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(DE) MÉZIÈRES-TRICHEL-GRAPPE:
A STUDY OF A TRI-CASTE LINEAGE IN THE OLD SOUTH

Elizabeth Shown Mills, F.A.S.G.

A curious anachronism exists in American ethnology. The first history textbooks encountered by every school child introduce him to the cliché that the United States is the great melting pot of people. A stroll down the streets of almost any city confirms that genetic "melting"; citizens pass in every conceivable hue. Yet, even though legal segregation along ethnic lines has long since ended, North American society still clings to ethnic labels and imposes sharp and arbitrary dividing lines -- especially between black and white. In the pursuit of genealogy such a posture is counter-productive.

In this respect the United States are unique to the Americas. Such social historians as Carl N. Degler¹ have frequently contrasted the "either white or black" ideology of North America to societies of Central and South America in which a tri-caste system has evolved over the centuries. Elsewhere in the Americas there has traditionally existed an open recognition of and respect for the uniqueness of New World families whose ancestry is a mixture of black (or red or both) and white.

To a limited extent, such a system did exist along the North American Gulf in the colonial and antebellum era. In the twentieth century, only isolated pockets of society can be found where the tri-caste system is still acknowledged in the states. By and large, most of these exceptions occur in Louisiana, where the tri-caste system was surely the most pronounced. Many historians and sociologists agree that the supreme example is to be found in the upstate parish² of Natchitoches. Here, in the colonial and antebellum era, there developed two communities of distinctive ethnicity. One community, the Metoyers and their kin, was a family of exceptional wealth and strong central authority; its focus was the lower portion of the parish along Cane River and Isle Brevelle.³ The second community, a somewhat looser confederation of several families -- including (de) Mézières, Grappe, Trichel, Perot, Le Brun, d'Ortolan, (de) la Baume, and related lines -- clustered near Campti, north of the town of Natchitoches, where it followed a somewhat different but no less intriguing pattern of social development.⁴

A genealogical study of the Campti community offers case studies of several distinct genealogical problems, especially race issues (most notably racial crossing, with its correlative attempts to "bury the past"), the reliability of oral tradition, and the success-failure ratio that can be expected in attempting genealogical work among Blacks, American Indians, and slaves.

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Despite the currently popular belief, racial crossing has not been prevalent in Louisiana. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries incidences were extremely rare. Anti-miscegenation laws existed from the earliest years of the colony and the Catholic Church, to which the bulk of the population belonged, included racial identifications in all registrations of births, marriages and deaths.

By the nineteenth century exceptions to the rule usually involved either new settlers of mixed origins who had migrated from the "Anglo" states to the East and had succeeded in establishing their identity as white on this new frontier of Louisiana where their origins were not known, or the light-skinned third-caste of the New Orleans area, where the sheer size of the city's populations not only precluded any possibility of "everyone knowing everyone", but also discouraged the cross-checking of birth registrations against marriage applications. An urban cross-over was also facilitated by the increasing Protestantizing of Louisiana. After Catholicism ceased to be the established religion, and little or no community pressure existed in metropolitan areas for Catholics to remain loyal to the Church, members of the intermediate caste who sought full recognition as white could more easily achieve their end by leaving the Catholic Church and its records.

In rural parishes, such as Natchitoches, many third-caste communities dwindled noticeably after the Civil War, as increasingly restrictive Jim Crow laws whittled away at the social advantages their members had traditionally enjoyed in Louisiana. The (de) Mézières and their kin of Campti were no exception. Lighter members of the community left their homes for other parts of the nation where their origins were not known and where they easily merged into the socially privileged "white" society. This process did sometimes require the cutting of family ties between the new life and the old life in Louisiana. In more recent years some offspring of those who "went as Caucasian" have attempted to recross that nebulous color line, at least academically. As they explore the full diversity of their heritage, their efforts to discover what their immediate forebears sought to veil can be either frustrating or rewarding.

The second serious genealogical problem faced by members of the third caste occurs at that point in their heritage where black, white, and possibly Indian ethnicity merge. Family traditions often relate the circumstances that are supposed to have created their distinctiveness, but the reliability of oral tradition is highly variable. Additionally, there exists a widespread misbelief that interracial parentage, outside legal marriage, is impossible to document. Even in early Louisiana the presumption of the law was that no "colored" child could *legally* prove descent from a white man.⁵ The Campti community, like similar ones, today faces another problem that is genealo-

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gically inexcusable. "Professional" genealogists engaged by community members in the past to assist them have sometimes manufactured family trees in which certain lines were ethnically altered that the "professional" felt that descendants would not appreciate.

The solution of the third problem, the documentation of black and Indian lineages, depends upon highly variable factors. The success ratio can be gratifyingly high. In general terms, Black American lineages commonly can be traced to the immigrant progenitor, although the correct identification of African ancestors not brought to America has thus far, so far as the author is aware, been limited to those exceedingly rare cases in which an immigrant slave was educated in the New World and recorded his memoirs.⁶ Also, the success factor is in general definitely greater for lines established in such Catholic regions of North America as the colonial Gulf and Mississippi Valley. The degree to which the Campti community can trace its black heritage is typical of this society.

Tracing of Indian lineages in the Latin regions of North America is generally less rewarding than research into Black lines. Outside the Spanish West, Native Americans were absorbed quite early into white society. Genealogists will seldom be able to identify any Indian progenitor who left the tribe and married a white or who was taken from the tribe to become a slave of whites. Exceptions do exist, principally in the Spanish West where missionaries converted whole tribes and kept sacramental registers for them. Thus far the only identifiable Indian ancestors of the Campti community are females who became an integral part of white society by marriage or concubinage to whites.

The various families belonging to the Campti community were extensively interrelated, but so many diverse lineages are involved that it is not convenient to propose a genealogy that traces descendants of one common ancestor. Instead, the breadth of the community heritage is best displayed by tracing the ancestry of one of its nineteenth century members whose ancestry embraces most of the original families. The following study of Henry Philippe Mézières identifies all ancestors in America proven to date, although space limitations do not permit the inclusion of complete biographical data or extensive discussion of the further ancestry in France. No attempt will be made to identify the offspring of Henry Philippe; this is to protect the rights of descendants who have disassociated themselves from the community.

Ironically, the nonwhite Mézières of Campti are among the few families of the Louisiana frontier who could rightfully claim noble ancestry and even remote connections with royalty, as we shall see. It earned them no privileges, but the pride taken by the family in these illustrious connections was evident in the self-respect they manifested throughout an era during which the rights of Louisiana's

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gens de couleur libre (free persons of color) were rapidly eroded by "Anglo" newcomers from the Southeastern states. The Mézières and their nonwhite kin enjoyed only modest wealth. Like many Southern free people of color, they owned a handful of slaves and farmed plantations of moderate size. A few went into merchandizing on a local level. For want of public schools, they privately educated their sons, but seldom their daughters. In general, they sought to protect themselves by self-sufficiency from the vagaries of white society. By and large, they limited their contacts with the hordes of white newcomers who settled among them, while maintaining close associations with French and Spanish neighbors of the *ancien régime*, especially those who were their kin.

Unlike the Metoyers of Isle Brevelle, who eschewed illicit miscegenation, the Campiti colony was for generations dominated by interracial extra-legal unions. Almost all of its early females formed permanent liaisons with Frenchmen whom they could not legally marry, while some of its males married females from Spanish Texas who were willing to commit themselves to the circumscribed world of Louisiana's third caste.

As a result of the colony's choice of mates, the complexions of its members rapidly lightened; at the same time, it formed bonds with whites whose influence helped the community weather the economic and political storms of the antebellum years. In the tumultuous era of Civil War and Reconstruction the light-skinned Mézières, Henry Philippe among them, helped the dominant white population adjust to political and social changes. Although the fortunes of politics diminished their influence considerably in the reactionary post-Reconstruction period, respect for the community remained. An unidentified Natchitochian reported in a letter written 12 March 1908 to a member of the Order of Mercy who was compiling a history of Catholics in Alabama and the Floridas:⁷

There are a good many mulattoes by the name of de Mezieres, living near Campiti... They are very light, almost white, and very respectable people, who claim to have descended from Philippe Egalite.

It will be noted that the family tradition of descent from Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc d'Orléans, better known to history as Philippe Egalité of Revolutionary France, is not correct, although a connection can be claimed to his family by marriage. Yet the persistence of the claim, even to this day, through centuries of development in a family which had little academic exposure to Revolutionary France, is indicative of the pride which the family takes in its heritage and of its close affinity to French culture.

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FIRST GENERATION

1. HENRY PHILIPPE MÉZIÈRES [21/32 white, 3/32 Indian, 1/4 black], the first free-born non-white de Mézières of this line, born Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana 15 July 1839,⁸ died there 23 April 1910,⁹ married there (1) 16 August 1864 ROSALIE LAUVE,¹⁰ (2) 10 July 1900 MARY WINAN (WINON/WINNAN).¹¹

Family tradition has it that Philippe, as he was usually called, was named for the above-mentioned Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalité); be that as it may, he received that name two months after birth in a christening held in the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Campti, a new chapel established through the generosity of his white kinswoman Mlle. Françoise Trichel.¹² Throughout his life Philippe was to identify at least nominally with the Catholic Church.

As an adult, the enterprising Philippe first appears of record in February 1859, when he bought from his mother and her siblings for \$200 a lot in the town of Campti which they had inherited from his maternal grandmother, Marie Josephe Grappe. Since Philippe was still a minor, his father's consent was required.¹³ There is no evidence that he ever resided on the property or operated any business there. The Federal census, taken the following year, shows him still residing in the parental household as a laborer on the farm of his father Noël.¹⁴ By the next spring Philippe had sold the lot to a white parishioner and tripled his investment in the process.¹⁵ However, the financial stake he was building was shortly undermined by the eruption of the Civil War.

Louisiana's free people of color, like others of the South, were not drafted into the Confederate Army. Many volunteered but were rejected. The only successful applicants were apparently those whose racial status was not known at the time of enlistment. Several young men of the Campti colony were included in this number, but not Philippe. It is probable that he and his young male relatives who did not see active duty did serve in one of the home guard units which were established by the free men of color on Isle Brevelle. No roster of these companies (the Augustin's Mounted Guards and the Monette's Guards) is known to exist, but a study of these militia units indicate that they were composed of roughly 150 propertied males of draft age. Such a number could only have been raised in the parish of Natchitoches if it included the youth of Campti, with whom the Isle Brevelle males fraternized.¹⁶ Given the leadership role which Philippe is known to have played in post-war years, his active participation in wartime activities may be assumed.

The Natchitoches Parish militia disbanded in 1863, shortly before Northwest Louisiana became embroiled in the

notorious Red River Campaign (a Union offensive which thinly veiled a large-scale cotton raid against Red River plantations). The hamlets of Campti and neighboring Grande Ecore were torched and the farms lining the river above and below (farms to a great extent owned by the Mézières and their kin) suffered almost total destruction. Planters of color fared no better than white slaveholders; the Union Army gave them little or no quarter. Philippe's family was left destitute. In later years his brother Joseph was to file for reparations against the United States through the Southern Claims Commission, claiming loyalty to the Union throughout the conflict.¹⁷ Philippe, however, declined to file any claim.

In the wake of this campaign, while the farmers of Natchitoches Parish prayed for survival until the close of the war they knew they could not win, Philippe decided to marry. Like most of the males in his insular family, he chose a cousin for his bride. In this case a double impediment existed of consanguinity in the third and fourth degrees. The bride's family was headed by a widow, left without means of support, and its poverty and Philippe's expressed willingness to assume responsibility prompted the Church to grant a dispensation; the wedding took place in the Campti church.¹⁰

The close of the war brought only slight relief to Red River. The 1866 list of delinquent taxes for the Parish of Natchitoches includes Philippe among the 794 landowners who had no cash to pay their assessments.¹⁸ A typical yeoman farmer of his era, he is enumerated in 1870 at Grande Ecore with his wife and two free laborers and with an estate valued at only \$425.00.¹⁹

Political reconstruction had begun in Louisiana in 1864, but its effects were not seriously felt in the parish of Natchitoches until the enactment of the Constitution of 1868. From then until the election of 1878 extreme racial turmoil existed along Red River. Civil rights legislation benefitted the newly freed slaves, while the former free people of color lost most of the privileges they had been accorded under the slavery regime. The Campti community was politically and socially forced into the mainstream of Black society, yet by and large it was rejected by the new freedmen, who resented the formerly elite status that the free people of color had enjoyed. After suffrage was extended to nonwhites, the new political leaders who emerged in the parish were almost all ex-slave Blacks or Northernborn "carpetbaggers".²⁰

Philippe, his brother F.A., and their brother-in-law Justin Condet, were notable exceptions among Reconstruction leadership. By 1870 F.A. had received a governor's commission as a notary public, the only known non-white notary public in the parish's history -- and he was to hold that position until the close of Reconstruction. In the

following year Condet was named to the parish Police Jury (Board of Supervisors) and in 1875 F.A. also joined that body. In 1873 Philippe himself was appointed to one of the most important public offices in the parish, Clerk of Court; he retained that position through two terms, until the victory of the White Man's League in the state election of 1878 swept out all nonwhite officials.²¹

It is noteworthy that the Mézières not only served but also maintained the respect both of the party that put them into office and of the opposition as well. Throughout the mid-1870's the right-wing *People's Vindicator* continually railed against the "political bummers and thieves" which the Radical regime had put into office, and it decried the unqualified appointments of illiterates to various offices. Yet it made no protest against the service of the Mézières, and in 1875, when Philippe was reappointed as Parish Clerk, the *Vindicator* praised the appointment of this nonwhite over his white opponent and pronounced Mézières "quite satisfactory".²² In this decade of turmoil, when Black and Northern political control was mandated by the government and feared by the populace, the Mézières and their relatives helped to ease that fear and tension through their able leadership.

During that same period Philippe and F.A. opened a dry goods mercantile firm in the town of Campti under the style "Mézières and Brother". They seem to have enjoyed an initial moderate success and they diversified their holdings by purchases at tax sales and from private owners. In 1880 Philippe and his growing family shared their commodious home with the prominent C.S.A. general (and former U.S. officer) Louis Gustave De Russy.²³ Nevertheless, by the early 1880's Philippe and his brother had overextended their credit and were faced with several lawsuits for relatively small debts.

In an effort to protect the dower rights of Philippe's wife, the family decided that Rosalie should enter a friendly suit for the legal separation of her property from that of her husband. When the separation was granted, F.A. transferred to her enough of his own property to cover her personal stake. However, these steps were thwarted in mid-1882 when judgments were rendered against both Rosalie and Philippe in three separate District Court suits. The sheriff seized to be sold not only the forty acres Rosalie had acquired from F.A., but also a second tract she owned jointly with her kinswoman Philomene Trichel, a third tract of fourteen acres three miles from Campti which Philippe had inherited from his father, and a fourth tract of forty acres in that same neighborhood. At auction the first three tracts were reclaimed by the family when Eugenie, wife of F.A., offered the highest bid of \$1,016.75, but the remaining forty acres were inexplicably knocked down to the white plaintiff Cunningham, a leader of the area's "Redeemer" faction which had ousted Mézières' party.²⁴

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It appears that the family's financial difficulties did not end with the settlement of these lawsuits. Throughout the 1880's and early 1890's Rosalie continued to act as the official proprietor of family lands, while Philippe is conspicuously absent from the land records. Tract after tract of acquired land was lost either for private debt or for taxes, reclaimed by the payment of penalties, and then lost again.²⁵ In the midst of these legal problems Rosalie (Lauve) Mézières died at Campti 9 November 1895, aged only fifty-eight years.²⁶ On 10 July 1900 Philippe took his second wife, Mary Winan, in a non-religious ceremony performed by Alexander L. De Blieux, the Justice of the Peace of Ward 4.¹¹ Six days later the couple appeared before a second J.P. to legitimize a daughter born to them before their marriage.²⁷ In the nine years left to Philippe before his death, he resumed the buying and selling of real estate²⁸ and left a moderate estate at his passing.²⁹

Philippe's issue by his two wives will not be discussed here, since more than one crossed the color line and are within living memory of present day descendants. However, it should be noted that, in addition to his legitimate offspring, Philippe apparently sired two children born out of wedlock in his youth.

The first of these children was a son born to Louisiana Basset, daughter of Borell Basset and his wife Victorine Gasnier. While the evidence remains inadequate to prove the point, there exists a strong indication that Louisiana was white. After her brief affair with Philippe she bore two children to his relative Simon Weenan and eventually married Weenan at Campti 17 April 1882. When Weenan died soon afterwards, Louisiana remarried Joseph Dortolan, a second Campti Creole *de couleur*. In 1882 Louisiana's son by Philippe married a Mézières relative, and Philippe appeared at the wedding and acknowledged his son.³⁰

Family Bible records in possession of a white descendant also state that Philippe was the father by his cousin, Marie Louise Aspasie Trichel, of a daughter, Mary A., born 5 November 1867. A decade later Mlle. Trichel (daughter of Joseph Lazare Trichel) married another cousin, Jean Galmier Trichel. When her daughter born in 1867 married a local white man in 1898 Philippe did not appear as a witness to the marriage, nor was he identified as the father of the bride, though her surname is given in the marriage record as Mézières. The tradition among Philippe's descendants is that cordial relations existed between the acknowledged and legitimate descendants and this unrecognized branch of the family, and today the relationship is acknowledged on both sides.³¹

SECOND GENERATION

2. JOSEPH NOËL (de) MÉZIERES [3/4 white, 1/4 black], born village of Natchitoches 24 December 1805,³² died

Campti 4 December 1870,³³ married (1) Natchitoches Parish 18 May 1829 Marie Deloïse Perot,³⁴ (2) there 25 July 1837³⁵

3. MARIE ODISSE TRICHEL [9/16 white, 3/16 Indian, 1/4 black], born Natchitoches 17 January 1818,³⁶ died Campti 2 December 1899.³⁷

Noël Mézières ("de" does not customarily appear in the records of the nonwhite branch of this family) was born into the slave household of his maternal grandfather, Marie Pelagie Athanase Mauguet de Mézières, and was baptized into the Catholic faith 6 April 1806, his godparents being his enslaved uncle and aunt, Joseph Antoine (de) Mézières and Marie Rose (de) Mézières.³¹ The baptismal records, and other records as well, identify Noël as the quadroon son of the mulatto Marie Jeanne (de) Mézières, but no record has so far been found which names or infers the identity of his white father. Neither he nor any of his siblings ever used any surname other than that of their slave-born mother.

The household into which Noël was born was atypical in his society. A large extended family with a number of slaves were both relatively common, but in other respects the composition and characteristics of the de Mézières household set it apart from others of the village. The elderly Athanase was a bachelor; the two sisters who shared his household were spinsters. Abbé William Dubourg, a diarist of the era, explained their ostensible celibacy with an account of their noble lineage and their reluctance to form a *mésalliance* with the commoners of the colonies.³⁸ On the part of the sisters this may have been true, but their brother, in his youth, had formed an alliance that even the egalitarian bishop could not have condoned: a permanent and extralegal union with a slave woman whom he and his sisters had jointly inherited. When the parental estate was divided in 1779, the de Mézières siblings sold all their extensive slave property except Marie Le Noir, Athanase's concubine, Marie Jeanne, the daughter Marie had born to him, and three orphaned infants (who were eventually sold after they reached adulthood). For nearly a half-century to come, the three unmarried de Mézières made their home together in the village, sharing it first with the growing family of Athanase by his concubine and then with the offspring whom the daughters of Athanase bore when they reached adulthood and formed illicit unions of their own.³⁹

Kinship ties between masters and slaves in this extended family were openly recognized. Monsieur de Mézières acknowledged paternity and his genteel sisters often stood as godmothers to the offspring of his unblessed alliance. Community tolerance of their unorthodoxy apparently resulted from a long-ingrained respect held by frontier families for the noble de Mézières and their antecedents, who had governed the frontier for much of the colonial era. Church tolerance apparently stemmed from the neglect which Louisiana Catholics suffered after the transfer of that colony from France to the United States, when the Church

lacked adequate personnel to supply the frontier with a sufficient number of ministers. Still, it appears that the de Mézières lived in relative seclusion. They almost never appear in area records as associates of other villagers. Local tradition even yet gossips about Athanase's miscegenous alliance -- even to the invention of fanciful tales about secret underground tunnels through which his concubine is supposed to have visited him.⁴⁰

Young Noël and his mother were manumitted prior to the execution of Athanase's will 25 October 1827.⁴¹ The act of manumission has not been found; apparently it was drawn (according to area custom) before a local notary whose office files are no longer extant. Although the will of Athanase acknowledged paternity of Noël's mother, some community resistance to full recognition of his family still existed. When Noël took his first bride a year and a half later in the parish church, the new pastor assigned him no surname and identified his mother as "Marie Jeanne called Mézières".

This first wife was the demoiselle Marie Deloïse Pompose Peraut (or Perot),³⁴ a young quadroon born to the freed-woman Marie Pelagie Grappe in concubinage to a Monsieur Peraut (Perot), probably Jean Chrisostome Perot, who has not yet been positively identified.⁴² Upon his marriage, Noël appears to have left the village of Natchitoches and relocated in the Campti neighborhood of his in-laws, where he was to become a community leader. His young wife died there 29 December 1831, at the age of 25 years or thereabouts,⁴³ leaving a month-old son. For six years the bereaved Noël remained a widower and then remarried, at Campti, a seventeen year old first cousin of his first wife, the quadroon Marie Odisse Trichel,³⁵ daughter of the free "mulatress" Marie Josephe Grappe in concubinage to her white cousin Pierre André Athanase Trichel.⁴⁴

Parish records of the next thirty years indicate that Noël settled permanently in the Campti community, where he appears to have assumed the role of patriarch within the colony. He appears routinely in the probate court, announcing the deaths of one family member or another whose succession (estate) needed to be settled, or serving as tutor (guardian) to various orphaned minors and as administrator of various estates, as well as attending the family meetings routinely called to deliberate the interests of the minor children of one or another settler. He executed numerous conveyances, buying and selling tracts of real estate in sections 17, 21, 16 and 28 of Township 11 North, Range 7 West, although his landholdings remained always relatively small.⁴⁵ An analysis of his farming operations, drawn from the agricultural schedule of the 1850 Federal census, indicates that he fell considerably behind the average of farmers of the parish, and exceedingly far behind the average of the Isle Brevelle free people of color (whose plantations, however, ranked significantly better

Figure 1
 Farm Operation of Joseph Noël Mézières
 as Compared to
 Contemporary Parish Farms

YEAR: 1850	Mézières Farm	Average Farm Isle Brevelle f.p.c.	Average Farm in the Parish
Improved acres of land	50.0	113.3	84.0
Unimproved acres of land	110.0	138.9	172.0
(Total acres of land)	(160.0)	(252.2)	(256.0)
Value of farm	\$500	\$1866	\$1664
Value of implements and machinery	75	404	343
Slaves	-	9.0	9.0
Horses	4.0	3.3	3.4
Mules & Asses	2.0	2.2	1.2
Oxen	6.0	3.4	1.2
Milk cows	2.0	4.8	6.0
Beef cattle	11.0	4.7	12.0
Swine	16.0	6.0	39.0
Sheep	-	4.2	5.0
Value of animals slaughtered	\$108	\$30	\$61
Ginned cotton (bales)	-	23.3	18.5
Corn (bushels)	100.0	388.9	468.0
Peas & beans (bushels)	-	1.4	13.7
Irish potatoes (bushels)	3.0	.5	4.1
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	-	22.2	44.3
Butter (pounds)	-	1.0	35.6
Honey	-	1.6	9.3
Molasses	-	-	2.0
Cane sugar (pounds)	-	-	4.0
Maple sugar (pounds)	-	-	0.3
Cheese (pounds)	-	-	0.6
Oats (bushels)	-	.5	3.8
Rice (pounds)	-	-	17.1
Garden produce for market (value)	-	-	\$ 1
Tobacco (pounds)	-	4.8	5.3
Wool (pounds)	-	2.0	6.4
Homemade manufactures	-	\$ 1	\$ 7

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than average).⁴⁶ [See Figure 1.] Nevertheless, Noël managed to provide a moderate education for most of his children, despite the fact that the public schools did not accept nonwhite children.

Noël's modest life-style can be attributed to the fact that he was a subsistence farmer, planting only what his family needed for consumption. Cotton, the major cash crop of the parish and one which brought exceedingly great wealth to some of his Natchitoches neighbors, he did not plant at all. Unlike thousands of free people of color in the old South,⁴⁷ he eschewed slaveholding altogether; there is no record that he ever held any other man in bondage. He did own real estate in the town of Campti, a lot and a "Red House" which he leased to Hilaire Le Vasseur, a white Creole.⁴⁸

When both town and rural real estate are considered together, Noël's economic status did compare tolerably to his contemporaries. In 1860 an assessed valuation of \$4,030 is reported in the Population Schedule for his real and personal estate, just under the average of \$4,399 per family for this agriculturally rich parish and well over the statewide average of \$2,074 per family (which includes large numbers of poor "pinewood" settlers and urban ghetto dwellers). The Social Statistics Schedule of the same enumeration indicates that the assessed valuation represented only 72 per cent of its true valuation. Thus it appears that this ex-slave possessed on the eve of the Civil War an estate of some \$5,736. This means that he fared exceedingly well by comparison to other free blacks of the old South; as head of a household of nine, his assessed wealth amounted to a per capita average of \$637 for his family members, whereas John Hope Franklin's study of the free blacks of North Carolina reports a per capita average of \$34 for that same year.⁴⁹

The utter devastation of Natchitoches Parish during the course of the Civil War stripped Noël of most of his means. After his death his goods were auctioned to settle the succession; his forty remaining acres, a mule, a yoke of oxen, a plow and its gear, and the mark and brand for his stock that ranged in the wood, brought in all a total sum of \$89.25.⁵⁰ His widow Odisse survived him a number of years, died at Campti and was buried there.³⁷

Children of Joseph Noël and Marie Deloïse (Perot) (de) Mézières:

- i. Joseph Marie Cyrille, b. Campti 23 Nov. 1831, bapt. Natchitoches 7 Aug. 1832, m. there 2 Oct. 1854 Mlle. Marie Josephine Clemence Conde. Issue (many children).⁵¹

Children of Joseph Noël and Marie Odisse (Trichel) (de) Mézières:

- ii. Marie Louise, b. Campti 12 June 1838, bapt. there five days later, her grandmother Marie Josephe Grappe and Lebrun

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Dagobert being godparents. As no female infant under five years is enumerated in her father's household in 1840, it appears that she died in infancy.⁵²

1. iii. Henry Philippe, b. 15 July 1839.
 - iv. François Athanase, b. Campti 4 Oct. 1841, bapt. Natchitoches 20 April 1842, his godparents being Lucien Mézières and Marie Jeanne [no last name],⁵³ d. Campti 9 Feb. 1918 and bur. there,⁵⁴ m. (1) Campti 4 April 1867 Marie Eugénie La Baume, quadroon daughter of Valéry (de) la Baume and his wife Marie Osine David, kinswoman of her son-in-law,⁵⁵ m. (2) Campti 10 Dec. 1885 Josephine Henry, b. 4 Dec. 1869, d. 3 July 1944, bur. Campti,⁵⁶ daughter of Alida Ginger. F.A. was for years a notary public and member of the police jury. The La Baumes *de couleur*, the family of his first wife, were of noble stock. Joseph de la Baume, Valéry's father, was the eldest son of Comte Joseph Philippe de la Baume by his wife Marie Elisabeth d'Aton of Ste. Marie Parish in Montpellier, France. After serving in the American Revolution, the younger Joseph settled first in Louisiana (where he contracted a short-lived marriage with a French girl), then in Spanish Texas, where he ultimately married his mulatto concubine, Marie Louise Courterie. By the terms of his will, drafted 21 Dec. 1821, Joseph de la Baume bequeathed his "rights of inheritance to the countship and properties in France to his [white] daughter with the understanding that should the laws of France prevent female succession, his [eldest quadroon] son Joseph was to succeed him." The French title did not descend to the La Baumes *de couleur*; young Joseph and his brother Valéry migrated into Natchitoches Parish where both married girls from the Campti colony and lived lives of extremely modest means.⁵⁷ Issue.
 - v. Urban, b. 1843, enumerated in 1850, no further record.⁵⁸
 - vi. Edouard, b. Campti 5 July 1846, bapt. 16 Aug. 1846, his godparents being his paternal great-uncle Zenon Mézières and his maternal great-aunt Suzette Grappe, both free people of color.⁵⁹ Edouard seems to have remained a bachelor. He served as godfather to various nephews and nieces born in the 1880's and appears to have fathered a child in 1895 out of wedlock by Marie Theodose Grappe.⁶⁰ In 1900 Edouard, still single and a farmer, was enumerated as a boarder in the home of Alex Grappe.⁶¹ No further record.
 - vii. Marie Armandine, b. Campti 13 Dec. 1848, bapt. 15 April 1849,⁶² d. 11 Oct. 1881,⁶³ m. Campti 18 May 1864 her cousin Justin Condet.⁶⁴ Issue (many children).
 - viii. Marie Elvire "Elvy", b. Campti 14 July 1851, d. 5 Dec. 1937, m. (1) 16 Nov. 1868 her cousin Arthur Le Brun, (2) 19 May 1880 François Clebert Sylvie, a Campti *homme de couleur libre*.⁶⁵ Issue.
 - ix. Marie Amanda, b. Campti 14 Nov. 1854, bapt. 11 Feb. 1855, her godparents being Alexandre Trichel and Adeline Perot,⁶⁶

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- m. 23 Jan. 1878 her cousin Pierre Norbert Chatagnier.⁶⁷
Issue.
- x. Joseph Noël, b. Campti 4 March 1857, bapt. 13 May 1857, his
godparents being Jean Galmier Trichel and Celimene Condé.⁶⁸
He is enumerated in 1860 but not recorded thereafter.⁶⁹
- xi. Pierre Isaac, b. Campti 17 Oct. 1860, bapt. 6 Jan. 1861,⁷⁰
m. 17 Nov. 1885 Marie Josephine Chatagnier, whose brother
Pierre was the husband of Isaac's sister Amanda (ix).⁷¹
Issue.

THIRD GENERATION

4. UNKNOWN [white] MALE, whose concubine was
5. MARIE JEANNE (de) MÉZIÈRES [1/2 French, 1/2 Black],
born San Juan Bautista de Natchitoches 9 September 1779,⁷²
living 15 August 1836.⁷³

At the time of Marie Jeanne's birth, her mother Marie Bernarde dite⁷⁴ Le Noir was a slave in the household of Athanase Christophe Fortunat Mauguet de Mézières, commandant of the military outpost of San Juan Bautista de Natchitoches. When the infant was baptized 19 September 1779 her godparents were Zosime de Mézières, a son of her master, and Marie Damascene de Soto, her master's niece (absent and represented by the master's daughter Marie Josephe de Mézières). Neither the father of Marie Jeanne nor her racial composition is recited.⁷²

The omissions from Marie Jeanne's baptismal entry are not mere oversights. The father of the infant was not only white, but also the master's son and heir; both church and state officials had motive to overlook the transgression of this twenty-three year old bachelor. The curate of the parish had been for several years embroiled in litigation in an attempt to curtail illicit miscegenation at the post; in the face of failure he had dropped the custom of identifying the racial composition of mulatto children born to Black mothers, as such a record was itself an index of his failure in this ministry. Moreover, the commandant had issued an ordinance to cure the "libertinage" of Black women at the post, directing that

whites base enough to addict themselves to their shameless prostitutions would be chastised according to the law...

and this was the very law to be applied to the commandant's own son had the latter made open acknowledgment of his paternity.⁷⁵

The elder de Mézières died later that same year and the miscegenous alliance of the younger Athanase with Marie Le Noir became a permanent one. Young Marie Jeanne grew to maturity in the household which her two parents shared with her father's two [white] unmarried sisters. She was manumitted in a notarial act passed prior to the execution of his will 25 October 1827 but now lost (and probably done in

1822). In the will she was bequeathed

as proof of my recognition, and in recompense and consideration of all the good and faithful services she has rendered me...

a lot of 100 square feet

to be taken from his own land at the south side of the dike or dirt bridge in the town of Natchitoches.

A similar bequest was made to Marie Josephe Natalie, Marie Jeanne's daughter, and to Marie Jeanne's niece (daughter of her sister Fanny), Marie Flavie.⁴¹

As a free adult, Marie Jeanne lived a relatively quiet and obscure life. On 15 May 1834 she and five siblings gave power of attorney to young Auguste Metoyer of the Isle Brevelle colony, who had become a New Orleans businessman of substance, to represent their interests as heirs to the estate of their aunt Jeannette Robert, a free woman of color of that city.⁷⁶ Two years later, on 15 August 1836, she sold to a white newcomer, John H. Mahle, the lot that her father had bequeathed to her in the town of Natchitoches. It was described at that time as being on the corner of Main Street and Cypress, on the south side of Bayou de la Digue ("the bayou at the dike"). The neighborhood, like almost all neighborhoods of the Old South, was integrated; to the north of Marie Jeanne resided her daughter and son-in-law, Nathalie and Noël Condet, and to the west was the Sieur Charles Pavie, one of the town's leading citizens. This conveyance is the last known record of the aging freed-woman.⁷³

No clue has been found identifying the father or fathers of the children of Marie Jeanne Mézières. Racial identifications of her children in their baptismal registrations are not accurate,⁷⁷ making it impossible to determine whether all her offspring were the product of concubinage with a white (or whites) or whether men of color might also have enjoyed her favors.

Known children of Marie Jeanne Mézières by unknown paramours (all went by name of Mézières):

- i. Leon, b. Natchitoches 8 Oct. 1801, bapt. there 23 Aug. 1803, Manuel Trichel and Françoise Grappe (both white) being his godparents. At baptism he is called a mulatto, which may not be correct.⁷⁸ Leon appears to have been dead by 1814 when the de Mézières slaves were divided.⁷⁹
- ii. Marie Manuelle Josephe Nathalie, b. Natchitoches 22 Nov. 1803, bapt. there 1 April 1804, Manuel de Soto and Marie Victoire Brevet (both white) being her godparents, identified as mulatto at baptism⁸⁰ but as quadroon in the will of her grandfather⁴¹ and elsewhere, m. Natchitoches 9 Dec. 1828 Noël Condet, son of the French-born Jacques Antoine Condet by the free woman of color Marie Jeanne of Natchitoches Parish.⁸¹ One of their children was Justin Condet, husband of Marie Armandine Mézières [No. 2 vii].⁶⁴

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2 iii. Joseph Noël, b. 24 Dec. 1805.

iv. Marie Leon, b. Natchitoches 17 May 1808, bapt. there 17 Sept. 1808 by the visiting bishop Simon González de Cossio of Durango, who also served as the child's godfather,⁸² d. "of fever" there 25 Sept. 1814 and buried there the following day.⁸³

6. PIERRE ANDRÉ ATHANASE TRICHEL [1/2 French, 1/4 German, 1/4 Indian], born Natchitoches 30 November 1781,⁸⁴ died Campti 17 April 1837,⁸⁵ never married but formed a long-term liaison with

7. MARIE JOSEPHE GRAPPE [1/2 Black, 3/8 French, 1/8 Indian], born Grappe's Bluff 1786,⁸⁶ buried Campti 18 December 1840.⁸⁷

Baptized on Christmas Day, 1781 at the Natchitoches Post in the Spanish colonial era, his godparents being Jean Baptiste Grappe, his maternal uncle, and Marie Thérèse Trichel, his sister,⁸⁴ Pierre Trichel was a scion of one of the oldest and most economically privileged families of the Louisiana frontier. One brother who lived to adulthood married a local French girl and left white progeny. Pierre and his brother Alexis, however, formed lifelong liaisons with free women of color whom they could not legally marry. They lived as neighbors in the Campti community as planters of moderate wealth, and both bequeathed their estates to the women and children whom they recognized as their own even though the law did not.

On 24 July 1836 Pierre appeared before the Judge of Probate to file notice that his brother Alexis had "mysteriously disappeared" while traveling from the Ouachita post [present-day Monroe, Louisiana] to Natchitoches in the company of two white and one non-white friends of the Campti community. The party had spent the night at the home of a Mrs. Wyatt (apparently an inn) and on the way from Mrs. Wyatt's to Bayou Cane Alexis had fallen behind his traveling companions because of his "bad-going horse". At midday, when the party rested, he did not catch up and they retraced their paths but did not find him. Hastening to Campti, they reported his disappearance to Pierre, who formed a search party. Although the horse of Alexis was recovered there was no trace of its rider. As Alexis was known to have been a good woodsman, foul play was suspected and "runaway Negroes" were suggested as the culprits.⁸⁸ (Family tradition, on the other hand, is that he was "killed by Indians while on a hunting trip."⁸⁹)

Prior to his disappearance, Alexis had executed a will in which he bequeathed his entire estate to Pierre. This was a subterfuge to circumvent the era's laws, pursuant to which illegitimate nonwhite children could inherit from a white father only: (1) if the father had no legitimate children, (2) if the father had acknowledged his children before a notary public and two witnesses, and (3) if the bequest were limited to one-fourth of the estate. The

balance would revert to the testator's legal heirs.⁹⁰ It is clear that Pierre had promised to transmit the proceeds of Alexis' estate to the latter's children, who could not legally inherit it all.

Pierre himself fell ill the year after Alexis' death. Before a notary he executed a will which bequeathed to the children of Alexis what he had received from their father. Unlike his late brother, however, Pierre had no confidant who could hold his property in trust for the five living children he had fathered by Marie Josephe Grappe. For want of another choice, he left his estate to Marie Josephe "for her to leave to her children" and appointed his relatives Hilaire Bordelon and Cesaire Fonteneau as executors.⁹¹

Pierre's last will was not honored. Fonteneau accepted the responsibility but Bordelon, a nephew, declined. He was, after all, a distributee at law, and a world-wide economic depression had just struck. At the next term of court Bordelon and other relatives sued Fonteneau as executor to contest Pierre's will. This was not the first such case in the parish. In previous suits the nonwhite children had successfully defended their inheritance. In this case, however, the court ruled against the Trichels *de couleur*, who were not only stripped of their inheritance but also assessed court costs.⁹²

Nine children were born to Marie Josephe Grappe. Seven are positively identified as offspring of Trichel, and the eighth may have been. Her oldest child, born some years before, more probably has another father.

Children of Marie Josephe Grappe by an unknown father or fathers:

- i. Pierre [Grappe], b. 10 April 1808, bapt. Natchitoches 11 Sept. 1808, godparents François? Grappe *dit* Toulaine (white) and Emeline Grappe *dite* Toulaine (his half-white daughter).⁹³ No further record.
- ii. Marie Solimon [Trichel?], b. 6 April 1813, bapt. Natchitoches 18 July 1813, godparents François Grappe and François Luri?⁹⁴ No further record.

Children of Pierre André Athanase Trichel by his concubine Marie Josephe Grappe (surname Trichel):

- iii. François Berthilde, b. 1815,⁹⁵ bapt. Natchitoches 1816,⁹⁶ m. 26 Nov. 1864⁹⁷ his first cousin Marie Adoline Perot (with whom he had carried on a common law marriage for many years), b. 24 Dec. 1812, daughter of Marie Pelagie Grappe by [Jean Chrisostome?] Perot.⁴² The couple was enumerated in 1870⁹⁸ but not later. Issue.
 - iv. Leonard, b. c.1817, enumerated in 1850 with a free woman of color named Gertrude, 11 years his senior,⁹⁹ no record of marriages or any children.
- 3 v. Marie Odise, b. Natchitoches 17 Jan. 1818.

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- vi. Jean Baptiste, b. 8 April 1820, bapt. Natchitoches 24 April 1820, godparents Jean Baptiste David and Marie Osine David,¹⁰⁰ buried 12 June 1835.¹⁰¹ His baptismal record identifies him as the son of Trichel, although his burial record does not.
- vii. Victor, b. 21 July 1822, bapt. Natchitoches 18 August 1822, godparents Alexis and Felicité Trichel (his father's sisters).¹⁰² He is identified as Trichel's son in his baptismal record but appears to have died before his father's will was drawn.
- viii. Alexandre, b. 1828 according to the 1850 Federal census, which indicates that he shared a house that year with his brother Jean Galmier and their relative Joseph Mézières.¹⁰³ No record of his baptism has been found, but he is identified in his father's will. He witnessed the marriage in 1864 of his older brother François Berthilde.⁹⁷
- ix. Jean Galmier, b. 12 Feb. 1834, bapt. Natchitoches 20 April 1834, godparents Honoré Grappe and Marie Madeleine Grappe (free persons of color),¹⁰⁴ d. Campti 27 Dec. 1897,¹⁰⁵ m. Campti 2 July 1877¹⁰⁶ his cousin Marie Louise Aspasia Trichel, b. 1 May 1833, bapt. Natchitoches 30 June 1833, daughter of Joseph Lazare and Marie Aglae (Perot) Trichel,¹⁰⁷ having obtained a dispensation for consanguinity in the second to third degrees. Issue. Mlle. Trichel has been previously mentioned as the mother of a child fathered by Henry Philippe Mézières [No. 1].

FOURTH GENERATION

10. MARIE PELAGIE ATHANASE MAUGUET de MÉZIÈRES [white (French)], baptized St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches 26 June 1756,¹⁰⁸ died Campti 27 October 1828,¹⁰⁹ never married but formed a long-term liaison with the former slave

11. MARIE BERNARDE dite LE NOIR [black], born c.1759, living Campti 5 December 1827.¹¹⁰

The baptismal record of young Athanase, whose father was at the time of his birth a military officer and Indian trader at the French colonial military post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches, gives no indication of his date of birth. However, a statistical study of known baptisms and births at Natchitoches during the decade of that birth indicates that over ninety-five per cent of all infants were baptized within one week of birth and that in ninety per cent of the cases parents followed the French custom of baptizing the infant the day following birth. Exceptions to this pattern were consistently found only among infants born in the hinterlands of the post's jurisdiction.¹¹¹ We may therefore presume that Athanase was born in late June 1756, probably 25 June.

The eldest son, Athanase became titular head of the Louisiana de Mézières family at the age of 23, when his father died shortly after his dispatch to San Antonio de

Bexar to serve as governor of Tejas. Athanase remained at Natchitoches with the younger of his siblings and assumed the administration of the family's estate. Unlike his father, Athanase was not inclined toward military or public service. There is no evidence that he participated in the regular armed forces or the militia; indeed, he seems to be one of only two males in the community of age for military service (15-45) who did not participate in at least one of the Gulf Coast campaigns of the American Revolution.¹¹² Nor does it appear that he shared his father's interest in Indian trade. The notarial archives of the post suggest that the business activities of his youth were limited to the collection of inheritances due his father's estate from New Orleans or Paris, to the hiring of an overseer to run the family plantation, and to the purchase of a commodious home and town estate where he settled in 1790 with Marie Bernarde and his sisters. He did accept an appointment as "county" treasurer after the Louisiana Purchase, and he occasionally squabbled with neighbors over property lines and rights of way. In his favor it must be said that he was one of the very few citizens of the post who did not appear on the numerous delinquent tax rolls in the 1790s. The tax rolls of 1793 and 1795 further indicate that he ranked in the top 1 percentile of landholders and the top 9 percentile of slaveholders.¹¹³

In 1812 Athanase and the two maiden sisters who shared his home divided the slave property they had inherited from their father. With only one exception, the thirteen slaves they divided were offspring of Marie Bernarde.¹¹⁴ (1) To Athanase there fell his son Antoine (aged 31), his daughter Rosette (aged 29), and his grandsons Noël and Marie Leon (aged 6 and 5 respectively). (2) To Mlle. Felicité de Mézières fell Marie Jeanne [No. 5], Athanase's daughter, together with her brother Zenon (aged 26), her daughter Nathalie (aged 9), and her nephew Fortunat, son of Rose. (3) To Marie Josephe de Mézières came her brother's daughter Fannie (aged 26), three children of Fannie, Flavie, Felix, and Lucien (aged 7 years, 2 years, and 6 months respectively), and Athanase, a Negro man aged 48.

After the division of this slave property Athanase accomplished the emancipation of his sons and daughters and several of their offspring. The instruments by which this was done have not yet been found. By the terms of his will, dated 25 October 1827,⁴¹ he freed the four grandchildren still enslaved (Marie Felix, aged 17, Lucien, 16, Theodule, 14, and Joseph, 11) as well as the elderly Negro Athanase who always had rendered him "good conduct and faithful service". His three living daughters received devises of property. Marie Rose was given the lot on which her father resided, all buildings thereon, and all movable property in the dwelling house, in gratitude for the services which she had

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rendered to his deceased sister Marie Josephe de Mézières during an illness of eleven years, during five of which she [Rose] was free...

His daughters Marie Jeanne and Marie Euphrosine ("Fanny") and granddaughters Natalie and Flavie were to receive a town lot of ample size in a prime residential area. His son Zenon was to inherit a plantation at Grande Ecore. The remainder of the de Mézières estate was bequeathed to his French-born neighbor, the merchant Charles Pavie, including all

rights and pretensions to the succession of deceased Charlotte de la Haye, Marquise de Montesson, widow of the Duke of Orleans...

who, as we shall see, was a half-sister of the testator's father. As in the previously cited case of Pierre Trichel, the white relatives of Athanase in Louisiana contested his will, so that the estate remained in litigation for a number of years.¹¹⁵ In this case, however, the courts upheld a portion of the legacies left to the Mézières de couleur.

No record has been found of the emancipation or death of the concubine of Athanase, Marie Le Noir. She was still living at Campti, a free woman of color, when her son Zenon was married.¹¹⁰ Nor has any record been found as yet of her parentage or origins. She was not born or baptized at the Natchitoches post. It is probable that she was somehow acquired by the de Mézières through inheritance from the Fazendes of New Orleans, the family of the mother of Athanase. Unfortunately, the colonial church registers of New Orleans suffered disastrously in a fire in the late eighteenth century, and the majority of infant girls baptized in Louisiana were given the name Marie. One clue does exist; we have already mentioned the power of attorney given by her daughter Marie Jeanne (de) Mézières in 1834 regarding her interest in the estate of her aunt, Jeannette Robert, a New Orleans *femme de couleur libre*.⁷⁶ The parentage of Jeannette, like that of Marie, has not yet been identified.

Children of Marie Pelagie Athanase Mauguet de Mézières by his concubine Marie Bernarde dite Le Noir:

- 5 i. Marie Jeanne, b. Natchitoches 9 Sept. 1779.
- ii. Joseph Antoine, b. Natchitoches 25 Jan. 1782, bapt. there 25 Feb. 1782, godparents Louis Dolet and Françoise Gutierrez (white).¹¹⁶ He appears in church records as an adult godparent on several occasions, the last of which was a baptism in 1825 of his niece Marie Nisa Mézières, daughter of Rosette [No. iii].¹¹⁷ No further record, and no knowledge of wife or progeny.
- iii. Marie Rose ("Rosette"), b. Natchitoches 3 May 1785, bapt. there 5 May 1785, godparents Marie Josephe de Mézières (her aunt) and young Athanase Armand (also white).¹¹⁸ The spiritual bond between the slave *filleule* and her *marraine* obviously developed into a temporal one as well; it was

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Rosette who nursed Marie Josephe through eleven years of illness. From the text of her father's will, it would appear that Rosette was manumitted in or about 1822.

Her age when the de Mézières slaves were divided in 1812 is compatible with the above baptismal entry.¹¹⁴ Vanity seems to have prompted her to shave years off her age as she grew older. In 1839 Rosette was called to testify in the case of *Bartholomew Fleming and Mary Irwin v. Louis Lamatte and Celeste Perot, f.p.c.*, and gave her age as only 46. She testified that she well knew the tract of land in dispute, that it had been owned during her childhood by Louis Cuyère who lived near her father Athanase de Mézières, and that the Sieur Cuyère used to "learn her songs and make much of her".¹¹⁹ The eight years which Rosette shaved from her age in 1839 continued to grow; when she was buried 28 Aug. 1848 her age was recorded as fifty-seven.¹²⁰

Unlike her siblings, Rosette was a slaveowner and, it appears, an astute businesswoman as well. For example, she bought two slaves on credit in March 1838 for \$1,200.00, payable in two months.¹²¹ The debt was cleared on schedule despite a crippling worldwide depression then bankrupting hundreds of Natchitochians.

It is possible that Rosette was that Marie Rose Mézières who m. 3 Nov. 1830, in a civil ceremony, one Richard Lock of Natchitoches Parish. Witnesses were Janet Woods, Benjamin Price and C. Duprat, and the groom's bondsmen were Isaac Holmes and Jordan Scroggins (both white).¹²² Since the civil marriage would not have been recognized as legitimate by the church authorities, the fact that Rosette was not given any husband's name at burial means nothing. By Richard Lock she had no issue. By an unknown father or fathers she had at least three known children but an examination of local land records indicates that she had no surviving descendants.¹²³

- iv. Marie Euphrosine ("Fanny"), b. Natchitoches 1786,¹¹⁴ bapt. there 25 Nov. 1787, godparents the slaves Jean Louis and Marie Louise,¹²⁴ living in 1853 when she sold certain lands to her nephew Noël Mézières.¹²⁵ Freed by her father in 1822, she also inherited property from him in the town of Natchitoches which she sold in 1837 to the Sieurs Felix Labat and Adolphe Valentine in exchange for a house which the purchasers agreed to build for her in a different location.¹²⁶ She appears to be enumerated in the household of her son Joseph Agapite Mézières in the Campiti community in 1840,¹²⁷ and in 1850 she appears with two teen-agers whose relationship is not clear.¹²⁸ She never married but was the mother of at least five children, who assisted in the division of lands of their aunt Rosette.¹²³
- v. Marie Zenon, b. c.1789,¹¹⁴ no baptismal record found, alive 16 Aug. 1846,¹²⁹ m. Natchitoches 5 Dec. 1827 Eulalie Simon, the free-born daughter of Charles Simon, f.m.c., and Marie Vicente Perez. The witnesses were François Xavier de

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Glaudon and Joseph Lazarin (a free man of color who appears to be identical with Joseph Lazare Trichel). The marriage record also identifies Zenon's mother as "Marie Bernarde", a free woman of color living at Campti (this is the only documentary reference to Bernarde as the name of Marie dite Le Noir).¹¹⁰ Zenon's will, dated 9 June 1837, leaves his entire estate to his wife,¹³⁰ indicating that he had no children.

- vi. Unnamed infant, b. and d. 20 Sept. 1795.¹³¹
- vii. Unnamed infant, baptized privately (*endoyée*) in expectation of death 4 Oct. 1796.¹³² No further record.

12. EMANUEL TRICHEL [1/2 German, 1/4 French, 1/4 Indian], baptized Natchitoches 6 May 1737¹³³ (probably born the preceding day), died Campti 10 December 1791,¹³⁴ married there 28 October 1769¹³⁵

13. MARIE LOUISE GRAPPE [3/4 French, 1/4 Indian], born at the "old" Caddo Indian village some 500 miles above the post of Natchitoches where her father commanded a small force of troops, 11 November 1749,¹³⁶ died Campti 1 August 1793.¹³⁷

The extensive ties among the families of Trichel, Grappe and de Mézières date back to the early years of the Louisiana colony when Emanuel and Marie Louise were born and baptized. The godparents of Emanuel were the Commandant Louis Juchereau de St. Denis and his wife Emanuela Maria Stefania Sanchez-Navarre, who gave to the infant the masculine form of her name; a daughter of St. Denis soon thereafter became the first wife of the senior Athanase de Mézières. Marie Louise was baptized at Natchitoches 1 July 1750 with the commoners Dominique Monteché and his wife as godparents; however, Athanase de Mézières and his second wife, family friends, were godparents of one of Marie Louise's sisters.¹³⁶ Despite the widely varying origins of these three families, social, economic, and ethnic, the egalitarianism of the sparsely-populated Louisiana frontier forged a bond to endure throughout the century and for generations thereafter in nonwhite branches of these three families.

Like most young couples who married on the Louisiana frontier, Emanuel and Marie Louise had neither home nor land when they married in 1769. Yet, as with most of their contemporaries, there was drafted a formal contract of marriage which declared such personalty as the parties had thus far accumulated, as well as the parental donations now being made, and then specified how these prenuptial properties would be disposed of whenever one or the other of the parties died. Made five days before the wedding, the contract, dated 23 October 1769, stated that Manuel had inherited 200 piastres from the estate of his deceased mother, and his father had given him a male Negro, aged fifteen years and worth 300 piastres, as an advancement on his paternal inheritance. For her part, Marie Louise

offered a mulatress named Jeanne, valued at 1500 livres, whom her parents had given her as an advancement on her expectations from them.¹³⁸

Building upon this foundation, Emanuel and Marie Louise prospered considerably. Little is known of their activities in the first decade of their marriage. Land in colonial Louisiana was free to settlers, but few of their contemporaries at the Natchitoches post were interested in farming. Most preferred the more lucrative trade with Indians and Spaniards to the west, at least until their fortunes were established; yet no evidence has been found that Emanuel traded in this way. His taxation in 1774 on eight slaves, six more than he and Marie Louise took into their marriage five years before, suggests that he had already begun his planting operation,¹³⁹ even though no record can be found of any land grant or sale to him in that period. Possibly he farmed with his father, who would have followed the frontier custom of abandoning trade, as middle to old age crept up on him. It was not until 1778 that Emanuel purchased his first land. In partnership with his newly widowed mother he bought an extensive tract from Saboa Comté of the Yattasse Indian nation.¹⁴⁰ By 1787 the Trichel plantation encompassed twenty cleared arpents of frontage on Red River, and Emanuel ranked in the top nine percentile, economically, at the post.¹⁴¹ Around this plantation there developed the community, and later the town, of Campti.

In his youth, Emanuel served in the Natchitoches militia (the 1772 roll describes him as 5'5", French measure), and he appeared in that same year among the militia officers, churchwardens, and community "notables" who examined and approved the finished construction of a new parish church. However, he retired from military service before the involvement of Spanish Louisiana in the American Revolution; neither of the two rolls taken at Natchitoches in the course of that conflict carries his name.¹⁴² The index to the colonial archives maintained by the Clerk of Court at Natchitoches indicates that he "expropriated" a lot in the town of Natchitoches from Commandant Étienne Nuisement de Vaugine in 1784, and that in 1795 he sold that lot to the Catholic congregation.¹⁴³ Both documents are, however, missing from the files. He was a godparent to nine infants born in the jurisdiction, most of them slaves.¹⁴⁴ He is among the minority of literate native-born males (only 33.8 of Natchitochians of his generation could write their own names¹⁴⁵). A curious quirk that emphasizes a principal problem encountered by genealogists is noted when his signature is compared with that of his brother Jean Baptiste, two years his junior. Emanuel habitually signed his surname *Trichele*, while Jean Baptiste routinely signed *Triche*. (*Trichel* is by far the most common version across the generations and is favored in this paper for the sake of standardization.)

Two inventories of the Trichel estate, compiled in 1791 after the death of Manuel and in 1795 after the death of his widow, offer an intimate glimpse into the home of a prosperous frontiersman in colonial Louisiana. Fifteen slaves labored on their plantation, which had grown by the 1790s to a breadth of 30 arpents, 15 on each bank of the river. Three Negro cabins, a storehouse, and a chicken house clustered around the principal dwelling in 1791; by 1795 the Widow Trichel had expanded her poultry operation to the point that four chicken houses were required. The family home itself was of typical colonial French construction, *potteaux en terre couverte en bardeaux* (the framework is embedded upright into the ground rather than having logs laid horizontally as in the more familiar log cabin construction). The upright framework was then plastered in with *bousillage* (a native mixture of mud and moss or deer hair) and the completed structure roofed with cypress shingles. Furnishings were sparse. A cypress drawer-table, two short cypress armoires, two large chests, one straw-bottom chair, and five beds supplied their basic needs for sleeping, eating, and storage. An assortment of earthenware dishes, copper pots and chandeliers, earthen jars and odd bottles, with fireplace tools for stoking, cooking, and ironing completed the household furnishings. Within the family home, where they could be protected from theft, were also housed the few tools which farmers of that era used -- pickaxes, spades, hatchets, augers, and a bore, a plow, and a few carpenter's tools. A store of 1100 bundles of tobacco (the farm's principal produce), 79 hides (acquiring by hunting and trapping, a sideline of most frontier planters), a pair of oxen, 19 horses, and 60 head of cattle rounded out the estate.¹⁴⁶

Children of Emanuel and Marie Louise (Grappe) Trichel:

- i. Marie Thérèse Catherine, b. 1771,¹⁴⁷ m. Natchitoches 27 Jan. 1795 Hypolite Bordelon of Pointe Coupée, with whom she settled near Campti.¹⁴⁸
- ii. Henri, b. 1773,¹⁴⁷ m. Natchitoches 12 July 1796 Marie Geneviève Ris (or Jean-Ris).¹⁴⁹
- iii. Joseph Marie, b. 1775/6,¹⁴⁷ d. unm. 31 May 1802.¹⁵⁰
- iv. François Manuel (called Manuel), b. 1777,¹⁴⁷ apparently never married.¹⁵¹ In 1803-05 he appears as godparent several times to free infant Indians and de Mézières-Trichel slaves.¹⁵² He drops from sight at this point.
- v. Marie Silesie Hyacinthe, b. 20 Oct. 1780, bapt. Natchitoches 20 Dec. 1780, godparents her cousin Pierre Paul La Fitte and Marie Françoise Grappe.¹⁵³ She is apparently the unnamed infant Trichel buried 21 Dec. 1780, in which case she is erroneously described as *fils* rather than *fille* in the burial record.¹⁵⁴ She does not appear on the 1787 enumeration of the family,¹⁴⁷ and the fact that her mother conceived again five months after the child's birth, in a

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society in which nursing was customary, reinforces the presumption that she was the buried infant.

- 6 vi. Pierre André Athanase, b. 30 Nov. 1781.
- vii. Alexis Hilaire, b. 1784,¹⁴⁷ disappeared and presumed d. early 1836,¹⁵⁵ unm. but by a cousin *de couleur*, Marie Louise Cidalise Perot, the father of children.¹⁵⁶
- viii. Unidentified infant, apparently b. and d. 1786-87, since the four year interval between the births of Alexis and Pouponne was unnatural in this society.
- ix. Marie Felicité Modeste "Pouponne", b. 1788, bapt. Natchitoches 13 April 1789, godparents her relatives Julien Besson and Françoise Grappe.¹⁵⁷ An apparent spinster for life, she was of record as late as 18 Aug. 1822 when she acted as godmother at the baptism of a child born to her brother Pierre by Marie Josephe Grappe.¹⁵⁸
- x. Marie Silesie Lolette, b. 8 March 1790, bapt. Natchitoches 21 Nov. 1790, godparents those who stood for her elder sister [no. v],¹⁵⁹ m. 1 Dec. 1812 Celestin Elie Bernard.¹⁶⁰

14. FRANÇOIS GRAPPE *dit* TOULINE [3/4 French, 1/4 Indian], born at the Caddo Indian village 4 December 1747,¹⁶¹ died Campti late July 1825,¹⁶² never married but formed a life-long liaison with

15. MARIE LOUISE "ROSETTE" [black], baptized Natchitoches 31 July 1750,¹⁶³ died Campti 17 June 1829.¹⁶⁴

There have been few frontiersmen in Louisiana history as colorful as François Grappe, or few Natchitoches colonists so well known; as is often the case with such men, it may also be said that there are few whose lives have been as romanticized to the same extent as his. Born five hundred miles from the nearest French or Spanish settlement, up an unnavigable river, he and his sister grew up on the nether side of "civilization". He was baptized 1 July 1750 at Natchitoches while his parents had returned there temporarily.¹⁶¹ The Indian nation to which his soldier father had been dispatched was one of the largest and most crucial French allies. Although there were a handful of other whites, usually traders with an occasional wife, upriver in addition to the small force of four or five soldiers under the command of Sergeant Grappe, their society was far more primitive than even that of the Natchitoches outpost. Despite this, and despite the fact that their mother was unschooled and half-Indian (of the Natchitoches tribe), François and his siblings still acquired the rudiments of an education.¹⁶⁵

After the transfer of Louisiana to Spain a military station was no longer maintained among the Caddo, although the importance of the village as a trading post was well recognized and licensed traders were maintained there by Spanish officials. François' father was active in that trade and his son succeeded him in both a private and a

he public capacity. François served the cause of the American
Revolution as a corporal and brigadier in the Natchitoches
cavalry that participated in the campaigns of Governor
Bernardo de Gálvez which drove the British from the Lower
Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Coast.¹⁶⁶ He is most often
noted in history as the government's frontier interpreter
of the late Spanish regime, and he continued to assist the
U.S. Indian agent dispatched to Natchitoches after the 1803
Purchase. He served in 1806 as a guide, interpreter, and
diplomat for the Thomas Freeman - Peter Custis Expedition
dispatched by Congress to explore Red River.¹⁶⁷ In the 1805
report to President Thomas Jefferson dispatched by the
Indian Bureau agent at Natchitoches, Dr. John Sibley,
Grappe is described as a man of strict integrity, so
esteemed by the Indians that he always claimed their
unwavering confidence and held considerable sway over
them.¹⁶⁸ So great, indeed, was Grappe's influence with the
trans-Mississippi tribes that agents of Mexico appealed to
him personally for support in the cause of the Mexican
Revolution. A letter addressed to him in 1813 by one high-
ranking officer, now on file in the Grappe Collection at
Northwestern State University of Louisiana at Natchitoches,
reflects the international esteem which he enjoyed:

New Orleans, Oct. 28, 1813

Sir:

The great reputation that you have so well merited among the
Indian nations and the extraordinary respect that you enjoy among the
French cause me to write to you with all the confidence and respect
that you have earned through your distinguished actions.

My devotion to liberty and the cause of Mexican Independence
require from me troops and the unity of several Indian tribes. It is
this situation so important to the friends of Liberty that I beseech
your influence over the Indian nations whose help I need. Consequently,
will you use your influence over these respectable nations to
procure for me men on whom I can count? I will pay them and they can
count on my personal esteem and on the respect of the friends of
liberty.

Brigadier General Humbert¹⁶⁹

Between his travels into the Indian nations of Spanish
Texas, the adult François established a ranch on Red River
a few miles above the Campiti tract on which his mother and
brother-in-law Trichel had settled. The site has become
known to history as Grappe's Bluff. By 1787 he also claimed
an immense tract of some 5,716 acres stretching seven and
one-half miles along the shore of Lake Bistineau in what are
now Bienville and Red River parishes, Louisiana. An
overseer was employed to supervise the distant property,
while Grappe continued his principal residence at Grappe's
Bluff.¹⁷⁰

The main attraction which Grappe found at the bluff
appears to have been Marie Louise, called Rosette, a slave

woman who had been born into the household of Henri Trichel. By the time of Trichel's death in 1778 Marie Louise had had five children by Grappe; one of these children, by the terms of Trichel's will, was bequeathed to Trichel's granddaughter Marie Josephe Trichel, a daughter of the testator's son Jean Baptiste. When the remainder of the estate was divided by the Trichel heirs Marie Louise and her offspring were also divided. Eleven Trichel slaves fell by lot to one or another of four heirs; their number included Jacques, François' four year old son, who was inherited by Joseph Trichel, his ten year old daughter Pelagie, inherited by Jean Baptiste Trichel, Joseph's brother, and a second daughter Felicité, who fell to Jean Baptiste Davion, a Trichel son-in-law. In order to equalize the division of the estate, several slave mothers in the Trichel household, and their infants, were offered for sale, including Marie Louise and her two year old infant by Grappe, Marguerite. Both were purchased by Davion. Since the total value of Marie Louise and her five children exceeded 3,000 livres, it might be speculated that young Grappe did not have sufficient funds to buy them himself. Eventually he would rectify this situation.¹⁷¹

Two additional Grappe children were born to Marie Louise while she remained the property of Davion. But by 1783, when their eighth child was born, she had been purchased from Davion by the aged mother of François. A ninth child was born and baptized in 1785, also as the property of Widow Grappe. Shortly thereafter Marie Louise disappears completely, and François almost completely, from the Natchitoches records for a period of nearly a decade. Perhaps she relocated with him to a more isolated location, such as his Lake Bistineau tract. During this period two children were born to them for which there are no baptismal records, and it appears probable, from the regular pattern of births at Campti, that other children were born and died in some isolated region without benefit of clergy. By 1795 the couple had again resumed their appearances in the records of Natchitoches, as residents of Grappe's Bluff, where the last two of their numerous children were born.¹⁷²

In February 1794 the widow Grappe died, her estate was divided, and Marie Louise and various of her children fell to Grappe sons-in-law. François purchased his concubine and her offspring, apparently with his share of the inheritance, and on 13 November 1796 he appeared before Commandant Felix Trudeau at Natchitoches to effect their manumission. In recognition of the "faithfulness" of Marie Louise, and of his "amity" for her twelve living children and seven grandchildren already born by that time, he not only manumitted them but executed a donation, to take effect at his death, of his Campti home and its contents, with the land on which it stood and all improvements, irrevocably to Marie Louise and their offspring.¹⁷³

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Though advanced in years by this time, Grappe continued to prosper, as did his children. In 1801, in an uncanny anticipation of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States and the overrunning of North Louisiana by migrants from the eastern states, the Caddo nation made to François Grappe, "their greatest and best friend", a donation of four leagues of land -- a front of thirty-six miles -- along the Red River, containing some 34,500 acres upon which now stand the campus of Louisiana State University-Shreveport and an extensive part of that city itself. It is stated in the course of the voluminous legal proceedings before the United States authorities that both Grappe and the Caddo chiefs officially executed the instrument of sale before the Spanish commandant. It was also testified that, in a stroke of ill-luck, Grappe's house (and the document) was burnt shortly before the Louisiana Purchase. A similar misfortune seems to have befallen the "official" copy that the commandant would have filed in his notarial archives at Natchitoches. Considerable speculation has always existed concerning the legality of this claim which, incidentally, was not reported until after the death of François. There are some grounds to conclude that white speculators, the Caddo nation, and one or more Grappe heirs invented the claim; nevertheless, the testimony of one Caddo at the hearings mirrors the respect that nation had for him, even though the testimony was fuzzy in detail:¹⁷⁴

Touline was half-breed Caddo... He was always our greatest counselor for good. He was our French, Spanish, and American interpreter for a great many years; our brother is now dead, but his sons live.

It would appear that it was for the benefit of these sons that the Caddo witness supported the claim.

The respect for Grappe which was shown by the Indian nations of Louisiana and Texas was also shown by the European-American society which came to dominate his region. On 2 August 1825 the French editor of the *Courier des Natchitoches* ran a poignant obituary:¹⁷⁵

Died at Campté, 10 miles above Natchitoches, on the Red River, FRANÇOIS GRAPPE (commonly called Touline) aged about 77 years. He was born in the year 1748 at Fort St. Louis, about 800 miles above Natchitoches. The fort was established by the government of France about 1742 under the command of Captain Grappe, father of the subject of this notice. The family continued to reside at Fort St. Louis until 1780. The French Garrison of Louisiana having been retired when Louisiana was ceded to Spain, the Grappe family established itself at Campté where it still lives. Mr. F. Grappe was a man of firm spirit. He received his education from his father and acquired thereafter a knowledge of many Indian languages. He possessed more influence upon the numerous tribes that are found West of the Mississippi, than any other individual. He likewise enjoyed the confidence and trust of the government of Spain who employed him to conduct its Indian affairs. He was considered by Indians and whites alike to be a man of truth and honor and was equally remarkable for his hospitality and his willingness to oblige. He left about eighty children and grand-

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children who lived with and about him and no patriarch was ever more respected.

Children of François Grappe dit Touline by his concubine Marie Louise "Rosette":

- i. (Marie) Pelagie, b. Natchitoches 1766¹⁷⁶ or 1768,¹⁷⁷ d. Campti c. Sept. 1839,¹⁷⁸ inherited 24 Feb. 1778 by Jean Baptiste Trichel and ultimately purchased by Grappe from the estate of Emanuel Trichel;¹⁷⁹ she left numerous children fathered out of wedlock by one of the Perot brothers of Lac Noir, probably Jean Crisostomé, including a daughter Marie Deloïse Pompose Perot, first wife of Joseph Noël (de) Mézières [No. 2].⁴²
- ii. Felicité, b. Natchitoches 1768¹⁷⁶ or 1770,¹⁷⁷ left offspring outside marriage, at least one of whom used the surname of Chagneau, another post family.¹⁸⁰
- iii. Madeleine, b. Natchitoches 1770,¹⁷⁶ formed a liaison with Louis David, a Natchitoches-born Frenchman, by whom she had numerous issue.¹⁸¹
- iv. Jacques, b. Natchitoches 1772,¹⁷⁶ d. Claiborne Parish, La. Oct. 1848.¹⁸² That he was the only sibling in his family to wed legally was an ironic circumstance, as his wife was white and it might have been expected that the racial codes of his era would have been less tolerant of the marriage of a nonwhite male to a white female than of the reverse situation.

In 1820 Jacques contracted a civil marriage with Maria Rosa de la Cerda, who had come to Natchitoches from Nacogdoches, Texas. However, her family can be traced by way of San Antonio and Bucareli to the early 1700s, at which time her ancestors lived at the presidio of San Miguel de los Adayes, the capital of Spanish Texas and situated some fifteen miles from the Natchitoches post (near the present site of Robeline, La.). It appears that no objection was made to the marriage because the mixed Spanish-Indian heritage of the bride gave her a swarthy complexion and she was mistaken for a *femme de couleur libre*. Jacques and Maria Rosa removed to the sparsely-populated upper extremities of the parish of Natchitoches, perhaps to the Lake Bisteneau tract, but after Henry Miller Shreve had cleared the log-jammed upper Red River in the mid 1830s, this area rapidly filled with "American" settlers and a new parish of Claiborne was cut from oversized Natchitoches. There, on 14 May 1839, Jacques appeared before the parish judge, "entertaining some doubts of the legality of his marriage", and officially declared their seven children to be legitimate. Then, on 18 May 1839, "in order to quiet any doubts as to the legality of their previous marriage", they were "duly and legally married" by the judge.¹⁸³ Among the issue of this couple were two sons, Magee and Gabriel, who served as white in the Confederate forces during the Civil War.¹⁶

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- v. Marguerite, b. Natchitoches 1774,¹⁷⁶ no record of her marriage, but at the time of her manumission in 1796 she was the mother of a son, Jean Baptiste.¹⁷³ She appears periodically in the church registers of the early 1800s to serve as godmother to various nieces and nephews.¹⁸⁴ She appears also on the 1830 Federal census of Natchitoches with a male aged 20-30, a female aged 20-30, and a male aged 50-60 in her own age bracket;¹⁸⁵ whether he was a husband or a brother has not been established.
- vi. Marie G enevi e, b. 7 March 1778, bapt. Natchitoches 22 March 1778, godparents the free mulatto Baltasar and also Mme. G enevi e Fonteneau, for whom she was named,¹⁸⁶ died before the manumission executed by her father in November 1796.¹⁷³
- vii. Baltazar, b. 16 Sept. 1780, bapt. Natchitoches 1 Oct. 1780, godparents his uncle Jean Baptiste Grappe and their neighbor Mlle. Marie de l'Incarnacion Perot.¹⁸⁷ The heavily damaged baptismal records of St. Fran ois des Natchitoches for 1810-25 reveal that Baltazar fathered at least one daughter, born 15 April 1820 to him and a free woman of color named Marianne [last name illegible].¹⁸⁸ No record has been found for him after 1837.¹⁸⁹ It is possible that he, like Jacques, resided in that part of Natchitoches Parish that was cut away to form Claiborne Parish, but he does not appear as head of household in the 1830 or 1840 Federal censuses of either parish, while the civil records of the latter parish for that period are destroyed. It is also possible that he was the older male in the enumeration in 1830 of the household of his sister Marguerite [see above].
- viii. Dominique, b. 11 Jan. 1783, bapt. Natchitoches 20 April 1783, godparents Fran ois Langlois and Mlle. Jeanne Sorel (both white).¹⁹⁰ He appears of record as late as 24 March 1841, when he attended the family meeting called to deliberate on the interest of the minor heirs of his late sister Marie Josephe Grappe.¹⁹¹ He left no known heirs.
- ix. Honor e, b. 8 May 1785, bapt. Natchitoches 26 June 1785, godparents Jean Baptiste Davion and Fran oise Grappe, his relatives,¹⁹² mentioned in the 1796 act of manumission¹⁷³ but not afterwards.
- 7 x. Marie Josephe, b. 1786.
- xi. Fran ois, Jr., b. c.1788, known only because he also appeared in his father's instrument of manumission in 1796¹⁷³ and at the family meeting for the heirs of his sister Marie Josephe in 1841.¹⁹¹ He is not known to have married at Natchitoches or to have left issue.
- xii. H el ene, b. June 1794, bapt. Natchitoches 26 July 1795, godparents Zosime de M ezi eres and Marie David (both white).¹⁹³ On 31 March 1816 she served as godparent to a child of one of the Spanish couples that had recently migrated into the parish from Nacogdoches, Fran ois and Marie Gertrude y

Barbo; two years later, on 13 March 1818, she stood again as sponsor of a slave child born to Marie of the Louis Perot household.¹⁹⁴ Beyond that point there is no trace of her. Rumor has it that one daughter of Francois married the mixed-blood Cherokee chief, Richard Fields, who lived in what is now Claiborne Parish between 1811 and 1818 before migrating westward to the present Rusk County, Texas, where members of an opposing tribal faction murdered him in 1827.¹⁹⁵ If there is any basis to the rumor, it would appear that Hélène was his wife, since she is the only Grappe daughter for whom the known facts of her life are compatible with the rumor.

- xiii. Marie Susanne, b. 7 July 1795, bapt. Natchitoches 17 Sept. 1797, godparents Marie Lassis and François Dubois.¹⁹⁶ She left numerous children by the French-born Pierre Étienne Le Brun dit Dagobert.¹⁹⁷ In 1832 she bore a son, the father unidentified, who was baptized under the given name Jean Norbert.¹⁹⁸ The preponderance of evidence to date indicates that he was probably the man later known as Norbert Badin whose home on Isle Brevelle, in the midst of the Metoyer colony, has been named to the Louisiana Register of Historic Sites and whose family papers are now on file in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.¹⁹⁹

FIFTH GENERATION

20. (Chevalier) ATHANASE CHRISTOPHE FORTUNAT MAUGUET DE MÉZIÈRES [French], bapt. St-Séverin, Paris, France 26 March 1719,²⁰⁰ died San Antonio, Texas 2 November 1779,²⁰¹ married (1) Natchitoches 18 April 1746 Marie Petronille Felicité Juchereau de St. Denis,²⁰² married (2) New Orleans 26 November 1754²⁰³

21. PELAGIE FAZENDE [French], probably born at New Orleans after September 1726,²⁰⁴ died Natchitoches 11 December 1777.²⁰⁵

One would like to know more about the early life of this man.²⁰⁶ Son of a respectable lawyer, antiquarian and amateur mathematician, he was an excellent student at the College of Beauvais; Moreau, a fellow student, recalls his large black eyes and his particular gifts in poetry and composition.²⁰⁷ After his father died insolvent and his mother took a second husband, he was banished to the colonies by royal order dated 28 November 1738 at the request of his mother,²⁰⁸ while his only sister was locked up in a nunnery.²⁰⁹ If we are to believe the account of his niece, the famous Madame de Genlis, he lived among the savages for a time and learned their languages, also acquiring the tattoos found on Indian braves of those tribes.²¹⁰ On 29 June 1742 the edict of banishment was annulled and the King expressed the hope "that he [de Mézières] may be able to return to France", but it is questionable that Athanase was ever apprised of the turn of events.²¹¹ On 28 June 1746 a ministerial dispatch to the Louisiana governor stated

that, notwithstanding the revocation of the original edict, the colonial officials should withhold permission for its subject to return -- he was too valuable to the colony. By that time, indeed, he had been promoted from cadet to cadet à l'aiguillette,²¹² and had married as his first wife a daughter of the founder of the Natchitoches post, the commandant Chevalier Louis Juchereau de St. Denis.²⁰² So far as we know, he returned to France only once during the rest of his life.²¹⁰

Whether he remained in Louisiana by choice or by compulsion, he was to be one of its most devoted servants, a man of exceedingly great influence along the Louisiana-Texas frontier. His first marriage allied him with the most politically powerful family of the colonial borderlands; by association with St. Denis (whom the Indians revered) as well as by his own deeds he earned the respect of the western Indians and of the Spanish government which competed with the French for domination over both the natives and their lands. After the death of Petronille de St. Denis, Athanase cemented his position in the colony by his choice of a new wife, Pelagie Fazende, whose near relatives in New Orleans controlled a number of the colony's governmental posts. After the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, Étienne Gabriel Maraffret de Layssard (husband of Helene Fazende and brother-in-law of Pelagie) was appointed about 1767 commandant of the post of Rapides (a military jurisdiction bordering Natchitoches on the south) and on 24 November 1769 the new interim governor of Louisiana, Don General Alejandro O'Reilly, appointed Athanase commandant at Natchitoches. The strategic location of this outpost, as a buffer against the western Indians, and the traditional hostility of those tribes towards the Spaniards who had enslaved them, made it mandatory that the political and military head of the new Spanish post at Natchitoches be a man whom the Indians feared and respected.²¹³

As the French-born citizens who dominated colonial Louisiana chafed under Spanish administration, the Parisian de Mézières labored conscientiously to keep peace among all factions. He performed so well that he was soon thereafter raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Spanish army (a colonial French commandant was more often accorded the rank of captain) and in 1778 he was appointed acting governor of Texas. In 1779 his promotion was made permanent, but it was a position he did not want. In a candid response to his governor, he pleaded ignorance of any law except common sense, "which has no value among the cavilous". He reminded the governor that his relations with the treacherous Apache were at the moment strained, his health feeble since an accident at Attoyac in Texas earlier that year, and his personal finances impoverished; he concluded with a fervent plea that he be permitted to return to Louisiana in time to serve in her defense against the British, now at war in the Anglo colonies. Before a reply to this letter could be received, he wrote another as

he lay dying from the effects of that earlier accident. In this last epistle, de Mézières commended his children to the government's protection:

They are in want, and I leave them only debts, which my journeys of last year and this have compelled me to contract. I die confident of your Lordship's protection of my family. This is my consolation.²¹⁴

The notarial records of Natchitoches suggest that the orphans of Athanase (whose wife had died in an epidemic in the winter of 1777) were not in so dire a plight as his last letter had depicted. The late governor's assets, both in Louisiana and in France, were very considerable, although of limited liquidity. Over the next two to three decades his offspring would also fall heir to various estates and claims in France, in addition to their shares of the estate of their maternal grandparents in New Orleans.²¹⁵

Children of Athanase Christophe Fortunat and Marie Petronille Felicité (Juchereau de St. Denis) Mauguet de Mézières:

- i. Elisabeth Marie Felicité Nepomucene, bapt. Natchitoches 13 Sept. 1746, godparents Cesaire de Blanc (the post commandant who had succeeded her grandfather) and of her widowed grandmother Emanuela Sanchez-Navarre,²¹⁶ d. unm. Natchitoches Oct. 1818.²¹⁷

Children of Athanase Christophe Fortunat and Pelagie (Fazende) Mauguet de Mézières:

- 10 ii. Marie Pelagie Athanase, bapt. 26 June 1756.
- iii. Cesaire Marie, bapt. Natchitoches 24 March 1758, godparents Commandant Cesaire de Blanc and his second wife, Marie des Douleurs Simone Juchereau de St. Denis, d. there Dec. 1777 in the same epidemic that claimed his mother's life.²¹⁸
- iv. Louis François Marie, bapt. Natchitoches 25 Jan. 1760, godparents Gov. Kerlrec and Françoise Fazende LeDoux, dead by 1789.²¹⁹
- v. Marie Antoine, bapt. Natchitoches 21 Jan. 1762, godparents his maternal uncle Antoine Fazende and Marie des Neiges Juchereau de St. Denis (Mme. Antonio Manuel de Soto y Bermudez),²²⁰ bur. there Dec. 1814, leaving a widow, Candida Rio---, a native of Havadia, by whom he had no issue.²²¹ Antoine was but seventeen years of age when his father asked that he be appointed standard-bearer for the militia company that accompanied the new Governor from Natchitoches to San Antonio de Bexar.²²² After his father's death later that year Antonio appears to have divided his time between Spanish Texas and the Louisiana post of Rapides, where several of his siblings resided at the end of the century. Proceedings held in Louisiana in 1795 against the Jacobin cleric Jean Delvaux include a reference to Antoine and his rebellious activities at Rapides; unfortunately, the records of that post were destroyed 1 May 1864 when United States troops burned the town of Alexandria. An older and

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- perhaps more settled Antoine issued a power of attorney in 1807 to his brother Athanase to collect certain inheritances due him, in which instrument Antoine called himself a resident of the post of Labadie in the Province of New Spain.²²³
- vi. Marie Stephanie Pelagie, bapt. Natchitoches 20 Sept. 1763, godparents her seven year old brother Athanase and Mlle. Françoise LeDoux,²²⁴ d. young.
- vii. Marie Josephe ("Colette"), b. Natchitoches 1764,²²⁵ d. there unm. late 1825 or early 1826, after an illness of eleven years' duration.²²⁶ A letter of the Abbé M. B. Anduze to a friend in France reported the administration of the last sacraments to her by Bishop Dubourg during his visit to the congregation between October 1825 and July 1826 (the congregation was without a regular pastor):²²⁷
- "We were only a few days at Nakitoches [sic], when a mulatress interrupted our dinner, saying: 'Monseigneur, Mlle. de Mézières is dying, she is sending for you.' We went swiftly to the bed of the sick woman, who said to Monseigneur: 'The good God has answered my prayer; for thirty years, Monseigneur, I have been praying to obtain the grace not to die without the sacraments.' She made her general confession with much calmness and meditation, received the sacraments, and died a half hour or three quarters of an hour later. This unmarried lady, Colette de Mézières, first cousin of Mme. de Genlis, was the granddaughter of the Duke of Orléans, father of Égalite, and Mme. de Montesson (the Duke of Orléans had contracted a secret marriage with Mme. de Montesson). M. de Mézières, father of Miss Colette, having been married in this country, had had five children, three boys and two girls, who, not wanting to make misalliances, never married. At the time of my arrival at Nakitoches there remained of this family only M. Athanase de Mézières, a very old man, and Mlle. Colette, aged 62 years, whom I buried." While this report of her death is poignant, the recital of her ancestry is flawed; as noted hereafter, the dying woman was not granddaughter, but niece, of Mme. de Montesson.²²⁸
- viii. Marie Jean Jacques, bapt. Natchitoches 9 Aug. 1766, godparents his uncle Jacques Fazende and Louise Guedon [No. 27],²²⁹ alive there 1807.²³⁰ Jacques seems to have displayed some prodigal habits. In 1789, at the age of 19, he and his 17 year old brother Zosime petitioned the province to emancipate them from the disabilities of their minority so that they could manage their own affairs. Both acclaimed themselves "competent and able to work and increase their property because of their knowledge of agriculture". Barely a month passed before they were again in court, as principals in a suit filed by the Natchitoches commandant Étienne Nuisement de Vaugine against their uncle and guardian, Rene Fazende. Vaugine asserted that Jacques and Zosime had been thrown into prison for debt. They had entreated him to bail them out of their scrape and had

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promised that he would be repaid by Fazende. The debt, Vaugine claimed, amounted to 256 pesos due local merchants for clothes and "other indispensable effects". Through his father's influence, obviously, Jacques received an appointment to the 8th Company of the First Infantry Battalion of the royal army, but he apparently took his military responsibilities as lightly as his debts -- the 1788 roll taken at Natchitoches notes that the distinguished Don Diego [Jacques] de Mézières was "absent without leave". Jacques last appears on record at Natchitoches in 1807 when he sold his last real estate there, a house and lot, to Edward Murphy.²³¹

Of the six sons of Athanase de Mézières, Sr., Jacques was the only one known to have left progeny in the white race. On 8 Sept. 1803 there was born to a Natchitoches spinster, Catherine Claire Detuille dite Bébé, a daughter whose father was not named in the baptismal register. Her godparents were Zosime de Mézières and a sister of the infant's mother.²³² When the child, Marie Eulalie, was married in 1821 to Bernard Hissoura dit Pantaleon, her father was then identified as Jacques de Mézières.²³³

- ix. Marie Nicolas Zosime, b. 28 Feb. 1768, bapt. Natchitoches 15 Aug. 1768, godparents François Doucet and Marie Françoise Clermont,²³⁴ alive there 1807.²³⁵ Like most of his brothers, Zosime appears not to have married. Like Jacques, he indulged in various questionable escapades. In addition to the affair with the merchants, commandant, and jail of Natchitoches, Zosime received considerable attention from the provincial authorities in 1796 when he joined the underground Jacobin movement to overthrow Spanish authority and re-establish a French government in Louisiana. Among other charges, Zosime was accused of an attack upon one of the British inhabitants of the post of Rapides who was loyal to the Spanish Crown. It was alleged that, with two accomplices, Zosime "caught by night the mentioned John O'Reilly and forced upon him intoxicating beverages... when he was thus drunk they beat him until blood ran from his mouth and nose." In the midst of these proceedings, Zosime and his brother Athanase received from their siblings a power of attorney to represent their interest in the settlement of the estate of their Fazende grandparents at New Orleans. Presumably the de Mézières brothers were on their way to the city. Since this was a voyage usually required of frontier inhabitants who had committed "crimes" of a nature serious enough to require a hearing before the Cabildo, it would appear that Zosime was indicted locally and remanded to New Orleans in the custody of his older brother. No account of the final disposition of these proceedings has been found. Like his brother Jacques, he reappears once at Natchitoches in 1807, when he sold the last of his inheritance rights to the same individual who bought Jacques' house.²³⁶

(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe

24. HENRI PIERRE TRICHEL [German, French, Swiss], born at "Milbac" [Mühlbach], diocese of Strasbourg, France,²³⁷ buried Natchitoches 7 January 1778,²³⁸ married (2) there 21 October 1747 Louise Françoise Guillot, born in the bishopric of Paris,²³⁹ died Natchitoches 19 October 1756,²⁴⁰ daughter of Simon and Agather (Martin) Guillot and widow of Charles Davion dit St. Prix and Etienne Le Roy,²⁴¹ married (1) Natchitoches c.1732

25. MARIE CHARLES DUMONT [1/2 French, 1/2 Indian], born Natchitoches c.1719-20, died there 9 May 1743.²⁴²

No priest was in residence at the outpost of Natchitoches at the time of the Trichel-Dumont marriage. It is possible that the nuptial benediction was given by one of the priests from the nearby Spanish post of Los Adayes who periodically visited Natchitoches to administer sacraments; the registers of that Spanish mission are lost. Subsequent records identify Marie's only known sister, apparently older, as a native of Natchitoches, so presumably Marie was also. Their mother has also been identified as an Indian, without specifying the particular tribe.²⁴³ Several factors must be considered in attempting to determine the period of Marie's birth:

(1) Civil and church law in Catholic countries of the medieval and early modern period permitted females to marry at age 12. In Louisiana, many girls did so. Sister Marie-Madeleine Hachard wrote from New Orleans in 1728:²⁴⁴ "The custom here is to marry girls of twelve to fourteen years." At Natchitoches itself, in the decade 1734-43, half of all brides were 14 or less. In every decade of the century there were some girls whose marital age can be proven to be 12;²⁴⁵

(2) Extant baptismal records for children born to Marie and Trichel date their births in February 1735, May 1737, and May 1739. An older daughter, for whom no baptismal registration survives, was married in 1745. The birth pattern of these children suggests that the older child would have been born in 1733, a year for which baptismal records are not extant. She would, in that case, have been aged 12 at marriage;

(3) If the first child of Marie and Trichel was born in 1733, her conception and the marriage of her parents would have occurred about 1732. Assuming that Marie was at least 12 also, her birth would have occurred no later than 1720;

(4) The birth of Marie most probably occurred about 1719-20. Her father appears to be the person enumerated in January 1722 as "a Frenchman in his [Commandant St. Denis'] service". By the 1726 enumeration Dumont is dead. Only two children survived him. If he died immediately after the January 1722 enumeration, and if his wife produced a child every two years (with no infant deaths occurring), then the elder of the two Dumont children would have been born about

1717-18 and the second about 1719-20. The elder of the two was assuredly the one who married in 1729, suggesting that Marie was the younger sister and that she was likewise barely 12 at marriage.²⁴⁶

Trichel first appears in the civil records of the frontier in 1737 as a trader engaged in commerce across the Spanish border. On 2 June of that year "Hendrique of the French Nation, post of Natchitoches" petitioned the governor of Los Adayes for assistance in collecting a debt owed him by the lieutenant general, Don Fermin Ibericu. The 25 piaster, 6 real debt represented trade goods (shirts, liquor, playing cards) supplied by Trichel as well as cash for which the general had gone surety for another Trichel customer, one Acosta. In the 1740s and 1750s Trichel seldom appears in extant records; whether he continued in trade, in spite of international prohibitions, or whether he had already traded his packhorse for a plow, remains uncertain.²⁴⁷

An inventory of the Trichel estate, made shortly before his remarriage in 1747, is barely legible today.²⁴⁸ What remains reflects the marginal existence of the first settlers on that primitive frontier. Three lots at the post, none apparently large enough to farm, were enumerated; the two houses on those lots were described as "of poor condition" and the furnishings were extremely meager. The estate did include four Negroes, two of whom appear in this account [Nos. 31, 62]. The marriage contract that Trichel made with his prospective second wife is even more disappointing; no personal estate is mentioned at all.²⁴⁹

Within the next fifteen to twenty years Trichel's fortune improved considerably. The May 1766 census of the post places him in the top 6 percentile, economically, of all settlers. The farming operation that he had established consisted of 25 arpents of frontage tilled by thirteen slaves. The preceding year he had produced over 4,000 carotes (bundles) of tobacco for market and over 100 bundles of unshucked corn, in addition to its accompanying fodder, which would have been chiefly consumed by his 67 head of cattle. That census also identifies him as a churchwarden of St. François.²⁵⁰ On 10 July 1775 the ailing Trichel, again a widower, called in the post notary and dictated his will. He left his principal residence, with all houses, fences and furnishings, to his son Manuel [No. 12]. Special bequests of young slaves were made to the two granddaughters who were also his goddaughters; the balance of his merchandise, silver, and notes was to be divided among all his heirs.²⁵¹ Having made his will, Trichel recovered from his illness, only to be fatally stricken in January 1778 in the midst of one of the worst epidemics (probably yellow fever) recorded in colonial Louisiana.²³⁸

Children of Henri Pierre and Marie Charles (Dumont) Trichel:

(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe

- i. Marie Hyacinthe, b. c.1733, d. between the birth of her last child in 1767 and the 1787 census of Natchitoches, m. there 13 Nov. 1745 Jean Baptiste Davion dit St. Prix (whose widowed mother thereafter m. Marie Hyacinthe's father).²⁵² Issue.
- ii. Pierre Joseph, born 26 Feb. 1735, bapt. Natchitoches 1 March 1735, godparents the Spaniards Pedro de Sierra and Nicola de Granada.²⁵³ In Feb. 1780 he petitioned the commandant for a land grant and permission to settle in an uninhabited area not named in the post inventory of documents (the original record has not been found). There is no further trace of Joseph, who apparently died or left the jurisdiction before the 1787 census was taken.²⁵⁴
- 12 iii. Emanuel, bapt. 6 May 1737.
- iv. Jean Baptiste, b. 25 May 1739, bapt. Natchitoches 26 May 1739, godparents Jean Baptiste Derbanne (half-Indian son of a former colonial official) and his aunt Angélique (Dumont) Verger,²⁵⁵ d. there 9 Dec. 1779,²⁵⁶ m. there 5 March 1770, as 2nd husband, Marianne Daublin, b. 1744, daughter of Valentin and Marie Anne (Gratien) Daublin and widow of François Closot, who had died less than three weeks before her second marriage.²⁵⁷ At his death Jean Baptiste left his widow, 7 children and 3 stepchildren in quite comfortable circumstances; according to the 1787 census, they ranked in the top 5 percentile economically.²⁵⁸ One of their daughters, Fanchonette, was the philanthropist already mentioned who built the church of the Nativity at Campiti.

26. ALEXIS GRAPPE dit TOULINE [French], born Dolle, diocese of Besançon in Franche-Comte,²⁵⁹ died Natchitoches c. May 1775,²⁶⁰ married there 19 April 1746²⁵⁹ as second husband

27. LOUISE MARGUERITE GUEDON [1/2 French, 1/2 Indian], born c.1726, died Natchitoches 21 January 1794,²⁶¹ widow of Jean Baptiste Besson, royal notary at Natchitoches (married there 8 February 1741).²⁶²

Alexis Grappe first appears in the colony as a corporal of the Marines at the time of his 1746 marriage. In the marriage contract of his daughter Marie Anne in 1776 it is said that he had died in the rank of sergeant. By the time of the death of his son François in 1825 Grappe had been posthumously elevated to the rank of captain.²⁶³ His precise rank or alleged rank is less important than the undisputed fact that Grappe was one of the more important frontiersmen of colonial Louisiana.

Immediately upon his marriage, Grappe removed with his wife to the old (upper) Caddo village situated some 500 miles above Natchitoches by way of the meanderings of the Red River. There the couple spent most of their married life. Alexis served as military commander of the handful of troops stationed with him and as civil commander of the

purchased an extensive tract of land from the Yatasee Indian Campté; in her declining years she enjoyed the continued presence of her family since most of her children settled about her. She sold part of her tract to her son François, who, in turn, donated part of his tract to his younger brother Jean Baptiste as a wedding present. Another portion of the Grappe lands became the dowry of a daughter who settled upon it with her husband. Other daughters and sons-in-law obtained lands nearby. Despite this whittling away of her estate, the Widow Grappe remained one of the most prosperous settlers at the post. (An interesting sidelight of the 1787 census of Natchitoches is the extent to which the community wealth was held by women. Four of the largest estates were in the possession of widows, including the widow Grappe.)²⁶⁸

Children of Jean Baptiste Besson (first husband) and Louise Marguerite Guedon (surname Besson):

- i. Jean Pierre, b. 21 July 1744, bapt. Natchitoches 22 July 1744, godparents Pierre Fosse and Jeanne Robert Besson,²⁶⁹ d. unm. there 12 Jan. 1777.²⁷⁰ He was apprenticed 8 June 1765 by his stepfather Grappe to Ignace Anty, shoemaker, served in the Natchitoches militia, and participated in the 1772 expedition of Commandant de Mézières to San Antonio.²⁷¹
- ii. Julien, bapt. Natchitoches 24 March 1746, godparents Julien François Bidaux and Marie Louise, the Indian wife of Sergeant Claude Bertrand *dit* Dauphine,²⁷² d. Campti 2 May 1806,²⁷³ m. Natchitoches 7 April 1777 Marie Anne de l'Incarnation Perot, b. July 1760, daughter of Pierre Joseph François Vildec *dit* Perot and his wife Marie Catherine Dupré.²⁷⁴ He was a veteran of the campaign of Gálvez, allied with the American Revolutionary cause.²⁷⁵

Children of Alexis Grappe *dit* Toulaine (second husband) and Louise Marguerite Guedon (surname Grappe):

- 14 iii. François, b. 4 Dec. 1747.
- 13 iv. Marie Louise, b. 11 Jan. 1749.
 - v. Child, sex unknown, apparently b. 1751 and d. unbaptized while the family resided at the Caddo.
 - vi. Marie Madeleine, bapt. Natchitoches 26 March 1754, godparents Chevalier Pierre de la Ronde and Jeanne Le Roy,²⁷⁶ d. there 12 January 1781,²⁷⁷ m. there 28 April 1770 Paul Bouët La Fitte.²⁷⁸ Issue.
 - vii. Marie Anne, bapt. Natchitoches 26 June 1757, godparents Charles Toutin and Marie Anne Rousseau,²⁷⁹ died there 30 October 1788,²⁸⁰ m. there 9 Oct. 1776 Bernard d'Ortolant.²⁸¹ Issue, five children, including Jean Pierre Julien Raimond d'Ortolant, who subsequently entered into a relationship with Madeleine Perot, a free woman of color who was a granddaughter of François Grappe [No. 14], which may or may not have included a marriage legally contracted in

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Spanish Texas. In the Spanish censuses of Nacogdoches this couple is treated as man and wife; they lived amidst several white families of Natchitoches origin. However, children of the couple baptized at Natchitoches are called "natural".²⁸² These children, the *d'Ortolants de couleur*, formed an integral part of the Campti colony to which the Mézières, Trichels, and Grappes belonged.

- viii. Marie Pelagie, b. 3 Oct. 1758, bapt. Natchitoches 6 July 1759, godparents Sieur and Madame de Mézières,²⁸³ m. there 19 June 1779 Louis Fontenot of Opelousas.²⁸⁴ Numerous issue.
- ix. Françoise, b. 1761,²⁸⁵ baptismal record not found, d. Natchitoches 2 April 1820,²⁸⁶ m. there 23 March 1788 Benoit Montenary.²⁸⁷
- x. Jean Baptiste, b. 1763,²⁸⁵ m. Natchitoches 21 April 1796 Marie Geneviève Sorel dite Marly.²⁸⁸ A veteran of the Gálvez campaign, as was his brother François, Jean Baptiste later served as a justice of the peace in the Campti area, where he left numerous issue.²⁸⁹

28. ALEXIS GRAPPE dit TOULINE [No. 26].

29. LOUISE MARGUERITE GUEDON [No. 27.]

30. [?] ROMAINE ANTOINE dit SOURIS [black], baptized Natchitoches 31 March 1737 as a newly-imported adult male slave,²⁹⁰ married there 7 May 1741 to the slave Catherine,²⁹¹ who appears to be identical with

31. CATHERINE [black, established mother of No. 15], baptized Natchitoches 17 October 1734,²⁹² probably as an infant or small child²⁹³ after the arrival of the first French priest at this frontier outpost, alive 1770.²⁹⁴

Catherine's parents were slaves of François (Guyon) Dion dit Despres d'Herbanne, the first European male to bring his family to the Louisiana frontier when he was appointed *subdélégué* of the newly built post in 1717. The Sieur d'Herbanne (or Derbanne) had died there the February preceding Catherine's baptism. His widow, the Chitimachas Indian Jeanne de la Grande Terre, who, with her son Jean Baptiste Dion dit Derbanne, had served as a godparent at Catherine's baptism,²⁹³ died the following year. When the d'Herbanne estate was divided in 1737, Catherine, her parents, and at least one known sibling fell by lot to the second son, Jean Dion dit Despres. (Under the Code Noir of Louisiana, issued by Governor Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville in 1724, slave husbands, wives, and their children under 14 were not to be separated by their masters.) The child Catherine, at the time of the estate partition, was valued at 150 livres.²⁹⁵

Between 1737 and 1747 Catherine and her family are not clearly identified in the extant civil and ecclesiastical records of the post. But in October 1747 she and her father

appear as slaves in the inventory of the estate of Henri Trichel and his first wife Marie Dumont [Nos. 24 and 25].²⁴⁸ As is typical for this period, no civil record exists for a conveyance of the slaves out of the Derbanne estate or into the possession of Trichel, although it is obvious that one and possibly two changes of ownership had occurred.

In the intervening decade, Jean Baptiste Dion dit Derbanne, as tutor (guardian) of his younger brothers, cleared his guardianship accounts and moved across the Louisiana-Texas border to Los Adayes where his father-in-law was captain of the militia. The young Jean Dion dit Despres, Catherine's master, reached adulthood in this decade and left the Natchitoches post, possibly to live among his mother's people in the Chitimachas nation where the name Dion is still prevalent. It is known that the younger Jean disposed of his interest in the family lands before leaving the area; it is exceedingly probable that he disposed of his slave interests at this time also.²⁹⁶

Romaine Antoine dit Souris was a slave owned by Jacques de la Chaise, a young officer and trader who enjoyed a favored position at the Natchitoches post due to his marriage to the daughter of the post commandant, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis.²⁹⁷ Two years after the last known residence of Jean Dion dit Despres at Natchitoches, the slaves Romaine Antoine dit Souris and Catherine were married there.²⁹¹ No record is extant of the acquisition of this female by the Sieur de la Chaise. She was not born into his household and baptized as an infant, nor was she baptized, like her husband, as an adult *brut* newly arrived from Africa. This suggests that she was purchased by de la Chaise from another resident of the post into whose household she had also been baptized. In evaluating the possibility that Catherine, belonging to de la Chaise (1741), was the same as Catherine, belonging to Trichel (1747), both contradictory and supporting evidence must be considered.

The only contradictory factor of reasonable significance is the age of 38 years attributed to Catherine in 1770,²⁹⁴ making her born in 1732. If this birth year were correct, Catherine would have been only nine years of age when Catherine, belonging to de la Chaise, was married. However, slave ages, as given in bills of sale, are notoriously imprecise. Moreover, there are documented cases in which even white females had not yet attained the age of twelve years when they attempted marriage on the Natchitoches frontier.²⁹⁸

In support of the proposition that Catherine "of de la Chaise" was the same as Catherine "of Trichel", three points must be considered. Apart from the slave Catherine who had belonged to the Sieur d'Herbanne, who is identified with Catherine "of Trichel" because she is coupled with her father Anera in both cases, no other contemporary Catherine can be accounted for at Natchitoches. Secondly, it is known

that de la Chaise sold his land and at least some of his slaves in 1744, at which time he removed from Natchitoches to the German Coast of Louisiana where no further trace of the slave couple Souris and Catherine can be found.²⁹⁹ Finally, Catherine "of Trichel" appears to have borne a daughter Marie Jeanne who used the *dite* Souris as an adult.

However, even if it is established that Catherine who belonged to de la Chaise is the same person as Catherine who belonged to Henri Trichel, it does not necessarily follow that her daughter Marie Louise "Rosette" [No. 15] was the daughter of Romaine Antoine *dit* Souris. It is both possible and compatible with the social patterns of their society that Catherine could have become known by her husband's *dit* and that if she bore children after his death those children might have thereafter adopted what they knew to be their mother's *dite*.

In 1767 Trichel sold Catherine by way of a *papel simple* ("simple paper", an unrecorded document) to Pierre Duverges of New Orleans. Three years later Duverges in turn conveyed Catherine, again without reference to any of her children, to François Hery *dit* Duplanty (also of New Orleans) for 150 pesos, 8 reales, guaranteeing that she was "without blemish, sound of health, and free of all debt". There was no mention of any children under age whom Catherine might have had.²⁹⁴ Catherine has not been traced further. Apart from the two children named below, it is probable that Catherine was the mother of one or more of the slave infants born into the Henri Trichel household in the late 1740s and 1750s whose mothers were not named in the baptismal entries.

Known and suspected offspring of the slave Catherine, whether by the slave Romaine Antoine *dit* Souris or by some other slave:

- i. Marie Jeanne *dite* Souris, b. 19 Oct. 1748, bapt. Natchitoches 27 Oct. 1748,³⁰⁰ alive Campti 11 July 1827.³⁰¹ When Henri Trichel [No. 24] died, she was purchased in 1778 by his son Manuel [No. 12] and subsequently inherited in 1795 by Manuel's son Henri who saw to her manumission and that of her three mulatto offspring (who used the surname Trichel) but not her black offspring.³⁰² The two principal reasons for believing that Marie Jeanne was the daughter of Catherine are: (1) at the time of her birth there were no other known females of fertile age in the Trichel household, and (2) she used the *dit* of a male slave whose marriage to a contemporary Catherine can be established. That *dit* does not appear to have been associated with any other black known to have resided at colonial Natchitoches. Marie Louise had issue by one or more persons to whom she was not married.³⁰³

- 15 ii. Marie Louise "Rosette", bapt. 31 July 1750.

SIXTH GENERATION

40. CLAUDE CHRISTOPHE MAUGUET DE MÉZIERÈS, born about 1689 (age at death), died Avallon (Yonne), France 25 August 1734,³⁰⁴ married there (as first husband) 7 January 1717³⁰⁵

41. MARIE JOSEPHTE MINARD, baptized Avallon (Yonne) 28 September 1697,³⁰⁶ died Paris 1768 (before 14 January),³⁰⁷ married (2) 1734³⁰⁸ as second wife Louis Béraud, Chevalier (called Marquis) de la Haye de Riou, born Bishopric of Nantes (Loire-Inferieure) 30 December 1677, died there 24 March 1754.³⁰⁹

Called "noble" in his marriage record, Claude Christophe Mauguet de Mézières was an attorney and reported by Moreau, who knew him, to have been an insatiable collector as well as a student of Polish genealogies,³¹⁰ and by his granddaughter Madame de Genlis as sufficiently learned in mathematics to have tutored Madame du Châtelet, the learned mistress of Voltaire.³¹¹ The Duc de Luynes calls him "praticien de Bourgogne"³¹² but his date and place of birth have not yet been determined. Neither Saffroy nor Arnaud record any compiled genealogies of his family.³¹³ Intending to visit the South, he broke his journey at Avallon, where he was smitten by one of the beautiful and intelligent daughters of a local municipal notable, one of a large family.³¹⁴ He bankrupted himself spending for curiosities and died and was buried at Avallon.³¹⁵

The character of his wife depends on whether one believes Moreau, who was her friend and to whom she remained lovely and charming, or her granddaughter Madame de Genlis, who cordially hated her and described her as haughty, cold, selfish and grasping.³¹⁶ She does seem to have appropriated whatever moneys might have been recovered from her husband's estate for the benefit of her children and then to have proceeded to get rid of them, one to the colonies on some trumped-up pretext and the other to a nunnery,³¹⁷ after a hasty remarriage to a much older man of a higher social status.³⁰⁸ Her will, dated 4 February 1766 and registered at Paris 14 January 1768,³¹⁸ entirely ignores the existence of her children by Claude Christophe. An initial search of surviving extracts from the destroyed parish registers of Paris has not revealed her date of death or place of burial.

Her second husband deserves a brief separate notice. The offspring of a family of certified nobility in Brittany,³¹⁹ he obtained several positions at court because he was the lover of the beautiful but utterly dissolute Duchesse de Berri.³²⁰ Saint-Simon says that she even pressed him to elope to Holland with her, but he demurred in embarrassment.³²¹ He was nicknamed "La Haye tout près or tout prêt", in either version a derogatory reference to his willingness to "please" the Duchess. All accounts indicate that he was handsome and sat a horse well.

He married (1) 1723 Anne Helvétius, born Paris 12 July 1690,³²² died there 8 June 1726,³²³ daughter of Jean Adrien Helvétius and his second wife Jeanne Desgranges and sister of Jean Claude Adrien Helvétius, both royal physicians.³²² Widow of Jean Nicolas Martinet,³²² she had been mistress of Louis Alexandre, Count of Toulouse and illegitimate son of King Louis XIV.³²⁴ The two children of de la Haye by his first wife died young.³²⁵ It is assumed that he died at his family estate in Brittany because his will is registered in the archives there.³²⁶ One report of his death calls him "Marquis" de la Haye;³²⁷ he usually appears as "Chevalier" on the records made during his lifetime.³²⁸

Children of Claude Christophe Mauguet de Mézières and Marie Joséphite Minard (her first husband):

- i. Marie Françoise Félicité, b. Avallon 28 Oct. 1717,³²⁹ d. Paris 1790,³³⁰ m. (1) Paris 23 Nov. 1743 Pierre César Ducrest,³³¹ b. 1713,³³² bur. Paris 5 July 1763,³³³ called Marquis de Saint-Aubin-sur-Loire,³³⁴ son of Capt. François and Catherine (Chaussin) Ducrest,³³⁵ m. (2) 1765³³⁶ Baron François Antoine d'Andlau, b. Strasbourg 15 June 1703,³³⁷ d. Colmar 3 June 1786,³³⁸ son of Baron Antoine and Marie-Anne (de Klinglin) d'Andlau.³³⁹ Sent to a nunnery by her mother and married without her mother's approval, she published two bad novels and a geography text.³⁴⁰ She lived apart from her second husband, by whom she had no issue. By her first husband she had issue:

1. Caroline Stéphanie Félicité ("Madame de Genlis"), b. Champcéry (near Autun, Saône-et-Loire) 25 Jan. 1746, d. Paris 31 Dec. 1830,³⁴¹ m. there 8 Nov. 1763³⁴² Charles Alexis Brulart, Comte de Genlis, b. 21 Jan. 1737,³⁴³ d. Paris (guillotined) 31 Oct. 1793,³⁴¹ colonel of the Grenadiers of France, son of Charles Brulart, Marquis de Genlis, and Louise Charlotte Françoise de Hallencourt de Dromesnil.³⁴³ Issue. Governess of the future King Louis Philippe³⁴⁴ and mistress of his father, Duke Philippe of Orléans called *Égalité*, by whom she may have had two daughters,³⁴⁵ her childhood and youth largely marked by genteel poverty and her mid-life disturbed by exile during the Revolution, she remains one of the more interesting and colorful figures of her period.³⁴¹ Her *Mémoires* are still used as a valuable source of information and opinion;³⁴⁶ her novels and pedagogical tracts, more than 400 in all,³⁴⁷ remain largely unread today.
2. Charles Louis, Marquis du Crest, b. Champcéry 28 April 1747, d. Meung-sur-Loire (Loiret) 8 April 1824, naval engineer and soldier,³⁴⁸ m. Paris 15 Feb. 1775 Marie Louise Bonne Alexandre de Canonville, daughter of Charles Louis Joseph Alexandre, Marquis de Raffetot, and Louise Marie Madeleine de Barberie de Saint-Contest.³⁴⁹ Issue.

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- 20 ii. (Chevalier) Athanase Christoph Fortunat, bapt. St. Séverin, Paris 26 March 1719.

Children of Louis Béraud, Chevalier (called Marquis) de la Haye de Riou and his second wife Marie Joséphite Minard (her second husband):

- i. Louis, Chevalier (called Marquis) de la Haye de Riou, b. 1736,³⁵⁰ d. Aug. 1759 of wounds suffered at the battle of Minden,³⁵¹ where he had served as captain of cavalry and guidon of the gendarmes of Aquitaine,³⁵² formally emancipated with his sister 30 March 1754 after the death of his father.³⁵³ Mme. de Genlis spoke of him as not particularly intelligent, but good-natured and desiring to resolve the family quarrel.³⁵⁴
- ii. Charlotte Jeanne, b. Paris 5 Oct. 1738,³⁵⁵ d. there 5 Feb. 1806,³⁵⁶ m. (1) Paris, 11 Oct. 1757³⁵⁷ as second wife³⁵⁸ Jean Baptiste, Marquis de Montesson, b. 1687,³⁵⁹ d. Paris 30/31 July 1769,³⁶⁰ brigadier of the Army, son of Jean Baptiste, M. de Montesson and Catherine de Cervon,³⁶¹ m. (2) secretly and morganatically, as second wife,³⁶² Paris, 23 Aug. 1773³⁶³ Louis Philippe I, Duke of Orléans, b. Versailles 12 May 1725, d. Sainte-Assise (Brie) 18 Nov. 1785, son of Louis, Duke of Orléans, and Margravine Auguste of Baden-Baden.³⁶⁴ An actress but a woman of good reputation, she seems to have married the aged Marquis de Montesson for his money and the fat, dull and ungainly Duke for social position. Even if one discounts the acid descriptions and unflattering anecdotes told by Mme. de Genlis, she gives the appearance of a calculating woman.³⁶⁵ She did maintain some reputation as a woman of letters.³⁶⁶ Imprisoned during the Terror, she was released and her property returned to her by Napoleon, who recalled her kindness to a young officer candidate.³⁶⁷ No issue by either husband.

42. JEAN JACQUES FAZENDE [French], dead in New Orleans by 27 February 1748,³⁶⁸ married c.1726³⁶⁹

43. HELENE DE MORIÈRE [French], dead at New Orleans by 27 February 1748.³⁶⁸

The Fazendes appear to have immigrated to the Louisiana colony between 28 September 1726³⁷⁰ and the census taken 1 July 1727,³⁷¹ in which they are enumerated with their first child and with the widowed mother of Madame Fazende as residents of Royal Street in New Orleans. An eighteenth century journalist identifies Fazende as "a member of the Upper Council of Louisiana" who brought with him from Provence the first recorded fig tree in Louisiana;³⁷² but the list of officials projected for 1727 in September 1726 does not include him.³⁷³ Both he and his wife appear to have died at New Orleans shortly prior to 27 February 1748, when their succession was opened in that city.³⁶⁸

Children of Jean Jacques Fazende and Helene de Morière:

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- i. Jacques *dit* Morière, b. c.1727,³⁷⁴ bur. Natchitoches 24 Feb. 1779,³⁷⁵ m. by 4 March 1748,³⁷⁶ wife unidentified. In 1754 he was appointed to the rank of *enseigne en second*, and in 1762, by which time he was already established at Natchitoches, he was promoted to *enseigne en pied*. Upon the transfer of Louisiana from France to Spain in 1763 he resigned from the regular military but remained a reserve officer with the rank of *enseigne* at least until 1766. He appears on the censuses of that year, residing with his brother Antoine; neither was at the time married. Together they owned a small family of slaves who farmed tobacco for them while they were principally engaged in trade.³⁷⁷ A "young daughter of M. Fazende" died at Natchitoches 19 Dec. 1777; possibly she may have been a daughter of Jacques, who was the only Natchitoches Fazende for whom any indication of marriage has been found.³⁷⁸
- ii. Rene Jean Gabriel *dit* Morière, bapt. New Orleans 8 Aug. 1728,³⁷⁹ m. Charlotte Claudine Dreux, by whom he left numerous progeny among the influential families of New Orleans.³⁸⁰ He was twice godfather at Natchitoches in March and April 1759.³⁸¹ Gabriel is the Fazende listed in 1765 as *escrivain ordinaire* for the government at New Orleans and allegedly served as commissary of the French navy.³⁸²
- iii. Hélène, m. [contract 12 Dec. 1745]³⁸³ New Orleans, Etienne Maraffret Layssard, b. c.1717 Rochefort, France, alive Rapides 31 July 1788 as a widower, son of Guillaume Maraffret Layssard, an apothecary, by Anne Catherine Bousson. Issue. After the marriage young Layssard went into government service in the colony with the assistance of the influence of his in-laws. He appears in the 1750s as *garde magasin* (royal warehouseman) of the post of Arkansas, living in a house 16' x 25' of "two or perhaps three rooms" at which time he was complaining "bitterly and always of poverty". According to one study of that post, his house served also as the village wine shop and his official office. In addition to the house, he owned five slaves, one milch cow, twenty pigs, a flock of chickens, a dog, a cat, a wife, and four children -- one of whom was appointed a *cadet* of the royal Marines in 1758. In periods of heavy rain his twenty pigs shared the family dwelling, although the cow was forced to survive the floods in a less pampered manner. By 1761 Layssard had been transferred to the post of Chartres in Illinois (then called Upper Louisiana) where he filled the same position, but enjoyed a somewhat better standard of living; and on 12 February 1770 he was appointed commandant of the newly established post of Rapides, on the Red River of Louisiana, some 80 miles by water below the fort at Natchitoches. There the Layssard family was, for the most part, to remain. According to a service sheet filed for Etienne, dated 31 July 1788, in the archives of the Spanish mainland, he was a 71 year old widower who "shows valor; good application; sufficient capacity; average conduct".³⁸⁴

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iv. Antoine, a minor in 1748,³⁶⁸ d. Natchitoches 11 Dec. 1768. Like his brother Jacques, Antoine served as an officer of the Marines until 1762 and subsequently (1766-68) as an officer in the reserve (half-pay) forces. Although he never married, Antoine fathered one child at Natchitoches, Theodore Antoine, by a slave named Marguerite dite Yandon belonging to Mme. Marie des Neiges de St. Denis de Soto. Shortly before his death, Antoine purchased his son from the infant's owner with the intention of freeing him but died without doing so. The child was inherited by Antoine's sister Pelagie (Mme. de Mézières), who left him with his mother at the de Soto residence. After the removal of the de Sotos to Opelousas and the concurrent deaths of M. and Mme. de Mézières, Fazende heirs filed suit against the de Sotos to reclaim the boy, now aged 14. In the last relevant document of record, a determined Mme. de Soto was still refusing to relinquish him -- even in the face of an edict from the governor -- claiming that justice demanded the young man's manumission. The outcome of the case cannot be documented from extant records; but no trace of Theodore Antoine as a free adult has been found.³⁸⁵

21 v. Pelagie, prob. b. New Orleans after Sept. 1726.

vi. Françoise, a minor in 1748,³⁶⁸ m. by 1761 Antoine François LeDoux, native of Fresdiu (Artois), commandant at Natchitoches 1761-64, d. there 19 March 1764. His widow remained at Natchitoches.³⁸⁶

48. ADAM TRICHEL, of Strasbourg, born c.1680, married to

49. JEANNE ELIZABETH ---, of Bern, Switzerland.²³⁹

50. CHARLES DUMONT [French, possibly French Canadian], died Natchitoches before 1 January 1726,³⁸⁷ presumably married legally to

51. ANGELIQUE [Christian Indian, tribal origin uncertain], died Natchitoches 19 March 1758.³⁸⁸

The identity and origin of Charles Dumont remain to be established. No Charles Dumont appears on the extant rolls of immigrants to Louisiana, and the sparse population of the colony prior to 1722 refers, it appears, to only one person by that name (it is possible, however, that historians may have merged the identities of a father and a son into one person).

The activities of one Charles François Dumont, baptized at Quebec 4 January 1678 as son of Julien Dumont dit La Fleur and his wife Catherine Topsan,³⁸⁹ are sketchily chronicled in records of the 1702-11 period generated from the provincial capital at Mobile. Like many of his countrymen after the founding of Louisiana in 1698 by the Canadian Le Moyne brothers, Dumont wended his way south by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. He found his first employment as servant-helper to Père Albert

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Davion, one of the seminary priests of Mobile who established a mission among the Tunica Indians about 1702. While in Davion's employ, Dumont is said to have lost a finger defending his master from a savage ambush that occurred on a voyage from Mobile to the Tunicas. Mobile historian Jay Higginbotham asserts that Dumont and a son were in Davion's employ, but supporting documentation has not yet been found; since Charles was only 24 in 1702, any son that he might have had would be a very young one. Higginbotham does not name the son or identify his mother. If he is correct, however, the son, like the father, would be of a compatible age with Charles Dumont of Natchitoches.³⁹⁰

Higginbotham and an earlier Mobile historian, Peter J. Hamilton, provide a few additional pieces, albeit meager, for the Dumont puzzle. Higginbotham says that in 1704, when the fabled ship *Pelican* arrived at Mobile with its cargo of French-born brides and the plague-infested body of the dying Henri de Tonty, Charles François Dumont of rue de Boutteville was one of the Mobilians who contracted the fever. Dumont's Boutteville lot, it is stated, was originally the site of a block set aside for the seminary priests, but when the clerics requested higher ground, their old lands were assigned to the settlers, Dumont included. This Dumont appears again in Higginbotham's narrative in 1707, at which time he offered one or more Indian slaves belonging to him for baptism, and in 1711, at which time his home was flooded. Hamilton's study of Mobile offers a 1711 map which identifies (consecutively) the lot-owners whose property adjoined the old *Jardin du Seminaire*: La Chenesgaulle, Charle Dumont, Marais, and Dumont, cadet ("the younger"). Again, no Christian name is assigned to this "younger" Dumont. As a separate homeowner he would be too old to be the son of a man born in 1678. If a relationship existed, as is favored by the odds, the younger Dumont would be a brother or cousin of Charles François.³⁹¹ A subsequent census of Mobile, taken soon after the summer of 1719, does not enumerate either Dumont;³⁹² it may be only a coincidence that Charles Dumont appears by 1722 at Natchitoches, in the employ of that same Louis Juchereau de St. Denis who had operated in and out of Mobile in the 1702-11 period during which Charles François Dumont appears there. Later Mobile records contain only one reference to a Dumont -- this is the death in 1758 of one Jean Nicolas Aubert Dumont who resided on his Tensas plantation, somewhat distant from town.³⁹³

No civil or church records are extant for Natchitoches in the 1720s, with the exception of the previously mentioned censuses of May 1722 and January 1726.³⁹⁴ The former enumerates Charles Dumont as "a Frenchman in the service" of M. de St. Denis. Four "Indian slaves" enumerated with him in the St. Denis home in 1722 appear to be Angelique, her two daughters by Dumont, and St. Denis' own half-Indian daughter. None of these are classed as "Indian slaves" on the 1726 census, which attributes four "domestics" to St.

Denis and charges him with the administration of the "lands of deceased Charles Dumont". Subsequent church and civil records relating to Dumont's two daughters identify them as children of "Charles Dumont" and "Angelique" with no data on the origins of either parent. The most revealing record is a burial registration of 19 March 1758:³⁸⁸

Buried in the cemetery of this parish the corpse of a savagess, the grandmother of Madame St. Prix.

"Madame St. Prix" was Marie Hyacinthe Trichel [24.i], wife of Jean Baptiste Davion *dit* St. Prix and daughter of Henri Trichel by his first wife Marie Charles Dumont.³⁹⁵ As the paternal grandmother was European, it must be the mother of Marie Charles Dumont who was a "savagess".

Children of Charles Dumont and the Indian Angelique:

- i. Marie Angelique, b. c.1717-18, living Sept. 1757, m. (1) Natchitoches 1729 (probably late 1729) Joseph Verger of Paris, m. (2) there 3 May 1756 Jacques Troupart. Issue by first husband.³⁹⁶
- 25 ii. Marie Charles, b. c.1719-20.
52. PIERRE GRAPPE of Dolle (Franche-Comte), b. c.1700, married to
53. CATHERINE BENILLOT, of the diocese of Brèze.²⁵⁹
54. JACQUES GUEDON *dit* NANTAIS [French], died Natchitoches 26 August 1735,³⁹⁷ married to
55. MARIE THÉRÈSE DE LA GRAND TERRE [Chitimachas Indian], buried Natchitoches 20 November 1740.³⁹⁸

Reconstruction of the life and origins of Nantais, as with Dumont, suffers from the lack of local records for Natchitoches before 1732. He does not appear on the 1722 enumeration of the fledgling outpost, but is listed in 1726 with "his wife and a partner", no servants or cattle and five arpents of cleared land. In other colonial records there are two references to persons with similar names; either or both might be relevant. Hamilton's 1711 map of Mobile locates the residence of one "Le Nantois"; here it should be noted that St. Denis, four years earlier, had brought into Mobile a number of captured Chitimachas Indian slaves, mostly children. It is conceivable that one of these, upon maturing, could have become the wife of Nantais. Also, the 1719 roll of the ship *Philippé* brought a contingent of soldiers to Louisiana that included three later Natchitoches settlers: [Pierre] Alorge, [Jacques] Levasseur, and [Charles Davion *dit*] St. Prix. With them was an individual identified as "Guerdon". The possibility that this was Jacques Guedon cannot be dismissed, keeping in mind that the 1722 census of Natchitoches did not enumerate soldiers.³⁹⁹

Children of Jacques Guedon *dit* Nantais by Marie Thérèse de la Grande Terre (identified as his legitimate wife):

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- 27 i. (Marie) Louise Marguerite, b. c.1726.
- ii. Marie Jeanne Susanne, b. Natchitoches c.1730, d. there 18 March 1795,⁴⁰⁰ m. (1) there 30 Oct. 1743 Charles Toutain dit Meunier, soldier from Renne (?) (diocese of Chartres), France, m. (2) there 6 July 1760 Jean Baptiste La Berry dit Bayonne, a well-to-do settler from St. Paul (frontier of Languedoc), France.⁴⁰¹ Issue by both husbands.
- iii. Marie Anne, b. Natchitoches c.1731, d. there 9 Nov. 1800,⁴⁰² m. (1) there 23 April 1743 Joseph Le Duc dit Ville Franche, d. c. 1756-60, a soldier from Memant (bishopric of Valence), France, who had migrated to the colonies in 1730 aboard the *Aurore*, m. (2) there 23 Jan. 1770 Nicolas Laignon, a 58 year old gunsmith from "Pocharoinette?" (diocese of Lombez in Gascony), France. Before her marriage to Laignon she bore a child by an unknown father. Issue by first marriage.⁴⁰³ The second marriage does not appear to have been a happy one. In Jan. 1785 Mme. Laignon appeared before the commandant to complain that her husband had sold their house and lot without her knowledge; although the consent of wives was not required under the civil law, Mme. Laignon felt that the circumstances required the commandant's intervention. The outcome of the family dispute is unknown.⁴⁰⁴

62. ANERA [black], alive Natchitoches 17 October 1747 as slave of Henri Trichel,²⁴⁸ married there before 1729⁴⁰⁵

63. FANCHON [black], alive October 1737,²⁹⁵ dead by 1747.²⁴⁸

The fledgling outpost of Natchitoches was but fifteen years old and claimed hardly more than a hundred residents of all races when Anera and Fanchon first appear on extant records. They are identified as husband and wife (the marriage of slaves being legitimate in colonial Louisiana). Most probably they exchanged their vows before one of the Spanish priests from nearby San Miguel de los Adayses who administered the sacraments at Natchitoches during the 1720s and entered their activities in the registers, now lost, of their own mission. When a French priest first visited Natchitoches in 1729 the first baptism he performed was that of an infant born to Anera and Fanchon.⁴⁰⁵ Like their marriage record, the baptismal registration of most of their other children is not extant. No document yields a clue to the place of birth of either the husband or the wife. Considering the consistency with which an African name was used for Anera (written by perplexed French scribes as *Ané* and *d'anhera*), rather than the saint's name which the Church gave to all at baptism, it is probable that he was of African birth. By contrast, his wife's name, a diminutive of the French Christian name *Françoise*, suggests that she was born in the colony or perhaps was more easily acculturated into European-American society.

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As previously discussed under the account of their daughter Catherine [No. 31], the extensive slaveholdings of the first known owners of Anera and Fanchon, the Sieur d'Herbanne and his wife, were appraised in 1737 and divided among the heirs. Anera, Fanchon, and six children were enumerated. The parents and three older children (almost without exception, the names of slaves grouped in this manner are a family unit) were valued together at 2500 livres; the younger children were valued separately at 300, 250, and 150 livres respectively. The family fell by lot to the second son Jean Dion dit Despres.²⁹⁵ By 17 October 1747 at least two of the family, Anera and his daughter Catherine, were owned by Henri Trichel.²⁴⁸ Anera is not mentioned thereafter, and it appears that Fanchon died in the interval between 1737 and 1748.

Children of Anera and Fanchon:

- i. Canelle, appraised with his parents Oct. 1737.²⁹⁵
- ii. Joseph le Vacher, appraised with his parents Oct. 1737.²⁹⁵
- iii. Moussa, appraised with his parents Oct. 1737.²⁹⁵
- iv. Pierrot, "infant of Anera" Oct. 1737; his price of 300 livres exceeds that of the others, indicating that he was older.²⁹⁵ Since the youngest brother is known to have been born in 1729, it would appear that Pierrot was born in 1727 or shortly before.
- v. Pierre, b. 8 April 1729, bapt. Natchitoches 15 May 1729, godparents Pierre Coutoleau dit Duplessis (the post notary who had married the half-Indian daughter of St. Denis) and Jeanne d'Herbanne, his master's daughters.⁴⁰⁵ He was appraised at 250 livres in Oct. 1737.²⁹⁵
- 31 vi. Catherine, bapt. Natchitoches 17 Oct. 1734.

SEVENTH GENERATION

80. CHRISTOPHE MAUGUET, Sieur de MÉZIÈRES, dead by 7 January 1717,³⁰⁵ married before 1689³⁰⁴
81. MARIE BERGERON, died Paris October 1728.⁴⁰⁶

Of Christophe Mauguet we know only that he was during his lifetime "premier gentilhomme" to François-Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois and Minister of State for King Louis XIV. He was dead by the time his only son was married³⁰⁵ but his widow was alive. In her will, dated 24 November 1727 and registered in Paris 16 December 1728,⁴⁰⁶ she called herself a resident of the parish of Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet. She left rights in real property to Jacqueline Faire, widow of her brother Claude Bergeron. Her bequests to the poor of Cosne (Nièvre) and her references to property there raise the possibility that her family was connected with that city, although a preliminary search of the registers for 1676-90 revealed nothing.⁴⁰⁷ According to the will, Claude Christophe was her only son,

and the bequests made to his children were apparently sequestered by her daughter-in-law the Marquise de la Haye.

Children of Christophe and Marie (Bergeron) Mauguet:

40 i. Claude Christophe, b. c.1685.

82. FRANÇOIS MINARD, born Avallon (Yonne) 15 May 1665, died there 7 January 1754,⁴⁰⁸ married Etaules (Yonne) 28 May 1691⁴⁰⁹

83. EDMÉ MARIE JOSÈPHTÉ DE CLUGNY, baptized Etaules 14 May 1669,⁴⁰⁹ died Avallon 24 January 1745.⁴⁰⁸

Son of Pierre Minard, attorney, municipal official and provincial dignitary, and his wife Françoise Chauchon, François Minard, called "noble", bore arms and a name ancient in the Avallon region. He was the son, grandson and great-grandson of municipal notables.⁴¹⁰ A further examination of the Avallon registers and municipal records would reveal further family connections. His wife was named as an heir in her father's will in 1687⁴¹¹ and participated in the sale of her family's part of the Etaules estates in 1707 to François Huguet.⁴¹² When François and "Josette" (de Clugny) Minard were married, the parents of the bride and groom signed the parish register of Etaules.

Children of François and Edmé Marie Josèphte (de Clugny) Minard:⁴¹³

- i. Marie Anne, b. Avallon 1 March 1692, m. there 22 July 1720 Guillaume Marrault, son of (the late) Guillaume and Françoise (de la Gougette) Marrault.
- ii. Françoise, b. Avallon 25 March 1693, buried there 19 Jan. 1710.
- iii. François Elie, b. Avallon 6 Feb. 1695, no further record.
- iv. Charles, bapt. Avallon 3 May 1696, buried there 11 Dec. 1696.
- 41 v. Marie Josèphte, bapt. Avallon 28 Sept. 1697.
- vi. Jeanne, bapt. Avallon 24 June 1699.
- vii. Marie Agathe, bapt. Avallon 14 Feb. 1701.
- viii. Edmé Etienne, called "Minard des Panats", bapt. Avallon 18 Jan. 1703, buried there 14 Floréal an 5 [3 May 1797], wounded at Fontenoy (1745), achieved the ranks of brigadier of the Royal armies and King's lieutenant at Port-Louis, Chevalier de Saint-Louis, colonel of the bourgeois militia at Avallon in 1789.⁴¹⁴ He is doubtless one of the uncles described as generals in the 1779 letter of Athanase de Mézières.²⁰⁶ Royal Corps of Artillery since 1722.⁴¹⁵
- ix. Nicolas, bapt. Avallon 7 Sept. 1708, Chevalier de Saint-Louis, Capt. of Royal Artillery by 19 Oct. 1754, when he was a godfather at Avallon at the baptism of Nicolas, son of Lazare Morisot. He may be the other uncle described as a general by Athanase de Mézières in 1779, although his name

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does not appear in those official lists on which the name of his brother does appear.⁴¹⁶

86. --- DE MORIÈRE, who does not appear to have come to Louisiana, married

87. PERRINE LE MARIE, alive in New Orleans 26 November 1747.⁴¹⁷

Perrine Le Marie appears as a widow in the 1727 census of New Orleans, residing with the family of her son-in-law Jean Jacques Fazende [No. 42] on Royal Street.³⁷¹ On 26 November 1747 she witnessed the marriage contract of her grandniece, Marieanne Jousset, to Gabriel Adrien Tisserant at New Orleans.⁴¹⁷ Her parents are unknown and probably did not come to Louisiana. Her sister, Servanne Le Marie, was the widow of Henry Le Blanc when, on 8 January 1725 at New Orleans, their daughter Cecille Le Blanc contracted, by her tutor (guardian) Pierre Ciard, to marry Antoine Brusle, Councillor of the King and member of the Superior Council of the colony.⁴¹⁸ Her witnesses included not only her mother and her guardian but also her cousins Hélène and Pelagie de Morière and her grandmother Perrine Le Marie. No record of the death of Perrine Le Marie or of the administration of her estate has so far been found.

Known children of Perine (Le Marie) de Morière by her unknown husband:

- 43 i. Helene, m. Jean Jacques Fazende.
- ii. Pelagie, dead by 6 May 1747, when a contract of marriage for her daughter Pelagie Fleuriau with Pierre Henry Derneville, captain of the First Company of Marines detached to the province, was filed; the roster of witnesses, including her uncle and aunt M. and Mme. Fazende, reads like a roll of colonial nobility and provincial political hierarchy.⁴¹⁹ She m. c.1726 François Fleuriau, attorney general of the colony of Louisiana.

EIGHTH GENERATION

166. HELIE DE CLUGNY, Seigneur d'Etaules, dead by 29 March 1697,⁴²⁰ buried Abbey of Marcilly (commune of Provenchery near Avallon), married [contract 28 July 1668]⁴²¹

167. MARIE ANNE LALLEMENT, baptized Avallon 22 August 1648, buried there 20 July 1728.⁴⁰⁸

One of the twenty-three children of Georges and Françoise (Filsjean or Filzjehan) de Clugny,⁴²² the ancestry of Helie de Clugny can be traced to Guillaume de Clugny, a citizen of Autun, dead by 4 January 1398.⁴²³ It is not clear where his marriage to Marie Anne Lallemand [Lallement], daughter of the lawyer Charles Lallemand and Joseph Arthault, took place; it does not seem to have occurred at Avallon, and the registers of Etaules, where the groom had a lordship, commence only in 1669.⁴²⁴ Helie de Clugny and his wife made a joint will 7 September 1687

before Maître Gourlet, notary at Avallon.⁴¹¹ He named his children Josèphite, Marie-Pierrette, Denise, Jeanne and Helie. It is several times repeated that Helie de Clugny died in 1688 and was buried in the Abbey of Marcilly, where an epitaph bears the date 1688.⁴²⁵ Either the inscription (now destroyed) was miscopied, or the date was inscribed incorrectly, because a comparison of signatures on the 1687 will and the 1691 marriage record of their daughter shows that Helie was alive.⁴⁰⁹ He was still alive 11 September 1695 when he and his wife paid 2,500 livres for a dowry to the Convent of the Visitandines in Avallon for the reception of their daughter Marie-Pierrette into religion.⁴²⁶ He was dead by 29 March 1697 when Marie Anne Lallemand is named as his widow.⁴²⁰ On 21 December 1707 Marie Anne Lallemand and her daughters sold half the seigniorship of Etaules to François Huguet.⁴¹² She also appears as godmother at the baptisms of some of the children of Avallon prior to her own death at the age of eighty years (misstated as aged 88 in the burial record).

Further research in the archives of Avallon would provide much information concerning the families of Clugny, Filsjean, Lallemand and Arthaut.

Children of Helie and Marie Anne (Lallemand) de Clugny (probably incomplete for the period 1669-79):

- i. Anne Etiennette [twin?], bapt. Etaules 14 May 1669, probably d. young as not mentioned in her father's will.⁴⁰⁹
- 83 ii. [Edmé Marie] Josèphite [twin?], bapt. Etaules 14 May 1669.
- iii. Marie Pierrette, b. c.1672, a nun in the Convent of the Visitandines at Avallon after 1695.⁴²⁶
- iv. Denise, b. c.1674, d. unm. Avallon 21 Nov. 1729, aged 55.⁴⁰⁸
- v. [Marie] Jeanne, b. Avallon 21 Feb. 1679, buried there 14 Dec. 1758, m. there 18 Feb. 1710 Jean Morisot [Morizot], son of Jean and Marguerite [Moricard] Morisot.⁴⁰⁸ Issue.
- vi. Helie, bapt. Avallon 12 May 1680,⁴⁰⁸ d. young.
- vii. Marie Anne, bapt. Avallon 16 Nov. 1681,⁴⁰⁸ probably d. young as not mentioned in her father's will.
- viii. Etienne, born Avallon 26 Dec. 1682, d. young, perhaps same as Joseph, son of Helie de Clugny and Marie Lallemand, buried Avallon 9 March 1683, aged 3 months.⁴⁰⁸
- ix. Elie, born Avallon 5 May 1686,⁴⁰⁸ killed at the siege of Toulouse 2/3 April 1709, lieutenant in the regiment of Forez.⁴²⁷
- x. Etienne, b. Avallon 15 Sept. 1687,⁴⁰⁸ probably d. young.

* * *

This review of the ancestry of Henry Philippe Mézières, free man of color of nineteenth century Natchitoches, is in many ways a reflection of untold numbers of this anomalous

caste in North America -- not merely in Latin Louisiana but in the so-called "Anglo" South as well (and quite possibly in the early Northern colonies). Crucial differences, derived from culture, climate, economics, religion, and other factors do exist in white-black-Indian relations as found in Latin and "Anglo" colonies or in Southern or Northern colonies. And yet the distinctive circumstances which produced the free man or woman of color in all of these societies reflect basic parallels in human behavior as well as parallel problems for modern researchers.

Legal proscriptions against racial intermarriage sometimes did and sometimes did not exist in the Latin colonies of the American South. The same may be true of the "Anglo" colonies and their frontier offshoots. Louisiana's Code Noir forbade legal miscegenation, even under Spanish dominion. The laws of Spanish Texas did not. The first laws against interracial marriage or illicit miscegenation in the "Anglo" colonies were enacted before 1700, but more than 250 years of colonization and expansion took place in "Anglo" North America before the last state of "Anglo" origins declared intermarriage between the races a legal impossibility.⁴²⁸

Within Louisiana, the manumitted Creole *de couleur* was often the scion of a prominent colonial family; in this society kinship ties between lighter and darker branches were openly recognized in countless cases. Moreover, the offspring of these various families of prominence were prone to intermarry to a striking degree, consolidating family fortunes and solidifying kinship ties as did their white relatives. In the case of the non-white branches, family intermarriage often produced for them a distinctive identity. Both the Campti Creoles *de couleur* and their previously studied counterparts on Cane River in lower Natchitoches Parish³ typify this phenomenon. The respect which their society thereby earned is manifested in such remarks as the assessment of the Mézières of Campti (quoted early in this paper) or in the acceptance in the Reconstruction era of Henry Philippe Mézières as a key parish official. Scholars who are presently conducting grass-roots study of free people of color in the "Anglo" South report the same phenomena: light-skinned Negroes who were recognized by their fathers were more often the offspring of "upper-crust families", and a complex network of relations between white families which produced such offspring was often mirrored in the marital choices and friendship ties of the non-white branches. Such men and women of servile race who were publicly recognized as offspring of certain Anglo whites were also more prone to enjoy the respect and toleration of society, although not all its legal and social privileges (as was the case in Louisiana as well).

Clearly, the ambivalent, ambiguous, tenuous, and sometimes fragile relationships between the different castes

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of America is a subject that deserves far greater scrutiny. Traditions, myths, and misconceptions regarding the extent to which interracial ties can be documented might more appropriately be attributed to a lack of experience in this area as well as to the "delicacy" of a society that has hesitated to put into print the gossip that it privately relished. Extant records on non-whites of mixed origins contain considerable gaps in crucial identifications and other details, but comprehensive research can unearth sufficient evidence to permit a reweaving of relationships even when consistent and continuous declarations of relationship are not found. (Indeed, in this respect, the problems faced in non-white American genealogy bear striking resemblances to research problems encountered along "Anglo" America's Southeastern frontier, where whites were often illiterate and non-churchgoing settlers in areas remote from established courthouses.) As the blossoming interest in non-white genealogy matures, there is much promise that its development will produce the seeds of a better understanding of society at large.

NOTES

1. Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York, 1971).
2. A civil parish in Louisiana is the equivalent of a county in other states. Roman Catholic parishes exist independently and their boundaries do not coincide with those of civil parishes today.
3. For a genealogical study of this community see Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, "Slaves and Masters: The Louisiana Metoyers", *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 70:163-89 (1982). For a historical study see Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge, 1977).
4. A discussion of social patterns within this Campti community is Gary B. Mills, "Piety and Prejudice: A Colored Catholic Community in the Antebellum South", in John L. Wakelyn and Randall M. Miller, ed., *Catholics in the Old South* (Macon, Ga., 1983), pp. 171-94.
5. Philippe Valsain v. Cloutier, District Court Record Book 3: 118-26, Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana [hereinafter abbreviated as "Natchitoches Parish Records"].
6. For one interesting example see Terry Alford, *Prince among Slaves* (New York, 1977).
7. Mary Teresa Austin Carroll, *A Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas* (New York, 1908), p. 359.
8. Baptismal Entry No. 1839- [blank], Register 10, Parish of St. François des Natchitoches. Now in the archives of its successor, Immaculate Conception Church, Natchitoches.
9. The date of death is recorded in his estate record: Succession of H. P. Mézières, No. 2768 1/2, Natchitoches Parish Records.

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10. Records of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, p. 264, Church of the Nativity, Campti; Marriage Book 2:146, Natchitoches Parish Records.
11. Marriage Book 16:87, Natchitoches Parish Records.
12. For the dedication of this chapel see Register Book 6, entry for 8 Sept. 1831, Parish of St. François. Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939) errs in identifying the benefactress of this church as "Mlle. Françoise Crichet" (p. 318).
13. Deed Book 53:204, Natchitoches Parish Records.
14. Eighth Census... 1860: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 11, nos. 92/92.
15. Deed Book 55:389, Natchitoches Parish Records.
16. Louisiana historian Arthur Bergeron, Curator, Post Hudson State Commemorative Area, has identified nine C.S.A. servicemen from this community, including Magee and Gabriel Grappe, J. G. Perot, Ambroise Le Brun, Sylvester Perez, William and Jesse Garner, and John Adams. Letter, Arthur Bergeron to Elizabeth S. Mills, 28 Oct. 1981. For background on the non-white militia of Natchitoches Parish see Gary B. Mills, "Patriotism Frustrated: The 'Native Guards' of Confederate Natchitoches", *Louisiana History* 18:437-51 (1977).
17. Joseph C. Mezieres v. United States, Claim No. 20896/43577, Southern Claims Commission, Record Group 56, National Archives and Records Service [NARS], Washington, D.C. Supplementary data may be found in a number of similar claims filed by parish residents before this commission as well as the French and American Claims Commission and the Mixed Commission of British and American Claims, Record Group 76, NARS.
18. Box 1, Folder: Aug.-Dec. 1866, Chaplin Breazeale & Chaplin Collection, Archives Department, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
19. Ninth Census... 1870: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, Ward 4 (Grande Ecore), p. 2, No. 17/17.
20. Germaine A. Reed, "Race Legislation in Louisiana, 1864-1920", *Louisiana History* 6:379-92 (1965).
21. *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northwest Louisiana* (Nashville, Tenn., 1890), pp. 300-02. Deed Book 72:588, Deed Book 74:21, Natchitoches Parish Records.
22. See particularly the 17 April and 1 May 1875 issues of the *Vindicator*. For the turmoil in the area during and after Reconstruction see Marguerite T. Leach, "The Aftermath of Reconstruction in Louisiana" (Louisiana State University M.A. thesis, 1933).
23. Tenth Census... 1880: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, Ward 4, S.D. 2, E.D. 32, p. 39, nos. 337/336. Deed Book 74:115, 467, Natchitoches Parish Records.
24. Natchitoches Parish Records: Deed Book 76:67,202, 77:265-66; Allen West & Bush v. Rosalie Lauve and Husband, No. 8918, Milton Cunningham v. Rosalie Lauve & Husband, No. 8929, John Mahon & Son v. Mézières & Bro., No. 8769, Cunningham & Tucker v. Rosalie Mézières,

No. 10776, District Court Files. It should be noted that custom in Louisiana, as in France and Spain, decreed that a woman use her maiden name throughout her life. For more on the Natchitoches Parish "Redeemers" and their ouster of the Mézières faction, see Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, *Tales of Old Natchitoches* (Natchitoches, 1978), pp. 119-22.

25. Natchitoches Parish Records: Deed Book 82:356-57, 83:80-81, 205-06, 85:381-82, 88:173, 90:403, 92:103, 264.

26. Record of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905 (burials), p. 97, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

27. Deed Book 102:782, Natchitoches Parish Records, which gives the date of the marriage as 11 July 1900, whereas the marriage record itself is dated 10 July 1900..

28. Natchitoches Parish Records: Deed Book 106:792, 110:25, 114:9, 120:69-70, 72-73, 247.

29. The details of the estate are found in Succession of H. P. Mézières, *supra* note 9.

30. Marriage Records No. 1882-2, 1882-5 and 1886-8, Record of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

31. Marriage Books 5:389 and 15:35, Natchitoches Parish Records; Marriage No. 1887-12, Record of Marriages, 1866-86, Church of the Nativity, Campti; Baptism No. 1833-4, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. In order to protect the privacy of this branch of the family, the identity of the holder of the Bible record is withheld.

32. Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800-1826; Translated Abstracts of Register Number Five of the Catholic Church Parish of St. François des Natchitoches in Louisiana* [hereinafter Mills, 1800-26] (New Orleans, 1980), No. 1995.

33. Lucille K. Prud'homme and Fern B. Christensen, *The Natchitoches Cemeteries: Transcriptions of Gravestones from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in Northwest Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1977), p. 107. While the date of birth on the tombstone is 25 December, the baptismal record says 24 December and has been followed; data recorded nearest to the event is generally the more reliable.

34. Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages 1818-1850* [hereinafter Mills, 1818-50] (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1985), No. 149.

35. *Id.*, No. 365.

36. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2618, surname recorded as "Grappe".

37. Prud'homme and Christensen, *supra* note 33; Burial No. 1899-20, Chapel of Ste. Rose, Archives of the Church of the Nativity, Campti.

38. The observation was reported by the Abbé M. B. Anduze, a traveling companion of Bishop Dubourg, in a letter to a friend in France published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 3:501-09 at 507-08 (1828) and translated by the Rev. Dr. J. Edgar Bruns, Historian of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, in *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 32:3-8 at 5 (1985). This letter will be referred to again.

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39. Documents 1451, 1499, 3020, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches [this series runs through 1818].

40. The borderlands historian Herbert E. Bolton attempted to disprove the "groundless" rumor of miscegenation in the de Mézières line by recounting the details of the life of Athanase de Mézières, the father, not realizing that the gossip dealt with the son of the same name. Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1914), 1:84.

41. A copy of the will of Athanase de Mézières, with its bequest to the free woman of color, Marie Jeanne Mézières, is filed with other papers in the case of Gabriel Fazende *et al.* v. Estate of Marie Pelagie Athanase Mauguet de Mézières, Microcopy VS.5 (1833), Natchitoches Parish Records.

42. As to the identity of the "Monsieur Peraut" who had formed an alliance with Marie Pelagie Grappe, there is no doubt that he was one among three sons of the Canadian Pierre Joseph François Barthelemy Vildec dit Peraut (also Perot or Perault) by his wife Marie Catherine Dupré of Natchitoches. No other Perot family or individual resided on the Louisiana frontier during this period, and all three sons were of proper age and appear regularly in records dealing with the *Campti Creoles de couleur*. Onomastic evidence tends to suggest that of the three Perot brothers, Jean Chrisostomé, François, and Remy, the first is more probably the father. The name Chrisostomé is an extremely uncommon one at Natchitoches — so far it has been found only in the Perot family. The name Remy is likewise relatively uncommon, being found chiefly among the Perots and the Poissots (whose common ancestor, Anne Marie Philippe, took as a second wife the first Remy Poissot at Natchitoches). The name François is so extremely common that it is useless for discerning name patterns. Among the Perots *de couleur* who descend from Pelagie the name François does appear with relative frequency, whereas the name Remy does not appear at all. However, two of Pelagie's children gave the name of Jean Chrisostomé to their own offspring: Marie Aglae Perot and her husband Joseph Lazare Trichel in 1831 and Manuel Perot and his wife Deneige Barthe in 1847. Baptism No. 1831-8, and unnumbered 1847 entry, p. 91, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

43. Burial No. 1831-19, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

44. Succession of Pierre Trichel, Successions 10:260-64, 459-61, 12:12-16; Heirs of Pierre Trichel v. Cesaire Fonteneau *et al.*, Microcopy VS.6 (1837). Natchitoches Parish Records.

45. For example, see Natchitoches Parish Records: Successions 14:51-60, 292-96, 21:155-56, 246-47, 22:214-15; Deed Book A:193, 208, F:273, 25:409, 27:140, 346, 39:99, 42:233, 43:481, 44:277, 46:13, 257, 510, 51:362, 52:454; Sheriff's Sale Book 4:35.

46. Statistics for the parish farms and for those of Isle Brevelle are drawn from Mills, *supra* note 3, p. 110. Comparative statistics for Mézières are extracted from the agricultural schedule of the eighth Federal census of 1850, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana.

47. One study of Black slaveholding families in the South in the single year of 1830 tabulated 3,765 Black slaveholders. Carter G. Woodson, "Documents: Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830", *Journal of Negro History* 9:41-85 (1924).
48. Deed Book 49:532, Natchitoches Parish Records.
49. Francis A. Walker, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1872), p. 639; Eighth Census... 1860: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 11, Nos. 92/92; Mills, *supra* note 3, p. 220; John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1943), pp. 17, 157, 159.
50. Deed Book 61:319, 65:349, 66:593, 69:158, Natchitoches Parish Records.
51. Baptism No. 1832-12, Register 10, Church of St. François, Natchitoches; Deed Book 48:90, Natchitoches Parish Records (marriage).
52. Baptism (unnumbered entry), Register 10, Church of St. François, Natchitoches; Sixth Census... 1840: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 174.
53. Baptism (unnumbered entry), Register 10, Church of St. François, Natchitoches.
54. Prud'homme and Christensen, *supra* note 33, p. 100.
55. Marriage Book 3:107, Natchitoches Parish Records (Mézières - La Baume); Mills, 1818-50, No. 73, 26 Nov. 1821 (La Baume - David).
56. Marriage No. 1885-9, Records of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, Church of the Nativity, Campti; Prud'homme and Christensen, *supra* note 33, p. 100.
57. Mills, 1818-50, No. 73; Frederick C. Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio* (San Antonio, 1937), pp. 260-61; Doc.:Opel. 1778-44, Louisiana State Archives and Records Service, Baton Rouge, La. (La Baume - Le Kintrek marriage).
58. Seventh Census... 1850: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 41, No. 697/697.
59. Baptism No. 1846-20, Register 10, Church of St. François, Natchitoches.
60. Baptism of Noël Mézières (unnumbered), Records of Burials & Marriages [also baptisms], 1851-1905, Church of the Nativity, Campti. Various baptisms for which Edouard served as godfather are recorded in Records of Baptisms, 1851-1893, Church of the Nativity, Campti.
61. Twelfth Census... 1900: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, Ward 4, S.D. 4, E.D. 73, No. 432/440, 454/462.
62. Baptism No. 1849-26 (white section), Register 6, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.
63. Burial No. 1881-29, Chapel of Ste. Rose, Archives of the Church of the Nativity, Campti; Prud'homme and Christensen, *supra* note 33, p. 109, which gives her birthdate as 1 July 1851. Again, the baptismal record is much more likely to be correct.
64. Marriage Book 2:146, Natchitoches Parish Records.

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65. Marriage No. 1880-11 and unnumbered Le Brun - Mézières marriage, p. 271, Records of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, Church of the Nativity, Campti; Twelfth Census... 1900: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, Ward 4, S.D. 4, E.D. 73, No. 488/497; Prud'homme and Christensen, *supra* note 33, p. 109.

66. Baptism No. 1857-9 (f.p.c.), Records of Baptisms, 1851-1893, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

67. Marriage Book 5:416, Natchitoches Parish Records.

68. Records of Burials & Marriages [also baptisms], 1851-1905, p. 264, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

69. Eighth Census... 1860: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 12, No. 92/92.

70. Baptism No. 1861-1 (f.p.c.), Baptisms and Marriage Records, 1859-1863, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

71. Marriage No. 1885-8, Records of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, Church of the Nativity, Campti.

72. Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803; Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana* [hereinafter Mills, 1729-1803] (New Orleans, 1977), No. 2359.

73. Deed Book 21:439, Natchitoches Parish Records.

74. *dit[e]*, literally "called", may require explanation. It prefaces a nickname which the French in the eighteenth century more commonly substituted for a family name than a Christian name. Such nicknames often defined a prominent characteristic of an individual's appearance or personality, commemorated an experience in his past, denoted the place from which he came, or (as in Canada) identified his seigniory. Sometimes a man's *dit* was adopted by his offspring and on occasion displaced the original family name entirely. At other times the individual's *dit* died with him (or her) as offspring chose their own *dit* or reverted to the original family name. A number of these nicknames will be noted in this article.

75. Document 652, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches. For Padre Luis Quintanilla's crusade against miscegenation at the post see Mills, *supra* note 3, pp. 14-22, and Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Family and Social Patterns on the Colonial Louisiana Frontier, A Quantitative Analysis, 1729-1803" (B. A. Honors Thesis, University of Alabama, 1981), pp. 110-11, 144-46, 181.

76. Deed Book 19:436-38, Natchitoches Parish Records.

77. According to Mills, *supra* note 4, p. 192, the Catholic registers of Natchitoches Parish between the years 1800 and 1860 record 22 such instances of racial misidentification within the Campti colony, another 37 incidences within the Isle Brevelle colony, and at least 12 others among scattered free persons of color in the parish.

78. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1854.

79. Document 4321, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

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80. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1871.
81. Mills, 1818-50, No. 141. The groom's name is spelled "Coin-det" here.
82. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2040 [identified as female].
83. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1748 [identified as female].
84. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1805.
85. Burial No. 1837-21, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. Trichel was normally identified as Pierre or Pierre André but he appears in the baptismal record of one of his children as Athanase, which may or may not be a scribal error.
86. Doc. 2724, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches, lists all children born to the mother of Marie Josephe with their ages, and attributes a birth date of 1786 to Marie Josephe.
87. Burial No. 1840- [blank], Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. Her birth date is here approximated as 1782 but, as before, the earlier record would appear to be more reliable.
88. Succession Book 9:195-202, Natchitoches Parish Records.
89. Letter to author, 20 Dec. 1981. The author of this letter descends from Trichel's non-white offspring and therefore her identity must remain confidential, as the line in question has established an identity as white.
90. *Civil Code of the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1825), p. 343.
91. Succession Book 10:260-64, 459-61, Natchitoches Parish Records.
92. Heirs of Pierre Trichel v. Cesaire Fonteneau *et al.*, *supra* note 44, records the proceedings.
93. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2042.
94. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2117.
95. Seventh Census... 1850: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 41, No. 714/714.
96. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2459. The dates of birth and baptism are torn off or illegible except to show that the child was free and born on the fifth day of the month.
97. Marriage Book 2:135, Natchitoches Parish Records. For the birth of Marie Adoline, see Mills, 1800-26, No. 2116.
98. Ninth Census... 1870: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 56, No. 468/470. This entry also confirms the age of François Berthilde.
99. Seventh Census... 1850: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 41, No. 740/740. He is also mentioned in the will of his father, *supra* note 91.
100. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1212.
101. Burial No. 1835-9 (f.p.c.), Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

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102. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1569.

103. Seventh Census... 1850: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 41, No. 698/698; Will of Pierre Trichel, *supra* note 91.

104. Baptism No. 1834-7, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. He is also recognized in the will of his father, *supra* note 91.

105. Records of Burials & Marriages, 1851-1905, p. 162, Church of the Nativity, Campiti.

106. Marriage Book 5:389, Natchitoches Parish Records; Marriage No. 1877-12, Records of Marriages, 1866-1885, Church of the Nativity, Campiti.

107. Baptism No. 1833-14, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. On her parents and the identification of their family connections see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Land Titles, A Neglected Key to Solving Genealogical Problems: A Case Study at Natchitoches", *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 31:103-24 (1984).

108. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 630.

109. Burial No. 1828-13, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

110. Mills, 1818-50, No. 130; Docs. 1451, 1499, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

111. Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Genealogical Patterns in Colonial Natchitoches" (paper presented Aug. 1980 to the First Annual Reunion of the Descendants of the Founders of Natchitoches, at Natchitoches).

112. Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials -- Censuses, Military Rolls and Tax Lists, 1722-1803* [hereinafter Mills, Colonials] (Chicago, 1981), transcribes all known military rolls for the post, including seven (1772, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1787, 1791, 1793) for the period in which the younger Athanase might have served. He appears on none.

113. See principally Docs. 2202 and 2300, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches; Pierre Metoyer v. Athanase de Mézières, Microcopy PC.1 (1806), Natchitoches Parish Records; Bolton, *supra* note 40, 2:321-22; Mills, Colonials, pp. 76, 80-82, 106-10. Economic percentiles here and elsewhere in this study are based upon the author's analysis of census data published in Mills, Colonials.

114. Doc. 4321, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

115. *Fazende v. Estate of Manguet de Mézières*, *supra* note 41.

116. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2410.

117. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1582 (2 Oct. 1825). See also Nos. 1135, 1995 and 2129.

118. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2499.

119. Microcopy PC.50 (1847), Natchitoches Parish Records.

120. Burial 1848- [blank], Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

121. Conveyances Book 24:320, Natchitoches Parish Records.

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122. "Early Natchitoches Parish Marriage Bonds and Certificates", *The Natchitoches Genealogist* 4:17 (1980).

123. For additional information see Mills, *supra* note 107, where her three children are identified.

124. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2555.

125. Deed Book 46:267, Natchitoches Parish Records.

126. Deed Book 24:246, Natchitoches Parish Records.

127. Sixth Census... 1840: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 174.

128. Seventh Census... 1850: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 40, No. 695/695. The children were Faustin, b. c.1835, and Marie, b. c. 1836.

129. Baptism No. 1846-20, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

130. Deed Book 24:178-79, Natchitoches Parish Records.

131. Section 3, Page 5, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

132. Section 3, Page 6, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

133. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 72.

134. Succession, Doc. 2392, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

135. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1000.

136. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 320.

137. Burials, p. 2, Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

138. Winston De Ville, *Marriage Contracts of Natchitoches, 1729-1803* (n.p., 1961), No. 40.

139. Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 34-35.

140. This was a small tribe that in 1780 numbered no more than thirty members, clustered some 25 leagues west-northwest of the post of Natchitoches. The actual record of the conveyance from Comté is not on file in the Colonial Archives, the Natchitoches Parish Records Collection, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, or the Cammie Henry Collection, Watson Memorial Library, Northwestern State University of Louisiana, Natchitoches — the two latter collections containing documents removed from the Colonial Archives at Natchitoches. The sale is, however, mentioned in the inventory of the Trichel estate, Doc. 2392, *Colonial Archives, Natchitoches*. See also the 1766 census of Natchitoches Indian Tribes and 1780 Census of Indian Allies, Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 21-22, 40-41.

141. 1787 Census of Natchitoches in Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 45-62 at p. 59.

142. Mills, *Colonials*, p. 27.

143. Docs. 1733, 1945, cited in Index to French Archives, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

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144. Mills, 1729-1803, Nos. 532, 588, 595, 635, 664, 685, 962, 1731 and 1747.
145. Mills, *supra* note 75, p. 70.
146. Docs. 2392, 2651, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
147. The birth year of these children is calculated from the succession of Marie Louise Grappe, Doc. 2483, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches, and from the 1787 census, Mills, Colonials, p. 59.
148. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 3402.
149. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 3416 (misdated 1795 in the register).
150. Mills, 1800-26, No. 804.
151. One contemporary Manuel Trichel m. Louise Euphrosine Prudhomme, Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1731, but family patterns strongly suggest that this Manuel was the son of J. B. Trichel, brother of Emanuel [see No. 24(iv)] and not the son of Emanuel.
152. Mills, 1800-26, Nos. 138-39, 1854-55.
153. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1787.
154. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1253.
155. See the discussion above at p. 19 under his brother Pierre [No. 6].
156. Succession Book 9:195-202, 10:260-64, 459-61.
157. Mills, 1729-1803, Nos. 1586, 1997.
158. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1569.
159. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2046.
160. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1010.
161. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 319.
162. *Coureur des Natchitoches*, 2 Aug. 1825 (obituary).
163. Mills, Natchitoches, 1729-1803, No. 324.
164. Burial No. 1829-5 (f.p.c.), Register 15, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches. She died during the evening.
165. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress, 1805-06*, pp. 1212-13.
166. Mills, Colonials, pp. 38, 44; Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:89-90.
167. Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis, "An Account of the Red River in Louisiana", in Maude H. O'Pry, *Chronicles of Shreveport* (Shreveport, La., 1928), pp. 16-20.
168. *Message from the President of the United States Communicating Discoveries made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River & Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley & Mr. Dunbar* (New York, 1806), pp. 8-9; *American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States* (38 vols., Washington, D.C., 1832-61), Class 2: Indian Affairs, 1:725; Philip C. Cook, "François Grappe: Profile of a North Louisiana Creole", paper presented before the Louisiana Historical Association, March 1979, Natchitoches, La., pp. 9-12.

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169. Cook, *supra* note 168, pp. 11-12.
170. *American State Papers*, *supra* note 168, Class 8: Public Lands, 3:82-83. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 pre-emptive landowners were required to file proofs of title to their property for adjudication of "claims" by the United States government. Grappe's "claim" for 5,716 acres was approved in the reduced amount of 2,000 acres.
171. Doc. 1245, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
172. Mills, 1729-1803, Nos. 2327, 2381, 2431, 3082, 3167.
173. Doc. 2724, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
174. Caddo Chiefs to President Andrew Jackson, 28 Jan. 1835, copy in Grappe Collection, Centenary College Archives, Shreveport, La., cited in Cook, *supra* note 168, p. 12.
175. Like many obituaries, this one is imperfect in detail. The highest rank documentable at this time for Grappe's father is that of sergeant. The statement that the Grappes continued to reside at Fort St. Louis until 1780 is also flawed; Louisiana was transferred to Spain in 1763, the actual transfer of government took place in stages between 1766 and 1768, and the Grappes were back in Natchitoches before the 1766 enumeration. See the further discussion of this point under Alexis Grappe [No. 26].
176. Doc. 2724, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches indicates that Pelagie was born in 1766.
177. Doc. 1145, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches indicates that Pelagie was born in 1768. At this point it is impossible to choose when these two documents are in conflict regarding the age of the Grappe children.
178. Her death date is given in approximate form in Succession Book 13:113-21, Natchitoches Parish Records.
179. As he did with his concubine and other children.
180. See the marriage of Louis Florentin Metoyer and Marie Theodoze Chagnau, 19 Jan. 1830, Mills, 1818-50, No. 164. Her father is not specifically identified but was white, as she is called a quadroon in her baptismal record, Mills, 1800-26, No. 190.
181. See, for example, the marriage of Valery La Baume to Marie Osinne David, daughter of Louis David and Madeleine Grappe, Mills, 1818-50, No. 73, 26 Nov. 1821.
182. Succession Book 25:198, Natchitoches Parish Records.
183. Succession Book 24:321-24, 25:198, Natchitoches Parish Records; baptism of Tiburcé Jacques, 24 April 1827 [unnumbered entry], Register 7, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.
184. Mills, 1800-26, Nos. 2097, 2490, 2618.
185. Fifth Census... 1830: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 74.
186. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2327.
187. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2381.
188. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1392, her name being Marie Adelle.

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189. Conveyance Book 24:80-81, Natchitoches Parish Records.
190. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2431.
191. Succession Book 14:51-60, 292-96, Natchitoches Parish Records.
192. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2506.
193. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 3082.
194. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2607, 2933.
195. Cook, *supra* note 168, p. 14; Dorman H. Winfrey, "Chief Bowles of the Texas Cherokees", *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 32:29-41 (1954).
196. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 3167.
197. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1194, 2617.
198. Baptism No. 1832-14, Register 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.
199. The papers (1829-1937) of Norbert Badin are available in a microform edition.
200. The original baptismal record was destroyed in 1871; a copy might appear in the Paris notarial records. St. Séverin is the parish of baptism in Docs. 2163, 2165, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches; this is not incompatible with Mills, 1729-1803, No. 347, where it is said that he had resided in the (nearby) parish of St. Sulpice, Paris.
201. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1500 (he was buried 3 Nov. 1779 at San Antonio de Bexar).
202. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 347; she died 2 Feb. 1748 at Natchitoches aged about 18 years, *id.*, No. 390.
203. Cathedral of Saint-Louis, Marriages, B:42b. This register covers the years 1764-74 and the marriage record, partly deteriorated, was discovered by the Rev. Dr. J. Edgar Bruns, Historian of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, having been recorded out of place as No. 134. However, the date and most of the name of the bridegroom are fully legible. Rev. Bruns has kindly informed the author that the reconstruction of the entry in *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 32:7 n. 14 (1985) has been revised by him after re-examination under stronger light and has been superseded.
204. The census of July 1727 shows her parents with only one child. See also *Fazende v. Estate of de Mézières*, *supra* note 41.
205. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1180.
206. Bolton, *supra* note 40, who has performed a great service in making available details of Athanase's official career, is unable even to spell his surname correctly (although in the handwriting of the period Manguet and Mauguet are easily confused). A popularized biography by Julia Vivian, *A Cavalier in Texas* (San Antonio, 1953) has neither historical nor genealogical value. The recent article by the Rev. Dr. J. Edgar Bruns, "Athanase Christophe Fortunat de Mezieres (1721-1779)...", *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 32:3-8 (1985) brings to light the most valuable documentation of the second marriage of Athanase, long sought by researchers, but for the earlier period relies solely upon the memoirs of his niece, as mediated through her weakest biographer Mrs. Wyndham.

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The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Editor and of Madame Marguerite Audin, Monsieur Patrick Naton and other researchers of the French Research Organisation for Genealogical Services, 37 rue La Quintinie, 75010 Paris, France, in providing a foundation for further work by others on the French ancestry and connections of this pioneer settler of Natchitoches. However, he is worthy of the full biography which he has not yet received.

207. Jacob Nicolas Moreau, *Mes souvenirs* (2 vols., Paris, 1898-1901), 1:161. His personal remarks and anecdotes are of much value and it is unfortunate that his chronology and dating tend to be unreliable. On his life and career, see Dieter Gembicki, *Histoire et politique à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, 1717-1803* (Paris, 1979).

208. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:81.

209. Caroline Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest (Du Crest), Comtesse de Genlis, *Memoires inedites de madame la comtesse de Genlis* (10 vols., Paris, 1825), 1:114, 119-23.

210. *Id.*, 1:115-19. Unfortunately, Madame de Genlis, who was much impressed by the learning, the wisdom, and the poise of her uncle, did not date his visit beyond noting (p. 117) that it was after the death of his mother, thus in the period 1768-77. She described his adventures among and respect for the "savages", his command of Latin, Spanish and French, and the serpents tattooed on his legs and the flowers on his chest. It is impossible to tell how much of her account is accurate and how much the embellishment of an impressionable, albeit very intelligent, young woman. It would be interesting to know if any of the colorists of the period would have taken the opportunity to paint or sketch their distinguished visitor, tattoos and all.

211. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:81 and n. 98.

212. It will be clear from his advancement that his banishment was in fact a mere pretext. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:80-81.

213. Apart from the summary by Bolton, he appears as half-pay captain of infantry on the French and Spanish censuses of Natchitoches in January and May 1766 respectively. Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 9, 15. His official correspondence is, of course, published at length by Bolton.

214. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:80-82, 121. For his career in Texas see also W. E. Syers, *Texas: The Beginning 1519-1834* (Waco, Texas, 1978), pp. 96-100.

215. Docs. 1451, 1499, 2163, 2165, 2668, 3254, 3520, 3550, 4321-22, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches. A search of the relevant notarial archives in Paris might reveal much more concerning the claims of the family to French property.

216. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 271.

217. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2652. She died of fever. The day of the month has been torn off, as has her age.

218. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 679, 1183.

219. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 405; Doc. 2165, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

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220. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 468.
221. Mills, 1800-26, No. 915.
222. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 2:285-86, 322.
223. Doc. 3520, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches; Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas 8:221 (1795), University of Notre Dame Microform Publication.
224. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 489.
225. Doc. 2165, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches. No baptismal record is extant; there was a gap in the records between Dec. 1763 and April 1766 into which the baptism would have fallen.
226. The will of the younger Athanase, *supra* note 41, refers to his sister's illness of eleven years. There is no burial record for her.
227. The version of this letter given by Carroll, *supra* note 7, pp. 251-52, is not correct; this version has been translated from the original by the Rev. Dr. Bruns, *supra* note 38.
228. Athanase himself was quite aware of his connections in France as appears from his letter to Bernard de Gálvez, 17 March 1779, published by Bolton, *supra* note 40, 2:240. Docs. 2163, 2165, 2668 and 3520, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches, indicate that his survivors were also well aware of these connections and of the possibility of estate claims arising out of them.
229. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 880.
230. Doc. 3517, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
231. Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miro, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), pp. 197-98; Mills, *Colonials*, p. 67 (italics added).
232. Mills, 1800-26, No. 155.
233. Mills, 1818-50, No. 60.
234. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 937.
235. Doc. 3517, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
236. Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1:97-122, 8:100-01, University of Notre Dame Microform Publication; Doc. 3517, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches (sale of inheritance rights).
237. "Milbac", which does not exist, is very likely Mühlbach in the diocese of Strasbourg, where the registers commence only in 1734. The place of origin is taken from the record of the second marriage.
238. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1193.
239. *Id.*, No. 352.
240. *Id.*, No. 795.
241. For the Davion dit St. Prix - Guillot marriage, Cathedral of Saint-Louis, Marriages, A:5-6.
242. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 365.
243. In her burial record: Mills, 1729-1803, No. 816. See No. 51.

244. Myldred Masson Costa, trans., *The Letters of Marie Madeleine Hachard, 1727-1728* (New Orleans, 1974), p. 59. Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of King Henry VII, was married at 12 and gave birth at 13. *The Complete Peerage* (New ed., 13 vols. in 14, London, 1910-59), 10:827.

245. Mills, *supra* note 75, pp. 135-36.

246. For the 1722 and 1726 censuses of Natchitoches see Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 3-7. For the marriage of Marie Angelique Dumont to Joseph Verger, see Mills, 1729-1803, No. 511; although the cryptic entry does not name Verger's bride, she is clearly identified in the baptismal entries of their children.

247. Ramo de Historia 54:306/123, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. Subsequent documents dealing with this affair identify "Hendrique" of Natchitoches as "Enrique Tris".

248. Misc. Arch. Rec. [Natchitoches], 1733-1819, Microcopy FT.565, Frames 322-24, Louisiana State Archives and Records Service, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

249. De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 7.

250. For the French and Spanish censuses of Natchitoches in 1766 see Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 9-20. The references to the widower Trichel are at pp. 13 and 16 respectively.

251. Doc. 1245, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

252. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 346, 912; Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 45-62.

253. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 22.

254. Inventaire des pièces du Greffe et du Notarial du Poste des Natchitoches des Diverses Exercices depuis 1732, Reel 7, Jack D. L. Holmes Collection.

255. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 116.

256. Succession of J. B. Trichel, Doc. 1481, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

257. Succession of F. Closot, Doc. 627, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

258. Mills, *Colonials*, p. 48.

259. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 348. The place of birth is recorded in the marriage record.

260. Doc. 1082, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

261. Burial, Register 15, p. 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches, indicates that she was born before 1714, but this is undoubtedly wrong. Burials of the aged at Natchitoches customarily overstate longevity. The 1726 census, Mills, *Colonials*, p. 6, indicates that no children had as yet been born to her parents.

262. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 208.

263. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 348; De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 54; obituary, *supra* note 162.

264. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress, 1805-1806*, p. 1212;

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"General Roll of Louisiana Troops, 1720-1770", in Glenn R. Conrad, *First Families of Louisiana* (2 vols., Baton Rouge, 1971), 2:190.

265. Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:89, 145-46.

266. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress, 1805-1806*, pp. 1212-13; Bolton, *supra* note 40, 1:244.

267. De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 45.

268. No record has been found of the actual sale to François Grappe by his mother. It is, however, mentioned in the 1794 inventory of her estate, as is the donation to her daughter and son-in-law Montenary. For the estate of the Widow Grappe in 1787 see Mills, *Colonials*, p. 60, where her age is exaggerated to 87. See also the Montenary-Grappe marriage contract, De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 69, and Doc. 4392, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

269. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 248.

270. *Id.*, No. 1133.

271. Docs. 456, 741, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

272. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 263.

273. Mills, 1800-26, No. 848. He left numerous issue.

274. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 416, 1031, 2073.

275. Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 39, 44.

276. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 578.

277. *Id.*, No. 1257.

278. *Id.*, No. 1007; De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 45.

279. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 657.

280. *Id.*, No. 1426.

281. *Id.*, No. 1026.

282. 1829-1836 censuses of Nacogdoches, Roll 2, Translations of Statistical and Census Reports of Texas, 1782-1836, microfilm publication of the Institute of Texan Culture, San Antonio, Texas. See also Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1782; Mills, 1800-26, No. 1241, 2460, 2620.

283. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 708.

284. *Id.*, No. 1051; De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 60.

285. Mills, *Colonials*, p. 60 (1787 census).

286. Mills, 1800-26, No. 2696.

287. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1538; De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 69.

288. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 3414; De Ville, *supra* note 138, No. 90. The marriage contract is dated 21 April 1796, whereas the marriage entry is dated 21 April 1795 and it was so transcribed. A thorough examination of the original register reveals that this entry and five subsequent entries are misdated. The sequence of entries is: 15 Sept. 1795, 16 Nov. 1795, 18 Nov. 1795, 26 Nov. 1795, 13 April 1795 [1796], 21 April 1795 [1796], 30 June 1795 [1796], 12 July 1795 [1796], 3 Nov. 1795

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[1796], 23 Nov. 1795 [1796], 9 Jan. 1797, 1 Feb. 1797, 19 Feb. 1797, etc. This register appears to be a recopied register rather than an original.

289. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress, 1805-1806*, p. 1212; Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 38, 44.

290. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 61. From the entry it is clear that he was not baptized as an infant but was recently imported from Africa.

291. *Id.*, No. 210.

292. *Id.*, No. 18.

293. Her date of birth is unknown. As will be seen, her older brother was baptized as an infant in 1729.

294. Doc. 10813, Spanish Judicial Records, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, La.

295. Elizabeth Shown Mills, "François (Guyon) Dion Despres Derbanne: *Premier Citoyen*, Poste St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches", *The Natchitoches Genealogist* 6:1-9 (1981); Succession of François Dion Despres Derbanne, Box 1, Natchitoches Parish Records Collection, Louisiana State University Archives, Baton Rouge, La.; for Article XLIII of the *Code Noir* see B. F. French, ed. and trans., *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (5 vols., New York, 1851), 3:94.

296. Succession... Derbanne, *supra* note 295; Los Adayes militia lists, Bexar Archives Translations, ms., University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas, vols. 9, 26 *passim*.

297. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 144.

298. L. Moreau Lislet and Henry Carleton, *The Laws of Las Siete Partidas Which Are Still in Force in the State of Louisiana* (2 vols., New Orleans, 1820), Part 4, Title 1, Law 6. See also Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Genealogical Patterns for Study of Eighteenth Century Louisiana", *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 31:2-15 (1984).

299. Docs. 73-75, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

300. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 296.

301. Mills, 1818-50, No. 126, described on the occasion of her son's marriage as a free woman of color.

302. Docs. 2392, 2651, 3039, 3447, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches; the purchase by Manuel is established by Doc. 1245 of the same series.

303. The 1792 inventory, Doc. 2392, names five children, two of whom have recorded baptisms; see Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2348, 2395. At this time it is impossible to show who the father(s) of the numerous children of Marie Jeanne may have been.

304. Avallon PR, where he is assigned the age of 45 years.

305. Avallon PR, which established the names of his parents and that his father was deceased. His mother signed the register with the parents of the bride and other witnesses, together with the couple themselves. Avallon registers are maintained at the municipal archives.

306. Avallon PR. "Josèphte" is a regional spelling of "Josèphe" and the latter is often found in later records made outside of Burgundy.

307. The date of her death is often given as 1769; see, for example, Comte Jean-Dominique Joannis *et al.*, *Les seize quartiers généalogiques des Capétiens* (4 vols., Lyon, Paris, 1958-66), 2:278. Such authors have perhaps been misled by the statement of Madame de Genlis that her much-hated grandmother died at the end of winter and not long before the Marquis de Montesson. Dates are nor the strong point of de Genlis, who does not correctly state the lapse of time between her birth and her parent's marriage, and who does not give the dates of death of either of her parents. Madame de la Haye will not have lived after the date of registration of her will (see below, note 318) and therefore she very likely died early in January 1768, whereas the Marquis de Montesson definitely died in 1769.

308. Moreau, *supra* note 207, 2:162.

309. A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (43 vols., Paris, 1879-1930), 20:215 n. 1, gives dates of birth and death; his death was also reported in the *Gazette de France*. Anatole, Marquis de Granges de Surgères, *Repertoire historique et biographique de la Gazette de France [Gazette]* (4 vols., Paris, 1902-06), 3:98 (issue of 30 March 1754).

310. Moreau, *supra* note 207, 2:158-59; de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:114.

311. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:114. This account has been confirmed by biographers of Madame du Châtelet, one of whom noted that in September 1734 Madame du Châtelet wrote a letter to the Abbé de Sade regretting the death of her neighbor. René Vaillot, *Madame du Châtelet* (Paris, 1978), pp. 46-47.

312. L. Dussieux and E. Soulié, ed., *Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735-1758)*, 16 (1757-58) (Paris, 1864), pp. 174-75. "Praticien" is capable of a number of meanings in this context.

313. Gaston Saffroy, *Bibliographie généalogique, héraldique et nobiliaire de la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1968-79); Etienne Arnaud, *Repertoire de généalogies françaises imprimées* (3 vols., Paris, 1978-82).

314. Moreau, *supra* note 207, 2:158 describes the event with his usual carelessness for dates, subtracting several years from the age of the bride. Nevertheless, it is notable that he describes the daughters as well as the sons as "érudit" and speaks of the bride's musical gifts.

315. It is not clear whether he was living in his own home or in that of de la Haye, who had befriended him. *Id.* 2:157-59.

316. Compare de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:128-29, with Moreau, *supra* note 207, 2:164-66.

317. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:114-23.

318. Archives de Paris, DC6 249 f. 56.

319. He was a son of Hardy Béraud, chevalier, Seigneur de Beauvais et de la Haye (sometimes Haie) de Riou, by his wife Lucrèce Bidé. The line is carried three generations back by Joannis, *supra* note 307, 2:278.

320. Boislisle, *supra* note 309, 20:214-16, 24:258, 26:319-21, 30:78-79. As expected, Saint-Simon is unsparing in his contempt for de la Haye. Moreau, his friend, speaks of his amiable disposition, *supra* note

207, 2:164, observing that he never spoke in public of his affair with the Duchesse de Berri.

321. Boislisle, *supra* note 309, 26:319-21.

322. On the birth, first marriage and family connections of Anne Helvétius see Louis Lafond, *La dynastie des Helvétius: les remèdes du Roi* (Paris, 1926), and also the initial chapter of Albert Keim, *Helvétius: sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1907, repr. Geneva, 1970). Claude Adrien Helvétius (b. 26 Jan. 1715, d. 26 Dec. 1771) was the famous philosopher of the Enlightenment whose widow was a friend of Benjamin Franklin.

323. Comte Henri de Chastellux, "Notes prises aux archives de l'état civil de Paris", *Revue nobiliaire, héraldique et biographique*, n.s. 7-10 (1872-75) *passim*, in this particular case 9:50 (1874). After the destruction in 1871 of the Paris vital records, the Count published in alphabetical order some extracts which he had made from certain of the church registers.

324. The Duc de Luynes, in a complicated explanation of the tangle of relationships by blood and marriage surrounding de la Haye and his daughter Madame de Montesson, said that Anne Helvétius had been the mistress of the Count of Toulouse and by him mother of a son, called the Chevalier d'Arcq, and that she died in childbirth. Dussieux, *supra* note 312, pp. 174-75. On the Count and the Chevalier see Jacques Dupont, ed., *Cahiers de Saint Louis* 15:1249 (1980), although the Chevalier is there assigned to another mistress of the Count.

325. de Chastellux, *supra* note 323, 7:218 (1872).

326. L. Maitre, ed., *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales... Loire-Inférieure*, 3 (Nantes, 1879), p. 183. File E. 651 holds the successions of de la Haye and of his mother Lucrece Bidé as well.

327. *Gazette* 3:98. He appears to have called himself "marquis" in his will as well.

328. For example, in the document (note 353) in which his children are emancipated after his death, and in his stepdaughter's marriage contract (note 331), he is called "chevalier" only. It appears that the title of "marquis" was often assumed without any particular right during this period; at other times it was associated with an estate and might be had by purchase of that estate (note 334). The author of the best biography of Madame de Genlis agrees that her step-grandfather had no particular right to call himself "marquis", although his noble status was not doubtful. Jean Harmand, *Madame de Genlis: sa vie intime et politique 1746-1830* (Paris, 1912), p. 5.

329. Avallon PR.

330. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 4:9.

331. The original contract for the marriage is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr., pièces originales 930, dossier 20509.

332. This date is often given 1707, but the record of his burial calls him fifty years of age, and if his parents were married the year before, as is usually indicated, and if he was a younger son, he could not have been born in 1707. Madame de Genlis is again responsible because she says her father was thirty-seven years of age when he was married, and so 1707 is the date adopted by Henri Jouglas de Morenas,

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Grand armorial de France... (7 vols., Paris, 1934-52), 3:108, in his brief account of the family of du Crest de Chigy.

333. de Chastellux, *supra* note 323, 8:358 (1873).

334. Harmand, *supra* note 328, p. 14. He purchased the estate and the title came with it, but not long thereafter he was obliged to sell the estate and he died in debt.

335. Gérard de Villeneuve gives an ancestor table for Madame de Genlis in *La France généalogique* 13:76 (1971) which is strong on her du Crest ancestry but very weak on the Minard side of the family and says nothing at all about the family of Mauguet de Mézières.

336. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:153-54, says that the Baron at first courted her, once sending to her a ridiculous document reciting his entire pedigree, but then satisfied himself with her widowed mother instead. As the Baron was over sixty, fat, and not rich, this suited her very well. For further information on this couple see Philippe Mieg, "La mère de Madame de Genlis et son deuxième épouse, le baron François-Antoine d'Andlau", *Annuaire de la Société historique et littéraire de Colmar* 2:74-80 (1951-52).

337. Strasbourg PR.

338. Colmar PR. His will is dated 25 July 1781 and registered 10 Oct. 1786. Archives de Paris DC6 281 f. 37.

339. On his biography and ancestry see Hubert d'Andlau-Hombourg, *Le livre d'histoire d'une famille d'Alsace* (2 vols., Colmar, 1972-75).

340. See her brief entry in *Dictionnaire de biographie française* [DBF] (Paris, 1933-), 2:855, and also Mieg, *supra* note 336.

341. The best biography is Harmand, *supra* note 328, of which there is an English translation under the title *A Keeper of Royal Secrets...* (New York, 1913). Readable but less scholarly is Violet Wyndham, *Madame de Genlis* (London, 1958). A good summary is the entry in DBF 15:1045-49.

342. Harmand, *supra* note 328, p. 68. The marriage was initially secret. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:160-62.

343. F. A. de la Chenaye-Desbois and M. Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* (3d ed., 19 vols., Paris, 1863-76, repr. 10 vols., Nancy, 1980), 4:374; for his ancestry see *id.* 4:360-74.

344. On this relationship and its effect see T. E. B. Howarth, *Citizen-King* (London, 1961), pp. 25-99, and the *Mémoires de Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, écrit par lui-même* (2 vols., Paris, 1973-74, trans. John Hardman, New York, 1977).

345. Pamela, b. March/April 1773, later wife of Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald (m. Tournai 27 Dec. 1792), d. Paris 7 Nov. 1831, and Hermine, b. June 1775, later wife of Jacques Collard, d. Villers-Helon 3 Sept. 1822. See Joseph Turquan and Lucy Ellis, *La belle Pamela (Lady Edward Fitz Gerald) 1773-1831* (2 vols., Paris, 1923-24). Madame de Genlis is said to have concealed her pregnancy on two occasions and later recovered and raised these young women, provided with fictitious identities; she never openly acknowledged them.

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346. First edition, *supra* note 209. The memoirs have also been translated into English, as were many of the other works of Madame de Genlis when they first appeared.

347. A. Laborde, *L'Œuvre de Madame de Genlis* (Paris, 1966).

348. DBF 11:1311-12.

349. de Chastellux, *supra* note 323, 8:358 (1873).

350. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:122-23, says that Mme. de la Haye brought to the Ducrest-de Mézières wedding the two de la Haye children, a son aged 11 and a daughter aged 8 years 6 months. The wedding being in Nov. 1743, and Mme. de Montesson having been born in Oct. 1738, we see that, as usual, Madame de Genlis is not to be relied upon regarding chronology. However, if she was correct that her half-brother was two and one-half years older than her half-sister, which is a reasonable assumption given her mother's second marriage late in 1734, then we can give young Louis Béraud a birth date of 1736 (early in the year). He was not born at Avallon.

351. *Gazette* 3:98; see also Jean-François d'Hozier, *L'impôt du sang* (3 vols. in 6, Paris, 1874-81), 2(1):237, No. 7180. The report in the *Gazette de France* is dated 1 Sept. 1759. The battle of Minden took place 1 Aug. 1759. *Die Schlacht bei Minden* (Mindener Beiträge, 8, Minden, 1959).

352. *Gazette* 3:98 (dated 5 March 1759). As Captain of Cavalry he had been appointed *gentilhomme de la Manche* to the Duke of Burgundy in April 1754 (dated 29 April 1754).

353. Archives de Paris, DC6 13 f. 147.

354. de Genlis, *supra* note 209, 1:123-27.

355. de Chastellux, *supra* note 323, 7:218 (1872). She was baptized at Saint Sulpice.

356. Her two biographers agree on this date, which sometimes appears in the archives as 4 Feb. or 6 Feb. Joseph Turquan, *Madame de Montesson douairière d'Orléans* (Paris, 1904), p. 298; Liliane Oláh, *Une grande dame, auteur dramatique et poète au XVIIIe siècle: Madame de Montesson* (Paris, 1928), p. 44.

357. Archives de Paris, copy of entry from the registers of the parish of Saint Sulpice. Her mother and brother assisted at the marriage.

358. His first wife, Marguerite-Iris de Poix, dame de Fouesnel, etc., d. Paris 28 Oct. 1756, having married the Marquis at St. Sulpice, Paris, 28 Nov. 1719. This marriage was childless but by her first husband, René-François Visdelou, Seigneur de Bienassis, m. 21 May 1704, d. 6 Aug. 1716, she was the ancestor of many notable European figures, including the Empress Zita, wife of the last Habsburg emperor of Austria, and the genealogist Wilhelm Karl, Prinz von Isenburg. See the latter's *Meine Ahnen* (Leipzig, 1925), tables 1, 33, and for the family of de Poix, see Anselme de Sainte-Marie (Pierre de Guibours), *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France...* (3d ed., 9 vols., Paris, 1726-33, repr. Paris, New York, 1967), 9(2):704-07.

359. He was seventy years of age when married, and eighty-two when he died, according to the Saint Sulpice register entries.

360. de Chastellux, *supra* note 323, 9:257 (1874). The register says 31 July and aged 82. The *Gazette*, 3:648, dated 14 Aug. 1769, says he d. 30 July 1769 in his 93rd year, but this cannot be correct in the light of the date of his parents' marriage. Thus it will be seen that the age difference between the Marquis and his second wife, while substantial, was not as outrageous as Madame de Genlis made it out to be. Turquan, *supra* note 356, p. 17, calls the Marquis "very ugly and singularly disgusting" at the time of the marriage.

361. On the Montesson family, whose family estates were in the diocese of Mans, see "Notice historique et généalogique sur la maison de Montesson", *Annuaire de la noblesse* 20:246-60 (1863).

362. Since the Archbishop of Paris was in attendance, the record was duly made at Saint Sulpice (though for a time pasted over in the book), and the marriage was a source of immediate gossip, it was not in fact so "secret". Turquan, *supra* note 356, p. 176.

363. The marriage took place at midnight at the hôtel of Madame de Montesson in the Chaussée d'Antin, Paris.

364. Louis Dussieux, *Généalogie de la maison de Bourbon* (2d ed., Paris, 1872), pp. 139-40 and n. 5.

365. The assessment of Thierry seems fair and balanced: "...Au suprême degré, elle posséda la science du monde et de la vie. La sienne est un chef-d'œuvre de raison calculée; de remarquables facultés d'intrigue, une souplesse exempte de préjugés, la dextérité la plus réfléchie, aidée par la connaissance des vices de son temps, en assurèrent la réussite triomphale." Augustin Thierry, "Un amuseur oublié: Carmontelle, 1717-1806", *Revue des deux mondes* (6th ser.) 8:875-910 at 889 (1912). The artist Carmontelle painted Madame de Montesson. Thierry adds (p. 890): "Si la postérité a le droit de juger peu sympathique cette émule de Madame de Maintenon [mistress and morganatic wife of King Louis XIV — Ed.], elle doit rendre hommage à sa haut intelligence."

366. For a detailed examination of the literary work of Madame de Montesson, see Oláh, *supra* note 356.

367. The best detailed account of her experiences during the Terror and her relations with Napoleon and Joséphine is given by Turquan, *supra* note 356.

368. "Records of the Superior Council", *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 19:482-83 (1935); Bill Barron, *The Vaudreuil Papers* (New Orleans, 1975), pp. 44, 51.

369. Based on the birth of their first child the following year.

370. Conrad, *supra* note 264, pp. 25-34.

371. *Id.*, 2:40.

372. Seymour Feller, trans., *Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762* (Norman, Okla., 1962), p. 193.

373. Conrad, *supra* note 264, 2:25-34.

374. He testified at the inventory and appraisal of his parents' estate, 4 March 1748, that he was "about 21". "Records of the Superior Council", *supra* note 368. See Conrad, *supra* note 264, 2:40.

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375. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1224.
376. According to his testimony 4 March 1748, *supra* note 374.
377. 1766 Census, Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 9, 16; Mills, 1729-1803, No. 867, 880, 907.
378. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1189.
379. Conrad, *supra* note 264, 2:114.
380. Alice Forsyth, *Louisiana Marriages, I: A Collection of Marriage Records from St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans... 1784-1806* (New Orleans, 1977), pp. 2, 4, 53, 73; *Fazende v. Estate of Mézières*, *supra* note 41.
381. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 701, 704.
382. Conrad, *supra* note 264, 1:184.
383. Alice Forsyth and Ghislaine Pleasontcn, *Louisiana Marriage Contracts, 1725-1758* (New Orleans, 1980), p. 159. The parents of the bride as well as her maternal grandmother, Perine Le Marie widow de Morière, signed the contract.
384. "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana", *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 26:716-18 (1943); Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham, Ala., 1965), p. 199; Margaret Kimball Brown and Lawrie Cena Dean, *The Village of Chartres in Colonial Illinois, 1720-1765* (New Orleans, 1977), No. D-317, D-322, D-332.
385. Conrad, *supra* note 264, 1:180; Mills, "Slaves and Masters", *supra* note 3, pp. 167-68; Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 9, 16; Mills, 1729-1803, No. 435, 468, 496, 498, 625, 630, 845, 863, 864, 867, 919, 994.
386. *Id.*, No. 405, 492, 953, 1702, 3408.
387. Mills, *Colonials*, pp. 3, 5 (Censuses of 1722 and 1726).
388. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 816.
389. Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes* (7 vols., Québec, 1871-90), 1:214.
390. Charles E. O'Neill, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana: Policy and Politics to 1732* (New Haven, 1966), p. 49; Jay Higginbotham, *Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711* (Mobile, 1977), pp. 75 n., 103, 220.
391. Peter J. Hamilton, *The Founding of Mobile, 1702-1718* (Mobile, 1911), p. 15; Higginbotham, *supra* note 390, pp. 220, 302, 453.
392. Dale Greenwell, *Twelve Flags: Triumphs and Tragedies* (Ocean Springs, Miss., 1968), pp. 71-73. While Greenwell dates this census to about 1715, it would have to have been taken after the summer of 1719 because it enumerates the family of Sieur Louis Bre[s]t and his five children; and this family did not embark for the colony until the spring of 1719 according to the roll of the ship *Dauphine*, Archives Nationales, série Colonies F5b, 37 (Paris).
393. Winston De Ville, *Gulf Coast Colonials: A Compendium of French Families in Early Eighteenth Century Louisiana* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 35.

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394. Mills, Colonials, pp. 3, 5. The classification of Dumont's Indian wife or companion and their two children as "Indian slaves" is compatible with other entries on the 1722 census. For example, the half-Indian children of the Sieur d'Herbanne, and their mother with whom he had lived as man and wife for nearly fifteen years, are also classed as "Indian slaves" on this enumeration.

395. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 736, 816.

396. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 511, 666, 736.

397. *Id.*, No. 126.

398. *Id.*, No. 215.

399. Mills, Colonials, p. 6; Hamilton, *supra* note 391, p. 15; Conrad, *supra* note 264, 1:36.

400. Burials, Register 15, p. 13, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

401. Mills, 1729-1803, Nos. 342, 454.

402. Burials, Register 15, p. 10, Parish of St. François, Natchitoches.

403. Conrad, *supra* note 264, 1:207; Mills, 1729-1803, No. 294, 329, 340, 409, 1003.

404. Doc. 1792, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.

405. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 513.

406. Archives de Paris, DC6 219 ff. 86-96, with codicil 12 Oct. 1728.

407. Letter, M. Patrick Naton to Editor, 22 June 1985.

408. Avallon PR.

409. Etaules PR.

410. André Bourée, *La chancellerie près le Parlement de Bourgogne de 1476 à 1790* (Dijon, 1927), pp. 302-04.

411. Joint will of Helie de Clugny and Marie Anne Lallemand, Departmental Archives, Department of Yonne, Auxerre (copy courtesy of M. Patrick Naton).

412. Abbé Breuillard, "Mémoire sur Etaules, près d'Avallon", *Bulletin de la Société d'études d'Avallon* 22/23:105-79 at 142 (1881-82).

413. Avallon PR except as otherwise noted. One of the younger sisters of Marie Joseph came to Paris to live with her, but she is never given a first name by Madame de Genlis.

414. d'Hozier, *supra* note 351, 2(2):252-53, No. 9867. He is there called "Minard des Alleux"; he later purchased the estate of Panats or Pannats and was called by that name. After his death his estate was disputed among his heirs, including Madame de Montesson, and the dispute was settled, but no mention was made of the rights of the de Mézières heirs in Louisiana. Archives de Paris, D1 U1 37, 8 Frimaire an VI [28 Nov. 1797]. If he had any wife or children, no record of the fact appears.

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415. *Etat militaire de France* (Paris, 1766), table historique, (Paris, 1781), p. 114 (appointed brigadier 1 March 1780). He was named colonel of the bourgeois militia at Avallon in 1789 notwithstanding his great age. Municipal archives, Avallon (courtesy M. Patrick Naton).

416. His titles are given him in the Avallon PR. It should be noted that while Louis Nicolas Davout or Davoult, later Marshal of France and Duc d'Austerlitz, was bapt. 11 May 1770 at Annoux near Avallon (Annoux PR) and that his mother was Adelaide Minard de Velard, b. Avallon 3 Oct. 1741 (Avallon PR), she was of a different branch of the family to which neither Madame de Genlis nor the Mézières of Louisiana could claim kinship.

417. Forsyth and Pleasonton, *supra* note 383, p. 194.

418. *Id.*, p. 1.

419. *Id.*, p. 179.

420. The transactions are dated 29 March 1697 and 21 May 1699 in which his widow, so designated, and her children deal with her late husband's estate at Etaules. Breuillard, *supra* note 412, p. 142.

421. Municipal archives, Avallon: also cited by Breuillard, *supra* note 412, p. 140.

422. Breuillard, *supra* note 412, pp. 131-32, cites only three children. The 23 children are claimed by Comte de Jouvencel, "Notes historiques sur les Clugny", *Bulletin d'information de la Société d'études d'Avallon* 100(4):4-5 (1958). The claim has not yet been verified in the registers of Avallon but doubtless could be, since these registers commence as early as 1555.

423. Etienne de Clugny, *Généalogie de la famille de Clugny* (Dijon, 1737), pp. 9-10, 21-22, 47-60, 193, 199-200, 207-08, 234, 253-54, 263-64.

424. Information courtesy of M. Patrick Naton.

425. See, for example, Claude Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne* (3d ed., 4 vols., Avallon, 1967-68), 3:628. Because the mausoleum, like the rest of the Abbey, was pulled down and only ruins remain, it is impossible now to determine what the inscription actually read. We know from the will that Helie did want to be buried there.

426. Breuillard, *supra* note 412, pp. 141-42.

427. *Id.*, p. 140.

428. Gary B. Mills, "Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum "Anglo" Alabama: A Re-examination of Southern Race Relations", *Journal of American History* 68:16-34 at 18 (1981).

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