

# Alfred Raquez's Roles as Author and Editor of *La Revue indochinoise*

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## I. Introduction to Alfred Raquez and *La Revue indochinoise*

Between 1898 and 1906, Alfred Raquez published numerous books and articles and took thousands of photographs of the Far East, helped to mount two expositions of French colonial material, one in Hanoi and another in Marseille, and recorded hundreds of phonographic rolls in Laos, which are most likely the first ever sound recordings made in that country. He met, worked, and traveled with people in the highest circles of belle époque Indochina, yet was also unafraid to journey in some of the most remote and lawless regions of Southeast Asia. Some of the villages he visited in upper Laos would only have all-weather roads and electricity one hundred years after he passed through, that is, within the past decade. In his own time, he was highly respected as an explorer and author.

However, beyond his highly collectible postcards of Laos, Raquez remains largely unknown today. While his work is occasionally mentioned in the footnotes of studies of the French colonial experience in Southeast Asia, his oeuvre in full, especially his writing, remains obscure.<sup>1</sup>

His biography offers a remarkable story, the tale of a fin-de-siècle *picaro*. It has long been known that the name Alfred Raquez was a pseudonym. His real name was only uncovered recently. He was Joseph Gervais, and he fled France to avoid prosecution for fraud.

Little is known about Gervais's life, but the outline that emerges from the archives offers some clues. According to his death certificate, he was born in 1863 in Dunkerque (when he assumed his pseudonym, he made himself younger by two years).<sup>2</sup> He graduated with a law degree in 1887 from the Catholic University of Lille and in March, 1886, married a woman from a well-to-do family named Laure Boitelle. They had three children and lived not far from the university, at 19, Rameau Square.<sup>3</sup> The house still stands.

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1. Two translations of his books of travels are helping to bring his work to a wider audience. See Bruthiaux & Gibson 2017; Bruthiaux & Gibson 2019.

2. The death certificate is held in the Marseille municipal archives under the name Gervais.

3. The Gervais marriage and birth records can be found online at <http://archivesdepartementales.lenord.fr>.

Gervais was active in secular Catholic organizations. In 1885, he founded and became president of the *Cercle des Étudiants et de la Jeunesse Catholique de Lille*.<sup>4</sup> In a foreshadowing of his life as Raquez, Gervais also served on the Press and Propaganda Commission for the *Assemblées Générales Catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais* and was apparently also a choir director.<sup>5</sup> Gervais also spent a considerable amount of time in Paris, and the point of view in his writing is often that of a fin-de-siècle boulevardier conversant in the latest styles and celebrities. He admired popular performers such as the exotic dancer Cléo de Mérode, the chanson writer and singer Paul Delmet and often references both in his writing under the name Raquez.

His younger brother Benjamin Gervais was a Naval officer (and later Admiral) who saw action aboard the *Comète* during the famed Paknam Incident as a result of which France eventually wrested control of Laos from Siam.

In Lille, Joseph Gervais made bad investments using friends' money and then borrowed other funds to cover those losses, which lead to a spiral of poor choices.<sup>6</sup> He was declared bankrupt in March of 1898 and fled to London.<sup>7</sup> In April of that year, an arrest warrant for fraud and breach of trust was issued, but he was not to be found.<sup>8</sup>

The name Alfred Raquez first appears in the historical record on June 16, 1898, in a government telegram issued by the provincial administrator of the town of My Tho, in the Mekong Delta.<sup>9</sup> From his own writings, we know that he continued to travel through Indochina and by September 1, he was in Hong Kong. From there, he commenced his travels in China, the journal of which would become his first book.

*Au pays des pagodes* was issued in serial form from June 10 to November 6, 1899, in *L'Écho de Chine*, published in Shanghai by the *Imprimerie de la presse orientale*, which would publish the articles in book form in 1900 as *Au pays des pagodes*.<sup>10</sup> The book was reviewed approvingly in the first issue of *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, published by F.-H. Schneider.<sup>11</sup>

Raquez appears to have remained in Shanghai for the summer of 1899, then traveled to Japan. On December 1, 1899, he departed Yokohama for a trip through Laos in company with the newly appointed Resident Superior Auguste Tournier that would be completed in August 1900.

4. *Revue de Lille*, 4: 161.

5. *Les assemblées générales catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais tenues à Lille du 23 au 28 Novembre 1886*: 353.

6. *Cognosco* 1898.

7. *La Lanterne*, 22 March 1898.

8. *Le Journal*, 15 April 1898.

9. The telegram is held at the Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence: GGI 22425. See also Degroise 2001: 234.

10. Raquez 1900.

11. *BEFEO* 1901: 37–38.

Raquez's description of his Laotian expedition was published serially in *L'Avenir du Tonkin*, an influential newspaper in Indochina owned by the publishing magnate F.-H. Schneider, between October 14, 1901, and July 1, 1902. In August of that year, Schneider published *Pages laotiennes* as a book with over 300 photographic illustrations, most by Raquez.<sup>12</sup>

After *Pages laotiennes* was published, he continued to write for *L'Avenir du Tonkin* and in 1902, Raquez began contributing regularly to another Schneider publication, *La Revue indochinoise*. The same articles were often published in both Schneider journals as well as in France in *La Dépêche coloniale* and its supplement, *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée*, which also featured his photographs. In addition, he published three articles and several photographs in *L'Illustration, journal universel* and penned an article for the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française*.<sup>13</sup>

These publications were associated with the *Parti colonial*, a loose affiliation of politicians, businessmen, military officers, and journalists who wanted to see France's colonies expand via commercial and scientific, as opposed to strictly military, means.<sup>14</sup> What can be gleaned is that by 1902, Raquez had managed to find friends in the *Parti colonial* who were happy to use his skills as an author to further their own ideological position. Based on the laudatory comments published after his death, these editors and publishers were mostly unaware of his true identity. In fact, the editors of *La Dépêche coloniale* took out a subscription to raise money for a monument for Raquez in Marseille, an effort that was quietly dropped when he was revealed as Gervais. Interestingly, Schneider's name does not appear in the list of subscribers.<sup>15</sup>

However he came to be known as the full-time journalist and explorer Alfred Raquez, his early career as a writer in Hanoi was linked to Schneider's publications and it was through these publications that he first rose to prominence.

François-Henri Schneider, along with his brother Ernest, was a powerful figure in Indochina. Born in Paris, Schneider arrived in Saigon in 1882 and worked in the colonial printing office there. A year later, he was in Hanoi to start his own professional printing operation and soon formed his own company, the *Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient*. What the brothers realized was that they could make high-quality paper from bamboo, and based on that insight, they created an industrial paper and printing operation that became a near-monopoly for decades. They held seats on the Hanoi City Council and other trade associations. Ernest ran a bookstore in Hanoi that sold suspiciously high volumes of the Schneider journals to colonial figures who may have used government funds to purchase them. Both brothers were associated with the *Parti colonial*.

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12. Raquez 1902.

13. Raquez 1903a.

14. See Andrew *et al.* 1975; Persell 1983: 13–14.

15. *La Dépêche coloniale*, 11 February 1907.



**Fig. 1** — Hand-tinted postcard showing F.-H. Schneider’s printing house in Hanoi, on the corner of Boulevard Henri Rivière and Rue Paul Bert (now Phố Ngô Quyền and Tràng Tiền), beside the Hôtel Métropole, opened in 1901. Note Schneider’s name and the words “L’Avenir du Tonkin” and possibly “La Revue indochinoise” (partly obscured by trees) on the signboards.

In addition to printing books and official publications such as the *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, Schneider also published postcards and photographs, including some by Raquez. He was instrumental in creating new forms of typography for his press, including Chinese and Khmer, as well as Laotian. Schneider opened a paper mill on the Great Lake in Hanoi in 1893, to which he attached a grand villa in 1898, which still is now part of Chu Văn An High School.

According to Ronald David Hill, Schneider founded *La Revue indochinoise* in “August 1893 under the title *La Revue Indo-chinoise Illustrée* and [it] continued to be published with this title until October 1894. In 1899, after a gap of five years, publication resumed, initially as a weekly but now under the title *La Revue Indochinoise*.”<sup>16</sup>

While it has long been known that Raquez was a contributor and editor at *La Revue indochinoise*, until now, both the exact dates of his editorship as well as attribution of the articles he wrote for the journal have remained vague.

16. Hill 1983: i.

For example, various sources offer differing dates on which Raquez assumed the role of editor, ranging from 1897 to 1904, sometimes within a single publication. Antoine Brébion's brief notice in his 1935 *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographie générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine française*, for decades the only authoritative source on Raquez, claims the year as 1903.<sup>17</sup> The next biographical article to appear in print, Degroise's one-page notice published nearly seven decades later, claims the year to be 1901.<sup>18</sup> In *Old Postcard Series Vol. 1: Lao Postcards by Alfred Raquez*, the date is given as 1901 on page two, and in note two, page 321, as 1897.<sup>19</sup> The online biography that appears on the postcard collection website of Didier Cabiddu correctly lists the year as 1904.<sup>20</sup> None of these publications list *La Revue indochinoise* itself as a source.

In truth, Raquez was never an editor in the sense of a person who runs the journal day to day. As will be seen, in 1904, he became Editorial Director, a role he held until his death. His role in 1902 and 1903 would seem to be limited to that of contributor, though he was in fact the majority contributor.

In addition to feature articles, Raquez penned the lead article for nearly each weekly issue in 1902 and 1903. These were the *Hebdo-Revue*, or "Weekly Review" sections. Even in these brief notices, Raquez's skills as a writer can be appreciated.

The *Hebdo-Revue* sections prior to Raquez's tenure were essentially a roundup of news items from local and regional presses, similar to the *faits divers* or *nouvelles diverses* ("sundry events" or "news varieties") sections of French newspapers. In *La Revue indochinoise* prior to Raquez, the tendency was toward dry political notices and tidbits about colonial technological progress, such as the completion of a telegraph line. While the sections written by Raquez frequently retain these items, his natural sense of storytelling brings out the whimsy and irony of otherwise mundane news items.

To enumerate only some of the topics from four issues from a single month, in June 1902, we find discussion of a nascent rebellion in Guangxi; a description of the Grand Duke Boris Vladimirovich's visit to Hanoi; an analysis of the "chit" system of payment in Hong Kong and the British concession in Shanghai; a comparison of the high quality of sanitation in Tonkin versus China, where a cholera outbreak was underway; the Grand Duke Boris's onward journey to Bangkok, in which his train was attacked by anarchists (the Duke continued his journey by ship); a group of University of Tokyo students playing a friendly baseball game with the crew of the American Navy ship *USS Kentucky* (the Japanese won); and street barbers in Canton threatening to strike because of the rapid decline of the *piastre*.

The style of the writing is often epigrammatic, with the poignancy deriving from succinctness. It is an approach reminiscent of Félix Fénéon's

17. Brébion 1935: 319.

18. Degroise 2001: 234.

19. Ande 2015.

20. <http://collection-laos.cabiddu.net/?p=16> (last updated January 10, 2007).



“Novels in Three Lines” published in 1906 in the Paris daily newspaper *Le Matin*. For instance, “S.M. Sisowath, visiting Marseille, divided his time among his dancing girls, a pedicure, and the colonial exposition.”<sup>21</sup>

From the *Hebdo-Revue* of November 17, 1902, comes this compression: “In Japan, morality blooms with the chrysanthemums” when police in Nagasaki board the *Daifuku Maru*, bound for Manila, and discover a cargo of “fifteen young and pretty girls. Now in dungeons, they reflect on the terrible consequences of a first offense.”<sup>22</sup>

Or another, on September 29, 1902: “In Siam, nothing is new. Each side rests in their diplomatic position. It is in Europe that the game is played.”<sup>23</sup>

As Luc Sante writes, such instances of narrative resemble photographs “compressed into a single frame”. They “suggest, portend, echo, pose questions, present enigmas, awaken troubling memories, but they usually do not have a second act.”<sup>24</sup> They also require much effort to compose, and when the format of the publication was revised, Raquez abandoned the *Hebdo-Revue* section.

In 1904, Raquez assumed the role of “Secrétaire de la rédaction”, analogous to Editorial Director, which he announces on the first page of the first issue for that year in an article entitled “To the Readers”. He writes that the journal is undergoing profound transformations, with a new format, new style, and new collaborators, all at the behest of the new Governor General of Indochina, Paul Beau. This news traveled back to France, with Raquez’s key role in the new direction of the magazine, along with Beau’s approbation, all announced on the front page of the March 18 edition of *La Dépêche coloniale*.

The new editorial direction was also announced by Schneider himself in the *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* in the following terms: “La *Revue indo-chinoise* has entered a new phase under the editorship of Mr. Alfred Raquez. It appears bi-monthly and publishes a wide range of articles about Indochina and neighboring countries, covering history, geography, ethnography, folklore, etc.”<sup>25</sup>

The change to a bi-monthly format meant that articles were longer and more in-depth. There were also more serial articles that stretched over several issues. While political topics remained, the move to a wider range of topics included (just in 1904) a series of articles on the technical workings of the telegraph, an article on Laotian *morlum* music, contributions on the history and superstitions of specific regions and tribes, and serial Far East travel narratives. There were also language courses in Vietnamese, Chinese, and Khmer that progressed from issue to issue.

21. Fénéon 1906: 51.

22. “Au Japon, la morale fleurit avec les chrysanthèmes. [...] quinze jeunes et jolies filles. Elles réfléchissent maintenant dans les noirs cachots aux conséquences terribles d’une première faute.”

23. “Au Siam, rien de nouveau. Chacun reste sur ses positions diplomatiques. C’est en Europe que se joue la partie.”

24. Fénéon 1906: vii.

25. *BEFEO* 1904: 487.

In place of the *Hebdo-Revue* section, Raquez offered a Far East Press Review, which featured excerpts from the regional press, including *L'Écho de Chine*, for which he wrote when he first arrived in the Far East. There are also extended book review sections. Raquez occasionally contributed to both of these sections, including reviews of English language journals, which he apparently translated himself (he demonstrates his fluency in English in his first book).

Another innovation was featuring articles written by local people, including a novel published serially and entitled *Trần Đại Lang* by Hồ Văn Doãn, which started in May 1905.

Finally, the new publishing schedule and editorial direction was matched by a new format. Whereas the previous version of the publication looks like a newspaper, with distinct columns, changes in font, and frequent ornamentation, after 1904, the format is clean and modern, with standardized fonts for all titles and text. Illustrations, including photographs and maps, now appear in every issue. Also included are texts in Asian typography, including Chinese, *quốc ngữ* (Vietnamese written with Roman characters), and Khmer. These innovations speak as much to F.-H. Schneider's business sense and Governor General Beau's predilections as they do to Raquez's own wide-ranging interests. In the issues of *La Revue indochinoise* after 1904, these three interests coincided to create a distinct periodical.

Raquez's own articles can be broadly categorized as either strident polemical pieces in favor of French colonial interests or descriptions of his own peregrinations around Southeast Asia. However, these journeys were often in the service of government interests, so the distinction is not always sharp.

For instance, from November 1904, Raquez was traveling on "Mission Raquez", a government-funded expedition to collect material for the Lao pavilion at the 1906 Marseille Colonial Exposition. The majority of his articles published in 1905 and 1906 are dispatches from this trip that were compiled from brief notices first published in *L'Avenir du Tonkin*.

He returned in France in February 1906, and stayed there for the duration of the Exposition, for which he served as delegate for the Laotian pavilion. For his efforts, he was named as a corresponding member of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* on March 7, 1906, for a period of three years.<sup>26</sup> In June, Raquez attended a ceremony hosted by the *Société d'Encouragement au Bien* at the Cirque d'Hiver theatre in Paris at which he received a Medal of Honor from the Ministry of War, presumably for his Mission to Laos and duties at the Marseille Exposition.<sup>27</sup>

After the Exposition closed, Raquez's collection of Laotian ethnographic materials was purchased by the natural history museum in Vienna, where

26. See *BEFEO* 1906: 488, and *Bulletin officiel de l'Indochine française*, 1906: 390. On the role of corresponding members, see Clémentin-Ojha & Manguin 2007.

27. *La Presse*, 18 June 1906.

he was due to travel to give a presentation on January 25, 1907.<sup>28</sup> However, he died in his residence on the Corniche in Marseille on January 9. Several newspapers at the time reported that it was from smallpox, and there was an epidemic in Marseille at this time,<sup>29</sup> but Brébion, in his biographical notice written years later, notes a rumor that Raquez committed suicide after his true identity was uncovered. According to the hastily written obituary in *La Revue indochinoise*, he had been planning on returning to Hanoi.<sup>30</sup>

Raquez's real identity was publicly revealed by Georges Chaudey, a politician sympathetic to the *Parti colonial* who had lived in Indochina and most likely had met Raquez there, in his column "Letter from France" in the April 25, 1907 edition of *Le Courrier de Haiphong*. The news of Chaudey's revelation quickly circulated back to France and there was a brief outcry, more so at Chaudey for betraying Raquez's memory than at Gervais for fooling so many people.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, the name Gervais quickly faded from memory and Raquez is the name that came down to us over the past century.

After his death, Raquez's writings fell into obscurity. The only published study of *La Revue indochinoise*, Hill's *Index Indochinensis*, does not focus solely on Raquez, and while it correctly attributes many of his articles, the study was not designed to list all his attributions.

The standard bibliographical reference for this era and region, Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca indosinica*,<sup>32</sup> does include many attributions to Raquez, though it is surprisingly incomplete. There are also several attributions to Raquez in Cordier's earlier bibliography, *Bibliotheca sinica*.<sup>33</sup>

The *Polybiblion: Revue bibliographique universelle* lists articles published in the *Revue indochinoise* from 1901 to 1904. The first listing appears for the issue published on April 28, 1901, and the last is for the issue published on January 15, 1904. The reason for the abrupt starting and stopping of the listings is not known.

Despite the fact that Raquez wrote and signed hundreds of articles in *La Revue indochinoise*, totaling close to one thousand pages, remarkably, there are no articles for which all of the above sources agree in attribution, and only a handful for which at least three agree.

Raquez's articles in *La Revue indochinoise* not only shed light on his murky biography, but also offer a vivid portrait of the French colonial mindset in belle époque Indochina. The second part of this paper lists all of the articles to which Raquez signed his name and offer brief synopses for each.

28. *Annalen des k. k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums* 1907: 56–57. For an analysis, see Kohlbacher 1989: 167–168.

29. See Mollaret 1908.

30. Anonymous 1907a.

31. See for instance Anonymous 1907b.

32. Cordier 1912–1932.

33. Cordier 1904–1907.



In the interests of brevity, I only offer encapsulations of the longer articles. The *Hebdo-Revue* sections signed by Raquez are too numerous to discuss in detail, however, their publication information is included.

In reference to previous bibliographic efforts:

- Articles attributed by Hill are marked with a plus (+).
- Articles attributed in *Polybiblion* are marked with an asterisk (\*).
- Articles attributed in *Bibliotheca indosinica* are marked with a caret (^).
- Articles attributed in *Bibliotheca sinica* are marked with a lower-case letter vee (v).
- No mark indicates that the article has been signed by Raquez but never previously attributed; it is attributed for the first time here.

Full runs from this period of *La Revue indochinoise* are extremely rare. This study was performed using microfilm of bound copies held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The film was shot in 1966 by the *Association pour la conservation et la reproduction photographique de la presse*, and there are occasional lapses, which are noted. When available, PDF scans of issues missing from the microfilm were ordered from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which maintains bound editions.

Articles reproduced from, or reprinted in, *L'Avenir du Tonkin* and *La Dépêche coloniale* are noted with the abbreviations *AT* or *DC*, followed by the publication dates. Some articles were also reprinted in *Entrée gratuite*,<sup>34</sup> Raquez's book about the Hanoi Colonial Exposition of 1902, published in Saigon by Claude and Cie in 1903; these are noted with the abbreviation *EG* followed by the page numbers. The French titles of articles are reproduced verbatim from the original. All translations are my own.

## II. Articles by Alfred Raquez in *La Revue indochinoise*

### 1902

#### *February*

##### 10 February, no. 173

\* *Variétés : Pnom-Penh* [Varieties: Phnom Penh] (138–141). The article is introduced as an excerpt from a book titled *Feuillets détachés*, an account of Raquez's travels through Indochina in 1898. It was announced as being "in preparation" in the front matter of *Pages laotiennes* (1902) but other than brief excerpts in *La Revue indochinoise* and *L'Avenir du Tonkin*, it was never published.

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34. Raquez 1903b.

17 February, no. 174

+ *Par les pieds* [By the Feet] (146–148). Raquez praises Empress Dowager Cixi's edict of February 1, 1902, that banned the practice of foot-binding as a means of modernizing China. Unfortunately, Cixi's edict was widely ignored and soon rescinded. Reprinted from *AT* (February 12, 1902) and in *DC* (March 29, 1902).

*Variétés : Dans Pnom-Penh* [Varieties: In Phnom Penh] (157). The article is another excerpt from Raquez's unpublished book *Feuillets détachés*.

**March**3 March, no. 176

\* *Le Roi d'Annam de Hanoi* [The King of Annam in Hanoi] (193–195). Raquez's sketch of a royal visit to Hanoi by Emperor Thành Thái includes descriptions of the native crowds who thronged the streets and their general adoration of him, about which Raquez is skeptical.

17 March, no. 178

+ *Variétés : Sadec-Cu-lao-Yên – L'évêque de Pnom-Penh – L'esprit de la colonisation en Indo-Chine* [Varieties: Sadec – Cu Lao Gieng – The Bishop of Phnom Penh – The Spirit of Colonization in Indochina] (243–245). The article was printed to commemorate the passing of Jean-Baptiste Grosgeorge, *vicaire apostolique* of Cambodia. The article is also announced as an excerpt from *Feuillets détachés*.

31 March, no. 180

+ *Le Pont Doumer* [The Doumer Bridge] (275–280). Article about the Paul Doumer Bridge, named for the former Governor General of Indochina, now known as the Long Biên Bridge, over the Red River in Hanoi, which was constructed between 1899 and 1902 and inaugurated on February 2, 1902. Reprinted in *AT* (April 10, 1902).

+ \* *Variétés : Java (à suivre)* [Varieties: Java (to be continued)] (287–290). Relates Raquez's landing in Batavia (present day Jakarta) on May 1, 1898. At a presentation in Saigon about this trip, Raquez claimed to have stayed in Java an entire month.<sup>35</sup>

**May**12 May, no. 186

*Hebdo-Revue* (417–418).

**June**9 June, no. 190

*Hebdo-Revue* (513–515).

35. *Bulletin de la Société des Études indo-chinoises de Saigon*, 36: 91–92. For an analysis and translation of this article as well as Raquez's other writing on Java, see Gibson & Bruthiaux 2017.

16 June, no. 191

*Hebdo-Revue* (537–538).

23 June, no. 192

*Hebdo-Revue* (561–562).

30 June, no. 193

*Hebdo-Revue* (585–586).

### **July**

7 July, no. 194

*Hebdo-Revue* (609–610).

21 July, no. 196

*Hebdo-Revue* (657–659).

### **September**

29 September, no. 206

*Hebdo-Revue* (897–899).

### **October**

6 October, no. 207

*Hebdo-Revue* (921–923).

+ \* *L'arrivée d'un courrier de France à Haïphong* [The Arrival of the French Mail at Haiphong] (923–935). The article focuses on deplorable conditions at Haiphong, the “great port” of Tonkin, and lays most of the blame on the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, which had a near-monopoly on shipping in the coastal waters of Indochina.

13 October, no. 208

*Hebdo-Revue* (945–946).

\* *Le nouveau traité de commerce entre l'Angleterre et la Chine* [The New Commercial Treaty between England and China] (946–948). The article provides an overview of the reaction in the foreign press in China to the signing of The Mackay Treaty on September 5, 1902, which abolished the ancient *likin* system of taxation.

20 October, no. 209

*Hebdo-Revue* (969–970).

\* *Un second Fachoda* [A Second Fashoda] (973–975). The reference is to what is known as the Fashoda Crisis of 1898. Named for a village on the White Nile (now called Kodok, in South Sudan), the incident saw French and British armies face off over control of the region; the British eventually prevailed without firing a shot. Raquez uses this incident as a metaphor for the treaty that ended the first phase of the so-called Holy

Man's Rebellion, which lead to the Siamese gaining influence in upper Laos.<sup>36</sup>

27 October, no. 210

*Hebdo-Revue* (993–994).

\* *La décadence d'une grande compagnie; ses causes* [The Decline of a Great Company: Its Causes] (998–1001). Raquez continues his attack on the Messageries Maritimes from October 6, this time citing a government audit that claims that the company is verging on bankruptcy.

### **November**

3 November, no. 211

*Hebdo-Revue* (1017–1019).

10 November, no. 212

*Hebdo-Revue* (1041–1042).

17 November, no. 213

*Hebdo-Revue* (1065–1067).

24 November, no. 214

*Hebdo-Revue* (1089–1090).

### **December**

1 December, no. 215

*Hebdo-Revue* (1113–1114).

8 December, no. 216

*Hebdo-Revue* (1137–1139).

15 December, no. 217

*Hebdo-Revue* (1161–1162).

\* *Le salon de Hanoi* [The Hanoi Salon] (1162–1165). Raquez's review of the exhibition of pictures at the Fine Arts section of the Hanoi Exposition of 1902. Reprinted from *AT* (December 4, 1902) and in *EG* (13–32).

+ \* ^ *Le Roi de Luang-Prabang et la question siamoise* [The King of Luang Prabang and the Siamese Question] (1165–1166). The French feared that Britain would become involved in its territorial dispute with Siam and hoped that Zakarine, King of Luang Prabang, would maintain his allegiance to France. These issues would remain unresolved until the Franco-Siamese Convention of 1904. Reprinted from *AT* (December 6, 1902).

22 December, no. 218

*Hebdo-Revue* (1185–1186).

36. See Fry, Goldstein & Langhorne 2002: 154–156.

29 December, no. 219*Hebdo-Revue* (1209–1210).

\* *En baie d'Along* [In Ha Long Bay] (1210–1216). Description of a sailing junket in picturesque Ha Long Bay for local and international press visiting Hanoi for the Exposition. Raquez was the leader of one of the groups, who were dispersed across different boats. Reprinted from *AT* (December 19, 1902) in *EG* (233–349), with the subtitle “L'Excursion des délégués de la presse”.

\* ^ + *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1216–1221). This article describes the Laos Pavilion at the Hanoi Exposition, with special praise for photographer Louis Apollinaire Wartelle, organizer of the pavilion and administrator in Laos. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (December 17, 18, 1902) and in *EG* (151–159).

**1903***January*5 January, no. 220*Hebdo-Revue* (1–4).12 January, no. 221*Hebdo-Revue* (25–26).

\* *Le salon de Hanoi* [The Hanoi Salon] (26–30). The conclusion of the article from December 15, 1902. Reprinted from a three-part article in *AT* (December 4, 7, 11, 1902) and in *EG* (13–32).

+ \* *L'inauguration de la ligne Hanoi-Nam-dinh* [Inauguration of the Hanoi to Nam Dinh Rail Line] (30–32). Nam Dinh is located 90 kilometers south-east of Hanoi. Recently appointed Governor General, Paul Beau was present at this event, the highlight of which was a speech by Charles Guillemoto, Director General of Public Works in Indochina, which Raquez prints in full. Reprinted from *AT* (January 10, 1903) and in *EG* (209–217).

19 January, no. 222*Hebdo-Revue* (49–50).

+ \* *Le palais central* [The Central Palace] (50–59). A description of the neo-classical Central Palace at the Hanoi Exposition. Designed by André Bussy, a Hanoi Public Works architect and later active in Indochinese banking circles, the façade was more than 100 meters long. After the Exposition, the building served as the *Musée Agricole*. It was destroyed by Allied bombing during WWII, when it was used as barracks for Japanese troops. In the 1970s, the site was used as the location for the Palace of Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship, which still exists.<sup>37</sup> Reprinted from a six-part article in *AT* (January 11 & 12, 14)<sup>38</sup> and in *EG* (33–61).

37. Logan 2000: 129.

38. *AT* January 1–9 are missing from microfilm available for consultation.



26 January, no. 223*Hebdo-Revue* (73–74).

\* *Au Siam* [In Siam] (74–77). A description of the Siamese pavilion at the Exposition. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (January 17, 18, 1903) and in *EG* (73–82).

+ \* *Aux îles Philippines* [In the Philippine Islands] (77–80). Description of the Philippines pavilion at the Exposition. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (January 15, 16, 1903) and in *EG* (111–118).

**February**2 February, no. 224*Hebdo-Revue* (97).

\* *Aux Indes* [In the Indies] (97–102). Description of the Indies pavilion at the Exposition. The Pavilion included not only European colonial possessions in India but also present-day Malaysia and Indonesia. Reprinted in *EG* (83–95).

9 February, no. 225*Hebdo-Revue* (113–115).

\* *Chez les sauvages des Philippines* [Among Savages from the Philippines] (115–117). A group of aboriginal people from the Philippines, whom Raquez refers to as “Malais” and “Négritos”, were brought to the Hanoi Exposition, where a mock-up of a “Négrito” village was built. Reprinted from *AT* (February 3, 1903) and in *EG* (119–126).

16 February, no. 226*Hebdo-Revue* (137–138).

\* *En Cochinchine* [In Cochinchina] (138–143). Description of the Cochinchina pavilion at the Exposition. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (February 11, 12, 1903) and in *EG* (127–138).

23 February, no. 227*Hebo-Revue* (161–162).

\* *La situation dans le nord du Siam* [The Situation in Northern Siam] (166). French, English, and Siamese interests continue to irritate each other along the poorly defined borders of this historically fractured region. In this instance, Raquez focuses on the recent arrest and massacre by Siamese troops of residents of the town of Xieng Khan on the Laos-Siamese border. Reprinted from *AT* (February 13, 1903).

\* *À Cholon* [In Cholon] (166–169). Description of the Cholon pavilion at the Exposition. Now part of the sprawl of Ho Chi Minh City known as “District 5”, in 1902, Cholon was a separate municipality, a market town dominated by Chinese immigrants to the Mekong Delta region. Raquez complains that this was one of the most popular, and thus crowded, pavilions at the Exposition. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (February 18, 19, 1903) and in *EG* (143–152).

**March**

2 March, no. 228

*Hebdo-Revue* (185–186).

+ \* *Japon et Siam* [Japan and Siam] (190–191). Discussion of risks to French interests in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. The Siamese sought Japanese expertise in modern modes of education, agriculture, etc., but the French were concerned that this new treaty was not only a backdoor means for the British to extend their influence into Siam but for the Japanese to extend theirs into the region.

v + *Hongkong - Hoihao - Shanghai* [Hong Kong, Hoi Hao, Shanghai] (191–193). Hoi Hao is a port city on the north side of the island of Hainan and was part of French Indochina. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (March 18, 19, 1903) and in *EG* as a chapter sub-section entitled “En Chine” (194–197).

23 March, no. 231

*Hebdo-Revue* (241–242).

+ \* *À Madagascar* [In Madagascar] (242–247). Description of the Madagascar pavilion at the Exposition. Reprinted in *EG* (95–110).

30 March, no. 232

*Hebdo-Revue* (265).

**April**

6 April, no. 233

*Hebdo-Revue* (289).

13 April, no. 234

*Hebdo-Revue* (313–314).

20 April, no. 235

*Hebdo-Revue* (337).

27 April, no. 236

*Hebdo-Revue* (361–362).

+ \* *Comment nous eûmes Muong-Sing* [How We Gained Muang Sing] (362–365). A potted history of French control of Muang Sing. Located in the modern Laotian province of Luang Namtha, Muang Sing is a town at the heart of an area of disputed borders between Siamese, British, and French interests. Although the 1894 treaty drew the borders, they were poorly defined on the ground. Muang Sing clearly became part of French Indochina in a French-English “convention of understanding” signed in January 1896.

**May**

4 May, no. 237

*Hebdo-Revue* (385).

\* *Le mouvement réformiste en Chine* [The Reform Movement in China] (385–392). A history and analysis of the current state of the Reform Movement in China, which by 1903 (after a palace coup d'état in 1898) was making slow headway under the control of Empress Dowager Cixi, who kept the reform minded Emperor Guangxu under house arrest. Raquez concludes that only through the reform movement would China become a modern nation.

11 May, no. 238

*Hebdo-Revue* (409).

+ \* *La situation du Quang-si* [The Situation in Guangxi] (410–413). A massive famine in Guangxi leads to banditry and other social problems for both French and British interests. French and Chinese imperial troops are on hand to intervene in the regions that border Indochina. Includes a lengthy excerpt from the *Hongkong Daily Press* of 23 April.

18 May, no. 239

*Hebdo-Revue* (433).

+ \* *Nos consuls en Extrême-Orient* [Our Consuls in the Far East] (434–440). The article opens with an editorial notice stating that “The new commercial treaty negotiated in the last few months between China and Britain [the MacKay Treaty] was the cause of a courteous press controversy, where the role of powers of different Consuls in the Far East has been studied in the *Courrier d’Haiphong* and in *L’Avenir du Tonkin* by our comrade Raquez. We put the pieces of the process under the eyes of our readers.”<sup>39</sup>

25 May, no. 240

*Hebdo-Revue* (457).

+ \* *La frontière sino-annamite* [The Sino-Annamite Border] (458–461). Raquez has embarked on a trip into China. In a historically contentious region, Raquez offers an analysis of the conditions along what is now the Chinese-Vietnamese border. Part of what modern historians call the Zomia, the region is described as “lawless and filled with bandits, and no one is sure where the borders lies or who should be in charge of policing the area”, though it is, Raquez tells his readers, “a charming land”. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (May 16, 17, 1903).

+ \* *Coolies chinois* [Chinese Coolies] (461). A discussion of the important yet often overlooked role of Chinese labor in building colonial infrastructure, with an emphasis on French interests in southern China. Reprinted from *AT* (May 18 & 19, 1903).

## **June**

1 June, no. 241

+ *Long-Tchéou* [Longzhou] (482–483). Raquez’s brief dispatch from Longzhou, with a dateline of May 24, details his crossing into China and the conditions there.

39. These articles are missing from the microfilm of *AT* available for consultation.

15 June, no. 243

+ \* *L'école de Nanning-Fou* [The Nanning-fu School] (530). Raquez traveled to Chongzuo, in Nanning, China, for the opening of the Bertholet School on June 1. Father Mathieu Bertholet was a Catholic missionary who died on April 24, 1898, when his caravan was attacked by a group of anti-French nationalists. The Chinese government was forced to pay compensation, which was used to found the now defunct school. Raquez mentions this attack on pages two and three of *Au Pays des pagodes*.

22 June, no. 244

+ \* *De Long-Tchéou à Nanning-fou* [From Longzhou to Nanning-fu] (546–547). Description of travel from Longzhou to Nanning-fu with the French Consul Joseph Dautremer.

29 June, no. 245

+ \* *Chez le gouverneur du Quang-si* [At the Governor of Guangxi's] (570). Description of the home and dinner with Wang Chih-Ch'un, the Imperial Governor for the province of Guangxi.

+ *L'inauguration de l'école franco-chinoise de Nanning-fou* [The Inauguration of the French-Chinese School at Nanning-fu] (571–575). Offers a description of the opening ceremony for the school. Reprinted from *AT* (June 13, 1903) and some of the text also appears in an article in *DC* (July 20, 1903). This text along with edited excerpts from the articles above and below on China appear in an edition of *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée* titled *De Hanoi à Haïphong par Long-Tcheou, Nanning, Outcheou, Canton, Hongkong* [From Hanoi to Haiphong by Longzhou, Nanning, Wuzhou, Canton, Hong Kong] (January 15, 1904): 2–15. Raquez is given credit for 44 photographs printed in the edition.

**July**6 July, no. 246

*Le Nouveau Vice-Roi de Canton* [The New Viceroy of Canton] (594–595). A portrait of Cen Chunxuan, Viceroy of Liangguang (Viceroy of the Two Guangs), who was responsible for both Guangdong and Guangxi. He was appointed on June 19, 1903, and served in that capacity until 1906. He was later President of the Republic of China, succeeding Sun Yat-Sen.

\* *La révolte du Quang-si (à suivre)* [The Revolt in Guangxi (to be continued)] (595–597). What is sometimes referred to as a peasant uprising in restive Guangxi Province is chalked up by Raquez to organized banditry. This article, the first of several to touch on the topic, specifically examines Cen Chunxuan's possible role in suppressing the uprising.

13 July, no. 247

*Hebdo-Revue* (617–618).

20 July, no. 248

*Hebdo-Revue* (641–642).

v + \* *La situation au Quang-si* [The Situation in Guangxi] (642–646). Raquez points out that the English press refers to the uprising as a “rebellion” while the French press refers to it as a “revolt”. He examines the root of the discontent in the recent Boxer Rebellion and concludes that the word “movement” best defines the current situation.

27 July, no. 249

*Hebdo-Revue* (665).

+ *Les dindons de la farce* [The Joke is on Us] (666–668). The title translates literally as “The Turkeys of the Farce”. The term originates in the eighteenth century, when turkeys would be tortured in sideshows for entertainment. Raquez uses it here to refer to an incident in which the *SS Benvenue*, a ship of the British shipping company Ben Line, took shelter during a typhoon in a Japanese bay which she did not have permission to enter, following which the Captain was detained by the Japanese authorities.

### **August**

3 August, no. 250

*Hebdo-Revue* (689–960).

10 August, no. 251

*Hebdo-Revue* (713–14).

*Calculs japonais* [Japanese Calculations] (714–716). An examination of the strength of the French, British, Russian, and Japanese navies in the Far East. Always wary of British intentions, Raquez concludes that the British Navy is the strongest in the region.

+ \* *La famine au Quang-si* [The Famine in Guangxi] (716–718). An analysis of the political implications for French and British interests of a massive famine in Guangxi. The British, he claims, are cynically using the famine to gain regional influence by... distributing rice.

17 August, no. 252

*Hebdo-Revue* (737–738).

24 August, no. 253

*Hebdo-Revue* (761–762).

### **September**

21 September, no. 257

+ *Fin de session* [End of Session] (867). Raquez is in Saigon for the close of the annual meeting of the Supreme Council of Indochina. Reprinted from *AT* (September 11, 1903).

### **October**

5 October, no. 259

\* + *Le voyage du Gouverneur général* [The Voyage of the Governor



General] (915–924). Raquez traveled with Governor General Paul Beau's entourage from 13 September. They steamed up the Mekong to Cambodia, into Laos, then returned to Saigon via the same route, arriving 21 September. While heading upriver, Raquez records that they called at Phnom Penh, Kampong Tiam, Kratié, Sambor, Stung Treng, Khone, Bassac, and Paksé. Reprinted from an eight-part article in *AT* (September 14 & 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 1903).

*Choses de Chine* [Chinese Affairs] (924–925). The Hong Kong newspapers announced the imminent decapitation of Marshal Su Yuanchuan, the commander of the Chinese Army in Guangxi. Su was respected by the French and often worked closely with them; he assisted in demarcating the borders of Kouang-Tchéou-Wan (Guangzhou-wan) in 1899. He was sentenced to death by imperial decree, essentially for cooperating too closely with foreigners, but happily, as Raquez predicts in this article, he was released in 1904 due to French government pressure.<sup>40</sup> Reprinted from *AT* (September 20, 1903).

12 October, no. 260

+ \* *Anglophobie* [Anglophobia] (929–931). A somewhat tongue-in-cheek look at French attitudes toward the British. As Raquez is fluent in both languages, and has traveled in English-speaking countries (he claims to have first visited London when he was sixteen), he is able to make punning jokes, for instance, on the pronunciation of “Leicester Square”. It ends with Raquez warning English troops of French reprisals of the “eye-for-an-eye” variety. Reprinted from *AT* (September 19, 1903).

\* *La pénétration au Laos* [The Penetration of Laos] (931–934). A discussion of the difficulty involved in entering (and therefore controlling) Laos, which leads to its importance as a buffer region between Siam and French Indochina. Raquez concludes that the completion of projected rail lines will help complete French penetration of Laos. Reprinted from a three-part article in *AT* (October 2, 3, 4, 1903) and in three parts in *DC* (October 22, 26 and November 6, 1903).

19 October, no. 261

+ *Au Cambodge, notes de voyage* [Toward Cambodia: Notes of the Voyage] (953–956). A description of travel into Cambodia from the borderlands of Cochinchina in the company of Resident Superior of Cambodia, Henri Félix de Lamothe. Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (October 4, 7, 1903) that includes datelines and places not included in *La Revue indochinoise*: September 30, Takéo province, and October 2, Kampot.

26 October, no. 262

+ \* *À Bangkok* [In Bangkok] (977–978). Raquez reports on preparations of the 50th birthday celebrations for King Chulalongkorn (Rama V).

40. See Moreau 1904: 17.

## November

### 2 November, no. 263

+ \* *De Saïgon au golfe de Siam par terre* [From Saigon to the Gulf of Siam by Land] (1001-?). A description of Raquez's journey across Cochinchina into Cambodia (see no. 261 above). It was reprinted from *AT* (October 31, 1903), which gives a dateline of September 29, Chau Doc, in An Giang Province in modern Vietnam. This article is announced as part of a suite, but unfortunately the other parts are missing from the microfilm of *AT* available for consultation (issues October 21 to 28 and 30 are missing).

### 9 November, no. 264

+ *Les fêtes de Pnom-Penh* [The Festivals of Phnom-Penh] (1017–1019). Raquez is present for the “water celebrations”, or *Bon Om Touk*, November 3 to 5, which mark the reversal of the flow of the Tonle Sap River. Reprinted from *AT* (November 7, 1903).

*Choses du Quang-si* [Guangxi Affairs] (1019–1020). An overview of the current situation in Guangxi, with an emphasis on Chinese government efforts to contain and control bandits and pirates in the province.

### 30 November, no. 267

+ \* *Les fêtes de Bangkok* [The Festivals of Bangkok] (1065–1067). Raquez is in Bangkok on November 16 for the celebrations of King Rama V's 50th birthday. He explains that “The Jubilee celebrations scheduled to take place on 21 September were postponed until November because of the rainy season.” Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (November 19, 21, 1903) which includes datelines November 16 and 18, Bangkok.

## 1904

### 15 January, vol. 1, no. 1

*Aux lecteurs* [To the Readers] (1–2). Raquez explains that the review is undergoing profound transformations, with a new format, new character, and new collaborators. He signs the piece “Secrétaire de la rédaction”. Reprinted in *AT* (January 20, 1904).

*Revue de la presse d'Extrême-Orient* [Far East Press Review] (41–43). The press section presents excerpts translated by Raquez from English-language newspapers: the *North China Daily News*, the *Kobe Chronicle*, the *Celestial Empire*, the *Hongkong Telegraph*, the *China Mail*, and the *Hongkong Daily Press*.

### 30 January, vol. 1, no. 2

+ *Revue de la presse d'Extrême-Orient. Presse anglaise de Chine et de Hong-Kong* [Far East Press Review: English Press of China and Hong Kong] (113–115). Presents excerpts translated from the *North China Daily News*, the *Shanghai Mercury*, the *China Mail*, the *South China Morning Post*, and the *Hongkong Daily Press*.

15 February, vol. 1, no. 3

+ *Revue de la presse d'Extrême-Orient* [Far East Press Review] (181–187). Raquez covers sections on British India and the English press of China, signing them “A.R.”

^+ *Variétés tonkinoises* [Tonkinese Varieties] (192–193). This book review appears in the Bibliography section. Printed by Schneider (Hanoi, 1903) with a Preface by Father Jean-François-Régis Souvignet, a member of the Missions étrangères de Paris, *Variétés tonkinoises* is a collection of articles on various subjects about Indochina. Raquez praises it as an excellent and erudite guide to the region.

15 April, vol. 1, no. 7

^ *Les rois de Luang-Prabang* [The Kings of Luang Prabang] (426–438). Discussion of the death of King Zakharine and the passing of the crown to his son, Sisavang Vong. Raquez concludes by noting that F.-H. Schneider, at Sisavang's behest and expense, was the first publisher to create typographical fonts of Lao letters. Reprinted from a two-part article in *DC* (May 5, 6, 1904).<sup>41</sup>

30 April, vol. 1, no. 8

+ *Les fêtes du Têt en Annam* [The Têt (Lunar New Year) Festival in Annam] (507–524). Raquez visited the Imperial Palace in Huê in February for the Lunar New Year celebrations.

31 May, vol. 1, no. 10

^ *Le traité franco-siamois* [The Franco-Siamese treaty] (688–699). A discussion of the April 1904 French-Siamese Treaty in which Siam granted land concessions along the Mekong to France, with particular emphasis on defining the boundaries of Laos and Cambodia. Also printed as a four-part article in *AT* (May 30 & 31, June 1, 2, 3).

30 July, vol. 2, no. 2

*Revue de la presse d'Extrême-Orient. Presse anglaise* [Far East Press Review: British Press] (132–134). Raquez focuses on the new treaty between France and Siam, covering articles published in the *Siam Observer* and the *South China Morning Post*.

15 August, vol. 2, no. 3

^ *Norodom : le Cambodge avant son avènement* [Norodom: Cambodia before his Accession] (143–156). A historical overview of the power struggles in Cambodia prior to King Norodom's accession and the treaty he signed that made Cambodia a French Protectorate.<sup>42</sup> Reprinted from three-part article in *AT* (the first part is missing from the microfilm; May 26, 29, 1903).

41. This article is also attributed by Brébion 1935: 319, 343, 353. It was translated into English by Grant Evans as “The Kings of Luang Prabang”, see Evans 2009: 52–58.

42. This article is also attributed by Brébion 1935: 283, 319.

31 August, vol. 2, no. 4

^ *Mémoires de Deo-van-tri : souvenirs dictés de mémoire et recueillis* [Memoirs of Deo Van Tri: dictated and collected] (257–275). Đèo Văn Tri was an Annamese guerrilla fighter who allied with the French.<sup>43</sup>

30 September, vol. 2, no. 6

^ *De la côte d'Annam au Mékong : la mission Billès* [The coast of Annam to the Mekong River: The Billès Mission] (430–442). Captain Billès was an infantry officer tasked with finding a passage from the central coast to the Mekong River. In this article, Raquez claims that he was the one who “organized the first regular transport service between Pak Hin Boun [central Laos] to Vinh [Annam]”, using pirogues and elephants to cover 180 kilometers over rugged terrain. Reprinted in *DC* in four parts with the title *En Indo-Chine; Une découverte intéressante dans la chaîne annamitique* [In Indo-China, An Interesting Discovery in the Annamitic Chain] (June 7, 14, 18, 22, 1904).

*Bibliographie.* (449–453). Book reviews, each signed “A.R.” The first review is of *Atlas Colonial Illustré : géographie, voyages & conquêtes, productions, administration* (Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1903) and *Les Colonies françaises, petite encyclopédie* (Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1903), by Maxime Petit. He notes that the photographs of Indochina are particularly praiseworthy. It is possible that some of the photographs are by Raquez, though there are no attributions in the book. There is a photo on page 209 of *Atlas colonial illustré* with the caption “Le Roi Norodom et son trente-troisième fils” that is also reproduced in Raquez’s article for *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée* of August 31, 1904 for King Sisowath’s coronation.<sup>44</sup> The other review is of three books in the Guides Madrolle series, *Indo-Chine, Inde, Siam; Chine du Sud; and Chine du Nord* (Paris, Comité de l’Asie française, 1904) by Claudius Madrolle.

15 October, vol. 2, no. 7

^ + *Le naufrage de la Tamise et le typhon d'Annam* [The Wreck of the *Tamise* and the Annam Typhoon] (488–501). Raquez is present in Huê when a massive typhoon strikes, killing 4,000 people. Reprinted from separate articles in *AT: Le Naufrage de la Tamise, détails complets sur la catastrophe* (September 22, 1904) and a four-part article *Le typhon en Annam* (September 23, 24, 25, 26 & 27, 1904); *Le typhon en Annam* also appeared in three-parts in *DC* (October 19, 20, 21, 1904). The *Taimse* was a passenger ship of the Messageries Maritimes line that ran aground and broke up off Nha Trang on September 9, before the typhoon struck.

30 October, vol. 2, no. 8

^ + *Lâchons l'Asie, prenons l'Afrique* [Let Go of Asia: Let’s Take Africa] (563–577). The title of a book written by the geographer Onésime Reclus

43. See Le Faillier 2011: 42–67.

44. See Ande 2015: 47, for the image in the Raquez article.

(Paris, Librairie Universelle, 1904), who opined that French colonialism in Asia was doomed to failure. Raquez's article is a point-by-point rebuttal of Reclus's argument. Reprinted from a six-part article in *AT* (September 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5, 6, 7, 1904) in a four-part article in *DC* (September 13, 14, 15, 16, 1904).

15 November, vol. 2, no. 10

^+ *Les Boursiers de voyage de l'Université de Paris* [Traveling Scholarship Holders of the University of Paris] (611–642). The article is an impassioned rebuttal by Raquez of an article entitled “L'Indochine française” by Félicien Robert Challaye that appeared in the book *Autour du Monde par les Boursiers de Voyage de l'Université de Paris* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1904), 109–145, which attacked the idea of French colonies in Indochina and in particular the administration of Paul Doumer. It was first printed in *AT* in twelve parts (October 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 & 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 1904), then reprinted in *DC* in eight parts a year later (October 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1905) and finally as a pamphlet by F.-H. Schneider in 1905.<sup>45</sup>

^ *La légende du chien* [The Legend of the Dog] (665–670). Raquez writes a brief introductory note. The author is Ernest Joseph Marie Quennec, at the time Administrator of Bac Giang Province, who collected stories from the Montagnard tribes of the region. The full title of the story is *Décret de l'empereur Binh-Hoang, Légende du chien Bàn-Hồ* [Decree of Emperor Binh Hoang: The Legend of the Dog Ban Ho]. The folk story is prevalent in China and Indochina, with variations depending on region. Raquez also mentions this story in *Au Pays des pagodes*.

30 December, vol. 2, no. 12

^+ *Le Jubilé de l'Impératrice-mère d'Annam* [The Jubilee of the Empress-Mother of Annam] (853–872). Raquez visits Huê for the 50th birthday jubilee celebrations for Empress Dowager Tù Minh. Reprinted from a seven-part article in *AT* (parts five and six are missing from microfilm; November 9, 14 & 15, 19, 25 and December 10); a truncated version was printed in *DC* (October 19, 1904).

## 1905

30 April, vol. 3, no. 8

^+ *Vers le Laos* [Toward Laos] (565–585). The first dispatch, in two parts, from Raquez's government-funded mission to collect material for the 1906 Colonial Exposition in Marseille. Raquez departs from Hanoi via rail for Lào Cai, on the Chinese border, on November 7, 1904. Condensed and edited from a series of articles in *AT* (January 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 15, 20, 1905).

15 August, vol. 4, no. 15

^+ *Vers le Laos* [Toward Laos] (1053–1076). The journey continues from Bát Xát to Mùong Hum to Phong Thổ in Lai Châu Province to the village of

45. For a discussion, see Sibeud 2011.



Xieng Neua.<sup>46</sup> The article concludes with a footnote: “Following the notes of Mr. Raquez’s travel, we will publish detailed itineraries and the longitudinal profile drawn up by him of all the traveler’s routes.” Unfortunately, these itineraries appear never to have been published. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (January 25, February 1, 3, 15, 1905).

30 August, vol. 4, no. 16

^+ *Vers le Laos* [Toward Laos] (1145–1171). Subtitled “The Sip Song Chau Thai”. Raquez has entered an autonomous part of the French protectorate of Tonkin, a territory controlled by Tai tribes, known after 1948 as the Tai Federation; it was dissolved after 1954. Raquez’s journey continues from the village of Xieng Neua to Dien Bien Phu. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (February 18, 20, 24, 26, March 4, 8, 18, 25, 27 & 28).

15 September, vol. 4, no. 17

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1225–1233). Subtitled “The Hua Pahn [Houaphanh Province], the route from Dien Bien to Muang Xon”. The article is set among the Miao of Xiang Khouang Plateau. A footnote on the opening page reads, “The brilliant series of travel notes published in the preceding issues of the journal under the title ‘Toward Laos’ ended with a final article that did not reach us. The regrets of our readers, no doubt, will be equal to ours. Today we begin publishing the interesting notes of the wonderful journey our Editorial Director continues to make, entitled ‘In Laos’.” Reprinted from *AT* (April 7, 16, 1905).

30 September, vol. 4, no. 18

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1320–1332). Still in Houaphanh, this article is subtitled “Muang Son, continued”. Raquez describes spending New Year’s Eve 1905 at a *sala*, or outpost, in Vang Lom, then proceeding to Muang Et and Xieng Kho. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (April 19, 20, 27, May 3, 6, 1905).

15 October, vol. 4, no. 19

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1394–1406). Subtitled, “The Song Ma Valley – Sam Neua”. Raquez proceeds from Sam Neua to Muang Xon via Hua Muang. He relates the origin story of the Pong people. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (May 10, 12, 14, 21, 25).

30 October, vol. 4, no. 20

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1481–1485). Raquez follows the course of the Et River from Huei Vek to Muang Hong, then onward through a succession of villages toward Ban Ngong. He relates that in a stopover back in Muang Xon, he and his companions celebrated the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI on 22 January. This is supposed to be observed on 21 January, but Raquez explains that they are so far removed from civilization that the commander

46. Where possible, I have traced the modern names for the locations Raquez visits. However, identification is often difficult. When unable to identify the modern name, Raquez’s spelling is retained.

of the outpost lost track of the days. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (June 4, 9, 1905).

15 November, vol. 4, no. 21

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1528–1538). Subtitled “The Provinces of Hua Pahn and Luang Prabang”. From Ban Ngon, Raquez travels to Luang Prabang through the Phu Pha Bong mountains, to Muang Ngoi on the Ou River, spending a night at the village of Ban Sop Van, another at the village of Ban Pa Tung, finally arriving at the Mekong near Pak Ou, then onward to Luang Prabang. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (June 24, 29, 1905).

30 December, vol. 4, no. 24

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (1781–1810). This long article describes the coronation of King Sisavang Vong in Luang Prabang on March 4, 1905. Also printed in a nine-part series in *AT* (December 25, 26 & 27, 30, 1905, January 3, 7, 10, 14, 18, 1906).<sup>47</sup>

A similar article was published in *L'Illustration* with the title “Le Couronnement de S.M. Sisavong” May 27, 1905, with four photographs attributed to Raquez. Another version was published in *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée*, October 15, 1905, along with 42 photographs, most of which can be safely attributed.<sup>48</sup>

## 1906

15 January, vol. 1, no. 25<sup>49</sup>

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (25–40). From Luang Prabang, where he spends several weeks, Raquez names his destination as Muang Xai in Upper Laos, and departs from the town of Ban Lat Han at the confluence of the Mekong and Ou Rivers traveling by boat and overland to Muang Nga then on to Muang Xai. He mentions that there are eighteen pack animals in his convoy. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (June 10 & 11, 13, 19, 24 & 25, 29, August 2, 5, 7 & 8, 1905).

30 January, vol. 1, no. 26

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (123–139). Subtitle: “The Province of Upper Mekong, Muang Xai, and Vieng Phukha”. Raquez travels the Muang Xai Region to Vieng Phukha via Sop Ngin. He makes a long detour and spends time with the Lamet people and ends this section near the Hung River. Raquez calls them “Kha Lemet”, following the records of the Auguste Pavie expeditions to demarcate the borders of Indochina.<sup>50</sup> Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (August 11, 13, 1905).

47. January 11–13 are missing from the microfilm available for consultation.

48. All images reproduced without text in Ande 2015: 29–42. The article from *La Revue indochinoise* was translated into English as “The Coronation of Sisavang Vong” in Evans 2009: 61–75.

49. The publisher began renumbering the volumes from 1 in 1906 but kept the issue numbers sequential from the previous year.

50. Schlesinger 2003: 27.

28 February, vol. 1, no. 28

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (277–291). Subtitle: “The Province of Upper Mekong: Vieng Phukha and Muang Sing”. Raquez travels from Vieng Phukha to Muang Sing, calling the route “really wonderful during this period of extreme drought that makes for easy riding”. He points out errors in maps drawn by the Pavie expeditions and compares French use of local potatoes to British India and Dutch Java, finding the Dutch method the most efficient for European colonizers. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (September 20, 22, 24 & 25, October 1, 5, 1905).

15 March, vol. 1, no. 29

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (354–372). Subtitle: “The Province of Upper Mekong (continued)”. Raquez spends time among the Ko, Kui, and Yao people. Raquez describes the Ko’s amazement at hearing his Pathé phonograph; they cannot understand how a whole orchestra fits into the machine. Raquez also recorded 300 phonograph cylinders on his Pathé that are now unfortunately lost.<sup>51</sup> He finishes this dispatch in Luang Namtha. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (October 14, 20, 27, 30 & 31, November 8, 1905).

15 April, vol. 1, no. 31

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (535–543). Subtitle: “The Province of Upper Mekong (continued)”. In a sub-section entitled “The Region of Salts”, Raquez describes the practice of slashing and burning known as “*rais*” for the cultivation and preparation of plantation land. The word can also be used simply to mean “plantation”. Elsewhere, Raquez refers to “*tabac des rais*”, or local tobacco. In a later sub-section, he describes spending time with Hmong people. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (November 11, 16, 19, 23, 1905).

30 April, vol. 1, no. 32

^ *À propos de l’Empire Khmer : histoire et documents* [On the *The Empire of the Khmer: History and documents*] (587–592). A long review of the book of the same title (Phnom Penh, Imprimerie du Protectorat, 1904). The author, Georges Maspero, had distinguished service in Indochina. A prolific writer, Maspero contributed also articles to *La Revue indochinoise* in January and April 1904. He was also named as a member correspondent to the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* in March 1906 along with Raquez.<sup>52</sup> This article first appeared in *DC* in two parts with the title *Sur l’origine des ‘Khmers’* [On the Origins of ‘Khmers’] (February 9, 10, 1906).

15 May, vol. 1, no. 33

^ *Au Laos* [In Laos] (698–711). Subtitle: “Royalty of Luang Prabang and Arrivals”. Raquez receives a load of material from Hanoi he claims was sent five months before. Assuming that this was sent at roughly the same

51. See Gibson 2018.

52. Anonymous 1943.

time as he departed, or November 1904, this puts the date of this dispatch at around March 1905, coinciding with the description of the coronation of King Sisavang Vong printed in the December 30, 1905 issue. This is the final installment of the Mission Raquez dispatches published in *La Revue indochinoise*. Further dispatches were published in *L'Avenir du Tonkin* throughout 1906 but for some reason were not compiled and printed in the sister publication. Condensed and edited from articles in *AT* (January 21, 25 and February 5 & 6, 8, 1906).

15 June, vol. 1, no. 35

^ + *La colonisation en Indo-Chine : La question du Siam (À propos d'un livre de M. Henri Lorin)* [The Colonization of Indochina: The Question of Siam (Regarding the book by Mr. Henri Lorin)] (840–852). At the time, Lorin was a professor of Colonial Geography at the University of Bordeaux. Raquez's article focuses on his book *La France, puissance coloniale : Étude d'histoire et de géographie politiques* (Paris, A. Challamel, 1906). He praises the book as an "excellent volume" that "offers readers' minds a luminous synthesis of the current state of the colonial domains of France". Reprinted from a two-part article in *AT* (March 18, 21, 1906).

15 July, vol. 2, no. 37

^ + *Les fêtes de la crémation de Norodom, feu roi du Cambodge* [The Cremation Ceremonies of Norodom, Late King of Cambodia] (1013–1024). Raquez is present in Phnom Penh to witness the cremation ceremonies for Norodom, former King of Cambodia, who had died 18 months previously, in April 1904. The ceremonies lasted January 2–16, 1906.

30 July, vol. 2, no. 38

^ + *Les fêtes de la crémation de Norodom, feu roi du Cambodge* (1117–1130). This is the sequel to the July 15 article on this same topic. These were first printed as a single article in *La Dépêche coloniale illustrée* (March 15, 1906) with 30 images,<sup>53</sup> only one of which is attributed and that one not to Raquez. A similar but shorter article with an attributed image appeared under Raquez's name in *L'Illustration, journal universel* of February 17, 1906.<sup>54</sup>

## 1909

September, vol. 12, no. 9

^ *Variétés : Chez les Méoes du Tran-ninh* [Among the Miao of Trần Ninh] (924–927). More than two years after his death and true identity were revealed, the editors of *La Revue Indochinoise* published this brief article under Raquez's name. Remarkably, there is no explanatory note as to why they chose to print this article so long after his death, and no acknowledgment is offered of his prior role at the publication, nor is any context given for when Raquez wrote it or when the editors received it. It is in fact one of

53. Raquez 1906a.

54. Raquez 1906b. The article in *RI* is also attributed by Brébion 1935: 283, 319. All images reproduced without text in Ande 2015: 307–317.

the Mission Raquez dispatches originally published in *L'Avenir du Tonkin* but not initially reprinted in the *Revue. AT*, July 9 & 10, 1906.

What this demonstrates is that despite the fact that Gervais had been revealed in 1907, the Schneider publishing apparatus was making an effort to suppress those revelations by extending the name “Raquez”.

The article, which is frequently cited in studies of Miao culture, presents translations into French of folk songs from the Xiang Khouang Plateau region, most famous as the site of the Plain of Jars.

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