

AN UPDATE ON THE TULANE UNIVERSITY HISTORY PROJECT

Tulane University, founded nearly two centuries ago, is one of the oldest institutions of higher education in the Gulf South. Several biographies have captured its long history, notably John Dyer's Tulane: The Biography of a University, 1834-1965 (Harper & Row, 1965) and Clarence Mohr and Joseph Gordon's Tulane: The Emergence of a Modern University, 1945-1980 (LSU Press, 2001). These works and others document the founding of the University as the private Medical College of Louisiana in 1834. Its transformation into the University of Louisiana, a public institution that enjoyed nominal support from the state and saw the expansion of the institution to also include law, and academic, or collegiate departments. Both predecessor institutions were in downtown New Orleans. A donation by Paul Tulane

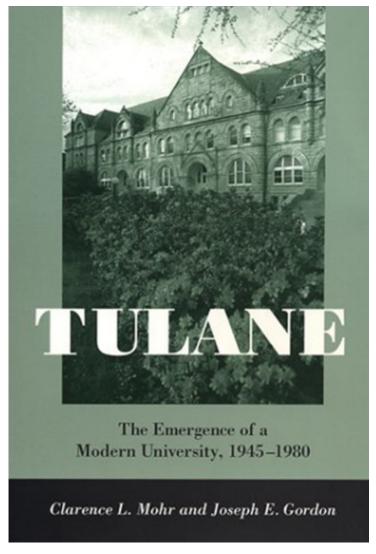


IMAGE: DYER AND MOHR & GORDON BOOK COVER

led to the University once again becoming a private institution in 1884. Renamed Tulane University and purposed for the education of young white men, the campus expanded to Uptown in the 1890s.

Both published biographies of the University explore the currents that ebbed in favor of and against desegregating Tulane. A 1961 lawsuit initiated by two Black women, Barbara Guillory Thompson and Pearlie Harden Elloie, led to a 1963 decision in favor of desegregation. The decision paved the way for the formal matriculation of Black students into Tulane. But questions remain. Why was Tulane designated as an institution for young white men (and later young white women when Josephine Louise Newcomb's donation led to the formation of Newcomb College)? Had Black students attended the University prior to 1963? What about students of Indigenous, Hispanic, and Asian descent? What about other "firsts" relative to staff and faculty at the University? Furthermore, how did Tulane, Newcomb, and other prominent donors make the money that led to their donations? What ties exist between the University and slavery? These questions and others reveal major gaps in the acknowledged history of the University and understanding of Tulane's past.

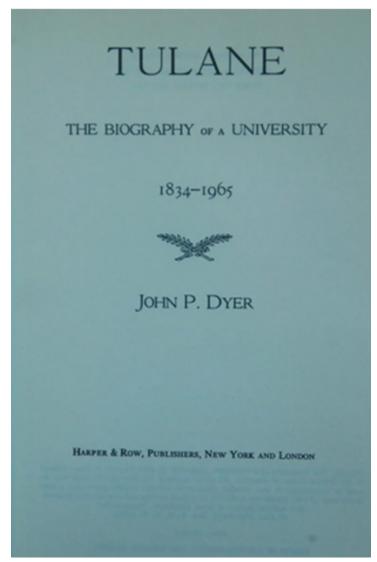


IMAGE: DYER AND MOHR & GORDON BOOK COVER

ect began in earnest.

Announced in 2021, the Tulane University History Project is a long-term academic effort charged with researching and developing a detailed history of the University and its campuses, with respect to its racial history and founding, including the impacts from slavery and segregation. The History Project will encompass a deep and rigorous historical study of Tulane University from its founding through the present day. It will build upon existing histories of the University, including efforts by units, departments, student groups, and others who have investigated Tulane's racial history. The project will ultimately produce a nuanced, complex, and honest history of Tulane, culminating in a new chronological biography of the University. In 2023, Marcia Walker-McWilliams was hired as the executive director for the History Project. After a period of foundation building (hiring staff and developing project frameworks and infrastructure), research for the History Proj-

The History Project is co-chaired by Sally Brown Richardson, A.D. Freeman Professor of Civil Law, Tulane Law School, and Halima Leak Francis, PhD, Professor of Practice and Public Administration Program director at the School of Professional Advancement. The project has a dedicated research team and an advisory board comprised of a diverse group of faculty, staff, students, alumni, and other community stakeholders. Updating the Tulane community on the project's progress is an important aspect of our work, which is ongoing. The project will provide annual updates to the campus throughout its duration. This update provides an overview of some of the major findings on the University's racial history between 1834 and 1847, when it was known as the Medical College of Louisiana. While it highlights major points, this overview is not exhaustive of all findings in these areas.

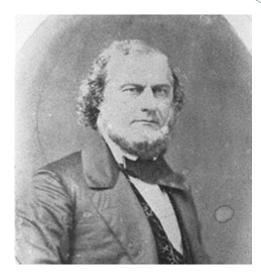
METHODOLOGY

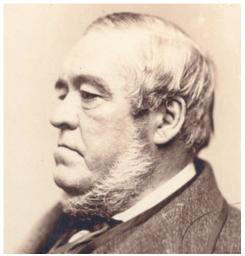
How researchers for the History Project approach the work of exploring and documenting Tulane's racial history is important to convey. Using historical research methods, the research team identifies and analyzes published and unpublished sources, including previous biographies of Tulane, historic newspapers, archival and digital collections, government records, institutional reports, maps, and other kinds of records that illuminate the university's racial history. We have conducted research at archives on and off campus, including at the Tulane University Special Collections, Rudolph Matas Library, Amistad Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans Public Library, and the City of New Orleans Notarial Archives Research Center.

SLAVERY, RACE, AND THE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF LOUISIANA

New Orleans, known as Bulbancha, or "the place of other tongues" by the Choctaw, had long been a hub where indigenous cultures traded and interacted. ¹ European colonization and New Orleans' status as a port city made it a conduit for trade networks, most notably the domestic and international slave trade. Slave ships, slave pens, auction houses, hotels, private homes, and even public streets and parks in New Orleans served as venues where more than 100,000 people of African descent were bought and sold. The city's economy (as well as that of the state, region, and nation) was inextricably linked with slavery. The voluntary and forced settlement of cultures in New Orleans ensured that the city would remain a place of other tongues for generations to come and an important economic center in the Deep South. But, early nineteenth century New Orleans had a major problem hindering its prosperity - it was plagued by diseases like yellow fever and cholera.

The prospectus, or founding document, for the Medical College of Louisiana was clear on the advantages that a medical school could bring to New Orleans and its commercial society. "By removing the danger of death and the apprehension of disease," the founders wrote, "it [the College] will cause population to increase, agriculture to yield additional prof-





PORTRAITS OF MEDICAL COLLEGE OF LOUISI-ANA FACULTY: (TOP) DR. THOMAS HUNT AND (BOTTOM) DR. WARREN STONE. RUDOLPH MATAS LIBRARY PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION.

Dical college of Louisiana. PROSPECTUS. imary and essential source of human happiness. It increases population: it cheers and sustains industry: it gives a enterprise: it confers the power and infuses the spirit to prosecute study, and in short, with the qualities that usit bestows on Society whatever is connected with its highest interests, and whatever is necessary to the enjoy-forts and refinements of life. it bestows on Society whatever is connected with its highest interests, and whatever is necessary to the enjoyforts and refinements of life. good degree with these truths, the great and good men of antiquity were wont admiringly to style Medicine "a to hold its professors in the highest estimation as public benefactors. Nor has time detracted from the consequence or diminished the honors justly due to its skilful and scientific practice. Indeed the influence of the Science of universally felt, and acknowledged by the civilized nations of the earth, and attention is paid every where under in proportion to the progress which each society has made in civilization, to whatever is calculated to promote public health. In this enlightened country particularly, we are happy and proud to say, that public anxiety has to a considerable extent for the diffusion of medical knowledge, and thatliberal appropriations have been made State Legislatures for the establishment and support of Medical Schools and Colleges. be denied that these schools and colleges, however creditable to us considering our youth, are not yet, in conseping growth of our population and the vast extent of territory over which that population is spread, sufficient to any gwants of the country. And accordingly we every day find Prospectuses, issuing various directions in the log physicians ambitious to distinguish themselves in the public service as teachers, inviting students of medicine s at designated places considered as affording facilities and opportunities for the acquisition of Medical knowledge, ctuses this essay is avowedly one, and, practitioners in New-Orleans, convinced of the want of scientific medical knowledge in this State and in sesining States, and of the non existence of Schools necessary for the diffusion of that knowledge, and aware too ance with the peculiar diseases which prevail in this part of the Union cannot be made in Cinemati or Philadelel principles so as to remove or alleviate human suffering and to put an end to t ew Orleans as a place for the location of their School, the undersigned have been governed by the following sons. It is the largest and most populous town in the South West, and the most accessible to Students. Its Hospitals which will be open to the undersigned for the purpose of instruction, are the largest in the Southern tes, so that Practical Medicine and Surgery can be taught at the bed side of the patient, the only proper place ne study of Anatomy can be prosecuted with press advantage and at a CHEAPER rate here than in any other City of New-Orleans is so healthy during eight months in the year, that Students can remain in it and study the different Now-Orleans is so healthy during eight months in the year, that Students can remain in it and study the different at different seasons, it is a Commercial town, and more surgical accidents occur to seamen than to any other class of individuals, and it different seasons, and the season such as the season such as a season season such as a season e on the 1st. Monday of January, 1835, and will continue for four months, from that day. THOMAS HUNT, M. D. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. JOHN HARRISON, M. D. JOHN HARRISON, M. D. Adjunct. CHARLES A. LUZENBERG, M. D. Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery. J. MONRO MACKIE, M. D. Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, THOMAS N. INGALLS. M. D. Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy. EDWIN BATHURST SMITH, M. D. Professor of Materia Medica, AUGUISTUS H. CENAS, M. D. Professor of Obstetries and Diseases of Women and Children. s in Practical Anatomy will be given daily by the Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. res will be delivered twice a week at the Charity Hospital. The Hospital will be open every day for the attenses. THOMAS HUNT, M. D. Dean of the Faculty.

IMAGE: MEDICAL COLLEGE OF LOUISIANA PROSPECTUS, 1834.

its, trade and commerce to flourish, and the arts and sciences to advance rapidly among us: In short, its operations will be to improve our natural extraordinary advantages, to remove the obstacles in the path of our prosperity, and under proper exertions, to put New Orleans in a short time on an equal footing in Medical knowledge with New York or Philadelphia." ² The three young founders of the Medical College, Dr. Thomas Hunt, Dr. John Harrison, and Dr. Warren Stone, did not hail from Louisiana. Hunt and Harrison were South Carolinians, and Stone was from Vermont. The three worked as physicians at Charity Hospital in 1833, the year before they established the Medical College.

The young doctors recognized the detrimental effect that diseases had on the Southern economy, slavery being a central aspect of that economy. They were determined to create a medical program that would train Southern doctors to treat Southern diseases. They relied on access to teaching hospitals like Charity Hospital, as well as a myriad of private hospitals, including some founded or operated by Medical College faculty. The following doctors were also on the faculty in the earliest years of the college: Charles A. Luzenberg, James Munro Mackie, Thomas R. Ingalls, Edwin Balhurst Smith, and Augustus H. Cenas.³ With a faculty that included two South Carolinians, a Vermonter, a

Virginian, a West Point graduate, and an Italian-born and Philadelphia-trained surgeon, the College reflected the diversity and aspirations of the Crescent City's growing Anglo population and which often rivaled its older Creole population.⁴ They offered courses and training in medical theory, chemistry, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, and what we would consider today as public health.

THE MEDICAL COLLEGE AND CHARITY HOSPITAL

The existence of Charity Hospital as a teaching institution was integral to the success of the Medical College. Historians often distinguish between the histories of Tulane, its ancestral institutions, and Charity Hospital, which was founded on May 10, 1736. Such a demarcation between these institutions – Tulane and Charity – would have made little sense to individuals at the time of the University's founding. Professors and students of the Medical College of Louisiana worked in Charity Hospital, held commencement and lectures in the lower story of the Hospital, rented rooms from the Hospital, depended on the Hospital for state funds, and used its relationship with Charity to garner a great amount of public respectability when compared to other southern medical schools.⁵ Members of the Medical College faculty were frequently appointed to serve on Charity's board of administrators, granting them an even greater say in hospital operations and policies.

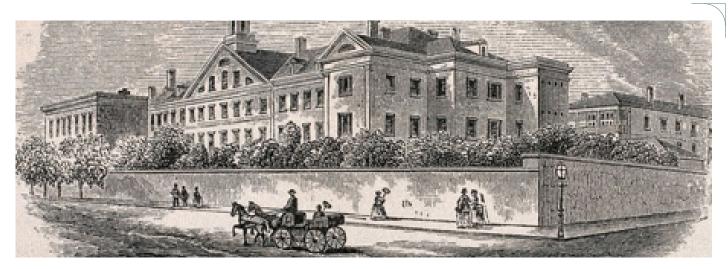


IMAGE: CHARITY HOSPITAL

At Charity, faculty and students would have come into contact with enslaved people who labored and were treated at the hospital. Dr. Warren Stone, one of the most esteemed Southern surgeons, conducted surgeries on enslaved patients in the hospital's amphitheater before students of the Medical College. By 1832, the hospital was in its fifth iteration, a two-story building on Common Street (now Tulane Ave). Charity Hospital's ownership of enslaved people and connections to the North American and Caribbean slave economies were extensive. From the turn of the nineteenth century to the Civil War, between eight and sixteen enslaved people, including children, lived and worked in Charity Hospital. This community was in constant flux, but the Black people in that community conducted a wide variety of important and skilled activities in the Hospital.

Yet there was another connected community of Black people in Charity: the free and enslaved patients. The published teaching Hospital reports mention that at least 1,083 Black people had gone through Charity between 1843 and 1861 – not all, of course, were enslaved, but Charity certainly advertised itself to enslavers as a hospital for enslaved people. In January 1839, an advertisement stated that "Slaves are admitted at 75 cents per day," and enslaved people were a common feature of life and work at Charity. There are reports of enslaved people being arrested at Charity without passes, and the enslaved were sometimes sent from the public jail for medical treatment at the Hospital. Solomon Northup, author of Twelve Years a Slave, was a free Black man kidnapped into slavery and trafficked in New Orleans by the infamous slave trader, Theophilus Freeman. Northrup was treated at Charity for smallpox in the 1840s. 11

FUNDING THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

Since the professors provided much of the funds for the maintenance of the College, a "self-constituted body," their private practices, in addition to their residencies at Charity Hospital, provided a significant windfall to that institution. ¹² The faculty supported a "common fund" of around \$700 for the purchase of chemical and medical equipment, and they also provided money for a "sinking fund" to support the publication of the college's New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal. On May 30, 1847, the seven professors agreed that, as they had contributed so much of their "individual private resources" to the college, each of the lecturers would be provided with a \$1,200 "joint and residual interest" in its property (in total, this shareholding amounted to over \$8,000). ¹³ Three years later, the faculty donated \$6,000 for "fitting out the Museum & of the College." ¹⁴

Several of the founding doctors of the College ran private hospitals where enslaved people comprised a significant proportion of patients. Medical College faculty were affiliated with the Touro Infirmary and operated Stone's Infirmary or the Maison de Santé (Dr. Warren Stone), Franklin Infirmary (Dr. Charles Luzenberg), and Circus Street Infirmary (Dr. A.J. Wedderburn, Dr. John Harrison, and



IMAGE: CIRCUS STREET INFIRMARY ADVERTISEMENT, THE DAILY DELTA, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, OCTOBER 22, 1846.

Dr. James Munro Mackie). At these hospitals, enslaved patients were treated at a charge of one or two dollars per day. As Tulane University alumnus William Jones noted in his undergraduate thesis, Stone and other College personnel testified as expert witnesses in redhibition cases where purchasers of enslaved people sued slave traders for undisclosed illnesses of the enslaved. 15

Given that the College was self-supporting, the financial bottom line of that institution was, in no small part, dependent on incomes earned by the faculty, which included their slaveholding. Census records, slave schedules, ship manifests, runaway notices, as well as tax, notarial, and jail records, reveal that several members of the Medical College faculty were enslavers, including Dr. Thomas Hunt, Dr. Charles Luzenberg, Dr. Edward H. Barton, Dr. John Riddell, Dr. Thomas Ingalls, Dr. Yves R. Lemonnier, and Dr. Warren Stone. ¹⁶ Another faculty member, Dr. Alexander Wedderburn, came into ownership of a sugar plantation in St. Martin Parish. The fortunes of these men perhaps explain the College's continued financial survival at a time when the failure of academic institutions, including medical colleges, was commonplace. In fact, from the colonization of Virginia in 1607 until the outbreak of the American Civil War, eighty percent of existing colleges failed. ¹⁷

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Т.	DESCRIPTION.				. 7			f Heby, 1850.	1.	DESCRIPTION.			2	Hed.	-
	Number of Slaves	DES	CRIPT	Colour.	Fugitives from the State.	State. State. Numbermanumitt	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.		NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	Number of Slave	Age.	Sex.	Colour.	Fugitives from the State.	Numbermanumi	Deaf & d
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	1	9	3	4	5	6	7	8
And Mc Intoch	1,	106	7	16				1 1	In Stinson	15	1	n	13			-
for the smooth	2	3.8					1 3	2 2	Dr & He Barton	,	53	7	13			-
	1	21	16	13				3 3		2	14	71	13		_	
	4	18	16	13				4 4		,,	18	71	13			-
	1	22	14	13			1	5 5		4	25	71	13		-	-0
	6		14	-		T		6 6		5	25	7,	13			
	7		M	1			- 1	7 7		6	13	7	10	,		-
	0	21	10	1		T		8 8		7	1	7	16			

IMAGE: 1850 SLAVE SCHEDULE SHOWING AN ENTRY FOR DR. E.H. BARTON AND NINE PEOPLE, RANGING IN AGES 4 TO 53 WHOM HE ENSLAVED. SOURCE: ANCESTRY.COM, 1850 U.S. FEDERAL CENSUS - SLAVE SCHEDULES, LEHI, UT, USA: ANCESTRY.COM OPERATIONS INC, 2004

The involvement of Medical College personnel or affiliated individuals in companies that were involved in enslavement is an arc for continued research. The New Orleans Draining Company, which enslaved around thirty people and regularly leased enslaved people out to other enterprises, was but one example. Established by an act of the Louisiana legislature on March 19, 1835, the Company was established to drain, fill, and improve all of the land between the settled portion of the city of New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain. Enslaved people were often used on such public works projects, constructing roads, levees, and clearing land for development. Dr. Warren Stone was on the board of administrators of the organization and the Company's ledgers record instances when doctors were called in to treat enslaved workers. To For example, Dr Isidore Labatut, who donated numerous works

on medicine and surgery to the College, was paid for services "rendered to the Slaves of the Company." Faculty members Dr. Augustus H. Cenas and Dr. James Jones were physicians for the New Orleans-based Merchants' and Planters' Mutual Insurance Company, which insured "fire, marine and river risks, and also upon the lives of White persons and slaves." ²²

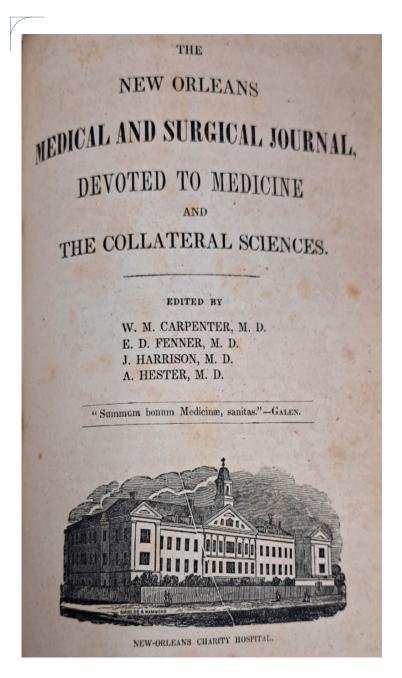


IMAGE: COVER OF THE NEW ORLEANS MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 1847.

THE NEW ORLEANS MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL

In 1844, two members of the Medical College of Louisiana faculty, John H. Harrison and William Carpenter, joined two other New Orleans doctors, Erasmus Fenner and A. Hester, in publishing the New Orleans Medical Journal, the first successful medical journal published in the Deep South.²³ Later known as the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal (NOM&SJ)*, the journal was published under this name until 1952. In 1953, it became known as the *Journal of the Louisiana State Medical Society*, which is still in publication.

Much like the founding of the Medical College, the *NOM&SJ* was created to provide a distinct space for the circulation of Southern medical knowledge. The causes of Southern diseases, how they were transmitted, and how to treat them to prevent loss of life, quality of life, or, in the case of the enslaved, loss of value undergirded much of the *NOM&SJ*'s contributions to medical knowledge at the time.

The journal frequently published case studies of experimental treatments for indigent, immigrant, and enslaved people, some of which were conducted by faculty members from the Medical College. Most articles were authored by Southern physicians, and articles that focused on race and enslavement tended to espouse pro-slavery arguments and anti-Black racist ideologies. From physicians practicing

in hospitals to rural doctors working on plantations, the *NOM&SJ* sought to provide treatments for diseases like yellow fever, everyday ailments, complications from childbirth, and diseases believed to be "peculiar to the Negro race" which basically meant enslaved people given that they comprised the majority of the South's antebellum Black population. ²⁴

Discussion of "diseases peculiar to negroes" featured prominently in the journal's issues in the 1840s and 1850s leading up to the Civil War. Dr. William Marbury Carpenter of the Medical College commented on the habit of dirt eating, known as "Cachexia Africana," amongst enslaved African Americans in 1844. ²⁵ The pseudoscientific article claimed that the disease had the power to decimate plantations and that Southern physicians needed to be aware of the disease, how it presented, and how to treat it. The journal also published articles by top phrenologists like Samuel Morgan, Samuel Cartwright, and Josiah Clark Nott. Phrenology was a method of scientific racism that studied the shape and size of skulls to determine and sometimes rank the intellectual, behavioral and aesthetic superiority of certain races of people over others. Cartwright, who does not appear to have been a faculty member at the Medical College, argued that enslaved people who escaped their enslavers suffered from a mental illness called "drapetomania," which could be cured through medical treatment. ²⁶ However, he was a prominent doctor in New Orleans who used scientific racism to argue that Blacks were inferior to whites and, thus, ideal candidates for enslavement.

Black patients were not the only people subject to questionable medical treatment. In 1838, Dr. Charles Luzenberg came under scrutiny for a cataract surgery on an indigenous Seminole woman that was deemed unethical by his peers. A sensationalized account of the surgery, "Sight Given to the Born Blind" appeared in the *True American* on April 17, 1838. The account painted the patient, Mary, as a "savage of the wilderness" who braved intense pain under operation to have her sight fully restored by Dr. Luzenberg. Already at odds with many of his faculty peers in the Medical College, Dr. Luzenberg was expelled from a local medical society once it was determined by a committee of local New Orleans doctors that Mary, who understood and spoke English, had some vision in her eyes before the surgery. The committee concluded that Dr. Luzenberg's surgery likely contributed to a worsening of Mary's sight that could lead to blindness. ²⁷

STUDENTS AT THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

The involvement of Medical College faculty in the city, its slave economy, and in creating networks of information about the treatment of enslaved individuals benefited the institution, the students, and its international reputation. The Medical College of Louisiana largely attracted and granted degrees to students from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas and other Gulf/Southern states, thus fulfilling its mission to train new generations of Southern physicians on the treatment of Southern diseases. A number of these students went on to practice medicine in their home states, while others chose to

practice in New Orleans. A select few eventually joined the faculty of the University of Louisiana's Medical Department.

By the start of the Civil War, only a small number of international students graduated with degrees from the Medical College: K. Kowaleski of Poland in 1842; Juan B. Pujol of Cuba in 1843; James C. Grant of Canada in 1844; Antonio Hidalgo and Francisco Labarria of Cuba in 1846; I. Marchesseault of Canada in 1848; and Jules Cartier of France in 1855. The students from Cuba may have been the first students of Hispanic descent to attend and graduate from Tulane's predecessor institutions. ²⁸ We have yet to locate any evidence of students of African or Indigenous descent who attended the Medical College between 1834 and 1847, but research on the backgrounds and careers of Medical College alumni is ongoing.

WHAT'S NEXT FOR THE HISTORY PROJECT

Linkages to slavery were prevalent among the Medical College of Louisiana's faculty through the institutions they led and patronized, their scholarship, and, in the cases of enslavers, through the people whom they deprived of freedom. While we are continuing to explore some areas related to the Medical College, the findings shared here provide a snapshot of what the research team has uncovered thus far. As we are charged with developing a new biography of the University's racial history, further details about the linkages between slavery and the Medical College of Louisiana will be explored in that book and any associated programming or publications emanating out of the History Project.

Over the next year, the History Project will deepen its focus on the University's ties to slavery and segregation from 1847 through 1884, when it was known as the University of Louisiana, a public institution with departments of medicine, law, and academic or collegiate studies. We will also begin to sponsor events that focus on project findings and explore connections between slavery, segregation, and the University. Paid student research assistantships with the History Project will also be offered in the upcoming year.

The History Project welcomes those seeking to learn more about the project or who would like to share documents, leads, or other pertinent information. Project staff can be reached using the "contact us" function on the Tulane University History Project website at tulane.edu/historyproject.

- ¹ Tulane Land Acknowledgement, tulane.edu/equity/land-acknowledgement.
- ² Second Medical College of Louisiana Prospectus, Circular or Prospectus of the Medical College of Louisiana, UA-RG-46.
- ³ Additional faculty would join the Medical College before 1847. They include: Edward H. Barton, Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine; William Byrd Powell, Professor of Chemistry; James Jones, Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Alexander J. Wedderburn, Professor of Anatomy; and Dr. Yves Rene (Y. R.) Lemonnier.
- ⁴ In the early nineteenth century, Creole was a term embraced mostly by whites in Louisiana with French or Spanish heritage who continued to speak those languages and embody other cultural customs. People of African descent (many designated as free people of color) with French or Spanish descent and who spoke the language also identified as Creole.
- ⁵ 3 December 1835, Medical College of Louisiana Faculty Minutes, Volume 1, 1835-1856, UA-RG-25.
- ⁶ The current Charity Hospital building, located in the 1500 block of Tulane Avenue was built in 1939 and in operation until 2005. During its lifetime, Charity Hospital was housed in six different locations across downtown New Orleans.
- Though dismissed as 'orderlies' and 'servants' in contemporary reports, the men and women of Charity included Domingo, the "phlebotomist instructed in surgery" who served as "head of the ward"; Paugui assigned to the "service and cleanliness of the poor sick people"; Gayllard, a "gardener" who "took care of the cultivavvtion of the kitchen and botanical gardens"; Magdalena and Juana, who washed linens (a significant task given that doctors feared that humors could be transferred through sheets if they were not properly washed); Lavinia, a twenty-six year old seamstress; Peter, described in his sale document in December 1832 as a "first rate... warehouse man"; and Rhody, a thirty-seven year old cook, washer, and ironer. Don Andres de Almonester y Rojoas, Constitution for the New Charity Hospital New Orleans, transl. by Wiley D. Stephenson, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Works Project Administration of Louisiana, 1941),17-18 ('Domingo,' "instructed," "head," "cleanliness," "gardener," "botanical," and 'Magdalene and Juana'); M. McDougall to Charity Hospital, 14 June 1834, Boswell Notarial Volumes, Orleans Parish Clerk of Court, Act 782 ('Lavinia'); Joseph Webber, Jr., to Charity Hospital, 28 November 1834, Ibid., Act 1078 ("first rate" and 'Rhody').
- ⁸ The majority of Charity's patients were local white New Orleanians, Southern whites from neighboring states, European immigrants, and sailors in the antebellum era.
- ⁹ "Notice of the Charity Hospital of New Orleans," New-Orleans Commercial Bulletin, 7 January 1839.
- ¹⁰ Case of Felix, First Municipality Reports of the Captain of the Guard, 1836-46, New Orleans Public Library, mf TDK205, 69 ('passes'); Legier, Doctor and Widow Bills, 1827, Medical Documents Collection, LARC, Box 1, Folder 9 ('treatment').
- Solomon Northup, Twelve Years a Slave. Narrative of Solomon Northup, A Citizen of New-York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853, From a Cotton Plantation near the Red River, in Louisiana (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1853), 83.
 John Harrison, James Jones, and Warren Stone, "Louisiana Medical College," in Erasmus D. Fenner and A. Hester, eds., The New-Orleans Medical Journal. Devoted to the Cultivation of Medicine, and the Associate Sciences (New Orleans: J. Dor, 1844), 71.
- ¹³ June 17, 1835, Medical College of Louisiana Faculty Minutes, Volume 1, 1835-1856, UA-RG-25 ("common"); May 29, 1845, *Ibid.* ("sinking"); May 30, 1847, *Ibid.* ("private").
- 14 April 19, 1840, Ibid.
- ¹⁵ See, for instance, William H. H. Wade v. Christopher C. De Witt, 20 Tx. 398 (1857); and William D. Jones, "Tulane University's Antebellum Ancestral Institutions and Slavery" (BA. Thesis, Tulane University, 2013), 20-23
- ¹⁶ The project's research team is compiling names and demographic information of the enslaved peoples associated with faculty and other institutional stakeholders at the Medical College of Louisiana and the University of Louisiana through 1865.
- ¹⁷ Craig Steven Wilder, "Sons from the Southward & Some from the West Indies': The Academy and Slavery in the Revolutionary America," in Leslie M. Harris et al, eds., *Slavery and the University: History and Legacies* (Athens, GA: Georgia University Press, 2019), 21-45.
- ¹⁸ "Sale without Reserve of 31 Negroes," *The Times-Picayune*, 13 December 1851.
- ¹⁹ New Orleans Canal and Navigation Company v. The City of New Orleans, in *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Louisiana*, vol. 12 (New Orleans: Office of the Louisiana Courier, 1858), 364.
- ²⁰ 8 July 1846, Minutes of the New Orleans Draining Company, 1835-56, NOPL, SC-313-MS, Reel 89-287, 221.
- ²¹ 11 January 1837, Expenditures of the New Orleans Draining Company, *Ibid.*, 10.

- ²² The *Daily Crescent*, December 24, 1849: 4.
- ²³ The *Journal de la Societe Medicale de la Nouvelle Orleans* was founded in 1839 but lasted just a few months before ceasing publication.
- ²⁴ For example, in 19th century Orleans Parish, for example, enslaved Blacks outnumbered free people of color, at times comprising nearly 90% of the Black population. New Orleans had the highest population of free people of color in the Deep South.
- ²⁵ "Observations on the Cachexia Africana, or the habit and effects of dirt-eating in the negro race." by W. M. Carpenter, M. D. Prof: Mat: Med: in the Louisiana Med: College, in Fenner and Hester, eds., *New-Orleans Medical Journal*, 1: 148.
- ²⁶ Rana Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 11.
- ²⁷ A.E. Fossier, "Charles Aloysius Luzenberg, 1805-1848: A History of Medicine in New Orleans During the Years 1830-1848," Reprinted from the *Louisiana Historical Society*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January 1943): 25-28; see also, "Sight Born to the Blind," *True American*, April 17, 1838.
- ²⁸ A Catalogue from 1834 to 1872 of the Professors, other Instructors, and Alumni with an Historical Sketch of the Medical College, (From its origin in 1834 to 1847), and of its Successor, the Med. Dept. Of the University of Louisiana, (From its establishment in 1847 to 1872) (New Orleans: Bronze Pen Book and Job Office, 1871), Joseph Jones Papers, LARC 172, Box 33.