

**LOUIS CHARLES ROUDANEZ,
A CREOLE OF COLOR OF
SAINT-DOMINGUE DESCENT:
ATLANTIC REINTERPRETATIONS OF
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ORLEANS**

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The study of the Creoles of Color of nineteenth-century New Orleans leaves no doubt that they represented an exceptional group in the antebellum and Reconstruction South, and even, all things considered, in the United States. Their high degree of education, their strong commitment, unfailing courage, and unusual radicalism was specific to their group and to Louisiana. Louis Charles Roudanez is, quite obviously, a perfect illustration of that Creole exception.

Of course, Louisiana itself—with its different colonial past, its demography, its unusual cultural environment, and the social organization that persisted there after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase—partly accounts for this exception. Another explanation, however, long ignored by Louisiana historiography, is that the settlement of several thousands of Saint-Domingue refugees in New Orleans at the turn of the nineteenth-century is essential in understanding this originality.

The purpose of this article is to show the role of what may be termed the Saint-Domingue ferment in shaping the very unusual activism of the Creoles of Color of nineteenth-century New Orleans. A rapid survey of the migration itself will introduce a discussion of the peculiarity of the Saint-Domingue group, before the focus of the article narrows down to the specific case of Louis Charles Roudanez.

Louisiana was an exception in the antebellum South. Its Latin colonial past, partly Gallic partly Spanish, made its cultural environment very different from the rest of the South. One of its obvious cultural specificities was that it was, at the time of its incorporation into the

Union, a three-tiered society. As opposed to the biracial order that prevailed in the Anglo-Saxon South, Louisiana possessed a very unusual group of free people of color of uncommon dynamism. That alone could have explained the peculiar activism of nineteenth-century Creoles of Color. The migration pattern to Louisiana, however, also accounts for this exception. Despite the in-migration of many Anglo-Saxon Americans from the late eighteenth century onwards, other population influxes enabled Louisiana to retain its cultural and social originality far into the nineteenth century. Among those population movements was the arrival of some 15,000 exiles from Saint-Domingue.

Between 1791 and 1804, the French colony of Saint-Domingue was shaken by a slave rebellion that progressively turned into what came to be known as the Haitian Revolution (Dessens 6-15). The key moments of this long revolution sent out to sea a large population of refugees. People left the island by the thousands during the first years of rebellion, for instance, after the burning down of Cap Français in 1793. They left the island in large numbers when the British troops, which had officially come to assist the French planters, evacuated in 1798. Finally many fled after the unsuccessful attempt by Napoleon's expeditionary corps to regain control of the island in 1803. Between the evacuation of the French troops in the fall of 1803 and the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Haiti in January 1804, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, who had replaced Toussaint Louverture at the head of the former colony, ordered the elimination of any white presence, and all those who escaped slaughter fled from the island.

Among the exiles, the three categories of the island's population were represented. There was of course, a majority of the 40,000 whites that the island had counted. But there were also many of the 28,000 free people of color who had formed a very essential group, both numerically and economically, in prerevolutionary Saint-Domingue (Dessens 178 note 5). Many of them had to flee the island for allying politically with the whites against the slave rebels on several occasions during the revolution. Finally, many slaves accompanied their white or racially mixed masters in their flight. Some of these refugees went back to France, but the majority, especially those who had slaves, and the free people of color in general, found shelter in the Americas. Among their privileged asylums were other nearby Caribbean colonies (especially Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Jamaica, as

well as many other Antillean islands) and the United States (Dessens 15-21).

While Louisiana received few of these exiles in the first years of the revolution, it eventually became a place where the refugees converged in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Following the independence of Haiti and the expulsion of the non-naturalized French from Jamaica in 1803-1804 and from Cuba in 1809-1810 as a consequence of Napoleon's European policies, a total number of some 15,000 refugees converged on Louisiana between 1791 and 1810 (Dessens 23-32). Of course, a proportion of that population left or died in the years that followed their arrival, but many children were also born to those refugees. Altogether, the group was numerous enough to influence Louisiana society both significantly and durably.

The group was composed almost equally of slaves, white refugees, and refugees of color.¹ Considering the population of New Orleans at the time of their arrival, they had a deep numerical impact on the population of the Crescent City. The last Cuban wave alone represented an increase of 43% in the white population, 38% in the slave population, and, still more importantly, 143% in the free population of color (Dessens 27). Although the Saint-Domingue Creoles, blacks and whites, shared with their Louisiana counterparts many features, they also displayed clear differences.

The level of education of the refugees—be they refugees of color or white refugees—was extremely high compared with the Louisianans'. While education had been very little developed in Louisiana at the time of their arrival, the Saint-Domingans had always been schooled, and even often had a higher education. In the upper classes of society, the children were generally sent to metropolitan France for education, and this included racially mixed children and even daughters. This spread to Louisiana after their arrival, the refugees being extremely active in the field of education (Dessens 87-88). In Louisiana, this tradition of education was passed on to the second and even third generations, the descendants of the refugees proving to be extremely well educated far into the nineteenth century, be they white refugees or Creoles of Color. Paul Trévigne, Camille Thierry, Louis Victor and Victor Séjour, Rodolphe Henri or Daniel Desdunes, and of course Louis Charles Roudanez and his brother Jean-Baptiste were among the best educated men in Louisiana.²

The refugees and their descendants also proved extremely resilient culturally and linguistically. Long after Louisiana had started being Americanized, the refugee group still clung to the French language. To give a single example, when studying the books of wills of the 1824-1832 period, for instance, it is clear that, while the Louisiana Creoles (white Creoles and Creoles of color) as well as the “Foreign French” already mostly used the English language to write their wills at the turn of the 1830s, the refugees—both white refugees and free refugees of color—still wrote theirs in French (Will Books, New Orleans Public Library). This resilience was still more obvious among the free refugees of color and their descendants, since all the main publications of the group were still in French several decades after the Louisiana Purchase and arrival in New Orleans of large numbers of English-speaking Americans. Among the best proofs of that is the publication by Armand Lanusse of *Les Cénelles* in 1845 or, probably still more extraordinary, of *Nos hommes et Notre Histoire*, by Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, as late as 1911. Similarly, when those descendants of Saint-Domingue refugees of color founded newspapers and journals, as late as the 1860s, the publications were bilingual, if not entirely written in French. Among those was Lanusse’s *L’Album Littéraire: Journal des jeunes-gens, amateurs de littérature*, founded in 1843, and the two newspapers founded by Louis Charles Roudanez and his brother: *L’Union* which started in September 1862 during the Civil War, and *La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orléans*, founded in July 1864.

The links the refugees entertained with France were also extremely close long after the official ending of the French presence in Louisiana. Very often, they proclaimed their being “of French descent.” They traveled back and forth across the Atlantic.³ They still sent their sons to Paris for an education. Examples abound both among white refugees and refugees of color, from Victor Séjour to Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and of course Louis Charles Roudanez. Maybe more than any others, the Creoles of color of Saint-Domingue origins sought in Paris the freedom and recognition they could less and less easily find in Louisiana as Americanization was gaining ground.

Among the specificities displayed by the Saint-Domingue refugees was also an uncommon political awareness. The white refugees were very active throughout the period and occupied many high-ranking positions. They gave mayors to New Orleans, governors to Louisiana; they were judges, representatives, and senators and shaped antebellum

Louisiana politics (Dessens 118-138). Representing 63.3% of the free community of color in 1810, the refugees also played a prominent part in all the political fights of the Louisiana free people of color at least until the late nineteenth century. Whether because of the tradition of activism both communities had displayed in Saint-Domingue, or because their dynamism was spurred by the trauma of displacement and relocation in a similar albeit strange land, they were politically conscious and ready to further their positions with undaunted courage. They were the mainsprings of the Société des Artisans, a social benevolent association of artisans and veterans of the War of 1812, of the Société Catholique pour l'Instruction des Orphelins dans l'Indigence, also known as Mme Couvent's legacy, of the Radical Republican Club, founded in 1865, and of the Unification Movement of 1873, among others. Commenting on their political fights, Caryn Cossé Bell concludes that "their Haitian heritage was central to [their] victories" (Cossé Bell "Haitian Immigration" 19/32). The refugees also passed this tradition on to their offspring. Like the white children of refugees, the Creoles of color of refugee descent were uncommonly active. All the previously mentioned (Trévigne, Desdunes, the Roudanez brothers) were among them. It sometimes went as far as the third generation, since Daniel Desdunes was chosen to start the successful legal fight against segregation on interstate railroads, before Homer Plessy became the initiator of a similar—but unfortunately unsuccessful—action on intrastate railroads. Sometimes their commitment even took on a still more uncommon Atlantic perspective, as in the case of Edouard Tinchant.⁴ His example gives an interesting vision of the notion of Atlantic Creole and shows the importance of Atlantic links in the political fight of the Creoles of color of refugee descent. The descendant of Saint-Domingue refugees who had fled to Cuba, then to Louisiana, Edouard Tinchant was born, raised, and educated in Southwestern France. In 1862, at age 22, he settled in New Orleans with his brother Joseph who had remained there and had become one of the radical activists of Color. Although of French citizenship, he enrolled in the Union army, expressing his political positions in a manifesto that was published on the front page of the first issue of *La Tribune* on July 21, 1864, defining himself as "French by birth and by language." He was a member of the Constitution convention of 1867-68 and "during the last months of 1867 and the first months of 1868, this French-born man of Haitian ancestry helped out to hammer out

the most radical state constitution the South had ever seen” (Scott 245).

In short, New Orleans was pervaded with what may be termed the “Saint-Domingue ferment” until at least the very end of the nineteenth century. The fight to promote the equality of races, in particular, was led by Creoles of Color of refugee descent. As Caryn Cossé Bell shows it in her 1997 work, they were, in the fields of literature and politics, the promoters of romanticism and republicanism in the era of revolutions. And of course, Louis Charles Roudanez, as well as his brother Jean-Baptiste, was a particularly salient example of this trend.

The historiography of the refugee movement is still very recent. From the start, however, Louis Charles Roudanez and his brother were classified among the Creoles of Color of refugee descent. The pioneers of the history of the movement, Gabriel Debien and René Le Gardeur, cite the name Roudanez among the “First Refugees (1792-1798)” in their article “The Saint-Domingue Refugees in Louisiana 1792-1804.” (Brasseaux and Conrad eds. 113-243). Mentioning Emmanuel-Marius Pons Bringier, who had migrated from Martinique to Louisiana, the authors first refer to his two daughters who had married Augustin-Dominique Tureaud and Christophe Colomb (himself a Saint-Domingue refugee). When widowed, Pons Bringier married “Marie-Anne Roudanez, a refugee, the daughter of late Pierre Roudanez of Angoulême and Anne-Elizabeth Henry. They were coffee planters from Dondon,” and Debien and Le Gardeur conclude on Pierre Roudanez’s partnership with Tureaud (Brasseaux and Conrad eds. 161-2). Despite the transcription error on the name of Marie-Anne’s mother, which is Fleury and not Henry, Debien and Le Gardeur rightfully placed the Roudanez among the refugees. There is a second mention of Marie-Anne Roudanez and Emmanuel-Marius Pons Bringier in the same article, again with the precision that her parents were “colonists in Dondon” (Brasseaux and Conrad eds. 209).

Marie-Anne was the aunt of Louis Charles and Jean-Baptiste Roudanez, and her husband, Pons Bringier, was Louis Charles’s godfather.⁵ The marriage records of the St Louis Cathedral clearly mention Anne-Marie as being a “native of the island of Santo Domingo” (Nolan ed. Vol. 8 285). Her brother Pierre was also most probably born there, and Louis Charles Roudanez’s parents, Pierre Roudanez and Anne-Elizabeth Fleury lived there. Debien and Le Gardeur’s mention of their being coffee planters at Dondon is confirmed by the fact

that Moreau de St. Méry states that the Fleury family was among the oldest in Dondon and that the Fleurys (Pierre, Baptiste and Philippe) possessed in 1789 three coffee plantations in Dondon.⁶ The connection of Louis Charles and Jean-Baptiste Roudanez with Saint-Domingue is doubtless as is unquestionable the fact that the Roudanez family was part of the large refugee movement described above. Considering the wedding date of Marie-Anne, they were part of the earliest waves of arrivals.⁷

Indeed setting the actions of Louis Charles Roudanez within the context of the Saint-Domingue ferment makes sense. He is the perfect prototype of the Creole of color of refugee descent. He benefited from a strong education, mainly acquired in France: he received a bachelor of letters in 1847, a bachelor of sciences in 1849, and a doctorate in medicine in 1853 (Rankin in Houzeau 27). He even received a second medical degree in 1857 from Dartmouth College (Rankin in Houzeau 28). His belief in education as the only means to improve one's status never failed him. His necrology in *The Daily Picayune*, the most conservative white newspaper in New Orleans at that time—which indeed describes him as “a worthy and intelligent representative of the colored element that was free before the war”—calls him “a man of genius and cultivation.” In his eulogy in *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orléans*, Louis Placide Canonge writes that he was “an enlightened mind” (“un esprit éclairé”). He insists upon his obtaining his exams and diplomas with honors. He also highlights Roudanez's interest for whatever had to do with knowledge and everything that spoke to the intelligence, pointing out his multiple interests for science, the arts, and literature.⁸ Roudanez's belief in the power of education led him to favor his own children's education. Two of his sons became doctors, one became a dentist. His necrologies in the two newspapers cited (as well as that written by Paul Trévigne, a Creole of color and long time editor of Roudanez's newspapers, for the *Daily Crusader*) also indicate that his youngest son was, at the time of his death, a student at the Collège Louis Le Grand in Paris. His belief in the power of education was not even limited by gender considerations, since he sent his daughters to Paris for education, where one of them became head of an academy for young ladies, according to Trévigne's eulogy. Trévigne adds that he “placed education above wealth” and indeed all of Louis Charles's involvements denote this strong commitment to education, as proves, for instance, his being a member of the Examining

Committee of Straight University, an integrated college in Reconstruction Louisiana, chartered by the Louisiana State legislature in 1869 (Blassingame 125).

Among the other features that make him a prototypical Creole of color of refugee descent, one of the most prominent in his category, is the fact that he was definitely attached to his French culture and to France, making frequent trips to Paris from New Orleans (Canonge; Blassingame 161). His journalistic ventures of the 1860s were mostly in the French language, proving his linguistic resilience. And he was most definitely a committed defender of the equality of rights for Creoles of color and even of racial equality in general. As David Rankin shows in his Ph.D. dissertation, *L'Union*, founded in 1862, was mainly directed "to the free colored elite, written almost exclusively in French, and obsessed with the right to vote."⁹ Although this fight, together with that for the abolition of slavery, was undoubtedly already at the vanguard of political activism for the antebellum South, this was not enough for Louis Charles Roudanez. When the newspaper folded, he founded *La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orleans*, in which he invested altogether over 35,000 dollars of his personal fortune.¹⁰ While he had co-founded *L'Union* with his brother Jean-Baptiste, he was the sole proprietor of *La Tribune*.

La Tribune went still much further along the path of radicalism. It was bilingual, to reach a wider audience. Writing the front page in French and dedicating the back page to the English version was a means to address both the Creoles of Color, who generally spoke French, and the freedmen, who predominantly spoke English. It was also a means to reach Northern abolitionists and the Federal government. The second editor of *La Tribune*, Jean-Charles Houzeau, was one of the most radical editors of the post-Civil War era in New Orleans. Even he considered the fight led by the founder of the newspaper to be "very bold," and the fight for racial equality at large—which had then become the newspaper's position—was definitely uncommon for the mid-1860s in the South and even in the United States altogether. *La Tribune* was the first daily black newspaper in the country. Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, in the paragraphs he dedicates to Louis Charles Roudanez's combat uses an unmitigated vocabulary of praise. He speaks of "his long, perilous battle at *La Tribune*," of his "courage" and patriotism. When dealing with his membership in the Radical Republican Club in 1865, he constantly praises him using

words belonging to the same lexical field: “justice,” “patriotism,” “sincerity,” “righteousness,” and “respectability” are the terms he systematically associates with Roudanez (Desdunes 66).

All of Louis Charles’s actions were turned towards improving the conditions of the Creoles of color and the freedmen. His involvement in various charities was unfailing. He took part, with Thomy Lafon, in the foundation of the Louisiana Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans and funded the Providence Asylum (Blassingame 170-1). He was also involved in all the political fights of the period, and is often defined as a “civic leader” (Conrad ed. 697). He was a member of the Radical Republican Club (Desdunes 131) and was among the fifty whites and fifty blacks of the Louisiana Union Movement in 1873, and even one of the five whites and five blacks who were chosen among them to draft the manifesto of the movement (Fisher 75). He is, together with Paul Trevigne, on Blassingame’s list of Creoles of color who held the largest number of offices (Blassingame 157-8).

Although less visible, his brother Jean-Baptiste was also extremely active. He was a member of the New Orleans Freedmen’s Aid Association, with Aristide Mary and Camille Thierry, among others (Blassingame 57). His most famous action was most certainly his visit with Arnold Bertonneau to Abraham Lincoln, in 1864, to deliver a petition bearing 5,000 signatures and requesting franchise (Blassingame 212). Jean-Baptiste, as his brother, was a living proof that these Creoles of color of refugee descent were as involved in the most radical fight against racial prejudice as was imaginable at the time in the United States. As later Desdunes, with the Citizens’ Committee and their organized assaults against segregation in public transportation, Louis Charles and Jean-Baptiste Roudanez were indefatigable defenders of the most audacious actions against obscurantism in post-Civil War New Orleans.

What the life of Louis Charles Roudanez also teaches us about nineteenth-century New Orleans and the Saint-Domingue imprint on its society is the existence of a certain degree in cohesion of the refugee community taken in the large sense of the term, across racial boundaries. Both his medical practice and his involvement in politics and militant journalism led Louis Charles Roudanez to frequent contacts with the white community and always won him their respect, both in Louisiana and outside. In 1867, the Federal government desig-

nated *La Tribune* an official paper of the United States, one of the two in Louisiana accredited to publish texts of law, administrative announcements, and judicial decisions.¹¹

Beyond Louis Charles Roudanez's personality and activism, his Saint-Domingue ancestry might, at least in part, account for some of the links he had with the Louisiana white community. In many of their ventures, the Saint-Domingue refugees and their offspring indeed displayed a certain ethnic solidarity beyond racial divides. In journalism, education, Freemasonry, and in the development of cultural entertainment in New Orleans, white refugees and refugees of color often worked side by side (Dessens 46-66; 97; 146). Roudanez gave many examples of this in his life and actions, including in his political choices. Although his decision not to back Henry Clay Warmoth, the Republican candidate, in the 1868 Louisiana gubernatorial election was often considered as his greatest political mistake, an explanation to this decision might be found in his Saint-Domingue origins. Breaking with the Republican Party he had helped establish in Louisiana, he decided to support a ticket that was exclusively composed of Louisianans: James G. Taliaferro, a white Louisianan, for Governor, and Francis E. Dumas, a Louisianan of color, for Lieutenant-Governor. When facing the Anglo-Americans, the refugee community, white and black, felt the need to favor its Louisiana roots and displayed an obvious defiance towards the "Carpetbaggers", those strangers who were fighting for power in Louisiana. Although his choice was most certainly a mistake and marked the beginning of the decline of his political career, it might be explained by his being part of the Creole refugee community. A justification of this interpretation lays in the fact that his eulogy in *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orléans* was written by a prominent representative of the white community of refugee descent, Louis Placide Canonge.¹² What is clear is that, although Canonge was not a member of the same racial group as Louis Charles Roudanez and although he did not share his political positions, he showed much respect for the man and his struggle. As a white representative of the descendants of the refugees, Canonge, although he clearly expresses his disagreement with him on some issues, praises him for trying to rid Louisiana of the Carpetbaggers in an extremely witty continued metaphor in which he compares them with a pest (sometimes one of the plagues of Egypt, sometimes—of less divine origin—lice which make the whole Louisiana community itch). Roudanez and Canonge's common her-

itage explains their proximity of views and may indeed account for some of Louis Charles Roudanez's many achievements and also for his few mistakes.

Although he was exceptionally active, and thus might be considered as more than representative of his community, the life of Jean-Charles Roudanez teaches much about nineteenth-century New Orleans and the importance of the arrival there of thousands of exiles from Saint-Domingue. It shows the high level of education of these refugees and their offspring, but also the strong commitment to radical activism of the Creoles of color of refugee descent. Their courage in the context of the Civil War and of Reconstruction in the South possibly verged on folly but their actions were exceptional in the nineteenth-century South. The details of Louis Charles Roudanez's Saint-Domingue connection still require investigation, but replacing him within the Saint-Domingue refugee context in nineteenth-century New Orleans undoubtedly helps understand part of his commitment to his community and many of his actions. Although it does not, of course, negate his personal worth, or the worth of any of the Creoles of color for that matter, this "Saint-Domingue ferment" explains much of the life and activism in the nineteenth century Crescent City. The last words might be left to Canonge who concludes his eulogy by saying that Louis Charles Roudanez bequeathed his children a spotless name and one held in the highest esteem.¹³

NOTES

¹ The most numerous and best documented wave, that coming from Cuba in 1809-10, is a very good illustration of that numerical balance. Out of the 9,059 refugees who had reached Louisiana by January 1810, 2,731 were whites, 3,102 were free persons of color, and 3,226 were slaves. Report of the mayor of New Orleans to Governor Claiborne of January 18, 1810, published in *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*, January 27, 1810.

² Virginia Domínguez estimates above 90% the literacy rate among free Creoles of Color in 1860. See *White by Definition. Social Stratification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986) 134.

³ There are many examples of these transatlantic displacements in Jean Boze's correspondence in the Sainte-Gême Papers, MSS 100, The Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁴ See Rebecca Scott's excellent article cited in the bibliography on Edouard Tinchant.

⁵ Baptism record at Saint-Michael's parish Church in Couvent, Louisiana, Archives of the Diocese of Baton Rouge. Interestingly, Louis Charles Roudanez was recorded in the whites' registry. Among the sponsors, was M. Potier, president of the Collège d'Orleans.

⁶ See index of names cited by Moreau de St. Méry completed by Etienne Taillemite and the *Société d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* (<http://www.ghcaraibe.org/livres/oudiv/stmery/stmery-E.html>). More research remains to be conducted

here, in particular by looking at the Fleury and Roudanez entries in "Etat détaillé des liquidations opérées par la Commission chargée de répartir l'indemnité attribuée aux anciens colons de Saint-Domingue, en exécution de la Loi du 30 avril 1826, et conformément aux dispositions de l'Ordonnance du 9 mai suivant, Ministère des Finances," Centre des Archives d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

⁷ The entry gives 1804 as the wedding date although there is a note of the editor that reads "year confirmed in margin, listed among 1806 entries"). Whatever the correct date, the family was in Louisiana long before the main bulk of the exiles came in 1809-10.

⁸ "Esprit cultivé, distingué, le docteur Roudanez ne se vouait pas seulement à sa profession, il était épris aussi de tout ce qui parle à l'intelligence; de même qu'il suivait le mouvement de la science, il était familier avec celui des lettres, des arts. Il maniait la plume avec habileté", Nécrologie, *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, jeudi 13 mars 1890. ("a cultivated and distinguished mind, Doctor Roudanez did not solely dedicate himself to his profession, he was also enamored of everything that speaks to the intelligence; in the same way as he followed the progress of science, he was familiar with that of literature and the arts. He had a very elegant mastery of writing", Dessens translation).

⁹ David Rankin, "The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870," Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1976, 226. Although a few 1863 issues were in English, the paper was a generally a bi and tri-weekly written in French, clearly designed for a French-speaking audience, that of the New Orleans Creoles of color.

¹⁰ Charles Barthélémy Roussève, *The Negro in Louisiana. Aspects of his History and Literature* (New Orleans: The Xavier University Press, 1937) 119. In his necrology published in *The Daily Picayune*, the figure given is 50,000 dollars. The article is, however, full of imprecise data (including his birth wrongly placed in 1826) and should probably not be relied upon.

¹¹ *The Cabildo*, "The Black Press" in chapter "Reconstruction: A State Divided," Site of the Louisiana State Museum, 12 July 2007, <http://lsm.crt.state.la.us/cabildo/cab11.htm>.

¹² The son of Judge Jean-François Canonge, he was a famous lawyer who taught French at the University of New Orleans, edited *Le Propagateur Catholique* and *La Lorgnette*, wrote for *L'Abeille*, wrote plays, managed theatrical troupes and even directed Davis's New Orleans French Opera. See Dessens, 71, 85, 143.

¹³ "A coup sûr, il leur lègue un nom sans tâche, un des noms les plus considérés" ("He unquestionably bequeathes them a spotless name, one of the names held in highest consideration" Dessens translation).

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