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THE LOUISIANA FRENCH LANGUAGE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr.

Language is the essence of a culture. As such, it is the fundamental framework for the way people think and the primary vehicle for communicating ideas, customs, and skills. The most critical point in cultural assimilation, therefore, is when a group of people learns the language of another group. The millions of non-English-speaking European immigrants who came to the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries soon realized that they had to learn English to achieve economic, social, and political success. These European immigrants thus conformed to the Anglo-dominated culture of the United States. (1)

Yet two major exceptions to this assimilation model for European settlers stand out in our nation's history—French Louisiana and the Spanish Southwest. The French and Spanish did not migrate into a dominant English-speaking culture; instead, thousands of Anglos came to occupy and control the American homelands of these people. Indeed, the French and Spanish resisted Anglicization, particularly the use of English. (2) The Louisiana French faced forced assimilation in the 19th century, and the Hispanics of the Southwest continue to contest being melted into today's mainstream American culture.

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY. The purpose of this study is to examine how successful the Louisiana French—Louisiana's French Creoles (descendants of 18th-century Louisiana settlers who came directly from France) and Cajuns (descendants of Acadians who settled in Louisiana at the end of their 18th-century diaspora)—were in maintaining the usage and purity of the French language in South Louisiana during the 19th century, a period of massive Anglo intrusion. Moreover, major events affected Louisiana during the century—the Louisiana Purchase, statehood, the Civil War, and Reconstruction—and new technologies swept the state—steamboats, railroads, telegraphs, agricultural mechanization, electricity, and telephones. (3) These tumultuous trans-

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formations permeated the Louisiana French experience during the 19th century and dramatically changed their culture. Simultaneously, the French lost control of the political, economic, and educational institutions within the state, which much more profoundly affected the usage and purity of their language.

These propositions, however, stand in stark contrast to the idea that the general American public as well as the academic community have typically held: the Louisiana French have completely assimilated a variety of ethnic groups, including the Anglo-Americans, while the Gallic culture of South Louisiana, especially its language, remained unchanged for more than one hundred years. Three excerpts underscore the literature that supports the notion of such an immutable Louisiana French culture. Harry Oster wrote in 1959 about the use and purity of the French language in the early decades of the 20th century:

A generation ago, a French visitor to southwest Louisiana, the area along the Lafourche, Teche, and Vermilion bayous, could easily have imagined himself in a province (somewhat tropical) of France itself. He would have noticed that the people spoke French almost exclusively, a dialect much like that of the provinces. . . . (4)

Marilyn J. Conwell and Alphonse Juilland focused on the necessity of being able to speak French in South Louisiana in 1963:

It is more or less true that anyone who does not speak French and is not a Catholic remains a stranger in this area. (5)

And in 1980 Marietta M. LeBreton emphasized the assimilation prowess of the 19th-century Cajuns:

By and large the Acadian communities existed in isolation . . . outsiders were completely absorbed into the Cajun culture and community; they learned to speak French and adopted the local customs . . . in the 20th century they [the Cajuns] have become partially Americanized. (6)

Yet no study heretofore has attempted to gather hard data to verify such claims about the primacy of the French language in 19th-century South Louisiana. To find such information, I undertook 10-percent random samples of family heads recorded in the 1860 and 1900 population manuscript census schedules for Louisiana and parts of three neighboring states—Mississippi, Texas, and Alabama (Fig. 1). This statistical inquiry analyzed 46 variables for the 5,128 family heads in the 1860 sample and 54 variables for the 26,106 family heads in the 1900 sample. Of greatest significance to this study were parish/county data for the

Fig. 1.

proportions of Louisiana French to determine their geographical distribution, cultural influence, and ability to speak English. The 1900 census was the first to provide English language data for each family head. (7)

ANGLO INTRUSION. Early 19th-century French Louisiana, like most Southern regions, had a complex mix of white and black, free and slave, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, plantation homes and shacks. An increasingly important part of this cultural milieu was the thousands of Anglos who began to stream into Louisiana even before the Louisiana Purchase and who carried their cultural baggage, including their English-speaking slaves, deep into Gallic Louisiana. During the century's first decades, an intense Franco-American cultural clash developed. But by the 1840s Anglo economic and political hegemonies controlled Louisiana and had irreversibly begun to change the French social fabric. Regarding the Gallic political defeat, Creole State Senator Bernard Marigny in 1846 declared with acrimonious regret:

The Anglo-Saxon race have [sic] invaded every thing. They have supremacy in both houses of the legislature. . . . I know that the Anglo-Saxon race are [sic] the most numerous and therefore the strongest. We are yet to learn whether they will abuse the possession of numerical force to overwhelm the Franco-American population. (8)

The Anglo-Saxons did overwhelm the Louisiana French. American encroachment, in which Anglos bought up and consolidated fragmented, uneconomical long lots, forced some of the French, mainly from the old "Acadian Coast" along the lower Mississippi and from the upper reaches of Bayou Lafourche, to move westward in what some scholars have termed the "second expulsion" and Anglicized rapidly those who remained. (9) Before the Civil War, this Anglo settlement spread throughout South Louisiana, and the war itself intensified Anglo-French contact. Thousands of Union soldiers invaded the French region and occupied it for more than a dozen years. The Northern victory profoundly changed the lives of all Louisianians. (10)

At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, there were roughly seven Frenchmen for every one Anglo-American in Louisiana, and there was at least a three-to-one ratio at statehood in 1812. By the Civil War, 70% of Louisiana's population was Anglo, (11) but the 19th-century Anglo migration was still not complete. In the last decades of the century, hundreds of Midwestern families, attracted by familiar flat grasslands at cheap prices in a subtropical climate, traveled via railroad to Louisiana's southwest prairies. These Midwestern farmers used their wheat and corn farming methods to become the prime movers in transforming Louisiana's prairie land into the nation's greatest area of rice production. Rice agriculture, its 26-fold postbellum increase, its modern mechanized methods, and its Midwestern progenitors radically changed Southwest Louisiana and pulled many French farmers directly into the center of the rice industry. (12) At the turn of the 20th century, moreover, oil was struck near Jennings, a town located in the midst of the southwest prairies. The oil boom became the economic magnet for thousands of Anglos who settled in South Louisiana during the following 50 years. (13)

The predominance of the Louisiana French population thus declined precipitously from the time of the Louisiana Purchase to the turn of the 20th century. The sheer numbers of Anglos played the foremost role in the demise of French as the primary language spoken in Louisiana in education, government, commerce, and in common, everyday usage. Such Anglo dominance also eroded the purity of the French language,

but, more important, it would cause the Louisiana French over the years to abandon French as their native tongue.

FRENCH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE. An analysis of several factors—political and economic control, educational influence, newspaper and literary communication, involvement of the Roman Catholic Church, language evolution, and endeavors of cultural organizations—yields an understanding of the difficulties that the Louisiana French encountered in maintaining the usage and purity of the French language in the 19th century as they became a minority in their own homeland.

The demise of Gallic political influence critically affected the Louisiana French language. Perry H. Howard calculated, “Of the thirteen elected governors before 1860, three were of French background, two were Acadians, and one had a French mother.” (14) No Gallic governor was elected in Louisiana during the last four decades of the 19th century. (15) As early as the Reconstruction Constitution of 1864, the Louisiana legislature required that the “general exercises in the public schools were to be henceforth conducted in the English language” (16) and four years later the infamous “Carpetbagger Constitution” categorically declared that “. . . no law shall . . . be issued in any other language than the English language.” (17) Such legislation underscored the statutory support of the longstanding Anglo attitude that language predominance would melt the French into Southern society. Frederick Law Olmsted, for instance, perceived this Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism during his antebellum travels through South Louisiana, “The Americans would not take the trouble to learn French.” (18)

During Reconstruction, despite state support for public schools, not only rampant corruption but also refusal of whites to send their children to integrated schools thwarted educational progress in Louisiana. In the last decades of the century, Louisiana spent but a pittance on public education. Within French Louisiana the belief that a formal education was a function of the Catholic Church, not the government, exacerbated such disdain for public educational expenditures. Louisiana was thus the only state in the nation in which white literacy declined between 1880 and 1890. (19)

The U.S. Census of 1900 estimated that approximately 62% of Louisiana’s population ten years old or older was literate. About 83% of the white population could read and write, while only 39% of blacks could. (20) This present study sampled 26,106 family heads, and, by combining

the proportions for reading and writing abilities, estimated that about 54% of Louisiana's family heads were literate. The proportion of Anglo-parish populations, 59%, was significantly greater than the 38% for French parishes. Some of this difference could surely be attributed to those poor, conservative Cajun families who could not afford to send their children to parochial schools or who, appreciating few pragmatic applications, shunned a public education that was taught mostly in English. (21)

Some Louisiana French feared that mass education in English would devastate the French language. Alcée Fortier, celebrated Creole member of Louisiana's literati, lamented about some rural Cajuns he visited in 1891, "Education will, of course, destroy their dialect, so that the work of studying their peculiar customs and language must not be delayed long." (22) Such anxiety was not unfounded. By 1900 more than three-quarters of the residents of all but three Louisiana parishes claimed they could speak English. Only in the parishes of St. Martin (60% English-speaking), Lafayette (61%), and Vermilion (62%) did more than a quarter of the population refuse to speak anything other than their local French patois (Fig. 2). (23)

By the turn of the century, ironically, many of the acculturated French Creoles and Cajuns formed the vanguard of the snowballing Anglicization process. In fact, most school teachers who used English to teach French children were themselves Louisiana French, and they showed no more sympathy than did their Anglo colleagues for the preservation of the French language. Many teachers of Gallic heritage even chastised and publicly humiliated their Francophone students for speaking French on school grounds. (24)

The death throes of French-language newspapers clearly reflected the moribund condition of the French language. In antebellum Louisiana a flourishing French press had blossomed from four French-language newspapers in 1820, three of which were published in New Orleans, to 33 distributed widely throughout French Louisiana by the Civil War. Twenty-six bilingual newspapers, a sixfold increase from 1820, also brought the usual vociferous editorials, standard national and state news reports, agricultural information, reprints and letters from other newspapers, a potpourri of advertisements, and literary items from novels to poetry to their hundreds of readers in the French parishes in 1860. (25)

From 33 newspapers in 1860, the French-language press withered to only seven by 1900, and, of the 26 mid-century bilingual newspapers,

Fig. 2.

five survived to century's end. These trends did not stop with the turn of the century. *L'Abeille*, Louisiana's last important French-language newspaper, suspended publication in 1923, just two years after a new state constitution banned once again the use of French in public schools. (26)

While analyzing what he called the "lingering death" of Louisiana French literature, most specifically newspapers and magazines of the 19th-century Creoles, Edward L. Tinker reached a conclusion that would be difficult to deny for the Louisiana French residents of New Orleans, though certainly not for all of South Louisiana, "... 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." (27)

But the primacy of the English language in the South's largest metropolis had actually been attained years earlier when in 1852 the New Orleans *Knickerbocker* crowed triumphantly about the results of the consolidation of the city's municipalities, "The Creole influence breathed its last breath ... New Orleans is now an Anglo-Saxon city." (28) Baton Rouge, which replaced New Orleans as the state capital in

1849, evidently had come under Anglo domination even earlier. (29) In 1843 M. Brogard, a Roman Catholic priest, wrote to his bishop:

There are in Baton Rouge no Creoles from 10 to 25 years of age for whom the American language is not the common language. . . . [English] is the vulgar language of 19/20ths of the town dwellers. (30)

Baton Rouge, concluded Brogard, was a "totally American town." (31)

The predominance of English language usage in 19th-century urban Louisiana did not mean that there were few urban Louisiana French. In fact, in some South Louisiana towns the French population sustained majorities until the end of the century. A count of all white family heads in the 1900 manuscript census schedules for several South Louisiana towns revealed that New Iberia, the region's largest urban center, was 41% French, while Houma (56%), Lafayette (51%), and Thibodaux (60%) had French majorities. Many of these Gallic urbanites were 19th-century French émigrés who played an integral role in the South Louisiana commercial infrastructure. Cajuns too came to know urban life as they constituted almost 15% of New Iberia's white population, one-fifth of Houma's, about a quarter of Lafayette's, and nearly a third of Thibodaux's. (32) But as Anglos captured Louisiana's economy, English became the language of business throughout the state, giving Anglos a powerful vehicle with which to acculturate their Gallic neighbors. The French merchants in these towns, like those in postbellum New Orleans and Baton Rouge, therefore conducted their business in English. (33)

Surprisingly, the Catholic Church, the venerable Gallic institution for religious as well as secular education, was an influential agent in inculcating American values in the Louisiana French. Gabriel Audisio investigated the dynamics of the French-English language conflict within St. Joseph's Catholic Church in antebellum Baton Rouge. Although during the 1850s half of its 292 families were French (of these, 56% were Creoles, and 44% were Cajuns) and an overrepresented number of French wardens controlled the antebellum parish council, both St. Joseph's priest and parishioners had been abandoning the French language throughout the 1840s. (34) Father M. Brogard, St. Joseph's priest, in explaining why he no longer wanted to preach in French, complained to his bishop in 1843:

Your highness probably wants to know if the remarkable crowd present on the morning I preached in English was not declining when I began to preach again in French? No *Monseigneur* it did not decline, *it quite disappeared* [Brogard's emphasis]. (35)

On concluding her study of the 19th-century development of black segregation in Louisiana French Catholic churches, Cécyle Trépanier wrote that by 1917 (the end of Archbishop James Hubert Blenk's tenure) "... the Catholic Church of French Louisiana was in step with America." (36) Her conclusion could just as easily have referred to the absence of French sermons in Catholic services. She found, for instance, that 12 of 35 communities (34%) in French Louisiana had never had church services in French or such services had been discontinued in the late 19th or early 20th century, a trend that would see another 12 communities discontinue French sermons before the end of World War II. In fact, by 1980 only one French church service was performed on a regular basis—one Sunday each month—in but one of the 35 communities.

The most pivotal reasons for adopting English as the language of Catholic church services, particularly in the last decades of the 19th century, were that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in French Louisiana was determined to Americanize its members so it could gain national acceptance and that many priests as well as parishioners could not speak French. Trépanier therefore condemns the Catholic Church for undermining French language usage in South Louisiana. (37)

Not only did the use of French erode significantly during the 19th century, but the language itself changed markedly. The unique patois of South Louisiana evolved from different "gumbos," each based on a French "roux," of several languages. The introduction of the English language, however, had the greatest effect in corrupting the French spoken in the region. Fortier recorded in 1891:

The English language has naturally exerted a great influence on the Louisiana Acadian patois, and so have the Spanish and Creole patois, producing thus a very interesting speech mixture. (38)

In his seminal work on the evolution of the Louisiana French language, William A. Read concluded:

It is obviously impossible to erect an unsurmountable barrier between the language of the Creoles and that of the Acadians. Both dialects have to a great extent the same native vocabulary, and both have borrowed from the same foreign sources—English, German, Spanish, African, and Indian. (39)

Before listing 147 English words and meanings that in some way had crept into spoken Cajun French by 1939, Harley Smith and Hosea Phillips placed the blame for this historical corruption on an educational process that was permeated with English words, ideas, and viewpoints

and that had restricted contact with French culture, especially French literature. (40) Certified Carl A. Brasseaux:

... Cajuns became the target of constant pressure by Anglo-Americans to accept an educational system made in their own image and the values which had produced that system. (41)

A handful of late-19th-century organizations, headquartered mainly in New Orleans, nevertheless attempted to revive and promote Louisiana's Gallic heritage, especially its language: L'Union Française, a fraternal link with France established in 1872; L'Athénée Louisianais, a literary society founded in 1875; The Creole Association, a group formed in 1886 committed to cultural preservation; and L'Association Auxiliaire d'Education des Dames, a female educational society organized in 1891. These precursors of today's Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL), however, were not only short-lived but like CODOFIL could not prevent the decline of the French culture, particularly its language. (42) Indeed, by the turn of the 20th century, Louisiana's French Creoles and Cajuns were drinking beer, playing baseball, and speaking English with their fellow Americans. (43)

CONCLUSIONS. The information obtained in this study squarely challenges the myth that the 19th-century Louisiana French immutably preserved the usage and purity of their language while assimilating a variety of ethnic groups. Instead, the larger Anglo culture was assimilating the Louisiana French. By the turn of the 20th century most Louisiana French certainly had not forsaken their native tongue altogether, but five essential points should be emphasized regarding their adoption of English: 1) The legislation promulgated to compel the Louisiana French to learn English was effective. 2) Many of the French had come to believe that learning English was the key to economic security and upward social and political mobility within an Anglo-dominated society. 3) Given the large number of rural French families selected in the foregoing 1900 sample and contrary to the traditional interpretation, not only were the genteel and urban French adopting the English language but so too were hundreds of agrarian Cajun families. 4) The most important period of this English-language acculturation did not occur after World War II, but during the last half of the 19th century. 5) Because language is the essence of a culture, it can be inferred from these findings that other facets of the Louisiana French culture were likewise in a state of change.

Three key events contributed significantly to the collapse of the Louisiana French resistance to Anglicization generally and to learning English in particular. The first in importance was the overwhelming immigration of Anglos throughout the antebellum period that forced the French into a minority status, constituting only 30% of Louisiana's population in 1860. Second, because of their burgeoning majority, Anglos had carved out state economic and political hegemonies by the Civil War and proceeded aggressively to legislate their own cultural values and traits, including the English language, as the state's standards. Finally, the Catholic Church, a fundamental institution in South Louisiana in terms of Gallic cultural continuity, not only refused to promote French language usage in postbellum Louisiana but actually became a vehicle for its destruction.

During his visit to South Louisiana from 1803 to 1805, French adventurer Claude C. Robin made an impassioned plea to the region's French Creoles and Cajuns:

... the retention of your native language, which if you obtain it, will give you the means of obtaining everything else you desire, since it will give you the right to be governed by leaders of your choice. If you do not obtain it, all other gains that you may obtain will be illusory. (44)

Although initially the Louisiana French struggled vigorously to heed Robin's advice, in the end they failed. In less than a century they were coerced into learning the language of an Anglo-dominated nation.

* * *

- (1) An extensive literature elucidates this "Anglo-conformity" model. See, for example, Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975); Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Oscar Handlin (ed.), *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1959); and Bryant Robey, *The American People* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1985).
- (2) Carl A. Brasseaux, "Four Hundred Years of Acadian Life in North America," *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 23 (1989), pp. 3–22; Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr., "The Louisiana French in 1900," *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 14 (1988), pp. 342–359; D. W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600–1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispano Homeland in 1900," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 70 (1980), pp. 382–396.
- (3) Edwin A. Davis, *Louisiana, A Narrative History* (Baton Rouge, Claitor's, 1965); Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana, A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).

- (4) Harry Oster, "Acculturation in Cajun Folk Music," *McNeese Review*, Vol. 11 (1959), p. 12.
- (5) Marilyn J. Conwell and Alphonse Juilland, *Louisiana French Grammar, I: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), p. 18.
- (6) Marietta M. LeBreton, "Acadians," in Stephan Thernstrom (ed.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), pp. 2–3. For other examples supporting an almost absolute Louisiana French assimilation power in the 19th century, see Elizabeth Brandon, "Acadian Folk Songs as Reflected in 'La Délaissée,'" in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), *The Cajuns: Essays on their History and Culture* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 187–188; Marjorie R. Esman, *Henderson, Louisiana: Cultural Adaptation in a Cajun Community* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1985), p. 8; Roy Reed, "Louisiana's Cajuns, A Minority with Power," *New York Times*, May 9, 1972, p. 43; Nicholas Spitzer, "Cajuns and Creoles: The French Gulf Coast," *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 5 (1977), p. 150; and Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Louisiana (comps.), *Louisiana: A Guide to the State*, American Guide Series (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 318.
- (7) Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Microcopy No. M653 (Washington: National Archives and Records Service); Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Microcopy No. T-623 (Washington: National Archives and Records Service).
- (8) Quoted in Lewis W. Newton, "Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Old Louisiana—A Study in Cultural Conflicts," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 14 (1933), p. 47.
- (9) Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820, Microcopy No. M33 (Washington: National Archives and Records Service); Population Schedules, 1860, footnote 7; Population Schedules, 1900, footnote 7; William F. Rushton, *The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1979), p. 82; Malcolm L. Comeaux, *Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations* (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, 1972), pp. 14–24.
- (10) Edwin C. Bearss, "The Civil War Comes to the Lafourche," *Louisiana Studies*, Vol. 5 (1966), pp. 97–155; John D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 29–38, 58–59, 73–80, 164–165, 212–225; Davis, footnote 3, pp. 243–279; Taylor, footnote 3, pp. 87–114.
- (11) Newton, footnote 8, p. 33; Population Schedules, 1860, footnote 7.
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 - (14) Perry H. Howard, "The Politics of the Acadian Parishes," in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), *The Cajuns: Essays on their History and Culture* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 227.
 - (15) Louisiana Legislative Council, *The History and the Government of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Legislative Council, 1964), p. 274.
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 - (17) Quoted in Oukada, footnote 16, p. 9.
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 - (19) Davis, footnote 3, pp. 273–276, 306–309; Taylor, footnote 3, pp. 120–121, 143; Leon O. Beasley, "A History of Education in Louisiana during the Reconstruction Period, 1862–1877" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1957), passim; Carl A. Brasseaux, "Acadian Education: From Cultural Isolation to Mainstream America," in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), *The Cajuns: Essays on their History and Culture* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), pp. 213, 216; Edwin L. Stephens, "Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16 (1933), p. 47.
 - (20) Stephens, footnote 19, p. 55; Davis, footnote 3, p. 308.
 - (21) Brasseaux, footnote 19, pp. 213–218; Davis, footnote 3, p. 306; Oukada, footnote 16, p. 9; G. F. Reineche (trans.), "Early Louisiana French Life and Folklore from the Anonymous Breux Manuscript as Edited by Professor Jay K. Ditchy," *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany*, Vol. 2 (1966), pp. 18–19; Lillian C. Bourgeois, *Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish* (New Orleans: Pelican, 1943), pp. 74–77.
 - (22) Alcée Fortier, "The Acadians of Louisiana and Their Dialect," *Modern Language Association of America Publications*, Vol. 6 (1891), p. 85.
 - (23) Population Schedules, 1900, footnote 7.
 - (24) Brasseaux, footnote 2, pp. 11–12.
 - (25) Edward L. Tinker, "Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana," *Proceedings*, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, Vol. 42 (1932), pp. 251–262; Lionel C. Durel, "Creole Civilization in Donaldsonville, 1850, According to 'Le Vigilant,'" *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 31 (1948), pp. 981–986, 990–994; Walter Prichard, "A Tourist's Description of Louisiana in 1860," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21 (1938), pp. 1110–1214; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Study in Ego-Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954), pp. 122–124; Newton, footnote 8, pp. 43–46; Davis, footnote 3, pp. 221–222; Taylor, footnote 3, p. 82.
 - (26) Tinker, footnote 25, pp. 251–262; Oukada, footnote 16, p. 20; *Constitution of the State of Louisiana* (1921), Article 12, Section 12.
 - (27) Tinker, footnote 25, p. 279.
 - (28) Quoted in Lewis W. Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A

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- (29) Louisiana Legislative Council, footnote 15, p. 9.
- (30) Quoted in Gabriel Audisio, “Crisis in Baton Rouge, 1840–1860: Foreshadowing the Demise of Louisiana’s French Language?” *Louisiana History*, Vol. 29 (1988), p. 360.
- (31) Quoted in Audisio, footnote 30, p. 360.
- (32) Population Schedules, 1900, footnote 7.
- (33) Brasseaux, footnote 2, p. 11.
- (34) Audisio, footnote 30, pp. 349–361.
- (35) Quoted in Audisio, footnote 30, p. 360.
- (36) Cécyle Trépanier, “The Catholic Church in French Louisiana: An Ethnic Institution?” *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol. 7 (1986), p. 64.
- (37) Trépanier, footnote 36, pp. 59–75.
- (38) Fortier, footnote 22, p. 85.
- (39) William A. Read, *Louisiana-French* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. xxi.
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- (41) Brasseaux, footnote 19, p. 212.
- (42) *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, Louisiana Classic Series* (Baton Rouge: Claitor’s, 1975), Vol. II, pp. 178–180; Davis, footnote 3, p. 320; Carl A. Brasseaux, “Four Hundred Years of Acadian Life in North America: An Overview,” in Sam W. Hamilton (coordinator), *The Cajuns: Their History and Culture* (Opelousas, LA: Hamilton Associates, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 156–159.
- (43) Malcolm L. Comeaux, “Louisiana’s Acadians: The Environmental Impact,” in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), *The Cajuns: Essays on their History and Culture* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978), p. 145; Philip D. Uzee, “Bayou Lafourche,” in Edwin A. Davis (ed.), *The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Research Association, 1968), p. 126; Population Schedules, 1900, footnote 7.
- (44) C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803–1805*, translated and edited by Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican, 1966), p. 175.