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Louisiana Bohemians: Community, Race, and Empire

Ann Ostendorf
Gonzaga University, ostendorf@gonzaga.edu

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Louisiana Bohemians

Community, Race, and Empire

ANN OSTENDORF
Gonzaga University

ABSTRACT In 1720, thirteen deported French Bohemian (Romani) families disembarked from the French ship *Le Tilleul* in the floundering Louisiana colony. Anti-Bohemian sentiment and a growing French Empire in need of able-bodied and reproductive laborers combined to dislocate these families from their already precarious lives. Over the next century, as Louisiana developed along new and more intransigent racialized lines, Bohemians navigated and helped construct this emergent racial order in diverse ways. Despite the formation of an initial Bohemian community in eighteenth-century Louisiana, their descendants were eventually distributed into colonial racial categories. The racial potential of Louisiana Bohemians declined as their actions—and especially their sexual choices—determined where they and their descendants might racially situate. Both self- and other-ascribed Bohemian identity eventually (if unevenly) lost relevance in French-, Spanish-, and U.S.-controlled Louisiana as other, more powerful racialized categories and identities prevailed. This article attends to the history of the colonial Louisiana Bohemian community in order to broaden the historical knowledge of the Romani diaspora, complement the existing scholarship on the Louisiana colony and state, and continue to fine-tune our understandings of racial formation in early America.

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Early American Studies (Fall 2021)

On May 21, 1720, a clerk at the port of Dunkerque recorded thirteen "Bohémiennes," along with their husbands and children, on the rolls of *Le Tilleul,* a vessel leaving for the small but growing French colony of Louisiana. These families, most of whom hailed from diverse places throughout what is today northeastern France and Belgium, had been arrested as part of a national purge that exiled unwanted French subjects to the empire's various Atlantic outposts. Their demarcation on the passenger list under the heading *gens de force,* or exiled convict laborers, reveals the intention that these women and their families would supplement the colony's meager labor force.[1] These Bohemians were members of what some scholars refer to as the Romani diaspora. They, along with some of their distant relatives across Europe, experienced an intensification of persecution in the eighteenth century that led some to be removed to the colonies. Spanish "Gitano/as," Portuguese "Cigano/as," and English "Egyptians" and "Gypsies" all suffered dislocations at the hands of growing imperial states.[2]

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1. Passenger Lists from France to the Colonies, 1716–1830, Archives d'Outre Mer, Colonies (hereafter AC), F5B 44, Dunkerque, May 20–21, 1720. For a transcription, see Albert J. Robichaux, *German Coast Families: European Origins and Settlement in Colonial Louisiana* (Rayne, La.: Hébert Publications, 1997), 432–35. A chart of these women and their families as listed on the *Le Tilleul* roles is included as an appendix to this article. It is likely that these women had been held in the women's prison (called *La Force*) that was part of La Salpêtrière, a poorhouse in Paris.

2. "Romani" is now the term often used to refer holistically to the diverse diasporic people whose French branch's members had traditionally been called "Bohémiens" or "Bohémiennes" (and variants thereof). I use the word "Romani" when discussing contemporary people but the term "Bohemian" to refer to historical people (unless quoting written references to them made with Spanish or English words). I made this choice because in the only known historical record from colonial Louisiana in which a person identified in sources as "Bohemian" refers to himself, he uses the word "Bohemian." However, there is currently not consensus on these terminological choices. Becky Taylor, *Another Darkness, Another Dawn: A History of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 65–111; David Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History* (London: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–34; Richard Pym, *The Gypsies of Early Modern Spain, 1425–1783* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Ian Hancock, *We Are the Romani People: Ame sam e Rromane džene* (Hatfield, U.K.: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2002); David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 197–200, 220–26; Radu P. Iovita and Theodore G. Schurr, "Reconstructing the Origins and Migrations of Diasporic Populations: The Case of the European Gypsies," *American Anthropologist* 106 (June 2001): 267–81; Paloma Gay y Blasco, "Gypsy/Roma Diasporas: A Comparative Perspective," *Social Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (2002): 173–88; László Fosztó, "Diaspora and Nationalism: An International Approach to the Romani Movement," *Regio: Minorities, Politics, Society* 1 (2003): 108–09; Carol Silverman, *Romani Routes:*

One of these *Le Tilleul* Bohemian passengers, a ten-year-old girl named Marie Jacqueline Gaspart, would five years later be the first Louisiana bride not of Indigenous or African descent known to legally marry a groom who was. Though the Code Noir had recently explicitly banned "white subjects, of either sex, from contracting marriage with Blacks," this marriage proceeded with the colonial administration's official support given in writing. Gaspart's mother, a witness to the marriage, seems to have agreed with the match as well; considering Gaspart's age, so young for today but decidedly average among her peers, her mother may even have arranged the union. In the decades that followed, other women marked as "Bohemian" would also marry or partner with men across the increasingly fixed, though still mutable, colonial Louisiana color line.[3]

A sense of Bohemian racial liminality, though inconsistently perceived and somewhat short-lived, provided options for these individuals that other women arriving from France did not (or could not) pursue. At first, Louisiana officials and other colonists shared their metropole's beliefs about people who were deemed Bohemian. These biased assumptions affected Bohemians' positions in local hierarchies at their arrival and influenced their and their descendants' potential social positioning for decades. Anti-Bohemian attitudes not only led to their removal from their old home but also shaped their lives in this

Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 39–56; Florencia Ferrari and Martin Fotta, "Brazilian Gypsiology: A View from Anthropology," *Romani Studies* 24 (December 2014): 111–36; Marcos Toyansk, "The Romani Diaspora: Evangelism, Networks, and the Making of a Transnational Community," *Treatises and Documents: Journal of Ethnic Studies* 79 (2017): 185–205.

3. For a detailed reading of the sources that confirm Marie Jacqueline Gaspart's identity, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Assimilation? Or Marginalization and Discrimination?: Romani Settlers of the Colonial Gulf (Christophe Clan)," *Historic Pathways* (website), accessed July 6, 2021, https://www.historicpathways.com, 13–14, 20. See also Article VI, *Le Code Noir: Édit du Roi, touchant l'État et la Discipline des esclaves nègres de la Louisiane* (Versailles, 1724). Louis XIV enacted *Le Code Noir* in 1685 for the Caribbean. It was applied to Louisiana in 1724. Gaspart married at the average age for French brides in Louisiana. One study of rural Louisiana found that "prior to 1740, half of the native-born girls married before age 14. From 1740 onward, by far the majority of females were in their late teens, aged 15–19." Elisabeth Shown Mills, "Social and Family Patterns on the Colonial Louisiana Frontier," *Sociological Spectrum* 2 (1982): 243. Another study, based on extent records from mid-eighteenth-century New Orleans, found that the average age at first marriage for sixty-two New Orleans brides was 15.65, and that "No less than thirty-three were younger than that, 12 to 15 years old." Thomas M. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 58.

new one. Sometimes their liminal status led to opportunities that would have been impossible to Europeans deemed simply white in Louisiana. As colonial hierarchies developed in distinctively racialized ways that increasingly codified the benefit of white identity, Louisiana Bohemians continued to maneuver within these locally interpreted imperial bounds in diverse ways.

Over time, as individuals and families forged their own paths as best they could, the distinctiveness of Bohemian descendants faded, and they were incorporated into racialized categories of identity. The magnitude of these racialized categories also led to the loss of an autonomous sense of Bohemian community in colonial Louisiana. Initial transitional considerations of Bohemian race in the colony slowly eroded as the French, Spanish, and American states that successively governed Louisiana dictated new and more stringently policed heritage-based categories. Under French rule (1682–1767), the first Bohemian colonists and their immediate descendants experienced relatively ambivalent though hardening racial attitudes that allowed certain families to cohere as "Bohemians"—a category and identity that both they and the colonial administrators who marked them as such held as meaningful. Under Spanish control (1768–1803), even as many local traditions were retained, a multitude of new legal categories determined rights and privileges attached to the varied degrees of a person's European, African, and Indigenous heritages. This eventually—if unevenly—eliminated the usefulness of retaining tight group associations and even degraded the space that Bohemians needed to exist as an autonomous community outside this all-encompassing framework. With the U.S. acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, a simplified understanding of racial boundaries that isolated and elevated whites from everyone else granted opportunities to some while removing them from others. The motivation to be seen as white significantly increased with the decline of nonwhite status and thus nullified any insistence on existing outside this binary framework.[4]

4. Cécile Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans: Empire, Race, and the Making of a Slave Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon;* Patricia Cleary, "Sex and Empire in Eighteenth-Century St. Louis," in Patrick Griffin, ed., *Experiencing Empire: Power, People, and Revolution in Early America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 71–87; Guillaume Aubert, "'The Blood of France': Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2004), 439–78; Kathleen DuVal, "Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana," *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2008): 267–304; Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New*

The descendants of Bohemians who partnered with Native and Afro-Louisianans fell victim to a racial hierarchy birthed from a plantation economy dependent on enslaved African labor and the destruction of Indigenous power. As such, Bohemian women's sexual choices brought them under the scrutiny of colonial administrators who wielded power and racialized colonial spaces by both condemning and condoning interracial unions. Although some Bohemians struggled to positively position themselves in Louisiana, that other members of one of the most despised of European minorities could significantly improve their social status as a result of their trans-Atlantic repositioning attests to the power of racial categories to regulate privilege in the colonies.[5]

Orleans (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial New Orleans* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763–1802* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Eberhard L. Faber, *Building the Land of Dreams: New Orleans and the Transformation of Early America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016).

5. Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 23–34; Daniel J. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); John Smolenski and Thomas J. Humphrey, eds., *New World Orders: Violence, Sanction, and Authority in the Colonial Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 10–11; Jennifer M. Spear, "Colonial Intimacies: Legislating Sex in French Louisiana," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2003): 75–98; Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 76; Bill M. Donovan, "Changing Perceptions of Social Deviance: Gypsies in Early Modern Portugal and Brazil," *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 1 (1992): 33–53. On the intersection of family, race, and empire, see Jennifer L. Palmer, *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 5, 16; Julie Hardwick, Sarah M. S. Pearsall, and Karin Wulf, "Introduction: Centering Families in Atlantic Histories," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 205–24; Robert Michael Morrissey, "Kaskaskia Social Network: Kinship and Assimilation in the French-Illinois Borderlands, 1695–1735," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2013): 112; Michael A. McDonnell, "*Il a Epousé une Sauvagesse':* Indian and Métis Persistence across Imperial and National Borders," in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton, eds., *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 162; Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 3, 13–14; Kathleen Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge:

The eventual positioning and acceptance of most Bohemians as white in Louisiana was due to the intersection of wider evolving ideas about race and the colony's distinctive demographics. Whiteness, which allowed for a "shared sense of belonging to an exclusive racial community," became a newly available option for Bohemians once in the colony. The term *blanc* carried meaning as a racial category quite early in Louisiana history. It was first used as a legal category in the 1724 Code Noir and was commonly employed as both a label and a descriptive term in common speech, official records, and private documents before midcentury. Yet this process of racial formation always remained in process and mutually constitutive. According to Cécile Vidal, writing of eighteenth-century New Orleans, "whiteness was constructed in relation to both blackness and 'savageness' as well as in reaction to *métissage* and the rise of a population of free people of color, two phenomena which blurred the boundaries that racial categories sought to create." Both race and whiteness also emerged from the actions of and ideas about Bohemians.[6]

Although all arrivals to the colony created and experienced racialization, a close study of Bohemians in Louisiana is uniquely suited to provide insight into this dynamic process due to the prejudiced assumptions already held about them as a group throughout Europe. Because Bohemians existed in

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Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 4–5, 123; Jennifer M. Spear, "'They Need Wives': Métissage and the Regulation of Sexuality in French Louisiana, 1699–1730," in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); and Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie, eds., *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), xiv–xvi.

6. Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 181 (first quotation), 373 (second quotation), 379, 384–87. On racial formation, see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2014). On whiteness, see Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (2002): 154–73; Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies II: An Update on the New History of Race in America" *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 95, no. 1 (2009): 144–46; and Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010). On the role of Romani people in early modern European thinking about race, see Miriam Eliav-Feldon, "Vagrants or Vermin? Attitudes towards Gypsies in Early Modern Europe," in Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 276–91; and Tamar Herzog, "Beyond Race: Exclusion in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America," in Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, and David Nirenberg, eds., *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 151–68.

France as internal outsiders, they merit special consideration distinct from other people marked with ethnic, national, or racial labels in Louisiana. Thinking about race as it applied to Bohemians in French colonial Louisiana highlights how "the way racial prejudice materialized never ceased to evolve with changing local and extra local circumstances," even as its ideological power grew. Although many Bohemians took advantage of their ability to be classed as white, the racial liminality of others provoked possibilities that persisted for generations.[7]

The diverse strategies that these Bohemians employed to construct new lives in Louisiana as viewed across several generations warrant an examination by scholars of the Romani diaspora and colonial Louisiana. Scholars have left unexamined a cultural group that clearly mattered to eighteenth-century Louisianans and inadvertently relegated its members to the historiographical shadows. Though historians have considered many of the primary sources used in this article, none have considered "Bohemian" as an analytical category or evaluated how this label affected individuals marked with it living in the colonial French Atlantic world. Although a few scholars have examined colonial experiences in the South American Romani diaspora, virtually all of those who study Romani experiences in North America focus on the twentieth century. This article attends to the history of the colonial Louisiana Bohemian community in order to broaden the historical knowledge of the Romani diaspora, complement the existing scholarship on the Louisiana colony, and continue to fine-tune our understandings of racial formation in early America.[8]

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7. Taylor, *Another Darkness,* 37–111. Geraldine Heng contends that examples of anti-Romani sentiment from across medieval Europe evidence Romani racialization even at this early era, as others racialized them and as they racialized themselves. Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 448–49. See also Jules Admant, "L'existence régionale de la 'nation bohémienne': Les Bohémiens lorrains à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Bourgogne, 2015); Henriette Asséo, "Visibilité et identité flottante: Les 'Bohémiens' ou 'Egyptiens' (Tsiganes) dans la France de l'Ancien Régime," *Historein* 2 (2000): 109–22; Henriette Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion: Le traitement administratif des Bohémiens," in Robert Mandrou, ed., *Problèmes socio-culturels en France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), 22–25; François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Tsiganes dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Connaissance du Monde, 1961); and Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 33 (quotation).

8. The single exception to this lack of historical treatment for Louisiana Bohemians comes from Elizabeth Shown Mills's genealogical study, "Assimilation? Or Marginalization and Discrimination?" For South America, see Donovan, "Changing

An understanding of Louisiana Bohemian lives and the insights that their experiences reveal about larger historical processes are best considered with a combination of microhistory and Atlantic history. The manageable scale of a community study allows the historian to carefully unfurl the immense Atlantic fabric and reveal its complex composition. The Atlantic world can be used as a framework in which "situated" histories focus "on the redefinition and renegotiation of power relationships among individuals, groups, and socio-political formations in this interconnected world born out of European colonialism and imperialism." In addition, the reduced scale of microhistory brings lives previously unseen into view. According to Lara Putnam, "microhistories offer dense reconstructions of the social history of circumscribed communities, tracing patterns in kinship . . . in exquisite detail." She continues, "Atlantic microhistory has been churning up tale after tale of fascinating, peripatetic lives that contradict assumptions about the correspondence between ascribed race, cultural coordinates, economic role, and space of action." Thus, a combination of these two approaches reveals the existence of an Atlantic-spanning cultural community that complicates our prior understanding of racial formation, empire, and Romani history.[9]

Before examining the lives of members of this small Bohemian community in colonial Louisiana, this article touches on French Bohemian history and the situation in France that led to their departure to provide background and

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Perceptions," 33–53; Manuel Martínez Martínez, "Los gitanos y la prohibición de pasar a las Indias españolas," *Revista de la CECEL. Expediciones y pasajeros a Indias* 10 (2010): 71–90; and Martin Fotta, "The Figure of the Gypsy (Cigano) as a Signpost for Crises of the Social Hierarchy (Bahia, 1590s–1880s)," *International Review of Social History* 65, no. 2 (2020): 1–27. For North America, see Ann Ostendorf, "'An Egiptian and noe Xtian Woman': Gypsy Identity and Race Law in Early America," *Journal of Gypsy Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017): 5–15; Ann Ostendorf, "Contextualizing American Gypsies: Experiencing Criminality in the Colonial Chesapeake," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 113 (Fall/Winter 2018): 192–222; and Ann Ostendorf, "Racializing American 'Egyptians': Shifting Legal Discourse, 1690s–1860s," *Critical Romani Studies* 2, no. 2 (2019). For the twentieth-century United States, see, for example, Adèle Sutre, "'They Give a History of Wandering over the World': A Romani Clan's Transnational Movement in the Early 20th Century," *Quaderni storici* 49, no. 2 (2014): 471–98.

9. Cécile Vidal, "For a Comprehensive History of the Atlantic World or Histories Connected in and beyond the Atlantic World?," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (English)* 67, no. 2 (2012): 279 (first quotation); Lara Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole: Microhistory and the Atlantic World," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (2006): 615, 617. For some colonial Louisiana microhistories in Atlantic history, see Cécile Vidal, ed., *Louisiana: Crossroads of the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 2–8; and Bradley G. Bond, ed., *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

highlight the divergent choices available to them once in North America. Next, it examines the colonial world into which they arrived and situates their Atlantic voyage alongside those of other French colonists. Then, a discussion of some Louisianans previously unconsidered as "Bohemians" shows the temporary construction of a community before their descendants' distribution into new colonial racial categories. Finally, a description of nineteenth-century evidence suggests the disappearance of a Bohemian community in Louisiana, though not their erasure from local memory.

Bohemians first appear in French records from the early fifteenth century after their arrival there from Bohemia (in the present-day Czech Republic) for uncertain reasons. This entrance led to their appellation. A century later, the French state first legislated against them. Beginning in 1539, "certain unknown persons who call themselves Bohemians," could no longer enter, pass through, or remain in the French kingdom, although for nearly a century they continued to do so with little attempt to stop them. French military service records also refer to people as "Bohemians" during this era, including a young boy named Jehan de la Fontaine and one Count Lambert Phillip. Men with these two surnames would appear over a century later among the *Le Tilleul* Bohemians, as well as among their Louisiana descendants on colonial militia lists. This colonial Louisiana military service is in keeping with the work of many other Bohemians from France and central Europe who had served, at times in Bohemian-only units, in the many early modern continental conflicts. Possibly because of their military experience, the early modern French state increasingly found Bohemian mobility and autonomy problematic.[10]

The relationship between marginal populations and the growth of an "absolutist" state in the seventeenth century partially explains why the French state targeted Bohemians. Over the course of this century, the French monarchy consolidated its power against external enemies while also exercising

10. These names are recorded in different ways in different sources. I have typically kept the original spellings, although on occasions when it is evident that records are referring to the same individual, I have silently made the spellings uniform. Taylor, *Another Darkness,* 11, 38–40, 69; Cressy, *Gypsies,* 14–15; [Anonymous], *A Parisian Journal, 1409–1449,* trans. Janet Shirley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 218–19; Donald Kenrick, *Gypsies: From the Ganges to the Thames* (Hatfield, U.K.: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2004), 57–70; Henriette Asséo, *Les Tsiganes: Une destinée européenne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 13–24; Asséo, "Visibilité et identité flottante," 109–14; Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion," 22–25 (quotation, 23); Foletier, *Les Tsiganes.*

greater control over subject populations. Multiple continental wars pressed an already impoverished peasantry into lives of temporary or permanent mobility. This increase in the mobile poor population led those groups to be seen as a menace to public order. Governments across Europe began punishing offenses associated with the mobile poor under a new collective crime of vagrancy. Many European states, including France, grouped Bohemian families alongside—but labeled them as distinct from—these poor mobile vagrants in their efforts to impose order. New social technologies like census-taking and police forces emerged to handle the perceived danger. The existence of mobile people uncounted for taxation, avoidant of conscription, and potentially rebellious against the state significantly influenced the growth of a state apparatus to address these challenges to state control.[11]

On top of these specific threats to their authority, early modern officials also concerned themselves with the potential productivity of people made mobile by state agendas. Anyone without what the state considered rational work was assigned a marginal status and could be punished by incarceration in workhouses or the galleys—or by deportation to the colonies. Finding a use for subjects considered useless motivated such policies. In addition to mobile people, minority populations also presented problems because French leaders assumed that a successful state required a uniform population. The expulsion of French Jews and Protestants was part of an unprecedented effort to regulate minority populations for this reason. French Bohemians remained marginalized in their doubly bound position as both mobile and outsiders

11. James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xi–xxv, 152–53, 183–84; Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 216; David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 33–35; James B. Collins, "Geographic and Social Mobility in Early Modern France," *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991): 563–77; James B. Collins, "*Translation de domicile:* Rethinking Sedentarity and Mobility in the Early Modern French Countryside," *French History* 20, no. 4 (2006): 387–404; David Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society, 1650–1750* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6–7, 12, 18, 146; Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, "The Weakness of Well-Ordered Societies: Gypsies in Western Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and India, 1400–1914," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 26, no. 3 (2003): 309–10; Leo Lucassen, "Between Hobbes and Locke: Gypsies and the Limits of the Modernization Paradigm," *Social History* 33, no. 4 (2008): 423–41; James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 1–2, 11, 343; Taylor, *Another Darkness,* 60–61, 69–70.

during the seventeenth century. This marginalization resulted in an attempt to recondition Bohemians as laborers for the benefit of the state at home and abroad. Thus, a law codified on January 8, 1719, culminated with the reflection that "Nothing could be better for the good of the state than to send to the colonies those who break the laws of 1682, 1687 and 1701." This string of laws unambiguously targeted vagrants and Bohemians.[12]

The first of these statutes, Louis XIV's anti-Bohemian decree from July 11, 1682, sent men to the galleys, boys into houses of correction, and had women's and girls' heads shaved and their persons banished for continued vagrancy and "leading the life of Bohemians"—punishments to be inflicted without trial and for no other reason than being one of "those called Bohemians or Egyptians." Across France over the next one hundred years, rural police arrested Bohemians and sentenced them to exile. Two of those arrested were Suzanna and Marie de la Roche in July 1700 in the Vermandois jurisdiction just northwest of Lorraine. After being found guilty of exhibiting the qualities, conditions, and professions of Bohemians, both women were shaved and banished. Exactly twenty years later, one "Claudine de la Roche 'bohemienne'" disembarked in Louisiana. Whether or not these women were related, this 1682 law, combined with other, more general anti-vagrancy acts, led to the first confirmed Bohemian arrivals in the Americas.[13]

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12. Robert M. Schwartz, *Policing the Poor in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 13–50; Thomas McStay Adams, *Bureaucrats and Beggars: French Social Policy in the Age of the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 29–31, 35, 43; Collins, *State in Early Modern France,* 124–28, 254–61; Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance,* 6, 158–77; Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion," 48–65; Taylor, *Another Darkness,* 56–58, 69–71, 110; Paul W. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 180–81; Jean-Pierre Liégeois, "Bohémiens et pouvoirs publics en France du xvème au xixème siècle," *Études Tsiganes* 24, no. 4 (1978): 10–30; Pym, *Gypsies,* 145; Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), xiii, 4, 51, 67–68; Peter Sahlins, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685–1787," *Representations* 47 (Summer 1994): 85–110; "Déclaration concernant les condamnés aux galères, bannis et vagabonds," January 8, 1719, in François-André Isambert et al., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises,* 29 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Plon Frères, 1821–1830), 21:169–71 (quotation).

13. "Déclaration contre les Bohémiens ou Égyptiens," July 11, 1682, in Isambert et al., *Recueil général,* 19:393–94 (quotations); Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion," 30–33; Foletier, *Les Tsiganes,* 150–51; Taylor, *Another Darkness,* 69–70; François de Vaux de Foletier, "La Vie quotidienne d'un groupe bohémien en Forez au début du XVIII^{e} siècle," *Études Tsiganes* 6, no. 1 (1960): 22–26; Foletier, "La déclaration de 1682," 3–10; Asséo, "Visibilité et identité flottante," 113–15; Pauline Bernard, "Saisir un

The experiences of Bohemians in the region of Lorraine are specifically relevant to understanding the lives of Louisiana Bohemians because many originated from this area, as denoted by their nativities given on the passenger list. In addition, when the *Le Tilleul* set sail in 1720, five of the thirteen Bohemian families on board used surnames common among Bohemians in Lorraine. Though not evidence of a definitive genealogical link, French Bohemian families' uses of regionally specific surnames suggests that some of the Louisiana Bohemian families had originated there. Despite evidence of local toleration and even protection of Bohemians in Lorraine, specific laws encouraged their apprehension or expulsion. One Lorraine ordinance of February 14, 1700, enjoined all "those who call themselves Egyptians, or Bohemians, and other people of such a quality" to leave the region immediately. This statute was followed by another in May 1717 ordering all "poor foreigners, vagabonds & bohemians" to depart Lorraine.[14]

Though deportations from France to the colonies mostly ended in the 1720s, later discussions considering a return to this policy provide further insight into Bohemians' relationship with the French state. Between 1786 and 1788 in Lorraine, Bohemians appeared so concerning that administrators opened up negotiations with them. These Bohemians declared themselves willing to accept agricultural work in France or overseas on the conditions they could stay together and could go freely to their destination. The *Le Tilleul* Bohemian families may have negotiated their own removal to the Louisiana colony in a similar fashion. That virtually no other forced laborers came to Louisiana in family groups, despite consistent attempts to recruit families as settlers, makes them exceptional and raises questions concerning why. The insistence on family disintegration as part of French anti-Bohemian policy,

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groupe aux contours flous. Maréchaussée et Bohémiens dans la Généralité du Lyonnais, 1710–1740," in Ilsen About, Marc Bordigoni, and Mathieu Pernot, eds., *Présences tsiganes: Enquêtes et expériences dans les archives* (Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu, 2018), 81–104. In 1730, another Marie De Roche was widowed upon the death of her husband, the first known Bohemian in Louisiana. She may have been Marie Barbe Laroche "Bohémienne," who, along with eight other married Bohemian women in La Salpêtrière, were considered for deportation to Louisiana as wives for the male colonists in 1719. Their fate remains unknown. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Archives de la Bastille, 12692, no. 54–63, fol. 6; L. H. Légier-Desgranges, "De la Salpêtrière au Mississipi" *Bulletin d'information et de documentation de l'Assistance publique à Paris* 7 (April 1951): 50.

14. These included La Garenne, La Roche, La Fontaine, La Forrest, Du Chesne, Deslauriers, Lespine, and Lambert. Admant, "L'existence régionale," 25 (quotations), 27, 40, 194, 296, 325, 359, 391; Passenger Lists, F5B 44, AC; Liégeois, "Bohémiens et pouvoirs publics," 24; Asséo, "Marginalité et exclusion," 68.

as seen in the 1682 decree that segregated women from men and children from parents, would have provided ample motivation to depart "voluntarily" under these slightly more favorable terms.[15]

The French government faced a significant challenge in securing volunteers to populate its American colonies, especially the colony of Louisiana. The Company of the West, in charge of making Louisiana profitable, enacted strategies to recruit voluntary settlers and fund criminal transportation beginning in the spring of 1718, arguing, "It would be good for the kingdom to be discharged of this vermin." The French government responded with the previously mentioned January 8 decree in 1719 that ordered all vagabonds and unemployed in Paris to return to their hometowns; those who did not comply would be exiled to Louisiana. This law became applicable to all of France in March of that year. Over the next five months, the company transported more than 450 criminalized people to Louisiana on five ships. The crimes that most had committed were those of the dislocated and impoverished. Thirteen hundred criminal exiles arrived in Louisiana over the course of the two years that the policy remained in effect. Bohemians elicit mention as a distinct category in sources related to these deportation arrangements, though how many actually arrived in Louisiana remains unknown. The first group of prisoners to depart, "Deserters and Other Persons Sent by Order of the Court," included the first known Bohemian to arrive in Louisiana.[16]

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15. The last known Bohemian exiles arrived in Martinique in 1724. Liégeois, "Bohémiens et pouvoirs publics," 25–28; Admant, "L'existence régionale," 505–14; Foletier, *Les Tsiganes,* 203, 211–14; Henry Dart, trans., "Ships Lists of Passengers Leaving France for Louisiana, 1718–1744," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 14 (1931): 516–20; 15 (1932): 68–77, 453–67; 21 (1938): 965–78; Spear, "'They Need Wives,'" 35–59. Though the consulate considered a scheme in 1802 to deport five hundred Bohemians to Louisiana, they were instead dispersed among French prisons. François de Vaux de Foletier, "La grande rafle des Bohémiens du Pays basque sous le Consulat," *Etudes Tsiganes* 14, no. 1 (1968): 13–22; David Martín Sánchez, "El pueblo Gitano vasco en el siglo XIX, entre la asimilación y la reafirmación," *Historia y Política* 40 (2018): 53–81.

16. Mathé Allain, "French Emigration Policies: Louisiana, 1699–1715," in Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *The French Experience in Louisiana* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1995), 106–11; Glenn R. Conrad, "Émigration Forcée," in Conrad, *French Experience in Louisiana,* 125–27, 130–33; James D. Hardy Jr., "The Transportation of Convicts to Colonial Louisiana," in Conrad, *French Experience in Louisiana,* 115–19, 122, 123n6; Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane Française: L'Épique de John Law (1717–1720),* vol 3. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 255–56, 264–67; Schwartz, *Policing the Poor,* 28–34 (first quotation, 29); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives de la Bastille, prisonniers dossiers, 10653, fol. 169. Seven Bohemian women between the ages of eighteen and

To implement such laws, new police units, rewarded by the number of arrests made, zealously enforced vagrancy laws and, working with the local parishes, drew up lists of beggars and the unemployed now eligible for a life of exile in Louisiana. The Louisiana-bound Bohemians probably appeared in these parish lists. Such strategies, dubbed "colonization by abduction," sparked popular outrage. The king responded by suspending all deportations to Louisiana on May 9, 1720. Nearly two weeks later, a clerk in Dunkerque recorded the names of thirteen Bohemian families forced to board the ship *Le Tilleul.* He was perhaps unaware that transporting criminals to Louisiana was now against the king's law.[17]

An examination of the *Le Tilleul* passenger list reveals interesting demographic data about this Bohemian cohort. All of the thirteen women who sailed on the *Le Tilleul* as "gens de force Bohemiennes" traveled with their spouses. Most also traveled with either one or two young children; the list includes sixteen dependents, and all but two were ten years old or younger. Even before their trans-Atlantic journey, these families had already lived mobile lives in France. Most of the women and their husbands who list nativity—seventeen in total—came from fifteen different places, mostly in today's Belgium and northeastern France. Of the five women who report their nativity, only one of them shared that with her husband. Marie Jeanne Pierre Page and Jean Philipe, known as La Prairie, both hailed from Liege. They may have been related to another family who sailed with them: the 1722 marriage record of the *Le Tilleul* Bohemian Jeanneton La Garenne describes the witness Jean Philippe La Prairie as her uncle.[18]

thirty "belonging to the same tribe" and whose husbands labored "at the galleys" were to be sent to Louisiana as wives for the many single male colonists. These may have been the seven women between the ages of eighteen and *fifty* who appeared on the *Le Tilleul* rolls under a second separate heading "women who have become Bohemian." Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Archives de la Bastille, 12692, no. 54–63, fol. 6; Foletier, *Les Tsiganes,* 179; Légier-Desgranges, "Salpêtrièr au Mississipi," 50; St. Louis Passenger List, G 464, AC (second quotation).

17. Lucassen and Willems, "Weakness of Well-Ordered Societies," 297–98; Hardy, "Transportation of Convicts," 119–22; Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 150 (quotation); *Arrêt du Conseil d'État du Roi,* May 9, 1720, Louisiana Colonial Records, Acadian Manuscript Collection, University of Louisiana at Lafayette; Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana,* 4 vols. (New York: Goupil, 1904), 1:83–84.

18. Passenger Lists, F5B 44, AC (quotation); Earl C. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, eds., *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1718–1750,* 19 vols. (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1987), 1:104

These Bohemian women's husbands noticeably lacked occupations. Of the thirteen spouses, two called themselves deckhands, two surgeons, and one a soldier, but the other eight provided no occupation. This is in marked contrast to the rest of the men on the ship, virtually all of whom provided occupations. Many of the single women who came voluntarily aboard the *Le Tilleul* also listed trades, though married women did not, as was typical of Bohemian women. Of these thirteen women, records other than the *Le Tilleul* passenger list labeled three of them, three of their husbands, and four of their children as "Bohemians." Ten others known to have descended from those Bohemians aboard *Le Tilleul* were referred to as such at some point in their lives. Of course, this group by no means accounts for all the individuals called versions of "Bohemian" or "Gitana/o" in the French and Spanish colonial records. Between 1720 and 1790, records other than the *Le Tilleul* rolls marked a total of forty-eight individuals as such, many of them on more than one occasion. New Orleanians like "Marie 'bohemienne,'" who lived on Rue Royal in 1732, "Bouteille 'Bohéme,'" who worked as a ships carpenter in 1770, "Madam La Forest 'La Gitana,'" who ran a guest house in 1777, and Constanza De La Fontain and her husband, "Gitanos" who buried an unnamed infant in 1778, stand as testament to the continued distinctiveness of this identity well into Spanish rule.[19]

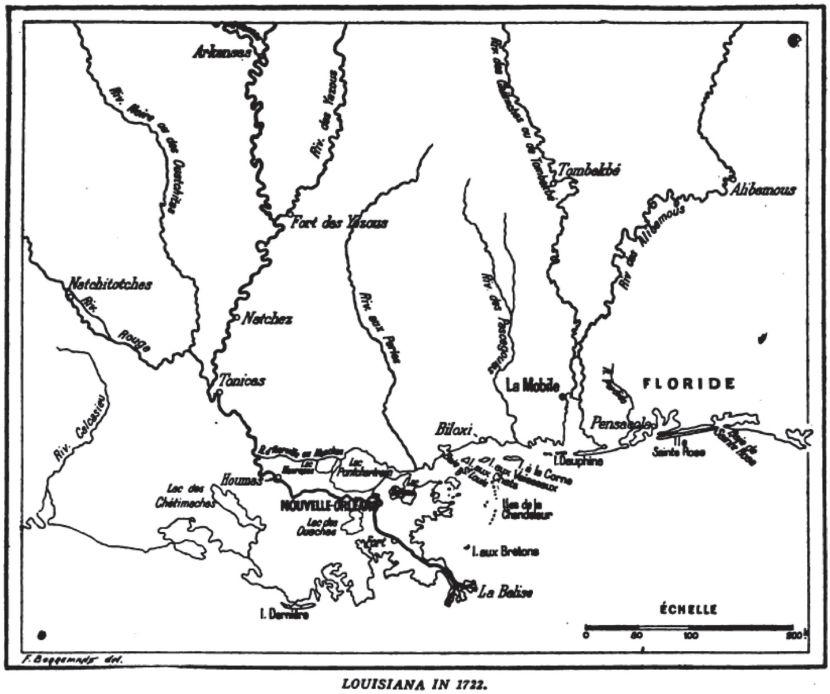
These records reveal the identities that record-keepers assumed these people to have. An individual's designation could depend on the purpose the record would serve, physical or social characteristics deemed relevant at the time the record was made, the nomenclature available to a record-keeper, and many other criteria. Since those drawing up colonial documents were under no obligation to ask their subjects how (or even if) they wished to be labeled, scribes fixed their perceptions of group membership into these records. To what extent these individuals claimed identities so named can only be surmised. Though utilizing these sources in such ways comes with risks to the historian, the alternative occasions the worse outcome of keeping Bohemians outside of history.[20]

(hereafter *SRNO*). La Garenne brought to the marriage a dowry of 300 *livres.* Heloise H. Cruzat, trans., "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 19 (1936): 772.

19. Passenger Lists, F5B 44, AC. For Marie, see 1732 Census of New Orleans, G1 464, AC. For Bouteille, see 1770 New Orleans Marine Census, Cuban Papers (hereafter CP), leg. 188B. For La Forest, see Criminal Prosecution of Cesario et al., March 13, 1777, Spanish Colonial Documents #3671, no. 4, pp. 9, 11, Louisiana State Museum Collection, New Orleans. For De La Fontain, see *SRNO* 3:80.

20. Hanger, *Bounded Lives,* 15.

The ship *Le Tilleul* landed after three months at sea on August 16, 1720, at Ship Island off the coast of Biloxi. From there, the nearly four hundred passengers—including soldiers, prisoners, and, according to local Company of the West director Charles Le Gac, "utterly useless individuals who have been engaged for the service"—disembarked and were ferried the four leagues to the mainland. They were held at Biloxi, an overcrowded and undersupplied outpost, until they could be transported to New Orleans and the interior. The company intended the exiles to work for the concessionaires who had been granted land to turn into lucrative plantations. Instead, tragedy struck. A dearth of boats prevented most from being relocated to a site with adequate food, water, and shelter. The resulting famine killed five hundred people around the time of the Bohemians' arrival. As Sieur de Bienville, the commandant general of Louisiana, reflected, "the years 1719, 1720 and a part of 1721 were employed in receiving and providing subsistence with incredible difficulties for more than six to seven thousand persons, the majority people useless and a great burden whom the Company had sent



LOUISIANA IN 1722.

Figure 1. Map of Louisiana, c. 1722, showing sites significant to Louisiana Bohemians. Courtesy of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly.*

Figure 2. View of Biloxi, 1720, showing the circumstances that greeted the *Le Tilleul* Bohemians upon their arrival. From Jean-Baptiste Michel Le Bouteux, "Veuë du camp de la concession de Monseigneur Law, au Nouveaux Biloxy, coste de la Louisianne." Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

there all at the same time without providing for their subsistence." For the survivors of this initial ordeal, the following years remained challenging. Consistent poverty, periodic epidemics, and inadequate supplies and protection caused much suffering and many deaths. That many *Le Tilleul* Bohemians disappeared from the records is unsurprising.[21]

By November 1721, some *Le Tilleul* Bohemians had made it to New Orleans, the colony's largest European settlement with a population of 519. They found a disorganized town slowly being constructed. Those sent out of New Orleans faced the difficulty of clearing land for plantations. The many regional censuses of the following decade place *Le Tilleul* Bohemian families

21. Passenger Lists, F5B 44, AC; Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana [. . .]* (London: T. Becket, 1774; repr., New Orleans: J. S. Harmanson, 1947), 28–29; Charles Le Gac, *Immigration and War, Louisiana: 1718–1721; From the Memoir of Charles Le Gac,* ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1970), xi, 37–41, 42n97, 52 (first quotation); Jean-Baptiste Bernard de La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane* (New Orleans: A.-L. Boimare, 1831), 232; "Memoir on the Services of Bienville," in Dunbar Rowland and Albert Godfrey Sanders, eds. and trans., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1704–1743, French Dominion,* 5 vols. (Jackson: Press of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1932), 3:492 (second quotation); Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane Français,* 3:316–28.

at Mobile, along the Pascagoula River, at an Indigenous village called Thominea, and in the Illinois country. In 1732, the census-taker identified three of the nearly nine hundred New Orleanians as "Bohemians." One of those, Jean Philippe La Prairie, owned a portion of an urban lot at the corner of Saint Philippe and Royal streets. Yet despite owning property, insecurity shaped his family's fate in the town. After his death the following decade, his wife Marie Jeanne was forced to sell a portion of the already small property to her neighbor. With two children, and "with no possessions, she did all in her power to support them the best she could by the means of her work until . . . deprived of labor, she was left with no money to provide for her family." The property she retained included just enough space for her "shack."[22]

Although the *Le Tilleul* rolls provide the most extensive list of Bohemians who arrived in colonial Louisiana, those travelers were not the first. At the end of March 1719, a year before the *Le Tilleul* departure, Jean Baptiste Evrard sailed for the colony. Originally from Besançon and aged twenty-eight when he arrived, Evrard stood five feet, three inches tall with auburn hair. Ten years after his arrival, he resided at or near Fort Rosalie, a military outpost surrounded by concessions about 250 miles upriver from New Orleans. As a convict laborer, he could have been taken to work at the garrison or to grow tobacco on the surrounding plantations. Though not labeled as "Bohemian" in the passenger roll from his 1719 Atlantic journey, in 1729, "Jean Evrard Boheme" perished alongside 235 other colonists when members of the neighboring Natchez nation, angry at French officers' attempts to take over Natchez lands, attacked the fort.[23]

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22. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 63–67, 158; Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon,* 3–33; Heloise H. Cruzat, trans., "Louisiana in 1724: Banet's Report to the Company of the Indies," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 12 (1929): 125; Marcel Giraud, *A History of French Louisiana: The Company of the Indies, 1723–1731*, vol. 5, trans. Brian Pearce (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 160–61, 201–06, 256, 260, 268; 1721 Census of Mobile, 1721 Census of New Orleans, 1722 Census along the Mississippi River, 1726 Census of Louisiana, 1727 Census of New Orleans, 1731 Census along the River, 1732 Census of New Orleans, and 1732 Census of Illinois, G1 464, AC; Sale of Property, Marie Jean La Prairie to St. Martin Jaury de Quibery, October 23, 1745, French Colonial Records, New Orleans Notarial Archives (quotation). For more details of the La Prairie case, see Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 300.

23. Hardy, "Transportation of Convicts," 117; Giraud, *History of French Louisiana,* 5:393–400; Cruzat, "Louisiana in 1724," 122; St. Louis Passenger List, 1722 Census along the River, 1723 Natchez Census, 1726 Louisiana Census, and 1727 New Orleans Census, G1 464, AC; List of Persons Massacred at Natchez, November 28, 1729, Correspondence from Louisiana and France 1678–1819, C13A, 12:57–58, AC.

This particular attack resulted in the death not only of Jean Evrard but also of four other Bohemians. A family of three, one Stroup and his wife and child, all labeled "Boheme," directly followed Evrard on the casualty list. The list then recorded "La Vieille Chevalieu Bohemiene," who was marked as a woman. These Bohemians could have been at Fort Rosalie as soldiers or traders, or they could have fled to the garrison from the surrounding farms once the attack began. The French military officer Dumont de Montigny, who traveled through the region in 1727, noted how "many new habitants had taken up lands all around, even some of the Bohemes." The positioning together of Bohemians on this casualty list by the priest who made it suggests his perception of their cohesiveness. It is also suggestive of their actual associations from this time and place. Reliance on familiar and trusted companions during the difficult and dangerous early years of the colony increased (though did not guarantee) one's chances of survival.[24]

Although Bohemians can be identified in diverse locations across the Gulf South, some banded together—not surprisingly considering the uncertainty of life in colonial Louisiana. These informal relations are most evident in the residential patterns and familial connections of Bohemians in New Orleans, a town where several of these families lived near each other for decades. The *Le Tilleul* Bohemian families of La Garenne, La Prairie, La Fontaine, and Pantinet all lived in the bordering Ursuline, Saint Phillip, and Royal Street blocks of the city in the late 1720s and early 1730s. The *Le Tilleul* Bohemian

24. List of Persons Massacred at Natchez, C13A, 12:57–58, AC; "Letter from Father Philibert," in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives,* 1:124–25. Rowland and Sanders translate this as "La Vieille, Bohemian Knight" and note that "there appears to be some mistake here. . . . If not a proper name, La Vieille means 'the old woman.'" I believe that the entry was intended to express "the old Woman Chevalier, Bohemian," since Chevalier was a common surname and this individual was tallied as a woman. One Duschene, a LeClerc and his wife, and the Fertin family of four also died during the attack; passengers with these names had been included in the Bohemian section of the *Le Tilleul*'s rolls. Dumont de Montigny, Mémoire de Lxx Dxx officier ingénieur, 1747, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, 189 (quotation); Giraud, *History of French Louisiana,* 5:390; Gordon M. Sayre, *The Memoir of Lieutenant Dumont, 1715–1747: A Sojourner in the French Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 209. Sayre translates these "Bohemes" in Dumont's original as "Germans." George Edward Milne, *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 8, 142, 247n82, 286. Milne considers Evrard and Stroup to be Czech.

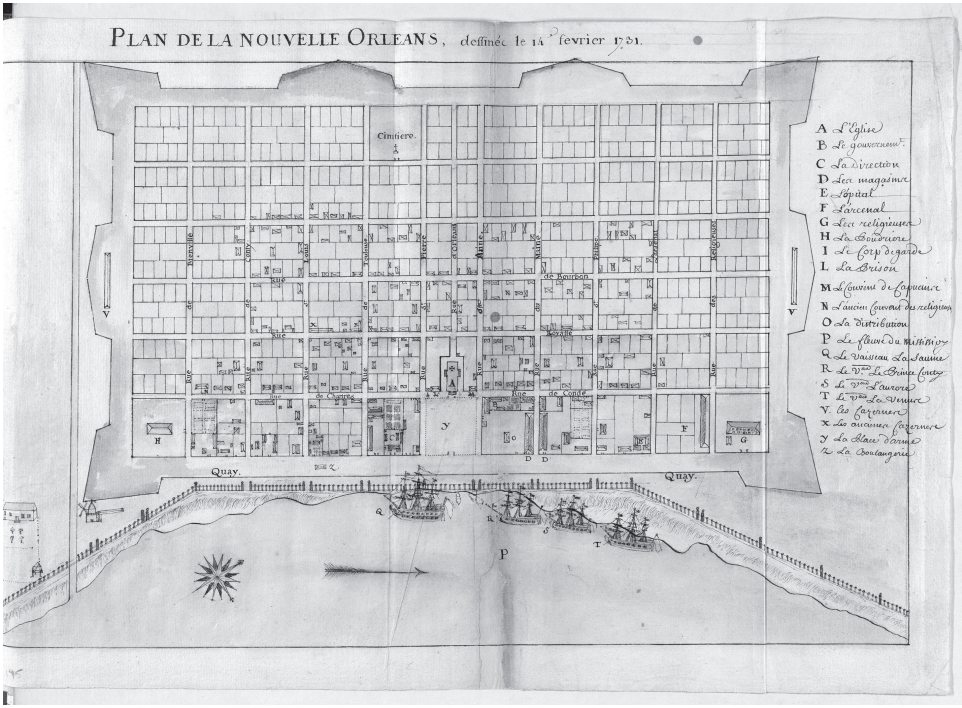

Figure 3. Map of New Orleans, 1731, showing the layout of the town and the streets of Bohemian residences. From "Relation du Voyage de la Louisianne ou Nouvelle France fait par Sr. Caillot en l'Annee 1730." Courtesy of the Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, La.

families of Deslauries and Belhumour lived just houses apart one block north on Bourbon Street.[25]

Later in the century, five La Fontaine men appeared with their brother-in-law Jean Louis Casberg, the grandson of Jean Evrard and Marie de Roche, under the prominent heading "Bohemes" at the corner of Saint Ursuline and Bourbon on the 1770 New Orleans Militia Census from the start of the Spanish era. A few years earlier, these men, along with a La Prairie and several other members of local Bohemian families, had been sent together to the Arkansas Post on a military assignment. Their segregation into a

25. 1727 and 1732 Census of New Orleans, G1 464, AC. Pantinet arrived as Pierre Lorpandelle, the two-year-old son of Marie Jeanne de Lestat, called La Patine. Mills, "Assimilation?," 43, 60. Jean Frederic, known as Lafontaine, was included in the middle of the list of the *Le Tilleul* Bohemian husbands.

separate Bohemian militia company can be read as evidence of their marginalization similar to the construction of units reserved strictly for free men of color. But it is just as likely that they organized these companies for themselves, even if they did so in response to external social pressures. Their having done so would be in keeping with evidence of Bohemian military groups in France—at least those of the prior century, before intensive efforts to break them up began. In 1778, the census-taker again named as "Boheme" two of these men, Laurent La Fontaine and Jean Luis Casberg, each listed with their families and living at the same location as they had in 1770. Just houses away resided the widow Forest, referred to as "La Gitana" by the enslaved woman to whom she rented a room, and whose grandmother had arrived as a *Le Tilleul* Bohemian. In 1808, La Prairie, La Fontaine, Pantinet, and Casberg descendants all still lived in their original neighborhood within a few blocks of each other on the east side of the French Quarter on Ursuline and Bourbon streets. By this time, though, the U.S. census-taker no longer denoted any as "Bohemians."[26]

In addition to residential patterns, marriage choices also reveal the relationships built by Bohemians in Louisiana. Members of the Christophe, La Garenne, La Prairie, Pantinet, and La Fontaine *Le Tilleul* Bohemian families intermarried with each other as well as with the descendants of Jean Evrard. These familial connections solidified from the time of their arrival in the colony and continued for many decades thereafter. Marie Castel, the granddaughter of the deported Christophes, married Louis La Prairie, the son of the deported La Prairies, more than forty years after their elders' arrival to the colony. Their 1766 marriage was witnessed by Pierre La Fontaine, the son of the deported Bohemian Jean Frederic La Fontaine, a drummer in the military. A decade before, Marie's older sister, Louise Castel, had wed the Bohemian deportee Pierre Lorpandelle Pantinet, who became a dance instructor and parish verger. One of their sons, Pierre Louis Pantinet, married Jean Frederic La Fontaine's granddaughter Ana Maria in 1786. By the early 1770s, a La Fontaine daughter, Marie Angelique, had married Jean Louis

26. 1770 New Orleans Militia Census, leg. 188B, CP; Détachements de la Nouvelle Orléans à Commencer du 9 Janvier, 1759, D2C 52, fol. 94, AC; Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 421; François de Vaux de Foletier, "Gypsy Captains in Provence and the Rhône Valley in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 41 (1962): 3–10; Criminal Prosecution of Cesario et al., 9, 11, Louisiana State Museum Collection; Plan de la Ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans avec les noms des propriétaires, 1808, Collins C. Diboll Vieux Carré Digital Survey, Historic New Orleans Collection, accessed July 6, 2021, http://www.hnoc.org/vcs/more_maps.php?set=2; Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 158–62.

Casberg, the grandson of the Bohemian Jean Louis Evrard. Another of Jean Frederic La Fontaine's sons, Valentine, married the granddaughter of the *Le Tilleul* Bohemian Marie La Garenne in 1778.[27]

These six Bohemian extended families remained socially close as well, regularly witnessing each other's marriages and serving for each other as godparents. When Marie La Garenne wed in 1722 just after her arrival, two other *Le Tilleul* Bohemians, Jean Christophe and Jean Philippe La Prairie, stood as witnesses. A few years later, Marie's husband witnessed the marriage of her Bohemian shipmate Jean Frederic La Fontaine. When the La Fontaine couple baptized their first child two years later, Marie and her husband served as sponsors. In 1761, Pantinet witnessed the marriage of Pierre La Fontaine, son of Jean Frederic. These are just a few of the known instances of certain Bohemian families continuing their social relationships with each other across the generations.[28]

Although some Bohemian families chose to join together after their arrival in Louisiana, others took a different path. Several *Le Tilleul* Bohemian families whose lives and descendants can be traced through the records are never again marked with the "Bohemian" label, nor do they associate with others marked as such. These families broadened their social networks beyond those labeled as "Bohemians." The degree of social integration with colonists other than those called "Bohemian" appears directly related to the extent to which a family retained or lost the "Bohemian" label in the records. Though the records are not complete enough for any systematic tally, they do give a clear sense that a Bohemian reputation remained attached to those who most closely banded together with others called "Bohemians." The one exception to this general trend, however, involves those Bohemians who partnered with people of color. In those situations, the "Bohemian" label remained employed much more systematically. Even though few Bohemians partnered with those

27. *SRNO* 2:45 (Castel), 2:170 (LaPrairie), 2:220 (Pantinet), 3:231–32 (Panquinet), 4:175 (Lafontaine), 1:109–10 (Frideric), 3:49 (Casberg), 3:173 (La Fontaine). Priests marked Angelique's brothers, Valentine and Nicholas, as "Gitanos" in burial records as late as the 1780s. *SRNO* 3:80 (De La Fontain), 3:173 (La Fontaine), 4:175 (Lafonten, LaFontaine).

28. *SRNO* 1:104 (Fiso), 1:109, 110 (Frideric), 2:161–62 (La Fontaine), 2:220 (Pantinet). For other examples, see 1:145 (Lafontine), 2:45 (Castel), 2:161 (La Fontaine), 3:49 (Casberg), 3:36 (Bouton), 3:180 (Laprerie), 4:236 (Panquinet).

labeled with a marker delineating their nonwhite status, those who did were frequently marked as "Bohemians" in records.[29]

One of the first instances of a *Le Tilleul* Bohemian marriage to a person of color occurred just five years after landing, when Marie Jacqueline Gaspart married Jean-Baptiste Raphaël, a "negre libre" native of Martinique. The couple's 1725 marriage required special permission from the French colony's commandant general, which suggests that the priest considered Gaspart to be white, since mixed-race marriages were illegal, although not unheard of. The marriage was, however, the first recorded case in the colony of a white *woman* being allowed to marry a man of color—an extremely rare occurrence even among the exceptions, and one possibly granted because of her Bohemian identity. During visits to the towns of Mobile and New Orleans, Gaspart and Raphaël baptized two children and buried one. (Their daughter's 1731 baptismal record labeled the child with the word "negresse.") Though she is named in her children's baptismal records, Gaspart's race was not noted (the typical practice for a white-identified individual in the sacramental records) and she was not referred to as "Bohemian." Their daughter Marie's 1746 Mobile burial record, however, described the deceased girl as "the daughter of Baptiste negre libre and one Bohemian." Gaspart's mother, Marie Agnès Simon, had been buried in Mobile just three years prior. Also one of *Le Tilleul* Bohemians, Simon's death record labeled her "Bohemienne" and her invalid husband Joseph "Bohemien." Members of Marie Jacqueline Gaspart's extended family retained the "Bohemian" label regularly across the next two generations.[30]

Marie Jacqueline Gaspart's marriage has occupied scholars of racial formation in colonial Louisiana, yet none of them have considered her Bohemian identity. Those encountering the term *Bohemian* have not analyzed it as a meaningful category in colonial Louisiana because few studies exist that could have provided the context for them to do so. In this particular case, the neglect has also occurred because a later marginal notation added to Gaspart and Raphaël's marriage record in the sacramental registry marked the couple as "negres libres." This was a strange decision by whoever made

29. This is a slightly nuanced interpretation of Mills's findings. Mills, "Assimilation?," 2.

30. Marriages, book A, 89, no. 201, and Baptisms, book A, 1, no. 4, St. Louis Cathedral, Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives (hereafter ANOA); *SRNO* 1:112 (Gaspard), 1:217 (Raphael); Article VI, *Le Code Noir,* 1724; Archdiocese of Mobile Burial Book 1:58 (quotation), 65; Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 94–95. On leaving those considered white unmarked in records, see Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 384.

this note, considering that the main text of the marriage record termed Raphaël "negre libre" but left Gaspart unmarked. Changes to racial designations in the sacramental records reserved for nonwhite Louisianans did occur often and for a variety of reasons. One scholar assumes that this later addition came about due to the marriage's illegality. The Louisiana Code Noir, which explicitly "forbid our white subjects, of either sex, from contracting marriage with Blacks," had gone into effect the year before their marriage. A later priest could have wanted to make it appear that the church had consistently enforced this statute. Other scholars, not knowing Gaspart's heritage, have speculated that her mother, born in Bruges in Flanders according to Gaspart's marriage certificate and the *Le Tilleul* rolls, may have been a woman of African descent. Yet none of them were familiar with sources that refer to her and her mother as "Bohemian." The very few documented cases of interracial marriages in colonial Louisiana, especially of a white woman to a nonwhite man, have raised doubts among scholars about Gaspart's whiteness. Taking Gaspart's Bohemian identity into consideration raises interesting questions about how colonial Louisianans considered Bohemian difference during an era of increasing racial codification. The exceptional identity of Louisiana Bohemians under French rule uniquely positioned them on the spectrum of heritage categories around which colonial race was being constructed. The racialization of social hierarchies, not yet clearly fixed during the colony's earliest years, enabled more fluid social relations relative to what became the case later in the century. Their racial liminality granted exceptional possibilities to Bohemians and highlights the indeterminacy of categories under local French colonial rule.[31]

A second case of a Louisiana Bohemian woman marrying a free man of color occurred two generations later under Spanish rule. Although Spanish authorities more strictly enforced racial boundaries than their French predecessors had, they introduced a plethora of new heritage categories, thus enhancing the potential for "Bohemian" (and now at times "Gitana/o") to be retained as one of many local terms of identity. The widow Maria Andrea "Gitana" married Bautista Rafael "Negro" on the first of May 1779 in one of only two registered marriages from the Spanish period in which one spouse is marked as having an African or Native ancestor and the other spouse is

31. Marriages, book A, 89, no. 201, St. Louis Cathedral, ANOA; Article VI, *Le Code Noir,* 1724; Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 92–93; Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 53, 62 (quotation), 79–80, 160, 256n4; Cécile Vidal, "Caribbean Louisiana: Church, *Métissage,* and the Language of Race in the Mississippi Colony during the French Period," in Vidal, *Louisiana,* 128–30, 250n21; Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon,* 138–42, 402n97; Aubert, "'Blood of France,'" 473–75, 473n70.

not. Of these two marriages, Maria Andrea and Bautista Rafael's is the only one involving a nonwhite husband. As with Gaspart's marriage, scholars have also referenced this case but without considering the relevance of the "Gitana" label. The Spanish priest recorded the marriage in the nonwhite marriage book of New Orleans's Saint Louis Cathedral, possibly reflective of the contemporary Spanish theories regarding how best to integrate "Gitana/os" with the larger population. During this decade, the Council of Castile discussed the practicalities of sending separated "Gitano/a" men, women, and children to the American colonies, where it was hoped that they would intermarry with the locals and hence disappear as a distinctive population. The Spanish approach of how to treat this population in Spain had consistently been one of forced assimilation. This policy would have influenced colonial administrators' decisions regarding Maria Andrea and her family.[32]

The extraordinariness of a white woman marrying a nonwhite man under Spanish rule cannot be overstated. Thus, Maria Andrea and Bautista Rafael's marriage hints at the racial ambiguity that some "Gitana/os" still carried in the colony. A huge stigma was attached to any Spanish woman marrying or partnering with any man of color. In addition, although the Spanish Church did not forbid such marriages in Louisiana, the Spanish state did. The locally authored code from the year before Maria Andrea and Bautista Rafael's marriage largely replicated the French Code Noir in its prohibition of interracial marriages. Thus, Father Cyrilo may have found it particularly expedient to mark the bride as "Gitana" as a way to justify why he authorized Maria Andrea and Bautista Rafael's marriage. Her "Gitana" identity seems to have allowed for this exception to legally marry across the colonial color line.

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32. Non-white Marriages, book 1, no. 13, May 1, 1779, St. Louis Cathedral, ANOA; Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 141, 155, 158–61; Hanger, *Bounded Lives,* 15, 93; Kimberly Hanger, "Coping in a Complex World: Free Black Women in Colonial New Orleans," in Clinton and Gillespie, *Devil's Lane,* 222; Vidal, *Louisiana,* 256n8; Pym, *Gypsies,* 154–61; María Helena Sánchez, *Los gitanos españoles* (Madrid: Castellote, 1977), 264–68; Antonio Gómez Alfaro, "La Polémica sobre la Deportación de los Gitanos a las Colonias de América," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 386 (1982): 308–36; Bernard Leblon, *Les gitans d'Espagne: Le prix de la difference* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 59, 62–88; Antonio Gómez Alfaro, Elisa Maria Lopes da Costa, and Sharon Sillers Floate, *Deportaciones de Gitanos* (Paris: Presencia Gitana, 1999), 24–27, 33–38; Manuel Martínez Martínez, "Los gitanos y las Indias antes de la Pragmática de Carlos III (1492–1783)," *I Tchatchipen* 48 (2004): 20–22. For a consideration of how "Gitana/os" informed thinking about race in the imperial Spanish world, see Antonio Feros, *Speaking of Spain: The Evolution of Race and Nation in the Hispanic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017), 66, 73, 256, 276.

Maria Andrea's family had been and would continue to be closely connected with other families whose members included those marked as "Bohemian" or "Gitana/o" in certain records. Their reputation within the larger community set them apart on these terms. And reputation mattered. As exemplified in the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) petitions filed by New Orleanians under Spanish rule, in addition to swearing that one's ancestors were "pure of all bad races of Moors, Jews, Mulatos, and Indians," one also should be "known, respected, held and considered . . . as white persons." Maria Andrea's family's reputation, considered in the context of both the colonial racial order and Spanish thinking about "Gitana/os," explains the sanctioning of her union as well as her distinctive labeling in this particular register.[33]

Though these two cases of legally authorized marriage both occurred in New Orleans, other instances from elsewhere in the colony also show the colonial state's role in policing the sexual choices of Louisiana Bohemian women as part of their attempts to control and solidify the local racial order. These instances confirm the perception of racial potential rather than racial certainty that both French and Spanish colonial officials attached to some Louisiana Bohemians. Older European notions about Bohemian difference predicated on inheritable cultural assumptions seeped into the new biophysical conceptions uniquely emergent in the colonial Louisiana milieu. Officials might use Bohemian heritage to explain an individual woman's participation in a boundary-crossing partnership and then relegate her children to a nonwhite—and non-Bohemian—standing.[34]

Sometime after midcentury, several *Le Tilleul* Bohemians and their descendants moved to the Rapides Post on the Red River about eighty miles west of Natchez. Census-takers who visited one of these farms assigned Louis La Prairie and his children the "Bohemian" label there in both 1773 and 1788.

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33. Hanger, "Coping in a Complex World," 222; Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 130–36 (first quotation, 131; second quotation, 132–33); Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon,* 234–35. For Maria Andrea's extended family, see *SRNO* 1:77, 2:111, 121, 3:36, 140, 147, 5:47, 6:266. For Bautista Rafael's family, see Jacqueline K. Voorhies, trans. and comp., *Some Late Eighteenth-Century Louisianans: Census Records, 1758–1796* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1973), 242; *SRNO* 1:99; Lemoine Declaration, January 28, 1745, French Superior Council, Louisiana Historical Center, New Orleans (hereafter LHC), accessed July 6, 2021, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/6453; and Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 174, 291n83.

34. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 5; Jennifer M. Spear, "'Clean of blood, without stain or mixture': Blood, Race, and Sexuality in Spanish Louisiana," in Janet Moore Lindman and Michele Lise Tarter, eds., *A Centre of Wonders: The Body in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 95.

La Prairie had married the granddaughter of the Bohemian Christophe who had arrived with his Bohemian parents on the *Le Tilleul*. His mother-in-law (and Marie Gaspart's sister), the widow Varangue, who was regularly referred to as a "Bohemian" by local administrators, lived nearby. According to the 1773 Rapides Post census, the widow, recorded under the heading "Boheme," lived with a son, daughter, and granddaughter, all of whom, the census-taker noted, had been conceived out of wedlock (a situation not especially remarkable considering the lack of regular sacramental opportunities in the area during the prior decades). She owned eleven horses, nine heads of cattle, and eight pigs on her farm near an Apalachee village. Only three people at the post owned more horses than her, one being her Apalachee son-in-law Bissente, whose herd her daughter Françoise would soon inherit.[35]

Both the widow Varangue and her second daughter Babé caused colonial administrators consternation because they refused to adhere to sexual mores codified in the law. Several officials under both French and Spanish rule complained about their words, behaviors, and unwillingness to respect authority. These men were especially critical of Bohemian associations with Native people, which threatened official attempts to control the often-intertwined diplomatic, economic, and intimate exchanges. As such, both Spanish missionaries and bureaucrats crusaded against local customs related to intimate matters. Their judgments reveal their limited control over the region's population in general and Bohemian families specifically.[36]

Between her third and fourth child, Varangue, called "a Bohemienne girl" in 1744 by Louisiana Governor Pierre Vaudreuil, attempted to desert the colony to Spanish Pensacola while married to her first husband. She later briefly married a Spanish immigrant with whom she had a daughter called Babé. In the spring of 1772, both mother and daughter vexed Commandant Etienne Layssard, who in four separate letters reported to his superiors on the frustrating behavior of these women. After Babé's three-month sojourn on a hunting trip with a French trader, and her subsequent return to the post alone with an Indigenous man, he ordered both mother and daughter sent to New Orleans "as much for the lewd behavior of her daughter as for the words she uses with the Indians. The daughter is a prostitute to Indians,

35. 1773 Census of Rapides, leg. 189A, fol. 1066, CP; 1779 Livestock Census of Rapides, leg. 192, fol. 971, CP; 1788 Census of Rapides, leg. 201, CP; *SRNO* 1:42 (Castel), 1:170 (Castel), 2:45 (Castel); Mills, "Assimilation?," 30, 72, 76.

36. DuVal, "Indian Intermarriage," 270–71; Spear, "Colonial Intimacies." Elisabeth Shown Mills, "Quintanilla's Crusade, 1775–1783: 'Moral Reform' and Its Consequences on the Natchitoches Frontier," *Louisiana History* 42, no. 3 (2001): 287–88; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge,* 112–39.

passersby, and more. Such a scoundrel, in a small post like this one, can only be very dangerous." Layssard contemplated the church's opinion that the two women should find husbands, but he recommended that they be "imprisoned for correction" instead. Layssard also complained about and recommended the deportation out of Louisiana of another Bohemian, one M. Bonnite, a relative of the women, who "puts the Indians at risk of becoming unruly." Two years later, Layssard removed a young Indigenous girl named Loucha "from the Bohemian woman La Varangue where she was in a bad enough school and ill-reared." Throughout all of his complaints, Layssard consistently refers to both women as "Bohemian." He also consistently called them dangerous, citing that their relationships with the local Native peoples and their sexual choices made them so.[37]

The widow Varangue's family connections with the local Apalachee people extended beyond her daughter François's marriage to Bissente. Varangue's son worked as a translator, which suggests that his father may have been Native, although he also appeared on a 1780 Natchitoches militia list of *gens de couleur libres*. Her daughter Babé bore several children with an Apalachee man named Salmon. These children regularly stood witness for Apalachee sacramental candidates, indicating that they fostered close relationships among the Apalachees. That these three women partnered with Indigenous men sets them apart from other colonial French women: though French men regularly partnered with and even married Indigenous women of certain Native nations, conventional social norms, as well as the unbalanced gender demographic, generally kept French women from marrying Native American men. According to the historian Jennifer Spear, some French men married Native women as a way to "remove themselves from French control or to challenge French authority over their personal lives." These Bohemian women could have been exercising a similar strategy. The Apalachees also rarely married outside their nation. Recent newcomers to the region, having only arrived from Mobile Bay in 1763, they were also in the process of carving out new lives for themselves in a new home, which may have encouraged some men to search for non-Apalachee wives.[38]

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37. Letter from Vaudreuil to Louboey, August 2, 1744, Loudoun Papers, vol. 3, p. 106, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (first quotation); Bill Barron, ed., *The Vaudreuil Papers* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1975), 339; Letters from Layssard to Governor, March 18, 1772 (second through fourth quotations), March 29 and April 2, 1772, January 2, 1775 (fifth quotation), leg. 188C, fol. 143–49, CP; Mills, "Assimilation?," 8–10, 12, 21, 25, 27, 81–83, 91.

38. Mills, "Assimilation?," 80, 83; 1780 Natchitoches Militia Roll, leg. 193A fol. 536, CP; Elisabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803: Abstracts of the Catholic*

As the lives of the widow Varangue, her daughters Françoise and Babé, and Marie Jacqueline Gaspart and Maria Andrea suggest, some Bohemian women found it expedient to marry or partner with nonwhite men in Louisiana. These choices would no doubt have been exceptional for women considered unambiguously white by colonial officials. Yet the liminal whiteness that these women embodied provided them with options from which their white, Black, and Native descendants would soon be barred. These women's choices are even more surprising considering the shortage of marriageable white women in Louisiana during these years. This unbalanced gender ratio—especially acute in the earliest years of the colony though it continued throughout Spanish rule—meant that French women in Louisiana had ample opportunity to marry French men, and there was probably a certain amount of social pressure to do so.[39] Their reputation as Bohemians most likely allowed for the official toleration and even sanctioning of such choices, although this can only be implied from the evidence.

Why these women made these decisions is open to even greater speculation. Perhaps social prejudices against them led to a greater comfort among other marginalized people. Maybe these men had access to resources crucial to attaining security in this precarious society. But there is also the matter

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Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977), 201 (entries 1704, 1705), 222 (entry 1892), 399 (entries 1910, 1911), 412 (entry 3437), 414 (entry 3447); Elizabeth Shown Mills, *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), 19 (entry 90), 20 (entries 91, 92), 42 (entries 207, 208), 103 (entries 644, 647, 652), 104 (entries 655, 656), 105 (entries 662, 669); 1773 Apalache Census, leg. 189A, CP; 1788 Census of Rapides, leg. 201, CP; DuVal, "Indian Intermarriage," 283, 285–90; Daniel H. Usner Jr., *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi River Valley: Social and Economic Histories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 38–39, 47, 53; Alejandra Dubcovsky, "Defying Indian Slavery: Apalachee Voices and Spanish Sources in the Eighteenth-Century Southeast," *William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2018): 295–322; Spear, "Colonial Intimacies," 83–90, (quotation, 88); Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 50. Louis LeClerc Milfort recalled seeing Bohemians during these decades at Paskagoula building ships for the coastal trade between New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola. He noted, "For the most part they are Bohemians married with Indian women." Louis LeClerc Milfort, *Mémoire; ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide Sur mes Différens Voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck* (Paris: Giguet et Michaud, 1802), 57; Louis LeClerc de Milford, *Memoir, or a Quick Glance at my Different Travels and my Sojourn in the Creek Nation* (1802), ed. John Francis McDermott, trans. Geraldine de Courcy (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1956), 41.

39. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 293n112; Hanger, "Coping in a Complex World," 220.

of color. If these women looked a particular way that raised doubts about their ancestry in the context of the colonial racial order of the time, white men might have balked at marrying them out of fear that their descendants' race could come under scrutiny. If this is true, then not only did these Bohemian women participate in the construction of colonial racial categories and their own distinctive positioning within them but they also simultaneously, if unintentionally, condemned their children to lives with significantly fewer options. Thus, the racial liminality of some Bohemians in Louisiana that allowed them to engage with possibilities unavailable to unambiguously white colonists simultaneously limited their access to the full privileges of whiteness. Their children's ascribed race would prove much more difficult to contest in the more stringently racialized colonial order. Their descendants, having lost the "Bohemian" or "Gitana/o" label, would have come to be considered people of color.[40]

That some Bohemians occupied the edges of categorical whiteness, as evidenced by the way that executors of state authority either sanctioned or made illicit their sexual choices, may have prompted others to more emphatically insist on their whiteness and all of its associated benefits. This phenomenon appears most forcefully in a 1743 case of attempted suicide by the Bohemian Jean Baptiste "La Chaume" Chevalier, who referred to himself as being "of the Bohemian nation" in his oral testimony as recorded by a French colonial court scribe. A former soldier, La Chaume had been convicted of deserting and then punished with bound labor. His signed deposition recounts how, as a convict laborer, he had been "cruelly treated" by the commandant and "exposed to his anger . . . witnessing his bad temper every day." While in this forced service, he fought with the commandant's cook, who complained that La Chaume, whom the cook referred to as a "slave," had no right to hit a free man. A "négre" of the king was called in to punish La Chaume, who reacted to this affront to his status by stabbing himself with a knife. When asked why he took such drastic action, La Chaume answered that he desired "to get himself out of slavery" and claimed that "he did not deserve to be mistreated by some blacks." With this articulation, La Chaume expressed his internalization of the colonial racial order and the assumptions he held about his own place within it.

By using Black men to administer state justice to colonists of any color, French administrators symbolically—and strategically—demeaned white

40. For evidence of an association between Bohemians and dark skin in France from the 1720s, see Bernard, "Saisir un groupe aux contours flous," 95; and Admant, "L'existence régionale," 41. For evidence of colorism in colonial Louisiana, see Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 113; and Hanger, "Coping in a Complex World," 227.

men in order to better manage a disorderly population through a racial divide and conquer strategy. This strategy reveals a racial order in violent genesis in Louisiana under French rule, even if not yet as fixed as it would later become. La Chaume's hopelessness was bound up with the complex variations of unfreedom that made up his world and the overlapping racial assumptions he and others attached to such positions. His ability to manipulate this complicated social order in his favor was surely more limited as one readily identifiable as Bohemian to his superiors (who had identified him as such in documents made before his testimony). If La Chaume lacked full access to the privileges of whiteness, which to him included avoiding punishment dealt by Black hands, he saw his position as little better than a slave.[41]

Other evidence suggests that physical appearance may have played a role in decisions to employ the "Bohemian" label to ensure one's acceptance as white in the colony. In a society in which African ancestry increasingly limited legal rights for free people, being perceived as such could devastate a family's social and economic well-being. As early as 1727, the Jesuit Paul Poisson denigratingly compared the darkened skin of French voyageurs to both Indigenous peoples and Bohemians. French records from the 1720s also corroborate an association between Bohemians and dark skin. If other colonists associated dark skin with Bohemian ancestry while increasingly reading racial heritage from skin tone, a person whose physiognomy could have led to assumptions of an African ancestor might explicitly publicize his or her Bohemian identity to counter such speculation.[42]

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41. Report ("to get himself out . . ."), June 18, 1743, Petition, and Interrogation (other quotations), July 6, 1743, Louisiana Superior Council, LHC, accessed July 6, 2021, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/5757, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/5758, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/5740, respectively; Shannon Lee Dawdy, "The Burden of Louis Congo and the Evolution of Savagery in Colonial Louisiana," in Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, eds., *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, and Colonialism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 63, 67, 70. For a fuller treatment of this case, see Ann Ostendorf, "'To Get Himself Out of Slavery': Escape, Justice, and Honor in the Life of a Colonial French Louisiana Bohemian (Gypsy)," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 31 (2020). For other references to this case, see Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans,* 312–13; Cécile Vidal, "Private and State Violence against African Slaves in Lower Louisiana during the French Period, 1699–1769," in Smolenski and Humphrey, *New World Orders*, 96; and Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 199–200. Two girls with the surname La Chaume arrived on the ship *Le Tilleul* with their mother Claudine de la Roche.

42. "Lettre au Père Paul du Poisson; aux Akensas, October 3, 1727," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. & Co., 1900), 67:314–15; Bernard, "Saisir un groupe aux contours flous," 95; Admant, "L'existence régionale," 41.

This may have been a strategy used by Jean Louis Casberg, the grandson of Jean Louis Evrard (who had been killed in the Natchez attack on Fort Rosalie). Several church, census, and legal records refer to Casberg as "Bohemian" or "Gitano" over the course of his life. Interestingly, no known record refers to his wife, Angelique La Fontaine, a daughter of a *Le Tilleul* Bohemian, as such—including in their daughter Rosa's 1774 baptismal record, which lists her alongside "Jean Luís Casbergue, Boemíano." His sister Marguerite also appears in colonial records, including in the 1773 census of the Rapides Post. Here, her neighbors included the families of the widow Varangue and Louis La Prairie, both marked as "Boheme" by the census-taker. Despite this geographic and familial proximity to others called "Bohemian," Marguerite Casberg herself was never marked as such in any known records, even as her brother nearly always was.[43]

So, how does one explain such inconsistent application of the marker "Bohemian" by colonial Louisiana record-keepers among those of such close family connections? Had Jean Louis Casberg's physical appearance caused *others* uncertainty of his place in the racial hierarchy, especially since many of his neighbors were free people of color, emphasizing his Bohemian ancestry could have buttressed his claims against being of African descent. The Spanish racial order that Casberg navigated divided Louisianans along a spectrum minutely parsed by degrees of Indigenous American, African, and European ancestries as judged by the transcriber. Appearing racially unclear in the increasingly fixed racial schema thus became increasingly problematic. Though clearly demarcated as separate from colonial groups who were placed outside whiteness during Spanish rule, Bohemians were also regularly included alongside people of color. The French traveler Berquin-Duvallon exemplifies this proximity. His description of an 1802 New Orleans carnival ball noted that the musicians included five or six "Bohêmes or people of color strumming heavily on their violins." Jean Louis Casberg, who listed violinist as his occupation in the 1790 New Orleans census, may have emphasized his Bohemian heritage because of his appearance—and perhaps because of his associations with nonwhite musicians.[44]

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43. *SRNO* 1:99 (Evera), 1:109 (Frideric), 1:139 (Katzebeg), 3:49 (Casberg); House Sale Request by Genoveva Vigor, November 23, 1780, Spanish Judiciary, LHC, accessed July 6, 2021, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/14544; Baptisms, vol. 7, part 1, 42 (quotation), St. Louis Cathedral, ANOA; 1773 Census of Rapides, leg. 189A, fol. 1066, CP; Succession of Michel Deville, December 12, 1793, Spanish Judiciary, LHC, accessed July 6, 2021, http://lacolonialdocs.org/document/17128; New Orleans Militia Census, leg. 188B, CP.

44. Albert J. Robichaux, comp. and trans., *Louisiana Census and Militia Lists, 1770–1789* (Harvey, La., 1973), 64; Hanger, *Bounded Lives,* 15–16; B. Duvallon, *Vue*

This supposition is supported by a reference that appears to be either a strategic use of an invented Bohemian identity to hide an African ancestor, or the confusion of an Anglo-American newcomer trying to untangle the diverse local web of heritages. Once the United States gained control of Louisiana in 1804, Americans attempted to place Louisiana Bohemians within a racial order that was devoid of both the flexibility of the French one and the possibilities of the Spanish one. In 1834, the *American Journal of Science and Arts* published a response from Dr. Alexander Jones of Mobile to a prior report claiming that "there are no 'Gypsies' in America." According to Jones, "There is a colony of 'Gypsies' on Biloxi Bay in Louisiana, who were brought over and colonized by the French at a very early period of the first settlement of that state. They are French 'Gypsies' and speak the French language, they call themselves 'Egyptians,' or 'Gypsies.' The French call them indifferently, 'Egyptians,' or 'Bohemiens.'" Jones had acquired this information from a lawyer in Mobile, who "has travelled among, and conversed familiarly with these 'Gypsies.'" Jones went on to describe how "since their colonization in this country, they have lost the distinctive character of their idle and wandering habits." He styled them as "polite, hospitable and intelligent," and "in all respects, like the other French settlers found in Louisiana." In fact, one "young man of this colony" attended Georgetown College; he judged there to be few men "of his age, whose knowledge, and learning are more profound and varied than his."[45]

After extensive research into this "young man," Jones seems most probably to have been referring to Alexander Dimitry, a New Orleanian who attended Georgetown beginning in 1822. At various times, members of the Dimitry family who considered themselves white attempted to hide their African ancestry when their race was contested by claiming Native American heritage instead to explain certain physical traits. Though no known records definitively indicate that they also claimed Bohemian heritage, doing so could have

de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississipi, ou des provinces de louisiane et Floride Occidentale, en l'année 1802 (Paris: Imprimerie expéditive, 1803), 32 (quotation). Casberg's son Antoine ran a dancing school in New Orleans in 1808. *Moniteur de la Louisiane* (New Orleans), January 23, 1808. For a contemporary reference to New Orleans Bohemian families, see C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803–1805,* trans. and ed. Stuart O. Landry Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican, 1966), 36.

45. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order,* 179; Alexander Jones, "American Gypsies," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 26 (1834): 189–90 (quotations). This article was republished in *Family Magazine* 2 (1834–35): 86–87 and *The Native American* (Washington, D.C.), March 10, 1838.

served their needs just as well, and possibly even better. Even as some families shed the "Bohemian" label, others could adopt it to screen themselves from labels even more detrimental. A fabricated Bohemian ancestry under the U.S. racial order would have been enough to lay claim to the privileges of whiteness. Jones also stated that what made these Biloxi Bohemians distinctive from their neighbors was not their achievements, attitudes, or behaviors, but rather "in the complexion and in the color of their hair, which is much darker in the 'Gypsies,' than in the French population." By the nineteenth century, any ambiguity in an individual's appearance and heritage threatened the logic of slavery and colonial conquest, so each person required precise situation within the U.S. racial binary. Jones considered Bohemians to be white in the mid-1830s, yet he defined Bohemian difference using physiological criteria, which hints at a more widespread attitude that made it a useful ancestral category for anyone needing to legitimate their distinctive features.[46]

Other early nineteenth-century Americans who thought about these eighteenth-century Louisiana Bohemians also considered them to be racially white. In his 1836 address, Henry Bullard, the president of the Louisiana Historical Society, surveyed the origins and settlement of the regional population. He framed this exposition around a sedimentary metaphor, in which, "Like the rich soil upon our great rivers, the population may be said to be alluvial; composed of distinctly colored strata, not yet perfectly amalgamated; left by successive waves of emigration." But he goes beyond naming the expected French, Spanish, German, British, and Acadian immigrants. "There are," he stated, "in the Western District, some families of Gipsy origin, who still retain the peculiar complexion and wildness of eye, that characterize that singular race." Here, Bullard clearly attaches specific characteristics

46. Thomas M'Caleb, ed., *The Louisiana Book: Selections from the Literature of the State* (New Orleans: R. F. Straughan, 1894), 220; Record of the Alumni of Georgetown College Ledger Book, Louisiana Section, 132, University Archives, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; Shirley Elizabeth Thompson, *Exiles at Home: The Struggle to Become American in Creole New Orleans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 38–40, 47–49; John James, *The Southern Student's Handbook of Selections for Reading and Oratory* (New Orleans: Lathrop & Wilkins, 1879), 87; Jones "American Gypsies," 190 (quotation). For scholarship considering the use of a "Gypsy" identity as a shield against being considered Black under United States law, see Ostendorf, "Racializing American 'Egyptians,'" 53; and Van Gosse, "Patchwork Nation: Racial Orders and Disorders in the United States, 1790–1860," *Journal of the Early Republic* 40, no. 1 (2020): 70.

to a "Gipsy" "race." However, he also describes "the bluff sturdiness of the British race" in contrast with "the more impassioned and devoted Spaniard," and "the untiring industry and perseverance of the German." In his full list of "races" he places those "of Gipsy origin" alongside the many others whose European origins confirmed their access to the privileges of whiteness.[47]

In a similar accounting of this Bohemian community's history articulated through nineteenth-century racial ideas, the American landscape architect, journalist, and social critic Frederick Law Olmstead recorded an 1854 conversation with an elderly planter raised in the area of the Rapides Post where the widow Varangue, Babé, and the La Prairie families had lived. "The people," Olmstead recorded him saying of the region, "they was all sorts. They was French and Spanish, and Egyptian and Indian, and Mulattoes and Niggers." The inclusion of "Egyptians" surprised Olmstead. The planter continued, "yes, there was some of the real old Egyptians there then," who "had a language of their own that some of 'em used among themselves; Egyptian, I suppose it was, but they could talk in French and Spanish too." When Olmstead pressed for their "color" the planter recalled them as "black; but not very black . . . they passed for white folk." As far as their social habits, the planter believed they "married mulattoes, mostly," yet "they was citizens, as good as any." The planter also believed that "the Egyptians had disappeared since." Olmstead concluded, "The Egyptians were probably Spanish Gipsies; though I have never heard of any of them being in America in any other way." By the mid-nineteenth century, then, neighbors conceived that over the preceding decades, Bohemians had "passed" into whiteness, all the while retaining distinctive physiological criteria and marriage patterns. Perceived to have previously been an identifiable community, Bohemians had, at least according to some local witnesses, "disappeared."[48]

Though some individuals had been labeled as "Bohemians," "Gitana/os," "Egyptians," and "Gypsies" in a variety of eighteenth-century Louisiana records, this practice had stopped by the nineteenth century. By then, the only known local records using these terms did so in reference to people in the past. Under the United States, "Bohemian" no longer existed as a

47. Henry A. Bullard, "A Discourse Delivered before the Historical Society of Louisiana, January 13, 1836," in B. F. French, ed., *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* vol. 1 (New York: Albert Mason, 1846), 4. See also Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: French Dominion,* vol. 1 (New York: Redfield, 1854), 227.

48. Frederick Law Olmstead, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856), 638–39.

meaningful category to describe contemporary Louisianans; the descendants of those once known as "Bohemian" had become Black, white, or Native. Yet local memories lingered. Some "Parish Reminiscences" from a midcentury Alexandria, Louisiana, newspaper recalled how the district "was originally settled by Egyptians." But such pieces conjured a quaint relic of peculiar local history, not an existing community relevant to any antebellum residents of the state.[49]

Any continued personal connection with a local Bohemian heritage is last seen explicitly applied to *Le Tilleul* descendants in a land claims case from 1851, in which several of Marie Jacqueline Gaspart's great-nieces and nephews attempted to retain property inherited from their mother, Babé. By this time, however, being of Bohemian ancestry, although still worth commenting on, mattered little to those looking for other definitive "proofs" for how to assign race to them. This circumstance was at least partially due to the long-term consequences of the Louisiana Purchase from nearly fifty years earlier, which reverberated into the lives of these Bohemian descendants. Unlike the former French and Spanish states, the United States—which was better organized and more thoroughly white supremacist—left less room for maneuvering within these racial constructs. During the testimony gathered for the case, opposing lawyers questioned the legitimacy of the siblings' claims based on the racial "fitness" of the family. Multiple witnesses described their physical features and their publicly expressed heritage, as well as the quality of their improvements to the land—all ways that race could be "proven" in legal cases at this time. Though mostly concerned with their Indigenous and Mexican heritages, the racial identity of Babé, the granddaughter of a *Le Tilleul* Bohemian, also surfaced in the course of this racial questioning. An elderly neighbor of the family recalled from his childhood under Spanish rule that "the wife of Mauritaurus was an Indian woman, her father was an Indian and her mother was called Babé and was what is called an Egyptian." By the time he spoke these words, Babé had been dead for more than forty years. No one seemed to doubt the neighbor's description of Babé; at the same time, no one found significance in this heritage during their assignation of her descendants' identities. Nowhere in the detailed racial descriptions of her children gathered as testimony for the land claim's case were they referred to as "Egyptians," "Bohemians," "Gitana/os," or "Gypsies." Such markers had ceased to signify a meaningful category in antebellum Louisiana, and Babé's descendants were identified by—and identified themselves—according to ethnic and racial categories that had become more salient. Today, some of Babé's descendants are working to gain recognition from the United States

49. *Red River Republican* (Alexandria, La.), April 19, 1851.

federal government as the Talimali Band of the Apalachee Indians of Louisiana.[50]

As we have seen, anti-Bohemian attitudes and laws led to the removal of some Bohemians from France to the French Louisiana colony in the early eighteenth century. Because the colonial social order was both distinct from and yet informed by extant French hierarchies, Bohemians in Louisiana found that other colonists had inherited from the metropole certain preconceived ideas about Bohemians and how they were different from other French subjects, but that their fellow colonists also sometimes reconsidered these ideas in light of the colony's developing racial order. The 1724 Code Noir, which explicitly delineated the populations' rights and responsibilities by legal status, color, and origin, guided racialization in ways that advantaged those who could claim to be white. Power brokers in the colony might enforce the code, or not, to suit their own interests.[51] Bohemians too might maneuver around its intentions as long as their choices did not conflict with the goals of these local elites. Under Spanish rule, beginning in 1768, some Louisiana

50. Testimony of Bret Lacour, May 13, 1851 (quotation), Representatives of John B. Vallery, Private Land Claims, RG 49, box 311, HM 1990, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md.; Ariela Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 48; Peter J. Kastor and François Weil, eds., *Empires of the Imagination: Transatlantic Histories of the Louisiana Purchase* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 2–3. Joseph "Mauritaurus" refers to Jose Marie Torres (spelled phonetically), whose wife Susanne was Babé's daughter with the Apalachee man Salmon. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803,* 222 (1892), 414 (3447); Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826*, 16 (72, 73), 19 (90), 35 (170), 42 (207, 208), 96 (589–600), 97 (601); 1771 Census of Rapides, leg. 189A, fol. 1066–67, CP; Gilmer Bennett to Bureau of Indian Affairs, January 27, 1999, Petition for Federal Recognition of the Talimali Band of the Apalachee Indians of Louisiana, accessed July 19, 2021, ftp://ftp.dos.state.fl.us/upload/CountyOrdinances/Ordinances2015/Apalachee%202.pdf; Jessica E. Saraceni, "Apalachee Surface in Louisiana," *Archaeology: A Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America,* July 1997, accessed July 7, 2021, https://archive.archaeology.org/online/news/apalachee.html. In 2019, a bill was introduced into the Louisiana State Legislature to recognize the Talimali Band of the Apalachee Indians as a tribe in the state of Louisiana. See Senate Concurrent Resolution no. 9, SLS 19RS-213, 2019 Regular Session, accessed July 7, 2021, http://www.legis.la.gov/legis/ViewDocument.aspx?d=1123157, the bill has since died in committee (https://legiscan.com/LA/bill/SCR9/2019, accessed July 7, 2021). See also Dubcovsky, "Defying Indian Slavery," 318, 320–22.

51. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 155, 205.

Bohemians—particularly those who retained close connections with other Bohemians but also those who partnered with people of color—continued to be recognized and labeled as "Bohemian" or "Gitana/o." The perpetuation of these markers may also have been informed by an individual's physical appearance vis-à-vis the rest of the population and within the racialized social order. By the nineteenth century and once under U.S. racial influence and control, continuing to insist on a Bohemian identity made sense only for those in need of a category of descent that might afford entrance into whiteness. Thus, Louisiana Bohemians disappear from local records as a meaningful and distinctive community.

Bohemian women experienced and generated this process in unique ways. Their sexual choices concerned state authorities who created these racial categories by policing and regulating the construction of families. An initial perception of Bohemian racial liminality explains these women's decisions and ability to partner with men from a diverse array of heritages. These conjugal possibilities were moments of opportunity for Bohemian women seeking to survive and flourish in a challenging colonial world, yet their individual choices also had ramifications for their children and grandchildren as racial lines hardened in Louisiana. A continued consolidation around a Bohemian identity eventually lost relevance across the generations; some of their descendants might be seen as Bohemian-descended, but this was secondary to the ways they all became unambiguously considered white, Black, or Native.

The retention and eventual disappearance of references to Bohemians in Louisiana suggests that self- and other-ascribed identities shifted noticeably over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though marked as "Bohemians" at their departure from France, this identity changed, and then eventually—if unevenly—lost relevance in their new homes. Though some Bohemians did create a community in eighteenth-century Louisiana, this group cohesion did not last. Those considered to be "Bohemian" held racial potential rather than securely embodied race; their actions, and especially their sexual choices, determined where they and their descendants might racially situate. Although it might have, a separate racial category for Bohemians never developed in the colony. The growing importance of white identity over the course of the eighteenth century was fundamental to a new racial system, securely in place by the nineteenth century, that intersected with an older order in complex ways. The ability of some Louisiana Bohemians to become white in Louisiana even while others did not attests to their racial liminality, an attribute that disappeared only gradually.

Appendix

Bohemian women and their families as listed on the *Le Tilleul* roles on May 21 and 22, 1720.

Gens de Force
Bohémiennes

98. Catherine Elisabeth Beaupierre, wife of Frederick du Chesne, age twenty.

99. Claude Nanares du Chesne, her son, age two.

100. Marie Francoise Lemaire, wife of Gaspard Lambert, native of Montauban, age twenty-six.

101. Louis Lambert, her son, age ten.

102. Eloi Lambert, her son, age eight months.

103. Marie Elisabeth Gertrude, native of Buisacq, wife of Pierre Baudry of La Rochelle, age twenty-six.

104. Marie Elisabeth, her daughter, age three and a half.

105. Pierre Baudry, her son, age eighteen months.

106. Marie Jeanne, known as Pierre Page, native of Gand, wife of Gaspard Ferlin, age twenty-four.

107. Francois Ferlin, her son, age two.

108. Anne Marie Sanary, native of Strasbourg, wife of Jean Francois, age twenty-eight.

109. Jean Baptiste Francois, her son, age fourteen months.

110. Marie Jeanne de Lestat, wife of Jean Louis, native of Beble in Cologne, age twenty-four.

111. Pierre Lagandelle, her son, age two and a half.

112. Anne Marie Poupeé, wife of Antoine Berthelemy, known as La Garenne, age forty-five.

113. Jeanneton Lagarenne, her daughter, age twenty.

114. Philipe Cristine, wife of Nicolas D'Estain, native of Le Neuville in Champagne, age twenty-eight.

115. Marie Elisabeth, her daughter, age eight.

116. Marie Anne, her daughter, age six months.

117. Agnes Vicloin, wife of Joseph Sabatier, native of Liers, age thirty-five.

118. Jacques Sabatier, her son, age nine.

119. Jacqueline, her daughter, age ten.

120. Marie Agnes de Lespine, wife of Jean Christophe, age twenty-six.

121. Marie Elisabeth, her daughter, age two.

122. Cristine Lavallée, native of Brusselles, age thirty, wife of Gaspard Saluin.

123. Annette Saluin, her daughter, age sixteen.
124. Antoinette Saluin, her daughter, age nine.
125. Marie Jeanne Pierre Page, native of Liege, wife of Jean Philipe known as Laprairie, age twenty.
126. Marie Anne Elbert, ago twenty, wife of Louis Le Clerc, known as Belle Humeur.

(These women's husbands are listed elsewhere in the ship's manifest.)

240. Pierre Baudry, known as des Laurier, of La Rochelle, age twenty-eight, surgeon.
241. Louis Le Clerc, known as Bel Humeur, of Brye sous Forges, age twenty-three, soldier.
261. Jean Christophe, born in the troops, age thirty, surgeon.
295. Nicolas D'Etin, from La Neuville in Champaign, age thirty.
296. Gaspar Ferlin, from Senif, age thirty-five, deckhand.
297. Frederic du Chesne, known as Lafareine, native of Courtray, age eighteen.
298. Gaspar Saluin, native of Axel near Liege, age forty-five, deckhand.
299. Jean Francois, known as Francois, native of La Rochelle, age eighteen.
*300. Jean Frederic, known as Lafontaine, of Moulins in Bourbonnois, age twenty.
[called Bohemian in other records]
301. Jean Louis, native of Cologne, age twenty-five.
302. Jean Gaspart Lambert, from Montauban, age thirty-two.
*303. Pierre Francois, known as La Vallé, from Neufville in Champagne, age fifty-six (likely relative of 114/295).
*304. Dominique Lagareine, native of Cambray, age fifteen (likely relative of 112/113/305).
305. Antoine Barthelemy, known as Lagareine, native of Beyonne, age forty.
306. Jean Philipe, known as Laprairie, native of Liege, age twenty-eight.
*307. Louis Philipe, native of Cassel, age twenty-four (likely relative of 125/306).
308. Joseph Sabattier, from Bruselles, age thirty-four.
*309. Jean Joseph D'Etin, from Mons, age twelve (likely relative of 114/295).

(The spellings in this list do not always match those used in other sources.)
* Entries include those that seem likely to be other family members, or those labeled as Bohemian in other records.