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Issues & Debates

Visualizing Empire

AFRICA, EUROPE, AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

Edited by
Rebecca Peabody,
Steven Nelson,
and Dominic Thomas

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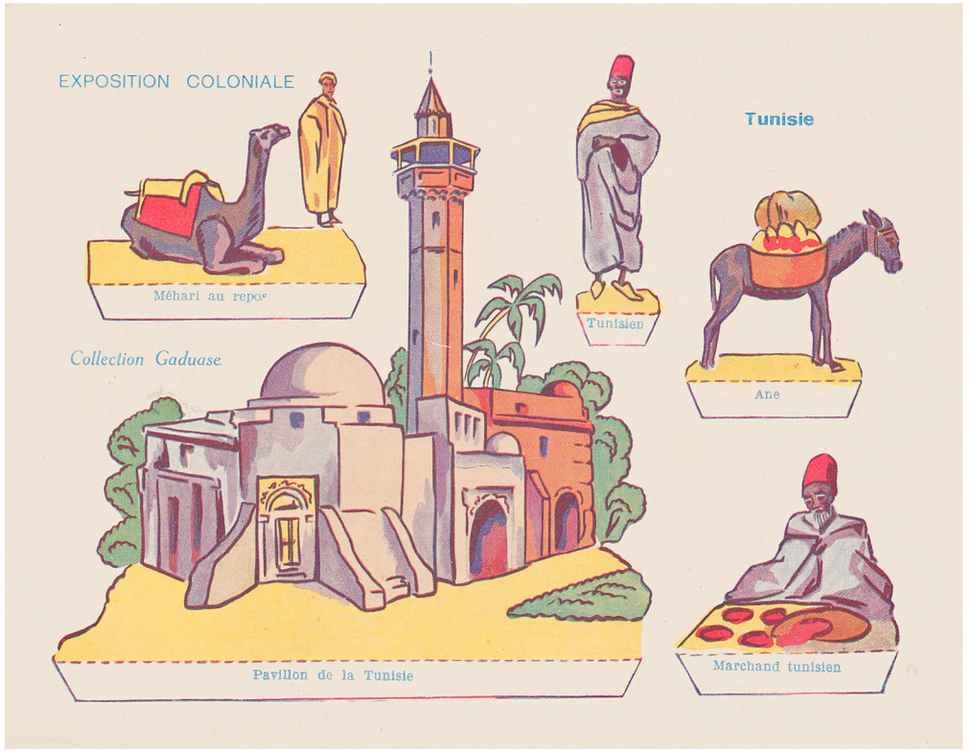
As a counter- exposition, the ACHAC collection destabilizes the imperial archive as a utopia of knowledge and its control. If the Exposition Coloniale attempted to produce a sanitized picture of the colonized world, the ACHAC collection constructs an archive that complicates our understanding of the works it holds and challenges the seemingly hegemonic imperial archive. The status of the objects in the GRI's ACHAC collection (itself a fragment of the larger ACHAC collection in France) is complex. Whereas in 1931 they might have been viewed as straightforward, even accurate, depictions of life in the colonies, the didactic program of ACHAC situates them in the racist epistemic regime of French colonialism. Cutout paper toys of the Tunisian and the Congo sections, for example, reduce the pavilions, exhibitions, art, and exhibited people to mere outlines (figs. 7, 8), representations that stand in for the Arab and the African and their cultures. Sketching out the barest details sufficed here to connote racialized signifiers. Toys like these had a didactic function in educating the French about their colonies, underwritten by advertising for cod liver oil, in this case, or other commodities. Their placement in the ACHAC collection takes them out of the realm of play and commerce and into the discourse on representations linked to popular racism.

Yet not all images within the ACHAC collection neatly fit the model of presenting racist materials for didactically anti-racist purposes. The image of an "Adjutant de Tirailleurs sénégalais" (1917) differs strikingly from better-known cartoonish depictions of the Senegalese soldiers who came to Europe to fight for the French in World War I (fig. 9). By contrast with the notorious "Y'a bon Banania" advertisements, which exaggerate the racial characteristics of the soldier into a caricature, this rifleman presents a noble figure. He stands in contrapposto, gazing forthrightly at the viewer. He wears several medals. He has a stern, proud, and confident look. Behind him, his comrades are engaged in the familiar activities of the military camp: they cook, talk, carry weapons, smoke a pipe, or sit. There is nothing caricatured about these men. They are heroic figures, particularly the man in the foreground. The windmill in the background signifies that the scene takes place in Europe, not on the African savannah. The central figure is an individual, not a type; he has an expression and features unique to him.

At the Exposition Coloniale indigenous soldiers played an important part in the displays of colonized peoples, including guards and military bands, but they were hardly celebrated as heroes of the Great War. Their contribution to the French victory was absent from the Armed Forces section, which focused exclusively on white colonial troops. Native soldiers were the target of considerable unwanted attention from visitors to the exposition. The Guadeloupian delegate to the Chamber of Deputies, Gratien Candace, complained to Maréchal



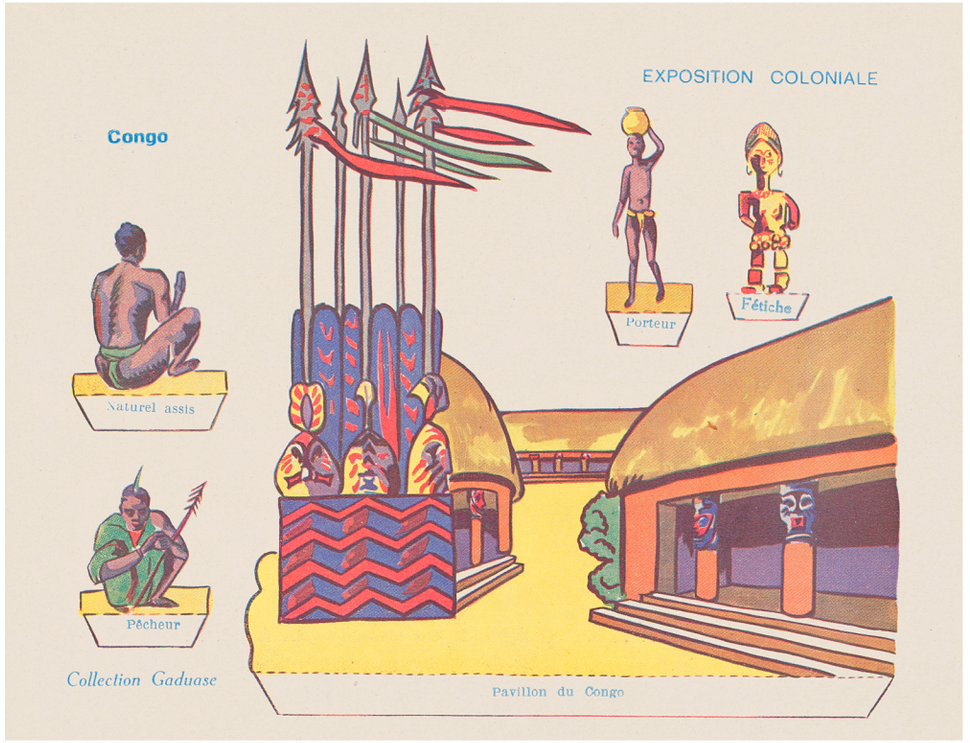


Fig. 7.
Cut-out paper toy of the Tunisia section, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 8.
Cut-out paper toy of the Congo section, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

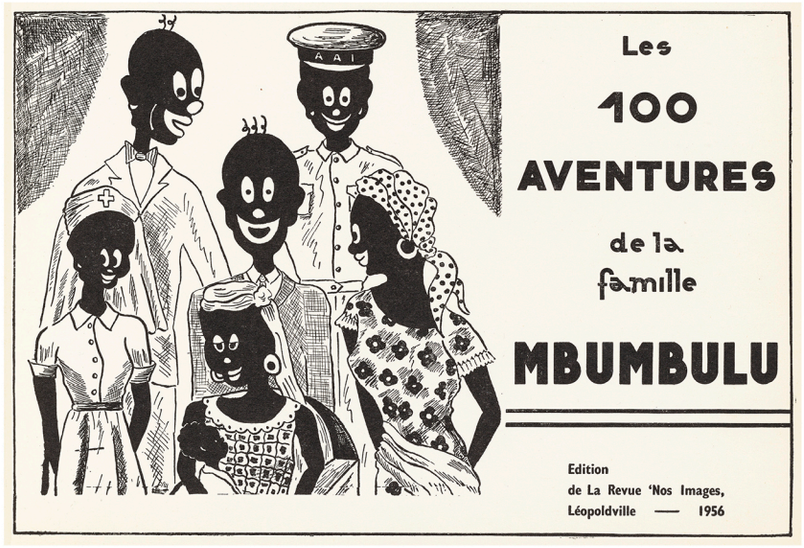


Fig. 1.
Les 100 aventures de la famille Mbumbulu **(Léopoldville, Belgian Congo: Édition de la Revue *Nos Images*, 1956), cover.**
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The *Mbumbulu* series acclaims the Belgian missionary presence, which served as the long-standing purveyor of linguistic boundaries, education, and health in Congo. It also featured the goodwill of the white European professional classes as part of an entrenched hierarchy within the colonial system. The SDI developed the character of Mbumbulu through a series of five-minute live-action films produced from 1950 to 1951, which adapted some of the initial print episodes.[11] *Mbumbulu et la bague* (Mbumbulu and the magic wand), *Mbumbulu et son porte-plume* (Mbumbulu and his magic pen), and *Mbumbulu achète un vélo* (Mbumbulu purchases a bicycle) were based on the strips in three issues of *Nos images* appearing from December 1948 to February 1949.[12] Another fourth short film, *Mbumbulu, un farceur* (Mbumbulu, the practical joker), was likely derived from a panel in which Mbumbulu is introduced to readers with the caption, "I am a *farceur*, that is my only character flaw."[13] In spite of the minstrelsy of Mbumbulu's ongoing blackface performance, the figure's affect appealed to many Congolese in print and on-screen.

In fact, as Guido Convents explains, Armand Diswana, the actor who played Mbumbulu in these silent live-action films, became widely recognized because the films were exhibited as part of mobile cinema campaigns throughout the country.[14] Louis Van Bever, head of the cinema and photo section of the SDI, has been credited as the filmmaker in charge of the *Mbumbulu* series, which was part of the renewed secular colonial film campaign developed after World War II.[15] However, the most visible figure associated with the secular filmmaking context was the abbé André Cornil, who made a significant number of films during the postwar period and also has been credited with coordinating the major filmmaking missionary units of the era.[16]

In spite of the careful manner in which the developmental protagonist Mbumbulu in the printed strip represented the SDI's pedagogical mapping of citizenship, he may also be understood as a "semiotic diminutive" of *Tintin au Congo,* as Nancy Rose Hunt has suggested.[17] Tintin as a popular phenomenon, alongside the right-wing Catholic and possibly fascist political sympathies of Hergé (Georges Prosper Rémi), *Tintin*'s creator, has been described in the critical literature as Tintinology—an international symbol and synecdoche for Belgium. And yet, *BD* aficionados have formulated their hagiography of Hergé, in part for his development of *ligne claire* (clean line), the outlined forms and two-dimensional color that was his aesthetic achievement. The sparse line and two-dimensional areas of color contributes to Belgian identity itself, masking the complexity of the nation's multi-regionalism. This absence may be understood as an epistemological vacuum that serves as a context for staging a superficial attempt at behavioral modification in Congo. As a less-than-identifiable Congolese figure, Mbumbulu stands in for a generic decommissioned recruit of the Force Publique. His humorous antics and excesses contradict the simple-mindedness of colonial instruction.

Les aventures de Mbumbulu appeared in the midst of what Jan Baetens has described as the golden age of Belgian comics during the postwar era (1945–65), and derived from the divide into the Flemish north and French south. *BD* culture came to represent an aesthetic and political split that found expression through dialect and graphic illustration.[18] Comics and caricatures in many of the political Flemish newspapers often evoked an anti-Belgian ethos not only by their iconography but colloquial expressions in northern dialects. These were most often untranslatable but directed to a politicized voting public. As Baetens explains, Willy Vandersteen's working-class Lambik is featured as a Flemish antihero. He embraces all that opposes polite francophone society and has an ambivalence that was prevalent across a wide array of Flemish drawn-strip protagonists.[19] This sensibility also informs Mbumbulu. Though neutralized and bereft of his proper dialect, his inability to adapt and his need to be corrected resonate as secondary reflexes in his bumbling physicality and unlikely adoption of modernity.

Beyond Tintin, Mbumbulu merits consideration on its own terms. *Nos images* was published at a time when a number of fine art, sculpture, and graphic art schools had emerged in colonial Kinshasa and Lubumbashi (formerly Élisabethville); their well-trained instructors and pupils expanded a local infrastructure for print graphics and painting, as well as plastic arts and crafts. It was in this context that Victor Arnold Wallenda, otherwise known as Frère Marc Stanislas, emerged as the first to draw Mbumbulu as self-styled *bédéiste* under the nom de plume Masta, a derisive plantation term.[20] His work for *Nos*

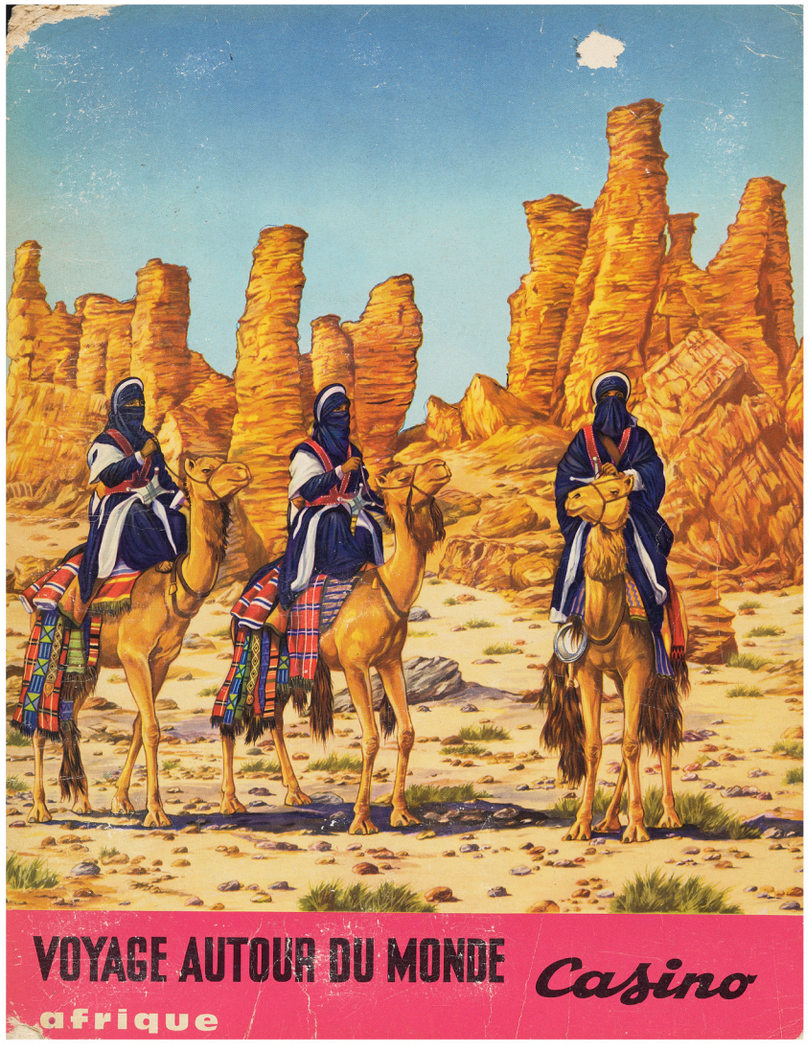


Fig. 1a.
Casino. "Voyage autour du monde. Afrique," 1, 1965–75, cover. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 1b.
Casino. "Voyage autour du monde. Afrique," 1, 1965–75, 4. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

like at different times. Mid-nineteenth-century French colonial imagery promotes the lure of Oriental fantasy and the promise of a unified empire if the extraordinary and arduous territory was successfully conquered. I then analyze personal images of conquest and submission to French colonial order in the early twentieth century. Upon pacification of the Sahara, collecting albums and ephemera celebrate the imperial victories and development of the region. With this in mind, I investigate how colonial-era representations of the Sahara contribute to and even help to refute enduring misconceptions of what is the Sahara, and, to a lesser extent, who is Saharan.[2]

Exotic Visions and Imperial Dreams

Romantic visual and literary representations of the Sahara delighted nineteenth-century French viewers. Control over much of the Sahara, the conquest of which lasted from 1844 until the early 1930s, facilitated communication between the prized African colonies of Algeria and Senegal, the great territorial swath symbolizing the might of the French Empire. A number of Saharan themes can be seen across albums, postcards, and other collections. The most common were landscapes featuring dunes or palms, as well as anonymous Tuareg men, often riding camels. These photographs were produced by local studios, and some recur in multiple albums and in different media. Many early

Fig. 4a.
Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhāb (n.d.), compiler. Portraits of Tuareg men, from album "Al Djazair and Tunis," 1881.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

groves. Biskra's diverse population attested to millennia of migration and trade. Such images also functioned as a rallying cry for French imperialism and its civilizing mission that sought to end slavery in the Sahara. These picturesque images illustrate a calm environment full of opportunity.[7]

Another album in the GRI's Special Collections points to the previous colonial occupation in the Sahara. The 1881 album "Al Djazair and Tunis" (Algeria and Tunisia), compiled by Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhab, provides a counterpoint to French colonial imagery and recalls Algeria's Ottoman occupation and earlier Islamic histories. The *tugra,* the Ottoman calligraphic monogram on the elaborate album cover, reads "Algiers/Tunis" and reminds the viewer that 1881 marked the end of over three centuries of Ottoman rule in the Maghrib, which had begun in 1516. The 107 albumen prints rarely contain evidence of the expanding French infrastructure. The region around Biskra is featured, and the same palm grove scene appears in both the al-Wahhab album and "Views and Peoples of Algeria."[8] Its camels, earthen-brick residential architecture, and the nearby mosque-tomb Qubba of Sidi Uqba, with its seventh-century

Fig. 4b.
Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhāb (n.d.), compiler. Portraits of Tuareg men, from album "Al Djazair and Tunis," 1881.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

foundations, are also photographed. Sidi Uqba Ibn Nafie (622–83) was the Arab general whose Muslim armies crossed North Africa, conquered Byzantine Kairouan, and founded its Great Mosque. He died in an ambush near Biskra; his tomb is located in this mosque-madrasa (prayer hall-school) in an oasis on the edge of the Sahara. The massive square minaret exemplifies early Islamic architecture and identity in North Africa. It also stands as a testament to scholarship in the region.

"Al Djazair and Tunis" concludes not with arid landscapes but with portraits of Tuareg men, a second convention for ending nineteenth-century albums. The Tuareg are perhaps the best known Amazigh (Berber) confederation. They have also come to symbolize the desert. One man is unusually bareheaded (fig. 4a), but his portrait contains the aesthetic of mobility for which Tuareg arts are known. Numerous incised leather packets lay upon his chest, probably holding Qur'anic inscriptions used as protective devices. Such easily transportable pouches may include fringe or other elements that sway with the wearer's movement.[9] The man on the opposite leaf wears the veil (fig. 4b); he also appears, in

Fig. 9.
***Les Poilus* (The grunts), *tiraillewur sénégalais*, n.d., postcard.**
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 10.
Photograph of two *tirailleurs*, n.d.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

adopt relaxed poses, arms draped in friendship across the shoulders of their companions. Almost all have been shot in domestic settings, generally in front of what appear to be small *pavillons*, or detached houses, many of which must have been the homes of the soldiers' war godmothers. Whereas before the war the *tirailleur* had been associated with a faraway Africa, he was now part of domestic reality for many French people.

The Militant Tirailleur

On 24 November 1924, the former *tirailleur sénégalais* Lamine Senghor made his entry on to the French political scene when he appeared as a witness for the defense in a libel trial, at the Tribunal de Paris, which, for a few days at

least, situated the participation of colonial troops in World War I as central to public debate.[15] The antagonists at the heart of the trial were the most infamous black Frenchmen of their day: the plaintiff, Blaise Diagne, was a deputy in the French parliament representing the four communes of Senegal. The main defendant, René Maran, had for several years been a controversial figure in French life after he was awarded the prestigious *Prix Goncourt* in 1921 for his novel *Batouala*, which in its preface had provided one of the most scathing denunciations of French colonialism in recent times. Despite the conflict that led to the trial, little separated Diagne and Maran in terms of their fundamental attitude to French colonialism: both believed profoundly in France's "civilizing mission" and they argued for the full assimilation of black people into French culture. Maran's critique of Diagne effectively accused him of

LAUREN TAYLOR

ON POSTERS AND POSTURES: COLONIAL ENLISTMENT POSTERS AND THE NATIONALIST IMAGINATION IN FRANCE

> Young people / Who hesitate to choose a career . . .
> Go to the colonies.
> —Danilo, poster, 1925

Why not leave the troubles of metropolitan France behind? A 1925 lithograph signed "Danilo" prompted its viewers to ponder this question, a query made all the more intriguing by the trying economic circumstances of the hexagon's interwar years (fig. 1). A weakened economy and oversaturated job market presented major obstacles not only to young men seeking new careers, but also to French soldiers who sought to transition into civilian work after returning from World War I.[1] To the frustrated and unemployed, Danilo's large poster, produced by the French ministry of war, touts the seductive promises of free travel, a substantial paycheck, and job training in a new trade—not to mention the tantalizingly ambiguous "lure of the unknown." This textual appeal is wedged between enticing palm fronds, a North African mosque topped by a flapping *tricolore* and a relaxed French officer on camelback who provides a protective barrier between a flurry of cavalry activity and local women and children.

Danilo's poster establishes a mutually reinforcing relationship between the visual and the verbal, united in their public appeal for military service overseas. Such consistency is typical of its genre; in general, the military recruitment poster is known neither for the subtlety of its message nor the complexity of the relationship posed between word and image. Instead, its defining characteristics lie in the immediacy of its confrontation with a viewer as it poses a direct call to action. James Montgomery Flagg's iconic 1917 poster of the allegorical Uncle Sam exemplifies these attributes of the genre; as if to eliminate any shred of interpretative ambiguity left by the stern gaze and a pointing finger of its protagonist, overlaid capital letters proclaim, "I WANT YOU / FOR U.S. ARMY."

Perhaps it is because they convey such clarity of purpose that French colonial enlistment posters like Danilo's, despite their relationship to topics of war,

Fig. 1.
Danilo (n.d.). *Jeunes gens . . . allez aux colonies,* 1925, poster. Paris, Imprimerie Edia. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

nationalism, economics, and labor, have been largely overlooked by existing scholarship.[2] Unlike prior literature identifying, for example, the propagandistic promotion of French colonialism in education, entertainment, and sports, it is no revelation in itself to connect colonial recruitment posters to the initiatives of empire.[3] Yet, in scholarship on twentieth-century enlistment imagery made outside of France, the overt intentions of recruitment posters are precisely what has made them useful historical tools. Art historian W. J. T. Mitchell, for example, deploys Flagg's print—in his words, "a picture that wears its heart on its sleeve"—to substantiate a historical conceptualization of American identity; historian Carlo Ginzberg discusses "Lord Kitchener Wants You," a British


Le Petit Journal

SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ

Huit pages : CINQ centimes

Le Petit Journal — CHAQUE JOUR 5 CENTIMES

Le Supplément illustré — CHAQUE SEMAINE 5 CENTIMES

ABONNEMENTS

	SIX MOIS	UN AN
SEINE ET SEINE-ET-OISE	2 fr.	3 fr. 50
DÉPARTEMENTS	2 fr.	4 fr.
ÉTRANGER	2 50	5 fr.

Neuvième année — DIMANCHE 3 AVRIL 1898 — Numéro 385

A MADAGASCAR

Défaite des Sakalaves

Fig. 3.
***A Madagascar: Défaite des Sakalavs, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1898.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

other things, riots in Algiers, insurrections in Bombay, battles in Madagascar, as well as scenes from the Spanish-American War (fig. 3). On 28 August 1898, the supplement's cover featured an image titled, *Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua* (King Menelik at the Battle of Adoua), engraved after Paul Buffet's 1897 photograph of the same name (fig. 4).

Despite this breadth, at least in the early 1890s, Dahomey was at the center of the newspaper's coverage. Indeed, five of the 1892 covers of the *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* featured the west African kingdom.[13] On 23 April the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Neuvième année — DIMANCHE 28 AOUT 1898 — Numéro 406

Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua

TABLEAU DE M. Paul BUFFET (SALON DE 1898)

Fig. 4.
***Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1892.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

newspaper published an engraving of its ruler, King Behanzin (fig. 5). Seated in front of a raffia wall punctuated with human skulls, he holds a *makpo* scepter in each hand. Four women, who could be understood as both attendants and as representations of the famed and feared Amazon warriors, flank the ruler. One holds a rifle, one the umbrella that provides the ruler with shade. Another fans him. The last plays a drum. The setting defines the king as being at once exotic and savage. In addition, *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* commissioned engravings of Dahomeans attacking the French navy, Senegalese soldiers

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STEVEN NELSON, REBECCA PEABODY, AND DOMINIC THOMAS

INTRODUCTION: VISUALIZING EMPIRE

In the mid-nineteenth century, when very few Europeans had traveled overseas, an average person with a shilling or a franc and a spare day could step into the cultures of other continents in their nation's empire, in London at the Crystal Palace Exhibition (1851) or in Paris at the Exposition Universelle (1855), where they could find exhibits and other materials that glorified and promoted the benefits of their empires. In the decades that followed, as the French empire rapidly expanded, world's fairs increasingly focused on the colonies in order "to transform public indifference, and draw attention to both the necessity and the legitimacy of the colonial project."[1] These exhibitions displayed economic and social concerns, products, and overseas infrastructure, as well as eugenics and racial violence in pavilions populated by flora, fauna, and, eventually, people. France's colonial expansion and dissemination of propaganda were similar to those of Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Germany, and Great Britain.[2]

By the end of World War I, France had entered what French historian Jean Suret-Canale has called the "golden age of colonialism."[3] Having fortified their colonial holdings in the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, the Indian Ocean, and Asia, the French could rightly claim to have expanded their dominion to the four corners of the earth. This point was celebrated in the summer of 1931, when 33 million people attended Paris's Exposition Coloniale Internationale (fig. 1). In that world's fair, imperialism was not a subtheme, but rather the explicit purpose; visitors could, as the government's slogan advertised, have a "tour of the world in a day," touching down on continents and oceans that represented the breadth of France Overseas.

As a result of the imperial "civilizing mission," and in the span of less than a century, residents of the metropole and colonies experienced "the dissemination of thousands of pieces of audio/visual material" and were "immersed in a veritable *colonial bath*. Each image participated in the elaboration of a social imaginary, through which the national community, appropriating a common patrimony, constructed itself."[4]

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Fig. 1.
Jean Pierre Desmeures (French, n.d.).
Poster for the *Exposition coloniale internationale,* Paris, 1931. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The essays in this volume focus on the role of visual culture in these processes of national self construction, using a collection of materials held in the Getty Research Institute (GRI) acquired from the Paris-based Association Connaissance de l'Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine (ACHAC) archives. Through a diverse and interdisciplinary range of essays, our goal has been to reveal the complex ways in which the French displayed, defined, and represented their empire. As one of the panels in a recent exhibition at the Deutsches Historisches Museum argued, "the world of colonial images in the German Empire shows that visual relationships are also power relationships. Photographs, consumer goods, and advertising all transmitted themes of colonial conquest and racist stereotypes. Through such images of themselves and of others, consumers and viewers learned colonialist patterns of interpretation that have retained their potency to this day."[5] These observations are also pertinent to this book, as contributors demonstrate how these holdings can be instrumentalized in order to foster broad interdisciplinary research in art history, visual culture, and literature.

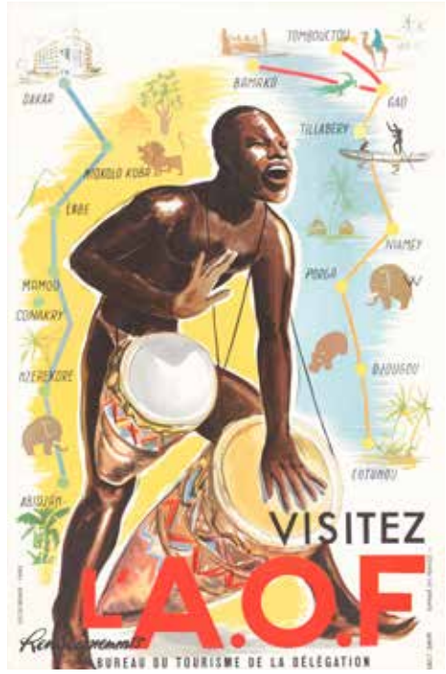

Fig. 2.
Visitez l'Afrique occidentale française, ca. 1954, poster.
Paris, Diloutremer. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 3.
Liebig's Extract of Meat, advertising card.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

ACHAC is both a GRI archive and a larger international endeavor. Acquired in 1997, the GRI's ACHAC collection holds materials in several media that illustrate many aspects of the French Empire, providing invaluable indicators as to how France conceived of and implemented a colonial culture.[6] Photographs, postcards, maps, travel posters (fig. 2), advertisements (fig. 3), and children's games, among other types of documents and ephemera, lay a multifarious foundation for examining colonial history, and offer unique insights into the

impressive range of visual materials by which French authorities represented the diversity of France's international colonies.

The group that originally formed the ACHAC materials and later sold a portion of them to the GRI is a Paris-based, globally minded network of scholars—historian Pascal Blanchard, a contributor to this volume, anthropobiologist Gilles Boëtsch, and historian and filmmaker Éric Deroo—who share the goal of documenting, analyzing, remembering, and displaying the visual and material culture of colonial contact around the world. The ACHAC research group has been active in France since 1989, bringing their collective holdings to public attention and building a visual history of the French Empire. As one of the most active and visible centers for research on the colonial and postcolonial eras, ACHAC has played a central role in contemporary debates about colonialism's visual legacy. After the GRI purchase, the group's founders have continued to build the French-based collection which, today, is housed at their headquarters in Paris.

The focus of this volume is the collection of materials at the Getty; it is neither a project by the larger ACHAC organization, nor does it enter into the same debates. Rather, this book is the outgrowth of long-term scholarly activity undertaken with the aim of reflecting on the GRI's archive, including its theoretical underpinnings, and according these materials greater public visibility. While the ACHAC collection has proven invaluable for a variety of research topics, its stunning array of materials has not received the critical focus it deserves, especially in the United States. *Visualizing Empire: Africa, France, and the Politics of Representation* caps a multiyear research project that set out to address this problem. Along the way, the project's leaders taught a graduate seminar with the GRI's ACHAC materials, and scholars from multiple disciplines spent time with the collections and in conversation with each other in order to bring to light the intellectual stakes and the range of approaches necessary to understand the impact of the material on visual and material histories. This book has therefore been conceived with an eye toward exploring how these images and ephemera were primary agents in constructing and maintaining French imperial ideology (fig. 4).

Much like the subject of colonialism itself, the colonial archive remains controversial in France. Many of France's contemporary cultural, political, and social challenges and problems—memory wars, colonial nostalgia, inadequate memorialization, revisionist legislation, identity politics, racial intolerance, economic inequality—can be attributed to the failure and inability to reckon with colonial history. Needless to say, stepping onto this contested terrain means engaging in some manner with various polemics. For example, although France has introduced a variety of legislation pertaining to the nation's role in

Fig. 4.
Son of a Chief, postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, collection of J. Benyoumoff.

slavery and the slave trade, the same cannot be said about their official attitudes toward colonialism, a subject that remains taboo and for which no dedicated museum space currently exists.[7] But there is some indication that things may be changing. In 2018 President Emmanuel Macron commissioned a report on the restitution of artifacts and cultural objects in French museums that were "pillaged, "plundered," "stolen," and "illicitly exported" during the colonial era.[8] Ultimately, this has encouraged former colonial powers to address the past and its legacy:

> [I]t seems essential here to recall that the absence of cultural heritage can render memory silent and make the essential work of history of the young nations rather difficult when faced with the delicate question of the construction of a political community and a project for the future. To envision the possib[ility] of the future requires clearing away the painful legacies of the colonial past, of doing away with a sense of indebtedness. If this can be accompanied by a return of emblematic objects, the memory work can function as an operator for the reconstruction of the identity of subjects and communities.[9]

In bringing together their visual materials, Blanchard, Boëtsch, and Deroo sought to create an archive that would be a resource for critical intervention into what was then acritical scholarship concerning French colonialism, and to expose the racialized and racist imagery produced about Africans in the metropole. The ACHAC volume *Images et Colonies: Iconographie et propaganda colonial sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962* (1993) explored how the materials that they had amassed normalized the French "civilizing mission" through the denigration of the empire's African subjects.[10] The archive's founders understood the primary role that visual images and ephemera played in the discursive formation of empire at home and overseas. Their accomplishment was an archive intended to deconstruct French colonial discourse. ACHAC materials show how knowledge and political power were disseminated. The making of this archive and the Getty's acquisition of it are the products of subjective decisions that necessarily define the collection's scope and limits. Most of this volume's essays draw from the archive as a body of primary materials that, like much of the work of the ACHAC group, give insight into the complicated world of empire—in particular, French Africa—and how imperialism, race, and racism shaped visual culture and the lives of colonized and colonizer.

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This volume begins with two essays that address the content of the GRI's materials and how they connect with other collections and initiatives at the Getty and around the world. Frances Terpak's "French Colonial Collections at the Getty Research Institute" shares some of the details around the GRI's acquisition of the ACHAC archive and sets the materials in the context of primary and archival sources in the GRI's Special Collections. In the chapter "Documenting (Post)Colonial Visual Histories: The Global Impact of the ACHAC Research Group," Pascal Blanchard and Dominic Thomas trace the ACHAC project and the colonial legacy in contemporary postcolonial French society through exhibitions on the history of "human zoos," visual histories of different racial groups, and works on race and racial taxonomies.[11] Those active in the ACHAC project comprise a network of more than six hundred researchers in over thirty countries. As specialists—active in the arts, museums, academic institutions, and documentary filmmaking—who have relationships with French overseas departments and territories, they share interests in this history and are concerned with postcolonial issues and immigration.

In "Decolonizing the ACHAC Collection," Patricia A. Morton considers the official poster for the Exposition Coloniale Internationale of 1931 as key to her cross-cultural approach to larger issues of race, colonialism, control, and assimilation, revealing how it remains to this day an iconic image of interwar French colonialism and France's "civilizing mission" in Overseas France.[12]

Morton interrogates the archive as an object in its own right. Following Michel Foucault, she advises us to acknowledge the positions of both the French "imperial archive" and the ACHAC "counter-archive" with respect to the construction of knowledge and the deployment of power.

Three essays address how colorful, inexpensive, and engaging entertainment shaped the instruction and play of children as part of a propagandistic "civilizing" investment in the future of the French and Belgian empires. In "Fragments of Empire: Ephemera, Representation, and the Dynamics of Colonial Memory," Charles Forsdick turns his attention to ephemera in the French colonial context as a *lieu de mémoire*, or realm of memory, suggesting that the postcolonial neglect of, and ultimately disappearance of this material could be understood as a *lieu d'oubli,* or realm of forgetting, engaging more widely with the colonial lacunae evident in Pierre Nora's *Realms of Memory* project.[13] He explores the dynamics of memory evident in ubiquitous and ephemeral materials such as students' exercise book covers, cut-out toys, games, and other pedagogic and commercial items that intersect with instruction and propaganda aimed at young people. Peter J. Bloom, in "Intersecting Legacies of *bandes dessinées* and Belgian Colonial Instruction: *Les aventures de Mbumbulu* in *Nos images* (1948–55)," considers how Belgian-funded *bandes dessinées*, or comic strips, anchored mid-twentieth-century colonial moral instruction, as seen through the adventures of the Congolese blackface character Mbumbulu. In "French Colonialism: The Rules of the Game," Dominic Thomas investigates three colonial board games released in 1941: the double-sided Jeu de l'Empire Français (The French Empire game), the Course de l'Empire Français (The race for the French Empire), and the Jeu des Échanges France—Colonies (Trading game). Thomas demonstrates how these games characterized the priority of imaginative and physical travel in the French Empire—which had burgeoned to twenty-four times the size of mainland France—an enterprise that was central to the economy, international influence, and visualization of the French empire.

In "The Myth of the Sahara," Michelle H. Craig explores how colonial and imperial dreams were projected through the idea of the desert, which is often characterized as an unfathomable and impenetrable place. Photographs, maps, postcards, and collecting-card albums of the Sahara in the ACHAC collection and other colonial archives demonstrate how a century of French colonization celebrated desert landscapes, along with the automobile and air transportation that made the modern Sahara's beauty so accessible, habitable, and commercially advantageous.

In "Representations of the *tirailleurs sénégalais* and World War I," David Murphy traces images of sub-Saharan Africa's famed colonial infantryman, the *tirailleurs sénégalais*, from early representations—in which they are often

buffoonish or militant blackface caricatures—to the valiant, albeit childlike, *tirailleurs* of World War I. He also outlines how one veteran, Lamine Senghor, became a leading figure in the communist-inspired anti-colonial movement in the 1920s.

In "On Posters and Postures: Colonial Enlistment Posters and the Nationalist Imagination in France," Lauren Taylor discusses how, after enlistment in the French armed forces decreased dramatically in the years following World War I, the French government used a sequence of recruitment posters to increase its colonial troops. This messaging campaign, which lasted through the late 1950s reveals another facet of French psychological influence on the colonies.

Steven Nelson's "*La France et ses colonies:* Mapping, Representing, and Visualizing Empire" explores the broader context of cartography, landscape, and the representation of regional types by focusing on the context of an important oversized illustrated wall map of France and its colonies published in 1897 as a supplement to the conservative Parisian daily newspaper *Le petit journal.*

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The GRI's ACHAC collection provides a rich foundation for the examination of French colonial history. With this in mind, *Visualizing Empire* offers a sustained inquiry into the ways in which the French deployed a visual culture that exposed its citizens and colonial subjects to gendered and racialized ideas of one another while simultaneously normalizing France's colonial project in the metropole and overseas. Its essays demonstrate the depth and breadth of the materials in the collection, which will continue to inform scholars' analyses for many generations. In their analyses of these images and rubrics of colonial France, the contributors to this volume have expanded insight into the often quiet everyday iconographies of power and submission under empire.

Notes

1. Sandrine Lemaire and Pascal Blanchard, "Exhibitions, Expositions, Media Coverage, and the Colonies (1870–1914)," in Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 90.
2. See Tony Chafer and Amanda Sackur, eds., *Promoting the Colonial Idea: Propaganda and Visions of Empire in France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Adolfo Mignemi, ed., *Immagine coordinata per un impero. Etiopia 1935–1936* (Turin: Gruppo editoriale Forma, 1984); and William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982).
3. Jean Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa, 1900–1945*, trans. Till Gottheiner (New York: Pica, 1971), 71.

4. Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, and Dominic Thomas, "The Creation of a Colonial Culture in France, from the Colonial Era to the 'Memory Wars,'" in Blanchard et al., *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, 8.
5. See *Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart,* exh. cat. (Berlin: Deutsches Historishes Museum, 2016).
6. On the question of "colonial culture," see Blanchard et al., *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution.*
7. Pascal Blanchard, "Un musée sur l'histoire coloniale: Il est temps," *Libération*, 29 May 2019.
8. Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics,* November 2018, trans. Drew S. Burk. http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_en.pdf.
9. Sarr and Savoy, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage*, 35.
10. See Pascal Blanchard, "Il est temps de décoloniser les images," in *Images et Colonies: Iconographie et propaganda colonial sur l'Afrique fraçaise de 1880 à 1962,* ed. Nicolas Bancel et al. (Paris: Association Connaissance de l'Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine, 1993), 8.
11. This important element of the broader ACHAC project has been explored in greater detail by these authors in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Legacy in France: Fracture, Rupture, and Apartheid* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017). On "human zoos," see Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep, eds., *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2011); Éric Deroo and Pascal Blanchard, eds., *Le Paris Asie* (Paris: Découverte, 2004); Pascal Blanchard, Sylvie Chalaye, Éric Deroo, Mahamet Timera, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *La France noire. Trois siècles de présences* (Paris: Découverte, 2011); Pascal Blanchard, Naïma Yahi, Yvan Gastaut, and Nicolas Bancel, eds., *La France arabo-orientale. Treize siècles de présences* (Paris: Découverte, 2013), Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
12. Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
13. Pierre Nora, ed., David P. Jordan, trans. ed., *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999–2010).

FRANCES TERPAK

FRENCH COLONIAL COLLECTIONS AT THE GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

In 1997, as part of a collecting initiative focused on France and its colonial history, the Getty Research Institute (GRI) acquired a visual archive assembled by three scholars who had brought their independent collections together and founded the Association Connaissance de l'Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine (ACHAC). Comprising 30 flat files, 5 oversize rolls, and 31 boxes that end to end extend to 32 linear feet, the materials housed within comprise a large and impressive archive. There are 350 loose photographs, 14 photograph albums, 2,286 postcards, 19 different periodicals, 134 posters and wall maps, 83 pieces of ephemera, 148 loose advertising and collecting cards, 5 collecting card albums, 16 children's games and toys, and 14 pieces of sheet music. Ranging from government posters to educational cards advertising chocolate bars to children's board games, ACHAC's array of materials underlines how public and private initiatives furthered the colonial mission's entry into every facet of French society. As the essay by Pascal Blanchard and Dominic Thomas indicates, the GRI's ACHAC collection contains materials that were initially gathered between 1990 and 1995, and form part of an ongoing scholarly initiative.

In their new American home, these archival holdings join numerous other collections at the GRI related to the French colonial enterprise; each online query to the GRI's catalog that concerns a colonial theme is also linked to the ACHAC collection. For instance, if a scholar searches *tirailleur*, looking for the famed infantrymen in the African colonial army, the results list several images of Senegalese infantrymen held in the ACHAC archive, in addition to two non-ACHAC items, including Algerian *tirailleurs* represented in an 1866 album, commissioned by and photographed in the factory of Alexis Godillot, supplier to the army of Napoleon III (fig. 1). Represented in an album picturing the various divisions of the French military, these Algerian infantrymen, along with the subjects of five other plates—featuring the spahis, the distinctive Arab cavalry with their flowing robes, the celebrated Zouaves, and African

Fig. 1.
Louise Laffon (French, active 1859–70). *Regiments of* tirailleurs algériens, from "Album photographique des uniformes de l'armée française," 1866, hand-colored salt print.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

foot soldiers—confirm how the *armée d'Afrique*, formed an integral part of the imperial forces three decades after France's entry into that continent.

Outside of the ACHAC collection, the GRI's holdings of French colonial African visual and printed material range from singular items to mass-produced popular ephemera. Reflecting its leading role in French colonial history, Algeria is best represented, with over five hundred rare publications, photographs, and albums, many unique, dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Items include the *Album africain*, the first illustrated publication printed in Algiers in 1831, the year after the French army captured the city. Containing twenty-four lithographs "après nature" by an unknown artist named Vaccari, the work illustrates the multiethnic character of Algiers and demonstrates the metropole's desire for images of its new possession. Over the next century, as the French military expanded beyond the coast to occupy the

Fig. 2.
Henri Ranoux (French, n.d.), photographer; Louis Bertrand (French, 1866–1941), author.
Roman Sculpture at Rusicada (Skikda), Algeria, 1895, cyanotype, from "Rusicade: Théâtre romain, Philippeville le 15 octobre 1895." Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (90.R.1).

whole country, with thousands of Europeans immigrating and making it a tourist destination, Algeria was studied, mapped, and illustrated in countless ways as part of the imperial conquest.[1]

Information flowed in such publications as the mid-century, three-volume work by Amable Ravoisié, *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie pendant les années 1840, 1841, 1842: publiée par ordre du Gouvernement et avec le concours d'une commission académique, Beaux-arts, architecture et sculpture*[2] to the 1895 handmade album of cyanotypes documenting the Roman theater and sculpture of Rusicada (now Skikda), an important ancient Mediterranean port (fig. 2). In contrast to Ravoisié's government-sponsored publication printed by the renowned Firmin Didot press in Paris, the Rusicada album, crafted by the local architect Henri Ranoux and lycée professor Louis Bertrand, signifies how individual colonials subscribed to the common belief that the French presence in North Africa was legitimized by their Roman forbearers.[3]

The GRI's holdings on sub-Saharan Africa are not as large or layered as those documenting the Maghreb; nonetheless, several unique collections stand

Fig. 3.
Edouard Foà (French, 1862–1901).
Coronation of a Chief at Accra, 1886–90, albumen print, from "Views of Africa: Album 1 Côte d'Or-Ashantis-Krou-Mandigo-Niger-Salaga-Ténériffe-Madere." Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (93.R.114).

out. Perhaps the most remarkable is a series of seven albums, containing 553 photographs taken and compiled by Edouard Foà to document his explorations in Africa between 1886 and 1897. Although Foà was hired by French companies to promote commerce and industry, he actively documented and photographed African indigenous cultures in the spirit of benefiting colonization through knowledge about the continent's geography, ethnography, and natural history. In 1897 he was awarded the Légion d'honneur for his intrepid explorations, which included crossing the continent from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, and for his publications. In Africa, Foà's camera was his research tool for his scenes of modern-day Benin, Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, Sierra Leone, Gabon, Congo, Lesotho, Nigeria, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, and Zaire. He also purchased photographs of Egypt and Tanzania from professional studios in port cities. Intended primarily as ethnographic studies, Foà's photographs also capture historic events such as the crowning of a chief in Accra (fig. 3), and significant local architecture, as in an early view of the Salaga mosque (fig. 4). Even the studio portraits Foà purchased in Zanzibar represent

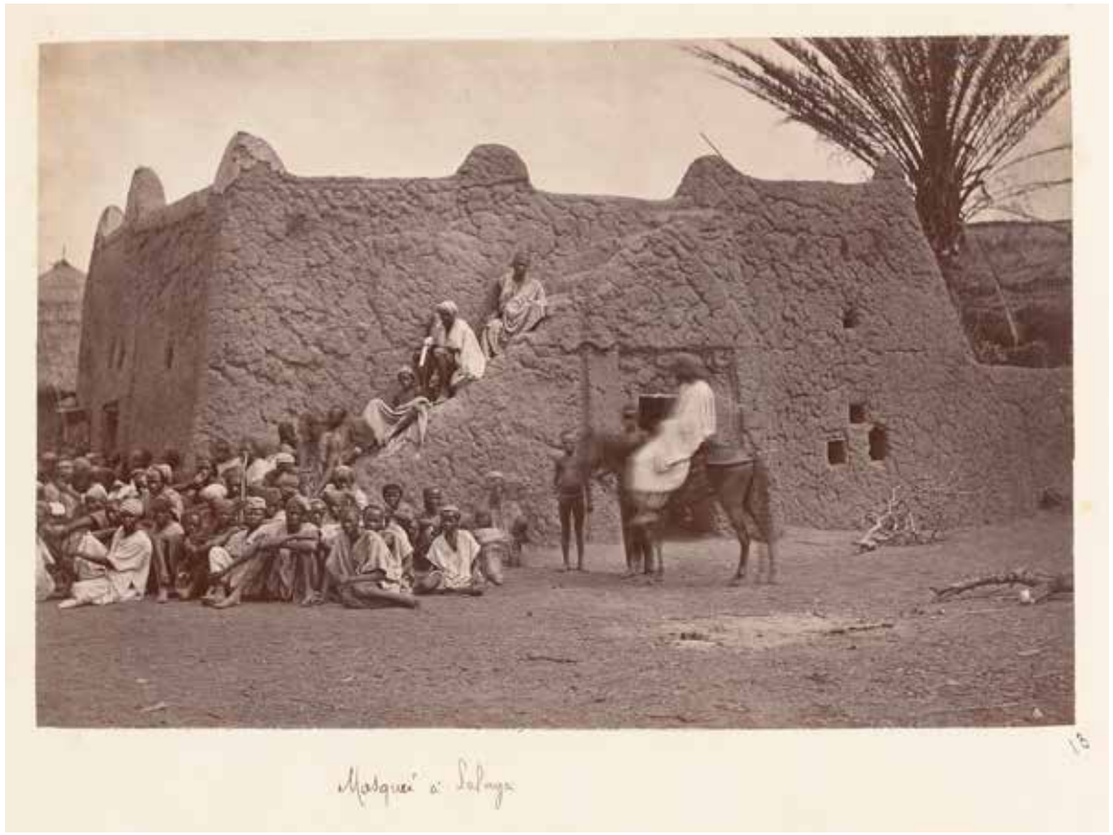


Fig. 4.
Edouard Foà (French, 1862–1901).
Mosque at Salaga, 1886–90, albumen print, from "Views of Africa: Album 1 Côte d'Or-Ashantis-Krou-Mandigo-Niger-Salaga-Ténériffe- Madere." Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (93.R.114)

important visual documents, as they provide evidence for this region's long engagement with the Arabic peninsula, India, and Europe.[4]

Alternatively, because of a focused collecting policy on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century international European expositions, the GRI's holdings afford research on how France's overseas territories shaped modernity. In 1993 the GRI acquired a duplicate library of publications produced and owned by the Comité Français des Expositions that was further supported with additions of rare and unique material. Commencing with literature on the early regional fairs and continuing through the midcentury international expositions, the GRI's holdings are particularly rich in visual materials, including guides, postcards, ephemera, and commercial photograph albums. From the Paris Exposition Coloniale Internationale of 1931, for instance, there is *Les nuits coloniales*, a program for an evening of theater whose descriptions of entertainments, such as "the rifle dance of the North African *tirailleurs*" underlines how reality and fantasy were melded together by such leading designers as Paul Colin and Émile Bertin. Marking the high point of the French Empire, the 1931

exposition, located on the eastern edge of Paris, featured replicas of the empire's landmarks from two continents: bits and pieces of Angkor Wat and earthen architecture from West Africa stood in unison to promote colonialism and create a fictive world view for those who purchased the 30 million tickets sold during the exposition's six-month opening (fig. 5).[5]

Fig. 5.
Adolphe Braun & Co, publisher (French, ca. 1850–ca. 1890).
View of La Grande Avenue of the French Colonies, 1931, postcard. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Dedicated to furthering understanding of the visual arts and their various histories, the GRI continues to collect material on colonialism with the goal of furthering critical inquiry and scholarly exchange.

Notes

1. Julia Clancy-Smith, "Exoticism, Erasures, and Absence: The Peopling of Algiers, 1830–1900," in *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 19–61.
2. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1846–[53])
3. Nabila Oulebsir, *Les usages du patrimoine: monuments, musées et politique coloniale en Algérie, 1830–1930* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2001).
4. http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/author/blierterpak/
5. Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

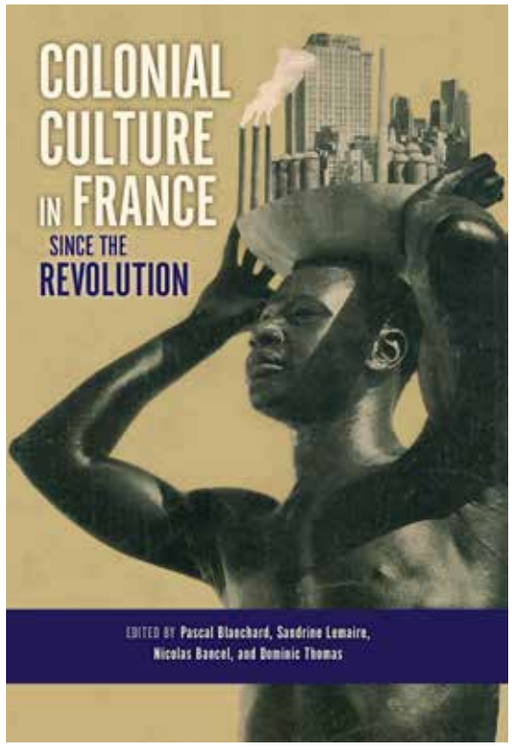
PASCAL BLANCHARD AND DOMINIC THOMAS

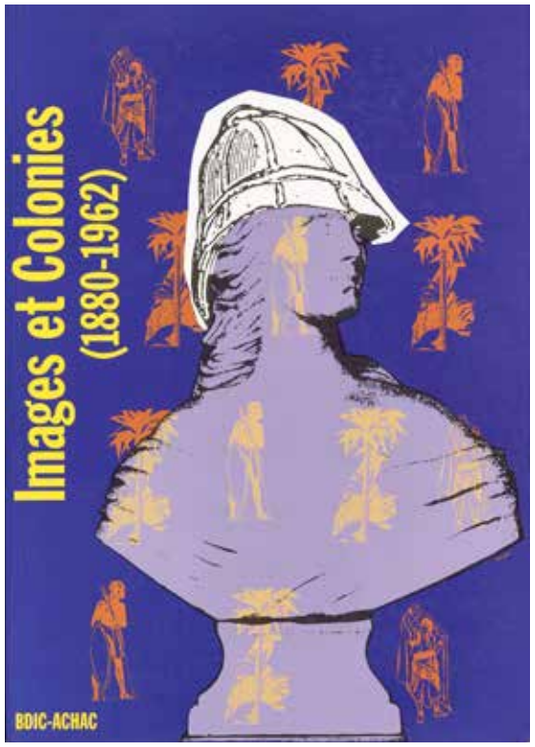
DOCUMENTING (POST) COLONIAL VISUAL HISTORIES

The Global Impact of the ACHAC Research Group

During a visit to Algeria, French presidential candidate Emmanuel Macron stated in an interview broadcast on Echorouk TV on 14 February 2017 that "[c]olonization is part of French history. It is a crime. It is a crime against humanity, a truly barbarous crime that is part of our history, and we need to confront this past by apologizing to the women and men against whom we committed these acts." He sparked a firestorm, unleashing a furor that underscored France's incapacity to come to terms with its complex past, a past whose specter, whose legacy continues to haunt the contemporary landscape.[1] It is literally a past that, as French historian Henry Rousso famously wrote in 1987 with reference to Vichy France, is a "*passé qui ne passe pas*"—"a past that refuses to pass."[2] Furthermore, "[o]ver time, *colonial culture* has come to infiltrate the cultural, political, and social unconscious. *Traces* and *vestiges* are to found everywhere."[3] Perhaps not surprisingly, those European countries that gathered at the Berlin Conference in 1884–85 to negotiate territorial allocations find themselves today reckoning with that history, to varying degrees. Postcolonial populations living in Europe (many of whom are descendants of the formerly colonized) have, alongside activists, called for greater official recognition of some of the darker chapters of that history. In France, for example, these claims have also coincided with demands for a museum devoted to colonial history. To this end, the work of organizations such as ACHAC is of great interest in terms of raising public awareness of these matters, but also deeply politicized and often controversial (fig. 1).

Founded in 1989, ACHAC—an acronym that initially stood for Association Connaissance de l'Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine (Association to foster knowledge on contemporary Africa)—is today a Paris-based research group whose focus is organized along three axes: colonialism, immigration, and postcolonialism. It comprises a network of more than six hundred international researchers located in over thirty countries; these experts and scholars are active in the arts, museums, academic institutions, and as documentary





filmmakers, and represent fields as diverse as anthropology, history, political science, art history, and literature. What they share is an interest in history, relations with French overseas departments and territories, postcolonial issues, the question of immigration to Europe from the Global South, and the production, representation, and visualization of colonial culture (fig. 2).[4]

The genealogy of the ACHAC collection serves to highlight its broad interdisciplinary focus. Independently, three individuals with very different backgrounds (and one could even argue political perspectives and views), started gathering and archiving materials related to different facets of colonial history. Gilles Boëtsch is an anthropobiologist whose research concentrates on the body. Pascal Blanchard is a historian interested in colonialism and co-director of the ACHAC, and Éric Deroo is a filmmaker and specialist in colonial and military history. When they met in the 1980s it became evident they shared a common interest in better understanding colonial culture; by combining their respective collections and expertise they were convinced they would be able to lend greater coherence to the phenomenon of colonial culture itself. This was especially evident in the conjunction between those materials that had been deployed by the French "state" and those that originated as a result of "private" initiatives. In the case of the former, materials relate to a range of economic and

Fig. 1.
Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, and Dominic Thomas, eds. *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), cover.

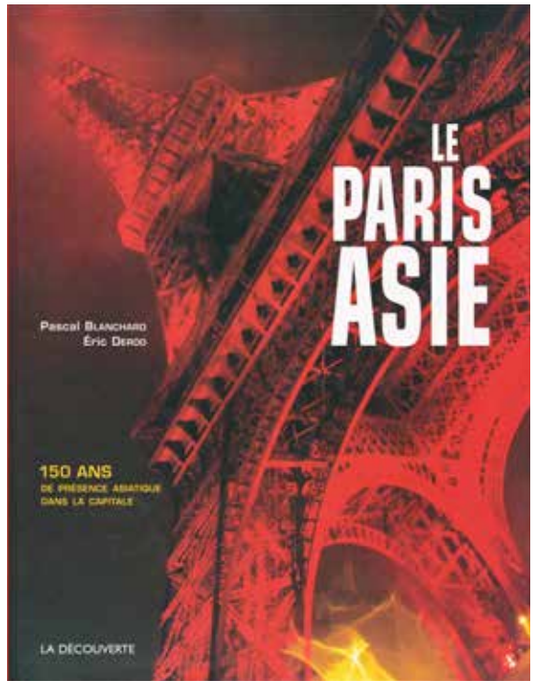
Fig. 2.
Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard and Laurent Gervereau, eds. *Images et colonies (1880–1962)* (Paris: BDIC and ACHAC, 1993), cover.

political propagandist measures (posters, overseas colonial and military enlistment and recruitment efforts, various policy documents, school textbooks, and so on), while the latter included commercial publicity and product promotion campaigns, postcards, books, etc., with a crossover between some of these categories (games and toys). Coherence is manifest in the focus on colonial culture; although the collection is particularly strong in terms of materials that relate to the African continent (sub-Saharan Africa and the Maghreb), it is also rich in materials from other regions of France's vast empire (Indochina, the South Pacific, French Antilles, and so forth). However, a distinction must be made between the collection materials and the goal of improving our collective understanding of colonial culture, and the ways in which this vast archive has inspired the numerous publications and exhibition initiatives that the ACHAC has launched over the decades. Several of these are described below. Given the level of sensitivity in France over the question of colonial history and the ways in which the legacy of this long history is seen to impact contemporary France, many of these projects have triggered controversy (figs. 3, 4).

Over more than thirty years, from 1989 to 2017, ACHAC has developed and supported over forty interrelated programs, strategically positioning the research group among today's global leaders in the field. The comprehensive programming has reached both the general public and specialized audiences, and includes publications, exhibitions, documentary films, and conferences, and extends into such varied areas as diversity in sport, diasporic community formation, "human zoos," museology and display practices, colonial exhibitions and world's fairs, military history, colonial propaganda, and initiatives and resources aimed at promoting multiculturalism (fig. 5).

In addition to national and international programs exploring colonial ideology, the colonial enterprise, and the history of France Overseas, ACHAC is also active at the local and regional level, providing documentary films, archival and exhibition materials, books, images, and brochures to municipalities, schools, universities, museums, and local community and cultural centers. Scholars are active participants in these outreach activities, collaborating with various institutions, associations, foundations, research groups, and laboratories. These types of undertakings have encouraged the dissemination of information, nurturing knowledge sharing as well as the transmission of information on questions related to colonialism and immigration, while also privileging conversations pertaining to the struggle against discrimination and racial stereotyping.

ACHAC has been extremely active in terms of publications: to date, more than 40 books and edited volumes have been published and in many cases reprinted multiple times (including translations into English, German, Italian,



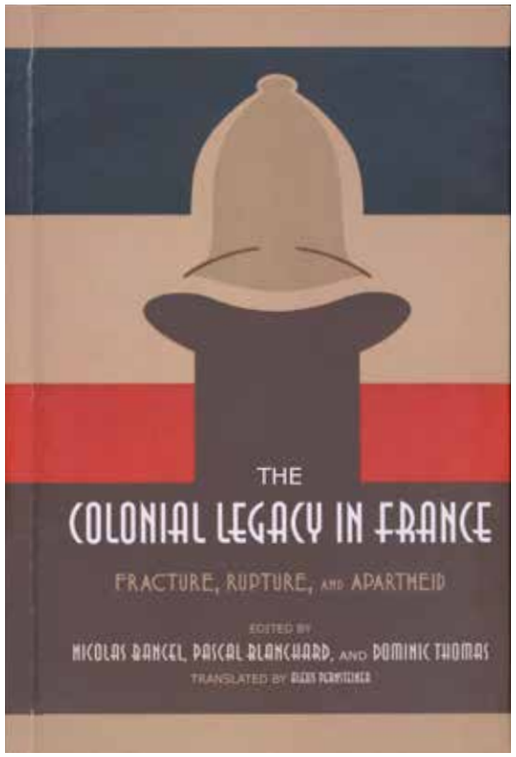


Fig. 3.
Pascal Blanchard and Éric Deroo, eds. *Le Paris Asie: Présence asiatique dans la capitale* (Paris: Découverte, 2004), cover.

Fig. 4.
Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard and Dominic Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Legacy in France: Fracture, Rupture, and Apartheid* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), cover.

Fig. 5.
Ces Bleus venus des quatre coins du monde: Un siècle de présence ultramarine et des immigrations en Équipe de France (1908–2010), ACHAC exhibition at the Stade Charléty, Paris, 2010, entrance.

Japanese), together with more than 250 scholarly articles, 30 exhibitions, 250 films and documentaries—in collaboration with Tessalit Production and the award-winning filmmaker Rachid Bouchareb (*Little Senegal*, *Days of Glory*, *London River*, *Outside the Law*). ACHAC has furthermore organized or participated in more than 170 conferences, roundtable discussions, and public debates that have reached diverse audiences in more than 40 countries around the world. The documentary film *Noirs de France* (Blacks of France), screened on France 5 Television, was watched by 2 million people (fig. 6), and episodes of a series on the history of diversity in the army, sports, and the arts, entitled *Frères d'armes* (Brothers in Arms), *Champions de France*, and *Artistes de France*, were viewed by over 150 million people. These works have altered mindsets in tangible ways, as corroborated by a number of studies conducted in schools and various community organizations, and likewise in books such as *La Fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme des héritages coloniaux* (2005).[5] In a similar vein, books such as *Les Guerres de mémoires: La France face à son histoire*

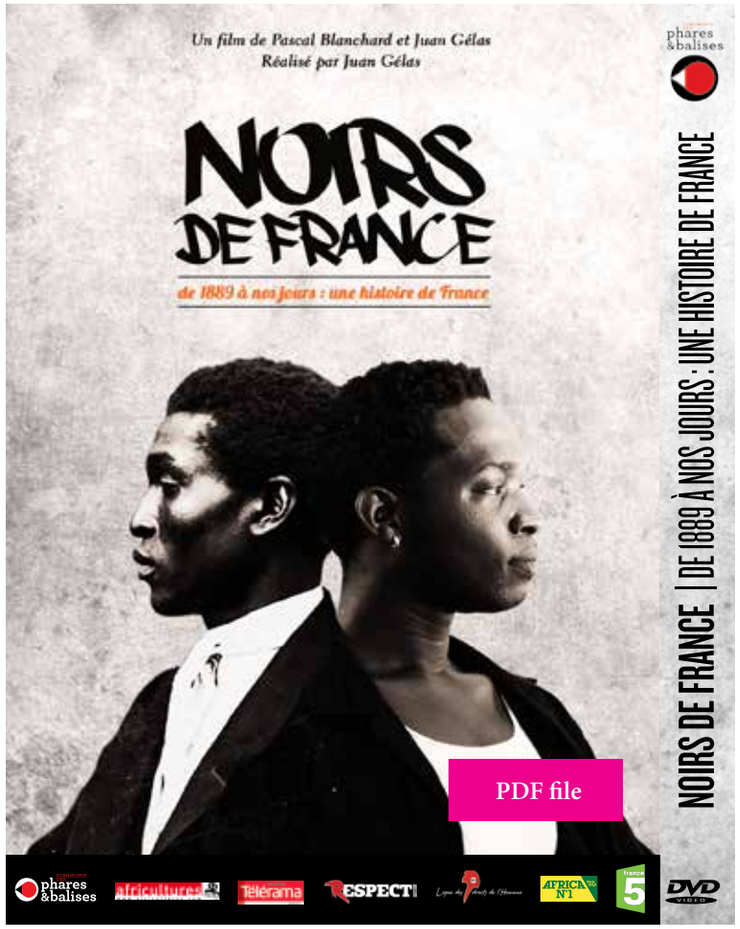


Fig. 6.
Juan Gelas and Pascal Blanchard. *Noirs de France de 1889 à nos jours*, Compagnie des Phares et Balises, 2012, DVD cover.

(2008) and *Les années 30 sont de retour: Petite leçon d'histoire pour comprendre les crises du présent* (2014) have turned to the legacy of the colonial past in order to consider questions of memory, identity, and racial segregation within a broader comparative framework.[6] One such initiative, titled "Stereotypes, Imaginaries and Ethnographic Exhibitions," took place in collaboration with a Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) research project based in Marseille. This focus was proven especially relevant when, on 20 January 2015, in the aftermath of the attacks against the *Charlie Hebdo* weekly newspaper, Prime Minister Manuel Valls held a press conference in which he evoked the existence of a "territorial, social, and ethnic apartheid" in France.[7]

Since 1994, ACHAC has concentrated a significant portion of its efforts on the question of racial typologies and the genesis of scientific conceptions of race. Much of this focus was an outgrowth of the international colloquium held in Marseille on scenes and types, which led to the book *L'autre et nous:* "*Scènes et types*" (1995). This initiative was followed by research on colonial images, as in the 1995–97 exhibition *L'appel à l'Afrique*. Throughout, the interest has been on discussing the various ways in which anatomical, morphological, and chromatic differences are explained. The first major publication on this subject was *Zoos humains: Aux temps des expositions humaines* (2002), followed by *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (2009), and then *Zoos humains et exhibitions coloniales: 150 ans d'invention de l'autre* (2011) (fig. 7).[8] The related 2011–12 exhibition *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* at the

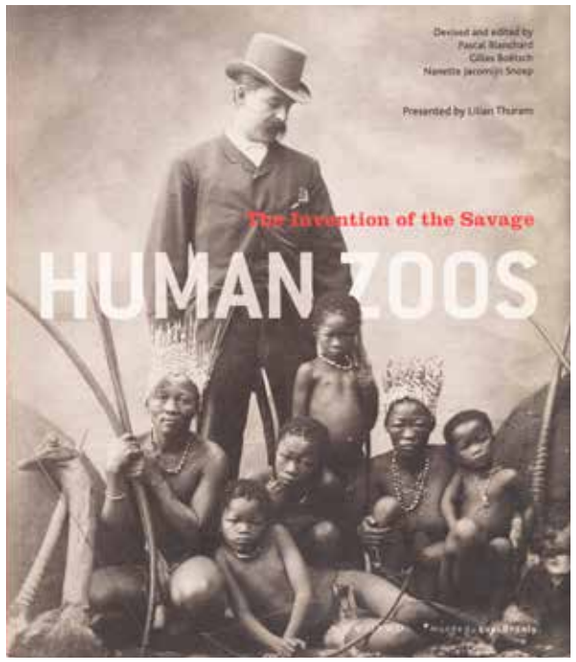


Fig. 7.
Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep, eds., *Exhibitions: The Invention of the Savage*, exh. cat. (Paris and Arles: Actes Sud/Musée du quai Branly, 2011), cover.

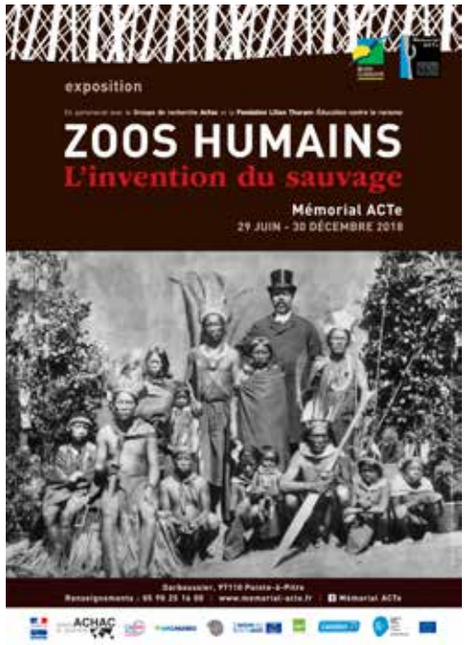


Fig. 8a–b.
Zoos humains: L'invention du sauvage. ACHAC exhibition, 2018, poster and entrance view.

Quai Branly Museum, Paris, attracted over 300,000 visitors and was awarded the Globe de Cristal prize for best exhibition of 2011.[9] After it closed, a traveling version of the exhibition was designed and has thus far made stops elsewhere in France, as well as in Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the United States, and Belgium (fig. 8a–b).

Another major area of concentration has been provided by the issue of immigration to Europe from the Global South. Central to this research has been the issue of integration and the forms that collective narratives and memory

formation have taken, as well as particular ways in which individual stories have been recounted. Books such as *Le Paris noir*; *Le Paris Asie*; *Le Paris arabe*; *Marseille: Porte sud; Sud-ouest: Porte des outre-mers*, *Lyon: Capitale des outre-mers, Frontière d'empire, du Nord à l'Est*, and *Grand-ouest: M*émoire *des outre-mers*, as well as the documentary *Paris couleurs*, are indicative of the ambitious nature of this project as well as its impressive geographic reach (fig. 9, see fig. 3). Numerous exhibitions have been designed around these books, sponsored by various municipal authorities who have disseminated content in their localities through neighborhood projects, regional councils, media libraries, and town and city halls, as well as in schools and mayoral districts. These are accompanied by pedagogic tools and comprehensive classroom materials. Other facets of immigration history have also been explored, notably the history of military veterans from the former French empire (the Afro-Caribbean, Indian Ocean, the Arab world, Southeast Asia). These projects aim to improve our understanding of the key role these "foreigners" and "colonized peoples" played in French history, while concurrently highlighting the degree to which they

Fig. 9.
Naïma Yahi, Yvan Gastaut, and Pascal Blanchard, eds. *La France arabo-orientale: Treize siècles de présences du Maghreb, de la Turquie, d'Égypte, du Moyen-Orient et du Proche-Orient* (Paris: Découverte, 2013), cover.

actively participated in the liberation of France during successive wars over a long history that dates back to 1870. These films were produced so as to coincide with the various commemorative events organized on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the First World War (1914–18) and the seventieth anniversary of the Liberation (1944–45).

Another major initiative has centered on questions of sport and diversity, revealing how successive generations of athletes from immigrant backgrounds have contributed to building collective identities in France. Distinct research programs have focused on Afro-Caribbeans (1930–2014), North Africans and *pied-noirs* communities (1924–2014), and a third on European migrants and their descendants (1914–2014) and the French national soccer team. Several documentaries, including *Des noirs dans les Bleus*, *Les joueurs maghrébins en équipe de France*, and *Ces Bleus venus d'Europe* were screened on television networks such as Canal+ and France Ô, and also released on DVD (see fig. 5). Similarly, a series focused on the French national soccer team, *Champions de France: Ils ont gagné la France*, was commissioned for television,and sheds light on ethnic minority athletes in French sports.

Another research focus has been on *Diasporas in France*, and examines French communities of Caribbean, North African, sub-Saharan African, Indian Ocean, and Middle Eastern backgrounds. The objective has been to complicate the study of colonial and immigration history and memory, in particular the various ways in which French collective memory has struggled to incorporate this history and these memories. Visual culture can assist us in the process of establishing memorial traces while simultaneously articulating colonial and postcolonial history with the history of immigration itself. The book *La France noire* (2012), which was awarded the Licra Prize for the fight against racism, was a key component of this project.[10] Several documentary films, such as *Noirs de France* (Compagnie des Phares et Balises, 2012), accompanied this book, and were produced with support from the Agence nationale pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité des chances (Acsé), the Fonds Images de la diversité, and the Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée, and that were awarded the Prix du Syndicat de la Critique de Cinéma et des Films de Télévisions for the best documentary films of the year (see fig. 6). Following the success of this project, the book *La France arabo-orientale*: *13 siècles de présences* has turned its attention to Arab France and was released on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the historic 1983 March for Equality and the Fight against Racism (see fig. 9). Both projects also led to traveling exhibitions.

This program thus relates closely to the theme of colonialism and postcolonialism in that the aim to examine how ideological influences and practices shaped colonial societies while also assessing the impact of colonialism

on mainland France. This process began as early as 1993 with several studies devoted to documenting iconographic sources and materials. Analysis focused on the dialectical relationship between the projection of power overseas and the elaboration of a colonial culture. The exhibition *Images et Colonies*, displayed at the Hôtel National des Invalides, remains the most emblematic of this period of research, providing multiple insights on the representation of corporeal alterity and various image-based propaganda mechanisms (see fig. 2). It was followed shortly thereafter by an exhibition and festival at the Institut du Monde Arabe in 1994, called *Maghreb et Afrique noire au regard du cinéma colonial*.

A new program, Miroirs d'Empires, investigated the magnitude of the colonial imaginary in Belgium and France and the bearing of this on immigration policy and integration practices today. Similar initiatives, including colloquia and exhibitions, would later follow in Italy and Portugal. The conclusions of these studies pointed to the fact that colonial fictions had infiltrated the collective unconscious to a greater degree than had been previously thought. The book *Images d'empires* (1997) analyzed France's perspective on its vast colonial empire, and revealed to the general public for the first time the imposing official photographic archive and collection that had been deployed at the service of France's overseas actions in its colonies.[11]

Perhaps not surprisingly, these findings have been considered somewhat controversial, simultaneously deconstructing and demystifying a long history of overseas activity. Indeed, as these and related issues became increasingly debated in the media and in political circles, ACHAC was increasingly called upon to provide commentary, and therefore was compelled to assume increasingly polemical positions. Housing some of ACHAC's archival materials in a major research center such as the Getty Research Institute is of course of paramount importance, precisely because this has enhanced access opportunities for international researchers. Likewise, and more recently, a number of ACHAC's collaborative books have been translated into English. There is significant interest in these issues in the English-speaking world, and in many ways it is in this language that pioneering theoretical work in subaltern studies, postcolonial studies, and so on, originates. As the authors of *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* argued, "the weight of colonial imaginary, discernible in the production of a colonial iconicity, in colonial cinema, and in the intertextual articulations of images/ discourse, called for improved contextualization, as did those mechanisms associated with the construction of different paradigms with respect to the Other in the context of a burgeoning imperialism," going on to note that "the present work thus represents a concerted attempt to elucidate and interpret the gradual development, dissemination, and mutation of *colonial culture* in the French metropole over more than two centuries. The

book therefore begins at the dawn of *colonial culture,* when slavery was first abolished, and ends in the postcolonial period with an examination into the long-term effects of the imperial system."[12] Much of this research occurred in the context of what have become known as "memory wars," coinciding with a French National Assembly vote on the Debré 2005-158 Law of 23 February 2005, in which the "positive aspects of the French colonial experience" were invoked. The law was subsequently abrogated, but nevertheless convincingly confirmed the degree to which consensus on these issues had not been achieved. The focus on colonial memory also, of course, provided the opportunity to reconsider the colonial legacy and to gauge the impact of this history on contemporary French society, in other words to "interrogate the *new fractures* in French society and to build connections between these and their colonial roots."[13]

Active engagement in the public domain translated into additional thinking about social questions and greater involvement with activist measures, such as the book *Appel pour une République multiculturelle et postraciale suivi de 100 propositions pluricitoyenne*, a call for the authorities to address various Republican shortcomings in the area of multicultural policy-making, especially at the time when President Nicolas Sarkozy's government was busy implementing increasingly repressive and divisive measures.[14] This axis has been concerned with the question of memory and engagement with postcolonial issues, a focus that has brought ACHAC contributors to the forefront of these debates in France and brought increasing attention to its various publications, which are now widely distributed in France and elsewhere. These included the 2009 Grand Débat sur l'Identité Nationale (Grand debate on national identity), a scheme that came on the heels of the newly-established Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity, and Co-development, to which a collective called "Towards a Real Debate" (of which ACHAC was a key part) responded, arguing that:

> The time has come to finally enter the postcolonial era and abandon hollow debates pertaining to the decline of French "national identity." A society that silences its past, marginalizes segments of its history and leaves so many episodes unexplained will be incapable of confronting reality, and can only ultimately find itself in crisis when it considers the concept of 'identity' in the singular. Now that we have commemorated the fall of the Berlin Wall, the time is right to tear down another, namely the one erected in our collective imagination and which, as far as populations from the global south or from French overseas departments and territories are concerned, has yet to be dismantled. This remains one of the most important challenges confronting our generation and we must face up to this responsibility in order to preempt further crises in our overseas and banlieues communities. So yes, one has to pick one's debate, but not the one on "national identity"; rather that which concerns the very manner in which our collective identities, shared and Republican values are built, today, in postcolonial France, some 50 years since African independence.[15]

ACHAC's contributions have thus evolved dramatically since the early days when they focused almost exclusively on the colonial imaginary. However, the end result of that groundbreaking research has yielded an archival database that now includes some 120,000 iconographic references. These materials have effectively mapped out a historical trajectory that has taken us from the figure of the colonial *indigène*, that "native" of the French Republic, to the figure of the immigrant, from a focus on colonial descendants to a history of immigration and diasporic community formation in mainland France and in Europe. Together, books, scholarly articles, colloquia, and films have delineated the contours of a history of contact while giving greater visibility to questions relating to postcolonial immigration. Likewise, establishing archival resources has been central, and there are today 90,000 iconographic references in this area alone. In parallel to these projects, the human zoos program has developed internationally, thanks to films, books, and major exhibitions, generating some 25,000 archival records.

This background can thus shed light on the significance of the ACHAC collection at the Getty in terms of the importance of archival holdings in the evolution of ACHAC itself. As the J. Paul Getty Museum explains, it "The collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum comprises Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art from the Neolithic to Late Antiquity; European art—including illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, sculpture, and decorative arts—from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century; and international photography from its inception to the present day."[16] ACHAC's collection captured the interest and imagination of the Getty precisely because French colonial history is representative in some ways of European history. The very presence of ACHAC materials at the Getty thus strikes at the very heart of the kind of tenuous issues, contradictions, and questions that have defined ACHAC's work over the years. This is an invaluable collection, composed of several thousand objects and iconographic documents that relate to predominantly French colonial history. The overwhelming majority of materials deal with sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa, and have been instrumental in ascertaining the manifold ways in which a visual apparatus was deployed in the service of producing the French Empire.

When Boëtsch, Deroo, and Blanchard assembled the ACHAC, their goal was to establish the most extensive collection of materials related to the French colonial enterprise: twenty-seven categories of documents were established along with seven organizational subgroups: (1) postcards, (2) photographs, (3) printed materials (magazines) and books, (4) posters, (5) newspapers and (6 and 7) games, toys, and musical scores.

> Subgroup 1 (1900–1957): postcards constitute the largest group, predominantly reproducing selected landscapes, various scenery, and local people (sub-Saharan and North African types), with a notable presence of military images representing materials from colonial exhibitions foodstuffs, and images of the trades and professions.
>
> Subgroup 2 (1895 to 1962): photographs (1900–1957), including albums of regional scenery, panoramas of towns and cities, cityscapes, and images of local populations; several images show life in the various colonies with stereotyped representations of local populations.
>
> Subgroup 3 (1909–1965): printed materials including magazines, periodicals, and books, especially propagandist materials and journals discussing economic issues.
>
> Subgroup 4 (1880–1967): posters, mostly of propaganda (notably military propaganda) and economic issues, but also featuring colonial exhibitions, travel, advertisements, racist iconography, and ethnographic images. Advertising is a central element.
>
> Subgroups 4–7 (1892–1975): ephemera offering a variety of perspectives on the colonial empire, including newspapers and other printed materials, badges, stickers, trading cards, scrapbooks, toys and games, and musical scores.

The principal aim was to improve the understanding of how France produced a colonial culture, identify elements integral to its architecture, establish criteria and features that distinguished France's from other colonial histories, and identify foundations of its infrastructure and ascertain how it was achieved through an intricate visual apparatus:

> Though each of these domains maintained a dynamic proper to them, they also shared *something* in common, something which signaled the emergence of a new vision of the world. This new vision could jointly be described as a desire for the elsewhere and the seductive force of annexation, of the certainty of Western civilization's superiority and the corollary superiority of its race, as evidenced through the inferiority of the Other (this feeling was also often mixed with a kind of fascination).[17]

Ultimately, the goal was "to better determine the powerful means through which this culture was disseminated (literature, song, cabaret, propaganda, theater, the press, expositions, postcards and posters, school textbooks, books, fixed images, cinema), the primary social spaces in which it was advocated (in schools, museums, the military world, economic milieus, propaganda agencies, the scholarly world, the realm of politics), and the key moments of its promotion (colonial and universal expositions, the Great War, commemorations, national union, colonial conquests)."[18]

Visual culture offers us insights and delivers a perspective on the formation and materialization of a colonial imaginary. ACHAC's numerous books, films, and exhibitions, along with the collaborations these have enabled, have contributed in immeasurable ways to the process of analyzing remarkably diverse iconographic mechanisms. These interventions have deconstructed the phenomenon of colonial culture, exposing how the unconscious was shaped, mindsets produced, and in due course the very fabric of French and European identities and societies and their relationship to others were shaped and reshaped. Emphasizing in this way the constitutive nature of history, and revealing the ways in which these histories are intimately imbricated, has helped to explicate postcolonial memories and relations and has even improved feelings of belonging. The ACHAC collection is the product of a long history of interface, entanglement, exchange, interaction, and influence, all contributing factors in demarcating a new, layered, and multidimensional French and European identity.

The ACHAC collection at the Getty offers researchers an indication of the myriad ways in which colonial culture played a foundational role in defining the evolution of the Republic itself. The colonial project relied on a vast array of communicative and propagandist strategies and forms of expression in order to diffuse the message and stimulate the imagination, especially at a time when most people were unable to travel overseas. The ambition was therefore to create utopias and mythic environments, enlisting support through fascination with what lay beyond. This was the product of factors that evoked, in Robert W. Rydell words, "a stunning imperial fantasy land complete with transplanted vegetation and indigenous people on display in so-called native villages."[19] The colonial authorities therefore endeavored to achieve this cumulatively, by

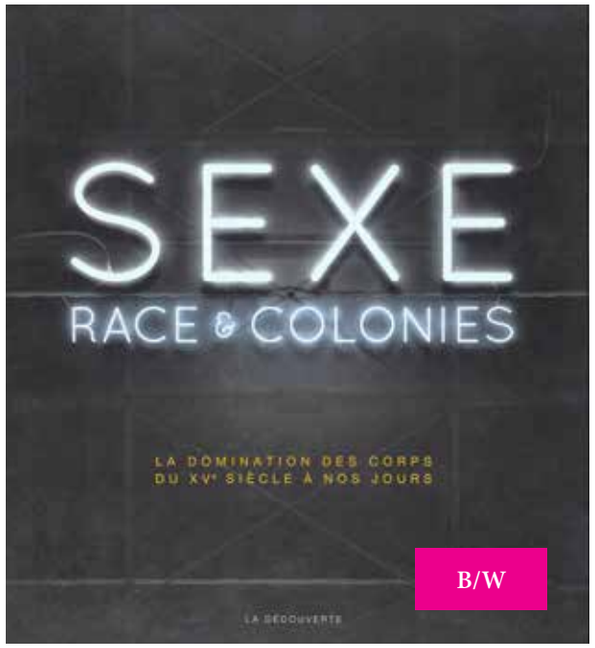


Fig. 10.
Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Christelle Taraud, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *Sexe, race et colonies: La domination des corps du XVè siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Découverte, 2018), cover.

multiplying images and references that appealed to the limitless imagination and became ingrained in the imaginary. After all, "it is not simply an item of propaganda or a public vulgate, but rather a culture in the sense of a host of discursive materials, images, and practices, which, beginning in the 1920s, no longer had much to do with colonization properly speaking. France had changed, it had been transformed; the colony, like the army and schools, was now part of ordinary day life, it was now part of the fabric of Republican gesture."[20] Delving into the ACHAC collection at the Getty today thus entails questioning and rethinking the implications of this system, dismantling the machinery and scaffold upon which so much of France was methodically built.

ACHAC's global reach will also be key. The focus on Human Zoos will spearhead the drive for new collaborative partners and ventures in Europe and the United States, while also expanding these to parts of Asia (Japan, South Korea, China), sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa, and Australia. Finally, after two years of archival research that gathered over 80,000 iconographic references, a new project, Sex, Races, and Colonies, was launched in 2018–19 to address the intersections among colonialism, gender, and race (fig. 10). This brings together an international team of over one hundred scholars in order to produce a bilingual English-French exhibition, catalog, and international conference.

Notes

1. See for example Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Legacy in France: Fracture, Rupture, and Apartheid* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).
2. Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (1987), trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
3. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 37.
4. See https://www.achac.com.
5. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire, eds., *La Fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (Paris: Découverte, 2005).
6. Pascal Blanchard and Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, eds., *Les Guerres de mémoires: La France face à son histoire* (Paris: Découverte, 2008); and Renaud Dély, Pascal Blanchard, Claude Askolovitch, and Yvan Gastaut, *Les années 30 sont de retour: Petite leçon d'histoirepour comprendre les crises du present* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014).
7. Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, and Pascal Blanchard, eds., *Zoos humains: Aux temps des expositions humaines* (Paris: La Découverte, 2002); Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Charles Forsdick, eds., *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), and Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, and Pascal Blanchard, eds., *Zoos humains et exhibitions coloniales: 150 ans d'invention de l'autre* (Paris: Découverte, 2011).
8. Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Hazan, 2001), Pascal Blanchard and Éric Deroo, *Le Paris Asie* (Paris: Découverte, 2004), Éric Deroo, Driss EL-Yazami, Pierre Fournié, Gilles Manceron, and Pascal Blanchard, *Le Paris arabe: Deux siècles de présence des Orientaux et des maghrébins* (Paris: Découverte, 2003), Pascal Blanchard and Gilles Boëtsch, *Marseille: Porte sud: Un siècle d'histoire colonial et d'immigration* (Jeanne Laffitte, 2005), Pascal Blanchard, Farid Abdelouahab, Nicolas Bancel, and Éric Deroo, *Sud-ouest: Porte des outre-mers: Un siècle d'histoire colonial et d'immigration des suds du mi à l'Aquitaine* (Toulouse: Éditions Milan, 2006), Léla Bencharif, Nicolas Bancel, and Pascal Blanchard, *Lyon: Capitale des outre-mers: Immigration des Suds et culture coloniale en Rhône-Alpes et Auvergne* (Paris: Découverte, 2007), Ahmed Boubeker, Éric Deroo, Nicolas Bancel, and Pascal Blanchard, *Frontière d'empire, du Nord à l'Est: Soldats coloniaux et immigrations des Suds* (Paris: Découverte, 2008), Farid Abderouhab and Pascal Blanchard, *Grand-ouest: Mémoire des outre-mers* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), as Pascal Blanchard and Éric Deroo, *Paris couleurs: Un siècle d'immigration en images* (Paris: Image, 2005).
9. See Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep, eds., *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Paris: Musée du Quai Branly and Arles: Actes Sud, 2011).

10. Pascal Blanchard, *La France noire: Présences et migrations des Afriques, des Amériques et de l'Ocean Indien en France* (Paris: Découverte, 2012).
11. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Francis Delabarre, *Images d'Empire: Trente ans de photographies officielles sur l'Afrique française (1930–1960)* (Paris: La Documentation Française/La Martinière, 1997).
12. Bancel et al., *Colonial Culture in France*, 1.
13. Bancel, Blanchard and Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Legacy in France*, 3.
14. Lilian Thuram, François Durpaire, Pascal Blanchard, Rokhaya Diallo, and Marc Cheb Sun, "Appel pour une France multiculturelle et postraciale?," *Respect Magazine* 24 (Jan.–March 2010).
15. Collective "Towards a Real Debate," "France Needs a Real Debate on Identity," *Guardian*, 14 January 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/jan/14/french-identity-eric-besson.
16. https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/.
17. Bancel et al., *Colonial Culture in France*, 5.
18. Bancel et al., *Colonial Culture in France*, 3.
19. Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 69.
20. Bancel et al., *Colonial Culture in France,* 9.

PATRICIA A. MORTON

DECOLONIZING THE ACHAC COLLECTION

The official poster for the Paris Exposition Coloniale Internationale of 1931, held in the ACHAC collection, is an iconic image of interwar French colonialism (fig. 1). Designed by graphic and fine artist Victor Jean Desmeures, the poster reduces the people and architecture of the French colonial empire into schematic images that recapitulate the racist stereotypes that undergirded colonialism's "civilizing mission." The central group of four types represents non-white races (Arab, Native American, African, and Asian) by means of skin color, physiognomic features, and clothing. In the background, Angkor Wat's spires and a North African tower evoke the exotic architecture of France Overseas. Like the architecture of the pavilions, these representations of the races had a long history within French culture. Immediately recognizable, the figures conveyed meanings to the French public that had accumulated over decades, culminating in the apogee of the Exposition Coloniale and its spectacle.[1]

In the poster, we see what seems to be a minaret topped with a French flag. Or it might be French colonial building in the synthetic neo–North African style developed under Maréchal Hubert Lyautey's leadership in Morocco.[2] On the right, Angkor Wat's towers are clearly identifiable, familiar after decades of depictions and reconstructions at previous expositions. The grouping forms a static composition of four racial types, an allegorical group that stands for both peoples and places. Reduced to a few characteristic features, the human figures are flattened into a non-place and non-time. The buildings are similarly iconic. The vivid colors and simple forms are arresting, particularly because they are monumentalized on the huge format of the poster (54 by 73 cm). The people depicted are almost life-size, but, due to their schematic representation, they produce difference rather than identification with the viewer, who is assumed to be white.

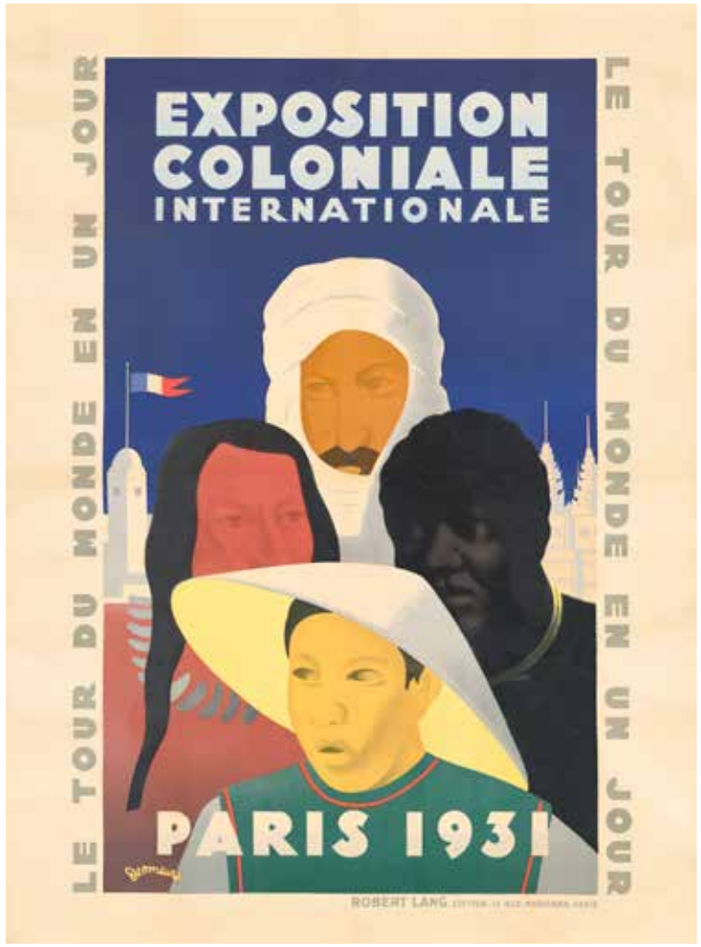


Fig. 1.
Victor Jean Desmeures (French, 1895–1978). Poster for the Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The Imperial Archive

The poster and other objects from the Exposition Coloniale belong to two archives: the ACHAC collection within the Getty Research Institute (GRI) archives and the so-called imperial archive. The imperial archive is not a physical one, but, rather, a concept that encompasses the long history of representations of the races, architecture, and geography of the colonies. Beginning from Michel Foucault's work on genealogy and the archive, scholars of colonialism have extended his theories to the imperial archive. Foucault understood the archive as part of the systems that control enunciation and knowledge. It is neither the sum of the texts that a culture preserves nor those institutions that record and preserve them.[3] For Foucault, the archive of a society, a culture, a civilization, or a whole period cannot be described exhaustively, particularly our own archive. "It emerges in fragments, regions, and levels, more fully, no

doubt, and with greater sharpness, the greater the time that separates us from it."[4] The analysis of the archive involves a privileged region that is close to us yet different, "it is the border of time that surrounds our presence . . . it is that which . . . delimits us."[5] In their introduction to the volume *Refiguring the Archive*, Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid define the archive as "not simply institution, but rather the law of what can be said, the system of statements, or rules of practice that give shape to what can and cannot be said."[6] Archives are constructs of preservation and exclusion that determine how knowledge of the past is produced, that reveal the processes of how the record is produced and how it can be biased.[7]

Postcolonial thinkers have extended Foucault's concept of the archive to define the imperial archive, the epistemological systems through which colonizing powers exercised control over their distant empires.[8] Ann Laura Stoler links the archive to colonial power: "What constitutes the archive, what form it takes and what systems of classification signal at a specific time, is the very substance of colonial politics."[9] Thomas Richards characterizes the imperial archive as "a fantasy of knowledge collected and unified in the service of the state and Empire."[10] Richards points to the new disciplines of geography, biology, and thermodynamics, which seemed to solve the problem of imperial control at a distance.[11] According to Richards, information filled the gaps in knowledge about the empire; it could be surveyed, mapped, and classified and placed in various archives. Rather than a building or a collection of texts, the imperial archive is an epistemological master plan based on information.[12] In the myth of the imperial archive, the state could superintend all knowledge coming from all parts of the empire, which could in turn be used to control the empire.[13] The archive effaces time and creates its own history, in Achile Mbembe's view: "The power of the state rests on its ability to consume time, that is, to abolish the archive and anaesthetize the past. The act that creates the state is an act of chronophagy."[14]

As Stoler notes, the archive was both the supreme technology of the late nineteenth-century imperial state and the prototype of a postmodern one, predicated on the global domination of information and the circuits through which facts move.[15] A fiction of control over knowledge put in the service of the colonial state, the imperial archive relied on representations and collections that presented colonialism as a coherent, inevitable epistemic system. Archives are, therefore, epistemological experiments rather than sources, not sites of knowledge retrieval but of knowledge production. Colonial archives are "cross-sections of contested knowledge" and technologies of rule; archives are both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power.[16] Colonial archives are the products of state machines and technologies in their own right that bolstered the productions of those states themselves.[17]

The 1931 Colonial Exposition as Archive

For six months in 1931, the Exposition Coloniale Internationale in Paris welcomed the public to celebrate the accomplishments and the future of colonialism, featuring sections for the French colonies and the colonial empires of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, and the United States. Advertised as "Le tour du monde en un jour" (A tour of the world in one day), the Exposition Coloniale gave its visitors the experience of the world's cultures and peoples without the inconvenience and danger of global travel. At the exposition, as in the poster, representative objects and peoples from the colonies were displayed and reconstituted into a new colonial realm, frozen in a timeless state, as if they were outside evolutionary change and the effects of modernization (fig. 2). The exposition promulgated a contradictory message of the colonies as the Orient—the site of degeneration, sensuality and irrationality—and the colonies as a laboratory of Western rationality. It occupied a middle region where the norms, rules, and systems of French colonialism both emerged and collapsed.

I have elsewhere characterized the exposition as a collection that produced a vision of colonialism's success, a catalog of the colonial universe and a record of the colonies as an archive.[18] Reflecting on the objects from the exposition in the GRI's ACHAC collection has prompted me to reconsider the status of collections and archives in both generating knowledge and power in a colonial context and writing history at a "post"-colonial moment. The names of the Exposition Coloniale's creators are largely known and their intentions stated in the official record. Yet the exposition produced unintended encounters, gazes, narratives, resistance, and experiences that its authors could not

Fig. 2.
Postcard, View of the Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

anticipate or control.[19] The exposition raises questions about the nature of the collection. Who creates it? Who determines its meaning? Is its historical context determinate?

The Exposition Coloniale made fictions from fragments of "authentic" culture and constructed them in a new context, into a collection. This use of fragments to create a new whole is predicated on an ability to efface the discrepancies between the fragments. The spatial juxtaposition of fragments also requires certain operations on the pieces for the new whole to be consistent and convincing. The fragment must be detached from its context of origin and placed in a new context: in this case, the Exposition Coloniale. The exposition was an ethnographically unreal whole fashioned out of disparate, disjunctive fragments, but it was not legible as such to contemporary observers. They saw it as a depiction of the diversity of the French colonial empire.

The most efficacious means for reinforcing the apparent authenticity of the exposition were exhibits of natives engaged in their primitive crafts, rituals, and performances (fig. 3). As depicted in this postcard, the natives inhabited the pavilions and performed their daily activities devoid of European clothing or technology, seemingly as if they were in fact occupying authentic reproductions of indigenous buildings in a pre-colonial pastoral. The visitor to the exposition was confronted with displays of people who were not seen as individuals, but as specimens of a race and a culture, specimens that provided the viewer with what was intended to be a visualization of the evolutionary past.

The ACHAC collection contains a rich trove of works produced for the colonial expositions that represent indigenous people as anonymous and representative rather than identified and personal. The official publicity for the

Fig. 3.
Postcard, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 4.
David Dellepiane (Italian, 1866–1932).
Poster for the Exposition Nationale Coloniale, Marseille, 1922. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

expositions used a variety of means to represent the colonized body, convey an atmosphere of exoticism and titillation, and represent the hierarchies of the colonial world order. Whereas the poster for the 1931 exposition abstracts racial types into iconic figures, David Dellepian's poster for the 1922 Exposition Nationale Coloniale in Marseille employs more conventional exoticism to represent the peoples of the French colonies (fig. 4). Two young women, one North African and one Southeast Asian, seem to stand on a promontory, draped in a curling French flag. Next to them a seated African woman looks to the side while a portion of the flag folds over her. In the background, what might be the harbor coastline and skyline of Marseille are visible. The graphic figure of the billowing flag frames the two standing women whose clothing signals their ethnic identification. The colors, patterns, and stylized vegetation evoke Gauguin's paintings of Tahitian women and landscapes, placing the image in a lineage of

Fig. 5.
Emile Joseph Porphyre Pinchon (French, 1871–1953).
Commemorative diploma for the minister of colonies, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

primitivism. The flag engulfs the women, subsuming them to the symbol of the French Empire. The women's features are shorthand for the character of their "races," locating them in the classificatory systems of the imperial archive. While they are typical in their dress and postures, their expressions, features, and garb make them more modern than the allegorical figures in other official images, bringing them into a more ambiguous relation to standard tropes of colonial iconography that represent race unequivocally.

A commemorative diploma for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale imitates the form of a bas-relief centered on an allegorical figure of France in classical garb (fig. 5). She is flanked by two horizontal bands or friezes that depict a procession of colonized people and animals (upper band) and the pavilions of the Exposition Coloniale in miniature (lower band). The parade of natives includes Asian, Arab, and African types who march to the left, the same direction in which France faces. They process with an elephant and horses, carrying products from their lands, such as ivory, cocoa, and other goods. The huddle of miniaturized pavilions spread at France's feet and provide a graphic summary of the exposition's architectural diversity. The symmetrical but ungainly composition references Albert Janniot's bas-relief on the permanent Musée des Colonies, yet lacks its elegance and stately articulation.[20] The certificate's static, depthless space produces a graceless formality of expression.

By contrast, a poster in Italian for the French railway system publicized the 1931 exposition with a dynamic composition featuring a character strongly resembling Josephine Baker who fills the image (fig. 6). She appears to open

Fig. 6.
Dransy (Jules Isnard) (Swiss, 1883–1945). Poster, *French Railroads: Visit the Exposition Coloniale Internationale*, Paris, 1931. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

a curtain revealing a collage of scenes of the exposition pavilions behind her. Like a performance on a stage, the pavilions provide the backdrop to Baker's familiar form. The poster signals the confluence of Baker's fame and her status as a stand-in for the colonial subject. She had been nominated Queen of the Colonial Exposition, but criticism that she was neither the native of a French colony nor a French citizen prevented her from taking the title, although she did appear at the Togo and Cameroon pavilions with native dancers.[21] In the negrophilia of interwar Paris, Baker substituted for the other racialized and eroticized bodies at the exposition, especially the "colonial woman." Occupying an ambiguous position in the colonial archive, this poster evokes Baker's performance of a nonspecific primitivism and blackness that intersected with popular conceptions of the colonial and the savage. The epistemology established by the imperial archive encompassed her as both a savage and public persona.

The ACHAC Collection as Counter-Archive

The ACHAC collection constructs another archive, what could be considered a counter-archive, in opposition to the racist epistemological regime of the imperial archive, by turning images to other uses than those intended during their original period of creation. I interpret it as an archive that presents a vivid counter narrative to the history of French colonialism and its racist propaganda. The ACHAC collection, among other postcolonial appropriations of the colonial archive, reverses the imperial archives' truth claims by presenting an alternative history to the official account. Mbembe asserts that "the Western archive is singularly complex. It contains within itself the resources of its own refutation. It is neither monolithic, nor the exclusive property of the West."[22] In keeping with this observation, the ACHAC collection gathers materials from the imperial archive and allows us to employ them against the grain, exploiting its resources to expose the history of French colonialism, with a particular focus on anti-black racism. The works in the ACHAC collection form a counter archive that deracinates objects from their original context, which allows new interpretations of the archives' holdings. The images and objects in the ACHAC collection, largely consisting of the debris left behind after decolonization, provide the means for critical histories of colonial culture, and its representational regimes.

My concept of a "counter archive" derives from Paula Amad's formulation explicated in her study of the Archives de la Planète.[23] The Archives de la Planète, conceived of and financed by French businessman and patron of social science research Albert Kahn, was one of the first archives of moving picture images, as well as of autochromes (an early color photographic process) and black-and-white photographs. Begun in 1909 and directed by Jean Brunhes, the first chair in human geography at the Collège de France, this archive was intended to create a human geographic record of the world and arrest history by preserving it on film, conserving customs and manners before they disappeared.[24] Believing that cinema and photography could record ways of life that were vanishing quickly, Kahn used the camera to capture the forces of evolution operating in the early twentieth century. Amad reads the Archives de la Planète as a counter archive different from what she refers to as the Foucaultian panoptic model of the archive that reduces it to a mechanism for producing modern, docile subjects or an epistemological device for maintaining an illusory separation between knowledge and power. Instead, she understands the archives as "a supplementary realm where the modern conditions of disorder, fragmentation, and contingency came to haunt the already unstable positivist utopia of order, synthesis, and totality."[25]

As a counter- exposition, the ACHAC collection destabilizes the imperial archive as a utopia of knowledge and its control. If the Exposition Coloniale attempted to produce a sanitized picture of the colonized world, the ACHAC collection constructs an archive that complicates our understanding of the works it holds and challenges the seemingly hegemonic imperial archive. The status of the objects in the GRI's ACHAC collection (itself a fragment of the larger ACHAC collection in France) is complex. Whereas in 1931 they might have been viewed as straightforward, even accurate, depictions of life in the colonies, the didactic program of ACHAC situates them in the racist epistemic regime of French colonialism. Cutout paper toys of the Tunisian and the Congo sections, for example, reduce the pavilions, exhibitions, art, and exhibited people to mere outlines (figs. 7, 8), representations that stand in for the Arab and the African and their cultures. Sketching out the barest details sufficed here to connote racialized signifiers. Toys like these had a didactic function in educating the French about their colonies, underwritten by advertising for cod liver oil, in this case, or other commodities. Their placement in the ACHAC collection takes them out of the realm of play and commerce and into the discourse on representations linked to popular racism.

Yet not all images within the ACHAC collection neatly fit the model of presenting racist materials for didactically anti-racist purposes. The image of an "Adjutant de Tirailleurs sénégalais" (1917) differs strikingly from better-known cartoonish depictions of the Senegalese soldiers who came to Europe to fight for the French in World War I (fig. 9). By contrast with the notorious "Y'a bon Banania" advertisements, which exaggerate the racial characteristics of the soldier into a caricature, this rifleman presents a noble figure. He stands in contrapposto, gazing forthrightly at the viewer. He wears several medals. He has a stern, proud, and confident look. Behind him, his comrades are engaged in the familiar activities of the military camp: they cook, talk, carry weapons, smoke a pipe, or sit. There is nothing caricatured about these men. They are heroic figures, particularly the man in the foreground. The windmill in the background signifies that the scene takes place in Europe, not on the African savannah. The central figure is an individual, not a type; he has an expression and features unique to him.

At the Exposition Coloniale indigenous soldiers played an important part in the displays of colonized peoples, including guards and military bands, but they were hardly celebrated as heroes of the Great War. Their contribution to the French victory was absent from the Armed Forces section, which focused exclusively on white colonial troops. Native soldiers were the target of considerable unwanted attention from visitors to the exposition. The Guadeloupian delegate to the Chamber of Deputies, Gratien Candace, complained to Maréchal

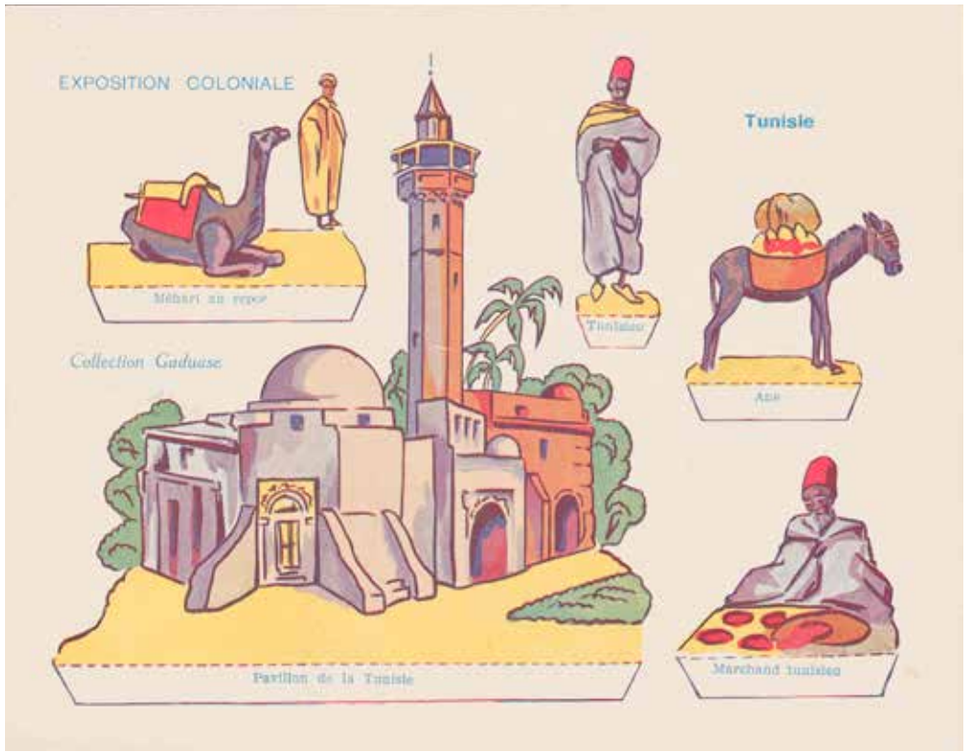


Fig. 7.
Cut-out paper toy of the Tunisia section, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 8.
Cut-out paper toy of the Congo section, Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Paris, 1931.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

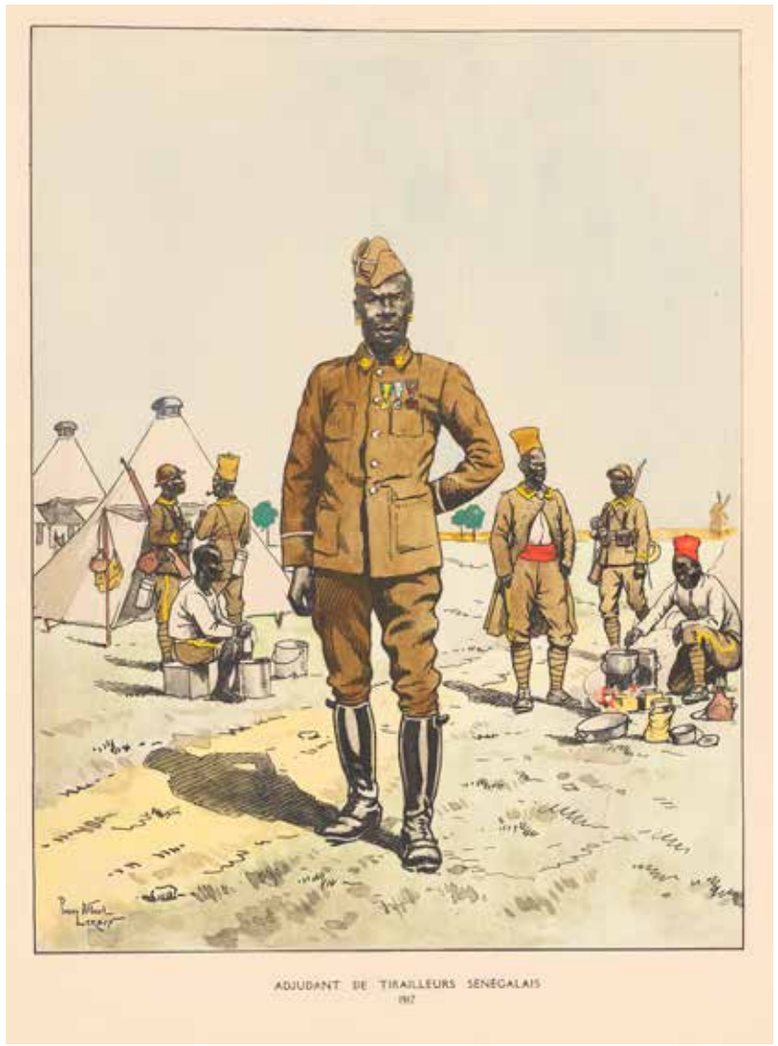


Fig. 9.
Pierre Albert Leroux (French, 1890–1959). Officer of the tirailleurs sénégalais, 1917.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Lyautey, the head Commissioner of the Colonial Exposition, that one of his compatriots, Fernand Balin, an employee at the Guadeloupe pavilion, had been beaten brutally by a French security guard at Porte 7.[26] The native inhabitants and performers who occupied the Madagascar compound were often the object of undesirable attentions from visitors. According to a report by a French police captain on duty at the exposition, visitors amused themselves by forcing the native guards to light their cigarettes or by regarding them down their nose while making grimaces or by taking their bayonets. These antics produced incidents of minor violence, such as that on 31 July 1931 between a couple, Mr. Camo and Mrs. Rattenou, who tried to enter the Madagascar compound, and the Malagasy Sergeant Ralaidaoro, who barred their way.[27] Not all contact

between visitors and natives was benign or regimented by the Exposition's peaceable propaganda. These encounters between visitors and indigenous participants have no place in the official accounts of the exposition, but they are missing from the GRI's ACHAC collection equally. There are limits even to the counter-archive's reach.

A Decolonial Archive?

In the postface to his discussion of Victor Segalen's essay on exoticism, James Clifford alludes to the intractability of the ethnographic image and the perils of its interpretation. While looking through photographs of the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, he came across "a face that struck like 'an overly insistent friend, like a too-faithful regret, like a mute wanting to ask a question.' No amount of flipping through other files . . . could fan this face away. Nor could I penetrate its fixed, eloquent silence."[28] The photograph of an Igorot man haunted him because the return gaze of the subject initiated a chain of looks that could not be broken.

Viewing films of the Exposition Coloniale held at the Archives de la Planète, I had a similarly uncanny experience. Some of the last films deposited in the archives were taken at the 1931 exposition; I saw these films when copies were made available to the public in the mid-1990s. I recognized the indigenous camel drivers, dancers, soldiers, and others from the still photographs that formed my archive of the exposition. I realized that the disparate evidence of official publications, postcards, newspaper articles, police records, architects' drawings, and other documents gave a picture of these people as unyielding in its fixity as the timeless space of the colonial utopia. The moving images of bodies in motion and places at the exposition upended my static view of these people as accessories to the frozen time and displaced space of the exposition. While moving images are no less part of the classificatory systems that fix the other and form the imperial archive, these films disrupted easy appropriation. The theoretical apparatus of still image analysis was inadequate to accommodating the films to the picture I had built up of the exposition. I had inscribed the images as timeless, inert entities, partly due to having seen the exposition's depiction in the plethora of maps, postcards, posters, guidebooks, press accounts, and other two-dimensional media was an immutable place consisting of set images and lifeless forms.

The organizers of the Exposition Coloniale planned a coherent, ordered domain in which every thing and every person had its proper place in a phantasmagoric microcosm of the French colonial empire. In this respect, the exposition was an ideal colonial world based on classifications of visible difference,

an imperial archive. Yet the exposition was not a closed colonial utopia. The underground anticolonial resistance in France of the time, consisting of left-wing groups and expatriate natives, agitated against the exposition and against French colonialism.[29] Surrealists André Breton, Louis Aragon, and their colleagues organized the Exposition Anti-Impérialiste and wrote two manifestos against the Exposition Coloniale. Other groups attempted to infiltrate the exposition grounds, distribute anticolonial pamphlets to visitors, and incite natives working at the exposition to refuse to be performers or objects of display. The messy eruptions of protest and resistance, however, were repressed in order to maintain the illusion of an ideal colonial world.

Like the Adjutant de Tirailleurs sénégalais, however, these anticolonial protests do not "fit" the ACHAC narrative about popular racism in France. The struggles of the anticolonial movements are effaced from the collection and the history it constructs. What is missing is what Marion von Osten refers to as the "resistance, negotiations, and appropriations made by the subalterns themselves."[30] Even in the ACHAC collection, the native remains trapped in the colonial dream of perfect control, defined by systems of information classification and representation, within the imperial archive. The constant flux of domination and resistance cannot be accommodated within an archive that leaves intact the epistemological structure of the archive.

In extracting material from the imperial archive, the historian risks rehearsing the colonial epistemology that fixed the colonies and their inhabitants in a "no-time" in order to better control them. The historical account, or even the counter archive, can produce a parallel world equally subject to monolithic, binary thinking. As Achille Mbembe asserts: "Writing history involves manipulating the archives . . . following tracks, putting back together scraps and debris, and reassembling remains."[31] If the condition for the existence of all societies is the destruction of the "debris," can the historian only attempt to reverse the process and resuscitate the life of dead things?

Recent postcolonial work has posited a "decolonizing" of the imperial archive. For example, the Decolonising the Archive collective website aspires to provide a critique of and an alternative to the colonial archive: "The political and cultural dominance asserted by the West has been achieved by violence and the systematic collection and leveraging of information. Key elements of our thinking about heritage can be traced back to the Western drive to amass information concerning its 'subjects' during colonial expansion."[32] Digital archives in particular seek to break down the hegemony of the archive by creating sites with multiple authors.[33] Ellen Cushman explains that decolonial digital archives operate "by relocating meaning in the context of its unfolding that opposes the imperial archive's penchant for collecting, classifying, and isolating.

They operate through the co-construction of knowledge based on interactions between storytellers and listeners that counter the imperial archive's insistence on expert codification of knowledge."[34] Decolonizing the archive means acknowledging the role of collections in freezing colonized peoples and cultures in a racialized and racist hierarchy, and interrogating the imperialist structures informing them.[35] The ACHAC collection seeks to counter official history by transposing objects into a new archive, but it leaves intact the epistemological project of the imperial archive. Is the archive locked into the very racist episteme that it seeks to make visible? While preserving ACHAC's project to expose racism's deep penetration into French culture and politics, is it possible to decolonize the archive?

Notes

1. See Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 International Colonial Exposition in Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
2. See François Béguin, *Arabisances: Décor architectural et tracé urbain en Afrique du Nord 1830–1950* (Paris: Dunod, 1983).
3. Michel Foucault, "Part III: The Statement and the Archive," *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1971), 79–134. See also Alice Kaplan, "Working in the Archives," *Yale French Studies* 77 (1990): 103–16.
4. Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 130.
5. Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 130.
6. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid, "Introduction," in idem, *Refiguring the Archive*, (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2002), 9.
7. Hamilton, Harris, and Reid, "Introduction," 9.
8. Among the many sources on the postcolonial or decolonized archive, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Iain Chambers and Ursula Biemann, eds., *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History* (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014); Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, eds., *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Ferdinand de Jong, "At Work in the Archive: Introduction to Special Issue," *World Art* 6, no. 1 (2 January 2016): 3–17; Mariangela Palladino, "The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of Histories," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 52, no. 6 (30 June 30, 2015): 1–2; Omnia El Shakry, "'History without Documents': The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 3 (1 June 2015): 920–34.
9. Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," in Hamilton, Harris, and Reid, *Refiguring the Archive*, 86.
10. Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 6.

11. Richards, *The Imperial Archive,* 3.
12. Richards, *The Imperial Archive,* 11.
13. Richards, *The Imperial Archive,* 6.
14. Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," in Hamilton, Harris, and Reid, *Refiguring the Archive*, 23.
15. Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 89.
16. Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 83
17. Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 89–90.
18. Chapter 2, "Collecting the Colonies," in Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 70–95.
19. See Brigitta Kuster, "Sous les yeux vigilants / Under the Watchful Eyes: On the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris 1931," *Transversal* EIPCP Multilingual Webjournal, May 2007, http://eipcp.net/transversal/1007/kuster/en; Elizabeth Ezra, *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
20. I discuss the Musée des Colonies and its decorative programs in Patricia A. Morton, "National and Colonial: The Musée des Colonies for the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (June 1998): 357–77.
21. Michale Borshuk, "Queen of the Colonial Exposition: Josephine Baker's Strategic Performance," in Kimberly L. Phillips, Hermine D. Pinson, Lorenzo Thomas, and Hanna Wallinger, eds. *Critical Voicings of Black Liberation: Resistance and Representation in the Americas* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction, 2003), 48–49; Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *Josephine Baker in Art and Life:The Icon and the Image* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 62.
22. Achile Mbembe, "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive," https://africaisacountry.atavist.com/decolonizing-knowledge-and-the-question-of-the-archive.
23. Paula Amad, *Counter-Archive: Film, the Everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Planete* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
24. Kahn's camera operators filmed not only in Europe, but also in many of the French colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, as well as in China, Japan, and Russia. From 1909 to 1931 Kahn sponsored missions to 48 countries that produced 72,000 color autochrome photographs, 4,000 stereoscopic plates, and 600,000 feet of film (120 hours). See *Albert Kahn (1860–1940): Réalités d'une utopie,* exh. cat. (Boulogne, Musée Albert Kahn, 1995); *Les Archives de la Planète*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris, Joel Cuenot, 1978–79); and David Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Color Photograph: Albert Kahn's Archives of the Planet* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Alessandra Ponte, "Archiving the Planet: Architecture and Human Geography," *Daidalos* 66 (Dec. 1997): 120–25.
25. Amad, *Counter-Archive*, 21.
26. Gratien Candace, Député, Chambre des Députés, to Maréchal Lyautey, 25 June 1931; [Maréchal Lyautey] to Gratien Candace, July 1931. Aix-en-Provence, Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM), Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, 1931, carton 8.
27. ANOM, Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, 1931, carton 9.
28. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 163.

29. L' Étoile Nord-Africaine, predecessor of the Algerian liberation movement, was founded in 1926 in France and attracted members especially from the Algerian workers in the Parisian Banlieue. In February 1930 the Indochinese Communist Party was founded in Hong Kong; in the same year there were numerous anti-French revolts in Algeria and Indochina, which were brutally suppressed. Under the name Néo-Destour, the Tunisian nationalist movement initiated campaigns to boycott French products in the 1930s. The year 1930 also marked the first major wave of the deportation of politically active Annamese students from France. See Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900–1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, 96–129.
30. Marion von Osten, "In Colonial Modern Worlds," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past—Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 34.
31. Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and its Limits," in Hamilton, Harris, and Reid, *Refiguring the Archive*, 25.
32. "Working with the tangible and intangible heritage of the diaspora, Decolonising the Archive explores the multiple facets of heritage converging within communities of African descent. Through an iterative process, we have developed culturally appropriate methodologies for the preservation and sharing of our memory." http://www.decolonisingthearchive.com/.
33. For example, see the Chicana por mi Raza Digital Memory Collective http://chicanapormiraza.org/; Siobhan Senier, "Decolonizing the Archive: Digitizing Native Literature with Students and Tribal Communities," *Resilience: A Journal of the Environmental Humanities* 1, no. 3 (Fall 2014) http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/resilience.1.3.006.
34. Ellen Cushman, "Wampum, Sequoyan, and Story: Decolonizing the Digital Archive," *College English* 76, no. 2 (November 2013): 116; http://www.ncte.org/library/NCTEFiles/Resources/Journals/CE/0762–nov2013/CE0762Wampum.pdf.
35. Cushman, "Wampum, Sequoyan, and Story," 119.

CHARLES FORSDICK

FRAGMENTS OF EMPIRE: EPHEMERA, TOYS, AND THE DYNAMICS OF COLONIAL MEMORY

Every year since 2013, the Archives de France, in collaboration with the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, has organized a national campaign called La Grande Collecte, during which members of the public are invited to share family or personal papers related to a particular theme. The aim of the initiative is double edged: it seeks to unearth and digitize material from attics and shoeboxes, the historical worth of which might otherwise go unrecognized, while at the same time creating a democratized sense of co-production and co-curation of the shared narratives that emerge from this crowd-sourced creation of archival collections. In launching the annual theme for the project in a speech on 19 March 2016, President François Hollande called for a gathering together of materials "dedicated to the memory of France overseas, and of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia." Entitled "D'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée: l'Afrique et la France aux XIXe et XXe siècles," in November 2016 La Grande Collecte was devoted to material reflecting the relationship between France and Africa across the past two centuries. It yielded a range of items—diaries, photographs, posters, tracts—that together revealed an everyday and often intimate experience of colonialism often absent from the formal archive. Given the repeated demands that have been made in France by groups, organizations, and activists for the longer histories of colonialism to be formerly recognized and inscribed in public history and memory, these measures can be considered significant steps in that direction.

The focus of La Grande Collecte on documentation and, in particular, on ephemera relating to empire raises several questions key to this chapter. Not only does it highlight the continued existence, in the private sphere, of a wealth of material that illustrates personal and family histories of colonialism, it also allows us to reflect on how different dimensions of the material afterlives of empire as—particularly in the case of ephemera—items characterized by their disposability persist in the postcolonial present. What are the reasons for this accumulation and retention of a scattered, everyday, unofficial body of material, and—in the context of La Grande Collecte—what are the implications of transforming the ephemeral into the archival, potentially granting existence in perpetuity to items designed to be short-lived?

The initiative endorsed by the Archives de France is to be understood in the wider contemporary and commercial context of the collection of colonial ephemera, facilitated by online auction sites such as www.delcampe.net, which have rapidly replaced flea markets as forums for buying and selling postcards, stamps, tickets, and other items known in French as *vieux papiers* (old documents). The chance encounters and serendipitous finds associated with browsing in the traditional flea market have been replaced by the more clinical search engines of these new sites, which have not only tended to drive up perceived value, but have also given everyone the means to sell items accumulated across a lifetime or inherited from relatives. With some notable exceptions—such as the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera at the Bodleian in Oxford, or the Centre for Ephemera Studies in Reading—formal acquisition of such material for major archives is rare, which makes the work in France of the Association Connaissance de l'Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine in this area all the more important. Since its inauguration in 1989, ACHAC has seen the validation of ephemera as central to its core activity of exploring and promoting discussion of race, the iconography of empire, and the colonial and postcolonial periods of Africa and Europe within a French national context. Focused on bringing to wider attention research on the representation of colonial and postcolonial cultures in the French-speaking world, ACHAC has been committed to the identification, collection, and progressive accumulation of the popular imagery of empire—posters, postcards and other ephemera. These processes form part of an attempt to encourage understanding of the ways in which, in the first half of the twentieth century (and in particular in the interwar period), the French imagination—political, cultural, social, and ideological—was saturated by the iconography of (often informal) pro-imperial propaganda.

Traces of an "everyday" colonialism in a French context allow reflection on the ways in which the imagery of empire circulates through the media and ephemera of a specifically French popular culture. At the same time, they reveal the limitations of the field of francophone postcolonial studies, traditionally focused on literary texts (including so-called paraliterary forms such as travel writing and comics), but tending to eschew analysis of more ephemeral and popular artifacts. This is despite—and here I take a clear position in French manifestations of what Bernard Porter has formulated as the "absent-minded imperialist" thesis—the evidence of considerable cultural impact via their wide circulation.[1] The work of ACHAC—and in particular the collection of materials acquired from the group by the Getty over a decade ago—provides

invaluable material for challenging these processes, and for exploring alternative understandings of French and Francophone postcoloniality. La Grande Collecte suggests the ways in which such ephemera may operate as a postcolonial *lieu de mémoire*, interrogating and indeed challenging the often-repeated claim that Pierre Nora and his contributors, in the original, multivolume collection of essays of that title, paid little or no attention to colonialism and the French empire. Closer scrutiny of Nora's collection reveals that engagement with the colonial reaches far beyond Charles-Robert Ageron's essay on the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale (one of the most significant generators of colonial ephemera in its own right), but is nevertheless policed and contained by the deliberately French national framing of Nora's project as well as by the ideological assumptions with which this is associated.

The term *lieu de mémoire* (realm of memory) is now commonplace, often used loosely with no reference to its original definition. In the context of the current paper it is worth revisiting the logic of its original deployment: for Nora, the gradual disappearance of "real environments [*milieux*] of memory," due to a decline in traditions of unmediated collective transmission of history, had led France to identify instead what he refers to as alternative realms (*lieux*) of memory "where memory crystallizes and secretes itself." These sites become invested with the role of embodying a memorial consciousness and ultimately "anchor, condense, and express the exhausted capital of our collective memory." The identification of these *lieux de mémoire* is eclectic, ranging from iconic buildings or locations (the Pantheon, for instance, or the Communard's Wall) to events (14 July). In terms of artifacts or material objects, there are numerous examples, ranging in this case from statues to wine, and Nora's table of contents includes a disproportionate number of books—dictionaries, histories, works of literature and folklore—revealing the persistent place of the textual in constructions of Frenchness. Intangible heritage is important too—conversation, gallantry, *le génie de la langue française* (the genius of the French language)—but the predominant emphasis on the material leaves little room for any exploration of the more ephemeral. To be fair, Ageron—in discussing the colonial exhibition of 1931—alludes to the proliferation of often disposable items (brochures, postcards, posters, tickets, souvenirs, toys) on which the wider visibility of the event depended, but uses these as quantitative evidence of visitor numbers rather than as any reflection of memorial afterlives. The exhibition provides a useful case study for other reasons too: as François Pernot has noted, it encapsulates the tensions between such written ephemera and what he calls the material ephemera constituted by the *pavillons* (pavilions) constructed in the parc de Vincennes. The latter are for the most past lost, with several notable exceptions, although experimental archaeology and digital technology provide the tools

for its reconstruction. What persists, defying its supposed ephemerality, is the former, usually paper-based, whose status in the context of heritage is under increasing scrutiny. Attention to this type of material—mass-produced, widely circulated, but low in monetary value and so designed ultimately to disintegrate or disappear—is part of the identification of what John MacKenzie has called, in the Anglophone context, "the vehicles of imperial propaganda": it permits exploration of the ways in which—as Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose explain—"everyday lives were infused with an imperial presence";[2] and it is also, in its various forms of postcolonial persistence and recirculation, an invaluable source for the understanding of what comes in the wake of colonial culture. Part of the identification of postcolonial realms of memory involves, therefore, the additional activity of excavation of what was intended to be ephemeral, but persists either as more of a spectral presence or to be harnessed more actively to a sense of imperialist nostalgia. The ephemeral rematerializes as the "shards" to which John MacKenzie refers in his exchange with Bernard Porter, the assemblage of which "in their deposits implies the existence of a culture, not its absence."[3]

Ian Sansom, in his book *Paper: An Elegy* (2012), describes the absence of a history of paper, a history which—as he insists in a reflection in its ephemerality—is not the same as the history of the book: "It is perhaps because paper is forever disappearing and reappearing . . . —burnt, lost, discarded, disowned, rediscovered, restored, reified—that it remains ancillary to most academic study, so insignificant and inessential as barely to merit discussion outside specialist books, journals and publication."[4] The study of ephemera has itself an uncertain location in terms of established academic disciplines, and writings about it have traditionally been produced by collectors, archivists, or amateurs who are often interested in definitions and in what happens to ephemeral items when they enter formal systems of classification. As has been suggested above, a key and largely unresolved issue relates to whether its claim to be ephemeral is undermined when ephemera becomes fixed as an object of study or is confined to the archive. The ambivalence of attitudes toward the ephemeral is, I think, linked to a more general uncertainty regarding the study of material things. Social anthropologists such as Danny Miller have recently developed more considered approaches to what has been called "stuff," although the emphasis in this work is often more specifically on materiality than ephemerality.[5] Maurice Rickards several decades ago provided one of the most concise definitions of ephemera itself: "transient everyday items of paper—mostly printed—that are manufactured specifically to use and throw away."[6] He expands this explanation by seeing examples of the phenomenon as "fragments of social history . . . reflections of the spirit of its time . . . which are not expected to survive, but which can

prove to be very useful in research."[7] It is this sense of usefulness that is particularly striking, not least because Rickards continues in terms that resonate with the observations above on the inherent biases in Nora's selection of *lieux de mémoire*: "Ephemera," he writes, "represents the other half of history: the half without guile. When people put up monuments of published official war histories they had a constant eye on their audience and their history would be adjusted to suit, whereas ephemera was never expected to survive—it would normally have been thrown straightaway—so that it contains all sorts of human qualities which would otherwise be edited out."[8]

These "minor transient documents of everyday life"—examples of which in the colonial context include cigarette cards, cutout paper models of villages and battles, cardboard toys representing national types—proliferated in the form of advertising material, religious propaganda, and souvenirs. As Ashley Jackson and David Tomkins note, cheap printing permitted the wide dissemination of many forms of free advertising material, meaning that a "vast amount of imperial and wider world imagery [was] put before the public."[9] The inherent disposability of these ubiquitous everyday items has impacted attitudes held toward them, but what is clear from specialist online auction sites in France and other processes such as La Grande Collecte is not only that much material has survived, but also that there is now a buoyant market in it. In a recent story, *L'Ecole des colonies*, Didier Daeninckx engages with this paradoxical persistence of the ephemeral, demonstrating in his fiction—as has been the case throughout his work, from *Meurtres pour mémoire* onward—the potential inherent in creative approaches to traces of the past for the demonstration of alternative modes of historiography. Weaving his narrative around the iconography of textbooks and other more ephemeral material, he explores and imagines the role of colonial education in developing an imperial mindset in colonizer as well as colonized, but suggests at the same time a steady process of postwar decline.

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Daeninckx builds his narrative around toys, games, and paper-based items aimed at consumption by the young. It is phenomena such as these, reflecting and freighting French colonial cultures, that form the core of the ephemera in the ACHAC collection. Colonial toys emerged as a subcategory of children's playthings at the turn of the twentieth century, deliberately gendered, as were their metropolitan French-focused counterparts, with paper soldiers and scenes of military conquest aimed primarily at boys,[10] more domestic scenes (such as this Cacao Barry cut-out of a domestic scene showing the harvesting and preparation of cacao) at girls (fig. 1). These toys and games relating to empire have been addressed in the work of ACHAC since some of their earliest publications. The major 1993 collection *Images et colonies* contained a brief essay

on the subject by Yann Holo, in which he describes young French people as a "privileged target" of colonial propaganda and explores the proliferation of this material, especially in the interwar period, beyond the boundaries of formal pedagogy.[11] Often developed and marketed in response to specific events—the Citroën Croisière Noire of 1924–25 is a striking example, as is the 1931 Exposition Coloniale—toys played a key role in the informal development of an exoticist imagination whereby colonized peoples were reduced to a series of types, accentuating the logic already present in the *image d'Épinal*.[12] Colonial decors reflect the stylized representational order associated with colonial exhibitions: the paper toys operate as miniature simulacra of the life-size simulacra of the exhibitions, North Africa became a *souk* (marketplace), sub-Saharan African the *brousse* (bush).

Scholarly attention to such items has been rare and uneven, and the failure of both colonial historiography and postcolonial studies to engage significantly with toys and games represents a striking omission. John MacKenzie is one of the few, in *Propaganda and Empire*, to focus on their role as vehicles of propaganda in an anglophone context.[13] He includes toys and games among the forms of imperial propaganda discussed in the opening chapter of the book, focusing for example on jigsaws and late nineteenth-century board games, often based on a cartographic model, reflecting the military and imperial preoccupations of their context of production. Slowly other scholars are responding to the challenge to

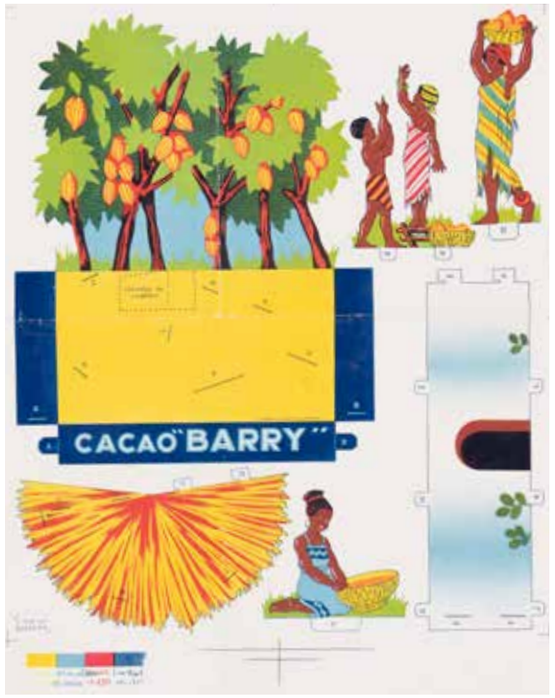


Fig. 1.
Louis Gougeon (French, n.d.).
Cacao "Barry," n.d., Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

think more critically about colonial toys and games: Mary Guyatt's recent thesis, written in the context of a collaboration with the Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood in Bethnal Green, London, has looked in detail at the representation of non-European figures in children's material worlds during the colonial period, exploring the racialization of toys more generally and the co-production of colonial cultural to which this led;[14] Jeff Bowersox has also, in the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, considered toys and games in the German colonial imaginary at a time of a rapidly expanding industry in the area and the existence for the first time of a mass consumer audience.[15]

In terms of links between colonialism and the imagination of the young, scholars have often tended to look elsewhere: to school books, comics, juvenile literature, and the activities of organizations such as the scouts. Much critical attention has been paid to adventure stories, children's books such as the *Babar* series, and *bandes dessinées* such as *Tintin*, all of which have been studied as repositories of colonial discourse and generators of associated ideologies among children and young people.[16] The relative lack of attention to toys and games is surprising, not least because such phenomena would have co-existed alongside, often in direct relation to, this more literary archive, playing an equally important role in the dissemination of colonial propaganda and in the enactment of the imaginary on which this depends. At the same time, studies of toys and games themselves have been largely neglectful of the links of these phenomena to empire. An early work, such as Antonia Fraser's 1966 *History of Toys*, places the subject in the frame of European expansionism and reflects on the importance of gender, but does not see the associations of play with the fostering of a colonial mindset.[17] A more recent example, the Grand Palais exhibition "Des jouets et des hommes" (2012), similarly pays more attention to the transnational as opposed to the colonial history of toys, despite the inclusion of examples—such as a 1912 set of figures representing a North Pole expedition—that lend themselves to analysis in a semicolonial frame.[18]

Recent development in the study of toys and games has nevertheless begun to open up this field of inquiry, although the focus has often been elsewhere, on the place of colonial or neocolonial assumptions in contemporary video gamescapes, for instance, or the place of toy cowboys and Indians in the shaping of modern attitudes toward the genocide of Native Americans.[19] The series of toys and games (ranging across the period 1892–1941) in the ACHAC collection provides a rich resource for directing this attention toward European colonial cultures. Mass-produced items for French children served as a powerful vehicle for the proliferation of the imagery of colonialism and conquest in the first half of the twentieth century, coinciding with the interwar consolidation of imperial ideology as well as the rapid reconfigurations of empire in the aftermath of

the Second World War. These are multidimensional artifacts, often combining education and play, various strands of propaganda (religious and imperial) and the commercial objectives of advertising. Colonial toys often convey the period's assumptions about colonized peoples and spaces, and as such reveal broad social consensus. They need to be understood as a result in wider contexts: of children's literature and comics; of textbooks with specific educational functions; but also of a more general colonial iconography, of which they serve as filtered version. Finally, often inherent in these items are embedded the dynamics of (im)mobility central to colonial expansion and imperial control, as well as accepted notions of civilized/uncivilized spaces reflected also in the structures of colonial exhibitions, most notably in Vincennes 1931.

In the light of these specific elements of mobility and spatiality, of particular interest are also the board games—primarily produced in the context of Vichy—that permitted vicarious travel around the empire, and which may be

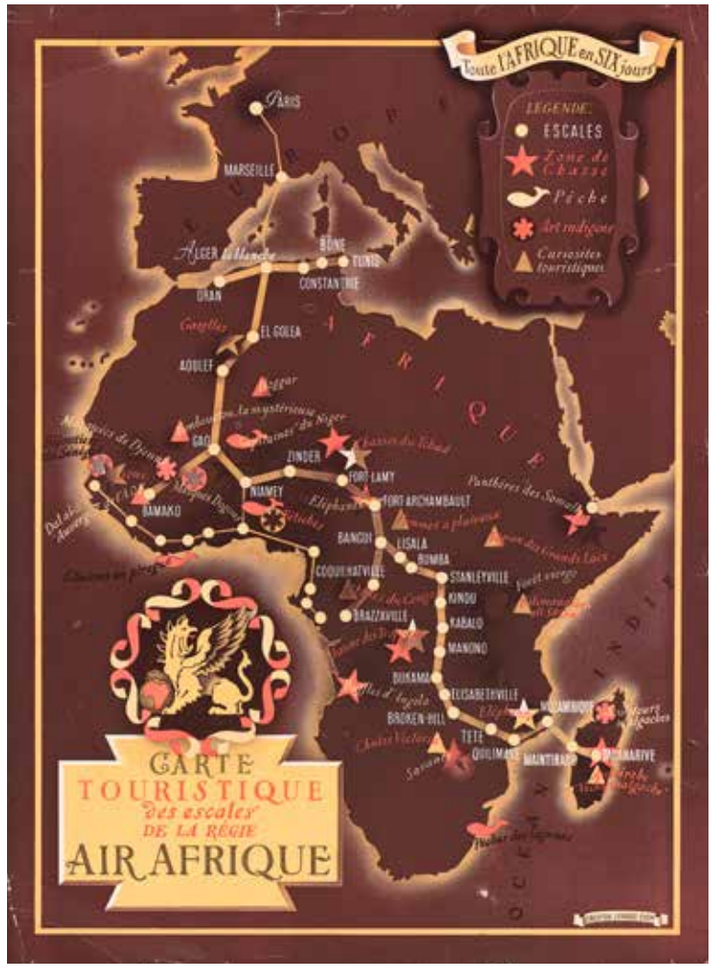


Fig. 2.
Lavard-Chem. Tourist map for Air Afrique: All of Africa in Sixty Days.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

seen to exist in a geographically contrapuntal relationship to other items such as cut-out paper toys depicting the pavilions at the Exposition Coloniale and also the publicity maps associated with the extension of air travel into the Maghreb and sub-Saharan African, such as an Air Afrique map that offers travelers the possibility of discovering "All of Africa in six days" (fig. 2). The board game draws actively on the imagination of space in colonial travel narratives and adventure stories, reproducing and confirming a colonial world view reliant on belief in the civilizing mission, as well as on confidence in Western technological and scientific superiority: play creates identification with nation and empire, and confirms the French player's privileged citizenship within larger colonizing structures, with the right to travel through and profit from the colonies engrained in the game's fixed rules.

The government-issued Jeu des *Échanges*: France—Colonies (Trading game) exemplifies this logic: it simultaneously teaches young French people about a world whose structuring principle is primarily colonial, demonstrates in a crisis situation the continuing economic function of the colonies, and performs through play future roles, responsibilities, and possible ambitions within this frame (see Thomas, fig. 3, p. TK). The emphasis is on "all the greatness of the French colonial enterprise," and colonial culture is understood primarily in terms of commerce with the aim being to exploit the colonies and bring produce home to France. Such a process could not begin before a colonial infrastructure (hospitals, schools, missions, harbors) had been installed. The role

Fig. 3.
R. L., "Offert par Pikina, apéritifs aux vins de France, et par Amer Picon: Construction d'un ksour," ca. 1925.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

of the passive, non-participant colonized population is to labor, to fan the colonizer or bring him drinks, to be educated, converted, or cured. The active French players function as colonial travelers, moving through physical and imagined spaces in which there is a homogenization of empire (different histories and forms of governance are not acknowledged), and there is a reflection on the dysfunctions of colonial life, namely laziness and intemperance, both of which are factored into the stages of the game.

Another example, the Vichy government-commissioned Jeu de l'Empire Français, is a double-sided, brightly colored board game for children, each side with a slightly different Course de l'Empire Français (race around the French empire) to be played on a carefully illustrated world map drawn by Raoul Auger, a well-known illustrator who would subsequently work for the *Tintin* magazine ((see Thomas, figs. 1, 2, pp. TK, TK). The rules stated that Pétain "offers a voyage around the world to two French youths, passing through the colonies of the empire and using French maritime and aviation lines." Players left Marseille on a journey around the empire, landing on spaces that associated colonies with the goods they produced, but also passing through a space of constructed geographical fantasy: most notably, the board fails to acknowledge the split in the colonies over allegiance to Vichy and free France; certain routes, such as the trans-Saharan, are included, although they would ultimately never exist. The object was to be the first to reach the metropole after completing a "tour du monde" (journey round the world) that was simultaneously a "course de l'empire" (race around the empire). Numerous dangers and impediments faced the travelers, including scorpion stings, broken-down planes and floods of the Mekong, but the player whose piece landed on square 72, adorned with a photo of Pétain, automatically won the game, underlining the narrative of allegiance to Vichy (and by extension, the French colonial empire) that the game sought to cultivate.

These board games were complemented by a wider body of ephemeral means of entertainment that emerged in the context of French empire, including numerous paper toys. Blair Whitton, in his *Paper Toys of the World* (1986), explores the early modern and undoubtedly non-Western origins of his subject, items that depend on folding, cutting and processes that we might more generally be seen as world-making—in a literal sense of crafting, but also in a more ideological sense of fashioning the world according to the logic of Empire. An early French example, Le Grand Jardin des Plantes, combines education (each of the fifty animals is labeled by name) with an interest in the domesticated exotic,[20] but later, more common and (crucially) more disposable examples are paper soldiers and cut-out buildings or dioramas, both of which existed and were highly popular in a French national context, but provided additional

possibilities in a colonial frame. Key to the paper or cardboard figure or scene is that it was affordable and disposable, with the increasingly lower costs of reproduction meaning that many—indeed the majority—of extant examples were offered free for publicity purposes. These were as a result the most widely disseminated toys and may be seen as the most effective vehicles for the generalized spread of the assumptions they freighted.

There is a key difference, however, between games and toys: although associated with moral imperatives that privilege the benefits of competition, industriousness and patriotism, the game, with clear rules often underpinning its instructional purpose, may be seen to serve as a vehicle of overt colonial lessons; strictly regulated, and often dependent on a unidirectional course of play, room for individual interpretation, subversion and lateral engagement was limited. The toy, however, is marked by a degree of instability as children had the option of manipulating or adapting them to suit their own imaginative purposes—changing the course of history, defying geographical logic or creating fantastical worlds. The methodological challenge remains that of recovering those alternative practices of play, traces of which can be determined from references in literature, correspondence, and diaries, but in any case it is safe to assume that children's lived consumption of these artifacts permitted an imaginative disruption and reordering, with—for instance—figures from distinct contexts mixed up, or played with in ways unintended by their manufacturers, that undermine any limited or prescriptive understanding of their use.

It is important to stress that toys were not so much tools of explicit indoctrination as a reflection of a broad social consensus around France and its role in the wider empire. They demonstrate a tendency toward the reproduction of generally accepted notions of civilized and uncivilized spaces, evident in numerous cut-out ethnographic toys, representing, for instance, a Tunisian home, an African village, and a North African fortified village (*ksour*), which translate into a form consumable by children, the wider colonial iconography aimed at an adult audience in the form of postcards and other media. The cut-out *ksour*—advertising the aperitif Pikina—is a complex montage providing clear instructions for those wishing to construct a telling illustration of everyday colonialism: the drink is stored here in an indigenous building (fig.3), exemplifying Berber architecture, which is itself emblazoned with the company's advertising; a white couple beckon to an Algerian woman carrying a tray of drinks; and a variety of means of transport—camels as well as trucks with the Pikina logo—offer to carry the product around the colony. "There is no part of the globe where Picon has not reached," claims the cutout. The peaceful contemporary scene contrasts with another cutout toy of a historic event provided by the same company, a paper diorama of the siege of Constantine (fig. 4),

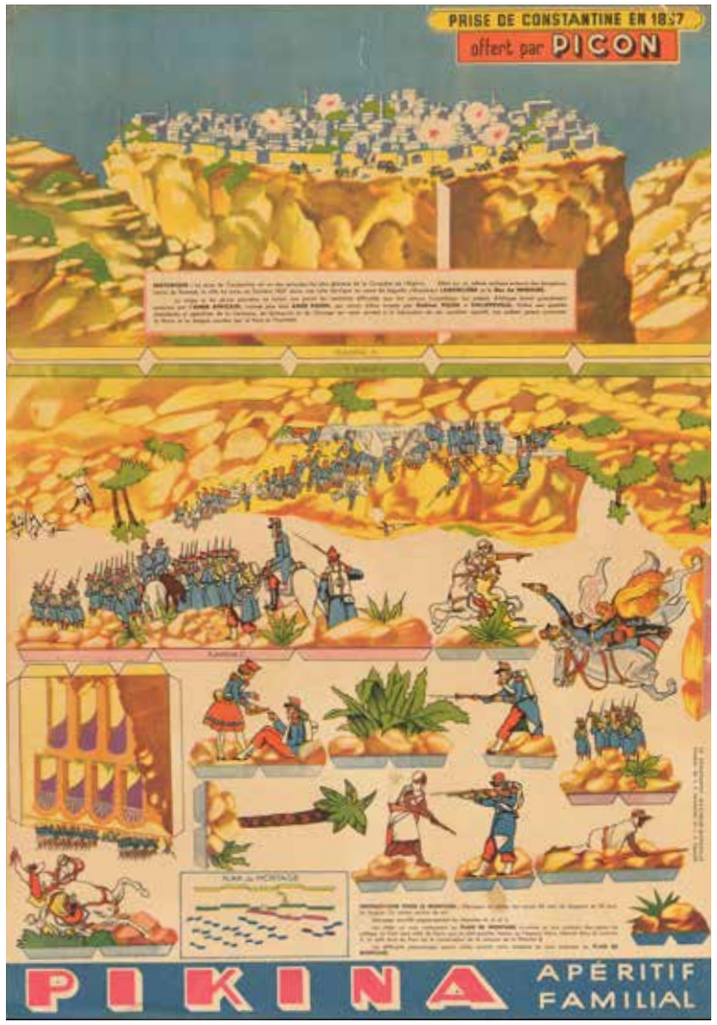


Fig. 4.
S. D. Benveniste and J. A. Dupuich for Pikina, "Prise de Constantine en 1837," n.d.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

a reminder that this orange-based bitters was first produced in a much more violent context of sustained warfare and colonial conquest. Even in this battle scene, however, French cavalrymen take time out of combat to drink Pikina, suggesting that the beverage played a key role in the pacification of the colony.

These paper toys at times used openly racist iconography to demonstrate colonialist tropes such as the myth of the lazy native: a cut-out paper toy produced by the drinks company Nescao depicts an indolent and well-fed African sitting under a coconut tree, smiling, smoking, and sporting colorful shorts.[21] Also popular were paper toys with movable parts, an extensive series depicting for instance a Senegalese drummer (fig. 5) or an Indochinese rice paddy worker, which not only reduce colonized cultures to types, but also suggest in the construction of typologies the clear "denial of coevalness" evident in much

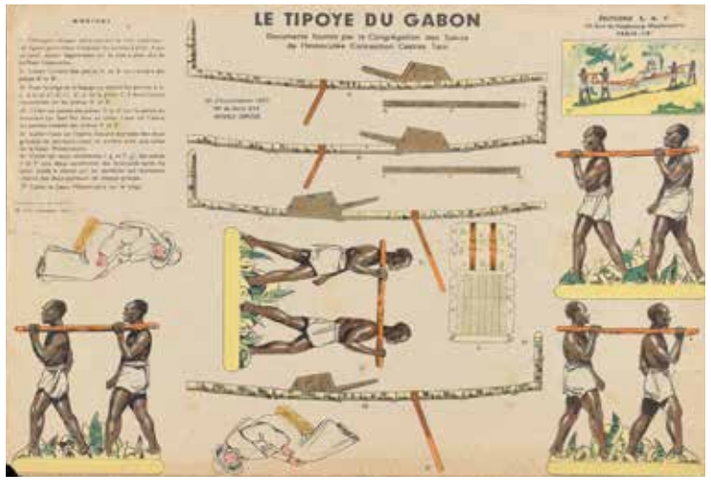


Fig. 5.
Phosphatine Falières, Chanteur Bambara, paper African drummer toy with movable parts, n.d.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 6.
Le Tipoye du Gabon (The Gabonese sedan chair): Documents provided by the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, 1925.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

colonial propaganda, positing—despite the evident mobility of *tirailleurs* also represented in such artifacts—a static colonial culture in contrast to its dynamic metropolitan counterpart.[22] Phosphatine Falières, the manufacturer of children's dietary supplements responsible for these cutouts, also produced comics, collecting cards, and story books designed to encourage creative engagement while promoting their products in a colonial frame. Integrated into imperial propaganda was, therefore, a blatant commercialism, since the toys often contained advertisements for foods or even alcohol. Also in evidence is religious proselytism, aimed at encouraging young men and women to join religious

orders and the faithful to make pious donations. One striking example, *The Gabonese Sedan Chair*, printed in 1925, shows a nun on a litter being carried by four Africans, with a note that the documentation for the toy was provided by "the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, Castres, Tarn" (fig. 6).[23] One of series of cutout toys designed to illustrate the life of the mission—others include a *pirogue* (canoe) and dioramas of Gabonese villages—the fragility of its construction reveals the short lifespan of these toys once constructed. These items reveal a normalization of empire, its integration into the everyday and packaging in a form consumable by young people.

The ephemerality of the material discussed above relates not only to its materiality and disposability, but also to the fragility of the context in which it was produced. As Judy Attfield comments in *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*, ephemerality "places emphasis on the present, that fragile evanescent moment that passes in a flash."[24] Focusing specifically on ephemera, she continues: "Translated into things, the ephemeral can refer to valueless rubbish, not made to last for more than a day or two. . . . It has no provenance, no foothold in the past or any destination in the future . . . yet its very quality of impermanence can make a lasting impression." The items explored in this chapter proliferated in the interwar period, in the context of the Exposition Coloniale and its aftermath, but during the postwar period appear to reduce in frequency and change in the message they freight as the advent of departmentalization and the short-lived Union Française reveal the increasing strain under which the colonial empire found itself. A mass-produced item of which many different examples remain is the notebook cover, a means of integrating colonial iconography into the everyday material culture of education. These often combine heavily racialized imagery with an educational purpose (maps are common), and serve also to educate about postwar reforms such as the establishment of the Union Française (a similar design was used prewar, but entitled "Empire français"). The map deserves comment, for it plays with scale—all colonies are the same size, leveling the Maghreb, French West Africa, French Equitorial Africa, and Indochina, and including alongside them Djibouti (a strategic site in the context of Suez), India (trace of a lost empire), and Syria (dependent on the exceptional UN mandate).[25] With specific detail about produce and population elided, any sense of very different histories and present status of the colonies (not least in terms of Overseas Departments versus the French Union)—is minimized, and a last-gasp homogeneity maintained.

Another common item among French ephemera, in part aimed at school pupils, was blotting paper decorated for advertising purposes; an example of this illustrates the transitions from empire to postcolonialism. In the late 1950s or early 1960s, La Vache Qui Rit (Laughing Cow) produced a series of sheets of

buvard entitled "Les Découvertes."[26] An iconic brand, Laughing Cow is a spreadable processed cheese, sold in versatile, portable wedges and manufactured by Fromageries Bel since 1865. Its global visibility as a major French export lent itself to treatment in a context of travel, exploration, and adventure, and this series of ten sheets of blotting paper can be read as an ephemeral take on rapidly changing attitudes to empire. One side of the Jeu de l'Empire Français, discussed above, included on its circuit French imperial heroes: "glorious airmen, flight pioneers, soldiers and adminstrators of the French Empire."[27] There is a striking overlap with those pictured on the Vache Qui Rit blotting paper: Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, René Caillé, Jacques Cartier, and Francis Garnier feature in both contexts, whereas some figures associated more overtly with colonial expansion, such as Hubert Lyautey and Joseph-François Dupleix, only appear in the frame of the Vichy game. Drawn by the naval officer and maritime painter Luc Marie Bayle (well known for designing Jacques Cousteau's sword when he joined the Académie Française), the blotting paper describes the history of European exploration and expansionism from Marco Polo to Charcot. What is striking in the immediate context of their production is the relativization of French colonialism they already imply. The colonial expansionism of the later nineteenth century—represented by imperial heroes such as René Caillé, De Brazza and Francis Garnier (fig. 7); presented, significantly, as having "died for France")—is placed in a millennium-long tradition of travel, stretching back—with the inclusion of Polo—to one of the earliest French travelogues, the *Travels of Marco Polo*. Colonialism is also absorbed into a catalogue of figures, such as the Antarctic explorers Jules Dumont d'Urville and Jean-Baptiste Charcot—whose motivations might be seen as semi-colonial given the territory to which they traveled. At the same time, although this historical reach incorporates figures associated with early modern French colonial adventurers—Jacques Cartier in North America; Louis Antoine de Bougainville in the Pacific—any specifically French tradition of colonial expansion is located in a wider international frame, underlined by the deployment of Magellan and Columbus as two early figures in the series. From ephemera acting as an apology for empire, we enter a more apologetic phase (in the different sense of the term), one characterized also by the use of humor, used to trivialize a colonialism currently in its death throes as the Algerian War of Independence drew to a close. De Brazza claims the sheet dedicated him should have expedited his colonial ambitions by offering King Makoko a Vache Qui Rit; the mystery that Caillé sought in Timbuktu is no longer in evidence as La Vache Qui Rit has penetrated that location too.

The colonial ephemera of the ACHAC collection allows engagement with questions that are central to the understanding of popular culture in a colonial frame. How, in a postcolonial context, can we grasp the impact of this

Fig. 7.
Luc Marie Bayle (French, 1914–2000), for La Vache Qui Rit.
Les découvertes: Francis Garnier, printed blotting paper, n.d., Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

saturation of the collective imagination through such widespread iconography? To what extent do these artifacts mirror, distort, or determine popular views on empire and its end? The challenge is to understand the messages and narratives these fragile, disposable objects conveyed, to situate them in a wider ideological frame, and—often with great difficulty—to assess their persistent impact on the collective imaginary and on memory as children growing up in a colonial context become citizens grappling with postcoloniality and responding to it in a variety of ways, ranging from amnesia to more active modes of imperialist nostalgia. Often erased from the colonial archive or eclipsed by artifacts considered more significant or substantial, these games, toys, and other playful

items of commercial ephemera raise pressing questions about the place of the colonial past in histories and colonial consumption and in the wider writing of France's history of empire. These ephemeral objects illustrate—in a French context—what Hall and Rose describe as the "everydayness" or "taken-for-grantedness" of empire, an exoticism rendered domestic and ordinary.[28] What is clear is that the insertion of empire ideologically, commercially, and pedagogically into all realms of French daily life in the final decades of empire, from children's games to commercial advertising, complements the state's vigorous historical role in promoting empire, and contrasts with the relative inattention to, or even disavowal of, colonial questions in mainstream discourse in France until only the past decade or so. The collection, curation, and exploration of colonial ephemera is part of a wider effort in France to acknowledge the importance of French colonial history and to demonstrate its pervasive impact on contemporary France. Groups such as ACHAC have pushed for wider recognition of the persistent links between Republicanism and colonialism, suggesting that the French colonial empire was not a chronically extroverted phenomenon whose impact was exclusively felt beyond France, but one whose influence and afterlives have shaped France itself and are still to be detected in its culture and society. Monuments and memorials fulfill an elite function and are more easily dismissed as evidence of the excesses of the past. Ephemera provides a trace of the banality of empire, of the ways in which its logic infiltrated the everyday and was subject to forms of normalization whose implications are still evident today.

Notes

1. See Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
2. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.
3. *John M. MacKenzie, "'Comfort' and 'Conviction': A Response to Bernard Porter," Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 36, no. 4 (2008): 665.*
4. Ian Sansom, *Paper: An Elegy* (London: Fourth Estate, 2012), xviii.
5. Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (London: Polity, 2009).
6. Maurice Rickards, *This Is Ephemera: Collecting Printed Throwaways* (Newton Abbot, England: David & Charles, 1977), 7.
7. Quoted in Martin Andrews, "The Importance of Ephemera," in *A Companion to the History of the Book,* ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 448.
8. Quoted in Andrews, "The Importance of Ephemera," 448.
9. Ashley Jackson and David Tomkins, *Illustrating Empire: A Visual History of British Imperialism* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), 151.

10. In the ACHAC Collection at the Getty, see for instance Nos Soldats en Relief: Goumiers Marocains, produced by Éditions Wilieb in 1920, where an embossed cut-out toy shows one North African horseman and one European horseman, dressed in the caped uniform of the Moroccan *Goumiers,* Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, ACHAC collection, 24/2.
11. Yann Holo, "Jeux et jouets," in *Images et colonies (1880–1962),* ed. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau (Paris: ACHAC, 1993), 125–28.
12. Épinal prints were representations of popular subjects rendered in bright, clear colors, popular in France in the nineteenth century. The original publisher of these images—Jean-Charles Pellerin—called the printing shop he opened in 1796 Imagerie d'Épinal after his hometown. *Image d'Épinal* has become a common phrase in French, alluding to an traditionalist and often naïve depiction that portrays its subject in a uniquely positive light.
13. John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).
14. Mary Lucy Guyatt, "The Non-European World in the Lives of British Children, 1870–1930," PhD thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2015.
15. Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
16. See, for example, Peter Bloom's essay on *Les aventures de Mbumbulu* in this volume.
17. Antonia Fraser, *History of Toys* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966).
18. *Des jouets et des hommes* exh. cat. (Paris: RMN–Grand Palais, 2011).
19. See, for example, Souvik Mukherjee, *Videogames and Post-colonialism: Empire Plays Back* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), and Michael Yellow Bird, "Cowboys and Indians: Toys of Genocide, Icons of American Colonialism," *Wicazo Sa Review* 19, no. 2 (2004): 33–48.
20. Blair Whitton, *Paper Toys of the World* (Cumberland, MD: Hobby House, 1986).
21. This item, an undated cut-out produced by Imp. J. Simon S.A., is included in the Getty's ACHAC Collection (25/13).
22. See David Murphy's essay in this volume on "Representations of the *tirailleurs sénégalais*."
23. On this order and its activity in sub-Saharan Africa (including Gabon), see *Aperçu historique sur la Congrégation des Soeurs de Notre-Dame de l'Immaculée Conception* (Castres: Soeurs Bleues de Castres, 1928).
24. Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 81.
25. This exercise book cover is included in the Getty's ACHAC Collection (25/10). On cartography and colonialism, see Steven Nelson's essay in this volume, "France et Ses Colonies: Mapping, Representing, and Imagining Empire."
26. The series is included in the Getty's ACHAC Collection
27. For a study of French imperial heroes, see Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
28. Hall and Rose, introduction, 23.

PETER J. BLOOM

INTERSECTING LEGACIES OF *BANDES DESSINÉES* AND BELGIAN COLONIAL INSTRUCTION: *LES AVENTURES DE MBUMBULU* IN *NOS IMAGES* (1948–55)

Les aventures de Mbumbulu was a popular series of instructional *bandes dessinées* (*BDs*), or sequential drawn strips, that appeared in the Belgian Congo in four languages during the late colonial period and featured Mbumbulu as the key comic protagonist. This *BD* staged a developmental context through the simplicity of the drawn strip and it drew on an ongoing interaction between the unstable construct of Belgian national identity in relation to colonial instruction. Like the materials in the Getty Research Institute's ACHAC collection and the items held in the French-language broadsheets and caricatures collection, the *BDs* discussed here are an integral part of the archive of European colonialism.[1]

The series was published by the Bureau de l'Information pour Indigènes (Belgian Congo colonial information services department) in colonial Kinshasa (formerly Léopoldville) from 1948 to 1955 in the widely distributed multilingual photographic magazine *Nos images*.[2] The magazine was the bulwark of a renewed colonial educational campaign that emerged from a critical shift in attitude by colonial administrators precipitated by the return of militarized public safety officers, known as the Force Publique. These returning Congolese veterans were deployed on behalf of the Allies during World War II in Ethiopia, Egypt, Burma, Nigeria, and beyond. With the return of these soldiers to the cities and mining towns, a Belgian colonial lobbying organization known as Le Fonds du Bien-être Indigène (Indigenous welfare fund) was established for the moral and material development of "indigenous social custom," and it was this entity that encouraged the Services d'Information du Gouvernment Général [du Congo Belge] (Information services department of the Belgian Congo administration, hereafter SDI) to develop the ambitions of *Nos images* as a widely circulating national magazine.[3] *Les aventures de Mbumbulu* appeared for seven and a half years in 125 single-page installments featuring the awkward but endearing eponymous figure. Mbumbulu appears as a decommissioned Congolese public safety officer who is initially introduced as an unsophisticated country bumpkin in the city, and then returns to his village, where he becomes

an increasingly successful farmer, then husband, father, and, finally, grandfather. This discussion examines the complex layering of Mbumbulu as vehicle of colonial pedagogy in the usual ways, but also as an avatar of Belgian identity adapted in blackface for a Congolese readership in a number of important early strips. While a single author was credited with the strip in the first forty-two episodes, the subsequent eighty-three episodes were anonymous. The series initially establishes a dialectical context for colonial pedagogy that refers to an aporia between Walloon and Flemish identity, the same ambivalence projected onto Mbumbulu.

Two other notable drawn-strip series later appeared in *Nos images*. They included *Mbokolo*, the antelope storyteller, and *Mayele*, the consummate do-it-yourself protagonist. Mbumbulu, Mbokolo, and Mayele became the subjects of a series of short films that were mostly made and distributed in Congo as an extension of the colonial educational effort. The conversion of drawn strips into an extended series of short live-action films—and then back again to print comics—points to their multiple functions.[4] In addition to being illustrations of colonial policy prescription, they established a series of media formats and narrative contexts during this transitional postwar period.[5] The discussion in this chapter, however, focuses on the character of Mbumbulu in one of the most extensive drawn-strip features in Congo of the era. The six-panel narrative—which enjoyed a seven-and-a-half-year run—was a storytelling device, a form of caricature, and an increasingly self-reflexive character-driven presence. Its affect was informed by the cultural and linguistic divide in postwar Belgium. In fact, many of the returning Congolese public safety officers and combatants had become familiar with a wide array of *BDs,* including *Tintin, Tif et Tondu, Spirou,* and *Vaillant*.

Mbumbulu and Colonial Developmentalism in the Shadow of Tintinology

Les aventures de Mbumbulu,[6] which became *Aventures de la famille Mbumbulu* (fig. 1) in 1954,[7] was scripted as a set of behavioral paradigms addressed to the wide-ranging readership of *Nos images*, which was published in four French regional bilingual editions that were paired with Lingala, Kiswahili, Tshiluba, and Kikongo.[8] As Johannes Fabian has explained, the law established these four lingua francas as surpra-regional languages when the Congo of King Leopold II became a Belgian colony in 1908.[9] Historically, these languages belonged to a classificatory pyramid that presumed that French occupied the apex, and that legitimized regulation in the service of the colonial system.[10] Within this long-standing context, drawn strips were a genre of expression anchored by the long tail of colonial developmentalism.

Fig. 1.
Les 100 aventures de la famille Mbumbulu **(Léopoldville, Belgian Congo: Édition de la Revue *Nos Images*, 1956), cover.**
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The *Mbumbulu* series acclaims the Belgian missionary presence, which served as the long-standing purveyor of linguistic boundaries, education, and health in Congo. It also featured the goodwill of the white European professional classes as part of an entrenched hierarchy within the colonial system. The SDI developed the character of Mbumbulu through a series of five-minute live-action films produced from 1950 to 1951, which adapted some of the initial print episodes.[11] *Mbumbulu et la bague* (Mbumbulu and the magic wand), *Mbumbulu et son porte-plume* (Mbumbulu and his magic pen), and *Mbumbulu achète un vélo* (Mbumbulu purchases a bicycle) were based on the strips in three issues of *Nos images* appearing from December 1948 to February 1949.[12] Another fourth short film, *Mbumbulu, un farceur* (Mbumbulu, the practical joker), was likely derived from a panel in which Mbumbulu is introduced to readers with the caption, "I am a *farceur*, that is my only character flaw."[13] In spite of the minstrelsy of Mbumbulu's ongoing blackface performance, the figure's affect appealed to many Congolese in print and on-screen.

In fact, as Guido Convents explains, Armand Diswana, the actor who played Mbumbulu in these silent live-action films, became widely recognized because the films were exhibited as part of mobile cinema campaigns throughout the country.[14] Louis Van Bever, head of the cinema and photo section of the SDI, has been credited as the filmmaker in charge of the *Mbumbulu* series, which was part of the renewed secular colonial film campaign developed after World War II.[15] However, the most visible figure associated with the secular filmmaking context was the abbé André Cornil, who made a significant number of films during the postwar period and also has been credited with coordinating the major filmmaking missionary units of the era.[16]

In spite of the careful manner in which the developmental protagonist Mbumbulu in the printed strip represented the SDI's pedagogical mapping of citizenship, he may also be understood as a "semiotic diminutive" of *Tintin au Congo,* as Nancy Rose Hunt has suggested.[17] Tintin as a popular phenomenon, alongside the right-wing Catholic and possibly fascist political sympathies of Hergé (Georges Prosper Rémi), *Tintin*'s creator, has been described in the critical literature as Tintinology—an international symbol and synecdoche for Belgium. And yet, *BD* aficionados have formulated their hagiography of Hergé, in part for his development of *ligne claire* (clean line), the outlined forms and two-dimensional color that was his aesthetic achievement. The sparse line and two-dimensional areas of color contributes to Belgian identity itself, masking the complexity of the nation's multi-regionalism. This absence may be understood as an epistemological vacuum that serves as a context for staging a superficial attempt at behavioral modification in Congo. As a less-than-identifiable Congolese figure, Mbumbulu stands in for a generic decommissioned recruit of the Force Publique. His humorous antics and excesses contradict the simple-mindedness of colonial instruction.

Les aventures de Mbumbulu appeared in the midst of what Jan Baetens has described as the golden age of Belgian comics during the postwar era (1945–65), and derived from the divide into the Flemish north and French south. *BD* culture came to represent an aesthetic and political split that found expression through dialect and graphic illustration.[18] Comics and caricatures in many of the political Flemish newspapers often evoked an anti-Belgian ethos not only by their iconography but colloquial expressions in northern dialects. These were most often untranslatable but directed to a politicized voting public. As Baetens explains, Willy Vandersteen's working-class Lambik is featured as a Flemish antihero. He embraces all that opposes polite francophone society and has an ambivalence that was prevalent across a wide array of Flemish drawn-strip protagonists.[19] This sensibility also informs Mbumbulu. Though neutralized and bereft of his proper dialect, his inability to adapt and his need to be corrected resonate as secondary reflexes in his bumbling physicality and unlikely adoption of modernity.

Beyond Tintin, Mbumbulu merits consideration on its own terms. *Nos images* was published at a time when a number of fine art, sculpture, and graphic art schools had emerged in colonial Kinshasa and Lubumbashi (formerly Élisabethville); their well-trained instructors and pupils expanded a local infrastructure for print graphics and painting, as well as plastic arts and crafts. It was in this context that Victor Arnold Wallenda, otherwise known as Frère Marc Stanislas, emerged as the first to draw Mbumbulu as self-styled *bédéiste* under the nom de plume Masta, a derisive plantation term.[20] His work for *Nos*

images was then taken over by three other Europeans who all worked in consultation with an editorial team in the SDI.[21] In spite of Wallenda's visibility as artist and instructor trained in the Catholic neo-Gothic school of art and design, the authorship, quality, and nature of his drawings and the continuity of his storyline shifted during its extended run such that a distinctive, unified quality of artistic authorship remains elusive. Although there is an oblique reference to the procession of authorship in Mbumbulu's family album, Masta's signature disappears in Mbumbulu's forty-fourth adventure at the end of 1951.[22] Notably, however, *Les 100 aventures de la famille Mbumbulu,* an album that was later published from a sampling of the 125 six-panel, full-page strips (see fig. 1), monumentalized Mbumbulu's trajectory from country bumpkin to wise grandfather.[23] There his story emphasizes the success of his three children—Pierre, Jean, and Pauline—and projects family unity through the effectiveness of lessons presented as Catholic homilies affirming public safety and neighborliness.

It is worth considering that in 1954 the strip's title quietly changed from *Les aventures de Mbumbulu* to *Les aventures de la famille Mbumbulu*.[24] This might have been to differentiate it from its rootedness in the graphic and narrative style of Tintin, but more precisely it refers to the introduction of Mbumbulu's twin sons and daughter in the episodes to follow. Their consciousness transforms from childhood development to well-adjusted citizens who in the postwar context eventually replace resident Belgian agronomists, craftsmen, and nurses. The complete cycle may be understood as phases in the development of Mbumbulu's persona and his family. It begins with Mbumbulu's gullibility and problems of character that are illustrated with an underlying irony. In the first grouping of episodes, Mbumbulu is portrayed as an uncivilized man incapable of self-governance who, as a generic blackface prankster, cannot be identified with a specific cultural or regional identity. In this, Mbumbulu is analogous to Tintin, who was neither Flemish nor Walloon, except, of course, by inference through the disguised borrowings of Marols (an old Brussels dialect), spoken by the villains and foreigners.

Mbumbulu as Father in a Developmental Approach to Colonial Modernity

Mbumbulu's muted cultural image as a cartoonish rather than a stereotyped ethnic minority is also reflected in his simple language, which is always narrated by an omniscient third person. As the strip develops over the years, however, Mbumbulu's speech is presented in quotation marks at first, then intermittently integrated as a final proverb at the end of the episode. When other figures enter—unless they are white professionals—their address to Mbumbulu is only

infrequently in direct spoken language; more often they communicate in an implied action or the expression of emotion. It is significant that most of the verbal exchanges are a one-way communication supported by the third-person narrative in the captions: it is not until after Mbumbulu is married that the two even engage in a direct verbal exchange.

In the initial episodes, Mbumbulu is offered the opportunity to work as a mechanic and a clerk, but is humorously incapable, evoking the anarchic drollery associated with Flemish *BD* protagonists of the era. In addition, Mbumbulu is routinely taken advantage of by all kinds of ploys and occasional bouts of drunkenness.[25] These early experiences culminate in his return to the village. Although he finds it difficult to fathom that various forms of work even in the village require discipline, he discovers himself to be an increasingly successful farmer, which enables him to build a house, court Marie, and marry, all in two six-panel episodes. Their rapid courtship is comically set in motion when, catching a glimpse of her, he falls off a ladder. Their two mischievous boys then appear almost immediately, and Mbumbulu adjusts to his new role as father and head of household in the next three episodes.[26] In one instance, he builds a go-cart for his sons, who lose control and drive off the road. He then tries to demonstrate the proper way to maneuver the vehicle but crashes it into a tree. His cartoonishly contorted body expresses his practical joking nature, yet the story conveys his role as father, who instructs by his words and actions (fig. 2). In this case, this failure to be an example is expressed by the authority of the omniscient third-person narrator, who asserts prudence and caution. Mbumbulu's

Fig. 2.
Masta (Victor Arnold Wallenda, also known as Frère Marc Stanislas), (Belgian, 1913–82). Mbumbulu crashing into a tree, panel, 6/6, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 16 (15 October 1949): n.p. Royal Library of Belgium.

paternal role enables his sons to become full-fledged évolués, evolved from their less-desirable native customs and assimilated into urban and professional European colonial modernity.

The emphasis on Mbumbulu's anger as a response to disobedience is introduced just as his twin sons enter the series.[27] In the next episode, Mbumbulu returns from a month-long trip to find his family's house in complete disarray.[28] The second panel in the sequence reveals a nearly demonic expression of anger leading Mbumbulu to assert his authority in the household by ordering his wife and two sons to clean the house (fig. 3). Facial distortion and a cloud of anger indicate his visceral orders to weed and sweep the front of the house, then Marie shows one of their sons how to wash the floor, and, in the final panel, the result: a bird's eye view of the gingerbread-like house of peace and tranquility, like an ironic Grimms' fairy tale. He warns them not to wander off the path on their way to school, and when they do he reprimands them with a swift beating in order to teach them a lesson. The effect of the pain—pen strokes emanating from their backsides—serves as the body memory from having been scolded. Already in our first encounter with Mbumbulu's two sons, they are misbehaving children in need of correction. The first panel shows that one hides a fishing pole behind his back. The caption describes the actions and finally applauds Mbumbulu's efforts to instruct the boys: "Ah! If only all fathers acted as such with their children."[29]

Fig. 3.
Masta (Victor Arnold Wallenda, also known as Frère Marc Stanislas), (Belgian, 1913–82). Mbumbulu upon returning home to an untidy house, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 17 (15 November 1949): n.p., Royal Library of Belgium.

Mbumbulu's Self-reflection and the Colonial Uncanny

There is a remarkable episode in this procession of themes in which Mbumbulu receives several books from the postman (fig. 4).[30] As the caption explains, he becomes interested in reading because he wants to understand what is written. He reads by day in a chair at home, by night on a cot with candlelight. The caption explains that he becomes so enthralled with his book about the history of the Congo that he neglects his work. Absorbed in reading under the tree, he escapes a fatal misadventure when he does not see that a boa constrictor is about to attack him. Fortunately, a friend in the distance rescues him by cutting

Fig. 4.
Masta (Victor Arnold Wallenda, also known as Frère Marc Stanislas), (Belgian, 1913–82). Mbumbulu learns to read to learn about the history of Congo, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 18 (15 December 1949): n.p., Royal Library of Belgium.

off the snake's head. They then carry it back to the village. Mbumbulu's head is lowered, realizing, as the caption explains, that without being rescued he would have left behind a widow and two orphaned sons.

This sequence is perhaps one of the most perplexing examples regarding the fate of the Congo itself, given the history of genocide and depopulation related to an exploitative regime of mineral and labor extraction;[31] however, it remains unclear if the history of colonization under King Leopold II is being referenced more generally or if the storyline is a direct reference to ongoing restrictions in the Belgian colonial educational regime. The strip foregrounds literacy but Mbumbulu's ability to understand the history of Congo becomes a dangerous act. Mbumbulu and his companion carry the dead snake over their shoulders in the final panel of this strip. A significant contrast emerges. Whereas Mbumbulu carries a book in his other hand with his head lowered, his companion's head is held high holding the machete in his other hand. This might imply that the omniscient narrator is enjoining Mbumbulu not to challenge political authority associated with the written word. This episode exists in suspension, both inside and out of Mbumbulu's vehicular presence, masked in blackface with multilingual captions, but muted and spoken for in the continued flow of instructional catechisms.

The next series demonstrates particular acts of discipline. Mbumbulu again punishes his sons, now for getting drunk from *malafu,* local palm wine, that Mbumbulu drinks with other men at a *matanga,* or wake.[32] He then leaves to go fishing, promising Marie that he will not return until he catches an enormous fish. Upon arriving, he catches a small fish and he throws it back, since the river is so bountiful. He catches a second that seems adequate, but throws it back, too, expecting a much larger one. Then a big one bites. But instead of reeling it in, Mbumbulu loses his balance and falls into the water.[33] Upon returning home, drenched and empty handed, his wife laughs and advises him to be more reasonable about his ambitions. A related theme of avarice continues apace, along with being a show-off as part of the ongoing narrative aimed at improving Mbumbulu's character while also evoking in readers a dark comedic gesture regarding the emptiness of the reformist colonial educational agenda.

Mbumbulu then, interested in affecting a sense of style, purchases fashionable clothing that turns out to be a waste of money (fig. 5); a transformation from a blackface animated father figure into a failed dandy seems cruelly comic.[34] The episode's final panel marks a singular moment of reflection in which he realizes that buying sunglasses, a gabardine raincoat, and poorly fitting fancy shoes ill-adapted to village life is a wasteful exercise, though perhaps a fantasy of his own identity derived from his previous overseas military service. The implied message is to purchase only what is within one's own social

Fig. 5.
Unsigned. Mbumbulu trying to appear metropolitan, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 22 (15 April 1950): n.p.

and financial means. Could it also infer a midlife crisis in the making? Does it suggest a self-parody of the naïve developmental subject as yet another ruse?

This image of the self-reflective Mbumbulu is contrasted in the next episode, in which Mbumbulu plays a soccer goalie who defends the goal resulting in a battered and massively bandaged comic body upholding the theme of loyalty and team spirit among the players, who are like a group of decommissioned soldiers.[35] His bandaged head and limbs demonstrate the value of sacrifice, contrasting with the blunted ego and stylish trappings in the previous episode's final image.

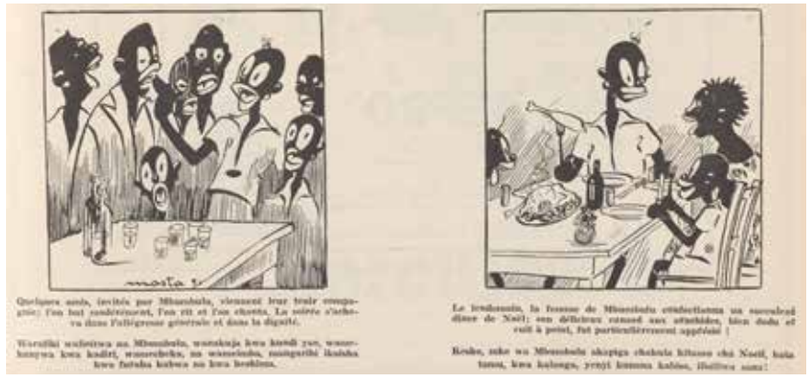
Thrift and Responsible Citizenship

An important theme predictably rolled out from the international colonial lexicon is thrift, illustrated by his establishing a savings account, An attempted robbery at Mbumbulu's home makes him want to secure his earnings in a bank account. Thanks to the trustworthy white bank teller, he is now able to keep track of his earnings in a savings book.[36] The theme of thrift continues with the introduction of his friend Paul, who spends eight years' of savings on his own wedding. Paul is left penniless after all of the expenses are tallied up, including the twenty-four cases of beer.[37] Although he manages to save money and economize in anticipation of this event, he is not capable of spending it wisely. In the spectrum of thrift and responsibility, in the next installment, Mbumbulu stumbles upon a wallet on the road. This occurs just as another passerby notices it, who greedily asks for a portion of the proceeds. Instead, Mbumbulu, a responsible citizen, returns it to its rightful owner, Mr. Leplanteur, who explains that he withdrew the money in order to pay his plantation workers. He then thanks Mbumbulu by paying him for this charitable act, reinforcing the theme that

honesty is both morally and financially rewarding.[38] A sense of trust that is associated with the white colonial planter implies that he is a knowledgeable ally in the technological future of agriculture and specialized labor.

This continual focus on character building is aligned with an increased acceptance of how colonial experts can improve his family's prospects. It is the ongoing goodwill of experts—such as the agricultural assistant,[39] or instructors, such as his son Pierre's judicious schoolteacher, who suggests a professional school[40]—who are featured as supportive figures. This group of episodes culminates in the family's visit to the nearby town, in which an exhibit for *Nos images* features his own image, which the strip juxtaposes to Mbumbulu himself.[41] This particular sequence ends with a mirror image of Mbumbulu, whose doubling represents a significant pivot. The final panel not only interrupts the character-driven diegesis of the drawn strip by promoting a subscription to *Nos images*, it points to Mbumbulu's evolution into an increasingly self-aware character who begins to orient his activity toward helping others, thanks to his own family's newfound sophistication. By the end of the year in this cycle, the ritual of Christmas is illustrated beginning with church service, wrapped gifts under a decorated palm tree, moderate drinking, song, and a sense of calm dignity among friends (fig. 6). Finally, in the last panel, Christmas dinner is prepared for the family. As the caption explains, it is Marie who not only cooks, but carefully prepares a plump, delicious *canard aux arachides*. As Mbumbulu holds the drumstick he winks at Marie. In exchanging groundnuts for almonds and inserting a duck, a dose of sarcasm is implied at the expense of an évolué's sense of entitlement that is simultaneously asserted and negated as the big-lipped mouths of the family at the table are agape in anticipation.[42]

Mbumbulu's impulsive nature is contrasted with measured reflection when he learns that he holds a lottery ticket worth 10,000 francs: he pines for a beer and stops by the nearby bar, murmuring to himself, "it will not ruin me. I am very thirsty!"[43] Upon arriving, he encounters his friend Bemba, whom he tells of his good fortune, then a group of others join and they all continue to drink until drunkenness prevails (fig. 7). After having spent all of his money, he leaves the bar and returns home late that night, dead drunk, and discovers he has lost his lottery ticket. Summed up in the fifth panel, we don't see Mbumbulu's familiar frontal view with his exaggerated blackface, oversized lips, large oval eyes occupying most of his forehead, three squiggles of hair, and clownlike button nose. Instead, his complete state of disequilibrium is characterized in his flat, off-balance silhouette viewed from behind and his gesture away from the panel frame. A dual consciousness is presented in this episode when in the final frame the next morning he has not been able to find the lottery ticket. Embarrassed by his excesses, he admits not knowing how to explain what has happened to



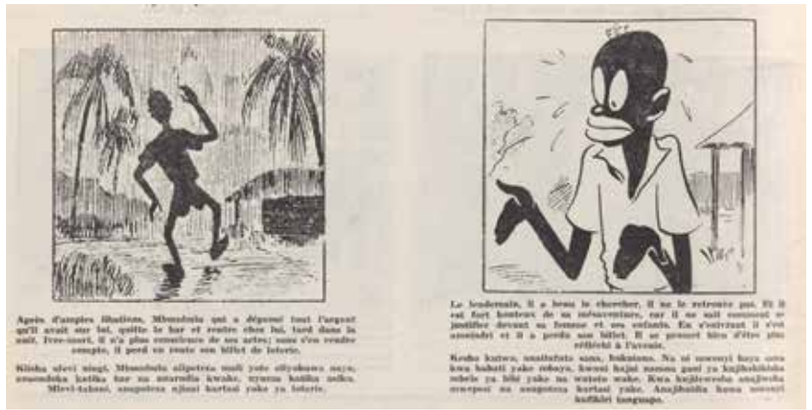


Fig. 6.
Masta (Victor Arnold Wallenda, also known as Frère Marc Stanislas), (Belgian, 1913–82). Mbumbulu's family Christmas dinner, two panels, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 42 (15 December, 1951): n.p., Royal Library of Belgium.

Fig. 7.
Unsigned. Mbumbulu's silhouette as he stumbles home drunk and as he has lost his lottery ticket, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 56 (20 January 1953): n.p., Royal Library of Belgium.

his wife and children. We are told, in the end, that he promises to be more self-aware in the future; with his eyes wide open and the palms of his hands opened forward, he seems to plead for forgiveness. This sequence demonstrates that he still lacks the ability to control his behavior as a developmental subject.

The End of Mbumbulu's Adventures and the Beginning of Direct Speech

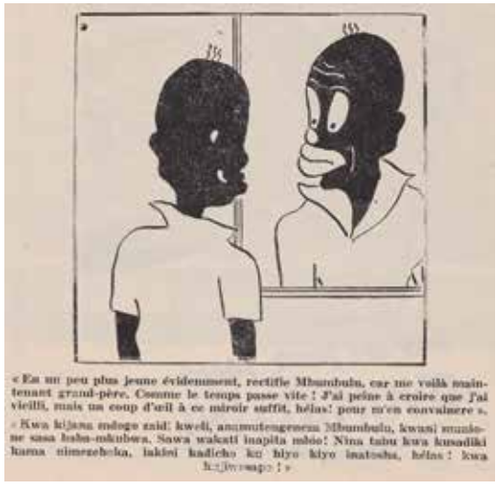
In final series of episodes, the advice of Mbumbulu's wife, along with the growth of his two sons and then a young daughter, becomes an increasingly prominent theme. The shift away from Mbumbulu's perspective is also marked by the arrival of new technology, including the installation of a speaker in the village to receive transmissions from Radio Congo Belge.[44] In a later, more detailed episode featuring going to the cinema, his son Jean watches a film for the first time and has difficulty controlling his emotions.[45] While identifying with the action on-screen, Jean actively gesticulates and inadvertently hits the head of the filmgoer in front of him, and a brief scuffle ensues. The message here is that in the future when in the cinema, one should always decorously respect one's neighbor. Most of the exclusively African audience for the Western film

is raising their hands, cheering the chase sequence, while the sedate, formally attired manager who comes out of the projection booth to settle the dispute is the neutral presence.

The numerous instructional episodes for public conduct is another frequent theme of *Les aventures de Mbumbulu.* In yet another episode, Mbumbulu, distracted by acquaintances, misses the train.[46] To indicate the developmental successes of his growing children in later episodes, each bimonthly strip is reformatted with a title that alternates between the melodrama of village life and a series of moral lessons learned by overcoming their own problems. The children are anchored once again by their parents as the bedrock of stability, for whom Pierre builds a bedframe.[47] Family unity is reinforced once again in a full-page, one-panel Christmas greeting in which Mbumbulu and his family—which now includes smiling Agnès, Pierre's wife—are well dressed and seated at the table with a recessed image of a Christmas tree, and we learn that Mbumbulu's retirement is imminent (fig. 8).[48]

The adventures of Mbumbulu's family ends in a series of conversions to a newly established developmental order founded upon managing individual discipline. Mbumbulu's excesses always showed inappropriate social conduct

Fig. 8.
Unsigned. Christmas greeting from Mbumbulu's family (final image), *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 126 (20 December 1955): 17. Royal Library of Belgium.


« En un peu plus jeune évidemment, rectifie Mbumbulu, car me voilà maintenant grand-père. Comme le temps passe vite ! J'ai peine à croire que j'ai vieilli, mais un coup d'œil à ce miroir suffit, hélas! pour m'en convaincre ».

« Kwa kijana mdogo zaid: kweli, anamutengenezea Mbumbulu, kwani mumo-ne sasa baba-mkubwa. Sawa wakati inapita mbio! Nina taabu kwa kusadiki kama nimezeheka, lakini kadicha ku hiyo kiyo inatosha, hélas ! kwa [illegible] ! »

Fig. 9.
Unsigned. Mbumbulu's self-reflection on aging with the birth of his grandson, *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 124 (20 November 1955): n.p. Royal Library of Belgium.

as pedagogical lesson for readers on the benefits of self-determination. In one of the final episodes, Marie, Pauline, and Mbumbulu are in an automobile accident in which Mbumbulu is gravely injured. It is only because Pauline has become a nurse's assistant that Mbumbulu is saved.[49] His children's ability to support themselves in established professions certifies them as morally acceptable citizen-subjects. The movement from Mbumbulu's uncontrolled, erratic behavior, which he could not master, finally completes a life cycle. He was drawn into a colonial narrative structure of an adapted indigenous figure unable to take on the full responsibilities of an educated évolué subject (fig. 9). It is, however, the birth of his grandson that leads Mbumbulu to speak directly, in quotation marks, of his own reflection in a mirror, verifying that he is not only a grandfather, but he can hardly believe that he has aged. His mirror image looms large with the announcement of his character's retirement from publication in *Nos images* [50] and asserts that it is time for the next generation to take on the tasks to come in the ongoing project of social assimilation. In the final panel is the editorial line, "Mbumbulu has become a grandfather, and it is here that his adventure ends. He will no longer speak to his readers, and looks forward to a welcome retreat as befits his advancing age" (fig. 8). [51] A final image of Mbumbulu with his family and Kapopi, the rescue dog saved from a previous abusive owner, is presented as part of the full-page Christmas greeting.[52]

Much of what I have described through this rendering of Mbumbulu's adventures is a range of scripts developed by the SDI that draw on a well-established colonial lexicon that sought to instruct and shape the subject. Mbumbulu's place in the Belgian *BD* aesthetic is not merely because it demonstrates an awareness of *Tintin*, but also, as we can see, for the wider range of cultural references that continued the development of *BD* in Congo as both parody and an expansive form of expression in painting among other genres.[53]

Notes

1. I consulted a full set of *Nos images* in 2010 at the Bibliothèque des Affaires Étrangères in Brussels. As of June 2017, their library was integrated into the general reading room of the contemporary printed books department at the Royal Library of Belgium, see https://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/documentation/libraries.
2. *Nos images* was edited by the Bureau de l'Information pour Indigènes (colonial information services department) and published by L'imprimerie "Le Courrier d'Afrique," which was located in Kalina, Léopoldville, and printed from 15 January 1948 (issue 1) until 15 December 1959 (issue 198). It was renamed *Nos images-radio* (issue 199) on 1 January 1959, incorporating the publication *Les emissions africaines de Radio Congo Belge,* ending with issue 221 (15 Dec. 1959). As of January 1960 it was renamed *Congo Magazine* and published monthly. I have consulted

the French-Kikongo edition of *Nos images* held at the Bibliothèque des Affaires Étrangères in Brussels. Unfortunately, the page numbers were not systematically retrieved when they did not appear on the page, hence the frequent missing pagination in the notes to follow.

3. As Francis Ramirez and Christian Rolot explain, Le Fonds du Bien-être Indigène was established to lobby for various initiatives to be then undertaken by the Belgian colonial administrative agencies. It was created after the end of World War II as a means of thanking indigenous populations for their participation in the war effort, thus providing a budget for film, among other cultural productions. Francis Ramirez and Christian Rolot, "Les hommes et leurs projects," *Revue belge du cinéma* 29 (Fall 1990): 7.
4. This was the case with the Matamata and Pilipili film series, derived in spirit from Laurel and Hardy. It remains one of the best-known Belgian colonial film series thanks to Tristan Boulard's 1996 documentary *Matamata and Pilipili*. Matamata and Pilipili was later reappropriated in comic-book form by the Congolese artist Mongo Sisé in the early 1970s, after independence. Antoine Tshitungu Kongolo, "Du côté de la B.D. congolaise: Pôles, styles, et genres," in *Congostrip,* exh. cat. (Brussels: Provinciaal Centrum voor Morele Dienstverlening, 2009). Antoine Tshitungu Kongolo's 2009 *Congostrip* exhibition and catalog provide a context for various contemporary drawn-strip collections, as does Nancy Rose Hunt's discussion of Papa Mfum'eto 1er. Nancy Rose Hunt, "Papa Mfumu'eto Ier, star de la bande dessinée kinoise," in *Beauté Congo, 1926–2015 Congo Kitoko*, ed. André Magnin (Paris: Fondation Cartier pour l'Art contemporain, 2015), 266–81.
5. Significantly, Mbokolo the antelope became the basis for one of the first comics created by the Congolese artist Albert Mongita: *Antilope*. This short-lived publication features the adolescent protagonist Mukwapamba, whose name formed the title of the *BD* series. Tshitungu Kongolo, "Du côté de la B.D. congolaise," n.p.
6. *Les aventures de Mbumbulu* started with the second issue of *Nos images* 2 (15 Aug. 1948): n.p. Bureau de l'Information pour Indigènes, ed., *Nos images* (French-Kikongo edition).
7. *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 83 (10 March 1954): n.p.
8. *Nos images* 1 (15 July 1948), 1.
9. Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, 1880–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 82–83.
10. Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power*, 82–83.
11. Francis Rolot and Charles Ramirez, *Histoire du cinéma colonial au Zaïre et au Burundi* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1985), 446. Rolot and Ramirez explain that these films were produced by Infocongo, the secular film distribution company established by the ministry of colonial affairs.
12. Approximate versions of these three films appeared sequentially in *Nos images* in issues 6 (15 Dec. 1948), 7 (15 Jan. 1949), and 8 (15 Feb. 1949).
13. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Les aventures de Mbumbulu*, *Nos images* 2 (15 Aug. 1948), n.p.
14. Guido Convents, *Images et démocratie: Les congolais face au cinéma et à l'audiovisuel* (Kessel-Lo, Belgium: Guido Convents and Afrika Filmfestival/Aden Diffusion, 2006), 83. These units were later coordinated with the establishment of the Centre Congolais d'Action Catholique Cinématographique (CCACC), which was partially subsidized by the colonial government. See Rolot and Ramirez, *Histoire du cinéma colonial*, 265–66.
15. Louis van Bever, "Le cinéma pour Africains," inserted pamphlet, *Cahiers belges et congolais* 14 (1950). Convents obliquely suggests that Van Bever produced and directed the *Mbumbulu* series, see Convents, *Images et démocratie*, 83.
16. Three significant missionary film units were established: in colonial Kinshasa, the Eastern province of Kivu, and in southeastern colonial Kananga. These three sites became the source for the production of nearly 350 films and an extensive archive of international films that were included as part of mobile screening units initiated by the SDI as early as 1946. Rolot and Ramirez, *Histoire du cinéma colonial*, 265–66. See also the discussion of Cornil's Congolese films in Marianne Thys, ed. *Belgium Cinema* (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999); additionally, Patricia Van Schuylenbergh and Mathieu Zana Aziza Etambala, eds., *Patrimoine d'Afrique centrale—archives film—Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, 1912–1960* (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 2010).
17. Nancy Rose Hunt, "Tintin and the Interruptions of Congolese Comics," in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 103.
18. Jan Baetens, "North and South in Belgian Comics," *European Comic Art* 1, no. 2 (Jan. 2008): 113.
19. Baetens, "North and South in Belgian Comics," 114.
20. For further discussion of Victor Arnold Wallenda, see Joseph-Aurélien Cornet, "Wallenda (Victor Arnold)," in *Biographie Belge d'Outre-Mer* 9 (2015): 411–21.
21. Others were to follow, including M. A. Carpentier, Ms. Brebant, and Mrs. Collete. *Les 100 aventures de la famille Mbumbulu* (album) (Léopoldville, Belgian Congo: Édition de la Revue *Nos images*, 1956), 4.
22. Christophe Cassiau-Haurie, *Histoire de la bande dessinée congolaise* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), 19. The final episode of *Les Aventures de Mbumbulu* in which Masta's signature appears is *Nos images* 43 (15 Jan. 1952), n.p., with the signature and date, interpreted as "Masta 51."
23. *Les 100 aventures de la famille Mbumbulu* (Léopoldville, Belgian Congo: Édition de la Revue *Nos images*, 1956).
24. This change occurs in *Nos images* 83 (10 March 1954): 16.
25. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Les aventures de Mbumbulu, Nos images* 25 (15 July 1950): n.p.
26. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 15 (15 Sept. 1949): n.p.; 16 (Oct. 15, 1949): n.p.; 17 (Nov. 15, 1949): n.p.
27. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 15 (15 Sept., 1949): n.p.
28. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 17 (15 Nov. 1949): n.p.
29. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 17 (15 Nov. 1949): n.p.
30. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 18 (15 Dec. 1949): n.p.
31. For an excellent summary of the scale of the depopulation and effects of the colonial labor regime see Guy Vanthemsche, *Belgium and the Congo*, 1885–1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 23–26.

32. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 19 (15 Jan. 1950): n.p.
33. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 20 (15 Feb. 1950): n.p.
34. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 22 (15 April 1950): n.p.
35. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 23 (15 May 1950): n.p.
36. Masta (Marc Victor Wallenda), *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 27 (15 Sept. 1950): n.p.
37. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 28 (15 Oct. 1950): n.p.
38. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 29 (15 Nov. 1950): n.p.
39. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 31 (15 Jan. 1951): n.p.
40. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 36 (15 June 1951): n.p.
41. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 40 (15 Oct. 1951): n.p.
42. Masta, *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 42 (15 Dec. 1951): n.p.
43. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 56 (20 Jan. 1953): 16.
44. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 71 (10 Sept. 1953): 16.
45. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 106 (20 Feb., 1955): 13.
46. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 63 (10 May, 1953): 18.
47. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 85 (10 April 1954): 15.
48. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 102 (20 Dec., 1954): 19.
49. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 123 (10 Nov. 1955): 19.
50. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 124 (20 Nov. 1955): 19.
51. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 125 (10 Dec. 1955): 18.
52. *Mbumbulu, Nos images* 126 (20 Dec. 1955): 17.

DOMINIC THOMAS

FRENCH COLONIALISM: THE RULES OF THE GAME

The Deutsches Historisches Museum (German historical museum) in Berlin recently held the exhibition *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present* in 2016–17. As Ulrike Kretzschmar (acting president of the foundation) wrote in the catalog, "An exhibition cannot claim to be exhaustive [but] will provide a wealth of inspiration for a topical critical debate about the colonial past and will raise public awareness about its long-term consequences."[1] The exhibition's wall panels underscored the objective of fostering wider public debate while also addressing, in unambiguous terms, how colonialism was elaborated and justified: "Colonialism as a form of violent foreign rule was legitimized by a racist ideology of European superiority" and "By endeavoring to set and implement a clear line between the rulers and the ruled, the colonizers continually reasserted their own identity." These measures are in stark contrast to those used by France, a nation that has struggled to reckon with its colonial history and the legacy of that history in contemporary society.[2] Activists and scholars have joined forces and petitioned the authorities to devote resources to a permanent museum space.[3] To this day, such requests have fallen on deaf ears, and it is with this context in mind that the work of the ACHAC Research Group (www.achac.com) has been instrumental in raising public awareness about colonial history and in encouraging dialogue on the various challenges confronting postcolonial France. The ACHAC collection at the Getty Research Institute contains important archival materials that can improve our understanding as to how France displayed, defined, and represented its empire.

Although the case studies in this volume concentrate on France, the comparative dimension remains extremely rich. Certainly the Deutsches Historisches Museum exhibition was important, but it can be inscribed in its much broader context of the significant activities in Germany around colonialism and postcolonial legacies, as well as elsewhere in Europe, notably in Belgium, where the Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale in Tervuren, outside Brussels, reopened in 2018 as AfricaMuseum). Discussions have focused not only on how the colonial

issue should be framed in relation to the Holocaust, on the importance of the German colonial empire (including the pertinence of the term *genocide*), but also in thinking about how colonial history shaped German fascism and racism. Initiatives have included numerous other exhibitions and programs (for example, at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart and the Kunsthalle Bremen), official German government recognition in 2015 of the genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples who rebelled against German rule in 1904, coalition contracts between various political parties that have included language on memory and colonialism, research projects (such as Jürgen Zimmerer's "Hamburg's Post-Colonial Heritage and Hamburg's Early Globalization"), scholarly monographs and articles, mainstream publications (such as the April 2019 special issue in the ZEIT-Geschichte series *Die Deutschen und ihre Kolonien: Das wilhelminische Weltreich 1884 bis 1918*), important activist measures (by organizations like Berlin Postkolonial and Köln Postkolonial), and a very public debate around the opening of the Berlin Palace–Humboldt Forum in the rebuilt Berlin Palace that will include a permanent ethnological exhibit from Africa, Asia and the Americas.[4]

The focus of this essay is provided by three board games released in France in 1941: the Jeu de l'Empire Français (The French Empire game), the Course de l'Empire Français (The race for the French Empire), and the Jeu des Échanges France—Colonies (Trading game). This analysis extends my earlier research on these games, in particular on the ways in which they constitute historical antecedents to the globalized societies of the twenty-first century and how, in turn, a range of migratory processes from formerly colonized territories to European metropolitan centers have yielded new diasporic formations and networks.[5] Elsewhere in this volume, Charles Forsdick examines games and other popular and ephemeral artifacts as *lieux de mémoire*, namely those spaces inscribed in collective memory. These games feature an empire that had burgeoned to twenty-four times the size of mainland France. A decade after the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale was held in Paris, itself an impressive propagandist venture aimed at improving awareness of and bolstering support for the vast French Empire, these board games could also be inscribed in an analogous framework. As Alice L. Conklin and Julia Clancy-Smith have shown, games and toys distributed during the colonial era:

> raise questions about the place of the colonial past in the writing of France's history. The insertion of empire ideologically, commercially, and pedagogically into all realms of French daily life, from children's games and juvenile literature to religious activities, mass entertainment, leisure, tourism, advertising, legal categories, language, and so on, and the state's vigorous role in promoting empire contrasts with the relative inattention to colonial questions in mainstream historical scholarship in France until the past decade or so.[6]

The games themselves were aesthetically pleasing objects and contained a wealth of information about France overseas. It is of course worth underscoring that this was an era far removed from the realities of the postcolonial world in which technological transformations would dramatically improve access to and affordability of travel, thereby bringing these remote places into close proximity. Thus, what previously had been mostly restricted to the realm of the imagination now found itself within reach for growing numbers of Europeans.

Questions of travel—imaginative and physical—were central to the production and visualization of the French Empire. Today, heated debates pertaining to border control and sovereignty can be traced back to this era, and people all too often forget that mainland France is only one component of a far more expansive territorial configuration that includes departments, regions, collectivities, and lands in the Caribbean and the Americas (Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Saint-Pierre and Miquelon), the Pacific (New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna), the Indian Ocean (Mayotte, Réunion, and the Îles Éparses), and Antarctica. During French colonialism, attention to such matters was crucial in disseminating and encouraging identification with the notion of French grandeur, and "France overseas" was a source of tremendous pride. Once again, Berlin proved crucial in this process since, after all, this was the city in which German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had convened the *Kongokonferenz* (Congo Conference, also Berlin Conference) in 1884–85.

One of the primary aspirations of the French authorities at the time was to encourage identification with the idea of a French Empire, and no social sphere was immune from these concerted efforts. School systems are universal mechanisms developed to educate and prepare new generations of active contributors to a given society, and it is of course not surprising that considerable efforts would be devoted to enlisting support for the colonial enterprise in educational establishments. Even though the games under consideration were produced over fifty years after the Berlin Conference, a similar logic characterizes the conceptualization and treatment of non-European territories: remoteness, economic opportunity, adventure, and so forth. Thus, as Sandrine Lemaire has argued, "imperial power is a recurring theme in the majority of textbooks from the 1920s until the 1950s. They insisted that France was a great nation because it possessed colonies, and they valorized France's victories and territorial acquisitions. Students were thus invited to explore the history of their country, which featured a glorification of colonial battles and heroes, the works of 'civilization,'

modernization, and examples of which they could be proud."[7] Whatever benefits could be gained from such activity, these were inseparable from France's generosity. As Rony Brauman has convincingly shown, "Such reasoning relied on the assumption that the colonizing society was vastly superior to the peoples in question."[8]

French direct rule was organized around the principle of the "civilizing mission," namely "a representation of French uniqueness and the belief in a special link between France and the world."[9] Such efforts were by no means new, and "'Overseas' colonization was therefore not a departure from the past; in fact, it inscribed itself in a consubstantial continuation of the construction of the French nation, and then, as a kind of legacy, of the Republic."[10] Rather, these measures served to establish a very particular relationship, one in which "France was a great nation because it possessed colonies,"[11] a connection in which the two components were inextricably linked, symbiotic even. Likewise, board games adhered to these norms, extending classroom lessons into the extra-curricular domain where "students were thus invited to explore the history of their country, which featured a glorification of colonial battles and heroes, the works of 'civilization,' modernization, and examples of which they could be proud."[12] These elements functioned in conjunction with other mechanisms that related to the production of empire, to what was effectively a "colonial culture" ecosystem. Whether in the weekly editions of *L'illustration* or elsewhere, the image disseminated was of a dynamic empire committed to improving the lives of "natives" while also pursuing economic activity, a "reality completely at odds with efforts on the ground in the actual colonies."[13] Indeed, as one of the panels at the Deutsches Historisches Museum reminded viewers, "The world of colonial images in the German Empire shows that visual relationships are also power relationships. Photographs, consumer goods, and advertising all transmitted themes of colonial conquest and racist stereotypes. Through such images of themselves and of others, consumers and viewers learned colonialist patterns of interpretation that have retained their potency to this day." Similarly, and as with any board game, conquest is a defining characteristic, and "Confronting colonization is to deconstruct the discursive practices that made it possible, and at the head of that list of practices is colonial-republican discourse itself, and which constitutes one of the most anchored identity and political markers in the collective imagination. Colonial-republican discourse was especially and vigorously promoted in what is today the last republican institution meant to bind the social body: the school system."[14]

As mentioned earlier, the three games under consideration were all released in 1941. A selection of these games was included in the *Connecting Seas: A Visual History of Discoveries and Encounters* exhibit at the Getty Research Institute exhibition from December 7, 2013 to April 13, 2014. Curator Isotta Poggi wrote: "With tokens printed in vivid colors to represent places and natural resources in regions colonized by the French, from North Africa to Oceania to southeast Asia," these games "encapsulated the mighty business opportunities that lay ahead for adventurous explorers willing to embark for faraway colonial lands. . . . The colonization of a land was symbolically achieved first by hoisting the French flag on its soil."[15] The ingredients or defining characteristics and qualities of any respectable board game are to be found here—namely, curiosity, passion for adventure, greed, and competition—and the message is clear, as outlined in a French geography school textbook published in 1913: "It is thus essential that French youth be familiarized with the resources from the vast territory over which *our* flag waves. They must learn about the living conditions, their chances of success, and also the potential risks encountered by colonials in *our* overseas possessions."[16]

The French Empire was massive and diverse, and board game designers devoted considerable effort to functionality, to the process of capturing that geographic coverage so that the players' experience would be enhanced, thereby replicating the sense of adventure and discovery that was synonymous with the real-life experience of those who were fortunate enough to venture beyond the shores of the mainland. Conklin and Clancy-Smith have argued convincingly:

> Similar colonial games were produced in France from the late nineteenth century on: embossed, cut-out paper soldiers. . . . All celebrated conquests of foreign lands in the form of mass-produced playthings for French children, whether at home or abroad. Intertwined with the imperial messages was a blatant commercialism, since the toys often contained advertisements for foods, or even alcoholic beverages. Also at work was spiritual advertising to encourage young men and women to join religious orders and the faithful to make pious donations.[17]

The first two games under consideration are comprised of a two-sided board game featuring the Jeu de l'Empire Francais (The French Empire game, and the Course de l'Empire Français (The race for the French Empire).

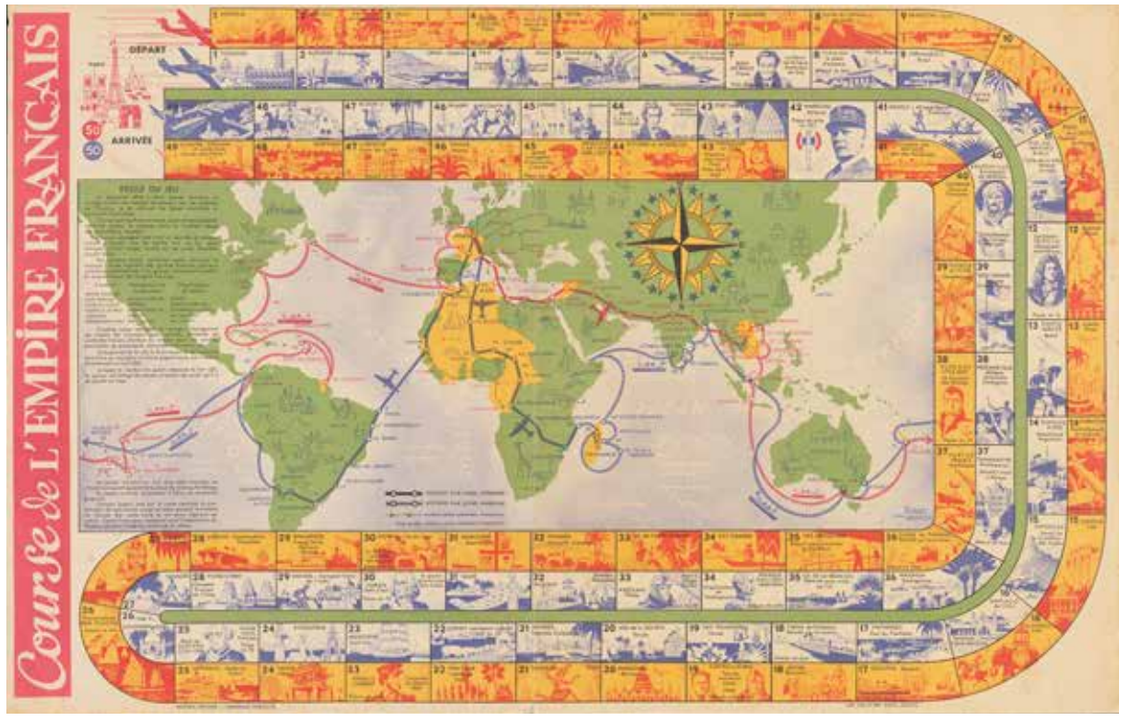
In the rules of the game section of the Jeu de l'Empire Français, players are instructed to travel the length and breadth of the empire in the shortest possible time, beginning on tile 1 in the southern French port city of Marseille and ending on tile 84 in the northeast French port city of Le Havre (fig. 1). This is a dice game and progress is based on the number rolled. With each tile the player-traveler lands on during their respective voyage, the rules promise they "will enjoy the beauty, attractions, hazards encountered in the various lands of

Fig. 1.
Raoul Auger. Jeu de l'Empire Français (French Empire game), two-sided game board, 1941. Imprimerie Delattre. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 2.
Raoul Auger. Course de l'Empire Français (The race for the French Empire), two-sided game board, 1941 (reverse of fig. 1). Imprimerie Delattre. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

imperial France." The imagination will be stimulated, their interest piqued, and excitement guaranteed from the sense of perilous adventure. Two tracks are available: a slower one that contains white and red tiles, the latter delaying and impeding progress, holding players back as they deal with various obstacles (overturned canoes, missed train connections, an iceberg, mechanical problems with an aircraft, lost identity papers, or torrential rain), and fast-track with blue tiles that that expedite the journey to the final location. With the exception of tile 72, devoted to the effigy of Marshal Pétain, all the tiles contain illustrations featuring the architecture and products associated with the geographic region in question, including sugar, gold, spices, rum, cocoa, and such disparate spaces as Niamey, Tahiti, Bamako, Réunion, Pondichéry, Tunis, and so on.

In Course de l'Empire Français (fig. 2), travel through the colonies of the French empire is made possible via maritime routes or air travel. The game is designed for two players who start out, respectively, in either Marseille or Toulouse on a journey that will culminate in either Le Havre or Marseille, from where air travel will transport the victor to Paris. Each of the forty-nine tiles on the two separate red and blue circuits provide a wealth of information on great French men—and the early 1930s pilot Hélène Boucher—who comprise famous aviators and aviation pioneers, military figures, and colonial administrators. A number of other tiles slow players down as they have to confront challenges



that foster the feeling of adventure while introducing them to the rigors of overseas travel: checkpoints, refueling stops, taking on supplies, and so forth. The lesson is also, of course, one in basic geography, since tiles incorporate information on local architecture and décor, rather than the kind of product information found in the Jeu de l'Empire Français. Additionally, Course de l'Empire Français endeavors to emphasize the complex transnational and transcolonial networks that define France's great empire and that are connected, thanks to technological advances that in turn motivate and fuel determination for the expansionist dream.

In the case of the Jeu des Échanges France—Colonies, the game follows a different set of organizational principles and reward paradigms (fig. 3). Players now distribute elegantly designed colorful tiles arranged by geographic destination. The central panel includes the instructions and rules of the game, and is accompanied by a map of the world on which information is provided explaining that the reddish territorial markings "indicate France and its empire," whose contours are visible in contrast with an otherwise pink background. The guidelines prompt participants to engage in a collective process of "admiration" for "France's colonial *oeuvre* in all its grandeur." By adding one of the forty-eight paper chips or tokens marked "Colony" to a "case" tile is to lay claim to that colony as one's own and to be able to "cultivate" it. To add a flag is to build a

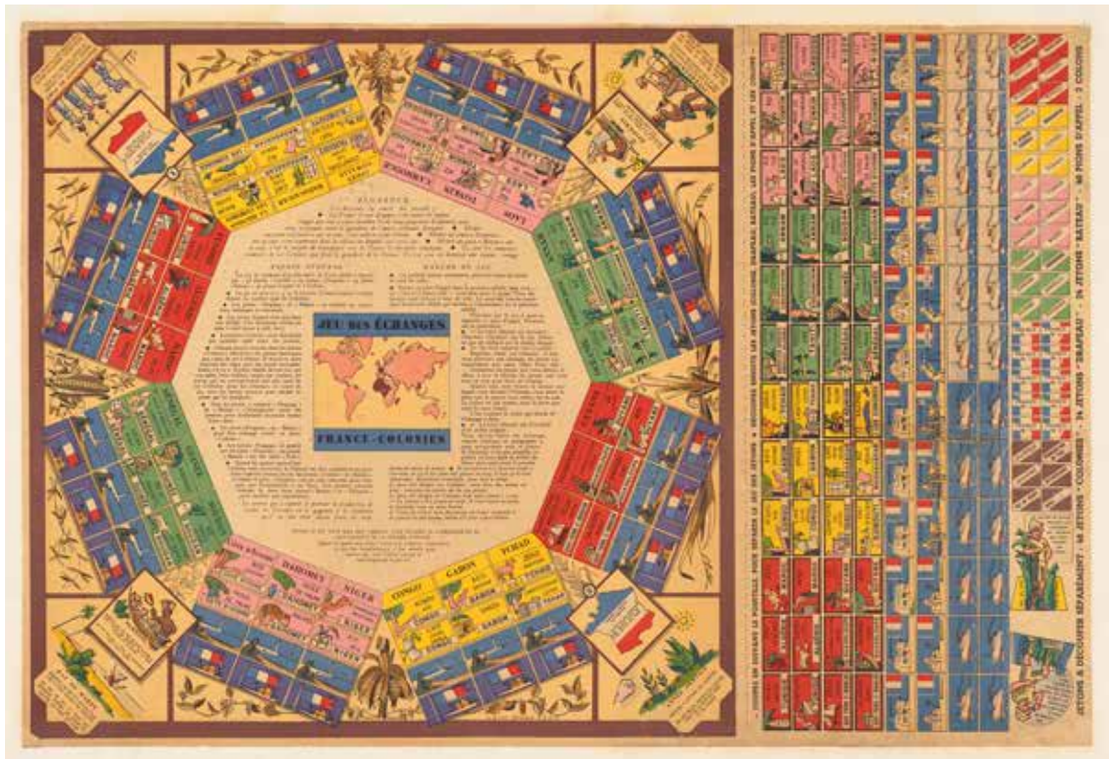


Fig. 3.
Jeu des échanges France—Colonies (Trading game), game board, 1941. O.P.I.M. (Office de Publicité et d'Impression), Breveté S.G.D.G.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

hospital or a school whereas a ship allows the player to transport the goods back to the metropole. The players are "colons"—settlers or colonists—and the colonies themselves are divided equally among the two, four, or eight players. When trading begins, the goal is to match by color codes the outstanding chips with their respective colonies, flags match up with flags, and ships with the corresponding ports. The game is entertaining, but it is also about emotions, enticing players to "feel" what it is like to be on location, on the ground in one of these colonies, competing for crops and various products, including bananas, rice, sugarcane, rice, tea, cotton, gold, or diamonds, across the globe in Guinea, Morocco, Cochinchina, Guadeloupe, Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, Réunion and Comoros, or Laos and Cambodia.

The ultimate winner will be declared once she or he has settled all their colonies and started exporting goods and products. The logic replicates that of the Berlin Conference, in which motivation was provided by the relentless scramble for resources. Economic exploitation is what entices participants, known in game theory development as the Player Experience of Need Satisfaction (PENS), which consists in elaborating a "complete theory of motivation in the arena of gaming must not simply catalog observations of player behavior (e.g. 'players like carrots' or 'players pursue challenges') but should also be able

to describe the underlying energy that fuels actions in the first place (i.e. our 'motivational lightbox')."[18] The fact that these games targeted players intentionally in order to manipulate them by cultivating and nurturing deeper identification with the colonial project itself was secondary. The game called for and rewarded a spirit of ownership and proprietorship since, and when all is said and done, "It is the immense riches of its colonies that make France's grandeur." However, as Alain Ruscio has pointed out, "One simply cannot ignore the discrepancy between the propaganda . . . and the reality," an argument that gains particular strength with this game in mind, since we know today that "the system built infrastructure . . . because it *needed* it. It provides healthcare to *natives* because it *needed* the labor. It educated some *natives* because it *needed* local and subaltern administrators."[19]

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As we have seen, considerable energy was devoted to the goal of ensuring that the "colonial imaginary transcended the confines of the classroom in order to provide distractions for children. . . . Games transmitted official discourse and in doing so multiplied the ways in which young people were exposed to imperialism."[20] However, a precursor to the logic employed by the 1941 board games was already in many ways in evidence in the conceptualization of the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale. Visitors were confronted with a "state-sponsored hallucination" and the "pavilions of the exposition were designed to offer a mirage of the colonies, permitting a new and fantastic kind of trip."[21] This was not dissimilar to the "phantasmagoric" techniques employed in the board games that sought to arouse the imagination and galvanize escapist propensities for what could only be illusory quests to emulate the hazardous exploits of those compatriots fortunate enough to serve the colonial enterprise.[22] In the games, players made their way around the French Empire, whereas at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale visitors could undertake a "Tour of the World in One Day," on "an itinerary from the civilized splendors of Paris to the savage beasts of the zoo, with educational lessons in colonial geography and ethnography along the way."[23] The exhibition was organized around the Lac Daumesnil that stood at the center of the Bois de Vincennes on the eastern outskirts of Paris, at the periphery of which a temporary railway track had been installed. Millions of visitors were treated to a choreographed display, to what Robert W. Rydell has described as "a stunning imperial fantasy land complete with transplanted vegetation and indigenous people on display in so-called native villages,"[24] a stimulating environment, a "sensorium" as Caroline Jones has aptly claimed, awakening the sights, sounds, and smells of French visitors.[25] The design of the numerous maps produced to guide visitors emphasized the idea of taking a tour and accordingly helped

shape their adventure around the world, predominantly to expose them to the awe-inspiring "Plus Grande France" and "civilizing mission." The spectacular array of architecture (the temple at Angkor Wat) and of arts and crafts were juxtaposed with an educational dimension that made it possible to establish connections between people, products, and territorial spaces from the French West Indies, Martinique, and Guadeloupe to Annam, Laos, Cambodia, and beyond to Togo, Algeria, and Morocco.[26]

Much like the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale, the board games were "a major, well-conceived, and organized marketing campaign directed at French youth; [through the games] the Vichy regime created a 'kingdom' of distraction."[27] As Ulrike Kretzschmar argued in the catalog for *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present*, "a topical critical debate about the colonial past . . . will raise public awareness about its long-term consequences."[28] Such a debate remains crucial in France, where education and ideology continue to work hand in hand. The most striking example of this occurred in 2005, when on 23 February the National Assembly passed the decree known as "Debré Law 2005-158 concerning the recognition of the Nation and national contribution in favor of repatriated French."[29] Article 4 of this law compelled high-school teachers to "highlight the positive aspects of the French overseas presence, notably in North Africa."[30] Although President Jacques Chirac ultimately had to repeal this bill following protests and considerable controversy, its very existing is indicative of the work that remains to be done on this and analogous questions.[31]

Notes

1. Ulrike Ktetzchmar, foreword, *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present* (Berlin: Deutsches Historishes Museum, 2016), 10–11.
2. Several scholarly works have addressed this question. See, for example, Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Dominic Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Legacy in France: Fracture, Rupture, and Apartheid* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).
3. See, for example, Pascal Blanchard and Nicolas Bancel, "Pour un musée des colonisations et de l'esclavage!," *Le Monde*, 15 May 2016; and Pascal Blanchard et al., "Manifeste pour un musée des histoires coloniales," *Libération*, 8 May 2012.
4. See Elise Pape, "Postcolonial Debates in Germany—An Overview," *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 21, no. 2 (2017): 2–14; and Thomas Thiemeyer, "Cosmopolitanizing Colonial Memories in Germany," *Critical Inquiry* 45, no. 4 (Summer 2019): 967–90.
5. See Dominic Thomas, "African Cartographies in Motion," in *Literature and Cartography*, ed. Anders Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2017), 299–322.

6. Alice L. Conklin and Julia Clancy-Smith, "Introduction: Writing Colonial Histories," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 498.
7. Sandrine Lemaire, "Spreading the Word: The Agence Générale des Colonies (1920–1931)," in *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, ed. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, and Dominic Thomas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 165–67.
8. Rony Brauman, "Colonial Natives and Indigents," in Bancel, Blanchard, and Thomas, *The Colonial Legacy in France,* {PAGES(?)}.
9. Nicolas Bancel and Pascal Blanchard, "The Republican Origins of the Colonial Fracture," in Bancel, Blanchard, and Thomas, *The Colonial Legacy in France,* 43–52.
10. Bancel and Blanchard, "The Republican Origins of the Colonial Fracture," 43–52.
11. Sandrine Lemaire, "Colonization and Immigration: 'Blind Spots' in the History Classroom?," in Bancel, Blanchard, and Thomas, *The Colonial Legacy in France,* 78–88..
12. Lemaire, "Colonization and Immigration," 78–88.
13. Alain Ruscio, "Toward a Real History of French Colonialism," in Bancel, Blanchard, and Thomas, *The Colonial Legacy in France,* 386–94.
14. Bancel and Blanchard, "The Pitfalls of Colonial Memory," in *The Colonial Legacy in France,* 153–64.
15. See Isotta Poggi, "Colorful Board Game Turns the French Colonies into Child's Play," 24 February 2014, http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/colorful-board-game-turns-the-french-colonies-into-childs-play/.
16. Joseph Fèvre and Henri Hauser, *Précis de géographie* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1913), 838, cited in Gilles Manceron, "School, Pedagogy, and the Colonies (1870–1914), in Bancel et al., *Colonial Culture in France,* 124. Translation altered slightly.
17. Alice L. Conklin and Julia Clancy-Smith, "Introduction: Writing Colonial Histories," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 497.
18. Scott Rigby and Richard Ryan, "Rethinking Carrots: A New Method for Measuring What Players Find Most Rewarding and Motivating about Your Game," http://www.gamasutra.com/view/feature/130155/rethinking_carrots_a_new_method_.php, January 16, 2007).
19. Ruscio, Toward a Real History of French Colonialism."
20. Yann Holo, "Jeux et jouets," in *Images et colonies (1880–1962),* ed. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau (Paris: ACHAC, 1993), 125.
21. Christopher L. Miller, *Nationalist and Nomads: Essays on Francophone African Literature and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 65, 67.
22. Panivong Norindr, *Phantasmagoric Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Films, and Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).
23. Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
24. Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 69.
25. Caroline A. Jones, *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

26. See, for example, Catherine Hodeir, *1931, l'exposition coloniale* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1991).
27. Sandrine Lemaire, Catherine Hodeir, and Pascal Blanchard, "The Colonial Economy: between Propaganda Myths and Economic Reality (1940–1955)," in Blanchard et al., *Colonial Culture in France,* 323.
28. Ulrike Kretzchmar, foreword, German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016), 10–11.
29. Loi portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés (Law no. 2005-158, 28 February 2005), https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000444898, 23 February 2005.
30. Loi portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés (Law no. 2005-158, 28 February 2005), https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000444898, 23 February 2005.
31. Loi portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés (Law no. 2005-158, 28 February 2005), https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000444898, 23 February 2005.

MICHELLE H. CRAIG

ENVISIONING THE DESERT: THE SAHARA AND FRENCH COLONIAL VISUAL CULTURE

The collecting card album cover for *Voyage autour du monde: Afrique* (1963), published by the chocolate brand Casino shortly after Algeria's 1962 independence from France, shows veiled Tuareg inhabitants and otherworldly rock formations at Tassili N'Ajjer, which stand in for the Sahara (fig. 1a–b). Following in the tradition of European explorers such as René Caillie in 1828, *Voyage autour du monde*'s two young French protagonists, Jojo and Louisette, confidently navigate a great expanse of an increasingly independent Africa. They begin in Cairo, moving clockwise around the map as if no national borders impeded them, making multiple stops in the Sahara before they conclude their journey in Tunis. The album's imagery takes its formal cues from over a century of French visual materials on Africa. However, its highlighting of the Sahara contradicts the pervasive bifurcation of the continent into North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa in popular culture and academia that omits the desert and its rich histories.[1]

Using material from the Association Connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine (ACHAC) collection and related holdings at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), this essay examines the colonial visual record of the Sahara from the time Europeans were drawing arbitrary boundaries segmenting Africa in the mid-nineteenth century. What were the types of information and imagery disseminated about the desert? Particular sites and peoples became codified as quintessentially Saharan. Stereotypical scenes and types placed the dynamism of Saharan experience in the control of colonial makers and users. Other representations, however, yield more nuanced engagements with this diverse region. They register marks of continuous habitation, various lifeways, colonial experiences, systems of circulation, and the mindsets of those in the Saharan sphere of influence, reflecting how individual, national, and imperial relationships with the desert evolved.

My exploration is not intended as a complete portrait of the francophone Sahara but rather is an examination of what various parts of the Sahara looked

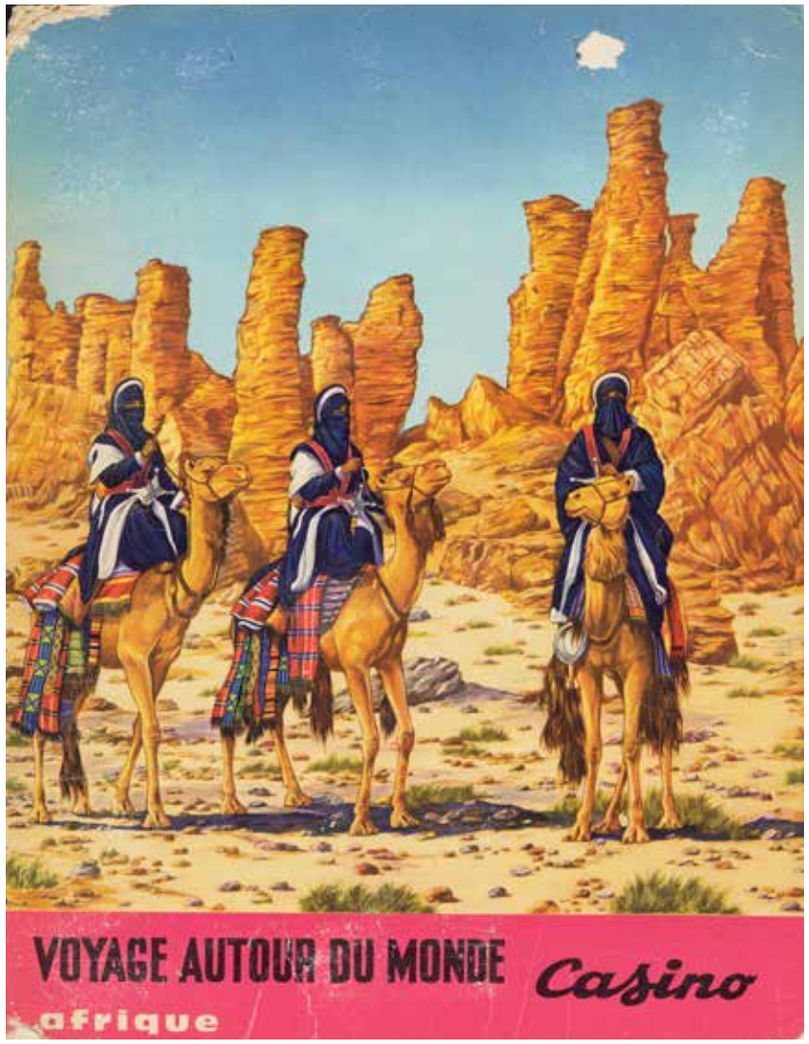

Fig. 1a.
Casino. "Voyage autour du monde. Afrique," 1, 1965–75, cover. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 1b.
Casino. "Voyage autour du monde. Afrique," 1, 1965–75, 4. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

like at different times. Mid-nineteenth-century French colonial imagery promotes the lure of Oriental fantasy and the promise of a unified empire if the extraordinary and arduous territory was successfully conquered. I then analyze personal images of conquest and submission to French colonial order in the early twentieth century. Upon pacification of the Sahara, collecting albums and ephemera celebrate the imperial victories and development of the region. With this in mind, I investigate how colonial-era representations of the Sahara contribute to and even help to refute enduring misconceptions of what is the Sahara, and, to a lesser extent, who is Saharan.[2]

Exotic Visions and Imperial Dreams

Romantic visual and literary representations of the Sahara delighted nineteenth-century French viewers. Control over much of the Sahara, the conquest of which lasted from 1844 until the early 1930s, facilitated communication between the prized African colonies of Algeria and Senegal, the great territorial swath symbolizing the might of the French Empire. A number of Saharan themes can be seen across albums, postcards, and other collections. The most common were landscapes featuring dunes or palms, as well as anonymous Tuareg men, often riding camels. These photographs were produced by local studios, and some recur in multiple albums and in different media. Many early

Fig. 2.
Camels, n.d., from "Views and Peoples of Algeria," ca. 1867–68.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

French colonial photographic albums of Algeria end with images of the desert, its immensity and position being at the limits of the empire and Western influence. The photograph concluding the 1867–68 album "Views and Peoples of Algeria" features camels in a desolate landscape (fig. 2). French viewers could project much onto an image of dromedaries unburdened by riders, particularly the way those ships of the Sahara epitomized a certain type of mobility and freedom. Camels were the preferred transportation for goods, peoples, and ideas to cross the desert from the first centuries of the Common Era into the twentieth century. As John Urry and Jonas Larsen have noted, "prior to photography, places did not travel well,"[3] and they cite 1840 as the birthdate of the "tourist gaze."[4] Representations of the Sahara traveled well, paralleling the colonial conquest of Algeria and its southward expansion. The sensuous and exotic imagery that circulated in the metropole, especially dunes and oases marked as fertile miracles in the inhospitable vastness, appealed to those seeking to promote colonization and settlement.

The northern oasis of Biskra, some four hundred kilometers southeast of Algiers, was an entry point into the desert environment and a site of numerous

Fig. 3.
Félix Jacques-Antoine Moulin (French, 1802–79). *Gourbis nègres, Biskra, 1857,* 1857.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, Ken and Jenny Jacobson Orientalist Photography Collection

colonial fantasies.[5] By the late nineteenth century, Biskra was a well-known tourist destination. André Gide, who visited in 1896, used the town as one of the settings in his 1902 novel *The Immoralist*. Henri Matisse's famous 1907 canvas, *Blue Nude (Souvenir of Biskra),* attests to the town's place in French Orientalist rhetoric. The French first conquered the Algerian town without bloodshed in 1844. Such a victory was the goal for the entire Saharan campaign, but the conquest was rarely executed peacefully and violent anticolonial revolts arose.

Photographs promoted a very different narrative from newspapers reporting on turmoil in the pacification efforts. Felix Jacques-Antoine Moulin (1802–75) took a number of photographs in the oasis during his government-sponsored trip to Algeria in 1856–58. Moulin's photographs, including *Gourbis nègres, Biskra, 1857* (fig. 3), capture the town as a picturesque Saharan oasis, exotic and languorous with no French services visible. While seemingly documenting a place outside of modern times, the photograph also depicts real social hierarchies.[6] In the background are the expected earthen buildings, but in the foreground are *gourbis*, the thatched houses associated with sub-Saharan slaves, migrants, and their descendants, who worked in the labor-intensive palm

Fig. 4a.
Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhāb (n.d.), compiler. Portraits of Tuareg men, from album "Al Djazair and Tunis," 1881.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

groves. Biskra's diverse population attested to millennia of migration and trade. Such images also functioned as a rallying cry for French imperialism and its civilizing mission that sought to end slavery in the Sahara. These picturesque images illustrate a calm environment full of opportunity.[7]

Another album in the GRI's Special Collections points to the previous colonial occupation in the Sahara. The 1881 album "Al Djazair and Tunis" (Algeria and Tunisia), compiled by Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhab, provides a counterpoint to French colonial imagery and recalls Algeria's Ottoman occupation and earlier Islamic histories. The *tugra,* the Ottoman calligraphic monogram on the elaborate album cover, reads "Algiers/Tunis" and reminds the viewer that 1881 marked the end of over three centuries of Ottoman rule in the Maghrib, which had begun in 1516. The 107 albumen prints rarely contain evidence of the expanding French infrastructure. The region around Biskra is featured, and the same palm grove scene appears in both the al-Wahhab album and "Views and Peoples of Algeria."[8] Its camels, earthen-brick residential architecture, and the nearby mosque-tomb Qubba of Sidi Uqba, with its seventh-century

Fig. 4b.
Abdu Rabbih al-Wahhāb (n.d.), compiler. Portraits of Tuareg men, from album "Al Djazair and Tunis," 1881.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

foundations, are also photographed. Sidi Uqba Ibn Nafie (622–83) was the Arab general whose Muslim armies crossed North Africa, conquered Byzantine Kairouan, and founded its Great Mosque. He died in an ambush near Biskra; his tomb is located in this mosque-madrasa (prayer hall-school) in an oasis on the edge of the Sahara. The massive square minaret exemplifies early Islamic architecture and identity in North Africa. It also stands as a testament to scholarship in the region.

"Al Djazair and Tunis" concludes not with arid landscapes but with portraits of Tuareg men, a second convention for ending nineteenth-century albums. The Tuareg are perhaps the best known Amazigh (Berber) confederation. They have also come to symbolize the desert. One man is unusually bareheaded (fig. 4a), but his portrait contains the aesthetic of mobility for which Tuareg arts are known. Numerous incised leather packets lay upon his chest, probably holding Qur'anic inscriptions used as protective devices. Such easily transportable pouches may include fringe or other elements that sway with the wearer's movement.[9] The man on the opposite leaf wears the veil (fig. 4b); he also appears, in

Fig. 5a.
Claude-Joseph Portier 1841–1910). Photograph from album "Views of Algeria, Egypt and Italy," 1869–70.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

a different position, in the album "Views of Algeria, Egypt and Italy" (1869–70), indicating that multiple photographs were taken in a studio session (fig. 5a).[10] This photograph corroborates his identification as Tuareg, but a third image from the ACHAC postcard collection includes a hand-colored version of the first portrait but identifies the man as Chaamba M'zab, not Tuareg (fig. 5b).[11] The change in ethnicity suggests very different relationships with colonialism—the Tuareg were known for resisting pacification, while a number of Chaamba of Arab descent acted as guides or soldiers in the French army. What was at stake in altering the identification? What, if any, difference did French viewers detect?

The late Ottoman album provides an overview of the region's history and layers of habitation with landscapes bearing traces of lengthy development and exchange. While local life and Islamic sites are main themes of this collection, its point of view still contributes to Orientalist fantasies and emphasizes type, similar to French representations. "Al Djazair and Tunis" does not focus solely

on Islamic subjects. A number of pages contain portraits, including dignitaries as well as women, who were most likely prostitutes and entertainers. The sitters for these portraits, however, are often named and identify individuals of diverse populations, including indigenous Jewish communities and those of sub-Saharan heritage. One man's mask contains cowrie shells, which crisscrossed the desert on caravans. The use of these shells indicates the transcultural importance of cowries on both sides of the Sahara and used in this instance to mark sub-Saharan origins. The shell, which is an iconic ornament in West African arts, also figures strongly in the visual culture of Maghribi spirit possession cults. The North African groups have ritual similarities to sub-Saharan African ones, but these spirit trance traditions developed, in part, as responses to the trauma of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trans-Saharan slave trade, which thrived even after other regional markets faded due to the expansion of European ones. Cowries mark not only sub-Saharan heritage but also rituals developed to adapt to life in northwest Africa.

Fig. 5b.
Postcard with diverse types, n.d.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Photographing Pacification

Saharan exploration by French officers and researchers increased in the second half of the nineteenth century. After capturing northern oases in the 1840s and 1850s, it would take nine decades to complete the conquest. Explorer Henri Duveyrier (1840–92) traveled to the desert in 1857 and proposed the north–south trans-Saharan railroad project connecting the Maghrib and Algiers with French West Africa and Timbuktu to form an integrated African empire.[12] Conquest of the Great Desert and the creation of the trans-Saharan railway would distinguish imperial France. Numerous expeditions sought to successfully traverse the desert and finally succeeded in the Foureau-Lamy expedition of 1898–1900, led by French explorer Fernand Foureau (1850–1914) and French officer Amédée-François Lamy (1858–1900).

A personal photographic album records both the pacification campaign and the legacy of desert crossings and trans-Saharan trade by area residents. The seventy gelatin silver and thirty-eight albumen photographs by mostly amateur photographers in the album "Souvenir du Sahara, 1901–1904" depict sites in or neighboring the Sahara in western Algeria.[13] The collection of images links the desert with urban spaces, many of which served as historic termini for the trans-Saharan trade routes. European colonization decimated what remained of traditional commerce that linked Saharan polities with North and West African ones. Thus the album offers a perspective on a critical date during the ultimate decline in trans-Saharan trade as well as the pacification of the region by European states. It ends with portraits and types similar to the 1881 "Al Djazair and Tunis" album.

"Souvenir du Sahara" captures the desert after the conclusion of the great explorations and campaigns of the late nineteenth century and during the push for French pacification on Algeria's western front and its eventual occupation of Morocco by 1912. While picturesque images, scenes, and types fill in this collection, the unknown compiler populated the Sahara in ways that distinguish it from its representation in the other turn-of-the-century albums. It includes dozens of images taken at the village of Taghit, near the Moroccan border that illustrate a variety of subjects documenting vibrant life and active commerce (fig. 6). These are communities to be incorporated into the growing empire and put into its service. The photograph captioned "Le village indigene," features the familiar low adobe habitations and courtyards. To its right appears an image captioned "Un Palanquin," in which, in contrast to the stationary built environment, a camel supports an elaborate palanquin that holds a noble's nomadic home and, nearby, dromedaries are loaded with goods. In

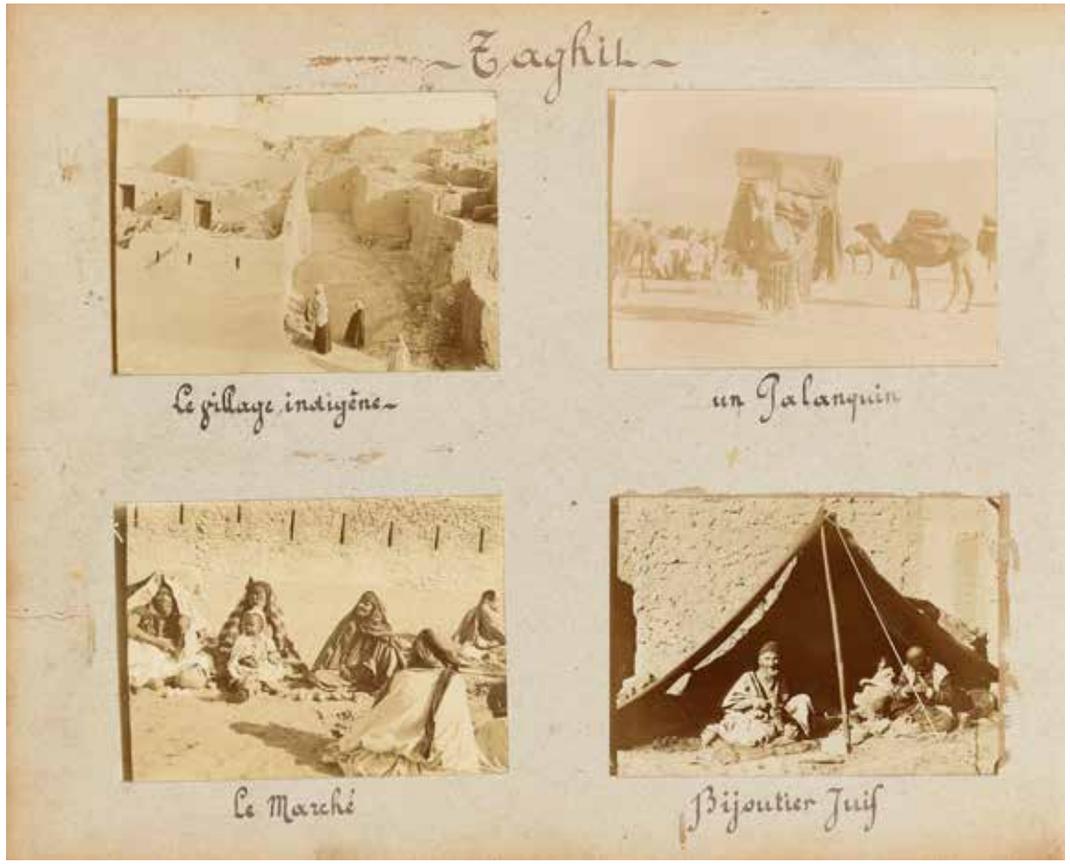

Fig. 6.
Indigenous village, A palanquin, The market, The Jewish jeweler, page from album "Souvenir du Sahara," 1901–4.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

other photographs, Saharan women sell produce in an open-air market next to a brick wall, and Jews are jewelers, merchants, and consumers. The album's images of Mazere echo the Taghit market views, but men frequent those in this southern town, unlike scenes to the north, which feature female-dominated commerce.[14] These photographs show resilient local markets in the midst of European colonialization.

Photographs of Saharan pacification also document the heterogeneity of Saharan communities even as they reify the scenes and types used to categorize the colonial environment (fig. 7). The Taghit images also depict *gourbis,* similar to those in Moulin's 1857 print. Coupled with the view of a palm oasis below it, viewers see evidence of the traditional stratified societies of oases with settled laborers serving those in the pastoral and nomadic classes. Another photograph records a segregated Jewish minority. While many North African towns had historic Jewish communities, discrete quarters were increasingly established in the nineteenth century, in part responding to insecurities over Western

Fig. 7.
Girls going to the well, Girls in front of their *gouri*, the village Jew, Well in the palm grove, page from album "Souvenir du Sahara," 1901–4.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

colonization. Visible are the real boundaries and divisions within palm oasis settlements, maintained despite changing centralized political authorities. The civilian scenes in Taghit provide a foil for the martial images that follow.

This personal album participates in the tradition of popularly received military accounts. *The loose border between the Sultanate of Morocco and French Algeria became contentious in the early twentieth century. Amazigh groups* besieged the French fort at Taghit from 17 to 20 August 1903, but Captain Adolphe Roger de Susbielle (1863–1939) repelled the attack. A photograph of Susbielle's departure presages the events to come (fig. 8). A few weeks later, 148 legionnaires of the 22nd mounted company of the 2nd Foreign Infantry Regiment, commanded by Captain Marie Louis Joseph Vauchez (1865–1903) and Lieutenant Christian Selchauhansen (1871–1903), along with twenty-two Algerian soldiers, escorted a supply convoy. An ambush by 3,000 Imazighen (pl. of Amazigh) led to significant deaths and casualties in the Battle of El Moungar on 3 September 1903.[15] *Photographs of the tombs of Captain Vauchez and*

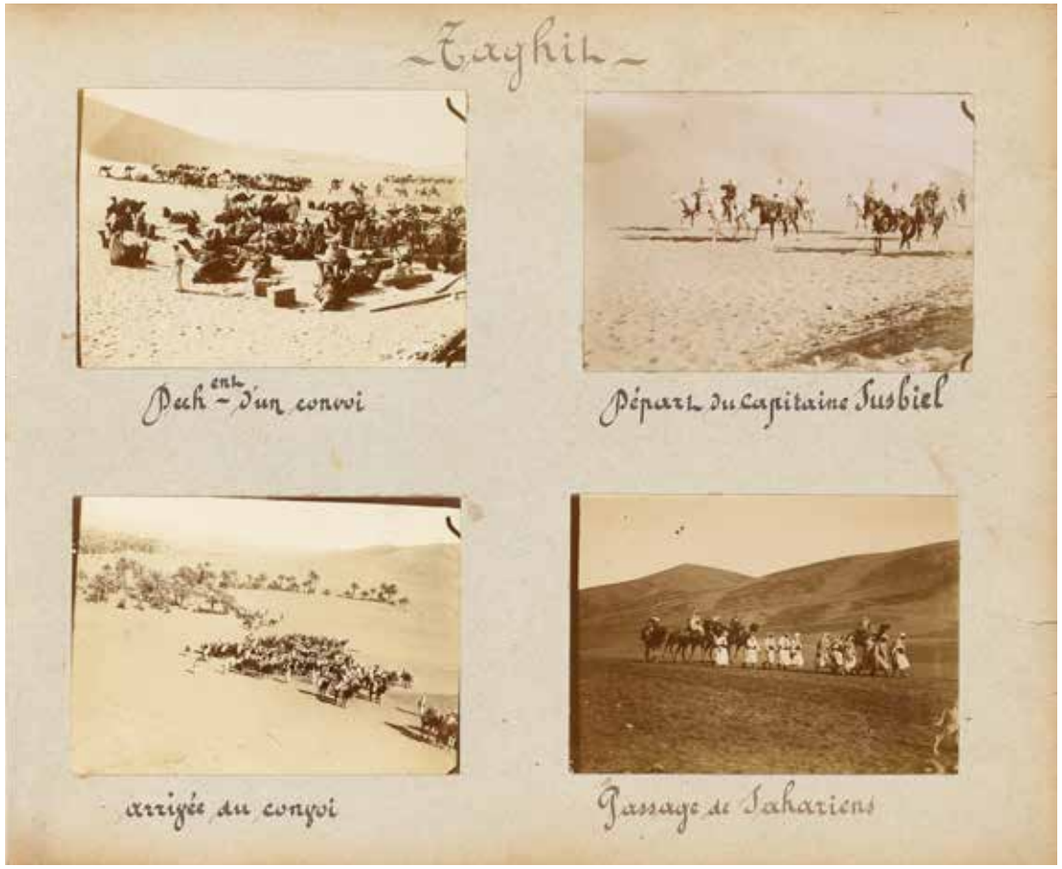

Fig. 8.
Descent of a convoy, Departure of Captain Susbeil, Arrival of the convoy, Passage of Saharans, page from album "Souvenir du Sahara," 1901–4.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Lieutenant *Selchauhansen and of those wounded in the battle form a narrative of judgment when followed by ones of Moroccan prisoners. The caption announces the execution of the Moroccan spies later in the day. From the colonial perspective, territorial boundaries are clear and Moroccans were foreign agents infiltrating French land.* These images record the violence of pacification and an assertion of control over the Sahara by individuals fighting on behalf of France.[16] Later photographs, taken in the aftermath of battle, show reestablished defensive positions in the oasis and surrounding dunes.

This album suggests that those who conquered the Sahara on behalf of France were not ethnically French, but African. "Souvenir du Sahara" depicts officials not celebrated in later tourist collecting books: unidentified soldiers, including new corps. For decades, pacification meant the French army had to adapt to Saharan technologies. Special Saharan troops were formed in 1894, when France realized it needed an army on meharis (dromedaries) to help control the desert. The meharists (camel riders) assisted or replaced squadrons of spahis (light

cavalry) and the *tirailleurs* (infantry). While the names of French generals and commanders loom large, "Souvenir du Sahara" illuminates anonymous colonial soldiers who formed the Saharan forces charged with claiming the desert.

"Souvenir du Sahara" ends with studio scenes and types of Algerian men and women.[17] Photographs shift back to indigenous life and the disproportionate interest in colonized women, nomadic life, and Islam.[18] The arc of the album documents the success of the pacification of Algeria from daily enterprise to colonial might and conquest, typology and order. The album reinforces stereotypes, but whereas some early albums ended in the mysterious expanse of the desert, the message is one of encounter, colonization, and heterogeneous populations. Reading the photographs as cultural documents allows contemporary viewers to revisit more historic connections.

The photographs in "Al Djazair and Tunis" and "Souvenir du Sahara" demonstrate the historic connectivity of peoples across the Sahara. Some associations, such as the Saharan and Senegalese soldiers who participated in pacification, were contemporary with the albums' compilations, but most suggest much older histories. Varied architectural practices correspond to different livelihoods as well as a series of migrations in the region. Tents show the continued importance of pastoralism and nomadism; their aesthetics of mobility are echoed in the mobile adornments worn by the Tuareg. Thatched houses mark some of their inhabitants as descending from slaves and evoke the persistent legacy of trans-Saharan slavery in hierarchical oasis societies. Residential and religious earthen-brick architecture have roots in millennia of migrations by Jewish and Muslim groups. While neither album records a trans-Saharan caravan, we see the vestiges of such trade and multiple examples of desert commerce. The multiple histories referenced by the photographs allow us to reclaim the Sahara as the historic conduit it was.

Desert Access

Private transport companies started up and prospered in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco between 1898 and 1908. World War I diverted attention from the Saharan campaign and dissidents used the inattention to stage insurrections. Despite setbacks during the war, new technologies, such as airplanes and automobiles, were implemented when pacification resumed. These modes of transportation also propelled a growing tourist industry. Individual tourist albums reveal active travel between sub-Saharan and Saharan environments, and collectibles extolled the officers and explorers who relayed information about the desert to the curious in France and beyond. Air travel was even more important considering that a planned arterial network of roads was never constructed.

Since 1912 the French Air Force had occupied Biskra, which operated as a staging point for forays south. Niger and Algeria were connected by landing strips in 1919, then multiple Saharan air sites were opened by February 1920. In the 1920s, the final decade of Saharan conquest, automobiles and airplanes displaced camels and regularly traversed the desert, leading to new images of French strength.[19] Inquisitive tourists and armchair travelers alike were thrilled by the Sahara and continued to learn about and be inspired by the region.

With the growth of the French Empire, sites that had been viewed as Orientalist fantasies of exotic locales and the "other" became parts of France as the departments of Algeria (1848–1962).[20] The blurring of identities troubled French subjects even as modernization encouraged new types of engagement.[21] Northern oases grew to feature colonial facilities that supported French initiatives. Biskra became a model colonial city noted for its tourist services, which allowed an oasis experience without arduous treks into the desert. Saharan sites became part of growing tourist advertising, offering an Orientalist fantasy with modern comfort and convenience. Postcards of twentieth-century Biskra highlight its changing institutions, with its old town of charming earthen-brick buildings as well as the modern Royal Hotel.[22] Shifts in framing the representation of these French sites led to oases farther south that took on the ambience of more authentically exotic African places. The camera, automobile, and airplane brought French modernity and amenities into the Sahara, and were supported by an extensive railway network that operated throughout northern Algeria and Tunisia as well as West Africa. The Biskra–Touggourt rail line was completed by 1918, and Touggourt was the starting point for Citroën automobile expeditions. The half-track vehicles functioned as a substitute for the unrealized trans-Saharan railway.[23]

Just as civilian traffic across the desert increased, so too did French citizens' awareness throughout the empire, particularly their knowledge of national heroes. Between 1920 and 1939 Chocolat Pupier released the collecting card album *l'Afrique*.[24] The album template, if completed with the cards to be found in packets of Pupier chocolate, would contain 252 photomechanical prints of colonial Africa. Each card contained a number and title for the collector to match on the template. The French Empire was mapped, populated by explorers, and protected and sustained by military heroes and indigenous notables. The men who made African territories available for French engagement appear first. The album begins with pages honoring Western explorers of Africa, including three prominent explorers of the Sahara—Rene Caillié (1799–1838), Charles de Foucauld (1858–1916), and Lieutenant Colonel Parfait-Louis Monteil (1855–1925). The print contains the headings "ÉDITÉ PAR LE PUPIER CHOCOLAT" (Published by Le Pupier Chocolate) and "AFRIQUE

FRANÇAIS" (French Africa) followed by the name and dates of the explorer. The template page includes a brief biography to accompany the card. The album's pages then move geographically: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, French Sahara, French West Africa, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Libya, and Egypt. Card subjects include important officers, administrators, ethnic types, cities, and landmarks to introduce collectors to a particular territory.

Although the description of Algeria does not include the southern territories, desert scenes proliferate across a two-page spread. Marshal Thomas Robert Bugeaud (1784–1849), who led French forces in Algeria between 1836 and 1846, appears on the first card. Separated from General Bugeaud by a map of Algeria, the third card on the page commemorates Emir Abdelkader, one of Bugeaud's adversaries. The descriptions used for these two key figures emphasize selective events used to promote French Empire. Abdelkader led resistance to French rule from 1832 to 1847. The caption notes that during his exile in Syria, Abdelkader was a faithful friend to the French, but it fails to mention the emir's respect for religious devotion, generosity toward prisoners of war, or administrative excellence in comparison with the scorched-earth practices of Bugeaud. The card underneath Bugeaud commemorates La Smala, Abdelkader's mobile administration and household captured by the French in 1843. The second Algerian page features wells in the Sahara and camels at pasture, and the town of Bou Saâda is noted for containing the tourist delights of the Sahara in miniature.

After a two-page spread on Morocco and Tunisia is a page on the French Sahara that echoes the themes presented in "Souvenir du Sahara." Just as the Algerian page commenced with the portrait of an effective French officer, collectors would first fill the Saharan page with the card representing General François-Henry Laperrine (1860–1920), extolled for his victories over Samory Touré (ca. 1830–1900) and Tuareg forces before commanding Algeria's southern territories. Laperrine commanded the French camel corps after 1897 and assumed control over Saharan oases in 1902. *Laperrine's airplane crashed in the desert; his last words were said to be,* "People think they know the desert. . . . People think I know it. Nobody really knows it. I have crossed the Sahara ten times and I will stay here."[25] Colonial records, however, produced readily digestible myths. A card for a noncommissioned officer of the camel troops follows a map of the region. Also featured on the Sahara page are a Tuareg type, an *erg* (dune), and three picturesque Algerian towns. The ephemera collection provided ways in which the newly pacified region could be understood through a cursory examination of prominent actors or inhabitant types, landscapes, and settlements without traveling to the region.

As tourism blossomed, Hachette guides listed many routes into the Sahara for travelers.[26] They followed military roads, connecting an increasing number of camps, post offices, and administrative centers. Touggourt was compared with Laghouat on the desert's northern edge: everything in town seemed intended to catch the tourist's eye.[27] By this date, tourists were not limited to the desert's northern edge; they could find amenities for travelers in oases farther south.

By 1940, Saharan markets catered to tourists as well as residents. Whereas a century earlier descriptions and images had been unpopulated and offered an expanse of dunes, camels, or Tuareg men, "View of Mali" (1940), an album of eighty collodion prints from the ACHAC collection, ends with a plaque dedicated to René Caillié and a richly ornamented closed door in Timbuktu and participates in the trend of illustrating the Sahara via foreign notables.[28] The ultimate photograph honors the first Frenchman to reach Timbuktu in 1828. The anonymous photographer, probably an agent of French Sudan's special police and security service, echoes his predecessor's successful travels over a century earlier. While significant information about the Sahara was gained by exploration and colonial conquest, the closed portal hints at the mysteriousness of Timbuktu. La Vache Qui Rit released a set of explorer cards in the 1950s and 60s, and one featured René Caillié.[29] Collectors no longer needed to leave France to commune with famous explorers; they were available for private consumption via collectibles printed by commercial manufacturers. Advertisements infused with desert imagery and a range of products reminding viewers in the metropole of imperial glories forged new relationships connecting popular culture, consumer culture, the economy, and the empire. Ephemera promoted the collection of pacification and colonial heroes and helped to support French nationalism at a time when African nationalism and calls for independence were rising.

Changing Markets in the Sahara

A set of tourist albums record changing economies across the Sahara. Traditional commerce declined considerably but the foundations of that trade became part of the exotic lure of the region's new markets. A Frenchman known only as Desmarais organized travel and hunting expeditions in francophone Africa between 1929 and 1960 and compiled photographic albums between 1967 and 1969. While arranged geographically, the photographs are not necessarily chronological. At least three of his "Views of Africa" albums (volumes 2, 4, and 6) feature scenes of the Sahara that evoke tourist sensibilities and participate in colonial narratives of adventure and commercial opportunity. The images in

volumes 2 and 4 date from 1931 to 1952, and volume 2 features scenes from Mali, Guinea, Mauritania, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast. Camels featured throughout the album represent Saharan journeys, but additional content marks their mid-twentieth century dates. European travelers or colonists contrast already iconic images of Tuareg men and their dromedaries. The pack animals also show developments in regional trade (fig. 9).

Controlling oases and transforming the desert into productive land echoed the Sahara's colonization by ancient Rome. It was also hoped that the region would become financially profitable.[30] The vestiges of trans-Saharan trade are visible in the Desmarais albums. By the 1930s–50s, the time of this scrapbook view of a salt caravan, it was already an old-time phenomenon, as the massive thousand-camel caravans were quickly becoming a thing of the past. Interleaving Saharan photographs through this and related scrapbooks suggests that travelers recognized an enduring connection to the desert. Between pages featuring Mopti in Mali, Ratoma in Guinea, and Rosso in Mauritania, are portraits of Djennenke, Peul, and Mauri women, game hunting, and a donkey caravan freighted by colonial officials with rock salt slabs (fig. 10). The twentieth-century salt caravan was a favorite sight in African travel, along with sport hunting and bare-breasted women. French oversight implies the efficient management of traditional commerce. It represents the wealth from the Saharan salt trade and contrasts with the Intercontinental Route Senegal–Guinea and other modern vehicular and rail lines that appear earlier in the album.

These scrapbooks bring to light individual experiences over the course of the final three decades of colonial rule. Juxtaposed photographs reveal updates in traditional caravans supplementing modern rail technology. The Sahara is included in colonial space, and its enormity is also evident. In volume 6 of "View of Africa," (1949–60), camels appear yet again, this time carrying bagged produce (possibly peanuts), but now they lead to or pick up from railroad lines.[31] Another photograph presents a car seemingly ready to travel to Nouakchott, Attar, or Casablanca, as indicated by the mileage listed on the nearby road sign. The recorded travel distance commemorates the success of colonial mapping and road construction projects. This photograph must have been taken shortly after the designation of the Mauritanian capital in 1958. Colonial infrastructure indicates the touristic possibilities of travel throughout the breadth of the unified French Empire. While these images of the Sahara are only a small sample of imagery produced during the colonial period, they reveal the ways in which the Sahara participated in continental and imperial discourses and expand our understanding of the types of knowledge and the mythologies generated.

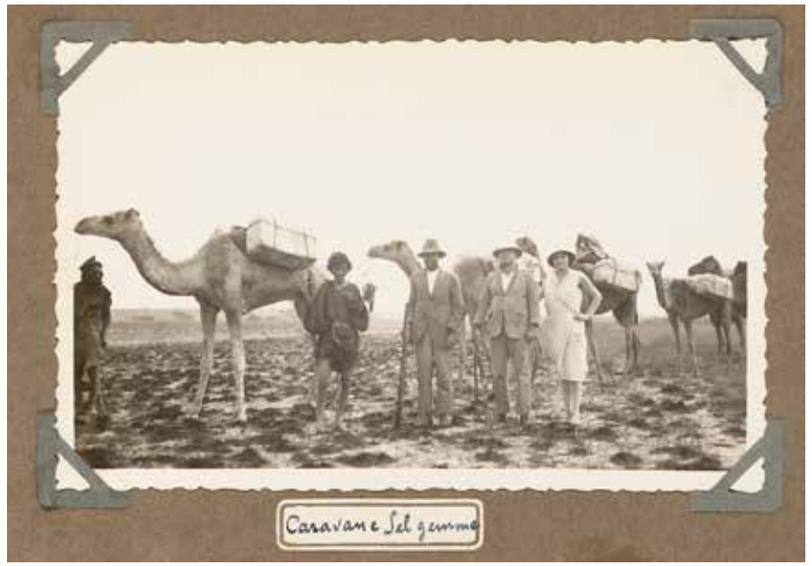

Fig. 9.
Desmarais (n.d.), compiler.
Photographs from album "Views of Africa," vol. 2, Mali, Guinea, Mauritania, Senegal, Ivory Coast, 1931–51.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

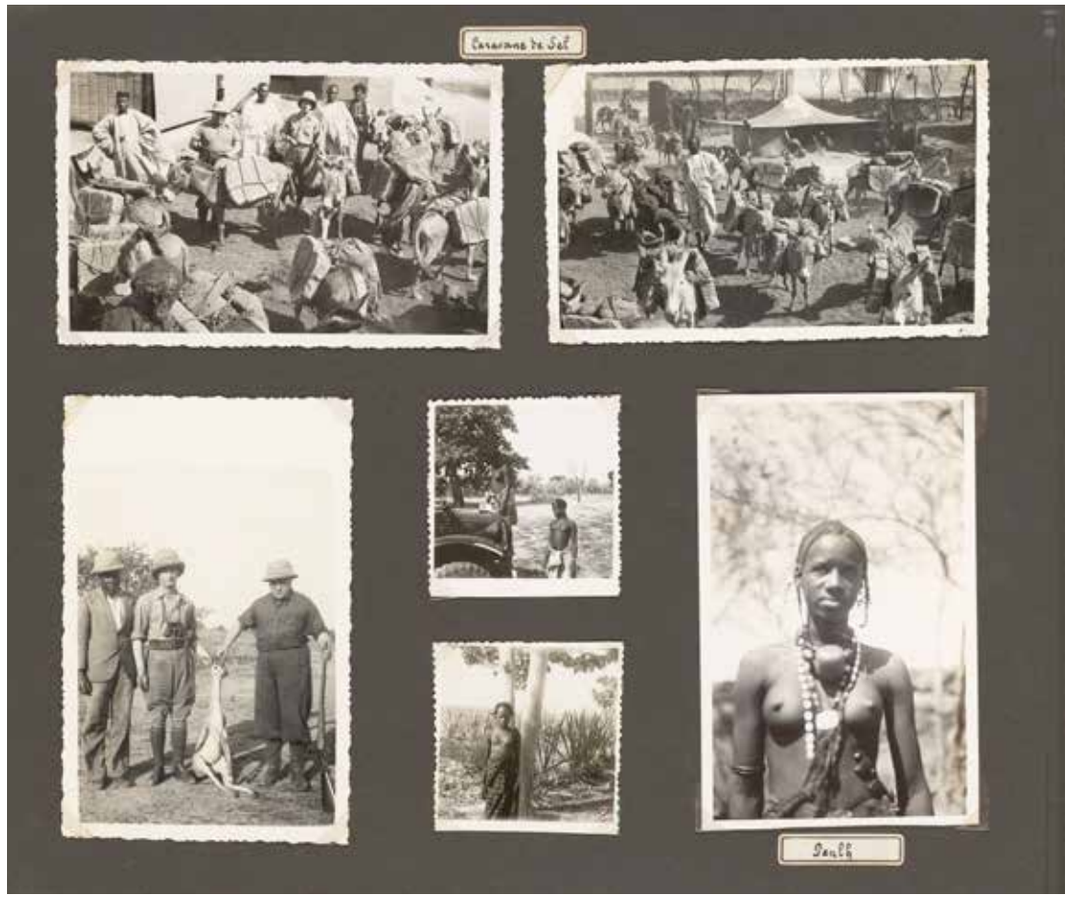

Fig. 10.
Photographs from album "Views of Africa," vol. 4, Guinea, Senegal, Mali, and Mauritania, 1931–52.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Notes

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1. See Jessica Winegar and Katarzyna Pieprzak, eds., "Africanity and North Africa," Special issue, *Critical Interventions: Journal of African Art History and Visual Culture* 3, no. 1 (2009); and Eric Ross, "A Historical Geography of the Trans-Saharan Trade," in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscripts Culture, Arabic Literacy, and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon (Boston: Brill, 2011), 1–34.
2. See Pascal Blanchard and Armelle Chatelier, eds., *Images et colonies: Nature, discours, et influence de l'iconographie coloniale liée à la propagande coloniale et à la représentation des Africains et de l'Afrique en France, de 1920 aux Indépendances* (Paris: ACHAC and Syros, 1993); and Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau, eds. *Images et colonies: Iconographie et propagande coloniale sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962* (Paris: ACHAC and Syros/Alternatives, 1993).
3. John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 166.
4. Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze*, 14.
5. Numa Broc, "Les Français face à l'inconnue saharienne: géographes, explorateurs, ingénieurs (1830–1881)," in *Annales de Géographie* 96, no. 535 (May–June 1987): 302–38.
6. For examination of the lack of coevalness between cultures, see Johnannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
7. Gustave de Beaucorps (1824–1906) was an amateur photographer who traveled around the Mediterranean and Black Sea. His album "Views of Algeria" (ca. 1859) Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (hereafter GRI), 94.R.63, includes images of iconic sites of Algeria—Roman ruins, mountains, urban Algiers, and the edge of the Sahara. His photographs of Biskra feature nomadic black wool tents with rock features in an arid plain with a smattering of palms. Like Moulin, Beaucorps traveled to the oasis occurred between the rebellions of 1849 and 1871 when Algerians contested French occupation.
8. "Views and Peoples of Algeria," ca. 1867–68, GRI, 2002.R.9; and "Al Djazair and Tunis," 1881, GRI, 2001.R.20.
9. See Thomas K. Seligman and Kristyne Loughran, eds., *Art of Being Tuareg: Sahara Nomads in a Modern World,* exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University and UCLA Fowler Museum Of Cultural History, 2006).
10. "Types Algériens (Touaregs)," in Claude-Joseph Portier, "Views of Algeria, Egypt and Italy," ca. 1860–79, GRI, ACHAC collection, 96.R.107.
11. "Types Divers. 561. Type de Chambâa M'zab," GRI, ACHAC collection, Postcards box 1, 970031.

12. See Michael Heffernan, "Shifting Sands: The Trans-Saharan Railway," in *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects*, ed. Stanley D. Brunn (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 617–26.
13. "Souvenir du Sahara, 1901–1904," GRI, 2007.R.1, .
14. "Souvenir du Sahara, 1901–1904," GRI, 2007.R.1.10v 1–2 and 11r 1
15. "Souvenir du Sahara, 1901–1904," GRI, 2007.R.1.3r 1–4. See Jacques Gandini, *El Moungar: Les combats de la Légion dans le Sud-Oranais, 1900–1903* (Calvisson: Extrêm'Sud, 1999).
16. See Benjamin Claude Brower, *A Desert Named Peace: The Violence of France's Empire in the Algerian Sahara, 1844–1902* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); and Fergus Fleming, *The Sword and the Cross: Two Men and an Empire of Sand* (New York: Grove, 2004).
17. See Julia Clancy-Smith, "The Peopling of Algiers, 1830–1900," in *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image,* ed. Çelik, Zeynep, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak (Seattle: University of Washington Press and Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 19–61.
18. See Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
19. See Alison Murray, *"Le tourisme Citroën au Sahara (1924–1925)*," *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire,* no. 68 (Oct.–Dec. 2000): 95–107; and Photographs from Citroën's La Croisière Noire expedition, 1924–25, 207 gelatin silver prints, 12 × 17 cm and smaller, GRI, 2016.R.41.
20. Pastoral herding grounds served as rationale for expanding French territory south.
21. Henri Matisse's *Blue Nude (Memory of Biskra)* (1907) scandalized viewers because they could not determine the race of the figure. It was no longer easy to tell who was the Other.
22. GRI, ACHAC collection: the Algerian postcards are organized by settlement. The two cards under 4. Cities and Sites were taken in Biskra, 1 Postcards box 1, 97003.
23. Peter J. Bloom, "The Trans-Saharan Crossing Films: Colonial Cinematic Projections of the French Automobile" in *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of Humanitarianism.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 68.
24. Chocolat Pupier," L'Afrique," 1920–39, GRI, ACHAC collection, box 26, 970031.
25. Fleming, *The Sword and the Cross*, 299.
26. F. Robert Hunter, "Promoting Empire: The Hachette Tourist in French Morocco, 1919–36," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (2007): 586.
27. Patrick Turnbull, *Sahara Unveiled: A Great Story of French Colonial Conquest* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1940), 226.
28. "View of Mali," 1940, GRI, ACHAC collection, box 14.
29. La vache qui rit, GRI, ACHAC collection, box 25, 970031. See Charles Forsdick's essay in this volume.
30. Heffernan, "Shifting Sands," 618.
31. Desmarais, "View of Africa, 1949–1960," GRI, ACHAC collection, box 21, 970031.

DAVID MURPHY

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *TIRAILLEUR SÉNÉGALAIS* AND WORLD WAR I

The Getty's ACHAC collection reveals to us some of the dominant imagery of French colonialism, imagery that was at one time an everyday feature of life in France.[1] As was famously demonstrated, however, by the almost complete absence of colonial tropes from Pierre Nora's monumental historical project on France's *Lieux de mémoire* (Realms of memory),[2] this once semi-ubiquitous presence of a colonial imaginary fell prey to a postcolonial amnesia that saw traces of the nation's colonial past gradually effaced from the collective memory. One major exception to this process has been the figure of the colonial infantryman, the famed *tirailleur sénégalais*, who remains arguably the most iconic figure of French colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa. The image of a cartoonish, wide-eyed, smiling *tirailleur* has adorned packets of the popular Banania powdered chocolate drink for more than a century (fig. 1). The *tirailleur* utters his pidgin French slogan "Y'a bon," which is often now translated as "sho' good, " as translators significantly search for an equivalent in the lexicon of the American Deep South before the Civil Rights Movement. An awareness of its racist charge is not new: even Léopold Sédar Senghor, the great poet of Negritude, whose writing and politics consistently sought to overcome the divide between colonizer and colonized, angrily declared in a 1948 poem, "I will tear down the Banania smiles from every wall in France."[3]

The continued use of both image and slogan today—not just on the product packaging, but on postcards, posters, plates, and other forms of memorabilia readily available in virtually every tourist shop in Paris—may seem at first glance to denote a form of postmodern pastiche. However, the ways in which both word and text have been used with little need for transformation in order to create horrendous racist memes circulating on the internet about black public figures, such as former French justice minister Christiane Taubira, indicate clearly that familiarity may have dulled their racially charged nature for many but it has not erased it.

Fig. 1.
Original advertisement for Banania chocolate drink with its *tirailleur sénégalais*, 1915.
Snark/ Art Resource, NY

The chapter examines the extremely rich collection of images of the *tirailleur* from World War I held in the GRI'S ACHAC collection. In so doing, it will also briefly discuss the development of a set of visual codes around the *tirailleur* from the era of colonial conquest in the late nineteenth century to the Great War. As will be demonstrated below, World War I was the crucial period in the evolution of the image of the *tirailleur,* which transformed him from savage, colonized other into a brave, smiling warrior fighting to defend the imperial homeland. Indeed, the *tirailleur sénégalais* became an iconic figure in France in the aftermath of World War I, whose familiar face and colorful uniform—in particular, the bright red chechia hat—featured in drawings, postcards, photographs, posters, and other material contained in the ACHAC collection. Visual representations of the *tirailleur* were also accompanied by a flowering of literary ones, both fictional and nonfictional: two of the most popular examples are *La Randonnée de Samba Diouf* by the best-selling authors the Tharaud brothers and the very successful episodic novel by Raymond Escholier, based on the life of one of the *tirailleurs* he encountered, the eponymous *Mahmadou Fofana*.[4]

The chapter will explore in some detail the various types of images used to depict the *tirailleur sénégalais*.[5] My approach, however, is also informed by my research on a First World War veteran, Lamine Senghor (no relation to Léopold Senghor), who became a leading figure in the communist-inspired anti-colonial movement in the 1920s, and who used his status as a former *tirailleur* to legitimize his critique of empire. My chapter thus concludes with an attempt to situate the figure of the militant *tirailleur* in relation to dominant representations of the black colonial infantryman: How might this militant *tirailleur* disrupt our received ideas of the colonial soldier as seen in the images of the ACHAC collection?

The Origins and Development of the *tirailleurs sénégalais,* 1857–1914

The first *tirailleur sénégalais* regiments were formed in 1857, when the French governor general of Senegal, Louis Faidherbe, recognized the desirability of creating a corps of devoted African troops who were accustomed to the sweltering heat and harsh terrain of the African interior. The *tirailleurs* took their name from the original location where they were founded but they would in fact go on to play a key role in the conquest of France's vast West African Empire; and, as new colonies were conquered, this created a new reservoir of men from which troops could be drawn. (The word *tirailleur*' is a standard French military term designating an infantryman.)[6] Working in the service of the imperial project, the *tirailleur* would quickly become associated with the excess and randomness of colonial violence—from the burning of villages to the severing of limbs—and the ACHAC collection contains several visual representations of this violence.

A postcard titled *The French Army in Morocco* presents a grimly comic picture of a barefoot but otherwise fully uniformed *tirailleur* with puffy cheeks, exaggeratedly swollen lips, and wide, staring eyes. In his grotesque claw of a right hand—distorted so that it appears to have six digits, his elongated simian fingers visually referencing the racial imaginary of the period—he holds up for closer inspection a handful of ears seemingly cut from the heads of Moroccan rebels (see fig. 2). In his left hand, he holds the long knife, the infamous *coupe-coupe,* with which we assume he has hacked these ears from his victims. The caption reads "Sho' good Moroccan ears. Make good fetish"; its echo of the *Banania* "Y'a bon" slogan indicates that it is a postwar image probably dating from the 1920s, when France was faced with a major rebellion in the Rif Mountains of Morocco. The looped earrings visible in the soldier's earlobes, the sagging chechia cap on his head, and his bare feet contrast with the rest of his pristine uniform. These elements situate the *tirailleur* as a primal figure,

Fig. 2.
The French Army in Morocco, n.d., postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

associated with savagery and superstitious beliefs. He is also, however, grotesquely comic, simultaneously a violent figure and a figure of fun; and, as we shall see below, even though there was a transformation in the representation of the *tirailleur* during the war, this duality would survive.

This French military use of the *tiralleurs sénégalais* to violently quash revolt in not only sub-Saharan Africa but also other parts of the continent and farther afield—for example, the *tiralleurs* were heavily involved in attempts to suppress the independence struggles in French Indochina in the early 1950s and in Algeria later in the same decade—led to the *tirailleurs* becoming figures of hate for many colonized peoples. This dominant image in the colonies of the *tirailleur* as a willing servant of empire is perhaps best expressed in a famous short story, "Sarzan," by the Senegalese author Birago Diop. The eponymous Sarzan (a corruption of *sergeant*) is a former *tirailleur* sent by the French colonial authorities to act as a district commander in his homeland. Convinced of the superiority of French culture, he seeks to forcibly drag the local villagers into modernity by destroying their fetishes, an act for which he is punished by these same supernatural forces that cause him to lose his mind.

The ambiguity of the colonized's attitude toward the *tirailleurs* around the mid-twentieth century is also illustrated by the (literally and figuratively)

shifting fortunes of a monument to the colonial infantry's contribution to World War I. Placed in the middle of a roundabout in central Dakar in 1923, the monument, which would affectionately become known as Demba and Dupont, features a *tirailleur* and a white French soldier, whose left arm is draped in friendship around the shoulders of his African brother-in-arms.[7] In the era of independence, however, the image of friendship depicted in the monument, located in front of what was now the national parliament, was perceived by many to celebrate collaboration with the colonizer, and in 1983 the statue was removed by the government. Two decades later, attitudes had evolved once more and under Abdoulaye Wade, who was president of Senegal from 2000 to 2012, the monument was re-installed on a roundabout in front of the old colonial train station, close to the port entrance, as part of a wider recognition of the complex position occupied by the *tirailleurs* as both agents and victims of empire.[8]

The *tirailleurs* and World War I

By the early twentieth century, fifty years after the creation of the first battalions, the *tirailleur* sénégalais had become a relatively familiar figure in certain parts of the French press. He was, however, a figure associated exclusively with the empire: with the advent of World War I, the *tirailleur* became a figure inextricably linked to the story of the imperial homeland. The idea of countering Germany's demographic advantage over France, through the creation of an African army drawn from France's new colonies to fight in an anticipated European war, had first been developed by General Charles Mangin in his 1910 volume *La force noire*. This proposal met with initial opposition from various military and colonial authorities for two main reasons: first, many considered it unwise to bring Africans to Europe to kill white men (racial solidarity trumping nationalist sentiment); and, second, it was feared that a major recruitment campaign in Africa might prove destabilizing to the colonial status quo. However, the scale of the killing on the battlefields of Belgium and northern France in the first year of the war quickly led the French military high command to reconsider.

Marc Michel, in his authoritative account of African participation in the war, states that over 200,000 sub-Saharan African troops were raised during the war while approximately 130,000 saw active service in France with 34,000 killed, many in the latter stages of the conflict from 1916 onward.[9] In the interwar period, the estimates (in the absence of reliable historical research) for the number of troops who saw action and those killed were vastly overinflated: for example, left-wing, anti-colonialist critics of the war regularly claimed that

over 100,000 *tirailleurs* had died. Nonetheless, there is considerable evidence that they were often used as shock troops in that later period when they were deployed more widely, some historians believe, with the unstated aim of sparing white French lives (although others, such as Marc Michel, reject such claims).[10] Pap Ndiaye succinctly and convincingly summarizes the case of those who believe that black lives were used to save white ones: "French losses were at their worst in the first twenty-two months of the war, after which they declined globally, while the death rates for *tirailleurs* followed the opposite trajectory, reaching their peak in 1918. At that point in time, the *tirailleurs* were being deployed with the clear objective of saving French lives."[11] Whatever view one takes about how they were used, there is no doubt that as the war progressed, the *tirailleurs* were an increasingly significant element of French military strategy.

The bravery shown by the *tirailleurs sénégalais* in landmark battles at Verdun and elsewhere, as well as the direct human contact between ordinary French people, soldiers and civilians, and *tirailleurs* stationed in France, created a series of new frameworks in which images of this colonial solider could be constructed. The *tirailleur* could take his place in the gallery of French military types in official and unofficial military propaganda, while previous images of the savage *tirailleur* could be recycled as celebrations of the mighty warrior fighting on "our" side. Now that the *tirailleur* was a real person whom one might meet in the streets of Paris or Lyon or even provincial France, there emerged whole series of portraits designed to express his humanity. Perhaps most importantly, in place of the dominant image of the bloodthirsty *tirailleur*, the image spread of the *tirailleur* as a big child who smilingly served France, most infamously, as we saw above, in the imagery for Banania, but present also in, for example, a wide range of postcards of the period. Let us now look more closely at some examples of these different forms of representation.

Figure of Violence, Figure of Fun

Despite the overall change in tone, much of the imagery that emerged in the context of the war can clearly be situated within the broad continuity of images of the *tirailleur* that had emerged over preceding decades. For example, the ACHAC collection contains a watercolor of a *tirailleur* charging into battle, dated August 1914, when the war began with such soon-to-be-shattered French optimism (fig. 3). The soldier leans forward, his rifle, bayonet fixed, pointing in front of him; his eyes are wide, his broad lips are parted to reveal an almost snarling white mouth and his neck muscles bulge. Indeed, his whole body bristles with a menacing energy. The caption below the image reads 'Y a bon' but this is no smiling, overgrown child: this is a ferocious warrior. Several decades

Fig. 3.
***Tirailleur sénégalais*, Y'a bon (Sho' Good).**
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

of caricature of the savage *tirailleur* are here harnessed to the cause of defending the homeland: the *tirailleur* may be a savage, but to the French of 1914, he is now our savage.

The ferociousness of this image is something of an exception, however. More often, the images in the ACHAC collection are informed by the mix of violence and comedy that was discussed above as central to the representation of the *tirailleur* in the colonies. In a comic sketch (fig. 4), we see a smiling, barefoot *tirailleur* charging toward a cowering, unarmed German soldier. The *tirailleur*'s rifle, bayonet attached, is menacingly close to his enemy's midriff while the German's legs are crossed, his arms folded, and tears spring from his eyes: he is presented as weak and, quite literally, in danger of losing his manhood before this specimen of cheerfully violent masculinity. The caption reads "Oh! No, not the bayonet!," capturing the myth that had spread of the prowess of the *tirailleur* in hand-to-hand combat; the *coupe-coupe*, often used by the *tirailleurs* in close combat, is clearly visible hanging from his belt. His vivid red lips and trademark cap contrast sharply with the sniveling red nose of the tearful German.

Fig. 4.
Oh, No! Not the bayonette!
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 5.
That no good food . . . That rabid cow!, n.d., postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

A postcard (fig. 5) features yet another barefoot *tirailleur* with bayonet fixed to his rifle, this time crossing a militarized rural landscape (gun turrets are visible in the distance), where he has encountered two cows with human heads, both helmeted and heavily whiskered German soldiers. The *tirailleur* smilingly looks over his shoulder at the viewer as the caption reads in pidgin French: "That no good food… That rabid cow!"

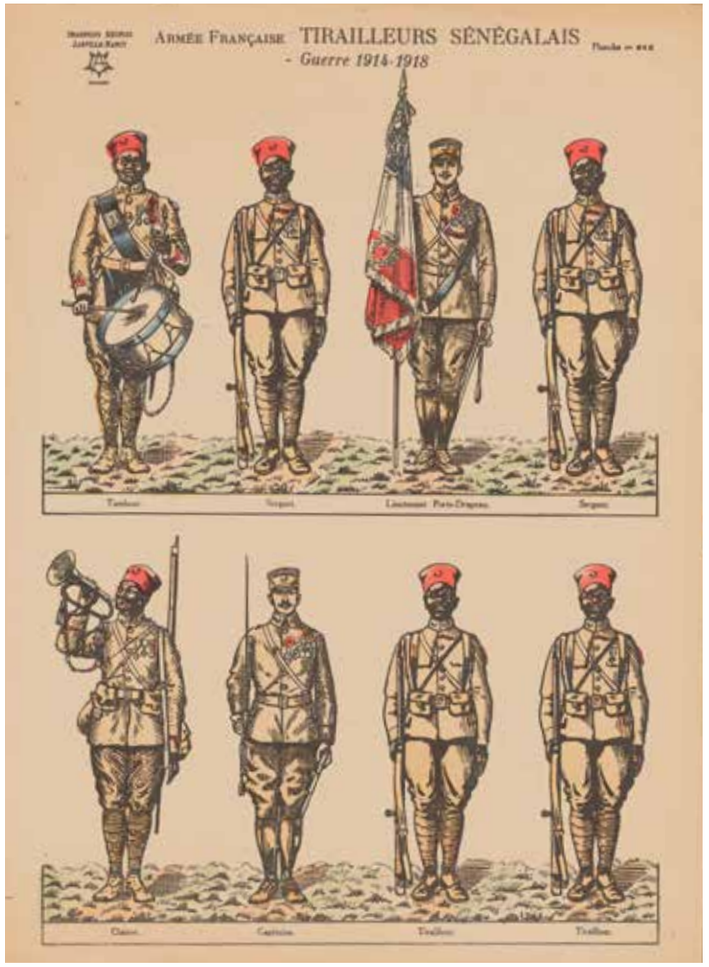
If the humor in these images is directed in large part against the cowering Germans, other cartoon sketches focus more specifically on the *tirailleur* himself as a figure of fun. In a color postcard (fig. 6) of a snowy landscape, a group of *tirailleurs* is in a trench while two white French soldiers stand above them. As one of the *tirailleurs* looks up uncomprehendingly, the commanding officer

Fig. 6.
In this weather, you'll have to bleach them to take them on patrol, n.d., postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

tells the saluting junior officer: "In this weather, you'll have to bleach them to take them on patrol." This gag is clearly made in part at the expense of the black soldiers but is the joke solely on them? The junior officer's wide staring eyes and the fact that the commander's back is turned to us, revealing none of his facial features, opens up at least the possibility that the viewer is being invited to laugh at the latter's stupidity. Wherever the humor of the cartoon is supposed to lie, the image reminds us that French attitudes toward the *tirailleur,* despite their evolution, still existed within a racially hierarchical framework: even when on our side, his difference marked him out as a potentially alien presence in the French context.

Tirailleurs as Soldiers

Alongside this comic imagery, there exist whole series of images celebrating the *tirailleurs sénégalais* as a disciplined military force, and the ACHAC collection contains many such examples. There are semi-official color lithographs of different regiments within the French Army that appear to have been sold as collector's items. In a print featuring the *tirailleurs sé*négalais, listed as plate 212 (fig. 7), eight soldiers in two rows face forward, standing to attention but still semi-smiling. Two white French officers, a captain and a flag-bearing lieutenant, are the central figures of authority: they both wear moustaches but are given distinct facial features. Of the six black soldiers (two ordinary *tirailleurs*, two sergeants, and two musicians), however, only two—perhaps even three—different faces are apparent. Far from the savage/comic *tirailleur* charging



barefoot across the battlefield, they are dressed in full uniform, boots on their feet. Their status as soldiers here outweighs their status as Africans.

In a very different register, we find an image from a series entitled Soldiers of Verdun (fig. 8). In this black-and-white lithograph, a *tirailleur* leans forward to bear the weight of a full kit bag. Instead of the iconic red chechia, he wears a tin helmet and army boots: far from the exotic, barefoot figure of the images analyzed earlier in this chapter, this is the *tirailleur* as a man of the Western front, bogged down in the muddy trench warfare of a northern European winter. He is trudging across a desolate, war-torn landscape with broken tree stumps, damaged buildings, and sandbags strewn across a scarred battlefield. It is significant that such an image should emerge in relation to the Battle of

Fig. 7.
The French Army, *tirailleurs sénégalais,* 1914–18 War, n.d., postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 8.
Soldiers at Verdun, *tirailleur sénégalais,* n.d., postcard.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Verdun, for it was the recapture in December 1916 of the supposedly invincible Fort de Douaumont (lost to the Germans earlier in 1916), led by a regiment of *tirailleurs,* that helped to create the myth of France's colonial troops as heroic warriors who could achieve wonders against all the odds. This *tirailleur* is not an epic hero, however; he is presented as an ordinary *poilu*, as the French called their infantrymen; he is a grunt, a foot soldier whose ordinariness only serves to highlight the extent of his bravery. In such images, we finally begin to see attempts to imagine the *tirailleurs* as fully rounded human beings rather than as colonial types.

Glimpses of a Shared Humanity?

One of the most invaluable sources that we possess regarding the preoccupations and attitudes of *tirailleurs sénégalais* during the Great War is Lucie Cousturier's memoir *Des inconnus chez moi*, first published in 1920.[12] Cousturier was a minor Neoimpressionist painter who had taken no particular interest in either colonialism or Africa until, in the spring of 1916, the French army opted to build its main metropolitan base for the *tirailleurs* on the doorstep of her country retreat in the small Mediterranean town of Fréjus. Although sub-Saharan African soldiers were generally deemed natural warriors, the French army considered that they were unsuited to the rigors of winter warfare in Europe and, from 1916 until the end of the war, the *tirailleurs* were sent to Fréjus for the duration of the winter.[13] In the latter part of the war, the period covered by Cousturier's memoirs, sub-Saharan African troops suffered very heavy casualties; the men she encounters have seen terrible things and dread their return to the battlefield.

At first, Cousturier was as fearful as her neighbors at the arrival of thousands of these potentially savage strangers (as her knowing title suggests), but her initial concerns were quickly overcome as she got to know many individual *tirailleurs* and she soon established an informal school for them in her home, where she gave classes in basic reading and writing skills. Cousturier's book provides a general picture of the *tirailleurs* as a group, but focuses in particular on specific soldiers with whom she enjoyed a close relationship. The identity that she is most keen to project through her narrative is that of a war godmother ("marraine de guerre") to all of her *tirailleurs*: *marraines* were young or middle-aged French women who had volunteered to correspond with soldiers in the French army, including *tirailleurs*, acting as surrogate sisters or mothers, and some would take these young African men under their wings during periods of leave. However, partnering French women with young African men inevitably led in some instances to more intimate relationships than had

been envisaged by either the Church or the army and support for the scheme quickly cooled. As the war progressed, a more general fear developed regarding the interaction of colonial men and French women. Colonial troops on leave from the front line could socialize with French women, while in the factories, women occupying industrial posts in the absence of conscripted French men often worked alongside imported labor from French Indochina. With very few black women on French soil at that time, interracial relationships became an inevitable emotional and sexual reality.[14] The offspring from these relationships is perhaps the most tangible but neglected legacies of *tirailleurs* in France.

When the camp in Fréjus was opened, Cousturier was in her mid-forties, a married woman with an adult son, and would have been at least twenty years older than most of the *tirailleurs* whom she meets. Her attitude is primarily maternal, looking after her "boys" and giving them the education that the colonial system denies them. In the process, she becomes a firm advocate of a type of colonial reformism, then gaining ground particularly on the French left, that views full assimilation of the colonies as the route to progress. Her memoir is remarkable for the period in its attempt to draw out the individual nature of those *tirailleurs* whom she grew to know and love best, but the reader must always remain attentive to the potential extent to which these individuals constitute projections of her general view of the "African mind," which are still largely framed by contemporary notions of the simplicity and naïveté of Africans.

Cousturier's book illustrates the interest that had emerged during the war in understanding the *tirailleurs* as individuals. Equally, one of the most fascinating components of the ACHAC archive is the group of portraits designed to capture the humanity of these young men. For the first time, large numbers of ordinary French people were encountering individual Africans and this led in part to a more human response to them. There are many watercolor and pencil sketches of individual *tirailleurs* that seem to have no other design than to capture the often troubled humanity of those who have known the death and destruction of trench warfare. Some take the form of postcards, while others are part of collectable series. A charcoal lithograph of a wistful-looking *tirailleur*, hands gripped on his rifle, its butt planted on the ground, as he looks off into the middistance (fig. 9), is part of a series entitled Les Poilus, once again indicating that, at least in some quarters, France's black African troops had become a relatively normalized component of the general French war effort.

The ACHAC collection also features a wide array of photographic portraits of *tirailleurs*, some of which take the form of postcards: these can feature individuals or groups of friends (fig. 10), sometimes including white French companions. Although the men are almost always in full uniform, they often

Fig. 9.
***Les Poilus* (The grunts), *tiraillewur sénégalais*, n.d., postcard.**
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 10.
Photograph of two *tirailleurs*, n.d.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

adopt relaxed poses, arms draped in friendship across the shoulders of their companions. Almost all have been shot in domestic settings, generally in front of what appear to be small *pavillons*, or detached houses, many of which must have been the homes of the soldiers' war godmothers. Whereas before the war the *tirailleur* had been associated with a faraway Africa, he was now part of domestic reality for many French people.

The Militant Tirailleur

On 24 November 1924, the former *tirailleur sénégalais* Lamine Senghor made his entry on to the French political scene when he appeared as a witness for the defense in a libel trial, at the Tribunal de Paris, which, for a few days at

least, situated the participation of colonial troops in World War I as central to public debate.[15] The antagonists at the heart of the trial were the most infamous black Frenchmen of their day: the plaintiff, Blaise Diagne, was a deputy in the French parliament representing the four communes of Senegal. The main defendant, René Maran, had for several years been a controversial figure in French life after he was awarded the prestigious *Prix Goncourt* in 1921 for his novel *Batouala*, which in its preface had provided one of the most scathing denunciations of French colonialism in recent times. Despite the conflict that led to the trial, little separated Diagne and Maran in terms of their fundamental attitude to French colonialism: both believed profoundly in France's "civilizing mission" and they argued for the full assimilation of black people into French culture. Maran's critique of Diagne effectively accused him of

having betrayed the Empire's civilizing mission, treating these African soldiers as canon fodder who had been sacrificed on the altar of the deputy's own personal ambitions.

As with so much of the racial and anti-colonial politics of the 1920s, however, the fault line between the two men centered on the "blood debt" that France was deemed to owe to its colonial troops who had played such an important role in World War I.[16] Diagne was to become a central figure in the recruitment of the *tirailleurs* as the war dragged on in seemingly interminable fashion: in January 1918 he accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Clemenceau, desperate for the extra troops that might finally bring the war to a successful conclusion while limiting the loss of further French lives, to lead a recruitment tour in French West Africa. By the time of the libel trial in 1924, Diagne's role in the war effort meant that he had become a figure of hate for some, especially among radical black activists. Promises made about black participation in the war leading to reform of the colonial system, as well as an increased access to rights and citizenship, had proven illusory. It was in this context, in October 1924, that Maran published the article "Le bon apôtre," in the black newspaper *Les Continents*, in which he accused Diagne of having received "a certain commission for each soldier recruited."[17] Diagne promptly sued Maran for slander.

Lamine Senghor's testimony at the trial presented French society with a troubling image of the *tirailleur sénégalais*. His intervention projected the *tirailleur* as a man who had been radicalized by his experiences and who would now devote himself to the denunciation of colonial injustice. We do not have access to Senghor's actual testimony but, shortly after the trial, he would write a general account of it for the radical newspaper *Le Paria* (The pariah): "Instead of attempting to prove precisely how much the great slave trader [Diagne] received for each Senegalese he recruited, they should have brought before him a whole procession of those blinded and mutilated in the war. . . . All of these victims would have spat in his face the infamy of the mission that he had undertaken."[18] Senghor's views on the suffering endured by colonial soldiers were given authority by his own status as a war wounded. In April 1917, his battalion had been gassed near Verdun, and Senghor had suffered terrible injuries from which he never fully recovered; he would die of tuberculosis in late 1927. His position as a war wounded effectively opened up a space within 1920s France in which otherwise controversial or radical ideas could be given a hearing. Indeed, this topic would remain central to almost every article and speech he would write. The fact that he had fought for France made it that much more difficult for the French authorities to dismiss him as a subversive, which surely did not escape the French Communist Party leaders who decided to promote him within the movement's ranks. The newspaper lost the trial but the incident

cemented a profound change in the perception of Diagne: previously seen by many blacks as a defender of his race, his status as a deputy constituting proof of the promises of assimilation, he now came to be regarded as a traitor to the black cause. For the radical black movements of the next few years, Diagne was the bête noire, often caustically dismissed as a white Negro or, in an echo of the charge made against him by Maran, decried as a slave trader: somewhat ironically, he became virtually the sole figure around whom disparate black groups could unite in opposition.

In early 1927 Lamine Senghor enjoyed his crowning moment of glory, which sealed his reputation as the leading black anti-colonialist of his day, when he was invited to speak at the inaugural meeting of the League against Imperialism (LAI) in Brussels (10–14 February 1927).[19] The LAI was largely a communist initiative, but in its initial phase it sought to rally all anti-colonial forces together. In his speech at the Congress, Lamine Senghor launched into a vehement attack on imperialism as a renewed form of slavery: imperialism cannot hope to bring civilization to the colonies for it is an inherently unjust system of domination. Senghor denounces the cruel treatment of the colonized, the violence, forced labor, and the iniquity and double standards of the pensions paid to colonial veterans of World War I: "You have all seen that, during the war, as many Negroes as possible were recruited and led off to be killed. . . . The Negro is now more clear-sighted. We know and are deeply aware that, when we are needed, to lay down our lives or do hard labor, then we are French; but when it's a question of giving us rights, we are no longer French, we are Negroes."[20] The speech was a huge success not solely in the Congress hall but around the world: W. E. B. DuBois's *The Crisis* reported Senghor's words approvingly in its July 1927 edition,[21] the author having discovered a translation of the speech in the 15 May edition of *The Living Age*.[22] In a fascinating article published just a few months after the Congress, Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, cited Senghor as one of the most eminent of the "men without a homeland," those political exiles who had made Paris their home in the interwar period.[23] Little more than two years after his first public appearance, this young man from Senegal had managed to carve out a position as a radical spokesman not only for black people in France but also internationally.

However, a few short months later Lamine Senghor's health failed, as his war wounds took their toll on his ravaged body. With his death, the image of the radical *tirailleur* would quickly fade. However, a photograph of Lamine Senghor taken at the Brussels Congress in February 1927 lives on as a reminder of the radical potential of the colonial soldier who turns against the empire he had so loyally served. In what is clearly a restaging of Senghor's powerful oration to the assembly, a photograph captures him at a lectern, fist raised in defiance.

This image would be republished in numerous black journals, newspapers, and anti-colonialist publications around the world. In Senegal, it forms a mural that adorns the entrance of a school bearing the name of Lamine Senghor in his hometown of Joal, and has been incorporated into the iconography of the country's radical left-wing tradition (Lamine Senghor was a hero to almost all radical left-wing Senegalese students of the 1960s and 70s). The image disrupts received ideas about the *tirailleur* that informed the dominant imagery analyzed above and illustrates the radical oppositional power of the *tirailleur* re-imagined as opponent of the empire.

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The imagery in the ACHAC collection is a vivid reminder of the complexity of the position occupied by the *tirailleurs* within the colonial context. The French response to their participation in World War I positions these men as willing servants of empire. As is demonstrated by these images, however, this visual response was wide and varied, ranging from caricature to patronizing patriarchalism to attempts at locating a sense of shared humanity. The *tirailleur* could be a smiling child, a savage warrior, a figure of fun or a disciplined and brave soldier, just like the millions of ordinary French "grunts." Or, as in the case of Lamine Senghor, the *tirailleur* could be the sworn enemy of colonialism, his experience of war and his encounter with Europe sowing the seeds of the empire's ultimate demise.

Notes

1. See "Guerres africaines, de la France: 1830–2017: L'empire des armées," Special issue, *Les Temps modernes* 693 (April–July 2017).
2. Pierre Nora, ed., David P. Jordan, trans. ed., *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999–2010).
3. Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Oeuvre Poétique*. (Paris: Seuil, 2006), 55.
4. See Roger Little, ed., *Les tirailleurs s*énégalais vus par les blancs: *Anthologie d'écrits de la 1re moitié du XXe siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, "Autrement Mêmes," 2016), for an anthology of writings on the *tirailleurs* from the first half of the twentieth century.
5. The French historian Eric Deroo has written widely about French representations of the *tirailleur* in this period. See Eric Deroo, *La Force noire: Gloire et infortunes d'une légende coloniale* (Paris: Tallandier, 2006); and Eric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire, *Les tirailleurs* (Paris: Seuil, 2010). This chapter is indebted to his work.
6. For a comprehensive history of the *tirailleurs*, see Myron J. Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The "tirailleurs sénégalais" in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Oxford: James Currey; Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1991). Focusing more specifically on the *tirailleurs* and the two world wars are: Joe Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of World War One* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey, 1993); Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); and Richard S. Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
7. For analysis of the shifting debates around the statue, see Ferdinand De Jong, "Recycling Recognition: The Monument as *objet trouvé* of the Postcolony," *Journal of Material Culture* 13, no. 2 (2008): 195–214.
8. The growing recognition of the massacre of at least thirty-five *tirailleurs* by the French army at Thiaroye demobilization camp, just outside Dakar, in December 1944, is the best example of this victimhood.
9. Marc Michel, *Les Africains et la grande guerre: L'appel à l'Afrique (1914–1918)*. (Paris: Karthala, 2003).
10. Michel, *Les Africains et la grande guerre,*
11. Pap Ndiaye, *La Condition noire: Essai sur une minorité française* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2008), 133, my translation.
12. For an overview of different aspects of Cousturier's engagement with the *tirailleurs* in the context of early twentieth-century French colonialism, see Roger Little, ed., *Lucie Cousturier, les tirailleurs sénégalais et la question coloniale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), and David Murphy, "Love, Trauma and War: the tirailleurs sénégalais and sexual-racial politics in 1920s France," *Irish Journal of French Studies* 13 (2013): 111–28.
13. In fact, the main pressure on the war government to exclude African troops from winter combat came from Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese deputy to parliament, whose role in relation to World War I will be discussed below.
14. For more on the sexual politics surrounding the *tirailleurs*, see Tyler Stovall, "Love, Labor and Race: Colonial Men and White Women in France during the Great War," in *French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race,* ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges van den Abbeele (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2003), 297–31.
15. For a brilliant account of this landmark trial, see Alice L. Conklin, "Who Speaks for Africa? The René Maran-Blaise Diagne Trial in 1920s Paris," in *The Colour of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, ed. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 302–37.
16. The best account of black radicalism in this period is Philippe Dewitte, *Les Mouvements nègres en France 1919–39* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985).
17. *Les Continents*, 15 Oct. 1924, cited in Lamine Senghor, *La violation d'un pays et autres écrits anticolonialistes,* ed. David Murphy (Paris: L'Harmattan, Collection "Autrement Mêmes," 2012), 109–10,
18. Senghor, *La violation d'un pays et autres écrits anticolonialistes,* 33–34.
19. The LAI's, full name was the League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression.
20. Senghor, *La violation d'un pays et autres écrits anticolonialistes*, 61, 63.
21. 'The Browsing Reader'. 1927. *The Crisis* (July), 160.
22. "A Black Man's Protest," 1927. *The Living Age,* 332, no. 4306 (15 May), 866–68.
23. Roger N. Baldwin. "The Capital of the Men without a Country," *The Survey,* 1 Aug. 1927, 460–68.

LAUREN TAYLOR

ON POSTERS AND POSTURES: COLONIAL ENLISTMENT POSTERS AND THE NATIONALIST IMAGINATION IN FRANCE

> Young people / Who hesitate to choose a career . . .
> Go to the colonies.
> —Danilo, poster, 1925

Why not leave the troubles of metropolitan France behind? A 1925 lithograph signed "Danilo" prompted its viewers to ponder this question, a query made all the more intriguing by the trying economic circumstances of the hexagon's interwar years (fig. 1). A weakened economy and oversaturated job market presented major obstacles not only to young men seeking new careers, but also to French soldiers who sought to transition into civilian work after returning from World War I.[1] To the frustrated and unemployed, Danilo's large poster, produced by the French ministry of war, touts the seductive promises of free travel, a substantial paycheck, and job training in a new trade—not to mention the tantalizingly ambiguous "lure of the unknown." This textual appeal is wedged between enticing palm fronds, a North African mosque topped by a flapping *tricolore* and a relaxed French officer on camelback who provides a protective barrier between a flurry of cavalry activity and local women and children.

Danilo's poster establishes a mutually reinforcing relationship between the visual and the verbal, united in their public appeal for military service overseas. Such consistency is typical of its genre; in general, the military recruitment poster is known neither for the subtlety of its message nor the complexity of the relationship posed between word and image. Instead, its defining characteristics lie in the immediacy of its confrontation with a viewer as it poses a direct call to action. James Montgomery Flagg's iconic 1917 poster of the allegorical Uncle Sam exemplifies these attributes of the genre; as if to eliminate any shred of interpretative ambiguity left by the stern gaze and a pointing finger of its protagonist, overlaid capital letters proclaim, "I WANT YOU / FOR U.S. ARMY."

Perhaps it is because they convey such clarity of purpose that French colonial enlistment posters like Danilo's, despite their relationship to topics of war,

Fig. 1.
Danilo (n.d.). *Jeunes gens . . . allez aux colonies,* 1925, poster.
Paris, Imprimerie Edia.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

nationalism, economics, and labor, have been largely overlooked by existing scholarship.[2] Unlike prior literature identifying, for example, the propagandistic promotion of French colonialism in education, entertainment, and sports, it is no revelation in itself to connect colonial recruitment posters to the initiatives of empire.[3] Yet, in scholarship on twentieth-century enlistment imagery made outside of France, the overt intentions of recruitment posters are precisely what has made them useful historical tools. Art historian W. J. T. Mitchell, for example, deploys Flagg's print—in his words, "a picture that wears its heart on its sleeve"—to substantiate a historical conceptualization of American identity; historian Carlo Ginzberg discusses "Lord Kitchener Wants You," a British

recruitment poster by Alfred Leete, to demonstrate the ways in which an image's power might draw upon culturally inscribed memories.[4] In both cases, these authors identify and capitalize upon the enlistment lithograph as a format in which meaning is conveyed persuasively, directly, and with the reinforcement of text. Equipped with relative certainty about what visual content was intended to do, Mitchell and Ginzberg have an atypically strong foundation from which to consider why certain images were selected at a given historical moment, and how they conveyed a particular impression before a national audience.

Drawing from these scholars' recognition of the enlistment poster's capacity to facilitate an interpretative shift from meaning to method, this chapter examines a group of colonial recruitment prints produced by various French government ministries throughout much of the twentieth century. While a shared purpose unites these posters, the diversity of their content and style speaks to changing circumstances affecting the relationship of France to its colonies during and after the two world wars. Through formal, iconographical, and textual analyses, I examine the ways that representations of the colony and the military engage historically-specific strategies to legitimize Empire and convey international French dominance—whether portraying the colonies as sites of exotic excess in the years leading up to the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale, bastions of national hope during the Vichy years, or terrain for French prosperity obfuscating the postwar destabilization of Empire.

Mobilizing Desire in the Interwar Years

In the years following World War I, enlistment in the French armed forces decreased dramatically. Although the battles pervading Europe had at last relented, a stark reminder of the need for France to maintain a colonial army abroad arrived with the Berber threats posed in Morocco during the Zaian War (1914–21) and Rif War (1920–26). A lithograph designed in 1923 by Pierre Noury referred explicitly to this necessity for ongoing enlistment in its opening lines: "Heirs to the glorious past bequeathed by the troops of the Navy, the colonial troops won the admiration of all through their bravery and sacrifice during the Great War. Their mission is not finished and their presence is still needed in the territories of our colonial domain" (fig. 2). While the poster's text expressed an ongoing demand for recruits, the surrounding images suggested the appeal of such service by linking the overseas occupation to patriotism, adventure, and moral obligation.

Foregrounding a link to national identity, the lithograph is awash with the colors of the French flag, which itself appears no fewer than thirteen times throughout the composition. A ship on the horizon alludes to the metropolitan

benefits of colonial import and export. In addition to fulfilling one's duty to country, however, enlistment is presented as a service to oneself. Time in the colonies is portrayed as exciting and character-building, offering an opportunity, in the poster's words, to "satisfy their thirst for long trips and adventures." The landscape beneath the poster's top edge brings this fantasy to life, as buildings with vaguely North African and Indochinese architectural styles stand upon opposite ends of the same stretch of land. Colonial soldiers stand between these buildings, their uniformed bodies bridging distant worlds.

For skeptics of the colonial project, these soldiers also perpetuate a comforting trope, identified by historian Éric Deroo, which gained currency following World War I: a portrayal, however paternalistic, of the colonized subject as a brother-in-arms.[5] Between 1914 and 1918, about 450,000 soldiers from Africa

Fig. 2.
Pierre Noury (French, 1894–n.d.). *Troupes coloniales,* 1923, poster.
Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

were deployed on behalf of France. Tens of thousands of troops from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, West Africa, and French Indochina died in uniform. Their sacrifices provided the French public with compelling subject matter through which to imagine a fraternal relationship between colonizer and colonized. At the same time, throughout the interwar years, opposition to colonialism gained momentum, as illustrated by the 1927 establishment of the Ligue Contre l'Impérialisme et l'Oppression Colonial (League against imperialism and colonial oppression) and the 1931 circulation of the tract "Ne visitez pas l'Exposition Coloniale" (Do not visit the Colonial Exhibition). Amid growing criticism, idealizing portrayals of the overseas military lent a degree of cosmetic alleviation to budding concerns toward the ethics of empire.

Noury's illustration walks a line well tread by such representations of the foreign brother-in-arms, characterizing his relationship to the metropolitan soldier as one affected by both collaboration and condescension. To the lower left, a European cavalry officer and an African *tirailleur,* or infantryman, stand together—but whereas the cavalry officer is elevated on camelback, the *tirailleur*'s bare feet are planted directly upon the ground. While suggesting a degree of military integration, this composition also telegraphs a spatial and racial hierarchy. The two lines of soldiers traversing the poster's imaginary landscape convey a similar duality; whereas the various ethnicities of those portrayed suggest diversity in a given regiment, only white soldiers appear in the front row. The dynamics of race and power underlying such representations, as well as other topics pertaining to the Senegalese *tirailleurs,* are explored elsewhere in this book, notably in David Murphy's essay.

A 1927 poster designed by Georges Bertin Scott similarly capitalized upon the image of the integrated armed forces as they appeared in the French imagination (fig. 3). As historian Alexandre Sumpf has identified, figures in each of its four corners introduce viewers to the different divisions of the Army of Africa, the name applied to colonial troops stationed in North Africa.[6] *Zouaves*, infantry troops primarily composed of recruits from France, occupy the poster's bottom left; a *tirailleur,* more often recruited from colonized populations, is shown on the opposite corner. The top corners feature cavalrymen; to the right appear the African chasseurs, most often recruited from the hexagon, and to the left are spahis, recruited locally. Despite the tendency for chassseurs and Zouaves to include recruits from the mainland, the only white soldiers, associated with metropolitan France, appear in the top center. Set apart as officers, they command the attention of surrounding chasseurs and spahis as they raise swords and a flag. The resulting image suggests teamwork in diversity while nonetheless implying the hexagonal soldier's superiority to his darker-complected comrades.

Fig. 3.
Georges Bertin Scott (1873–1942). Troupes d'Afrique, 1927, poster.
Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Intriguingly, while the detailed illustrations of military uniforms play a key role in making this poster's iconography legible, they do not accurately represent the ways in which colonial troops were outfitted in the year of its creation. The "Oriental-style" garments shown had been discontinued from military use for over a decade preceding the lithograph's production, replaced in 1915 by a standardized uniform donned throughout all of Greater France.[7] If the presentation of these outdated uniforms may reflect their occasional use in ceremonial functions, their incorporation also has an exoticizing effect, giving visual access to ornate design motifs associated with the East, long coveted and imitated in France. A Moorish arch frames the poster's text, thereby introducing its recruitment call through a recognizable stylistic allusion to the Islamic world.

Through appeals to exoticism, as well as the discussed intimations of patriotism and ethics, these posters both instrumentalized and supplemented the broader cultural landscape of France from 1920 to 1931. During this eleven-year period, a state-sponsored French bureau, the Agence Générale des Colonies (General bureau of the colonies), led propagandistic campaigns to encourage public approval of France's colonial empire. Weaving references to the colonies into everyday life through interventions in education and entertainment, the Agence bombarded French citizens with imagery that promoted France's overseas territories as lucrative, intriguing, and, for those upon whom it was imposed, "civilizing." Depictions of empire permeated postcards, boardgames, theater, cinema, and more, generating a cultural effect that historian Nicolas Bancel has called the "colonial bath."[8] French fascination with the overseas territories reached its climax during the colossal Exposition Coloniale Internationale of 1931 in Paris, which attracted millions of visitors from France and beyond. In an effort to provide its audience with the impression that they had experienced the colonies, while of course endeavoring to stimulate their interest and win their support, the megafair offered arts and crafts, a variety of foods, large-scale architectural reproductions, and "ethnic villages" that displayed people brought from overseas or professional actors standing in for them.[9]

With their lush flora, exoticist promises, and abundance of people and animals, Danilo, Noury, and Scott's lithographs typify enlistment imagery created between the wars. Interwar recruitment posters often introduced crowded compositions and detailed texts, rendering people and places with an unusual degree of realism and specificity. Stylistically, these works are indebted to the illustrative techniques of Jules Chéret and other poster artists of the belle epoque (1871–1914). The print media associated with this era share much in common with the state-sponsored enlistment imagery of the 1920s: the graphic design of both tended to be colorful, dynamic, and painterly, often with backdrops that set the scene and suggested spatial depth.

By contrast, commercial lithographs of the 1920s had frequently abandoned the lively ornamentation and romantic palettes of their belle epoque predecessors, adopting a more pared-down aesthetic that had already been developing for more than a decade. At the turn of the century, the iconic designs of Paris-based illustrator Leonetto Cappiello introduced simplified compositions, positioning one or more central subjects upon a background of solid color. This paradigm is recognizable in works such as *Chocolat Klaus* (1903), his widely circulated advertisement for the Swiss chocolate company of the same name. By the mid- to late 1920s, then, countless cigarettes had been sold, and films promoted, through illustrations exhibiting an even more deeply minimalized style. The geometric renderings and flat colors created at the time by graphic artists such as A. M. Cassandre (the artistic pseudonym of Adolphe Jean-Marie Mouron) and Charles Loupot testify to the influence of Cubism, the Bauhaus, and the Russian avant-garde.[10]

If the styles embraced by Danilo, Noury, Scott, and their patron, the ministry of war, can be understood to follow a dominant illustrative technique in France, they do not represent the espousal by default of the moment's only available option. Rather, their teeming, vibrant compositions are the result of a choice, whether subconscious or deliberate, regarding method. A strategic advantage underlies the more-is-more aesthetic of the era's calls to arms, as its persuasive power would have been augmented by the coinciding French consumption of the colonies in visual and material culture: elements of an obsession stoked by the state's propagandistic initiatives. The lithographs' complex composition thus not only aligned with the language of plenitude reinforced by the "colonial bath," but also provided opportunities for the insertion of varied iconography tailored to quell contemporary anxieties and capitalize upon existing discourses.

From Consumption to Character in Vichy France

Offering travel, career training, and cash, the promises of a 1943 poster signed "Breugnot" appear similar to those of its interwar precedents (fig. 4). Striking differences in its content and style, however, betray a shift in the methods of persuasion underlying recruitment. The poster's aesthetic has more in common with the commercial works of Cassandre and Loupot than with the earlier recruitment prints, with which it shared both patronage and purpose. In Breugnot's design, flat blue and yellow planes have replaced a diversity of hues, and a central figure, drawn with stylized geometric strokes, is rendered in much less detail than the characters from earlier examples. Whereas architectural features and fashion design allowed interwar posters to make deliberate nods to different corners of the empire, Breugnot's lithograph represents the colony only as a shore dotted with palm trees—a particularly vague signifier, given that palms grew in almost all regions of Greater France. With the exception of this pervasive plant, nothing in this image comes from beyond the metropole. Instead, viewers are compelled to focus upon its lone protagonist, who stands at the bow of a sailboat with raised fists and a rifle strapped upon his back.

While earlier enlistment posters made their visual appeals primarily through references to the colonies, this image barely acknowledges them. Instead, it relies upon its audience's appreciation of the French colonial soldier as a fearless patriot, deserving of respect for his bravery, his potential, and his adaptability. Like the colonial landscape, he is shown in generalized terms, his face mostly

Fig. 4.
Breugnot (n.d.). *Jeunes! Si Vous Avez,* 1943, poster. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

concealed beneath the brim of his hat. Void of specific features, both the character and the landscape provide flexible templates through which young male viewers might imagine themselves and their futures. This act of projection takes on a literal form through the character's shadow. Cast upon the sail behind him, the faint silhouette is mismatched with the soldier whom it trails. The figure-in-shadow totes no gun, instead gripping a steering helm and wearing a scarf. Below him, the lyrics of the French marine hymn clarify the portrayed double-identity, encouraging enlistment in the colonial troops "if you have the heart of a sailor. . . / and that of a soldier." This appeal to the soldier's interior life reveals a methodological shift from the campaigns of earlier years in a move

to appeal to one's character, a reorientation that appears to have affected Vichy propaganda more generally. For example, the visual device of a figure trailed by an inconsistent shadow—a technique for conveying an alternate self—was also deployed in a poster encouraging the reader to become a factory worker, shown in the foreground, rather than a criminal, shown in ominous silhouette.[11]

Following France's abrupt, humiliating defeat in World War II, heightened interest in the character of the colonial soldier arises amid a broader investment in the ethical and emotional connotations of empire. In June 1940, after the six-week Battle of France claimed hundreds of thousands of French casualties, the newly appointed French prime minister Philippe Pétain sought a peace agreement with Germany. Decrying the impending surrender of his nation, exiled General Charles de Gaulle implored ongoing resistance on the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) radio. De Gaulle portrayed the colonies as a resource for France's empowerment, declaring to his listeners, "France is not alone! She is not alone! She has a vast empire behind her. "[12]

Although De Gaulle's remarks anticipated the physical and ideological challenges that the general would pose to the Vichy government, they did not forestall France's capitulation. Signed on 22 June 1940, the Franco-German armistice ceded two-thirds of the metropole to German occupation. Within a treaty that otherwise crippled France's autonomy, one provision might be understood to work in the nation's interests: the protection of its colonial territories from German occupation. Thus, for both the administration of Vichy France and its French detractors, the colonies provided symbols—however illusory—of the enduring international influence of an otherwise disempowered nation, as historian Ruth Ginio has discussed.[13] The symbolic role of the empire is confirmed, as the essay in this volume by Dominic Thomas reveals, by the central role that Marshal Pétain, as chief of state of Vichy, played in colonial-era board games designed to stimulate interest in overseas colonial holdings among the French youth. The armed and willing soldier of Breugnot's 1943 lithograph can be understood in the context of a widespread desire for ongoing French strength, offering a model of fortitude that defied the seeming futility of post-defeat enlistment.

A poster created by Rodolphe "Ro" Rebour in the same year took a different approach to cultivating a similarly forward-looking ethos (fig. 5). Emblazoned with the slogan "Today, join the LMC [Ligue Maritime et Coloniale, or Maritime and colonial league] /Tomorrow, the empire will prosper," this poster, too, framed the colonial empire as a source of optimism amid otherwise devastating historical circumstances. This lithograph gave a literal face to such hope: a profile portrait of a man of sub-Saharan origin. His visage appeared against the backdrop of a loosely drawn French flag, his black skin occupying the space

Fig. 5.
Rodolphe Rebour (n.d.).
Aujourd'hui adhérez à la Ligue maritime et coloniale, 1943, poster.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

normally reserved for its central white stripe. To some extent, Rebour's lithograph can be understood in similar terms to earlier designs—like those of Scott and Noury—in which representations of colonized people in uniform served to assert the morality of French institutions. Its creation coincided with comparable but broader efforts to visually tout the diversity of the French Empire during World War II. The well-known (non-enlistment) poster *Trois Couleurs, Un Drapeau, Un Empire* (Three colors, one flag, one empire; 1942) by Éric Castel, for example, also mobilized close facial portraits in a design that simultaneously celebrated a multicultural empire and reduced its subjects to autonomous ethnic types.

Representations of the Empire's diversity were particularly loaded during the Vichy years. As other dimensions of national identity collapsed beneath the weight of the physical and ideological impositions of Germany, France's overseas territories—and the service of their inhabitants in the colonial armed forces—provided material through which citizens could imagine their nation as the purveyor of a multiculturalism in opposition to overt Nazi racism. Even after the armistice, France continued to enlist black soldiers in the colonies, thus maintaining a military practice that had fueled vehement disagreement between the two nations since 1919, when black French soldiers were sent to occupy the Rhineland.[14] From 1920 to 1923 the Nazis orchestrated a racist

propaganda campaign to villainize these troops, referring to them as the "black horror on the Rhine." The circulated media accused them of sexually violating local women, threatening the colonial order, and dishonoring Germany through their very presence.[15] These characterizations were rejected as the rote inventions of Nazi racism in both French newspapers and an official 1922 report, compiled on behalf of French, British, and American authorities, called "La réfutation de la campagne d'accusations contre les troupes françaises de couleur en territoires Rhénans occupés" (Rebuttal to the campaign of accusations against French troops of color in occupied Rhineland territories). When France fell to Germany in 1940, Nazi racism targeting black French soldiers remained active and lethal. Historian Raffael Scheck estimates that between 1,500 and 3,000 black French prisoners of war were executed on the basis of their race in May and June alone, adding to the 10,000 black African lives lost during the Battle of France (10 May–25 June 1940).[16]

Rebour's promotion of the LMC implicitly distinguishes the French Empire from the Nazis. His poster subtly suggests that although the former hexagon's borders had abruptly contracted, its limited territories were at least well situated on an ethical high ground. The LMC had also played a role in portraying colonialism as an enterprise of national principles during the 1941 Week of France Overseas. This propagandistic celebration of colonialism was marketed to the French youth in brochures that proclaimed the unity of metropolitan and colonial France and the success of humanitarian programs initiated in the territories overseas.[17] Beyond governmental communiques, colonialism's link to national character permeated public opinion and popular discourse. A 1943 call for enlistment issued by Pierre Chanvillard (a history and geography professor), for example, relied upon an understood relationship between the colonial army and the internal qualities of the French youth: "The 1940 armistice left our country two forces: its navy and its empire. Two forces without which a defeated France would hold little weight on the international scale. Two forces that have proven their value over the past two years. [The Maritime and Colonial League] counts upon all French aware of their duties to support the imperial work with their cooperation and their hearts. It also counts upon the youth, upon an educated youth, ready to serve and filled with ideals."[18] Chanvillard specifically targeted educated, motivated, and forward-looking young men, framing service overseas not only as a reserve of national strength, but also as a defense of French ideals.

While the iconography of Breugnot and Rebour's posters contributes to their linking of colonialism and character, so too do their styles. Their adoption of the reduced aesthetic that had long before characterized commercial posters updates their appearance in step with the broader historical development of graphic design. The reduction of detail and generalization of forms

also, however, leaves them more open to accommodate the projections of their audiences. Both foreground a spatially isolated individual, thereby encouraging a viewer's reflection upon who he or she is and what France might become. In conversation with the challenge to French identity triggered by German occupation, these lithographs offered the colony and the soldier as terrain for renewed understandings of self and nation. Their persuasive appeal was necessarily located in an optimism for the future, no longer able to rely upon the opportunities of the present. Through these varied means, Vichy-era posters capitalized upon a rare source of ideological common ground: a belief in the potential for the colonies to transform France's future. As historians Pascal Blanchard and Ruth Ginio describe, "Gaullists, Pétainists, radicals, socialists, communists, Christians, the Church, the army, Freemasons, the administration and nationalists all saw eye to eye on the future of the French overseas territories."[19]

Ironically, just as these posters invoked the colonial forces to symbolize unwavering French strength or a solidarity between colonizer and colonized, French holdings overseas faced an unprecedented degree of opposition, including challenges from Gaullist forces, Allied opponents, and the seeds of African liberation movements. Throughout the following two decades, French authority in the colonies would be perpetually challenged (and eventually overturned) by various independence efforts: initiatives energized in part by the revelation of French vulnerability and growth of African dissent under the Vichy regime.[20]

Onward and Outward after the War

After the end of World War II, France's grip upon its colonial holdings continued to loosen, relying increasingly upon violent means of enforcement. A number of uprisings testify to the troubled relationship between the metropole and its regions abroad. In 1945, thousands of Algerians perished at the hands of French soldiers during the Sétif Massacre. From 1947 to 1948, 90,000 Malagasy lives were lost after an uprising incited by the French dismissal of a legal effort to establish independence.[21] Armed struggle erupted in Cameroon in 1955, and France also engaged in two long-term wars in the colonies: The First Indochina War (from 1946 to 1954), and the Algerian War (from 1954 to 1962), both of which would ultimately result in the detachment of independent states from French rule. As bloodshed abroad increasingly stained the humanistic claims of colonial military occupation, the strategies invoked in enlistment imagery under the Fourth Republic broke from those of their Vichy predecessors, appealing to a nationalistic desire for French prosperity more often than individual moral duty.

Fig. 6.
J. Douillet (n.d.). *Avec les Troupes coloniales vers des horizons nouveaux,* 1950, poster.
Paris, E. Desfossés-Néogravure, Les Presses modernes, Pouzet et Cie.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

A 1950 lithograph signed "J. Douillet" portrays the colony, for example, as a stable symbol of France's long-reaching power (fig. 6). Its painterly style contributes to the romanticization of its content, a verdant but generic strip of land overcome by palm trees. The work places its viewer's vantage point amid the still, surrounding waters, as though approaching the land by boat. The shore shows no signs of development or inhabitation, giving the viewer the impression that they may be arriving upon a wholly unexplored place. That possibility is gently annulled, however, by the white flagpole at the image's center, upon which an outstretched *tricolore* catches what can only be imagined as the perfectly temperate breeze. A young Frenchman would be prompted to recognize that this ideal retreat had been claimed by his nation. This placid scene is overlaid with a phrase that appealed to the viewer's sense of adventure while reinforcing the image's implication of geographic reach: "with the colonial troops, towards new horizons."

Beneath its utter tranquility, Douillet's poster nurtures multiple politically loaded fictions. Most obviously, its serenity posits a foil to the increasing unrest abroad. On a more subtle level, the portrayal of the colony as a flag-pierced deserted island characterizes imperialism as the uncomplicated claiming of an otherwise unsettled land, belying the historical circumstances of imperialism.

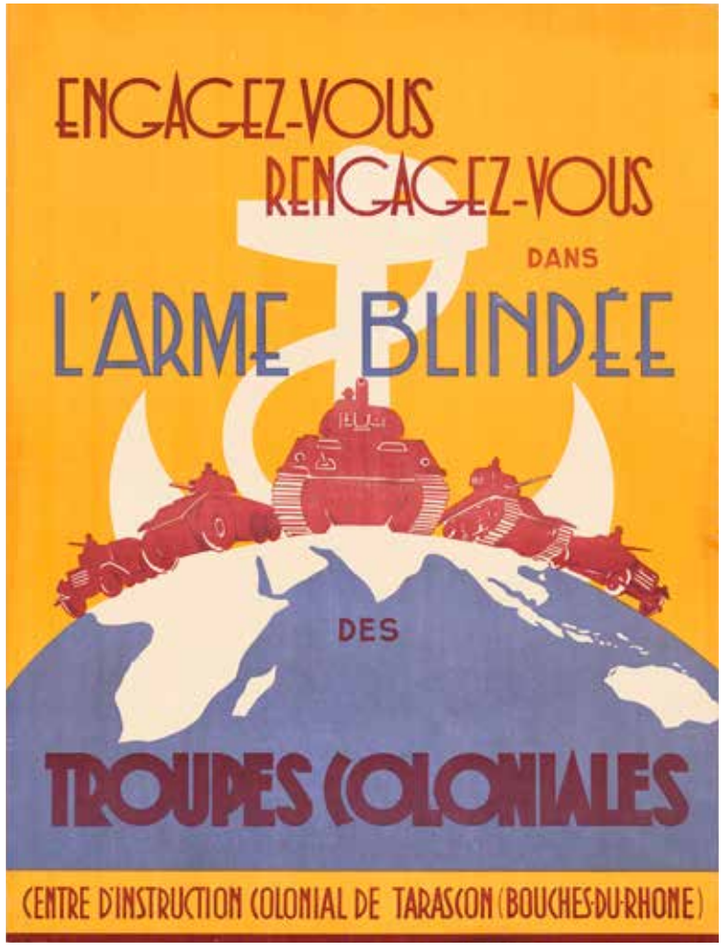

Fig. 7.
Engagez-vous, rengagez-vous dans l'armée blindée des Troupes coloniales, 1950, poster.
Tarascon, France, Centre d'instruction colonial de Tarascon.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Finally, through its portrayal of newly claimed lands, it defines the colonial project as conduit to widespread French domination.

Exemplifying the visual rhetoric of expansion through a more aggressive approach, a 1950 enlistment poster seeking future tank-operators goes so far as to imply France's world domination (fig. 7). In this lithograph, the globe is depicted beneath the heavy treads of five enormous red tanks representing the French military. The resulting composition conveys an indiscriminate use of absolute power: a thrusting of the rest of the world beneath the weight of French authority. This poster capitalizes upon the connotations surrounding the tank, a symbol of technological advantage and unfettered strength. This was the machine, after all, that De Gaulle once credited for Germany's victory over France, and in which he placed hope for the nation's future, declaring, "Struck down today by mechanical force, we will conquer in the future through a superior mechanical force. Therein lies the fate of the world."[22]

Fig. 8.
L. Bouygues (n.d.). *Réponds à l'appel de l'Union française en servant dans les Troupes coloniales,* 1957, poster.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Douillet includes the colonies only in the vaguest possible terms: as assumed but unspecified regions of a world map upon which no national boundaries are drawn. Depicting the overseas territories of the French Union as symbols of international domination rather than specific places, the lithograph might be understood with respect to the interests, knowledge base, and priorities of the postwar public as characterized by Historian Jacques Frémeaux: "In late 1949, almost one French person in five proved incapable of naming one overseas territory, and only 28 percent could cite five or more. In public perception, clichés and vaguely racist caricatures of a more or less fanciful character took the place of even superficial knowledge of local realities. . . . The French population remained for the most part interested in the prosperity and defense of the metropole."[23] Such waning metropolitan interest in the people and particularities of overseas territories carried political utility for the governing forces of the Fourth Republic. The public acceptance of French violence abroad—and indeed, a willingness to take up arms in such campaigns—required a revised understanding of colonialism's purpose and a more adversarial and even dehumanizing relationship to the colonized subject.

This change in perspective is reflected in a 1957 lithograph signed "L. Bouygues" (fig. 8). In the foreground, a colonial soldier is shown in three different roles— as an infantryman, a cavalryman, and a tank operator. The three representations adopt a similarly geometric style to that of Breugnot's print,

and the two lithographs are also comparable in their portrayal of the multiple responsibilities of the colonial troops. However, in Bouygues's example, thick, jagged outlines surround the figures, who appear within a crowded composition that juxtaposes images and text in three different orientations. As a result, viewers are led not to reflect upon the subjectivity of the soldier, but rather to confront his dynamism. Further underscoring this effect, the colonial servicemen are shown alongside a contrasting figure: the colonized subject, appearing as a dark silhouette and characterized only by his blackness, his toplessness, and his rhythmic inclinations, as he plays a drum with his hands. Particularly when viewed in comparison to Rebour's portrait poster, Bouygues's representation of an African man reflects a regression in the role of the colonized in the French imagination. Stereotyped and generalized, the depiction is not that of a dignified ally, but rather of an inferior Other.

A list of the French colonies lines the poster's vertical borders. As the textual perimeter identifies the territories of the French union, it also produces a decorative and psychological impact. The inversion and small size of this text complicate a viewer's ability to read, an effect that perhaps emboldened Bouygues to list *Antilles Pacifique* twice. More immediately than the listed territories become legible, they convey multitude. This suggestion of mass influence belies the gradual diminishment of the French Union, a reality perceptible in the major absences from the poster's list, including Morocco, Tunisia, French Indochina, and Algeria.

As conflict and contestation pervaded the colonies, postwar enlistment imagery not only defied these political realities, but went further, portraying the overseas lands themselves as emblems of French authority on the global stage. This linking of the overseas Union and the growth of national power is strategic, emerging in the re-empowered France of the Fourth Republic and against increasing violence and instability in the colonies. Furthermore, postwar imagery strategically responds to the drained persuasive power of designs that linked enlistment and ethics, as the soldier's inner constitution became a less compelling selling point than his role in expanding France's influence.

More broadly, French colonial recruitment posters provide access to the ways in which culturally-inscribed ideals and fears might underlie the generation of content, style, and composition at a given historical moment. While the romantic palette, crowded compositions, and detailed iconography characterizing interwar posters may have registered amid a broader obsession with colonial consumption, the depression of German defeat and the ambiguity of Vichy intentions required a less celebratory, more aspirational appeal to its viewers. Through spatial emphases upon portrayals of individuals and an abstraction of the colonies, a simplified aesthetic marketed the colonial forces

as a manifestation of French national character. In the years following France's liberation from enemy occupation, a variety of independence efforts called the ethics of empire into question. Enlistment campaigns reframed their message, inviting viewers to participate in an assertion of French power and leadership on an international scale. Representations of lands abroad and their inhabitants remained generalized or completely absent, while the armed forces of the French Union appeared dynamic and strong.

Eye-catching by design and strategically fixed to the walls of highly trafficked areas, military recruitment posters must be understood not only to capitalize upon popular imaginings of the colony and the military, but also to perpetuate them. Still, in comparison to other forms of French propaganda, these posters sought more directly to generate a physical defense of the colonies than a representational one. Because the intention underlying the enlistment poster is, explicitly and consistently, to recruit young men to the colonial armed forces, transformations in visual and verbal content correspond not to a fundamental change in purpose, but rather in technique. As a result, transformations in enlistment imagery created before, during, and after World War II make visible the changing desires and anxieties associated with the colonies, the military, and national identity.

Notes

1. The challenges of a return to civilian life are discussed at length in Bruno Cabanes, *La victoire endeuillée: La sortie de guerre des soldats français, 1918–1920* (Paris: Seuil, 2004).
2. Pascal Blanchard's article on propagandistic posters depicting colonized subjects does not include military recruitment posters: Pascal Blanchard, "La répresentation de l'indigène dans les affiches de propogande coloniale: Entre concept républicain, fiction phobique, et discours racialisant," *Hermès* 2, no. 30 (2001): 149–68. At the time of his article, the most substantial remarks on enlistment posters were those written by Alexandre Sumpf. His brief but well-researched discussion of three interwar posters, released in 2009, appeared on the website *L'histoire par l'image*, a project designed to provide visual and historical resources to secondary school teachers and their students. : Alexandre Sumpf, "Le recrutement de la Coloniale," *L'histoire par l'image*, July 2009, http://www.histoire-image.org/etudes/recrutement-coloniale.
3. For work on the topics mentioned, see the following essays in Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, and Dominic Thomas, eds., eds., *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014): Sylvie Chalaye, "Entertainment, Theatre, and the Colonies (1870–1914)," 116–23; Timothée Jobert, Stanislas Frenkiel, and Nicolas Bancel, "The Athletic Exception: Black Champions and Colonial Culture

(1900–1939)," 189–99; Nicolas Bancel, "The Colonial Bath: Colonial Culture in Everyday Life (1918–1931)," 200–208.

4. W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?," *October* 77 (1996): 76; Carlo Ginzburg, "'Your Country Needs You': A Case Study in Political Iconography," *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001): vi, 1–22.
5. Éric DeRoo, "Dying: The Call of Empire (1913–1918)," in Blanchard et al., *Colonial Culture in France,* 132.
6. Sumpf, "Le recrutement de la Coloniale."
7. DeRoo, "Dying: The Call of Empire," 139.
8. Bancel, Nicolas "Le Bain Colonial: Aux sources de la culture coloniale populaire", in *Culture Coloniale* : *La France conquise par son empire (1871-1931),* ed. Pascale Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: Autrement, 2003). 179–90.
9. Pascal Blanchard, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); and Pascal Blanchard et al., *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Arles and Paris: Actes Sud and Musée du Quai Branly, 2011).
10. Michel Wlassikoff, *Histoire du graphisme en France* (Paris: Arts Décoratifs, 2008).
11. René Pérès, "Quelle arme choisis-tu?" 1944, lithograph, Paris, Musée de la Résistance Nationale.
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STEVEN NELSON

LA FRANCE ET SES COLONIES: MAPPING, REPRESENTING, AND VISUALIZING EMPIRE

"[T]he subject of the dream is the dreamer"
—Toni Morrison[1]

By the fin de siècle, France's desire to enlarge its colonial holdings had reached a fever pitch. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century alone, it had annexed nineteen colonies and protectorates in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. In an 1898 article on the French domination of Africa, journalist Gaston Donnet, wrote, "We collect colonies as connoisseurs collect bric-à-brac or tapestry! . . . The progress of exploration on the Nile, or the Tchad, or Niger is followed as eagerly as the difficult course of a steeplechase. It would not be surprising if we took to betting on it."[2]

With France's accelerating colonization, public interest in the colonies swelled. From colonial periodicals to the mass press, news of the colonies became more frequent and, in turn, the imperial project attracted an increasing portion of the French public's attention. To satisfy such desires and to normalize the colonial project, the media created a cottage industry of making the colonies legible to the metropolitan population. It is within this context that in 1897 *Le petit journal* published a map entitled *La France et ses colonies* (France and its colonies; fig. 1). Ostensibly an advertising supplement for *Le petit journal, La France et ses colonies* is one of several maps in the ACHAC collection at the Getty Research Institute that represent the French and Belgian colonial worlds. These materials provide a small sample of how the French and Belgians took advantage of the ability of the map to consolidate and communicate knowledge of the world in the interest of advancing their imperial agendas.

La France et ses colonies is an imposing object. Its designer, A. Guibal, who produced several maps for the newspaper as well as other outlets the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, centered an oversized France that dwarfs the maps of the colonies placed on the object's periphery. Among the maps, Guibal interspersed eighteen images of colonized peoples, in six groups of three

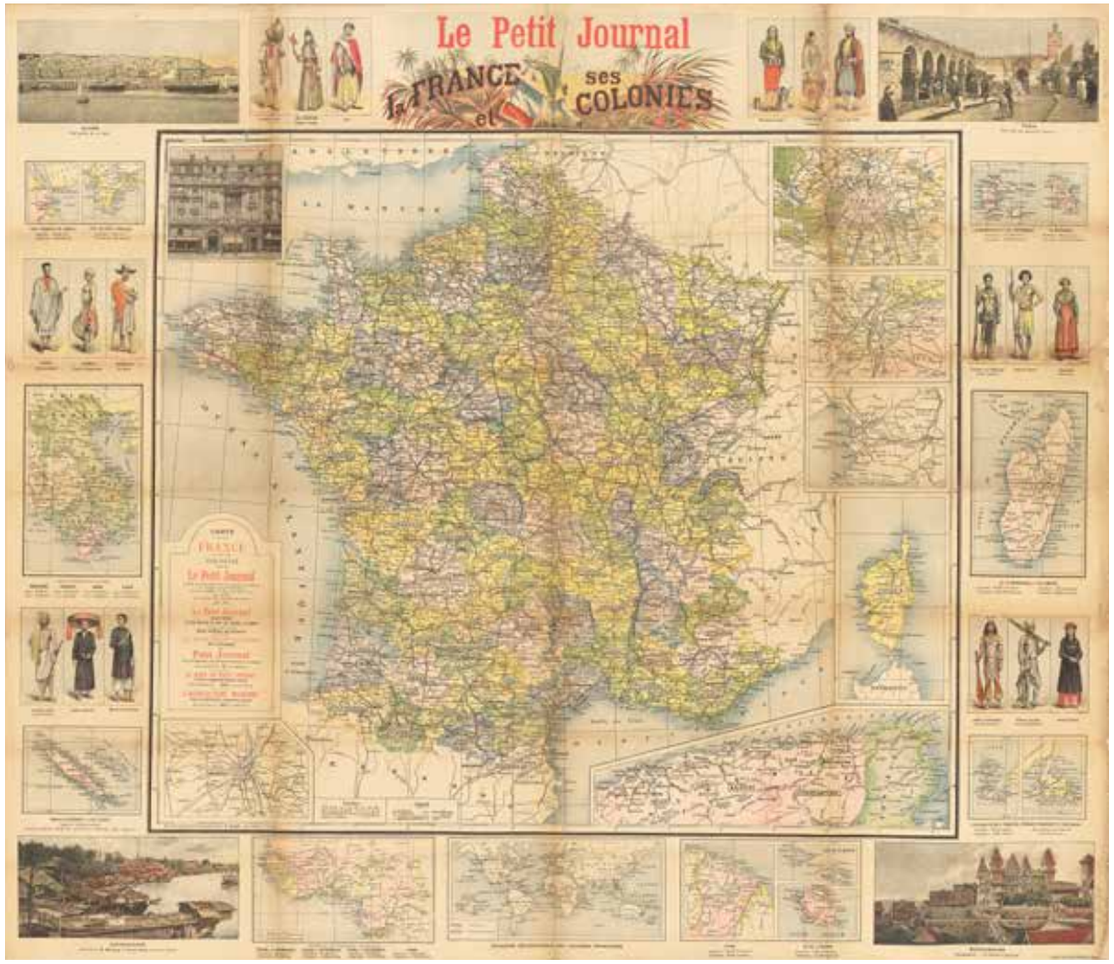


Fig. 1.
A. Guibal (n.d.). *La France et ses colonies,* from *Le petit journal*, 1897.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

each, as well as views of Algiers, Tunis, Phnom Penh, and Tananarive (now Antananarivo). Under the map of each colonial map he included statistics that detailed each department's population and size. More than simply a map, *La France et ses colonies* brings together cartography, landscape, ethnography, and statistics to produce not only a document that identifies and lends legitimacy to an empire that at the fin de siècle was growing at a phenomenally fast pace but also a complex self-portrait of imperial France. *Le petit journal* reissued the map, without updating its statistics, in 1910 (the newspaper did, however, update the information on its own publications).

In its many scenes and depictions of conquered lands and people, *La France et ses colonies,* in a fashion reminiscent of toys, games, books, advertising, and world's fairs, participated in the larger discourse of normalizing the country's colonial project to a Third Republic populace that was not fully convinced of its value. Taking such things under consideration, this essay explores how the map, produced at a moment when the colonies were beginning to take center stage in the consciousness of the metropole, consolidates multiple strategies as a means of showing France's far flung power while convincing the metropolitan populace of the purported economic and social benefits of the civilizing mission. Given the racialized discourses that were part and parcel of the colonial project, this essay also examines how the invocation of racist paradigms by *La France et ses colonies* affects not the colonized, but rather the colonizers.

In turning the focus from a connection of representation to the represented to those who consumed *La France et ses colonies,* I take as a given Toni Morrison's edict in the epigraph to this essay as well as Rosalyn Deutsche's meditation on Derek Gregory's 1994 book *Geographical Imaginations.* Morrison's interest, centered on what she calls the "presence and influence of Africanist peoples in American criticism," is in examining "the impact of notions of racial hierarchy, racial exclusion, and racial vulnerability and availability on nonblacks who held, resisted, explored, or altered those notions.[3] Such notions of race dovetail beautifully with Deutsche's description of how Gregory's book shifts the focus of critical attention from image to viewer. Such a move results in his expansion of what she calls "the space of the image," allowing for a nuanced exploration of "the mutually constitutive relationship that binds the two."[4] Considering the varied rationales for France's colonial expansion and how the invocation of racial difference became a primary tool in the creation of propaganda to support the imperial project, one can understand maps such as *La France et ses colonies* as a site that coalesces and shapes the racialized world of fin-de-siècle France, offering it as an authoritative, objective, and stable reality.

Le petit journal was founded in 1863 as a broadly mass-market newspaper. In its pages one could find news of domestic and foreign affairs, crime, natural disasters, man-made tragedies, murder, mayhem, and scandal. In this world of short miscellaneous news items and notices under "faits divers," the French military, its activities, and its heroes would become regular fare. So would France's imperial program. Between 1880 and 1890, the newspaper daily circulation jumped from 605,000 to one million, an increase of almost 40 percent. Such high numbers and such a dramatic increase in circulation supports William Schneider's contention that *Le petit journal* enjoyed a "near monopoly on the news read by masses of French voters."[5] A few years later, in 1890, the newspaper launched its eight-page, full-color supplement, the *Supplément illustré du Petit journal,* which within a decade would claim a circulation of five million copies.

Although *Le petit journal*'s coverage of the French imperial conquest was relatively slight before the 1890s, it did take a position on the topic. The newspapers editors, in light of the economic slowdowns and depressions that plagued

France in the later nineteenth century, believed that colonies could provide new markets that would create new—and protected—markets for French goods. In turn, the colonies would supply the raw materials needed for further production. As Schneider notes, part of the economic problems faced by European countries at the time were caused by overproduction. Furthermore, such issues were directly connected to increasing social unrest.[6] *Le petit journal's* stance was crystal clear on this point. In front-page editorial written under the pseudonym Thomas Grimm and published on 21 January 1883, the paper notes that during December 1882 French exports had lost close to 85 million francs. He continues:

> This fact, close to the attitude of the English in Egypt, requires energetic resolutions for the extension of France abroad. As we have already said, and we cannot repeat it enough, the future and wealth of France depend above all on the enlargement and the prosperity of the colonies. . . . What is an indisputable necessity in our era is to find outlets for our products. . . . When France has brought her genius to the development of the colonies that we already possess and to the peaceful conquest of those that our glorious travelers are working to acquire for us, we will find the draining of the overflow of our factories and, at the same time we will be able to get the raw materials used in our factories at the very site of production.[7]

While there is most certainly the patina of nationalism in Grimm's essay, as many have argued, the fundamental drive for colonial expansion was less about national glory than it was about creating economic opportunity. *Le petit journal* joined a coterie of French publications that provided a fount of information on the ever-expanding colonial sphere. As the 1880s progressed, the newspaper would reiterate its position. In 1885, they insisted, "The movement of colonial expansion is a logical, inevitable, inescapable, phenomenon, which is controlled by the current phase of economic evolution."[8]

In addition, the newspaper saw the colonies as places available for French people who had lost their jobs due to technology to relocate. Convinced of French cultural superiority and partaking in racism, Richard Smith insists that *Le petit journal* believed that once in the colonies, unemployed whites could become, in his words, "producers again, regaining their sense of self dignity."[9] Moreover, moving these people to the colonies would assist in the realization of a political goal: to aid France in dealing with social unrest due to unemployment. More to the point, colonization was seen as a tool to avoid another French revolution.[10] The newspaper's competitor, *Le petit parisien,* put this

economic and social situation in much more dire terms, insisting that France's annexation of new colonies was "a struggle for life."[11]

While *Le petit journal's* sense of urgency vis-à-vis colonial expansion would ebb and flow according to the economic health of the nation, its general support of the France's imperial project was unwavering. Whether or not the newspaper felt the urgency for expansion, however, with the breakout of the First Franco-Dahomean War in 1890, interest in the colony intensified, and *Le petit journal* responded in kind. Coverage in the colonies, particularly West Africa, exploded. Having published only sixteen stories on West Africa in 1889, that number swelled to 110 the following year. During the Second Franco-Dahomean War, which lasted from 1892 to 1894, *Le petit journal* would run 417 articles on West Africa.[12]

Le petit journal's dramatic increase in colonial coverage coincided with the 1890 launch of its illustrated supplement. Along with images of French women falling to their deaths in accidents as well as people and animals committing suicide (fig. 2), *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* published images of, among

Fig. 2.
***Un suicide* à *L'arc de Triomphe, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1998, 149.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.


Le Petit Journal

SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ

Huit pages : CINQ centimes

DIMANCHE 3 AVRIL 1898

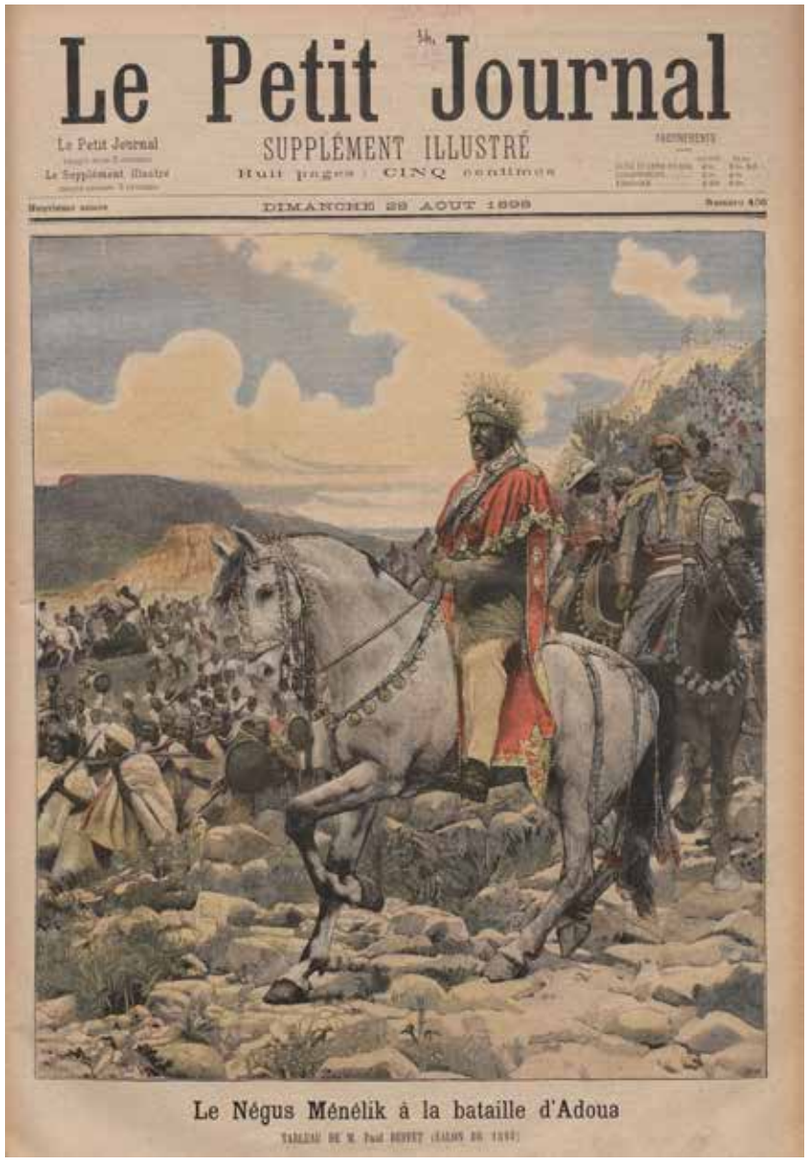
A MADAGASCAR

Défaite des Sakalaves

Fig. 3.
***A Madagascar: Défaite des Sakalavs, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1898.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

other things, riots in Algiers, insurrections in Bombay, battles in Madagascar, as well as scenes from the Spanish-American War (fig. 3). On 28 August 1898, the supplement's cover featured an image titled, *Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua* (King Menelik at the Battle of Adoua), engraved after Paul Buffet's 1897 photograph of the same name (fig. 4).

Despite this breadth, at least in the early 1890s, Dahomey was at the center of the newspaper's coverage. Indeed, five of the 1892 covers of the *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* featured the west African kingdom.[13] On 23 April the


Le Petit Journal

SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ

Huit pages : CINQ centimes

DIMANCHE 28 AOUT 1898

Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua

Fig. 4.
***Le Négus Ménélik à la bataille d'Adoua, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1892.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

newspaper published an engraving of its ruler, King Behanzin (fig. 5). Seated in front of a raffia wall punctuated with human skulls, he holds a *makpo* scepter in each hand. Four women, who could be understood as both attendants and as representations of the famed and feared Amazon warriors, flank the ruler. One holds a rifle, one the umbrella that provides the ruler with shade. Another fans him. The last plays a drum. The setting defines the king as being at once exotic and savage. In addition, *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* commissioned engravings of Dahomeans attacking the French navy, Senegalese soldiers

Fig. 5.
***Behanzin: Roi du Dahomey, Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1892.**
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

deployed to assist the French in the conflict, and Fon royal *bocio* figures (fig. 6). On the latter, the newspaper claimed that adherents to this "strange religion" offer human sacrifices to "fetishes" such as these.[14] *Le petit journal* might well have believed in the French colonial project in economic terms, but that did not stop the newspaper from trading in racist stereotypes of Africa and Africans.

Notably, the supplement's 3 September issue features a map of Dahomey (fig. 7). The designer took pains to show the kingdom's location relative to other European holdings in Africa. He also highlighted the steamship and postal

Fig. 6.
Au Dahomey, *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 26 November 1892.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

lines, underwater cables, as well as the routes of European explorers in the region. The map informs viewers how long it takes (in days) to travel by sea to Hamburg, Marseille, Liverpool, and Libreville. As the map was made in a time of war, the designer also highlights the positions of French warships and the nation's military posts. As if to remind readers of the economic possibilities of the kingdom, the map also points out where raw materials such as wood, palm trees, and sources of palm oil could be found.

Fig. 7.
Map of Dahomey, *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, 1892.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France Institute.

The *Supplément illustré* editors made clear that the use of a map on its cover was a novel development. Insisting that with the onset of the Second Franco-Dahomean War, "an emotional patriotism is directing all eyes in France towards Dahomey," the editors conceived of the map as a vehicle for readers to follow the French conquest of the west African kingdom more closely.[15] The map also served as a geography lesson. Insisting that the French public's ignorance of geography was the butt of enemies' jokes, they considered it necessary to show precisely where Dahomey is located. Readers, they stress, "knew [Dahomey] was in Africa, but that is all. Our map clearly indicates where the country with which we are at war is located in relation to other European possessions."[16]

Colonial holdings other than those under French control are filled in with green and yellow; France's are in pink. Dahomey, although labeled and outlined in red, is left blank. Thomas Bassett suggests that European viewers regarded the blank spaces on nineteenth-century maps of Africa as spaces ripe for imperial expansion.[17] This is to say that, as a kind of mental amassing of the continent's land, they remade these spaces in their own national image. The newspaper's editors were clear in their intention for readers to interpret a blank Dahomey outlined in red as being not only free for but also in the process of entering the French colonial sphere. "Keeping this issue of the *Supplément illustré*," they write, "we will be able to follow the progress of our brave soldiers, take an interest in their efforts as if we were with them, and frankly we owe them at least that."[18] For Smith, the stories, images, and maps of Dahomey bring together exoticism and the French imperial project.[19] Furthermore, such items are great examples of, as H. Hazel Hahn suggests, "colonial news, reported as a series of crises, battles, and frontier troubles."[20] However, unlike text and even unlike many of the images of carnage, the map, as the editors insist, holds out the possibility of participating in the colonial project as if we were there, thus making an explicit connection between colonization and the excitement that was part and parcel of a growing travel literature and world's fairs. Taken together, *Le petit journal* worked to form a public united by nationalist drives scripted as supporting the French troops as they subdue a savage enemy and advance the imperialist project.

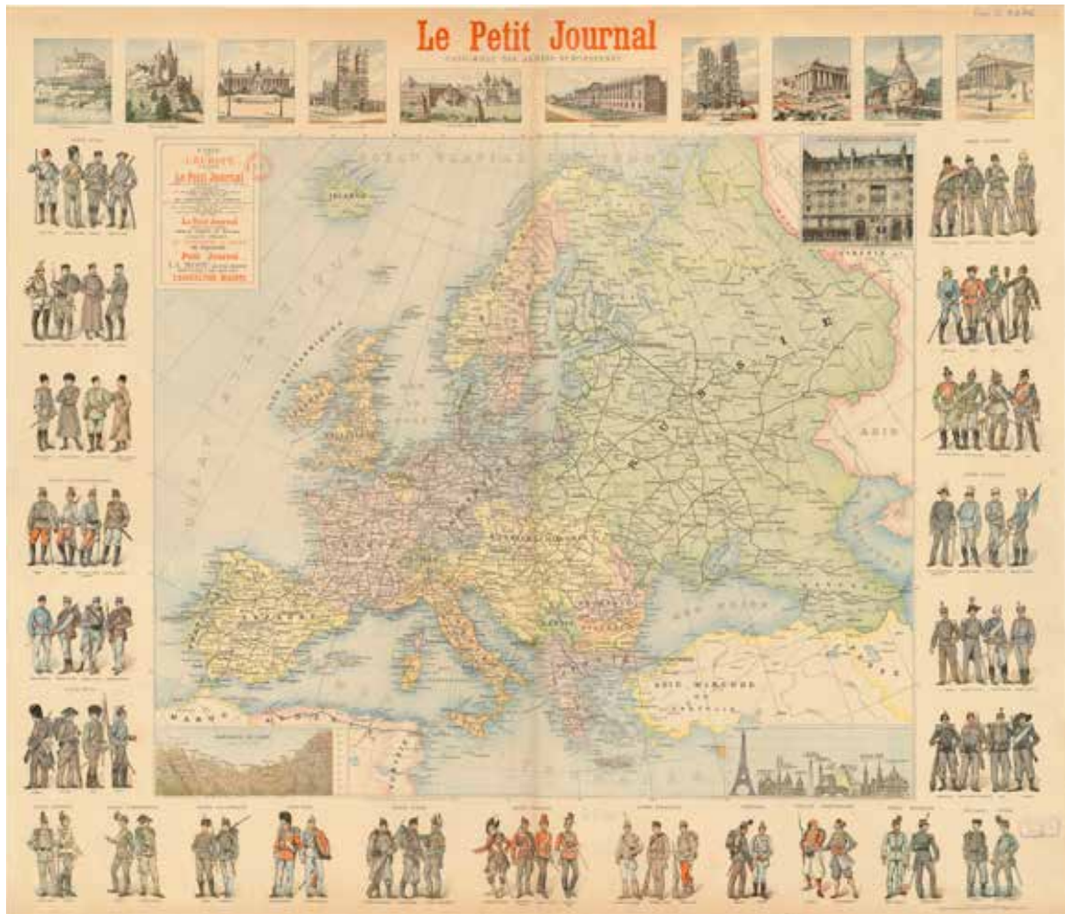
By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the pedagogical possibilities of the map were well understood. In a 1908 catalog of the maps and plans of Paris and the Île de France held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, librarian Léon Vallée insisted that the materials listed were concrete documents that give a tangible understanding of the city's diverse states and history. He stressed that the library's maps, plans, diagrams, and cartograms were more than simple views of Parisian topography; they were key representations of the facts of the body politic and the myriad forms of human intelligence and

Fig. 8.
A. Guibal (n.d.). Map of Paris with Bon Marché stores, 1898. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

creativity.[21] Colonial maps worked similarly. When *Le petit journal* published "France et ses colonies," the map, as pedagogical tool and prosthetic extension of the French body politic, had assumed a primary role in the legitimation of the French colonial project. Indeed, they became part of a larger culture of defining the colonies for a French audience.

Compared to so many of the illustrations in the *Supplément illustré du Petit journal*, *La France et ses colonies* is quite benign. Unlike the dramatic lithographs of murder, mayhem, and mystery; of animals that throw themselves to their own deaths; and of savage non-Europeans, the people and places illustrated on the map are more like those that were the stock of images in nineteenth-century ethnographic accounts and travelogues. Like the maps published in the *Supplément illustré, La France et ses colonies* was a pedagogical tool that would help the newspaper's readers grasp the geography—as well as the enormity—of the French colonial project.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Guibal likely had several clients for whom he designed maps, cartograms, and other information



graphics.[22] In the 1890s he produced several maps for the department store Magasins du Bon Marché that focused on such things as the history of Paris, guides to the 1900 Exposition Universelle, and the department store itself (fig. 8). He also produced railway maps for other clients. Between 1896 and 1900, Guibal created at least three wall maps for *Le petit journal.* In addition to *La France et ses colonies,* these include an 1896 map of Europe and a 1900 one of France (figs. 9, 10). Both maps are bordered by illustrations of men in military uniforms of different ranks and regions. The map of France illustrates commemorative medallions, French coins, and the flags of nation states that had hosted national pavilions in the Exposition Universelle. Identical in format, all of these maps—whether of the colonies, the exposition, the railways of France, or the military—bring together domestic commerce and the form of the map under the guise of information. Such a merger, when considered within a discursive network that includes world's fairs and human zoos, signals the

Fig. 9.
A. Guibal (n.d.). *Uniformes des armée euopéeannes*, from *Le petit journal*, 1896.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Fig. 10.
A. Guibal (n.d.). Map of France, from *Le petit journal*, 1900. Bibliothèque National de France.

increasingly central role the colonies and the French imperial project played in French mass culture and French national consciousness at the time.

With its mix of maps, images of non-European people, city views, and statistics, *La France et ses colonies* brings together multiple discourses in its representation of the French Empire to create a complex vehicle that, like the map of Dahomey, illustrates and propagates French colonial ideology. Full of imagery that by the end of the nineteenth century was part of the French visual lexicon, the map codifies ideas about the colonies already prevalent in public discourse. Moreover, in its categorization of people and places as well as in its normalization of the distinction between metropolitan France and France Overseas, it serves as an authoritative colonization of space. *La France et ses colonies* exists as an exquisite example of the map's position as what Michel de Certeau has called a "totalizing stage on which elements of diverse origin are brought together to form the tableau of this 'state' of geographical knowledge."[23] More

to the point, the map creates a colonial world that is viewable and, thus, legible. The legible world of *La France et ses colonies* is one that defines France relative to its colonies in both geographic and racial terms.

The French at this time had divvied up the world into four races: white, yellow, red, and black. People of all of these representative areas formed parts of the empire. To help organize and make sense out of this group, the French categorized the colonized peoples by a series of criteria by which they presumed the readability of the human body. By simply looking at the color of someone's skin, the shape of their cranium, and other physical attributes, one could judge their intelligence and moral character. These premises, published in one version during the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale as "Scientific Laws," provided a rationale for the hierarchy of races that directed French colonial rule.

Until the end of World War I, the direct administration of French colonial rule was driven by the policy of assimilation, which, in its simplest form, proffered the possibility of the gallicization of people under French domination. In theory, French benefice, part and parcel of the country's civilizing mission, would raise the levels of civilization of the colonized to that of France, which, not surprisingly, never wavered from its belief in its own cultural superiority. When it came to the colonized, however, the French decided a people's fitness for assimilation according to the color of their skin. Peoples from North Africa and the Middle Eastern colonies were considered white, and they could be assimilated. In fact, the French saw such possibilities as quite desirable. The rest of the groups colonized by France could be educated to greater or lesser degrees, but they could never be fully assimilated into the French body politic.[24] As was the case in the colonial expositions of 1906, 1922, and 1931, such ideas formed the basis of the French understanding of maps such as *La France et ses colonies*.

Eighteen images of representative French colonial types appear on Guibal's maps. By the end of the nineteenth century, visual sources and precedents for Guibal's images were ubiquitous. From advertising, trademarks, travelogues, books, and journals to the mass press itself, such images—which, as Dana Hale suggests, provided the Third Republic audience with a conduit for the dissemination of ideas about the French colonial sphere—made available a familiar and acceptable source of material that easily lent itself to the designer's purposes.[25] Be it from benign appropriation to outright plagiarism, similar images were consistently recycled in the popular literature and ephemera on the French Empire.[26] In this way, Guibal's types present less something new than something familiar to *Le petit journal's* readership. The familiarity of these exotic images was necessary for the ongoing normalization of the colonial project.

The types invoked by Guibal encode the psychological anxiety of the Third Republic populace concerning the nonwhite Others exploited by the civilizing

mission. By the end of the nineteenth century, this anxiety was increasingly and consciously aroused through propaganda for France's imperial project. Sensationalism in *Le petit journal* was not an exception. On this level, Guibal's types are intimately connected to those published in the pages of the *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* and participate in what we could call a psychogeography based on France's imperial aspirations. Returning to the newspaper's 1892 coverage of the Second Franco-Dahomey War, it is possible to delve beneath the surface of the images on the map to consider a push-me-pull-you world of colonial attraction and revulsion that attaches itself to the poles of exoticism and familiarity. The images of attack, of colonial mayhem, and of statues claimed as figures of war suggest a world that at once attracted and repulsed the French public. The Dahomean example also underscores the complicated, ambivalent view many French had of those coming under their control.

The 23 April 1892 *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* cover and description of Dahomean King Behanzin presents a striking case in point. Along with publishing the detailed engraving of the king with his retinue made up of the feared Amazon warriors cast as handmaidens, the newspaper invited Jean Bayol, former lieutenant governor of Senegal, to provide an overview of King Behanzin and his kingdom. During his colonial service, the administrator was in charge of the Rivières du Sud (Southern Rivers), a colonial area that between 1882 and 1891 extended from present-day Guinea to the Republic of Benin. The Dahomey, or Fon Kingdom, which still exists today, was part of this area. Bayol, who had met King Behanzin, gave a cursory description of some of the customs in the naming of Fon kings as well as a quick overview of the royal lineage. The colonial official also gave a detailed physical description of the ruler, tying them to his character and to the kingdom's deteriorating relationship with France. According to Bayol, the king was of average height and weight. His face was "large like [those of] the Mandingos of the [French] Sudan." [27] The king's salt-and-pepper hair was short and frizzy; his skin the color of café au lait.

For Bayol, King Behanzin's eyes connected the king's physicality to his emotions. Bayol suggested described them as "charming at rest but . . . ferocious when he speaks of France, which committed, he says, in 1875, an affront he cannot forget."[28] The king was referring to a French attack on Dahomeans on the shores of Ouidah. Dahomey never pardoned France for this attack that diminished the kingdom's political power in the region. The image of King Behanzin and Bayol's description of the ruler stands as a great example of the visual and textual mixing of newspaper reportage, even a paper that specialized in sometimes racially charged *faits divers*.

The portrait of Behanzin, as French characterizations of non-Europeans so often did, both clarifies and obscures. On the one hand, the picture and description suggest a ruler who is, if not regal, at least formidable. On the other hand, with the skulls and rifle in the portrait and with the pains Bayol took to undermine King Behanzin's intelligence through both the assertion that the ruler had a temper and by highlighting the king's lack of European education and inability to speak a European language, he is lacking some basic tools of Western civilization.

Bayol's acknowledgment of French aggression in the region and his description of the king's ferocity in his response to them reminded the readership of *Le petit journal* of the ongoing conquest of Dahomey at the moment when the two polities were on the brink of a second war. Three years after the Second Franco-Dahomean War, which ended in 1894, the colony of Dahomey in *La France et ses colonies*" is not represented by a powerful ruler on a throne or a fierce warrior with a rifle, but rather by a docile topless woman holding a basket. In fact, all of the persons on the map, even the lone figure with a rifle, are cast as nonthreatening curiosities.

While the figures on the map are related to those in the pages of *Le petit journal,* the map eschews their complex nature, becoming, as Schneider said of images of Africans in the French illustrated press, "two-dimensional men."[29] Moreover, these representations suppress the violence and anxiety, routinely reported and illustrated in *Le petit journal* and other venues, at the base of France's colonial expansion and administration. Colonial maps, including, Guibal's, are the antithesis of Hahn's characterization of the coverage of the colonies, mentioned above, "as a series of crises, battles, and frontier troubles."[30]

However, the exotic types set in familiar and believable ways bring with them associations that, like the direct administration of the colonized and like the policy of association, had their foundation in French scientific racism. While they may suppress the violence of the colonial encounter, the types in *La France et ses colonies* are explicitly racial ones. In a similar example, *Le petit journal* published a map of the world as an advertising supplement in 1899 (fig. 11). Above and below an image of the world's two hemispheres and six scenes of different places stand eighty-one types. The designer, Ferdinand-Léon Ménétrier, composed the figures similarly to those in Guibal's maps. They are also arranged by race. As if to reproduce France's racial categories and hierarchies, the types begin with a row of twenty-two Western and Central Europeans at the top of the map. Twenty-eight figures representing the rest of Europe and Asia Minor stand in a second row that appears below the hemispheres. The thirty-one types representing Africa, the rest of Asia, the South Pacific, and the Americas reside at the bottom of the map. While not arranged in as overt a fashion, Guibal's maps feature Algerians and Tunisians, two examples of colonial subjects who, the French asserted, could be assimilated, at the top of *La*

Fig. 11.
Ferdinand-Leon Ménétrier (n.d.). World map, published by *Le petit journal*, 1899.
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

France et ses colonies. Moreover, Guibal places the two colonies within the frame accorded to the map of France itself. Taken together, and combined with the larger world of racial types, Guibal's stood as direct reminders of an empire delineated through a racialized hierarchy and, by extension, of French cultural and racial superiority. In short, the French, who are not represented bodily on the map, are defined by what they are not. For a readership that was made up primarily of the petit bourgeois, seeing this parade of nonwhite people allowed them to identify, through their whiteness, with a France that included classes of people who were, at the end of the day, their oppressors, too. Be that as it may, French racial anxieties fueled not only identification with the colonial project but, also the whiteness that defined the Third Republic body politic.

Along with the representative types of the French empire, the views of Algiers, Tunis, Phnom Penh, and Tananarive, like the blank spaces on a map, like the types they accompany, introduce the representation of landscape and

Fig. 12.
Alexandré Vuillemin (n.d.). *Nouveau carte illustré de l'Afrique*, 1855.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

architecture to the scenario. The views of these four cities from different parts of the empire—like travelogue scenes of faraway places—suggest a different kind of belonging. When taken alongside the outlines of territories, comparative statistics on population and geographic area, and the ethnicities who reside there, the scenes further underscore the ability of the composite image to enact the colonization of space itself. It also signals the embedding of the French Empire's exotic locales in the popular imagination as the space of economic development and scientific discovery.[31] These scenes, which connect the imperial project and the world of travel, helped readers to recognize places they had seen only in other popular forms. As such, Guibal's map, which is not part of the regular newspaper, is not only a pedagogical tool but also popular entertainment.

The publication of maps of European colonial holdings became increasingly popular in the nineteenth century as European nations expanded their empires, and many of these maps incorporated the same combination of elements that appear in *La France et ses colonies*. Even before the scramble for the colonies that characterized that century's last two decades, French designers had incorporated cartographic and drawn elements into maps to create documents that would be understood as mimetic images of the world. In 1855, in a seemingly perfect alignment with economic arguments for French colonial expansion, Alexandré Vuillemin designed a map of Africa that focused on its commercial and industrial geography (fig. 12). The map is flanked left and right by a map of Africa with scenes of different locales considered to be economically important and thus significant for colonial development. Guibal's colonial map

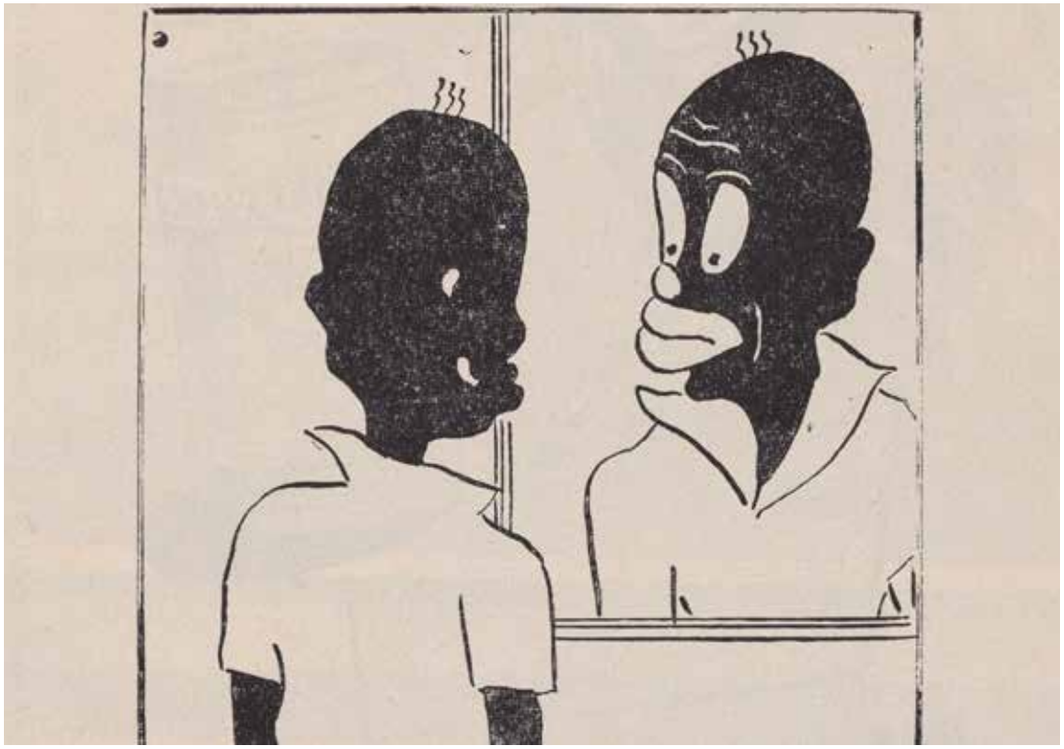


Fig. 13.
Alexandré Vuillemin (n.d.). "France et ses colonies," 1872.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

is strikingly similar to Vuillemin's 1872 map *La France et ses colonies* (fig. 13), in which an oversized France is bordered by maps and scenes of the colonies. As in Guibal's map, each inset is drawn to a different scale: as dissected entities, they are defined only through their relationship to France.

Of course, there are plenty of colonial maps that do not combine multiple formats. The same year that Guibal designed *La France et ses colonies* for *Le petit journal,* he created a colonial map for the Magasins du Bon Marché (fig. 14). Devoid of the drawings and statistics that make up his work for *Le petit journal,* this map exists as a series of insets of each colony, each drawn to a different scale, and a surprisingly small world map that shows the distribution of the colonies and their relationship to France. However, whether simple or complex, the maps of this genre all contributed to a colonial visual regime that had recourse to the scientific authority of cartography and ethnography to describe and underwrite imperial conquest.

The making of colonial maps and the portrayal of these places as series of armed conflicts, crises, and social problems is perhaps at odds with *Le petit journal*'s economic and commercial rationalization for the colonial project. Yet, in essence, all of these were elements of what Smith called "the biggest myth of all—that the colonies could become a bonanza which would necessarily benefit

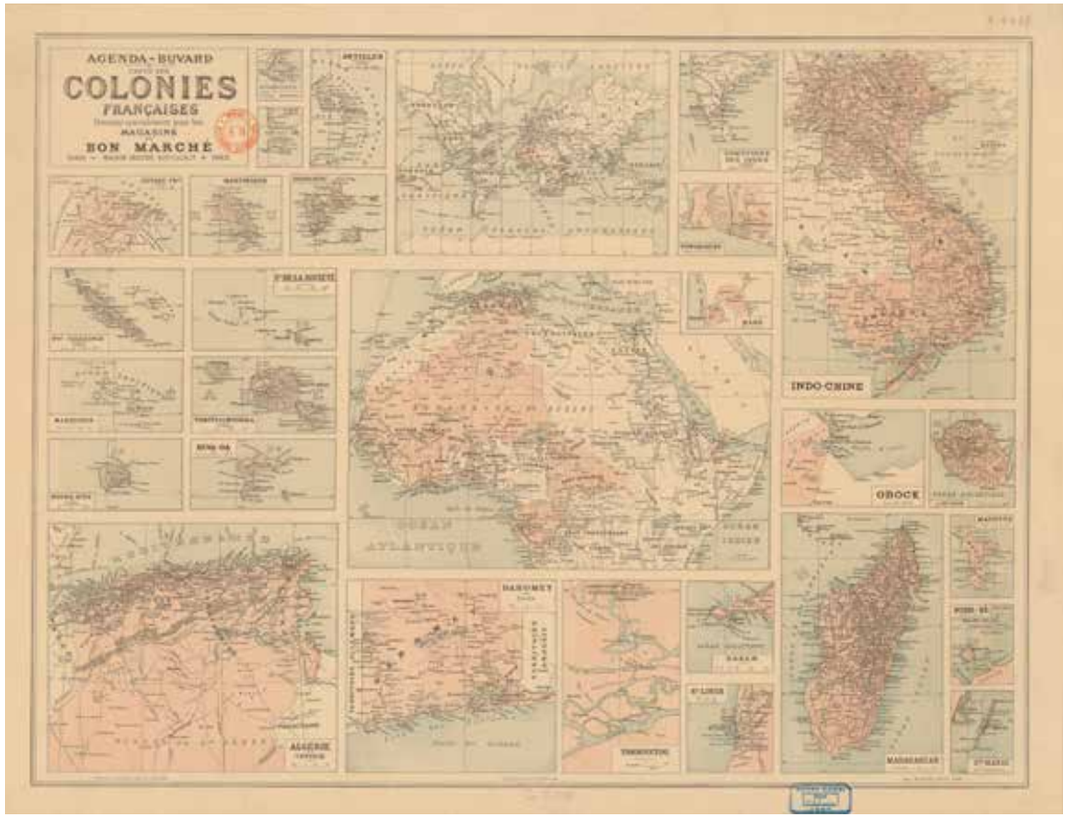


Fig. 14.
A. Guibal (n.d.). *Agenda-Buvard. Carte des colonies françaises,* Magasins du Bon Marché, 1897.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

the whole of the home country's population."[32] However one interprets the seeming contradiction between *Le petit journal*'s economic rationale and the culturally and racially motivated means to make the colonies knowable and digestible, Schneider reminds us that *Le petit journal*'s beliefs did not preclude the publishing of salacious, sensational stories from the French and British colonies.[33] Just as exotic places and sights could be used to advance an economically based colonial agenda, so could the images of natives and the representation of space, whether sensational or not. These people, whose lands were rife for colonial and economic exploitation, were not only understood as racially inferior, they were first seen, depending on whom one consults, as markets for French goods and sources for raw materials. Along these lines, and in the midst of repeated economic woes in France, to think of colonial maps as representations of additional consumer markets, as Schneider notes, would be interpreted as beneficial to France's overall well-being.[34]

At the end of the day, *La France et ses colonies* offers a conquered, subdued world in which France is the subject. These worlds have created a colonial persona in which the colonies serve as the prosthetic parts of the body that

is France. In this map, as is true of the others Guibal did for *Le petit journal,* France's subjectivity is constructed not only through its disproportionate size at the center of the map, not only through the exaggerated place of France in the world that such a position suggests, but also through the very act of mapping itself. The boundaries, borders, peoples, and data create a kind of solar system in which France is the sun around which the colonies revolve. Guibal, as representative of France, sets up a world in his nation's aspirational image.

Readers understood the fruits of Guibal's efforts to be objective. As if to drive the point home, *Le petit journal* directed the designer to include data that list each colony's population and geographic area. The journal also pointed out that the map was made after "the most recent documents, indicating divisions by department" and includes, among other things, "railroads, the course of water, routes of canals [and] colonial costumes."[35] The maps, images of people, city scenes, and statistics, each of which could have conveyed geographical information on its own, came together in a fashion where each reinforced the information set for the by the others. In bringing these things together, Guibal gave *Le petit journal*'s readers multiple ways to imagine these faraway places, providing avenues to access not only the information but also the world of France's imperial project. In a sense, the map is a Foucauldian formulation of knowledge as a form of power that, in this case, inscribes colonial ideology onto the bodies of the colonized while normalizing it in the psyche of the colonizer. In the end, this configuration, this mapping of the world, situates the map as a descriptive text that, in tandem with other texts and images in French colonialist discourse, ignites a geographic imagination, which, "[w]ith the world as a whole placed at its disposal," as Rosalyn Deutsche suggests, "emerges as the fixed, relational center of social life."[36] And in this geographic imagination, as in world's fairs and colonial journals, France has inscribed itself onto the colonies. By being reconstituted through representation, the lands and peoples of the colonies have been reduced to existing as extensions of the French gazing subject. Pictorially, graphically, or textually, viewers could be drawn in through an emotional attachment to the nation, through their racism, through a desire to travel to the places depicted, or even through a wish to be like the highly regarded men who secured the colonies.

Regarding *La France et ses colonies,* we might ask, "Can maps be liars?" Maps can be liars akin to that character Friedrich Nietzsche described as a "person who uses the valid designations, the words, in order to make something which is unreal appear to be real."[37] Along these lines, Guibal's normalization of colonial ideology by invoking racialized geography, in which the world is seen as inferior to France, works as part of a discourse that over time appeared to comprise natural and unchanging national truths. However, for a map of the colonies to work in this fashion, it was necessary to frame the colonial project not as an economic one but as a racially defined civilizing mission that ensured that the colonized would not be considered French. By depicting the colonies as Other, the newspaper could also nationalistically frame metropolitan France as a unified nation, a solid whole, while advancing its economically based, colonial agenda.

Notes

1. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 17.
2. Gaston Donnet, "The French Colonial Craze," *Fortnightly Review* 70 (Dec. 1898): 869 (originally published as "L'exaggeration colonial," *Revue bleue,* 24 Sept. 1898).
3. Morrison, *Playing in the Dark,* 11.
4. Rosalyn Deutsche, "Surprising Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (March 1995): 168.
5. William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982), 6. For *Le petit journal's* circulation figures in 1880–90, see Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 75–76, note 44.
6. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 61–64.
7. Thomas Grimm, "Nos Colonies," *Le petit journal,* 21 Jan. 1893, n.p. Schneider quoted portions of this editorial. See Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 62.
8. *Le petit journal,* 17 June 1885, 1. Quoted in Richard L. Smith, "A Popular View of Imperialism: The French Mass Press and the Conquest of West Africa," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society,* 5 (1980): 52.
9. Smith, "A Popular View of Imperialism," 53.
10. See Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses*.
11. *Le petit parisien,* 15 Nov. 1897: 2. Quoted in Smith, "A Popular View of Imperialism," 52.
12. See the tables on the numbers of articles on the West African economy in *Le Petit Journal* published between 1880 and 1899 in Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 68–69.
13. These include: 23 April, 21 May, 20 Aug., 3 Sept., and 26 Nov.
14. "Au Dahomey," *Supplément illustré du petit journal,* 26 Nov. 1892, 383.
15. "Carte du Dahomey," *Supplément illustré du petit journal,* 3 Sept. 1892, 287.
16. "Carte du Dahomey," 287.
17. Thomas J. Bassett, "Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," *Geographical Review* 84, no. 3 (July 1994): 324.
18. "Carte du Dahomey," 287.
19. Smith, "A Popular View of Imperialism," 52.
20. H. Hazel Hahn, "Heroism, Exoticism, and Violence: Representing the Self, 'the Other,' and Rival Empires in the English and French Illustrated Press, 1880–1905," 62.
21. L. Vallée, *Catalogue des plans de Paris et des cartes de l'Île de France, de la généralité, de l'élection, de l'archevêche, de la vicomté, de l'université, du grenier à sel et*

de la Cour des aydes de Paris, conservés à la Section des cartes and plans (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1908), 11.

22. In published records, other than his maps themselves and a couple of 1898 references to a mistake he made on a map designed for *Le Petit Journal,* there's no information on A. Guibal. While I suspect that he may have come from a family of designers, I haven't been able to corroborate my hunch.
23. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 121.
24. Dr. Georges Papillault, in Marcel Olivier ed., *Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris: Rapport general* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1932–34), 5, part 1: 52–53. I have previously discussed this French colonial administration in greater detail; see Steven Nelson, *From Cameroon to Paris: Mousgoum Architecture in and out of Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 105–14.
25. Dana S. Hale, "French Images of Race on Product Trademarks during the Third Republic," in *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France,* ed. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 131.
26. I have previously addressed the outright plagiarism that often occurred in the formation of ideas for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale in Paris. See Nelson, *From Cameroon to Paris,* 122–25.
27. Jean Bayol, "Behanzin: Roi du Dahomey," *Supplément illustré du Petit Journal,* 23 April 1892, 135.
28. Bayol, "Behanzin: Roi du Dahomey," 135.
29. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 77. For his discussion on the representation of African in the French illustrated press, see "Two-Dimensional Men: Africans in the Illustrated Press," 77–124.
30. Hahn, Heroism, Exoticism, and Violence," 64.
31. Following Annie Coombs, I have discussed this idea in relation to travel and perceptions of Africa. See Nelson, *From Cameroon to Paris,* 53–55.
32. Smith, "A Popular View of Imperialism," 56.
33. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 63.
34. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 60–61.
35. A. Guibal, *France et ses colonies, Le petit journal,* 1897.
36. Deutsche, "Surprising Geography," ,171.
37. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense," in *The Nietzsche Reader,* ed. Keith Ansell Pearson and Duncan Large(Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 115.

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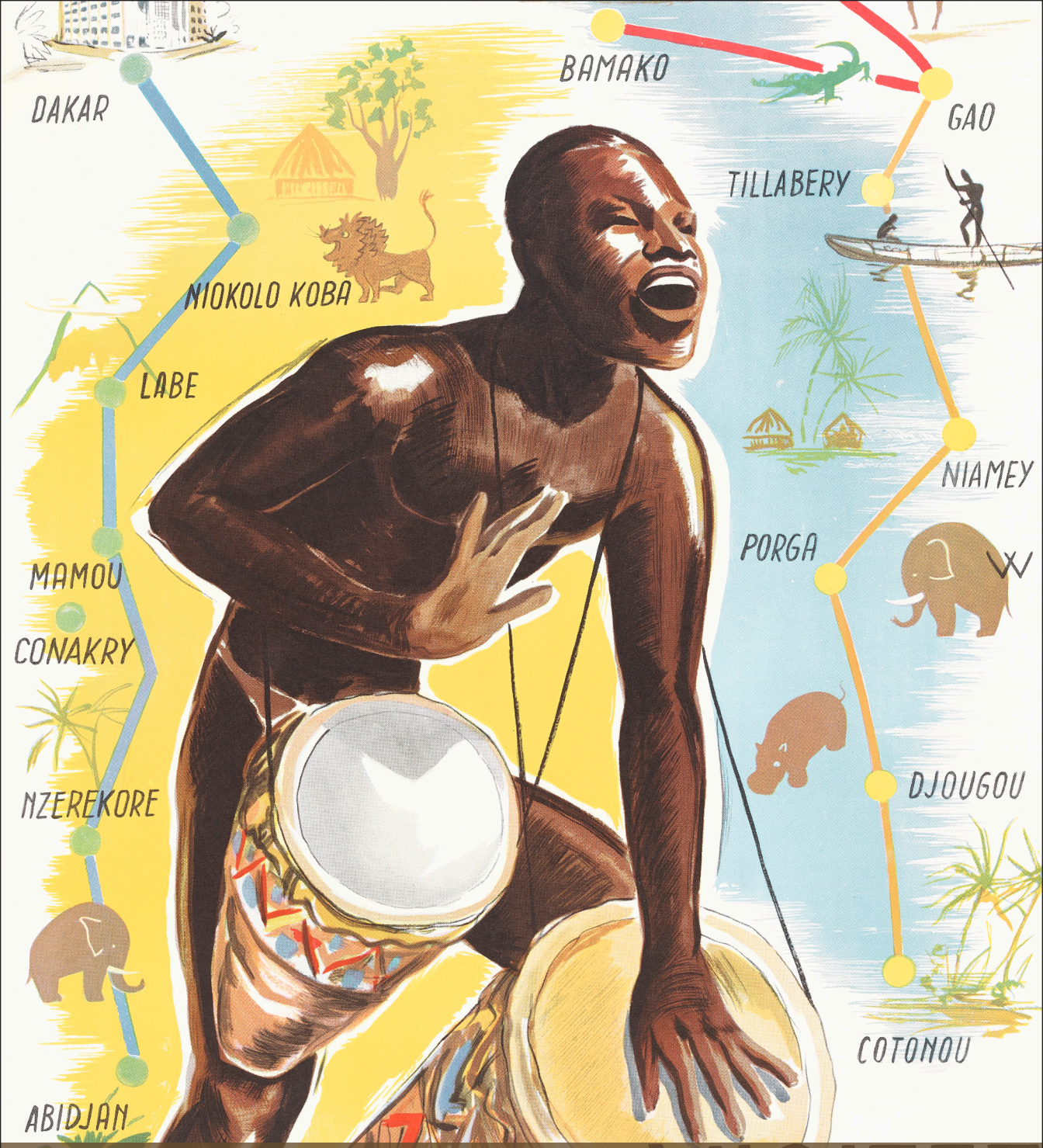

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