



COVER OF SECOND ISSUE OF *Le Carillon*

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE  
FRENCH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS  
OF LOUISIANA

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PROLOGUE: FRENCH JOURNALS  
AND JOURNALISTS OF LOUISIANA

THE French newspapers and periodicals, which sprang up in Louisiana like mushrooms and died like flies during the nineteenth century, are well worth study, not only because they were for a long time the only cultural influence to reach a large part of the state's population isolated by its ignorance of English, but also because the men who founded and edited them were the most picturesque group of journalists this country has ever seen.

In pioneer periods the struggle for mere existence is so depleting that people have neither energy nor leisure for reading, and children are lucky to obtain even a rudimentary education. So it was to be expected that the French colonists should feel no need for newspapers during the first years of their presence in Louisiana.

NEW ORLEANS PAPERS

By the end of the eighteenth century a number of Creole planters had become sufficiently rich to employ

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I wish to express my appreciation for the courtesy and sympathetic assistance I have received from Mr. R. J. Usher and Miss Marguerite D. Renshaw of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, from Mr. James A. McMillan of the Louisiana State University Library at Baton Rouge, from Miss Freret of the Louisiana Historical Society Library, from Miss Josie Cerf of the Louisiana State Museum, and from members of the staffs of the Wisconsin Historical Library of Madison, Wis., the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C., the New York Public Library, and La Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Especially do I offer my thanks to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society, who made valuable suggestions.

tutors for their children and to send their daughters to the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, "to be finished," and their sons to the best universities in France.

This growing reading public was forced to depend for their knowledge of foreign affairs upon the chance newspapers brought in by sea captains, and it was not until 1794 that they acquired a publication of their own. In that year Louis Duclot, a French printer who had fled the Negro uprising in Santo Domingo, landed in New Orleans and straightway started a newspaper, the first in the colony, which made its initial appearance on March 3, 1794. It was christened "Le Moniteur de la Louisiane," and its quaint motto, "*Bombalio, Clangor, Stridor, Taratantara, Murmur,*" evidently implied that it meant to be vociferously articulate. It was a strange anomaly that the first French newspaper in Louisiana should be born under the Spanish flag, twenty-seven years after French rule had ceased to exist.

The Spanish bureaucracy of the colony regarded the printed word with suspicion and surrounded poor Duclot with such <sup>1</sup> restrictions that he could not even post on fence or door a broadside offering a reward for a runaway slave, without first obtaining the signature of the Governor or his secretary on every copy. In spite of this he was so successful that two years later he was able to employ another French refugee, Jean Baptiste Lesuer Fontaine, as editor. Fontaine must have possessed unusual qualifications for success, for his obituary stated that "his talents as a comedian (sic) and editor, his social qualities and gentlemanly conduct endeared him to society." He lived in the hope of seeing a Bourbon once more on the throne of France, and he was such a Legitimist that he could never bring himself to refer to Napoleon, even in print, except as "Monsieur de Bonaparte."

The "Moniteur" flourished for twenty years and

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<sup>1</sup>Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797, by Francis Baily. London, 1856. p. 313.

remained the sole newspaper in the colony up to the time it passed to the United States in 1803. Immediately after the cession the onerous restrictions and tariffs imposed upon commerce by the Spanish were removed, and energetic, enterprising Yankees began to pour into the country. They bought land and slaves—commodities the Creoles possessed in abundance—which sent prices soaring. Although this at first made money for the natives, they soon resented the intrusion of these brusque foreigners who did not speak their language. Animosities and jealousies, political, social and financial, arose between the two races and, as in all times of political conflict, newspapers were born to champion the factions. In the first seven years of American rule eight journals, published wholly or partly in French, sprang into being. Four of them expired within the first twelve months, but the others lasted from nine to seventy years.

After awhile the Creoles became resigned to the new rule and the waning strife was reflected in a decreased newspaper birth rate. In the next decade, 1810 to 1820, only three papers were started, and in the following ten years only six.

Although 1827 saw the beginning of "L'Abeille," which was to complete almost a century run, all the journals up to this time might be classed as "incunabula." They were experiments, and like most first attempts, were awkward and clumsy. Foreign affairs, that is, such scant information as could be gleaned from sea captains, their passengers, and the stale newspapers they brought, occupied the greatest space. Lists of arriving and departing vessels came next in importance and were followed by a few scattering advertisements and offers of rewards for the return of runaway slaves. Local affairs were not considered news and were never mentioned; the town was so small, information of this sort could be exchanged in the coffee houses. The only exception to this rule occurred near election, when a

few political articles of a vituperatively partisan flavor were printed.

The character of the men who edited these papers made these limitations inevitable. These gentlemen were French, for the most part, hence their predilection for foreign news; and they were men of action rather than pen-pushers. Fearless, vindictive, often witty, they fought continually among themselves and, I really believe, gained many more subscribers by the spectacular duels they engaged in, than by the editorials they wrote. Only a steady diet of roasted pelicans stuffed with firecrackers could explain their unbelievably touchy, hair-trigger, choleric dispositions.

St. Romes, who bought the bi-lingual "Courrier" from Thierry in 1815, has left a particularly lively account of one such journalistic conflict. When his hated rival, John Gibson of the "Argus," ran for mayor, St. Romes published a blast against him, couched in quaint Gallicized English, in which he said: "Those who have never dilapidated the fortunes of their wards; those who have never induced a young girl to come out of a convent to lead her into error; finally, those who have never had their faces slapped by Mayor Clark without seeking satisfaction, are invited to vote for Mr. John Gibson as Mayor."

Of course an encounter ensued and Saint Romes published a delightfully graphic description of it in his paper:

The traitor came yesterday to Hewlett's coffeehouse, where I was seated looking on at a game of backgammon . . . and gave me from behind a blow with his fist in the face, which dazed me on my chair for several seconds. Having recovered from my surprise, I perceived standing a few steps from me the coward, the traitor, the infamous John Gibson, the editor of the Argus, with his hand in his breast as if in the act of drawing a weapon! I rushed upon him and striking him with the sharp end of my umbrella full in the stomach, he lost his balance. Then, throwing aside my umbrella, I jumped upon him, seized him by the throat with my two hands, and dragged him or rather carried him to the reading table. I threw him with all my strength upon the table, his face upward, and there I began

to renew the strangling scene in "Virginius," but seeing that the rascal would not give up the ghost, I disengaged my right hand to take my penknife and rip his entrails, but I had left it at home, and my hands being my only weapon, I began the strangling process again, when I perceived that the assassin had a pair of pistols and a dagger in the left side pocket of his coat; I made some effort to seize the dagger in order to nail the coward to the table, but just as I was to execute that meritorious act I was torn away from my prey by a crowd of friends and enemies, who thereby afforded the poltroon an opportunity to effect his escape.

Jean Leclerc, who founded "*L'Ami des Lois*" in 1809, was another of these quick-tempered firebrands. When General Pakenham attacked New Orleans in 1815, Leclerc dropped everything and took his printers to the front, fought valiantly, and returned only after the English had been thoroughly routed. Not until then did he get out an extra about the battle, in which he apologized for the non-appearance of his paper by saying:

The editor and others employed in this office, at the moment of invasion, joined their fellow citizens in the camp and thought themselves more usefully as well as more honorably employed in defending their country than in satisfying the public appetite for news.

When peace returned Leclerc appeased his belligerency by duelling and one day, happening to meet an old enemy in the Public Exchange, they both drew swords out of their canes and started to fight. Poor Leclerc finally fell, quite badly wounded, but in spite of his suffering he remarked with a smile as his friends picked him up: "I call you to witness that my adversary has justified me in calling him an ass. I needed bleeding in this hot spell and the fool, instead of injuring me, has saved me a surgeon's fee!"

Benjamin Buisson was, in his way, just as hard-bitten and fantastic a character as Leclerc. Born in France, and a graduate of "*L'École Impériale Polytechnique*," he joined the Napoleonic armies and was promoted on the field for bravery by the "Little

DIMANCHE, 4 JANVIER, 1874.

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# GREAT ATTRACTION!



ARRIVEE DE LA GRANDE

## MENAGERIE.

Prix d'entrée: 5 sous.

L'HOMME-CHIEN,  
LA FEMME SANS SEXE,  
L'ORANG-OUTANG BARBIER.

—ET—  
**5 MARS**

OU LE

**MANGEUR DE LOUISIANAIS,**  
sont enfin revenus!

MM. KELLOGG, LONGSTREET et Co., ont l'honneur d'informer le public de la Nouvelle-Orléans qu'ils feront, le

**Lundi, 5 Janvier, 1874,**  
rue Dryades, entre Canal et Commune, l'ouverture de leur

## GRANDISSIME MENAGERIE.

On y verra toute sorte de bêtes et les curiosités les plus épatautes qui aient été produites par la Nature en délire.

Un grand nombre de Gorilles, de macaques, de bêtes fauves, de babouins, etc., font partie de la Compagnie.

Trois heures après l'ouverture de la Ménagerie un petit nègre, ayant occupé la position de Lieutenant-Gouverneur dans l'Afrique Centrale, fera des sauts périlleux surprenants et se rasera sans miroir.

Le spectacle se terminera par une pantomime patriotique intitulée:

**5 MARS**

OU

**L'ASSASSIN DE 3 LOUISIANAIS.**

N. B.—On peut fumer dans la salle de spectacle. La pluie n'empêchera pas la représentation, et le public est prié de se munir de désinfectants.

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"CIRCUS BILL" ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONVENING OF A "BLACK AND TAN" STATE LEGISLATURE. From Le Carillon

Corporal" himself. After his chief was sent to St. Helena, he refused to stay in France and emigrated to New Orleans. Here in 1829 he started "Le Journal du Commerce." It died in three years and Buisson got the job of surveying the American section of the city. As he laid out the streets he named them after Napoleonic victories, and that is why New Orleans still has thoroughfares called Austerlitz, Marengo, Milan, Jena, Berlin, Cadiz, and even Napoleon and Josephine. Sometimes his wicked little sons would ask, "Why don't you call one Waterloo or Moscow?" And then they'd run to escape his stick.

When the Civil War broke out, although he was then sixty-eight years old, Buisson volunteered immediately and was made a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, and was in command of the defenses below the city when Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans.

The tradition inaugurated by these fire-eating journalists, of editing newspapers with the point of their sword rather than with that of the pen, survived for many years; and the hours they must have spent in practicing fencing and marksmanship adequately explain the paucity of the news they printed and the slovenly style in which it was written. These conditions made it difficult for women to own papers; but one enterprising widow, according to Eyma, who had inherited a weekly, solved the problem by printing this manifesto on her front page:

We take pleasure in announcing to our readers that Mr. John Smith, able writer and zealous American, has been engaged to conduct the political discussion in our newspaper during the approaching election. Although Mr. Smith has a charming character and is most courteous, he has already fought five duels and killed his man each time. He puts at the service of our editorial department, independently of a mass of excellent political arguments, two long swords, a Parson gun, two revolvers, and a remarkable collection of sword canes, not to mention two calves of steel. We bespeak for him a cordial welcome into the corps of political writers.

After 1830 the papers cast off their swaddling clothes. Political news of a national as well as local character



began to appear, together with occasional poems. A period of financial inflation arrived and, in 1835, eight banks were chartered in New Orleans and emitted a flood of paper currency which swelled to four or five times the amount of their reserves. It was the ten dollar bills of one of these institutions, with the French word "dix" printed on them, that fastened the name "Dixie" upon the South. Innumerable companies were formed to dig canals, build railroads, and finance all sorts of projects; and this wave of speculation and fictitious prosperity hatched out a swarm of tiny, ephemeral newspapers, many of them named after animals, like "Le Renard," "L'Ecureuil," and "l'Ane."

Then came the panic of 1837, which destroyed the weaker journals; but by 1840 the tide had turned and New Orleans was once more a thriving port, the fourth in importance in the United States. With this increasing prosperity came the golden era of French journalism in Louisiana and, between 1840 and 1850, thirty-three new French journals were started in New Orleans and seventeen in the Parishes. This, of course, did not mean that they were all being published at once; for many did not survive their first year, and as near as I have been able to compute it, the average life of a Louisiana French newspaper was only a fraction over four years.

#### THE "FRENCHMEN FROM FRANCE."

No proper acknowledgment has yet been made of the great part in the development of Louisiana journalism played by the "Frenchmen from France," as they were called in New Orleans to differentiate them from Creoles; nor have they ever before been given the credit of founding more than half of the French language periodicals and of furnishing more than fifty per cent of the men who wrote and edited them; yet this is understating rather than exaggerating the actual facts.

These French members of the Fourth Estate were swept to Louisiana in three waves. The first group, as we have seen, went to Santo Domingo and were driven to seek refuge in New Orleans by the bloody slave insurrection. Its members were responsible not only for founding the first newspaper, but also many of those begun in the decade following the American acquisition of Louisiana. The next influx came "direct from Paris" and was composed of political exiles of the Revolution in 1830 that made Louis Philippe "king of the French"; and the last band to come were members of that vast army of French Republicans proscribed by Napoleon III between 1848 and 1851. Although most of them had received excellent journalistic training in France, and some were even university graduates, their lives after landing in Louisiana exhibited a monotonous uniformity of pattern. Penniless, they first turned to teaching to keep body and soul together. But journalism was a drug-like habit they were powerless to break. As soon as they saved, or were able to borrow, a few dollars, they started newspapers and, more often than not, watched them expire only to launch others. One of these persevering publishers, after the débâcle of his journal, decorated his shop front with a large sign in French, reading:

On the still smoking ruins *l'Opinion* is resuscitated.

Although a Louisiana newspaper was an Arab's horse in the desert for many a Frenchman and saved him from starving, the rewards of publishing were never alluring. One editor painted miniatures and gave drawing lessons to make money enough to support his paper; and another, Marciacq, after eighteen years of newspaper work summed up the situation, saying he had never made as much money or enjoyed as much leisure as after he had gone to keeping a corner grocery store in New Orleans.

## THE LITERARY PERIODICALS OF THE 1840S

It was some of these French-born journalists who in the early 1840s were brave enough to launch a more intellectual type of periodical than Louisiana had yet known. It took the form of a small weekly or monthly review, generally labeled "Littéraire et Artistique," containing long serials, musical and dramatic critiques, and accounts of society happenings. They marked the change from a journalism of mere news to a journalism of ideas, and, until the Civil War, they were quite successful because they catered to a public leavened by many wealthy Creole graduates of French universities, thoroughly imbued with Latin culture.

The best of these semi-literary magazines, and the closest to the continental model, was the weekly "Revue Louisianaise." Its gossip was amusing, its dramatic and literary criticism cleverly written, its European news well edited, and its serials, which were pirated, were the cream of contemporary French novels. It even ran a smart series of silhouette caricatures of leading citizens, drawn by a visiting French sculptor, Garbeille, and, in its eagerness to encourage indigenous poetry it printed such quaint effusions as Mme. Evershed's rhymed gratitude to Mr. Boyer for being so kind "as to visit her on several evenings and cure her pains by the aid of his electro-magnetic machine."

The most typographically pretentious of these periodicals bore the shy title of "La Violette," and the gallant motto, "*Dieu et les Belles*," appeared on its blue cover. Each page had a delightfully quaint corner design of fat, winged Cupids clinging to the projections of elaborately rococo scrolls. A French refugee, Charles de la Bretonne, under the pseudonym of Jacques de Rouquigny, contributed historical novels, theatrical criticism and rhapsodic prose pictures of Creole maids and matrons; while another Frenchman, Duverger, supplied the operatic criticism and inter-

# Le Charivari Louisianais.

<p>Enfoncés des Démocrates &amp; la Constitution !!!! Romance nouvelle. Paroles des Elus Whigs. Air: Eh' gai, gai, gai mon officier.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers L'oyance à de la chance.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers Y aient leurs valets.</p> <p>Mes amis, en décembre, Grâce aux élections. Nous aurons à la Chambre De fameuse champions.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Enfoncés réformistes, Et la convention! Loces, anti-banquises! Enfoncés le Houston!</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Aussi plus de misère! Nous avons du caudex</p>	<p>Pour mener la galère Nous sommes au complet. Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>De la législature Les gens à fonctions Seront l'on vous assure, Les plus beaux échantillons.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Si l'on parle de banque, Qui peut valoir ma foi! Pour que au bill venne manqué, Les banquiers de l'encre!</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Comment cela justice Revoir les erratas, Si l'on n'entend d'office Hunt, Calbertson, Hule!</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>D'une loi de finance Le projet est-il bon, Si l'on n'entend s'avance Le candidat Mousson?</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p>	<p>Quant à la banqueroute, Qui jamais, mieux que nous, Sait vous frayer la route Qui vous y mène tous?</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Nous sommes du système De la nationalité, Préférons la deuxième Municipalité.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>On se même être Que nous ne manquons pas (C'est sans doute pour rire) Parmi nous de Juifs.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Cour du populaire Doit se connaître un peu En argent, en affaire De courtage, ou vejeu.</p> <p>Eh' gai, gai, gai, de nos banquiers, etc</p> <p>Notre appétit est ample; Quoi d'explus naturel? Chaque banque est un temple; Mauricie de Paris!</p>
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esting incidents in the lives of great musicians. Sometimes original musical compositions were included.

The very antithesis of all this elaboration was a strange little sheet called "*Le Charivari Louisianais*," of which I have seen but one copy, that of July 8, 1842. It was written in long hand and printed by lithography, and contained a political poem, election news, city items, a boldly drawn cartoon, and a long complaint about the difficulty of obtaining acid with which to clean lithographic stones, as the druggists always suspected it was to be used for committing suicide.

More curious from an intellectual point of view was "*Le Taenarion*," a semi-monthly magazine of rhymed satires, written and published by Felix de Courmont, a Creole from the Antilles. Inspired by Barthélemy, that most prolific of French poets, de Courmont, like a veritable Don Quixote tilting at windmills he could not conquer, filled every issue of his periodical with a grandiose jeremiad of bitter, invective verse, aimed at some social injustice that had existed from the beginning of the world. In the number in which he used a harlot as a symbol of cupidity, he advised that all bankers be beaten from New Orleans as Christ lashed the money-changers from the temple—advice that sounds strangely like some recent congressional recommendations. In another he launched a vituperative attack upon prostitution and bitterly arraigned the local legislators for passing a law licensing lewd women. This satire of course created a furore, for in those days animals had no gender, only tables had legs, and to mention the word prostitution in the hearing of a lady was enough to call forth a challenge. The Creole papers boiled over with indignation, and some of the critics attacked even his grammar, versification, and rhyme.

In the preface to his following satire, he roundly defended himself, showing that Corneille had used the same grammatical form which his detractors insisted was incorrect, and then, like a small child thumbing his

NOUVELLE-ORLEANS, 2 MARS 1873.

re.

à l'appel du  
28 février,  
langé une  
iron. La  
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## BRANLE-BAS GENERAL.

## Masquerade du Sénat Panaché!

## Can-Can Africain.

Françoise à califourchon sur les épaules du  
Juge Durell.

D'après les ordres de S. M. le Roi du Car-  
naval, nous avons assisté, mardi, dans la  
journée, au défilé de la procession des mas-  
ques; et, le soir, nous avons pris une part  
active au grand bal donné dans la salle de  
l'Exposition.

Le lendemain, nous étant mis à l'œuvre,  
nous avons tracé un tableau très fidèle de  
tout ce qui s'était passé dans ces deux solen-  
nités; mais S. M. et son Grand Ordonnateur  
ayant disparus, sans laisser aucun indice de  
leurs *schereabouts*, nous ne savions plus à quel  
saint envoyer notre rapport. Un travail aus-  
si consciencieux ne doit pas être entièrement  
perdu pour la postérité; aussi, afin de ne pas  
désillusionner nos lecteurs, nous publions,  
dans ce numéro, la partie du rapport qui a  
trait à la répétition générale de la grande  
masquerade, répétition qui a eu lieu dans la  
salle du Sénat panaché de *Dryades street*, le  
mardi 25 février 1873, de neuf heures à midi.  
— Voici la chose :

Or donc, le 25 février, la salle du Sénat dia-  
pré était vide de meubles, mais non d'indivi-  
dus des deux sexes et autres. Pupitres, chais-  
ses, bancs, crachoirs et rateliers avaient été  
enlevés. Le siège sur lequel Antouène carre  
sa gracieuse personne avait disparu; seule,  
l'estrade qui supporte le trône auguste du Né-  
grillon avait été respectée.

Une foule, à deux ou plusieurs pattes, cir-  
cule dans la salle. On y remarque le Juge  
Durell, déguisé en Pierrot, la figure enfari-  
née pour cacher, sans doute, la pâleur de ce  
*Vice-Gérant de Dieu*, assez couard pour ne  
plus oser montrer son museau sans être ac-  
compagné. On y voit aussi le célèbre Juge  
de la troisième *Dassé-Cour*, enfoui entre deux  
vieilles négresses bambara, ses tantes en re-  
ligion, qui le complimentent sur l'exactitude  
de son costume de *Singe*; et, cependant, le  
Juge n'a rien changé à ses habits de tous les  
jours, ni à son air naturel.

Au premier coup de neuf heures, un né-

grillon, déguisé en néggrillon, grimpe sur l'es-  
trade, et fait l'appel nominal.

24 Sénateurs et 57 Sénatrices, leurs épou-  
ses légitimes, répondent à leur nom.

— Michés les Sénateurs, tchombo von prête  
pour zexercices la yé; Liétnant-Gouvernair  
Antouène apé fini costumé li, et so famo  
Françoise aussi.

La foule, les yeux fixés sur l'estrade, attend  
avec anxiété.

A 9 heures cinq minutes, le néggrillon repa-  
rait et annonce :

Actéon le blond chasseur.

Stella la Bayadère.

Tableau!...

Antouène, sous les formes d'un



apparaît sur l'estrade, suivi de Françoise  
dans un singulier costume.

La Liétnante-Gouvernair est en



et porte un maillot azur.

— Michés les Sénateurs, dit Antouène, après  
avoir salué, fan excusé nou ai nou fé vou at-  
tande; mé cé faite à Françoise, li té pas en.  
pab fini habillé li.

— *Shocking!* murmure Durell, qui vient  
d'ingurgiter sept cocktails coup sur coup.

— Li just Pair in arc-en-ciel, siffle l'épouse  
de Zozo, déguisée en



à l'oreille de sa voisine.

Une



— c'est Zozo Barber — se dresse sur ses  
pattes :

— Nou excuse vou, é mo mandé la parole  
que mo pran. — Mo oulé counin pourquoi yé  
pèle Antouène *Accordéon*, quan li cé in che  
vreuil.

— Mo pas in chevreuil, mofn cé in *daim*.

— Vou menti, c'est moïn qui in



s'écrie Ingraham, ce mo déguisement, et mo  
pas oulé je insulté lête li.

SATIRICAL ACCOUNT OF A BALL GIVEN BY  
COLORED SENATORS. From *Le Carillon*

nose, he ended with the rhetorical question, "And, imprudent critic, what do you say to that little boy?"

There also appeared in this decade of the 1840s a Franco-Spanish weekly, "L'Omnibus"; a Masonic magazine, "Le Franc Maçon"; and "Le Moniteur du Sud," published in French and Italian.

#### THE 1850s

Certain causes had been gradually undermining New Orleans' importance as a port and a city. She had specialized too narrowly in the handling and export of cotton alone and had neglected the sugar of Louisiana, the tobacco of Kentucky, and the flour of Ohio. Freight that used to come to New Orleans by steamboat began to be deflected to other ports by competing railroads and canals, while the increase in draught of ocean-going ships made it hard for them to cross the bars which then blocked the entrance to the Mississippi. By 1850 New Orleans was on a distinct down grade and her shrinking importance was evidenced in various ways, one of them being that fewer French newspapers were launched. As against thirty-three between 1840 and 1850, only sixteen were started in the decade just preceding the Civil War. Among these was a group of small reviews of drama, literature and music, such as "L'Entr'Acte," "Le Coup d'Oeil," "La Loge d'Opera," and "L'Album Louisianaise."

A bizarre little magazine, "Le Spiritualiste," appeared in 1857 and lived for a year upon the gullibility of the public. It was started by a most enterprising and original rascal, Joseph Barthet, who devised a unique method of obtaining literary contributions from famous personages. Being a "medium," he merely established communication with distinguished defunct authors and wrote down what their spirits dictated. Bossuet, Madame de Staël, Pope Leo X, and Vincent de Paul were among the famous shades he conscripted, while Fenelon supplied a long treatise

upon the proper bringing up of maidens, and Danton elucidated the character of Mirabeau. Molière was the most courteous of them all, for he sent a rhymed message of apology in French, saying: "You must not be surprised, Gentlemen, at my absence; silence is not always indifference."

It was not fair to judge these journals by "Le Spiritualiste," however, for Eyma relates a story of one paper which employed methods of publicity that could not have been bettered by the most modern "tabloid." When the completion in 1858 of the first transatlantic cable was celebrated by an exchange of messages between Queen Victoria and President Buchanan he said, this paper took advantage of the incident by publishing the next morning in huge headlines:

#### SECOND CABLE FROM THE QUEEN

London, August 17, 1858.

Dear old Buchanan, Prince Albert is suffering from a very grave attack of king's evil; the Prince of Wales is in bed with the royal itch; we ourselves are afflicted with Indian sores. Mr. Dallas informs me that "Oriental Life," the liniment put up by Porter, is a certain remedy for these ills. Please buy me a supply and ship it by the next steamer; you will oblige your old friend,

Victoria, regina.

#### MEDICAL MAGAZINES

In early days most of the good physicians in Louisiana had received their medical degrees<sup>1</sup> in Paris, so it was only natural for the first medical magazine in the state to be published in French. It appeared in 1839, under the title "Journal de la Société Médicale de la Nouvelle Orléans," but lasted only a year. No other was attempted until, in 1852, Dr. Charles Delery (D.M.P.) published "L'Union Médicale de la Louisiane," which also expired after a year's run. Two magazines devoted to homeopathy followed:

<sup>1</sup>They used the initials D. M. P. after their names: Doctor of Medicine of the Faculty of Paris.



"Le Practicien Homeopathique" (1857-58), and "L'Homophon" (1859-61). The last medical monthly in French to be launched appeared in 1859 and bore the same name as the first one, "Journal de la Société Médicale de la Nouvelle Orléans." An amusing but bitter battle was carried on in its issues, as to whether Creoles and Negroes were immune to yellow fever. The peppery Dr. Delery insisted that they were not, while Dr. Faget stoutly defended the opposite thesis. Feeling ran so high that the whole medical faculty took sides, and Delery tried to prove his point by challenging Faget to a duel, but he refused to fight, on the ground that he was a Christian. At the outbreak of the Civil War this paper disappeared because most of its contributors went to the front.

Dr. Delery, by the way, was a most beguiling and choleric Creole, who wrote with amazing fecundity, philosophical essays, plays, medical pamphlets, and poetry without end. Indeed, after General Butler captured New Orleans, the fiery doctor aimed against him a poetical barrage, that was a gem of ineffectual invective. In one of these rhymed shots, after asking oratorically, "What belly has vomited you forth, in what den were you conceived, how was it possible that such a scaly reptile did not rend your mother's entrails when you were born?", he continued by politely suggesting that "Humanity blushes to call you a man, you panther, hyena, jackal, tiger—all in one—you synthesis of all calamities!"

No poet can ever resist the temptation to recite his own verses, so word of the doctor's lyrical attacks soon percolated to General Butler, who ordered his arrest. Some of Delery's friends, warned of this in advance, hurried to his house to save him. Knowing he would never consent to run away, they said a vessel had just come in with fine French wines and they invited him to go aboard to sample them. Delery accepted and after his friends had got him into the cabin, with a bottle or two of good Bordeaux under his belt, they

excused themselves and left, and the ship immediately afterward weighed anchor and set sail. When the doctor finally discovered he had been shanghaied, he was furious but helpless. Eventually he was landed in Paris, where in 1864 he published a pamphlet called "Confédérés & Fédéraux. Les Yankees, fondateurs de l'esclavage aux États-Unis, et initiateurs du droit de Sécession." It was an excellent defense of slavery and a spirited attack on the Yankees, whose ships were the first to bring slaves from Africa, and whose New England ancestors had killed or captured the whole Pequot tribe, had divided up the children and squaws as slaves, and had sold the braves into West Indian serfdom. I must admit, he made a very strong case for his side of the argument.

#### RECONSTRUCTION JOURNALISM

The capture of New Orleans just a year after the beginning of the Civil War, gave rise to two most picturesque and vituperative groups of opposing papers, which voiced the struggle for control between the Afro-Carpetbaggers and the ex-Confederates; and the greatest innovation of this period was the rise, one after the other, of three newspapers conducted by and for Negroes.

The first publication in Louisiana of the work of colored men, of which I have been able to find any record, occurred in 1843 when five Negroes, among them Armand Lanusse, had some French poetry and short stories printed in a pocket magazine, "l'Album Littéraire," edited by Marciacq, a Frenchman. Two years later Lanusse brought out a small anthology of verse written in French by seventeen Negroes, called "Les Cenelles." That was all.

From then on the free men of color grew in wealth, education and numbers until, in 1860, there were 10,000 in New Orleans out of an entire population of 150,000, and they paid taxes upon \$15,000,000 worth

of property. Some of them even owned slaves and lived in such luxury that, when one octoroon family entertained General Butler, seven courses were served on solid silver plates.

The presence of Federal troops, after the city was captured in April 1862, so emboldened this class that Dr. Louis C. Roudanez, an intelligent octoroon from Santo Domingo, who had served as externe in a Parisian hospital, decided that the time had come to agitate for social and political equality between the races. So he, his brother, and some of their friends launched the first Negro newspaper in the state: "La Union." Of course this aroused the greatest animosity among the white Southerners, and as the journal's demands for race equality became more and more insistent, threats were made to kill Paul Trévigne, its mulatto editor, and to burn the paper. Some of Roudanez' associates became so frightened that in 1864 publication was stopped. The doctor bought all the equipment and immediately founded another bilingual paper, "La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orléans." He installed as editor a Belgian, known as C. J. Dalloz, but who, in reality, was Jean Charles Houzeau, a distinguished astronomer, author of many scientific works, and a member both of the Royal Academy of Belgium and of the French Institute. Exiled from his native land on account of his Republican ideas, "Dalloz" edited this paper for four years, displaying the most bitter and vehement radicalism in his battle for Negro rights. This strange scientist, perfectly fearless in the face of all sorts of threats against his life, was present at the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in Mechanics Hall when it was mobbed in 1866 and so many of its members, both Negroes and Carpet-baggers, were slaughtered. He escaped by a miracle and went directly to his office, although he knew it might be attacked at any moment, and got out an edition of the "Tribune" containing a full account of the horrors of the riot. Unfortunately the entire year



*Si vous l'aimez, prenez-en*

A "RECONSTRUCTION" GOVERNOR DEPICTED AS RECEIVING MONEY FROM GAMBLERS AND FEEDING WHISKEY TO NEGROES. From *Le Carillon*

1866 is missing from the otherwise complete files in the Archives of the New Orleans City Hall, and I have never been able to find copies.

During his editorship "Daloz" contributed a great number of trenchant, well-written editorials and relieved their seriousness by publishing long romantic serials probably pirated from a French source. One of these, "John Brown, le Christ des Noirs," seemed peculiarly appropriate.

Although "Daloz" left New Orleans in 1868 the "Tribune" continued publication until sometime in the 1870s. Its files constitute an important historical source because it was edited by a man of superior intellect and education, and so preserves an accurate, intelligent picture of the Negro side of the passionate battle for white supremacy fought during the period of Reconstruction.

There was a third bi-lingual Negro paper, "The Crusader," which lasted only a few years. Edited and owned by Louis A. Martinet, a mulatto who had served in the Reconstruction State Legislature, its influence was negligible, because it was not founded until after the Negro cause had been completely lost.

This black Republican bi-lingual press was reinforced by two journals launched by Frenchmen who sympathized with the Negro cause. "L'Equité," the first of these, was started in 1871 by Dr. Charles Testut, who had previously founded eight short-lived sheets. That it lasted only six months is not at all surprising, because Testut alienated his public in every possible way. He violently espoused the Negro cause, defended the Masons and attacked the Pope, in a city that was Southern and overwhelmingly Catholic, and to cap the climax, he affirmed a belief in spiritism. He was ridiculous in his rages, and when Caron, the publisher of a rival paper, "La Commune," made the error of stating in print that Testut had been born on the island of Guadeloupe, that irascible old Frenchman challenged his fellow editor to a duel. When Caron refused to fight because he had a wife and children to support, Testut published an outrageous attack upon him, which began by courteously stating, "I spit in your face."

"Le Sud," edited by Charles de la Bretonne under the pseudonym "Jacques de R. . .," was the second of these papers. It appeared first on July 4, 1873, and was as rabidly pro-negro as "L'Equité."

When "Le Carillon" published a series of quotations from various scientists holding that the Negro race was mentally and morally inferior to the Caucasian, "Le Sud" took up the challenge, praised the Negro's intelligence extravagantly, and even stated that after all the gulf between Negro and Creole was not so great because the French and Spanish ancestors of the latter had a touch of the tar brush. It explained this on historical grounds stating that the Moors had

miscegenated with their Negro slaves for generations before overrunning Spain and, as the Spaniards had intermarried with their conquerors, black blood must run in their veins too. In the case of France the Ethiopian strain had been introduced—according to “Le Sud,” by the thousands of Negro slaves brought in by the Roman Legions when they captured Gaul.

This charge aroused a terrific tempest. The Creole papers bristled with corrosive editorials defending the purity of French and Spanish blood, and Alfred Roman, associate-editor of “L’Abeille,” challenged de la Bretonne to a duel. The editor of “Le Sud,” acting in logical accordance with his theories of equality, named a mulatto as his second, but this so outraged public opinion that he was forced to substitute a white man. The duel was fought with swords and Roman was twice wounded in the arm. Honor was satisfied, even if the Franco-Spanish champion was defeated, and in this anomalous manner the purity of French and Spanish blood was vindicated.

“Le Carillon,” in whose columns appeared the articles which first started the controversy, was probably the most unusual, amusing, and vividly colorful paper ever published in the state. It owed its inception to Dr. Durel, a Creole physician educated in France. After serving through the war as a Confederate surgeon, he had returned to New Orleans, a ruined man, and had tried to rebuild a practice among patients as hard hit as he was. His sense of justice, outraged by the wrongs he saw inflicted upon his people, led him to suggest to a few friends that they found a paper to champion their rights. “Le Carillon” was the result and appeared in 1869, just when the spoliation of Louisiana by the Afro-Carpetbaggers was at its worst and the impotent rage of her helpless white inhabitants at its hottest. Advertised as “*peu politique, encore moins littéraire, et pas du tout sérieux*,” this gay, irreverent little French weekly had the temerity to declare in its very first issue, that if Carpetbaggers

were to be licensed like peddlers, the fees would amount to enough to save the state from bankruptcy. All New Orleans laughed, and overnight the paper became a much-needed safety valve for the hate and pent-up bitterness of the Creoles. It even published amusing political caricatures, one of which showed Napoleon III abdicating and about to place his emperor's crown upon the head of a kneeling General Grant, whose coattails were being held up by Secretary Stanton acting as a maid of honor. Sarcastic editorials and satirical attacks appeared in plenty, among them a very scathing but amusing serial called, *Le mirifique et veridique Histoire de Mr. John Carpetbagger*. Notwithstanding all this the paper survived the winter only to expire in May for want of subscribers.

During the next two years the idea of resurrecting it became an obsession with Dr. Durel, who believed that "Le Carillon" could help to arouse the white Louisianians to action and show them the way to freedom. Finally his wife sold her last possessions, the jewels which had been her mother's, and with the proceeds



*Abdication — — — Tableau!*

NAPOLEON THE THIRD ABDICATING IN FAVOR OF GENERAL GRANT;  
SECRETARY STANTON ACTS AS "MAID OF HONOR." *From Le Carillon*

the doctor revived "Le Carillon." He had been attacked by dropsy in the meantime, but even this could not hamper his industry and he treated patients all day and sat up half the night writing editorials or musical critiques. This time the paper became a success and was even more sprightly and biting than it was before. It defined the mulatto as an "inferior race much less useful to society than would be the adulterous offspring of a carp and a rabbit"; spoke of the state legislative body as "Le Sénat Radicanaille;" and published an impudent quatrain about a Carpetbagger governor, which ran;

The other day in a swampy bog  
A serpent bit Wm. Pitt Kellogg.  
Who was poisoned, do you say?  
The snake; it died that very day.

From time to time it also printed the most hilariously outrageous and even Rabelaisian accounts of the doings of the Negro legislators; the particular object of its humorous invective being a small black Negro, César C. Antoine, an ex-barber who had gone into politics and become, first, state senator, and then Lieutenant-Governor. He was a peculiarly fruitful subject for caricature because he never appeared in public without a top hat, frock coat, green gloves and a walking stick. The "Carillon" often referred to him as the "Orang-outang," and never tired of depicting him in embarrassing positions: being shot in the pants for stealing okra, having his eye blacked by his huge wife Françoese, or in spite of the "Bill of Rights," getting kicked out of a confectionary shop where only whites were served. In the account of a Carnival ball attended by twenty-seven black senators accompanied by "fifty-seven of their legitimate spouses," the paper declared that Antoine came disguised as a — and then followed a small cut of a deer with branching antlers, a Gallic suggestion that the "Lieutenant-Governess" was crowning him with the horns of her infidelity. Another indirect slap at her weakness for men was



delivered a few days later when "Le Carillon" reported Antoine as asking Françoese if she did not think it most strange that two such black people as they were should have such a *café-au-lait* child; to which she replied, "Why, you poor imbecile, haven't you ever seen a black hen lay a white egg?"

Sometimes, however, "Le Carillon" removed its comic mask and showed the tragic discouragement underneath; as when the editor, after summarizing the important events of the year, wrote: "three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours and some minutes of abject slavery added to those we have already suffered; or when he published this death notice among the others:

DEAD

On the 4th of January, 1875. The American Republic. Born the 4th of July, 1776, she died under the blows of the parricide, U. S. Grant.

Just as the "Tribune" gave the Negro side of the controversy, so "Le Carillon" presented a startlingly graphic picture of the Creoles' emotional reaction to Reconstruction; a picture all the more vivid because drawn by Latins unhampered by the self-consciousness which prevents Anglo-Saxons from revealing the full tide of their emotions. In its files can be traced, as nowhere else, the growth of racial hatreds in Louisiana, and the steps which led to the terrible final climax, when the despoliation of a helpless state and the goading of a proud though defeated people gave birth to the White League, and their anger, bitterness and passionate revolt finally exploded in a pitched battle at the foot of Canal Street, in which the League defeated the Metropolitan Police and some forty men were killed and eighty wounded.

In spite of his dropsy, Dr. Durel lived to see this victory of September 14, 1874, which was largely instrumental in finally restoring Louisiana the white supremacy for which he had made so many sacrifices. Soon after, however, he became so bloated he was forced

to do his editing at home. He died the following year, a month after "Le Carillon" had ceased publication.

Two names must be added to complete the roster of conservative "lily white" papers: the bi-lingual "Abeille," and the entirely French "Renaissance" edited by a Frenchman, Emil Lefranc, and noted for the excellence of its foreign news. These together with the "Carillon" were the only Creole journals of any importance to oppose the radical papers, "L'Union," "La Tribune," and the "Crusader," owned by Negroes, and "L'Equité" and "Le Sud," edited by Frenchmen.

#### PARISH PAPERS

Innovations come more slowly in the back country than in thriving port cities, so it was natural that no French newspaper was published in the parishes until twenty-five years after "Le Moniteur" had been founded in New Orleans. "La Gazette de Baton Rouge," which appeared in 1819, was the first journal, as far as my investigations disclose, to be published outside of the metropolis. It was followed five years later by "Le Courier de Natchitoches" and "La Gazette des Attakapas." The latter was so enterprising a journal that even as early as the 1820s it carried a column of "advice to the lovelorn"; and also proved that feminine habits change little in a century, by publishing an advertisement which read:

#### FOUND!

A small tin box containing a lump of blushes and a small piece of cotton for laying them on. The fair owner, who, perhaps, has grown pale (!) with regret for their loss may have them again by inquiring at the office.

After the first three papers proved a success others followed until by 1840 every parish but eight was blessed with a Gallic newspaper. Their subscribers were for the most part a simple agrarian people who could not read English, so these French journals constituted their only link with the outside world,

and as a consequence exercised an influence far greater than that of the ordinary newspaper. Therefore the intelligence and training of their editors became of material importance in the cultural growth of the parishes.

The equipment of these rural French newspapers was of the most primitive kind and generally consisted of a Washington hand-press and a few fonts of type housed in an out-building or barn near the editor's home. This paucity of machinery had its advantages, because every time the levee broke, the editor's house burned, or the paper was sold, the whole works could be loaded into a mule wagon and driven away. Indeed "Le Meschacébé" behaved like a ferryboat, crossing and recrossing the Mississippi five or six times during its long career. This paper, launched at Lucy in 1853, by Hypolite de Bautte, was bought four years later by Eugene Dumez, an exiled French journalist. Working with unbelievable industry he wrote editorials, set type, operated the hand-press, and acted as printer's devil. He even delivered some of the papers at the post office and left others on the levee for passing steamboats; because in those days captains were accustomed to leave a newspaper as "lagniappe" at every plantation landing. When this little amenity was overlooked by one captain, he was reminded of it on his return trip by a sign tacked on the dock, reading:

*"Pas de journal, pas de fret!"* (freight)

During the Civil War the "Meschacébé" was forced to discontinue for awhile for lack of newsprint paper, Dumez not being as lucky as the Opelousas editors who were able to draw upon the stock of a wallpaper store. Upon the declaration of peace he resumed publication and eked out the local news with serials and scientific articles pirated with great discernment from the best Parisian reviews. Eugene Sue, Paul de Kock, Alphonse Daudet, and Emile Zola, all became unwitting contributors.

*Esprit Yankee*



*Au Nord.*



*Au Sud.*

A COMPARISON OF THE MANNER IN WHICH YANKEES TREAT NEGROES IN THE NORTH AND IN THE SOUTH. *From Le Carillon*

By 1878, when Lafcadio Hearn arrived in New Orleans, "Le Meschacébé" was so varied and interesting that he often quoted it in the "New Orleans Item" or reprinted some bit of fooling in the Creole dialect, taken from its columns. Indeed some of Hearn's editorials were lifted bodily or in part from articles in Parisian reviews which had been reprinted in the "Meschacébé." Thus, at least part of his early reputation as an authority upon abstruse and exotic folklore ought in fairness be credited to the good editing of Dumez.

Exerting, as "Le Meschacébé" did, so great an influence on a mind like Hearn's, it cannot be doubted that it was an important factor in the intellectual growth of the community which it served.

Jean Sylvain Gentil was, like Dumez, an exile of 1848, and before coming to America had graduated from a university, been admitted to the Parisian bar, and had had experience as a journalist. These varied qualifications made it easy for him to obtain a professorship at Jefferson College soon after his arrival in Louisiana. It did not last long because the Civil War ruined this institution as it did so many others; and Gentil, forced to fall back on journalism, started a single-sheet weekly, "Le Louisianais," in 1865. Through all the turmoil which followed, he kept a clear head and by his calm, common sense editorials brought his parish through that difficult period with fewer catastrophes and less bloodletting than occurred in any other. He was fearless in pointing out the mistakes of both parties, and when the Carpetbag government put Negroes in responsible offices, he attacked it so fiercely that Governor Warmoth rescinded the designation of "Le Louisianais" as the "official" paper of the parish. This was a Carpetbagger device which had destroyed many opposition journals by depriving them of all the state, parish, and legal notices, their principal source of income. Gentil, philosophical even about this blow, simply changed his

heading to read, "*Le Louisianais. Journal non Officiel de la Paroisse St. Jacques.*"

His press was set up in a ramshackle cowbarn near the house and was operated by an old French compositor, for unlike Dumez, Gentil did not have time to do his own type-setting. He was not content to pirate *feuilletons* from foreign sources, but instead wrote almost every line he published, and during the fourteen and a half years he edited the paper, approximately 2250 columns of editorials and some 750 poems flowed from his pen, as well as 25 long serials. Evidently he only wrote sections of these as they were needed, because he once apologized for the non-appearance of an installment of a serial called "Frizette," by saying he had gone to New Orleans to celebrate the fall of the Bastille and so the poor girl had been unable to get out of the inkpot.

When one of his feminine readers objected to his use in print of the word "*culotte*," he promised, in the next issue, never to offend again, and then added scathingly: "Americans are evidently very chaste in every way. Their literature is eminently proper—like their politics!"—rather an amusing retort in the face of the fact that the Reconstruction era was probably the most corrupt American history has ever known.

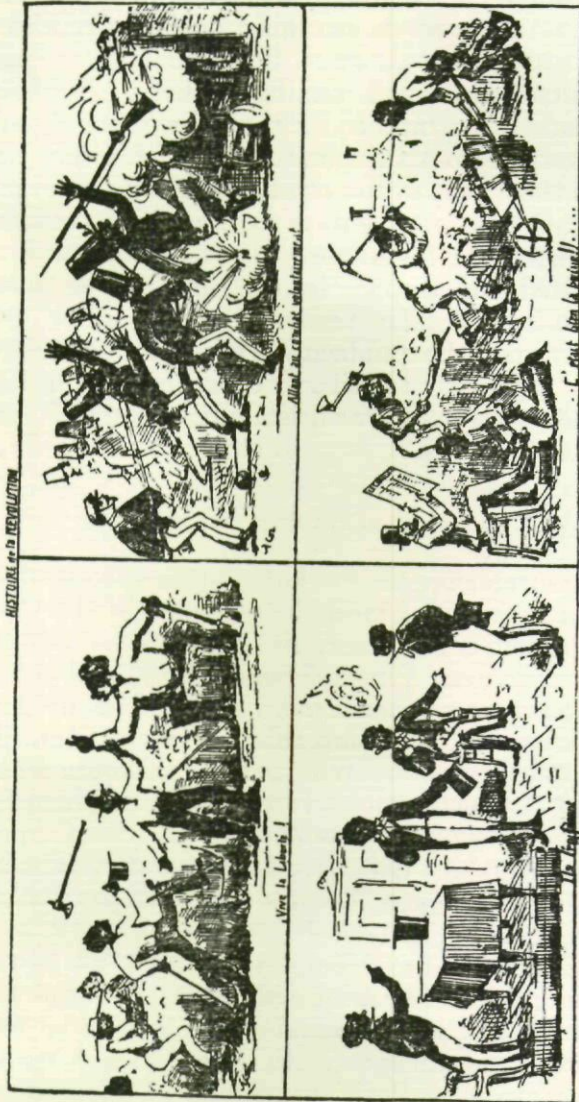
These papers bristle with as many bibliographical problems as a cactus has thorns. No files were preserved of many of them and the existence of some is known only through a few stray copies or by a mere mention in a contemporary paper. The same names were used over and over again for totally different papers published years apart, and the Donaldsonville journal which changed its name for one issue only, may be cited as a typical instance of the perplexities which pestered the bibliographer. This re-christening occurred because an old skinflint seduced his young serving maid and, when he discovered her condition, took her to New Orleans and deserted her without a penny. She came back to Donaldsonville with her

child and, when it was discovered he refused to make any provision for them, the townspeople became much incensed and gathered before his house to give him a *charivari* with pots and pans, horns and drums and every other kind of pandemonium maker. After they had continued their uproar for several evenings, some of the crowd entered the house to see if he were still there. As they went in the front door their victim ran out the back and complained to the police that the mob was wrecking his house. Many leading citizens were arrested and thrown into prison, among them the compositor of "Le Vigilant." The editor, not wishing to miss the publication of such racy news, carted the type fonts to jail and the printer set up the paper behind the bars, re-christening it for that one issue, "Le Charivari."

#### THE DECLINE OF FRENCH JOURNALISM

Gallic journalism, as we have seen, increased in power and importance until the outbreak of the Civil War, and then began to decline. This was not immediately apparent for, although many periodicals disappeared during the war because both editors and subscribers were at the front, this loss was temporarily compensated by a new crop of party papers born of the passions of Reconstruction. It was only an ephemeral rejuvenation, however, for as soon as the Afro-Carpet-bagger coalition was definitely beaten and racial rancors began to disappear, Louisiana-French journalism started to die a lingering death.

The main reason for this was the waning use of the French language. The post war poverty forced the Creoles to forego their annual visits to France and made them send their sons to New Orleans public schools instead of to Parisian universities. Here they learned English and, because the American boys made fun of them they became ashamed to speak French. These changes caused a distinct cleavage with Gallic



THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO: HE GAINS FREEDOM, IS A VOLUNTEER IN THE NORTHERN CAUSE, BUT AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET, BECOMES A LEGISLATOR AND FINALLY IS PUT BACK TO WORK AT HIS SAME OLD JOBS. From *Le Carillon*



culture and tradition and brought about a progressive Americanization of the Creole population that rapidly diminished the number of those interested in the French newspapers.

"L'Abeille" continued, and from time to time new journals were launched, but their mortality rate was even higher than it had been before the war. This diminution of interest in French became so apparent that a group of the older Creoles organized "L'Athénée Louisianais" in 1875, for the purpose of encouraging the use of that language. The following year they began to publish a small periodical called "Les Comptes Rendus," which was so well written that Lafcadio Hearn said there were few periodicals printed in English that approached it in interest and excellence. But it was too weak a reed to change the course of events, and by 1900 the use of French in Louisiana had become, not a necessity, but a mere sentimental addiction, indulged in by a rapidly decreasing few.

In spite of all this "l'Abeille" continued to live for another quarter of a century, supported as a sort of beloved symbol of a dead past, until, in 1916, the State Legislature gave it a mortal blow by passing a law making it no longer necessary to publish judicial notices in French. This deprived the poor "Bee" of its principal source of "honey" and it grew weaker and weaker until, in 1925, it fluttered its wings and expired, after an existence that lacked only two years of a century.

Today "Les Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais" is the only publication in French which still exists in New Orleans or Louisiana, and while in the parishes some of the old newspapers, like the "Meschacébé," still continue to appear, they are now published entirely in English.

With the death of French journalism in Louisiana, a force, which for a century has exerted a great intellectual influence has disappeared; and to me it is problematical as to whether the gain in Americanization which

brought this about is equalled by the loss in cultural values. In any event, I shall always regret the passing of those gay Gallic and Creole editors, witty, devil-may-care and belligerent beyond belief, who were equally at home with pen, pistol or sword, and who lent such color and spice to Louisiana life in the 19th Century.



TABLE OF FRENCH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS FOUNDED  
IN LOUISIANA, ARRANGED BY DECADES

	In New Orleans	In the Parishes (exclusive of N. O.)	Total in Louisiana
1790-1800 . . . .	1 . . . .	— . . . .	1
1800-1810 . . . .	9 . . . .	— . . . .	9
1810-1820 . . . .	3 . . . .	— . . . .	3
1820-1830 . . . .	6 . . . .	4 . . . .	10
1830-1840 . . . .	15 . . . .	4 . . . .	19
1840-1850 . . . .	33 . . . .	17 . . . .	50
1850-1860 . . . .	16 . . . .	30 . . . .	46
1860-1870 . . . .	18 . . . .	17 . . . .	35
1870-1880 . . . .	16 . . . .	14 . . . .	30
1880-1890 . . . .	10 . . . .	10 . . . .	20
1890-1900 . . . .	7 . . . .	5 . . . .	12
1900-1910 . . . .	2 . . . .	3 . . . .	5

## EXPLANATION OF THE FOREGOING TABLE

- 1800-1810 The sudden launching of nine newspapers in this decade was due to the advent of the first wave of French journalists who were driven from Santo Domingo by the Negro uprising, to the speeding up of business caused by the influx of many new residents and to the political jealousies and controversies between Creoles and Americans following the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803.
- 1810-1820 These disagreements quieted down, so only three journals were started.
- 1820-1830 The beginnings of prosperity caused six to start in New Orleans and four in the Parishes.
- 1830-1840 Up to 1837, when a panic took place, was a period of great inflation. This together with the growing prosperity and culture of the French-speaking population and the advent of the second group of French journalists exiled after the Revolution of 1830, caused the founding of fifteen papers in New Orleans and four in the Parishes.
- 1840-1850 This was the golden era of French journalism in Louisiana. So great was the prosperity that thirty-three new publications were begun in New Orleans and seventeen in the Parishes. This period also saw the first appearance of periodicals devoted to literature, art and music. The third and last group of French journalists came over as a result of Napoleon III's proscriptions of 1848-51.

- 1850-1860 The number of new papers in New Orleans dropped to only sixteen, because of her decline as a port due to the growing competition of railroads and canals. Then, too, the increase of tonnage of ocean-going vessels made it impossible for many of the larger ships to pass the bars then at the mouth of the Mississippi. All this loss of traffic caused serious diminution of the city's prosperity. These conditions did not affect the Parishes, however. Their prosperity continued unabated and thirty new papers were launched.
- 1860-1870 The Civil War in 1861 killed many papers, but New Orleans was captured the next year, and the struggle which began between the carpet-baggers and Negroes on one side and the ex-Confederates on the other, gave birth to eighteen partizan papers in New Orleans. Seventeen were started in the Parishes.
- 1870-1880 As the passions of Reconstruction calmed down the number of new papers decreased to sixteen new ones for New Orleans and fourteen for the Parishes. Then, too, the poverty brought on by the war prevented the Creoles from sending their sons to French Universities; instead, they attended public schools in the State and learned English at the expense of French.
- 1880-1890 Most of the older Creoles who clung to French because they had been educated abroad had died, and as all the younger generations spoke English, the need for French newspapers gradually ceased, although ten new papers were started in New Orleans and ten more in the Parishes in this period.
- 1890-1900 During this period only seven new papers were started in New Orleans and five in the Parishes.
- 1900-1910 The new papers dwindled to two for New Orleans and three for the Parishes, as the country communities clung more to French. All the old journals had stopped publication, and only the "Bee" remained. A law was passed in 1916 making it no longer mandatory to publish legal notices in French as well as in English. This removed its chief source of revenue, and when the linotype men charged double wages for composing in a foreign language, the "Bee" stopped publication in 1925.

NOTE—AVERAGE LIFE OF A NEW ORLEANS PUBLICATION PRINTED WHOLLY OR PARTLY IN FRENCH.

As close an approximation as it is possible to make from the figures at hand, is that:

139 separate publications enjoyed a total of  
600 years of publication, which would make the average existence of a journal about  
 $4\frac{1}{3}$  years.

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