Charles-François Dumont (1678–c1722-25) & Angélique (c1700–58), Native American



GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

BIRTH: PARENTS: OCCUPATION: DEATH:	<i>c</i> 1677 (bapt. 4 January 1678, SteFamille, Île d'Orléans, Quebec) ¹ Julien Dumont <i>dit</i> LaFleur and Catherine Topsan ² Servant-helper to Father Antoine Davion; employee of Louis Juchereau de St. Denis between censuses of 1 May 1722 and 1 January 1726, Natchitoches		
MARRIED:	No formal marriage on record		
SPOUSE:	Angélique (possibly Chitimachas) ³ ; born ca. 1700; buried 19 March 1758, Natchitoches		
CHILDREN:	 Angélique Charles Dumont, born by early 1717,⁴ m. (1) Joseph Verger, early 1729; m. (2) Jacques Troupart <i>dit</i> La France, 3 May 1756; died after 5 September 1757 ⁵ 		

2. Marie Charles Dumont, born by 1719; m. Henry Trichel by 1731;⁶ buried 9 May 1743⁷

² See discussion under note 1.

⁵ 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* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977), entries 511, 662, 666, 736.

¹ Only one known record points to Charles' birth; see Our Lady Parish (Mobile), Baptismal Book 1, original French-language register, unpaginated, entries in chronological order, for 22 September 1707 baptism of Native child belonging to "Charles Dumont, Canadian." Surviving church records for New France present only one Charles Dumont of appropriate age to be this man. Contradictions exist for him in the standard genealogical dictionaries, but they have been credibly reconciled:

[•] Charles–François Dumont was baptized 4 January 1678 in Ste-Famille Parish, Île d'Orleans, Québec, as son of Julien Dumont *dit* Lafleur and wife Catherine Topsan; see L'Abbe C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Famililles Canadiennes* (Quebec: Eusèbe Senécal, 1871), 1: 214.

[•] Tanguay, vol. 2: 534–35, reports that Julien and Catherine's son Charles-François married Madeleine Tourneroche in 1697 and was buried at Beaumont on 1 June 1715, leaving seven children. This assertion is challenged by the two sources below.

[•] J.-Arthur LeBoeuf, *Complément au Dictionnaire Généalogique Tanguay* (Montreal: Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française, 1957), 67, presents Madeleine Tourneroche as wife of the widowed Julien Dumont, and assigns to them all the children that Tanguay's vol. 2 assigns to Charles-François.

René Jetté's more-rigorous Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles du Québec: Des Origines à 1730 (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 383, agrees with LeBoeuf's correction and reports no further record of Charles-François after 9 August 1696, at which time he was at St-Laurent, Île d'Orleans. The lack of further records for Charles-François past 1696 is compatible with the September 1698 departure of the Father Davion's expedition to Louisiana with its engagés (servants by contract).

³ Our Lady Parish (Mobile), Baptismal Book 1: 24, 28 March 1715 baptism of "Angelique, girl slave of the Chitimachas Nation," no mother named (as would be the case if she were an infant or small child born to an enslaved mother at the post) and no master named.

⁴ By canon law, females could not wed before age 12; the daughter Angelique Charles, who wed in early 1729, was thus born by early 1717.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY Timetable for Father Davion & Charles Dumont

Date	Father Antoine Davion	Charles Dumont
1678 Jan		Charles-François Dumont was baptized at Ste Famille Parish, Île d'Orléans, Québec, as son of Julien Dumont <i>dit</i> LaFleur (d. 1715) and Catherine Topsan (d. 1693)
1696 9 Aug		Last known appearance of Charles-François Dumont, at St-Laurent, Île d'Orléans, found by Jetté, who does not identify the document
1698 14 Sep	Expedition left Mackinac Island with engagés and voyageurs	Charles Dumont, is named among the twelve engagés hired for the expedition.
1699 Jul	Davion and de Martigny arrived at Biloxi in 2 bark canoes on 1 July and left on 11 th to "Take possession of the mission house" at the Tunicas between forks of Yazoo River	Dumont, as Davion's servant, should have been with him at this time.
1700	Fr. Davion was gravely ill when Jesuit Father Gravier visited him at the Tunica	Pénicaut met with Davion and his "French servant" in the Tunica village.
1702 July	Fr. Foucault & others murdered by Karoa; Fr. Davion returned to Mobile	Dumont is said to have lost a finger in defense of Fr. Davion amid an attack of "savages," before they fled to Mobile
1702–3	Davion attacked sacred idols of the Tunica, who then threatened to kill him. He advised "Brunot, a small boy who waited on him," to "take refuge with the French."	This implies that there were other French residents in the six-nation cluster of villages along the Yazoo.
1703 23 Sep	Davion wrote a letter from Mobile	Mentioned his "companion" Charles Dumont having lost a finger defending him against "savage" attack
1704 Sep	Davion was said to be "decrepit and ill."	Sickness at Mobile spread from the priests to "Fr. LaVente's two servants" and "Davion's faithful servant-helper Charles-François Dumont"
1704 28 Sep	Davion was the first signer of an act for the dedication of Mobile's first church	
1704 21 Dec	Tunica chiefs came to Mobile pleading for Dumont's return.	

⁶ The date of Marie's marriage to Trichel is extrapolated from the 17 October 1747 proceedings that her husband launched to settle her succession before his remarriage. In that document, he identifies their eldest daughter as *Yasinte* [Hyacinthe], "aged about sixteen." Natchitoches, Colonial Notarial Records, Doc. 155; Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches. ⁷ Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 365.

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1705 late Feb	Dumont "went back to the Tunicas, where he had left his servant" [the boy Brunot?]	
<i>"after</i> 1704"		Dumont and "Dumont, cadet" are assigned lots at Mobile, shared with the Canadian Chauvin brothers
1707 Sep	See next entry	Dumont has two "sauvagesse" children baptized and buried at Mobile, on 22 and 25 Sep
1708 Feb	Davion returned to Mobile before this date, due to increasing hostility of the Natives in his district	
1709?	Tunica moved to site vacated by the Houmas, east side of Mississippi, 6-8 miles inland, near mouth of Red River	
1709 late	Davion left Tunica and became pastor at Mobile	
1711 Apr		Flooding at Mobile. Charles Dumont's house located in lowest area of town. Protests. New site chosen for town.
1712–13	Davion continues to make entries in the parish register at Mobile	
1714	Pénicaut visited with Davion at the Tunica village above Natchez	
1715		Female Angelique, "girl slave of the nation Chitimachas" is baptized at Mobile. No master or parents are named.
1716	Davion was still among the Tunica, the only Seminary missionary left in the colony	
1719	La Harpe visited Fr. Davion amid Tunica	
1720	Davion signed a document at Mobile as "vicar of Kebec" but was apparently there only on visit	
1720 24 Dec	Le Page du Pratz visited Davion amid the Tunica	
<i>c</i> . 1721	Charlevoix visited the Tunica and reported Fr. Davion had left	
1722 1 May		Dumont is enumerated at Natchitoches as servant to St. Denis
1726 1 Jan		Dumont is deceased; St. Denis is in possession of his property
1758 19 Mar		Burial of "the corpse of an Indian, the grandmother of Madame St. Prix" [Marie Trichel, wife of J. B. Davion <i>dit</i> St. Prix.

RESEARCH NOTES

1698

"A young nobleman of a great family closely allied to the royal house_[,] François Laval de Montmorency ... became the first Canadian bishop [and] sought to establish Indian missions in the heart of the American Continent. [Laval] chose three of his Seminary priests to inaugurate the work in the far Southwest, and sent them forth in the summer of 1698. ... François Jolliet de Montigny [was] named vicar-general of the enterprise. Accompanying him were **Father Antoine Davion, who had been since 1690 in the Canadian field,** and Father Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, a native of New France who had seen missionary service in Acadia. Another Canadian, Rev. Dominic Thaumer de la Source, accompanied them, together with several lay brothers, and the **usual complement of voyageurs and engagés** [hired servants]. ...

COMMENT:

As noted below, Charles Dumont was one of the employees of this expedition for whom a passport was issued.⁸

c JULY 1698

"The twelve men who accompanied de Montigny, Saint-Cosme, and Davion were Claude Rivard dit Lorenger, Jacques Rouillard, René Fezeret, Jean-Claude Fezeret dit Guilbaut, André Hunault, Joseph Charbonneau, Charles Rochon, [?] St. Martin, Thaumur de La Source, **Charles Dumont** *l'entretien*, Alexandre Romain Turpin, and an unidentified son of Nicolas Perrot."⁹

COMMENT:

The word "l'entretien" that appears after Charles Dumont's name has many translations, with its senses ranging from *maintenance, upkeep, preservation, care,* and *living,* to *sermon* and *homily.* The use of this term for Dumont is open to debate. As subsequently seen in notes below, other writers call him *servant, servant-helper,* and *companion.*

1698–99

"At the site of the old Kappa [Quapaw] village near the mouth of the Arkansas—the village of Marquette's farthest south on his voyage of 1673—the expedition halted [and] the priests ... remained in order to seek for favorable locations for missions among the tribes still farther southward along the Mississippi. ... Davion was left among the Tonica [Tunica] tribesmen to begin his Mission.

⁸ Louise Phelps St. Cosmé, editor, "Jean François de St. Cosme, "The Voyage of St. Cosme, 1698–1699," *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699* (1917; reprinted, Baltimore: Clearfield Co., 2002), introduction.

⁹ Jones, "Nicolas Foucault and the Quapaws," 5, *n*4; citing "Mémoire des Effets à Envoyer aux Tamarois et Commentaire de l'Abbé Amédée Gosselin, ASQ, Missions, no. 107."

"The letter that St. Cosme wrote, January 2, 1699, from the Arkansas post to Bishop Laval in Quebec has reposed in the archives of Laval University to this day." ¹⁰

According to St. Cosme's letter, the group started from Michilimackinac [Mackinac Island, Michigan] on **14 September 1698**. He then provided a chronology of the other Native American tribes through which they went:

- 21 September: reached the Bay of the Puants [Green Bay], 40 leagues from Michilimackinac and camped on L'Isle du Détour, where they were windbound for six days. "The Bay of Puants is inhabited by several savage tribes: the **Noquest**, the Folles Avoine [**Ojibwe**], the Renards [**Fox**], the Poutouatmis [**Potawatomi**] and the Saki [**Sauk**]."
- 28 September: left "by way of Chikagou [Chicago]"
- 29 September: arrived at the village of the Pous [Potawatomi].
- 31 September: left the Pous.
- 4 October: arrived at "another small village of Poux," on a small river.
- 9 October: reached Milouakik [Milwaukee] River where a formerly large village then consisted of **Mascoutins**, Renards, and some Poux.
- 11 October: left the fort at Milouakik for Kipikaoui [present Racine, Wisconsin], about 8 leagues farther.
- 17 October: left the Kipikaoui for Chikagu [Chicago]; along the way, Montigny, **Davion**, and St. Cosme visited with the priests in residence at an unnamed village.
- 24 October: left the unnamed village for Chikagou.
- 29 October: left Chikagou.
- 2 November: arrived at a branch of the Illinois River [Des Plaines River], where snow fell.
- 5 November: at Isle aux Cerfs.
- 8 November: left Isle a la Cache, portaging¹¹ for seven leagues [about 17.5 miles] to Mont Jolliett, a mound 30 feet high [present Joliet Mound at Rockdale, Will County, Illinois].
- 11 November: came to river Teatiki [Kankakee], "the true river of the Illinois," then to "the village of the Peangichias Miamis [Piankeshaw] who formerly dwelt at the falls of the Micipi [Mississippi] and have for some years been settled in this place." Occupants had gone hunting. They slept near "Massane, a small river which falls into" the Illinois River.
- 19 November, reached "Old Fort [now Peoria, Illinois] a rock on the bank of the river, about a hundred feet high, whereon Monsieur de la Salle had caused a fort to be built. ... We took there a Frenchman who had lived three years with the Acansças and who knows a little of their language. ... [At] this mission of the Illinois ... all the children who are baptized [and] a number of adults have abandoned all their superstitions and live as thoroughly good Christians."
- 22 November: broke ice to leave Lake Pensteoui [Peoria]
- 23 November: reached the cabin of "Rouenssas, the most notable of the Illinois chiefs and a very good Christian."
- 28 November: left Rouensas.

¹⁰ Jean François de St. Cosme, "The Voyage of St. Cosme, 1698–1699," *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699,* 342–61.

¹¹ To *portage* was to carry the boats and their goods overland when water travel was not possible due to falls, unconnected streams, etc.

- 5 December: reached the Mississippi River.
- 6 December: reached the Missouri River, camped at the Kaouchias [**Cahokia**s] which had been recently attacked by the Chikachas [**Chickasaw**] and Chaouanons [**Shawnee**].
- 7 December: reached the Tamarois [**Tamaroa**] tribe that lived at the edge of a prairie.
- 8 December: left the Tamarois.
- 12 December: arrived at Cap St. Antoin [between modern St. Louis and Cairo, Missouri], where tribes of the region make sacrifices to a 100-foot high rock that projects into the river.
- 14 December: left Cap St. Antoine; on 15th they "slept a league above the Ouabache" [i.e., Wabash, but was actually the Ohio River into which the Wabash flowed some 200 miles upstream], left on 16th.
- 22 December: passed a small river on left, "said to be the road leading to the Chikachas.
- 24 December camped for Christmas; left the next day and slept 'at the place where the Kappas [**Quapaw**], a tribe of the Acansças [Arkansas], formerly dwelt."
- 7–8 January 1699: "On St. John's Day" they were met by friendly Natives, of the Kappa nation. Slept at the mouth of the river of the Acansças. On following day they reached another village of same tribe.¹²

COMMENT:

This chronology presents a number of tribes with which Charles Dumont came into contact during this travels from Michilimackinac. Natives joined and left the expedition at various points, guiding them along the way.

1699

TUNICA TRIBE, MISSISSIPPI RIVER

"[On] the 11th [January 1699], we arrived at the Tonicas about sixty leagues below the Akanseas. The first village is four leagues [about ten miles] from the Mississippi inland on the bank of a quite pretty river. [Yazoo River] They are dispersed in little villages. They cover, in all, four leagues of country, about 260 cabins. ... They are very peaceable people, well disposed, much attached to the French, living entirely on Indian corn. They are employed solely on their fields. They do not hunt like the other Indians."¹³

COMMENT:

The Tunica tribe was then situated near the mouth of the Yazoo River. They "spoke a language similar to that of the Tiou, Koroa, Yazoo, and other small groups in the Mississippi River Valley but distinct from the majority of southeastern Native American language families."¹⁴

1 JULY 1699 BILOXI & TUNICA

"On the 1st of July, two bark canoes from the Illinois arrived at Biloxi, bringing MM. de Martigny

¹² St. Cosme, "The Voyage of St. Cosme, 1698–1699," 342–61.

¹³ Relation de la Mission du Missisipi du Seminaire de Québec en 1700 [Letters from missions] (New York: Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea, 1861), "Lettre de M. Thaumur de la Source," 53–62, quote: 54–55; archived online at Internet Archive (<u>https://archive.org/details/relationdelamiss15jesu/page/n3/mode/2up</u>: accessed 5 July 2015). La Source (p. 53), states that they arrived at the Arkansas on 17 December, rather than 24 December as reported by St. Cosme.

¹⁴ Encyclopedia of Arkansas (<u>https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/tunica-552/</u> : accessed 19 March 2020), "Tunica."

and Davion, Missionaries, who had learned from the Houmas that there were some French settlements on the sea-shore. On the 11th these missionaries departed from Biloxi to take possession of the mission house of the Tonicas, on the Yazoo River."¹⁵

1699

TUNICA

"A small tribe constituting a distinct linguistic stock living, when first known to the French, in small villages on the lower Yazoo river, Mississippi, in alliance with the Yazoo and Ofogula, and numbering perhaps 700. Their tribal name signifies "the people". They may be identical with the people of "Tanico", encountered by the De Soto expedition in 1540, apparently about north-eastern Louisiana.

"Their definite history begins in the summer of **1698 [1699]** with the visit of the missionary priests of the Quebec Seminary of Foreign Missions, Fathers Montigny, Davion, and La Source. They [the Tunica] had been decimated just before by a smallpox epidemic, which had ravaged the whole lower Mississippi country, and numbers were still dying, of whom several, including a chief, received baptism. **... Fr. Antoine Davion established a mission among them,** studying their language and ministering to the allied tribes.

"In [1698] the French commander Iberville visited them, and in **1700 the Jesuit, Father Jacques Gravier, descending the Mississippi, stopped off to wait upon Davion, who was prostrated by fever.** The Tonica were noted for their affection and loyalty toward the French. This may have been due in part to their *lack of kinship with any of the surrounding tribes*. **In the fall of 1702** Fr. Nicholas Foucault, of the same order, who had arrived in the previous year to assist Davion, was murdered with three other Frenchmen, while asleep, by treacherous Koroa guides [a small nearby tribe] in collusion with the Yazoo. **In consequence of these murders Father Davion retired to the French fort at Mobile** until, at the urgent request of a delegation of Tonica chiefs, who promised full reparation upon the guilty ones, **he returned, probably in 1705**.

"In 1706, in consequence of Chickasaw raids instigated by the Carolina slave-traders, the Tonica fled across the Mississippi and settled near the mouth of Red River, Fr. Davion accompanying them. Their neighbours, the Taensa, were likewise compelled to remove by the same enemy. In 1719 the historian La Harpe stopped at the Tonica village and found Father Davion still there and "very much revered", although preaching fearlessly against their polygamy and heathen ceremonials. They had given up their worst heathenisms and the head chief, with his family, was a daily attendant at the sermons.

"Charlevoix visited their principal town in **1721** and describes the chief, Cahura-Joligo, as devoted to the French, wearing civilized dress, wealthy, and having the full confidence of the commandants. The houses were built around an open space used for games. **Father Davion**

¹⁵ La Harpe, "Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana," 16.

had some time before left them for the last time, in despair at their indifference, and notwithstanding their affection for him, which was not disturbed even when in his zeal on one occasion, he had burned their sacred fire temple.¹⁶

1700

TUNICA

Pénicaut's narrative: "When we had passed the Tinssas [going upriver], ten leagues upstream on the right we found a river called Riviére des Yasoux. Four leagues [fourteen miles] up this river we found on the right the villages in which **dwell six savage nations, called the Yasoux, the Offogoulas, the Tonicas, the Coroas, the Bitoupas, and the Oussipez.** In that village we found a French {missionary named M. Davion}, with a French servant, who showed us many courtesies and was delighted at meeting us."¹⁷

JULY 1702

TUNICA & ARKANSAS

"By July 1702, Foucault had lived among the Quapaws for approximately fifteen months. ... [When two soldiers] stopped at the Quapaw village ... Foucault decided to seize this opportunity [to visit Fr. Davion], but since [the two soldiers] were ill, they would need paddlers to descend the Mississippi. The group obtained the services of two Koroas Indians who were in the village at the time. No more than a day's journey below the Arkansas village, the two soldiers, Foucault, and his valet 'Buison' were killed. ... Charles Dumont, a Frenchman who worked with Father Davion among the Tunica, learned while in the Koroas village that the two Koroas paddlers had slaughtered the four Frenchmen, taking much booty and hiding even more for later retrieval."¹⁸

29 JULY 1702

TUNICA & MOBILE

"Nicolas Foucault ...Parisian ... priest ... arrived at the Arkansas village in July [and] decided to travel downstream to confer with [Father] **Davion.** ... The party stopped at the village of the Koroa to hire two warriors to row the group down to the mouth of the Yazoo from where Foucault could easily reach Davion's mission.

"On July 29, on the way downstream, the two Koroa ... murdered Foucault, Danbourné and the two other Canadians. ... Several days later, **Davion**, on his way to visit Foucault, came upon the murder scene. Horrified, **Davion lost little time in retreating from his Tunica mission.** On his

¹⁶ "Catholic Encyclopedia," New Advent (<u>https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14777a.htm</u> : accessed 21 July 2024), "Tonica Indians." At least two points in this account are questionable. The Tunica are said to have moved their site in 1706 (while Péncaut dates it to 1709) and they are said to have "fled across the Mississippi" (while all other accounts show them remaining on the east side of the Mississippi, between present Natchez and Vicksburg).

¹⁷ Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet*, 33–34. Pénicaut, who compiled his narrative in 1723, was not specific about the date or time of year.

¹⁸ Jones, ""Nicolas Foucault and the Quapaws," 23–24; citing "Davion to Saint-Vallier, December 12, 1702, p. 58."

way back down river, he stopped at the village of the Houma where Joseph Limoges was ministering and together the two missionaries **came on to Mobile** to report the murder."¹⁹

COMMENT:

The Mobile historian Peter Hamilton tells us more about Davion during the period in which Charles Dumont served as valet and helper:

"Davion among the Tunicas ... kept his sacred relics in the trunk of a tree, and the chapel which he built long remained there at the foot of a cross on a rock. He was influential among the Indians, and is said to have once fearlessly destroyed the idols of the Yasous, when his life was saved only by the exertions of the grand chief. In 1700, the Jesuit Gravier found Davion dangerously ill at his post. ... Davion we know visited Biloxi, and by 1704 was ministering regularly at Mobile."

There, on 28 September 1704, according to Hamilton, Davion was the first signer of the act of dedication for Mobile's first church.²⁰ This coincides with the first appearance of Charles Dumont in the scant records of Mobile, below.

1702–3

TUNICA

Pénicaut narrative: "During this time, twenty-four itinerant traders from the Illinois reached Mobile, bringing merchandise in pelts. ... Six men that M. de Bienville sent to M. de St. Lambert, reaching the village of the Yasoux on their way up the Missicipy, found **M. Davion** there, a missionary priest who had come from Canada to the Yasoux to try to convert them to the faith or at least to baptize their infants. Several times he had been in danger of being murdered by this nation, one evening particularly, when his zeal induced him to go into their temple and knock down their idols and break them in pieces. Afterwards he returned to his hut carrying the remaining idols, which he had not been able to break. There he found **Brunot, a small boy who waited on him.** M. Davion told him to take refuge with the French because the savages were coming next day to kill him. And they did not fail to rush there to kill him when they had seen the destruction he had wrought among the idols in their temple. But their Grand Chief, who loved that priest made them go away and kept them from killing him or the little boy either."²¹

COMMENT:

Pénicaut wrote his manuscript in 1723. His recollection of the years in which events happen do not always coincide with official records. The incident he relates above would seem to be the incident Davion reported in his letter of September 1703, after arriving at Mobile, wherein his

¹⁹ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 103, n. 46, citing "*Journal Historique*, p. 72; Davion to [SME Dirs.], Feb. 14, 1703, ASME, 344, f. 65–67." SME is the acronym the author uses for Séminaire des Missions Êtrangères. ASME is his acronym for Archives of the SME.

²⁰ Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, Charles G. Summersell, ed. (1910; Summersell edition, University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1976), 67.

²¹ Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet*, 129–30.

"companion, Charles Dumont" is said to have lost a finger defending him against an attack by "savages."

JULY-SEPTEMBER 1703

TUNICA

"Before returning to Mobile after [Rev. Father] Foucault's death, [Father] Davion had himself been attacked by the savages, his companion, Charles Dumont, having lost a finger in defending him.²² Davion's life had earlier been threatened by the Chickasaw and Yazoo at the instigation of the English."²³

1704

MOBILE

"Originally most of the plot granted to the seminary priests was near the center of the marshiest portion of the town site. After [Father] Boutteville objected, the seminary priests were assigned higher ground; the old site was subdivided and **later distributed** to **Charles Dumont** and the Chauvin brothers."²⁴

COMMENT:

The only record that dates Dumont's ownership of this tract is dated 1711. See that year below.

JULY 1704

MOBILE

"The Rev. Henry Roulleaux de la Vente, a priest of the diocese of Bayeux ... and Rev. Alexander Huvé ... arrived with other priests on the 'Pelican,' July 24, 1704. ... They found that Rev. Mr. Davion had already taken steps to erect a church and parochial residence at Mobile. ... Rev. Mr. Davion and the Jesuit Father Peter Dongé [already] lodged in a new house, built on credit, and still without door or window."²⁵

SEPTEMBER 1704

MOBILE, LOUISIANA COLONY

"Life on the rue du Séminaire was in early September indeed chaotic. The sickness that had plagued [Fathers] La Vente, Huvée and Davion spread not only to La Vente's two servants but also to **Davion's faithful servant-helper Charles-François Dumont** (living just down the street on the rue de Boutteville). With the influx of others who were ill, the house of the seminary

²² Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 103, n. 46, citing "Davion [to SME Dirs.], Dec. 12, 1702; Feb. 14, Sept. 23, 1703, loc cit., 344." Higginbotham presents Dumont as "Charles-François Dumont," although he cites no Louisiana document that identifies Dumont by that middle name. Throughout his hefty study, Higginbotham cites Fr. Davion as *Albert* Davion, while other writers call him *Antoine* Davion.

²³ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 103 n. 46; citing "Tonti to Iberville, March 14, 1702, AM 2 JJ 56 20."

²⁴ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 75, n. 20.

²⁵ John Gilmary Shea, 546–47.

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priests became a veritable hospital." The plague was yellow fever. The noted explorer Henri de Tonti had been sick with it for 2 weeks and died.

"Even **old Davion**, decrepit and ill, had borne up better under adversity than [his fellow missionary] La Vente."²⁶

SEPTEMBER 1704 MOBILE

"Pierre Sauton . . . had . . . been assigned a lot by Iberville on the rue de Boutteville (which later had been given to **Charles Dumont and his son when those servant helpers** had followed Albert Davion down to Mobile after Foucault's murder.)"²⁷

COMMENT:

No records have been found for any son of Charles Dumont and he was not old enough to have an adult son to whom a lot would be assign. Apparently Higginbotham simply assumed that the "Dumont, *cadet*" [the younger], who was granted a lot adjacent to Charles, was Charles' son. This "Dumont, *cadet*" has not been identified.

SEPTEMBER 1704 MOBILE

Dumont recorded in the parish register that he had put Fr. LaVente in possession of the new parish church. Then, "in spite of his bad health, after the investiture_[,] Davion went back to his mission with the **Tunicas**, where he had left his servant."²⁸

COMMENT:

This servant left amid the Tunicas does not appear to be Charles Dumont. It may be the "small boy" Brunot mentioned by Pénicaut as a servant in 1702. A small boy would be taken in by the tribes whereas a grown white man might be in danger if left behind.

21 DECEMBER 1704

MOBILE

"On December 21, 1704 ... several chiefs of the Tunica came to the fort to plead for Davion's return to their village. ... For his part, Bienville agreed to provide a small detachment of Canadians from Fort La Boulaye [on the Mississippi River in present Plaquemines Parish, site of the Atakapa-Ishak/Chawasha, south of the Chitimachas tribe] under Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis and to provision the Tunica with sufficient weapons and ammunition. ... Moreover, Bienville had recently received word that Gabriel Philippe de Saint-Lambert (commandant of Charles Juchereau de Saint-Denis' old establishment on the Wabash since Charles' death in 1703) was on his way down the Mississippi to Mobile with a detachment of forty Canadians.

²⁶ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 195, 247.

²⁷ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 220.

²⁸ Giraud, History of French Louisiana ... 1698–1715, 238; citing "Sém., Lettres R, no. 77, La Vente, 20 Sept. 1704, no. 39."

Saint-Lambert was to be intercepted on the Mississippi and persuaded to join Saint-Denis and the Tunica in a joint attack on the Koroa and the Yazoo." ... When Saint-Denis received his orders ... he balked ... Ordering the Tunica chiefs (with a few Canadians) to tarry at Fort La Boulaye, Saint-Denis made a quick trip to Mobile in the early weeks of January 1705." There he proposed counter-measures and "perceiving his mistake, Bienville quietly called off the expedition." ...

"Saint-Denis returned to Fort La Boulaye and informed the Tunica that orders for the expedition had been revoked. To allay any disappointment to the aroused Tunica, he brought with him their beloved Davion who could now return with them to their village on the Yazoo. **Thus, by late February of 1705** ... **Davion was back at his Tunica mission.**"²⁹

1706

MOBILE

Father LaVente lobbied to remove servant women from the houses of unmarried masters. "Bienville was forced to acquiesce: henceforth (officially, at least) the young slave girls were to perform their household chores only by day; at night they were to lodge with appointed families.

"The problem of concubinage went further, however. Many of the Canadians, in search of sex as well as food, went to live in the nearby villages of the Tomeh and the Pascagoula and in the more distant Natchez, Biloxi, and Tunica nations. Cohabitation with the natives in their own villages, Bienville felt, was of much greater danger than concubinage within the town. ...

"[Father] La Vente, too, descried [decried] cohabitation in the native villages. But seeing it as a moral problem, he offered but a moral solution. Let the Canadians marry the Indians, he urged. ... With implicit faith in his own judgment, La Vente hastened to authorize **Davion** and St. Cosme to perform several marriages at their villages on the Mississippi, which were shortly consummated. Bienville was furious. ... The question brought to the surface by La Vente's action ... would be discussed and debated for years to come, both in the colony and in France."³⁰

22 SEPTEMBER 1707

MOBILE, LOUISIANA COLONY

"22 day of September 1707, there has been baptized a small sauvagesse of 2 years, belonging to **Charles Dumont, Canadian,** the which was dangerously sick; by me the undersigned : F. Roulleaux De la Vente."³¹ Marginal notation: "Died."

²⁹ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 281–83.

³⁰ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 207–9.

³¹ Our Lady Parish (Mobile), Baptismal Book 1, original French-language register, unpaginated, entries in chronological order.

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25 SEPTEMBER 1707 MOBILE, LOUISIANA COLONY

"25 day of September 1707 ... the same day as the above, a sauvagesse of 11 or 12 years, belonging to **Charles Dumont**, being dangerously sick, was baptized by me the undersigned : F. Roulleaux De la Vente."³² Marginal notation: "Died."

COMMENT:

Note that the illness, baptism, and deaths of the two Native girls occurred within three days of each other. Dumont's ownership of two Native children, especially the two-year-old, implies that he owned their mother and was the likely father of the younger child. For the older child to be Dumont's daughter would require Dumont to be in the colony by 1694–95. However, Fr. Davion and his *engagés* did not arrive in Lower Louisiana until January 1699.

Enslaved Native Americans represent a large portion of the baptisms at Mobile in this period. Chitimachas dominated, but at least a dozen tribes were represented. Most of the church references in this period are instances in which the individual was said to be "dangerously sick." Many of those were also small children, as noted by the Mobile historian Jay Higginbotham in the passage below.

1707

MOBILE, LOUISIANA COLONY

"There were nine more slaves baptized that year by La Vente, all savages ranging in age from two to thirteen years, among them those of Christophe Poirier, **Charles Dumont**, Mandeville and Étienne Burelle."³³

COMMENT:

I have read the parish registers for several decades past this point. Dumont is not named again—not as a slaveowner, not as a godparent to any child, and not as a witness to any marriage. Higginbotham's study of administrative correspondence in the Archives Nationales found one further reference to him in 1711, the year that bad conditions at the fort created a crisis for Mobile's fledgling population.

1707–8

TUNICA

"The late winter [of 1707] and spring of 1708 witnessed the presence of five religious at Fort Louis. ... **Davion had returned to Mobile in [by] February** at the insistence of [Vicar-General] Marc Bergier who some months before had ordered him to make arrangements to receive supplies from the expected ship from France. Moreover, Bergier was concerned about the **increasing hostility of the natives in Davion's district.** The presence of Davion in Mobile

32 Ibid.

³³ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 302.

stimulated La Vente's thinking that he could return to France without the colony's suffering."34

MARCH 1708

MOBILE

"La Vente had decided to return to France to present his complaints in person. Although utterly discouraged about immediate prospects for a fruitful mission in Louisiana, the passionately bitter priest hoped to at least make the way easier for those who would serve after him. ... With these purposes in mind, the pastor made his way to Massacre Island [to await departure] in the company of [Father] **Davion** who had recently returned from the Mississippi." Bienville, however, refused to allow La Vente to leave the colony.³⁵

15 APRIL 1708

MOBILE

"The Reverend Father Gravier['s] funeral was held that day, La Vente officiating. ... Shortly after Gravier's funeral, [Father] **Davion**, who had lent somewhat of a temporizing influence to clergy-officer relationships, left Mobile to return to his mission."³⁶

1708

MOBILE & TUNICA

Note by Pénicaut's translator and editor: "Antoine Davion left his Tunica post, near the site of Fort Adams, Mississippi, and made Mobile his headquarters *after 1708*. See John Gilmar Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886), p. 553."³⁷

COMMENT:

Pénicaut's editor appears to err with the statement that Davion made Mobile his headquarters "after 1708." The other records and chroniclers place his return *c*1710.

1709

TUNICA

"This year a savage nation named the Oumas [Houmas] deserted their settlement and came to dwell on the bank of the Missicipy River near the Riviére des Chetimachas. Another savage nation named the **Tonicas**, among whom M. Davion resided ... went to settle in the location that the Oumas had vacated."³⁸

COMMENT:

The Houmas at this time were "six to eight miles inland from the east bank of the Mississipi,

³⁴ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 349–50.

³⁵ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 338–41; citing La Vente [to Brisacier], March 4, 1708, ASQ, Letters, R 79." ASQ was the author's acronym for Archives du Séminaire du Québec.

³⁶ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 353–55.

³⁷ Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet*, 77, n. 12.

³⁸ Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet*, 129–30.

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near the mouth of the Red."39

JUNE-OCTOBER 1710 MOBILE

"At La Vente's request ... **Davion** came down from his mission at the Tunica to relieve the pastor, while La Vente prepared to return to France. ... However ... in the spring of 1710 there was no ship by which La Vente could be transported home. Both pastor and commandant were waiting in vain for the supply vessel Pontchartrain had promised them. So also were a leading Chicasaw chief and ten of his warriors (as well as several of the Tunica who had come with Davion) whom Bienville had invited to Fort Louis [Mobile] several months previous to receive presents when the ship should finally arrive."

La Vente finally sailed on 21 June. "La Vente's absence left only three missioners in lower Louisiana, all of them at Mobile Bay. **Davion**, now acting as pastor (and quite discontented in the position), **did not even perform any baptisms for several years**. Of the three missioners [left at Mobile], **Davion** was perhaps the most distraught. Shortly after La Vente arrived in Paris [he] had written a letter, dated October 12, addressed jointly to the three missionaries of Mobile. ... La Vente's report only made [Davion] begin thinking of journeying to France rather than to Quebec," where he had been invited by the abbot of the diocese of Québec. "To La Vente he confessed: 'I am completely resolved to leave here as soon as possible, unable as I am to resign myself to stay in a colony where there is so much licentiousness, which we have not been able to correct, and which is going from bad to worse every day."⁴⁰

1710

MOBILE

After the "recall of LaVente in 1710 ... his successor, the missionary **Antoine Davion**, who had already been parish priest of Mobile and who, even before he became acquainted with La Vente, had anticipated grave difficulties with the commander [Bienville], brought persuasive and conciliating attitude to the exercise of his ministry."⁴¹

1 JANUARY 1711

MOBILE

"On the first of January 1711, the commissary [La Salle]'s body, after a short service conducted by the **venerable [father] Davion**, was laid to rest in the cemetery on the outskirts of town." ⁴²

³⁹ Wikipedia (<u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houma_people</u> : 1 February 2016), "Houma People"; citing the writings of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Henri de Tonti.

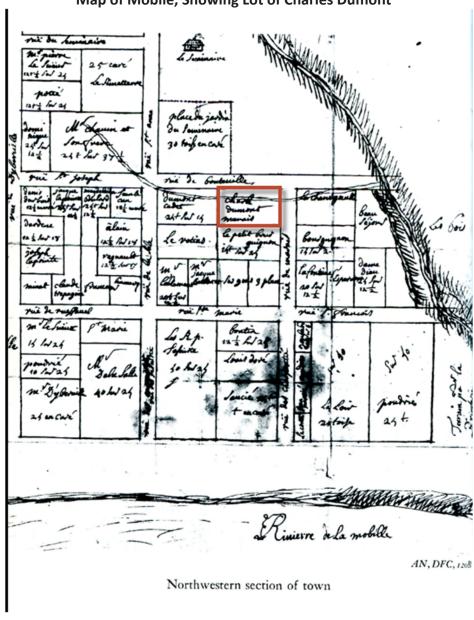
⁴⁰ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 409–10, 412, 413; citing "Davion [to La Vente], Oct. 20, 1711, ASQ, Missions, No. 46."

⁴¹ Giraud, *History of French Louisiana*, 1: 230.

⁴² Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 420.

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1711 MOBILE



Map of Mobile, Showing Lot of Charles Dumont⁴³

⁴³ Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, section "Illustrations," unnumbered plats.

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COMMENT:

Note that this map shows two adjacent lots:

- Charles Dumont, *mauvais:* This descriptor, meaning *bad* or *poor condition*, likely refers to the marshy state of the lot or whatever living quarters might be on it.
- Dumont, *cadet*. This construction can be translated in multiple ways. (1) The word *cadet* in this era was a military status for a junior officer. (2) The construction was also regularly used for "the younger." Higginbotham, who did not research Dumont's life, apparently surmised that "Dumont, the younger" must mean "son." However: *son*, when attached to a name in this society, would be rendered as "Dumont, *fils*"; and Charles Dumont, in his mid-20s at this time, could not have a son old enough to be assigned a lot of his own. The ambiguous conclusion here is that there was either a young officer of that name at Mobile in this era or that a civilian named Dumont, younger than Charles, was also in the town. The fact that their two lots were adjacent does suggest kinship.
- Published genealogical dictionaries for Canada present two younger brothers for the Charles-François Dumont who was baptized in 1678: an unnamed male child who was born and died in July 1680 and a brother Julien born January 1683, who married in 1702 and remained in Canada. If correct, this leaves no candidate for "Dumont, *cadet*" in Charles-François's birth family. (Those same reconstructions of this Canadian family show that Charles-François' mother bore no children after 1683 and died 28 November 1693 at the age of 54.)⁴⁴

JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1711

MOBILE

A new site was chosen for the fort and town of Mobile, and "the colonists began to dismantle their dwellings as soon as Bienville informed them they were moving. ... the work of removal was cumbersome and tedious, but it was being carried out remarkably fast. By the twentieth of June nearly half the inhabitants had succeeded in transferring their dismantled dwellings. ... As for the missionaries, Le Maire would remain at the old fort with the garrison and **Davion** would come down to the new location to serve as pastor. **Davion**, in fact, had just made arrangements for his lodging so as 'not to be forced to sleep out under the stars.' The man named Marchand, who with Charles Rochon had built the duplex near the new site some years before, intended to return to France. ... **Davion** arranged to buy Marchand's half of the duplex, for 240 livres and shortly thereafter moved in next to Rochon.

"Davion, though plainly dispirited, was struggling mightily to maintain some semblance of religion in the colony. Missionary activity was slight during those months." Le Maire and Huvé baptized several Chitimachas belonging to various residents, as well as Pierre René LeBoeuf's "concubine wife-to-be."

⁴⁴ Jetté, Dictionnaire Généalogiques des Familles du Québec, 383; Tanguay, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes, 1: 214 and 2: 534

"**Davion**, while he performed no baptisms, himself, was holding masses and preaching whenever he could, efforts that did not go unrecognized by Dartaguiette. 'M. Davion,' the commissary reported, 'has by his mildness, his pleasant conversation and his apostolic discourse, brought many strayed sheep back to their duty. Truly this man is so strongly imbued himself with what he preaches to others than the lowest criminals cannot but believe in the eternal truth he espouses."⁴⁵

1711

MOBILE

"During April of 1711: the spring rains fell incessantly, continuing even into May, swelling the little creek that ran behind and up to the northwest of the fort. ... By the end of the first week in May ... nearly two-thirds of the houses were completely flooded. . . . The inhabitants, particularly Jean Le Caën, François Hayot and **Charles Dumont**, whose houses were located in the lowest areas of town, were dismayed. Out of desperation they demanded a hearing with the officials, while at the same time privately pouring out their complaints to Dartaguiette." The fort was moved.⁴⁶

COMMENT:

When Dumont next appeared in known records, he was in the company of Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, a Canadian officer who swash buckled his way across most of the lower Louisiana settlements—particularly Mobile, Natchitoches, Biloxi, and an outpost among the Coliapissas and the Chitimachas. In 1705, he warred with the latter, taking captive 40 or so of their women and children, whom he sold into slavery at Mobile and Biloxi. At least one of those Chitimachas girls (*Jeanne*, wife of François Derbanne) would be at Natchitoches with Dumont and Angelique by the first census taken of that post, on 1 May 1722.

In the meanwhile, parish registers at Mobile record the baptism of only one Native American under the name Angelique—a Chitimachas. I have no evidence to link her directly to Dumont, for whom a Native American Angelique bore children *ca*. 1717 and 1721.

OCTOBER 1711 MOBILE

"In the colonial Louisiana of [these years], few other than the seminary priests were concerned with religion at all. As Davion, with doddering hand, was to write [on 20 October], 'Religion is entirely ignored here, if {indeed} it has not been lost."⁴⁷

COMMENT:

Higginbotham's study ends with the year 1711; thus, he provides nothing more on Davion or his servant Charles Dumont. However, Peter J. Hamilton gives us an additional tidbit:

⁴⁵ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 459–60.

⁴⁶ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 453.

⁴⁷ Higginbotham, Old Mobile, 443; citing Davion [to La Vente], "Oct. 20, 1711, ASQ, Missions, No. 46."

"Le Maire was the [Mobile] curé after the change of base to the present site of Mobile, although from 1712 we find Huvé generally acting and good **Davion's** name also occurs in **1712**, in **1713**, and, in fact, as late as **1720**, when he signs as the vicar of 'Kebec.' But evidently he was at Mobile only on visits, for the regular priest is Huvé."⁴⁸

1712

RED RIVER

"In 1712 [the Tunica] demonstrated their familiarity with the Red River and their support of the French colony by accompanying the party led y St. Denis to establish the post of Natchitoches to face off against the Spanish post of Los Adais, the 'Presidio del Norte' holding the northeastern frontier of Spanish influence. They accompanied the French party as far as Los Adais and they returned home as St. Denis traveled to meet his Mexican adventure and the rest of the Frenchmen returned to Natchitoches to build the fort, thus suggesting that they had served the party as guides—for despite the efforts of Bienville to explore the Red River, little had been done to establish French familiarity with the area. The Tunica, because of their activities in salt-making and probably their relationship with tribes on both the Ouachita and the Red, knew the river well."⁴⁹

1713–18

LOUISIANA COLONY

Between 1713 and 1718, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis—the Natchitoches commandant who employed Dumont in May 1722—was sent from Mobile to Mexico City on two attempts to open trade with the Spanish. On both expeditions, he was accompanied by several fellow Canadians from Mobile, including François Derbanne, who later married his own Chitimachas slave, Jeanne. On their way west in 1713, they stopped at the Coliapissas tribe and gathered together a large group of Natchitoches Indians whom St. Denis had placed with the Coliapissas about 1704.

At Natchitoches, St. Denis built a storehouse to hold trade goods and left several men there to guard it. As he trekked through Texas with his Canadian entourage, they tarried in numerous villages, building trade ties. Upon reaching the Rio Grande, **St. Denis and his valet, Medard Jalot,** were held for some months under house arrest, during which time St. Denis married the commandant's granddaughter. He, Jalot, and others eventually escaped. Returning to

⁴⁸ Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, 142.

⁴⁹ Patricia Galloway, "Tunicas under the French Regime, 1676–1763," in *The Tunica-Biloxi Tribe: Its Culture and People*, 20– 30, quoting from p. 23; imaged, *Hancock County* [Mississippi] *Historical Society* (<u>https://www.hancockcountyhistoricalsociety</u> <u>.com/reference/vf.php</u>?t=subjects&vf=Native%20Americans&i=31). Galloway, for many years a French-colonial specialist with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has extensively explored the eighteenth-century writings archived in France; but, here, she does not identify her source(s) for the participation of the Tunica in the 1712 expedition. She does significantly err in stating that "Presidio del Norte" at Los Adaës existed as a Spanish post in 1712. It was established in 1717, by efforts of St. Denis and his Spanish inlaws.

Natchitoches, they discovered that the men they had left behind had taken the goods back to Mobile. St. Denis and his valet continued on to Mobile to report their activities and plan a new expedition.

That second expedition, launched in 1716, was no more successful—although, like the first, it brought the French-Canadians into contact with the Texas tribes. At St. Denis's reemergence among on the Rio Grande, another arrest warrant was issued. His influential in-laws sheltered him until 1717, at which time he agreed to guide a Spanish expedition, led by his wife's kinsmen, back to Natchitoches where they established a Spanish outpost and mission, just west of Red River [near present Robeline, Louisiana], as a bar against French aggression into Texas.

No serious biography exists for St. Denis. The principal chronicler of these ventures, a contemporary Frenchman at Mobile named André Pénicaut, quoted heavily from St. Denis's valet, Medard **Jalot.** According to Pénicaut, Jalot remained with St. Denis through their 1718 return to Mobile. Pénicaut's narrative is frequently found to err on the dates that events occurred, when checked against contemporary administrative records—even as much as two years. However, the service of Jalot as St. Denis's personal aide through this period has remained unchallenged.⁵⁰

From these broad-brush accounts of history, one significant point can be drawn. No contemporary reports, letters, or memoirs offer any evidence to suggest that Dumont participated in either of the Texas expeditions.

1714

TUNICA

Pénicaut's narrative: "We arrived at ten o'clock in the morning [date not stated] opposite **the village of the Tonicas,** and here we went ashore. We found **M. Davion** here, a missionary priest, who embraced us all. ... While we were talking to him, we saw three Natchez arrive. They came representing the Grand Chief to incite the Chief of the Tonicas to put the missionary to death and all of us Frenchmen that were in the village. ... M. Davion wrote a letter to M. de la Mothe about the treachery of the Natchez and their wicked intention. When we got to Mobile we delivered this letter to him."⁵¹

1713

TUNICA

"Father Francois Le Maire, missionary to the Apalachee Indians who had moved to settle near the French on Mobile Bay [wrote] in a letter to his superior in France, dated January 15, 1714, that the **Tunica were located 40 leagues north** of where the Houmas were then located, and

⁵⁰ Penicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet,* 158–227. For accounts of these expeditions from a Spanish perspective, also see Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas,* 1519–1936, vol. 2, *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas,* 1693–1831. ⁵¹ Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet,* 169–74.

that a number of people had been converted to Christianity. ... While it is possible that Davion had made some converts, it is far more likely that the absence of a temple had something to do with native Tunica beliefs—perhaps about the abandonment of their former temple itself or about having spared Davion when he broke the figures in the temple—than that it signified an intention to abandon native religion. ...

"The Natchez revolt in 1714 had resulted in the deaths of several Frenchmen, and the French had to maintain credibility by threatening military action against the Natchez. Accordingly, Bienville set forth from Mobile with a detachment of men. On the way to Natchez the party stopped to build a small fort, known a 'Fort St. Joesph [Joseph] at the Tunicas," near the Tunica Village and with the assistance of the Tunica."⁵²

28 MARCH 1715

MOBILE, LOUISIANA COLONY

"On this day, the 28th of March 1715, I have baptized Jacques, a free savage, Choctaw; and **Angelique, girl slave of the nation Chitimachas** ["Angelique fille esclave Nation chitimacha"]. The godparents have been Jacques Le Comte, master carpenter employed by his majesty; and Marie Philipes, wife of Sr. Allain, habitant at Fort Louis [de la Mobile]; and Gabriele Savary, wife of Sr. Saussier, habitant, and Claude Trepanier, habitant who gave to his godson the name Jacques. [Signed] Alexandre Huvé. Le Conte. Gabriele Savari, wife of Saussier. [Signed:] Alexandre Huvé [priest], Le Conte, Gabriele Savari, wife of Saussier."⁵³

COMMENT:

Savari was the midwife for the colony. However, the description of her godchild "a girl slave of the nation Chitimachas," suggests that this Angelique was not a newborn.

Note that the text does not read "fille $\underline{d'une}$ esclave Nation Chitimachas"—i.e., daughter of a slave of the Nation Chitimachas.

Other baptisms of this era refer to young Chitimachas as "petit fille" (small girl) or "esclave Chitimachas agé d'environ 10 mois" but neither age nor the word "little" is used for Angelique. By implication, she is an older girl of uncertain age, which would likely soon make her of marriageable age [at least 12], if she was not already.

Whether this Angelique is the Native woman who bore Dumont's first daughter before 1717 is debatable. One cultural consideration can be added. At Natchitoches, where French-Indian families stemmed from at least five different tribes (Caddo, Canneci, Chitimachas, Natchez, and Natchitoches), the Dumont children and grandchildren formed ties only with the two families whose mother was Chitimachas. Specifically:

⁵² Galloway, "Tunicas under the French Regime, 1676–1763," 24. Le Maire, in his 7 March 1717 report from Fort Louis to the Seminaire, "Le Maire, Mémoire sur la Louisiane, pour estre présenté avec la carte de ce pais au Conseil sourverain de la Marine," p. 9, also stated that "the new village of the Tonikas" was "some 25 to 30 leagues below that of the Natchez"; imaged, *Library of Congress* (https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668136/), image 10 of 23.

⁵³ Our Lady Parish, Baptismal Book 1: 24.

- Two children of Angélique Jr. and one child of her sister Marie Dumont took spouses of Native ancestry. Of those three, two married offspring of the Mobile-based Chitimacha Jeanne de la Grande Terre. The third married offspring of the Mobile-based Chitimacha Thérèse de la Grande Terre
- Two children of Angélique Jr. and one child of Marie Dumont had godparents with ties to Native tribes. Two of the godfathers chosen for them by their parents were sons of the Chitimacha Jeanne de la Grande Terre. The godmother of the other was a sister-in-law of Jeanne's daughter.
- One child of Angélique Jr. and one child of her sister Marie Dumont chose half-Natives to serve as official witnesses to their marriages. Both witnesses were sons of the Chitimacha Jeanne.

1716 TUNICA

"The Seminary [operating out of Québec] was in no position to react against [rival Jesuits being sent from France]. ... **Father Antoine Davion**, the only representative of the Seminary who was doing missionary work among the natives, was kept busy with the **Tunicas** and was in any case too conciliatory by temperament to contend with the new [Jesuit] missionaries about responsibility for work among the Yazoos."⁵⁴

24 DECEMBER 1720

TUNICA NATION

Le Page du Pratz's narrative: "We arrived at Tonicas on Christmas eve; where we heard mass from **M. d' Avion**, of the foreign missions, with whom we passed the rest of the holy-days, on account of the good reception and kind invitation he gave us. I asked him, if his great zeal for the salvation of the natives was attended with any success; he answered me, that notwithstanding the profound respect the people shewed him, it was with the greatest difficulty he could get leave to baptize a few children at the point of death; that those of an advanced age excused themselves from embracing our holy religion because they are too old, say they, to accustom themselves to rules, that are so difficult to be observed; that the chief, who had killed the physician that attended his only son in a distemper of which he died, ... attended both morning and evening prayers; the women and children likewise assisted regularly at them; but the men, who did not come very often, took more pleasure in ringing the bell. In other respects, they did not suffer this zealous pastor to want for any thing, but furnished him with whatever he desired. We were yet twenty-five leagues [about 62 miles] to the end of our journey to the Natchez, and we left the Tonicas."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana, vol. 2, Years of Transition, 1715–1717, Brian Pearce, translator (1958; translated edition, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 161.

⁵⁵ Le Page Du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, 23.

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1720 MOBILE

"After the change of base [for the fort and town] to the present site of Mobile ... good **Davion's** name also occurs in 1712, in 1713, and, in fact, as late as 1720, when he signs as the vicar of 'Kebec.' But evidently he was at Mobile only on visits, for the regular priest is Huvé."⁵⁶

COMMENT:

Various writers report that Davion, after leaving the Tunica, spent several years at New Orleans. According to Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor of the mammoth series *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Davion returned to France in 1725 "where he died, Apr. 8, 1726." Thwaites also reports that Davion's residence among the Tonicas was "at a place now known as Fort Adams, Miss."⁵⁷

1720–21

TUNICA NATION

"There is another vignette of Davion's mission by Benard de la Harpe, an adventurer who had come to make his fortune on a concession on the Red River and who stopped at the Tunica mission on the way to the Natchitoches post. ...

"It is not certain when Davion completely abandoned his mission to the Tunica, but since he was not there in 1721 when Charlevoix visited and his name is found as officiating at church activities in Mobile during 1720, it is generally assumed that he left at some time in 1719–1720."⁵⁸

COMMENT:

Galloway's proposition that Davion left "some time in 1719–1720" is contradicted by La Harpe, who stated that he visited the Tunica, and spoke at length with Davion, on 24–25 December 1720." Together, La Harpe and Charlevoix place Davion's departure from the Tunica in early 1721.

Past that point, Dumont's presence at Natchitoches, as a settler and *engagé* of St. Denis, is documented by using, in tandem, the 1 January 1722 and 1 January 1726 censuses of the post.

Charlevoix's 1721 visit to the Tunica Village is dated by his *Voyage to North-America*, published in 1766. See the next note below.

28 DECEMBER 1721

TUNICA

"The 28th after having gone two Leagues, we arrived at the River of the *Tonicas* [which] has its Source in the County of the Tchactas, and its Course is very much obstructed with Falls. The

⁵⁶ Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 142.

⁵⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791,* vol. 65, *Lower Canada, Mississippi Valley, 1696–1702* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1899), 262.

⁵⁸ Galloway, "Tunicas under the French Regime, 1676–1763," 25.

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Village is beyond the Lake, on a pretty high Ground; yet they say that the Air here is bad, which they attribute to the Quality of the Waters of the River; but I should rather judge that it proceeds from the Stagnation of the Waters in the Lake. ... Two Leagues lower than the River of the *Tonicas*, we leave on the Right Hand the *Red River*. ...⁷⁵⁹

1 MAY 1722

NATCHITOCHES POST (LOUISIANA-TEXAS BORDER)

"Census of Inhabitants of the Fort St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches ... made by Sr. Diron, Inspector-General ..." [1st household:]

Monsieur de St. Denis, Commandant:

A Frenchman in his service

being 2 men, 2 children, 5 Negro slaves, 4 Indian slaves, 0 horned cattle, 33 horses⁶⁰

COMMENTS:

- The 1726 census below implies that the above "Frenchman in his service" was Dumont, who died before 1726, with St. Denis taking over his property.
- No free women are enumerated with Commandant St. Denis; from this, we may extrapolate that his Spanish-Mexican wife (and her children) were still were her family at Los Adaës.
- The two free children would thus belong to that "Frenchman in [St. Denis'] service."
- No local government records survive for this outpost until 1732. The only other known document that identifies residents is the 1726 census, below, that was dispatched to officials in Paris.

1 JANUARY 1726

NATCHITOCHES POST (LOUISIANA-TEXAS BORDER)

"General Census of the inhabitants and concessions of the colony of Louisiana ... Natchitoches.

[1st household:]

"M. de St. Denis, Commandant, His wife & three children

5 masters [St. Denis, wife, and three children]

2 hired hands, 10 Negro slaves, 0 Indian slaves, 11 cattle, 50 horses, 15 acres land"

"Mons. de St. Denis, in possession of the lands of deceased **Charles Dumont**, on which he has 2 hired hands or domestics, 20 horned cattle, 2 horses, 5 arpents cleared land⁶¹

COMMENT:

Throughout the 1720s and early 1730s, Spanish priests from the Spanish post of Los Adaës

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⁵⁹ Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, A Voyage to North-America: Undertaken by Command of the Present King of France; Containing the Geographical Description and Natural History of Canada and Louisiana, 2 vols. (Dublin: John Exshaw and James Potts, 1766), 2:211–12.

⁶⁰ Mills and Lennon, *Natchitoches Colonials*, 14–15; translated transcription from AC, G1, 464, Archives Colonies, Archives Nationales, Paris.

⁶¹ Ibid., 16–17; the original document is AC, G1, 464:17-18, Archives Nationales.

would occasionally visit Natchitoches, but no records survive of the sacraments they administered until 1729. The first surviving marriage for the post, recorded in that year 1729, is that of a daughter of Charles Dumont, although the scribe who recorded the entry did not name her.

1729

NATCHITOCHES POST

"For the year 1729, together, an act of **marriage of Sieur Verger**, habitant of the post, and another act of baptism of Jean François Decoux, habitant of Pointe Coupee."⁶²

COMMENT:

Sieur Verger was a Paris-born Indian trader.⁶³ See below under date of September 1805. The identity of his wife is provided in (a) the baptismal and marriage records of their children; and (b) her 1756 remarriage.

Angelique and Charles Dumont had one other daughter, Marie, who married the German-born Indian trader Henri Trichel. Below, I will abstract records for these marriages and their children, from which we are able to reconstruct the identities of these Dumont daughters and weld together their parentage.

26 FEBRUARY 1735 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Pierre, legitimate son of Henry Triche and **Marie** [no last name]. Godparents: Pierre [illegible] and Nicola de Grenade.⁶⁴

17 AUGUST 1735 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Anne who was born and *endoyée* [baptized privately in danger of death] that same day, daughter of **Joseph Verger** and **Angelique** [no last name]. Godparents: Henri Triche (x) and Anne Chaniau (x)."⁶⁵

17 AUGUST 1735 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Marie who was born and *endoyée* that same day, daughter of **Joseph Verger** and **Angelique** [no last name]. Godparents: Francois Goudeau (x) and **Marie Triche** (x)."⁶⁶

⁶² Mills, *Natchitoches*, *1729–1803*, entry 511. This brief notation, apparently by a Spanish priest, appears at the start of the volume that is now labeled "Register 2." The parish records of this era were kept as small folios, apparently without covers. In the mid-1900s, they were assembled into large "volumes" and bound, but were bound out of sequence.

⁶³ For Verger's birthplace, see Mills, *Natchitoches*, *1729–1803*, entry 350, the marriage of his daughter Marie Françoise. For Verger's participation in the borderland Indian trade, see this paper's abstract dated September 1805.

⁶⁴ Ibid., entry 22.

⁶⁵ Ibid., entry 28.

⁶⁶ Ibid., entry 29.

16 JUNE 1736 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Anne, adult, female Indian of Jean Baptiste Brevel (s), present. Godparents: Claude Bertrand *dit* Dauphine (s), sergeant, and **Angelique Charles [Dumont]** (x)."⁶⁷

COMMENT:

It is likely that this Angelique is the daughter, the baptized wife of Joseph Verger who was stationed with Jean Baptiste Brevel among the Caddo (see below, under date of 1805 for Verger's presence at that outpost).

6 MAY 1737 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Emmanuel, legitimate son of Henry Triche and **Marie Charles**. Godparents: Louis Jucherot de St. Denys Jr. (x) and Emmanuel[a] Sanches de Navarre (x) [wife of St. Denis Sr.]."⁶⁸

10 JULY 1737 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Jeanne, born July 8, 1737, legitimate daughter of **Joseph Verger** and **Angelique Charles**. Godparents: Pierre Fosse *dit* Tourageau and Jeanne D'Herbanne Manne. Father present."⁶⁹

26 MAY 1739

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Jean Baptiste, legitimate son of Henry Triche, a German inhabitant of this post, and **Marie** [illegible], born 25 May 1739. Godparents: Jean Baptiste Derbanne (s) [half-Chitimachas son of Jeanne and François Derbanne] and **Angelique** [illegible]."⁷⁰

26 DECEMBER 1741

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Joseph, born December 10, 1741, son of **Joseph Verger** (s), native of Paris, Rue St. Jacques, parish of St. Benoit, and **Angelique Demont**. Godparents: Thomas Leger (s) and Marie Francoise Levasseur."⁷¹

9 MAY 1743 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Burial of Marie Dumons in parish cemetery, wife of Henri Triche."72

⁶⁷ Ibid., entry 41.

⁶⁸ Ibid., entry 72. The use of a father's given name as a surname for a daughter was common to this society, particularly so when the parents were not legally married but the parental union was recognized by the community.

⁶⁹ Ibid., entry 76.

⁷⁰ Ibid., entry 116.

⁷¹ Ibid., entry 219.

⁷² Ibid., entry 365.

23 MAY 1745 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Etienne, born May 23, legitimate son of **Joseph Verger** (s) and **Angelique Demont**. Godparents: Charle Jobart (s) and Thérèse Barbier [granddaughter of the Chitimachas Jeanne, who married François Derbanne]."⁷³

13 NOVEMBER 1745

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage, after three bans, of Jean Baptiste Davion *dit* St. Prix (s), soldier of the regiment of marines detached from the company of Mr. Verrier, commandant at Natchitoches, born at Natchitoches of the legitimate marriage of Charle d'Avion, deceased, and of the living Francois Gilot ... and ... **Marie Triche** (s), daughter of Henry Trichel and of deceased **Marie Dumont.** Witnesses Etienne Ha____ [illegible] (x), Henry Trichel (x), Alorge (s) and Julien Davion (s)."⁷⁴

COMMENT:

This Marie Triche, daughter of Marie Dumont and granddaughter of the Native Angelique, plays a critical role in identifying the death of the Native Angelique. See below under 19 March 1758.

18 AUGUST 1747

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Guillaume, born May 23, legitimate son of **Joseph Verger** (s) and **Angelique** [**Dumont**]. Godparents: Guillaume Boisseau (s) and Jeanne [Chever *dite*] Dufrene."⁷⁵

29 SEPTEMBER 1746

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage of Gaspard Derbanne (s), native of this parish, legitimate son of Francois Darbanne, native of Canada ... and of Jeanne de la Grande Air [Grande *Terre*, the region of the Chitimachas] and Marie Francoise Verger (x), a native of this parish, legitimate daughter of Joseph Verger, native of Paris, and of **Angelique Dumond**, **native of Natchitoches**. One ban. Witnesses: Joseph Verger (s), Henry Triche (x), Rondain (x), Pierre Darbanne (x), Bisseau (s), Louise Derbanne (x), Blancpain (s) and two illegible signatures."⁷⁶

21 SEPTEMBER 1747

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage of Henry Trichelely (x), native of Milbac, bishopric of Strasbourg, **widower of Marie Dumont** with Louise Francoise Gilot ..."⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid., entry 259.

⁷⁴ Ibid., entry 346.

⁷⁵ Ibid., entry 281.

⁷⁶ Ibid., entry 350.

⁷⁷ Ibid., entry 352.

3 APRIL 1749 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Marie Louise, born May 23, legitimate daughter of **Joseph Verger** (s) and **Angelique [Dumont]**. Godparents: Gaspard Derbanne (s) [son of the Chitimachas Jeanne] and Marie Françoise Verger [the infant's sister]."⁷⁸

12 OCTOBER 1750 NATCHITOCHES POST

"After three bans, marriage of Jean Boulet *dit* Brim d'Amour (x), soldier, native of Lesÿ in Autun, duchy of Gascogne, parish of St. Julien, legitimate son of François Boulet of Lesÿ and Milande Mies, native of St. George ... and ... **Anne Verger** (x), native of this parish, legitimate daughter of Joseph Verger (s), native of Paris, parish of St. Benois, and **Angelique Dumont**, a native of this parish. Witnesses for groom: Francois Doucet *dit* Eustache (s), soldier, and Jean de Roblat *dit* la R [illegible]; witnesses for bride: Gaspard Derbanne (s) and Henry Trichely (x)."⁷⁹

23 NOVEMBER 1751

NATCHITOCHES POST

"After three bans, marriage of Charles Pellerin *dit* la Lime (s), native of Moreuil in Picardie, Parish of St. Vast?, bishopric of Amiens, son of Charles Pellerin and Marie Francoise de la Porte, native of the same parish ... and ... Marie Verger (x), native of the parish of Natchitoches, legitimate daughter of Joseph Verger (s), native of Paris, parish of St. Benois, and **Angelique Dumont**, native to this parish. Witnesses: Alorges (s), Bertrand (s), Joseph Verger (s) and Trichely."⁸⁰

18 JULY 1753 NATCHITOCHES POST

"After three bans, marriage of Jean Baptiste Malbert *dit* Sans Facon (s), soldier, native of Bouge in France, diocese of Vezon, legitimate son of Jean Baptiste Malbert and of Francoise Dormoy, natives of the same parish ... and ... Jeanne Verger (x), native of this parish, legitimate daughter of deceased [Joseph] Verger (s), native of Paris, parish of St. Benois, and **Angelique Dumond**. Witnesses: Gaspar Derbanne (s), Coutet (s), Antoine Dupres (s), Trichely (x), du Fre____(x)."⁸¹

4 MAY 1756

NATCHITOCHES POST

"After three bans, marriage of Jacques Troupart (x), *legitimate son* of Francois Troupart and of Michel[e] Poupard, native of St. Lambert de Lattai [du Lattay] in the bishopric of Ange ... and ...

⁷⁸ Ibid., entry 303.

⁷⁹ Ibid., entry 357.

⁸⁰ Ibid., entry 718.

⁸¹ Ibid., entry 728.

Angelique Dumont (x), **daughter** [no use of the word "legitimate"] of **Charles Dumont and of Angelique**, a native of this parish. Witnesses: Bertrand (s), Alexis Grappe (s), Malbert (s), and Breton (s)."⁸²

4 JUNE 1754

NATCHITOCHES POST

"After three bans, marriage of Jean Baptiste Dupres (x), soldier, native of Canne Brules, "parish of the Germans," bishopric of Quebec, legitimate son of Jacques Dupres, native of Paris, and of Anne Marie Philippe, native of the Palatine, archbishopric of Mayance [Meinz] ... and ... **Elisabeth Verger** (x), native of this parish, legitimate daughter of deceased [Joseph] Verger (s), native of Paris, and of **Angelique Dumond**, a native of this parish. Witnesses: Rondin (x), Vandal (s), Trichele (s)."⁸³

20 AUGUST 1757

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Baptism of Marie Louise, daughter of Jacques Turpot *dit* La France and **Angelique [Dumont]**. Godparents: Gaspare Darbane (s) and Marie Vergé."⁸⁴

19 MARCH 1758 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Burial of 'the corpse of an Indian, the grandmother of Madame St. Prix."85

COMMENT:

This burial record uses the term *sauvage*, which contemporary priests usually used for Indians who did not practice the Catholic faith. See above for 13 November 1745, the marriage of Marie Triche, **daughter of** Henri Trichel and "**deceased Marie Dumont**," to Davion *dit* St. Prix.

20 JUNE 1764

NATCHITOCHES POST

"After two bans, marriage of Joseph Latiore, corporal of a company under Sieur Makartis [Macarty], son of Jean Latiore and of Francoise Riovoiranne, native of Roman in Dauphine, bishopric of Vienne, parish of St. Nicolas ... and ... Anne Verger (x), widow of Jean Boulet, daughter of Joseph Verge and **Angelique Dumond**, a native of this parish. Witnesses: Trichle (x), Poisot (s), Gonet (s), Dubois (s)."⁸⁶

⁸² Ibid., entry 736.

⁸³ Ibid., entry 729.

⁸⁴ Ibid., entry 662.

⁸⁵ Ibid., entry 728.

⁸⁶ Ibid., entry 981.

22 AUGUST 1764 NATCHITOCHES POST

"After two bans, marriage of Pierre Crette (s), son of Pierre Crette and Angelique Rodriguez, parish of Beauport, bishopric of Quebec ... and ... **Marie Louise Verger** (x), daughter of Joseph Verge and **Angelique Dumon**, a native of this parish. Witnesses: Gaspar Derbanne (s), Pierre Darbane (x), Rambin (s), Lecaze (s)."⁸⁷

28 OCTOBER 1769 NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage of Emanuel Trichle (s), legitimate son of Henry Trichel and **Marie Dumont**, a native of this parish ... and ... Marie Louise Grappe (s), legitimate daughter of Alexis Grappe and Louise Marguerite Guedon, a native of the **Cadeaux**. 3 bans. Witnesses: Donato Bello (s), Gr. Derbanne (s), LaBerry (s), Baptiste Trichel (s), Alexis Grappe (s), Mr. Trichle (x)."⁸⁸

COMMENT

Emanuel Trichle, the quarter-blood grandson of Angelique (possibly a Chitimachas), is marrying the quarter-blood granddaughter of Marie Thérèse de la Grande Terre (Chitimachas wife of Jacques Guedon of Mobile and Natchitoches). For Angelique's granddaughter (Mme. Grappe) living amid the Caddo, see below under 1806.

5 MARCH 1770

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage of Jean Baptiste Trichle (s), a native of this parish, legitimate son of Henry Trichle and **Marie Dumon** ... and ... Marianne Daublin .., widow of François Closot, native of New Orleans. 1 ban. Witnesses: Manuel Trichel (s), Labery (s), Trichle, the father (x), Prudhomme (s)."⁸⁹

17 JUNE 1775

NATCHITOCHES POST

"Marriage of Estevan [Etienne] Verger, native of this parish, legitimate son of Joseph Verger and **Angelique Dumon** ... and ... Maria Francisca Dupres, legitimate daughter of Joseph Dupres and Maria Darman [Derbanne], a native of this parish. 3 bans. Witnesses: Remigio Poissot, Sr. (s), Remigio Poissot, Jr., Gaspar Derbanne (s) and Bte. Trichel (s)."⁹⁰

COMMENT

Etienne Verger, the quarter-blood grandson of Angelique (possibly a Chitimachas), is marrying the one-eighth-blood great-granddaughter of Jeanne de la Grande Terre (Chitimachas wife of François Derbanne of Mobile and Natchitoches).

⁸⁷ Ibid., entry 982.

⁸⁸ Ibid., entry 1000.

⁸⁹ Ibid., entry 1006.

⁹⁰ Ibid., entry 1017.

SEPTEMBER 1805 NATCHITOCHES POST

16 Natchitoches 1805

"Deposition of John Baptiste Grappe, "aged 42 years. ... deposeth and saith, that, thirty-five or thirty-six years ago, he went with his father from Natchitoches to the **ancient Caddo village**, where he remained about four months. ... and that his father told him which of the fields and houses his family had occupied for a number of years. ... that he well recollects some French families, particularly a **Mr. Verge** and a Mr. de Coto, living at the Yattassee point, so called, and that he always understood they **had lived there for many years before Louisiana was ceded to Spain**.

(30 September 1805)

Deposition of "Francois Grappe, of Campti ... aged 57, ... deposeth . . . he was born near the ancient Caddo village on Red River where his parents then lived, and had lived, he believes, a number of years before he was born, and where they continued to live until he was sixteen or seventeen years of age. ... "And that there was, at the same time, a similar trading establishment and a number of settled French families at the Yattasse point, on the southwest division of Red river, about twenty-five leagues above Natchitoches, in what is now called the Bayou Pierre settlement ... occupied by French inhabitants, and some of whom have ancient French grants or titles for their lands; and that **Mr. Verge**, who lived there for a number of years before Louisiana was ceded to Spain, had the exclusive Indian trade granted him, by the French Governor General of Louisiana, of Troiscannes or Tauacanos, the Reychies, Yattasses, and several other tribes that then lived on the river Sabine, and southward and westward of it, in what is now called the province of Texas."⁹¹

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⁹¹ Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 1st Sess. (1805) (Washington: 1852), 1211–16.

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