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 ante-bellum 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.
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. The Campti community, like similar ones, today faces another problem that is genealo-
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. 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
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 Campti 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 complexities 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:

There are a good many mulattoes by the name of de Mezieres, living near Campti... 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.
The Genealogist

FIRST GENERATION

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

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 Campiti, a new chapel established through the generosity of his white kinswoman Mlle. Françoise Trichel. 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. 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. By the next spring Philippe had sold the lot to a white parishioner and tripled his investment in the process. 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 Campiti, with whom the Isle Brevelle males fraternized. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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".

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
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. In the midst of these legal problems Rosalie (Lauve) Mézières died at Campti 9 November 1895, aged only fifty-eight years. On 10 July 1900 Philippe took his second wife, Mary Winant in a non-religious ceremony performed by Alexander L. De Blieux, the Justice of the Peace of Ward 4. Six days later the couple appeared before a second J.P. to legitimize a daughter born to them before their marriage. In the nine years left to Philippe before his death, he resumed the buying and selling of real estate and left a moderate estate at his passing.

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.

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.

SECOND GENERATION

2. JOSEPH NOËL (de) MÉZIÈRES [3/4 white, 1/4 black], born village of Natchitoches 24 December 1805, died
Campti 4 December 1870,\textsuperscript{33} married (1) Natchitoches Parish 18 May 1829 Marie Deloise Perot,\textsuperscript{34} (2) there 25 July 1837\textsuperscript{35}

3. MARIE ODISSE TRICHEL [\(9/16\) white, \(3/16\) Indian, \(1/4\) black], born Natchitoches 17 January 1818,\textsuperscript{36} died Campti 2 December 1899.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

Young Noël and his mother were manumitted prior to the execution of Athanase's will 25 October 1827. 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 Deloise Pompose Peraut (or Perot), a young quadroon born to the freedwoman Marie Pelagie Grappe in concubinage to a Monsieur Peraut (Perot), probably Jean Chrisostome Perot, who has not yet been positively identified. 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, 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, daughter of the free mulattress Marie Josephe Grappe in concubinage to her white cousin Pierre André Athanase Trichel.

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. 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
The Genealogist

Figure 1

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR: 1850</th>
<th>Mézières Farm</th>
<th>Average Farm in the Parish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improved acres of land</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>113.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimproved acres of land</td>
<td>110.0</td>
<td>138.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total acres of land)</td>
<td>(160.0)</td>
<td>(252.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of farm</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of implements and machinery</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mules &amp; Asses</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk cows</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef cattle</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swine</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of animals slaughtered</td>
<td>$108</td>
<td>$30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginoned cotton (bales)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn (bushels)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>388.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas &amp; beans (bushels)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish potatoes (bushels)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potatoes (bushels)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane sugar (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple sugar (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats (bushels)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden produce for market (value)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool (pounds)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemade manufactures</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
than average). 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, 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.

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.

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. His widow Odisse survived him a number of years, died at Campti and was buried there.

Children of Joseph Noël and Marie Deloise (Perot) (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.\textsuperscript{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],\textsuperscript{53} d. Campti 9 Feb. 1918 and bur. there,\textsuperscript{54} m. (1) Campti 4 April 1867 Marie Eugenie La Baume, quadroon daughter of Valery (de) la Baume and his wife Marie Osine David, kinswoman of her son-in-law,\textsuperscript{55} m. (2) Campti 10 Dec. 1885 Josephine Henry, b. 4 Dec. 1869, d. 3 July 1944, bur. Campti,\textsuperscript{56} daughter of Alida Ginger. F.A. was for years a notary public and member of the police jury. The La Baumes \textit{de couleur}, the family of his first wife, were of noble stock. Joseph de la Baume, Valery'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 \textit{de couleur}; young Joseph and his brother Valery migrated into Natchitoches Parish where both married girls from the Campti colony and lived lives of extremely modest means.\textsuperscript{57}

Issue.

v. Urban, b. 1843, enumerated in 1850, no further record.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{60} In 1900 Edouard, still single and a farmer, was enumerated as a boarder in the home of Alex Grappe.\textsuperscript{61} No further record.

vii. Marie Armandine, b. Campti 13 Dec. 1848, bapt. 15 April 1849,\textsuperscript{62} d. 11 Oct. 1881,\textsuperscript{63} m. Campti 18 May 1864 her cousin Justin Condet.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{65} Issue.

ix. Marie Amanda, b. Campti 14 Nov. 1854, bapt. 11 Feb. 1855, her godparents being Alexandre Trichel and Adeline Perot,\textsuperscript{66}
(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe

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 Conde. 68
He is enumerated in 1860 but not recorded thereafter. 69

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 dite 74 Le Noir was a slave in the household of
Athanase Christophe Fortunat Mauguet de Mézières, comman-
dant 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 prostitu-
tions 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 manu-
mitted in a notarial act passed prior to the execution of
his will 25 October 1827 but now lost (and probably done in
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 Josephine Natalie, Marie Jeanne's daughter, and to Marie Jeanne's niece (daughter of her sister Fanny), Marie Flavie.

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 Jeanette Robert, a free woman of color of that city. 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 Dique ("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 freedwoman.

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, 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. Leon appears to have been dead by 1814 when the de Mézières slaves were divided.

ii. Marie Manuelle Josephine Nathalie, b. Natchitoches 22 Nov. 1803, bapt. there 1 April 1804, Manuel de Soto and Marie Victoire Brevel (both white) being her godparents, identified as mulatto at baptism but as quadroon in the will of her grandfather 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. One of their children was Justin Condet, husband of Marie Armandine Mézières [No. 2 vii].
(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe


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, d. "of fever" there 25 Sept. 1814 and buried there the following day.

6. PIERRE ANDRÉ ATHANASE TRICHEL [1/2 French, 1/4 German, 1/4 Indian], born Natchitoches 30 November 1781, died Campti 17 April 1837, 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, buried Campti 18 December 1840.

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. 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. (Family tradition, on the other hand, is that he was "killed by Indians while on a hunting trip.")

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. 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 confidante 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.

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.

Nine children were born to Marie Josephe Grappe. Several 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 Francois? Grappe dit Touline (white) and Emeline Grappe dite Touline (his half-white daughter). No further record.


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

iii. Francois Berthilde, b. 1815, bapt. Natchitoches 1816, m. 26 Nov. 1864 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 b. [Jean Chrisostome?] Perot. The couple was enumerated in 1870 but not later. Issue.

iv. Leonard, b. c.1817, enumerated in 1850 with a free woman of color named Gertrude, 11 years his senior, no record of marriages or any children.

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 Felicite 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. 1826 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 Aspasie 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
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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. 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 Bernard 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.

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 Bernard. (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. Felicite 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, 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
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 Écure. 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. 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. 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. 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). 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 Mezières, daughter of Rosette [No. iii]. 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). 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. 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". 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. 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. 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). 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.

iv. Marie Euphrosine ("Fanny"), b. Natchitoches 1786, bapt. there 25 Nov. 1787, godparents the slaves Jean Louis and Marie Louise, living in 1853 when she sold certain lands to her nephew Noël Mézières. 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. She appears to be enumerated in the household of her son Joseph Agapite Mézières in the Campti community in 1840, and in 1850 she appears with two teen-agers whose relationship is not clear. She never married but was the mother of at least five children, who assisted in the division of lands of their aunt Rosette.

v. Marie Zenon, b. c.1789, no baptismal record found, alive 16 Aug. 1846, 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
(de) Mézières–Trichel–Grappe

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). Zenon's will, dated 9 June 1837, leaves his entire estate to his wife, indicating that he had no children.

vi. Unnamed infant, b. and d. 20 Sept. 1795.


12. EMANUEL TRICHEL [1/2 German, 1/4 French, 1/4 Indian], baptized Natchitoches 6 May 1737 (probably born the preceding day), died Campti 10 December 1791, married there 28 October 1769.

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, died Campti 1 August 1793.

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 Monteche and his wife as godparents; however, Athanase de Mézières and his second wife, family friends, were godparents of one of Marie Louise's sisters. 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 personality 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 Saboá Comté of the Yattassee 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 Thérèze 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 Génevieve Ris (or Jean-Ris).\(^149\)

iii. Joseph Marie, b. 1775/6,\(^147\) d. unrn. 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 Pitte 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, disappeared and presumed d. early 1836, unman. but by a cousin de couleur, Marie Louise Cidalise Perot, the father of children.

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. 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.

x. Marie Silesie Lolette, b. 8 March 1790, bapt. Natchitoches 21 Nov. 1790, godparents those who stood for her elder sister (no. v), m. 1 Dec. 1812 Celestin Elie Bernard.

14. FRANÇOIS GRAPPE dit TOULINE [3/4 French, 1/4 Indian], born at the Caddo Indian village 4 December 1747, died Campti late July 1825, never married but formed a life-long liaison with MARIE LOUISE "ROSETTE" [black], baptized Natchitoches 31 July 1750, died Campti 17 June 1829.

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. 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.

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
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. 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. 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. 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 Humbert

Between his travels into the Indian nations of Spanish Texas, the adult François established a ranch on Red River a few miles above the Campti 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. 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 grandaughter 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 Felicite, 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
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.

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 Courrier des Natchitoches ran a poignant obituary:

Died at Campé, 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 Campé 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-
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 1766 or 1768, d. Campti c. Sept. 1839, inherited 24 Feb. 1778 by Jean Baptiste Trichel and ultimately purchased by Grappe from the estate of Emanuel Trichel; she left numerous children fathered out of wedlock by one of the Perot brothers of Lac Noir, probably Jean Crisostome, including a daughter Marie Deloise Pompose Perot, first wife of Joseph Noël (de) Mézieres [No. 2].

ii. Felicite, b. Natchitoches 1765 or 1770, left offspring outside marriage, at least one of whom used the surname of Chagneau, another post family.

iii. Madeleine, b. Natchitoches 1770, formed a liaison with Louis David, a Natchitoches-born Frenchman, by whom she had numerous issue.

iv. Jacques, b. Natchitoches 1772, d. Claiborne Parish, La. Oct. 1848. 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 Bistineau 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. Among the issue of this couple were two sons, Magee and Gabriel, who served as white in the Confederate forces during the Civil War.
v. Marguerite, b. Natchitoches 1774, no record of her marriage, but at the time of her manumission in 1796 she was the mother of a son, Jean Baptiste. She appears periodically in the church registers of the early 1800s to serve as godmother to various nieces and nephews. 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; whether he was a husband or a brother has not been established.

vi. Marie Géneviève, b. 7 March 1778, bapt. Natchitoches 22 March 1778, godparents the free mulatto Baltasar and also Mme. Géneviève Fonteneau, for whom she was named, died before the manumission executed by her father in November 1796.

vii. Baltazar, b. 16 Sept. 1780, bapt. Natchitoches 1 Oct. 1780, godparents his uncle Jean Baptiste Grappe and their neighbor Marie de l'Incarnacion Perot. The heavily damaged baptismal records of St. François 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]. No record has been found for him after 1837. 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 François Langlois and Mlle. Jeanne Sorel (both white). 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. He left no known heirs.

ix. Honoré, b. 8 May 1785, bapt. Natchitoches 26 June 1785, godparents Jean Baptiste Davion and Françoise Grappe, his relatives, mentioned in the 1796 act of manumission but not afterwards.

x. Marie Josephe, b. 1786.

xi. François, Jr., b. c.1788, known only because he also appeared in his father's instrument of manumission and at the family meeting for the heirs of his sister Marie Josephe in 1841. He is not known to have married at Natchitoches or to have left issue.

xii. Hélène, b. June 1794, bapt. Natchitoches 26 July 1795, godparents Zosime de Mezieres and Marie David (both white). 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, François 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 François 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 Lassiss 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


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, and had married as his first wife a daughter of the founder of the Natchitoches post, the commandant Chevalier Louis Juchereau de St. Denis.

So far as we know, he returned to France only once during the rest of his life.

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, Etienne 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.

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 Felicite 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


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
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


vii. Marie Josephe ("Colette"), b. Natchitoches 1764, 225 ã. 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 Naki toches [sic], when a mulat­ress interrupted our dinner, saying: 'Monseigneur, Mile. 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 Naktiches 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
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
HENRI PIERRE TRICHEL [German, French, Swiss], born at "Milbac" [Mühlbach], diocese of Strasbourg, France, buried Natchitoches 7 January 1778, married (2) there 21 October 1747 Louise Françoise Guillot, born in the bishopric of Paris, daughter of Simon and Agather (Martin) Guillot and widow of Charles Davion dit St. Prix and Etienne Le Roy, 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. 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.

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: "The custom here is to marry girls of twelve to fourteen years."

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
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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. Francois. 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:

40
(de) Mézières-Trichei-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 Davian 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 Angelique (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 Francois 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 Campti.

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.)

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, d. unm. there 12 Jan. 1777. 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 Mezieres to San Antonio.

ii. Julien, bapt. Natchitoches 24 March 1746, godparents Julien François Bidaux and Marie Louise, the Indian wife of Sergeant Claude Bertrand dit Dauphine, d. Camp ti 2 May 1806, 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. He was a veteran of the campaign of Gálvez, allied with the American Revolutionary cause.

Children of Alexis Grappe dit Toul ine (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.


vii. Marie Anne, bapt. Natchitoches 26 June 1757, godparents Charles Toutin and Marie Anne Rousseau, died there 30 October 1788, m. there 9 Oct. 1776 Bernard d'Ortolant. 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
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". These children, the d'Ortolants de couleur, formed an integral part of the Campti colony to which the Mézières, Trichels, and Grappes belonged.


ix. Françoise, b. 1761, baptismal record not found, d. Natchitoches 2 April 1820, m. there 23 March 1788 Benoit Montenairy.

x. Jean Baptiste, b. 1763, m. Natchitoches 21 April 1796 Marie Geneviève Sorel dite Marly. A veteran of the Galvez 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.

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, married there 7 May 1741 to the slave Catherine, who appears to be identical with

31. CATHERINE [black, established mother of No. 15], baptized Natchitoches 17 October 1734, probably as an infant or small child after the arrival of the first French priest at this frontier outpost, alive 1770.

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, 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.

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].

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 Chitimacas 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.

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. 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. 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, 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.

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.\textsuperscript{299}
Finally, Catherine "of Trichel" appears to have borne a
daughter Marie Jeanne who used the \textit{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 \textit{"Rosette" [No. 15]} was the
daughter of Romaine Antoine \textit{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 \textit{dite}
and that if she bore children after his death those children
might have thereafter adopted what they knew to be their
mother's \textit{dite}.

In 1767 Trichel sold Catherine by way of a \textit{papel simple}
("simple paper", an unrecorded document) to Pierre Duverges
of New Orleans. Three years later Duverges in turn con-
vveyed Catherine, again without reference to any of her
children, to François Hery \textit{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 Cather-
ine might have had.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{dit} Souris or by some
other slave:

i. Marie Jeanne \textit{dite} Souris, b. 19 Oct. 1748, bapt. Natchito-
ches 27 Oct. 1748,\textsuperscript{300} alive Campti 11 July 1827.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 house-
hold, and (2) she used the \textit{dit} of a male slave whose
marriage to a contemporary Catherine can be established.
That \textit{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.\textsuperscript{303}

15 ii. Marie Louise \textit{"Rosette"}, bapt. 31 July 1750.
SIXTH GENERATION

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

41. MARIE JOSÉPhte 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.
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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 Joséphine 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 Cesar 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. Champcérég (near Autun, Saône-et-Loire) 25 Jan. 1746,341 d. Paris 31 Dec. 1830,342 m. there 8 Nov. 1763342 Charles Alexis Brulart, Comte de Genlis, b. 21 Jan. 1737,343 d. Paris (guillotined) 31 Oct. 1793,344 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 gentee 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.

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

i. Louis, Chevalier (called Marquis) de la Haye de Riou, b. 1736, d. Aug. 1759 of wounds suffered at the battle of Minden, where he had served as captain of cavalry and guidon of the gendarmes of Aquitaine, formally emancipated with his sister 30 March 1754 after the death of his father. Mme. de Genlis spoke of him as not particularly intelligent, but good-natured and desiring to resolve the family quarrel.

ii. Charlotte Jeanne, b. Paris 5 Oct. 1738, d. there 5 Feb. 1806 as second wife Jean Baptiste, Marquis de Montesson, b. 1687, d. Paris 30/31 July 1769, brigadier of the Army, son of Jean Baptiste, M. de Montesson and Catherine de Cervon, m. (2) secretly and morganatically, as second wife, Paris, 23 Aug. 1773 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. 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. She did maintain some reputation as a woman of letters. Imprisoned during the Terror, she was released and her property returned to her by Napoleon, who recalled her kindness to a young officer candidate. No issue by either husband.

42. JEAN JACQUES FAZENDE [French], dead in New Orleans by 27 February 1748, married c.1726

43. HELENE DE MORIERE [French], dead at New Orleans by 27 February 1748

The Fazendes appear to have immigrated to the Louisiana colony between 28 September 1726 and the census taken 1 July 1727, 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; but the list of officials projected for 1727 in September 1726 does not include him. 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.

Children of Jean Jacques Fazende and Helene de Morière:
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i. Jacques dit Morièrè, b. c.1727, bur. Natchitoches 24 Feb. 1779, m. by 4 March 1748, wife unidentified. In 1754 he was appointed to the rank of ensigne en second, and in 1762, by which time he was already established at Natchitoches, he was promoted to ensigne 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 ensigne 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. 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.

ii. Rene Jean Gabriel dit Morièrè, bapt. New Orleans 8 Aug. 1728, m. Charlotte Claudine Dreux, by whom he left numerous progeny among the influential families of New Orleans. He was twice godfather at Natchitoches in March and April 1759. 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.

iii. Hélène, m. [contract 12 Dec. 1745] 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 magazin (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". 

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iv. Antoine, a minor in 1748, 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 Yancdon 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 Mezieres), 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.


vi. Françoise, a minor in 1748, 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.

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

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

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

51. ANGELIQUE [Christian Indian, tribal origin uncertain], died Natchitoches 19 March 1758.

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, 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 Séminaire: La Chenesgaulle, Charles 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

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 THERESE 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 Philippe 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 (7) (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, 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 Adayes 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.
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. By 17 October 1747 at least two of the family, Anera and his daughter Catherine, were owned by Henri Trichel. 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.


iii. Moussa, appraised with his parents Oct. 1737.

iv. Pierrot, "infant of Anera" Oct. 1737; his price of 300 livres exceeds that of the others, indicating that he was older. 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. He was appraised at 250 livres in Oct. 1737.


SEVENTH GENERATION

80. CHRISTOPHE MAUGUET, Sieur de MÉZIÈRES, dead by 7 January 1717, married before 1689.

81. MARIE BERGERON, died Paris October 1728.

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 married but his widow was alive. In her will, dated 24 November 1727 and registered in Paris 16 December 1728, 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. 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 1691 409

83. EDMÉ MARIE JOSÈPHTTE 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 1687 411 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 Joseph (de Clugny) Minard:

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.


iii. François Elie, b. Avallon 6 Feb. 1695, no further record.


viii. Edmé Etienne, called "Minard des Panats", bapt. Avallon 18 Jan. 1703, buried there 14 Floreal 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. 406 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
Let: (de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe
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.

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 admin-
istration of her estate has so far been found.

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

1720

176. HELIE DE CLUGNY, Seigneur d'Etaules, dead by 29
March 1697, 420 buried Abbey of Marcilly (commune of Pro-
vency 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 Fran-
goise (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 [Lalle-
ment], daughter of the lawyer Charles Lallemand and Jo-
sèphte 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. He named his children Joséphite, Marie-Pierrette, Denise, Jeanne and Hélie. It is several times repeated that Hélie de Clugny died in 1688 and was buried in the Abbey of Marcilly, where an epitaph bears the date 1688. 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 Hélie was alive. 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. He was dead by 29 March 1697 when Marie Anne Lallemand is named as his widow. On 21 December 1707 Marie Anne Lallemand and her daughters sold half the seigniory of Etaules to François Huguet. 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 Hélie 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.


iii. Marie Pierrette, b. c.1672, a nun in the Convent of the Visitandines at Avallon after 1695.

iv. Denise, b. c.1674, d. unm. Avallon 21 Nov. 1729, aged 55.


vii. Marie Anne, bapt. Avallon 16 Nov. 1681, probably d. young as not mentioned in her father's will.

viii. Étienne, born Avallon 26 Dec. 1682, d. young, perhaps same as Joseph, son of Hélie de Clugny and Marie Lallemand, buried Avallon 9 March 1683, aged 3 months.

ix. Élie, born Avallon 5 May 1686, killed at the siege of Toulouse 2/3 April 1709, lieutenant in the regiment of Forez.

x. Étienne, b. Avallon 15 Sept. 1687, 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
named his sunanne and de Clunty, where inscription inscribed the 1687 letter shows September dowry to the reception. 426

of 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 Parish 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 grassroots 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


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.


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).


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.


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).


14. Eighth Census... 1860: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 11, nos. 92/92.


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 75, NARS.

18. Box 1, Folder: Aug.-Dec. 1866, Chaplin Breazeale & Chaplin Collection, Archives Department, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.


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).


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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.


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.


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.


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.


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.
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 Peraud) 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 Créoles de couleur. Onomastic evidence tends to suggest that of the three Perot brothers, Jean Chrisostome, François, and Remy, the first is more probably the father. The name Chrisostome 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 Chrisostome 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.


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.


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.


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.


62. Baptism No. 1849-26 (white section), Register 6, Parish of St. Français, 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.


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.


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.


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.

81. Mills, 1818-50, No. 141. The groom's name is spelled "Coin­det" 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 Athan­nase, which may or may not be a scribal error.
86. Doc. 2724, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches, lists all children born to the mother of Marie Josephé with their ages, and attributes a birth date of 1786 to Marie Josephé.
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.
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.
92. Heirs of Pierre Trichel v. Cesare 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.
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.
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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-?, 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, Campti.
106. Marriage Book 5:389, Natchitoches Parish Records; Marriage No. 1877-12, Records of Marriages, 1866-1885, Church of the Nativity, Campti.
108. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 630.
110. Mills, 1818-50, No. 130; Docs. 1451, 1499, Colonial Archives, 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 Mauguet de Mézières, supra note 41.
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.

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

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


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.


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.


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 Comte 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 Trichet 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. Doe's 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.


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.


153. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 1787.


155. See the discussion above at p. 19 under his brother Pierre [No. 6].


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

159. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2046.


163. Mills, Natchitoches, 1729-1803, No. 324.


166. Mills, Colonials, pp. 33, 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.


185. Fifth Census... 1830: Louisiana, Natchitoches Parish, p. 74.

186. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2327.


188. Mills, 1800-26, No. 1392, her name being Marie Adelle.
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190. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2431.


192. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 2506.


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.


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.


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.


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.
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 Galvez, 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.
233. Mills, 1818-50, No. 60.
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.
243. In her burial record: Mills, 1729-1803, No. 816. See No. 51.


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".


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.


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


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

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


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


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*.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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. "Josèphe" is a regional spelling of "Josèphe" and the latter is often found in later records made outside of Burgundy.
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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 Capetiens (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 dies 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.


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.


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.


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 Lucrece 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.


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).


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.


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 Jougla de Morenas,

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.


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).


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.


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'impost 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.


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.
(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe

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.


365. The assessment of Thierry seems fair and balanced: "...Au suprême degré, elle possédait 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 exempt 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): "S'il 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 haute 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.


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

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

371. Id., 2:40.


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

374. He testified at the inventory and appraisement 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.
381. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 701, 704.
383. Alice Forsyth and Ghislaine Pleasonten, 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.
386. Id., No. 405, 492, 953, 1702, 3408.
388. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 816.
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 Brel[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).
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.
404. Doc. 1782, Colonial Archives, Natchitoches.
405. Mills, 1729-1803, No. 513.
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).
413. Avallon PR except as otherwise noted. One of the younger sisters of Marie Josèphe 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 Pannats 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.

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. Étienne 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.


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