it could, in some measure, be compared to a battle-field for they saw some dying and others dead. Often, they left a nurse on duty to go to some exercise and on their return would find him in a dying condition. A Sister has seen three nurses taken from her in one day, whilst she felt not the least alarmed. Does it not appear as if our dear Lord wished to manifest to all His Providence in watching over those who place all their hope in Him, and the pleasure He takes in protecting them? It is true the Sisters were all sick, but not at the same time. It would really seem as if our good God waited to restore one before afflicting another, and so in her turn, each member of the family took the yellow fever, though no deaths resulted therefrom.

During this epidemic, there were forty one bodies taken to the dead-house in a day; all these had to be buried at night, and for this purpose conveyances were hired. There was much difficulty in having them removed to the cemetery, owing to the marshy condition of this part of the City. Very often would the morning find the poor slaves tugging their way through the mud, more tired and tried than the mules they drove. As we might readily suppose, there were many remarkable conversions in this time of suffering and distress. One day a Jesuit Father came to Sister Regina and begged her to send one of the Sisters to the chapel to pray for the conversion of a poor man, who was very low. He said: "I have done all that I can do and to no purpose; he cannot live long, yet he grows more embittered every time that I approach him" Sister Regina sent for Sister Ann Joseph Gallagher, and told her to go to the chapel and pray that our Lord might touch the heart of this poor man, and not suffer him to die in that deplorable condition. The Priest, after walking around for a few minutes returned to the patient and found him bathed in tears of contrition and calling for some one to bring him the priest. Imagine the feelings of this good Father when after administering to this restored sheep, every consolation which our holy Religion affords, saw him depart this life in the most edifying dispositions. After which he returned to relate to Sister Regina the circumstances, saying that there was a saint in this house. Sister Ann Joseph died May 30th, 1842. The pure and disinterested zeal and piety of the Sisters, commingled with the grace of God, had more efficacy in converting souls than any power of human reasoning and words could do. And at the present day, circumstances occur which bring this to our minds, perhaps our dear Lord permits these things to come under our observation in order to rouse our fervor and inspire us with the desire of attracting souls to Him, more by our example, than by our words. (9-10)

In 1848, the "ship fever" caused the greatest sufferings and distress among all classes, particularly among the poor. It was considered more contagious than either the cholera or yellow fever, and was much dreaded on account of its fatality. The hospital was crowded to an extent heretofore unknown. Every effort was made to prevent its further progress, side rooms were built on the insane house, and the clothing of those attacked

with the disease were stored away in them, to prevent their coming in contact with the other patients' clothes, but the disease seemed to baffle all efforts, and spread like wildfire; the Hand of God alone could stay its dreadful ravages.

The Sisters, owing to their constant labors during the day were never permitted to prolong their watch during the night. In a house like this, it would not be proper for them to do so, prudence requiring that there should be two together, and it would be very difficult to observe this order where there are so many to be attended to. But now, in this great affliction, necessity dispenses with all law, and the Sisters were obliged to keep the night watch. This may have resulted from the difficulty there was in procuring help, so many of the nurses had been carried off, that a notable fear was reigning throughout. Our poor Sisters could not long combat against such excessive labor without falling victims; they were all subject to human nature, and though their will and energy were superhuman, they must sooner or later be overcome and several of them fell ill at the same time. We regret our ignorance of the exact details, or the names of the sufferers, this is known only to the recording angel, who will manifest it at the last great day, to their greater glory and eternal bliss. Dear Sister Regina, what must have been her grief on beholding so many of her dear companions reduced to such cruel sufferings; indeed, the anguish must have supported their pains.

After returning from her visits through the Hospital, many times was she known to go direct to the Sisters' room and throw herself on her knees, begging aloud that our Lord would spare our Sisters and not punish them for her sins. She saw work to be done on all sides and suffering to be relieved, without knowing where to look for help.

The Administrators began to feel much alarm at the rapid decline of the Sisters, and consulted on what could be done. They hired a dwelling house at some distance from the Hospital but on the same street. As soon as any symptoms of this disease manifested itself in a Sister, she was immediately sent there, and at night, all but two went there to sleep. Dear Sisters Ludovica Durham and Benigna Cosgrove stayed in the Hospital all night; strange as it may appear, neither of these Sister took the fever until it had all subsided. Dear Sister Cleophas Ott was the only one who died at this time; her remains were brought through the streets from the house where she died to the Hospital. The scene must have been a most affecting one. The slaves carried the body weeping like children all the way and saying that they had lost their Mother, and, indeed, they had, for she was truly a mother to them, for a long time previous to her death, she had the charge of them, showing them every kindness and indulgence; is it strange then that they should thus express themselves? The house on Common Street was given up and the Sisters were now at home in the Hospital. Little was thought of the fever, when suddenly dear Sister Ludovica was taken sick and very soon the fever showed itself in the most awful sufferings, thus she had to undergo, though at the eleventh house, the same ordeal as her companions. (17-19)

The letter inviting the sisters to Charity Hospital also shows that use of enslaved individuals was part of the offer for service (quoted in full; Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives, Mother Regina Smith Collection, Box 1, Folder 4, "Excerpt: First Foundation in New Orleans"):

Charity Hospital, New Orleans

May 6, 1833

Respected Sisters:

The high reputation for humanity and devotedness to the indigent, acquired by the ladies of the Institute over which you preside, has been represented to the Board of Administrators of the Charity Hospital of this city, and made it advisable to them to obtain Sisters to manage the internal economy of this institution; and I, as treasurer of the same, have been commissioned to address you on this subject.

That you may form some idea of the nature and importance of the institute, I accompany this with a copy of the last annual report made to the Legislature. In the accounts of disbursements annexed, you will see \$1719, 21 for attendants, servants, and nurses,-- these being in no respect qualified to render those kind attentions to the sick for which those of your Institute are so eminently calculated. It is to supersede these nurses, and to take immediate management of the household concerns of the Hospital, that we are desirous to employ the Sisters. The number required will be about ten, and the remuneration they will receive, if satisfactory to them, will be the same as that agreed upon for the Sisters engaged in the Female Orphan Asylum of this city.

The building, one of the most extensive in the United States, will enable the Administrators to accommodate the Sisters to their entire satisfaction, and you may be assured that every exertion will be made by the Board to render their situation as comfortable as possible.

In the uncertainty of the result of this application, I have not considered it necessary to make any other provision for the voyage of the ladies, than that of inclosing a letter of credit on S. C. Morton Esq. Of Baltimore, which, in the event of sending the Sisters, will enable you to draw the requisite funds. I shall only add, that should objections arise on account of the season, the departure of the Sisters might be postponed until the ensuing fall.

Board of Administrators of the Charity Hospital.

P.S. – It will be observed that the Institution owns a number of slaves to do the menial work, none of which will be required to be performed by the ladies.

In the minutes from the Board of Administrators meetings (Archdiocese of New Orleans), an entry from December 11, 1848 reads:

Mr. Cenas reported verbally to the Board that the Sister Superior had suggested the propriety of disposing by sale or otherwise, of the slaves belonging to the Hospital, in as much as they had for sometime past manifested a spirit of insubordination, and were no longer of that use to the Institution to make it an object to retain them when their places could be better supplied by white persons who could always be very readily procured from among the convalescents in the house, and upon convenient terms, and furthermore that Madame Bouny was desirous of purchasing them and could doubtless be treated with upon liberal terms.

Was thereupon in motion

Resolved that the whole matter be referred to the Finance Committee with full power to act and sell and that when the sale shall have been made of said slaves, the Sister

Superior shall under the direction of the Board have power to hire assistants to fill their places.

It appears that this motion was adopted.

At the recommendation of the Archives, the Council hired Lee Leumas, former Archivist for the Archdiocese of New Orleans to conduct research on the New Orleans missions, due to her knowledge of the collections, Catholic recordkeeping practices in Louisiana, and knowledge of French.

Based upon Leumas's research, it can be determined that this number reflected all adult enslaved individuals in the entire New Orleans area utilized by the Sisters. This did not include children. We have been able to find names for all 16 individuals in New Orleans, along with 5 children which Sister Regina did not include in her tally. Twenty of these individuals were at Charity Hospital, and one was at St. Theresa of Avila Parish. Of the individuals from Charity Hospital, 18 have first and last names and 3 have first names but no last names. For those for whom we have records of purchase or sale, it is always done with the authorization and on the authority of the Board of Administrators of Charity Hospital, not the Sisters themselves.

Their names are: Rhoda (Rhody), Lavinia, Maria, Peter, Lige, Dolly, Silvia, Mary Regina, Charles, Mary Jane, Andrew (Andres) Right, Charlotte Right, Harriet (married 1840), (Mary) Ann Hearles, Arcide, Harriet (born 1846), Louisa, Rachael, Martha, Mary Ann (born 1825).

The known information about the above individuals will be grouped hereafter according to family and appearance in the documentation.

Silvia and Family

Silvia and her three children – Mary Regina, Charles, and Mary Jane – appear in various sacramental records from 1840, each of them being acknowledged as enslaved by Charity Hospital. Silvia married another enslaved man named Tobias in 1840, with the permission of respective owners.

Entries from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

Charles, son of Silvia, slave of Charity Hospital, born 4 June 1839, baptized 20 April 1840; sponsors were Abraham Hearles and Mary Ann Hearles, Fr. Soller, S.J.

Mary Jane, daughter of Sylvia, slave of Charity Hospital, born 29 October 1835, baptized 20 April 1840; conditional baptism, child was baptized by a protestant minister; sponsor was S. Regina, Fr. Soller, S.J.

Mary Regina, daughter of Toby, slave of Mr. Ray and Sylva, slave of the Charity Hospital, born 23 July 1840, baptized 6 August 1840, sponsors were Joseph and Azemia, E. D'hawe.

Tobias, slave of Mr. Abner Ray and Sylvia, slave of the Charity Hospital, married 17 May 1840 "with consent of their masters," witnesses: Charles, slave of Mr. Tilghman and Harriette, slave of the hospital, Fr. J. Soller, S.J.

Charles appears in later documents as well.

(Mary) Ann Hearles

(Mary) Ann Heales appears in various sacramental records from 1840, in which she marries her husband Abraham and their child is baptized. Between the events described, she achieves emancipation. Neither her child nor her husband was ever enslaved by Charity Hospital. She also acts as a witness for other sacramental events, although these are not listed for the purposes of this report.

Entries from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

Mary Ann, daughter of Elisabeth, slave of Mr. Truehart, born in Richmond, Virginia about 1805, baptized 1 August 1840; sponsor was Mary Flanagan. "Said Mary Ann was admitted to baptism after due instruction and sufficient trial." Mary Ann made her mark "X" on the record, Fr. Soller, S.J.

John Summerfield Hearles, f.c.p. [free person of color], son of Abraham Hearles and Mary Ann Johnston, both free persons of color, born 12 August 1841, baptized 15 August 1841, sponsors are Andrew and Charlotte Right, slaves of the Hospital, E. D'hawe.

Abraham Hearles [signs his name], slave of Judge Adam Winthrope and Mary Ann, slave of Charity Hospital, married 15 March 1840, "with the permission of their masters," witnesses: Andres and Rhoda, both slave of the hospital, Rev. J. Soller, S.J.

Andrew (Andres) and Charlotte Right

Andrew (Andres) and Charlotte appear in a sacramental record as witnesses. Since they are listed together, they are presumably married, although this is not confirmed anywhere.

Entry from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

John Summerfield Hearles, f.c.p. (free person of color), son of Abraham Hearles and Mary Ann Johnston, both free persons of color, born 12 August 1841, baptized 15 August 1841, sponsors are Andrew and Charlotte Right, slaves of the Hospital, E. D'hawe.

Abraham Hearles [signs his name], slave of Judge Adam Winthrope and Mary Ann, slave of Charity Hospital, married 15 March 1840, "with the permission of their masters," witnesses: Andres and Rhoda, both slave of the hospital, Rev. J. Soller, S.J.

Charlotte appears independently of Andrew in a separate document. Excerpts from Sale of Slaves from Charity Hospital to S. L. Forgay, 8 August 1844, page 291 (Christy, William notary):

Personally came and appeared Dr. John H. Lewis and William Freret, both of this City, composing the Finance Committee, protempore, of the Board of Administrators of the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, and herein acting in their capacity as such by virtue of a resolution of the said Board passed on the Sixth day of August instant, a certified copy whereof is hereunto annexed for reference; Who declared that for and in consideration of the sum of six hundred and seventy nine dollars, to them in hand paid by Samuel S. Forgay, also of this City, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged thy do, by these presents, in their said capacity, grant, bargain, sell and convey, with all legal warranties as to title, unto the said Forgay, present, accepting and purchasing for himself, his heirs

and assigns and acknowledging delivery and possession thereof a certain negress, slave for life, named Charlotte, aged about thirty two years; which slave is not guaranteed against the redhibitory vices, maladies and defects prescribed by law, or any of them.

The said slave was purchased by the said Charity Hospital from Francois Benoudy by an act passed before Felix de Armas, late notary of this City on the 27th December 1832, and she is free from encumbrance as appears from the annexed certificate of the recorder of mortgages for this parish.

Harriet (Married 1840) and Louisa

Harriet (married 1840) appears in a sacramental record, listed as enslaved by Charity Hospital, where she marries a man enslaved by a different person, with permission. Another enslaved woman named Louisa is listed as a witness.

Entries from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

John, slave of I. Minturn, and Harriet, slave of the Charity Hospital, married 27 December 1840 "with permission of their masters," witnesses: Charles, slave of Mr. Tilghman and Louisa, slave of the Charity Hospital, Rev. N. J. Perche.

Tobias, slave of Mr. Abner Ray and Sylvia, slave of the Charity Hospital, married 17 May 1840 "with consent of their masters," witnesses: Charles, slave of Mr. Tilghman and Harriette, slave of the hospital, Fr. J. Soller, S.J.

Charles, slave of Mr. Tighman and Martha, slave of the Charity Hospital, married 3 May 1840, "with the permission of their masters," witnesses: Abraham Hearles [signs his name], slave of Judge Adam Winthrop and Louisa, slave of the hospital, Rev. J. Soller, S.J.

Rachael

Rachael appears in a sacramental record, listed as enslaved by Charity Hospital, where she marries a man enslaved by a different person, with permission. Presumably, the "Ann" listed is Mary Ann Hearles (see above section).

Entry from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

Edmond, slave of J. Gallier and Rachael, slave of the Charity Hospital, married 24 November 1840 "with permission of their masters," witnesses: Thomas Wright, slave of [left blank] and Ann, slave of Charity Hospital, Rev. Doutretuinune, S.C.M.

Peter, Lige, and Rhoda (Rhody)

Peter, Lige, and Rhoda (Rhody) appear together on a single document of sale.

Excerpt from Joseph Webber, Jr. to Charity Hospital, 28 November 1834, act 1078, (Boswell notary):

...the following described slaves to wit: Peter, a negro aged about thirty one years; he is a first rate tobacco packer, and warehouse man, and is handy at any thing but is subject to the cholic, sold for six hundred and fifty dollars, acquired from L K Baron by act before

the undersigned notary on the 20 December 1832; Lige a negro man aged about forty one years, a first rate drayman a strong able bodied man, has lost his right eye and sold for six hundred and eighty dollars, and acquired from Charles Byrne by act before the undersigned notary on the 7th December 1832 and Rhody a negress aged about thirty seven years, a cook, washer and ironer, she is subject to Rheumatism, sold from four hundred dollars, and acquired from Robert C. Morris by act before the undersigned notary, on the 28th of October 1833, which slaves are fully guaranteed against the vices and maladies prescribed by Law same and except that Peter is subject to cholic, Lige has lost his right eye, and Rhody is subject to Rheumatism.

Rhoda also appears as a witness in a sacramental record.

Entry from Charity Hospital Baptisms, 1836-1838, Marriages 1850:

Abraham Hearles [signs his name], slave of Judge Adam Winthrop and Mary Ann, slave of Charity Hospital, married 15 March 1840, "with the permission of their masters," witnesses: Andres and Rhoda, both slave of the hospital, Rev. J. Soller, S.J.

Lavinia

Lavinia appears in a document of sale.

Excerpts from M. McDougall to Charity Hospital, 14 June 1834, act 782 (Boswell notary):

The administrators of the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, herein represented by Richard Relf Esquire, Treasurer of said Institution present and accepting, and acknowledging possession thereof, a griffonne slave named Lavinia age from twenty five to twenty six years, free from all encumbrance as appears by the certificate of conservator in this city, sold as a house servant and seamstress, and warranted free from the vices and maladies prescribed by Law: Acquired by the present seller from Levi Jacobs, by act passed before the under signed notary on the 29th of September 1832.

—The Said Treasurer acting herein by a special resolution of the Board at their meeting on the 2nd day of this current month as he herby declares.

This sale is made for the sum of six hundred and seventy dollars, which has been paid in the promissory of....

And before the signing of this act the said Richard Relf agreed to pay cash for the said slave, which was accepted by the said McDougall accordingly he paid unto him the sum of six hundred and thirty-six dollars and fifty cents in real money, and in consideration thereof the said McDougall does by these presents release and discharge the above mortgage.

Martha

Martha appears in a document of sale.

Excerpts from Dr. John Moore White Picton to Charity Hospital, 14 June 1834, act 784, (Boswell notary):

The administrators of the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, herein represented by Richard Relf Esquire, treasurer of said Institution present and accepting, and

acknowledging possession thereof, a negress slave named Martha age fifteen years, good house servant, and warranted free from the vices and maladies prescribed by Law: Acquired by the present seller from Paul Pascal, by act passed before Felix Grima, notary public, on the 1st of February last past.

–The Said Treasurer acting herein by a special resolution of the Board at their meeting on the 2nd day of this current month as he hereby declares.

And according to the annexed certificate of the conservator in this city, it appears that said slave now stands encumbered by The General mortgage resulting from the marriage Contract of said Seller, with Mistress Louise Aglae Delaune his wife, passed before Felix de Armas notary public, on the 2nd of December 1829.

Dolly

Dolly appears in a document of sale. It should be noted the exceptional circumstances of her sale, considering her medical conditions and the price paid for the sale. There are no further details about the purpose of the sale from either party.

Excerpts from Sale of Slave from Wm. E. Leverich to Charity Hospital, 12 December 1844, page 291 (W. Christy, notary):

sum of one dollar... for a certain negress, slave for life, named Dolly, age about 38 years said slave was purchased by the said Leverich from Henry W. Palfrey by act passed before W. Y. Lewis, a notary of this City on the 5 February 1841.

--And here the said vendor declared that he is not a Negro trader and does not deal habitually in the traffic of slaves and he declared that the said slave, is very badly afflicted with the venereal disease, with which fact the said purchasers are well acquainted.

Mary Ann (born 1825) and family

Mary Ann (born 1825) and her children – Arcide and Harriett (Born 1846) – appear in a bill of sale related to the end of enslavement at Charity Hospital. The documents also mentions Charles, son of Silvia (see above section).

Excerpt from Sale of Slaves from W. A. Chambers to Charity Hospital, 7 April 1847, page 424 (W. Christy, notary)

...the following named, slaves for life, to wit: Mary Ann, a negress, aged about 22 years and her 2 children viz: Arcide, a negress aged about 34 months and Harriett, a negress aged about 13 months...Mary Ann was purchased by the present vendor from H. F. Peterson, by an Act passed before C. V. Fenlon, notary public in this City on the 1 July 1843, her said children having been born since said purchase...for the sum of \$850 dollars.

Excerpt from Sale of Slaves from Charity Hospital to Mistress Nancy Vernees, widow of Barthelemy Bouny, 22 March 1849, page 197 (W. Christy, notary):

...Maria, a negress, aged about 35 years...valued at \$800 dollars.

...Mary Ann, a negress aged about 24 years and her 2 children, viz Arcadie aged about 6 years and Harriet aged about 3 years...valued at \$800 dollars.

...Charles, a negro, aged about 11 years...valued at \$325.

...sale sum of \$1925 dollars.

B. St. Theresa of Avila School and Parish

Lee Leumas's services were also utilized for this research. From St. Theresa of Avila, Baptisms, Volume 1A, 1840-1860:

Marie, age 50 years, slave of Mr. Aury, baptized 6 March 1843, godmother was Sr. Emilie, religious of St. Vincent de Paul, Rev. J. M. Bonniot. [page 39]

Marie Therese, age 53 years, slave belonging to the Orphan Asylum of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, godmother was Sr. Emilie, Rev. J. M. Bonniot [page 52]

This is being considered a definitive instance of one enslaved person with a first name, but no last name. It is unlikely that further research will be able to discover more information about this individual.

VIII. Washington, DC

The Council minutes from December 12, 1831 contain the following:

Decr 12th 1831

The Sisters at St. Paul's Academy, on Capitol Hill, may take winter boarders, in order to keep the children from interrupting their studies--at 2 Dollars per week--they finding their bed & bedding, washing & mending--and they may also take the man & woman belonging to Julia McWilliams-

The Sisters operated St. Paul's Academy, also called the Capital Hill School, from 1828 to approximately 1834, through an agreement of sale with Daniel Carroll of Duddington.

In the entry ledgers, there is a Sister Pelagia McWilliams with baptismal name Joanna and a notation of [Juliana]. She entered in 1831, the same year as the council minutes entry, and died 1839. We have no other family or background information, including where she came from.

We are considering this an ambiguous instance of two individuals for the time being, pending more research.