
SLAVERY AND THE EDUCATION OF BLACKS IN SPANISH FLORIDA AND NEW ORLEANS

İspanyol Floridası ve New Orleans'taki Siyahların Eğitim ve Kölelik Durumları

Eyyup ESEN*

ÖZET

Bu çalışma 1565–1865 yılları arasındaki İspanyol Floridası'ndaki ve New Orleans'taki Afrika kökenli Amerikalıların eğitim ve kölelik durumunu incelemiştir. Çalışmamdaki sorular: 1- Buradaki siyah insanlar eğitimlerini “küçük e” li eğitimle mi yoksa “büyük E”li eğitimle mi almışlardır. 2- Kilise bu insanların eğitimine katkıda bulunmuş mudur? 3- İspanyol Florida'sındaki siyah kölelerin yaşadıkları New Orleans'taki kölelerin yaşadıklarından farklı mıdır? Benim varsayımlarım: İspanyol Floridası'ndaki ve New Orleans'taki kölelerin yaşadıkları arasında önemli bir fark yoktur, aldıkları eğitimin türü aynıdır ve kilisenin eğitim anlamında bu insanlara herhangi bir katkısı yoktur. Bulgularım: İspanyol Floridası'ndaki köleler daha özgürdür. İki eyalette de “küçük e” ile yapılan eğitim gözlenmiştir ve kilisenin kölelerin eğitimine herhangi bir katkısı olmamıştır.

***Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kölelik, eğitim, İspanyol Floridası, New Orleans*

ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine issues of slavery and the education of Blacks in Spanish Florida and New Orleans between 1565 and 1865, with particular attention given to the period between 1690 and 1865. The questions guiding this research are: 1) Did Black slaves in these states receive education with a small "e" (trades) or a big "E" (formally structured)? 2) Did the church make any contributions to the education of these slaves? 3) Did slave experiences in Spanish Florida differ significantly from those in New Orleans? My assumptions were that there is not much difference between slave experiences in Spanish Florida and in New Orleans; that slaves in both states received their education with a lower case "e"; and that the church did not significantly contribute to the education of Blacks in these states. I found that slaves in Spanish Florida (S.P.) had more freedom; but in both states, we observe education with a small "e" and that the church did not, in fact, significantly contribute to the education of slaves.

***Key Words:** Slavery, education, Spanish Florida, New Orleans*

* PhD. Student in higher education at University of Kansas, dersaadeteyup@yahoo.com.tr 2900 Bob Billings Pkwy. Apt: B8 Lawrence, Kansas, zip code: 66049

Introduction

It is generally assumed that Whites have been the primary actors in slave trades throughout history – that they persecuted and forced the Blacks to work under harsh conditions. Black people were forcibly exported from their homelands by these white aggressors. Therefore, it is not an uncommon sentiment for Blacks in Africa, to perceive Whites as oppressive and with mistrust. For instance, during the eighteenth century, slaves in Haiti were struggling against France. Ros (1994) asserts that Jean Francois, who was one of the most important leaders of the slaves during the "Night of Fire", had a famous motto regarding this: "If you shake hands with a Frenchmen, you must make sure that you always have a knife in your other hand, behind your back." This expression represents a prevalent attitude of Black slave anger towards white owners.

Contrary to this attitude, the experience of slaves in Spanish Florida seems quite different. They could demand their rights more effectively. The case of Philip Edimboro – a slave who demanded his rights from his owner, merchant Francis Xavier Sanchez – is one such case. (1794) Edimboro was seeking freedom; however, his owner was reluctant to set him free. Therefore, he appealed to the governor in order to buy his own freedom, and he succeeded. As a free man, then, he could buy lands and even slaves. With regard to this incident, Landers (1976) asserts that Spanish laws and institutions enabled blacks to become free. Black slaves therefore came

to see Spanish Florida as a place of salvation. Many slaves attempted to escape to Spanish Florida in order to be afforded this type of autonomy. It is important to remember that enslavement in Spanish Florida differed from slavery in New Orleans. Roberts (2003) asserts that one resident declared, "this is a country which, to the shame of France be it said, is without religion, without justice, without discipline, without order, and without police." In order to escape from slavery, Black people had to convert to Christianity. As a result, they were forced to be baptized in order to gain their freedom. The Spanish implemented their 1693 fugitive slave policy and set 250 slaves free who accepted conversion to Christianity. West (2008) contends that many of the Blacks set free were skilled craftsmen, barbers, and butchers. Blassingame (1973) contends that similar to the Blacks in Spanish Florida, slaves in New Orleans worked as domestic servants, and many of them were highly skilled. They worked as draymen, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, wheelwrights, tanners, cabinetmakers, bakers, barbers, coopers, and millers. They worked in iron foundries, hospitals, railroad companies, while Catholic convents owned most of the unskilled labourers.

The present study fills a void in the literature on these matters. No study I am aware of has yet compared the situation of slavery and education in New Orleans and Spanish Florida. In addition, no study has made the distinction I am making between the education with a capital "E", and education with

lower case "e" as it relates to Black people in Spanish Florida and in New Orleans. In this study, I aim to provide a comparable look at the slavery and education of Blacks in Spanish Florida and New Orleans in order to determine the type of education that Black people received in New Orleans. Furthermore, I will examine the contribution of the church to the education of Black people in these states. In the sections that follow, first, I will examine under different titles the slavery, education, and the role of church on education of Blacks in Spanish Florida. Second, I will address the same issues in the context of New Orleans. Third, I will compare the findings for both states. Lastly, I offer a conclusion involving the limitations and advantages of this study, along with recommendations for further studies.

Slavery in Spanish Florida

When Spaniards explored the South Atlantic and the Gulf Coast, Blacks helped the Spaniards found St. Augustine, the ancient city. In 1565, St. Augustine on the Timucuan islands became the first permanent settlement. Spaniards needed additional manpower to inhabit the land. Native Americans were viewed as lazy and too weak to be a labour force. Furthermore, the Native populations were unduly defenceless against European diseases. (Landers, 1990) For these reasons, a system of enslavement started, and thus, the Spanish Royal charter let Menendez import 500 slaves; however, documents indicate that fewer than one hundred slaves

arrived in Spanish Florida.

The perceptions that shaped this early slavocracy in Spanish Florida were not deeply entrenched in racist ideology. As Landers asserts, an African slave was regarded as a victim of fate or war, and thus as an unlucky person whom God created with a valuable soul. Even so, Black slaves in Spanish Florida had some judicial rights. Blacks could go to court when they had any complaints about their owners. Moreover, the slaves had been given the rights to own property. (Landers, 1988) Compared to other slaves, these slaves were leading a relatively comfortable life in Spanish Florida. It was not very difficult for them to gain their freedom. It has even been observed that many slaves arrived in Spanish Florida to be protected from their former cruel owners: "Black people who desired to escape from the slavery of English colonies of the South tend to see Spanish Florida as a place for protection. The reason why Spaniards felt sympathy for Blacks was not that they liked them so much; it was for the reason that they hated their English masters. Not surprisingly, the slaves of the Carolinas escaped to the protection of Spanish Florida prior to the founding of the Georgia Colony." Despite the fact that Spain's first aim was certainly not to protect the slaves or to give them freedom, slaves fled there with the hope of escaping British tyranny. Runaways who made it to the Spanish colony could not be persecuted. They were offered freedom by the Spanish. As a result, many slaves fled to Spanish Florida

with the hope of gaining their freedom. Blacks began to appear in Spanish Florida in greater numbers. Correspondence between the Governor of Spain's American province and his superiors in the fatherland indicated that the slaves from the English colony were escaping to the Spanish colony. In another correspondence, Governor Quiroga affirmed that slaves were seeking safe haven from English colonies in Spanish Florida.

Spanish Officials were reluctant to return the fugitive slaves. These fugitives brought several advantages to the Spaniards. First, slaves could provide the labour needed and were accustomed to rigorous labour. For instance, Lyon asserts (1965) that Blacks were capable of building the fortifications needed on the colony's northernmost settlement at Santa Elena. Second, by aiding and abetting slaves, the Spanish would show the English that they were not weak people. Moreover, the Spaniards used Christianity to justify their harbouring of English slaves, claiming that fugitive slaves sought their lands in search of Christianity. The Spanish King granted freedom to all Black slaves who converted to Christianity and expected others to do the same.

Manumission was also observed in Spanish Florida, which enabled the slaves to become citizens. As a result, Cohen and Green (1992) contend that a free black society throughout the Spanish colony began to emerge. Landers (1988) states that one such settlement was founded by Governor Montiano, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose.

Founded on fertile land, the town Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose was said to have a river of salt water full of all types of fish. Freed Blacks were grateful and promised to be "the cruelest enemies of the English" and to shed "their last drop of blood in defence of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith." (Memorial of the Fugitive, 1724) The ex-slaves served in the militia and defended the town with great valour. They helped Spaniards to gain critical intelligence reports and faced any army without fear. Landers (1990) asserts that after Oglethorpe's withdrawal, the British referred to Mose as "Bloody Mose" or "Fatal Mose." In spite of the unsuccessful invasion of Mose by Governor Oglethorpe, the outlying forts were devastated, which hastened the people of Mose to seek refuge in St. Augustine. Juan and Ulloa (1975) contend that while there, they produced crafts and provided services. Jackson and Roark (1984) add that in the tight knit community of St. Augustine, the free Blacks of Mose were assisted and protected. Landers asserts (1990) that the relationships among people of colour were observed, and they could marry within their group members. "Relationships between free Blacks, Indians, and slaves from other cities were the same. They were able to speak a few languages, and they performed Catholic prayers"

Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose

Former slaves who ran away from their English masters settled in the city where they were offered freedom based on religio-

us affiliation (Landers, 1990). Wood (1974) contends that the escape of these slaves meant the loss of money for their former English owners; however, the Spanish welcomed fugitive slaves for their labour, skills and military intelligence. Different from the English colonies' system of slavery, the Spaniard's system provided moral education for Blacks. In addition to moral education, the Spaniards granted slaves other rights as well, such as the right to own property. Spanish laws respected the slaves' rights and humanity. Manumission made way for a free Black class to emerge. For these reasons, more and more slaves seeking refuge from the rigidity of English law found some solace in Spanish Florida to attain the liberty offered in St Augustine, and these slaves were ready and willing to convert to Christianity. (Memorial of the Fugitives, 1724) Instead of freedom, what the slaves found in Spanish Florida was a brand of slavery that differed from the English, but remained slavery all the same. Their experience of freedom in Spanish Florida was not in contradiction to their experiences in the English colonies. Freedom in Spanish Florida was not so easily gained. The acknowledged leader of the Blacks was Mandingo; Francisco Menendez did not readily gain his freedom. He made a great effort to become free. He wrote petitions with the governor and Auxiliary Bishop of Cuba and submitted them to the Spanish King. Chief Jorge also supported Menendez. The Spaniards were reluctant to give him freedom, asserting that he arrived in Spanish Florida during a truce with the

English. Menendez never stopped his struggle for freedom and worked for the benefit of Spaniards. Eventually, he gained his freedom thanks to the new governor, Manuel de Montiano.

Though the Spanish acknowledged the Black slaves' humanity, their growing racial prejudice was becoming evident. The Menendez case shows that although the Spaniards acknowledged the slaves' humanity, the sentiments of racial prejudice were increasing in the colony. When Spain lost the war against Britain, they had to leave Mose, and people of Mose went to Cuba. After Spain regained the government of Florida, they did not aim at establishing the Mose again. The point that Mose differs from other towns is that it was the only free Black Town in the colonial South. (Landers, 1990) To understand this experience of slavery more deeply, we need to touch on the different phases in Spanish Florida.

Is There Any Difference between the Slaves in First (1565-1763) and Second Spanish Florida (1784-1821)?

During the period of first Spanish Florida, Blacks engaged in artisan work, military duties, and other labour. Blacks were called "bozales" and heavy field labour was their task. They excavated mines as well. During the second Spanish period, the new plantation task system emerged. According to Landers (1999) after slaves finished their work

for their masters, they were freed and could earn money, which implied an access to some kind of autonomy; however, we should not forget that task loads were heavy and free time was scarce.

Types of Education in Spanish Florida

There were two systems of education during the slavery period in Spanish Florida. In this paper, I will distinguish formalized systems of education with a capital "E," whereas informal systems of education will be identified with a lowercase "e." Formalized educational systems were traditional schools which taught slaves to read and write. Informal education for slaves revolved around practicality, equipping the slaves with skills that were economically beneficial to the master. These included fieldwork, artisan work, craftsmen, tanners, carpenters, cobblers, coopers, blacksmiths, hatters, dressmakers, carpenters, silversmith sprinters, and/or woodcarvers.

As a source of forced labour, slaves were denied formal education. Reasons to deny education here might have been that the slave owners did not want the slaves to wake up to the reality that they were exploited. One important way to manage this was to not allow them formal education. Wood (1974) asserts that though there were few Blacks during the first phase of Spanish Florida, they contributed to the society culturally and linguistically, as well as through diplomacy and military expertise. According to Chate-

lain and Lyon (1941) skilful Blacks also helped the Spaniards build strong walls to defend the settlement at Santa Elena. The exploitation of Black slaves by the Spaniards (during the first half of enslavement) was centred on peonage. Slaves were employed as labourers in the military. The English insisted that the runaway slaves be returned. Instead, Spanish officials harboured them and taught them the Catholic doctrine. "The men became ironsmiths and labourers on the Castillo, and earned a peso a day. In addition, the women worked as domestics and earned half as much." West asserts that during the first Spanish Florida, Spaniards employed bozales who engaged in heavy labours in field and mines.

The Contribution of Church to the Education of Blacks in Spanish Florida

Catholics were common in Spanish Florida, and missionaries aimed to convert the slaves to Christianity. Despite the fact that it seems the church is only motivated to increase the number of converts, some studies indicate that the intention of the church was to educate the slaves. Gannon (1965) states that slaves were taught Christian doctrines as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic in order to understand the Church's rituals. David (2002) asserts that the church recommended all boys to be taught reading and writing. The masters of the slaves were supposed to let them learn Christian doctrines. Landers states that: "With the order of

The Governor Manuel de Zepedes, a school for boys in St. Augustine was founded in 1786. They were taught reading, writing, math, and Christian doctrines. Black boys were allowed to attend the school; however, they could not sit next to the Whites." Thanks to these school rules, a rapport was established among the boys. They gathered during Sunday Mass, religious processions, and the funerals of classmates. The school cost too much for Blacks, and some White students whose families were so unduly poor that they were reluctant to send their children to school. Nevertheless, according to the documents, eighty one students were attending this school at the time.

Slavery in New Orleans

New Orleans was founded by Bienville and it was the capital city of Louisiana. According to Mills (1977), since it was located between a white settlement and American Indian groups, it had a strategic importance, and thus emerged as Louisiana's second most diverse city. It has always been a largely Black city. A large number of free Black people stood out in N.O. Slaves were not quiet and obedient to their masters as was expected. When they were exposed to injustice, they demanded their rights. Thus, slave owners could not dare to be so rude to their slaves. While mentioning slavery in N.O., though, we should address the same issue in Louisiana. According to the Justinian code in Louisiana, slaves were not consid-

red as chattels who were inherently slaves; rather, they were seen as unlucky people who were in bondage. Thus, slave owners allowed their slaves to engage in commercial activities. Once they converted to Catholicism, they acquired more rights. The most effective ways of gaining freedom for slaves were through private bills, service to the state, and self-purchase. Din (1999) states that Spanish law was tilted for slaves and against masters.

In Louisiana history, slaves encountered two big demographic-shifting incidents that greatly influenced their culture and social relations. First, the slaves became "re-Africanized" when a great number of slaves were imported to the colony. Second, after the trans-Atlantic trade closed, the creolization period emerged. Roberts (2003) contends that Africans neglected their ethnic differences so that race and slavery referred to the same issue. Beyond the Justinian code, residents and slaves were not leading a happy life in New Orleans; they were deprived of some rights and were treated unfairly. As one resident declared, "This is a country which, to the shame of France be it said, is without religion, without justice, without discipline, without order, and without police." Thus, slaves searched for ways to escape from bondage. They felt that they were persecuted. According to Taylor (1963), they demanded their rights by writing petitions to the government to treat them fairly. In addition, they gathered in the town market, the garden, or the church in order to establish

a network with other slaves Roberts asserts that slaves showed secret and overt resistance, and used their unique cultural traditions in order to eliminate the bondage. More remarkably, they attended Catholic churches in order to cement their relationships, and not to convert to Christianity. According to Roberts (2003), good parenting is another secret strategy for slaves to receive a title in order to lessen the prejudice of other people against their race and ethnic background.

Owners were concerned about their attitudes against slaves. The reason for that might have been that rebellions occurred at that time. (Roberts, 2003) Because of the rebellions, the governor of Louisiana, Esteban Miro, banned the importation of slaves from the British and French Caribbean. In addition, it was in 1792 that Carondelet stated that slaves should be obedient to their masters and masters should refrain from punishing them harshly. This was because he was so sensitive to the conditions of slaves. After nine slaves had run away since their masters punished them harshly, he ordered all masters to treat the slaves "humanely" and thanks to him, the nine runaway slaves returned and they worked for the city.

Education for Blacks in New Orleans

The masters in New Orleans did not teach slaves how to read and write. As in most other cities, slaves were seen as a labour force. They worked as agricultural labourers on

plantations. Many slaves in N.O. were domestic servants, and others worked as bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, cabinetmakers, tanners, cooper, bricklayers, wheelwrights, draymen, porters, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, and millers. In addition, Blassingame (1973) contends that Catholic convents, railroad companies, hospitals, iron foundries, and brickyards owned unskilled labourers. Berlin asserts that company officials trained the slaves as saddlers, wheelwrights, masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths. The reason for this was the idea that once you train a slave, he will cost you nothing. The governor even offered to train these slaves in Paris so that they could make more profit because of superior training. According to Berlin (1998), for the purpose of transporting slaves to Paris, the Dutch West India Company was established, and it also employed slaves for the company for thirty days each year.

As a result of training, these Blacks gained new jobs. According to "Free Negro Males List" from the 1850 census, free Blacks in New Orleans held fifty-four different occupations. Most of them worked either as architects, bookbinders, brokers, engineers, doctors, jewellers, or musicians. Unskilled labourers only ranked 9.9 percent. Arnesen (1994) asserts that Blacks also engaged in waterfront jobs. Some became longshoremen, yardmen, teamsters; in addition, others worked as railroad terminal freight handlers where the working conditions and wages were worse than the former jobs.

The Contribution of Church to the Education of Blacks and Education

Mainly slaves saw Christianity as a short way to escape from bondage because, once they converted into Catholicism, they gained more freedom. Thus, it was not very difficult for a missionary to convert Black people to Christianity. The church strived to integrate Blacks and Whites. According to Rose (1868), travellers stated that "in N.O., there was no distinction as to colour of skin, all knelt side by side." The only purpose of church leaders was to preach to the slaves. The church organized religious organizations for the Negroes". Banks (1935) contends that free Blacks were provided education in Parochial schools (slaves could not be legally educated); however, the church was not willing to educate them well. In addition to the Catholic Church, the Protestant church emerged in New Orleans; however, they failed to successfully interact with Negroes. The Methodist Episcopal Church (M.E.C.) differed from other Protestant churches.

That church founded separate chapels for Blacks. They permitted Blacks to attend Sunday schools where education was provided under an "oral system" because it was forbidden to teach slaves reading and writing. Despite the fact that the M.E.C allowed Negro children to attend Sunday schools, the statistics indicate that Sunday school students and Negro communicants constituted only 150 people. Besides, only children were able to attend that school. To recognize the few number of students who attended the Sunday School during that period, (1860s) see the table below:

TABLE 1 Slave prices, value of the slave stock, and annual estimates of the slave population: 1850–1862 (Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition On Line*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch and Gavin Wright, Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Year	Prime male field hands, New Orleans			Average slave	Value of the slave stock	Slave population
	Phillips	Engerman	Kotlikoff			
	Bb209	Bb210	Bb211			
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Million dollars	Number
1850	1,100	756	697	377	1,286	3,204,313
1851	1,150	878	831	440	1,405	3,272,371
1852	1,200	937	878	471	1,644	3,341,873
1853	1,250	1,122	1,048	565	1,862	3,412,853
1854	1,310	1,189	1,130	601	2,052	3,485,339
1855	1,350	1,185	1,058	600	2,203	3,559,366
1856	1,420	1,291	1,085	656	2,293	3,634,963
1857	1,490	1,249	1,126	636	2,397	3,712,169
1858	1,580	1,262	1,175	645	2,632	3,791,013
1859	1,690	1,564	1,431	801	2,870	3,871,531
1860	1,800	1,513	1,451	778	3,059	3,953,760
1861	—	1,440	1,381	742	—	4,037,735
1862	—	—	1,116	—	—	—

In addition to the scarce attendance at church, Negroes did not see the church as a place to worship; rather, they considered it as a place used to take advantage of them. They did not work on Sundays; they received permission to attend parties. Table 2 indicates the constant rate of baptized slaves who aimed to use Catholicism as an easy access to freedom.

Table 2 Slave Baptisms in St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, 1791-1795 (source is the same with the first table)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sex Ratio</i>	<i>Africans</i>
1791	213	91	122	75	1
1792	247	133	114	117	1
1793	224	113	113	100	8
1794	240	124	117	105	10
1795	234	113	120	94	16

As can be seen in the table, slaves embraced Christianity. To Blacks, the Roman Catholic Church was a place to gather, to socialize, and protect their rights.

Findings

1- Slaves in Spanish Florida (S.P.) had more freedom. The slaves were not exposed to excessive racism and discrimination. The Spanish laws were helpful to slaves. The slaves were leading a relatively comfortable life in S.P. When they were mistreated, they could readily go to the court. The Justinian

code in Louisiana implied that slaves were not chattel, they were unlucky people who were in bondage, and sometimes owners permitted slaves to engage in commercial activities. Residents and slaves were not happy with the life they were leading. They felt they were persecuted, and thus wrote a petition to the government asking that it treat them fairly.

Although it seems there are some similarities between slave experiences in S.P. and

N. O. that does not negate the fact that Blacks in S.P were freer than those in N.O.

2- In Spanish Florida, blacks became tanners, carpenters, cobblers, silversmiths, blacksmiths, dressmakers, hatters, woodcarvers, ironsmiths. Skillful Blacks helped Spaniards to build strong walls to defend the settlement. These are all examples of education with a small "e."

Though the church aimed at converting slaves to Christianity, it also taught slaves how to read and write.

In New Orleans, slaves worked as agricultural laborers on slave plantations. They also worked as barbers, blacksmiths, coo-

pers, bricklayers, tanners, porters, masons. They engaged in waterfront jobs (yardmen, longshoremen, and teamsters).

Free Negroes were provided education in Parochial schools; however, they were not taught how to read and write. An oral system to teach free Negroes was developed. Only 150 students attended.

In both states, we observe education with a small "e." Despite the fact that there were attempts at formal education, it was not actual formal education.

3- In Spanish Florida, we see the intention of the church to educate slaves. In the school that Governor Manuel De Zepedes founded, they taught slaves reading, writing, and arithmetic in order to understand Catholic doctrines. However, only 81 students attended the school.

In New Orleans, Free Negroes received education in Parochial schools. They used an "oral system." They did not teach them how to read and write. Only 150 students attended that school. Even though the church attempted to educate slaves, the system they used did not allow them to provide a formal education. Therefore, I conclude that the church did not significantly contribute to the education of slaves.

Conclusion, Study Limitations and Future Research

The findings presented in this paper indicate that the slave experience in Spanish Florida differed significantly from those in New Orleans. Although studies show that

slaves in Spanish Florida led a relatively more comfortable life than those in New Orleans, questions arise such as, "What do researchers exactly mean by stating the slaves in Spanish Florida led a more comfortable life? Were these Blacks still slaves or were they accepted as real citizens? If they were accepted as real citizens, did they own large lands?" Further studies should explore these issues.

The results of the study give us insight into the contribution of churches to the education of Black people. However, I failed to examine the influence of Voodoo on Black people's educational lives. Another weak point of my study is to finding an adequate number of articles that directly distinguish the difference between education with a capital "E" and education with a lower-case "e." This shortage led me to make my personal interpretations about Black people's educational lives.

This study fills a void in the literature by comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences between slave experiences in Spanish Florida and New Orleans. In addition, this paper sheds light on the types of education that they received, and examines the contribution of the church to the education of Blacks. Future studies might benefit from the findings of this study. They should address the influence of Voodoo in the life of Blacks. In addition, the question that is "What does leading a comfortable life mean for Blacks who were slaves?" should be investigated more in-depth.

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