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## The Macarty Family in Orleans Parish (Part 1)

My interest in the Macartys developed out of the research for my book *Madame Lalaurie, Mistress of the Haunted House* (University Press of Florida, 2012). After beginning work on this project in the spring of 2005, I realized that I could not adequately tell the story of the notorious slave torturer, Delphine Macarty Lalaurie, without considering her whole family. The Macartys were a numerous, acquisitive, and far from straight-laced clan who, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, amassed land and slaves and numbered among the aristocracy of Orleans Parish. Several of the white Macarty men unashamedly broke the law and cohabited with women of color to produce a line of free, well-educated, and prosperous biracial Macartys .

As their surname indicates, the Macarty family originated in Ireland. Legend says that the family patriarch, Bartholomew Maccarthey-Mactaig, fled to France around 1690 to escape the political and religious tyranny imposed by England's monarchs, settled in the province of Languedoc, and entered the military service of King Louis XIV. Bartholomew is said to be the father of Théodore Maccarthey, who in turn produced many sons and daughters, some of whom immigrated to the New World.<sup>1</sup> In France, the family name became gallicized as "de Macarty" or "de Macarti," pronounced "Ma-car-TEE." In Louisiana it eventually became simply "Macarty."

### **First Generation**

Two of the descendants of Bartholomew Maccarthey-Mactaig, Jean Jacques, also called Jean Baptiste (1698-1793) and Barthélémy Daniel (about 1717--1781), immigrated to Louisiana as naval officers in the early years of the colony. Without offering any proof, the popular New Orleans historians Grace King and Stanley C. Arthur give their arrival date as 1730 or 1732. In *First Families of Louisiana*, Glenn R. Conrad cites a document stating that a "Sieur de Macarty, Lieutenant, under Monsieur Delormes, Director General of Louisiana, embarked for Louisiana on the ship *Alexandre* from Lorient, France, on June 26, 1720." This could refer to Jean Jacques, Barthélémy Daniel, or yet another de Macarty.<sup>2</sup>

Jean Jacques and Barthélémy Daniel were accorded the title of Chevalier of the Royal

and Military Order of St. Louis, an honor instituted by Louis XIV for officers who had served meritoriously in the king's navy for at least ten years. Both men are documented to have been natives of Languedoc, and Jean Jacques is known to have been the son of Théodore de MacCarty and Catherine Flechier, verifying at least this part of the legend.<sup>3</sup> Although most writers identify Barthélémy Daniel as Jean Jacques's brother, there is no record of his parentage.

### **Jean Jacques (Jean Baptiste) de Macarty (1698-1793)**

In 1735, Jean Jacques de Macarty married Françoise Barbe de Trépagnier, widow of the royal apothecary Antoine François Damaron. The baptismal records for two of their children, Augustin Guillaume (b. 1745) and Elisabeth (b. 1747), specify that Jean Jacques was the captain of a naval reserve company.<sup>4</sup> Three other children, Catherine Ursule, Jeanne, and Jean Baptiste, were born to the couple, but no baptismal records exist for them. Elizabeth, Catherine, and Jean Baptiste, at least according to Stanley C. Arthur, returned to France and died in la Rochelle.<sup>5</sup>

### **Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty (about 1717-1781)**

Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty spent most of his military career in the French-controlled Illinois Territory.<sup>6</sup> Despite his frequent absences from home, he and his wife Françoise Hélène Pellerin produced eleven children: Jeanne Françoise (b. 1749), Jean Baptiste (b. 1750), Louis Barthélémy (b. 1751), Françoise Brigitte (b. 1752), Marie Françoise (b. 1753), Marie Catherine Adelaide (b. 1756), Céleste Elénore (b. 1759), Louise (b. 1761), Marie Marthé, called Manette (b. 1765), Eugène Théodore (b. 1769), and Nicolas Théodore (b. 1773). The baptismal records sometimes refer to their father as a lieutenant in a naval reserve company and sometimes as an infantry captain.<sup>7</sup>

After the transfer of Louisiana from French to Spanish control in 1763, Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty returned from the Illinois Territory and established a plantation on the Mississippi River below New Orleans. The Spanish censuses of 1763 and 1770 show that he lived with his wife, children, slaves, and livestock on a plantation of 205 French *arpents*, or 172 acres.<sup>8</sup> Barthélémy Daniel died suddenly on February 14, 1781, without leaving a will. As required by Spanish civil law, his estate was divided equally among his surviving children.<sup>9</sup>

The daughters and sons of Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty and Françoise Hélène Pellerin grew to adulthood, married white spouses and/or cohabited with free women of color, and produced children of their own. We will look at some of the more interesting members of this branch of the family.

## **Second Generation**

### **Jeanne Françoise de Macarty (1749-1840)**

Jeanne Françoise de Macarty married Jean Baptiste Césaire le Breton, who was murdered by the slaves on his uptown plantation in 1771.<sup>10</sup> Their son François Barthélémy le Breton married Eulalie Robin de Logny. Their daughter Jeanne Louise le Breton married Joseph Xavier Delfau de Pontalba. In 1796, while Jeanne Louise and their young son Célestin were in Spain assisting her aunt Céleste de Macarty, widow of Governor Miró, Pontalba kept a letter journal addressed to his wife that made frequent reference to Jean Baptiste and Louis Barthélémy de Macarty.<sup>11</sup> Célestin later married the famous Micaela Almonester, who, as Baroness de Pontalba, commissioned the construction of the Pontalba Buildings that flank both sides of Jackson Square in New Orleans.<sup>12</sup>

### **Jean Baptiste de Macarty (1749-1808)**

Jean Baptiste also had a military career as captain of the “Company of Noble Carabineers” under the Spanish and was a colonel of the militia in the service of the United States.<sup>13</sup> He married Charlotte Hélène Fazende in 1777, and with her produced four children: Jean Baptiste Barthélémy (b. 1778), René Gabriel (1781), Maurice Edmond (b. 1783), and Marie Céleste (b. 1785).<sup>14</sup>

Charlotte’s death date is unknown, but she appears to have been deceased by 1796, when Xavier Delfau de Pontalba wrote in his letter journal about Jean Baptiste’s “amorous follies.” His pursuit of Eulalie Robin de Logny and attacks on Eulalie’s husband, Pontalba’s brother-in-law François Barthélémy le Breton, became so obnoxious that when Macarty refused to sign a document agreeing to stay away from this family, he was imprisoned at Fort St. Charles for nearly a year. Because of illness he was finally released to the custody of his relatives.<sup>15</sup>

Jean Baptiste, then in his late forties, subsequently turned his attention to another Eulalie, his late wife’s eighteen-year-old sister Eulalie Moriere Fazende, for whom he had served as godfather at her baptism in 1778.<sup>16</sup> According to Pontalba’s account, “because of his previous extravagances...Eulalie...does not reciprocate his sentiments.... She is reduced to remaining shut up in her room, and...is obliged to have recourse to her brothers to prevent him from entering against her wishes.” Pontalba later wrote that Macarty “succeeded in entering [Eulalie’s] room before dawn and got into her bed.... Her mother, who slept in the same room, rose to go to her aid; in the battle between the demoiselle and Macarty, the mosquito bar fell on them. The mother did not succeed in extricating him from it, the brothers ran to the rescue, and found him still there.” Pontalba conjectured that Macarty wanted to ruin Eulalie’s reputation so

that she would not be acceptable to any other suitor.<sup>17</sup> This strategy did not succeed, and in 1798 Eulalie married Louis Césaire le Breton Dorgenois.<sup>18</sup>

By 1799 Jean Baptiste had formed a relationship with the free mulatress Rosette Beaulieu, and with her had a son named Théophile. Macarty added his name to Théophile's baptismal record, and the baby's half-siblings Céleste and Edmond de Macarty served as godparents. In his 1804 will, Macarty acknowledged five-year-old Théophile as his natural child and provided 6,000 piastres for his education, which was to be overseen by his mother. He also left 2,000 piastres to Rosette Beaulieu. Théophile later became a cabinet maker.<sup>19</sup> Jean Baptiste de Macarty died on November 10, 1808, at the age of fifty-eight. His funeral record identifies him as the widower of Charlotte Fazende.<sup>20</sup>

### **Louis Barthélémy de Macarty (1751-1824)**

As a young man, Louis Barthélémy pursued a military career and, like his father and uncle, was awarded the title of Chevalier of St. Louis. On July 3, 1776, he negotiated a marriage contract with Marie Jeanne Lerable *dit* St. Laurent. Marie Jeanne was the widow of Charles Lecomte (also spelled Leconte), a French merchant and ship captain, with whom she had three children.<sup>21</sup> The first child of Louis Barthélémy de Macarty and Marie Jeanne Lerable was also named Louis Barthélémy (b. 1783). The elder Macarty later signed his name "Louis Chevalier Macarty" to distinguish himself from his son. Marie Delphine (later Madame Lalaurie, about whom we will hear more later) was born on March 19, 1787.<sup>22</sup> The family plantation was located downriver from the city, between today's Bartholomew and Independence streets in the neighborhood now called the Bywater.

In his 1796 letter journal, Xavier Delfau de Pontalba made frequent references to the Chevalier de Macarty and his vivacious and frolicsome wife, Marie Jeanne Lerable. Pontalba was invited to several summertime parties at the Macarty plantation, at which all present comported themselves in a decidedly indecorous manner. One such event was characterized by "much noise, many kisses, races, romping" and a quarrel over who would control the card tables. At a bathing party, Madame de Macarty and the other women went swimming in a canal attached to the plantation sawmill, into which they would "plunge, head and all." In late July, there was another large bathing party at the Macartys'. This, observed Pontalba, would be the last of the season because the water in the canal was so low that "the ladies must have bathed in the mud." He noted the participation of the "master of the house," the Chevalier Louis Barthélémy de Macarty, on this occasion.<sup>23</sup>

After the death of Madame de Macarty in 1807, the Chevalier formed a liaison with the free quadroon Sophie Mousante. In 1815 Sophie gave birth to a daughter named Delphine

Emesie Macarty. Macarty acknowledged the child, and, like his brother Jean Baptiste at the baptism of his natural son Théophile, Louis Barthélémy chose his legitimate children as Emesie's godparents.<sup>24</sup> In his will of 1819, the Chevalier left to Emesie, "as a mark of his affection," a bequest of 5,000 piastres and two slaves. The remainder of his estate went to his son Louis Barthélémy and his daughter Delphine.<sup>25</sup> The Chevalier de Macarty died in 1824 at the age of sixty-eight.<sup>26</sup>

### **Céleste Elénore de Macarty (1759-1838)**

Céleste Elénore married the Spanish governor Esteban Miró. Some time after Governor Miró died in 1795, his widow joined her sister, Jeanne Françoise, at the Pontalba estate at Mont L'Eveque, France. Mont L'Eveque had become the home of Xavier Delfau de Pontalba and his wife Jeanne Louise le Breton, the daughter of Jeanne Françoise de Macarty. Céleste Elénore de Macarty died there in 1838, and Jeanne Françoise died there in 1840.<sup>27</sup>

### **Marie Marthé "Manette" de Macarty (1765-1837)**

Manette de Macarty married Robert François Gauthier Montreuil; their children were Barthélémy (b. 1785), Theodule (b. 1786), Desirée (b. 1796), and Elmire (b. 1797).<sup>28</sup> The Montreuil Plantation adjoined the Macarty Plantation on the side nearest the city of New Orleans.

### **Eugène Théodore de Macarty (1769-1845)**

Eugène de Macarty was never legally married, but he had a long-lasting, marriage-like relationship with the free mulatress Eulalie Mandeville de Marigny (1774-1848), and also had children with two other free women of color, Totote Destrés (1787-1847) and Helöise Croy (about 1785-1879).

Eulalie was the natural daughter of Pierre Philippe Mandeville de Marigny with an enslaved woman named Marie Jeanne ( who after being freed took the surname Duteuil). In 1779, five-year-old Eulalie, referred to as "a little mulatto girl" was freed by her paternal grandfather for the "good services received from her mother" and for "the love and affection I have for one born in my household."<sup>29</sup> Eulalie was raised as a member of the family in her grandparents' home, and was treated as a sister by her father's legitimate children, Bernard and Céleste de Marigny.<sup>30</sup>

Eulalie Mandeville received from her father several thousand dollars, slaves, cattle, and a tract of land in St. Bernard Parish, and with these resources she established a dairy. Eulalie allowed Eugène de Macarty to lease her land for cutting timber and raising vegetables, which

he sold in New Orleans. By at least 1793 Eulalie and Eugène had formed what proved to be a loving and highly successful partnership.<sup>31</sup> Their children were Emelitte (b. 1794), Théophile (b. 1795), Isidore Barthélémy (b. 1797), Eulalie (b. 1799), Bernard Theodule (b. 1804), Pierre Villarceaux (b. 1808), and Eugène (b. 1815). In almost every case, Eugène Macarty acknowledged the child and signed the baptismal record.<sup>32</sup>

In 1808 the couple moved from St. Bernard Parish to a large cottage on the corner of Dauphine and Barracks streets in the Vieux Carré.<sup>33</sup> From this home Eulalie conducted a lucrative retail dry goods business, using her own female slaves and hiring free women of color as door-to-door vendors to sell fabrics, Madras kerchiefs, ribbons, and such. She was reputed to be a person of extraordinary energy and business acumen, described as “remarkably industrious,” and “well looked upon by many ladies.” Eulalie turned over the profits from her mercantile efforts to Eugène de Macarty, a professional broker, who managed her business and loaned the money at high interest. Eugène used his own funds to finance the education of their children and establish the sons in commerce.<sup>34</sup>

Despite his lifelong conjugal and business partnership with Eulalie Mandeville, Eugène fathered five children with Marie Jeanne “Totote” Destrés, a free quadroon from Croix-des-Bouquets on the island of Saint-Domingue: Théodore (b. 1810), Marie (b. 1815), Françoise (b. 1817), and the twins Eugène and Eugenia Rose (b. 1821).<sup>35</sup> He also had a son, Eugène Victor (b. about 1817), with the free woman of color Helöise Croy, a native of Cap Français, Saint-Domingue.<sup>36</sup> Eugène and Eulalie continued to share a home, and on October 22, 1845, even though interracial marriages were illegal at the time, they were married at St. Augustine’s Church. Eugène died a few days later, and when Eulalie died in 1848, she was interred in the same tomb as her long-time partner.<sup>37</sup>

### Third Generation

#### **Augustin François de Macarty (1774-1844)**

Augustin François, unlike the other Macartys discussed here, was descended from Jean Jacques de Macarty, the legitimate son of Augustin Guillaume de Macarty and Jeanne Chauvin. Augustin was mayor of New Orleans from 1815-1820. He never married, but he fathered a daughter named Philonise (birth date unknown) with the free woman of color Sanitté Rivère, and two daughters named Josephine (b. 1792) and Bridgette (birth date unknown) with Victoria Wiltz, also a free woman of color. He later entered into a long-term relationship with the free woman of color Céleste Perrault, with whom he had a son, Patricio (b. 1799).<sup>38</sup>

### **Jean Baptiste Barthélémy Macarty (1778-1832)**

Jean Baptiste Barthélémy was the legitimate son of Jean Baptiste de Macarty and Charlotte Fazende. Like some of his Macarty kinsmen, he was never legally married. For at least ten years he cohabited with the free quadroon Henriette Prieto; their children were Céleste (b. about 1797), Dorsin (b. 1799), Lucine (b. about 1805), Drauzin Barthélémy (b. 1806), and Adele (b. 1809). Macarty acknowledged his first son, Dorsin, by adding his name to the baptismal register.<sup>39</sup> In 1814 he wrote a will leaving 20,000 piastres to the five natural children he had with Henriette Prieto.<sup>40</sup>

At about that time, Jean Baptiste Barthélémy began a relationship with another free quadroon, Magdeleine “CéCé” Carpentier, a native of Port-au-Prince. Macarty had two sons with CéCé, Armand Henry (b. 1813) and Laurent Gustave (b. 1815).<sup>41</sup> In 1820 he went before a notary to acknowledge his natural children, “born of himself and Madelaine Carpentier *dite* CéCé, free woman of color.”<sup>42</sup> Macarty’s 1814 will was superceded by a second will made in 1831; here he made the attorney Armand Pitot his universal legatee, left no bequest to either of his domestic partners, and made no provision for any of his children. It may be that Pitot was meant to act as what was termed an “interposed person,” to distribute the estate to Macarty’s biracial family. Jean Baptiste Barthélémy died at age fifty-four on April 2, 1832.<sup>43</sup> Two months before his death, CéCé sold her property at the corner of Rampart and Iberville for \$26, 333.<sup>44</sup>

CéCé subsequently used her resources—probably the proceeds from the sale of her property—to make an extended trip to Paris. The cold, damp climate there undermined her health, and she returned to New Orleans to be cared for by her family and friends. She died, only thirty-eight years old, on April 11, 1834.<sup>45</sup>

### **Marie Céleste Macarty (1785-1863)**

Marie Céleste was the younger sister of Jean Baptiste Barthélémy, also the legitimate daughter of Jean Baptiste de Macarty and Charlotte Fazende. She married the Frenchman Paul Lanusse in 1802. Their surviving children were Jean Baptiste (b. 1804), Charles Barthélémy (b. 1807), Coralie Victoire (b. 1808), Marie Pauline (b. 1810), Marie Stephanie (b. 1813), Auguste (b. 1816), and Clement Antoine (b. 1819). A daughter named Marie Céleste was born in France in 1821 and died there at the age of two months.<sup>46</sup> Paul Lanusse was a successful merchant, president of the Bank of Louisiana, and was the owner, with his brother-in-law Jean Baptiste Barthélémy Macarty, of the former le Breton plantation above the city of New Orleans. He engaged in a lucrative trade with Vera Cruz, Campeche, and Tampico, Mexico, but in 1821 he was forced into bankruptcy when these business ventures failed. In 1824 he traveled to Mexico to “save the wreck of his fortune,” became ill, and died at Soto La Marina.<sup>47</sup> Céleste was thirty-

nine years old and her children ranged in age from twenty to five.

Both before and after the death of her husband, it was written that Madame Lanusse, like her cousin Madame Lalaurie, was cruel to her slaves. In 1819 the architect and engineer Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe was in New Orleans to oversee the building of the municipal waterworks. In his journal, Latrobe gave two examples of respectable white Creole ladies who had severely beaten their female slaves. "Another of these hellcats," wrote Latrobe, was Madame Lanusse, who had "whipped a negress to death, and treated another so cruelly that she died a short time after. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, a principal merchant of this place, stated the facts to the Grand Jury, but it was hushed up from respect to the lady's husband."<sup>48</sup> The viciousness of Madame Lanusse is born out in an 1834 letter written by Jean Boze to Henri de Ste-Gême. After reporting on the abused slaves discovered as a result of the fire at the Lalaurie mansion, Boze added that "Madame Widow Lanusse is accused of the same crime [as Madame Lalaurie]."<sup>49</sup>

As early as 1818 Boze noted that there was marital discord between Céleste Macarty Lanusse and her husband: "Rumor has it (*dit la voix public*) that for some time now Paul Lanusse has not been living with his wife and that perhaps a separation is going to follow."<sup>50</sup> There is no record of a separation suit, and the couple's youngest son was born the following year. In July 1829, five years after the death of Paul Lanusse, Boze wrote disapprovingly that the Widow Lanusse "does not compliment her family, according to public opinion. She is out of money and has to depend on help from her children." In February 1830, Boze again commented on Céleste's affairs: "Madame Widow Paul Lanusse...has returned since the 15th [of February?] from her trip to the north where, the critics say, she gave birth in secret. She does not lack admirers, and her life is a bit scandalous, which does not honor her family."<sup>51</sup>

In his newsletter of July-November 1830, Boze mentioned that on October 26 Celeste's son, Charles Barthélémy Lanusse, had fought a duel with Gustave Adolph de Marigny, son of Bernard de Marigny. The cause, according to Boze, was Marigny's "attempts to break up [Lanusse's] domestic arrangements," supposedly referring to Lanusse's marriage to Eleanor Mirtille Macarty. The funeral was announced in the next day's *Bee*. Although the New Orleans newspapers were silent about the duel, the story was picked up by newspapers all over the eastern United States, where it was stated that Marigny and "young Lanusse...fought with small swords, then resorted to pistols." After "exchanging shots without effect," they returned to their swords, and "after a few thrusts both were wounded, Lanusse dangerously and Marigny mortally." Boze commented sarcastically that "only [Marigny's] family regretted him."<sup>52</sup>

After living in Paris near her cousin Madame Lalaurie during the 1840s, Céleste Macarty Lanusse returned to New Orleans and died there at age eighty in 1863.<sup>53</sup>

### **Louis Barthélémy Macarty (1784-1846)**

Louis Barthélémy was the legitimate son of the Chevalier Louis Barthélémy de Macarty and Marie Jeanne Lerable. He never married, but had a domestic relationship and fathered a child with Eugénie Adelaide Gomez, called "Pancine." Sometime in the mid-1830s, when Louis Barthélémy was in his early fifties, he became romantically involved with this eighteen-year-old white woman. There was no legal impediment to a marriage, but, possibly because her family was not of the same elite class as the Macartys, the couple never wed. Instead, Louis Barthélémy treated Pancine as his concubine.<sup>54</sup> In 1839 a daughter named Louise was born to the couple. Louis Barthélémy was very generous with Pancine and baby Louise, donating to them cash, houses, undeveloped lots, slaves, and "all the furniture, silver, and objects of his residence."<sup>55</sup>

When Louis Barthélémy left for Paris in September 1840, Pancine and Louise went with him.<sup>56</sup> In Paris, Pancine became pregnant again. She named her child Louis Barthélémy Paulin, but Macarty never acknowledged the boy, indicating that he doubted his paternity. Pancine later married Charles Casadavant, a native of Martinique.<sup>57</sup>

In 1846 Louis Barthélémy Macarty died at age sixty-two on his plantation below New Orleans. In his will, he named seven-year-old Louise Macarty as his natural daughter and stated that he wished to leave her 25% of his estate, as permitted by law. He left the remainder to his sister Delphine Macarty Lalaurie. Delphine, represented by her son Paulin Blanque, argued in court that the donations made to Louise and her mother before Louis Barthélémy's death already came to more than 25% of the estate. When the lower court upheld the terms of the will, Delphine's representatives took the case to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which also ruled in favor of Louise Macarty.

### **Marie Delphine Macarty (1787-1849)**

Delphine was the younger sister of Louis Barthélémy, legitimate daughter of the Chevalier Louis Barthélémy de Macarty and Marie Jeanne Lerable. On June 11, 1800, a few months after her fourteenth birthday, she married Ramon López y Ángulo de Candelaria, the newly arrived Spanish *Intendente*, who was second in command to the governor.<sup>58</sup> Because López had contracted marriage without royal permission, the Spanish government relieved him of his duties and sent him back to Spain in disgrace. He was eventually pardoned and given the position of Spanish consul to New Orleans under the American administration.<sup>59</sup> On the return trip in 1805, the ship on which he and Delphine were traveling ran aground off the coast of Cuba, and he died from unexplained causes. At the same time, Delphine gave birth to their daughter, Marie Delphine Francisca Borja López y Ángulo de Candelaria. Legend has it that "Borquita," as she was called, was born at sea, but official Spanish documents say that she was

born at the home of the postmaster of Havana.<sup>60</sup>

Back in New Orleans, Delphine married the Frenchman Jean Paul Blanque in 1807, just after receiving a sizable inheritance from her mother.<sup>61</sup> Blanque was a merchant, lawyer, banker, state legislator, and political intriguer, who was also a slave trader and smuggler and an associate of the pirates Jean and Pierre Laffite. It was Blanque who delivered the letter from Jean Laffite to Governor Claiborne, offering the services of the Laffites' men of Baratavia in the Battle of New Orleans.<sup>62</sup> With Jean Blanque, Delphine had three daughters and a son: Pauline, Laure, Jeanne, and Paulin.<sup>63</sup> Blanque died in 1815.<sup>64</sup>

Delphine, now the Widow Blanque, settled her late husband's estate and skillfully managed her assets, and was a very wealthy thirty-eight-year-old lady in 1825 when she met her third husband, Leonard Louis Nicolas Lalaurie (b. 1802). Lalaurie, not quite twenty-three and newly graduated from medical school, arrived in New Orleans from Bordeaux on the ship *Fanny* on February 17, 1825.<sup>65</sup> He and Delphine became romantically involved, and on August 13, 1827, Delphine gave birth to a son named Jean Louis Leonard Lalaurie. Delphine and Louis Lalaurie did not marry until five months later, on January 12, 1828. Their son was baptized and declared legitimate on the following day.<sup>66</sup>

The mismatched couple proved to be incompatible. Within a year of their marriage, Jean Boze would write that "They do not have a happy household; they fight, often separate, and then return to each other, which would make one believe that someday they will abandon each other completely." By 1832 Delphine had petitioned the court for a separation from the bed and board of her husband on the grounds that he had "treated her in such a manner as to render their living together insupportable" and that in the presence of witnesses, he had "beaten and wounded her in the most outrageous and cruel manner." Lalaurie established a residence in Plaquemines Parish, but the couple maintained at least some contact.<sup>67</sup>

Readers of *New Orleans Genesis* are probably familiar with the story of the April 10, 1834, fire at the Lalauries' Royal Street mansion, the discovery of the starved and tortured slaves, and the angry mob that attacked the house. Delphine's cousin, Barthélémy Montreuil (son of Manette de Macarty and François Montreuil), is said to have been the person who first complained of her to the authorities and was one of the citizens who went into the burning service wing to rescue the slaves.<sup>68</sup> Delphine managed to flee New Orleans that afternoon. Her escape without punishment so infuriated the mob that had gathered on Royal Street that they nearly destroyed her house.<sup>69</sup> After spending some time across the lake in Mandeville to put their business affairs in order, the Lalauries, with their young son Jean Louis, traveled from Mobile to New York and then to France. The account of the Lalauries' journey from New York to Le Havre is found in the journal of the American poet William Cullen Bryant, who was a

fellow-passenger on the ship *Poland*.<sup>70</sup> They first took refuge at Louis Lalaurie's family home in Villeneuve-sur-Lot, but by 1835 they had settled in Paris, where they were joined by Delphine's adult children, Pauline, Laure, and Paulin Blanque.<sup>71</sup> Within a few years Lalaurie left for Cuba. He was never reunited with his wife and son, and died in Havana in 1863.<sup>72</sup> Delphine lived the rest of her life in Paris, sharing a luxurious flat with the Blanque siblings and young Jean Louis Lalaurie. She died on December 7, 1849, and in 1851 her body was exhumed from the Cimetière de Montmartre and sent to New Orleans for reinterment in St. Louis Cemetery no. 1.<sup>73</sup>

## Notes

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1. Charles William Leng, *Staten Island and Its People, a History, 1609-1929* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1930), 71. This account, provided to Leng by Irene de Macarty (Mrs. Lester Clark) has Bartholomew Maccarthy-Mactaig joining the service of Louis XIV in 1690; it is incorrect in several of its particulars and is therefore not entirely trustworthy. Stanley C. Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* (reprint Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1998), makes Jean Jacques and Barthélémy Daniel the sons of Bartholomew Maccarthy-Mactaig and also lists an older son who became the Abbé de Macarty, and two daughters, Eléanor and Françoise, who became canonesses (330).
  2. Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana*, 330; Grace King, *Creole Families of New Orleans*, 368 (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 368; Glenn R. Conrad, *First Families of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Claitors, 1970), vol. 1, p. 85.
  3. In his marriage contract with Françoise Barbe de Trépagnier on July 9, 1735, Jean Jacques de Macarty is stated to be a native of Munier in Languedoc, the son of Théodore de MacCarty, “commandant the Count de Crassolle... major of the regiment of Juvermay,” and his wife Catherine Flechier (Alice Daly Forsyth and Ghislaine Pleasonton, *Louisiana Marriage Contracts: A Compilation of Abstracts from Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1728-1769*, New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980, 28). Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty is identified in the will of his son Jean Baptiste as a native of Languedoc and a “captain in the service of his most Christian majesty” (Will of Jean Baptiste de Macarty, November 21, 1808, Acts of Narcisse Broutin, vol. 18, p. 491, Notarial Archives Research Center, hereafter NARC).
  4. Baptism of Augustin Guillaume, May 7, 1845; baptism of Elisabeth, January 15, 1847, St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Charles E. Nolan, ed. *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans*, New Orleans: Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, vol. 1, p. 174 . Note that from 1777 until the later nineteenth century, St. Louis Cathedral kept separate registers of sacramental acts for white persons and for slaves and free persons of color. I have designated these as WP or S-FPC. In some cases I have viewed the actual registers at the Archdiocesan Archives, and in others I have relied on the abstracts published by the Archdiocese.
  5. The 1788 succession of Jean Baptiste de Macarty names as his heirs Jeanne, Elisabeth, Catherine Ursula, and Jean Baptiste, Judicial Records of the Spanish Cabildo, box 50, no. 1771, Louisiana State Museum Historical Center (hereafter LHC). Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* , 331.
  6. Joseph Wallace, *The History of Illinois and Louisiana Under the French Rule Embracing a General View of the French Dominion in North America With Some Account of the English Occupation of Illinois* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1893), 312.

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7. Baptism of Jeanne Françoise, May 24, 1749; baptism of Jean Baptiste, March 25, 1750; baptism of Louis Barthélémy, February 18, 1751; baptism of Françoise Brigette, April 11, 1752; baptism of Marie Françoise, September 19, 1753; baptism of Marie Catherine Adelaide, November 20, 1756; baptism of Céleste Eleanor, January 13, 1759; baptism of Louise Eleanor, February 6, 1762; baptism of Marie Marthe, April 17, 1765; baptism of Eugène Theodore, April 16, 1769; baptism of Nicolas Théodore, May 6, 1773, all St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed. *Sacramental Records*, vol. 1, p. 174; vol. 2, p. 82; vol. 3, p. 87.

8. Jacqueline K. Voorhies, *Some Late Eighteenth-Century Louisianians: Census Records 1758-1796* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana History Series, 1973), "Census of Families living below the city taken by Sieur Bauré, Captain of the Militia, September, 1763," p. 45; "List of farms on both sides of the river below the city, January, 1770," p. 239.

9. Succession of Don Bartolomé de Macarti, Judicial Records of the Spanish Cabildo, February 14, 1781, box 38, no. 640, LHC, translation by Nilda Aponte.

10. For a full account of the murder of Jean Baptiste Césaire le Breton, see Laura Porteous, "Torture in Spanish Criminal Proceedings," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 8 (January, 1925), 6-22, and Frank H. Wardill, "The Scene of the le Breton Murder," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 8 (April, 1925), 266-67.

11. The French original of Pontalba's letter journal has been lost. The WPA Louisiana Writers' Project made an English translation in the late 1930s, and is housed at the Louisiana State Museum's Historical Center as "Pontalba Letter Diary," accession no. 923.3. Christina Vella quoted from the typed translation in the third chapter of *Intimate Enemies: The Two Worlds of the Baroness de Pontalba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 70-98.

12. Marriage of Joseph Delfau de Pontalba and Juana Francisca Louisa le Breton, October 5, 1789, St. Louis Cathedral WP, vol. 2, part 2, p. 66, AANO.

13. Jean Baptiste de Macarty's military service is stated in his funeral record; see note 20 below.

14. Marriage of Jean Batiste de Macarti and Helena Charlotte Fazende, June 4, 1777; baptism of Jean Baptiste Barthélémy, October 18, 1778; baptism of René Gabriel, June 20, 1781; baptism of Maurice Edmond, April 22, 1783; baptism of Marie Céleste, April 28, 1788, all St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records*, vol. 3, p. 87; vol. 4, p. 89.

15. The Robin de Logny-le Breton affair is discussed in Pontalba to his wife (all 1796), March 1, typescript p. 11; March 17, typescript p. 34; March 31, typescript p. 53; April 22, typescript p. 64-65; April 24, typescript p. 70; May 2, typescript p. 77-78; May 5, typescript p. 80-81; May 21, typescript p. 102; June 6, typescript p. 116; June 17-19, typescript p. 134-37; June 23, typescript p. 141; July 10, typescript p. 167-68; July 19, typescript p. 186-89; September 9, typescript p. 207, LHC. This imbroglio between Macarty and the Robin de Logny-le Breton family evidently began in late 1795 or early 1796, but there is no mention of the case and his

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imprisonment at the fort in the Judicial Records of the Spanish Cabildo

16. Baptism of Eulalia, October 18, 1778, sponsors Jean Bautista de Macarty and [given name omitted] Fazende, St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records*, vol. 3, p. 126.

17. The Fazende affair is discussed in Pontalba to his wife, October 8, 1796, typescript p. 255; October 9, typescript p. 257; October 13-14, 1796, typescript p. 264-65, LHC.

18. Marriage of Eulalia Fazende and Luis Cesaire le Bretton des Chapels Dorgenoy, October 3, 1798, St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records*, vol. 6, p. 117.

19. Baptism of Theofilo Macarty, July 21, 1799, St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, vol. 6, part 2, p. 149, AANO. Jean Baptiste de Macarty wrote his will on June 8, 1804; on November 21, 1808, his son-in-law Paul Lanusse deposited it with the notary Narcisse Broutin (Acts of Narcisse Broutin, vol. 18, p. 491, NARC). Théophile Macarty's occupation is known from his lawsuit against the Syndics of the Creditors of Paul Lanusse, First Judicial District Court, docket no. 4,478, February 22, 1822, in which Théophile claimed that he had worked as a carpenter on the Lanusse plantation from December 1820 to December 1821 and had not been paid the promised \$600 because the Syndics had frozen Lanusse's assets. Théophile Macarty is listed as a cabinet maker in the U.S. Census for New Orleans, Ward 5, 1860, sheet 736, line 30, accessed through Ancestry.com.

20. Funeral of Juan Bautista de Macarty, "former commanding captain of the company of noble carabineers of this bastion in the time of Spanish rule, colonel of the militia in the service of the United States, widower of Carlota Helena Fazende," died suddenly, interred Nov. 11, 1808, in Nolan, ed. *Sacramental Records*, vol. 9, p. 100.

21. Marriage contract for Luis Bartholome Macarty and Maria Juana Lerable, widow of Charles le Comte, July 3, 1776, Acts of Juan Garic, vol. 7, p. 196. The marriage was not entered into the sacramental register of St. Louis Cathedral.

22. There is no baptismal record for Louis Barthélémy. Delphine was baptized five years after her birth (baptism of Maria Delfina de Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, December 26, 1793, unnumbered volume for 1786-1796, part 3, p. 291, AANO).

23. Pontalba to his wife, June 17, 1796, typescript p. 133-34; July 4, 1796, typescript p. 157; July 20, 1796, typescript p. 189-90, LHC.

24. Baptism of Delphina Emesia, St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, December 26, 1816, vol. 15, p. 90 verso, act 542, AANO.

25. Will of Louis Chevalier Macarty, filed January 8, 1825, Will Book 4, p. 54, microfilm City Archives, New Orleans Public Library (hereafter NOPL).

26. Funeral of Caballero D<sup>n</sup> Luis de Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, October 22, 1824,

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unnumbered vol. 1824-1828, part 1, p. 2, AANO.

27. Marriage of Celestina de Macarti and Estevan Miró, December 21, 1779, St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records*, vol. 3, p. 87.

28. Marriage of Maria de Macarti and Roberto Gauthier Montreuil, St. Louis Cathedral WP, June 21, 1783, vol. 1, part 2, p. 165. Baptism of Bartólome Roberto, April 5, 1785, unnumbered volume for 1777-1786, part 2, p. 379, act 1168; baptism of Theodulo Joseph, October 7, 1786, unnumbered volume for 1786-1791, part 1, p. 15, act 54, all in St. Louis Cathedral WP. Baptism for Maria Marta (Desirée), February 4, 1796; baptism for Maria Francisca (Elmire), November 20, 1797, St. Louis Cathedral WP, Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records*, vol. 6, p. 200.

29. Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville first donated Eulalia, daughter of Maria Juana, to his mother, Francisca Delille de Mandeville, Acts of Andres Almonester y Roxas, November 7, 1777, vol. 2, p. 545, NARC. Emancipation of Eulalie by Antoni Marignie de Mandeville (Philippe's father, Antoine Philippe Marigny de Mandeville), Acts of Andres Almonester y Roxas, November 9, 1779, vol. 2, p. 572 verso, NARC. Eulalie's mother is identified as Marie Jeanne Duteuil in the marriage register for Eugène Macarty and Eulalie Mandeville, St. Augustine's Church, October 22, 1845, filed in the volume for white persons, AANO.

30. Information about the relationship between Eulalie Mandeville and Eugène Macarty comes from the Second District Court records for Nicolas Théodore Macarty et al v. Eulalie Mandeville f.w.c., docket no. 195, filed with Supreme Court of Louisiana docket no. 626, Supreme Court Historical Archives, Louisiana and Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans (hereafter SCHA/UNO). Testimony about Eulalie's childhood was given by her half-brother Bernard de Marigny (p. 135), Jacques Enoul Livaudais, husband of her half-sister Céleste de Marigny (p. 164), and Charles Olivier, cousin of Bernard and Céleste (p. 86).

31. In the Louisiana Supreme Court case Macarty v. Mandeville, Bernard de Marigny explained in detail the bequests made to Eulalie by their father and other family members (p. 135-44).

32. Baptism of Artemise Emelita, August 13, 1794, vol. 1, p. 7, act 32; baptism of Théofilo, November 17, 1795, vol. 5, part 2, p. 244, act 969; baptism of Ysidro Bartolomé, February 11, 1797, vol. 1, act 43, p. 10; baptism of Eulalia, July 15, 1799, vol. 6, part 2, p. 148, act 469; baptism of Bernardo Théodulo, April 26, 1806, vol. 9, part 1, p. 56, act 265 (Bernard and Céleste de Marigny were godparents); baptism of Pierre (later known as Villarceaux), April 6, 1811, vol. 12, part 1, p. 25 verso, act 126; baptism of Esteban Eugenio, April 6, 1815, vol. 14, part 2, p. 100. Emelite and Isidore were baptized at St. Bernard Church in St. Bernard Parish, all others were baptized at St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, AANO.

33. Sale of lot with buildings and improvements by the syndics of the creditors of Samuel D. Earle and Joseph Torres to Eugène Macarty for \$2,400, Acts of Stephen de Quiñones, May 17, 1808, vol. 10, p. 582. Sale by Eugène Macarty to Eulalie Mandeville for \$3,000, Acts of Quiñones, June 29, 1810, vol. 11, p. 388, NARC. The chain of title for this property is found in the Vieux Carré Survey, square 82, lot 23047-01, Williams Research Center, The Historic New

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Orleans Collection (hereafter THNOC), with additional information from the Historic American Buildings Survey.

34. Testimony regarding Eulalie and Eugène's business ventures comes from *Macarty v. Mandeville*, p. 135-44. See also Virginia Meacham Gould, "In Full Enjoyment of their Liberty: The Free Women of Color of the Gulf Ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1769-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation Emory University, 1991), 148, 150, 171, 179.

35. Baptism of Théodore, May 17, 1817, vol. 15, part 2, p. 130 verso; this child was baptized at age seven, meaning he was born around 1810; baptism of Marie and Françoise, May 8, 1819; baptism of Eugène and Rose, twins, May 22, 1823, vol. 18, part 1, p. 33 verso, acts 111 and 112; Eugène and Rose were stated to be two and a half years old, meaning they were born around 1821. All baptisms from St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, AANO. Birth records for Eugène and Eugenia [Rose] McCarty, children of Eugène Macarty and Totote Destrees, born August 2, 1820, Orleans Parish Births, vol. 2, p. 46, Louisiana State Archives (hereafter LSA).

36. Helöise Croy is identified as the mother of Eugène Victor Macarty on the record of his marriage to Louise Galland (St. Mary's Church, October 28, 1846, Marriages of Persons of Color 1805-1880, act 165), and his marriage to Lucie Elizabeth Lee (Immaculate Conception Church, May 2, 1866, vol. 16, p. 20, act 16). The June 25, 1881, death record for Victor Eugène Macarty gives his age as sixty-four, indicating that he was born in 1817. His funeral announcement calls him "E.V. Macarty-Croy," *Bee*, French edition, June 26, 1881, p. 1, c. 4. Thanks to Sonja Macarthy for providing this information.

37. Marriage of Eugène Macarty and Eulalie Mandeville, St. Augustine's Church, October 22, 1845, filed in the volume for white persons, AANO. Death record for Eugène Macarty, Orleans Parish Deaths, October 25, 1845, vol. 9, p. 847, LSA. Eugène was interred in St. Louis Cemetery no. 2 in a tomb purchased for the purpose by Eulalie Mandeville. Burial Record for Eugène Macarty, St. Louis Cemetery no. 2, Burial Book 1843-1847, p. 188; Burial Record for Eulalie Mandeville, St. Louis Cemetery no. 2, Burial Book 1847-1869, p. 451, AANO.

38. The details of Augustin Macarty's various relationships come from the lawsuit resulting from his disputed succession, *Badillo v. Tio*, Third District Court, docket no. 734, NOPL; *Marie L. Badillo and Sylvester Chauvin v. Francisco Tio*, Louisiana Supreme Court, docket no. 1745, January 20, 1851, SCHA/UNO. There are no baptismal records for Philonise or Bridgette. Baptism of Maria [Josephine] St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, February 13, 1792, vol 4, part 3, p. 287, act 421. Baptism of Patricio, May 26, 1799, St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC, vol. 6, part 2, p. 127, AANO.

39. Baptism of Dorsino Bartholome Prieto y Macarty, May 2, 1800, vol. 6, part 3, p. 273, act 884; baptism of Drosin Prieto (Drauzin Barthélémy), June 6, 1806, vol. 9, part 1, p. 73, act 343; baptism of Emerite Adelaide (Adele) Prieto, March 25, 1809, vol. 10, p. 72, all St. Louis Cathedral S-FPC. I discovered no baptismal records for Céleste and Lucine; their birth dates are calculated from the age given on their death certificates.

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40. Will of Jean Baptiste Barthélémy Macarty, Acts of Narcisse Broutin, January 3, 1814, vol. 30, p. 1, microfilm NOPL.
41. Baptism of Armand Henry, July 15, 1814, vol. 7, p. 131, act 758, St. Louis Cathedral WP, AANO (note that this baptism was recorded in the register for white persons). There was no baptismal record for Gustave. Birth record for Armand Henry de Macarty, born December 15, 1813, Orleans Parish Births, vol. 10, p. 93; birth record for Laurent Gustave de Macarty, born April 1, 1815, Orleans Parish Births, vol. 19, p. 93, LSA. The birth records, which do not specify race, were not filed until 1848, and stated that the children were the “issue of the legitimate marriage of Jean Baptiste Barthélémy Macarty and Magdeleine Carpentier.” These birth records state that the maternal grandparents were “M<sup>r</sup> Charles Carpentier and M<sup>rs</sup> Eulalie Lefevre f.w.c., both of St. Domingo.”
42. Acknowledgment by Barthélémy Macarty of his natural sons Armand, age six, and Gustave, age five, Acts of Philippe Pedesclaux, April 18, 1820, vol. 14, act 794, p. 39, NARC.
43. Will of Jean Baptiste Barthélémy Macarty, filed April 24, 1843, Will Book 4, p. 358, microfilm NOPL.
44. Sale of property by Magdeleine “CéCé” Carpentier to Thomas Barrett for \$26, 333, Acts of Felix de Armas, February 9, 1832, chain of title from Vieux Carré Survey, square 96, lots 11530-11534, THNOC. The New Orleans Athletic Club and a multi-story parking structure is now at this location.
45. Jean Boze to Henri de Ste-Gême, March 25-May 4, 1834, folder 238, p. 5-6, Ste-Gême Papers 1799-1904, Mss 100, The Historic New Orleans Collection (hereafter THNOC), translation by Gail Moreau. Ste-Gême was an Orleans Parish sugar planter who had returned to France, leaving Jean Boze in charge of his business affairs. Death record for Magdeleine Carpentier, April 11, 1834, Orleans Parish Deaths, vol. 4, p. 121, LSA.
46. Marriage of D<sup>n</sup> Pablo Lanusse y Laurent and D<sup>a</sup> Maria Céleste de Macarty y Fazende, St. Louis Cathedral WP, February 6, 1802, vol. 2, part 2, p. 140, act 569. Baptism of Juan Bautista, June 13, 1806; baptism of Carlos Bartolomé, March 7, 1807; baptism of Marie Pauline, December 1, 1810; baptism of Victoire Coralie, December 1, 1810; baptism of Maria Estephania, October 19, 1813; baptism of Augusto, December 24, 1816; baptism of Clemente Antonio, June 9, 1819, St. Louis Cathedral WP, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Registers*, vol. 8, p. 197; vol. 9, p. 215; vol. 10, p. 264; vol. 11, p. 255; vol. 12, p. 223; vol. 13, p. 247. Baptism of Maria Céleste, born in France June 8, 1821, baptism entered into the sacramental register of St. Louis Cathedral WP May 4, 1823, funeral entered into the register June 4, 1823, in Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Registers*, vol. 15, p. 228.
47. Obituary for Paul Lanusse, *Louisiana Courier*, November 24, 1825, p. 2, c. 3.

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48. Benjamin Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary and Sketches 1818-1820* (Samuel Wilson Jr., ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 53-4. The other two slave abusers cited by Latrobe were his landlady, Madame Tremoulet, and Mary Ann Jones, the first wife of Bernard de Marigny.

49. Boze to Ste-Gême, March 25-May 4, 1834, folder 238, p. 6, Ste-Gême Papers THNOC, translation by Gail Moreau.

50. Boze to Ste-Gême, October 1, 1818, folder 24, p. 3, Ste-Gême Papers THNOC, translation by Gail Moreau.

51. Boze to Ste-Gême, January 25-February 19, 1830, folder 157, p. 7, Ste-Gême Papers THNOC, translation by Gail Moreau.

52. Boze to Ste-Gême, July-November 25, 1830, folder 157, p. 7, Ste-Gême Papers THNOC, translation by Gail Moreau. Funeral announcement, New Orleans *Bee*, October 27, 1830, p. 3. "Gustavus Marigny Has Been Killed at New Orleans," November-December, 1830, newspapers accessed through GenealogyBank.

53. Notarial acts from 1844-1846 (Archives Nationales, Minutier Central des Notaires Parisiens) concerning Céleste Macarty, widow of Paul Lanusse, her sons Jean-Baptiste Lanusse (married to Marie Thérèse Bailly Blanchard) and Charles Barthélémy Lanusse (married to Eléanore Myrtille Macarty), residing at 53 Rue de la Madeleine; Madame Lalaurie lived at 72 Rue de la Madeleine. Death record for Widow Paul Lanusse, born Macarty, September 22, 1863, Orleans Parish Deaths, vol. 24, p. 177, LSA.

54. Donation of a house on Elysian Fields, a lot on Frenchmen Street, and an enslaved woman and her young son by Louis Barthélémy Macarty to Eugénie Adelaïde Gomez, Acts of Amédée Ducatel, September 26, 1836, vol. 2, act 320, p. 315; donation of a slave by Macarty to Gomez, A. Ducatel, March 26, 1838, vol. 7, act 112, p. 215, NARC.

55. Birth record for Marie Jeanne Louise Philomène Macarty, natural daughter of Louis Barthélémy Macarty and Eugénie Adelaïde Gormens alias Gomez, September 30, 1839, Orleans Parish Births, vol. 9, p. 748, LSA. Donation of two houses on Madison Street in the Vieux Carré, two lots on Frenchmen Street in the Faubourg Marigny, two lots downriver on Bartholomew Street near the Macarty Plantation, and five slaves by Louis Barthélémy Macarty to his natural daughter Philomène Gomez [Louise Macarty], represented by her mother, Acts of Octave de Armas, July 31, 1840, vol. 30, act 134. Donation of household furnishings by Macarty to Eugénie Adelaïde Gomez, O. de Armas, August 1, 1840, vol. 30, act 135, NARC.

56. Information about the relationship between Eugénie Adelaïde Gomez and Louis Barthélémy Macarty comes from the record of the Louisiana Supreme Court, Succession of Louis Barthélémy Macarty on the Opposition of Mrs. Delphine Macarty, docket no. 1710, SCHA/UNO.

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57. The September 28, 1841, French civil birth record for Pancine's son Louis Barthélémy Paulin identifies him as the "son of Charles Casadavant and Adelaide Gormans," Prefecture du Department de la Seine, 2nd (now 5th) Arrondissement de Paris, Archives de Paris, actes de naissance, microfilm 5Mi1/514. Civil marriage record for Charles Casadavant and Adelaide Gormans, Prefecture du Department de la Seine, 5th Arrondissement de Paris, Archives de Paris, actes de mariage, microfilm 5Mi1/2168. Catholic church marriage record for Charles Casadavant and Adelaide Gormans, Church of Saint Laurent, D6J/673, Archives de Paris.

58. Marriage of Don Ramon López y Ángulo and Doña Maria Delphina Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, June 11, 1800, vol. 2, part 2, p. 129, act 505, AANO.

59. The facts regarding the marriage and subsequent downfall of Ramon López y Ángulo come from the records of the Spanish colonial government, the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), which includes the Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba and the Audiencia de Santo Domingo. The original documents are arranged in *legajos* (bundles) of related materials. The Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2607 (available on microfilm at THNOC) contains the papers of the intendants of Louisiana; approximately 400 pages are devoted to López y Ángulo. All documents translated by Nilda Aponte.

60. Dispatch of January 11, 1805, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2607, p. 549, microfilm THNOC. The exact death date for López y Ángulo is not stated.

61. Funeral of D<sup>a</sup> Maria Juana Lerable, St. Louis Cathedral WP, February 26, 1807, unnumbered volume for 1803-1807, part 2, p. 155, act 410, AANO. Marriage of Juan Blanque and Maria Delphina de Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, March 19, 1807, vol. 3, part 1, p. 12, act 37. Succession of Marie Jeanne Lerable, wife of Macarty, Court of Probates, 1807, microfilm NOPL. Succession of Marie Jeanne Lerable Macarty, Acts of Narcisse Broutin, May 9, 1808, vol. 18, 166; March 29, 1811, vol. 24, p. 74, NARC.

62. Jean Laffite to Jean Blanque, September 4, 1814, English translation in the appendix to Arsène Lacarrière Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-1815* (Philadelphia: John Conrad and Co., 1816), xii-xiv. For more on Jean Blanque's association with the Laffite brothers, see William C. Davis, *The Pirates Laffite: The Treacherous World of the Corsairs of the Gulf* (New York: Harcourt, 2005), 174-76.

63. Baptism of Maria Louisa Paulina, June 29, 1809, vol. 6, part 1, p. 6 verso, act 18; baptism of Luisa Maria Laure, October 12, 1813, vol. 7, p. 98, act 555; baptism of Juana Luisa Maria, July 1, 1815, vol. 8, p. 2; baptism of Juan Pedro Paulino, July 1, 1815, vol. 8, p. 2, all from St. Louis Cathedral WP, AANO.

64. Funeral of D<sup>n</sup> Juan Blanque, husband of D<sup>a</sup> Maria Delfina de Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, October 8, 1815, unnumbered vol. 1815-1820, part 1, p. 6, act 42, AANO.

65. Much of what we know about Louis Lalaurie comes from letters written to him by his father

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and others from the family home in Villeneuve-sur-Lot, France; these letters are now preserved in the DeLassus-St. Vrain Collection, Missouri History Museum. Ship *Fanny*, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans 1820-1902, microfilm National Archives and Records Administration; Shipping News, *Courier*, February 17, 1825, p. 3, c. 2.

66. Marriage of Leonard Louis Nicolas Lalaurie and Marie Delphine Macarty, St. Louis Cathedral WP, January 12, 1828, vol. 4, part 2, act 505, p. 111, AANO. Baptism of Jean Louis Lalaurie, St. Louis Cathedral WP, January 13, 1828, vol. 12, act 272, p. 106, AANO.

67. Boze to Ste-Gême, December 1, 1828, folder 134, p. 8-9; Boze to Ste-Gême, July 20, 1829, folder 143, p. 10, Ste-Gême Papers THNOC, translation by Gail Moreau. Petition for a separation from bed and board, Delphine Macarty v. Louis Lalaurie, her husband, First Judicial District Court, November 16, 1832, docket no. 10,237, NOPL.

68. *New Orleans Bee*, April 11, 1834; “Authentic Particulars” (deposition of Judge Jacques François Canonge before Judge Gallien Préval of the Parish Court), *Bee*, April 12, 1834.

69. For the complete story of the events surrounding the fire based on contemporary newspaper articles and eyewitness accounts, see Carolyn Morrow Long, *Madame Lalaurie, Mistress of the Haunted House*, chapter 6.

70. Power of attorney by Delphine Macarty, wife of Lalaurie, to Placide Forstall; power of attorney by Louis Lalaurie to Auguste DeLassus; these documents were drawn up in Mandeville and later recorded before a New Orleans notary (Acts of Louis Feraud, April 30, 1834, vol. 11, act 73, NARC). William Cullen Bryant II and Thomas G. Voss, eds., *The letters of William Cullen Bryant* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992.) vol. 1, entry of July 23, 1834, p. 412.

71. Letters to Auguste DeLassus in New Orleans from Paulin and Pauline Blanque, Jean Louis Lalaurie, and Delphine Macarty Lalaurie in Paris, 1835-1842, DeLassus-St. Vrain Collection, Missouri History Museum. These letters are quoted extensively in *Madame Lalaurie, Mistress of the Haunted House*, chapter 7.

72. Burial record for Louis Lalaurie, Cuban Genealogy Club of Miami, Espada Cemetery, [http://www.cubangenclub.org/members/espada/espada\\_1\\_1.htm](http://www.cubangenclub.org/members/espada/espada_1_1.htm): Nombre--Dr. Leonard Lalaurie; Fecha de Defuncion--September 3, 1863; Patio--Quinto; Direccion--centro; Nicho--62; Pagina--156.

73. Death record for Marie Delphine “Maccarthy,” wife of Lalaurie, Republic of France, filed December 8, 1849, attached to her succession papers, microfilm NOPL. Funeral record for Marie Delphine “Machaty,” Church of Saint Louis d’Antin, *Sépultures* 1834-1869, LDS Family History Library, microfilm no. 312900. Interment and exhumation of Marie Delphine “Maccarthy,” no. 3517, Register of Burials, Office of the Caretaker, Cimetière de Montmartre, Paris.