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- DATE:** 8 December 2005
- SUBJECT:** Jeannot Mulon *dit* La Brun, f.m.c., Colonial Natchitoches, Louisiana
- REPORT TO** [Private]
- BACKGROUND:** Felicité and Victoire Mulon, free women of color, bore several children in New Orleans *circa* 1785–1812. After 1805, their adult children migrated to Cane River in Natchitoches Parish and married the free and wealthy offspring of the legendary ex-slave Coincoin (b. 1742 into the household of the Natchitoches Commandant, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis).
- Descendants of Felicité and Victoire believe they were daughters of Jeannot Mulon, a free man of color who appears in my published census and militia abstracts, *Natchitoches Colonials*, as a trader (1766) and a Revolutionary War courier (1780).
- OBJECTIVE:** Biographical data and parentage of Jeannot
Identification of his wife, children, and kinsmen
- AUTHORIZATION:** 40 hours
- KEY FINDINGS:** Between 1759 and 1786, Jeannot was an Indian trader and leading interpreter on the Natchitoches frontier. *Circa* 1768–79, he owned and resided on the site of the tribal mound (holy ground) of the Natchitoches Indian tribe.
- Key associates:
- Julien, free *nègre* husband of Feliciane, a Natchez Indian slave of St. Denis
 - Gabriel Buard and Jacob Lambre of the German Coast & Natchitoches
 - Paul Bouett Lafitte, Indian factor of Natchitoches & Bayou Pierre
- Potential owner at birth:
- Jean Pierre LeBrun *dit* Bossier of German Coast & Natchitoches
- Possible parent:
- Joseph Milon of German Coast, wed LeBrun's neighbor Françoise Girardy
- Jeannot's identifiable family:*
- Daughter: Françoise, won freedom from Widow Jacob Lambre, 1784
Son: Pierre, free man of color *circa* 1784
Wife: Marie, *nègresse* daughter of César & Marianne, *nègres*
(all slaves of Commandant Louis Juchereau de St. Denis)
- GENERAL NOTE:** Descriptive and ethnic terms are crucial “identifiers” when working with single-name and common-name slaves and f.p.c. Thus, throughout this report, individuals will be identified by the exact ethnic terms each record used to describe them.

RESOURCES & HANDICAPS

Both the civil (notarial) and church archives of colonial Natchitoches are extensive but incomplete. Random blocks of documents from the civil archives, removed long ago by various parties, are housed today in two collections:

- Melrose Collection, Cammie G. Henry Research Center, Watson Library, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches
- Natchitoches Parish Collection, Archives Department, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

An inventory exists for the Melrose Collection (see Wells, page 3). No comparable inventory exists for the Natchitoches Parish Collection at LSU.

The major, non-local resources for colonial Natchitoches are

- the notarial and judicial records of the colony's capital (New Orleans), for which no master index exists.
- the materials transmitted by the Spanish governors to Seville—chiefly the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (Cuban Papers) and Audencia de Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo Papers). These two vast collections, consisting of millions of pages, have only the most-general of indexes:

De la Peña, José, et al. *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo General de Indias . . . Sobre la Epoca Española de Luisiana*. New Orleans: Loyola, 1968.

Hill, Roscoe R. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1916.

Microfilm copies of some original material from the Cuban and Santo Domingo collections are available at various U.S. repositories. Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge and Tulane University at New Orleans offer interlibrary loan, after researchers identify *legajos* (bundles) of potential value by using the De la Peña and Hill catalogs. A full collection of the Cuban Papers can be accessed on site at Clayton Library, Houston.

RESOURCES USED

Original documents:

I hold the following on microfilm in my personal library (although none could be fully researched within the time allotted):

1. Notarial Archives of Natchitoches, 1734–1819 (officially labeled Archive Conveyance Records), Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches;
2. Catholic registers of colonial Natchitoches; and
3. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (selected legajos relating to Red River and Natchitoches)

Published resources:

Barron, Bill. *The Vaudreuil Papers: A Calendar and Index of the Personal and Private Records of [the] Royal Governor of the French Province of Louisiana, 1743–1753*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1975.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Athanasie De Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*. 2 vols. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914). Bolton offers many translated documents from the PPC and the Archivo General, Mexico City.

Burton, H. Sophie. "Free People of Color in Spanish Colonial Natchitoches: Manumission and Dependency on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1766–1803." *Louisiana History* 45 (Spring 2004): 173–97.

Conrad, Glenn R. *The First Families of Louisiana*. 2 vols. Baton Rouge: Claitor's, 1970. Offers translations of colonial ship rolls, censuses, and similar lists.

———. *Saint-Jean-Baptiste des Allemands: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. John the Baptist Parish ... 1753–1803*. Lafayette, La., 1972.

Deville, Winston. *Natchitoches Documents, 1732–1785: A Calendar of Civil Records from Fort St. Jean Baptiste in the French and Spanish Province of Louisiana*. Ville Platte, La.: Smith Publications, 1994.

Forsyth, Alice Daly, and Ghislaine Pleasonton. *Louisiana Marriage Contracts: A Compilation of Abstracts from Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1725–1758*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980.

Mills, Elizabeth Shown. "(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe: A Study of a Tri-caste Lineage in the Old South." *The Genealogist* 6 (Spring 1985): 4–85.

———. "Family and Social Patterns of the Colonial Louisiana Frontier: A Quantitative Analysis, 1714–1803." Senior Thesis (Honors). University of Alabama, 1981.

———. *Natchitoches Colonials—Censuses, Military Rolls, and Tax Lists, 1722–1803*. Chicago: Adams Press, 1981.

———. *Natchitoches, 1729–1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977.

———. *Natchitoches, 1800–1826: Translated Abstracts of Register Number Five of the Catholic Church Parish of St. François des Natchitoches in Louisiana*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980. Reprinted, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2004.

———. *Natchitoches Church Marriages, 1818–1850: Translated Abstracts from the Registers of St. François des Natchitoches, Louisiana*. Tuscaloosa: Mills Historical Press, 1985. Reprinted, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2004.

———. "Quintanilla's Crusade, 1775–1783: 'Moral Reform' and Its Consequences on the Natchitoches Frontier." *Louisiana History*. 42 (Summer 2001): 277–302.

Wells, Carolyn M., compiler. *Index and Abstracts of Colonial Documents in the Eugene P. Watson Memorial Library*. Natchitoches: Archives Division, Watson Library, Northwestern State University, 1980. Wells offers an annotated index (rather than actual abstracts) to the Melrose Collection of colonial documents removed from the courthouse archives.

Woods, Earl C. and Charles E. Nolan, eds. *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans*. 19 vols. to date. New Orleans: The Archdiocese, 1987—.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
to
RESEARCH NOTES

(Part One)	(Part Two)
Beginning Point p. 4	Jeannot Mulon <i>dit</i> LeBrun P. 15
Last Masters	Records Created p. 15
Jacob Lambre p. 5	Key Associate: Julien p. 22
Lambre's Widow, Heirs & Slaves p. 9	Jeannot's Potential Parentage p. 25
Daughter & Wife	Milon Origins p. 26
Daughter's Identity: Françoise p. 10	Milon-LeBrun Connection p. 26
First Masters: St. Denis Family p. 11	Hypothesis & Major Issue p. 26
Wife's Identity: Marie <i>fille</i> César p. 15	Further Investigation p. 27

RESEARCH NOTES

(Part One)

BEGINNING POINT: Literature Survey

The Catholic registers are the conventional starting point for research on individuals in colonial Natchitoches, regardless of color or civil status. My translated abstracts, with an every-name index, provide a quick entré to those records.

Jeannot does not appear there under any of his variant names. His given name, which translates as “Little Jean” is rare at Natchitoches. The few Jeannots found there are associated with the founder and commandant, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis. However, the Christian name under which this Jeannot would have been baptized (“Jean”) is the most common male name at the post.

To identify and track individuals of common name, one needs to connect that individual with kinsmen or associates who left a more-generous supply of records. One published source supplies that first connection for Jeannot Mulon—identifying a daughter, a brother of that daughter (who might have been Jeannot’s son, but could also have been his stepson), and a master family for the daughter: the white planter Jacob “Jacques” Lambre and his widow who, by French convention, appears in records throughout her life under her maiden name, Marianne Poissot.

Sophie Burton, “Free People of Color in Spanish Colonial Natchitoches,” *Louisiana History* 45 (Spring 2004):187–89:

“Under Spanish slave law, slaves could also employ a tribunal to obtain their freedom. If a slaveholder refused to allow *coartación* or third-party purchase, a slave, a relative, or a friend had the legal right to bring that recalcitrant owner to the attention the local magistrate. A tribunal would then establish a purchase price for the slave and, once the proprietor received payment, prevent the former owner from interfering with the former bondsperson. In Natchitoches, only one individual, **Françoise**, Marie Poissot’s slave, obtained this type of manumission. Upon the death of Poissot’s husband, a December 1782 inventory listed Françoise as a twenty-eight-year-old *parda* [*sic*] worth 500 *piastres*. The following year, her free *pardo* brother, Pierre, gave Françoise funds equal to her appraised value. When Françoise attempted to purchase her liberty, however, her mistress refused on the grounds that the bondswoman was worth more than the earlier appraisal. In April 1784, Françoise’s father, **Jeannot Mulon**, a free *pardo*, petitioned the governor on her behalf, but the stubborn Poissot countered eleven days later, repeating her claim that Françoise was worth more than 500 *piastres*. After learning of her legal rights, the slave woman, appearing before Natchitoches officials on August 2, 1784, doggedly pushed her mistress to name two appraisers. As a result, Etienne Pavie, working for Poissot, estimated Françoise’s worth at 1,000 *piastres* while Françoise’s advocate, Jean Baptiste Dubois, offered an assessment of 600. After a tense few days, the court approved the lower 600-*piastre* valuation and ordered that Françoise be manumitted upon full payment to Poissot.

“Before Françoise and her family had a chance to pay, however, the Widow Poissot threatened to appeal the case to the governor. Meanwhile, Françoise claimed Pavie’s estimate was [exorbitant for . . . he gives me [the] talents of laundress and cook, despite the fact that my laundering is limited to sheets and curtains and my pretended talent as cook is to be able to put on the fire and a plate of cabbages, which all slaves can do as well, all of which proves the price 600 *piastres* at which I am estimated is all I can be worth.’ Françoise also requested from local authorities an eight-day [*sic*] permit to travel to New Orleans with paperwork necessary to counter the appeal. With Françoise stubbornly poised to secure her legal rights, Poissot capitulated. On August 9, she accepted the proffered [*sic*] sum and formally accorded ‘liberty to Françoise, my slave, so that she enjoy starting at once all the liberty and privileges his majesty accords to the free people.’ Thirteen days later, Mulon recorded his daughter’s manumission in the capital, ending the family’s two year legal struggle. By December, Françoise was working as the commandant’s cook.²⁷”

²⁷Inventory of Goods of Jacques Lambre and Marie Anne Poissot, December 5, 1782, NPCT, Book 17; Petition of Jeannot LeBrun *dît* Mulon to Governor General, April 17, 1784, legajo 197 AGI, PC; Widow Lambre to Commandant, April 28, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC; Self-Estimate of Françoise, August 2, 1784 legajo 197, AGI, PC; Françoise's request to go to New Orleans, August 5, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC; Françoise's Declaration of Departure to New Orleans, August 7, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC; Widow Lambre's Declaration of Manumission of Françoise, August 9, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC; Vaugine to Miro, August 20, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC; Testimony of Françoise, free mulatta, December 26, 1784, legajo 197, AGI, PC."

LAST MASTERS: Jacob Lambre

"Jacques" Lambre was, more precisely *Jacob* Lambre a migrant from the so-called "German Coast" of Louisiana, just above New Orleans. In documents that Lambre himself created, he consistently identified himself with the German *Jacob*. However, French scribes in Louisiana frequently translated the German names into French (rendering him as *Jacques*), while Spanish scribes translated the name into their own equivalents (*Santiago* and its diminutive *Diego*).

The research notes presented here do not attempt to fully account for all of Jacob Lambre's activities. In this research segment, I am focusing entirely on documents that provide information about Lambre's slaveholdings.

The document Burton cites as "Inventory of Goods of Jacques Lambre and Marie Anne Poissot ... NPCT, Book 17" is actually an inventory of goods belonging to the estate of *Sieur Lambre, deceased*, and not his widow. Under the succession laws that governed Louisiana, property left by a married man with children was not the joint property of his wife.

The record is actually Doc. 1628 of the colonial notarial records (officially labeled "Archive Conveyance Records," Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches Parish Courthouse). A document number is needed to locate any record in that collection. To identify individual documents and their numbers, one uses the companion volume, "Index to Archive Conveyance Records." *However, this is not an every name index. Moreover, entries point to files that may contain dozens or hundreds of pages each.*

Attachment 1 provides a full list of slaves from the Lambre inventory, to place Françoise in context of her associates and potential kin. The entry for Françoise herself is as follows:

Doc 1628, pp. 19–28

Archive Conveyance Records, Natchitoches

5 December 1782

First two entries:

- a *mulâtresse* named **Françoise**, aged 28 years, estimated at 500 piastres.
- a *négresse* named Eleonore, aged 30 years, estimated at 500 piastres [to be discussed later]

The ethnic term used for Françoise in this document is critical to her eventual identity. Burton states (erroneously) that the document calls her a *parda*, rather than *mulâtresse*. There is a distinction that needs observing, and modern researchers cannot substitute one for the other without creating inaccuracies.

Parda and its masculine counterpart *pardo* were generic terms used by Spaniards to express skin *color*—i.e., *light* color. Their counterpoints, *morena* and *moreno*, meant *dark* color.

Natchitoches scribes (with rare exception) used terms that denoted *racial mixture*, rather than color. *Negro* and its French-Spanish, male-female, adult-child variants were used for those of *full black* ances-

try—as with Eleonore, who is cited immediately after Françoise on the inventory. *Mulatto* and its variants were used for those who were *half*-African—i.e., the child of a white-black union or a union between two individuals who were each half-black—or the child of an African by a *mulatto* or Indian. Thus, a mulatto could be *moreno* (dark) in color. Meanwhile, the term *pardo*, on the rare occasions that it was generically used at Natchitoches in the 1780–1800 period, was typically used for those who were *quadroons* or lighter. As seen in this paper, the consistent use of the term *mulâtresse* and *mulâtre* for Françoise and her father, Jeannot, are critical to identifying the parentage of each of them.

Further analysis of the data for all 51 slaves raises several important points:

- Françoise was the first slave named, suggesting that she enjoyed a prime position in the Lambre household—perhaps the widow’s personal attendant. However, her estimated value (500 *p*) did not suggest that she had a skill more valuable than other slave females of her age group.
- Only 4 of the 51 were called “mulatto.” Nothing in the document suggests a connection between those 4.
- Françoise’s stated age in 1782 is not necessarily correct. As noted on the attached inventory, the document errs repeatedly in stating ages for other slaves whose ages *can* be documented in the church registers.
- *Most of the older adult slaves owned by Lambre originated in the household of the post founder and former commandant, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis*—a point suggesting that Françoise and/or her slave-born mother might have been part of that household as well.

The first step toward finding Françoise’s origin is to identify the slave acquisitions made by her master. The “Index to Archive Conveyance Records” cites only eight documents in which Jacob “Jacques” Lambre bought or sold slaves. A subsequent search of the original documents turned up seven extant records. The eighth document is missing from the series. Following are brief abstracts of each:

Doc. 754, ACR

13 November 1772

Jacques de la Chaise Saint Denys to **Jacques Lambre**. Sale of **Manuel**, aged 19, “*coming from the succession of Dame Rose Juchereau de St. Denys, his mother.*” Price 350 piastres. Signed: De la Chaise [s]. Lambre [X]. Witness: Langlois [s]. Scribe: Athanaze de Mézières, commandant.

Doc 853, ACR

1772

Sieur Delissard Jouhannis to **Jacob Lambre**, Sale of slaves. [The document is catalogued in the “Index to Archive Conveyance Records” but the actual document is **missing**.]

Doc. 1016, ACR

8 October 1775

François Carlin to **Jacob Lambre**. Sale of a young *nègre* named **Baptiste**, aged 15 or thereabout, for 400 *carrotes* [bundles] of tobacco. Both buyer and seller X’d. Witnesses: François Doucet [s] and Antoine Vastcocu [s]. Scribe: Athanaze de Mézières, commandant.

Doc. 1187, ACR

9 February 1777

Jacob Lambre to Remi Lambre, his son born of his lawful marriage with Marianne Poissot. Jacob acknowledged that Remi is the lawful owner of a *nègre* named **Leveillé**, having earned him by virtue of his own industry. In the event of the death of Jacob or his wife (Remy’s

mother), Remi’s title to the slave is to be protected against claims or rights of other heirs of [his maternal grandfather] Sieur Remi Poissot.

Doc. 1188, ACR
 9 February 1777
Jacob Lambre to Remi Lambre, Donation of a “young *nègre* [male] slave named ____.” [Sic]

Doc. 1189, ACR
 9 February 1777
Jacob Lambre to Catherine Lambre, his daughter, born of his lawful marriage with Marianne Poissot. Donation of a young *négresse* [sic] slave named **Beauvin**. [The 1782 inventory calls this slave a male.]

Doc. 1190, ACR
 9 February 1777
Jacob Lambre to Marie Lambre, his daughter, born of his lawful marriage with Marianne Poissot, Donation of a *négresse* slave named **Combao**.

Doc. 1191, ACR
Jacob Lambre to Jacques Lambre, his son, born of his lawful marriage with Marianne Poissot, donation of a young *négresse* named **Marie**.

All of these slaves appear on Jacob’s 1782 inventory, despite the fact that he had already given them to his children. At the time of his death, the children were all minors—except for Remy, who had turned 21 that year.

Four colonial censuses and tax lists reveal additional details about the composition of Lambre’s slave household:

Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials: Censuses, Military Rolls, and Tax Lists, 1722–1803* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1981).

p.14

27 January 1766, “French Census of Natchitoches”

Source: Miscellaneous Collection 3, NSU

Jacques Lambre	[25 residences removed from his brother Jean Lambre]
1 married man	1 Mulatto male slaves
1 married woman	0 Mulatto female slaves
1 boy	1 Indian female slave
1 girl	1 firearm
0 free male halfbreeds	0 sidearms
0 free female halfbreeds	6 horned cattle
0 free female Indians	1 horse or mare
0 free male mulattoes	4 pigs
3 Negro men slaves	0 sheep
2 Negro women slaves	3,000 twists of tobacco
1 Negro boy slave	50 barrels of corn on the ear
0 Negro girl slaves	[?] barrels of beans of different kind

p. 18

6 May 1766, “Spanish Census of Natchitoches”

Source: Legajo 2585, Santo Domingo Papers, Archivo General de Indias

Santhiago Lambre [next door to his brother Jean Lambre]

1 man bearing arms

1 woman

20 arpents cleared land (frontage)

0 “older boys” [above puberty]

1 horse

0 “older girls” [above puberty]

6 head cattle

1 boy

11 hogs and/or sheep

1 girl

2 guns

0 slaves [*sic*]**p. 33**

25 February 1774, “Census of Natchitoches Slaveowners”

Jacob Lambre

6 Negro or mulatto males

6 Negro or mulatto females

7 Negro or mulatto children

0 Indian females

0 Indian children

p. 34

26 September 1774, “Tax List of Natchitoches Slaveowners”

Diego Lambre

10 Negro males

7 Negro females

0 Mulatto males

2 Mulatto females [ostensibly Françoise & Charlotte, *mulâtresses* of 1782 inventory]

19 slaves total

152 reales, taxed

The one roll that should include Françoise says nothing about her origin or parentage. All that can be said about the mother is that she was enslaved at Françoise’s birth—a fact derived from the law that children followed the civil status of their mothers. Whether Jeannot himself was free at the time of Françoise’s birth would have no impact upon Françoise’s status.

Five other possibilities exist by which we might discover more about Françoise and her mother. The first two are pursued in this report.

1. Search the Archive Conveyance Records for all documents created post-1782 by Lambre's widow and slave-related documents created by Lambre’s children and heirs.
2. Search the Archive Conveyance Records for documents created by the Sr. Delissard Jouhannis—the man who sold a slave to Jacob Lambre via the missing Doc. 853. We should try to identify all slaves coming into Jouhannis’s possession and all slaves leaving his possession; any unaccounted for slave who remains should (theoretically) be the one he sold to Lambre.

3. Order the legajos cited by Burton from the Cuban Papers and mine them for additional clues.
4. Read all succession sales in the Archive Conveyance Records, prior to 1782, to determine whether Jacob Lambre purchased Françoise at a succession auction. For these purchases, separate deeds of sale were not always recorded.
5. Search the Natchitoches Colonial Records Collection at LSU for the two marriage contracts executed by Jacob Lambre and the succession records of his first wife—all of which are recorded in the “Index to Archive Conveyance Records,” but are no longer in the courthouse. Most locally missing documents from that period are among those held by LSU. The documents we need are:

Doc. 142	1750	Jacques Lambre to Thérèse LeVasseur, Marriage contract
Doc. 259	1756–58	Mme. Jacques Lambre, Succession inventory & appraisalment
Doc. 260	1756–58	Mme. Jacques Lambre, Family meeting for minor heirs
Doc. 186	1759	Jacques Lambre to Marianne Poissot, Marriage contract

MASTER FAMILY: Lambre’s Widow, Heirs & Slaves

Burton’s discussion focuses on the 1783–84 litigation between Françoise and Lambre’s widow, Marianne Poissot, by which Françoise sued for freedom. Burton cites no local (notarial) documents relevant to the issue. However, Natchitoches’ notarial archive does offer several helpful records.

As with *Sieur Lambre*, not all of the records entered for the widow in the “Index to Archive Conveyance Records” are still extant. From those that do exist, we learn that after Françoise’s suit for freedom, the Widow Lambre and her sons manumitted not only her but three other slaves whom Jacob Lambre had purchased.

Doc. 1748, ACR
1784

Françoise, a slave *vs.* **Widow Lambre**. Suit for freedom. [This document is **missing** from the notarial series, which was not bound until the 1900s.]

Doc. 2371, ACR
7 January 1791

Widow Lambre manumits **Emanuel**, aged about 40, in virtue of his faithful service. [This would be the “Emanuel” whom Jacob Lambre purchased in 1772, at age 19—a slave originating in the St. Denis household.]

Doc, 2425, ACR
5 November 1792

Remy Lambre as representative for his mother, the **Widow Lambre**, acknowledges that her *nègre* **Baptiste Congo** has paid 200 piastres silver, in exchange for which they manumit him.

Doc. 2593, ACR
6 January 1795

Remy Lambre, officer of the militia, gives liberty to the *nègresse* **Leonore**, a slave belonging to him. [Remy states no price, mentions no one interceding on Leonore’s behalf, and says nothing about any children or kin she may have had.” His mother, Widow Lambre, had died the year before, leaving Leonore to her heirs.]

Re Emanuel:

Doc. 754, previously abstracted in this report, identifies Emanuel as a slave stemming from the St. Denis succession.

Re Leonore:

Jacob Lambre acquired Leonore before 20 February 1769, the day on which her first known child was baptized. (See Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 956.) The document by which Lambre purchased her has not been found. However, like Manuel, she was born into the St. Denis household—her birth and baptism occurring in 1750. (*Ibid.*, no. 330)

JEANNOT'S DAUGHTER & WIFE**Daughter's Identity: Which Françoise is Françoise?**

Much of the difficulty in identifying Jeannot's daughter Françoise—prior to her existence in the Lambre household—lies in the fact that her name (and its masculine counterpart, François) was one of the most common baptismal names for children at Natchitoches. To illustrate that point, one might cite the family of the famed Coincoin, whose offspring later intermarried with the Mulons.

- father, François
- mother, Marie Françoise
- daughter, Françoise
- son, François
- sister, Françoise
- brother, François *dit* Choera
- brother's wife, Françoise, slave of the widow Joseph Dupré (brother-in-law of Mme. Lambre)
- niece Françoise, daughter of sister Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte
- nephew François *dit* Gimbeau, son of sister Gertrude *dit* Dgimby

The Lambre census records suggest that Lambre acquired Jeannot's daughter Françoise in the 8 years between June 1766 (at which time he had no mulatto females in his household) and September 1774, when he was taxed on two mulatto females (presumably the *mulâtresses* Françoise and Charlotte of his 1782 inventory). This deduction leads to additional questions and a possibility:

- Did he acquire Françoise and Charlotte separately or at the same time?
- If he acquired them together, were they siblings? Were they sold with their mother?
- Can the woman named Charlotte, whose name was exceedingly rare in colonial Natchitoches, be traced?

(ANSWER: Yes. In April 1757, as “Charlotte Françoise, mother unnamed, she was baptized into the household of the St. Denis son-in-law, Athanase de Mézières. (See Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 654; also Mills, “(de) Mézières, Trichel, Grappe,” for Charlotte de Mézières, wife of the Duc d'Orleans, whose name was introduced to the frontier by her brother Athanase.)

As previously shown, the “Index to Archive Conveyance Records” offers only one entry under the name “Françoise” or “Marie Françoise”

Doc. 1748, ACR

1784 **Françoise**, a slave, vs. **Widow Lambre**. Suit for freedom. [Missing.]

In 1785, the post notary retired and turned over his archives to a replacement. At that time, he compiled an inventory of his papers that has since been published. That 1784 document carries a slightly different label on the 1785 inventory:

Winston Deville, *Natchitoches Documents, 1732–1785: A Calendar of Civil Records from Fort St. Jean Baptiste in the French and Spanish Province of Louisiana* (Ville Platte, La.: Smith Publications, 1994), 73.

2 August 1784 “Freedom of **Françoise, Mulatress** slave belonging to Widow Jacques Lambre.”

Although no extant document records Lambre’s purchase of Françoise, the identity of the slaves whom Lambre purchased from the trader Delissard Jouhannis via the missing record of 1772 can be determined by tracking the slave purchases and sales made by Jouhannis at the Natchitoches post. Three documents executed by him chronicle (a) his purchase of three slaves from a St. Denis daughter and (b) the subsequent sale of two of them to Joseph Dupré. The third slave should be the one he sold to Jacob Lambre. The purchase document identifies the three as follows:

Purchases by Jouhannis

Doc. 765, ACR
7 December 1772

Mme. **Marie de St. Denis de Soto** to Sieur Delissard Jouhannis. Sale of 3 slaves: (1) Congo, *négresse*, 1500 livres, about 20; (2) **Françoise, mulâtresse, aged about 20**, 1500 livres; (3) Françoise, *négritte*, aged 7 or 8 years—all coming to Marie de St. Denis from her parental succession.

Doc. 813, ACR
6 February 1773

Delachaise St. Denis to Delissard Jouhannis, sale of a *mulâtre* named Dominique, aged about 18, and a *négritte* named Marie, aged about 5—both coming to him from the estate of his mother Rose Juchereau de Saint Denys. 2090 livres.

Sales by Jouhannis

Doc. 771, ACR
27 Dec 1772. Delissard Jouhannis to Jean Baptiste Dupré. Sale of a *négritte* named Françoise, aged 7 or 8 years.

Doc. 853, ACR
1773. Delissard Jouhannis to Jacob Lambre. Sale of slaves. Index entry only. Document missing.

The St. Denis slaves whom Jacob Lambre acquired from Jouhannis should be Françoise (the *mulâtresse*), Congo, and Dominique. All appear on his inventory of 1782.

These four pieces of data about the mulâtresse Françoise—her name, her age, her racial mix, and her placement in the St. Denis slave household before its division—enable us to build a case for the identity of Françoise, her mother, and her maternal grandparents.

Proceedings in the succession of St. Denis extended from the time of the commandant's death in 1744 through his widow’s death in April 1758. The major divisions of his property occurred in December 1756 (after the youngest heir came of age) and in April 1758, following the widow’s death. Multiple inventories and partition lists were drafted across those three years, some of which arrange the slaves into family groups. From these we can ascertain:

- which slaves were taken by the Widow St. Denis in December 1756;
- which slaves were passed to the grown St. Denis children in December 1756 and 1757; and
- which slaves were inherited in 1758, as well as which heir assumed possession of which slave.

Over the years, I have followed these slave families through subsequent sales to sort them from other colonial slaves of the same names. This report cannot present all those details and all those documents, although that whole body of records supports the conclusions presented here.

The following family groups are extracted from two of the 1756 lists. Information appearing in editorial brackets in the second column does not appear on the original: I have added it here to better identify each person. Unless otherwise cited, the added data comes from documents in the St. Denis succession or from the sacramental entries published and indexed in Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*.

Doc. 178, ACR

September 1756, Inventory

"Famille de Nanette et de Pierrot"

Pierrot	[<i>nègre</i> , Pierre Etienne dit Pierrot du St. Totin]
Nanette	[Indian, Marie des Neiges dite La Rotte]
Marie Antoine	[<i>négritte</i> , born and baptized 1738]
Dominique , her son	[appears on Jacob Lambre's 1782 inventory, age <i>ca.</i> 25]
Louis	[<i>négrillon</i> , born and baptized, 1744]
Catin	[Catherine, <i>négresse</i> , on Lambre's 1782 inventory, aged <i>ca.</i> 40]
Niasuy	[<i>Niasuy</i> is his African name; his Christian name was <i>François</i>]
Jeanne	
Batties	[Baptiste]
Magdelaine	[<i>négritte</i> , born & baptized 1750]
Manuel	[born <i>ca.</i> 1752; later purchased by Jacob Lambre]
[Marianne]	[<i>négritte</i> , bapt. 11 May 1754; died before 1756]
César	[<i>b. ca.</i> 1755]

"Famille de César et de Marianne"

Césard	[César & Marianne, church marriage of 26 December 1735]
Marianne	[<i>négresse</i>]
	[Not itemized: eldest daughter <i>Marie, négritte</i> , b. 26 July & bapt. 28 July 1729; died 1750–56]
Joseph	[<i>nègre</i>]
Étienne	[<i>nègre</i>]
Zeno	[<i>nègre</i>]
Athanase	[<i>négrillon</i> , Athanase Christophe Fortunat, bapt. 27 April 1744]
Pierre	[<i>négrillon</i> , bapt. 12 May 1746]
Alexandre	[<i>négrillon</i> , Louis Alexandre, bapt. 17 December 1749]
Leonore	[<i>négritte</i> , b. 5 November 1750]
Marie Françoise	[listed here, but no baptismal entry is on record]

The family of César and Marianne, as inventoried in 1756, lacked one child. Their firstborn daughter was baptized in 1729 (seven years before the parental marriage occurred). Both of Marie's parents were named at the child's baptism:

Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 521

28 July 1728

“Baptism of Marie, born July 26, property of Mr. de St. Denis, daughter of Cesar and Marianne, negroes. Godparents: Henry Le Bel, *bourgeois* of Natchitoches (x) and Marianne Marchand (x) also of same place.”

That daughter Marie is last on record in 1750, when Leonore was baptized:

Ibid., entry 330

5 November 1750

"Baptism of Marie Elenoard, daughter of Marie, property of Mde. de St. Denis. Godparents: Pierre Antoine de St. Denis (s) and Marie des Douleurs De Blanc (s)."

To interpret the 1756 inventories and partition lists, one needs to know both the law and the custom that governed slave sales in that society. Louisiana’s *Code Noir* (from the colonial era up to the Civil War) forbade the separation, by sale, of a married slave couple or the separation of children under the age of ten from their mother. Consequently, most inventories grouped the slaves by families and most listed the children in birth sequence. However, exceptions existed:

- family units *could* be separated when a slaveholder died and it was not possible to divide the estate without splitting a family; and
- children who were close to ten when a sale was needed might be *claimed* to be ten—especially when baptismal records did not cite an exact birthday or when they were large enough to “pass for” ten.
- children under the age of ten could be sold without parents if their unmarried mother had died.

The St. Denis succession followed law and custom. It includes several other lists that sort individuals into lots of comparable value. Those lists place children under 10 with their parents, while distributing the older children as randomly as necessary to make equitable divisions among heirs. The family of César and Marianne appears again on one of the “partition” lists, and the three younger children of the inventory are grouped with them, while their older children are assigned to other lots:

Doc. 176, ACR

[Division of slaves into 5 lots]^A

Lot 1

Cézard	:		
Marianne	:		
Leonor	:	4,000 livres	
Alexandre	:		
Françoise	:		
Luisse	:	2,000	[9-year-old child of other parents, Fran ^s & Marie Fran ^{sc}]

Lot 2

Etienne:			
Zeno	:	4,000	[3 oldest sons of César & Marianne]
Athanase	:		
Guerin	:	1,200	[a childless couple who m. in the church in 1737]
Catherine	:		

^A This partition list divides the slaves into 5 lots, one for each child-heir. The list does not say which heir received which lot. However, the recipients of the lots would be

- Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the eldest son
- Jacques de la Chaise, husband of deceased Marie Rose Juchereau de St. Denis
- Athanase De Mézières, husband of deceased Petronille Juchereau de St. Denis
- Manuel de Soto, husband of Marie des Neiges Juchereau de St. Denis
- César de Blanc, husband of Marie Delores Juchereau de St. Denis.

While these lists group slaves into *families*, they do not specifically state relationships—with the exception of the statement that Dominique, from the family of Nanette and Pierrot, was the son of Marie Antoine. In most cases, the individuals listed under a couple can be documented as their children through church and other records.

However, we cannot assume that the couple at the head of a family were parents of every family member. As also shown with Marie Antoine and Dominique, a grown and unmarried daughter with children would be listed as part of her parental household. Grandchildren whose unmarried mother had died were also listed in the household of the mother's parents, obviously because the grandparents had become the caregivers.

Françoise and Leonore were listed consecutively, followed by Leonore's own daughter, on the 1782 Lambre inventory. **Evidence strongly implies that both were the granddaughters of César and Marianne.** Consider the following:

Leonore

1. At Leonore's baptism in 1750, she is identified as the *négresse* daughter of the *négresse* Marie, property of Mde. de St. Denis," *not* as the daughter of "Marianne." The only St. Denis slave identified by the sole name "Marie" was the daughter born to Marianne and César in 1727, who died before the 1756 partition. Hence, Leonore should be the grandchild of Marianne and César, with whom she is listed that year.
2. The birth spacing between Leonore and the next oldest child above her on the list, Alexandre, is just 11 months—highly unusual spacing in this society. My 1981 quantitative analysis of birth patterns for the entire post shows that, for families begun prior to 1733 the average lapse between births was 29.5 months. (Mills, "Family and Social Patterns," 158) Marianne, who had been bearing children since 1727, should not be the mother of both Alexandre and Leonore, born 11 months apart in 1749–50. That spacing normally would have occurred only if the first child had died. By implication, Leonore and Alexandre were not siblings.

Françoise

1. Françoise was younger than Leonore on the Lambre inventory and she is listed as a younger child on the St. Denis inventory. Hence, we may place her birth between Leonore's in November 1750 and the St. Denis inventory of September 1756.
2. Marie died between Leonore's November 1750 birth and the inventory of September 1756.
3. Françoise's placement in the family unit, last after the granddaughter Leonore, implies that she was also a granddaughter.
4. César and Marianne had no other daughter of record who could have borne Françoise, except for Marie. All their other children were sons.
5. Françoise, whom all records consistently call *mulâtresse*, would not be the child of César and Marianne. All known records for all their children call those children *nègre*, *négresse*, *négrillon*, and *négritte*. Françoise, a *mulâtresse*, should belong to this family only if she were the child of the *négresse* Marie by a father who was white or mixed-race with light skin.

César & Marianne

1. In 1757, César and wife were sold away at New Orleans *without* the young girls in their family list, Leonore and Françoise. César, together with his son Étienne and eight other slaves belonging to the various branches of the St. Denis clan, were arrested in July 1757 on charges of stealing *eau de vie* and slaughtering hogs, both for resale. Mme. St. Denis successfully demanded the release of her four slaves. However, César and Étienne, who were inherited by Commandant De Blanc, were found guilty. A few days thereafter, De Blanc dispatched them to New Orleans in custody of the Marine Captain Makarty,

to be sold in the market there. (See Doc. 183, Demand of Widow St. Denis, 19 July 1757; Doc. 186, Complaint of Jean Fromentin; and Doc. 195, ACR microfilm F.T. 565, De Blanc’s power of attorney for sale of slaves.)

2. Because César and Marianne were legally married and could not be separated, Marianne was banished to New Orleans with him. However, the three young children, Alexandre (8), Leonore (7), and Françoise (*ca.* 3) were not sold away with them. If Alexandre were large for his age, Commandant De Blanc might have claimed he was already ten. (Alexandre’s continued presence at Natchitoches as a slave of DeBlanc’s neighbor, Gabriel Buard, is well documented in the church registers). However, the Commandant clearly could not claim that the 7- and 8-year-old girls were of age to be legally separated from their parents. Had they been the children of César and Marianne, rather than grandchildren, they should have been dispatched to New Orleans with the older couple.

Wife’s Identity: Marie, *fille* César & Marianne (b. 1729; d. 1752–54)

While no single document explicitly states that Françoise of the Lambre household (a woman inventoried as 28 in 1782 and said to be “about 20” in 1772) was the daughter of Marie and maternal granddaughter of César and Marianne, the *sum* of the evidence supports that conclusion.

(Part Two)

JEANNOT

No known record states a place of birth or an age for Françoise’s father, Jeannot Mulon. The only details known prior to this project appear in a collection of censuses and military rolls for the post that I published in 1981. The earliest record is dated 1766:

Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials: Censuses, Military Rolls, and Tax Lists:*

p. 9

27 January 1766, “French Census of Natchitoches”

Source: Miscellaneous Collection 3, NSU

JEANNOT, free mulatto, trader

1 free male mulatto	0 Negro, mulatto, or Indian slaves
0 married men or widowers	1 firearm
0 married women or widows	0 sidearms
0 boys	0 horned cattle
0 girls	2 “horses & mares, etc.”
0 free male halfbreeds [white-Indian]	3 pigs
0 free female halfbreeds	0 sheep
0 free female Indians	0 tobacco, corn or bean crops

Neighborhood sequence:

Sr ^s St. Denis, brothers	
Jean Baptiste DuBois	[chosen by Françoise in 1784 to appraise her]
Remis Poissot [Jr.], Bachelor	[brother of Mme. Jacques Lambre]
Joseph Dupres	[half-brother of Mme. Jacques Lambre]

Joseph Lattier	[corporal of the troops]
JEANNOT	
Charles Lemoine	[married to a Dupré half sister of Mme. Jacques Lambre]
Mathurin David, bachelor, hunter	
Marin Grillet	[see later documents; wife was half-Indian Marie Louise Brevel]
Baptiste Brevel	[half-Indian brother-in-law of Grillet]
Jean Bap ^{te} Malbert	
Robert Dupres	[half-brother of Mme. Jacques Lambre]
[<i>skip 36 households</i>]	
Jacques Lambre	[See Lambre's section for his details]

This identification of Jeannot as a “trader” is immensely significant. The term was used at that time and place for those who were officially licensed to trade among the Indian tribes of Louisiana and into Spanish Texas. The license was a privilege obtained by affiliating one's self with the St. Denis clan. From the time of the post's founding in 1714 by Commandant St. Denis until his grandson De Blanc handed over the commandant's post in the mid-1790s, trade on that frontier was controlled by St. Denis, his sons, his sons-in-law, and his grandsons.

Jeannot, the only free man of color at Natchitoches with trader status, would not have enjoyed that privilege without being part of the St. Denis network. However, between January and May 1766, the outpost was transferred to Spanish authority. Jeannot's license was not renewed amid the struggle by the St. Denis clan to preserve their trade hegemony under the new administration. (For more, see Bolton, *Athanasie De Mézières*, 1: 88–119, and the translated documents Bolton offers.)

The next census of Natchitoches, taken less than 5 months later, after the Spanish assumed control of the post, reflects Jeannot's changed status.

Mills, Natchitoches *Colonials: Censuses, Military Rolls, and Tax Lists:*

p. 19

6 May 1766, “Spanish Census of Natchitoches”

SOURCE: Legajo 2585, Audencia de Santo Domingo

J^o Bap^{ta} Gonin &

JEANNEAU a free mulatto

2 men bearing arms

1 slave

1 woman [Gonin's wife]

6 arpents of land (frontage)

0 older boys

1 horse

0 older girls

8? head of cattle

0 younger boys

7 hogs or sheep

0 younger girls

2 guns

Neighborhood sequence:

Pedro Derbanne

Manuel Soto

[owner of Jeannot's daughter Françoise until 1772]

Fran^{co} Carles and Ollivier, his brother

Fran^{co} Chaigneau and his brother

[brother of Widow Jean Bossier *dit* **LeBrun**]

Juan Baptista Morin

JEANNEAU & J^o Bap^{to} Gonin

Luis LeClerc

[father-in-law of Pedro Derbanne, above]

Luis Lamatie

Pedro Saurelle, blacksmith

Fran^{co} Levasser

[brother-in-law of Jacob “Jacques” Lambre]

pp. 37-39

1 September 1780

"Militia Roll of Natchitoches (Revolutionary War Roster)"

SOURCE: Legajo 193-A, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba

"Roll of the Cavalry Company of the Natchitoches Militia"

OFFICERS:

Louis Charles De Blanc, Captain

[Grandson of Juchereau de St. Denis]

Bernard D'Ortolan, Lieutenant

Jean Jacques David, Cornet

LOWER OFFICERS:

Pierre Metoyer, Marechal de Logis

François Grappe, Brigadier

Louis Armany, Sub-Brigadier

CAVALRYMEN:

[40 men]

CANNONIERS:

[8 men, all previously listed among the Cavalrymen]

~~FREE~~ [*sic*] PEOPLE OF COLOR USED AS COURIERS:^B

Jean Varangue [gypsy of N.O., later wed Wid. Jos. Dupré, Jeannot's 1766 neighbor]

Pierrot De Blanc [later freed by St. Denis heirs, then charged with crime & banished]

(François) Chiq

Nicolas Du Pont

Jeanote Meulon

Zacharie Raymond

The census records for "Jeannot/Jeanneau" and the militia roster for "Jeanote Meulon" are fourteen years apart. That raises a question as to whether these records refer to one and the same man. The notarial archives provides the continuity of residence needed to close that gap in time.

Under the name "Mulon," the "Index to Archive Conveyance Records" offers just one entry for all the 1732–1819 period:

Doc. 1090, ACR

28 May 1775

Janau Mulon, mulâtre libre, appears with Gerome Matuliche before Pierre Dupain, Lieutenant of the Militia acting as notary in the absence of Commandant de Mézières. Mulon agrees to serve Matuliche in the role of **interpreter** and to provide other services as needed. Matuliche is to pay, for one year, a "salary" of 500 livres silver, 100 pots of oil, and 3 buffalo robes and to allow an account of 100 *francs* merchandise. [Signed] Gerome Matulich [s], "*marque de Janau mulon*" X. Witnesses: P^{re} Doucet [s] and Marcollay [s].

^BOn the original document, the word *Free* was lined through after it was written, implying that at least one of these six men was still a slave. He likely was François Chiq, for whom I have found no manumission.

The terms of this *engagement*, when compared to other similar contracts at the post, tell us that Mulon enjoyed a position of considerable respect. I have seen no other contract in which the term “salary” is used for men whose signed these *engagements*, nor any other that offered that level of compensation. By way of comparison: on the same day that Matuliche executed his *engagement* with Mulon, he hired one other person:

Doc. 1091, ACR
28 May 1775

Louis LeBoeufe [a white male] appears with Gerome Matuliche before Dupain [etc.]. LeBoeufe, a resident of the post, agrees to serve Matuliche faithfully and with zeal for one year, at the end of which he is to receive 10 piastres in silver. [Same witnesses; LeBoeufe also made his mark.]

A 1787 *engagement* involving another *nègre libre* also provides a comparative example:

Doc 2053, ACR
30 Dec 1787

Jean Pierre, *nègre libre*, engages his services to Sieur Ailhaud de Ste. Anne to oversee slaves for one year at a wage of 120 piastres. [Signed] Ailhaud de S^{te} Anne; *marque ordinaire* de Jean Pierre. Witnesses: F^{cois} Callé [s], J^h Capuran [s].

The appearance of Matuliche and Mulon before the post notary “in the *absence*” of Commandant de Mézières may have been planned. On 30 June 1774, De Mézières wrote the governor to request the arrest of Matuliche and two other men—an English agent, John Hamilton, and the Frenchman Antoine Clermont—for operating illegally among Indians at the mouth of the Trinity River. On 8 August 1774, the governor dispatched to Natchitoches orders for De Mézières to arrest the men and send them to New Orleans for trial. (See Bolton, *Athanase De Mézières*, 2: 105–9.) If the arrest did occur, then Matuliche was obviously exonerated or fined and released before May 1775, when he hired Mulon for another expedition.

Under the single name “Jeannot,” the “Index to Archives Conveyance Records” offers one other document—a most valuable record placing Jeannot amid a tract of land acquired earlier by the free Negro Julien. To convey the situation more clearly, the following abstracts include Julien’s documents as well. All should be considered in context with the two prior census records:

[Census]
27 January 1766

Jeannot is cited as a trader, living alone, 2 houses from **Marin Grillet** & 5 from the **St. Denis brothers**.

[Census]
6 May 1766

Jeannot, no longer a trader, shares a home with Jean Baptiste Gonin and wife, but he is not in the immediate neighborhood of Grillet. (Gonin, a newlywed carpenter, is omitted from the January census. Whether he and his bride might have shared a home with Jeannot in January can only be speculated.)

Doc. 428, ACR
3 November 1766

Julien, *nègre libre*, appears before [Daniel] Pain, notary of the post, acknowledging that he has sold to Sieur **Marin Grillet**, habitant, a tract of land containing about 2.5 *arpents* [acres] frontage,

to the depth that the tract can carry [usually 40 arpents], situated between the **Indian village** of the post and the “coast” known as “Coast of the Habitants. “The land is bounded on the upper “by the land or establishment” of the said **Julien, nègre libre**, and on the lower by the land of **Gabriel Buard**. Price: 150 livres, royal silver. [Signed]: Julien X *marqué de nègre libre*; and Marin Grillet [s]. Witnesses: Jacques Thibaut [s], sergent; François Langlois [s], sheriff.

Doc. 525, ACR
6 July 1767

By private sale [not filed until 1769] **Jullien, nègre libre**, sells to **Sieur Grillet** 1.5 arpents near the village of the Natchitoches Indians, bounded on one side by the Coast and on the other by the Sieur Grillet. 100 livres. [Signed] Grillet [x, *sic*], Jullien [x], P^c Robleur [s], witness; Charbonnet [s], witness.

Doc. 463, ACR
16 September 1768

Before the post notary, appeared **Marin Grillet**, habitant, and **Jeannot, mulâtre libre**, wishing to exchange lands. **Jeannot** declares that he has one arpent of land frontage, by whatever depth it carries, which he **acquired from Monsieur de St. Denis, the elder [son]**, situated on the land commonly called Coast of the Habitants, fronting on the river and **adjoining**, on the back, the **Natchitoches Indian village**; bounded on one side by Mathurin David and on the other by Joseph Lattier. Grillet obligates himself to deliver to **Jeannot** another arpent of land, frontage, to the depth it is able to carry, which he acquired from **Julien, nègre libre**, situated **on the same land as the mound of the Indian village**, bounded on the one side by Grillet’s own land and on the lower side by **Gabriel Buard**. Grillet further obliges himself to pay to the account of the said **Jeannot** the sum of 200 livres and to move onto the land that he has ceded the house that is now on the land ceded by **Jeannot**. Moreover, Grillet will furnish the nails and the *el* ____ [unreadable word at the dark edge of the paper] that will be needed to make the roof and to provide new wood framing for the house—the said work is to be done during the course of December 1768. [Signed] Marin Grillet [s]; Jeannot X *marqué de mulâtre libre*; Étienne Pavie [s], witness.

Three things are particularly noteworthy about this series of documents:

1. The *nègre libre* Julien was in possession of the holiest site of the Natchitoches Indian village, its mound. No purchase document is on file. By implication, he was a person of importance within the tribe.
2. Julien apparently fell on hard times in the 1766–68 period, selling his land in two lots—but not parting with the mound until the very last.
3. Grillet, in 1768 relinquished that mound land to Jeannot, *mulâtre libre*, in another unusual document by which he promised to move Jeannot’s existing home onto the mound property.

The chain of documents raises two questions, the first of which can and will be answered subsequently in this report:

1. Given that the *nègre libre* Julien chose to settle among the Natchitoches Indians, did he have an Indian connection?
2. Why did the *mulâtre libre* Jeannot choose to settle there amid Julien and the Indians?

The “Index to Archive Conveyance Records” contains no entry for the document by which Jeannot acquired his first land from the older St. Denis son and heir. Nor is an entry found for the sale in the 1785 inventory of post records published by DeVille. However, the 1785 inventory does provide further identification of Jeannot. While the original document and the post-1803 index calls him only “Jeannot, *mulâtre libre*,” the 1785 inventory by the local notary Jean Baptiste Roujot identifies this Jeannot by his surname:

DeVille, *Natchitoches Documents, 1732–1785*, p. 17

"15 [*sic*] September 1768, Land exchange between Sr. Marin Grillet and **Jannot Mulon**.

Jeannot would hold the land for ten years, before disposing of it in the only document yet found at Natchitoches that calls him *Le Brun*.

Doc. 1350, ACR

30 November 1778

Before Athanase De Mézières, Commandant, has appeared **Jean Le Brun**, *mulâtre libre*, who acknowledges having sold for 500 livres to **Sieur Marin Grillet**, his habitation on the "Coast" that is bounded on the upper by Madame [illegible] and on the lower by the Sieur Grillet. [Signed] "Jean *mulâtre libre* and *habitant* X"; and GRILLTE [badly printed]. Witnesses: Pierre Metoyer [s], Etienne Pavie [s].

The next set of records found for Jeannot suggest that he—among all the interpreters on that frontier—enjoyed the particular trust of one of the most influential Western chiefs of that era, the medal chief of the Caddo. The following trio of letters, from the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, have been translated and published:

Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières*, II: 248–53

"DE MEZIERES TO [Governor] BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, May (?) 1779"

PPC legajo 192, no. 154

"Sir: The first chief of the Cadaux-dakioux, who has never gone down to the capital, has decided to make this long journey, attracted by your reputation and moved by the strongest desire to see you and know you. This Indian . . . is friendly, and is very commendable both because of an inviolable fidelity to us as well as by reason of a courage which never fails. It is to him principally that we owe in this district a constant barrier against the incursions of the Osages; moreover, it is to the love and respect which the villages of the surrounding district show him that we owe the fact that they generally entertain the same sentiments for us. ...[Signed] Athan^z de Mezieres (rubic)."

"DE MEZIERES TO [Governor] BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, May (?), 1779"

PPC legajo 192, no. 158

"Sir: I have made the very greatest efforts to divert the medal chief, bearer of this letter, from his design of going down to the capital, knowing as I do the importunities to which your Lordship is daily exposed by such persons ... but, not having succeeded, I pray your Lordship to take in good part some observations which I am about to make you. ... It would be well for you to dispel their desire to return to the capital, because of the inconvenience which might result to us if these good savages should come to know the English and become familiar with them. ... I have particularly instructed the person named **Jeanot** not to land at any English habitation, either during his descent or on his return, and to spread among the savages whom he conducts the ancient and useful prejudice that these strangers are perfidious [*sic*] and poisonous.

"The governor will keep in mind the fact that when the post was attacked by the nation of the Natchez [in 1729], the Cadauxdakioux came to its aid with the greatest zeal; and that to the praise due them for this deed is added that which they merited from the fact that their medal chief died a Christian at the capital and was buried with military honors. ... As the Cadauakioux nation is very much enfeebled by the continual war of the Osages, and since the last [yellow fever] epidemic has still more diminished its numbers, it has created a faction amongst them who desire to abandon the great village. This would leave the interior of the country exposed to incursions of foreigners and its Indian enemies. ... I have reason to believe that the medal chief will make the

most pathetic representations to your Lordship regarding the deportment of the Osages. ... you may make him understand how odious this last nation is to you, and that you will make it repent of the rapine and murders which it daily commits. ... He is lively and vivacious, and I have never known a man of his color more witty or keener. ... [Signed] Athan^{ze} de Mezieres (rubric)”

“DEMEZIERES TO BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, May (?), 1779”
PPC Legajo 192, no. 159

“Sir: ... I wish that your Lordship would give audience to the chief dressed in the apparel distinctive of your position. This Indian occupies one of the most important keys to the western country. He will carefully conserve it and also tell to the numerous nations which are his neighbors all that he will have seen and heard. It appears to me well, then, that the dignity of the spectacle and of the assembly should make a great impression on their eyes, while your affability and the solidify of your arguments will assuredly gain their hearts.

“The chief demands of me a person named **Jeant** [*sic*—the original was probably abbreviated as Jean^t], a mulatto and an **inhabitant of this post**, as guide and interpreter. I beg your Lordship to have him given some gratification to indemnify him for his loss of time. ... [Signed] Athanze de Mezieres (Rubric).”

De Mézières's statement that the chief had “demanded” the assistance of Jeannot implies that the commandant was reluctant to give Jeannot that assignment. If so, his reluctance may have been due to the fact that he had been appointed governor of Texas (Province of Mexico) and was waiting for bad weather to clear so that he and his entourage could make the journey to San Antonio. That trek began just after Jeannot departed for new Orleans.

On 24 May 1779, De Mézières wrote the Commandant-General of Mexico, saying that he had left Natchitoches with “twenty-seven men from the veteran militia of [this] district, including a lieutenant and a sub-lieutenant, [various] passengers and my servants ... in all forty-three persons ... well supplied with arms.” (Archivo General de Mexico, Estados Unidos legajo 3884-a, folio 53) For translating services, in the absence of **Jeannot**, De Mézières fell back on three of the soldiers from his militia: Andres Curviere, Francisco Uque [Hugues] and Julian Rondin. When, on 7 October, he informed the Commandant-General of Mexico that he was detaining those soldiers in San Antonio while the rest returned to Natchitoches, he reiterated how sensitive and valuable the services of Indian translators actually were: “the interpreters [must] never reveal secrets intrusted to them, upon which, in many instances, success depends.” (Bolton, *DeMézières*, II:318–19, citing Archivo General de Mexico, *Historia*, vol. 28, folio 266.)

In September 1780, De Mézières's successor was installed at Natchitoches amid much pomp and ceremony attended by chiefs of the Caddo and other nations. (legajo 93-a, PPC) The previously abstracted militia roll of 1780 was taken at that time, with **Jeannot** cited in an auxiliary capacity—one of six men of color serving as couriers, rather than regular militia. Aged about 45–50 at the time, he does not appear on the next known militia roll, that of 1783 (leg. 196, PPC). However, his daughter's suit against the Widow Lambre suggests that he remained close to Cane River as late as Spring 1784.

Lagniappe

As I scanned film to locate the various numbered documents cited by the index, I spotted three other records relating to Jeannot that are not indexed under his name. The first and last of these documents actually provide the earliest and latest known records for him.

The first record is not in the bound series to which it belongs. Rather, it is part of an unorganized, uncataloged collection that had been removed from the main archives in the early 20th century, to be put on public display. They were still separated out when the main series was bound. Today they are kept in a special metal box in the personal office of the Clerk of Court. They are also microfilmed separately from the main series. Because many of the documents deal with the St. Denis family, I scanned the whole film, frame by frame. Only this one document was spotted:

Louisiana State Archives Microfilm F.T. 565
Natchitoches Parish, Misc. Archive Records, 1733–1819
Frame 499? and ff.

1759

“Information against the man named Noye, Indian of the Natchitoches nation, accused of having assassinated Joseph Le Duc *dit* Ville Franche, habitant, at this post on 12 May last.”

First witness interrogated:

Jeannot, *mulâtre libre*, who says he has no knowledge of the matter, but an Indian of the Grand Village of “Naquoédoce” [apparently the Nacogdoches of Texas] named Bauchouc had told him in a conversation that he had been sick from the “French waters” [liquor, probably *eau de vie*.]

[This long document is not fully abstracted here for want of time, but none of the testimony shed additional light on Jeannot, his activities, or his kinsmen.]

Others interrogated:

Baptiste Brevel	Remy Poissot
Joseph Dupré	Marie Derbane, wife of Joseph Dupré
Jean Bap ^{te} Dupré	Jean Bap ^{te} Du Bois
Louis Rondin	Marie Rose, wife of Marly

The other two documents I spotted, although they are not indexed for him, are in the regular bound series of notarial records:

Doc. 680, ACR
6 February 1773
Inventory of the notes and accounts belonging to the succession of deceased Jean François Du Vivier, a hunter.

“A note of **Jeannot Mulon**, No. 23, for 60 livres of tobacco.”

Doc. 2148, ACR
[26 April 1786]
1789 suit: Joseph Capuran [merchant] *v.* Paul Bouete Lafitte

12 August 1785 Account
"Due to Monsieur Capuran à Bouete Lafitte
[various sums itemized, then . . .]

“26 April 1786 **Janot Mulon** for one year of salary 400p”

NOTE:

This suit reveals that Lafitte operated a trading post at Bayou Pierre. Capuran supplied him goods. In return, Lafitte supplied peltry obtained from the Caddo, Apalache, and other Indian nations. Various

Indians and French traders from Natchitoches families acted as couriers, taking goods and peltry back and forth. Nothing indicates that Jeannot was a courier, however. His linguistic skills offered a service of higher value. The suit—which contains dozens of records—offers many valuable documents naming Indians with whom he dealt, including some relationships between them. I did not have time to study the large file.

None of Jeannot Mulon's documents state his parentage or the origin of his surname. However, his occupation, his close ties to the St. Denis clan, the location he chose for his homestead, and his fluency with multiple Indian dialects all suggest that he was deeply rooted at Natchitoches and well-connected.

A search for the free *nègre* Julien, on whose land Jeannot settled between 1766 and 1768, reinforces the St. Denis connections, provides an explanation for Jeannot's Indian ties, and points to possible parentage for Jeannot as well.

Key Associate: JULIEN

Julien is the earliest free Negro I have found on record at the post of Natchitoches. The incomplete church registers place him amid the St. Denis family in 1735 and reveal that he earned his freedom before 1745—probably in the wake of the August 1744 death of Commandant St. Denis.

Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 31

22 October 1735

“Baptism of Anne Marie, born October 19, 1735, legitimate daughter of **Julien**, *nègre*, and **Feliciane**, **Indian**. Godparents: Louis de St. Denys, commandant, and Emmanuel Sanches de Navarre (x) [his wife].”

Ibid., entry 46

8 November 1736

“Baptism of Pierre, aged 6, *endoyé* [baptized privately in danger of death] at birth, son of **Julien**, *nègre*, and an **Indian woman**. Godparents: Pierre de la tour (s), officer, and Marie Dauphine [Indian wife of Pierre Dauphine].”

Ibid., entry 372

25 February 1745

“Burial of Pierre Julien . . . a natural son of **Julien**, a **free nègre**, a domestic in the home of Madame Widow Jucherot de St. Denis, aged fifteen years.” [The wording of the original entry is ambiguous as to whether Julien or his teenaged son was the domestic.]

Ibid., entry 378

25 October 1745

“Burial of Louis[e], *Négritte* slave of Madame de St. Denis, aged 3 years, daughter of Julien and Feliciane, Indian.”

Ibid., entry 323

25 July 1750

“Baptism of Louise Marguerite, a free child, daughter of **Anne Marie**, who is the daughter of **Julien**, a **free nègre**. Godparents: Louis de St. Denis, officer [Louis, Jr.] and Marie Dolorit Simone Juchereau de St. Denis, wife of Cesar de Blanc.”

While Julien is free in 1750, the statement that his grandchild was born free that year is contradicted by the 1756–57 inventories and partition lists filed in the St. Denis succession. Louise, her mother Anne Marie, and Julien’s wife Feliciane are all inventoried as slaves. Feliciane would be set free at the death of the Widow St. Denis in a document that reveals Feliciane’s tribal origin:

Doc. 187, ACR

24 April 1758

Inventory of the succession of deceased Manuel[le] de Sanches Juseraux de St. Denis, widow of deceased Sieur Juseraux de St. Denis:

SLAVES:

“**Feliciane, Natchez Indian**, slave, married to **Julien, free *nègre***, charged off to a note of liberty by deceased M^{de} de St. Denys.”

The identification of Feliciane as a Natchez suggests that she arrived in Natchitoches in 1730, where Commandant St. Denis would have enslaved her as a prize of war. On 1 November 1729 the Natchez tribe of Mississippi revolted against the French post attached to their village, slaughtering many and making captives of the rest. The French colonial government vowed extermination of the tribe. Remnants of the tribe ended up at Natchitoches, where they besieged the post and burned alive at the stake one of their captive French women. With the help of volunteers from the Caddo and Adayes tribes, Commandant St. Denis drove the Natchez down Cane River to a hill near Cloutierville known ever since as *San pour san* (blood for blood). Those Natchez who were not killed there were taken back to Natchitoches as slaves. The union of the St. Denis *nègre* Julien and the Natchez Feliciane apparently began shortly thereafter, considering that their son Pierre was judged to be six when he was baptized in 1736.

Two further documents close out Julien’s known saga at Natchitoches. The first of these documents his death:

Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 1167

29 November 1777

"Burial of Julian, free *nègre*."

The second document is not indexed under Julien’s name. He appears in a “buried” reference within a document relating to other St. Denis slaves that I translated years ago. As background: Luis de Quintanilla, the parish priest, filed legal charges against Marie des Neiges Juchereau de St. Denis, wife of de Soto, charging her with scandalous conduct in renting her slave Coincoin to the unmarried French bachelor, Pierre Metoyer, by whom Coincoin had borne “six or seven mulatto children” at the time Quintanilla filed his complaint. Mme. de Soto retaliated with countercharges, alleging many forms of misconduct by Padre Quintanilla. The following extracts the part of the document relevant to Julien:

Doc. 1227, ACR

Rex vs. DeSoto

16 June 1778

Marie de St. Denis to Monsieur de Mézières, Commandant.

“How will the Reverend Father be able to know his error, since his ambition prompts him even to encroach on civil power, depriving justice in contradiction of that which Jesus Christ ordered him in the passage where it says, ‘Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar’s,’ in order to exercise with despotism a right that does not belong to him, by which . . . the Reverend Father has taken without any recognition of justice and of inheritance the effects that the **free *nègre* named Julien** had at his death, after which followed the unjust act of having taken and sold the affects of Marie Goutiere [the daughter of Mme. de Soto’s illegitimate half-Indian sister] and distributed those which would have belonged to her sister Marie Jeanne, during Marie Jeanne’s absence.” [The charges continue in a similar vein.]

Two things are notable here:

- Mme. de Soto's charge refers to the *effects* that Julien had at his death. She makes no reference to real property, and there is no succession record for Julien in the notarial archives. As far as the local records show, the land which Julien sold to Marin Grillet in 1767 was the last of his property. Where he lived for his last ten years—and what he did for his livelihood—one cannot say. Did Jeannot, who paid Grillet for Julien's prime tract, supply a home for Julien and (if still alive) Feliciane?
- Jeannot's sale of the land that once belonged to Julien occurred the year after Julien's death. That date is probably not coincidental.

JEANNOT'S POTENTIAL PARENTAGE

The parentage of Jeannot Mulon remains unknown. His consistent identification as a *mulâtre* and his probable birth before 1740 suggest that his father was white. Very few mulattoes existed in the colony that early, making it unlikely that both his mother and his father were already of mixed race.

The name *Mulon* and its phonetic equivalents (*Malon*, *Melon*, *Milon*, *Molon* and double-*l* variants) are not common in Louisiana. Most Mulon records relate to five New Orleans free people of color:

- Maurice (born about 1735; buried 1 September 1790 (*Archdiocese of New Orleans*, 4:211);
- Felicité, who died before 1806 (Mills, *Natchitoches*, 1800–26, entry 973);
- François Maurice, Felicité's documented son, who married on Cane River in 1806 (*ibid.*);
- Mauricia, Felicité's apparent daughter (but possibly her sister), whose young daughter married Jean Pierre Ternoir in New Orleans in 1810 (*Archdiocese of New Orleans*, 10:313); and
- Victoire, Felicité's apparent daughter, whose Dupart children married on Cane River in 1815 and 1825 (Mills, *Natchitoches*, 1800–26, entry 1054, and Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages, 1818–1850*, entry 156).

Research on these New Orleans individuals has been seriously handicapped by the limited-access policy of the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans. Genealogists are refused permission to search the registers and the official published abstracts omit all entries in which the principal party does not have a decipherable surname. Under these restrictions, no one (to my knowledge) has documented the origin of these Mulons.

The likeliest possibility for Mulon origins stems from linking several of the known facts:

- Jeannot Mulon enjoyed the patronage of the St. Denis family.
- Jeannot was an Indian trader, fluent in Indian dialects.
- Jeannot settled on the land of Julien, *nègre* manumitted by St. Denis, whose wife Feliciane was a Natchez Indian held in slavery by St. Denis.
- Jeannot and Julien chose land next door to a tract already settled by Gabriel Buard from the German Coast.
- Jeannot twice used the surname *Le Brun*. That surname is best known in Louisiana as a *dit* of the Bossier family that, from the 1720s, lived intermittently at Natchitoches and the German Coast above New Orleans. [See “Milon-LeBrun Connections” below.]
- Jeannot is known to have helped one daughter obtain freedom in the 1780s (and in April 1784 he visited New Orleans to file her manumission papers). In October 1788 one free man of color named Jeanot appeared on the German Coast where he bought a slave named Jeanette from Charles Perret for 400 *piastres* and then promptly manumitted her. (See Glenn Conrad, *Saint-Jean-Baptiste des Allemands: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. John the Baptist Parish ... 1753–1803* [Lafayette, La., 1972]: p. 113, no. 21, and 129, no. 29. Conrad's abstracts refer to this Jeannot as “free Negro,” but Conrad appears to use the term “Negro” routinely for all nonwhites. The original records should be examined.)

Milon Origins

One Milon (*var.* Millon, Malon, and Mulon) of the 1730s has connections that overlap the facts above. Consider the following:

- **Joseph Millon**, son of deceased Pierre Milon and Françoise Domine, a native of Leonvier in Lorraine, filed a contract on 20 June 1734 to marry Marie Françoise **Girardy** of Bayou St. John, above New Orleans. She was the minor daughter of Sieur Joseph Girardy and wife Marie Jeanne Henry. (Forsyth & Pleasonton, *Louisiana Marriage Contracts*, 13)
- Joseph Girardy, who spent several years among the Indians before settling at Bayou St. Jean, had an earlier Indian wife or mistress named Françoise. (Their daughter Angelique wed one Alain Dugue in 1727 and lived at Natchez when that tribe revolted. Alain was killed. The half-Indian Françoise survived and in 1730 she married Jean Baptiste Rejas *dit* LaPrade. See *Sacramental Records . . . Archdiocese of New Orleans* 1:117.)
- The 1731 census of Louisiana places Girardy and family (with 15 Negro slaves) on the Mississippi River between the German Coast and New Orleans. (Conrad, *First Families*, 2:64)

Milon-LeBrun Connection:

- The farm **next door to Girardy** (Milon's father-in-law) in 1731 was owned by Jean Pierre Bossier *dit* Le Brun.
- LeBrun had been a Natchitoches resident at the time he married his first known wife, Marguerite Fogel of the German Coast. (*Sacramental Records . . . Archdiocese of New Orleans*: 1:28). A witness to Bossier's marriage was Jacques Dupré of Natchitoches, whose son Joseph in 1766 lived one house from Jeannot. Moreover, Jacques Dupré's German-Coast wife, by her second husband Poissot, was also the mother of Marianne Poissot, Widow Lambre, from whom Jeannot bought his daughter's freedom.
- By 1735, Le Brun was back at Natchitoches, selling part of his land to **Gabriel Buard**—land that was next door to Julien, *nègre libre* in 1766. ("Index to Archive Conveyance Records," citing Doc. 43, now missing)
- Bossier *dit* LeBrun's last wife was Anne "Nanette" Chagneau, widow of Louis Rousseau. Her daughter, Marie Anne Rousseau, was Gabriel Buard's wife; the Buards still lived next door to Julien and the mound in 1766. (Doc. 428)
- LeBrun died at Natchitoches on 22 May 1745 (Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 375). Between then and 1747, his widow sold three tracts of land to Joseph Verger, an Indian trader, and Verger's son-in-law, the half-Indian Gaspard Derbanne ("Index to Archive Conveyance Records," citing Docs. 61, 89, 92, and 93," also missing). In 1766, Verger and Derbanne lived next door to Jacob Lambre's brother, Jean Lambre.
- LeBrun's widow returned to the German Coast after 1747, where she was enumerated among evacuees after Indian problems there on 8 February 1749. (Barron, *Vaudreuil Papers*, 46)
- LeBrun's widow died before 12 November 1763, at which time Gabriel Buard filed a document at Natchitoches regarding the inheritance of "his wife, Marie Rousseau, from the estate of "her mother, Anne Chagneau, widow Jean Baptiste Bossier dit Le Brun." (Doc. 343, Archive Conveyance Records)

None of the above records identify slaves of Bossier *dit* Le Brun.

HYPOTHESIS TO INVESTIGATE

Could Jeannot Mulon *dit* Le Brun, who was apparently born in the 1730s, be the offspring of Joseph Milon by a Bossier *dit* LeBrun slave whom Milon met while at the Girardy plantation next door to Bossier? That situation would account for Jeannot's use of two separate *dits*—Mulon and LeBrun. The obvious alterna-

tive, that he was a Milon slave, fathered by Bossier would seem less likely, given his preferred usage of the surname Mulon.

MAJOR ISSUE TO CONSIDER

Before Cane River descendants of Felicité and Victoire Mulon can claim Jeannot Mulon as an ancestor, they will need proof of their kinship to him. At this point, it appears equally likely (and perhaps more so) that they descend from the New Orleans free man of color, Maurice Mulon, whose birth occurred about the same time as Jeannot's.

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

For continued work on Jeannot himself:

1. Relevant documents missing from Natchitoches' colonial notarial series—now in custody of Northwestern State University and Louisiana State University—need to be studied. Those at NSU can be identified by using Wells's previously cited guide. For LSU, an on-site visit would be necessary.
2. Documents from the Cuban Papers cited by Burton should be examined. Given the fact that Burton cites only the legajo (bundle) and not a frame number for the filmed records, an on-site visit will have to be made to one of the previously named repositories (Tulane, LSU, or Clayton Library at Houston) or else a local researcher will need to be engaged to find the documents.
3. All other identifiable Natchitoches-area records from the Cuban and Santo Domingo papers should also be studied. I would suggest beginning with the eleven-roll Jack D. L. Holmes collection of filmed Red River-related records from the Cuban Papers. There is no guide to the film and all documents are in Spanish (primarily), secondarily French. A copy of this film is held by NSU. I also have a copy.
4. Many records on the Natchitoches-based Indian traders who operated in Spanish Texas can be found in Ramo de Provincias, Archivo General de Mexico, available on microfilm at the University of Texas. I have 6 vols. that are particularly rich on the Natchitoches region: vols. 51 (reel 31), 91 (reel 57), 163 (reel 152, 182-183 (reels 168-169), and 249 (reel 228).

For Jeannot and all the New Orleans-based Mulons:

5. The full run of two Louisiana genealogical magazines, *New Orleans Genesis* and *Louisiana Genealogical Register* should be used for records of the German Coast families. For the earliest decades, records on slaves and free people of color were not typically included; but the abstracts found there will point you to specific resources for the families of interest. These volumes are available at many large genealogical libraries.
6. The full run of two series published in the now-defunct *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (i.e., the French-era translated abstracts known as "Records of the Superior Council" and its sequel "Spanish Judicial Archives" should also be *read*. While both series are records of the provincial court at New Orleans, they relate to the entire colony. These classic volumes can be accessed at almost every good university library.
7. The notarial archives of New Orleans should be searched—every volume for every colonial notary. No master index exists, but most volumes have an index of their own (i.e., an index to the two principal parties, but *not* an every name index). Until the church records of New Orleans are accessible for proper research, these collections offer the most-realistic hope of identifying Felicité and Victoire. They are available on microfilm from the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, and its many local Family History Centers. The search should include not only the name *Mulon* and its variants, but also all whites known or suspected to have owned family members (Bossier, De Blanc, De Mézières, De Soto, Girardy, Juchereau, Lambre, Le Brun, Soto, and St. Denis).
8. The nineteen volumes to date of published, translated abstracts issued by the Archdiocese of New Orleans need to be *read*—page by page, line by line—for Mulon, Bossier, and LeBrun entries that are

buried amid the abstracts. Given that the abstracts have been taken out of their natural order and presented alphabetically by the principal party, with no master index to any volume, there is simply no other way to thoroughly use those volumes.

9. When the Archdiocese ultimately corrects its restrictive access policy, all slave and f.p.c. registers for the colonial era need to be *read*—looking not just for the surname Mulon but for records in which there cluster the given names known to be associated with this family.

Research on slave families and other persons of color is a challenge. The above suggestions are likely daunting. However, for this society, a resolution of identity and kinship problems typically require the same laborious, intensive, and thorough examination of unindexed records—regardless of ethnicity or civil status. The task is great. The reward is worth it.

Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG

ATTACHMENT I
SLAVE INVENTORY & APPRAISAL
SUCCESSION OF JACOB "JACQUES" LAMBRE, DECEASED
6-7 December 1782

Extracted and translated from the French by
 Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG

Doc. 1628, pp. 19–28
 Archive Conveyance Records
 [Colonial Notarial Archives]
 Office of the Clerk of Court
 Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana
 Louisiana State Archives microfilm F.T. 551–52

IDENTIFICATION ON INVENTORY

Françoise, *mulâtresse*, 28 years, 500 piastres
 Eleonore, *négresse*, 30 years, 500 p.¹
 Rosalie, young *négritte*, 13 years, 300 p.
 Pierrot, young *nègre*, 13 years, 350 p.
 Manuel, *nègre*, 30 years, 600 p.
 Pelagie, a *petite négresse*, 15 years, and her son
 Manuel, estimated together at 600 p.
 Augustin, *nègre*, 50 years⁵
 La Pandu? (Bantu?) his wife, 35 years
 Marie Thérèze, daughter of Augustin, 7 years
 Marie Thérèze [*sic*], ditto, 2 years
 All estimated together at 900 p.
 Dominique, *mulâtre*, 25 years, 600 p.
 Carlin, *nègre*, 25 years, 500 p.
 Jeannot, *nègre*, 45 years, his wife
 Isabelle, 40 years, married before the church
 Estimated together at 600 p.³
 Jacob, *nègre*, 45 years, with
 Fanchonette, his wife
 Louis, their son, 7 years
 Joseph, 3 years
 Magdelaine, 1 year
 Estimated together at 1300 p.
 Jacques, *négrillon*, 10 years, 300 p.
 Jean B^{te}, *mulâtre*, 12 years, 300 p.
 Marie Louise, *négresse*, 6 years, 45 p.
 Malique, *nègre*, 45 years, 500 p.
 Joseph, *nègre*, 24 years, 600 p.
 Leveille, *nègre*, 20 years, 500 p.
 Henriette, *négresse*, 18 years, 450 p.

FURTHER IDENTIFICATION ADDED BY MILLS

A former St. Denis slave¹
 Daughter of Eleonore²

 A former St. Denis-de la Chaise slave³

 Born 20 January 1782⁴

 A Banta import⁶

 Former St. Denis slave, bought from De la Chaise⁷
 Possibly purchased from François Carlin⁸
 A St. Denis slave, aged at least 60⁹
 A St. Denis slave, aged at least 52⁹

 A former St. Denis slave¹⁰
 A former St. Denis slave¹¹

Congo, <i>nègre</i> , 40 years, 400 p.	
Beauvin?, <i>nègre</i> , 20 years, 400 p.	Possibly female ¹²
Michel, <i>négrillon</i> , 12 years, 300 p.	
Thérèse, <i>négresse</i> , 30 years, with her son Thomas, 3 years	A Bozal import ¹³ François Thomas, born ca. 1 May 1780 ¹³
Estimated together at 450 p.	
André <i>nègre</i> , 30 years, 600 p.	A St. Denis slave; acquired bef. 1777 ¹⁴
Marie Anne, <i>négresse</i> , 14 years, 400 piastres	
Louison, <i>négresse</i> , 18, 400 piastres	
Jean, <i>nègre</i> , 4 years, 400 piastres	
Charlotte, <i>mulâtresse</i> , 24 years, with ⁴ Marguerite, her daughter 2 years	Apparently a former Mézières-St. Denis slave ¹⁵
Estimated together at 700 p.	
Baptiste, <i>nègre</i> , 20 years, 450 p.	Possibly from François Carlin, 1775–6
Jacques, <i>nègre</i> , 24 years, 600 p.	
Angelique, <i>négresse</i> , 15 years, 400 p.	Possibly slave of Poissot, Mme. Lambre's father ¹⁷
Bety [Bely?], <i>négresse</i> , 27 years, with her son Antoine, 3 years	
Estimated together at 300 p.	
Catherine, <i>négresse</i> , 40 years, 250 p.	Apparently Catin, a former St. Denis slave ¹⁸
Jean Louis, <i>nègre</i> , 40 years, with his wife Marie Jeanne, <i>négresse</i> , 30 years Guillaume, their son, 4 years Pierre, 6 years Félicité, a <i>petite négritte</i> , 8 years	
Estimated together at 1100 p.	
Charles, a young <i>nègre</i> , aged 20 years, 600 p.	
François, another young <i>nègre</i> , of 12 years, 400 p.	

NOTES

1. For Eleonore, see “Marie Eleonard” baptized 5 November 1750, as the daughter of Marie, a slave of Widow Louis Juchereau de St. Denis; Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977), no. 330. Her parents are more fully identified in the St. Denis slave inventories of 1756 and 1758 as César and Marianne; see, for example, Archives Conveyance Records, Doc. 178.
2. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803*, no. 956, baptism of Marie Genéviève Rosalie, daughter of Eleonore.
3. Lambre purchased Manuel on 13 November 1772 from Jacques de la Chaise Saint Denys, who stated that he acquired the 19-year-old Manuel as an inheritance from his mother, the late Rose Juchereau de St. Denis; Archive Conveyance Records, Doc. 754. The 1756 and 1758 inventories of St. Denis slaves shows one Manuel, born between 1750 and 1754 to Pierre Étienne *dit* Pierrot du St. Totin, *nègre*, and his Indian wife Marie des Neiges *dit* La Rotte, aka “Nanette.” See, for example, Archives Conveyance Records, Doc. 178.
4. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803*, no. 2408, baptism of Manuel, son of Pelagie.
5. No baptism for an Augustin is found at Natchitoches prior to a child baptized 1763; see Mills, *ibid.*, no. 486. Apparently, Augustin was purchased elsewhere.
6. Augustin’s wife was apparently the unnamed and unbaptized Banta Negro woman belonging to Lambre, whose child Marie Françoise was baptized 7 June 1778; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729-1803*, no. 2334.
7. Dominique’s baptismal record is not extant, and no other Dominique was baptized at Natchitoches in this era. However, the St. Denis inventories of 1756–58 show one Dominique born before 1758 to Marie Antoine (b. 1743), daughter of Pierrot and Marie des Neiges who are discussed above at n. 3. On 6 February

1773, a St. Denis grandson, Jacques de la Chaise de Saint Denys, sold “a *mulâtre* Dominique, aged about 18, and a *négritte* named Marie, aged about 5, coming to him from the estate of his mother, Rose Juchereau de Saint Denys,” for 2090 livres. See Archive Conveyance Records, Doc. 813.

8. The name *Carlin* is rare in colonial Natchitoches. One François Carlin is on record selling a slave named Baptiste, “aged 15 or thereabout,” to Jacob Lambre in 1775; see Archives Conveyance Records, Doc. 1016. This could be either Carlin “aged 25 in 1782)” or “Baptiste (aged 20 in 1782).”

9. Jean *dit* Jeannot *aka* La Grande Bambara, was a Bambara import who married Isabella on 13 May 1737; he had been baptized as an “*nègre adulte*” the month before; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, 64, 155.

10. Jacob, son of Pierrot and Marie des Neiges (n. 3 above), was baptized as Jacques on 20 [illegible month] 1739 and cited as Jacob in the St. Denis successions; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 178, and Archives Conveyance Records, Doc. 178.

11. Marie Françoise *dit* Fanchonette (Sangonette) married Jacob *aka* Jacques before the church 20 May 1780 after the announcement of 3 banns; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 1059.

12. On 9 February 1777, Jacob Lambre made donations to each of his four children, of one slave each. “A young *négresse* named Beauvi” was given to his daughter Catherine; see Archives Conveyance Records, Doc. 1189.

13. Thomas was another extremely rare name for male slaves in colonial Natchitoches. On 21 May 1780, there was baptized a François Thomas, born to an unnamed Bozal *négresse* slave of Jacob Lambre; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 2374.

14. As a Lambre slave, on 18 January 1777, he witnessed the marriage of the Lambre slaves Jean [Louis] and Marie Jeanne; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 1028.

15. See Charlotte Françoise, baptized 24 April 1757 into the household of the St. Denis son-in-law, Athanase de Mézières; Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 654. The only slaves bearing mulatto children up to this point were slaves of the St. Denis clan (i.e., St. Denis, Jr., and his brothers-in-law, De Mézières, De Blanc, and De la Chaise).

16. See n. 8.

17. One Angelique was born 4 July 1768 to Louise, slave of Remy Poissot, father of Mme. Jacob Lambre; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, no. 934.

18. If her age is anywhere correct, the only candidate is the St. Denis slave Catherine “Catine,” child of Pierrot and Marie des Neiges of n. 3, and aunt of Dominique, whom Lambre also owed.