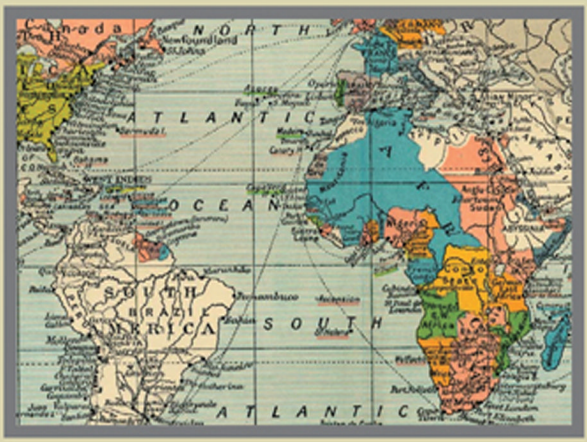
French Caribbeans *in* Africa



Diasporic Connections and Colonial Administration, 1880-1939

Véronique Hélénon

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Contents

Acknowledgments

The idea for this work originated in a conversation several years ago. One of my friends was wondering about the life of his grandfather who had spent many years in the military in Africa. According to family legend, this grandfather had had a child there, maybe several children. He had subsequently married a young woman from Guadeloupe, with whom he had raised a family, and in the course of time his life in Africa had faded into oblivion. However, two generations later, his grandson was asking the questions his grandfather did not answer. I was unable to find this Guadeloupean soldier who had never been involved in the cadres of the civil administration, but I did find two members of his family. While I was doing my research, many other shadowy figures from the past reappeared. I myself had often heard in my own family snatches of conversation about the lives of relatives, on both my mother's and father's sides, who had lived in Africa. The preparation of this work led me from the Antilles to Europe, Africa, and the United States over the course of many years during which a number of people helped me immeasurably.

In France, at a time when studies about black people and the African Diaspora were few and far between, I was lucky enough to be able to work under the direction of Elikia Mbokolo, one of the rare thesis advisors then ready to undertake the supervising of such endeavors. At the Center d'Etudes Africaines of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, nothing would have been possible without the unconditional support of Michel Aghassian, whose kindness, availability, and erudition were always generously given to me. I especially want to thank Stéphanie Mulot, Fabio Viti, Carlo Célius, Maurice Guimendégo, and Dieudonné Gnammankou for our lively and rich discussions, as well as Max Wallot who only today has joined the ghosts of the past. At Aix-en-Provence, Claude Lasnel and Jean-Claude Yoka have allowed me to work under the best conditions. My encounter with François Manchuelle proved to be essential in the pursuit of my work. His pioneering work and the conversations I was able to have with him opened new perspectives on reading the history of the French Antilles. It was this meeting as well that determined some of the parameters of my departure for the United States, the same year his plane crashed on American shores.

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Jenny, Muriel Wiltord, Vincent, Catherine, Alice, Pia, Lise, Valérie Durica, Gaelle and Dany Brown, Muriel Marie-Appoline, Huberte Boukoulou-Marcelin, and Gustav Michaux-Vignes. A special word for my parents, Jeanne Wiltord and René Hélénon, to whom this book is in part dedicated. And finally a loving thought for my treasure, Salomé, whose presence lights up my days.

Introduction

Colonial Diaspora

The French Caribbean and the Colonial Administration in Africa, 1880–1939

Between January and March 2009, Martinique and Guadeloupe carried on the longest general strike in their history. For 44 days in Guadeloupe and 38 days in Martinique, all major stores, schools, and administrations shut down. In fact, almost the entire economic activity of both islands came to a halt. Soon Guyane followed suit. Strikers denounced the exorbitant cost of living and the economic imbalance of these societies, where the unemployment rate exceeds 20 percent against 9 percent in continental France, and the cost of food is 23 percent higher in Martinique, 28 percent higher in Guadeloupe, and 45 percent higher in Guyane than in continental France. With an overdeveloped public sphere, which occupies one-third of workers as compared to only one-fifth in continental France and which accounts for over 40 percent of salaries against 20 percent, these Caribbean societies cannot provide for their populations and therefore remain largely dependent on imports.[1] And indeed beyond immediate protests against the cost of living, it has been the coloniality of power that characterizes these overseas departments that was on trial during the 2009 demonstrations. Strikers demanded that France address, and redress, the situation, but French president Nicolas Sarkozy's overdue public acknowledgment of the crisis only reinforced the existing sentiment: "France does not respect us."[2]

Anibal Quijano's concept of coloniality of power best describes the multilayered dependency of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane on France that has continued to prevail long after the abolition of slavery and the formal end of colonization. Quijano explains the ways in which the old forms of domination established during the slave and colonial periods have been reinterpreted and reaffirmed to fit the logics of the modern, colonial, and

capitalist world system and thus rationalize Eurocentrism. What is called globalization today is a process begun in the fifteenth century with the conquest of America that has resulted in a classification of the world's population around the idea of race. In this racial hierarchy, each group is defined by a number of distinctive features that posit their relation to one another and justify a "natural" hierarchy among the peoples of the world: "On this basis, the population of America, and later the world, was classified within the new model of power."[3] In ways that are similar to the Puerto Rican situation examined by Ramon Grosfoguel, Guyane, Guadeloupe, and Martinique can be described as modern colonies in the Caribbean.[4] Their status as French overseas departments shelters them from many of the economic difficulties experienced by other Caribbean countries, while they remain in the position of subaltern members of the modern, colonial, and capitalist world system.

In Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane, the continuity of colonial forms of domination was ensured by, among other things, an active policy deployed right after abolition in 1848 when the French government undertook to rebuild Caribbean societies. The main idea was to make a clean sweep of the past; slavery was to be forgotten, and previous relations of domination and subjugation were to be declared bygone. The main instrument of this supposed metamorphosis was a change in status, as the population of the colonies was granted citizenship. From 1848 until 1946, when Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane became French departments, their inhabitants were to constitute an experiment in the ambiguous status of colonized citizens. Paradoxically, it was because they had been under colonial rule for several centuries that they were believed ready to become citizens, but at the same time it was thought that, to be viable, the new societies had to be built on a tabula rasa. This situation was a fundamental principle of modern French Caribbean societies. Key to the French plan of remodeling these colonies after the abolition of slavery, was the promotion of a new social group, designed to be an intermediary between the majority of the population and the white Creoles. The educational system, and particularly republican schools, played a determining role in its formation. As analyzed by Frantz Fanon, mastery of the French language in particular became a determining factor in the training and a distinctive feature of this group. It became a sign that the colonized could assume the white world: "To speak a language is to assume a world, a culture."[5] At least, such was the promise made. For French Caribbeans, school degrees were the only viable way out of the plantation system as they seemed to open the doors of a world where republican values prevailed, sheltered from arbitrary racial discrimination. To be effective, the new group had to find its economic rationale outside of the sugar economy. Professions such as physician, pharmacist, notary, and

attorney, barred to nonwhites during the slave period, were now opened to all. But it was the administration that became the prime instrument of the new policy. Access was less costly and openings were more numerous. With the development of the public school system and the reorganization of the French Caribbean societies, many opportunities were offered and once in the administration, one could receive faster promotion by being transferred to a colony other than one's native colony.

With the expansion of the French Empire into Africa and Asia, administrative opportunities multiplied. French Caribbeans entered the colonial administration en masse, and many accepted positions in Africa where they spent a few years or, in some cases, their entire careers. This study explores the reasons for this Caribbean enrollment in the colonial administration during the critical period from the 1880s to the 1930s. It was indeed the political choices made during the period of the Third Republic in France that created a favorable context. The period under consideration corresponds to the French Third Republic, a period during which France focused on the project of reshaping Caribbean societies after the abolition of slavery in 1848 and also a period during which the colonial enterprise took on a new importance and became central to republican politics.[6] The republican school system and new colonial conquests paved the way for a colonial administration in full expansion. Through the experiences of these men, one can develop a deeper understanding of the colonial situation, from the perspective of colonized who were themselves engaged in the colonial process as colonizers. As they negotiated the convolutions of their ambivalent status of colonized colonizers, these French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* epitomized the complexities of the Caribbean push for full citizenship. The context of the colonial period shaped the relations between Caribbeans and Africans and was responsible for specific contributions to the establishment of the Black Atlantic. As they went to Africa, French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* were a group who had been molded by republican values concerning colonization, but at the same time they themselves were reinterpreting these values. They aimed at eliminating the limits that had been put on their own status after the abolition of slavery. Yet they arrived in Africa as colonizers and the colonial context shaped relations between Africans and Caribbeans over the long term.

Even before the establishment of a colonial administration on that continent, French Caribbeans had been going to Africa either in the military or as members of religious missions. Studies of these men are lacking, but a few isolated cases have emerged. The Guadeloupean Camille Mortenol, who entered the navy and participated in several military operations in Africa, is probably the best known. Born in Pointe-à-Pitre on November 29, 1859, he was the son of André Mortenol, a freed slave who had purchased

his freedom just one year before abolition. With a scholarship from the religious missions, Camille Mortenol arrived in Paris where he passed the competitive examination of the prestigious engineering school Ecole Polytechnique, as well as that of the highly respected Ecole Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr. He chose Ecole Polytechnique from which he graduated in 1882 and joined the navy. Appointed to Africa, Mortenol took part in several military operations, including some in Madagascar and Gabon. His biographer, Oruno Lara, has shown how Mortenol's skin color remained an obstacle to reaching the highest rank in the navy[7]. When he was finally named captain in 1914, he was given command of an unarmed warship ready for the scrap heap. Considered too old for active service, he was then asked to preside over various committees in the army. However, in 1915 the war was raging, and the army lacked men in command. General Joseph Galliéni put him in charge of the aerial defense of Paris for the duration of the war. After the conflict, Mortenol stayed in the capital, where he joined several associations for the defense of blacks.

When the civil administration was established in Africa in the 1880s, bridges were created for military personnel, who could then join the administration under specific conditions. Thus, some French Caribbeans began their careers in Africa in the military before entering the colonial administration. For instance, the Guadeloupean Norbert Célestin Joseph Rallion[8] started his career in the army and later entered the colonial administration with the rank of sergeant major. As a military man, he had taken part in several campaigns, especially in Tonkin (1897–1900), Sudan (1902–1903), and Cochinchina (1906). After entering the colonial administration, he was first appointed to Martinique in 1907, then in Africa to Gabon (1910–1915), Senegal (1915–1918), Mauritania (1919), Ivory Coast (1919–1920 and 1931 until the end of his career), and finally Haute-Volta (1920–1930).

Other Caribbeans went to Africa as they followed religious vocations. The congregation of the Frères de Ploëmel, also known as Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, which educated young priests in Brittany, contributed heavily to this migration. Jean-Marie de la Mennais,[9] superior of the congregation, had requested that at the end of their novitiate natives of one of the colonies should not be sent back to their homelands. It was under those circumstances that the Martinican Pierre Pagès arrived in Senegal in September 1841. The case of the Frères de Ploërmel, who spread throughout Africa, is all the more interesting because it was this same congregation that was charged with reorganizing the school system in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane after the abolition of slavery in 1848. With a mission to facilitate the establishment of postemancipation societies, the Frères de Ploërmel dominated education in these colonies until the establishment of the republican system in the 1870s.

But in spite of these opportunities—to which must be added individuals who worked in the private sector—the colonial administration remained the primary way to go to Africa. Magistrates, employees of the governor general's office, and *commandants de cercle* in the bush were some of the positions that these Guadeloupeans, Guyanese, and Martinicans occupied in the French colonies in Africa. The administration operated within a complex hierarchy. Besides the central cadre placed under the authority of the Ministry of Colonies in Paris, each colony had its own administrative cadres, all under the direct control of the local governor. Governors could create new cadres at the local level and recruit and fire employees according to the orientation of their politics. In contrast, the central cadre, placed under the direct control of the minister of colonies in Paris, represented the elite of overseas civil servants, the *corps des administrateurs des colonies*. All local cadres were subordinated to the central one, and *administrateurs des colonies* occupied a higher ranking in the colonial hierarchy. Bridges were established so that employees of the local cadres who were also citizens could under certain conditions enter the central *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*. Openings in the local and the central cadres were also made for other groups of the active population, notably the military. Consequently, the multiplicity of possible sources of recruitment for the colonial administration at large makes it extremely difficult to consider this administration in its entirety.

For the scope of this work, I have focused on the central cadre, the *corps des administrateurs des colonies*, which was open only to French citizens, while the local cadres were open to citizens and noncitizens alike. This focus allows delving into the one pivotal distinction of colonial rule—the one between citizen and subject. Although the vast majority of the colonized fell under the status of subject, some groups enjoyed some form of citizenship. After the abolition of slavery in 1848, inhabitants of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, and Réunion had been granted citizenship but yet remained colonized until 1946; thus their status can be qualified as colonized colonizers. During the period of the Third Republic, French Caribbeans' main claim was to be recognized as full-fledged citizens. Therefore, due to their status, French Caribbeans could apply to both the central and the local cadres. *Yet*, although my focus is on the cadre of the *administrateurs des colonies*, I also consider the case of some French Caribbeans who were employed in the local administration. Among these *administrateurs des colonies*, René Maran and Félix Eboué are well known, but they represent a very small sample of the overall Caribbean population that went to Africa in the colonial administration. The Guyanese René Maran followed in the footsteps of his father, Herménégilde Maran, an *administrateurs des colonies* who had started his career in 1881 and held appointments in Martinique, Congo, Dahomey, and Ivory

Coast. His son René entered the local administration in Oubangui-Chari in 1910. While pursuing this career, he was also a writer, and he received the Goncourt Prize for his novel, *Batouala*, in 1922. The scandal caused by the award was such that two years later Maran was forced to resign from the administration. Félix Eboué, a Guyanese friend of Maran, entered the colonial administration in 1908. He is well known for his decisive participation in World War II. He was responsible for rallying French Equatorial Africa to General Charles de Gaulle's Free France and was the only black to reach the rank of governor general.

Caribbeans were not the only colonized people employed in the French colonial administration in Africa. Early on, Africans were hired as well. But because most of them had the status of subjects, they could not enter the cadre of the *administrateurs des colonies*. Natives of the Four Communes of Senegal—the *originaires*—as well as a few other individuals were somehow in an intermediary position between subject and colonized citizen. They were not subjected to the *indigénat*, the legal system that the French had designed for the subjects, and thus had more rights than the rest of the Africans. The example of the Senegalese Blaise Diagne comes to mind. Born in Gorée in 1872, Diagne was an *originaire*. He attended school in France and Senegal and passed the competitive examination for the customs in 1891. He was assigned to Dahomey, Congo, Réunion, Madagascar, and Guyane before starting a political career. But, here again, focus on this key figure tends to prevent one from considering the many others in the colonial administration.

Henri Brunschwig, in his *Noirs et blancs dans l'Afrique noire française*, was one of the first to draw attention to the African presence in the French colonial administration. In his introduction Brunschwig explains that he incidentally came across recurring mention of Africans within the colonial administration while randomly perusing the archives with no particular question in mind. His research is very valuable because of the scope of his overview as he considers all French colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, but it is also a problematic presentation, as Brunschwig frames this African presence only in terms of collaboration, tending to place French and African agencies on the same level. The parallel with World War II that he thus suggests minimizes the ravages and the logics of the French colonial enterprise. That Africans were able to shape for themselves positions that went beyond what the colonial administration wanted to consign them to cannot be equated with participation in the decision-making process. Amadou Hampâté Bâ's novel, *The Fortunes of Wangrin,* is a portrait of an archetype of Africans who used the system to their own individual advantage. Wangrin is an interpreter for the French colonial administration, who elbows his way through the administration to take full advantage of the

colonial situation. Hampâte Bâ declared that he only put in writing the oral testimony of one African agent who had confided to him his tribulations in the colonial administration, but it is probable that he was also inspired by the careers of other Africans employed in the administration.[10] Hampâthé Bâ himself had experience as a colonial clerk, and his text is a rare depiction of this group of Africans who were able to enter the colonial system.

Frederick Cooper questioned the dichotomy established between colonized and colonizer and argued for closer examination of the complexities of the colonial process.[11] More recently, the edited volume *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks* has shed a nuanced light on those Africans who were employed by the colonial state and placed a strong emphasis on African agency. Presenting the cases of African civil servants—Boubou Penda, Amadou Hampâté Bâ, and Kuho Moukouri, among others—this work emphasizes the African presence in the colonial administration. Yet the trajectories examined remain the illustrations of individual destinies rather than a systemic situation. From a different perspective, William B. Cohen gives a quick glimpse into the colonized presence in the colonial administration. As he studies colonial training and service in the French Empire while following colonial administrators in Africa, Cohen seems unable to take any notice of Africans and only mentions a few French Caribbeans among the Ecole Coloniale's students.[12] However, he quickly eliminates them from the student body, arguing that with the creation of an entrance exam in 1887 the competition became too strong for these Caribbean students, and he does not consider it relevant to follow the careers of those whom he has identified.

The presence of the colonized in the colonial administration was not incidental. It was neither a makeshift to address colonizers' needs in the early years of colonization, nor was it an avid thirst on the part of the colonized to submit to colonial rule. Henri Brunschwig suggested that Africans were inevitable in the early times of the colonial period, but that after the 1920s, when whites were more numerous in the administration, their presence became superfluous. In fact, it was part of the colonial logic that at any given time the colonized would be employed by the administration. They were used as buffers to showcase what colonization would bring to those who were ready to comply. The implicit message was that failure to attain similar positions and status could only be attributed to the ineptitude of the colonized, not that the colonial system was in essence racist, discriminatory, and exploitative.

When working on such topics, it is pivotal to emphasize that French archives also reflect the existing coloniality of power in France: all citizens are classified as French whether black or not, whether colonized or not. It thus becomes almost impossible to identify colonized citizens in

the documents consulted. Following the French definition of nationhood, no distinction is made among French citizens. Since French Caribbeans had been granted citizenship in 1848, after this date official documents do not differentiate them from any other French citizens. Furthermore, the specific population of *administrateurs des colonies* from the Caribbean has rarely been the topic of biographies, and these men themselves have only rarely written autobiographies.[13] A few have published either during their administrative careers or after retirement, but confusions remain. Even the best known of these *administrateurs des colonies* are rarely identified as Caribbeans, and some texts present them as Africans.[14] Thus it is impossible to study French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* without any preliminary archival work.

In order to locate these French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* in the archives, I first had to create a list of the French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* who had been in Africa before 1940. In the administration, each *administrateur des colonies* has a personnel file that includes supervisors' evaluations and provides key information on each administrator's career. Their origin may be mentioned in these documents but not necessarily, and other sources were perused in order to establish this list of French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* who had served in Africa before World War II, such as the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* (*Annual Yearbooks of the Ministry of Colonies*), the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer (ENFOM) alumni directory, birth certificates, and Masonic records. Covering a period from 1898 to 1942 and focusing only on the colonial staff of the central *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*, the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* proved to be extremely useful tools.[15] Because of the regularity of their publication and the homogeneity of their information, these yearbooks became a primary source for the construction of the list. Meticulous examination, volume after volume, allowed me to establish a first list based on birthplace, which comprised 647 *administrateurs des colonies* born in the French Caribbean.

Second, the ENFOM alumni directory, developed by the Ecole Coloniale's alumni association,[16] comprises all promotions between 1889 and 1940.[17] Conceived as the privileged institution for overseas careers, the Ecole Coloniale trained the vast majority of this personnel. Just as with the *Annuaires*, a selection was made based on the place of birth, which yielded only 183 *administrateurs* born in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane, of whom 122 were already in the initial list. The ENFOM files therefore provided 61 new names, which were added to the 647 names of the first list. The new list was now made up of 708 *administrateurs des colonies* born in Guyane, Martinique, or Guadeloupe, who went to Africa before 1940.

These additional sixty-one names were a new source of research, as the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* should have also revealed them. This gap can be explained in several ways: first, by the very existence of several administrative cadres, both local and general. For instance, if an administrator transferred from one cadre to another, some mistakes may have been made in counting him. However, it seems that the main reason for this difference resides in the methodology used by the ENFOM alumni to establish their directory, as many special cases were included, such as *administrateurs* who entered the Ecole Coloniale but did not complete their education. Their cases were numerous, especially before World War I; they did not make it into the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* but were included in the ENFOM directory. In addition, the existence of several sections at the Ecole Coloniale, not all of which necessarily led to a career as a *administrateur des colonies*, was another source of errors. Indeed after graduation, some students were not placed under the authority of the Ministry of Colonies as they entered the Commissariat[18] or the commercial section of the Ecole Coloniale. Although these students did not enter the colonial administration, they remained ENFOM alumni. Additionally, those who had entered the North African section of the Ecole Coloniale carried out their careers under the control of either the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Interior, the two ministries on which each of these colonies depended.

A third selection was necessary to delineate the chronological limits of the list. If an age range of twenty to twenty-five years old was usually the earliest to begin one's career, a young man born in 1910 would have been able to start his career sometime between 1930 and 1935, which still left a few years to be appointed to one of the African colonies before 1940. Consequently, 1910 was chosen as the latest year of birth, allowing me to take into account those who started their careers by the very end of the 1930s. Only French Caribbeans who were born in or before 1910 were included in the list, and thus eighty-two names were eliminated. The list created was now composed of 626 names.[19]

This methodology presents some limits. One of the main criteria for selection of the *administrateurs des colonies* was the place of birth, which led to the inclusion of persons born in the Caribbean because their parents happened to live there at the time considered. Such was the case of Victor Ballot, born on October 11, 1853, in Fort-de-France, Martinique, who had initially been included in the list. In fact, his father, who had been a navy doctor since February 1849, had been appointed to Martinique where young Victor was born and spent the first five years of his life. In 1858, the family, which was of Norman origin, moved back to France and settled in the city of Rochefort. Following in his father's footsteps, Victor entered the colonial administration and was appointed governor of Dahomey in

December 1891. On the other hand, using the place of birth as a criterion of selection excluded French Caribbeans who were not born in the Caribbean but who did spend their careers in Africa. For instance, the Guadeloupean Gabriel Lisette,[20] who stayed many years in Africa and participated in the independence movement in Chad, could not be selected because of his date and place of birth: Portobello in Panama, on April 2, 1919.

To compensate for these limitations, other sources were used, such as personnel files, public records, and Masonic archives, as well as interviews. For instance, personnel files allowed the elimination of four *administrateurs des colonies* who were born in one of the French Caribbean colonies before 1910 but who never went to Africa. Additionally, the consultation of these personnel files revealed that the oldest *administrateur* had been born in 1848. Consequently, birth certificates recorded between 1848 and 1910 were perused in order to gather additional information on the origins and families of the *administrateurs des colonies*.

Considering the nature of the profession and the period of time under consideration, it is not surprising that the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and the ENFOM alumni directory give only the names of men, with the exception of four women[21] who apparently never left the Caribbean. However, it is important to note that French Caribbean women were in fact far from absent in Africa. They usually traveled as married women, and mention of them is sometimes found in their husbands' files. Although unemployed, wives often played a central part in their husbands' social networks and professional careers. However, because mention of them is only incidental in the archives for this period, this study primarily focuses on the male population.

The established list of 626 colonial administrators comprised men who went to Africa, but also Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean, or Réunion, or remained employed at the Ministry of Colonies in Paris. A third selection based on the place of appointment was thus necessary to determine who actually spent time in Africa. Unfortunately, many of the sources used do not give rigorous information on this topic; the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* provide inconsistent and often vague indications of place of appointment; the ENFOM directory gives precise information but, as mentioned earlier, only 169 *administrateurs des colonies* out of 626 on the list are listed by the ENFOM alumni association. Personnel files made it possible to finalize the list. However, the ways in which access to these documents is possible only complicate research. Indeed, before starting any work at Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence (CAOM) where these personnel files are located, it is indispensable to arrive with a prepared list of names, since the catalog of call numbers for this specific series (EEII) is not accessible to the public. In other terms, to research the

EEII series, scholars must already know who the individuals are that they are looking for. In this context, the preliminary list established with the *Annuaires* and the ENFOM alumni directory was invaluable. Additionally, since most *administrateurs des colonies* were born fewer than 120 years prior to the year of consultation of their files, a special dispensation was necessary. This long process took over a year. All in all, over 700 personnel files were perused at the CAOM.

Personnel files contain documents gathered by the administrative hierarchy during an *administrateur*'s career and include evaluations from supervisors, *carnets de solde*,[22] *états générals de services*,[23] medical files, evaluation reports,[24] and sometimes letters. Places of appointment and ranks themselves are sometimes indicated. In some cases, letters or other documents from the *administrateur des colonies* himself may be found. Written in proper administrative style, those documents primarily reflect the viewpoint of the colonial hierarchy. However, in spite of these various documents, the place of assignment could not be established for all. After consulting these personnel files, I was able to establish that 357 French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* initially listed had spent part or all of their careers in Africa.

Administrateurs des colonies belonged to families that shared several characteristics: they had usually grown up in urban settings, their parents were often married, and a large number of them were themselves sons of employees of the colonial administration. However, their diversity should not be downplayed, as families from rural areas and villages still represented about 42 percent of the total. Among them, 63 percent of the *administrateurs des colonies* were born in one of the main cities of Martinique, Guyane, or Guadeloupe. In Martinique, 20 percent were born in Saint-Pierre and 38 percent in Fort-de-France.[25] In Guadeloupe, 58 percent of the *administrateurs des colonies* were from either Pointe-à-Pitre or Basse-Terre, while in Guyane the role of Cayenne was overwhelming, with 94 percent of the *administrateurs des colonies* born in this city. Well established in the urban zones, these families were also characterized by their matrimonial practices, which contrasted with those of the majority of the population. In 1888, a departmental councilor from Cayenne had indeed noted, "In Guyane, Sirs, a new country whose social existence only started in 1848 . . . family is not established . . . Indeed, out of 10 children, seven do not have a known father."[26] Rather than necessarily accurately describing the realities of family ties in the Caribbean context, this councilor underlined the low number of legalized unions. When marriage was still relatively unusual for most of the society, parents of *administrateurs* predominantly tended to legalize their unions. Seventy-three percent of the fathers of *administrateurs des colonies* declared themselves to have been

married at the time of the births of their sons. This high proportion of marriages reveals the specific strategies of this group. It may also reflect the specific nature of their fathers' professions, since 60 percent of these fathers were civil servants or jurists, many of whom were employed by the administration. And at the time, to be employed by the administration one was supposed to display good morals, including being married.

Some mothers of future *administrateurs des colonies* seem to have been single at the time of their sons' births and usually most of them indicated that they did not have a profession. Among those single mothers who had jobs, these were generally modest occupations such as laundress, cigar maker, ironer, cultivator, and, most frequently, seamstress. Such was the case of Marie Jules Belgome and Exilie Belgome, whose son and grandson, Marie Victorin Louis Charles, was appointed to Dahomey between 1897 and 1899 and again between 1900 and 1902. At the time of his birth, in 1861, both his mother and his grandmother were working as seamstresses at 1 rue du Jardin in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe.[27] Only eight mothers of colonial administrators seem to have occupied higher positions in the professional hierarchy; they were usually in the administration, such as post-office agent, teacher, or owner-cultivator. Yet these remained exceptions and overall women were generally married and declared no professional occupation at the time of their sons' births.

Apart from these few cases, fathers were generally the ones to declare a profession on birth certificates. Some of their professions were directly linked to the sugarcane world, such as landowner, overseer, and merchant. Artisans represent a meaningful portion of the list, with professions as diverse as cabinetmaker, mason, carpenter, tailor, blacksmith, watchmaker, ironmonger, shoemaker, baker, electrician, cooper, hairdresser, saddler, typographer, and metal-worker mechanic. Other fathers of *administrateurs des colonies* occupied lower positions typical of the urban world, such as employee, shopkeeper, mechanic, and sailor. A pharmacist and a journalist also had sons who later became *administrateurs des colonies*. Overall, a significant number of the fathers of *administrateurs des colonies* occupied liberal professions. Although professions such as lawyer, notary, and clerk were highly prized, they do not make up an important percentage of the occupations of the fathers of *administrateurs des colonies*, probably due to the fact that sons of lawyers and notaries generally had a strong advantage in entering judicial professions.[28] Public service remained the best-represented category among fathers of future *administrateurs des colonies*, with two-thirds appointed at the lower levels of the administrative hierarchy. Their appointments were in the following administrations: Public Revenue Office, Department of Civil Engineering, Internal Revenue Office, Customs, Immigration Services, hospitals, or even the police. Among the

high-ranking civil servants were one general secretary of the government and one director of the interior, as well as judges, a public prosecutor, a clerk. In all, 44 percent of the French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* had fathers who had themselves been appointed to the colonial administration—generally in their colonies of origin.

The presence of a significant number of white Creoles as well as the tiny, but nevertheless telling, presence of two Indian families must be considered. The two Indians identified in the list are Saïvinséroa Vélléyin and Louis Vingarassamy. Both were born in Guadeloupe, where the Indian population was the most numerous: Saïvinséroa Vélléyin in Le Moule and Louis Vingarassamy in Capesterre, both towns located in the regions of Guadeloupe that welcomed the largest number of Indians.[29] Their presence is a good indicator of the evolution of this particular group within Caribbean societies. Initially sent to the Caribbean to compensate for potential failures of the postabolition job market, Indians endured extremely difficult working conditions. Used to weaken black workers' protests, their integration was often harsh. In this context it is all the more remarkable to note the presence of two *administrateurs des colonies* of Indian descent in the list.

The group of white Creoles is much larger, comprising about 60 persons on the list, a proportion that surpasses their representation within the society. Josette Fallope estimates that they represented only 7 percent of the Guadeloupean population in 1848 and 5 percent in 1905. In spite of primarily making careers in the sugar industry, they also used republican institutions to achieve economic advancement. It is important to underline the difficulty of spotting the white Creoles in the list. Indeed, for almost all the *administrateurs des colonies* no pictures are provided in the personnel files. Only for those born before 1910 do some files include an identification picture. In this context, white Creoles were largely identified by their family names. The racist practices of the slave period were carried on after abolition, and this group for the most part continued to perpetuate endogamy. Family names are thus a good indicator of ethnic origin, but such criteria must be used with caution. Indeed, it is not unusual to find a family name with two branches, a white and a brown one. To identify white Creoles in my list, I turned to elders, who were often able to provide information on these families. However, some names were not recognized, and the assessment of this group can only be taken as an indicator of their presence among French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*.

From these various backgrounds, *administrateurs des colonies* came to form one of the categories that made up the new intermediary group that was destined to play a key role in the French Caribbean societies after the abolition of slavery. An elite in the making, they held some of the most

prized positions, but their various origins prevented them from being one uniform class. The white minority, even when coming from families that had been ruined by the sugar crisis, continued to constitute a separate group in the Caribbean context. Among black and brown *administrateurs des colonies*, some came from families that during the slave period had already been able to reach the highest levels of the social ladder that their skin color allowed. Yet, by the interwar period, *administrateurs des colonies* had become prominent members of society, and their social ideal aspired to be closer to the French bourgeoisie. From the Caribbean viewpoint, becoming a colonial administrator usually meant full emancipation from the social and political conditions of postemancipation homeland societies where sugar still dominated the economy. Indeed, long after the abolition of slavery, the plantation economy prevailed. In this context, education quickly proved to be the surest way to escape the sugar industry and its multiple ramifications.

Because of their status as citizens, French Caribbeans could enter any administrative cadre, including the exclusive cadre of the *administrateurs des colonies*, which was reserved for citizens only. Their appointment to this elitist administrative cadre was the incidental result of mid-nineteenth-century French colonial policy in the Caribbean. Indeed, after abolishing slavery in the colonies in 1848, the French government pursued the chimera of creating societies cleansed of any trace of the slave past, thus placing French Caribbeans in the paradoxical situation of being simultaneously citizen and colonized. In Africa their position became even more complicated because they were colonizers and colonized. This was the outcome of the improbable convergence of two opposing logics. On the one hand, they filled a gap when the French government had difficulties recruiting white colonial administrators for overseas careers. On the other hand, Caribbeans considered administrative careers to be a step forward. It was their response to colonial rule at home. At a time when the sugar industry was still ruling the Caribbean economy, the administration appeared as the surest way to secure jobs that were outside of the sugar realm.

In fact, Caribbean colonial administrators used the assimilationist ideology and worked their way through the colonial hierarchy. From the Caribbean standpoint, this ideology covered only part of what it had come to mean in the French context. Assimilationism, to use the French Caribbean definition, indicated a will to fully move away from the colonial situation and take advantage of what a change of status could bring. The political situation of the French Caribbean populations who, since the abolition of slavery in 1848, were simultaneously citizens and colonized subjects, appeared as an aberration. To benefit from all privileges tied to citizenship, it seemed necessary to move as far away as possible from the status

of colonized. These privileges translated into political terms but also into a social policy that would ideally put an end to inequalities inherited from the slave past. Yet these claims remained rooted in the local realities. The presence of these colonized individuals within the ranks of the administration not only underlines the incoherence of the colonial system but also calls into question the politics of the French republic. As they embraced the republican ideals of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality," they recognized the limits of their citizenship and demanded acceptance as black Frenchmen and women, challenging the very definition of French nationhood.

1

From the Sugar Plantation to the Colonial Administration

M'man Tine was already an old woman, but she still toiled long hours in the sugarcane fields. She had a grandson to raise and was determined that José would never follow in her footsteps. M'man Tine had already paid a high price and spent a lifetime wearing out her hands and her back cutting sugarcane so that her daughter, Délia, could live in Fort-de-France, Martinique's largest city, where she had found a position as a domestic. To turn the cards of fate, M'man Tine never let José join the children of the *ti-ban*[1] who labored on the plantation, not even to supplement her miserable salary. And, when Délia was able to send the money to buy José a decent outfit, M'man Tine proudly enrolled him in the neighborhood school. A new life was starting for José, the first of his family to enter the educational system. In 1950, José—in real life Martinican author, Joseph Zobel—published his autobiographical novel *La Rue Cases-Nègres*,[2] a vibrant homage to his grandmother and mother, whose sacrifices had ensured that he would make his way out of the plantation realm.

The tribulations of young Zobel in the Martinique of the early 1930s have now become an iconic text of French Caribbean imagery. Adapted to the big screen by fellow Martinican Euzhan Palcy in 1983,[3] *La Rue Cases-Nègres* captures the essence of a key transitional moment in French Caribbean history. Although slavery was abolished in 1848, for a long time thereafter labor remained tightly tied to the sugar plantations, which maintained a strong grip on the local economy and shaped occupations, opportunities, and expectations. Zobel's narrative is a rare chronicle of life on a Martinican plantation after abolition. Told through the eyes of José, the story places at its core the people of the rural world and gives a full account of these voices from below. Zobel paints workers' daily efforts to cope with their working conditions and care for their children. As the reader receives glimpses into the lives of these children, education appears

as the only viable way to escape the plantation realm in the long run and to get jobs not tied to sugar in one way or another.

Indeed after the abolition of slavery in 1848, the promise of freedom had quickly been mapped out to fit the demands of the white planters and the new social order perpetuated many features of the slave period. Only a few options existed outside of the plantation realm, and as people were trying to escape from the grip of the sugar economy, in growing numbers their expectations converged with French colonial policy in the Caribbean and in the African colonies. Over the years, education became the surest way out of the plantation for blacks and browns, and those who could afford it did not hesitate to invest in the school system. This trend was only reinforced under the period of the Third Republic, which affirmed that education at the primary level should be free, mandatory, and secular. Coincidently, for the French, once slavery had been abolished, the organization of the Caribbean societies rested on the promotion of the new social group, whose role would be to become an intermediary between the black majority and the white minority. The success of colonial administrative careers in the French Caribbean emerged as the convergence of these two logics. Among the various trainings that prepared French Caribbeans to serve in the colonial administration, the Ecole Coloniale in Paris emerged as the main one.

Freedom Manipulated

On March 4, 1848, France's provisional government proclaimed slavery abolished;[4] failure to obey the law would be punished by a high price: loss of citizenship. Yet freedom was strictly defined, and from the outset it was clear that it could be enjoyed only within certain limits in order to maintain order and ensure that work would continue. Until the decrees reached each colony the situation would remain unchanged. In Martinique, Louis Thomas Husson, *directeur de l'intérieur*, toured the plantations to address slaves in French and in Creole. After confirming "the good news," he stressed that freedom had been granted at the request of good masters. Slaves had to be patient and give the newborn republic sufficient time to prepare the legal conditions of abolition. He further elucidated the situation: "You will remain slaves until the promulgation of the law." In fact, emancipation did not mean freedom to be idle but rather, stressed Husson, it had to be understood as the right to work for oneself.[5] In the other French Caribbean colonies, similar policies were put in place, and in Guyane Governor Aimé Pariset explained that freedom imposed new obligations toward society and law. Presenting himself as the workers' "friend," he urged them to stay

on the plantations where they had been enslaved and warned against indiscipline and disorder.[6] The decree of abolition was expected to arrive in the islands at the end of May and was not to be proclaimed until two months later, to ensure completion of the harvest. But under slaves' pressure, abolition was declared earlier than scheduled. On May 21, 1848, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique, slaves marched to demand the liberation of Romain, who had been sent to jail for playing the drum and allegedly threatening the plantation owner. The next day, in a neighboring village, fights occurred between the police and over two thousand who had gathered to protest Romain's treatment. In fear of a general crisis, Governor Claude Rostoland in Martinique and Governor Jean-François Layrle in Guadeloupe proclaimed the abolition of slavery on May 23 and May 24, respectively. In Guyane, abolition was proclaimed on June 10.

With the abolition, inhabitants of the French colonies were granted citizenship but remained colonized subjects. This contradiction was apparently obliterated by official discourse, which sought to persuade people that 1848 marked the beginning of a brand new society where previous distinctions between slaves and planters belonged to the past and where blacks and whites would be offered equal opportunities. Rostoland, governor of Martinique, explained that emancipation "destroys the distinctions that existed until today between the various parts of the population. There are no longer among us freepersons and slaves; Martinique today recognizes only citizens . . . I recommend to all to forget the past."[7] As official propaganda praised the new social equilibrium, the old status quo was in fact maintained through various measures. Landownership was scarcely modified: the white minority was still in possession of the most fertile and extensive lands, while the vast majority of the population continued to live in the rural areas where one's fate remained closely tied to the ups and downs of the plantation system. Workers were required to pay taxes and to carry a logbook indicating their employment situation for fear of being declared vagrant and subjected to fines, while planters, in compensation for the loss of their slaves, received subsidies,[8] benefited from a new financial system,[9] and demanded that cheap labor be imported.

In response to planters' outcries, French authorities tapped into the colonial empire for recruitment. It seemed natural to direct the first efforts toward Africans, considered to be innately cut out for the job. According to Guadeloupean planters, "the African is really the man of the future. He is a savage, it is true, who does not have the slightest notion of work and civilization but this savage, once tamed, once admitted to the bosom of the church, settles in the country for good; he assimilates and incorporates himself immediately into our population. With the African, we are consolidating the heritage of our children; we work toward exonerating them from

the great troubles in which we currently live."[10] Between 1857 and 1862, 15,000 African indentured workers were brought to Guadeloupe, over 10,500 to Martinique[11] and 1,828 to Guyane.[12] Only too reminiscent of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, this recruitment was abandoned under pressure of the international scene, and Asia became the new target.[13] Coming from rural parts of India, 45,000 persons arrived in Guadeloupe and over 25,500 in Martinique between 1854 and 1889.[14] But to satisfy planters' insatiable demands, China became another source of cheap labor. Between 1853 and 1861, over 500 Chinese arrived in Guadeloupe and almost 1,000 in Martinique.[15] In Guyane, from 1849 to 1877, 156 Chinese, 8,472 Indians, and 540 Annamites arrived under similar conditions.[16]

However, despite this immigration policy and despite governmental support, competition from the beet industry[17] and other sugarcane producers on the international market intensified. French Caribbean production was particularly vulnerable to the crisis from the 1880s on. In Guadeloupe, for instance, the price of sugar dropped by 50 percent in 1894.[18] The white minority accepted only very limited changes to adapt to the new conditions of the international market. Rum, for instance, was introduced as a new product.[19] However, plantations were unable to continue to process their own cane. Many disappeared and in order to survive the remainder had to send it to a central factory. This concentration movement put the central factory—L'Usine—at the center of the system, where it treated the cane of several plantations. As Brian Weinstein noted, L'Usine was in fact more than a factory; it "symbolized all the economic, political, and social power of the privately owned sugar enterprise, the only industry in the islands. Owners were traditionally white and absentee in the case of Guadeloupe; they were white and often residents of the segregated suburb of Fort-de-France in Martinique."[20] This reorganization led the weakest planters to declare bankruptcy but made only limited changes to the overall existing economic structure. Not only did it remain hardly possible to be employed outside of the sugar industry, but within this sector increasing competition among planters only reinforced the exploitation of the workers. In 1935, sugarcane byproducts (rum and sugar) still represented 90 percent of the exports and fed two-thirds of the population in Martinique, where ten white Creole families owned two-thirds of the land.[21] In Guyane, the position of the white Creole group was weaker, the grip of sugarcane was less strong, and gold mines offered another option; however, wealth distribution was as unequal, and race was a determining factor of the social organization there as well.

Workers were left with scant means of improving their living conditions. To limit even further the scope of their opportunities, planters sought scabs from other islands. As early as 1849, only one year after the

abolition of slavery, they were chartered from Montserrat, Barbados, St. Martin, and Antigua. White Creoles organized what they presented as "spontaneous" migrations to supplement the needs for manpower and to break the strikes.[22]

Workers widely resorted to marching strikes where they walked from one plantation to neighboring ones to convince others to join their movement. A few examples can illustrate the climate. In Martinique, in February 1900, workers of the northern plantations of the island started a strike, which within three days had gathered over two thousand. As Homère Clément, the mulatto mayor of Le François, opened discussions, the white planters called in the police. Ten strikers were killed. It took several days to reach a final agreement, which nevertheless remained below the workers' demands. The marching strike and the shooting of February 1900 became iconic moments of the plight of plantation workers recorded by collective memory in a song whose chorus laments, "Misié Michel pa lé baye dé fran"—"Mister Michel does not want to give two francs"—as Michel Hayot, the powerful director of the Rivière-Salée Usine, did not accede to the two-franc salary request. In Guadeloupe, in February 1910, a strike started on the Darboussier Usine and quickly neighboring plantations joined in. Demands were similar to those in Martinique in 1900: a two-franc salary. Within a week, most of the island's economy was paralyzed. Strikers sequestered the directors of the Blanchet and Beauport Usines, forcing the governor to open negotiations. An agreement was reached, but following the same pattern as in Martinique, the Pauvert brothers, owners of Sainte-Marthe plantation, sent for the police. Three workers were killed. In reaction, the strike expanded, and by the end of February almost all factories and plantations on the island had ceased work. Negotiations reopened in early March, but again the governor responded with violence and the final agreement remained below workers' initial demands.

To find a solution to social unrest, on March 31, 1910, the governor of Guadeloupe hired Alfred Alexandre Salinière to investigate the causes of the crisis.[23] Salinière was at the time counselor at the Appeals Court of Pointe-à-Pitre and a member of the commission to study the application of French workers' legislation in Martinique. This Guadeloupean, son of a wage earner and a seamstress, had already had a long career in the colonial administration, starting in 1881 as an employee of the Internal Revenue Service. After several appointments in the colonial administration in Guyane and Guadeloupe, he had been sent to Libreville, Gabon, in June 1897 as a judge, before returning to Guyane in 1899. In his 1910 report, Salinière made several suggestions to remedy the social situation. Most of his recommendations focused on salaries and went into great detail to suggest ways to improve them. He even proposed the creation

of an appeals commission composed of workers and owners from each plantation. Salinière's analysis was particularly innovative, as he insisted on "bringing justice to the cane fields" and made sure to record the voices of the people in his report. He identified the responsibilities of local industry and offered long-term solutions, but because he insisted on including workers in the wage-determining process, his ideas were rejected, and his conclusions ignored.

Unwilling to make substantial changes in the economic organization inherited from the slave period, growing numbers of white planters lost their properties to French private companies, local white investors, merchants, or wealthier planters, all within the white minority. For some of these white Creole families, the colonial administration became a new prospect. Such was the case of the Barzilays.[24] Alexandre, was the first one in the family to arrive in Guadeloupe in 1817. He quickly made a fortune as a slave- and plantation-owner. At his death in 1846, his son, Alexandre Jr., took charge. In collaboration with his brother-in-law, Auguste André Larrouy, a merchant, he purchased bankrupt plantations. However, when Alexandre Barzilay died in April 1882, the crisis was in full swing, and several loans contracted to modernize the property could not be paid off.[25] Alexandre's sons, Emile and Gaston, took a thirty-year mortgage with the Crédit Foncier Colonial, but in 1885 as they were unable to make the payments, the holdings were expropriated. Soon after, the family left the island to settle in France. Only Emile decided to stay in Guadeloupe, where he died in 1920. Gaston, who had resigned from his position as attorney-at-law to try to salvage the family business, went back to his judicial career. He became a magistrate in the colonial administration, and he was assigned to Africa in October 1886 where he held positions in the Congo, Guinea, and Senegal.[26]

The Larrouy family as well made its way into the colonial administration. Auguste Larrouy, Alexandre Barzilay's brother-in-law, was the father of Arthur André Henri, who spent part of his career as a magistrate in Senegal (1885–1891) and Madagascar (1895–1898 and 1910–1911). Auguste's grandson, Marie Auguste Amédée Henri, also entered the colonial administration and served in Oubangui-Chari in 1913.[27] Like the Larrouys and the Barzilays, a number of sons of white planters saw the colonial administration as their only viable professional opening. To them the administration represented a way to restore their privileged position in society, when they were unsuccessful in rescuing the family plantation from the economic crisis. Pursuing a college education generally necessitated a move to France, but the cost involved was often lowered by the fact that white Creole families generally maintained close contact with friends and relatives across the Atlantic. For the vast majority of the population, however, access to

education bore quite a different meaning. It was one's unique opportunity to climb the social ladder and acquire a profession that was not somehow dependent on the plantation system.

Education: The Way Out of the Plantation System

Education allowed for meteoric rise such as that of the Guadeloupean Camille Mortenol, son of a slave, who was the first black to enter the prestigious military Ecole Polytechnique in Paris in 1880; or that of the Guyanese Félix Eboué, grandson of a slave, who became governor general of French Equatorial Africa during World War II. The decree of April 17, 1848, had abolished slavery and affirmed that education should be free of charge, but the Second Empire had quickly questioned this principle. Although it had been made accessible to larger numbers since the abolition of 1848, it was the system set by the Third Republic that allowed for large-scale enrollment. About one-third of the French Caribbeans who went to Africa as *administrateurs des colonies* went to school before the 1880s; among them some also attended the republican school. The other two-thirds of the *administrateurs des colonies* were trained exclusively by the schools of the Third Republic.

Education until 1880

In the Caribbean colonies, discrimination and inequality had shaped education from the outset. Considered subversive, slave education had only been tolerated when given by religious congregation members and kept under strict control.[28] Slaves who acquired knowledge were closely watched, particularly when they accompanied planters to France. On April 11, 1764, the Marquis of Fénelon, then governor of Martinique, wrote to the minister that "the return of negroes from France would swamp us with very bad subjects, too highly educated by their stay in France, who would give negroes of the island knowledge and enlightenment of which the consequences could be very dangerous. I still return, Your Grace, to silence, that we have to keep them in the utmost ignorance."[29] Consequently, and contrary to a long tradition, various measures were taken to limit slave access to French soil: On August 9, 1777, the king declared negroes and men of color undesirable, and on June 2, 1802, a consular order forbade them to enter the territory. The same consideration applied to the free population of color who, in principle, could send their children to any one of the French Caribbean institutions. In reality, discrimination was strong, and, mirroring race relations in society at large, segregation permeated

education. In 1842, only a few years before the abolition of slavery, Victor Schœlcher noted that in Guadeloupe, "the white class forces teachers of small schools to turn down colored children, or else they will remove their own children; they are opposed to any enlightenment that could benefit the freed class; it is their policy to keep the monopoly and principle of instruction."[30] Even after emancipation, on November 27, 1850, the governor of Martinique informed the minister of colonies that "a regrettable distinction had been recently established in Saint-Pierre in the two boys' schools: heads of both schools accept only white students, and they have persistently refused to admit colored children."[31] Unwilling to confront white families, the administration generally resorted to half-measures and allowed some schools to accept colored children once white students had left the premises.

In 1830, Inspector Auguste Ballin counted three schools with 58 white students in Fort-de-France and 12 in Saint-Pierre, while 154 black and mulatto students attended 10 schools in Fort-de-France and 18 schools in Saint-Pierre. Commissioned to bring whites and free persons of color closer through education, and thus prepare for abolition, Ballin recognized that he had failed to accomplish his mission and denounced the white minority's hostility to the project. In 1836, the French government turned to Abbé Jean-Marie de La Mennais, founder of the congregation of the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, also known as les Frères de Ploërmel,[32] to reorganize the school system in the French Caribbean colonies. As abolition seemed inevitable, the congregation was charged with fostering "a reconciliation" of the various groups within the free population. The Ploërmel brothers opened a first institution in Basse-Terre; another in Pointe-à-Pitre in April 1839; a third in Fort-de-France, Martinique, in December of the same year; and in March 1843 a fourth in Cayenne.[33] Other religious orders such as the Fathers of the Holy Ghost continued to offer some courses, and the few lay schools that already existed were placed under religious control. Although education was not free of charge, the number of children at the primary level regularly increased. In Guyane, there were about one thousand students between 1851 and 1874;[34] while in Martinique in 1864, the 21 schools of the Brothers of Ploërmel counted over 2,000 students.[35]

Even after abolition, the mission of the religious schools was ambiguous: they were supposed to form new citizens but without menacing the dominant place of agriculture in the society. In Guyane, the head of public instruction was infuriated that "a decision of March 6, 1853, added geography and history, linear drawing, practical geometry, and the first elements of mechanics, all of which seems to me superfluous for children whose goal should be agriculture."[36] School was conceived of as a place of apprenticeship where new citizens would learn the rudiments necessary to assume

their civic responsibilities. Under no condition should these responsibilities lead them astray from the agricultural world. In a letter dated August 9, 1851, and addressed to the minister, the governor of Martinique complained, "The taste for instruction is too strong and too widespread among newly freed persons. All efforts of the administration tend only to moderate this tendency, at least in its potential danger for the future of agricultural work."[37] Rural schools and schools in the cities were not charged with the same mission. As they targeted black and brown students, rural schools generally tended to focus on some type of vocational training and prepared students poorly for any examination. In Guyane, the head of public instruction could only deplore the fact that families from the countryside in increasing numbers were deciding to settle in the main city of Cayenne; he believed that access to urban schools had to be controlled since "along with the children, there are also too many parents who have abandoned the cultivation of fields in order to settle in Cayenne and, under the pretext of taking care of their son or their daughter, live in a state of laziness and idleness."[38] Education was a necessary evil, but it could potentially be explosive. To avoid any slip-up, it had to be controlled. It had been conceived of as a tool for preparing French Caribbean societies for emancipation, and it was understood that once slavery had been abolished, order was to be maintained. Therefore, the school system was certainly not meant to promote social change but rather to be an instrument of the social structure set after the abolition of slavery. It had to remain under strict supervision and was not to challenge the economic organization.

But it was also obvious that blacks and browns had no intention of abiding by these restrictions. To them the educational system was there to ensure that their children could improve their condition, and this goal was at variance with agriculture. Precious years spent in the classroom could not be wasted in perpetuating the old scheme. It was with this goal in mind that education was invested, first at the primary level, which remained the most accessible but also at its secondary level, where selection was stronger. Until the organization of the republican school system in the 1880s, neither level was free, and only a few scholarships were available to students of the less privileged groups. The number of families who could afford to send their children to a secondary institution was even smaller as the secondary cycle was longer, more elitist, and more expensive; in Martinique the Grand Séminaire Collège prepared for the baccalaureate, and the Ecole des Arts et Métiers for the degree of engineer; in Guadeloupe, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost had a high school in Basse-Terre; and in Cayenne a very few secondary-level courses were offered to complement primary education. But it was with the Third Republic that education became a central point of governmental policy in France and in the French Caribbean colonies.

Republican Education

The Third Republic profoundly modified the nature of the school system at large as for the first time education became accessible to much larger numbers. In the Caribbean colonies, this meant that new opportunities were increasingly made available outside of the plantation system. With the application of all the founding principles of the French republican school system—free, mandatory, and secular education—to the Caribbean colonies, the last barriers to overt discrimination in education fell. In France, republicans had made school one of their main concerns. "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," the republican motto, would be achieved by using education as a means of social promotion. In the French Caribbean, these principles were enforced even earlier, as for instance, the General Council of Guadeloupe adopted the principle of free education in March 1871, ten years before its application in France.

Primary education was the flagship of the system. It was the school of the people and welcomed all students aged 6 to 13 years old, regardless of the color of their skin or their social origin. It was at the primary level that school was free and compulsory. Secondary education, on the other hand, was not free of charge and in fact remained quite expensive. However, despite this inegalitarian structure, republican education was a dramatic departure from the previous situation. Seizing the opportunity, parents en masse enrolled their children. At the primary level, Martinique counted 6,388 children in 1886 and 20,000 in 1922.[39] The success of the republican educational policy was such that classrooms were routinely overcrowded. In Guadeloupe in 1911, 127 classes out of 223 had over 40 students and some even over 100. Only village schools, especially in Guyane, maintained smaller classes: in 1910, nine Guyanese villages out of thirteen had fewer than 30 students per class.[40] To complete their primary cycle, students had to pass the *brevet élémentaire* or obtain the *certificat d'études primaires*, which could be used for transfer to the secondary level. However, most students left school upon receiving the *certificat* or the *brevet*, which already opened access to many jobs in the urban areas and particularly to positions in the public service. However, there continued to be a discrepancy between parents' objectives and the administration's objectives. Despite a proclaimed goal to educate all children without any distinction, the administration pursued its attempts to develop vocational education. By the end of 1889, for instance, the governor of Guadeloupe proposed the creation of a colonial garden where students would receive training in agriculture. As parents threatened to remove their children, the Conseil Général, which had already granted funding for this project, was forced to backpedal. For parents, the school system was the key to social promotion, and they demanded that it remain so. Yet the idea of

pushing students toward agriculture did not fade away. In 1906, the administration discussed a proposal to reduce the length of the primary cycle in order to "bring back to the land, arms that seem determined to stay away from it."[41] It was only at the last minute, under the pressure of the press, that the Conseil Général decided to vote against the project.

At the other end of the educational system was secondary education, the *lycée*, which was the road to excellence and was reserved to only a minority. The first lay secondary institutions were established at the very beginning of the 1880s in Saint-Pierre, Martinique, and in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe. After the eruption of Mount Pelée in 1902 destroyed the city of Saint-Pierre, a new lycée opened in Fort-de-France, and in Guadeloupe a second *lycée* was established in 1930 in Basse-Terre. Despite the cost of secondary education, the student body grew steadily. In Martinique, as early as 1886, the *lycée* of Saint-Pierre had 254 students and 322 in 1885. In 1920, 450 students were enrolled at the Lycée Schœlcher of Fort-de-France,[42] 615 in 1922,[43] and 700 in 1924.[44] In Guadeloupe, the Lycée Carnot counted 427 students in 1920 and 690 in 1938–1939, but in Guyane numbers were much lower; only ten students entered the first year of secondary school.

The role of the *lycée* went far beyond pure scholarly training. Following up on the project envisioned by the Second Republic, measures were taken to reorganize society. With the abolition of slavery and with the return to the republican regime, the foundations of the social fabric had to be redefined. The words of Governor Rostoland in 1848 still echoed: the past had to be forgotten lest it erupt and disrupt the new social order. To alleviate the impact of a potential confrontation between former slaves and former slave owners, efforts were put into developing a new group, which would play the role of intermediary. Education, especially secondary education, was to be key in this design. All students automatically received a head start in terms of social promotion, but those at the secondary level, the *lycéens*, occupied a preferred position. Although republican school opened education to the larger numbers at the primary levels, the *lycée* was conceived as the driving force for the creation of this intermediary social class. "We need, here more than anywhere else," said the chief of the public instruction service in 1898, "these middle classes who are the honor and the strength of a democracy," of these "benevolent and enlightened guides" who could best direct and "if necessary contain within just limits agitation and demands"[45] the majority of the population. Students at large, and *lycéens* more particularly, were invited to play the role of authorized intermediaries. Their mission was twofold: On the one hand they were expected to bring closer the two extremes of the social ladder, and on the other hand to pass down to "younger and less happy brothers of this democracy" the benefits of "our national education." It was understood that the curriculum

had to follow national standards closely in order to give students a wider range of opportunities.

At the opening ceremony of the *lycée* of Guadeloupe in 1883, the public prosecutor emphasized that at the *lycée* no one was "first by decree of birth and everyone held a position assigned only to those who achieved it by their own merit."[46] French abolitionist Victor Schœlcher, great architect of this "fusionist" policy, jealously fostered this vision. In 1882 he declared,

> The good population of Martinique has demonstrated once more its superiority and its moral worth. It is scarcely two years now that teachers' training colleges have been open, and yet they have already produced enough teachers for primary secular schools. On the one hand, secular secondary education given by the *lycée* is gaining more and more favor: twenty new students admitted for the new academic year came from the Séminaire Collège. Bravo "African Savages," continue to enlighten yourselves . . . and to scorn your insulters. Your amazing progress speaks for you.[47]

In many ways, the success of the new social structure depended on this intermediary group and the strategic choices that its members were supposed to make throughout their lives. They were expected to play a key part in deflating racial antagonisms and spreading republican ideals to the masses. The school curriculum was to prepare them to embrace their role in the society. As the brothers of the Martinican Masonic lodge, Droit et Justice, pointed out, school was a tool of choice to ensure the success of such a mission:

> By giving them [children] the means to acquire the rudiments of knowledge, won't we succeed in drawing forth the good sentiments that lie dormant in them? Don't they ask only to develop through association with more refined and better-educated fellows? The level of general morality would gain everything by perfecting itself. We are touching here the most delicate point of the question of the fusion of classes.[48]

To these Masons "the superior elite . . . will be composed of educated men, devoid of silly prejudices, penetrated by the idea of goodness and justice which must reign in our society," because "the elite determines the nation."[49]

Despite egalitarian principles, even at the primary level the school system was not exempt from selection. Students from the rural areas were least equipped to perform in this environment. To attend school, one was expected to invest in proper attire, and it was common to see children in the countryside walking barefoot for long miles to spare their only pair of shoes that they held in their hands until entering their school building.

Homework was heavy, and curriculum did not focus on local daily preoccupations. Selection was even more drastic at the secondary level where one had to pay to be enrolled. However, the selective nature of the system was accepted, as it seemed to operate only on merit. Racial criteria officially played no role; apparently only competence and personal qualities were to be considered. Selection was endorsed all the more because financial aid was supposed to compensate for it and to open access to the secondary system to those who could not afford it. A few scholarships, funded by the budget of the colony, were awarded fully or only partially, depending on the family revenue.

In particular instances, other financial aid could be obtained. For instance, Ernest Marie Joseph Lalaurette, who had lost many relatives in the eruption of Mount Pelée in 1902, was able to pursue his education with the support of the Comité Officiel de Secours aux Victimes du Mont Pelé.[50] But overall, only a minority of the students received one. Most scholarships covered only part of the students' expenses, and, according to the Martinican Marius Larcher who later became a magistrate in Africa,[51] decisions were not made on a fair basis. After attending school in the village of Anses d'Arlet, he applied for a scholarship, which he was denied: "My presence at the scholarship exam for entrance to the Lycée de Saint-Pierre put me in competition with the son of an Internal Revenue Service officer, close friend of the president of the general council who presided at that session of this exam. Oh, cruel mockery! And, naturally, it was papa's boy who won over me and obtained a full scholarship. All for him, nothing for me."[52] But despite this assistance, for most families education remained costly, even in one's native land. In Guadeloupe, in 1883, enrollment fees were 250 francs, 300 if students were to be supervised during their break, and 500 if they were to take school lunches, plus another 600 francs for uniforms. The average cost of enrollment fees with school lunches was equivalent to half the salary of a teacher at midcareer.[53] This situation endured even longer than in France where free education at the *lycée* was established as of 1930 for the first levels of the secondary cycle, but in the Caribbean colonies it was implemented only after World War II.

The baccalaureate was the crowning achievement of these long years in the secondary school system. Upon completion of their secondary education, students received a *brevet de capacités coloniales*, and although curricula in the Caribbean *lycées* were quite similar to the French ones, the *brevet de capacités coloniales* had to be signed by the governor and exchanged for a degree from the minister of public instruction to be officially recognized as a baccalaureate. The baccalaureate was taken over the last two years spent at the *lycée*. In 1931, out of 75 students who took the first part of the exam, 34 passed it, a success rate of 45 percent. The

selection made after the first part of the degree allowed only a very limited number to take the second half of the exam the following year, where the success rate was consequently much higher. In 1931, it was 87 percent in Guadeloupe, with only 15 students who took the exam and 13 who passed it.[54] Overall the number of *bacheliers* had not varied much and remained scant throughout the period. In Guadeloupe, for instance, there were fourteen in 1890, fourteen in 1902, and eleven in 1911.[55]

Migration

Even before abolition, migration was an integral component of education for those families who could afford it. In October 1836, when the Ploërmel Brothers were called upon to reorganize the school system in the Caribbean colonies, M. de Saint-Hilaire, director of the colonies at the Ministry of the Navy and the Colonies, emphasized that whites and freed persons "were loath to put their children in the public schools of the colony and would rather send them to France when they could afford it," and he was hoping that the opening of new schools by the Ploërmel Brothers would remedy the situation.[56] But in 1837, the minister stated, "inhabitants, including those who belong to the former colored class, send their children to France whenever their means allow it, so that they can draw from the principles and knowledge of metropolitan education."[57]

The less costly option was to send students to Martinique, where the school system was the most developed of the three Caribbean colonies. Several of the colonial administrators who went to Africa followed this path. Such was the case of the Guadeloupean Louis Joseph Félix La Barbe,[58] who passed his literature baccalaureate at the *lycée* of Fort-de-France in 1889, as well as the Guyanese André Georges Paul Théodose,[59] who arrived in the island in 1917 at the age of 13. To a certain degree, the Guyanese authorities themselves institutionalized this situation by granting their best students scholarships to Martinique.[60] But many considered this a temporary option before going to France. The practice was seen as a normal evolution in the career of good and/or wealthy students. In Guyane this habit was so widespread that in 1910 the chief of public instruction wrote to the governor: "I have always found it useless indeed to maintain a college in Cayenne if scholarships can be given to go to the *métropole* before children have completed the cycle of education offered at no expense here."[61] In France, Paris and also Bordeaux became two important centers for this migration.

Although personnel files do not offer exhaustive information regarding the early life of *administrateurs des colonies*, I was able to find various documents that testified that they had received training in France. For

instance, the Martinican Marie Joseph Edmond William Beaudu studied in Bordeaux in the 1880s while the Guyanese Léon Félix Soret passed his baccalaureate in 1893 in the same city.[62] Of course the case of the Guyanese Félix Eboué also comes to mind, as it was also in Bordeaux that he passed his baccalaureate after receiving a scholarship to attend the Lycée Montaigne as a boarding student in 1901.[63] In Bordeaux, he met several fellow Guyanese among whom were René Maran, Eugène Eutrope, Emmanuel Quintrie, and Camille Lhuerre, all of whom later entered the colonial administration in Africa like Eboué.[64] On weekends, Eboué spent time with the Conrad family, a French couple who served as host family to many African and Caribbean students.[65].

The Administration: A New Prospect

Armed with their degrees, baccalaureate or *brevet*, they undertook to start their professional careers. For many it meant following in the footsteps of their fathers or other close family members, but for many others it meant setting forth on a new path and assuming a different status in society. In any case, the professions they set their sights on were typically tied to the activity of the urban world.[66] Surgeon, pharmacist, attorney, notary, clerk, or bailiff ranked high among their choices. These were professions that had been reserved for whites during the slave period. They were vested with a certain attractive power but remained difficult to access, mainly because they usually required start-up funding. By the last third of the nineteenth century, the need for civil servants increased as a consequence of French policy in the Caribbean colonies as well the establishment of colonies in Africa and Asia. New administrative cadres were set up and provided job opportunities for the new intermediary group that was emerging in the French Caribbean. Besides the plantation and its affiliated activities, the administration became a major employer. In fact, the place of the administration had become so important that, by the end of the nineteenth century, members of the General Council of Guadeloupe complained about the favors they believed civil servants were enjoying. In 1893, a commission was appointed to determine ways to reduce their weight on the local budget, and that same year the Guadeloupean newspaper, *La Concorde,* lamented, "There are too many civil servants . . . It is necessary to mow down all these useless jobs." A few years later, in 1895, the newspaper *La Démocratie* even called civil servants the scourge of the country: "There are as many as 1,400 employees dependent on the budget of the colony, not including municipal civil servants, and the cost reaches 2 million francs, plus 105,000 francs provided for their treatment in hospitals and the cost of their transport."[67]

Certainly excessive, these critiques nevertheless testify to the changes in the structure of the active population. Security of employment, secured salary raises, and guaranteed pensions made the administration particularly attractive. And those civil servants who were willing to serve in a colony other than their native one received strong financial incentives, sometimes up to an additional 50 percent, plus various allowances.[68] Upon retirement, all civil servants also received substantial benefits, as they could draw from two systems of retirement, both civil and military,[69] depending on the nature of their careers; their widows and orphans could also receive these pensions.[70] Any position within the colonial administration required a certain level of education, and soon the baccalaureate became the indispensable key to social promotion. In November 1875, a Guadeloupean general counselor declared, "The naval administration is an honorable career open to the youth of the colony; in the past, one could enter it after passing an exam, and a literature baccalaureate was not indispensable; it is now required. It is the same for the Registration Department, the Customs Department, in a word, for all administrations."[71] And indeed between 1886 and 1902, the *lycée* of Guadeloupe produced 60 percent of its civil servants, 23 percent of its medical doctors or pharmacists, 6 percent of its merchants or industrialists, 4 percent of its lawyers.[72]

Their status and standard of living gave colonial administrators immense status at home. Gaston Monnerville[73] expressed these feelings well when, as a high-school student, he first met Félix Eboué in 1908. Eboué, who had just entered the colonial administration after graduating from the Ecole Coloniale, had been appointed to the colony of Oubangui-Chari-Tchad. It was probably just before departing for Africa that he called on his former teacher at the Collège de Cayenne. Young Gaston Monnerville was sitting in the classroom with his mates, listening to his professor, who introduced Eboué "as one of the most brilliant of his generation."[74] "Félix Eboué honors his country. He should serve as an example to you." Monnerville recalls,

> 1908 was a time when, just after the *certificat d'études*—then mandatory—thirsty for culture and political instruction, fully attentive to the lessons of our mentors, we aspired to serve Guyane one day, the regional collectivity where we were born, as well as the national collectivity, France, homeland of Victor Schœlcher, who had made our fathers—therefore ourselves—free men. To have before one's eyes, at a time when it was so rare and so meritorious, a compatriot who was still young and who, through his own efforts, had reached this cultural level, was for us an event and a thrilling reason for emulation. This day remains, for me, unforgettable. The eleven-year-old child was forever marked by the indelible seal of a role model to follow, of an example to emulate.[75]

Although Monnerville himself never entered the colonial administration, he became a key figure of the French machinery of state, and his outpourings about serving the Republic expressed the anticipations of many of his contemporaries. In fact for generations to come, the administration came to represent a certain way of life and professional ideal and in increasing numbers French Caribbeans developed strategies to enter it.

Entering the Colonial Administration

Law School and Other Trainings

A degree from the primary school cycle gave access to the administration at its lowest levels, whereas graduates of law schools or of the Ecole Coloniale took precedence and were guaranteed the best positions. These college-level degrees required heavy investments in terms of money and time, and many students had to work while studying to enter the colonial administration. These first professional experiences could be very diverse,[76] but it was in the judicial sector that most had their first employment, as clerk or attorney. Such was the case, for instance, of the Martinican William Beaudu who was a lawyer in Paris between April 1895 and March 1898 before starting his administrative career in Dakar in 1899;[77] similarly before entering the magistracy, and until 1898, Joseph François Gaston Bentégeat was a clerk in the office of his uncle, M. Cicéron, notary and senator of Guadeloupe.[78]

Strong judicial training was indispensable for any future colonial administrator. Beyond ensuring that French law would be applied in the colonies, the colonial administrator embodied French authority. The law, which set the rules for the public and private spheres, had to preside over the organization of the colonial world. Law training was by far one of the best paths to prepare for a career in the colonial administration. At the Ecole Coloniale itself, this subject matter represented a significant portion of the curriculum. In the French Caribbean, besides some subsidiary training available only irregularly,[79] the Ecole Préparatoire de Droit de la Martinique was the only institution to offer college-level education. Inaugurated on January 6, 1882, it trained jurists for professions such as attorney, as well as for the colonial magistracy. The specific needs of the French Caribbean colonies as well as the development of colonial administrations in France's Asian and African colonies had generated an increasing need for civil servants. To enroll at the Ecole Préparatoire de Droit, one needed at least a baccalaureate or to have had experience as a notary, an attorney, or a civil servant. The curriculum was similar to the one of French law universities and included courses on colonial legislation as well. *Administrateurs*

des colonies themselves could be in charge of the teaching. Joseph François Gaston Bentégeat taught at the Ecole Préparatoire in 1922 while he was a counselor in Martinique, a position he kept until 1925 when he left for Dakar.[80]

Although the curriculum was in line with the French one, graduates received what was called a colonial *licence.* To study in France, they had to pass an additional exam in one of the French law schools. Despite these obstacles, the student body grew steadily. From 39 students at the opening of the school, there were 49 for the academic year 1885–1886, 46 for 1886–1887,[81] 52 in 1888–1889, 62 in 1889–1890, and 70 in 1893–1894.[82] Between 1935 and 1939, the number of students rose to 92 in 1935, 121 in 1937, 149 in 1938, to finally reach 166 in 1939.[83] About two-thirds were Martinican natives, which reflects the lesser cost of this education for them.[84] With enrollment fees of 300 francs plus an extra 120 for exam fees and 100 for the degree to be issued, only a small minority could afford considering such training. Moreover, teaching conditions at the Ecole Préparatoire did not allow it to be fully operative from the outset. Although its creation had been confirmed by a decree on January 20, 1883, for a while the school did not have its own premises, and courses were held in the law courts of Fort-de-France, depending on the availability of courtrooms, and this regularly disrupted class schedules. Students also complained that they did not have a decent library, and that even local bookstores lacked law books.[85]

In France, a few other schools offered specific preparation for overseas careers. In Paris, the Ecole des Sciences Politiques was certainly the most famous, but in the capital, as well as in most other major cities, the chambers of commerce also offered preparation for a colonial career. French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* largely followed the usual paths of law school and the Ecole Coloniale, but some graduated in colonial studies from the University of Bordeaux; the military school of Saint-Cyr; the Hautes Etudes Commerciales; physics, chemistry, and natural sciences in Toulouse; and from the Ecole Nationale des Arts et Métiers. Some studied African languages, for which formal training could be received at the Ecole des Langues Orientales, where some *administrateurs des colonies* studied Agni, Malagasy, Arabic, and Sango while others learned African languages in the course of their careers, according to the needs of the moment.[86]

However, the pathway to go overseas and to enter the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* remained the Ecole Coloniale.

The Ecole Coloniale

The decree of September 2, 1887, created the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* under the direct authority of the minister of colonies in Paris. Until then, governors set administrative cadres according to their needs, and in each colony the number of local cadres evolved following the policy. The number of cadres multiplied, and the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* was created to reorganize the administrative structure in the colonies. Reserved to citizens only, the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* coexisted with the local cadres that were maintained in each colony and remained under the authority of their respective governors, while the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* responded to the minister of the colonies in Paris. Local cadres and central cadres of the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* together formed the colonial administration. To belong to the latter, one had to receive specific training, which was progressively organized at the Ecole Coloniale. The Ecole Coloniale incontestably emerged as the main access to the colonial administration.[87] Two options were available as students could either follow the full curriculum and receive a *brevet* or opt for the one-year course, the *stage*, which was reserved for those who had already been appointed to the administration; upon completion of their stages, students received a *certificat*.

The creation of the Ecole Coloniale had been the result of complex and sometimes contradictory decisions. Initially, two options had been explored alternatively: training an indigenous elite patterned on the French model or recruiting French nationals exclusively. The first option sought to educate young men born in the colonies. It was believed that, once initiated into French language and culture, they would contribute to the diffusion of France's influence in their home countries.[88] In its early stage, the Ecole Coloniale was dedicated only to this specific training. Conceptualized by the explorer Auguste Pavie, in 1855, this institution was then reserved for young men who were to serve in the administration of their native colonies. The Mission Cambodgienne, as it was called, gathered in a hotel on rue Jacob in Paris and consisted of 13 sons of prominent Asians who had accompanied Pavie back from his last trip to Cambodia, to acquaint themselves with French culture. On January 11, 1887, the Mission Cambodgienne became the Ecole Coloniale and was charged with a broader mission, the training of young men from all colonies. Each year the school welcomed about 20 students between 14 and 20 years of age for 2 years. On July 27, 1889, Paul Dislère, president of the administrative council of the school, delivered a speech to the representatives of the Annamite and Cochinchinese missions at the Universal Exhibition who were visiting the Ecole Coloniale. Dislère explained that his goal was "to have in our colonies

youths who love France and who could be for us devoted auxiliaries, helping us to propagate our civilization, our influence."[89]

Students who had attended the Ecole Coloniale were expected to return to their home countries and occupy positions such as interpreters, teachers, or clerks of the administration. They did not receive any specific training for overseas service and took classes in schools where the majority of the student body was French. Their education was either general or vocational, depending on the needs of the colony. Thus, in January 1888, three young Cambodians considered to be "the most advanced" of their group, took geography classes at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales. Similarly, during the academic year 1894, six students took classes at the Ecole Lavoisier, one of Paris's primary superior schools. Since the aim of the Ecole Coloniale was essentially the formation of youth and mentality in a western mold through direct contact with the French population, students were also invited to visit museums, stores, Parisian monuments, theaters, concerts, and even the ball. Each trimester, they took an exam, and a final exam upon completion of the curriculum. Successful students received a colonial *certificat d'études primaires*, and a copy of this certificate was given to the governor of their colony.[90]

Although it had been decided that the Ecole should train students from all parts of the French Empire, Asians represented the largest group. In 1887, of 17 students, 15 were Cambodians, one was Indochinese, and one Senegalese. The argument put forward to justify this obvious imbalance was the cost of education. Students were to be funded by their colony of origin, which meant that these decisions were contingent on governors' ability and desire to allocate the funds at their disposal. Thus, the wish of the administrative council in March 1888 to see five or six young Malagasy enter the school did not receive any follow-up, since the colony of Madagascar had been unable to come up with the necessary funds for their education and their maintenance in France.[91] In fact, until 1913, the year of the last promotion, only three African students had been admitted. One came from Senegal, the second one arrived in 1886 from Porto-Novo, and the third was a Malagasy student who had been admitted in 1899. Financial issues did play a role, but race had a key part in these choices. During a session of the administrative council of April 2, 1890, Etienne Aymonier, the director of the Ecole, offered to recruit the sons of Mahmadou-Lamine, at the time enrolled at the Lycée d'Aix in southern France. But a few months later, Dislère objected that it was difficult to accept this request for two reasons: "The first one is that Cochin-Chinese do not like blacks; the second is that Abdoulaye, imagining himself to be superior, would want to act as a kinglet and would be certainly exposed to bullying by them." Concluding that it was impossible to have all these young men cohabiting under the

same roof, the administrative council declared that Abdoulaye could come to the Ecole only from time to time in order to adopt its manners.[92]

By the end of the 1880s, the administrative council reached the conclusion that the method of recruitment followed until then had been lacking efficiency and did not make it possible to achieve the expected results. In 1900, the very existence of the indigenous section was questioned. A report concluded, "Are there not more inconveniences than advantages in giving natives needs, tastes, and aspirations which they will find difficult to satisfy when they return to their country? Even more, is it not dangerous to mix them through everyday life with young Frenchmen in schools, in cities, in our discussions, in all our interior struggles?"[93] In order to put an end to what was considered a potentially dangerous situation, two options were discussed: either to improve the structures of the existing model or to open the school to French students. This latter option prevailed, and by the decree of November 23, 1889, the Ecole Coloniale became a mixed institution with two distinct sections: one for the colonized only, the indigenous section, and one for French only, the French section. The indigenous section progressively became a matter of secondary importance, and officially closed in 1927, while the French section became the Ecole Coloniale itself.

Earlier attempts to train French students for colonial service had been made with the Collège des Stagiaires, opened in 1874 in Saigon under the leadership of Etienne Aymonier. Admission to the Collège des Stagiaires was made upon degree, and young Frenchmen received a one-year training in the management of the Indochinese colonies. However, lack of infrastructure and poor results led to the closing of the institution in 1878. The French section of the Ecole Coloniale was inaugurated on January 11, 1890. Its goal was twofold: to provide education in colonial sciences to Frenchmen and to recruit nationals for service in the various colonies. In his inaugural speech, Paul Dislère stressed the difficulty so far experienced in the recruitment of French administrators for overseas service. For him, both the morality and the training of students were to be questioned. Serious candidates were scarce; French administrators who had been appointed to the colonies were generally poorly prepared for the tasks awaiting them. The Ecole Coloniale was thus created with the hope of remedying these weaknesses, as candidates would be screened in terms of their moral values and would receive extensive training. As to the origin of future students, Dislère expressed the following wish: "We hope that our old colonies, such as Réunion and the Antilles, which are in fact French departments, will produce a certain number of students and that the general councils of these colonies as well as of others, which are so large and liberal when it comes to public instruction, will wish to give grants to young Creoles to allow them to follow the course of the Ecole Coloniale."[94]

Indeed, since the Ecole accepted only citizens, its student body was primarily composed of white Frenchmen. However, colonized subjects with the status of citizens could also apply.

In the French Empire, besides a few Indochinese, Dahomeans, and natives of the Four Communes of Senegal (Dakar, Goré, Rufisque, and Saint-Louis), most of the colonized citizens were in the so-called old colonies—Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, and Guyane. Since the abolition of slavery in 1848, these populations had the double status of colonized subject and citizen and were therefore qualified to prepare for the competitive entrance examination to the Ecole Coloniale. According to William B. Cohen, the number of candidates from the old colonies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, and Réunion dropped after 1896, due to the increasingly high level of the competitive examination. Cohen considers that, until 1896, the Ecole was not seen as a serious institution, and that a large proportion of its students (about one-fifth) came from the old colonies. In fact, natives from the colonies, and particularly the Caribbean colonies, consistently represented a significant portion of the student body well after 1896. The *Bulletin des Anciens Elèves* emphasizes the contribution of the colonies: "Numbers furnished by North Africa, Indochina, and the Antilles are particularly remarkable . . . From 1909 to 1941, departments from Gironde and Corsica furnished 34 and 30 *administrateurs*, while the colonies produced the following results: North Africa, 44; Indochina, 33; Antilles, 23; black Africa, 16; other colonies, 25; and French-born in foreign countries, 15."[95] The Ecole Coloniale alumni archives yield the following results: 190 students from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane graduated with either a *brevet* or a *certificat*;[96] among them, 102 went to Africa before World War II. Of those, 102 French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*, 46 received *brevets*, 43 received *certificats.* The remaining 13 either died before completing their education (most of them during World War I) or did not complete their degrees for some other reason.

The role of the Ecole was reinforced when in 1892 the French government decided to standardize recruitment and made the Ecole Coloniale the one unique institution for colonial training. This modification concerned only the central cadre of the *administrateurs des colonies*, while the management of the local cadres was left to the authority of the governor of each colony, and other schools continued to provide with some colonial curricula. Initially, the French section at the Ecole Coloniale was conceived as a preparation for Indochinese careers, but two years after the opening of this section training for administrative careers in Africa was offered as well. However, until World War I, the Indochinese section remained the most prestigious and gathered about half of the student body. With better

hygienic conditions and higher salaries, Indochina had a better reputation than the African colonies.[97]

In addition to the administrative section, French students at the Ecole Coloniale could attend several subsections. Until 1905, the Commissariat prepared for the management of colonial troops; another section trained for careers in the penal administrations of Guyane and Nouvelle-Calédonie.[98] In 1893 a third section was added for commercial careers in the colonies, but because of the small size of its student body and under pressure from the chambers of commerce, which denounced what they considered to be unfair competition, it closed in March 1913.Two other sections were dedicated to more specialized colonial service. The magistracy section for the training of colonial magistrates opened on April 7, 1905. It was probably the most prestigious section of the school, but its curriculum was so heavy that enrollment remained persistently low, and the program did not last. Finally, in 1914, a section for students who were to go to North Africa offered specific training.[99]

Two main criteria were used in admitting new students: first, an adequate stock of literary knowledge, but also moral and political values. Candidates between 18 and 25 years old had to submit a file with their baccalaureate degree, their criminal records, a certificate of their aptitude for colonial life delivered by the colonial council of health, a proof of their French citizenship, and a certificate of *bonne vie et bonnes mœurs*. The latter was delivered by the prefect of their place of residency and included diverse information regarding the student's morality, his political orientation as well as that of his family, verification of his various places of residence, his college education, and his situation regarding his military obligations.

The regular curriculum covered three years, but only two years for law school graduates. On April 2, 1896, a competitive examination was instituted, and the curriculum was reduced to two years for all students.[100] Preparation for the competitive examination was organized as a special division within the school itself. The first part of the examination focused on the curriculum of the first two years of law school, with the exception of Roman law and the history of French law; candidates who had already passed their law exams in a university, or with the special jury of the Ecole Coloniale, were exempted; the second part of the examination comprised general history of French and foreign colonization since 1815, geography, and a foreign language (English or German); the third and last part consisted of an oral exam on practical building, hygiene, practical medicine, practical accounting, and a foreign language—again, English or German. Points received during this examination counted toward the general ranking, established for a total of twenty to twenty-five admissions.[101] Once informed of their admission, candidates to the administrative section had

to declare which subsection—the African or the Asian—they wished to enter.[102] According to Etienne Aymonier, director of the Ecole, between 1889 and 1893 the total number of admissions to the Ecole had been 214, and between 1890 and November 1, 1894, sixty-seven students had been eliminated, a failure rate of more than 31 percent over the whole period. Once they graduated, students received their *brevet*. Another degree, the *certificat*, was created in 1905, to sanction the training of civil servants already employed by a local colonial administrative cadre and who were selected to attend the Ecole Coloniale for one year. The creation of the *certificat* was directly in line with the determination to make the Ecole the only institution in charge of training colonial administrators. Indeed, although the decree of 1892 had, in theory, given the monopoly of this training to the Ecole, many exceptions to the rule were tolerated. At least, the *certificat* gave all civil servants the possibility to enter the *corps des administrateurs des colonies*, where they would receive a higher salary. Those interested in taking their *certificats* first had to submit an application to the governor of their colony for approval and then take an exam to enter the Ecole Coloniale for one year.

Upon graduation, students selected the region where they wished to serve, which was granted according to their ranking. Preferences were generally established based on the reputation, comfort, and salaries for each colony. In Africa, the preferred destinations were Madagascar and Senegal. Typically, it was only after reaching the main city of the federation—French West Africa (AOF, Afrique Occidentale Française); French Equatorial Africa (AEF, Afrique Equatoriale Française); or Madagascar—that the young *administrateur* received his final destination. Each year a ministerial decision established the exact number of places at the end of the full schooling cycle, which determined students' assignments in the colonies. Candidates for the magistracy section took a specific exam, in which law occupied an even larger place, including civil law, commercial and maritime law, criminal law, and criminal investigation.

Registration fees were 120 francs the first year and 150 francs the following year, plus over 180 francs for mandatory fencing and equestrian lessons. Some scholarships were available to students in their second year, and graduates received a special allowance to start their careers.[103] For instance, between 1921 and 1939, Guadeloupe sponsored nine students to the Ecole Coloniale with the surnames Julien, Duhalde, Jalton, Corbin, de Saint-Alary, Nairay, Massieux, Tirolien, and Ffrench.[104] Richard Duhalde completed the program in 1930 and started his career in Mauritania (1931–1934) and then Ivory Coast (1935–1941 and 1950–1961).[105] Georges Camille Jalton entered the colonial administration in Indochina in 1935 upon graduation.[106] Claude Marie Félix Evremont Girard de Saint-Alary

was a white Creole from Guadeloupe who started a career in 1926 in the Indochinese colonial administration.[107] Guy Nairay, who graduated from the Ecole Coloniale and the Ecole des Langues Orientales, spent his entire career in Ivory Coast.[108] Saint Hilaire Jean Christian Massieux, whose father was a clerk of the customs and whose mother was a schoolteacher, started a career as *administrateur des colonies* during World War II.[109] Guy Tirolien[110] spent his career in the colonies of Guinea (from 1944), Niger (between 1949 and 1951), Sudan (1952–1954), and Ivory Coast (1955–1960).[111]

Between seventy and ninety students took the competitive examination each year, reserved for graduates of the Ecole Coloniale among the *administrateurs des colonies*. For instance, on May 15, 1908, there were 26 openings, divided as follows: 22 for the administrative section with 7 positions for the Indochinese subsection, 14 for the African subsection, 1 for the penitentiary section, and 4 for the magistracy section (2 in the Indochinese subsection and 2 in the African subsection).[112]

During their training at the Ecole, students took classes that were common to all sections as well as courses focusing on the specific region where they intended to go. General courses were the following: French colonization, administrative organization of the French colonies, foreign colonization, administrative colonial law, administrative accounting, colonial productions, topography, languages, and physical and military education. Each year, they also had to translate a book on colonization published in a foreign language but not yet available in French. By the end of their first year of education, students took an exam on the subject matter required for the law *licence*:[113] civil law, commercial law, concepts of civil procedure, and financial legislation. If they failed the first year, they could not enroll for the second year. Students of the African section were expected to take courses in African geography, legislation and administration of African possessions, Islamic law, Arabic, and Malagasy, while at the magistracy section classes focused on administrative organization of the French colonies and of French colonization.

Over time, the curriculum became more and more specialized. A course on general ethnology was taught between 1890 and 1895 and again after World War I. In 1894, the organization of conferences on the administration of Senegal and the Congo was considered, but it seems that this decision was not implemented.[114] As early as 1901, Joseph Galliéni, then governor general of Madagascar, underlined the insufficiencies of the teaching of Malagasy and requested that any new instructor be a man well versed in the field.[115] Around the same period, a Mandingo course was set, and although Arabic was no longer mandatory for students of the African section, knowledge of this language was worth additional points.[116] In 1921, Maurice Delafosse, who was then honorary governor

of colonies, was appointed to teach the course on dialects and customs of French West Africa.[117]

But in spite of these efforts, the curriculum remained largely characterized by its extremely theoretical nature. Teachers were primarily civil servants appointed to the central administration in Paris who had no direct experience in the colonies, and critics complained that the teaching in law was too heavy. For instance, Albert Duchêne, who taught Legislation and Institutions of the African Possessions, Louis Vignon, author of *L'Exploitation de Notre Empire Colonial* and *Les Colonies Françaises* among others, and Paul Dislère,[118] all offered courses heavily based on legal texts. In 1913 the results of a survey conducted by the alumni association revealed students' thirst for a training that would better prepare them for life in the colonies. They deplored the vagueness of the teaching, admitted their ignorance of what was expected of them as *administrateurs des colonies*, and asked for more practical instruction.

World War I interrupted education as the school closed in 1914. It was decided that time spent under the military flags would count as service accomplished in the colonies,[119] and the decree of June 2, 1919, reduced the academic year 1919–1920 from two years to one for students who had passed their competitive examinations before August 1, 1914, but who had not been able to complete the curriculum. Students of the Ecole who were relieved of their military obligations during the conflict were immediately appointed as *administrateurs*.[120] Finally, a decree of 1919 declared that wounded soldiers fit for colonial service could join the body of *administrateurs des colonies* after a 6-month *stage* at the Ecole, and about 25 *administrateurs* were appointed in this manner.[121] A list of 61 students killed in action published in the *Bulletin de la Société des anciens élèves de l'Ecole coloniale*,[122] reveals the names of six French Caribbeans: Osman Attuly, Auril, Blondel de la Rougerie, Butel, Eutrope, and Le Merle de Beaufond. *Breveté* from the African section, the Martinican Osman Attuly had just started a career in the colonial administration when he was killed in the war.[123] Marie Louis Roger Blondel de la Rougerie from Martinique entered the Ecole Coloniale in 1913 and received the *médaille militaire* posthumously.[124] Albert Victor Olivier Eutrope, a native of Guyane, entered the Ecole Coloniale in 1909 and graduated as *breveté*; he died on the battlefield on March 26, 1915, at Masseng-Mouzo in Cameroon.[125] Finally, Louis Georges Félix Le Merle de Beaufond is not on my list because he was not born in the French Caribbean but in Saint-Louis, Senegal, in February 1894. He was probably related to the Guadeloupean Maurice Lucien Lemerle de Beaufond who went to the Congo, Senegal, Dahomey, and Gabon between 1893 and 1913.[126] However, the list provided by the *Bulletin* is not exhaustive, and the directory of 1905 established by the Alumni Society provides

a list of students killed in service, which includes the Guadeloupean Marie Joseph Nicolas Louis Manquéné, who was a teacher in Guadeloupe before entering the Ecole Coloniale in 1890. He graduated a few years later and served in Indochina where he died in 1904 at the age of 32.[127] Pierre Gentil in *La Gloire de l'Ecole coloniale* named two other Caribbean alumni who distinguished themselves during the Great War—Odet Denis and Roger Rémy. Born in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, in February 1892, Odet Denis entered the Ecole Coloniale in 1911 and was appointed to the colonial administration in 1917. He resigned in 1919.[128] Roger Rémy, son of a clerk of the penitentiary administration, was born in Cayenne on October 10, 1897, mobilized in 1916, and wounded in March 1918; he was discharged the following year. He received the Médaille Militaire as well as the Croix de Guerre. He then started a career as an *administrateur des colonies* in 1920, first in the Moyen-Congo, where he stayed until 1925, and then in Guinea in 1931, then Togo, and Senegal where he retired.[129]

To encourage colonial careers, colonies offered scholarships according to their budgets. In 1923, Indochina gave a monthly stipend of 250 francs to young men who wished to prepare for entrance to the Indochinese section of the Ecole Coloniale. French West Africa (AOF) and Madagascar, as well as Togo and Cameroon, followed the same example. These scholarships helped increase the number of candidates to the Ecole Coloniale; in 1923, candidates were about twice as numerous as in 1919.[130] In 1925, the Guadeloupean Benjamin Jules Emmanuel Thaïs Ninine asked to benefit from the stipend offered by the governor of Cameroon, in exchange for which he had to commit to spending ten years in this colony where, in fact, he spent his entire career.[131]

It was Georges Hardy, director of the Ecole between 1926 and 1933, who gave a new direction to the Ecole Coloniale's curriculum. Successor to Maurice Delafosse at the Ecoles Libres des Sciences Politiques, where he taught courses in Native Policy and Comparative Colonization, Georges Hardy was a man of the field. He had spent part of his career in AOF as an inspector of education, and in Morocco and Algeria as chief of public education. One of his first decisions as director of the Ecole Coloniale was to modify the recruitment to emulate the most prestigious French schools such as Polytechnique, Saint-Cyr, and the Ecole Normale. Preparation for the competitive examination for the Ecole Coloniale was thus organized in the *classes préparatoires* in the *lycées* of Paris, Bordeaux, Toulouse, La Rochelle, Montpellier, Marseille, Algiers (Algeria), and Rabat (Morocco). They were not compulsory, but their students usually scored better on the Ecole Coloniale's competitive entrance examination: in 1934, all 53 students admitted had been in a *classe préparatoire*.

With this new mode of selection, the competitive examination had been profoundly reorganized. It became more general, with three tests in French, history of French colonization, and general geography, and in 1939, a test covering morality and sociology was added. Under Georges Hardy, the legal component of the training tended to decrease to focus more on the colonial aspects of the curriculum and make them more concrete. New courses were developed, focusing on geography, sociology, ethnology, African traditional law, African history, geology, botany, zoology, agronomy, and economic development, for the African section. In 1926, Georges Hardy appointed Henri Labouret to the faculty. His classes in African languages and African history were quite popular as was his course on research methodology in ethnology, in which he emphasized the importance of regional monographs.[132] Himself an *administrateur des colonies* with a long career in Ivory Coast, Labouret took inspiration from his professional experiences in his teaching. In 1932 a student accompanied him to Senegal, and another one went with him to Cameroon in 1934. From the 1930s on, students were encouraged to spend their summers in North Africa in order to better understand the realities of the colonial world. To mark the new orientation, the Ecole Coloniale changed its name, and on December 21, 1934, became the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer (ENFOM), also known as "Colo." However, in spite of these measures, legal matters continued to occupy a key position in the training as they were reestablished as central subject matter as soon as Hardy left the Ecole. In 1937, a new director, Robert Delavignette, made further modifications as he wished to bring the curriculum closer to colonial realities. The African section was divided into two subsections, one African and the other Malagasy, with courses common to both subsections. The teaching of African languages was reinforced with the introduction of Poulah, Mandingo, Djerma, and Hausa in 1938. However, Delavignette, just like his predecessors, continued to insist on the importance of law in the training of *administrateurs*, which, according to him, gave the sense of legality as well as the importance of the execution of orders. Thus, during the course of their education at the Ecole, students were still expected to pass their law *licences*.

With these changes, the Ecole Coloniale affirmed its primary position in training for colonial careers. The number of candidates rapidly increased; it rose from 71 in 1928 to 216 in 1931 and exceeded 400 in 1938. Since the number of students to graduate was set by ministerial order each year, these increases also reflected the growing needs of the colonies. The selection became more intense and the success rate, which was 39.5 percent, in 1928, dropped to 15 percent in 1936, 12 percent in 1937, and 19.6 percent in 1938. Nineteen thirty-nine was an exceptional year with a success rate of 33 percent due to the context of the war.[133]

In spite of these various reforms, the main criticism of the Ecole remained that it offered a highly theoretical curriculum with little attention to practical matters. In fact, the formation of minds was not limited to purely academic subject matter. Military discipline reigned at the Ecole and was expressed in many ways, including physical education. Equestrian sports and fencing, the two sports offered, give quite a good image of what was expected of the future *administrateur* and of the rationales behind the Ecole's curriculum. Learning these two disciplines seemed of no immediate use for colonial service. Indeed *administrateurs des colonies* appointed in the bush could make some use of their equestrian classes as they would more than likely ride horses—in some cases donkeys—to tour the regions they would have to supervise; but the immediate use of fencing seems more elusive. In fact, equestrian lessons and fencing were intended to help the student acquire strength, discipline, and even elegance, all of which were considered to be more important than the more theoretical knowledge that students would learn in the classrooms. *Administrateurs des colonies* had to learn to be obeyed and respected in the colonies where they were expected to transform themselves into the incarnation of France, and it was believed this type of training would be particularly useful.

Prestige was also displayed through military status. During the opening session of the French section, Paul Dislère gave a speech in which he emphasized this very point. For him, the Ecole Coloniale was not a full military school with boarding students, nor was it a school where students could take classes as they wished, as was the case in some other institutions: "As soon as they enter the Ecole, students must consider themselves as future *administrateurs des colonies* and be subjected to a certain discipline which will accustom them to the regularity and correctness of the life that they must live later on."[134] The decision of February 15, 1893, organized military education at the Ecole. Two weekly sessions of one-and-a-half hours each were dedicated to it, and the minister of war supplied the Ecole with guns. Students who already had the grade of officer enjoyed a privileged status, as they automatically became assistants to the officer in charge of this military education. In 1894 one of the first issues discussed by the Alumni Society was precisely this military status. Issues of honor were at stake. A republican guard had refused to salute an *administrateur des colonies*: "We studied the honors that were proper to give to this uniform that even the soldier's school had ignored; it even seemed opportune to establish the rank of precedence of civil servants of the central administration of the colonies."[135] In response to these pressing requests, the administrative council of the Ecole in its session of February 23, 1894, decided stripes should be attached to their uniforms[136] as an official indication of students' military status.

To reinforce the Ecole's prestige, it was also decided to create an Alumni society; its creation[137] was discussed on November 19, 1894. At its first meeting a committee of 11 members was designated to work out the society's status. Two Caribbeans served on this committee: Pierre Joseph Arthur Dorageon,[138] who entered the Ecole in 1893, and Camille Emmanuel Saintol,[139] who started his education in 1892 and later became a colonial magistrate. Article 1 of the status report defined the Alumni Society's mission in these terms: "to create among its members the bonds of solidarity that may be useful to serve the cause of the colonial development of France"[140] as well as to help students in financial need. Any graduate of the Ecole Coloniale automatically became a member, but after December 1, 1904, enrolled students could no longer be admitted. A bureau of nine members was elected, which included the Martinicans de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne, copresident, and Louis Benjamin Monsée Kair dit Didier. De Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne was born in Fort-de-France on December 20, 1872, into a wealthy white Creole family. With a *brevet* from the Ecole, and a PhD in law, he started his colonial career in the army and served in three military campaigns in Tonkin and one in Cochinchina between 1896 and 1902. He was then transferred to the central administration of the Ministry of Colonies and later on went to Indochina again, then to Madagascar (1910–1912), Réunion, and French Equatorial Africa where he served until his retirement three years later. He then settled in Madagascar, where he became a lawyer.[141] Born on April 14, 1874, in Fort-de-France, Louis Benjamin Monsée Kair was *breveté* from the Ecole to which he had been admitted in 1894. He was first *commissaire* of the colonial troops, then inspector, and served in Sudan (1898–1901), Chad (1901–1903), Congo (1903), Madagascar (1904–1907), and finally Indochina.[142]

In 1905, the members of the Alumni Society congratulated themselves on, among other things, the creation of a magistracy section at the Ecole, as well as the one-year *stage*. The number of their members grew progressively: from 162 in 1897 to 539 in 1912. Beginning in 1894, students had been taking part in the mid-Lent parades in the Quartier Latin. A "colonial" theme was always picked: an Annamite dragon in 1894, a trans-Saharan omnibus in 1895. In November 1890, the yearly welcome meeting was organized at the Restaurant de l'Orient, rue des Ecoles. In 1908, 115 guests attended this meeting and the Society yearbook mentions the absence of a certain Attuly, who was probably one of the Martinicans Etienne Marie Attuly or Gabriel Marie Robert Attuly.[143] Students regularly met in some neighboring cafés, where they had written the verses of the Ecole's alma mater. At least until World War I, students from the African section used to meet at the Café Le Panthéon. The Society also took part in the Universal Exhibition of 1900. *Administrateurs des colonies* usually kept in contact with the

Ecole as they lectured on their professional experiences during their stay in the capital during a prolonged convalescence in France. Finally, starting in 1899, local sections of the Alumni Society were created in Saigon, Tunis, Cayenne, Nouvelle-Calédonie, and French West Africa, but they seem to have had only a brief existence.

The success of administrative careers in the French Caribbean proceeded from the convergence of two different logics. On the one hand French Caribbeans' enthusiasm for administrative careers corresponded to a need to find employment that was not tied to the plantation system. On the other hand, the emergence of the colonial administration resulted from an active policy to make a clean sweep of the slave past in the Caribbean and in Africa that followed the establishment of French colonies on this continent. Republican school played a key role in making both logics converge, and by the turn of the century a new social group had emerged in Caribbean societies. Seizing the opportunity at hand, many received the training to enter the colonial administration. As colonized citizens, French Caribbeans conceived of their status had a specific perspective when considering their status as part of the French Empire. In fact, at home, assimilationist ideas were conceived as a tool to claim full citizenship. Republican curriculum combined with a desire for social promotion outside of the sugar realm led to the development of a specific assimilationist ideology. This Caribbean brand of assimilationist ideas held French republican values high, but at the same time it also incorporated some aspects of local realities.

2

The Dimensions of Caribbean Assimilationism

An Dardanelles mwen monté,	I climbed up to the Dardanelles,
An ja tou mô.	I am already dead.
An Dardanelles mwen rivé,	I arrived in the Dardanelles,
An ja tou mô.	I am already dead.
Fusi la an min an mwen,	My rifle in my hand,
An ja tou mô.	I am already dead.
Godillo la an pie an mwen,	My clodhoppers are on my feet,
An ja tou mô.	I am already dead.
Dardanelles, Dardanelles!	Dardanelles, Dardanelles!
An ja tou mô.	I am already dead.

Composed to echo the plight of the French Caribbean soldiers who fought on the eastern front during World War I, this *chanson veillé*—funeral song—has been chanted generation after generation during wakes in Guadeloupe long after the armistice. The Battle of the Dardanelles, which took place near Turkey in 1915, was a particularly deadly campaign, which claimed many lives and ended in failure. On the French side, Africans and Caribbeans made up two-thirds of the Expeditionary Corps of the Orient;[1] they were believed to be more resistant to malaria than white troops. Belonging to a memory long obscured, only recently have these pages of French Caribbean history been resurrected through the work of historians, activists, and artists. Naming the dead, recording their names in written documents, and creating artworks about their experience have been some of the acts undertaken to bring the Caribbean contribution to the war out of oblivion. In some instances, these celebrations fused with official ceremonies, but not always. For instance, Martinican historian Sabine Andrivon-Milton, founder of the Association for the Military History of Martinique, has worked extensively toward an official rehabilitation of these men.[2] In a less formal manner, in 2003 and 2004, two events were organized in several towns of Guadeloupe to pay tribute to Guadeloupean participation in wars (both World Wars, Indochina, Algeria).

Lagyè Déklaré—War is Declared, as these celebrations were called, sought to bring together all elements that make up this memory and question the meaning of modern war for French Caribbeans through lectures and exhibitions, as well as dance, music, sculptures, and paintings. The ninetieth anniversary of the end of World War I, in 2008, was another occasion to consider this page of the French Caribbean past and pay homage to the elders. The review *La Semaine Guyanaise* presented a special issue, which featured the Guyanese veteran Gustave Létard. Born in Sinnamary, Guyane, in 1892, he was drafted into the fifty-sixth regiment of the colonial infantry and was sent to the Dardanelles in 1915. Hoping to escape the terror of the battlefield, Gustave Létard came home to recover from bronchitis but was sent back to fight. He finally returned to Guyane at the end of the war, on May 29, 1919. Ever afterward he always refused to participate in any commemorative event and only reluctantly spoke of his experiences during the war. He named one of his dogs Dardanelles.[3]

Sentiments toward the war well exemplify the nature of French Caribbean assimilationism. Claims to be included in the French army were one way in which French Caribbeans expressed what was then called their "attachment to France." Fighting for the Motherland seemed a guaranteed way to access full civil and political rights, but after World War I this promise was still unfulfilled. Discouragement and discontent tainted aspirations to citizenship. Yet the model of an ideal France was not renounced, as a distinction was made between the practice of French representatives and the ideals of the Republic, which were still held up as something to aim for. At the core of assimilationist values was a faith in the French republic, the political system that had officially ended slavery. This ideal image was all the easier to entertain because for the vast majority France remained a remote reality. Understanding French Caribbean assimilationism is key to any analysis of the French Caribbean, particularly for the period between 1848 and 1946. It was during these decades that this ideology emerged as an essential element of French Caribbean societies. The abolition of slavery in 1848 had affirmed that all inhabitants of the old colonies were French citizens, while still relegating them to the status of "colonized." Refusing to remain on the margin of humanity as the status of colonized implied, they worked toward "assimilationism." Until 1946, when the law that made Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane French departments was passed, one key struggle of local politicians was to achieve full citizenship. French Caribbean assimilationism embraced Republican ideals, while at the same time complex connections to Africa continued to be woven into Caribbean societies. *Administrateurs des colonies* epitomized this ambivalent position. As they negotiated the realities of their ambiguous status of colonized citizens, they looked up to France, the model to follow, but remained inhibited by their own complicated connections to Africa.

Negotiating Citizenship: "Good" and "Bad" France

To embrace the assimilationist ideology implied that one had to rationalize the logic of colonialism. The republican values of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were considered to be part and parcel of a progressive form of colonialism. A distinction was made between colonialism and its excesses, between "Good France" and "Bad France." "Good France," continental France, was opposed to "Bad France," represented in the colonies by the white Creole minority. Republican laws affirmed equality among human beings, thus asserting the image of a Motherland generous and benevolent toward all its children. In the French Caribbean, the excesses of the colonial system were interpreted as the deviant actions of the local white minority, which could neither represent nor tarnish the ideals of the French Republic. "Good France" was believed to welcome and offer opportunities to all on an equal basis, regardless of the color of their skin. A complete fusion into the French nation on the political level appeared to be the best way to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and local economic exploitation. Such an analysis was a direct outcome of the centrality of education in the French Caribbean societies after the abolition of slavery, especially with the Third Republic. As the curriculum extolled republican values, the link was quickly made between these values and the new opportunities offered to blacks and browns, notably in the colonial administration.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789 and the abolitions of slavery of 1794 and 1848 had associated the republican regime with the fight for freedom, with the "Good France." Furthermore, republican constitutions had repeatedly affirmed that the old colonies were intrinsic components of France. The constitution of 1795, in its article 6, stipulated that "colonies are an integral part of the Republic and they are subject to the same constitutional law," and its article 7 explained that Martinique, Guyane, and Guadeloupe were French departments. It was also the republicans who had affirmed the right of the French Caribbean colonies to elect representatives to the National Assemblies. Introduced under the French Revolution, this right was reaffirmed in 1848, and after an interruption of several decades, the Third Republic confirmed it.[4] This political situation was unique to the "old colonies" of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Réunion, considered closer to the French model of civilization because they had been under French colonial rule the longest.

Following these principles, local politicians developed their own claims to assimilationism. Politicians rubbed shoulders with other members of the intermediary group, in their private and public lives, and thus shared many connections with civil servants. For instance, during the course of their careers, *administrateurs des colonies* often called upon politicians to support them and to write letters of recommendation as they tried to

rise in the administrative hierarchy. Politicians and *administrateurs*, who belonged to the same intermediary group pushed forward after 1848, had a common understanding of assimilationism, and when politicians lobbied for Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane to become French departments, they also expressed the wishes of the *administrateurs* who, because of their profession, were not allowed to take public political positions. In 1880 the Guyanese deputy Gustave Franconie published *Notre Droit à l'assimilation*,[5] in which he commented on the abolition of slavery in these terms: "This day came, and France granted freedom to the slaves. From beasts of burden she made men; from these men she made citizens; from these citizens, she made French citizens."[6] The essence of France was summed up in the republican ideals. Thus, the discrepancy between these ideals and the actual existence of a colonial empire was such that slavery could only be understood as "an aberration of French consciousness."[7] To Franconie, it was obvious that the abolition of slavery implied that all privileges of liberty must be conferred upon former slaves. And he underlined that the legislators' intention had been that these new citizens "could fully enjoy all laws, institutions, and benefits as well as submit themselves to all charges and contributions to metropolitan French society. In one word, since we must say it, it meant the complete assimilation of the colonies into French departments."[8] The promise of the republican motto was within reach.

Efforts to reinforce the ties with France were intensified in the Caribbean during the Third Republic. The goal was to erase the discrepancy between the status of the citizen and that of the colonized and enable the latter to fully enjoy French citizenship. The status of colonized citizen was considered an aberration that had to be eliminated and such aspirations seemed to be carried forward by the republican project to build the Caribbean societies anew after the abolition of slavery. As blacks and browns accessed higher positions in society, more and more expressed the necessity to enjoy full civil rights within the framework of the French Republic. It is difficult to evaluate the ways in which this ideology pervaded all strata of the population, but very few voices expressed a discordant viewpoint. Even in November 1935 when Martinican socialist deputy Joseph Lagrosillière published a brochure to explain why he had decided not to participate in the official commemoration of the tercentenary of Caribbean incorporation into France, his critique did not challenge the assimilationist project per se.[9] His objections were twofold. First, he strongly opposed Henry Bérenger, senator from Guadeloupe and France's representative at the League of Nations, who had not condemned the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Second, Lagrosillière believed that the tercentenary events did nothing to hasten full assimilation. In fact, until 1946, the politicians' main goal

remained the political assimilation of the French Caribbean colonies into the Motherland.

Acts of discrimination and racism were interpreted by blacks and browns as manifestations of the "Bad France." Locally, this "Bad France" was identified with the white minority who was assumed to corrupt France's colonial ideals. To be sure, white Creoles abhorred the idea of assimilation and saw it as a threat to their privileges. They wished to maintain a good distance between themselves and the rest of the population. In this perspective, they considered republican ideals as an imperilment of their privileged situation. In 1870, Ernest Souques, a powerful white factory owner in Guadeloupe, spoke before the General Council to denounce the assimilationist evolution of the colony; in protest, the black and brown population demonstrated in the streets. In December 1898, inspired by the example of neighboring Cuba where U.S. intervention had put an end to the war of independence and placed the island within the United States' sphere of influence, the white Creoles tried to invigorate their old project of breaking away from France. They believed that U.S. rule would better serve their interests than that of republican France. This attempt at separatism prompted quick reactions, and the newspaper *La Vérité* in Guadeloupe denounced the intrigues of the white Creoles, the "'anti-French' party whose only dream, only desire is the annexation of the island to America . . . [They] defend the Monroe doctrine."[10] Again, in January 1919, during the peace negotiations following World War I, the rumor spread that the United States was maneuvering to get hold of the French Caribbean colonies as it was expanding its hold over the rest of the Caribbean basin. The reaction was not long in coming. Caribbean Freemasons mobilized[11] and sent protests to the minister of colonies and the Freemasons of the Grand Orient de France, a Committee for the Defense of the French Population of Martinique organized a meeting to discuss ways to address the issue, while Victor Sévère, the mayor of Fort-de-France, declared that the Antilles, "French by heart, language, and mores," had every reason to fear American annexation.[12] Besides France's supposed innate ability to develop a colonial project in line with such values, the situation of the black population in the United States reinforced the sentiment that a U.S. annexation could only be ominous. And the recent examples of Cuba, the Philippines, and St. Thomas's annexations were additional reminders of the reality of the U.S. threat. Plots for independence, refusal to fulfill the republican agenda, fraud, discrimination, exploitation, and racism were understood as expressions of the "Bad France." In this perspective, employment in the colonial administration bore a different meaning for the white Creoles on the one hand and blacks and browns on the other hand. As exemplified by the Barzilay and Larrouy families presented in

chapter one, white Creoles were primarily driven to the administration by their inability to cope with the economic crisis and keep their plantations. Faithful to republican ideals, black and brown *administrateurs des colonies* believed that colonization that followed republican values was to be progressive, and they did not overtly challenge the limits of these republican values. That the republican France that had abolished slavery could also be responsible for discrimination, racism, exploitation, and abuse was inconceivable. The fight for full citizenship was the fight of blacks and browns. In its pursuit, they refused direct confrontation, and opted for legalistic ways to assert themselves within the French system. However as they opted for the legalistic option, they pushed the limits of republican ideals and challenged the legitimacy of the notion of colonized citizens.

Two examples, the Galmot and the Aliker affairs, are excellent illustrations of this dual vision of France. Jean Galmot, a French businessman who settled in Guyane in 1906, made a quick fortune in trading. He became quite popular among workers in the goldmines and sugarcane fields, who generally considered him a generous employer. He was elected deputy in 1919, but his financial situation quickly deteriorated because of speculation in rum. Suspected of fraud and sentenced to jail in Paris, Galmot was ineligible for the 1924 legislative elections, and Lautier, the governor's candidate, who had never set foot in Guyane, became deputy from Guyane, thanks to massive electoral fraud. A few years later, back in Guyane, "Papa Galmot," still a popular figure, prepared for the 1928 elections, but again, fraud helping, Lautier was reelected. Only two months after, Galmot was found dead. In Cayenne the rumor was that he had been poisoned. Crowds swarmed into the streets and killed six persons believed to have helped elect Lautier. As a result, forty-one persons were arrested and sent to jail in Nantes. The trial opened in 1931, and the Guyanese Gaston Monnerville, then a young lawyer, assumed their defense. He used this opportunity to turn his defense speech into an eloquent plea for assimilationism and a trial against "Bad France." Monnerville made it plain that "this is a political trial: it is the trial of colonial administration as some colonial administrators understand it and of French colonial policy as some representatives of France lead it, without the knowledge of the people of France."[13] All accused were acquitted.

The Aliker affair in Martinique was another example of how the "Bad France" could be demonstrated. In October 1929, Eugène Aubéry, a powerful white planter of the island, was condemned to pay 6.8 million francs for fiscal fraud but, after a quick appeal to his powerful connections, Aubéry was exonerated by the Appeals Court of the island. A few years later, in May 1933, Emmanuel de Lacoste, one of his lieutenants, wrote to the minister of justice to denounce Aubéry's maneuvers to corrupt the judicial system.

As it quickly became obvious that the administration would not budge, de Lacoste sent his evidence to André Aliker, a communist mulatto trade unionist and director of the newspaper *Justice*. During the months of June and July 1933 Aliker published several articles to expose Aubéry's machinations: not just corruption but also sponsorship of several murders. The Aubéry clan quickly took action. Aliker was attacked in broad daylight, condemned for slander, and, after a first unsuccessful attempt at assassination, his body was found on a beach in January 1934, arms bound behind his back. In spite of the evidence to the contrary and against the conclusions of the investigating magistrate, the state prosecutor concluded that Aliker's death had been suicide.

Both cases had revealed the corruption of the local administration in its highest ranks, thus reinforcing the sentiment of a collusion of interests between the white Creole minority and the highest administrative levels. Republican ideals were misrepresented, and blacks and browns who became civil servants sought to remedy the situation. Their very presence within the administration would testify to the fulfilled promise of the Republic, and a change of status from colony to department would ensure that such a promise would be protected from further assault.

And indeed, during the period of the Third Republic, a change of status became the focus of all politicians. No debate or political campaign could take place without the reiteration of this goal, which was considered the crowning of the assimilationist agenda. Across the political spectrum there was general agreement on the matter. In 1881, the General Council of Guadeloupe asked for political assimilation, and the following year the General Council of Martinique repeated the request.[14] One year later, Gerville-Réache, deputy from Guadeloupe, prepared a bill for the change of status. According to him, "the island of Guadeloupe is known to be an integral part of France and forms the department of Guadeloupe."[15] In Guyane the existence of the penal colony was considered to be a stain that had to be removed so that the Guyanese could enjoy full French citizenship. In 1882, and again two years later, petitions were sent to Paris to protest the existence of the penal colonies. Guyanese representatives were indeed concerned that they would mark the colony as unfit for political assimilation. As one general counselor put it in 1888, "There is no point in remaining backward when progress is everywhere, and when France strides forward."[16] Guyanese politicians consistently stressed the fact that Guyane was the oldest French colony, thus implying that it was in fact far more advanced than its association with the penal colonies might have suggested. When Gaston Monnerville ran for deputy in 1932, changing Guyane's status was an important plank in his platform. To him it was the best way to make Guyane's true nature appreciated and was justified by the

fact that the colony had been a part of France long before Corsica or Savoy. In July 1890, Alexandre Isaac and Vincent Allègre, senators from Guadeloupe and Martinique respectively, presented for the second time a bill before the French Senate requesting that these two islands become French departments. They specified that "Guadeloupe and Martinique have been French for close to 300 years; they do not bear the imprint of any foreign nationality . . . their civil, penal, and commercial laws are no different from those of metropolitan France . . . We are therefore certain to be the interpreters of our compatriots in Martinique and Guadeloupe by proposing to the Senate a law that has as its goal the establishment of the definitive application in these two colonies of the principle of assimilation."[17] This proposition of law in favor of departmentalization was reiterated again in June 1891 as another bill was presented to the Senate to politically and administratively reorganize the colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion.[18] Martinican Deputy Joseph Lagrosillière and Guadeloupean Deputy Achille René-Boisneuf in 1915, as well Martinican Senator Henry Lémery in 1923, for instance, continued to press for a change of status.

In addition to these actions taken at the level of the National Assembly, other venues were used to push for assimilationism. For instance, the Guadeloupean Hégésippe Légitimus, founder of the local section of the Socialist Party, wrote several articles on this issue in *Le Cri du Peuple*, the newspaper of the party. For this son of slaves, there was only room for "a complete and unreserved assimilation of Guadeloupe into the *métropole*, for the extension of the freedom of the press, access to all positions through competition and never by choice or through the favor of simplifying administrative and judiciary machinery, and free justice."[19] Assimilation seemed to be the key to full emancipation, the best weapon against discrimination and authoritarianism. In 1935, in the newspaper of the Socialist Federation of Martinique, Joseph Lagrosillière, lawyer and Socialist deputy of this colony, affirmed "without fear of being contradicted, that the Antilles are no longer colonies and that they have been raised to the level of our departments in every respect."[20] Even Jules Monnerot, leader of the Jean Jaurès group, which later became the local communist party, strongly affirmed his assimilationist position. Similarly, the trade union, Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), created in Martinique in 1937, fought for assimilationism, considered the best way to receive the same social benefits as French workers.[21] In Guyane, the federation for the Union of Guyanese Workers, close to the French Communist Party, fought against exploitation and requested that French social benefits such as an unemployment allowance be applicable to Guyanese workers in terms that remained in line with assimilationist ideals as its general secretary declared, "you will thus help a whole population in agony, and remove from misery the children of France's oldest colony."[22] Indeed when pushing

for assimilationism, Caribbean representatives believed that it was the best way to ensure that French social laws be applied in the colonies. Expectations were immense, and one man, the French abolitionist Victor Schœlcher, seemed to embody the possibilities of the assimilationist agenda.

Victor Schœlcher, Central Figure of Assimilationism

As president of the Commission on the Abolition of Slavery in 1848, Victor Schœlcher (1804–1893) had been one of the key architects of the legal process to abolish slavery. Although he did not go back to the Caribbean colonies after his trip of 1840–1841, there his name continued to evoke the decree of April 1848, the "Good France" that cared and protected from discrimination. By the 1880s, he had become the personification of abolition, overshadowing all others, including Martinique's very own Cyrille Bissette.[23] From 1848 to 1851, and again in 1870, Schœlcher represented Martinique as deputy, and in 1875 he became its permanent senator. For him, the integration of the old colonies into the Motherland was the logical continuation of the abolitionist fight. The necessary ingredient in the successful establishment of postemancipation societies was the development of what he called a policy of reconciliation. True to republican values, on the occasion of the celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of the abolition of slavery in 1881, he reminded his audience that in the colonies "monarchy and empire mean slavery; republic means liberation. One could no more accept the idea that they are not republicans than that a son does not respect his mother."[24] To him assimilation was "the best way to achieve peace and concord among the formerly divided classes of the colonial society."[25] In this spirit, he had fought with the founding fathers of the Third Republic, including Jules Ferry, to establish a free, secular, and mandatory primary school system. At the core of his vision was the social promotion of blacks and browns, who would form a new social group, and education, of course, would be the tool to promote them. As the lynchpin of his policy, he described this group in the following terms:

> This essentially French class, French in its heart, spirit, language, customs, mores, has today raised itself, thanks to persevering toil, to the level of its elders in civilization. It counts a good number of its children within the magistracy, the bar, the university, medicine, the clergy, the army and the navy, the naval command, indeed within all careers. One must do justice to those who deserve it: that we white—either Europeans or Creoles—are necessary, indispensable to the continuous development of colonial society, nothing is truer; but it would be, of course, misleading the Assembly to represent us as the unique guardians of the noble traditions of the Motherland.[26]

Indeed, by their training and their social position, *administrateurs des colonies* were at the core of this intermediary group, and Schœlcher took particular interest in them. A few years after his death in 1893, the deputy Théophile Roussel wrote to the minister of colonies to recommend the young Martinican Victor Basquel, who was awaiting a position in the colonial administration in Africa. In his letters of recommendation, he stressed that Basquel had been an acquaintance of Schœlcher, who had recognized in him one of the young men whom he wished to see climbing the social ladder. In a letter of January 18, 1899, Roussel stated that he had known "the interest that Mr. Schœlcher had in him, and my colleague from the Senate, Mr. Allègre, former governor of Martinique, gives the most favorable testimony and invites me to join his recommendation to mine in support of a request for a post in the colonial magistracy." The following year the request was renewed again in the following terms: "Mr. Basquel is one of the young Creoles of color who, because of their intelligence, good sentiments, and good behavior acquired the sympathy and the protection of Mr. Schœlcher."[27]

Using all means at his disposal, Schœlcher became the essential representative of the subject. To disseminate his ideas to the larger public, he also involved the press and, with the help of Guadeloupean deputy Gaston Gerville-Réache, founded *Le Moniteur des Colonies et des Pays de Protectorat* in 1882 in Paris. In the issue of March 1, 1885, Schœlcher stressed that "colonies are integral parts of the French territory, extensions of France; as we have said, they are in reality overseas departments, absolutely equal in every way to the departments of metropolitan France. No sensible person will have the effrontery to deny that they are French and citizens. Since 1789, all constitutions, all of them, have given them representatives in legislative chambers."[28] On the other hand, Schœlcher also believed that the assimilationist policy did not mean that blacks and mulattos should repudiate their African origins. He stressed that his friend, the mulatto Gerville-Réache, "in his address to electors of Guadeloupe, calls himself Negro and advises his fellows to take the same title. There is here a profoundly wise and political idea; I would like everyone to adopt it. Any man who has African blood in his veins could never do too much to rehabilitate the name of Negro upon which slavery has imprinted a character of degeneration."[29]

For long, Schœlcher dominated the French Caribbean political scene. His defenders were legion and on many occasions, his name helped to tip the scales of elections. For instance, in Guadeloupe in 1875, and again in 1877, Schœlcher's support played a substantial role in the election of Théodore Lacascade as deputy.[30] The local press also played a key part in asserting his important role, and Schœlcher's ideas were spread via several

newspapers such as *Le Progrès de la Guadeloupe,* founded by Guadeloupean deputy Gaston Sarlat in 1880, and closely tied to the Guadeloupean Masonic lodge Les Disciples d'Hiram,[31] as well as *Les Colonies*, founded in Martinique in 1878 by Marius Hurard.[32]

In the Caribbean colonies, Schœlcher's figure became omnipresent. In Martinique, as early as May 1849, the Société des Femmes Schœlchéristes de Fort-de-France was created with the objective of disseminating the ideas of their icon and of preaching order, work, and the love of God. In October 1870, Anatole Léger, editor of the journal *Le Commercial*; Joseph Alcindor; Louisy Mathieu; André Mortenol; and Blancan, employee at the city hall of Pointe-à-Pitre, formed a Schœlcheriste committee for the elections of 1871 in Guadeloupe. They requested "the right for all to succeed through universal suffrage and through instruction made available in all positions."[33] In Martinique the village of Case-Navire was renamed after him in 1888; the *lycée* built in Fort-de-France in the 1930s also took the name of Lycée Schœlcher. The library of Fort-de-France—also named for him—opened with a donation of about ten thousand books by Victor Schœlcher in 1883, and the same year he donated his collection of reproductions of works of art to Guadeloupe for a museum, and sent other objects of art from his private collection to Guyane.[34]

At Schœlcher's death, demonstrations in his honor abounded. Caribbean personalities such as the Guadeloupean Camille Mortenol and Martinican deputy Ernest Deproge, among others, attended his funeral in Paris on January 5, 1894. Subsequently, Mortenol instituted the ritual of a yearly pilgrimage among French Caribbeans who brought flowers on Schœlcher's grave on the anniversary of his death. They met at the gates of the Père Lachaise Cemetery in the northern part of Paris, and silently headed to Schœlcher's tomb for meditation.[35] In the colonies, committees raised funds for the erection of monuments in his honor. On January 6, 1894, the newspaper *Les Colonies* announced that a subscription was being sent to all city halls in Martinique to finance the building of a commemorative monument in the main city of Saint-Pierre, and on July 15, 1897, the city of Cayenne erected, on Victor Hugo Square, a monument to the memory of Victor Schœlcher,[36] which represented the abolitionist and a half-naked slave with both hands on his heart to thank his liberator. Adding a formal note to the crowning, on June 8, 1914, Emile Merwart, the governor of Guadeloupe, declared July 21 Saint Victor's Day, an official holiday.

By the end of the Third Republic, in 1938, the Souvenir de Victor Schœlcher group asked Gaston Monnerville, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, to have Schœlcher's remains transferred to the Pantheon. The request was granted after World War II, in May 1949, when Victor Schœlcher, along with Félix Eboué, was transferred to the Panthéon.

On May 18, both men were honored by the Parisian public in the Luxembourg Gardens, and the next day a cortège headed by French President Vincent Auriol proceeded to the Panthéon for the final ceremony.[37] By the turn of the century, Victor Schœlcher had become the omnipresent representative of French abolitionist policy, overshadowing the contribution of anyone else. His central presence only reinforced the sentiment that the fight against oppression would be best achieved within the Motherland.

The Blood Tax

Assimilation, citizenship, and patriotism were closely intertwined, and they found their most vivid expression in claims over the blood tax. Claims to national service had raised this price to its highest level—life. Military service was presented as an essential way to demonstrate one's patriotism, but French Caribbeans' recognition as full French citizens could only mean service in the national army on the same terms as any other French citizen, rather than in the colonial regiments. National service was considered to be an intrinsic component of national identity, and enrollment in the colonial armies was deemed unacceptable. Soldiers in these colonial armies were subjects—the status of most colonized people—and as such they could not be required to perform national military service. This was in contradiction to French Caribbeans' understanding of their own status; they made every effort to place the accent on their position as citizen rather than as colonized subject. During the period of the Third Republic, representatives of the old colonies continuously intervened so that the French law on military service would be applied in the same terms in the colonies. Citizenship did not mean just ensuring that one's rights would be respected; it also came with a price: the blood tax had to be paid. Representatives repeatedly insisted on this necessity. In an article published in *Le Rappel* on July 14, 1878, Victor Schœlcher explained how the participation of all inhabitants of the old colonies in the national armies would in fact be a contribution to the fight against prejudice.[38] When a circular published on October 17, 1882, invited the youth to enlist in the corps of the *tirailleurs sénégalais*—the military corps founded by Faidherbe in Senegal—criticism burst forth. The decision was interpreted as a major step backward, since most *tirailleurs*' legal status was subject, not citizen. In the same period, *Le Moniteur des Colonies* published several articles demanding that young blacks from Guadeloupe not be enlisted as Africans but as full French citizens and therefore in the national army; they also expressed their surprise that whites of the colony were not asked to enlist as "*tirailleurs*." Guadeloupeans were

indeed French, "and French from Guadeloupe can serve only as French in the French army."[39]

In March 1880, the Guadeloupean deputy Germain Casse drew up a bill on mandatory military service in the colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Réunion. Similarly, Ernest Deproge, deputy from Martinique, fought a bill that would require colonial draftees to serve exclusively in the colonies under the pretext that they could not adapt to a different climate. With medical reports to prove his point, he demanded that Caribbean draftees be attached to the national army. Other representatives such as Henry Bérenger and Gratien Candace intervened with Minister of War Eugène Etienne, who reassured them that the class of 1912 would soon be incorporated into the regiment of colonial infantry, and that once classes were over, this regiment would be sent to Morocco, where it would serve under the same conditions as metropolitan troops.[40]

The fight for the blood tax fell within the scope of resistance to white Creole tyranny and was thus understood as an appeal for help to the "Good France." Indeed white Creoles were fiercely opposed to the blood tax, which to them could only be detrimental, as it would mean first to deprive them of their work force and second to arm the blacks. It was not until November 1912, with the support of Guadeloupean deputy Gratien Candace, that the law on national military service finally took effect in the Caribbean colonies.[41] In 1913, conscription was applied for the first time, and in October 1913 Caribbean soldiers arrived in France to do their national service. Despite their clamorous departure, these young military were soon confronted by the reality of the French climate. Many fell sick; some died. Still, this was not considered a reason to question the validity of the blood tax. The goal had been reached, and in 1914, with the declaration of war, French Caribbeans were incorporated into the French armies. Concerns were quickly smothered as families were to receive an allowance for those soldiers who were the main wage earners of the family.[42]

Upon the declaration of war in 1914, French Caribbean representatives Delmont and Bérenger formed the Comité d'Aide et d'Assistance Coloniale. The committee was established for the duration of the war, but because of the key role played by its French Caribbean members, it tended to focus on assisting French Caribbean soldiers. It was placed under the patronage of the President of France Raymond Poincaré. Honorary presidents were Minister of War Alexandre Millerand and Minister of Colonies Gaston Doumergue, as well as Eugène Etienne, Hubert Lyautey, and William Ponty. Besides the Guadeloupean senator, Henri Bérenger, who presided over this committee, deputies from the Caribbean colonies such as Gratien Candace, Albert Grodet, Alcide Delmont, Achille René-Boisneuf, Joseph Lagrosillière, Henry Lémery, and the Senegalese Blaise Diagne, as well as

administrateurs des colonies, were also among the committee members. Among these French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*, were Ravel, director of the Bank of Guadeloupe;[43] Lhuerre, honorary governor of the colonies; Guesde, in post in Guadeloupe; Alcide Terrac, general counselor in Guadeloupe; and Victor Basquel, *administrateur des colonies*. The Guyanese Joseph Etienne Gabriel Lhuerre had pursued a career as *administrateur des colonies* in the Caribbean before going to Gabon (1887–889), Dahomey (1904–1906), and Senegal (1906–1907).[44] The Martinican Guesde, a civil servant in the customs administration in Guadeloupe, was the father of Mathieu Théodore Pierre Guesde, alumnus of the Ecole Coloniale who made a career as an *administrateur* in Indochina.[45] And the Guadeloupean Alcide Terrac, another member of the committee, was the father of Edouard Louis Barthélémy Marie Joseph Terrac, who graduated from the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris and became *administrateur des colonies* in Madagascar, Senegal, and Guinea.[46] The Comité d'Aide et d'Assistance Coloniale had been created in order to provide soldiers from the colonies with the assistance they needed during the war. It remained operative after the conflict to prepare the publication of *Le Livre d'Or de l'effort colonial français pendant la Grande Guerre*, an homage to colonial contributions to World War I. The volume, which purported to contain the names of all veterans from the colonies, was edited by Victor Basquel, a native of Martinique who spent part of his career as a magistrate in Senegal and Madagascar.[47] On January 30, 1915, Martinique deputy Henri Bérenger wrote to the minister of the colonies to request an extension of leave for Basquel, "Allow me to say that the departure of your collaborator Mr. Basquel, who has been charged by the Committee to collect all necessary documents to establish a *Livre d'Or* of colonial heroism, would force us to abandon this publication. Such a book, in our opinion, is of considerable importance; it will be an imperishable document to the glory of the children of our colonies, and thus through the feelings of admiration that such a volume will arouse in metropolitan France, it will strengthen the bonds that unite the Motherland with her overseas children."[48] *Le Livre d'Or* stressed the heavy price paid by the Caribbean population during the war: on August 2, 1914, 162 volunteers had signed up in Guadeloupe. In total, the book listed 11,021 recruits from Guadeloupe of whom 6,603 served at the front, while in Guyane 2,550 men had been mobilized on August 2, 1914, among whom were 118 volunteers. One thousand and twenty-seven soldiers from Guadeloupe died in action, 302 from Guyane, and 1,750 from Martinique.[49] In the colonies themselves, other *Livres d'Or* were published, such as the *Livre d'Or du contingent de la Guyane française à la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918*,[50] published in 1924 to pay tribute to the

plight of Guyanese soldiers: "They have given their heart, their body, their soul to the French motherland."[51]

After the war, Caribbean participation in the national army continued to be praised and to be presented as an act of ultimate patriotism. For instance, on April 6, 1921, the Institut Colonial Français in Paris paid homage to the Unknown Soldier in the name of the French colonies. On this occasion, French deputy Charles Bourlon de Rouvre, member of the institute, made a speech that extolled assimilationist values, "We don't know which parcel of the soil of the homeland is embodied in the Frenchman who sleeps under this august tombstone. A sublime mystery that eternity holds allows each region whose strength and beauty make up France to believe that they can more maternally revere the remains of their heroic child. Perhaps overseas France has nurtured this obscure soldier, dead to save the Homeland and the world from barbarism?"[52] He was followed by the Martinican deputy Alcide Delmont:

> The Institut Colonial Français comes to salute the Unknown Soldier with the grateful love and respect of the colonies, which do not separate him from his colonial brother, fallen like him for the welfare of the Motherland.
>
> He must now say through the voice of a child of the colonies, that from this sacred tomb rises a great memory, that between these arches of glory opened the future, with a solemn vow.
>
> By the blood of all our sons joined in the furrows of French soil, by all those who under all climes, who are dead, or who are suffering and toiling for her, by this tomb sealed by the imperishable bond born of this blood: we have had, we will ever have only one faith, one soul for France, to France forever![53]

The ultimate proof of Caribbean attachment to France had been given, and it thus seemed that the march toward departmentalization could not be stopped. After long years of assimilationist claims, the promise of equal rights seemed within reach.

The Tercentenary of Union with France

The assimilationist spirit developed increased momentum in 1935 with the celebration of the tercentenary of the union of the Antilles and Guyane with France. This commemoration was conceived as an opportunity to strengthen the bonds between France and its colonies.[54] In Paris, a committee placed under the leadership of Henri Bérenger, senator from Martinique, meticulously presided over the events organized in France and in the colonies, events that received wide publicity. Two public manifestations took

place at the Richelieu amphitheater in the Sorbonne. The first one was organized by the Académie des Sciences Coloniales on March 1935, and the second took place on November 7. Henry Bérenger opened the March ceremony with a speech explaining that the "old colonies" were

> the spiritual avant-garde of French colonization . . .
>
> Haven't they, our old colonies, indeed achieved the ultimate ideal of freedom for all citizens, equality of rights, fraternity of races that was the goal of our Revolutions of 1789 and 1848? This ideal has remained the goal of our Third Republic throughout sixty years of uninterrupted progress, but has still been very incompletely achieved in our new African and Asian possessions. These young colonies of contemporary France, though larger in their geographical expanse and in their economic resources, are nevertheless far from having reached the type of civic evolution represented by our old colonies of the Antilles and Réunion, which have been, for over half a century, true overseas departments.

The tercentenary was indeed the ultimate demonstration that French Caribbeans were indeed ready to become full citizens. And the point had to be made with pomp. In Paris, a gala was organized at the Opéra under the patronage of French President Albert Lebrun, the National Museum of Overseas France hosted an exhibition from October to November,[55] and at the end of the year a cruise left for the Caribbean on the state-of-the-art liner *Colombie.* Many well-known personalities were on board, among whom were deputies, senators, members of the Institut and the Conseil d'Etat, members of the Paris city council, generals; the Association of the Mayor of France, the Académie des Sciences Coloniales, and the chamber of commerce were also represented.[56]

In the Caribbean as well, several events were organized to celebrate the tercentenary. Lectures, plays, and official ceremonies took place in all three colonies. Responding to the invitation of the Freemasons of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane, the Grand Orient de France and the Grande Loge de France[57] had also sent representatives. It was emphasized in the Masonic review *La Chaîne d'Union* that "in doing so, Freemasonry reaffirmed, once more, the principles of its sublime ternary that has become the sacred device of republican France: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, in whose name Brother Victor Schœlcher, the great liberator of men of color, proclaimed in 1848 equality of race in all French territory."[58] The Masonic delegation, which included representatives from the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies as well as veterans, arrived in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, on December 20, 1935. Two days later they were received at the Orient lodge of Basse-Terre, and on December 26, about three hundred Masons completed their trip

by traveling to Martinique and Guyane. The role of Freemasonry in those events was indeed key, as assimilationist goals were close to Masonic ideals.

To stress the idea that the time had come to make Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane French departments, efforts were made to showcase them as modern French colonies. Heavy work was undertaken to present their new face to the visitors, and new buildings were erected with materials and architectural styles that broke away from local traditions. In the heart of Fort-de-France, Martinique's main city, Galliéni Park opened for the occasion, featuring a massive modern concrete gate at its entrance. The Lycée Schœlcher had been conceived of as the gem of this reorganization, but its construction was delayed, and it was two more years before it finally opened its doors. The project, as it had been designed and, as it was finally revealed to the public, was a massive construction in the Art Deco style, located on a hill overlooking the bay of Fort-de-France.[59]

The tercentenary appears to have been a paroxysmal expression of assimilationist ideals. French Caribbean representatives seized the occasion to again stress the point that the colonies were already French, and that a change of status would only ratify the existing reality.

Variations on the Theme of Africa

Caribbean assimilationism clearly offered a worldview in which French republican values ranked high. However, this ideology cannot be fully grasped without also paying close attention to Caribbean connections with Africa. Racist discourse and practice had long shaped, but not erased, representations of Africa. In societies that had been formed by centuries of slavery and colonialism, anything African was easily ridiculed, yet African legacies remained a determining component of people's identity. As the French Caribbean populations strove to assert their position as full French citizens, they could not remain indifferent to Africa. Their perception of this continent, its peoples, and its cultures was ambiguous, but still it occupied a key position in what it meant to be a Caribbean French citizen and played a key role in shaping *administrateurs des colonies*'s view of Africa. At home, several events contributed to the formation of French Caribbean understanding of the African continent.

African Workers in the Caribbean

As Caribbean societies embarked on the project of redefining their position in the French colonial context after the abolition of slavery, numbers of African workers were brought to work in the sugarcane fields. They arrived in utter destitution, destined for the worst exploitation in a

plantation system that refused to die. After a first experiment in Guyane in 1855, these workers were sent to all three Caribbean colonies. The French trading house Régis had been charged with recruitment, initially in the region of Ouidah, Dahomey, and then along the coast of the Congo. Officially considered immigrants and not slaves, the Africans received work contracts and were supposed to return to their home countries. The fact is that very few left the Caribbean. Their presence was used to defuse the claims of local workers. Indeed by the 1880s, the competition generated by the newcomers had already substantially lowered salaries.[60] Eighty-three of the French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* were born before 1871. Among them Jean Marie Samuel Frédéric Eggiman and Michel Hippolyte François Albert Bouchaut, who were both Guadeloupeans born in 1848, are the oldest *administrateurs des colonies* on the list. This group witnessed the arrival of the African workers, their first steps in these societies, and their difficult integration.

By the beginning of the twentieth century there were still several African communities in Guadeloupe, as noted by Jean-Claude Blanche.[61] Emma Marie stresses that in Martinique "Congolese working on this plantation [the Dizac plantation] were numerous; they all lived on 'Africa Hill.' This region of the hills had been given to free persons by Count Dizac after the abolition of slavery. After that, all those who arrived in the village settled there."[62] Some groups kept many of their traditions.[63] For instance, Jean-Claude Blanche has observed that in the 1990s in Guadeloupe, in the village of Capesterre-Belle-Eau, on each November 1, the Massembo family celebrates a tradition that had been passed down by their great-grandmother, whose mother was herself from the Congo. The ceremony is led by the women of the family and is marked by songs in Kikongo. Kikongo recipes as well as fragments of mythological tales have been preserved.

Béhanzin

Another contact that French Caribbeans had with Africans was with King Béhanzin, who spent twelve years of his life in Martinique. Captured on January 19, 1894, by General Alfred Amédée Dodds,[64] Béhanzin, king of Dahomey, had been sent to the island on the initiative of Victor Ballot, governor of Dahomey. The choice of Martinique was probably not unrelated to the fact that at least two key actors in this case had connections with this island. First, Ballot was born in Fort-de-France, where his father had been appointed for a few years. Second, the Guadeloupean Pierre Paul Marie Capest was Martinique's director of the interior from 1895 to 1898 and general secretary of the island in 1898 during Béhanzin's first years in this

colony. Capest had previously been general secretary of Dahomey between 1893 and 1895, at the time of Béhanzin's capture. He was then placed under the orders of Ballot, who considered him a valuable colleague.[65] At a time when racial issues were raging in the Caribbean colonies, their populations had closely followed the course of the wars waged by the French in Africa, and the military conquest of Dahomey had been no exception: "In the midst of the Belle Epoque, the Guadeloupean journal, *Le Démocrate*, called upon its readers for solidarity with the Africans of the colonies and even eloquently stood up for Béhanzin."[66]

On March 30, 1894, a large crowd came to Fort-de-France harbor to welcome Béhanzin and his retinue, which included, among others, his son Ouanilo, his wives, his secretary Adaneyan, and his interpreter Fanou. They all stayed at the military fort of Morne Tartenson, but soon the press denounced the poor conditions of the king's captivity, accusing the administration of making savings at the expense of the sovereign. Although Behanzin was a prisoner, he was to receive certain marks of respect due to his title. The French press was quick to relay this charge, and the interim governor, the Guadeloupean Capest, transferred Béhanzin to the Villa des Bosquets, near the Séminaire Collège of Fort-de-France. Béhanzin's status and origin made him a figure in Fort-de-France public life, and he attended events such as a mass said in memory of French President Sadi Carnot, assassinated on June 25, 1894, and the ceremony of the baptism of the bells of the new church, on August 21, 1894. His son Ouanilo was admitted to the Ploërmel Brothers' school in 1894 and later to the *lycée* of Saint-Pierre. Attitudes toward him combined curiosity, attention, respect, and incomprehension. Béhanzin continuously expressed his desire to go back to his native land. In Guadeloupe, the publicist and historian Oruno Lara, and in France, Francis de Préssensé, president of the League of Human Rights, editor of the newspaper *La Démocratie*, and deputy from Rhône, were lobbying for him. Finally, on April 1, 1906, Béhanzin left Martinique for Algiers, where he died on December 10, before reaching his native land. It was not until 1928 that Ouanilo, who had become a lawyer in Paris, was able to have his father's ashes sent to Dahomey. However, Béhanzin's impact on the Caribbean psyche was such that he even became a character in local folktales.

Folktales

Folktales offer another window onto the place of Africa in the French Caribbean imagination. Whether in the countryside or in the city, they constituted an important part of Caribbean culture. Folktales and riddles

punctuated life, and no major events, particularly funerals, could take place without this ritualized remembrance. Even in the wealthier neighborhoods, these codified moments continued to set the rhythms of life. Lafcadio Hearn, who spent two years in Martinique between 1887 and 1889, met urban dwellers such as Cyrillia, a servant; Mrs. Robert, a cigar maker and street vendor; and children of Saint-Pierre, whom he listened to at dusk, when they told tales and riddles.[67] An intrinsic part of Caribbean culture, these tales and riddles contributed to shaping collective memory. The audience could be primarily adults, as at wakes for instance, or children who were thus entertained by adults. *Adminsitrateurs des colonies* themselves had been immersed in this culture, and for instance, Félix Eboué's mother was well versed in Guyanese riddles, the *dolos*, which punctuated her son's childhood.

Folktales were always told in Creole.[68] It was shared and understood by all, but the members of the new intermediary group who had learned the French classics at school made it a point to speak proper French. Mastering the French language was one of their defining features, and *administrateurs des colonies* certainly were no exception. It was the language of knowledge, civilization, and culture. Political debates, exchanges at work or among peers within the family took place in French, and Creole was forbidden at school. Yet Creole was certainly neither forgotten nor unspoken. As the language of the sugar plantation realm, it was tainted as inferior and was generally used with domestics, peasants, and workers. To impress and acquire respect, one had to use French. No honorable city dwellers in wealthy households would address their children in Creole, but these same parents did not hesitate to entrust their offspring to the daily care of the *da*—the in-home nanny—who more often than not spoke in Creole.

Folktales give some indication of popular representations of Africa. Many key heroes are animals, each symbolizing a specific character trait. Although most come from Caribbean fauna—hare, ox, horse, porcupine fish, mullet, mouse, dog—some African animals, such as tiger, lion, and macaque,[69] are also present and integrated into the Caribbean scene. Macaque is "clumsy, sometimes ferocious, envious, often ridiculous, but at the same time of an extreme drollness"; Tiger, "symbol of brute strength associated with oafishness, is often paired with the most popular figure of the tales, Hare, whom he serves as a foil"; while Lion is the important figure to whom all other animals must show deference and obedience: "Almost always presented as some type of governor, above others' quarrels, he represents remote and all-powerful authority. He rarely intervenes in person, and usually delegates to intermediaries."[70] Strong and unmatched, Lion governs a world that exists beyond the control of the white Creole. Another key figure of Caribbean tales is Zamba. Never clearly depicted, Zamba is

associated with Hare, which Maryse Condé identifies as the Hyena of the West African tales, also associated with the Hare.[71] Lafcadio Hearn also recorded the presence of Elephant in the tale "La Bleu" for instance, where Lion and Elephant are two of the animals the heroine begs to put an end to her life in order to deliver her from her pain. Only Elephant, who knows quite well that sorrow "is a meal that cannot be digested," will satisfy her wish and "send her to Heaven."[72] These African animals are often portrayed in an ambivalent manner. Sometimes brutal, clumsy, or unfit for the world they live in, to some extent their behaviors can be perceived as ridiculous. On the other hand, they are also seen as potent figures and represent a remote authority to which it is always possible to appeal, and like Elephant they know the weight of sorrow. Their power resides in their magical skills, which make it possible for them to overcome all obstacles.

Other references to Africa are made through the figure of King Béhanzin, whose presence in folktales is an indication of the impact of his stay in Martinique. He is found in at least two tales of the Ti-Jean gest. A central figure of traditional tales, Ti-Jean is a young boy whose adventures generally follow the same pattern. Born into a poor family of the countryside, he leaves his mother at an early age in quest of fortune. As he embarks on his initiatory journey, Ti-Jean demonstrates ingenuity and cunning and takes advantage of any situation. Authoritarian, persistent, and rather unscrupulous, he overcomes all obstacles. Nothing and no one can resist him, and by the end of his journey he usually returns home a wealthy man. In *Ti-Jean La Fortune*,[73] it is the protection of King Béhanzin that allows him to become rich. Ti-Jean visits only the powerful—kings, it is said—to whom he declares that Béhanzin is his master. His use of this African name finally gets Ti-Jean to his goals. In a footnote, Ina Césaire and Joëlle Laurent remark that King Béhanzin was said to be well known for his magical powers. In the tale, Ti-Jean's last trick is to use a corpse and make believe that it is Béhanzin's son. The cadaver is that of a young and beautiful mulatto whose skin is so light that—according to the tale—he could pass for white. And those to whom Ti-Jean presents this dead body are by no means surprised that this light-skinned adolescent is said to be the son of the Dahomean king. His light skin color is in fact seen as an additional attribute of power and is used to underline Béhanzin's potency and royal rank, which ultimately benefits Ti-Jean. The figure of Béhanzin also appears in the tale of *Julina*, along with three other sovereigns: Pépin le Bref, Charlemagne, and the Prince Chéri. Each of them intervenes at a key moment when the heroes are in difficulty. Interestingly, the tale places France's eighth-century kings, Pépin Le Bref and his son, Charlemagne, on an equal footing with Béhanzin, as they are all presented as famous and powerful sharpshooters.

Overall, references to Africa are generally allusive, and the tale "Pourquoi l'eau de la mer est-elle salée?" ("Why is seawater salty?") is a rare example of direct reference to this continent. Yet, as the main object of the tale, Africa remains a central but inaccessible dream. It is the source of all hopes and the goal toward which all efforts are directed but yet remains elusive. The tale relates an aborted attempt of slaves to run away and return to Africa. They leave the island with their master's secret of power but are unable to fully remember the magic formula. While they are crossing the Atlantic the charm backfires and all die at sea.

An Ambiguous Reality

French Caribbean Textbooks and Local Realities

Constructed as a response to prejudice and discrimination, assimilationism did not reject local realities, as long as they fitted the frame defined by French values. In this perspective, anything African was often perceived in an ambivalent way, close but remote, sensible but ridiculous. Given the importance of education in the formation of Caribbean societies after 1848, it is important to note that at the primary level, the curriculum did allow for the use of a few textbooks that included aspects of Caribbean reality in their narrative. Thus, although education had to follow French curriculum, it was accepted that teachers could supplement their courses with such textbooks. The authors of these books were often important figures of the Caribbean school system, who acted as mentors and role models for generations of future French Caribbeans, including *administrateurs des colonies*. Lenis Blanche, Oruno Lara, Maurice Satineau, Paul Laporte, Jules Lucrèce, Marc Larcher, and Césaire Philémon published early historical accounts of their native region. Professor of French and Latin at the Lycée Carnot of Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, Lenis Blanche left his mark on several generations of students. While studying in France, he founded the Association des étudiants guadeloupéens in Paris in 1927; in 1935, he published *Contribution à l'histoire de la Guadeloupe* and three years later *Histoire de la Guadeloupe*.[74] Oruno R. Lara was born in 1879 in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, of parents who had both been slaves. He first worked as a printer and then became a journalist. In 1907, he founded the weekly review *La Guadeloupe Littéraire* and published *La Guadeloupe dans l'histoire* in 1921, which received awards from the Académie de Rouen and the Société de géographie de Paris and was acclaimed by Guadeloupean deputy Gratien Candace in 1923.[75] Maurice Satineau, deputy from Guadeloupe and director of *La Dépêche Africaine* and of the daily *La Voix du Peuple*, published

Histoire de la Guadeloupe sous l'Ancien Régime (1635–1789) in 1929,[76] an account that focused on Guadeloupe prior to the abolition of slavery. Two other important textbooks in use before World War II in the French Caribbean colonies were *La Guyane des écoles* by Paul Laporte and *Histoire de la Martinique* by Jules Lucrèce.[77] Paul Laporte, a Guyanese teacher born in 1875, was an ardent defender of republican values, but he was nevertheless struck by the lack of texts on Guyanese life. He thus undertook to gather documents and interviews, and in 1915 published *La Guyane des écoles*. In the same vein, Jules Lucrèce, a schoolteacher and principal in Martinique who had taught Joseph Zobel, affirmed, "Martinique, as well as Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Réunion commonly designated by the inaccurate expression of French colonies, is in fact a French department . . . By its historical past, which for three centuries merges with that of France, by the trials endured in common, but above all by its will and by its heart, it aspires, by complete assimilation, to be an integral part of the great and generous French nation."[78] Published in 1901, *A travers la Martinique ou les vacances de Gérard* by Marc Larcher, a schoolteacher, took inspiration from the popular French textbook, *Le Tour de France par deux enfants* by Giordano Bruno to give its readers a taste for Martinique's realities. And *Les Galeries martiniquaises* by Césaire Philémon, then employee of the Customs administration in Martinique, provided information on the island's economic and social situation.[79] The book was featured in the first issue of the *Revue du Monde Noir* of the Nardal sisters with a mention of the award of Officier de l'Ordre Universel du Mérite Humain received by Philémon from a certain Société Internationale de l'Elite Humaine in Switzerland.

Yet, the existence of the textbooks in no way meant that French curriculum should cease to be the focus of education. The role of the school system was to prepare the new cadres of the society but also to provide tools to fight racist attacks and demonstrate Caribbean ability to perform on the same level as French students.

The French Context: Assimilation versus Association

These attacks were indeed countless. In France, with the expansion of the empire, assimilation was being questioned. By the end of the nineteenth century, debate over race raged and was progressively organized into scientific discourse, which in its turn increasingly influenced colonial doctrine. During the course of the Third Republic, while French Caribbeans embraced their brand of assimilationism, official colonial theory evolved from assimilation to association. When the first was presented as the alignment of colonial societies according to French standards, association was

supposedly leaving more room for local decision-making. This was a turn that French Caribbeans were not ready to accept. To them, the only rational evolution was to enjoy full citizenship and get rid of the status of colonized citizen. Trained and shaped by republican ideology, they accepted the idea that human groups had not all reached the same degree of development. However, they were also confident that the right brand of colonialism could allow for satisfactory changes. If they might consider that association or a combination of it with assimilation would be better adapted to certain groups, it was out of the question in their own case. Thus, from a Caribbean perspective, the shift from assimilation to association, which took place in France, was considered a threat, and it seemed imperative to ensure that it would not involve the French Caribbean.

At the International Colonial Congress in 1889, Gustave Le Bon asserted, "In short, one must consider as dangerous chimeras all our ideas of assimilating or Frenchifying any inferior people. Leave to the natives their customs, their institutions, their laws."[80] Léopold de Saussure further argued that French colonial policy could, at best, help improve existing native structures but in no way remodel them in the image of French ones to make Africans French citizens. The new orientation in colonial policy was affirmed at the Congress of Colonial Sociology held in Paris in 1900. One underlying fear was of the political representation that would come with assimilation. As the assimilationist project was officially designed to lead the colonized toward citizenship, an incidental consequence was that white nationals would become the minority. By unanimous vote, the congress adopted the resolution that "local administrative organisms should be maintained," as well as native institutions, customs, and education. Any move toward assimilation was deemed ridiculous or dangerous. By the 1920s, association had become the official doctrine.

Even participation in the French armies that Caribbeans considered to be one of the core claims of assimilationism, was under attack. In August 1913, the socialist Maurice Allard signed an article titled "Colonialism," published in *L'Humanité,* the organ of the party:

> If I believe Mr. Henry Bérenger [the Guadeloupean senator], I must have as much affection for Gabon, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, or Dahomey as for the corner of earth where I was born, in good old Touraine. The soil of our colonies, he says, is as much French as the metropolitan soil. He would not allow one to say that our colonies, old and new, are not part of France.
>
> Therefore, according to these strange formulas, the Motherland is no longer the country of our language and our traditions, the soil where our parents, our ancestors, and ourselves were born, the milieu where developed, from generation to generation, what we call our national genius. Paris, Lyon,

> Marseille, Bourges, Dijon, Bordeaux, Rennes, Tours, and Poitiers should not count more in our eyes than the village in eastern or western Africa that we have just snatched by fire and sword from some wretched negroes forced by our conquest to parade around, in the guise of slaves, either in the Bastille Day parade, or at the fair of Neuilly, or in the place de la Nation. These Gabonese, Dahomeans, Cafres and Boschimen, although devoid of all civil rights and endowed with a vocabulary of up to a hundred words, are French in the same way, apparently, as Mr. Henry Bérenger.

Particularly appalled by the recent Bastille Day parade, in which for the first time natives from all the colonies had been included, Allard continued by denouncing what he called neopatriotism, which he deemed an aberrant form of nationalism. It no longer consisted in fighting for the Motherland but rather in defending or conquering new colonies. For Allard the conquest policy was not only despicable to the (true) French people, but it also ruined the national budget and jeopardized home security "to the benefit of some prince of the Republic who reigns over the sixty million 'French' from our colonial empire." Striking up the refrain of France's depopulation, Allard viewed colonization as a frivolous enterprise, which depleted French resources for the benefit of its European competitors. He concluded, "I only know of one France: the European one, and I affirm to M. Bérenger that I am intellectually much closer to a German than to the primitive and ludicrous blacks hired by M. Etienne to enhance the prestige of the Bastille Day review. As much French as they may be, I prefer my neighbors from Germany to them. A line by Goethe or by Schopenhauer gives me more satisfaction than the contortions of the sixty million "French" who create the joy of M. Bérenger."[81]

French Assimilationism: A Response to Racism

Assimilationist views embraced republican values as they were considered to be efficient weapons to fight racism. They were also conceived as responses to attacks on French Caribbean legitimacy to be considered as humans and citizens. These attacks were countless. In 1930, a French traveler to Guyane wrote a description of Guyanese society in which he ridiculed the emerging elite: "A few blacks are able to become attorneys, physicians, administrators, thanks to the obstinate efforts of a laborious memory, thanks to the very generous financial help of colonial governments—a help that unfortunately our elite does not receive—thanks to the leniency of faculty committees, and these black intellectuals are half-scholars of a smugness that would be unbearable if it were not ludicrous."[82] At school as well, students were confronted with racism. In Martinique a

white teacher at the all girls' Pensionnat Colonial aroused a protest when she gave her students the essay topic, "Why does the sight of the African negro make whites laugh when he dresses like a European?"[83] This teacher's choice of topic was the unforeseen outcome of an investigation led by *La Revue du Monde Noir*, which in its second and third issues had opened the debate over blacks, clothing, and racism. Readers had fervently discussed the point, and in Fort-de-France the students of the elitist Pensionnat Colonial affirmed that they were not about to forget their African origins.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that images of Africa promoted in popular movies were unbearable. During the period between the wars, French Caribbean screens were saturated with images of the empire and colonial movies. One particular movie struck memories and to this day is still remembered by some. *Bozambo*, titled *Sanders of the River* in its original English version, was a rare film featuring a black actor, with Paul Robeson as one of the main characters. A typical colonial movie, *Sanders of the River* launched the career of Zoltan Korda, received widespread acclamation, and soon became an international success.[84] It presents an Africa where half-naked black bodies, necklaces, and white teeth occupy a good portion of the screen. Bozambo is a Nigerian chief, played by Paul Robeson, who helps British colonial administrators in their conquest of Africa. The character of the African chief is so caricatured that Robeson himself disowned the movie, which had been presented to him as a dignified representation of African cultures and peoples but turned out to be a grotesque parody. In the French Caribbean reception of the movie was ambivalent. On the one hand, it was praised—for once blacks were among the leading characters—but on the other hand the image of the African chief was so disgusting that the term Bozambo was mocked and used as an insult to signify black brutality and bestiality.

In this context, the nomination of the Guyanese Félix Eboué as governor of Guadeloupe in 1936 was a decisive step in the assimilationist history of the French Caribbean. For the first time, a black man was nominated to the highest level of the administrative hierarchy. This was a day that Eboué himself had confessed he had thought would never arrive. Writing to his friend Yvon Delbos, the French politician, Eboué commented, "Our people of the Antilles and Guyane have reacted with enthusiasm, and the feeling was put into words by a man in the street the other day at Basse-Terre who shouted [when he saw me]: 'Vive la France!' I found that beautiful and I was moved by it. This was my first recompense; I dedicate it to you."[85] In another epistolary exchange with Guadeloupean deputy Gratien Candace, Eboué received this response from Candace, who saw the event as an important symbol of assimilation and racial harmony: "The important thing is that each black who has a high post says to himself that he is an

example for all . . . It is up to us to prove that our brain is not inferior to that of our white brothers. Let us thank France for permitting us to prove it."[86]

Yet direct confrontations with Africans could erupt in racial outburst. For instance, in Guyane a battalion of *tirailleurs sénégalais* had been stationed since 1928, when they arrived to restore public order after the riots aroused by the death of Jean Galmot. They stayed in Guyane until after World War II and were regularly mocked by the population. In 1946, an incident after a movie showing sparked violence between Senegalese and Guyanese locals and provoked two days of riots in Cayenne; the Senegalese were repatriated.[87]

In any case, attitudes toward racial issues were complex, oscillating between embrace and rejection. When racism was fought, the canons of beauty still equated light skin color and attractiveness. Assimilationism was a call to access full citizenship, to ensure that they would not be maintained at the margins of humanity, and to dispel the view that Caribbeans still needed to be kept in the status of colonized subjects. It was armed with this intricate and ambiguous outlook that French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* left for Africa.

3

The Colonial Administrative Machinery

One day, Macaque discovered a corn field beautifully planted, ripe, and ready to be eaten. Knowing that the owner was none other than Tiger, he set about to steal the appetizing ears to eat them in a safer place. As he was busy looting the field, Macaque did not pay attention to the fact that Tiger had seen him. Furious, the feline roared for revenge, shouting that the monkey's final hour had come. Strolling by was Maître Herménégilde Tortue, president of the tribunal. In his role as magistrate, he put an immediate stop to the slaughter to come and declared that Macaque had to be tried in court. The judicial system would condemn him, and if the case were found serious enough, Macaque would even be handed over to Tiger. Frustrated but reassured by the decision of the man of law, Tiger agreed to free Macaque from his grip, only to be later ridiculed in court.

A central character to many tales of Guyanese folklore, turtle is often presented as an agent of the colonial administration.[1] Always associated with power, he sometimes appears as a notary, other times as a magistrate of the colonial administration. Turtle uses the prestige and respect conferred onto the judicial system to cunningly resolve problems and make his way out of difficult situations and faux pas. "Mai' Elphège Toti, Notaî di Rouè" is one of the many tales collected by Michel Lohier.[2] Born in 1891, in the village of Iracoubo in Guyane, he entered the colonial administration first as an employee of the customs, then became a teacher, and in 1932, he was charged by the governor with the preparation for the celebration of the tercentenary at the archives of Guyane. Yet as he was making his way through the administrative hierarchy and was officiating at the assimilationist festivities, Michel Lohier was also spending much time gathering elements of Guyanese oral tradition. Under the pen name of Irac Oubo, he published in 1962 *Légendes et contes de Guyane*, an anthology of tales collected from his grandmother and other elders.

Lohier's trajectory as well as the character of turtle in the tales testify to the place of the colonial administration in French Caribbean societies. A major employer in the French Caribbean, it provided civil servants substantial advantages such as job security and retirement pensions. Throughout their careers employees of the colonial administration received a salary established by set rules and sheltered from the whim of the plantation realm. If they were victims of unfair decisions, the administration provided ways of appealing their cases. Even when the system malfunctioned, it offered guarantees that could be found in no other employment in the colonies and it allowed for promotion on merit rather than crude exploitation justified by skin color. Civil servants enjoyed a status that often contributed to the rapid social rise of their families and bestowed respectability on them. In fact, the many advantages of their situation made colonial administrators the incarnation of a new ideal.

The Third Republic was a period of great expansion for the colonial administration at large. As France established colonies in Africa and Asia, the role of the administration rapidly increased. In Africa, French colonies were organized into two federations, French West Africa (AOF or Afrique Occidentale Française) created in 1895 and French Equatorial Africa (AEF, Afrique Equatoriale Française) established in 1910; Madagascar was incorporated into the empire in 1896, while Togo and Cameroon became French protectorates after World War I. At the top of the administrative hierarchy was the Ministry of Colonies in Paris under which were the general governors of each federation and each colony had its governor, who reported to the governor general of the federation. Each of these governors had at his disposal a local administration arranged into various cadres, which was opened to citizens and subjects; and a central administration, the *corps des administrateurs des colonies*, which was open only to citizens and responded directly to the minister of colonies. Thus the colonial administration seemed to offer the sleek appearance of a well-organized institution where all employees came from France and were all white. In fact, the reality was far more complex, as the colonized made up a significant portion of the personnel. There were several reasons for this. First, the fact that for a long time, the colonial climate was deemed fatal to whites, and it was not until the end of World War I that hygienic conditions in the tropics were thought to have sufficiently improved to be bearable for them. Life overseas was considered difficult, sometimes even dangerous, and in France volunteers for such posts were scarce. It was only in the 1920s that the empire, particularly the African colonies, became a respectable destination for those in search of promising professional opportunities. Second, and in direct line with the first argument, natives of the colonies were considered to be "naturally" cut out for settlement in those climates

in countries the French generally considered unhealthy, depraved, or even hostile. These various factors conjoined to give a very specific shape to the colonial administration as, early on, it comprised within its personnel a large proportion of colonized people.

The Climate Issue

Organized in Paris in 1894 by the explorer Gabriel Bonvalot, the Comité Dupleix was charged with collecting data to familiarize the larger public with the opportunities offered by colonization. In 1907, it funded an investigation among governors, traders, and settlers of the empire to determine whether or not one should go to the colonies.[3] The published report, which focused on the possibilities of agricultural settlement, was very critical of the colonial administration, deemed a scrounger. The reader was strongly warned against colonial migration, and it was explained that tropical climates were not suitable for Frenchmen. The high mortality rate of whites in the colonies only reinforced these anxieties. Between 1887 and 1912, 135 civil servants out of 984, that is 16 percent, died in service in the colonies. Retired colonial administrators died on average 17 years earlier than their colleagues of the same age who had positions in France, and in spite of an improved hygienic situation in the 1920s, almost a third of the 16,000 Europeans in AOF were hospitalized for an average period of two weeks each year.[4]

French doctors discussed the climate issue at great length. Until the nineteenth century, it had been widely accepted that whites could become accustomed to tropical climes provided specific precautions were taken. By the 1830s this view was being challenged as increasing numbers considered the cost of safe settlement in such climates too high. Eric Jennings has shown how these arguments sprang from the debate between "monogenists" and "polygenists" in the nineteenth century.[5] The former decided that whites might reside in the tropics after a period of acclimatization; the latter considered that acclimatization was inconceivable. In fact, polygenists viewed white immigration as abnormal since, no matter what the conditions of acclimatization might be, white organisms would have to endure modifications that seemed too extreme. From these two schools of thought two options emerged. On one side were scientists who considered it unwise even to contemplate white settlement in tropical latitudes; on the other were monogenists who attested to the possibility of white settlement on condition of long-term acclimatization. Throughout the nineteenth century, the monogenist option found itself under increasing attack, reflecting national anxiety over the realities of colonial expansion. Although acclimatization had its followers, fears mounted concerning the

human cost of colonization. In fact, as the empire expanded, the medical profession seemed to be more and more in agreement that migration was dangerous for whites. Acclimatization would only bring about racial degeneration, which in some situations could even be mortal. White physical and mental abilities could only be altered and damaged in the colonies. Acclimatization was at best an illusion, at worst a dangerous and mortal pitfall. In response, hygienists such as Georges Treille explained that altitude and constant breezes could counterbalance the disastrous influence of tropical climates; places such as the Andes, the Antilles, and Polynesia also could be safe havens for whites[6].

All these considerations informed the preparation of those who were about to take up their posts in the colonial administration in Africa. A specific literature of guidebooks—often written by doctors themselves—provided this neophyte public with an abundance of recommendations for survival. According to these writings, one of the main enemies of young Europeans in the colonies was none other than nature itself. The white man was depicted as imperiled by a particularly aggressive environment, where the fauna and flora had to be approached according to very precise procedures. The sun was particularly to be dreaded, and the newly arrived had to exercise extreme prudence against it for fear of endangering their health, both physically and mentally, or even risking death. Doctors concurred on the devastating effects of this type of climate on whites. In 1910, the famed psychiatrist Paul Hartenberg noted, "Great differences in temperature, the extreme heat and the extreme cold, the intense sun, the abnormal climatic conditions, operate deeply on organisms that are not hereditarily adapted to them."[7] In 1923, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, already a leading expert on colonial medicine put it squarely, "our great enemy, in Africa, is the sun."[8] Drawing from his experience in Gabon, he went on to explain how an apparently innocuous ray of sun could in fact slyly threaten human life. A white man who, during his nap, had been exposed for only a few minutes to the sunrays that filtered "through a small hole in the roof," suffered from a strong fever with delirium. Another one lost his hat while he was on a boat. He promptly tried to cover his head with his shirt and his jacket; alas, it was already too late, and the man suffered from a severe sunstroke. A third example was a captain of a small boat who had to make some repair onboard, but "in the ardor of the work, he did not realize that the sun reached him on the nape under his topee. He nearly died."[9]

It was thus declared that any change in climate required a preliminary adaptation and, if this did not occur, nutritional, circulatory, and even sensory disorders were to ensue. And yet, although admitting that such acclimation could be possible, Dr. Hartenberg remained convinced that the white man was irreparably unsuited to this climate, as in tropical latitudes

diseases developed in the organism in a particularly pernicious way. In his *Manuel d'hygiène coloniale*, Dr. Pierre Just Navarre[10]—who had formerly served in the colonies—explained the observed disorders as the result of a perpetual struggle between the milieu and the individual, which the latter would always lose. He presented the following picture:

> We have frequently interrogated many of these so-called acclimated colonists who had spent twelve, fifteen, twenty-five years in tropical colonies with the reputation of being salubrious enough, and who had not experienced any of the great pathological traumas that these lands reserve for the transplanted European, and we have not found a single one unscathed. All were old before their time, either from digestive disorders of the liver or the kidney, or, more rarely, through the circulatory system. They had survived, and that was their sole accomplishment; but when compared to Europeans of their own age, freshly arrived, one could not but notice their irremediable decay.[11]

Simple sunstroke was presented as powerful enough to severely alter the nervous system, and colonials were supposed to constantly protect themselves from this enemy for fear of being irreparably damaged. "The action of the sun striking the head, especially on the nape, primarily when the subject is immobile or asleep,"[12] or even intense heat could provoke particularly grave troubles such as hallucinatory delirium that could push some to suicide. Drawing from his experience, Dr. Navarre established an impressive list of the diverse changes endured by the white man placed in tropical climates. According to him, the main organs and physical functions likely to be affected were respiration, circulation, skin, liver functions, digestive secretions, and the nervous system. He also identified a specific form of anemia, which he qualified as "tropical." In 1910, Hartenberg established another classification of these troubles, and noted that the "tropical liver"—a congestion of the liver supposedly caused by heat—was the most serious one. Doctors warned against both the physical and the psychological impacts of these diseases, which could lead to neurasthenia characterized by "depression, sometimes extreme despondency, sadness, weariness, nostalgia, lack of will-power . . . But these passive states of the nervous system are often complicated by other troubles, such as terrifying phobias, irresistible impulses, and acts of cruelty of which colonial annals have recently offered sad examples."[13] Hartenberg had observed several accidents of a hysterical type, which caused somatic or psychological phenomena (paralysis, spasms), pains, or somnambulism, and he had established that they were quite frequent in the colonies. In cases of acute malaria, mental confusion and hallucinations could also appear, and during convalescence a "state of mental confusion accompanied by weakness and great physical and intellectual depression with mild delirium"[14] was

frequently observed. Patients with chronic malaria had to be placed under tight surveillance since the illness often led to brief delirium after each crisis and left "the patient a little confused, a little dazed, with severe migraines and amnesia." Melancholia—called *tonkinite* in the Asian colonies or *soudanite* in the African ones—produced similar effects and was classified as a tropical ailment. Psychological disorders were considered so prevalent among colonials that in 1908 the Congress of Alienists and Neurologists in Dijon expressed the wish that a mental institution be created in each French colony.

Life in the colonies thus appeared as a dangerous challenge. To succeed, French settlers overseas were urged to have an extremely rigorous regimen. Mastering the colonial environment meant respecting strict rules of living, and in order not to succumb to the scourges of the country meticulous hygiene had to be observed. Hence the multiplication of precepts and instructions to be followed daily, the only conditions for a potentially successful migration. Dr. Gérard de Parrel announced that "any person enjoying good health, unscathed by any pathological mark or organic lesion, can live with no danger in the colonies, on condition that he submit to the rules of tropical hygiene: to be sober, to husband one's physical strength, and to make oneself rich in moral energy."[15] Preparation for colonial life started in fact before leaving metropolitan soil with the choice of the right outfit, including clothes that should be neither too hot nor too tight and without forgetting headgear preferably equipped with ventilation. But, warned Hartenberg, even when these recommendations were followed, European acclimatization could never be taken for granted, and the individual had to protect himself continuously, through precautionary cleanliness and a diet that had to provide all necessary nutrients to resist the aggressive climate. Advice given to new administrators in the various guides to colonial life went far beyond personal care. Indeed, white survival in the colonies was dependent on perfect mastery of the environment. In town, whites protected themselves by clustering in a specific neighborhood, but in the bush it was quite a different story. Regarding life in the French Sudan, Paul Bastien believed that "living in negro villages is particularly dangerous, because of their habit of spreading feces around their cabins and because of their extreme grubbiness."[16] The building of a white habitation had to meet exact criteria regarding materials used and location. Dr. Parrel recommended keeping one's dwelling at a good distance from the indigenous villages—which he declared dirty and unhealthy for the European—nor should it be located on damp ground, near a pond or stagnant water. The degree of precision in these rules was extreme, and norms were decreed even for the building of the most efficient toilet system.

To master the environment, colonial administrators were expected to have a good knowledge of these supposed threats, and the curricula of the

Ecole Coloniale included courses on climatology. However, since this would not suffice to make up for the white man's inability to fully acclimatize to tropical climes, it was imperative to look for men supposed to be naturally adapted to life in such latitudes. Some doctors and other observers of tropical life had established a typology of those persons who, according to them, were most apt to flourish in such service. Dr. Navarre assessed the various criteria of age, constitution, and sex, and for each he indicated a number of precepts. He reached the following conclusions: young men had little resistance to colonial climates, as had lymphatics, obese persons, those with a strong tendency to sweat or to dyspepsia, and women in general. On the other hand, he strove to demonstrate the supposed natural qualities of blacks in relation to this kind of climate. The question of acclimatization could be debated in certain cases, but it seemed to be the general consensus that blacks did better than whites. In his *Manuel d'hygiène coloniale,* Pierre Just Navarre stated that "without being immunized against malaria, dysentery, and hepatitis, the black has less sensitivity to these afflictions . . . But immunity is not absolute and could be lost by a stay of several years in temperate climates. It looks much more like a vaccination than an acclimatization."[17]

Colonial guidebooks stressed the sanitary situation of the diverse parts of the French Empire. From this hygienic standpoint, the Caribbean colonies received better evaluations than other French possessions, yet did not equal those of metropolitan France. Sanitary evaluations followed the colonial hierarchy, which placed the old colonies right after the Motherland. In spite of progress in sanitary matters, even in the Caribbean colonies there continued to exist certain "colonial" diseases, and this was interpreted as a sign of the unfinished character of the colonies' evolution. In 1931, the *Guide des colonies* reviewed the various diseases observed in the empire to give a picture of the sanitary state of each region. It emphasized the fact that yellow fever was not endemic in Guadeloupe—the last case dated back to 1902; no case of smallpox had been reported there since 1872, and there had been no cases of plague or cholera for over a century. The situation in Guyane was more ambivalent; of the three Caribbean colonies, it had always been considered the least civilized. In the early nineteenth century, the high mortality rate of whites had already led to doubt as to the possibility of any successful settlement in this region. In 1831, the minister of the navy and the colonies declared, "It is more than time that we abandon these ideas, which experience has condemned once and for all."[18] And with the establishment of penal institutions, the image of Guyane as a deadly colony did not improve.

The Climate Card: A Double-Edged Sword

Caribbean colonial administrators themselves sometimes used these climatic arguments to ensure their promotion. In 1901, Charles Venance Alexis applied for reinstatement in his post in Senegal in the following terms, "I am a native of Martinique where yellow fever appears rather frequently and there, just as in Senegal, Creoles have nothing to fear. Besides, I have been in residency in Saint-Louis for five years, the entire time the epidemic that broke out last year lasted, without suffering from it. I have been on leave for three months. I long to be in my post."[19] In 1921, the colonial administrator in chief of the province of Tamatave was satisfied with the services of his assistant, the Guadeloupean Louis Joseph Félix La Barbe, and noted in his personnel file, "During the current epidemic of plague this civil servant presided over the commission that decided which buildings to destroy, and he carried out his duties with courage and abnegation deserving a reward. I am asking that he be nominated colonial administrator in chief, second class, as an exception to the general order of promotion."[20]

In fact, despite these assertions and zealous examples, Caribbeans were severely affected by colonial disease. William Beaudu, a native of Le Carbet, Martinique, who had started a career as appeals judge in Dakar in 1899, was repatriated because of yellow fever in 1900. The governor of Senegal criticized him for leaving the colony, "Mr. Beaudu, who was shielded from the epidemic by his origin, could have rendered greater service had he stayed in Senegal."[21] Requests for convalescent leave were countless, and many *administrateurs des colonies* were given early retirement because of poor health. The Guyanese Léon Félix Soret, who had been a magistrate in Ivory Coast and Guinea, died in Dahomey on May 2, 1915, from a generalized tuberculosis.[22] Frédéric Joseph Esor from Cayenne, after spending seven years in Guinea and eight months in French Equatorial Africa (AEF), left Bangui on January 4, 1916, for health reasons. Upon arrival in France, he was hospitalized for a month, and it was then declared that his health would not allow him to return to his post.[23] On January 25, 1934, the Guyanese Robert Hippolyte Hermine died at the Val de Grâce military hospital in Paris. The Superior Council of Health had clearly established a connection between his colonial stays and the disease that killed him, which entitled his widow to later receive a pension from the colonial administration.[24] The state of health of the administrators was often so critical that they frequently spent most of their period of service on convalescent leave. On October 13, 1928, the director of the labor service, who was Guyanese Ludger Joffroy's superior, noted laconically: "I have known Mr. Joffroy for only a few weeks. Since August, he has been either sick in his room or in treatment at the hospital of Pointe-Noire, where he still remains."[25]

An Administration Largely Composed of the Colonized

Beyond these climatic considerations, the use of the colonized in the administration was quite systematic. It was in fact an integral part of colonial policy. Employment of the colonized was a necessity without which the colonial process could not operate efficiently. Recruitment of the colonized in the administration only replicated other previous experiments, as even before the establishment of a colonial administration in Africa, they were employed in various places such as construction sites as well as in the military. Analysis of the local cadres is delicate to carry out due to the multiplicity of these administrations, since each governor had the capacity to establish cadres according to the needs of his policy. Although many documents were copied to the Ministry of Colonies in Paris, complete records concerning the management of the local agents were generally kept in the colony. Many of these documents have been lost, and thus far no systematic evaluation of these archives has been done. However, decisions made by the governors clearly show that early on the choice had been made to hire Africans in large numbers in these local administrations, which resulted in the simultaneuous employment of subjects and citizens at the local level.

Even before the establishment of a colonial administration, Africans had been employed by the French on several instances. For the Africans, it was an occasion to gain some advantages from the French presence on their soil. For the French, it was a necessity. Colonialism required the use of colonized within the administrative machinery itself. On several occasions, African labor had been used in the empire. Along the coast of Africa itself, a migration movement had been generated in order to provide manpower for construction sites. Senegal largely supplied sailors and workers for construction, excavation, or the docks in Gabon, Ivory Coast, and the southern rivers in Guinea. These men were brought in on naval ships and sent back at the end of their contracts. They were also in demand in colonies such as the Independent State of the Congo or even on the American continent, where African workers had been also shipped to the Caribbean colonies after the abolition of slavery or recruited during the building of the Panama Canal.[26]

In the military also, Africans were used extensively and made up a large proportion of the troops. Making the practice official, Governor Louis Faidherbe established the first battalion of *tirailleurs sénégalais* by the decree of July 21, 1857. These *tirailleurs* were mainly slaves brought from their owners under a contract that they certainly never had a chance to discuss in person. The payment of a premium to slave masters contributed to a considerable increase in the number of workers, rising from 3,000 men in 1890 to 13,000 in 1910 and 170,000 who served during World War

I under the 1912 military law. Their recruitment went far beyond Senegal, and the term *tirailleurs sénégalais* bore a generic meaning applied to most African soldiers. Placed under white command, they were used in all wars of conquest across the continent, which called for an organization of these regiments at the local level. In the Congo, the governor established the body of the militia in 1897, formed of about 630 Africans directed by 15 whites.[27] The first militias were recruited in Senegal, but as these men began to show increasing reluctance to participate in these prolonged campaigns, their recruitment decreased. As General Houry, supreme commander of the troops of AOF, reported to the governor general in AOF, "I fear that all these levies in favor of the Congo end up seriously harming the recruitment of [*tirailleurs*] by repelling the natives from Senegal . . . The colony of the Congo should start recruiting among the inhabitants of this country."[28] Thus in 1902, the Congolese militia comprised two groups, one native and the other foreign, mainly Senegalese. However, despite these dispositions, *tirailleurs* continued to be used extensively throughout the empire and even beyond: in the Crimean War, in Guyane after the death of Jean Galmot, in the Mexico campaign, and in the 1870–1871 French war against Germany.[29]

Since the early times of colonization, when the French developed their administration in Africa, they also made large use of African employees. The first administrative cadres to be organized for recruitment were those of interpreters, created as early 1845 in Algeria, 1892 in Dahomey, 1895 in Sudan, 1897 in Ivory Coast, 1901 in Guinea, 1906 in Mauritania, 1910 in Haut-Sénégal-Niger, and 1914 in Equatorial Africa.[30] The interpreter occupied a key position in the colonial process, and many Africans launched their administrative careers in this capacity. They were indispensable to whites, who could not speak local languages. The importance of these men was reflected in the ambiguous relations that whites developed with them. On the one hand, no European could pretend to impose his rule without turning to an interpreter, but on the other hand interpreters had to be maintained in a subordinate position. In fact, their very presence reveals the contradiction of the colonial system, which could not operate without them. They became buffers of the colonial policy as they simultaneously embodied the possibilities of the system as well as its limits. Thus Africans were to be employed only in specific positions. Because of their key role, interpreters are a perfect example of the position of African colonial civil servants in the administration. At the slightest mistake, their use of the French language was ridiculed. Scorning them was a way to stress the line between colonizers and the colonized. By the very nature of their employment, interpreters were placed at the margins of the colonized world, and constant reminders of their linguistic blunders were meant to signify

that no matter the circumstances they remained on the side of the colonized. The use of interpreters surpassed translation's requirements; like other colonized subjects—whether Africans or Caribbeans—employed in the administrative system, they were essential to the functioning of the colonial system. On the one hand they were expected to showcase the advantages of working under colonial rule, and on the other hand their mistakes were supposed to indicate their own limitations at mastering the colonizer's universe. Even André Gide, who traveled to Central Africa in 1925 and published in his *Voyage au Congo* a critique of French policy in this region, pointed out the ineptitude of interpreters on several occasions. He noted how some French enjoyed disparaging Africans in their presence, as a reminder that "the French can't be fooled." Gide himself portrayed African interpreters as absurd agents of colonialism unable to understand the French language properly. A village chief, who did not adequately answer Gide's query about the reasons why cassava had not been harvested on time, was labeled stupid. To the French writer it was clear: "Generally, the 'why' is not understood by natives, and I even doubt that an equivalent word exists in most of their idioms. I had already observed, during a trial in Brazzaville, that to the question: 'why have people deserted their village?' the invariable response was 'how, in which manner.' It seems that the brain of these people is unable to establish a cause-and-effect connection; (I noted this on many occasions during this trip)."[31] Gide spent some time teaching French to Adoum, a young man whom he had found "intelligent," but in spite of Adoum's "moving application," Gide saw Adoum doomed to poor intellectual development: "How foolish the white oftentimes demonstrates himself to be, when he is indignant at the stupidity of blacks! Yet I continue to believe that they are capable of only very limited development, the brain numb and sluggish most of the time in a dark night—but how many times does the white seem to strive to plunge them in deeper!"[32]

As perfect buffers of the colonial administration, Africans who could speak French were hired in priority, and in fact the goal of the educational system in Africa was primarily to train agents for the administration. Specific structures were needed for the instruction of local staff and in his circulars of October 5 and November 11, 1896, Galliéni stressed the importance of teaching French to prepare young Malagasy for administrative careers. He also outlined the ways in which local personnel were to be employed. "Native civil servants had to become agents of French authority, its spokespersons to the populations. In order to be correct interpreters of the letter and the spirit of our orders, it was indispensable for them to be familiar with our language, which had to be for them the best instrument of adaptation to our ideas."[33] To this effect, the Le Myre de Vilers School

was established on January 2, 1897. Initially conceived as a normal school for local teachers, it also assumed the training of future local civil servants.

In his law dissertation published in 1939, Guy Fenard further explicated the conditions of recruitment: "The modalities of this use have varied according to the stages and the forms of our domination, according to the progress of French moral influence in the native society. First of all, to administer effectively populations whose mentalities and customs are so different from those in Europe, it became indispensable, in the lower levels of our administration, to make use of local elements chosen within the elite of the country in order to ensure contact, a liaison with the mass of the natives."[34] Hiring local civil servants was not left to chance. It was clearly understood as an integral part of the colonial policy and could vary depending on the needs, depending on the available means, and depending on the populations and groups under consideration. The employment of the colonized was certainly not incidental and was in fact a key tool of colonial policy. From the early years of the colonial period, colonized were methodically recruited in the administrative cadres. As was noted in 1894, "We are in direct relation with populations in whom it is important to inspire confidence in order to attract them to us permanently. We need, to help us in this task, zealous agents who have sufficient knowledge of our language and in whom we can have complete confidence. The first condition for recruiting these agents is to provide them with a decent situation and offer them a position that would be superior to what they might find in trade."[35] This remark is attributed to General Alfred Amédée Dodds, a Senegalese mulatto who himself had pursued a career in the French army and participated in several colonial campaigns. As he led the attack on Porto-Novo, Dahomey, and received King Béhanzin's surrender, Dodds came to symbolize colonial agents of French rule. As the French expanded their administration, it became necessary to make further arrangements for the employment of Africans. On May 24, 1911, Minister of Colonies Adolphe Messimy defined the main lines of the policy to be followed in these terms: "At the present time, there is a large number of subordinate positions which do not require of their incumbents any special competence and which do not bring into play any responsibilities that are entrusted to metropolitan agents. This practice has to disappear. European agents must be in our colonies agents of direction and control; it is in their interest, just as it is in the interest of the service, that they should not be appointed to subordinate positions."[36] Governor General of the AOF William Ponty sent a copy of this document to all lieutenant governors and added that this policy had been under consideration for a long time: "As far as native cadres are concerned, you can see that the importance of this question does not escape me. Numerous ministerial orders creating cadres of local native

clerks of the post and telegraph, of interpreter, etc., were issued during the course of last year and again even more recently. Efforts made in this direction must be continued. Native cadres must allow us to suppress all subordinate positions that until now have been entrusted to Europeans."[37]

As Africans were recruited for new administrative occupations, new cadres were created within the local administrations of each colony. In Madagascar, for instance, as early as the late 1890s a general native administration was established in order to place at the disposal of the French an office staff able to relieve them of daily paperwork. Since the most pressing issue was the language, a body of interpreters had been organized by the decisions of April 2 and December 25, 1897. Following was the organization of the body of clerks in July 1900. In 1896, there were already 50 interpreters; four years later, the total number of interpreters and clerks was 138 (88 interpreters and 50 clerks), and five years after that it had reached 431 (115 interpreters and 226 clerks). In practice, clerks and interpreters were often used for the same tasks, and the two cadres merged in 1904. Malagasy employees were also hired in the post and telegraph, education, medical assistance, and even topography.[38] Despite their various names, similar local administrative bodies assumed more or less identical functions in all other colonies. For instance, the police force was called *garde de cercle* in Dahomey; the *gardes régionales* in the Congo;[39] in Ivory Coast, the *garde civile indigène* had been suppressed and replaced by a *police indigène*. These police forces were placed under the authority of an *administrateur des colonies*, but they could be mobilized and then placed under military authority if necessary. Employment of Africans continuously grew, leading to increasing numbers of local cadres. The decree of July 17, 1926, declared in its article 1 that presidents of native courts could, in rare instances, be replaced by civil servants from the local administration who had previously been approved by the governor general. The ministerial decision of January 10, 1929, instituted seven superior cadres in the services where Europeans were not represented in sufficient numbers. Competitive examinations were organized for these positions. But interestingly, the list of positions in Africa opened by the decree of February 23, 1928, was much shorter than the one for Indochina. For Guy Fenard, the "difference of evolution and civilization between the groups of colonies easily explains this situation."[40] Indeed recruitment of the colonized varied according to the origin of the colonized employed.

The French carefully played on local considerations and traditions as they recruited the colonized to the colonial administration. For instance, in Madagascar, the French administration purposely recruited among the Merina people. According to Galliéni the Merinas' educational level was higher than that of any other group on the island, and their past

administrative experience could only be an asset in the colonization of the island. Indeed, after deposing the Merina monarch in February 1897, the French drew heavily on the administrative staff of the overthrown regime. The local administration already existing in Madagascar was explicitly used to facilitate the French presence "because it was impossible for a foreign European power settling in this new country to do without native agents, intermediaries between the authority of this power and the mass of the population. This use of indigenous agents has varied depending on the stages and the conditions of our domination; it has followed an evolution whose source is the Hova administration."[41] In all segments of the French colonial administration, Merina people represented the majority. Out of 4138 Malagasy employed between 1896 and 1914, Merina made 59 percent of the total. They also dominated all offices, as they comprised 86 percent of clerks and interpreters, 85 percent in the education department, 70 percent in the police, 70 percent in the post office, 90 percent in the railroads, and 84 percent in public engineering.[42]

Yet despite their increasing representation in the colonial administration, African employment had to remain circumscribed within certain limits and follow specific rules. As subjects, they primarily made up the lowest levels of the administration, while the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies* was reserved for French citizens only. Additionally, specific rules had been established to limit the options of those Africans who were hired. For instance, in Madagascar, natives could take the civil service entrance exam, but they could not go further than the position of clerk first class.[43] Similarly, by a decision on April 1926, the governor general of the AOF decreed that African agents could not request a change of cadre even if they passed the required examinations. In this manner, they were prevented from rising in the administrative hierarchy and from transferring to a more prestigious cadre with higher salaries. "It should not be possible any longer for a native agent to tell himself that, at any moment, on any occasion, if he is not satisfied with his current situation or with the one that he could expect in his cadre, he still has the possibility to change."[44] Only in rare cases, justified by serious conditions, would such changes be allowed. The colonial process needed the colonized, but they had to be kept in check.

Local cadres were placed under the direct control of the governor of each colony, who could appoint, promote, and dismiss at will. As a result, the number of local cadres multiplied to satisfy governors' needs. In 1937, in all French colonies in Africa, Jean Benilan, a French *administrateur des colonies*, counted more than sixty thousand colonial civil servants organized into about five hundred cadres, each with its specific status and hierarchy.[45] Due to the profusion of these local cadres, today it is rather

difficult if not impossible to evaluate precisely their numeric importance and thus to precisely determine the percentage of Africans in the colonial administration.

The local cadres made up only the lowest levels of the administration and were the only point of hiring for colonial civil servants who were not citizens. Given that the majority of Africans had the status of *indigènes* and not of citizens, the local cadres were clearly designed for their employment. And indeed, an active policy was led to promote African rather than French employment at these levels. Citizens could also enter the local cadres of the administration, but their employment in such positions was not encouraged. By large the vast majority of French citizens were white nationals, and from the colonizer's perspective whites had to remain in a position of command. This view was only reinforced by the cost of their salaries, which, even at the lowest levels of the administrative hierarchy, was always above than those of noncitizens. Indeed, citizens' pay followed a higher pay scale and was attached to various financial advantages. Citizens were quite mobile in the administrative hierarchy since those hired at the local levels received strong incentives to pursue their career within the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*, and the stage at the Ecole Coloniale offered them their best opportunity to climb up the administrative hierarchy. Yet because there was no centralized management of these cadres, it is impossible to determine the exact number of citizens employed at these levels and even less so the proportion of French Caribbeans among them.

The combination of financial calculations, the needs of the colonial policy, and racist ideology had forged an administrative hierarchy largely based on status, skin color, and colonial origin. Overall the colonial administrative hierarchy was a pyramid, where the bottom layers were primarily black and native. As one climbed up to the top of the pyramid, positions were increasingly occupied by citizens, who were predominantly whites. While the local cadres, which made up the lowest levels of the administration, were largely composed of Africans, the highest ranks were reserved for citizens. As the level in the administrative hierarchy rose, the color of skin became lighter. In the Caribbean, in 1848 the logics of postabolitionist colonial policy had led to granting citizenship en masse in order to create new societies after centuries of slavery. The lesser numeric importance of the Caribbean populations had facilitated such a decision and similar choices had been taken in Africa where the number of French colonies remained limited at the time. Inhabitants of the Four Communes of Senegal were the primary beneficiaries of these dispositions. But by the late nineteenth century, when the French expanded their empire in Africa it became obvious that this policy had the potential to generate a vast majority of black citizens, and access to citizenship was made more difficult. During

the interwar period this policy was even reinforced and Africans were predominantly granted the status of *indigènes* rather than citizens.[46] Whereas only a few Africans could be employed in the *cadre des administirateurs des colonies*, all French Caribbeans could enter this cadre. Yet as French Caribbeans in their quality of citizens also had access to the local cadres, only exceptionally were they recruited at the top positions within the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*. The colonized were needed and recruited, but their very presence was a challenge to the role of the colonizer. By its very nature, the colonial policy required the employment of colonized among the ranks of the colonizers and to overcome this intrinsic contradiction the colonized were maintained in positions of subordination. Even those colonized who were French citizens were only exceptionally appointed at the highest positions of the hierarchy, such as governor or general governor.

Created in 1887, the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* was open only to citizens and therefore closed to the vast majority of natives of the colonies. This administrative cadre was placed under the direct control of the minister of colonies in Paris and the local administrations established by the governor of each colony were consequently subordinated to the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*. *Administrateurs des colonies* were trained to assume extremely diverse positions, which could range from running the departments of the governors' administration in the main cities of the colony to managing colonial circles in the bush. They enforced the law in all matters relating to Africans, but judicial issues involving whites could be handled only by those *administrateurs* who had received the specific training of colonial magistrate.

Since 1892, the Ecole Coloniale in Paris had received the monopoly over the recruitment for the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies*. Yet four other ways to enter the colonial administration continued to be available: the army, the French administration, the local colonial administrations, and degrees from specific institutions. As time passed, these sources of recruitment significantly lost their importance. To standardize the training of these various recruits, the minister decided in 1905 that all candidates for the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies* who had not graduated from the Ecole Coloniale had to spend one year in this institution before entering the *cadre des administrateurs des colonies.* Also known as the stage, this one-year training was sanctioned by a specific degree, the certificate.[47] Students of the stage were already civil servants in the colonial administration, generally in the local cadres or at the lowest levels of the central cadre of the *administrateurs des colonies*. Upon graduation, all received an appointment in the central cadre. The stage contributed to increase the average level of education of the *administrateurs des colonies* and to promote an esprit

de corps within this administrative cadre, as it also helped to maintain noncitizens at the bottom of the administrative pyramid.

The *corps des administrateurs des colonies* had its own hierarchy. The young *administrateur* in training was first placed under the supervision of a seasoned *administrateur* for one year, at the end of which he was generally promoted to the rank of *administrateur adjoint* third class on the governor's recommendation. Dismissals at the end of this first year were rare, and during the course of his career the *administrateur* rose through a hierarchy composed of three main levels: *administrateur-adjoint*, *administrateur*, and *administrateur-en-chef*; each of these levels was itself divided into three classes: first, second, and third. At the top were the positions of governor, lieutenant governor, and governor general.[48]

Administrateurs des colonies embodied France and were predominantly white. However, within this structure, the colonized made up a substantial number of the *corps des administrateurs des colonies*. Indeed, a closer examination of this administration reveals that about 20 percent of the *administrateurs* were themselves colonized. Between 1903 and 1949, 20 percent of the *administrateurs des colonies* were born in a French colony. The highest rate was reached in 1903 with 22.5 percent. Before World War I, slightly more than 18 percent of them were born in a colony. The overall population of *administrateurs des colonies*—all origins included—jumped from 974 persons in 1903 to 2020 in 1938–1939. This evolution occurred mainly between 1903 and 1918: in 16 years the central cadre grew by 1121 new recruits, but in spite of this general increase, the percentage of the colonized among *administrateurs des colonies* was maintained at around 20 percent. This means that when considering their participation in terms of gross results rather than percentages, the number of the colonized in this body doubled between 1903 and 1939. In 1903 there were only 219 employees, and just before World War I there were 410.[49]

Almost all colonies of the empire provided *administrateurs des colonies*. In addition to Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, and Réunion, *administrateurs* also came from North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco), Asia (India and Cochinchina), as well as Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and sub-Saharan Africa, which was the least represented, with only natives of Senegal, Madagascar, and Mayotte at the beginning of the 1920s. The range widens later on in the 1930s, to include Niger, Dahomey, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Ivory Coast, and Sudan. However, the so-called four "old colonies" of Guadeloupe, Guyane, Martinique, and Réunion clearly dominated, and within this group the Caribbean colonies were the most important. In 1903, natives of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane represented 11.29 percent of the total number of *administrateurs des colonies*, while the same year *administrateurs* from the colonies of Asia (India and Cochinchina) were

only 1.33 percent; 0.51 percent were from AOF, 0.3 percent from Oceania, and 0.1 percent from Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. By the end of the 1930s, the proportion of the Caribbean colonies had slightly decreased. This evolution, which did not benefit other colonies, was in fact a consequence of the growth in the global numbers of the whole population of *administrateurs des colonies.* Until World War II, the largest numbers of *administrateurs des colonies* were born in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane, and colonies of North Africa came in second position, with only 2.9 percent of the total in 1903. In 1939, the Caribbean colonies still made up the majority; North Africa had lost its second place to the Asian colonies, which represented 1.33 percent of the total in 1903 and 3 percent in 1939, whereas North Africa declined from 2.9 percent to 1.88 percent. Similarly, the contribution of sub-Saharan Africa, although modest, quadrupled: 1.9 percent in 1938–1939 against 0.5 percent in 1903.

Yet in spite of their presence within the administrative elite, the progress of the colonized did not run smoothly. In their files, many of the French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* complained about the way their careers unfolded as they saw white colleagues with similar experience being promoted before them. They resented having to endure apparently unjustified delays in their promotions. The calculation of the length of their colonial stay was also another source of quibbles with the hierarchy. Promotion was based partly on seniority, and the length of the colonial stay was an essential consideration in determining when an administrator could be promoted and could retire. Many French Caribbean *administrateurs* lamented that dates or reasons for retirement had been arbitrarily decided by the administration.[50] African and Caribbean presence in the colonial administration allowed for substantial savings in colonial budgets. At the local levels, Africans were preferred because due to their status of colonized their salary was consistently set below those of citizens. At the central level, many Caribbeans experienced slower promotion rates, which allowed for lower salaries. Only a handful of these French Caribbeans made it to the very top of the administrative hierarchy; the Guyanese Félix Eboué was the only one ever to be appointed governer general, a trajectory largely made possible by the context of World War II.

Until World War I, careers in the colonial administration were not much sought after in France. The French were just beginning to settle their colonies in Africa, and most destinations seemed dangerous. Recruitment was arduous, and it is in this context that the participation of the colonized must be understood. When it was difficult to find the necessary men to make up the administrative staff, the colonized filled the gap. French Caribbeans, in their position as citizens, compensated for the void at the level of the cadre of *administrateurs des colonies*. Until the 1920s, appointments

were quite open and followed closely the needs of each colony. After World War I, when the material conditions of living in the colonies had tremendously improved for Europeans, when the Ecole Coloniale had finally been organized, colonial careers assumed a much more prestigious character. Whites applied for colonial careers in increasing numbers, and decisions about appointments subtly took these changes into account. For instance, after World War I it became more and more difficult for *administrateurs des colonies* of color, and particularly for blacks, to be sent to one of the Asian colonies or even to North Africa. This is also true for French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*, who were more frequently appointed to Asia before World War I, but after the war they were largely sent to sub-Saharan Africa.

They took appointments in all colonies of AOF, AEF, and Madagascar, as well as in the protectorates of Togo and Cameroon, and even the French possessions in the Comoros and French Somaliland. But AOF was their prime destination, with 591 Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* appointed before World War II; French Equatorial Africa came in second place with 269 Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* in total between 1903 and 1939, followed by Madagascar with 149 of them, and then the protectorates of Togo and Cameroon, which had 60 Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*. Of all colonies, Senegal received the most Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* as 217 of them served there before World War II. Colonies that received the lowest numbers of Caribbean *administrateurs* were generally the ones where the French presence was the most recent, such as Niger. In other cases, the limited number of Caribbeans only reflects a numerically small administration, as was the case for Mayotte, where only ten *administrateurs des colonies* in total came from the French Caribbean before World War II. On the other hand, Cameroon, which became a French protectorate right after World War I, had a larger number of Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies,* with a total of 40 before 1940.

Assignment of these French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* was carefully managed. Blacks and browns tended to be sent to colonies such as the Congo, where whites tended to go only reluctantly. But their appointment to North Africa seems to have been exceptional. The Martinican Marie Sylvestre Victor Basquel undertook a career as magistrate, which first led him to the colonies of India, Guadeloupe, and Madagascar, where he was nominated judge of the court of Diégo-Suarez in July 1912 and later public prosecutor at Tananarive in 1918. In 1920, he applied for a position as judge at the court of Tunis. He had received only laudatory evaluations: "serious knowledge," "perfect manners," "wide juridical knowledge," and "independent judgment," and he was referred to as "one of the young Creoles of color, who by their intelligence, their good sentiments, and their

good manners had acquired the sympathy and the protection of Victor Schœlcher."[51] But in spite of his good recommendations, Basquel was not allowed to transfer to North Africa. The minister commented that "because of an extreme shortage in the judiciary personnel in the colonies, it was desirable that Mr. Basquel continue his career here, all the more since he is black, and his nomination in Tunis could, because of this fact, present some inconvenience."[52]

Unsurprisingly, considerations regarding the recruitment of the colonized closely followed the colonial mind-set, which put France and its empire on a continuum: at its upper extremity the model to follow was the French one. Colonies were distributed on a scale according to various criteria, notably race and duration as a colony. The length of the colonial period was perceived as a guarantee of the evolution of the colonized peoples. The older this link, the closer the people in question were supposed to be to the French ideal of civilization, an idea that was in its turn directly linked to one's race. The recourse to the colonized in the colonial process allowed increasing French influence, as the colonized played a role of buffer in relation to other colonized peoples. Martinique, Guyane, Guadeloupe, and Réunion were supposedly more advanced, more civilized, since they had been colonized longer. A showcase of what the best colonial policy was supposed to achieve, they appeared to represent guarantees of France's colonial success. These colonies benefited from a privileged position within the French Empire, which translated into their status. From the judicial viewpoint, whereas other possessions had two legal systems—one for natives, one for Europeans—only one judicial system existed in Martinique, Guyane, and Guadeloupe.[53] Senegalese born in one of the Four Communes of Saint-Louis, Dakar, Gorée, and Rufisque formed an intermediary group, the *originaires*. They had also been granted citizenship, although most of them were Muslim and could exercise their civil rights in one of the Four Communes. However, their status was regularly questioned and although the 1915 and 1916 Diagne laws confirmed their rights, natives of the Four Communes remained the exception in Africa. With the expansion of the empire and the fear of creating a majority of black French citizens, most of the colonized received the status of subject and were thus subjected to the rule of the *indigénat*. The *indigénat* was used to impose forced labor and to levy taxes; it also gave *administrateurs* in the bush all the powers to make decisions to dispense justice and send Africans to jail without trial. This organization did not mean that Caribbeans were sheltered from racist and discriminatory decisions, but unlike the vast majority of the Africans they were not subjected to the *indigénat* category.

4

The Logics of the Colonial Administration

After a few years in Martinique where he attended secondary school, Léon-Gontran Damas passed his baccalaureate in France in 1926 and two years later settled in Paris to study law and to enter the colonial administration as his family expected. Soon disenchanted by the prospect of a career in the judicial administration, Damas decided to study African cultures at the Institut d'Ethnologie instead. In 1934, his professors Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet, who were undertaking the reorganization of the Musée du Trocadéro, asked him to document African survivals in his home country, Guyane. After a trip back home sponsored by the Ministry of Education, he published his report in 1938 under the title *Retour de Guyane*. Denouncing the impact of the colonial policy, Damas wrote a few acid pages on civil servants. Too numerous to be counted, unable to make efficient decisions, small-minded gossip-mongers, he considered them to be the plague of the country. The French had the upper hand, as they took advantage of their connections to live off Guyanese resources and prevent local development; they were favored over local civil servants whose salaries were lower and who were at a disadvantage for promotion. However, Damas did not consider the latter in a bright light either and found them unable to properly address the colonial situation: "Passive and weak, they are spineless."[1] In 1938 the governor of Guyane ordered the banning of Damas's book.

Retour de Guyane relates to *Pigments*, an anthology of poems published in 1937, considered one of the earliest expressions of the Négritude movement in which Damas actively participated, along with Senegalese Léopold Sédar Senghor and Martinican Aimé Césaire. In both volumes, Damas engages in a virulent critique of the colonial process and denounces its contradictions. The colonial administration was not a place to express critical thinking or creativity or to engage in radical confrontations;

colonial administrators were expected to enforce the rules, not to challenge them. To enter the colonial administration meant to adhere to the principles of the colonial order and if a person found this impossible, two options were available: to conform quietly or to resign. Yet the very same system employed colonized among its colonial agents. French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* arrived in Africa in the ambivalent position of colonized colonizers. Their very presence disrupted one basic principle of the colonial world—the existence of an insuperable line between the colonized and the colonizer, and Caribbean presence in the administration was only one more piece evidence of the contradictions of the colonial system. Precisely because of these contradictions, French Caribbeans were expected to don the clothing of the colonizer; there was no room for faux pas. To navigate the convolutions of their ambivalent status, they used networks of various kinds and approached their situation with a certain dose of pragmatism.

Networks

A key component of any career in the colonial administration was one's ability to establish and maintain networks to provide some stability and support. Networks could be of various kinds, and influential connections were highly desirable. But beyond this political patronage, many other type of networks were necessary to maneuver through the administration. French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* could draw from a variety of connections, some of which were also accessible to white French *administrateurs des colonies*, and others that were specific to the very nature of their status of colonized citizens. The logic of the colonial situation required networks that belonged to both the public and the private spheres.

For many French Caribbeans the decision to enter the colonial administration had been facilitated by the fact that a family member or a close friend was already in it. Through the example of these men, a career in the colonial administration appeared as a reachable goal. The ramifications of these networks were complex, not only because an *administrateur* could be related to some of his colleagues, but also because many families were acquainted and belonged to the same social milieu. Family networks could indeed be intricate and the following examples are excellent illustrations of these multilayered connections. Maximilien Liontel,[2] president of the high court of Dahomey between 1900 and 1901, was the uncle of Félix Eboué, with whom he carried on a regular correspondence while Eboué was in post in Africa.[3] Liontel was also the uncle of the Guyanese Joseph Frédéric Esor who, inspired by his uncle, entered the colonial administration and

went to Guinea and the AEF.[4] Eboué himself was related to the Lhuerres, who counted several *administrateurs des colonies* within their family, some of whom had stayed in Guyane but others who had gone to Africa.[5] It was at the wedding of his cousin, Camille Lhuerre, in May 1912 that Eboué met Eugénie Tell, his future wife. She was the daughter of Herménégilde Tell,[6] an *administrateur des colonies* who spent his career in the penal administration of Guyane. Louis Courbain, another Guyanese, who entered the colonial magistracy in Guadeloupe in 1929 and was assigned to Senegal in 1937,[7] has been identified as Eugénie Tell's half-brother.[8] It was logical that one of Félix Eboué's sons, Robert Max, followed in his father's footsteps and entered the Ecole Coloniale in 1945, after which he was appointed to Madagascar and Senegal.[9] Similarly, the Martinican Attuly brothers—Etienne, Robert, Clotaire Osman, and Lionel—all decided to become *administrateurs des colonies* following the path of their father, who had been an employee of the local administration in Martinique. Etienne was the only one who did not make a career in Africa as he stayed in Guyane.[10] Robert, certainly the best known of the four, had a brilliant career as a magistrate in Senegal, the Sudan, and Cameroon; he was appointed prosecuting attorney of the court of AOF in 1931 and president of the appeals court of AEF in 1934. Clotaire Osman, the third brother, graduated from the Ecole Coloniale, Africa section, but was killed in action in 1915 during World War I. Finally, Lionel entered the colonial administration in 1932. He spent most of his administrative career in AOF but died in 1956 in Tananarive. Some families even settled in Africa over several generations. For example, the Martinican Charles Venance Alexis arrived in the Congo in 1890 and stayed until 1896, when he was appointed to Senegal, which is where he retired. He spent fifteen years in Dakar with his wife and their three children, Antony, Osman, and Inès. Antony became a lawyer and registered at the bar of Dakar, while his brother Osman entered the colonial administration in Senegal.

Although French Caribbeans were assigned to all colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, it seems that the administration, sometimes purposely, appointed them to regions that already had a high Caribbean presence. When Félix Eboué first arrived in Brazzaville in 1909, he insisted on being sent to the hinterland rather than staying in the city and serving in the office of the governor. At his next stop in Bangui he reiterated his request, and the lieutenant governor responded, "I will send you to Bouca where you will be with M. Vendôme, an experienced *administrateur* who will teach you your profession . . . M. Vendôme is a Guadeloupean, but understand that these posts are difficult to hold, my young friend!"[11] In some cases, Caribbean presence was made noticeable by white French reluctance to join certain posts. For instance, the number of French Caribbean *administrateurs des*

colonies appointed in the Congo seems to have been quite high. Between the 1890s and the 1900s, I have found an impressive list of French Caribbeans in post in this colony: Télamon Marie Stanislas Albert, Maurice Marie Lucien Le Merle de Beaufond, Venance Charles Alexis, Jacques Philippe Loisèle, Joseph Marie Pierre Henri Cléret, Paul Louis Nerval Céline, Emmanuel Fays, Ambroise Gilbert-Desvallons, Joseph Léon Jean Baptiste Butel, Michel Hippolyte François Albert Bouchaut, Charles Albert Edwige, Pierre Justinien Didier, Joseph Georges Michel, Louis Benjamin Monsée Kair, Arthur Henri Cougoul, Georges Constant Joseph, Paul Edouard Hippolyte Eugène Vadès, and Folicide Elionnel Boutin. Another example is the region of L'Ouham, in Oubangui-Chari, referred to by the whites as "Creole Road,"[12] and in the 1910s Oubangui-Chari counted the Guadeloupean Louis Auguste Vendôme (1909–24);[13] Robert Hermine (1910–17);[14] Just Louis Isidore Poujade (1910–17);[15] Herménégilde Maran; and Félix Eboué. Brian Weinstein also adds the names of René Isambert, Narcisse Simonin, and Ajax Saint-Clair, who were probably employees of the local administration in the region around that same period.

Two Guadeloupeans denounced the role of the concessionary companies in the Congo. The Guadeloupean Joseph Léon Jean Baptiste Butel had been sent to the Congo in 1907 to inspect the concessionary company of the M'Poko. His mission lasted a full year, and he left no doubt as to the responsibility of the company in the murder of about 2000 Africans: "this was no accident, from the beginning the exploitation of the territory had been 'based on crime.'"[16] Butel's report was a document weighing 12 kilograms, which led to the indictment of 236 persons, but only 17 Europeans. At the time, the judicial system was headed by another Guadeloupean, Arthur Henri Cougoul, who worked in coordination with Butel and verified all information provided in the report. Butel's superiors recognized him as an upright administrator and praised his courage, but legal proceedings were not pursued and the affair was hushed up.[17]

These networks also extended to Africans, some of whom shared interests with French Caribbean colonized citizens. This was particularly true for the natives of the Four Communes of Senegal—the *originaires*—whose status was close to the Caribbeans. At least until World War II, *originaires* expressed their goals in terms that were reminiscent of the French Caribbeans', as one of their main demands was access to full citizenship. During the elections of 1919, Amadou Duguay-Clédor, one of Blaise Diagne's lieutenants and a teacher, wrote in *L'Ouest Africain Français*, "We want the unacceptable institution of a native administration to disappear as quickly as possible; we need a system that will admit all candidates under the same conditions, whether they are Senegalese or come from the métropole."[18]

Another key figure of this group was the Senegalese Mody M'Baye, who also expressed views that were close to French Caribbean assimilationism. In a series of articles published in *La Démocratie*, he explained that there were two categories of French: "One who served France loyally and believed in the principles of 1789 and another only interested in making as much money as possible in Africa before returning to France." He explained that Africans had to differentiate between the two, "treating the first with respect while despising the second."[19] Mody M'Baye, a clerk of the colonial administration, had lost his position after organizing a network, which he used to gather precious information on the administration. When he requested reinstatement as a teacher, he was turned down, and as a public writer he became a critic of the French colonial administration. Wesley Johnson has suggested that M'Baye was able to establish connections outside of Senegal with at least one Caribbean representative, the Guadeloupean Alexandre Isaac, through the Senegalese Creole Louis Huchard, M'Baye's attorney and Isaac's friend. Because he had denounced the actions of the colonial administration in Siné-Saloum, M'Baye was sent to jail. He protested that as an *originaire* he could not be subjected to the *indigénat*—the legal system reserved for the majority of Senegalese who were not citizens. He alerted his connections, lodged a complaint with the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, and was finally released.[20] Key in this final victory had been the role of the Martinican Antony Alexis who was the president of the Ligue in Saint-Louis in 1913. Alexis, whose father and brother had been *administrateurs des colonies* in Senegal, was a lawyer by profession who also participated in local politics and was a city counselor and a member of the general council of Saint-Louis between 1919 and 1920.[21] Alexis's role is interesting as it testifies to the many connections established at the time between Africans and French Caribbeans. On several occasions, French Caribbeans proved to have common goals with inhabitants of the Four Communes as they shared the same interest in regard to their fight for civil rights.

In Dakar in 1912, some Senegalese clerks, teachers, and interpreters gathered in an informal group, which they named *Les Jeunes Sénégalais*. Interested in culture, sports, and politics, they followed events in France, but on the political level, *Les Jeunes Sénégalais* complained that they did not receive the same career advantages as their white colleagues did. Like Mody M'Baye, their push for equal rights and full citizenship paved the way for the election of Blaise Diagne. *Les Jeunes Sénégalais* had also established connections with various French Caribbeans who served in the local administration of Senegal, and G. Wesley Johnson indicated that they were particularly close to the Guadeloupean Rémy Nainsouta, a veterinarian in

the colonial administration, who impressed them "with stories of Negroes participating in local politics in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane."[22]

Another key figure of Senegalese politics at the time was Blaise Diagne. His trajectory reveals the situation of many other Senegalese who, like him, were born in one of the Four Communes. Diagne's career helped him develop connections with French Caribbeans. Before he became a central figure of French politics during the interwar period, Diagne had been an employee of the colonial administration in Guyane where he met Herménégilde Tell, Félix Eboué's father-in-law. Diagne remained close to the Tells, even after he left Guyane, and when Eugénie Tell married Félix Eboué, the two men developed a close relationship. They met on various occasions, and Diagne often supported Eboué's career. In Guyane, Blaise Diagne had also met Marc Saint-Yves Monnerville, Gaston Monnerville's father. Marc Saint-Yves was a former employee of the colonial administration, who had been fired because of a disagreement with the governor of Guyane, after which he had sworn that his children would never serve the colonial administration. When his son, Gaston, graduated from law school, he wrote to Diagne, as he was at the time considering becoming a lawyer and settling in West Africa.[23]

The first black African to be elected deputy to the French National Assembly in 1914, Diagne had closely tied claims of citizenship to participation to World War I. The ways in which he envisioned this fight were very similar to Caribbean claims regarding the "blood tax." A young deputy, Blaise Diagne had been charged with recruiting additional soldiers in Africa. He arrived with extensive powers, as *Commissaire de la République dans l'Ouest africicain*. Locally, this appointment was considered an outrage, since Diagne, a black Senegalese, had a number of white French officers under his command. At least one French Caribbean, the Martinican Louis Placide Blacher, participated in Diagne's mission. Blacher toured French West Africa with Diagne between January and August 1918.[24] The mission was a success, and Diagne was responsible for recruiting over 63,000 soldiers, a much higher number than the 40,000 initially expected. Diagne campaigned for obligatory military service for all *originaires* as a pledge that their rights as citizens would be confirmed. In a meeting in Saint-Louis, he declared, "They say that you aren't French and that I am not French! I tell you that we are, that we have the same rights."[25] It was his action that led to the enactment of the law of September 29, 1916, which stipulated that "the natives of the *communes de plein exercice* of Senegal are and remain French citizens subject to military service as stipulated by the law of October 15th, 1915."

On these common grounds, Caribbeans could become on some occasions spokespersons for the Africans. A "*Déclaration des notables*" of August 3, 1914, and a "*Pétition de la Jeunesse de Porto-Novo*," published in

the *Journal Officiel* of Dahomey on August 15, 1914, signified that in this colony as well the elite were concerned about their status. They viewed the conflict as a means to improve their political situation and volunteered to serve in the army. The Guyanese Emile Galliot, an *admisnistrateur des colonies* in Dahomey from 1906 to 1918, prepared a petition that intended to bring these issues to the attention of the administration.[26] One of the main points of the petition underlined that Dahomeans wanted to serve in the national army, not the *tirailleurs sénégalais*.[27] It was for them a case of human dignity. Their call met the goals of Governor Charles Noufflard who was trying to convince the youth of Porto Novo to enlist and created a favorable context for Blaise Diagne when he took his recruiting mission to Dahomey. Similarly, the Guadeloupean Jean Symphorien Henry Jean-Louis, who was a judge in Brazzaville and Tamatave, Madagascar, became the judicial counselor of Richard Duala Manga-Bell and of the chiefs of villages in Cameroon. In 1926, Jean-Louis, also known as Baghio'o, resigned from the colonial administration and registered at the bar in Brazzaville, Congo, where he stayed from 1926 to 1933. As a lawyer, he actively helped them draft two petitions to the League of Nations against the colonial administration—on August 11 and December 19, 1929—requesting that France's mandate in Cameroon be removed to allow for direct administration.[28] In Paris, Baghio'o became an ardent member of various associations that defended blacks in France and the colonies.

Petitions seem to have been particularly *en vogue* among French Caribbeans as a means to defend Africans from the arbitrary of the colonial situation. Another petition from Cameroonian chiefs was brought to the attention of the League of Nations. This time it was the Guyanese Vincent Ganty who helped in the preparation of the document. For a few years, Ganty's tumultuous career had led him to the local administration in Guyane. Following a first conflict with the hierarchy, he was recalled in 1909 but later reinstated. In 1922, Ganty was appointed to Cameroon but resigned two years later and then decided to become a masseur and a talisman seller. As he dedicated increasing time to politics, he tried to give a religious façade to his activities and in 1927 founded La Science Chrétienne Réunie du Cameroun, a religious institution. Ganty also established a Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre in the colony and became the spokesperson of the Duala people. He was thrown out of Cameroon by the colonial authorities, and he continued lobbying for the recognition of Cameroonian rights in France. On the promise of an annual salary of 4000 francs, he founded the Groupe Ganty de Défense des Citoyens Nègres Camerounais et Amis des Nègres and in 1931 sent a petition to the League of Nations denouncing the practices of the colonial administration, notably concerning railway and land expropriations.

French Caribbean Freemasons

Freemasonry was another place where Africans, particularly those among the Westernized elites, and Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* met and shared their experiences, forged a common discourse, and built networks. Freemasons were numerous in the colonial administration, and they played a considerable role in the political life of continental France under the Third Republic. In fact, it is difficult to examine the colonial administration during this period without considering the role of Freemasonry in the Ministry of Colonies.[29]

In a letter sent to their Paris office, members of Les Pionniers du Niger lodge indicated that *administrateurs des colonies* represented almost all of their members: "Nine-tenths of the population of the colony are civil servants and the same proportion is to be found within our lodge."[30] Similarly in October 1930, members of the Aurore congolaise lodge also counted a majority of *administrateurs des colonies* among their members: two civil servants, two teachers, three officers, and three magistrates. *Administrateurs des colonies* generally accumulated multiple memberships, following their appointments from one colony to the next as well as their stays in Paris. Typically, they retained their memberships in the lodges of their native colonies, thus reinforcing their network. These connections were in turn strengthened by the many ties that existed between various lodges. For instance, the Guadeloupean lodge Les Disciples d'Hiram was affiliated with La Clémente Amitié in Paris.

By the end of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the French policy of extensive imperial conquest, colonial issues had come to be among the most important topics dealt with by the Grand Orient de France (GODF). Thus, in 1899 France et Colonies, a lodge dedicated entirely to colonial issues was created. "The expansion of the French civilizing mission outside of France" was defined as "one of the main points of the republican platform," and in the period of intense conquest at the turn of the century Masons understood Freemasonry to be "the conscious soul and intelligent will of the Republic." The objective assigned to the new lodge was "the study of colonial matters" and also "to strengthen the ties between Freemasons overseas and in France."[31]

> To Colonize! Hasn't France understood all the concerns, responsibilities, and duties contained in that word? And we, Freemasons, who have the ambition to keep alive in our Temples the pure flame of this French spirit, the universal torch of justice and freedom, have we understood the greatness of the task accomplished? To colonize, for a nation like ours, is not just to conquer territories, to open markets, nor even to create reserves of peoples, it is to

> spread one's civilization, to institute order where barbarism used to be rife, to bring light where darkness used to reign.[32]

To respond to the growing interest in French colonial policy, it was decided to create institutions specifically dedicated to this matter. At the Convention of 1908, it was agreed to appoint to key Masonic positions brothers who were closely linked to colonial interests and to organize a Permanent Committee of Delegates of Colonial and Overseas Lodges.[33]

Despite this favorable context, the creation of new lodges in the colonies themselves was not always an easy task. On December 4, 1907, the vénérable of Les Pionniers du Niger indicated that before the creation of the lodge the three brothers who knew each other in the colony used to gather at night in the bush, "in a place from which the surroundings could be observed."[34] But two years later, these brothers were asking for the intervention of Masonic authorities in order to protect the interests of republican civil servants, especially Masons. They denounced the situation of the colony, which had already drawn attention because of "the exactions of its civil servants and their acts of cruelty against the natives; they remained under the influence of those who had worked against individual freedom and continued the arbitrary traditions of the governors who had been appointed to the colony."[35]

Masons prided themselves on defending a humanistic brand of colonialism that was compatible with republican values. Their adherence to their republican credo echoed favorably with French Caribbeans, whose assimilationist perspective placed these republican ideals at the core of colonial policy. Work ranked high as one such positive value of the republican colonial project. In March 1918, L'Aurore Congolaise joined the lodge Imerina of Tananarive in its wish to see "public powers urgently take the necessary steps to prevent natives from being parasites and to make sure that each of them produces work that is compatible with everyone's skills." Similarly, Masons in Brazzaville declared that they could not tolerate inaction. Work was seen as a virtue and was not to be questioned. In reality, in the colonies and in particular in AEF, this glorification of wage labor more often than not was the same as giving a blank check to the concessionary companies. However, working conditions during the building of the Congo-Ocean railway were criticized. When Parliament was about to vote on a loan to AEF, L'Aurore Congolaise enjoined Freemasons elected to the French National Assembly and journalists to demand the end of exploitation. "The construction of the Brazzaville-Ocean railroad is being pursued despite important defects, by means of heavy financial sacrifices and in violation of the principles of civilization." Denouncing the recruitment, which had been particularly

murderous, "the human chattel columns," the use of women and children when men had been decimated by this work, the Masons of the Congo warned against the resistance that was mounting in the region of the Haute-Sangha and the Moyen-Congo. Ultimately, the brothers of L'Aurore Congolaise held the governor responsible for these injustices. In July 1930, they contacted the brothers of the Council of the Order of the Grand Orient to denounce "the intolerable consequences of capitalism and the frenzy of particular interests which would not give in."[36]

In Guinea as well, Masons led the offensive against what they called the real "headquarters" of reactionary civil servants: "The railroad, the treasury department, the post office, civil engineering, customs, education, the registration department, the cabinet of the governor, etc., etc.—are in Guinea services where employees have to accept the tyranny of their superiors, all of whom form a reactionary clan which won't allow agents to invoke the text that governs their status in response to harassment." Masons denounced a situation that they described as "all-out war" and of which they considered themselves to be the first victims. They also questioned Governor General Merleaud-Ponty's role.[37] Although he was himself a Mason, they considered him too weak when it came to Masonic issues: "We were hoping that the Mason who has been appointed governor general of AOF would look after Masonic interests, anywhere in this territory. This hope is today pitifully disappointed." They particularly resented the fact that he had let republican ideals be scorned and was too shy when it came to defending Masonic victims of the arbitrary Christian missions. At this period, Masons of this lodge felt particularly endangered. Several of them had been transferred to other colonies, which was understood by those who were left to be a very hostile action against them. When the vénérable himself was threatened, he did not protest directly to the administrative authorities, since he believed that potential retaliations might endanger the future of the lodge. The situation was considered so alarming that in December 1911 it was decided to end the lodge's existence.

To French Caribbeans as well as some Africans, Freemasonry seemed to open the doors of a new reality, ruled by justice and equality. This was best illustrated by the appointment of colonized to key Masonic positions. The Guyanese Félix Eboué, the Senegalese Blaise Diagne were some of the most illustrious examples. Blaise Diagne had been initiated into Freemasonry in Réunion in 1898. Following the course of his career, he later joined several lodges and became a prominent member of French Freemasonry. He was appointed vénérable to the Loge Pythagore, in Paris from 1922 to 1924. He was the first black to become a member of the Conseil de l'Ordre du Grand Orient de France in 1922 and was also a member of the Permanent Committee of overseas lodges. His appointment as spokesperson to the

Masonic Convention of 1922 was highly significant. He had to emphasize the importance of his own role: "To say it all, the Convention, by nominating me as its spokesman, affirms the unity of the human family in all its sublime definition."[38] In the speech that he gave, Diagne particularly stressed what he considered the open-minded attitude of Freemasons regarding colonization and criticized American brothers who refused to allow blacks to enter their temples—a decision that, for Diagne, was in opposition to the position of the International Masonic Congress. According to Diagne, only white Frenchmen could be considered true Masons:

> When we proclaim and practice here that there will be no distinction established between men based on racial differences or any origin, we are the Integral Masonry. When we work here to push for Reason and Science, with no dogmatic consideration, we are the true Masons . . . Thinking now of the history of the world, I see one race—mine—that during more than four centuries remained in servitude, dominated, traded like chattel to the four corners of the universe. Brutal strength oppressed us to the benefit of universal selfishness against all generations that, during this painful period, succeeded one another in the adversity of slavery, which was institutionalized and legalized by those who lived off of it. It was only by the end of the eighteenth century that, under the influence of the great thinkers whose legacy Freemasonry justly claims, the French Revolution broke the chains of servitude and freed black Humanity. The Republic of 1793 consolidated this freedom that the First Empire, right after the monarchy, again suppressed. Finally, in 1848, with the Second Republic, we saw the rebirth of black freedom, never to disappear again. Do you understand, my brothers, why we who come from this race owe everything to the Republic, we are forever attached to it, conflating it with Freemasonry?[39]

Yet in spite of an officially colorblind policy, issues of color were always lurking even among Masons. In 1906–1907, some brothers asked the Grand Orient for authorization to create a lodge in Dahomey. This apparently innocent request quickly revealed profound conflicts regarding race. Parisian authorities opposed the creation of a lodge in that colony and claimed that the situation was not favorable at this time. Behind these vague responses, the origin and skin color of the Masons seems to have been a major factor. Many white Masons considered that blacks and mulattos were too numerous in Dahomey, especially in the higher positions: "The white element or rather European, does not exist, except among the notables."[40] To these brothers, the influence and the numerical importance of the French Caribbeans within the administrative structure could not be tolerated: "The Governor is a Creole from Guadeloupe, and we are invaded by Creoles from the islands. But this is not the worst as far as race is concerned, because they

are whites. The worst is that those Creoles form a clique and that Creoles necessarily have the upper hand in the assignment of seats."[41] A letter from one of these Masons to the *Grand Orient* confirmed: "There are three principal parties in the colony: Governor Marchal's party, Creoles of Guadeloupe; the party of Secretary General Lhuerre, mulatto from Guyane, and the party of Administrator-in-Chief Proche, who is between the devil and the deep blue sea." European Masons considered mulattos uncontrollable, unclassifiable, and untrustworthy: "In the colonies, the negro element takes over, the bellicose and heinous spirit against whites takes over, and mulattos, when they have a share of power, think only of hazing whites."[42] In these conditions, it was recommended that there be very strict supervision of mulattos' initiation, because "as many mulattos as there are in our house, there are as many traitors," and that they should be initiated only in France. According to this brother, mulattos should be initiated only on condition that they not leave France and would be forbidden to solicit affiliation in other colonies. These rules were not permitted by Masonic regulations, but they do reveal an overall atmosphere.

Colonial Life

In spite of an extremely conventional vocabulary in their annual evaluations, it is possible to identify a number of recurring themes and behaviors among French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*. Comments such as "esprit de discipline" or "grande capacité de travail et de dévouement" were frequently used to describe them. One recurring source of positive evaluation was their relations with Africans. The various superiors of Clément Antoine Edwige seem to have particularly appreciated his knowledge of some African languages and that he knew "how to remain calm and to impress Europeans as well as natives whose mentality he knows."[43] In 1936, the governor general of AEF wrote, "This very valuable administrateur has a deep knowledge of natives supported by the best qualities of intelligence, work, and activity; he is one of the civil servants upon whom all our action in this country depends."[44] Similarly, in 1912, the governor of Madagascar wrote to the minister to recommend the Guadeloupean Marie Jean Fernand Paul Monroux in these terms: "In this region [district of Tsiombe], nature and indigenous populations make the stay particularly difficult for Europeans, who are deprived of all resources indispensable to existence. Water is scarce, and the inhabitants backward, not very hospitable. By his tact and his keen comprehension of the mentality of the population of the southern part of the colony, M. Monroux has been able to maintain tranquility in the country."[45] In 1939, the chief of the region of Yaoundé evaluated the

Guadeloupean Adrien Marie Joseph Julien Marcel Trébos in the following manner: "He has been able to impress the natives under his command and has earned from them, therefore, genuine respect."[46] Similarly, in 1934, when he was chief of the subdivision of Campo, his superior, the district chief of Kribi, noted that "because of zeal, inexhaustible patience, and benevolent and firm authority, he has been able to obtain very appreciable results from apathetic populations and natives resistant to progress. Under his intelligent and sustained leadership, the greater welfare of a whole retarded region has much improved."[47] Positive evaluations first meant that French Caribbeans were considered reliable agents of the administration. They succeeded either by violence or by persuasion but in any case achieved what were considered good results. The nature of their work varied and not all of them had Africans directly under their command.

Positive notes of appreciation were necessary to the advancement of *administrateurs*, thus it is not surprising that *administrateurs des colonies* were generally evaluated positively. Only grave insubordination called for direct negative comments. But beneath the very refined and polished vocabulary of the evaluations, it is possible to note the stirrings of criticism in terms that were sometimes veiled but in any case clear enough for the governor to decide whether to promote or not. Such negative evaluations could be made for various reasons. Yet brutal, abusive, and violent behavior was not systematically sanctioned. In 1931, under Governor Louis Placide Blacher, a native from Martinique, Niger suffered from a prolonged drought combined with a locust invasion. A serious famine followed, causing over 20,000 deaths among Africans. The famine had been aggravated by the action of the administration, which had continued to demand the same results from the harvests as during any other year. In 1932, the Ligue Française des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen revealed the situation to French politicians and asked for an investigation to determine the responsibility of the administration in the famine and the resulting deaths. The scandal could not be ignored, yet Jules Brévié, governor general of AOF, concluded that the disaster was the consequence of peasants' apathy and indifference as well as of Blacher's lack of experience. Blacher, on the other hand, accused his predecessors, including Brévié himself who had been governor of Niger in the 1920s. The investigation asserted the responsibility of the administration, and Blacher was relieved of his duties as governor.[48] However, he continued to serve in the colonial administration, and his advancement was only slightly delayed. He became an inspector of the colonies for a few years but then was named governor of Guinea in 1936.[49]

Distance, colonial solidarity, and widespread indifference allowed administrators to reign as despots over the peoples they were supposedly governing. In post in Gabon since 1934, the Martinican Raoul Georges

Louis Saint-Yves was relieved of his position on April 2, 1937, after the rape of Youlou, a young African woman, found dead near his home. In fact, it seems that it was less the gravity of the act than the political orientation of the government of the Popular Front in France that motivated the sanction. Saint-Yves had in fact initially been sentenced to only three months in jail and a deferred fine of 25 francs, a sentence confirmed by the appeals court. In spite of divergent testimonies, the administrative investigation had concluded that "the direct and personal responsibility of Mr. the Administrator Saint-Yves in the death of Youlou has not been established by the investigation. In accordance with the rules, he should receive the benefit of the doubt." The *administrateur* who had led the investigation concluded, "The administrator Saint-Yves has always shown in his functions very sustained activities, thanks to which undeniable results have been achieved in his district." He reproached Saint-Yves for "a lack of tact and political sense in his relations with the natives" but did not conclude that there was any necessity for sanction.[50] The case took a different turn when Governor General François-Joseph Reste decided to bring Saint-Yves before a disciplinary commission. By making this decision, Reste applied the new decrees of the government of the Popular Front, which wished to moralize French colonial policy. On May 2, 1936, he sent a circular to the governors in Bangui, Libreville, and Fort-Lamy in which he laid out the main lines of the new policy: "You are too deeply aware of the highest goals of our civilizing action not to be yourselves revolted by violent behavior that not only brings disgrace on those who exhibit it but in addition brings regrettable disrepute on the entire colony, when the metropolitan public is already entirely too accustomed to being viewed through the deforming prism of recurring scandals."[51] He stressed that "each of you must be persuaded that from now on acts of violence will lead to the trial of their authors with no regard to sanctions taken at the administrative level, whatever may be their rank in the hierarchy. No consideration will stop me in this task."[52] Yet the disciplinary commission to which Reste had passed on Saint-Yves's file asked that only a reprimand be recorded in his file. It was finally Maurice Violette, the minister of colonies himself, who decided to recall Saint-Yves on April 2, 1937. Although Saint-Yves requested reinstatement in the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* by virtue of a law of amnesty of July 12, 1937, the decision was confirmed, since the minister had decided to remove from the scope of the amnesty violence and injury committed by Europeans on the persons of natives.[53]

Colonial life was restricted by multiple conventions aimed at drawing a line between colonized and colonizer and at marking a definite distance between "civilized" and "uncivilized." The presence of the colonized within the colonial group challenged these very principles and underlined the

absurdity and the ambiguity of the colonial project. French Caribbean *administrateurs*' position was untenable and could only be tolerated at the price of rigid behaviors. Caught between the world of the colonizer and that of the colonized, they were constantly asked to prove that they did not belong any longer to the colonized. Frequently their colonial origin was used to comment on and evaluate their decisions. Particularly as colonized colonizers, they were expected to demonstrate deference toward the whites, no matter the level of hierarchy. In the cities, their houses were in the white neighborhoods reserved for the colonizers. In 1894, Lieutenant Governor Auguste Lamblin of Bangui noted that the Guyanese Just Louis Isidore Poujade must "be considered in principle as being a good administrator. However, on two occasions since the beginning of this year, he presented symptoms that revealed a hot temper, and has demonstrated toward two Europeans, a shopkeeper and an officer, a regrettable lack of respect. One of these manifestations prevented him from being promoted and sent to the Ecole Coloniale. One can hope that the delay this caused him will be a salutary lesson for him and that in future he will be calmer."[54] Similarly, in 1932, the chief of the province of Maroansetra in Madagascar believed that the Martinican Félix Marie Edouard Perronette "could make a good *administrateur-adjoint*. He is active, intelligent, and well educated, but he lacks tact toward his European subordinates and sometimes does not hesitate to challenge them in communications addressed to indigenous civil servants."[55]

The colonial administration was not a forum for discussion where one could express disagreement, concerns, and criticisms over decisions made. It was understood that *administrateurs des colonies* were obliged to maintain a certain secrecy and were certainly not expected to publicly question the policy that they were to enforce. Racism was rampant, but there was practically no way to efficiently address such practices. *Administrateurs des colonies* who wished to complain had little leeway. In 1932 in Madagascar, the Guadeloupean Jean Frédéric Andrew wrote to the president and members of the ranking commission in Paris in order to be registered for promotion in 1933. He believed that he had been victim of an unjust delay in promotion, since all his colleagues had been promoted ahead of him.[56] Félix Eboué himself confided to René Maran, among others, his concerns regarding the evolution of his career. Like many of his French Caribbean colleagues, he resented being passed over by younger and less experienced white colleagues. However, such discrimination was all the harder to pinpoint. Eboué initially located the root of the problem in a general disdain for AEF, "the Cinderella of the empire": "Functionaries in AEF are abused," Eboué wrote his father-in-law, Herménégilde Tell, "Mr. Antonetti thought it nice to say that we were the rejects of the corps [of *administrateurs*], the elite having been sent to A.O.F. or to Madagascar."[57] However, as became

clear, the delays he experienced in his career were not only due to AEF's poor image. He thus sought the support of black representatives to the French assemblies, who identified racism as the cause for Eboué's slow advancement. In 1926, discouraged, he contemplated quitting the administration and going into business, but "Maran encouraged him to remain a colonial administrator and promised to do what he could in calls on the Ministry of Colonies about discrimination against Antilleans and Creoles and in articles in reform-minded Antillean publications."[58] When Eboué arrived in Oubangui-Chari in 1928, Maurice Prouteaux, the acting governor, assigned him to Fort-Sibut, one of the most unpopular destinations in the colony rather than Fort-Archambault as he had expected. Pulling his Masonic connections, Eboué complained and tried to get revenge by contacting one of his brothers, writing, "The evil-acting [governor] of Obangui-Chari is a joker; in addition, he is a rotten Jesuit plus a pervert. He heartily dislikes all those of us of color and on the Left,"[59] and he requested Masonic support to prevent Prouteaux from reaching the rank of governor, asking to contact the Freemasons at the highest levels, including the Minister of Colonies Léon Perrier as well as the Director of Personnel Gaston Joseph: "I am counting on you. Take care of it with Maran, and above all, bar the way energetically to Prouteaux, candidate for governor. He does not like us.'" It is not clear whether or not the Masons acted against Prouteaux, but the acting governor was never promoted to full governor.[60]

The case that shook the career of the Guadeloupean Joseph Adrien Bernard Boudoute while he was a magistrate in Libreville is in all respects typical. In January 1894, Djogoni, an African police agent, was about to arrest a prisoner when he was assaulted by Victor Antran, a French clerk. Boudoute, who investigated the case, asked the director of the interior to take the required disciplinary measures against Antran, while he himself was touring the region. Upon his return, Boudoute discovered that no measures had been taken. He wrote to the chief of the judiciary service of Libreville: "I knew from long experience that each time legal actions were initiated against a European, especially a civil servant, public opinion was excited by a few persons who had to deal with justice, and that incidents occurred. Indeed, the European in Libreville unfortunately believes himself to be above the law and persuades himself that the judiciary service can tolerate his misdemeanors, especially when there is a native involved."[61] Boudoute decided to enforce the law and sentenced Antran to 40 days in jail and a fine of 50 francs, along with a written record in the *Journal Officiel*. In his own words:

> It is especially this aspect of the judgment that has plunged a part of the population into turmoil. It is indeed the first time that the tribunal of Libreville

> has ever made use of a prerogative that has been granted by law . . . But it is not without reason, and the most serious reason, that I have ordered this written record. It is notorious that in the Congo Europeans in general allow themselves to abuse blacks and to hit them whenever they see fit to do it. I have always reacted vigorously against these habits that I could not tolerate. Consequently, I have brought profound hatred on myself. What I affirm is so true that Antran, interrogated by the investigating judge who reproached him for being well known in Libreville as brutal, cynically responded: 'I occasionally hit my *boys* just like any other metropolitan does, but these punishments, actually very light, have not exceeded in gravity those that are daily inflicted on native *boys* when they are in the wrong, and by the way I have never received any criticism for this.' . . . In addition, some time ago a high-ranking civil servant committed the same crime Antran was reproached for and hit an indigenous police agent. It is in order to put an end to habits of brutality and at the same time to teach the population that I do not tolerate any violence against indigenous police agents, who are very useful auxiliaries and are generally quite courteous toward Europeans, that I have ordered the insertion of the judgment in the *Journal Officiel*. I have therefore, Mr. Minister, neither overstepped my rights, nor acted thoughtlessly.[62]

Boudoute's position was unassailable from a strictly legal standpoint in this case but was perceived as an intolerable affront by the white community. On April 27, 1894, a petition was sent to the minister of justice and the minister of colonies, in which they explained that "the presence of Mr. Boudoute at the head of the judiciary service of Congo is in defiance of public opinion and an affront to national dignity"[63] and demanded that "their honor and their interests not be at the mercy of this civil servant any longer." Boudoute, who was only guilty of applying the law, was soon transferred to another colony.

Colonial life followed set rules, and disrespect for them could lead to being outlawed from the colonial community, which no civil servant, in his capacity as representative of the colonial order, could afford. These principles were applied with even more rigor toward Caribbean *administrateurs*. To be admitted within the colonial family in spite of their colonial origin, they were not supposed to exhibit any flaws. *Administrateurs*, such as Boudoute, who after all were merely doing their jobs and applying the law impartially, could not avoid quickly facing the consequences. It was easy to damage an *administrateur,* and when attacks could not be carried out on the professional level, private life was targeted. On April 30, 1894, the *commissaire général* of the colony wrote to the minister and admitted that "I never observed any difficulty with Mr. Boudoute as far as his decisions as a magistrate are concerned,"[64] but, he added, "I believe that the incorrectness of his behavior, which has been increasing lately, his

readiness to accept relations that are not compatible with his situation, that the state of his financial resources, which are a constant burden, and finally the excessive freedom of manner of his wife, which does not seem to worry him much, have quite justly alienated general opinion."[65] The *commissaire* of the government was in fact repeating comments made by Europeans in their petition against Boudoute. They reproached Boudoute for contracting loans "from a black woman," as well as for his wife's behavior. It was this document that finally constrained Boudoute to leave the colony. Far from taking up the defense of a magistrate guilty of applying the law, the *commissaire* portrayed Boudoute as a troublemaker: "I am not authorized to intervene, even by way of evaluation, in the matter of justice rendered. What I had to point out was that the interest of justice itself and of the general good demanded the removal of a magistrate whose presence was becoming a source of trouble and against which public opinion was coalescing."[66] Obviously, by applying the law, Boudoute had refused to respect one key unwritten rule of colonial order: never question the colonizer in front of the colonized.

Unsurprisingly, Caribbean presence in the colonial administration translated into racist incidents, which placed white and black colonizers in opposition and therefore questioned the legitimacy of the colonizers. In 1919, during an outdoor movie show in Bamako, Mali, the Guadeloupean Lucien Calydon asked one of the spectators, who was standing up in front of him and therefore preventing him from watching the movie, to sit down: "He was about to do so when he decided to turn to look at the person he was dealing with. He apparently found me too dark for his taste, since he started and immediately took on the airs of a fine gentleman and said in a haughty tone: 'What? A Negro dares to tell me to move away? Will you shut up!'"[67] After the show, the man awaited Calydon with a few friends to beat him up. The governor encouraged Calydon to withdraw his complaint, preferring to start an investigation of discrimination in the colonial administration. On June 1, 1921, the governor of the Sudan received a letter from the minister of colonies regarding incidents that might have taken place between "European civil servants and Creole civil servants." The Caribbeans mentioned were Calydon, Selbonne, and Necker. In his response, the governor quickly dismissed the idea that race might have played a role in any of these three cases. He characterized Calydon as "brutal and rude"; stressed that Selbonne had made no mention of race in his complaint and that anyway he was on leave in France; and added that the case that had opposed Necker to a certain M. Cage, head of the Printing Office, was unrelated to racial issues since Cage used to get mad at whoever took his seat in the bus that went from Bamako to Koulouba. However, in the same letter, the governor did mention that he had to intervene because

Cage "had made toward M. Necker one of the most disobliging expressions, which aimed at the color of his skin." To further support his point, the governor added that Necker, who had recently come back from leave, had asked to be reassigned to Koulouba and that in the past Necker and Selbonne had had a bitter argument over precedence as each refused to let the other take the seat of honor in the car they had to take to Bamako: "If I report this futility, it is not to perpetuate its memory, but to demonstrate that disputes, and some quite sharp, erupt among Antilleans when there is an occasion." Following these first conclusions, another investigation was conducted and the French Caribbeans Carreau, Dumas, Bourgeois, Bayardelle, and Vétagus were questioned. All affirmed that their origin had never been the source of any problem with their superiors or their colleagues, with whom they enjoyed good relations.[68]

The administration was certainly not the place to criticize French colonial policy. It is not incidental that the most virulent public critique of the colonial administration by an administrator came from someone who consequently was forced to resign, René Maran, a Guyanese, son of an *administrateur des colonies*, who himself spent part of his career as an employee of the local administration in Oubangui-Chari. Published in 1921, *Batouala* was the first novel by a black person to receive the coveted Goncourt Prize. The award stirred an outcry, as René Maran had written a virulent critique of the French colonial system in Equatorial Africa where he had served for several years. The book was written over several years, while Maran was still serving in the Congo. It described life in an African village under colonial rule. No one was spared: Africans as well as Europeans were presented in a harsh light as Maran denounced what he deemed the excesses of the colonial system. However, if Batouala, the village chief, and the other African characters were not necessarily described as sympathetic, they were nonetheless presented as humans. The Banda chief was not a *grand enfant*; he spoke in French, not *petit nègre*, the gibberish that the French mocked the Africans with. As Léopold Sedar Senghor put it, "Maran demonstrated that *petit-nègre* was the result of colonization and the French government's civilizing mission." Only one character spoke *petit nègre*, a Banda soldier addressing his French commandant. Maran put Banda on the same level as the French. And Senghor further explained that Maran's use of language was essential to Négritude: "It is no longer a question of making them speak 'petit-nègre,' but Wolof, Malinké, Ewondo in French. René Maran was the first to express 'the black soul' [*l'âme noire*] with a *style nègre* in French."[69] In addition, Maran had prefaced his book with a few pages that made his intention very clear. It was essentially this preface to Maran's novel that created the scandal: "Civilization, civilization, pride of the Europeans and charnel-house of innocents . . . You have built

your kingdom on corpses. Whatever you wish, whatever you do, you move in lies. At sight of you, gushing tears, shrieks of agony. You are might prevailing over right. You are not a torch, you are a conflagration. You devour whatever you touch."[70] Maran demonstrated that France had as much at stake in the colonial process as the colonies. Republican values and morality could only be degraded, and France could only lose the prestige acquired by defeating Germany. Yet Maran conceded that under certain conditions colonization could be beneficial.

Only a few years after the Toqué-Gaud scandal, which had spurred the investigative mission of Savorgnan de Brazza to the Congo, at a time when the corruption of the concessionary companies was largely being denounced, Maran was after all only echoing already well-known criticisms of the colonial system. Yet the administration would not tolerate that one of its agents should raise his voice in this manner. The colonial administration was not an open forum for debate, and *administrateurs des colonies* had to appear as the faithful arms of colonialism; those who questioned French colonial policy had to either silence their doubts or resign. When the novel was awarded the Goncourt Prize a few months after its publication in 1921, Maran had no choice but to leave the administration, and long negotiations were initiated in order to determine the conditions of his return to France. In fact the decision was more the initiative of the administration than Maran's. The scandal was too big, and it was first decided to hush it up to avoid any further publicity. Indeed the paper *L'Effort Colonial* edited by Blaise Diagne had already published the novel in serial form. Rather than confronting Maran, negotiations begun. Maran's resignation was accepted and he was accorded the payment of his expenses for his trip to France and one year's salary. Maran took the occasion to expose the racist practices to which colonial administrators of color were subjected. Refusing to take the usual route to reach the coast via the Belgian Congo where French Caribbeans were routinely subjected to racism, he explained that, fearing for his life after the publication of *Batouala*, he wanted to leave via Nigeria. In the face of the hierarchy's refusal to agree to the change in itinerary, René Maran refused to comply with their arrangements and took the Nigerian route, which the minister of colonies said he would have to pay for.

Just before the publication of *Batouala*, he had been implicated in a case where an African had been beaten to death. Maran, who had been suspected of the death, had always claimed his innocence and publicly affirmed on many occasions that he was in fact awaiting an investigation to clear his name. The investigation was never requested nor was any serious sanction taken against him. The literary Goncourt Prize, which he received for *Batouala in 1921*, triggered further reactions from his hierarchical superiors. The novel, and particularly its preface, described an absurd and unjust colonial policy.

Simultaneously, measures were taken to oust René Maran from the colonial administration. On November 5, 1922, he wrote a letter to his friend, the writer René Violaine,[71] in which he questioned the decision at length:

> The scandal, which by the way I did not want, is too big not to undertake the necessary purge. When everything has been revealed, it will be understood that the real culprit is the Minister of the Colonies. If I questioned the colonial administrators, it is because I could not think of attacking this powerful administration head-on; it only carries out the orders of a few big financiers . . . In any case, I have already achieved this appreciable result: to interest France in its colonies and to create the public opinion that counterbalances the autocracy of the governors.[72]

If Maran was apparently surprised by the extent of the scandal, it is nonetheless obvious that he clearly wrote the novel with the goal of provoking a reaction from the administration. *Batouala* was not an entertaining novel, and in its author's mind it served a precise purpose. Since he believed it possible for the administrative hierarchy to listen to such comments, especially when made by a colonized person, Maran was amazed by the scope and degree of the reactions triggered by his book. But despite the scandal, the investigation that he had hoped to witness was never called for.

When it was clear that he could not be able to remain an *administrateur des colonies*, Maran fiercely negotiated the terms of his departure. One of the main stumbling blocks was the itinerary to be followed in leaving the colony. Stressing the fact that racism was particularly strong in the Belgian Congo, René Maran asked for authorization to avoid this colony and to travel to the coast via Nigeria. In May 1924, he wrote to the minister of colonies, explaining the reasons that motivated his request:

> From 1910 to 1919, from 1919 to 1922, all Frenchmen of color were very poorly welcomed. These included M. Stacy, a storekeeper; Toussaint, *sous-intendant* of the colonial troops; Mandane, notary clerk, brother-in-law of M. Gratien Candace, deputy of Guadeloupe; Cottin, sergeant of colonial infantry; M. Eboué, *administrateur des colonies*, and myself, who in 1916 was not given the protection of the Consul of France in Matadi, although he managed a French hotel in that city, under the pretext—odd, to say the least—that he could do nothing against Belgian laws. At the end of 1921 or in the first days of 1922, Mr. Clavius-Marius, general prosecutor of AEF and, as such, chief of the judiciary service of this colony, had during his stay to endure a very discourteous reception.

The response to *Batouala* came as a pitched battle. First, a Grand Prix de Littérature Coloniale was created and promptly awarded to Gaston Joseph, a former student at the Sorbonne and Ecole coloniale and author

of ethnographies of Africa, for *Koffi, roman vrai d'un Noir* (1922).[73] As his subtitle indicated, his was the story of the "true black," not the fabrications of Maran. *Koffi*, "a salvo in the wars of subtitles, was about a 'true' black African living happily under colonial rule, trying to do good, but weak in the face of the mysterious powers of fetishists in Africa."[74] Acclaimed by the administrative hierarchy, the novel was prefaced by Gabriel Angoulvant, interim governor general in AOF during the war. A few other novels were written in response to *Batouala*, all by men who could claim to have experienced life in the colonies. Joseph Blache, a colonial administrator, published *Vrais noirs et vrais blancs en Afrique au XXe siècle*, Maurice Delafosse's *Broussard ou les états d'âme d'un colonial*, and René Trautman, a doctor for the French colonial troops in Africa, who wrote *Au pays de Batouala* with a preface by Pierre Mille,[75] while the subversive *Batouala* was banned in the colonies in 1928.

A storm of rage was unleashed over Maran and his writings. He had no talent, was a liar, and was blindly guided by his hatred of whites. From the right to the left wings of the political spectrum, at least one consensus was reached: Maran had to be lynched. Maurice Delafosse was one of his fiercest critics; for him the characters in the novel were "not true *nègres*, at least not the majority that one encounters in Africa and particularly in the Ubangi-Shari." Even if Maran's creations resembled real *nègres*, they "speak totally otherwise, the numerous words borrowed from the Banda language with which they spice their discourse still do not constitute the *discours de nègres*."[76] He preferred the Tharaud brothers' *La randonnée de Samba Diouf*, and Gaston Joseph's *Koffi*. In the same vein, under the pen name of Carl Siger, Charles Régismanset, a high-ranking employee of the minister of colonies and a columnist for the *Mercure de France*, accused Maran of racism. For *La Dépêche coloniale*, the book was nothing else than a work of hate, and its article was titled "Batouala or calumny."[77]

The *Batouala* affair quickly became a national scandal, and at the Chamber of Deputies a communist deputy, Georges Barthélémy, questioned the Minister of Colonies Albert Sarrault[78] and asked for sanctions against Maran who "has spread his bile on the great French colonial family." In the Chamber the debate was fierce, Maran's defenders were the deputies Gratien Candace and Achille René-Boisneuf from Guadeloupe, as well as Blaise Diagne from Senegal. Candace explained, "M. Barbusse, who has written some fine pages on the Great War, has published certain books of which we do not approve; but this is a matter of freedom of thought."[79] Boisneuf declared, "For centuries, from the beginning of time, the whites are the ones who write. They write whatever they want about the nègre. For once, a nègre has written something which offends you; don't lynch him!"[80]

A few years later, in an interview in *L'Humanité* of March 1927, on the occasion of the publication of his last book, *Djouma, chien de brousse*, René Maran continued to denounce the methods used in the Congo. Recalling various punishments and crimes that he had witnessed and the leniency (or rather the complicity) of the administration, he depicted a rather devastating system. He detailed the ways in which governmental impunity ruled in the Congolese colony, even naming some high-ranking civil servants, governors such as Gentil, Merlin, Guyon, and Adam, whose policy directly encouraged these actions. He concluded that in twenty-five years the population of AEF had dropped from 12 to 2 million, and migration to neighboring colonies had greatly increased, particularly in AOF, where Maran estimated that 5 million had fled to other countries. Recruitment for the army provided another way to look at the ways in which Africans were abused and deprived of their humanity. Since most had no civil records, it was convenient and easy to recruit below the minimum age: "officially they do not exist." And veterans received none of the benefits that were allotted to their French counterparts. Maran explained that he would continue to denounce these facts, so that the heads of the hierarchy might fall.

After *Batouala*, Maran decided to live by his pen. But despite his prolific writings, by the late 1930s his financial situation had critically deteriorated and thus he started to work for the Service Intercolonial d'Information et de Documentation a governmental agency in charge of colonial propaganda. Following the creation of the Service Intercolonial in 1937, René Maran wrote articles and other commissioned works and gave lectures organized by the service.

When *Batouala* was published, one of the French government's fears was Germany's manipulation of the novel. Indeed, during World War I, the use of black soldiers on European soil had been a source of controversy. The ways in which Germany and Italy criticized Eboué and Maran contributed to feeding French Caribbean views than France was a welcoming nation to the blacks of the world when its republican values were not corrupted. In 1923, as the Germans were outraged that the French had sent black troops to occupy the left bank of the Rhine, *Batouala* was described by German propaganda as one more indication of the perverse French use of blacks. From the perspective of black French these comments reinforced the feeling that republican France was a good colonial mother. Félix Eboué's nomination as governor was interpreted through the same lens. On January 26, 1939, the Italian newspaper *L'Azione Coloniale* published an open letter to Eboué that warned "the cannibalistic desires of your illustrious ancestors might be reborn in you,"[81] while the German paper, *Berliner Tageblatt*, wrote, "The Jew Minister, Mandel, named a Negro governor of the colonies for the first time in the history of the European peoples."[82] In

France, extreme right-wing journals like *L'Action Française* claimed that Muslims of Chad, although black, saw themselves as Arabs first, rather than Negroes, and did not approve of the nomination of Eboué.[83]

By their very presence French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* revealed the contradictions of French colonialism. On the one hand, the colonial policy needed colonized representatives at the very core of its apparatus. They sent the powerful message that docile adoption of French rule was rewarded; they were the living testimony of the success of the colonial policy. But on the other hand, French Caribbean insistence on being granted full citizenship could only contradict the full impact of their use as buffer. This claim underlined the limits of the Republic and its definition of nationhood. The sentiments of French Caribbeans were certainly best illustrated by the case of Capest. Although he assumed the functions—but not the title—of governor of the colonies, Pierre Paul Marie Capest described with deep bitterness the way he had been mistaken about the objectives of his role as *administrateur des colonies*. He had been on leave in France for five months in 1900 when an epidemic of yellow fever broke out in Senegal. After long years in the colonies, Capest was about to trade positions with the tax collector of Villeneuve Saint-Georges in France. But this hope was short-lived when the minister of colonies requested that he go back to Senegal. As a colonized he was believed to be able to better resist the sanitary conditions in Senegal. Capest bitterly joined his post: "I used to consider the government of the French Republic as one of justice and equality, which would never condemn to begging their bread those who had sacrificed their lives to its service. It is very painful to carry into my retirement an opposite observation."[84]

Conclusion

The colonized were largely employed by the colonial administration, whether in local administrations where Africans made up the majority or within the *corps des administrateurs des colonies* where Caribbeans represented a significant portion of the personnel. Entering the colonial administration was one of the ways colonized people made do with colonialism on a daily basis and endeavored to have their own claims of full citizenship addressed.

With the abolition of slavery in 1848, the French government set out to rebuild the Caribbean societies, considering them as a tabula rasa on which history could be rewritten. Citizenship, used as the new cement, was granted to the vast majority. New citizens were declared equal members of the French Republic, the regime that had come to symbolize freedom and social progress. Yet, in the Caribbean, being a French citizen also meant being colonized by the French. Such was the official status of all four "old colonies" until 1946. To reorganize Caribbean societies without slavery, new opportunities were opened for blacks and browns after the abolition of slavery, and over time the administration became a prime employer. Caribbeans left their home region in search of social promotion that could be achieved only outside of the sugar plantation realm. As France expanded its empire, the colonial administration grew as well. The administration had become the new outlet for those who were able to attend school. To accomplish this, the colonized made sure that education would not be diverted from its primary goal and turned into mere vocational training but would be an effective tool of social promotion. Because they were colonized, in their homeland French Caribbeans direct access to the administration was in the colonial cadres, not in the national one, and in the colonial administration one's path to promotion was to accept transfer to a colony other than one's native colony. Because they were citizens, Caribbeans had access to the *corps des administrateurs des colonies.* As the French expanded their empire in Africa, their need for administrative personnel on that continent increased, and Africa became a new destination for *administrateurs des colonies*. It was not until the 1920s that colonial administrative careers became coveted professional prospects for whites. Skin color and colonial origin came to play an increasingly key

role in the design of the colonial administration, whose bottom levels were reserved almost exclusively for blacks while top positions were reserved for whites. This hierarchy reflected broader prejudice against the colonized and the place of each group of people within the French colonial scheme. Africans, who were labeled as less civilized, were confined to the lowest positions, whereas Caribbeans, considered more civilized because they had been under French rule longer, could enter the elite *corps des administrateurs des colonies.* The administration became for these French Caribbeans a tool to turn their colonial position to their best advantage. Nevertheless, their access to the very top positions of this cadre was extremely limited. In Africa, Caribbeans found themselves to be simultaneously colonizer and colonized.

That the French government used the colonized at various levels of the administrative hierarchy meant two things. First it appeared as a necessity of the colonial enterprise, as no Europeans could have been able to impose their presence in the long run without learning the languages and knowing their way around. However, once languages had been learned, once maps had been drawn, the same administrative structure remained in place. The colonized were in fact an intrinsic part of a colonial policy that needed buffers. It did not matter that whites were entering the colonial administration in larger numbers; colonial logic required the presence of the colonized within its apparatus in order to operate. Their very existence testified to the possibilities apparently offered by the French colonial system, the implicit message being that by following similar paths, others could reach similar positions. This was a particularly pernicious way to win over consciences. Colonialism, and particularly French colonialism, was supposedly a well of opportunities for those placed under such rule. Inextricable from republicanism, French colonialism was imbued with the ideas of freedom and equality. Greater France was depicted as a good and loving mother whose colonial children were apparently all offered the same chances and could not be discriminated against because of their origin or their skin color. Failure, the inability to attain the promised status, could only signify deficiency on the part of the colonized, and in no way indicated that the system was in essence racist, discriminatory, and inegalitarian. It is in this context that educated Caribbeans entered the administration in order to break away permanently from the plantation realm. From their perspective, the discrepancy between their status of being both colonized and citizen had to be eliminated. Although their choice clearly remained within the legal framework and their approach remained quite moderate, such claims went far beyond permissible expectations and in fact shook the premise of colonialism and the foundations of republicanism.

The study of colonialism before World War II is also important in order to comprehend the ways in which African-Caribbean exchanges developed in the long run. This period was key in shaping trends for future relations,

which were almost inevitably placed within the framework of the colonial hierarchy. As citizens and *administrateurs des colonies*, Caribbeans certainly felt assured that their own trajectory would serve as a model for Africans. At the same time, many envisioned their stay in Africa beyond the strict framework of the colonial administration. It is in this context that relations with Africans developed and networks were built. Some families decided to settle in Africa. The Ninine family in Cameroon, for instance, is one illustration of such a choice. The first member of the family arrived in Cameroon in 1929. Jules Ninine was born on October 8, 1903, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, and started his career as *administrateur des colonies* in Cameroon upon graduation from the Ecole Coloniale in 1929. He spent his entire career in this colony, where he assumed responsibilities in finance and customs in the port city, Douala. He later participated in Cameroonian political life and was elected deputy from Cameroon to the French National Assembly for the first time in 1946.[1] He was also a lawyer registered at the bar of Douala in 1952, and his son, Jean-Claude, took over his practice in 1961.Today the Ninine family is still present in Cameroon.

After World War II, the colonized attained greater access to the colonial administration, and there are even several cases of French Caribbeans who stayed on after independence and became civil servants in the new African states. The Guadeloupean Gabriel Lisette, alumnus of the Ecole Coloniale, started his career in 1944 and was elected deputy from Oubagui-Chari-Chad for the first time in 1946. He was one of the founders of the Chadian section of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, which played a key role in the independence movement. Guy Nairay, another Guadeloupean, began his career as *administrateur des colonies* in 1939 and later became counselor to Félix Houphouët-Boigny. He remained in this position even after Houphouët's death in 1993. Similarly, the Martinican Henry Jean-Baptiste was the counselor of Léopold Sédar Senghor, Senegal's first president. Furthermore, logically, ties between Africans and French Caribbeans developed beyond the professional sector, as, for instance, when Léopold Sédar Senghor married Ginette Eboué, Félix Eboué's daughter, in 1946.

French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* rarely questioned the logic of their actions in Africa. In fact, they generally made use of the system to their own advantage. However, at the same time, their very presence in this administration, like the presence of Africans, only underscored the incoherence of colonialism. The clear line that was supposed to be drawn between colonized and colonizers, between civilized and uncivilized, was blurred by the employment of colonized among the colonizers. This paradoxical situation gave a confrontational turn to any of the French Caribbean claims. In this context, their obstinate will to be granted full French citizenship was one additional challenge to this system. And although French

Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies* rarely crossed the line of legality, their aspirations could only help to shake up the system. The explosive potential of the very legalistic option chosen by French Caribbeans prior to World War II is illuminated by Martinican poet Aimé Césaire. Author of the *Discourse on Colonialism* and key figure of the Négritude movement, Césaire's name is closely associated with the legislation that made Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Réunion French departments in 1946. In fact, he viewed his vote for the March 19, 1946, law as being in line with his fight against colonialism and as a way of guaranteeing the French government's fulfillment, at long last, of the promises of the colonial era. The law was perceived as the best way to put an end to discrimination in the Caribbean by introducing there the social legislation already existing in France:

> Every slogan has its place in history and is a response to very well-defined aspirations. In 1945, all the inhabitants of the former empire wanted to become citizens and stop being subjects. This was already the philosophy [of the colonized] in the nineteenth century. Never was any law in the Antilles more popular than the one that instituted departmentalization. For Antilleans, this measure meant the end of arbitrary rule, access to European salaries and social security, the substitution of law for decree. By departmentalization, what was sought, naively probably, but sincerely, was equality of rights. But France remained reluctant to enforce what it had voted for. I then realized that we had made a fool's deal, and that departmentalization was nothing but a new form of domination. If there was a mistake, it was a collective one.[2]

Some of the French Caribbeans who entered the colonial administration used their administrative positions to make strong critiques of the colonial system. Guadeloupean Guy Tirolien was an *administrateur des colonies* in West Africa who was committed to the Négritude movement. One of his most important poems, "Prière d'un petit enfant nègre," is an acid examination of the French school system in the colonial context. The Guadeloupean Albert Béville, childhood friend of Tirolien, entered the colonial administration in 1941. He joined in the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain and was also a poet, publishing under the pen name Paul Niger. Because of his political activity, he was demoted in the administration and declared persona non grata in the Antilles. And of course, Martinican Frantz Fanon, whose work laid the foundation for invaluable research in colonial studies, had started his career in the colonial administration in Algeria as a psychiatrist. His commitment to the Algerian war of independence quickly became incompatible with his function in the administration, and he resigned.

Departmentalization in 1946 crystallized even further the central role of the administration in the economic and social life of French Caribbeans, as growing numbers were employed as civil servants. Caribbeans were granted full French citizenship, but despite this very much sought-after status, their situation continued to be characterized by discrimination. And the administration continued to be for the French government a control lever in governing these societies. Indeed it was via this administration that the French government organized a mass migration of French Caribbeans to France in order to neutralize social protest in the Caribbean. In 1963, the French government created the Bureau pour le Développement des Migrations Intéressant les Départements d'Outre-Mer (better known as BUMIDOM) to respond to the economic crisis and social unrest that had exploded in the French Caribbean by the mid-1950s. Students in France and in the Caribbean organized themselves into various organizations[3] to address the colonial situation of their native countries and fight for independence. On October 15, 1960, Michel Debré, then France's prime minister, signed an ordinance allowing the transfer to France of those civil servants "whose behavior could by its nature disrupt public order,"[4] which was applied to all three Caribbean departments as well as Réunion. Simultaneously, the BUMIDOM became a kind of turntable between French and Caribbean labor markets, distributing Caribbean workers according to the needs of the French economy. In this process many entered the lower levels of the French administration, particularly in the post office, the customs, the police, and public transportation.[5]

In this perspective, the period after World War II shares many characteristics of the Third Republic. The administration was confirmed as the main outlet in the French Caribbean, but because of the role of buffer assumed by these civil servants and because of their continuous wish to be treated equally, they challenged—not always voluntarily—the very principles that they claimed to embrace. The Republic could not quite accommodate these citizens whose existence cast doubt on the very meaning of "Frenchness." The mass migration of Caribbean civil servants orchestrated through the BUMIDOM only laid the groundwork for later challenge to the French definition of nationhood. In many ways, *administrateurs des colonies* epitomized the French Caribbean choice to challenge discrimination and racism in legal ways and assert the possibility of being black French citizens.

Appendix

List of Colonial Administrators from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane Appointed to Africa between 1880 and 1939

This list was based on the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and supplemented with files from the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer (ENFOM).

First names are printed here in the order that they are mentioned on the colonial administrator's birth certificate. Similarly spelling and date of birth are as indicated in these records.

ABEL, Cantin Eliodore Antony
Born on October 31, 1864, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

ACHARD, Louis Marie Marcel Mathieu
Born on August 14, 1868, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ALBERT, Télamon Marie Stanislas
Born on November 13, 1862, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ALEXIS, Venance Charles
Born on May 18, 1860, in Le François, Martinique

ANDREW, Jean Frédéric
Born on August 1, 1894, in Les Abymes, Guadeloupe

ANTIER, Georges Edouard Pierre Léon Hippolyte
Born on November 6, 1877, in Cayenne, Guyane

ANTOINE-FERJUS, Raymond Joseph Samuel
Born on August 31, 1883, in Saint-Esprit, Martinique

ARDIN, Simplice Camille
Born on March 2, 1900, in Robert, Martinique

ASSIER DE POMPIGNAN, Charles André Maurice
Born on November 30, 1889, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

ATTULY, Gabriel Marie Robert
Born on March 25, 1884, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ATTULY, Marie Lionel Jules
Born on April 12, 1898, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ATTULY, Clotaire Osman
Born on April 7, 1887, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

AUGRAIN, Marie Joseph Jules Maurice
Born on May 20, 1857, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

BABIN, Marie Joseph René
Born on May 2, 1896, in Saint-François, Guadeloupe

BALTHAZARE-CHRISTINE, Omer Stanislas
Born on May 7, 1910, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BARZILAY, Joseph Eugène Gaston
Born on June 22, 1856, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BASQUEL, Marie Sylvestre Victor
Born on December 31, 1867, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

BAYARDELLLE, Ange Marie Charles André
Born on February 18, 1896, in Basse-Pointe, Martinique

BEAUDU, William
Born on October 26, 1873, in Le Carbet, Martinique

BELGOME, Marie Victorin Louis Charles
Born on November 9, 1861, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

BENOIT, Médard Marie Emile Cécilius
Born on June 8, 1894, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

BENTEGEAT, Félix
Born on December 13, 1869, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BENTEGEAT, Joseph François Gaston
Born on March 7, 1875, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BERLAN, René Jean Baptiste Joseph Marie Ejuassime
Born on June 24, 1881, in Le Lamentin, Martinique

BERNARD, François Eugène Paul
Born on November 13, 1879, in Cayenne, Guyane

BERNETEL, Elie Auguste
Born on September 7, 1894, in Cayenne, Guyane

BERNIER, Auguste Delphine Gustave Firmin
Born on November 26, 1910, in Saint-François, Guadeloupe

BERNISSANT, Pierre Alexandre Emmanuel Marcel
Born on January 16, 1889, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

BETON, Constant Marie Charles
Born on January 1, 1884, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BEVILLE, Philippe Edmond
Born on August 23, 1897, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

BLACHER, Louis Placide
Born on October 5, 1883, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

BLONDEL LA ROUGERY, François Emmanuel René
Born on January 25, 1889, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

BOISSON, Roland Emmanuel Hilaire
Born on November 4, 1897, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

BORDE, Marie Joseph Henri Oscar
Born on May 19, 1897, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

BOROMEE, Joseph Rémy Maurice
Born on October 1, 1876, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

BOUCHAUT, Michel Hippolyte François Albert
Born on April 24, 1848, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

BOUCHER, Camille Albert Isidore
Born on May 15, 1894, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

BOUDOUTE, Joseph Adrien Bernard
Born on August 28, 1858, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

BOUDOUTE, Eugène Lambert Lucien
Born on April 14, 1863, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

BOULOGNE, Ferdinand Lucien
Born on January 9, 1898, in Capesterre de Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe

BOURGAREL, André Maurice Albert Eugène
Born on July 14, 1896, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BOUTIN, Folicide Elionnel Arnold
Born on September 21, 1878, in Cayenne, Guyane

BRABAN, Marie Ernest
Born on November 7, 1859, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

BROSIUS, Raphaël Nicolas
Born on September 12, 1882, in Sainte-Anne, Guadeloupe

BRUMANT, Louis Georges
Born on July 2, 1876, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BRUMANT, Gérard Bonaventure Adrien
Born on May 23, 1898, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

BRUNOT, Georges Léon Frantz Jacques
Born on October 12, 1873, in Saint-Claude, at Camp Jacob, Guadeloupe

BUTEL, Joseph Léon Jean Baptiste
Born on June 12, 1879, in Pointe-Noire, Guadeloupe

BUTEL, Paul Joseph Vincent
Born on May 24, 1895, in Pointe-Noire, Guadeloupe

BUTTIN, Louis Joseph
Born on April 20, 1903, in Le Lamentin, Martinique

CABERTY, Avit Marie Antoine
Born on June 17, 1902, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CADORE, Lucien Georges Marcel
Born on July 6, 1905, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CADORE, Camille Lucien
Born on January 1, 1908, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CALYDON, Lucien
Born on January 8, 1883, in Goyave, Guadeloupe

CAMPISTRON, Jean Louis
Born on July 19, 1880, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

CAMUS, Pierre Félix Auguste
Born on December 21, 1876, in Cayenne, Guyane

CAPEST, Pierre Paul Marie
Born on October 28, 1857, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CAPRICE, Marc Fernand
Born on October 6, 1905, in Sainte-Anne, Martinique

CARETO, Antoine Victor Etienne Fernand
Born on May 29, 1898, in Le Marin, Martinique

CARETO, François Gérôme Victor
Born on September 30, 1907, in Le Marin, Martinique

CARLTON, Simplice
Born on March 2, 1885, in Goyave, Guadeloupe

CARREAU, Jean Joseph Henri
Born on December 27, 1865, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

CARRERA, Camille Eugène
Born on October 8, 1875, in Cayenne, Guyane

CASTAING, Jean Baptiste Edmond Laurent Emmanuel
Born on November 25, 1864, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CATALOGNE, Marie Edouard René
Born on September 5, 1881, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

CEDILE, Jean Henri Arsène
Born on January 26, 1908, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

CELESTINE, Catherine René
Born on June 28, 1900, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CELINE, Paul Louis Prime Nerval
Born on June 9, 1863, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CELORON DE BAINVILLE, Georges Amédée Gaston
Born on May 31, 1867, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CHAMBAUD, Alexis Emile
Born on November 5, 1865, in Cayenne, Guyane

CHARLAT, Marcel Jules Félix
Born on March 16, 1904, in Cayenne, Guyane

CHARLES-GERVAIS, Albert Georges Emmanuel
Born on December 24, 1891, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

CHARVET, André Henri Philippe
Born on January 16, 1878, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CHAULET, Jérôme Antoine Marie Elizabeth Jules Albert
Born on September 30, 1861, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CHEFDRUE, Henri Joseph Armand
Born on March 16, 1883, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

CHOUBELLE, Félix
Born on May 30, 1866, in Saint-Claude, Guadeloupe

CIMPER, Eugène Honoré
Born on May 16, 1874, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CLAVIER, Auguste Antoine
Born on November 14, 1873, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CLAVIUS-MARIUS, René Marie Constant
Born on November 28, 1866, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CLAYSSEN, Pierre Etienne
Born on September 28, 1856, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

CLAYSSEN, Louis Hyacinthe Clément
Born on December 4, 1881, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

CLAYSSEN, Georges Léopold Pierre
Born on February 24, 1893, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

CLERET, Joseph Marie Pierre Henri
Born on February 19, 1872, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

COLENO, Paul Louis
Born on August 19, 1904, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

COLLAT, Henri Corneille
Born on February 16, 1902, in Le Morne-Rouge, Martinique

COLLOMB, Pierre Marie Georges Edouard
Born on November 8, 1894, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

CONTY, Marie Louis Henry
Born on September 9, 1899, in Sainte-Anne, Martinique

CORDONNIE, Georges Maxime Hort. Auguste
Born on January 11, 1910, in Petit-Bourg, Guadeloupe

CORNETTE DE SAINT-CYR, Henri Edme Antoine
Born on June 13, 1870, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

COUGOUL, Arthur Henri
Born on September 2, 1859, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

COUPPE DE LA HONGRAIS, Eugène Léon Amédée Guy
Born on November 16, 1891, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

COURBAIN, Louis Tècle
Born on September 23, 1900, in Cayenne, Guyane

CRANE, Jean Louis André
Born on July 7, 1879, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DAIN, Marie Jules Alexandre
Born on October 23, 1858, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

DALGARNO, Maurice Saint-Prix Auguste
Born on July 12, 1884, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DANEL, Pantaléon Frédéric Eugène
Born on July 27, 1900, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

DARSIERES, Gilles Henri Paul Emile
Born on September 1, 1896, in Sainte-Marie, Martinique

DARTIGUENAVE, François Paul Louis
Born on November 12, 1885, in Le Lamentin, Martinique

DEBUC, Jean Baptiste André Marie Gustave
Born on July 12, 1858, in Le Marin, Martinique

DEGLAS, Constant Félix
Born on October 5, 1904, in Morne-à-l'Eau, Guadeloupe

DEMONIO, Antoine Henri Charles Lucien François
Born on January 17, 1910, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DERBES, Georges Marie
Born on October 28, 1881, in Cayenne, Guyane

DEROME, Georges Louis Charles Joseph
Born on February 11, 1908, in Cayenne, Guyane

DETOURNEL, Victor Paul Robert Antoine Timothée
Born on January 24, 1897, in Le Marigot, Martinique

DIDIER, Pierre Justinien Marie Etienne
Born on September 26, 1874, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

DIETLIN, Benoît Marie René
Born on July 7, 1884, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

DIMBOUR, Télesphore Siméon Stylite
Born on January 5, 1899, in Le François, Martinique

DISPAGNE, Robert Théodore Raoul
Born on November 19, 1898, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

DORAGEON, Pierre Joseph Arthur
Born on April 9, 1871, in Case-Pilote, Martinique

DORWLING-CARTER, Louis Charles Wilfrid
Born on June 21, 1883, in Trinité, Martinique

DU CHAXEL, Marie Claude Félix
Born on April 28, 1877, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

DU CHAXEL, Marie Joseph Charles Georges
Born on December 16, 1875, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

DUFRENIL, Paul Edgard
Born on July 18, 1856, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

DUGOMMIER, Albert Léopold
Born on January 11, 1889, in Saint-Esprit, Martinique

DUHALDE, Hélène Richard
Born on August 18, 1905, in Deshaies, Guadeloupe

DUMAS, Charles André
Born on April 17, 1888, in Sainte-Anne, Martinique

DUQUESNAY, Ernest Savinien
Born on February 2, 1885, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DURAND SAINT-OMER, Henri Jacques Léopold
Born on June 12, 1896, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

DURAND DE SURMONT, Marie François Robert
Born on November 30, 1884, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

EBOUE, Adolphe Félix Sylvestre
Born on December 26, 1884, in Cayenne, Guyane

EDWIGE, Raphaël Amédée Thomy
Born on December 21, 1889, in Baie-Mahault, Guadeloupe

EDWIGE, Charles Albert Inésiphe
Born on September 6, 1880, in Saint-Louis, Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe

EDWIGE, Clément Antoine Solange
Born on November 23, 1894, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

EGGIMANN, Jean Marie Samuel Frédéric
Born on July 11, 1848, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

ELISEE, Paul Léon
Born on June 30, 1906, in Le François, Martinique

EMLER, Georges Eugène Léopold
Born on November 16, 1876, in Cayenne, Guyane

ENGAPSID, Emmanuel Augustin
Born on May 31, 1868, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ERDIAU, Léon François
Born on July 28, 1895, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

ESOR, Frédéric Joseph
Born on December 16, 1859, in Cayenne, Guyane

ESPIAN, Edwige Sadi Félix
Born on October 21, 1900, in Les Abymes, Guadeloupe

ETIENNE, Georges Marie Prudent
Born on April 6, 1904, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

ETIFIER, Jean Justin Samuel
Born on September 26, 1897, in Le Prêcheur, Martinique

EUTROPE, Albert Victor Olivier
Born on January 10, 1888, in Cayenne, Guyane

FAVREAU, Gustave Pierre Egide
Born on February 18, 1867, in Saint-François, Guadeloupe

FAYS, Marie Sorin Emmanuel
Born on December 26, 1860, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

FAYS, Marie Benoît Francis
Born on November 2, 1862, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

FEILLET, Félix Gabriel Antoine
Born on November 9, 1866, in Le Marin, Martinique

FERJUS, Monique Félix
Born on May 4, 1896, in Le Saint-Esprit, Martinique

FERLANDE, Xavier Vincent Amédée
Born on December 3, 1863, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

FEUILLARD, Victor
Born on July 19, 1864, in Vieux-Habitants, Guadeloupe

FLORUS, Horace Rufin
Born on June 14, 1897, in Cayenne, Guyane

FORDANT, Louis Sidoine
Born on August 23, 1887, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

FORGUES, Fernand Soter
Born on August 23, 1887, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

FRANCOIS-JULIEN, Rodolphe Grégoire
Born on September 15, 1867, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

GALLIOT, Pierre Auguste Emile
Born on March 17, 1867, in Cayenne, Guyane

GARCIN, Georges Hermann
Born on July 17, 1886, in Saint-Pierrre, Martinique

GARNIER, Léon Charles Gustave
Born on November 4, 1864, in Cayenne, Guyane

GARNIER-LA-ROCHE, Louis Eleuther
Born on June 20, 1888, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

GAUBE, Clodomir Barthélémy
Born on August 24, 1871, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

GAVEAU, Charles Alcide Clément
Born on August 8, 1884, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DE GENTILE, Paul Marie Joseph
Born on May 7, 1889, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

GERVAISE, Guy Martinien Joseph
Born on February 22, 1907, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

GILBERT-DESVALLONS, Marie Stanislas Ambroise
Born on May 7, 1855, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

GILBERT-DESVALLONS, Maxime Marie Adrien
Born on May 25, 1882 in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

GILLOT, Médard Victor
Born on June 8, 1901, in Le Gosier, Guadeloupe

GIRARD, Nicolas Marie Clément
Born on December 9, 1859, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

GIRARD, Paulius Casimir
Born on December 21, 1852, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

GIRARD-PIPAU, Fernand Augustin Constant
Born on October 5, 1904, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

GOLIOT, Louis Romain François
Born on August 9, 1893, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

GOTHONNE, Médard Louis Lucien
Born on June 8, 1872, in Port-Louis, Guadeloupe

GOUFFRAN, Marie Pierre Joseph Aldon
Born on December 18, 1878, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

GRANGENOIS, Maurille Démosthène
Born on September 25, 1886, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

GUILLOY, Damase Léonce
Born on November 12, 1872, in Ducos, Martinique

GUIMBEAU, Landry Bertrand
Born on June 10, 1888, in Port-Louis, Guadeloupe

GUYHO, Louis Cyr Albert
Born on April 3, 1852, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

HAASSE, Auguste Emile Julius
Born on December 1, 1905, in Cayenne, Guyane

HAMEL, Saturnin
Born on November 29, 1902, in Rivière-Salée, Martinique

HEBER, Elie Stanislas
Born on December 20, 1863, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

HENRY, Octave Optat Léon
Born on June 4, 1886, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

HERISSON, Marcel Antoine Robert
Born on April 21, 1900, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

HERMINE, Robert Hippolyte
Born on February 6, 1886, in Cayenne, Guyane

HILAIRE, Augustin Pompignan
Born on March 31, 1866, in Morne-à-l'Eau, Guadeloupe

HONORE, Antoine Octavien Marie Louis
Born on August 25, 1896, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

HUBERT, Paul Marie Augustin
Born on July 2, 1876, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ISAAC, Henri Emmanuel
Born on May 7, 1883, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

JACCOULET, Gilles Eugène
Born on September 1, 1903, in Saint-Esprit, Martinique

JEAN, Symphorien Emile
Born on July 28, 1897, in Le Prêcheur, Martinique

JEAN-LOUIS, Jean Symphorien Henri
Born on December 5, 1874, in Sainte-Anne, Guadeloupe

JEAN-MARIE, Victor
Born on August 6, 1883, in Basse-Pointe, Martinique

JEANNE-ROSE, Louis Adolphe
Born on September 29, 1897, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

JOFFROY, Ludger
Born on March 26, 1904, in Cayenne, Guyane

JOSA, Paul Théodore Monique
Born on May 4, 1870, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

JOSEPH, Georges Constant Louis Gustave
Born on June 15, 1871, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

JOSEPH, Philippe Armand
Born on March 27, 1908, in Cayenne, Guyane

KAIR, Louis Benjamin Monsée
Born on April 17, 1874, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

DE KERMADEC, Alcide René
Born on December 18, 1879, in Morne-à-l'Eau, Grippon, Guadeloupe

DE KERSAINT-GILY, Jules Félix Alfred
Born on April 2, 1869, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LA BARBE, Louis Joseph Félix
Born on March 19, 1880, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

DE LABARRE-THALY, Victor Gaëtan
Born on August 13, 1882, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

LABUTHIE, Marie Télémaque Edouard
Born on July 18, 1899, in Morne-à-l'Eau, Guadeloupe

LALAURETTE, Marie Joseph Ernest
Born on January 15, 1888, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

LAMARRE, Louis Emmanuel Marthe
Born on July 29, 1882, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

LANES, Joseph Georges Eugène
Born on July 27, 1880, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

LANGE, Antoine Sainte Croix
Born on August 19, 1862, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LAPORTE, Yves Adolphe Elidore
Born on October 27, 1897, in Cayenne, Guyane

LARCHER, Marius
Born on February 24, 1881, in Le Diamant, Martinique

LAROCHE, Marie Louis Maximilien
Born on July 5, 1862, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

LARROUY, Arthur André Henri
Born on July 4, 1856, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LARROUY, Marie Auguste Amédée Henri
Born on October 13, 1891, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LASOCKI, Raoul Louis
Born on February 13, 1878, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LASOCKI, Daniel Bronislas
Born on February 13, 1878, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LASSERRE, Toussaint Charles Simon Armand
Born on November 1, 1902, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

LAURE, Théaulon Gaston
Born on January 7, 1871, in Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe

LAURE, Etienne Gaston
Born on August 2, 1910, in Cayenne, Guyane

LAURENT, Ulysse
Born on June 3, 1904, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

LAVAU, Dominique Joseph Stéphane
Born on August 4, 1890, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

LAVAU, Sylvestre Joseph Georges
Born in December 31, 1884, in Sainte-Rose, Guadeloupe

DE LAVIGNE SAINTE-SUZANNE, Louis Joseph
Born on December 22, 1872, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

LEBLOND, Marie Théodore Jean Baptiste Fabien
Born in February 2, 1878, in Cayenne, Guyane

LE CAMUS, Joseph Frédéric Edouard
Born on February 21, 1882, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

LEDOUX, Joseph Victor André
Born on March 22, 1903, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

LE GRAND DE BELLEROCHE, Anne Emmanuel Adolphe
Born on July 22, 1892, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

LEMASSIF, Alphone Roland
Born on October 26, 1897, in Le Carbet, Martinique

LE MERLE DE BEAUFOND, Maurice Marie Lucien
Born in September 22, 1862, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

LENOIR, Joseph Alexis
Born in July 17, 1887, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

LEOPOLD-LEGER, René Marie Joseph Emile
Born on February 12, 1880, in Cayenne, Guyane

LETIN, Marie Maxime Vincent
Born on July 18 1882, in Bouillante, Guadeloupe

LHUERRE, Joseph Etienne Gabriel
Born on June 2, 1855, in Cayenne, Guyane

LHUERRE, Louis Herman Eugène Gabriel
Born on January 20, 1879, in Cayenne, Guyane

LHUERRE, Charles Etienne Raoul
Born in November 5, 1881, in Cayenne, Guyane

LHUERRE, Albert Philippe Maximilien Yves
Born on November 14, 1890, at l'Ile Royale, Iles du Salut, Guyane

LINVAL, Georges Ernest Marie Hippolyte Maximin
Born on May 28, 1903, in Le Lorrain, Martinique

LIONTEL, Maximilien
Born on October 27, 1851, in Cayenne, Guyane

LOISELE, Jacques Philippe
Born on May 1, 1862, in Pointe-Noire, Guadeloupe

LORNE, Pierre Marcel Edouard
Born on January 31, 1903, in Le François, Martinique

LOTTE, Yves Marie René
Born on October 1, 1901, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

LUBIN, Victor
Born on January 28, 1867, in Le François, Martinique

MARAN, Herménégilde Léon
Born on December 16, 1864, in Cayenne, Guyane

MARAN, René Herménégilde
Born on November 5, 1887, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

MARCHAL, Charles Emmanuel Joseph
Born on October 2, 1855, in Grand-Bourg, Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe

MARCHAND, Louis Antoine
Born on January 17, 1899, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

MARIE-CLAIRE, Stéphane Zéphirin Louis
Born on August 26, 1898, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

MARTINE, Félix Nicolas Constant
Born on October 6, 1896, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MATHURIN, Gaultier Albert
Born on April 9, 1894, in Sainte-Anne, Guadeloupe

MAURICE, Louis Bernard Auguste
Born on November 9, 1868, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MAYOL, Marie Pierre Eudoxe Amédée Maurice
Born on September 3, 1886, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

MICHAUX, Marie Antoine Maurice
Born on July 20, 1867, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

MICHAUX, Edouard Charles François
Born on October 2, 1868, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

MICHAUX, Marie Pierre
Born on June 6, 1878, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

MICHAUX, François Antoine Charles
Born on August 31, 1870, in Saint-Claude, Guadeloupe

MICHEL, Marie Déodate Emile Esprit Joseph Jean Baptiste
Born on January 31, 1872, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

MIGEREL, Marie Abel Amédée Ernest
Born on July 5, 1896, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

MIGNARD, Prosper Charles Amédée
Born on July 7, 1890, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MODOCK, Adhémar Raymond
Born on January 23, 1896, in Le Marin, Martinique

DE MONCHY, Louis Marie Irénée Delmance
Born on June 28, 1857, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

MONNEROT-DUMAINE, Jean Edouard Marie Camille
Born on December 7, 1883, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

MONNEROT-DUMAINE, Marie Louis Alexis
Born on July 25, 1870, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MONROUX, Marie Jean Fernand Paul
Born in June 24, 1881, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MONROUX, Joseph Eugène Pierre
Born on October 26, 1885, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

MONTOUT, Iréné Victor
Born on June 28, 1908, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

MONTOUT, Georges Alexandre
Born on March 23, 1898, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

MOUTTET, Louis René
Born on October 31, 1869, Martinique

NABEC, Robert
Born on October 5, 1906, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

NAFYN, Virginie Edouard Hector
Born on July 8, 1901, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

NETRY, Gaston Léon Kentigerne
Born on January 13, 1893, in Le Lamentin, Guadeloupe

NICOLAS, Célestin François Vincent
Born on April 22, 1883, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

NICOLAS, Marie Oldégaire Blaisemont
Born on February 3, 1889, in Basse-Pointe, Martinique

NICOLEAU, François Louis Marie Joseph
Born on December 8, 1906, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

NINET, Félix Antoine Adrien
Born on January 31, 1874, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

NININE, Benjamin Jules Emmanuel Thaïs
Born on October 8, 1903, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

NOEL, Emile Gabriel Charles Mathurin
Born on November 4, 1889, in Pointe-Noire, Guadeloupe

NOTTET, Marie Louis Lucien Adolphe
Born on August 8, 1885, in Saint-François, Guadeloupe

NOUY, Marie Armand Gabriel Joseph
Born on February 6, 1895, in Le Lamentin, Guadeloupe

ORAISON, Jules Thomas Gaston
Born on April 5, 1851, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

ORSINI, Victor Auguste Pascal
Born on July 24, 1868, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

PAGESY, Marie Joseph Guillaume Eugène
Born on February 10, 1895, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

PARACEL, Joseph Stéphane Balthazar
Born on January 6, 1886, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

PASTEUR, Symphorien Louis
Born on August 22, 1880, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

PERRI, René Sainte-Catherine Emmanuel
Born on November 25, 1898, in Le Prêcheur, Martinique

PERRIN, Anselme Joseph Benoît
Born on April 21, 1877, in Sainte-Anne, Martinique

PERRONNETTE, Félix Marie Edvard
Born on June 23, 1898, in Le Carbet, Martinique

PERSINNETTE-GAUTREZ, Yves Joseph Amour Emmanuel
Born on March 30, 1884, in Cayenne, Guyane

PETIT, Hubert Reinier
Born on March 2, 1897, in Le Vauclin, Martinique

PEUX, Marie Serge Charles
Born on October 8, 1853, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

PEUX, Grégoire Charles Bernard
Born on November 17, 1893, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

PHILIBERT, Emmanuel Georges
Born on July 23, 1876, in Cayenne, Guyane

PIC, Joseph Maurice Mathieu
Born on September 21, 1894, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

PINVILLE, Boniface
Born on June 5, 1903, in Le Diamant, Martinique

PORRY, Joseph Marie Eloi René
Born on December 1, 1855, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

POUJADE, Just Louis Isidore
Born on June 2, 1886, in Cayenne, Guyane

POUPON, Armand Laurent Alfred
Born on November 8, 1879, in Cayenne, Guyane

POUPON, Augustin Armand
Born on December 7, 1886, in Cayenne, Guyane

PREVOST DE TOUCHIMBERT, Auguste Ferdinand Eloi
Born on October 10, 1867, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

QUINTRIE-LAMOTHE, Louis Paul Guy
Born on August 20, 1906, in Cayenne, Guyane

RALLION, Norbert Célestin Joseph
Born on June 6, 1877, in Grand-Bourg, Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe

RALU, Louis Philippe
Born on October 8, 1870, in Le Marigot, Saint-Martin, Guadeloupe

RAMBAUD, Frédéric
Born on July 26, 1905, in Cayenne, Guyane

RAVEL, Marie Henry Victor
Born on February 21, 1870, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

RAVEL, Marie Amédée Henry
Born on October 14, 1872, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Islet Chantran, Guadeloupe

RAVEL, Henri Melchior
Born on January 6, 1885, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

REAUX, Marie Aristide Emmanuel
Born on August 5, 1856, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

REMY, Marie Emmanuel Adolphe Roger
Born on October 10, 1897, in Cayenne, Guyane

RICHARD DE CHICOURT, Maurice
Born on April 17, 1888, in Cayenne, Guyane

RICHAUD, Marie Auguste Félix
Born on February 7, 1898, in Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe

ROCHE, Athanase Jude
Born on May 2, 1894, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

ROGNON, Paul Léon Gabriel Louis
Born on October 20, 1890, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

ROGUES, Joseph Marie Jean
Born on February 24, 1895, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

ROSIER, Symphorien Emile
Born on August 22, 1894, in Le Lorrain, Martinique

ROSIER, Louis Eustache Félix
Born on September 20, 1897, in Trinité, Martinique

ROUAM-SIM, Joseph Wilsonne Lance
Born on March 6, 1896, in Rivière-Pilote, Martinique

ROUCH, Serge Joseph Marguerite
Born on August 5, 1906, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

ROUIL, Faustin Paul Emmanuel
Born on February 18, 1905, in Les Abymes, Guadeloupe

RUILLIER, Marie Sylvestre Saint-Clair Raymond
Born on December 31, 1898, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

DE SAINT-ALARY, Yves Marie Ludovic Paul
Born on September 19, 1886, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

DE SAINT-ALARY, Jean François Marie
Born on June 2, 1888, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

DE SAINT-ALARY, Jules Marie Joseph Benjamin
Born on December 28, 1891, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

SAINT-PRIX, Jules Victor Léonard
Born on April 8, 1894, in Le Marin, Guadeloupe

SAINT-YVES, Raoul Georges Louis
Born on May 11, 1899, in Le Diamant, Martinique

SAINTE-LUCE, Joseph
Born on March 27, 1867, in Trinité, Martinique

SAINTOL, Camille Emanuel
Born on January 2, 1873, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

SAINTOL, Marie Julien Georges
Born on January 27, 1889, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

SALINIERE, Alexandre Alfred
Born on March 24, 1861, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

SALLER, Michel Raphaël Antoine
Born on September 29, 1899, in Le Marin, Martinique

SALLER, Fernand Isidore
Born on June 23, 1905, in Le Marin, Martinique

SALOR, Eugène Lézin
Born on February 18, 1886, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

SASIAS, Pierre Benjamin Victor
Born on January 20, 1867, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

SAUPHANOR, Joseph Narcisse Roger
Born on October 29, 1905, in Le Lamentin, Martinique

SCHMIT, Eugène Marie Georges
Born on June 3, 1909, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

SEGUIN, Faustin Calixte Henri
Born on February 15, 1904, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

SILVIE, Armand Justin Laurent
Born on May 31, 1874, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

SIMONEAU, Guillaume Louis Antoine Hector
Born on June 26, 1866, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

SIMONEAU, Louis Auguste Antoine
Born on August 26, 1877, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

SINIBALDI, Paul Joseph
Born on November 14, 1900, in Kourou, Guyane

SORET, Félix Léon
Born on July 27, 1871, in Cayenne, Guyane

STHAL, Georges Frédéric
Born on August 13, 1857, in Cayenne, Guyane

SULLY, Timothé Georges Fernand
Born on December 19, 1884, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

SURLEMONT, Jules Eucher
Born on February 20, 1897, in Le Morne-Rouge, Martinique

SYMPHORIEN, Arthur Clément
Born on May 7, 1887, in Le Marin, Martinique

SYMPHORIEN, Joseph Hermann
Born on October 7, 1889, in Le Marin, Martinique

TAILLADE, Marie François Auguste
Born on February 9, 1874, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

TAITY, Eugène Saint Victor Romuald Guillaume
Born on February 7, 1873, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

TARQUIN, Monique Marie Gérard
Born on May 4, 1909, in Fonds d'Or, Marigot, Martinique

TAVI, Marie Armand Joseph
Born on January 9, 1874, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

TERRAC, Edouard Louis Barthélémy Marie Joseph
Born on April 8, 1900, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

THALY, Jacques Victor
Born on March 15, 1861, in Gros-Morne, Martinique

THALY, Jules Marie Donatien
Born on November 12, 1894, in Saint-Joseph, Martinique

THALY, Joseph Augustin Trévise
Born on April 16, 1873, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

THALY, Gabriel Joseph Henri
Born on October 26, 1875, in Saint-Pierre, Martinique

THEODOSE, André Georges Paul
Born on June 30, 1904, in Cayenne, Guyane

THEOLADE, Robert Louis
Born on August 15, 1905, in Cayenne, Guyane

THINE, Toussaint Louis Herménégilde Clotilde
Born on June 3, 1898, in Le Prêcheur, Martinique

THOMAS, Louis Marie
Born on March 8, 1905, in Saint-Laurent du Maroni, Guyane

TILLET, Roch Auguste Félix Aurèle Emilien
Born on October 20, 1858, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

TITI, Henry Antoine Maximilien
Born on October 15, 1860, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

TREBOS, Marie Joseph Lucien Marcel
Born on October 29, 1899, in Petit-Bourg, Guadeloupe

TRIFARD, Eustache Edgar Lucien
Born on September 20, 1866, in Fort-de-France, Martinique

TURENNE, Eugène Raphaël Jules Jean Baptiste
Born on September 14, 1879, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe

VADES, Paul Edouard Hippolyte Eugène
Born on March 30, 1869, in Cayenne, Guyane

VELLEYIN, Saïvinséroa
Born on August 20, 1883, in Le Moule, Guadeloupe

VENDOME, Louis Auguste Henri
Born on August 11, 1881, in Les Saintes, Terre-de-Haut, Guadeloupe

VERO, Venance
Born on May 18, 1890, in Le Lamentin, Martinique

VILA, Edward René Claude
Born on January 1, 1903, in Gustavia, Saint-Barthélémy, Guadeloupe

VINGARASSAMY, Louis
Born on August 25, 1880, in Capesterre, Guadeloupe

VITAL, Clément Evariste
Born on October 26, 1884, in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe

VIVIES, Edmond
Born on May 14, 1894, in Trinité, Martinique

Notes

Introduction

1. Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE), Antilles-Guyane, *Antianécho*, nos. 3, 4, and 5, janvier 2008; INSEE Antilles-Guyane, *Premiers résultats*, nos. 40, 41, and 42, 2009.
2. This crisis is to be added to the long list of continuing French difficulties in grappling with its own colonial past. Dispute over the February 23, 2005, law, which required that the positive role of colonization be taught, and the riots of November 2005 are but a few of the most recent and most egregious examples.
3. Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 534.
4. For a discussion of the coloniality of power as applied to Puerto Rico, see Ramon Grosfoguel, *Colonial Subjects: Puerto Ricans in a Global Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
5. Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, 30.
6. To examine more closely the population of French Caribbean *administrateurs des colonies*, it is important to address a few issues of its definition. Martinique, Guyane, and Guadeloupe were commonly referred to as "old colonies," a term also used for Réunion, as all four were inherited from the first French colonial empire that had been liquidated with the Napoleonic Wars. On many counts, their political evolution presents similarities. In 1848 inhabitants of these four colonies were granted citizenship as slavery was abolished, and they experienced the status of colonized citizens until 1946, when the departmentalization law made French departments of these colonies. However, in Réunion the social structure was different, with a more numerous white population: in 1842 it was twice that of Martinique and Guadeloupe and four times that of Guyane. This white population controlled access to local political positions and, during the period from 1848 to 1946, blacks and browns did not participate in local politics on the same terms and to the same extent as in the Caribbean colonies, where the relative proximity of the three colonies to one another allowed for increased exchanges on all levels, see Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation* (Matoury: Ibis Rouge, 2006), 12. Additionally, when referring to one specific *administrateur des colonies*, I have chosen to mention all of his first names, which in some cases can be as many as four or five. The order of one's first names in official documents is not

necessarily an indication of which one was used most often since it was frequently "hidden" among the many others to outsmart an ill fate. Finally, to distinguish between the cadre placed under the direct control of the Minister of Colonies and the many local cadres, I have used the French *administrateurs des colonies* to speak of the first one and agents, interpreter, and so on when referring to the second one; the English term colonial administrators is used to make unspecific mention of whomever is employed by this administration.

7. Oruno Lara has published a biography of Commander Mortenol that borrowed extensively from Mortenol's personal military records. Oruno Lara, *Le commandant Mortenol: Un officier guadeloupéen dans la Royale* (Epinay: Centre de Recherches Caraïbes-Amériques, 1985).
8. ANSOM, EEII 1213. EEII is the name of the series, and the number that follows is the file number.
9. The last name is better known with the spelling "de Lamennais," as used by the philosopher Félicité de Lamennais, brother of Jean-Marie. However, when researching the latter, I always found the spelling "de la Mennais." Jean-Marie de la Mennais (1780–1860) founded, with Gabriel Deshayes, the congregation of Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne in Ploërmel, Brittany, initially to educate children from the working class there. The congregation quickly spread to the colonies. The first missionary apostolate was established in Guadeloupe in 1837, then Martinique, Senegal, French Guyane, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, Tahiti, and Haiti (in 1864). Republican policy temporarily stopped their expansion in the colonies, and in 1884 they relocated to Canada.
10. On Wangrin see Ralph Austen, "Who Was Wangrin and Why Does It Matter," *Mande Studies: The Journal of the Mande Studies Association* 9 (2010):149–64.
11. Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994):1516–45.
12. William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1971).
13. The brief autobiography of Gabriel Lisette, written in collaboration with a journalist, is one such exception. Gabriel Lisette, "Têtes Ensembles," *Djiraïta. Pour la décolonisation, la fraternité, la solidarité. Entretien avec Michel Baron* (Paris: Ed. CIEM, 1988). Generally speaking, biographers have been interested in colonial administrators already well known. See also Keith Cameron, *René Maran* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1985); Fémi Ojo-Ade, *René Maran: écrivain négro-africain* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1977); Paulin Joachim, "Hommage à René Maran," *Bingo*, no. 158 (March1966); Elie Castor and Raymond Tarcy, *Félix Eboué* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985); Jean de La Roche, *Le gouverneur général Félix Eboué, 1884–1944* (Paris: Hachette, 1957); Brian Weinstein, *Eboué* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).
14. For instance, André Blanchot in *L'itinéraire des partis africains depuis Bamako* cites the Guadeloupeans Gabriel Lisette and Jules Ninine and the Guyanese Hector Riviérez as examples of African politicians who played important roles in African political life.

15. The *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* comprises two classifications. The first one, which covers most of the book, details the structure of all administrative services and indicates the name of the administrator appointed to each position. From 1903 on, a second classification was added, which recorded the service of each staff member. This second classification follows alphabetical order and includes all names mentioned in the first classification. Names are followed by precise information on the administrators, their dates and places of birth, as well as their ranks and decorations. The appointment is generally not mentioned, and places of appointment are rarely included. Each year, new information is added to follow the colonial administrator in the evolution of his career.
16. All records contain the same information and presentation in a one-page form: first and last names, place and dates of birth, names of wives, dates of marriage and number of children when applicable, as well as the names and professions of the parents. Following are the degrees and decorations and finally information pertaining to the *Ecole Coloniale* itself: promotion and matriculation number as well as degree. Death, resignation, and nonadmission are also reported. The record ends with a summary of the administrator's career, which is richer in detail than the records in the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*. Finally they also make mention of all exceptional events, such as revocation or grave faults or any actions that contributed to faster promotion.
17. With these documents, the association made corrections to the various promotions of the *Ecole Coloniale* known so far. For instance, the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* do not mention promotions 14/18, which were reserved for veterans. Similarly, World War I promotions in 1919 were reserved for disabled ex-servicemen and promotion in 1921 for officers appointed to the Civil Services in French West Africa (AOF, Afrique Occidentale Française) and French Equatorial Africa (AEF, Afrique Equatoriale Française) after special training at the Ecole Coloniale. Finally, in 1943 and 1944, laureates of the competitive examinations were exempted from the stage and directly appointed administrators according to decrees passed in Algiers.
18. The Commissariat existed until 1906; after this date commissioners of the colonial troops became prison officials.
19. Out of these 626, 112 appeared in the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* as well as in the ENFOM records. Therefore, the ENFOM alumni directory, which counted a total of 169, had in fact revealed only 57 additional names.
20. He was one of the founding members of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) and founded the Parti Progressiste Tchadien (PPT) in 1946.
21. Jeanne Marguerite Eliès, born on July 12, 1909, in Grand Bourg, Guadeloupe; Eugénie Séverine Gédin, born on December 18, 1914, in Trinité, Martinique; Marie Alexina Charlotte Hermite, born on November 19, 1908, in Saint-Claude, Guadeloupe; and Edma Madeleine Marie Justinien, born on November 20, 1900, in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe. According to the *Annuaires*, the first one became a physical education teacher in the late 1930s; the second was a nurse and started to work during or just after World War II; the

third became a midwife by the late 1930s; and the last one was a teacher. Place of appointment has not been mentioned for any of them.

22. This document recapitulates all sums (colonial pay, European pay, deductions such as a military or civil pension, various allowances such as transportation fees, day-before-boarding allowance, luggage transportation fees, and tickets for wife and children as well as any advance and assignment of pay) that the administrator may have received from the administration. In addition, this document contains all stops made by the administrator when entering or leaving the colony. In the personal files, the *carnet de solde* give the most complete information on this, since all trips of the administrator are recorded there as well as those of all family members when in the colony. Unfortunately, these notebooks are not in the files systematically and, when they are, the whole career is generally hard to reconstruct. *Carnets de solde* also indicate the various *délégations de solde* made by the *administrateur*, as well as the amount of the sums and the names of the persons for whom they were made. The scarcity of data regarding their spouses does not allow the researcher to know with precision the average length of their stay, nor in what proportion wives went to the African colonies.
23. It presents the administrator's appointment with indication of the place and length of the stay.
24. They give precious information on the administrator himself, such as his degrees, date of wedding, number of children, decorations, languages spoken, schools attended, professions of his parents, kinship with other colonial administrators (but not always) as well as the appreciation of the superiors (direct superior, governor or lieutenant-governor, and finally governor general) on the work accomplished and behavior of the administrator over the previous year.
25. The role of Saint-Pierre should not be underestimated, since after the 1902 eruption the city had never been able to regain it past stature as a Caribbean metropolis and after this date very few *administrateurs des colonies* were born in this city.
26. "A la Guyane, Messieurs, pays neuf et dont l'existence sociale ne compte que de l'année 1848 . . . la famille n'est pas constituée . . . En effet, sur dix enfants, sept n'ont pas de pères reconnus." Cited in Yvette Farraudière, *Ecole et société en Guyane française* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989), 41.
27. ANSOM EEII 755 and *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*.
28. Typical is the case of the Saint-Cyr family. Edouard Saint-Cyr, born in1808, was one of Martinique's earliest free persons of color. He became a tailor and married Céphise Ulrich, a hardware dealer. Their son, Charles Saint-Cyr, became in 1872 the first non-white notary of Martinique in Le Marin and would be followed by four generations of notaries, solicitors, and lawyers.
29. The two wings of the butterfly shape of Guadeloupe have received the names of Basse-Terre and Grande-Terre. While the southern wing, Grande-Terre, was predominantly the land of the sugarcane economy, in the north, the economy of the Basse-Terre was more open to small farmers. It is in Grande-Terre that

lies the economic center of Pointe-à-Pitre. In contrast, Basse-Terre established itself as the administrative center of the island with the city of Basse-Terre. The eastern part of Grande-Terre included the towns of Le Moule, Saint-François, and Sainte-Anne with 37 percent of the Indian population and, in Basse-Terre, the towns of Capesterre, Trois-Rivières, Saint-Claude, and Gourbeyre, which gathered 25.5 percent of the immigrants. André Calmont et al., *Histoire et mémoire des immigrations en régions Martinique-Guadeloupe, rapport final* (Paris and Fort-de-France: l'Acsé and UAG: 2008), 39.

Chapter 1

1. On the plantations child labor was organized into teams called the *ti-bans*—the little gangs—charged with assisting the adults in the cane fields.
2. Joseph Zobel, *La Rue Cases-Nègres* (Paris: J. Froissart, 1950), translated into English as *Black Shack Alley*, by Keith Q. Warner (Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1980).
3. *La Rue Cases-Nègres* directed by Euzhan Palcy (107 minutes, 1983). The film received 17 international prizes, including the Silver Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1983 and was Palcy's ticket to Hollywood, where she became the first black woman to direct a feature film with *A Dry White Season* in 1989. This adaptation of *La Rue Cases-Nègres* was the occasion to showcase some of Martinique's best talents. Darling Légitimus, who played M'man Tine, was a multifaceted artist. She danced at Josephine Baker's La Revue Noire in the 1920s, composed music, and performed as a beguine singer. She simultaneously followed a career as a comedian and worked with some of France's best artists: Simone Signoret, Yves Montant, Henri-Georges Clouzot, Sacha Guitry, Arletty, and Pierre Brasseur, to name but a few. Darling Legitimus also modeled for famed sculptors Pablo Picasso and Paul Belmondo. But, it was not until the age of 76 that she received the first major award of her life, for her performance in *La Rue Cases-Nègres.* Yet she was never offered any role afterwards. The movie also acclaimed Martinican musicians, as it features Francisco, Eugène Mona, and a soundtrack by the band Malavoi, all of whom have dedicated their careers to reviving the musical heritage of their native island. Palcy also paid tribute to Martinique's African roots by offering one of the major roles of the film to Senegalese actor Douta Seck, who gave life to the character of Mait' Médouze, the old African worker on the plantation and José's mentor.
4. The French provisional government ratified the decree on April 27. The next day a Commission for the Abolition of Slavery, presided over by Victor Schœlcher, started working on defining the terms of emancipation. Slavery had already been abolished a first time on February 4, 1794, when the French Assembly had declared its abolition, but it had soon been restored by Napoleon Bonaparte, first proconsul of France, by the law of May 20, 1802. Martinique never experienced this temporary abolition, since it was a British colony during this period.

5. Louis Thomas Husson, Saint-Pierre, proclamation of March 31, 1848, Journal Officiel de la Martinique du 24 mai 1848.
6. Governor Pariset, Guyane, proclamation of July 15, 1848.
7. "Citoyens de la Martinique, La grande nouvelle de l'émancipation que je viens de décréter détruit les distinctions qui existaient jusqu'à ce jour entre les diverses parties de la population; il n'y a plus parmi nous de libres ni d'esclaves, la Martinique ne porte plus aujourd'hui que des citoyens . . . Je recommande à chacun l'oubli du passé." Governor Rostoland, *Journal Officiel de la Martinique* and *Courrier de la Martinique*, May 24, 1848.
8. By the law of April 30, 1849, 120 millions francs were to be shared among Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Réunion.
9. The law of July 11, 1851, created a bank in each colony to provide planters with new equipment and additional sources of financing.
10. "L'Africain est véritablement l'homme de l'avenir. C'est un sauvage, il est vrai, qui n'a pas la moindre notion du travail et de la civilisation mais ce sauvage, une fois dressé, une fois admis dans le giron de l'Eglise, se fixe définitivement dans le pays, il s'assimile et s'agglomère immédiatement à notre population. Avec l'Africain, nous consolidons l'héritage de nos enfants, nous travaillons à les exonérer des grands embarras où nous vivons actuellement," Archives d'Aix, Généralités, carton 124, dossier 1088, Note sur l'immigration africaine. Reprinted in André Calmont, et al., *Histoire et mémoire des immigrations en regions Martinique-Guadeloupe, rapport final*, 53.
11. Ibid, 54.
12. Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *La Guyane au temps de l'esclavage, l'or, et la francisation*, 1802–1946 (Matoury: Ibis Rouge, 1999), 223.
13. From 1855 to 1885 only 1 percent of the workers who made it to Guadeloupe came from one of the French trading posts. In fact they came exclusively from the trading posts of Pondichery and Karikal. A trade agreement had been made with the British to recruit in their colonies. André Calmont, et al., *Histoire et mémoire des immigrations en régions Martinique-Guadeloupe, rapport final*, 33.
14. The last ships arrived in Guadeloupe in 1889. Ibid., 37.
15. Ibid., 66. By the end of 1894, the arrival of 500 Japanese workers in Guadeloupe prompted a drop in salaries, which fell from 1.25 francs to 1 franc. The colonial banks, the French state, and the colony itself subsidized these migrations.
16. Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *La Guyane au temps de l'esclavage, l'or, et la francisation*, 223.
17. France represented the main outlet for Caribbean producers but already in 1884 over 60 percent of its sugar production came from beets, Butel, *Histoire des Antilles françaises, XVVe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 2002), 324.
18. Ibid.
19. By the 1930s, bananas had been introduced in all three French Caribbean colonies, but this new culture made no considerable change in the existing economic structure.

20. Brian Weinstein, *Eboué* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 133.
21. *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce de la Martinique*, statistiques commerciales, no. 1, January 1935, cited by Edouard de Lépine, *La crise de février 1935 à la Martinique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1980), 26.
22. Raymond Boutin, *La population de la Guadeloupe de l'émancipation à l'assimilation (1848–1946)*, 228.
23. This report is presented by Jacques-Adélaïde Merlande, "Une société en crise vue par un contemporain." Alfred Salinière, *La Guadeloupe 1875–1914. Les soubresauts d'une société pluri-ethnique ou les ambiguïtés de l'assimilation* (Paris: Autrement, 1994), 111–29.
24. Here I would like to thank Philippe and Bernadette Rossignol from the association Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe for providing much information on the Barzilay family.
25. In 1881, a loan had been partially used to build a railroad on the main plantation.
26. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and *Ancêtres antillais,* review of L'Association Généalogie et d'Histoire de la Caraïbe, January 1977, no. 1, 4–9; Febuary–March 1977, no. 2, 1–9; April–May 1977, no. 3, 4–12; June 1977, no. 4, 5–12; July–August 1977, no. 5, 3–8; September–October 1977, no. 6, 4–9; November–December 1977, no. 7, 1–5; January–February 1978, no. 8, 1–9; March–April 1978, no. 9, 1–9; May–June 1978, no. 10, 4–9.
27. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and ANSOM, EEII 1486.
28. By the end of 1840 the Ploërmel Brothers were allowed regular visits to the plantations, and the law of July 18, 1845, required planters to make sure that slaves' education was provided for.
29. "[L]e retour des nègres de France nous inonderait de forts mauvais sujets, trop instruits par leur séjour en France, qui donneraient aux nègres du pays des connaissances et des lumières dont les conséquences seraient fort dangereuses. J'en reviens toujours, monsieur le Duc, au silence, qu'il faut les tenir dans la plus grande ignorance." Cited in André Lucrèce, *Civilisés et énergumènes. De l'enseignement aux Antilles* (Paris: Editions Caribéennes et L'Harmattan, 1981), 34–35.
30. "La classe blanche oblige les maîtres des petites pensions du pays à refuser les enfants de couleur, sous peine de retirer les siens: elle s'oppose avec soin à toute expansion de lumière dont pourrait profiter la classe libre: il entre dans sa politique de conserver le monopole et le principe de l'instruction." Cited in Antoine Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale* (Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1988), 41.
31. "Une fâcheuse distinction avait lieu récemment à Saint-Pierre dans les deux écoles de garcons: les chefs d'établissements n'y recevaient que des enfants blancs, et ils avaient refusé avec persistence d'admettre des enfants de couleur." *Lucrèce, Civilisés et énergumène*s, 65.
32. Created in 1819, the congregation of the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (Brothers of Christian Instruction) had developed a network of schools in Brittany—home region of Jean-Marie de la Mennais—which were very

popular. Frère Symphorien-Auguste, *A travers la correspondance de l'abbé J. M. de la Mennais. Les frères de l'instruction chrétienne à la Guadeloupe et à la Martinique*.

33. Ibid.
34. Yvette Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 77.
35. Lucrèce, *Civilisés et énergumènes*, 68.
36. "On a ajouté par le règlement du 6 mars 1853 la géographie et l'histoire, le dessin linéaire, la géométrie pratique, les premiers éléments de la mécanique, toute chose qui me paraissent superflues pour des enfants dont la destination devrait être la culture." Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 82.
37. "Le goût de l'instruction n'est que trop vif et trop répandu parmi les nouveaux libres. Tous les efforts de l'administration ne cessant de tendre à modérer cette propension, du moins en ce qu'elle a de dangereux pour l'avenir du travail agricole." Lucrèce, *Civilisés et énergumènes*, 64.
38. "Avec les enfants s'y agglomèrent les parents qui abandonnent la culture des champs pour venir se fixer à Cayenne et y vivre sous le prétexte de soigner leur fils ou leur fille dans un état de paresse et d'oisiveté." Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 88.
39. *Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris. Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon* (Paris: Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, 1931), 65.
40. Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 153.
41. "Ramener vers la terre des bras qui semblent s'obstiner à vouloir s'en écarter." Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 88.
42. Paul Crouzet, *L'enseignement dans les colonies françaises depuis la guerre*.
43. Agence Générale des Colonies, *La Martinique* (Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1925), 18.
44. Crouzet, *L'enseignement dans les colonies françaises depuis la guerre* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1924).
45. "Nous avons besoin ici plus qu'ailleurs, dit le chef du service de l'instruction publique en 1898, 'de ces classes moyennes qui sont l'honneur et la force d'une démocratie', de ces 'guides bienveillants et éclairés' qui peuvent le mieux orienter et 'contenir au besoin dans de justes limites' les effervescences et les revendications." Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 193.
46. "Pas de premier par décret de naissance et l'on assigne jamais ce rang à ceux qui ne l'ont conquis pas par leur mérite personnel." Antoine Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 188.
47. "La bonne population de la Martinique vient encore de montrer sa supériorité et son sens moral. Depuis deux ans à peine que les écoles normales sont ouvertes, elles ont déjà fourni un nombre d'instituteurs suffisants pour les écoles primaries laïques. D'un côté l'instruction secondaire laïque que donne le lycée prend de plus en plus de faveur: vingt nouveaux élèves reçus lors de la rentrée des classes provenaient du séminaire college. Bravo 'sauvages africains,' continuez à vous éclairer . . . et à mépriser vos insulteurs. Vos étonnants

progrès répondent pour vous." Victor Schœlcher, *Polémiques coloniales* (Paris, 1882), quoted in Lucrèce, *Civilisés et énergumènes*, 83.

48. "En leur [les enfants] donnant les moyens d'acquérir les rudiments du savoir, n'arrivera-t-on pas à faire éclore en eux les bons sentiments qui sommeillent? Qui ne demandent qu'à se developer au contact de camarades plus polis, mieux éduqués? Le niveau de la moralité générale y aura tout à gagner en perfection. Nous touchons ici au point le plus délicat de la question de la fusion des classes." Report of the Lodge Droit et Justice, July, 12, 1924, GODF archives.
49. "L'élite supérieure . . . sera composée d'hommes instruits, dépourvus de sots préjugés, pénétrés de l'idée de bonté et de justice qui doit régner dans la société [car] tant vaut l'élite, tant vaut la nation." Ibid.
50. ANSOM EEII 4368.
51. Among other appointments, he went to Dakar from 1921 to 1922, Douala from 1923 to 1925, Bangui from 1925 to 1927, and Madagascar from 1934 to 1935. ANSOM, EEII 4086.
52. "Ma présentation à l'examen des bourses pour l'entrée au lycée de Saint-Pierre me mit en concurrence, dans ma série, avec le fils d'un receveur des contributions, ami personnel du Président du Conseil Général qui présidait la session de cet examen. O cruelle dérision! Et, naturellement ce fut ce fils à papa qui l'emporta sur moi par l'obtention d'une bourse entière. Tout pour lui, rien pour moi." Marius Larcher, *Sous la paillote, impressions et souvenirs. Autour de ma relève et de ma réintegration. Vingt ans après: la loi du pardon* (Fort-de-France: Imprimerie des Editions Berger, 1962); ANSOM EEII 6121.
53. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 201.
54. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 220.
55. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 215.
56. "Répugnaient à mettre leurs enfants dans les écoles publiques de la colonie et préféraient les envoyer en France lorsque l'état de leur fortune le leur permettait." Réponse de M. de Saint-Hilaire à une lettre de J. M. de la Mennais, cited in Frère Paul Cueff, "Origines d'une épopée missionnaire, 1836–1840."
57. "Les habitants, y compris ceux qui appartiennent à l'ancienne classe de couleur, envoient leurs enfants en France toutes les fois que l'état de leur fortune le leur permet, pour leur y faire puiser les principes et les connaissances de l'éducation métropolitaine." Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 41.
58. He arrived in that colony in 1902 at 22 years of age and died of typhoid at the military hospital of Majunga in 1926. Upon his mother's request, his daughter was repatriated to Guadeloupe, where he was also buried. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ANSOM EEII 1057.
59. He started his career in 1930 and was first assigned to Chad and Brazzaville, *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, Fichier ENFOM, ANSOM EEII 5386.
60. Jacques Lony, *Connaissance du passé: "l'enseignement en Guyans*e" (Cayenne: Imprimerie Municipale de la Ville de Cayenne et CIRCA, 1984).
61. "J'ai toujours trouvé inutile en effet d'entretenir un collège à Cayenne si des subsides scolaires peuvent être accordés pour la métropole avant que les

enfants aient parcouru en entier le cycle des études faites et gratuitement sur place." Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 137.

62. ANSOM, EEII 1512.
63. Albert M'Paka, *Félix Eboué (1884–1944): Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, Premier Résident de l'Empire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), 47.
64. Elie Castor and Raymond Tarcy, *Félix Eboué* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1984). René Maran followed a career in Oubangui-Chari, and Eugène Eutrope also entered the colonial administration but was assigned to Indochina from 1903 to 1938 (*Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ENFOM). Emmanuel Quintrie and Camille Lhuerre could not be identified.
65. Albert M'Paka. *Félix Eboué (1884–1944): Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, Premier Résistant de l'Empire*, 47.
66. In Guyane the discovery of gold presented another alternative. But if gold made fast fortunes it did not guarantee solid social advancement. The case of Félix Eboué's family is a perfect example. His grandparents were slaves, but in the next generation the family was already able to move up the social ladder, working in the gold mines of Roura. However, after the death of two sons and the father in the *placers*, the family abandoned its mining activities to settle in Cayenne.
67. "Il y a 1.400 employés à compter dans le budget de la colonie, non compris les fonctionnaires municipaux, le coût s'élève à deux millions de francs, plus de 105.000 francs prévus pour leurs traitements dans les hôpitaux et leurs frais de transport." Fallope, *La Guadeloupe entre 1848 et 1900, contribution à une étude sur les consequences de l'émancipation et les crises de la fin du siècle.* PhD diss. (Paris: Sorbonne University Paris IV, 1971), 273–74.
68. *Les carrières coloniales, Répertoire des carrières en France au XIXè siècle.*
69. Military pensions were allotted to former military personnel with 25 years of effective service of which 10 years had been in the colonies. Civil retirements were granted to employees 60 years old and over who had 30 years of service including their military service. Georges François, *Le guide des carrières coloniales. Mémento complet des carrières administratives coloniales* (Paris: Larose, 1908), 14–16.
70. In order to benefit from all their advantages, spouses had to have been married for at least 6 years prior to the cessation of their husbands' activities or to have been mothers of living children born of their marriages. In case of legal separation pronounced on behalf of the husband, no pension was paid. Orphans were entitled to yearly aid until they came of age. François, *Le guide des carrières coloniales*, 16.
71. Abou, *L'Ecole dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 214.
72. Ibid., 215.
73. This grandson of slaves pursued an exceptional political career in France. After becoming a lawyer, he joined the Radical Party and was elected deputy of Guyane in 1932. He was appointed Secretary of State in charge of the colonies between 1937 and 1938. One of the few who did not vote full powers to

Marshall Philippe Pétain, he became actively involved in the resistance movement during World War II. In 1948, he was elected senator, a seat that he kept until 1974. Between 1959 and 1968 he became president of the French Senate, the second most important figure in France's political system, as in that position he would have to assume the role of President of the French Republic if necessary. Before his death in 1991, Gaston Monnerville was a member of the Conseil Constitutionnel (1974–1983).

74. "Comme l'un des plus brillants de sa génération . . . Félix Eboué honore son pays. Qu'il vous serve d'exemple." Castor and Tarcy, *Félix Eboué*, x.
75. "1908, c'était une époque où—juste après le certificat d'études, alors obligatoire—assoifés de culture et d'instruction civique, pleinement attentifs aux leçons de nos formateurs, nous aspirions à servir un jour la Guyane, la collectivité régionale qui nous avait vu naître et aussi la collectivité nationale, la France, patrie de Victor Schœlcher, qui avait fait de nos pères—donc de nous-mêmes—des hommes libres. Avoir devant nos yeux, à une époque où c'était à la fois si rare et si méritoire, un compatriote encore jeune qui, par ses propres efforts, avait atteint ce niveau culturel, était pour nous un évènement et une exaltante raison d'émulation. Cette journée reste, pour moi, inoubliable. L'enfant de onze ans fut marqué à jamais par le sceau indélébile d'un modèle à suivre, d'un exemple à imiter." Ibid.
76. For instance, Félix Léon Soret went to law school with a yearly subvention of 1200F from Guyane, which was supplemented by his parents (ANSOM EEII 1512). In 1909, Timothée Georges Fernand Sully prepared for the Ecole Coloniale competitive examination in Paris, with the support of his father who was president of the Appeals Court of Fort-de-France, but the previous year he had been a tutor at the *lycée* of Martinique (ANSOM EEII 1504). Employment outside of the administration was another way to support one's training. Robert Louis Théolade went to law school in Paris while working as a clerk for the insurance company L'Abeille (ANSOM EEII 6465). André Maurice Albert Eugène Bourgarel was a clerk in the legal department of the insurance company Compagnie Générale d'Assurances from May 1924 to January 1925 (ANSOM EEII 4782); Louis Georges Brumant also was employed in an insurance company before entering the administration in 1905 (ANSOM EEII 803); Marie Henri Victor Ravel was an accountant in the Parisian department store Le Bon Marché from 1902 to 1906, and until 1910 he was a cashier and accountant at the G. Imbert bank. He was able to use this experience as he entered the colonial administration in financial services (ANSOM EEII 1215). Faustin Paul Emmanuel Rouil was an accountant in the company Le Lion Noir in Montrouge, near Paris, before starting his career in the colonial administration in 1930 (ANSOM EEII 8068).
77. ANSOM EEII 2294.
78. ANSOM EEII 2301.
79. In Guadeloupe, public conferences on law were organized in Basse-Terre in 1884, but they were canceled the following year due to a lack of students (not more than 2 or 3 per conference). In 1888, Dufond, a graduate in law as well

as a notary, had been authorized by the governor to arrange law conferences in Pointe-à-Pitre. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 224.

80. ANSOM EEII 2301.
81. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 223. André Lucrèce in *Civilisés et énergumènes*, 82, indicates 51 students in 1886. Their data differ on the enrollment of Guyanese students: nine in 1886 for André Lucrèce and only two that same year and one the previous year (1886–1887), according to Abou.
82. See the figures given by Abou. Roland Suvélor gives a figure of 60 students in 1889 in "L'Ecole de droit," *Les Cahiers du Patrimoine*, no. 10 (1990), 72–80.
83. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 223.
84. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 223.
85. Suvélor, "L'Ecole de droit," 72–80.
86. For instance, in his annual evaluation, the Martinican Symphorien Emile Rosier declared that he could speak Bambara and Hausa, which he had probably learned during his career ANSOM, EEII 5485.
87. Today, its buildings are the location of the Institut Français des Affaires Publiques (IFAP) where administration is taught to young students who, for the most part, come from former French colonies. On the Ecole Coloniale see Daniel-Charles Rigollot, *L'Ecole coloniale de Paris, 1885–1939* and William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa*.
88. Such experiences had already been experimented with early on at an individual level. For instance, in the seventeenth century, two young men captured on the coast of Africa had been brought to the court of Louis XIV. Aniaba and Banga became officers in the royal regiment. Aniaba, who had been educated and baptized in the Catholic faith, was later used to serve France's commercial interests on the coast of Guinea.
89. Administrative Council of the Ecole cambodgienne, procès-verbaux of the 71 sessions from October 27, 1887 to November 27, 1891, session of July 27, 1889; ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale.
90. Report to the president of the Conseil, Minister of Trade, Industry, and Colonies to the President of the French Republic, deciding on the administrative and financial organization as well as the functioning of the Ecole Coloniale, November 23, 1889, *Journal Officiel*, 25 Novembre, 1889, no. 319, 28th year.
91. ANSOM, *Ecole coloniale*, Procès-verbaux du conseil d'administration.
92. ANSOM, *Ecole coloniale*, Administrative Council, procès-verbaux of the 71 sessions from October 27, 1887 to November 27, 1890; sessions of April 2 and October 13, 1890.
93. "Rapport présenté au Conseil de perfectionnement de l'Ecole coloniale par M. Ouachée," polygraph copy (Paris, 1900), cited by Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 40.
94. Conseil d'administration de l'école cambodgienne; procès-verbaux des 71 séances du 27 octobre 1887 au 27 novembre 1891, séance d'ouverture de l'école coloniale, 11 janvier 1890, ANSOM, Ecole coloniale.
95. *Gouverneurs et administrateurs coloniaux*, numéro special du *Bulletin des anciens élèves*, no. 127 (1944), 29.

96. The *brevet* was received upon graduation after a full cycle at the Ecole, while the *certificat* was received by students registered for the *stage* of the Ecole.
97. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 46.
98. Ministry of Colonies, *Instructions pour l'admission à l'Ecole coloniale en 1884 (section française)*, extrait du journal official January 29, 1894.
99. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*.
100. Rapport du Président du Conseil, Ministre du Commerce, de l'industrie et des colonies au Président de la République française, réglant l'organisation administrative et financière et le fonctionnement de l'Ecole coloniale, 23 novembre 1889, *Journal Officiel*, November, 25 1889; no. 319, 28è année; décret du 23 novembre, 1889.
101. Rigollot, *L'Ecole coloniale de Paris, 1885–1939*.
102. François, *Le Guide des carrières coloniales*
103. The decision of June 4, 1901, determined scholarships and allowances.
104. Abou, *L'école dans la Guadeloupe coloniale*, 227. Julien and Corbin were not identified.
105. ANSOM, EEII 7081.
106. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and Fichier ENFOM.
107. ANSOM, EEII 4257.
108. He was born on May 22, 1914, in Sainte-Anne, Guadeloupe. His name does not appear on the list because he was born after 1910.
109. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and Fichier ENFOM.
110. Fichier ENFOM.
111. This small number of Guadeloupeans given by Antoine Abou does not completely account for the total number of Ecole Coloniale graduates at that time. At least 45 Guadeloupeans followed the full curriculum of the Ecole Coloniale and received the school *brevet* before World War II.
112. Decision of May 15, 1908, establishing the number of students to be admitted (arrêté du 15 mai 1908, fixant le nombre des élèves à admettre), ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, carton 1, dossier 2.
113. Students who already had a law *licence* were exempted from this exam.
114. ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, Conseil administratif, sessions du 2 février au 9 novembre 1898, session du 12 mai 1893.
115. ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, carton 20, dossier 1.
116. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 46.
117. ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, carton 20, dossier 3.
118. He presided over the Ecole's administrative council from 1889 until his death in 1923.
119. Decree of February 28, 1915.
120. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 85.
121. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 86, 125.
122. *Gouverneurs et administrateurs coloniaux*, numéro special du *Bulletin des anciens élèves*, no. 127 (1944).
123. Fichier ENFOM.
124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.
126. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*; ANSOM EEII 1092.
127. Fichier ENFOM and EEII 357.
128. His colonial destination was not indicated, which is why he was not included in the list. Fichier ENFOM.
129. Fichier ENFOM and ANSOM EEII 6488.
130. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 86.
131. ANSOM EEII 7021.
132. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 95.
133. *Gouverneurs et administrateurs coloniaux*.
134. "Dès leur entrée à l'Ecole, [les élèves] doivent se considérer tous comme de futurs fonctionnaires et être astreints à une certaine discipline, qui les habituera à la régularité et à la correction pour la vie qu'ils doivent mener plus tard." ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, Conseil d'administration de l'Ecole cambodgienne, procès-verbaux of the 71 sessions from October 27 to November 27, 1891; opening session of the Ecole Coloniale, January 11, 1890.
135. "On étudia les honneurs qu'il convenait de rendre à cet uniforme qu'ignorait l'Ecole du soldat; il parut même opportun de faire fixer le rang de préséance des fonctionnaires de l'administration centrale des colonies." Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole coloniale, *Annuaire 1914*.
136. ANSOM, Ecole Coloniale, conseil d'administration, sessions from February 2nd, 1892 to November 9, 1898, meeting of February 23, 1884.
137. The documents that attest to its activity are the yearly directory. They have been found for a period between 1906 and 1924.
138. He had received his brevet, and from 1896 to 1902 was a colonial *commissaire* in Senegal and then in Réunion and Indochina from 1906 (ANSOM, Fichier ENFOM).
139. He was appointed to Senegal (from 1895 to 1897), Guyane (until 1901 and then again between 1905 and 1909), and Guadeloupe (from 1901 to 1905). From 1909 to 1911, he was justice of the peace in Tulear, Madagascar, and was then nominated counselor to the Appeals Court of AEF in August 1911 where he served until 1913, the year of his nomination in Guadeloupe (ANSOM, Fichier ENFOM).
140. "Créer entre ses membres les liens de solidarité qui puissent utilement servir la cause du développement colonial de la France."
141. ANSOM EEII 1601 *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, Fichier ENFOM.
142. Fichier ENFOM, *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ANSOM EEII 3519.
143. Both entered the Ecole Coloniale. Etienne Attuly spent his career in the penitentiary administration in Guyane with a 12-year interruption at the central colonial administration in Paris (1920–1932), *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ANSOM ENFOM. Robert Attuly started his career in 1912 in Africa (Sudan, Senegal, Cameroon) where he reached the highest levels of the magistracy, *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ENFOM, ANSOM EEII 8006, and ANSOM EEII 2378.

Chapter 2

1. Marc Michel, *Les Africains et la grande guerre. L'appel à l'Afrique (1914–1918)* (Paris: Karthala, 2003), 85.
2. Sabine Andrivon-Milton published several books on this theme: *La Martinique et la grande guerre* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005), *Le livre d'or des soldats martiniquais morts pendant la Grande guerre* (Fort-de-France: S. A. M. Editions, 2006), *Lettres de poilus Martiniquais* (Fort-de-France: S. A. M. Editions, 2008). Homage to veterans of World War II was paid by historians Lucien-René Abenon and Henry E. Joseph, *Les Dissidents des Antilles dans les Forces Françaises Libres combattantes, 1940–1945* (Fort-de-France: Association des Dissidents de la Martinique, 1999); as well as filmmaker Euzhan Palcy with her documentary, *Parcours de Dissidents* (2006).
3. Virginie Brunelot, "1914–1918. Les Guyanais de la Grande Guerre," *La Semaine Guyanaise*, no. 1298 (2008).
4. The constitution of 1875 and the law of November 30, 1875, reduced representation to one deputy and one senator, and it was only with the law of July 28, 1881, that the number of deputies was once again established at two for Guadeloupe and Martinique and one for Guyane.
5. Gustave Franconie, *Notre droit à l'assimilation*. Cited by Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation*, 72.
6. "Ce jour vint, et la France libérée donna la liberté aux esclaves. De bêtes de somme elle fit des hommes; de ces hommes, elle fit des citoyens; de ces citoyens, elle fit des citoyens français." Ibid., 72.
7. Franconie, *Notre droit à l'assimilation*, 4.
8. "Les mettre en pleine jouissance immediate de toutes lois, institutions, bénéfices, comme les soumettre à toutes charges et contributions de la société française métropolitaine. En un mot, puisqu'il faut le dire, c'est que dès ce moment, il entendait assimiler complètement les colonies aux départements français," Ibid, 5.
9. Joseph Lagrosillière, *Pourquoi j'ai démissionné comme membre du Comité Central d'organisation des fêtes du Tricentennaire*.
10. "Le parti anti-français qui n'a qu'un rêve, qu'un désir, l'annexion de l'île à l'Amérique . . . [Ce sont] des partisans de la doctrine Monroë." Claude Thiébaut, *Guadeloupe 1899: année de tous les dangers* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1989), 72.
11. Georges Odo, *La franc-maçonnerie dans les colonies*, *1738–1960 (*Paris: Editions Maçonniques de France, 2001), 99.
12. Jacques Adélaïde-Merlande, "Va-t-on céder les Antilles françaises aux Etats-Unis?" in *Guadeloupe, Martinique, et Guyane dans le monde américain*, ed. Maurice Burac (Paris: Karthala, 1994), 163.
13. "C'est un procès politique; c'est celui de l'administration coloniale telle que la comprennent certains administrateurs coloniaux; c'est le procès de la politique coloniale française telle que la mènent certains représentants de la France aux colonies, à l'insu du peuple de France." Gaston Monnerville,

Témoignage. De la France équinoxiale au Palais du Luxembourg (Paris: Plon, 1975), 423.

14. Nelly Schmidt, *Victor Schœlcher et l'abolition de l'esclavage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 214.
15. "L'Ile de la Guadeloupe est réputée partie intégrante de la France et forme le département de la Guadeloupe." *Moniteur des colonies*, no. 1 (October 5, 1882). Cited by Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation*, 139.
16. "Il ne s'agit pas en effet de rester en arrière alors que le progrès est partout et que la France marche à grands pas en avant." Farraudière, *Ecole et société*, 62.
17. "La Guadeloupe et la Martinique sont françaises depuis bientôt trois cents ans, elles ne portent l'empreinte d'aucune nationalité étrangère . . . leurs lois civiles, pénales et commerciales ne sont pas autres que celles de la métropole . . . Nous sommes donc certains d'être les interprètes de nos compatriotes de la Martinique et de la Guadeloupe en proposant au Sénat une loi qui a pour objet de consacrer l'application définitive dans ces deux colonies du principe de l'assimilation," Comptes-rendus des séances du débat parlementaire du 15 juillet 1890. Cited by Schmidt, *Victor Schœlcher,* 214.
18. "L'acheminement progressif de chacune d'elles vers une organisation sociale et politique se rapprochant de plus en plus de celle de la métropole." Ibid., 215.
19. "Complet, sans réserve, de la Guadeloupe à la métropole, d'extension de la liberté de la presse, d'accès à toutes les places par le concours et jamais au choix ou à la faveur des simplifications de rouages administratifs et judiciaires, et de justice gratuite." Quoted by Henri Bangou, *Le parti socialiste français face à la décolonisation: de Jules Guesde à François Mitterrand. Le cas de la Guadeloupe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), 30.
20. "Sans crainte d'être contredit que les Antilles ne sont plus des colonies et qu'elles se sont mises au niveau de nos départements dans tous les domaines." *La Résistance*, August 1, 1935. Cited by Edouard de Lépine, *La crise de février 1935 à la Martinique*, 10.
21. Jean-Claude William, "Les origines de la départementalisation," *Historial Antillais*, VI, 50–61 (Fort-de-France: Editions Dajani, 1980). Cited by Marie-José Jolivet, "La construction d'une mémoire historique à la Martinique: du schœlchérisme au marronisme," 297.
22. "Vous viendrez ainsi en aide à toute une population en agonie, et retirez de la misère des enfants de la plus ancienne colonie française." Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'Assimilation*, 97.
23. Born in Martinique in 1795, Cyrille Bisette was sent into exile in France for circulating the brochure *De la situation des gens de couleur libres aux Antilles Françaises* (1823). In Paris he fought for the immediate abolition of slavery, founded the Société des Hommes de Couleur in 1834, and published *La Revue des Colonies*, probably the first French periodical to publish articles by Africans, the Senegalese abbots Albert Fridoil and M. Moussa, see François Manchuelle, "Le rôle des Antillais dans l'apparition du nationalism culturel en l'Afrique noire francophone," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 32, no. 127: 381.

24. "Monarchie et empire veulent dire esclavage; république veut dire libération. On ne pourrait comprendre qu'ils ne fussent pas républicains, qu'on ne peut comprendre qu'un fils ne respecte sa mère." Schmidt, *Victor Schœlcher*, 220.
25. "Le meilleur moyen d'assurer la paix et la concorde entre les anciennes classes divisées de la Société Coloniale," Lucrèce, *Civilisés et énergumènes*, 80.
26. "Cette classe essentiellement française, française de cœur, d'esprit, de langage, de coutumes, de mœurs, est aujourd'hui montée, grâce à un labeur persévérant, au niveau de ses aînés en civilisation. Elle compte bon nombre de ses enfants dans la magistrature, le barreau, l'université, la médecine, le clergé, l'armée de terre et de mer, le commissariat de marine, enfin dans toutes les carrières. Il faut rendre justice à qui le mérite: que nous autres blancs soit européens, soit créoles, nous soyons nécessaires, indispensables au développement continu de la société coloniale, rien de plus vrai; mais ce serait évidemment égarer l'Assemblée que de nous y représenter comme les uniques gardiens des nobles traditions de la mère-patrie." Excerpts from "De la représentation des colonies au Parlement," speech given at the Commission des Trente, October 1875. Cited in Victor Schœlcher, *Polémique coloniale*, 12.
27. "L'intérêt que M. Schœlcher lui portait et mon collègue du Sénat, M. Allègre, ancien Gouverneur de la Martinique, prend sur son compte le témoignage le plus favorable et m'invite à joindre sa recommendation à la mienne à l'appui de la demande d'un poste dans la magistrature coloniale . . . M. Basquel est un des jeunes créoles de couleur qui par leur intelligence, leurs bons sentiments et leur bonne conduite, avaient acquis la sympathie et la protection de M. Schœlcher." ANSOM EEII 2323.
28. "Les colonies sont partie intégrante du territoire français; prolongements de la France, comme on l'a dit, elles sont en réalité des départements d'outre-mer absolument égaux sous tous les rapports aux départements de la métropole. Nulle personne sensée ne fera à leurs habitants l'injure de nier qu'ils sont français et citoyens. Depuis 1789, toutes les constitutions, toutes, leur ont donné des représentants dans les chambres législatives." Schmidt, *Victor Schœlcher*, 222.
29. Gerville-Réache had been a professor of philosophy in Haiti and was elected deputy from Guadeloupe (1881 to 1906).
30. Schmidt, *Schœlcher*, 237.
31. Ibid.
32. Philippe Cherdieu, *La vie politique en Guadeloupe: l'affrontement Boiseuf-Légitimus, 1898–1914,* 2 vols. PhD diss. (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 1981).
33. Schmidt, *Schœlcher*, 236.
34. Marie-José Jolivet, "La construction d'une mémoire historique," 287–309.
35. Monnerville, *Témoignage. De la France équinoxiale au Palais du Luxembourg,* 119.
36. Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'Assimilation*, 115. Victor Hugo Square has since been renamed Victor Schœlcher Square.

37. Victor Schœlcher and Félix Eboué rest in vault XXVI, with Jean Jaurès and Marc Schœlcher, father of Victor, http://www.senat.fr/evenement/archives/D36/1949.html. In November 2002, Alexandre Dumas's ashes were transferred to the Panthéon during a ceremony led by French President Jacques Chirac.
38. Schmidt, *Victor Schœlcher*, 229.
39. Ibid.
40. Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *L'histoire de l'assimilation*, 65.
41. Rosamonde Duke, "Auto-assimilation. La politique coloniale française sous les IIè et IIIè Républiques (1848–1851/1870–1900)," CARE, no. 7 (1981): 73.
42. Sabine Andrivon-Milton, *La Martinique et la Grande Guerre*, 58.
43. He could not be identified, although there are three Ravels on the list. Two of them were brothers, Marie Henry Victor and Marie Amédée Henry, born in Guadeloupe. Both started their careers in Africa, the first between 1890 and the 1910s and the second from the 1910s to the 1940s. The third Ravel on the list, Henry Melchior, was born in Martinique, and went to Africa between 1911 and 1940.
44. ANSOM, EEII 1101.
45. Fichier ENFOM and *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*.
46. ANSOM EEII 6634.
47. He started working while still holding his position as magistrate in Madagascar. In 1921, he was appointed state prosecutor in Dakar and requested a special leave to complete *Le Livre d'or,* ANSOM EEII 2323.
48. "Permettez-moi de vous dire que le départ de votre collaborateur M. Basquel, qui a été chargé par le Comité de recueillir tous les documents nécessaires pour établir un livre d'or de l'héroïsme colonial, nous obligerait à renoncer à cette publication. Un tel ouvrage, dans notre pensée doit avoir une importance considerable, il sera un document impérissable à la gloire des enfants de nos colonies, et ainsi, par des sentiments d'admiration qu'un tel volume soulèvera dans la métropole, il resserera de la manière la plus étroite les liens qui unissent la mère-patrie à ses enfants d'outre-mer." ANSOM EEII 2323.
49. These figures must be compared to those published by the Minister of Overseas France in 1946, according to which out of 9,179 Martinicans who fought during World War I, 1,637 were listed as dead, wounded, or missing. Ministry of Overseas France, *La Martinique*, Paris, Agence des colonies, 1946.
50. *Livre d'Or du contingent de la Guyane française à la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918* (Cayenne: Conseil Général de la Guyane, 1924). Cited by Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'Assimilation*, 92.
51. "Ils ont donné à la patrie française, leur cœur, leur corps et leur âme." *Livre d'Or du contingent de la Guyane française à la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918.* Cited by Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'Assimilation*, 93.
52. "Dans le Français qui dort sous cette dalle auguste, nous ne savons quelle parcelle du sol de la Patrie s'était incarnée. Un sublime mystère que l'éternité détient permet ainsi à chacune des régions dont la force et la beauté font la France, de penser qu'elles peuvent plus maternellement vénérer la dépouille

de leur héroïque enfant. Peut-être la France d'outre-mer a-t-elle en lui l'obscur soldat mort pour sauver la Patrie et le monde de la barbarie?" Victor Basquel and Alcide Delmont, *Le livre d'or de l'effort colonial pendant la grande guerre 1914–1918*, IX–X.

53. "L'Institut colonial Français vient saluer le soldat inconnu avec le reconnaissant amour et le respect des colonies qui ne le séparent pas de son frère colonial, comme lui tombé pour le salut de la Mère Patrie.

    Il doit maintenant dire, par la voix d'un enfant des Colonies, que de cette tombe sacrée s'élève un grand souvenir, entre ces arches de gloire sur l'avenir, ouverte, un serment solennel.

    Par le sang de tous nos fils confondus dans les sillons du sol de France, par tous ceux qui sous tous les cieux, sont morts ou souffrent et peinent pour elle, par ce tombeau scellé sur le lien impérissable né de ce sang, nous l'attestons: nous n'avons eu, nous n'aurons jamais qu'une foi, qu'une âme pour la France, à la France à tout jamais!" *Le livre d'or*, x.
54. Haiti's ambassador to France met with the organizing Committee to include his country in the celebration. Monnerville, *Témoignage. tome 1: De la France équinoxiale au Palais du Luxembourg*.
55. B. P., "Le tricentenaire du rattachement des Antilles et de la Guyane à la France, au Muséum national d'histoire naturelle," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 28, no. 1 (1936), 265.
56. Monnerville, *Témoignage. De la France équinoxiale*, 120.
57. The Grand Orient de France and the Grande Loge de France are the two main Masonic allegiances in France.
58. *La Chaîne d'Union* 2 (1935–1936), 403.
59. Emmanuelle Gallo and Jean Doucet, "La Martinique moderne; étude de cas," 72–79.
60. Alain-Philippe Blérald, *Histoire éconmique de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique du XVIIè siècle à nos jours*.
61. Jean-Claude Blanche and Blanche Jean-Claude, "6000 'engagés volontaires' en Afrique et en Guadeloupe, 1858–1861" (PhD diss, Université Paris 1, 1994, 3 vol.).
62. "Les Congos travaillant sur cette habitation étaient très nombreux, ils habitaient tous le morne de l'Afrique. Cette région des mornes avait été donnée aux affranchis après l'abolition de l'esclavage, par Monsieur le comte Dizac. Depuis, tous ceux qui arrivaient dans la commune s'y installaient." Emma Marie, "Une immigration et ses survivances dans une commune de la Martinique. Le Diamant, 1848–1973." *Quelques aspects du patrimoine culturel des Antilles* (Fort-de-France: CDDP, 1977). Cited by Blanche, *6000 engagés en Afrique*, 231.
63. However, it remains difficult to establish whether or not these groups were exclusively composed of Africans who arrived after 1848 and to what extent they merged with already existing communities.
64. General Alfred Amédée Dodds was born on April 6, 1842, in Saint-Louis, Senegal. Son of a Frenchmen and a Senegalese woman, he started a career in the

French army upon graduation from the prestigious French military school Saint Cyr. He served in Réunion, France, Senegal, and Cochinchina. After participating in several military campaigns in Senegal, he led the conquest of Dahomey in 1892, which resulted in the capture of Béhanzin. He died in 1922. His son Prosper Dodds (1915–1973) entered the Holy Spirit congregation and become bishop of Saint-Louis, Senegal, while his brother René Dodds became ambassador from Senegal after independence.

65. In a letter sent to the Minister in 1894, Ballot had qualified Capest as an "outstanding civil servant, very intelligent, a hard worker, and very much aware of his duties," ANSOM EEII 813. Capest had then already been nominated to Madagascar. In May 1888, he was in Senegal, where he pursued a career in the offices of the main city of the colony until 1890. He was then nominated to Dahomey between 1893 and 1895, and finished his African career in Ivory Coast (1899) and then in Senegal (1900–1902).
66. Alain Baudot, "Les écrivains antillais et l'Afrique" Notre Librairie, no. 73 (January–March 1984): 34.
67. Lafcadio Hearn, *Trois fois bel conte*, 16. While Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1914) is generally associated with Japan, he also visited the Caribbean. In 1889 he spent two years in Martinique, as a correspondent for *Harper's* magazine. In 1890, he published *Two Years in the French West Indies* as well as *Youma, The Story of a West-Indian Slave.*
68. Brian Weinstein, *Eboué*, 19.
69. Regarding this last, one could object that there are monkeys in the Guyanese forest; however, the tales analyzed by Joëlle Laurent and Ina Césaire are exclusively from Martinique and Guadeloupe.
70. Ina Césaire and Joëlle Laurent, *Contes de mort et de vie*, 14.
71. Maryse Condé, *La civilisation du Bossale*. Réflexions sur la littérature orale de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1978), 35.
72. Tale retranscribed by Lafcadio Hearn in *Trois fois bel conte* (Suisse: Calivran Anstalt, 1978), 54–63.
73. "The tale is presented by Ina Césaire and Joëlle Laurent, *Contes de Mort et de Vie*, 234–45. It is interesting to note that the character of Ti-Jean is not exclusive to the French Caribbean. Drawing from local traditions, St-Lucian writer Derek Walcott wrote the play *Ti-Jean and his Brothers*, published in 1958.
74. Lenis Blanche, *Contribution à l'histoire de la presse à la Guadeloupe* (Basse-Terre: Impr. catholique, 1935); and *Histoire de la Guadeloupe* (Paris: Maurice Lavergne Imprimeur, 1938).
75. *La Guadeloupe dans l'histoire: La Guadeloupe physique, économique, agricole, commerciale, financière, politique et sociale de 1492 à 1900* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Universelle/Collections Coloniales Illustrées, 1921). The book was republished in 1979 and again in 1999. Raymond Boutin. *La population de la Guadeloupe de l'émancipation à l'assimilation (1848–1946)*, 117.
76. *Histoire de la Guadeloupe sous l'Ancien Régime (1635–1789)* (Paris: Payot, 1929).

77. Paul Laporte. *La Guyane des écoles. Etude résumée de l'histoire et de la géographie de la Guyane française et sa situation économique* (Paris: Imprimerie A. Corps, 1915); Jules Lucrèce, *Histoire de la Martinique. Cours supérieur et complémentaire des écoles primaries* (1930), mentioned by Serge Mam Lam Fouck *Histoire de l'assimilation*, 63.
78. "La Martinique ainsi que la Guadeloupe, la Guyane et la Réunion qu'on désigne communément encore sous l'expression inexacte de colonies françaises, est à vrai dire un département français . . . Par son passé historique qui depuis trois siècles se confond avec celui de la France, par les épreuves subies en commun, mais surtout par sa volonté et par son cœur, elle aspire, par une assimilation complète, à faire partie intégrante de la grande et généreuse nation française." Lucrèce, *Histoire de la Martinique*, 155–56, Cited by Serge Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation*, 65.
79. Marc Larcher, *A travers la Martinique ou les vacances de Gérard* (Saint-Pierre: Les Presses Artisanales, 1901); Césaire Philémon, *Les galeries martiniquaises: Population, mœurs, activités diverses et paysages* (Paris: Exposition Coloniale Internationale, 1931).
80. Cited by Betts *Assimilation and Association* in French Colonial Theory, 1880–1914 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 68.
81. "Si j'en crois M. Henry Bérenger, je dois avoir autant d'affection pour le Gabon, la Côte d'Ivoire, le Cameroun ou le Dahomey que pour le coin de terre où je suis né dans la vieille Touraine. Le sol de nos colonies est, dit-il, aussi Français que le sol métropolitain. Il ne permettra pas que l'on puisse dire que nos colonies, anciennes et nouvelles, ne sont pas la France.

    Ainsi donc, d'après ces formules étranges, la patrie n'est plus le pays de notre langue et de nos traditions, le sol où nos parents, nos ancêtres et nous-mêmes sommes nés, le milieu où s'est développé, de génération en génération, ce qu'on appelle le génie national. Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Bourges, Dijon, Bordeaux, Rennes, Tours et Poitiers ne doivent pas plus compter à nos yeux que le village de l'Afrique orientale ou occidentale que nous venons d'arracher par le fer et l'épée à quelques malheureux nègres réduits par notre conquête à s'exhiber, en qualité d'esclaves, soit dans la parade du 14 Juillet, soit dans celle de la foire de Neuilly ou de la place de la Nation. Ces Gabonais, Dahoméens, Cafres, et Boschimans, quoique d'ailleurs dénués de tous droits civiques et pourvus d'un vocabulaire allant jusqu'à cent mots sont des Français au même titre, paraît-il, que M. Henry Bérenger. Il découle de cela que le patriotisme ne consiste plus à se faire casser la figure pour la défense de ce que l'on appelait jadis le sol natal. La plus grande partie de la France se trouvant maintenant en Afrique, le patriotisme consiste à armer les Français blancs ou noirs, dit M. Bérenger, non plus pour préserver le sol national proprement dit, mais pour défendre ou conquérir des colonies nouvelles . . . au profit des quelques princes de la République qui règnent sur les soixante millions de "*Français*" de notre empire colonial . . . Je ne connais qu'une France: celle d'Europe, et j'affirme à M. Bérenger que je me sens intellectuellement bien plus près d'un Allemand que des Noirs primitifs et grotesques embauchés par M. Etienne

pour rehausser le prestige de la revue du 14 Juillet. Si français qu'ils soient, je leur préfère mes voisins d'Allemagne. Une ligne de Goethe ou de Schopenhauer me donne plus de satisfaction que les contorsions des soixante millions de "Français" qui font la joie de M. Bérenger." Michel Allard, "Colonialisme," *L'Humanité,* August 7, 1913. Cited by Alain Ruscio L*a* q*uestion coloniale* d*ans* L'*Humanité, 1904–2004 (*Paris: La Dispute, 2005), 46.

82. "Quelques noirs arrivent à être avocats, médecins, administrateurs, grâce aux efforts opiniâtres d'une mémoire laborieuse, grâce à l'aide financière très large des gouvernements coloniaux—aide que n'a pas, malheureusement, l'élite de chez nous—grâce à l'indulgence des jurys de facultés, et ces intellectuels noirs sont des demi-savants d'une suffisance qui serait insupportable si elle n'était grotesque." Edmond Savaria, *Sinnamary ou une promenade en Guyane* (Paris: André Tournon et cie, 1933), 34–40. Cited by Mam Lam Fouck, *Histoire de l'assimilation*, 102.
83. "Pourquoi la vue d'un noir Africain habillé à l'européenne provoque-t-elle le rire du blanc." Survey in *La Revue du Monde Noir*, November 1931, 59.
84. The movie is based on Edgar Wallace's series of African novels, first published in 1909 as a serial for a British magazine, *The Weekly Tale-Teller*. In 1935, the film was nominated best movie at the Venice Film Festival and launched the international career of Hugarian-born filmmaker, Zoltan Korda, who later worked in Hollywood.
85. Archives Eboué, copy of Letter, Félix Eboué to Yvon Delbos, December 9, 1936.
86. Archives Eboué, copy of letter, Félix Eboué to Gratien Candace, December 8, 1936.
87. André Calmont, "Les Africains en Guyane," 3.

Chapter 3

1. Mait' Toti refers in Creole to the title given to attorneys in the French judicial system—Maître.
2. "Mait' Elphège Toti, Notaî di Rouè," 87–92, in Michel Lohier, *Légendes et contes folkloriques guyanais avec traduction française par l'auteur*.
3. With the exception of Tunisia and Algeria, where migration was not considered to be an issue. Robert Doucet, *Doit-on aller aux colonies? Enquêtes du Comité Dupleix auprès des Gouverneurs, commerçants, colons etc.* (Paris: Editions du Comité Dupleix, 1907).
4. William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 41.
5. Eric T. Jennings, *Curing the Colonizers. Hydrotherapy, Climatology, and French Colonial Spas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 13, 20–28.
6. Georges Treille, *De l'acclimatation des Européens dans les pays chauds* (Paris: Octave Doin, 1988), 3. Cited by Jennings, *Curing the Colonizers,* 25.
7. "Les grands écarts de température, le chaud et le froid excessifs, le soleil intense, les conditions climatiques anormales, agisssent d'une façon profonde sur les organismes qui n'y sont pas héréditairement adaptés." Dr Paul

Hartenberg. *Les troubles nerveux et mentaux chez les coloniaux* (Paris: J. Dangon, 1910). In 1910, he had already gained respectability with his publications on timidity and his critique of Freud's ideas.

8. "Notre grand ennemi, en Afrique, c'est le soleil." Albert Schweitzer, *A l'orée de la forêt vierge* (Strasbourg: Librairie évangélique, 1923). Cited by Eric Deroo, Gabrielle Deroo, and Marie-Cécile de Taillac, *Aux Colonies. Où l'on découvre les vestiges d'un empire englouti* (Paris: Editions du Club France Loisirs, 1992), 50.
9. "Dans l'ardeur du travail, il ne prit pas garde que le soleil l'atteignait à la nuque, sous son casque; il fut à deux doigts de la mort." Ibid.
10. Pierre Just Navarre defended his medical dissertation in 1879 in Paris and then entered the navy as a doctor. He later settled in Lyon, where he was in charge of the General Health Center and taught colonial hygiene at that city's chamber of commerce.
11. "Nous avons interrogé beaucoup et souvent de ces prétendus acclimatés, qui avaient passé douze, quinze, vingt-cinq ans dans les colonies tropicales réputées assez salubres, sans avoir éprouvé aucune de ces grandes secousses pathologiques que réservent ces contrées à l'Européen transplanté; nous n'en avons pas trouvé un seul indemne. Tous étaient vieux avant l'âge, soit par le tube digestif, soit par le foie, soit par le rein, soit plus rarement par les vaisseaux. Ils avaient vécu et c'était leur seul mérite; mais en les comparant à des Européens de leur âge, on ne pouvait s'empêcher de constater leur irrémédiable déchéance." Dr. P. Just Navarre, *Manuel d'hygiène coloniale. Guide de l'Européen dans les pays chauds* (Paris: Octave Douin, 1895), 64.
12. Ibid.
13. "Dépression parfois abattement extrême, état de tristesse, d'ennui, nostalgie, paresse de la volonté, voici des signes fréquents chez les coloniaux et qu'ils conservent même longtemps encore après leur rapatriement . . . Mais ces états amorphes du système nerveux se compliquent souvent de troubles plus précis, systématisés, tels que phobies terrifiantes, impulsions irrésistibles, actes de cruauté, dont les annales coloniales nous ont fourni, dans ces dernières années, de tristes exemples." Dr. P. Hartenberg, *Les troubles nerveux*, 13.
14. "Un état de confusion mentale asthénique avec grande dépression physique et intellectuelle accompagnée d'un léger délire nocturne ou diurne." Ibid.
15. "Toute personne jouissant d'une bonne santé, indemne de toute trace pathologique ou lésion organique, peut vivre sans danger aux colonies, à la condition de se plier aux lois de l'hygiène des pays chauds, d'être sobre, économe de ses forces physiques et riches en énergie morale." Dr. G. de Parrel, *Hygiène coloniale. Comment on doit vivre aux colonies* (Paris: Impr. Morice Frères, 1912), 5.
16. "L'Habitation dans les villages nègres est particulièrement dangereuse, à cause de leur habitude de répandre autour de leur case des matières fécales et de leur extrême malpropreté." Paul Bastien, *Les carrières coloniales. Répertoire des carrières en France au XXè siècle* (Paris: Albert Fonteming, 1908), 315.
17. "Sans être immunisé contre la mal'aria, la dysentrie, et l'hépatite, le Noir présente cependant une bien moins grande susceptibilité pour ces

affections . . . Mais cette immunité n'est pas absolue et peut se perdre par un séjour de quelques années dans les climats tempérés. Elle ressemble plus à une vaccination qu'à un acclimatement." Navarre, *Manuel d'hygiène coloniale*, 47.

18. Minister of the Colonies to the Governor of Guyane, August 30, 1831, CAOM, série géographique Guyane 60 (18). Cited by Jennings, *Curing the Colonizers*, 220.
19. "Je suis originaire de la Martinique où la fièvre jaune apparaît fréquemment et là comme au Sénégal les Créoles n'ont rien eu à craindre. D'ailleurs j'ai passé à Saint-Louis, où je suis en résidence depuis cinq ans, tout le temps qu'a duré l'épidémie qui y a sévi l'année dernière, sans avoir été atteint du mal. Il y a plus de trois mois que je suis en congé. Il me tarde d'être à mon poste." ANSOM, EEII 719.
20. "Au cours de l'épidémie de peste actuelle ce fonctionnaire préside la commission des immeubles à détruire et remplit ses devoirs avec un courage et une abnégation dignes de récompense. Je demande à titre exceptionnel qu'il soit nommé administrateur en chef de 2è classe." ANSOM, EEII 1057.
21. "M. Beaudu, qui était par son origine à l'abri de l'épidémie, eut pu rendre les plus grands services s'il était resté au Sénégal." ANSOM, EEII 2294.
22. ANSOM, EEII 1512.
23. ANSOM, EEII 936.
24. ANSOM, EEII 1027.
25. ANSOM, EEII 6659.
26. Henri Brunschwig, *Noirs et Blancs dans l'Afrique noire française*, 80.
27. Decision of November 30, 1897, cited in Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Le Congo au temps des grandes compagnies concessionaires, 1898–1930* (Paris: Mouton, 1972), 91.
28. "Je crains que tous ces prélèvements . . . en faveur du Congo ne finissent par nuire sérieusement au recrutement [des tirailleurs] en rebutant les indigènes du Sénégal . . . La colonie du Congo devrait commencer à recruter parmi les habitants de ce pays." General Houry, commandant supérieur des troupes de l'AOF, to the Governor General of AOF, Saint-Louis, 20 mars 1902, Ibid.
29. G. Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal: the Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900–1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971), 224.
30. Raymond Mopoho, "Statut de l'interprète dans l'administration coloniale en Afrique francophone." *Meta: Journal des Traducteurs /Meta: Translators' Journal* 46, no. 3 (2001): 616.
31. "En général, le « pourquoi » n'est pas compris des indigènes; et même je doute si quelque mot équivalent existe dans la plupart de leurs idiomes. Déjà j'avais pu constater, au cours du procès à Brazzaville, qu'à la question: '*Pourquoi* ces gens ont-ils déserté leurs villages?' il était invariablement répondu 'comment, de quelle manière . . .' Il semble que les cerveaux de ces gens soient incapables d'établir un rapport de cause à effet; (et ceci, j'ai pu le constater maintes fois dans la suite de ce voyage)." André Gide, *Voyage au Congo*, 100–101.
32. "De quelle sottise, le plus souvent, le blanc fait preuve, quand il s'indigne de la stupidité des noirs! Je ne les crois pourtant capables que d'un très petit

développement, le cerveau gourd et stagnant le plus souvent dans une nuit épaisse—mais combien de fois le blanc semble prendre à tâche de les y enfoncer!" Ibid., 115–16.

33. "Les fonctionnaires indigènes devaient devenir des agents de l'autorité française, ses porte-paroles auprès des populations. Pour être les bons interprètes de la lettre et de l'esprit de nos ordres, il leur était indispensable d'être familiarisés avec notre langue qui devait être pour eux le meilleur instrument d'adaptation à nos conceptions." Guy Fenard, *Les indigènes fonctionnaires à Madagascar*, 57.
34. "Les modalités de cette utilisation ont varié suivant les étapes et les formes de notre domination, suivant les progrès de l'influence morale française dans la société indigène. Tout d'abord pour bien administrer des populations dont les mentalités et les coutumes sont si différentes de celles de l'Europe, il fut indispensable, dans les rouages subalternes de notre administration, de disposer d'éléments locaux choisis dans l'élite du pays pour assurer un contact, une liaison avec la masse des indigènes." Ibid., 8.
35. "Nous nous trouvons en relations directes avec des populations auxquelles il importe d'inspirer confiance pour les attirer à nous d'une façon définitive. Il nous faut, pour nous aider dans cette tâche, des agents zélés, connaissant suffisamment notre langue et en qui nous puissions avoir une confiance absolue. La première condition pour arriver à recruter ces agents est de leur faire une situation supportable et de leur allouer un traitement supérieur à celui qu'ils pourraient trouver dans le commerce." Intervention attribuée au général Dodds dans le "Procès-verbal du Conseil d'Administration des Établissements Français de l'A. O. F.," Archives nationales—section d'outremer (ANSOM), Dahomey 5, 1894. Mopoho, "Statut de l'interprète dans l'administration coloniale en Afrique francophone," 616.
36. "A l'heure actuelle, un très grand nombre d'emplois subalternes, qui n'exigent aucune responsabilité, sont confiés à des agents métropolitains. Cette pratique doit disparaître. Les agents européens doivent être, dans nos colonies, des agents de direction et de contrôle; il est de leur intérêt comme il est de l'intérêt du service, qu'ils ne soient point affectés à des emplois subalternes." Brunschwig, *Noirs et Blancs*, 18.
37. "En ce qui concerne les cadres indigènes, vous avez pu également vous rendre compte que l'importance de cette question ne m'avait pas échappé. De nombreux arrêtés, créant des cadres locaux indigènes d'écrivains, des Postes et Télégraphes, d'interprètes, etc. . . . furent pris au cours de la dernière année et récemment encore. Les efforts tentés dans ce sens doivent être poursuivis. Les cadres indigènes doivent nous permettre de supprimer les emplois subalternes jusqu'à présent confiés à des Européens." Ibid.
38. Ibid., 71.
39. By a decision of November 21, 1902, the Commissaire Général suppressed the corps of the *milice indigène* and replaced it with the *gardes régionales*.
40. "La différence d'évolution et de civilisation entre les deux groupes de colonies l'explique aisément." Fenard, *Les indigènes fonctionnaires*, 195.

41. "Car il était impossible à une puissance européenne s'installant dans ce pays neuf de se passer d'agents indigènes, intermédiaires entre l'autorité de cette puissance et la masse de la population. Cette utilisation d'agents indigènes a varié selon les étapes et les modalités de notre domination; elle a suivi une évolution dont la source est l'administration hova." Fenard, *Les indigènes fonctionnaires*, ibid. The term *hova* refers to the masses of the merina people.
42. Yvan Paillard, "Les premières générations d'auxiliaires merina de l'administration coloniale et l'édification d'une nation moderne (1896–1914)," 153–68.
43. Bastien, *Le guide des carrières coloniales*.
44. Lamine Guèye, *Itinéraire africain* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1966), 92.
45. Jean Bénilan, "Le statut des administrateurs coloniaux."
46. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Nationalité et Citoyenneté en Afrique Occidentale Française: Originaires et citoyens dans le Sénégal colonial," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 2 (2001): 285–305.
47. This decree was not enforced until 1912, and because of the war it was only after 1920 that it was fully applied. William B. Cohen, *Empereurs sans sceptre*, 57.
48. Georges François, *Le Guide des carrières coloniales*.
49. I have established these statistics with the *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, which indicate biographical data from 1903.
50. These issues were all the more important because they determined the amount of the pension to be received. In many cases, retirement was decided upon because of the physical incapacity of the administrator to fulfill his functions. The *administrateur* then had to undergo medical tests in order to determine whether his colonial stay had been the direct cause of his ill health. Medical conclusions were then used to decide the type of retirement that the civil servant could receive. If it was established that his health had deteriorated while in service in the colonies, he received a higher pension.
51. ANSOM, EEII 2323.
52. *Lettre du Ministre des Colonies au Résident Général de la République française à Tunis datée du 12 mai* 1920; "A cause d'une extrême pénurie du personnel judiciaire aux colonies, il serait désirable que M. Basquel put y continuer sa carrière, d'autant plus qu'il est Noir et que sa nomination à Tunis pourrait peut-être, en raison de ce fait, présenter quelque inconvénient." Ibid.
53. With the exception of some groups in Guyane, such as those living in the rainforest.

Chapter 4

1. "Amorphes et lâcles, ils sont veules," in Léon-Gontran Damas, *Retour de Guyane* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2003), 96.
2. He graduated from the military school of Saint-Cyr but had to abandon his military career because of his health. He then worked for one year as an attorney in Paris; he entered the colonial administration in 1875 and was

appointed to Pondichéry, Nouvelle-Calédonie, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Dahomey. ANSOM, EEII 1489.

3. Brian Weinstein, *Eboué*, 40.
4. ANSOM, EEII 936.
5. Joseph Etienne Gabriel served in Guyane, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Dahomey between 1886 and 1906 (ANSOM EEII 1101). Two of his sons went to Africa: Louis Herman Eugène Emmanuel Gabriel, who was in Senegal and Ivory Coast from 1906 to 1936, and Charles Etienne Raoul, who was in Madagascar from 1908 to 1936. Their cousin Albert Philippe Maximilien Yves started a career of judge in Madagascar in 1917 but died in 1918 (ANSOM EEII1524).
6. ANSOM, EEII 3417 and *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*.
7. Louis Tècle Courbain was appointed to Brazzaville and Abidjan after World War II. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*.
8. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 174.
9. Fichier ENFOM.
10. He remained in the penitentiary and central administration of Guyane and as accounting agent at the General Agency of the Colonies in Paris
11. Georges Renauld, *Félix Eboué et Eugénie Eboué-Tell. Défenseurs des peuples noirs. Destin d'un couple de Francs-maçons qui changea le cours de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale en coupant à l'ennemi la route du pétrole* (Paris: Editions Detrad, 2007), 32.
12. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 60–61.
13. Vendôme was also assigned to Ivory Coast (1904–1908), Bangui in 1908, and Libreville (1925–1929). *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies* and ANSOM EEII1295.
14. ANSOM EEII.
15. ANSOM EEII 2244.
16. Butel, inspecteur des concessions au commissaire special, Yatumbo, 19 novembre 1907, conc., XXXIII-A(2). Cited by Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Le Congo au temps des grandes compagnies concessionaires, 1898–1930,* 178.
17. Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Le Congo au temps des grandes compagnies*. On Butel, see *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ANSOM EEII 805, Fichier ENFOM. On Cougoul: *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*.
18. "Nous voulons que l'inacceptable institution du fonctionnariat indigène disparaisse aussi rapidement que possible; il nous faut un système qui admette tous les candidats aux mêmes conditions, qu'ils soient sénégalais ou qu'ils viennent de la métropole." Cited by Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal*, 247.
19. *La Démocratie*, December 25, 1913. Cited by G. Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal*, 222.
20. Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal*, 168–72, and François Manchuelle, "Le rôle des Antillais dans l'apparition du nationalisme culturel en Afrique noire francophone," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 32, no. 127: 375–408.

21. François Manchuelle, "Le rôle des Antillais dans l'apparition du nationalisme culturel en l'Afrique noire francophone," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 32, no. 127: 375–408.
22. Johnson, G. Wesley. *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal: The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900–1920* (1971), 149. Johnson incorrectly spells his name Naintousha.
23. Gaston Monnervile, *Témoignage. De la France équinoxiale au Palais du Luxembourg* (Paris: Plon, 1975).
24. ANSOM EEII 30201.
25. Michael Crowder, *Senegal. A Study of French Assimilation Policy*, 107.
26. Almeida-Topor, 198.
27. Ibid., 209.
28. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, ANSOM EEII 1427.
29. A list of Freemason ministers during the interwar period includes Orly André-Hesse, Léon Perrier, and Albert Dalimier; among undersecretaries Alcide Delmont from Martinique, Léon Archimbaud, Blaise Diagne from Senegal, Gratien Candace from Guadeloupe, Auguste Brunet from Réunion, and Gaston Monnerville from Guyane; among governors general Théodore Steeg, Maurice Violette, Jules Carde, Georges Le Beau, Martial Merlin, Marcel de Coppet, Gabriel Angoulvant, Victor Augagneur, Dieudonné and François-Joseph, Reste, and Abraham Schrameck. Many deputies from the colonies also were masons Joseph Lagrosillière; Victor Sévère and Alcide Delmont, elected in Martinique; Gratien Candace, Maurice Satineau, and Achille René-Boisneuf in Guadeloupe; and Louis-Albert Grodet, Eugène Lautier, and Monnerville for Guyane. Georges Odo, *La franc-maçonnerie dans les colonies, 1738–1960*, 85–87.
30. Letter from *Les Pionniers du Niger* to the GODF, October 17, 1909, Archives of the Lodge (GODF).
31. Note from the France et Colonies lodge to all colonial lodges, February 28, 1900, Archives of the France et Colonies lodge.
32. Ibid.
33. In November 1909, among African- and Caribbean-affiliated lodges were L'Aurore Congolaise (Brazzaville), Les Disciples d'Hiram (Pointe-à-Pitre), France Australe (Tananarive), Les Pionniers du Niger (Conakry), Les Elus de l'Occident (Basse-Terre), L'Etoile d'Occident (Dakar), L'Avenir du Sénégal (Saint-Louis), and La Guyane Républicaine (Cayenne).
34. Letter from the Worshipful Master of the Pioneers of Niger lodge to the Grand Orient de France, December 14, 1907 (date when it was registered by the GODF), Archives of the Pioneers of Niger lodge.
35. Letter from the Pioneers of Niger to the GODF, October 17, 1909.
36. Brazzaville, letter from L'Aurore Congolaise lodge to the Council of Order, July 21, 1930, Archives of the lodge.
37. He served as governor general of French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF) from 1908 to 1916.
38. Convention of 1922, 12th session, September 1922; Archives of the Pythagore lodge.

39. Ibid.
40. Savalou (Dahomey), letter addressed to Brother Piermé from Les Inséparables du Progrès lodge, June 8, 1907, Archives of Les Inséparables du Progrès lodge.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. "Sait rester calme et s'imposer aussi bien aux Européens qu'aux indigènes dont il connaît la mentalité." Extrait de la note du chef de la circonscription de la Loubomo, bulletin de notes du 12 août 1934, ANSOM EEII 4675.
44. "Cet administrateur de grande valeur ayant une connaissance approfondie de l'indigène appuyée des meilleures qualités d'intelligence, de travail et d'activité, est un de ces fonctionnaires sur lesquels s'appuie toute notre action dans ce pays." ANSOM EEII 4675.
45. "Dans cette région (district de Tsiombe), la nature et les populations indigènes rendent le séjour particulièrement difficile aux Européens qui sont privés de toutes les ressources indispensables à l'existence. L'eau y est rare, et les habitants arriérés, peu hospitaliers. Par son tact, sa compréhension exacte de la mentalité des populations du sud de la colonie, M. Monroux est parvenu à maintenir la tranquilité du pays." ANSOM, EEII 1145.
46. "Il a su s'imposer à ses administrés indigènes et a par là acquis auprès d'eux un prestige de bon aloi." ANSOM EEII 5386.
47. "A pu à force de zèle, de patience inlassable, de bienveillante et ferme autorité, obtenir des résultats très appréciables chez des populations indigènes apathiques et réfractaires au progrès. Sous son impulsion intelligente et soutenue, le mieux être de toute une région arriérée, s'est grandement améliorée." ANSOM EEII 5386.
48. Boureima Alpha Gado, *Une histoire des famines au Sahel: étude des grandes crises alimentaires, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993).
49. *Annuaires du Ministère des colonies*, EEII.
50. "L'Administrateur Saint-Yves avait toujours déployé dans ses fonctions une activité très soutenue grâce à laquelle des résultats incontestables avaient été obtenus dans sa circonscription . . . dans ses rapports avec les indigènes, d'avoir manqué de doigté et de sens politique." ANSOM, EEII 2249.
51. "Vous avez trop le sentiment des fins profondes de notre action civilisatrice pour ne pas être révolté vous-mêmes par des procédés de violence qui, non seulement déshonorent ceux qui les emploient mais encore jettent le plus fâcheux discrédit sur la colonie toute entière, alors surtout que l'opinion métropolitaine n'est déjà que trop accoutumée à la considérer à travers le prisme déformant de scandales périodiques." ANSOM, EEII 2249.
52. "Chacun d'entre vous doit se persuader que désormais les actes de violence entraîneront la comparution de leurs auteurs devant les tribunaux, sans préjudice des sanctions prises sur le plan administratif, à quelque degré de la hiérarchie que ce soit. Aucune considération ne m'arrêtera dans cette tâche." ANSOM, EEII 2249.
53. "Les violences et blessures commises par des Européens ou assimilés sur la personne d'indigènes."

54. "Il doit donc en principe être considéré comme devant faire un bon administrateur. Cependant, à deux reprises depuis le commencement de cette année, il a présenté des manifestations qui révèlent un caractère emporté, fait preuve à l'égard de deux Européens, un commerçant et un officier, d'un manque de pondération regrettable. L'une de ces manifestations lui a valu d'être rayé des propositions concernant l'envoi à l'Ecole coloniale. On peut espérer que le retard qu'il a eu de ce fait lui sera une leçon salutaire et que dans l'avenir il se montrera plus calme." ANSOM, EEII 2244.
55. "Pourra faire un bon administrateur-adjoint. Il est actif, intelligent et instruit. Mais il manque de tact à l'égard de ses subordonnés européens, qu'il n'hésite pas quelques fois à mettre en cause dans des communication adressées à des fonctionnaires indigènes." ANSOM, EEII 5520.
56. ANSOM, EEII 6046 and 2049.
57. Letter from Félix Eboué to Herménégilde Tell, August 6, 1926, Archives Eboué. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 105.
58. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 106.
59. Ibid., 110.
60. Letter from Félix Eboué to E. L. Boutin, January 10, 1928, Archives Boutin. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 111.
61. "Je savais de plus, par une longue expérience, que toutes les fois que des poursuites étaient menées contre un Européen et surtout un fonctionnaire, l'opinion publique était excitée par quelques personnes ayant eu maille à partir avec la justice, et que des incidents surviennent. L'Européen, en effet, à Libreville se croit malheureusement beaucoup trop hors-la-loi, et se persuade trop que le service judiciaire peut tolérer ses écarts, surtout quand il y a eu en cause un indigène." ANSOM, EEII 1469.
62. "C'est surtout cette partie du jugement qui a mis en émoi une partie de la population. C'est en effet la première fois à Libreville que le tribunal use d'une prérogative qui lui est accordée par la loi . . . Mais ce n'est pas sans motifs et sans motifs des plus sérieux, que j'ai ordonné cette inscription. Il est en effet notoire qu'au Congo, les Européens en général se permettent de maltraiter les Noirs et de les frapper quand cela paraît leur convenir. J'ai toujours réagi énergiquement contre ces habitudes que je ne pouvais tolérer. Je me suis attiré par suite des haines profondes. Ce que j'affirme est tellement vrai qu'Antran interrogé par le juge d'instruction qui lui reprochait d'être connu à Libreville comme un brutal, répondait cyniquement: 'Je frappe à l'occasion mes boys comme le font tous les métropolitains, mais ces corrections d'ailleurs très légères, n'ont pas dépassé en gravité celles qui sont infligées journellement aux boys indigènes quand ils sont en faute et d'ailleurs on ne m'a jamais fait d'observations à ce sujet."
63. "Depuis 4 ans, la présence de M. Boudoute à la tête du service judiciaire au Congo est un défi à la conscience publique et un affront à la dignité nationale."
64. "Personnellement, je n'ai jamais eu à relever contre M. Boudoute aucune charge en ce qui concerne ces décisions comme magistrat."

65. "Je dois dire que le laisser-aller de sa tenue, qui est allé en s'accentuant ces dernières années, que sa trop grande facilité à accepter des relations peu compatibles avec sa situation, que l'état constamment obéré de ses ressources pécuniaires, et enfin que l'excessive liberté d'allure de sa femme, qui semble peu l'inquiéter, lui ont assez justement aliéné l'opinion."
66. "Il ne m'appartient pas d'intervenir, même au moyen d'une appréciation, dans des questions de justice rendue. Ce que j'ai du constater, c'est que l'intérêt même de la justice et du bien général exigeait l'éloignement d'un magistrat dont la présence devenait une cause de trouble et contre lequel l'opinion publique s'ameutait."
67. "Il allait s'exécuter quand l'idée le prit de se retourner pour considérer la personne avec qui il avait affaire. Il me trouva sans doute trop noir à son goût, car il eut un haut le corps et pris immédiatement une allure de grand seigneur et dit d'un ton superbe: 'comment un nègre qui ose me dire de m'écarter? Veux-tu te taire.'" Lettre from Calydon to the governer of Réunion, Saint-Denis, June 15, 1937. ANSOM, EEII 3988.
68. ANSOM, EEII 3988.
69. Léopold Sédar Senghor, "René Maran, précurseur de la Négritude," in *Hommage à René Maran*. Cited by Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire*: *The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 79.
70. René Maran, *Batouala*, English ed., 9–10.
71. René Violaine was a member of the Comité Directeur de la Société des Gens de Lettres de Provence. An old friend of Maran, he supported his admission to this society.
72. "Le scandale, que je ne souhaitais d'ailleurs pas, est trop grand pour que l'on n'entreprenne pas l'épuration nécessaire. Lorsqu'on aura mené à bien, on comprendra que le vrai coupable est le Ministère des Colonies. Si j'avais mis en cause les administrateurs des colonies, c'est que je ne pouvais songer à attaquer de front cette puissante administration, qui ne fait qu'exécuter les ordres de quelques gros financiers . . . En tous cas, d'ores et déjà j'ai obtenu ce résultat appréciable d'intéresser la France à ses colonies et d'y créer l'opinion publique qui contrebalance l'autocratie des gouverneurs." Cited by René Violaines, "Mon ami René Maran. Sa vie et son œuvre à travers ses lettres et mes souvenirs," *Hommage à René Maran*.
73. See Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), for a discussion of the use of "vrai" (true).
74. Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire*, 98.
75. Cited in Ibid, 96.
76. Delafosse, *Broussard*, 171, cited by Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire*, 93.
77. "Une œuvre de haine: Batouala ou la calomnie," cited in Hopkin, 175.
78. Ibid., 175–76.
79. Ibid., 91.

80. *Journal Officiel*, débats parlementaires, no. 138, Chambre des Deputes, 1st session, December 21, 1922: 4391–93. Cited by Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire*, 93.
81. Cited by René Maran, *Félix Eboué: grand commis et loyal serviteur*, 93.
82. January 24, 1939, cited by *L'Europe Nouvelle*, March 18, 1939, 292–93. Cited by Weinstein, *Eboué*, 224.
83. Weinstein, *Eboué*, 224.
84. "Je m'étais jusqu'ici habitué à considér le gouvernement de la République française comme celui de la justice et de l'égalité, incapable d'exposer à mendier leur pain ceux qui ont sacrifié leur vie à son service. Il m'est pénible d'emporter dans ma retraite la constatation contraire." Letter from Capest to the minister of colonies, March 10, 1905, ANSOM, EEII 813.

Conclusion

1. Later he assumed functions at the United Nations, which led him to Zaire and Ivory Coast on missions.
2. "Tout mot d'ordre est situé historiquement et répond à des aspirations très précises. En 1945, tous les ressortissants de l'ex-empire voulaient devenir citoyens et cesser d'être des sujets. C'était déjà la philosophie du XIXe siècle. Jamais aucune loi ne fut aux Antilles plus populaire que celle qui instituait la départementalisation. Pour les Antillais, cette mesure signifiait la fin de l'arbitraire, l'accès aux salaires européens et à la Sécurité sociale, la substitution de la loi au décret. Par le régime départemental, ce qui était recherché c'était, naïvement sans doute, mais sincèrement, l'égalité des droits. Mais la France demeura réticente à appliquer ce qu'elle avait voté. J'ai alors réalisé que nous avions passé un marché de dupes et que la départementalisation n'était qu'une nouvelle forme de domination. Si erreur il y eut, elle fut collective." Philippe Decraene, "Aimé Césaire," in *Entretiens avec Le Monde, IV, Civilisations* (Paris: La Découverte-Le Monde, 1984), 193–201, cited in Marie-José Jolivet, "La construction d'une mémoire historique à la Martinique: du schœlchérisme au marronisme," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 27, nos. 107–8 (1987), 298.
3. Association des Etudiants Guadeloupéens (AGEG), Association des Etudiants Martiniquais (AGEM), the Organisation de la Jeunesse Anticoloniale la Martinique (OJAM), and the Groupe d'Organisation Nationale de la Guadeloupe (GONG).
4. "Dont le comportement est de nature à troubler l'ordre public." Ordinance n°60–1101, October 15, 1960, in Monique Milia-Marie-Luce, "La grande migration des Antillais en France ou les années BUMIDOM," in *Dynamiques migratoires de la Caraïbe* (Paris: Karthala, 2007), 95.
5. This policy and the BUMIDOM's actions were also led in Réunion. For a more in-depth discussion of the BUMIDOM see Monique Milia-Marie-Luce, "La grande migration des Antillais en France ou les années BUMIDOM" in *Dynamiques migratoires de la Caraïbe*, as well as her dissertation *De l'Outre-mer au continent: étude comparée de l'émigration puertoricaine et antillo-guyanaise de l'après Guerre aux années 1960*.

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Index